

# Eros Figures in the Iconography of Death. Some Notes on Funerary Monuments from Macedonia during the Roman Period

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**Abstract.** This paper discusses the intense presence of Eros figures in funerary monuments from the region of Macedonia during the roman period, evolving around the perception of death, the familial bonds and social structure that these monuments reveal. Eros, depicted either leaning on or holding an inverted torch, or sleeping on a rock, when placed upon graves is perceived as *Eros funéraire*. The funerary connotations of Eros figures often assimilate them with Sleep, Death, and the eternal sadness of Death. Especially when used in the funerary monuments of children, these figures accentuate the parental grief for the loss of their children. On the other hand, the childlike representation of Eros symbolizes the eternal beauty of youth and the parental hope that their deceased children will continue enjoying a happy afterlife.

**Keywords:** Eros; Death; Sleep; Iconography; Sculpture; Roman; Macedonia.

[es] Figuras de eros en la iconografía de la muerte. Algunas notas sobre monumentos funerarios de Macedonia durante la época romana

**Resumen.** En este trabajo se analiza la intensa presencia de figuras de Eros en monumentos funerarios de la región de Macedonia durante la época romana, mostrando la evolución en la percepción de la muerte, los vínculos familiares y la estructura social que estos monumentos revelan. Eros suele representarse apoyado o sosteniendo una antorcha invertida, o durmiendo sobre una roca; y cuando se sitúa sobre tumbas se percibe como *Eros funéraire*. Las connotaciones funerarias de las figuras de Eros a menudo se asimilan con el Sueño, la Muerte o la eterna tristeza de la Muerte. Especialmente cuando se utilizan en los monumentos funerarios de los niños, estas figuras acentúan el dolor de los padres por la pérdida de sus hijos. Por otro lado, la representación infantil de Eros simboliza la eterna belleza de la juventud y la esperanza de los padres de que sus hijos fallecidos sigan disfrutando de un feliz más allá.

**Palabras clave:** Eros; muerte; sueño; iconografía; escultura; Romano; Macedonia.

**Summary.** 1. Introduction. 2. The polysemy of Eros and its use in the imagery of Death. 3. Conclusions. 4. Abbreviations used. 5. Written sources and bibliographical references.

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## 1. Introduction

This study evolves around the depiction of mortals in the guise of Eros as seen in burial monuments from the region of Macedonia during the Roman period. Although Eros figures do not appear in vast numbers, they do appear in a variety of types, both in reliefs and in round

sculpture. They belong to a long series of funerary monuments that depict mortals in theomorphic appearance, a phenomenon that in scholarly literature is called, *in formam deorum*. The main issues that concern scholars are the interpretation and the terminology of this phenomenon, namely whether such god-like depictions refer to a private apotheosis of the deceased, an identification with

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the divinity and a projection of the deceased's virtues and qualities, or the hope for the hereafter<sup>2</sup>.

As regards the representations in the guise of Eros in the region of Macedonia, their iconography is basically divided in three types. Two of the types feature one of the most identifiable Eros' attributes, the inverted torch: the type where Eros is leaning on the inverted torch which is placed under his left armpit and the type where Eros is holding the torch with his lowered right hand. The third, equally significant, type includes Eros figures in reclining posture and sleeping. Next to the above, there are numerous depictions of Eros in a variety of standing postures, holding a variety of attributes.

### 1.1. Eros leaning on an inverted torch

The figure is usually depicted winged in a chubby infant body<sup>3</sup>. The "normal type" shows Eros in frontal

stance with the body supported on his fixed right leg. His left arm is hanging downwards holding a wreath or a garland. The head is leaning towards the left side, that is, towards the torch. The hairstyle is idealistic. The hair is parted in the middle of the cuff over the forehead and is combed to either side in long strands. Eros figures holding torches appear in vase paintings, as early as the 5th century BC<sup>4</sup>. As most scholars agree, Eros figures with the torch, as represented in the Roman period, seem to follow Hellenistic prototypes;<sup>5</sup> however, a specific model-if indeed existed-has not yet been identified<sup>6</sup>. The majority sustains the view that the type was originally created in minor sculpture, namely terracotta figurines-which might also explain the numerous variations and reproductions of the motif<sup>7</sup>. It seems probable that only when the motif appeared in large scale sculpture, the basic features were standardised and fixed<sup>8</sup>. The much greater diffusion of Eros leaning on the inverted torch in the West than in the East (Greece and Asia Minor), in all types of funerary monuments, suggests that this motif had initially appeared in the funerary art of Rome and its surrounding areas before spreading to the rest of the Empire and hence, Macedonia. This specific figure of Eros became extremely beloved as a marker of children's tombstones. It should be noted, however, that it was not limited to funerary monuments, as this type was also widespread in all kinds of art<sup>9</sup>.

The region of Macedonia has several examples of childlike Eros figures leaning on inverted torches to show (10). The majority comes from Thessaloniki (3)<sup>10</sup>, Veroia (3)<sup>11</sup>, Edessa (1)<sup>12</sup>, Dion (1)<sup>13</sup>, and Western Mace-

<sup>2</sup> The scholarly literature on the subject is endless. Indicatively: Siegrid Düll, "Die Götterdarstellungen auf makedonischen Grabstelen", in *Studies in Honor of Vasileios Laourdas*, ed. Georgios I. Theodoridis (Thessaloniki: Sfakianakis Publications, 1975), 115-135; Siegrid Düll, *Die Götterkulte Nordmakedoniens in römischer Zeit. Eine kultische und typologische Untersuchung anhand epigraphischer, numismatischer und archäologischer Denkmäler* (München: Fink, 1977); Henning Wrede, *Consecratio in Formam Deorum, Vergöttlichte Privatpersonen in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Mainz: P. v. Zabern, 1981), 1-4; Mark Waelkens, "Privatdefikation in Kleinasien und in der griechisch-römischen Welt: zu einer Neuen Grabinschrift aus Phrygien", in *Archéologie et religions de l'Anatolie ancienne: mélanges en l'honneur du professeur Paul Naster*, eds. Robert Donceel and René Lebrun (Louvain-la-Neuve: Centre d'histoire des religions, 1984), 263, 270, 279-280; Pavlina Karanastassis, "Untersuchungen zur kaiserzeitlichen Plastik in Griechenland. I. Kopien, Varianten und Umbildungen nach Aphroditentypen des 5. Jhs. V. Chr.", *AM* 101 (1986): 207-291; Diana Kleiner, *Roman imperial funerary Altars with Portraits* (Roma: Bretschneider, 1987), 83, 87-88; Maria Lagogianni-Georgakarakos, *Die Grabdenkmäler mit Porträts aus Makedonien* (Athens: Akademie von Athen, 1998), 30-31, 38-39; Tomasz Mikocki, *Sub Specie Deae, Les Impératrices et Princesses romaines assimilées à des Déesses* (Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider, 1995), 141-142; Polyxeni Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί [Macedonian Altars]* (Athens: Archaeological Receipts Fund, 2002), 63, 79, 84; Ioanna Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens. Untersuchungen zur Sepulkralplastik einer Kunstlandschaft im Spannungsfeld zwischen Ost und West* (Mannheim, Möhnese: Bibliopolis, 2002), 33-35; Emmanouel Voutiras, "Aphrodite Nymphia", *Hefte des Archäologischen Seminars der Universität Bern* 4 (2001), 107-108; Dimitra Terzopoulou, *Απεικονίσεις θνητών ως θεών. Ρωμαϊκά ταφικά ανάγλυφα [Representations of mortals as gods. Roman Funerary Reliefs]* (Thessaloniki: AUTh, 2009), 4-15; Dimitra Terzopoulou, "Θεόμορφες απεικονίσεις θνητών στα ταφικά μνημεία της Μακεδονίας" ["Godlike representations of mortals in funerary monuments of Macedonia"], *Egnatia* 14 (2010): 124-128; Victoria Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα από τη Βέροια και την περιοχή της [Grave Stelae and reliefs from Veroia and its territory]* (Thessaloniki: Ziti Publications, 2014), 231-246.

<sup>3</sup> On the type generally, Esther Schönenberger, "Eros in Bern: gefesselt und schlafend. Zur Ikonographie des Eros Desmios-Hypnos-Thánatos", *Hefte des Archäologischen Seminars der Universität Bern* 15 (1994): 72; Wrede, *Consecratio in Formam Deorum*; Roger Stuveras, *Le putto dans l'art romain* (Brussels: Latomus, 1969); On the type in Macedonia: Theodosia Stefanidou-Tiveriou, *Τραπεζοφόρα Με Πλαστική Διακόσμηση: Η Αττική Ομάδα [Table supports with sculptural decoration: the Attica Group]* (Athens: Archaeological Receipts Fund, 1993), 103-108; Theodosia Stefanidou-Tiveriou, *KTMΘ* 1, 161, no. 131; Terzopoulou, *Απεικονίσεις θνητών ως θεών [Representations of mortals as gods]*, 89-99; Terzopoulou, "Θεόμορφες απεικονίσεις θνητών" ["Godlike representations of mortals"], 138; Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα από τη Βέροια [Grave Stelae and reliefs from Veroia]*, 232, 242.

<sup>4</sup> In general, Adolf Furtwängler, *Eros in der Vasenmalerei* (Munich: T. Ackermann, 1874).

<sup>5</sup> Guntram Koch, and Hellmut Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage* (Munich: Beck, 1982), 207; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens*, 40; Dagmar Dexheimer, *Oberitalische Grabaltäre, Ein Beitrag zur Sepulkralplastik römischer Kaiserzeit* (Oxford: BAR, Hadrian Books, 1998), 20, fn. 21.

<sup>6</sup> Stefanidou-Tiveriou, *Τραπεζοφόρα Με Πλαστική Διακόσμηση [Table supports with sculptural decoration]*, 106-107, fn. 156-157.

<sup>7</sup> Terzopoulou, *Απεικονίσεις θνητών ως θεών [Representations of mortals as gods]*, 90.

<sup>8</sup> Stefanidou-Tiveriou, *Τραπεζοφόρα Με Πλαστική Διακόσμηση [Table supports with sculptural decoration]*, 106-108, fn. 155; Stefanidou-Tiveriou, *KTMΘ* 1, 161 no. 131.

<sup>9</sup> Wrede, *Consecratio in Formam Deorum*, 127, 129; Koch and Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage*, 207, fn. 6, 605; Stefanidou-Tiveriou, *Τραπεζοφόρα Με Πλαστική Διακόσμηση [Table supports with sculptural decoration]*, 106; Stefanidou-Tiveriou *KTMΘ* 1, 131-132 no. 102.

<sup>10</sup> Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, Inv. No. AMTh 1688 (with Aphrodite), Inv. No. AMTh P64, Inv. No. AMTh 2449, cf. Terzopoulou, *Θεόμορφες απεικονίσεις θνητών [Godlike representations of mortals]*, no. 25, no. 74, no. 75, with previous bibliography.

<sup>11</sup> On the gathered examples from Veroia, today at the city's Archaeological Museum, Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα από τη Βέροια [Grave Stelae and reliefs from Veroia]*, 232 (ch.4.1.1), no. 126, no. 127, no. 134; Terzopoulou, *Θεόμορφες απεικονίσεις θνητών [Godlike representations of mortals]*, no. 76, no. 77, no. 78.

<sup>12</sup> Edessa Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. 207, Terzopoulou, *Θεόμορφες απεικονίσεις θνητών [Godlike representations of mortals]*, no. 79.

<sup>13</sup> Dion, built-in a house at the modern village (without Inv. No.), cf. Terzopoulou, *Θεόμορφες απεικονίσεις θνητών [Godlike representations of mortals]*, no. 8; Karanastassis, "Untersuchungen zur kaiserzeitlichen Plastik in Griechenland. I", 289, 139.

donia (2)<sup>14</sup>. The motif shows uniformity and follows the type quite consistently.



Figure 1. Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. P64. Source: Georgia Aristodemou.

The funerary column from Thessaloniki (Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. P64) is crowned with a pinecone (Fig. 1)<sup>15</sup>. A naked child figure is depicted within a concave field, represented in frontal stance, and stepping upon a low base. He is depicted in the form of a winged Eros leaning on an inverted torch, the flame of which touches the ground. His left leg is bent and crossed in front of the fixed right leg. His left arm is hanging downwards holding a wreath. His right hand crosses his chest diagonally and his palm is resting on the left shoulder, towards which the head is inclined. The hairstyle follows idealistic models and is executed with a particularly special care. The hair forms a parting in the middle, is flanked on either side by two parallel braids, while on the left and right it falls downwards ending in two overlapping spiral strands that turn upwards. The hair is further analysed with engraved lines. The feathers of the wings are also well rendered in detail. It is dated on the second half of the 2nd or early 3rd century AD.

On the upper section and carved within a tabula ansata, there is an epigram (IG X 2, 1, no. 447), which pro-

vides us with interesting information. The deceased was Nikagoras (*Νεικαγόρα τόδε σήμα*), a boy who died at the age of fifteen (*πεντάδα τρισσαδίην ἑτέων πληροῦντι*)<sup>16</sup>. His grief stricken and mourning parents have erected the monument to honour their child who died and went to Hades (*πρὸς Ἄ<ι>δην*) and whose premature and inevitable death is accepted as a work of Fate (*ὄν λάβεν ἀτρέπτως ἀμετάτροπα νήματα μοί<ρας>*)<sup>17</sup>. Despite the initial sorrow, at the end of the epigram the parental hope seems to prevail, stating that their child will continue living even after his death (*χαῖρε δαῖ κά<ν> φθιμένοισιν· οὐ γὰ<ρ> θάνε<ς>*), and in a particularly prominent style, that is, on the side of Persephone herself, who will guard him as a companion of Hades (*ἀλλά σε Κούρη {N} | σύνθρον<ον> Ἐδωνή{H} | {H} εἰ {Eδωνή} | παρεδρι<ό>ωντι φιλᾶσ<σ>εἰ {N}*)<sup>18</sup>. This fact indicates their belief in an afterlife alongside to the goddess. Without implying any deification, it fits in the context of a funerary epigram, where these expressions have allegorical meaning and symbolic content. These lines reveal the deepest desire of people for a life after death, and they operate as consolation for the premature death (*mors immatura*) of a child.

Another interesting example is the relief of Artemidoros, son of Dionysia, of unknown provenance and today exhibited at the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki (Fig. 2)<sup>19</sup>.



Figure 2. Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. 2449. Source: Georgia Aristodemou.

A winged childlike Eros is depicted within a rectangular cavity. He follows the same statue type as the

<sup>14</sup> Mogile, built-in a house at the modern village (without Inv. No.), cf. Terzopoulou, *Θεόμορφες απεικονίσεις θνητῶν [Godlike representations of mortals]*, no. 22 (depicted with Aphrodite); Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. AMTh 199 (from Patele region), cf. Terzopoulou, no. 62.

<sup>15</sup> Wrede, *Consecratio in Formam Deorum*, 58, 203, no. 24; Terzopoulou, *Απεικονίσεις θνητῶν ὡς θεῶν [Representations of mortals as gods]*, 96, no. 74, pl.61; Dimitra Terzopoulou, *KTMΘ* 4, 562-563 no. 1180. On funerary columns, Derk W. von Moock, *Die figürlichen Grabstelen Attikas in der Kaiserzeit* (Mainz: P. v. Zabern, 1998), 53.

<sup>16</sup> On the indication of age in funerary monuments of Macedonia, cf. Ilias Sverkos and Kostantinos Sismanidis, “Δύο Επιτύμβια Επιγράμματα ἀπὸ τῆ Μακεδονία”, *Τεκμήρια* 6 (2001): 57-58, fn. 10-11.

<sup>17</sup> Anne-Marie Vérilhac, *Παῖδες ἄωροι, Poésie funéraire [Prematurely Deceased Children, Funerary Poetry]* (Athens: Publications Office of the Academy of Athens, 1982), 2: 173, 190, 352, on the association of premature death with Moirai.

<sup>18</sup> Vérilhac, *Παῖδες ἄωροι...* [Prematurely Deceased Children...], 115, no. 78, 278.

<sup>19</sup> Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. 2449, cf. Stefanidou-Tiveriou, *KTMΘ* 1, 160-161 no. 131; Terzopoulou, *Απεικονίσεις θνητῶν ὡς θεῶν [Representations of mortals as gods]*, 97, 190, no. 75, pl. 62; Terzopoulou, “Θεόμορφες απεικονίσεις θνητῶν” [Godlike representations of mortals], 152, no. 75.



previous one; his bent left leg is crossed over the fixed right leg. He holds a stylized garland-wreath in his lowered left hand. The inverted torch upon which he is resting is visible only at its lower half with its flame touching the ground. His right hand is bent on the elbow in front of the chest and rests on the left shoulder. His head leans to the left, his face is round with chubby cheeks. The hair is conventionally executed and forms a parting on top while on the sides it is freely combed in strands that are curved outwards. On the top of the head a central braid has been coarsely rendered. According to the inscription (IG X 2, 1, no. 724), a woman named Dionysia erected this monument to commemorate her son, Artemidoros, whom she chose to depict in the guise of Eros. It is a product of a local workshop and has been dated sometime between the 2nd and the 3rd century AD.

## 1.2. Eros holding an inverted torch

The second group of Eros in childlike appearance features a different posture. Here, instead of leaning on the inverted and inflamed torch, the figure is depicted standing and holding it<sup>20</sup>. This type is also well diffused in Macedonia, and examples (8) so far originate from major cities of the province, such as Thessaloniki (4)<sup>21</sup>, Veroia (3)<sup>22</sup>, and Heracleia Lyncestis (1)<sup>23</sup>.

A representative example, today exhibited at the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki (Inv. No. 2199) is of particular interest<sup>24</sup>. It has been dated at the second half of the 2nd or the beginning of the 3rd century AD (Fig. 3).

A winged Eros figure is depicted in frontal stance within a naiskos relief. He is standing on his right leg while the slightly bent left leg steps on the side. He wears a chlamys, fastened on the right shoulder, diagonally covering the chest and left shoulder, and wrapped around the left forearm, of which it falls downwards. In the lowered right hand, he holds an inverted torch, the flame of which is turned upwards on a small base. His extended left hand holds a sphere. He has a plump face with fleshy lips. The hairstyle is quite schematic; it forms a parting on top, with a coarsely rendered central braid. Thick strands frame each side of the face while their edges are curved outwards. Particularly awkward

and conventional is the coarse rendering of the wings, mainly due to the lack of space. Only a small part of the right wing is visible, which seems to follow the same direction as the left one instead of opening to the right. On the upper right side of the relief ground and in a smaller scale a winged Nike figure is depicted stepping on a globe. She wears a peplos belted under the chest. In her lowered right hand she holds a garland and with the left hand she touches Eros at his shoulder. Her hair forms a knot at the top of the head.



Figure 3. Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. 2199. Source: *KTMΘ* 4, no. 997, fig. 2499 (photo ATME 829 by Klaus-Valtin von Eickstedt).

The funerary inscription is written on the panel below the scene (IG X 2, 1, no. 698). It informs us that a certain Elenos has erected the monument for his sweet son, Neikeros (Νείκερωσ)<sup>25</sup>. The name of the deceased boy is clearly associated with his depiction as Eros and the presence of the Nike (Victory) figure alongside. What is also interesting is that he is represented not as a child, but as a young boy in puberty, an adolescent. The muscular body, the chlamys, the sphere that he holds, all describe an epebe, either attending the Gymnasium, or even having won at a certain Game (the presence of Nike adds to that). The figure of Nike with the sphere is known to be a key-role motif in the Imperial iconography, each time carrying specific connotations and symbolisms having to do with triumph and victory after the military campaigns. In funerary monuments, Nike may here stand as a symbol of a victory against death, or even as a guarantor that the deceased will not be deprived of the peace and happiness that they deserve.

Another relief that probably originates from Thessaloniki is today kept at the city's Archaeological Museum (Inv. No. 1298) (Fig. 4).

<sup>20</sup> Terzopoulou, *Απεικονίσεις θνητών ως θεών* [*Representations of mortals as gods*], 99-103.

<sup>21</sup> Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. 2199 (unknown provenance), Inv. No. 1298 (unknown Provenance, perhaps Thessaloniki), Inv. No. P1 and Louvre Museum, MND 307, cf. Terzopoulou, "Θεόμορφες απεικονίσεις θνητών" ["Godlike representations of mortals"], 138, no. 80, no. 81, no. 82, no. 83.

<sup>22</sup> Veroia Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. AMB Λ195, Inv. No. AMB Λ212, Inv. No. AMB Λ580, cf. Terzopoulou, "Θεόμορφες απεικονίσεις θνητών" ["Godlike representations of mortals"], no. 16, no. 84, no. 85. Also, Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα από τη Βέρουα* [*Grave Stelae and reliefs from Veroia*], 232, no. 105, no. 115, no. 121, no. 44 (Upper Macedonia).

<sup>23</sup> Bitola, Naroden Museum, without Inv. No., cf. Wrede, *Consecratio in Formam Deorum*, 252, no. 152; Terzopoulou, "Θεόμορφες απεικονίσεις θνητών" ["Godlike representations of mortals"], no. 44.

<sup>24</sup> Düll, "Die Götterdarstellungen auf makedonischen Grabstelen", 128, fn. 66; *LIMC* 3, 931, s.v. "Eros", no. 981 by Antione Hermay et al.; Terzopoulou, *Απεικονίσεις θνητών ως θεών* [*Representations of mortals as gods*], 99-100, 192 no. 80, pl. 66; Terzopoulou, "Θεόμορφες απεικονίσεις θνητών" ["Godlike representations of mortals"], 152, no. 80; Terzopoulou, *KTMΘ* 4, 340-341 no. 997.

<sup>25</sup> Terzopoulou, *Απεικονίσεις θνητών ως θεών* [*Representations of mortals as gods*], 99-100, 193, no. 81, pl. 67; Terzopoulou, "Θεόμορφες απεικονίσεις θνητών" ["Godlike representations of mortals"], 152, no. 81.



Figure 4. Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum, Inv. No.1298. Source: Terzopoulou, *Απεικονίσεις θνητών ως θεών* [*Representations of mortals as gods*], pl. 66.

At the centre of a rectangular concave frame, it features the portrait head of a boy with short curly hair that surrounds his forehead and reach to the middle of the ears. He has a round face with plump cheeks, a pointed chin, and almond-shaped eyes with wide, plastic rendered eyelids. The distinguishing feature is the two winged cupids that flank the central portrait. They are depicted naked and in frontal stance, being supported on their left leg. Each hold inverted and lit torches on their lowered right-hand. Their left hand is not visible. They too have a plump body and face, while their neck is almost non-existent. Their wings are almost engraved, perhaps due to the lack of space. Their hairstyle is idealistic. The Eros figure on the right has long wavy hair with a braid on top, while the left one has short curly hair. There is no inscription, therefore we know nothing about the deceased boy or his family. Based on the hairstyle of the boy portrait, it has been dated at the 2nd century AD.

Among the products of the Veroia sculptural workshop, the following example is today kept at the local Archaeological Museum (Inv. No. AMB Λ212) (Fig. 5)<sup>26</sup>.

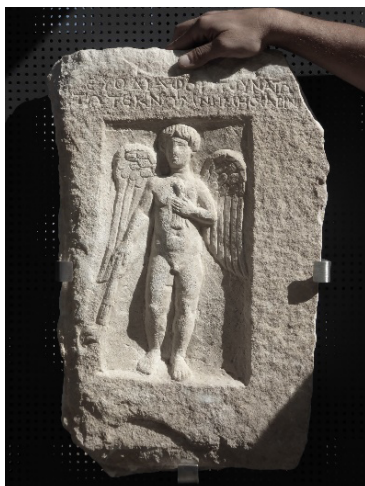


Figure 5. Veroia, Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. Λ212. Source: Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα από τη Βέροια* [*Grave Stelae and reliefs from Veroia*], 115.

<sup>26</sup> EKM 1, Veroia, 273 no. 239, cf. Terzopoulou, *Απεικονίσεις θνητών ως θεών* [*Representations of mortals as gods*], 102, 194, no. 84, pl. 70; Terzopoulou, “Θεόμορφες απεικονίσεις θνητών” [“Godlike representations of mortals”], no. 84; Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα από τη Βέροια* [*Grave Stelae and reliefs from Veroia*], 412, no. 115.

Within a rectangular cavity, a standing male figure is depicted in frontal stance. He is supported on his left leg while the right leg is slightly bent backwards. With his lowered right hand he holds an inverted torch, the flame of which extends out of the frame. His left arm bends in front of the chest holding something that looks like a dove. The face of the figure is oval, but the facial features are damaged. The hairstyle is not exactly idealistic; it consists of long crescent like strands combed forwardly and forming a braid above the forehead. The wings are in a steep relief, almost engraved, solely to give a sense of proportion. The relief has been dated at the second half of the 2nd century AD, and according to the inscription (EKM 1, Beroia 239=SEG 35.718) it was set up by Euodia, in the memory of her deceased son, Fortunatus, who is here depicted in the guise of Eros. A similar example comes from Thessaloniki (Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. P1), see discussed below (Fig. 7).

### 1.3. Sleeping Eros

A third, equally important iconographical type is the one where an Eros figure having the proportions of a small child, that is, with a chubby body and limbs and a relatively large head, is depicted lying on his left side upon a plinth that imitates natural rock. This type appears in art during the Hellenistic period, when the original model was probably created<sup>27</sup>, and becomes particularly diffused in the Roman period<sup>28</sup>.

The sleeping Eros appears in three basic statue subtypes: The most frequent type is the so-called *New York Eros*, named after the bronze copy, today kept at the Metropolitan Museum of New York<sup>29</sup>. The attributes held by this type are the bow, the quiver and the wreath (some copies are also holding drinking cups, garland-wreaths, or poppies). It was first published by G. Richter as an original Hellenistic sculpture, or a very close to it copy dated between 250 and 150 BC. A recent research supports Richter’s identification of the statue as a Hellenistic work, but also makes apparent that it was restored in antiquity, most likely in the early Imperial period<sup>30</sup>. Apart from its funerary use, from the Julian-Claudian dynasty onwards the type has been widely used as a decorative figure in gardens, villas and fountains, both in the Eastern and the Western

<sup>27</sup> Stuveras, *Le putto dans l’art romain*, 5, 127, fn. 432; LIMC 3 937, s.v. “Eros” by Antoine Hermary et al.; Magdalene Söldner, *Untersuchungen zu liegenden Erosen in der hellenistischen und römischen Kunst* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Verlag, 1986), 127, fn. 432; Terzopoulou, *Απεικονίσεις θνητών ως θεών* [*Representations of mortals as gods*], 103-108.

<sup>28</sup> Söldner, *Untersuchungen zu liegenden Erosen*, 107, 113, 203; Aikaterini Romiopoulou, “Πτηνοί Έρωτες ύπνω εϋδοντες” [“Winged Erotes sleeping their sleep”], *Eulimene* 2 (2001): 93-96.

<sup>29</sup> Gisela Richter, “A Bronze Eros”, *American Journal of Archaeology* 47, no. 4 (1943): 118-125; Söldner, *Untersuchungen zu liegenden Erosen*, 316; Jean Sorabella, “Eros and the Lizard: Children, Animals, and Roman Funerary Sculpture”, *Hesperia Supplements*, 41 (2007): 353-355.

<sup>30</sup> Seán Hemingway and Richard E. Stone, “The New York Sleeping Eros: A Hellenistic Statue and Its Ancient Restoration”, *Technè* 45 (2017): 46-63.



part of the Empire<sup>31</sup>. On this account, several scholars suggested that perhaps the bronze original had a spouting function<sup>32</sup>. Examples of sleeping Eros figures as fountain decoration in the Greek provinces are plenty, among them the pair from the Delphi theatre<sup>33</sup> (Fig. 6) or the Hadrianic Eros at the National Archaeological Museum in Athens (Inv. No. 5753), depicted sleeping on a rocky plinth<sup>34</sup>.



Figure 6. Delphi, Archaeological Museum (from the theatre). Eros in the New York type. Fountain sculpture. Source: Georgia Aristodemou.

The second sub-type is known as *Eros Malibu* and is delivered to us in several repetitions and variations, mainly in terms of the legs position<sup>35</sup>. Among the symbolic objects that he holds, poppy capsules are characteristic and associate him with Sleep.

The third sub-type is known as *Eros of the Newby Hall*<sup>36</sup>. The majority of copies of this type come from Greece and Asia Minor, which may suggest that the original work should be sought in the Eastern Mediterranean region<sup>37</sup>. It depicts an Eros figure in childlike appearance lying on three-quarters to his left side. His thighs are placed parallel to each other while the shins are slightly bent and crossed. His left hand is bent at the elbow and his palm supports the inclined head. His left side is resting on the left wing. His right hand crosses the chest diagonally holding a branch of poppies. The figure is naked and wears only the chlamys, which is pinned to the right shoulder directed to the left. His eyes are usually closed. His hair forms a braid that runs along the parting on the top of the head, while on the sides it is combed in long and slightly curling locks. The objects held by the figure are a combination of the already known symbols of Eros, that is the quiver and the bow, along with the symbols of Sleep, them being the poppy and the lizard<sup>38</sup>. The Newby Hall Eros is dated in the Flavian era, during the 1st century AD<sup>39</sup>, whereas its original should be considered an earlier work, sometime during the reign of Nero (being posterior of the Eros of New York)<sup>40</sup>. Copies of the Newby Hall Eros are also found in public and private spaces, as decorative sculptures in gardens, villas, fountains or as votive offerings in sanctuaries, which indicates that initially this type too, was not of a funerary character<sup>41</sup>.

One might consider that fountain sculptures of sleeping Eros figures are irrelevant as regards their association with the afterlife. However, this is hardly the case. Fountain sculpture of sleeping Putti fall well into the eschatological sphere. Primarily, due to their organic connection with water which has been associated with the underworld and has been ascribed with chthonic qualities, eschatological beliefs and the powers of prophesy and magic<sup>42</sup>. Water running from the plinth or the vessel equals the very source of life, whereas, at the same time, as Ovid describes in his *Metamorphoses* (XI,603:

<sup>31</sup> On sleeping Erotes as fountain figures from the Eastern provinces, Georgia Aristodemou, *Ο Γλυπτός Διάκοσμος Νυμφαίων και Κρηνών στο Ανατολικό Τμήμα της Ρωμαϊκής Αυτοκρατορίας [Sculptural Decoration of Nymphaea and Fountains in the Eastern Part of the Roman Empire]* (Thessaloniki: K. Sfakianaki Publications, 2012), 109-111 nos. 13-14 (Delphi), no. 215 (Amisus), no. 218 (Tarsus), no. 357 (Paphos). On sleeping Erotes as fountain figures from the Western provinces, Söldner, *Untersuchungen zu liegenden Erosen*, 291-305, 601, no. 12, fig. 13-17 (London), 609 no. 25 (Rome), 612, no. 30, fig. 34 (Vatican, variation), 615, no. 35, fig. 19 (Venice). For a discussion on sleeping Erotes from Hispania (particularly, the region of Cordoba), Maria-Luisa Loza Azuaga, and Daniel Botella Ortega, "Escultura Roman de Eros Dormido de Lucena (Córdoba)", *Mainake* 32 no. 2 (2010): 991-1006.

<sup>32</sup> Söldner further believes that copies of the type where the water source is on the rocky plinth are closer to the original, whereas the spouting amphora is a later addition by the copiests, Söldner, *Untersuchungen zu liegenden Erosen*, 296, 322. On its spouting function, also Georgios Bakalakis, "Satyros an einer Quelle gelagert", *Antike Kunst* 9 (1966): 21, and Karl Lehmann and Phyllis Williams Lehmann, *Samoethracian Reflections* (Princeton: University Press, 1973), 189, fn. 9.

<sup>33</sup> Aristodemou, *Ο Γλυπτός Διάκοσμος Νυμφαίων και Κρηνών [Sculptural Decoration of Nymphaea and Fountains]*, 109-111, 288, nos. 13-14.

<sup>34</sup> Romiopolou, "Πτηνοί Ἐρωτες ὕπνῳ εἰδόντες" ["Winged Erotes sleeping their sleep"], 94 no. 2, fig. 3-4; Aristodemou, *Ο Γλυπτός Διάκοσμος Νυμφαίων και Κρηνών [Sculptural Decoration of Nymphaea and Fountains]*, 109-111, 286, no. 6, pl. 2.1.

<sup>35</sup> The homonymous copy is kept today at the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu (Inv. No. 73.AA.95), Söldner, *Untersuchungen zu liegenden Erosen*, 90, 310, 625, no. 52, fig. 55-57 (on the type), nos. 49-64 (on the copies).

<sup>36</sup> On the original, Söldner, *Untersuchungen zu liegenden Erosen*, 107, 113, 645-646, no. 90; Aristodemou, *Ο Γλυπτός Διάκοσμος Νυμφαίων και Κρηνών [Sculptural Decoration of Nymphaea and Fountains]*, 110.

<sup>37</sup> Apart from the original copy in Newby Hall, some of the best-known copies come from Athens, Crete (Agios Nikolaos and Herakleion), Smyrna and Cyrene, cf. Söldner, *Untersuchungen zu liegenden Erosen*, 317, 642, nos. 84-96; Aristodemou, *Ο Γλυπτός Διάκοσμος Νυμφαίων και Κρηνών [Sculptural Decoration of Nymphaea and Fountains]*, 110.

<sup>38</sup> Söldner, *Untersuchungen zu liegenden Erosen*, 315; Sorabella, "Eros and the Lizard", 356-357, fig. 19.4.

<sup>39</sup> Söldner, *Untersuchungen zu liegenden Erosen*, 108-109.

<sup>40</sup> Söldner, 111-113; LIMC 3, 916, s.v. "Eros", no. 780 by Antoine Hermay et al. Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens*, 43-44.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. a late Antonine fountain sculpture with Eros of the Newby Hall type, sleeping in a shell held by the Dionysiac Thiasos, from Gortyn, today in the Louvre Museum, Söldner, *Untersuchungen zu liegenden Erosen*, 646, no. 92, figs. 95-96; Aristodemou, *Ο Γλυπτός Διάκοσμος Νυμφαίων και Κρηνών [Sculptural Decoration of Nymphaea and Fountains]*, 110, 368, no. 352, pl. 48.9.

<sup>42</sup> On the magical and prophetic powers water assumes while ascending from the ground, Martin Ninck, *Die Bedeutung des Wassers im Kult und Leben der Alten; Eine symbolgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Leipzig: Dieterich, 1921), 47-99; Also, on the internal connection of water with certain deities, Aristodemou, *Ο Γλυπτός Διάκοσμος Νυμφαίων και Κρηνών [Sculptural Decoration of Nymphaea and Fountains]*, 49, 211 (Nymphs), 214-215 (Eros), 221 (Apollo), 224 (Muses).

“...saxo tamen exit ab imo rivus aquae Lethes...” it is transformed to the symbol of Oblivion<sup>43</sup>. Apart from this, evidence exist of fountain sculpture of sleeping Putti being placed in burial grounds, or carry funerary epigrams<sup>44</sup>, as well as of funerary epigrams that describe Eros figures sleeping into idyllic landscapes<sup>45</sup>.

Sculpture of reclining and sleeping Eros figure are known in Macedonia region, both in secular and in funerary contexts. Those of funerary use derive mainly from major cities of the province, such as Thessaloniki (3)<sup>46</sup> and Veroia (1)<sup>47</sup>.

The funerary altar from Thessaloniki (Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. P1) features two different statue types of Eros (Fig. 7)<sup>48</sup>. On the upper and larger zone there is a winged Eros in frontal stance. With his right hand he is holding the inverted torch downwards, and with his bent left hand a bird, probably a dove. The lower rectangular zone carries a reclining Eros, resting on a rocky landscape, reproducing the Newby Hall type quite faithfully. His right hand is hanging diagonally in front of his chest and holds two poppies, whilst his left hand supports his head. It has been dated at the second half of the 2nd century AD. According to the inscription (IG X 2, 1, no. 810) this altar is erected by Dekmia, in the name of her sweetest sons (τοῖς γλυκυτάτοις τέκνοις), Chariton and Bithinikos (Χαρίτωνι καὶ Βιθύν<ι>κῶ), who apparently are the ones here depicted as Erotes.

An example of special importance is to be found on a sarcophagus, today exhibited at the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki (Inv. No. 4544) (Fig. 8)<sup>49</sup>.



Figure 7. Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum. Inv. No. P1. Source: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports.



Figure 8. Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum. Inv. No. 4544. Source: Georgia Aristodemou.

The sarcophagus lid has the form of a kline covered in lion skin upon which a winged Eros is depicted lying to his left side. The lion skin, a carrier of the divine qualities and virtues of Heracles, has been suggested to symbolise the prevalence of Eros, or Youth, upon the powers of Nature<sup>50</sup>. He follows the type of Eros Newby Hall, with slight variations. Eros is naked and does not wear the characteristic chlamys. Equally interesting is that the figure is not depicted as an infant, but as a young boy with his head turning slightly to the left and upwards. This sculpture consists a rare example of a sleeping Eros figure featuring a portrait head. The face is oval, with an almost triangular chin. The hair does not exactly follow the typical Eros hairstyle-it is short and consists of relatively long crescent like locks. The inscription (IG X 2, 1, no. 573bis) points out that the monument was erected by

<sup>43</sup> Aristodemou, *Ο Γλυπτός Διάκοσμος Νυμφαίων και Κρηνών* [*Sculptural Decoration of Nymphaea and Fountains*], 215.

<sup>44</sup> Söldner, *Untersuchungen zu liegenden Eroten*, 127, fn. 484.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Andrzej Wypustek, “The Sleep of Eros in a Funerary Epigram from Tomis (Peek, Griechische Vers-Inschriften no. 1942)”, in *Within the Circle of Ancient Ideas and Virtues. Studies in Honour of Professor Maria Dzielska*, eds. Kamilla Twardowska, Maciej Salamon, Sławomir Sprawski, Michał Stachura, and Stanisław Turlej (Kraków: Historia Iagellonica, 2014), 77-84, mainly 83, fn. 24; Reinhold Merkelbach and Josef Stauber, *Steinepigramme aus dem Griechischen Osten* (München-Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 2000), no. 11/07/04 and no. 11/09/03.

<sup>46</sup> Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. P1, Inv. No. 4544, Inv. No. 1761, Cf. Terzopoulou, “Θεόμορφες απεικονίσεις θνητών” [“Godlike representations of mortals”], 139, no. 83, no. 87, no. 88.

<sup>47</sup> Veroia, Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. Λ947, cf. Terzopoulou, “Θεόμορφες απεικονίσεις θνητών” [“Godlike representations of mortals”], 139, no. 89; Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα από τη Βέροια* [*Grave Stelae and reliefs from Veroia*], 411, no. 114.

<sup>48</sup> Konrad Schauenburg, “Porträts auf römischen Sarkophagen”, in *Eikones: Studien zum griechischen und römischen Bildnis*, eds. Rolf A. Stucky and Ines Jucker (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1980), 158, pl. 52.3; Wrede, *Consecratio in Formam Deorum*, 202, no. 21, pl. 4; Söldner, *Untersuchungen zu liegenden Eroten*, 648, no. 95; *LIMC* 3, 931, s.v. “Eros”, no. 982 by Antoine Hermary et al.; *LIMC* 5, 594, s.v. “Hypnos/Somnus”, no. 13 by Catherine Lochin; Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί* [*Macedonian Altars*], 188, no. 160, pl. 96; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens*, 239-240, fig. 55; Terzopoulou, *Απεικονίσεις θνητών ως θεών* [*Representations of mortals as gods*], 105, 194, no. 83, pl. 69.

<sup>49</sup> Wrede, *Consecratio in Formam Deorum*, 198, no. 7, pl. 5.1; Schauenburg, “Porträts auf römischen Sarkophagen”, 158, pl. 52.3; Koch and Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage*, 354, fig. 382; Söldner, *Untersuchungen zu liegenden Eroten*, 692-693, no. 174, fig. 159; *LIMC* 3, 931, s.v. “Eros”, no. 982 by Antoine Hermary et al.; Terzopoulou, *Απεικονίσεις θνητών ως θεών* [*Representations of mortals as gods*], 105-106, 195 no. 87, pl.73; Terzopoulou, “Θεόμορφες απεικονίσεις θνητών” [“Godlike representations of mortals”], 152 no. 87, fig. 9.

<sup>50</sup> On the iconography and role of Heracles figures in a reclining and sleeping posture, cf. Aristodemou, *Ο Γλυπτός Διάκοσμος Νυμφαίων και Κρηνών* [*Sculptural Decoration of Nymphaea and Fountains*], 148-149, 233-234. On sleeping Eros figures from Cordoba region adopting some of the virtues of Heracles, Loza Azuaga, and Botella Ortega, “Escultura Roman de Eros Dormido”, 996, fn. 16.



Korragos for both his grandson, Pyrrias, and his son-in-law who have both died within a period of few months. The sarcophagus dates to AD 160/161.

Another example of the Newby Hall type Eros is depicted on a funerary relief, again from Thessaloniki (Archaeological Museum Inv. No. 1761) (Fig. 9)<sup>51</sup>.



Figure 9. Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum. Inv. No. 1761. Source: *KTMΘ* 2, fig. 1001 (photo ΑΓΜΕ 441 by Klaus-Valtin von Eickstedt).

The childlike wingless Eros is resting on his left side towards the viewer. His left arm supports the head, whereas the right hand is resting on the bended right knee. His legs are crossed. The facial characteristics are worn. The hair is combed on either side in long curly locks. Based on technical details the relief was probably embedded in a larger funerary monument. According to the inscription (IG X 2, 1, no. 888) we are informed that a certain Aurelius Aiutor (Αὐρήλιος Αἰούτωρ) has erected this monument in the name of his son, Aurelius Alexander, who died at the age of five<sup>52</sup>. Both father and son are named Aurelius, an indication that the monument is dated after the Constitutio Antoniniana (AD 212).

A rectangular stela from the Rahi village of the Ematheia district, today in the Archaeological Museum of Veroia (AMB Λ947) features two different statue types of Eros (Fig. 10)<sup>53</sup>.

It is divided in two large panels and crowned with a gable within which two winged Putti are depicted holding an imago clipeata with the bust of a boy, a motif frequent in the Italian funerary reliefs<sup>54</sup>. The upper panel carries the portrait busts of an elderly couple. The lower panel includes three figures. A female of the Pudicitia type and a himation bearer male are placed at the edges flanking the central figure. The latter is depicted in the form of a winged Eros, reclining on his left towards the viewer. His right hand crosses the chest towards the

left shoulder, while the left hand is bent on the elbow supporting the torso. His legs extend sideways with the right one crossed over the left. His hair is analysed in curly locks and a central plait running vertical at the top of the head. It has been dated at the third half of the 2nd century AD. According to the inscription on the acroteria, Lycoleon and Theonoe are still living (thus, we suppose that the monument refers to their future burial), whereas the name Neonas, written on the central taenia, refers probably to their child's burial<sup>55</sup>. The suggestion is that all family members are depicted twice: the parents as busts at the upper panel, and as the small-scale figures flanking the reclining Eros and the deceased child both in the tondo and in the lower panel. According to Terzopoulou and Söldner, the hand motif varies from the Newby Hall type and refers to a series of figures characterised as Hypnos (Sleep) and date around the second half of the 1st century BC<sup>56</sup>. These figures are depicted with their wings lowered and their eyes closed (although here the figure has his eyes opened).

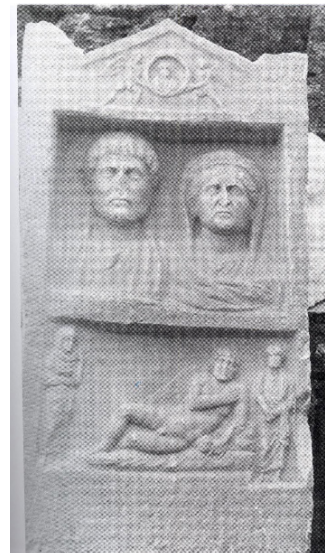


Figure 10. Veroia, Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. AMB Λ947. Source: Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα από τη Βέροια* [Grave Stelae and reliefs from Veroia], 114 with figure.

Based on the monuments found, most scholars accept Eros Newby Hall as the type most associated with the funerary use<sup>57</sup>. As J. Sorabella comments, what mostly diversifies New York Eros from the Newby Hall Eros is that the latter presents a more emotional relation with the objects that surround him<sup>58</sup>. While the New

<sup>51</sup> Emmanouel Voutiras, *KTMΘ* 2, 238-239, no. 321, fig. 1001; Terzopoulou, *Απεικονίσεις θνητών ως θεών* [Representations of mortals as gods], 106, 195-196, no. 88, pl.74.

<sup>52</sup> Also, on Charles Avezou and Charles Picard, "Inscriptions de Macédoine et de Thrace", *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique* 37 (1913): 104, no. 15.

<sup>53</sup> Terzopoulou, *Απεικονίσεις θνητών ως θεών* [Representations of mortals as gods], 196, no. 89, pl.75; Terzopoulou, "Θεόμορφες απεικονίσεις θνητών" ["Godlike representations of mortals"], 152, no. 89; Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα από τη Βέροια* [Grave Stelae and reliefs from Veroia], 411, no. 114 with fig.

<sup>54</sup> Koch and Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage*, 207, no. 283-285.

<sup>55</sup> Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα από τη Βέροια* [Grave Stelae and reliefs from Veroia], 411.

<sup>56</sup> Söldner, *Untersuchungen zu liegenden Erotten*, 96-103, 314-315; LIMC 5, 595, s.v. "Hypnos/Somnus", no. 20-24 by Catherine Lochin; Terzopoulou, *Απεικονίσεις θνητών ως θεών* [Representations of mortals as gods], 107. Cf. the similar figure in a sarcophagus from Lydia depicting a reclining inscribed as Eternal Sleep. Koch and Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage*, 521, no. 512.

<sup>57</sup> Söldner, *Untersuchungen zu liegenden Erotten*, 107-116; LIMC 5, 595, no. 25 s.v. "Hypnos/Somnus" by Catherine Lochin.

<sup>58</sup> Sorabella, "Eros and the Lizard", 357.



York Eros is giving emphasis in divinity, the later variations, here the Newby Hall Eros, show a shift of balance towards humanity<sup>59</sup>.

#### 1.4. Eros in standing postures holding various symbols

Apart from the torch, Eros figures also appear holding various other objects, such as grapes<sup>60</sup>, birds or both. According to Haidebroek-Soldner, the type in which infant Eros figures hold a bunch of grapes in one hand and a bird in front of the chest, firstly appears in the middle of the 1st century AD in funerary reliefs of Italy and it soon became widely spread in the provinces<sup>61</sup>. These motifs refer primarily to the children's daily lives and activities.

Doves were birds familiar to people, living in towns and flying all over, also bred by people in designated areas. Primarily, one comprehends doves as part of the daily life of children, as symbols of the carefree play of childhood. Epigraphical evidence of the 2nd century AD attest doves as animals that children enjoyed playing with<sup>62</sup>. Secondly, it seems to be a multidimensional motif, as most symbols on funerary monuments are. The bird motif held by children makes its first appearance in Greek tombstones as early as the middle of the 5th century BC, whereas it appears in Roman funerary monuments by the Late Republican period<sup>63</sup>. Doves are also the designated sacred birds of Aphrodite, a goddess closely related with Eros<sup>64</sup>. According to other views, doves embody the soul of the deceased who flies to eternity<sup>65</sup>. When held by children, doves reflect the hope of parents that their children will continue enjoying a care-free and happy life even after their unjust death<sup>66</sup>.

Grapes, when held by Eros may either refer to everyday life or suggest his participation at the Bacchic Comus as a member of the Dionysiac Thiasos<sup>67</sup>. Grapes and the vine are distinct symbols of Dionysus, and there is an entire group of sarcophagi decorated with Putti in scenes of vine harvest<sup>68</sup>. According to some scholars, children depicted holding grapes in their burial monuments might have died after the Anthesteria, the great Dionysiac Festival that celebrated two seemingly disparate things,

the wine and the dead<sup>69</sup>. During the Choes day, children around the age of three were allowed to participate, they were crowned with wreaths, they received gifts, and they held miniature pitchers (the choes, which occasionally were placed into the graves of children who have died prematurely). Through this ritual, the children were placed under the protection of Dionysus<sup>70</sup>. Most likely, the appearance of grapes in children relief depictions expresses the parental hope that their deceased children will enjoy the protection of Dionysus, regardless of whether they had been dedicated to Dionysus, or not<sup>71</sup>.

As regards the Macedonia region, in two of the few so far existing monuments from Veroia, the stelae of Fortunatus (fig. 5) and Alexandra's<sup>72</sup>, the standing Eros is presented holding a dove on his bent left hand. Similarly, the standing Eros at the stela of Dekmia from Thessaloniki (fig. 7)<sup>73</sup>, is also holding a dove in front of his chest. In another relief from Thessaloniki (Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. 2338)<sup>74</sup>, a standing winged Eros holds something that could be recognised as a little dove in front of his chest and an object, which looks like a bunch of grapes or a wreath in his lowered left hand (Fig. 11).



Figure 11. Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum, Inv. No 2338. Source: *KΓΜΘ* 4, no. 996 fig. 2500 (photo ΑΓΜΕ 738 by Klaus-Valtin von Eickstedt).

<sup>59</sup> Sorabella, 357.

<sup>60</sup> Bitola, Naroden Museum, IG X 2, 2, 1, no. 126, pl. 15; Düll, *Die Götterkulte Nordmakedoniens in römischer Zeit*, 332-333, no. 115; Wrede, *Consecratio in Formam Deorum*, 252, no. 152; Terzopoulou, *Απεικονίσεις θνητών ως θεών [Representations of mortals as gods]*, 108, 196, no. 44, pl. 37.

<sup>61</sup> Eva Haidebroek-Soldner, *Die Traube auf hellenistischen und kaiserzeitlichen Grabdenkmälern* (Hamburg: Kovac, Dr. Verlag, 2004), 59-60, 140.

<sup>62</sup> Haidebroek-Soldner, *Die Traube auf hellenistischen und kaiserzeitlichen Grabdenkmälern*, 140.

<sup>63</sup> Haidebroek-Soldner, 140-141.

<sup>64</sup> Jocelyn M. C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1971), 258-259; Haidebroek-Soldner, *Die Traube auf hellenistischen und kaiserzeitlichen Grabdenkmälern*, 141-142.

<sup>65</sup> Haidebroek-Soldner, 143-145.

<sup>66</sup> Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Nordmakedoniens*, 45-46; *LIMC* 3, 1046-1047, s.v. "Eros/Amor", "Cupido" by Nicole Blanc and Françoise Gury.

<sup>67</sup> Stuveras, *Le putto dans l'art romain*, 15.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Robert Turcan, *Les sarcophages romains à représentations dionysiaques*; Doris Bielefeld, *Stadrömische Erosen-Sarkophage* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1997); Eleni Papagianni, *Attische Sarkophage Mit Erosen Und Girlanden* (Wiesbaden: Franz Phillip Rutzen, 2016).

<sup>69</sup> The festival lasted three days, from the 11th-13th of the month of Anthesterion, each day of which was given a special name: the Pithoigia, the Choes and Chytroi, cf. Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), 237-241; Herbert W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians. Aspects of Greek and Roman Life* (Ithaca-New York: Cornell University Press, 1990), 107-124, 110-116 (on Choes); During the Imperial period, more festivals in honor of Dionysus corresponding to the Athenian ones, were launched in the Eastern provinces, cf. Annette Mercky, *Römische Grabreliefs und Sarkophage auf den Kykladen* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1995), 93-94.

<sup>70</sup> Eva Haidebroek-Soldner (*Die Traube auf hellenistischen und kaiserzeitlichen Grabdenkmälern*, 146) argues that during the Imperial period it did not matter whether children had taken part in the festival or not. Also, von Moock, *Die figürlichen Grabstelen Attikas in der Kaiserzeit*, 67-68, no. 320, pl. 49a (Athens).

<sup>71</sup> Haidebroek-Soldner, *Die Traube auf hellenistischen und kaiserzeitlichen Grabdenkmälern*, 153; Terzopoulou, *Απεικονίσεις θνητών ως θεών [Representations of mortals as gods]*, 109-110.

<sup>72</sup> Veroia, Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. AMB A195 and Inv. No. AMB A212, Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα από τη Βέροια [Grave Stelae and reliefs from Veroia]*, 412 no. 115 and 418, no. 121 (with Aphrodite).

<sup>73</sup> Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. P1. Adam-Veleni, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί [Macedonian Altars]*, 188, no. 160, pl. 96; Terzopoulou, *Απεικονίσεις θνητών ως θεών [Representations of mortals as gods]*, 193, no. 83.

<sup>74</sup> Terzopoulou, *Απεικονίσεις θνητών ως θεών [Representations of mortals as gods]*, 110, 197 no. 90 pl.78; Terzopoulou, *KΓΜΘ* 4, 339-340, no. 996, fig. 2500.

His face is round and chubby. He has the characteristic hairstyle of Eros figures, that is with a central braid along the hair parting, whereas the rest of the hair runs down the neck forming locks that curve inwards. According to the inscription (IG X 2, 1, no. 709) it was erected by Neikiso in the memory of her son, Aristolykos, who is here depicted as Eros. The relief is dated at the 2nd century AD<sup>75</sup>.

One last relief of this group comes from Amphipolis and is exhibited today at the Archaeological Museum of Kavala (Inv. No. Α128) (Fig. 12)<sup>76</sup>.



Figure 12. Kavala, Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. 128. Source: Georgia Aristodemou.

Within a square cavity, a young Eros figure is depicted winged and in frontal stance, supported on his fixed left leg, whereas his right is slightly bent outwards. At his extended right hand, he is holding a bunch of grapes, and at his lowered left hand an unidentified object, perhaps a loose falling garland. On grounds of artistic execution, the relief is of rather inferior quality, being a product of a local workshop. This is visible in the rendering of the body and the wings which are uplifted in a peculiar manner. Additionally, the facial features are almost engraved, not sculpted, and the hair is rather wig-like. Additionally, the objects held are rather disproportionately large compared to his size. The inscription informs us that Chrysis and Ajax, probably the parents, erected this relief for their child, here presented as Eros. The relief has been dated at the 3rd century AD.

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The above discussion dealt with childlike Eros figures represented in various postures (leaning on torches or holding them, reclining and sleeping, or standing), sometimes imitating the manners of adults, both humans and divine, and generally carrying various attributes

(torches, garlands, wreaths, poppies, lizards), each time charged with different connotations and leading to different interpretations.

The torches, that Eros holds or leans on, carry a funerary symbolism, being related to the funerary and burial rituals<sup>77</sup>. It has also been suggested that torch light had an apotropaic power and repelled evil spirits. Torches were placed at either side of the deceased in their funerary bed, while torchbearers accompanied the funerary procession. It was initially believed that all funerary processions took place during the night (hence, the need for candles and torches)<sup>78</sup>. Indeed, this was the case at the beginning-and, later, either in cases of children dying prematurely (*funus acerbus*) or during the funerary processions (*translationes cadaveris*)<sup>79</sup>. On this account, it is believed that the frequent presence of torches in the burial ceremonies of prematurely deceased children turns them to symbols of premature death and it is therefore natural to be used as a motif on children's gravestones<sup>80</sup>.

The torch motif probably had not emerge from the funerary art, nor it is connected exclusively with it<sup>81</sup>. The absence of Eros with the inverted torch from the Classical and Hellenistic funerary reliefs supports the hypothesis that originally had not a funerary character<sup>82</sup>. The torch was generally a source of light and was associated with a variety of activities, such as weddings, festivals, games, or it could be used as a weapon, as a symbol of life and as a cultic object<sup>83</sup>. It is also an attribute of the Dionysiac Thiasos, and in this case Erotes are perceived as followers of Dionysus and participants of the Bacchic Dance (Comus)<sup>84</sup>. In the 2nd century AD, Filostratos the Senior, in his *Imagines* (I, 2) describes a scene where the young Comus (Κῶμος) is so exhausted and drunk that he falls asleep leaning on his torch which is held downwards so that the flame will not get him burnt. Therefore, Eros figures holding torches represented on round sculpture, table supports, murals and mosaics from private establishments should be seen within the context of the Bacchic Comus and should be interpreted as reflecting the joyful situations and earthly

<sup>77</sup> Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens*, 42; Söldner, *Untersuchungen zu liegenden Erosen*, 323; Schauenburg, "Porträts auf römischen Sarkophagen", 156.

<sup>78</sup> Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World*, 46; Jean Prieur, *La mort dans l'antiquité romaine* (Rayon: Ouest-France, 1986), 21.

<sup>79</sup> Pierre Boyancé, "Funus Acerbum", *Revue des Études Anciennes* 54 (1952): 275-289. On premature death of children, Vérilhac, *Παίδες ἄσοποι...* [*Prematurely Deceased Children...*], 149, 154; Stefan Schruppf, *Bestattung und Bestattungswesen im Römischen Reich* (Bonn: Bonn University Press, 2006), 41, fn. 102; Terzopoulou, *Απεικονίσεις θνητῶν ὡς θεῶν* [*Representations of mortals as gods*], 92.

<sup>80</sup> Boyancé, "Funus Acerbum", 281; Janet Huskinson, *Roman Children Sarcophagi. Their Decoration and its Social Significance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 95-96; Terzopoulou, *Απεικονίσεις θνητῶν ὡς θεῶν* [*Representations of mortals as gods*], 92.

<sup>81</sup> Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens*, 41, no. 4; Koch and Sichterhmann, *Römische Sarkophage*, 207, 147, 148, no. 162, no. 164.

<sup>82</sup> *LIMC* 3, 938-939, s.v. "Eros" by Antoine Hermary et al.

<sup>83</sup> *LIMC* 3, 941, s.v. "Eros" by Antoine Hermary et al.; *LIMC* 3, 1048, s.v. "Eros/Amor", "Cupido" by Nicole Blanc and Françoise Gury.

<sup>84</sup> Stuveras, *Le putto dans l'art romain*, 33-34; Stefanidou-Tiveriou, *Τραπεζοφόρα Με Πλαστική Διακόσμηση* [*Table supports with sculptural decoration*], 200-201; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens*, 40-41.

<sup>75</sup> Wrede, *Consecratio in Formam Deorum*, 202, no. 20.

<sup>76</sup> Wrede, 204, no. 28; Heidebroek-Soldner, *Die Traube auf hellenistischen und kaiserzeitlichen Grabdenkmälern*, 207, no. 62, pl. 3; Terzopoulou, *Απεικονίσεις θνητῶν ὡς θεῶν* [*Representations of mortals as gods*], 110, 199 no. 96, pl. 82.



pleasures of life, rather than receive funerary connotations<sup>85</sup>. Correspondingly, the funerary monuments under discussion can be -indirectly- related to the Comus, suggesting the hope for a happy and carefree life after death, or referring to the joys of life that children would not enjoy, due to their premature death<sup>86</sup>. At this point, one must not overlook the dual nature of Dionysus, being associated as much with the joy of life as with death and rebirth - not to leave aside the fact that during this period the Dionysiac and Orphic mysteries became a strong religious current with many followers. Dionysus-Bacchus promises an afterlife in an environment of indulgence and pleasure, similar to the secular Dionysiac feasts and banquets; this promise corresponds to the wide diffusion of sarcophagi decorated with Eros figures within a Dionysiac environment<sup>87</sup>.

Other views consider that Eros leaning on the inverted torch signifies the sorrow and pain of those left behind for the untimely loss of a loved one<sup>88</sup>. However, the fact that the torches are always depicted lit allows a more optimistic interpretation, as symbols of life that continues and does not fade after death.

Flower and fruit garlands and wreaths are widespread motifs of the funerary art of the Imperial period and sometimes consist the main decoration of funerary stelae, altars, cists and mainly sarcophagi<sup>89</sup>. The cases of monuments decorated with Erotes holding garlands are uncountable and appear as early as the Archaic period as symbols of youth and beauty<sup>90</sup>.

Garlands-wreaths and torches played a key role in the funeral ceremonies and rituals (the family used to crown their dead, their relatives, and their houses with flower wreaths), while it was a common practice to deposit or hang garlands on graves<sup>91</sup>. Flower garlands were placed on the tomb not only during the funeral day but also on the anniversary of the deceased's death or during other public memorial services (e.g. the *Parentalia* held each February), or other yearly ceremonies honouring the dead, also during the Im-

perial funerals and the Deification ceremonies<sup>92</sup>. The offering of wreaths-garlands and generally flowers and fruits was not only a tribute to the deceased; By building fenced gardens around the tomb, families intended to ensure that the deceased would become part of the annual regeneration of nature and the everlasting earthly life<sup>93</sup>. As a result, garlands-wreaths became the symbol of the eternal Spring, euphoria and the pleasures of the afterlife<sup>94</sup>. Lastly, the wreath itself is a symbol of victory, therefore in the eschatological sphere it is perceived as the triumph of a hero against death<sup>95</sup>. On this account, it is not accidental that the Greek word “ἔρως” (Eros) has been associated with the word “ἥρωες” (Hero)<sup>96</sup>.

The poppy capsules held by the sleeping Putti are perceived by scholars as symbols of Sleep, and by extension of the eternal Sleep<sup>97</sup>. Poppies received a funerary symbolism quite early and, when present in tombstones, they were associated with Death<sup>98</sup>. Poppy is a herbaceous plant, one species of which, called *Papaver somniferum*, is the source of the narcotic drug Opium. Opium contains powerful medicinal alkaloids, such as morphine and has been used since antiquity both for medical and ritual use as an analgesic, narcotic or even recreational drug, that at the same time could even lead to death<sup>99</sup>. On the other hand, the poppy capsule is full of seeds and symbolizes fertility and abundance and is therefore associated with Demeter, the goddess of vegetation and agriculture, thus reflecting the cycle of life and regeneration of vegetation<sup>100</sup>.

Occasionally, the sleeping Eros is accompanied by a lizard. Several scholars have interpreted the presence of this small reptile as yet another chthonic symbol, since the lizard's hibernation during winter has been perceived as a reference to the sleep of Death.

<sup>85</sup> Carl Ludwig Kayser, *Flavii Philostrati Opera*, vol. 2 (Lipsiae: G. Teubneri, 1871); Söldner, *Untersuchungen zu liegenden Eroten*, 323-324; Terzopoulou, *Απεικονίσεις θνητών ως θεών [Representations of mortals as gods]*, 93; Cf. the Eros figure as table support from Thessaloniki (Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. 3025), Stefanidou-Tiveriou, *Τραπεζοφόρα Με Πλαστική Διακόσμηση [Table supports with sculptural decoration]*, 201-202, 265, no. 94, pl. 47; Stefanidou-Tiveriou, *KTMΘ* 1, 131-132, no. 102, figs. 288-290; on the drunken Eros, Emma J. Stafford, “Aspects of sleep in Hellenistic sculpture”, *BICS* 38 (1991-1993): 163.

<sup>86</sup> On untimely death, Franz Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism* (1922. Reprint, New York: Columbia University Libraries, 2008), 128-147, esp. 138 for Eros.

<sup>87</sup> On this iconographical group, Robert Turcan, *Les sarcophages romains à représentations dionysiaques. Essai de chronologie et d'histoire religieuse* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1966); Peter, Kranz, *Die Stadtrömischen Eroten-Sarkophage*, vol.1 (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1999); Eleni Papagianni, *Attische Sarkophage Mit Eroten Und Girlanden* (Wiesbaden: Franz Phillip Rutzen, 2016).

<sup>88</sup> *LIMC* 3, 939 s.v. “Eros” by Antoine Hermery et al.

<sup>89</sup> Koch and Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage*, 223 (Guntram Koch); Papagianni, *Attische Sarkophage Mit Eroten Und Girlanden*. Söldner, *Untersuchungen zu liegenden Eroten*, 324.

<sup>90</sup> Robert Turcan, “Les guirlandes dans l'antiquité Classique”, *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* (=JbAChr) 14 (1971): 126-127; Söldner, *Untersuchungen zu liegenden Eroten*, 324; Terzopoulou, *Απεικονίσεις θνητών ως θεών [Representations of mortals as gods]*, 94.

<sup>92</sup> A typical example is the Festival of the *Rosalia*, or *Rosaria*, held in May-June; though not exclusively associated with the dead, during the celebrations people threw rose petals and flowers on the graves, Turcan, “Les guirlandes dans l'antiquité Classique”, 126; Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World*, 63-64. This Festival is the equivalent of today's Spring Coming Fest (May 1st). In Philippi (Kavala region), it was associated with Dionysus cult, whilst in the 1st century BC Italy, it was associated with the cult of the Dead, cf. Terzopoulou, *Απεικονίσεις θνητών ως θεών [Representations of mortals as gods]*, 94, fn. 496.

<sup>93</sup> Turcan, “Les guirlandes dans l'antiquité Classique”, 128-129.

<sup>94</sup> Turcan, “Les guirlandes dans l'antiquité Classique”, 132-133; Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World*, 44.

<sup>95</sup> Turcan, “Les guirlandes dans l'antiquité Classique”, 128.

<sup>96</sup> Franz, Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1966), 347; Schauenburg, “Porträts auf römischen Sarkophagen”, 159.

<sup>97</sup> *LIMC* 5, 595 s.v. “Hypnos/Somnus”, nos. 25-34, 606 by Catherine Lochin; Friederike Sinn, *Vatikanische Museen. Museo Gregoriano Profano ex Lateranense. Katalog der Skulpturen. Die Grabdenkmäler. 1. Reliefs Altäre Urnen* (Mainz am Rhein: F. von Zabern, 1991), 40; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens*, 42.

<sup>98</sup> Stuveras, *Le putto dans l'art romain*, 35-36; Dexheimer, *Oberitalische Grabaltäre*, 20.

<sup>99</sup> On the spread of poppies and opium throughout the Mediterranean during antiquity and the relevant ancient sources, cf. Panagiotis Kritikos and Stella Papadaki, “Μήκωνος και οπίου Ιστορία και Εξάπλωσις εν τη Περιοχή της Ανατολικής Μεσογείου κατά την Αρχαιότητα” [“History and Diffusion of Papavers and Opium in the regions of Eastern Mediterranean during Antiquity”], *Archaeologike Ephemeris* 102 (1963): 80, 147-150.

<sup>100</sup> On this, Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα από τη Βέροια [Grave Stelae and reliefs from Verolia]*, 244.

Others, recognise the presence of lizard on the rocky plinth as a sign of the upcoming Spring, hence as a symbol of rebirth and resurrection<sup>101</sup>. J. Sorabella approaches the lizard as a sign of present life rather than of the afterlife<sup>102</sup>. The lizard appears in a variety of poses and movements that oppose to the stillness of the sleeping infant and, by extension, to the stillness of Death<sup>103</sup>. The alert posture of lizard suggests that it is also protecting the child from various insects (ants, spiders, flies, etc.) so that his sleep would not be disturbed<sup>104</sup>. Sorabella comprehends the existence of the lizard as providing active concern and attentiveness towards the child, just like the family pet<sup>105</sup>. As a motif, it creates “a sentimental vision of childhood, suited to the needs of mourning parents and the memorial character of the monument”<sup>106</sup>. The mourning parents, when visiting their departed child may recognise in the figure of lizard a playful companion, a sign of life-and this could be a consolation to them and reassure them on their child’s emotional comfort<sup>107</sup>. They take pleasure in imagining their child happily and safely entertained.

Having said the above, one may understand that the polysemy and different use of these objects, allowed artists to apply them in a variety of monuments, where, depending on their form and the given context, acquired different meanings.

## 2. The polysemy of Eros and its use in the imagery of Death

Eros, as a personified god of love, initially appeared in Hesiod’s *Theogony* (v.120), and is thus considered a latecomer compared to the other personifications, associated with Aphrodite and her world<sup>108</sup>. Eros as a mythological figure is quite complex, or, as St. Miller has commented, “Eros is a multi-faceted figure who can encompass many different concepts”<sup>109</sup>. Perhaps the reason should be sought after the large variety of genealogies regarding his origins. What makes Eros a unique mythological figure is that he incarnates and reflects human emotions and the innumerable aspects and forms of love and desire<sup>110</sup>. And

exactly this power of love that allowed him to prevail upon humans and Nature, is what has attributed to him divine powers<sup>111</sup>.

Eros is generally thought to have been established as a cult deity quite early in antiquity, at least as attested by Pausanias’ *Description of Greece* (9,27,1). But Pausanias is a later source (2nd century AD) and the establishment of Eros’ cult presents certain questions, as literary, epigraphical and archaeological evidence do not seem to coincide<sup>112</sup>. Modern scholars have found evidence for cults of Eros throughout Greece, the best known being those at Thespieae in Boeotia and Athens<sup>113</sup>, but the discussion regarding the appearance and the characteristics of Eros’ cult there or elsewhere, based the literary and the archaeological evidence still poses questions<sup>114</sup>.

Among the most denoted aspects of Eros, as firstly appeared in the Homeric and Hesiodic epics and the *Homeric Hymns*, is his association with certain ideas and expressions declaring the effects of desire<sup>115</sup>. From this point onwards, Eros became an inspiration to the whole Greek literature, the classical tragedy, the Hellenistic poetry and art<sup>116</sup>, reaching its peak in the works of Plato, the *Symposium* and *Phaedrus*<sup>117</sup>. During this period, both in literature and in art, the effects of amorous desire were more associated with the adolescent Eros<sup>118</sup>.

Sometime between the 4th and the 3rd centuries BC, a transition occurred, the gradual transformation of the classical adolescent Eros to the infant Eros (Putto)<sup>119</sup>. Scholars in their attempts to determine a specific place and time frame have suggested that this transition was initially launched in the Italian peninsula at the beginning of the 3rd century BC<sup>120</sup>. Since then, throughout the Hellenistic and Roman period until almost the Late Antiquity, the infant Eros figure was rapidly diffused in the Mediterranean Basin being depicted in all kinds of art works (major and minor

<sup>101</sup> Söldner, *Untersuchungen zu liegenden Erosen*, 309, 540, fn. 1194-1196; Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World*, 220; Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains*, 408-409.

<sup>102</sup> The lizard does not associate the sleeping child with a specific deity; however, it usually accompanies gods of young age, like Apollo, Dionysus, Eros, Somnus, even Herakles, Sorabella, “Eros and the Lizard”, 364-366, figs. 19.11, 19.12, 19.13.

<sup>103</sup> Sorabella, 363.

<sup>104</sup> Sorabella, 363-364.

<sup>105</sup> The protective intentions of the lizards perhaps identify them as among the children’s pet toy during antiquity: Sorabella, 364.

<sup>106</sup> Sorabella, 362.

<sup>107</sup> Sorabella, 367-368, 370.

<sup>108</sup> Barbara Breitenberger, *Aphrodite and Eros: The Development of Erotic Mythology in Early Greek Poetry and Cult* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 137.

<sup>109</sup> Stella Miller, “Eros and the Arms of Achilles”, *American Journal of Archaeology* 90, no. 2 (1986): 166.

<sup>110</sup> On Eros and Desire: Kenneth Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (1978. Reprint, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 42-48; Cédric Huwé, *Cupidon dans l’art romain*. (Saint Denis: Connaissances et Savoirs, 2017), 42-47.

<sup>111</sup> Stuveras, *Le putto dans l’art romain*, 110; Huwé, *Cupidon dans l’art romain*, 42-43.

<sup>112</sup> Breitenberger, *Aphrodite and Eros*, 137-142; Walter Schubart, *Religion und Eros* (Munich: C.H. Beck Verlag, 1966); Silvana Fasce, *Eros. La Figura e il Culto* (Genova: 1977), 15-39 (“I luoghi di culto”).

<sup>113</sup> Breitenberger, *Aphrodite and Eros*, 142-144; Friedrich W. Hamdorf, *Griechische Kultpersonifikationen der vorhellenistischen Zeit* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1964), 9 and 75; on the rock-cut shrine of Aphrodite and Eros in Athens, Oscar Broneer, “Eros and Aphrodite on the North Slope of the Acropolis in Athens”, *Hesperia* 1 (1932): 31-55; Oscar Broneer, “Athens. Excavations on the North Slope of the Acropolis 1932-1934”, *Hesperia* 3 (1934): 109-188 (*IG* 13.1382a and b).

<sup>114</sup> Breitenberger, *Aphrodite and Eros*, 142-144.

<sup>115</sup> Breitenberger, *Aphrodite and Eros*, 145; Regarding Eros on the Epic poetry: Claude Calame and Janet Lloyd, *The poetics of eros in Ancient Greece*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 39-48; Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, 42-48.

<sup>116</sup> On the erotic iconography as implemented in the art of the Archaic and Classical period, Calame and Lloyd, *The poetics of eros in Ancient Greece*, 65-88; François Lasserre, *La figure d’Éros dans la poésie grecque* (Lausanne: Imprimeries Réunies, 1946).

<sup>117</sup> On the metaphysics of Eros, Calame and Lloyd, *The poetics of eros in Ancient Greece*, 177-200.

<sup>118</sup> Breitenberger, *Aphrodite and Eros*, 145.

<sup>119</sup> On the origins of putto, Stuveras, *Le putto dans l’art romain*, 7-12; Huwé, *Cupidon dans l’art romain*, 12, 18.

<sup>120</sup> Huwé, *Cupidon dans l’art romain*, 22.



sculpture, mosaics, murals, vase-paintings, etc)<sup>121</sup>. At the same time, scholars have detected a great diversity as regards the interpretation of child Eros figure. In his detailed study, R. Stuveras has discussed Eros' relation to Aphrodite<sup>122</sup>, as well as his presence in the Thiasos of Dionysus. Within the Bacchic context, Stuveras discusses the iconography of the Bacchic Putto, his role as part of the Dionysiac environment and the Dionysiac cult, and via his association with Dionysus País and the cult of the Divine Child, he comments on the symbolic connotations and the forthcoming cult of the Savior<sup>123</sup>. Similar interpretation, suggested by M. Söldner, which emphasises the sacral, Dionysiac and bucolic associations, has not convinced many scholars<sup>124</sup>.

A link towards the perception of Putti as symbols of deceased children can be detected in Breitenberger's comments that "the expressions in which the activity and effects of ἔρως are displayed in the *Iliad* can be compared with those of sleep"<sup>125</sup>. To this account, Homer refers also to a "desire for weeping" or "mourning" (*Il.* 24, 227f.), which may be seen under the aspect of satisfaction of a desire, or it can be associated with the afterlife. This early association of Eros with Death is also detected in a mid-8th century BC crated from Eretria (ME 19565) found in a funeral pyre<sup>126</sup>. The depiction of an erotic scene between a couple on this early period and the conscious choice to place such a scene in a burial ground reveals the diachronic belief on the connection of Eros and Death, through which both the eternal regeneration of Nature and the immortality of mankind are accomplished. Such notions are detected also in the Archaic poetry of the 8th and 7th century BC<sup>127</sup>.

Childlike Eros figures, as chubby little children started as a trend during the late Classical and early Hellenistic periods and became fully developed during the Roman period<sup>128</sup>. The appearance of the type of Eros leaning on an inverted torch in funerary monuments of the Imperial period, in combination with the interpretation of the inverted torch motif as a funerary symbol, led to the characterization of these figures as *Eros funéraire*, known in archaeological literature as Eros-Thanatos

(Death)<sup>129</sup>. Stuveras, in his category of *Putto funéraire* makes a distinction between *putto triste* (sad Eros) and *putto endormi* (sleeping Eros), a classification that probably reflects two different notions of death<sup>130</sup>. In the first case, the figures are characterized by a glum facial expression which can be comprehended as sorrowful, while in the second, in which the torch becomes a non-obligatory symbol, the figures are depicted reclining and probably sleeping.

Some Eros figures depicted resting on inverted torches are also interpreted as Somnus (Sleep) and have been related to the eternal sleep of Death<sup>131</sup>. This is not irrelevant with the fact that according to ancient Greek mythology (Hysiod, *Theogonia*, 759), Hypnos (Sleep) and Thanatos (Death) were twin brothers. Homer as well, in his *Iliad* (16, 681ff) confirmed that Hypnos and Thanatos were twin brothers, who have been charged by Zeus via Apollo to fly the slain hero Sarpedon to his homeland in Lycia. On this account, from the period of Augustus onwards, Sleep has frequently appeared as a Guardian of tombs, or Guide of departed souls (psychopompos, ψυχοπομπός)<sup>132</sup>. Additionally, the crossed legs have been interpreted as a posture of rest and relaxation<sup>133</sup>.

There are several interpretations when describing these figures, all of which refer to grief and death and place them in the chthonic sphere. According to Wrede the question whether this Eros figure consists of a *Todesgenius* (demon/spirit of death) or *Cupido inferorum* (Eros of the Underworld) remains<sup>134</sup>. Spiliopoulou-Donderer characterizes these forms as *Todesgenius* or *Trauergenius* (demon/spirit of sorrow)<sup>135</sup>. Sinn, calls them *Trauereroten* or *Thanatoseroten* and believes that they embody the poetic image of Sleep brought by Death (*Todesschlaf*). She suggests that torches, when depicted in funerary monuments should be considered as symbols of the flame of life that is now lost. Current studies believe that the inverted torch should not be perceived exclusively as a symbol of death, but rather as the sym-

<sup>121</sup> Stuveras, *Le putto dans l'art romain*; Huwé, *Cupidon dans l'art romain*, 30.

<sup>122</sup> Stuveras, *Le putto dans l'art romain*, 11, 13.

<sup>123</sup> Stuveras, 13-31; Huwé, *Cupidon dans l'art romain*, 34-41.

<sup>124</sup> Bernhard Schmalz, "Rev. Untersuchungen zu liegenden Erosen in der hellenistischen und römischen Kunst by Magdalene Söldner", *Gnomon* 60 (1988): 346-351.

<sup>125</sup> Breitenberger, *Aphrodite and Eros*, 145.

<sup>126</sup> Athanasia Psalti, "Ο έρωτας και ο θάνατος στην Ομηρική Ελλάδα" ["Eros and Death in Homeric Greece"], in *ΕΡΩΣ. Από τη Θεογονία του Ησιόδου στην ύστερη αρχαιότητα [EROS. From Hesioid's Theogonia to Late Antiquity]*, eds. Nicolaos C. Stampolidis and Georgios Tasoulas (Athens: Museum of Cycladic Art, 2009), 50-57.

<sup>127</sup> Psalti, "Ο έρωτας και ο θάνατος στην Ομηρική Ελλάδα" ["Eros and Death in Homeric Greece"], 57. On the homosexual behaviour and sentiments through the study of Greek art and literature between the 8th and the 2nd centuries BC, Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (1978. Reprint, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004).

<sup>128</sup> Jean Marcadé, *Eros Kalos; Essay on Erotic Elements in Greek Art* (Geneva: Nagel Publishers, 1962); Hartmut Döhl, *Der Eros des Lysipp. Frühellenistische Erosen* (Göttingen: University Press, 1968), 69; Sarah B. Pomeroy, "Eros e arte ellenistica", in *Studies in Erotic Art*, eds. Theodore Bowie and Cornelia V. Christenson (New York: Basic Books, 1970), 257-264.

<sup>129</sup> Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains*, 409; Stuveras, *Le putto dans l'art romain*, 34; *LIMC* 3, 929, 938 s.v. "Eros" by Antoinette Hermary et al.; Stefanidou-Tiveriou, *Τραπεζοφόρα. Με Πλαστική Διακόσμηση [Table supports with sculptural decoration]*, 106; *LIMC* 7, s.v. "Thanatos", 907-908 by Jan Bažant; Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens*, 40, fn. 455; Terzopoulou, *Απεικονίσεις θνητών ως θεών [Representations of mortals as gods]*, 91.

<sup>130</sup> Stuveras, *Le putto dans l'art romain*, 35-36.

<sup>131</sup> Dexheimer, *Oberitalische Grabaltäre*, 20; *LIMC* 7, 904-908, s.v. "Thanatos/Hypnos" by Jan Bažant; *LIMC* 5, 592, 607-609 s.v. "Hypnos/Somnus" by Catherine Lochin; *LIMC* 8, Suppl. 643-645 s.v. "Hypnos" by Jan Bažant; Sinn, *Reliefs Altäre Urnen*, no. 23, fn. 1; Stafford, "Aspects of sleep in Hellenistic sculpture", 116-117.

<sup>132</sup> Cf. Schönerberger, *Eros in Bern*, 56; Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains*, 360; Terzopoulou, *Απεικονίσεις θνητών ως θεών [Representations of mortals as gods]*, 91. This interpretation, derives from the fact that in some cases the figures have their eyes closed. Such an example comes from an inscribed altar, today at Villa Albani (Inv. No. 47), where an Eros figure resting on an inverted torch is depicted with his eyes closed while the inscription records the name Somnus, cf. Caecilius Ferox, Dietrich Boschung, *Antike Grabaltäre aus den Nekropolen Roms* (Bern: Stämpfli, 1987), 109, no. 861.

<sup>133</sup> Stuveras, *Le putto dans l'art romain*, 39.

<sup>134</sup> Wrede, *Consecratio in Formam Deorum*, 58.

<sup>135</sup> Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens*, 39.

bol of the fainting life<sup>136</sup>. Therefore the sorrowful Eros figures of this type, should be comprehended as images of grief, sadness, nostalgia for the loss of a loved one<sup>137</sup>.

An interesting evidence regarding the notion of the Romans about the connection of sleeping Eros and the afterlife comes from a funerary epigram from Tomis, today kept at the Museum of National History at Bucharest<sup>138</sup>. The epigram, that was firstly published in 1882 by Grigorie George Točilescu<sup>139</sup>, begins with a very intriguing verse: “ἔστηκεν μὲν Ἔρως εὐδῶν ὕπνον” (Trasl.: *Eros puts himself to sleep*). This line may refer to a statue of sleeping Eros on a funerary monument, or, generally, to the widespread tradition in funerary art of representing the deceased as sleeping the eternal sleep of Death under the perception that sleep and death are related states of being<sup>140</sup>. As can be understood through the funerary epigrams, embracing death as the eternal sleep and the grave as a place of eternal rest, offers some consolation that human life is like a brief span of waking between two infinite sleeps<sup>141</sup>. Eternal sleep is mentioned in an epigram on a 2nd century AD sarcophagus from Smyrna (modern Izmir) which carries a sleeping Eros with a garland and a bunch of poppies, demonstrating that Eros could be interpreted as an allegory of eternal sleep, or at least be associated with it<sup>142</sup>. The majority of scholars understand the sleeping Eros figures as symbols of the peaceful sleep of the dead or as idealised, nostalgic images of the deceased children, falling deep in their careless sleep and surrounded by their favourite toys and pets<sup>143</sup>. Other scholars, under a more eschatological approach, detect a message of salvation in the afterlife<sup>144</sup>. Apart from the epigram from Tomis and a few other epigrams from the *Anthologia Graeca* (*Greek Anthology*) dedicated to the sleeping

Eros<sup>145</sup>, the general lack of relevant written sources makes it difficult to safely interpret the sleeping Eros within a funerary context.

Under another perspective, examples of sleeping putti give emphasis on the erotic, sensual dimension of Eros. Wypustek presents two epigraphic examples from Ama-seia in Pontus, which are of special interest in connecting the sleeping Eros with the *Nύμφαι Ἐρωτιάδες* (Nymphs of Love) and the natural springs. The first inscription which probably decorated a fountain or a spring, narrates a scene where a sleeping Eros has entrusted his torch to the local Nymphs<sup>146</sup>. The second inscription, deriving from a funerary monument and dated at around the 2nd or 3rd century AD speaks of a “good Eros” (ἔρως ἀγαθός)<sup>147</sup>. Using such examples, Wypustek perceives the presence of Eros “as an allusion to the dormant, faded passions or feelings of the deceased, whose monuments they decorated”<sup>148</sup>. In other words, the sleeping Eros symbolises the state within which the deceased were not able to feel emotions (of joyful, sorrowful, or erotic nature) anymore, as the dead have no desires and there were no Eros among them<sup>149</sup>. The view of Wypustek makes sense, however such an interpretation is more fitted for the commemoration of the deceased adults, whose funerary monuments praise the joyful earthly delights of life which pass so quickly. On children’s tombs, the image of sleeping Eros would point to the innocent charm of the prematurely deceased children.

The idealistic representation for children is to be seen from the perspective of the grieving family and parents, who are the people struck by the loss of their child<sup>150</sup>. Therefore, one of the reasons for selecting such imagery, is the resemblance of infant Eros with the child they just lost; such images may also be understood as an attempt eternalise the deceased child<sup>151</sup>. Children would then become “eternal”, symbols of youth’s eternal beauty<sup>152</sup>. As J. Sorabella very insightfully commented, “roman mourners wished to envision a child asleep in the dreamworld of myth, in the domain of comforting fantasy”<sup>153</sup>.

### 3. Conclusions

The depictions of mortals in the guise of Eros in the funerary monuments of Macedonia do not differ from

<sup>136</sup> Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains*, 409; Sinn, *Reliefs Altäre Urnen*, 51-52, no. 23; Stefanidou-Tiveriou, *KTMΘ* 1, 161; Terzopoulou, *Απεικονίσεις θνητῶν ὡς θεῶν [Representations of mortals as gods]*, 91.

<sup>137</sup> Allamani-Souri, *Επιτύμβιες στήλεις και ανάγλυφα από τη Βέροια [Grave Stelae and reliefs from Veroia]*, 243.

<sup>138</sup> Wypustek, “The Sleep of Eros in a Funerary Epigram from Tomis”, 77-84.

<sup>139</sup> Grigorie G. Točilescu, “Neue Inschriften aus Dobrudscha”, *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Österreich* 6 (1882): 1-52, no. 60; Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism*, 15.

<sup>140</sup> Wypustek, “The Sleep of Eros in a Funerary Epigram from Tomis”, 80.

<sup>141</sup> For the sleep of death in funerary epigrams, Richmond Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (Urbana: Illinois University Press: 1962), 82-83, 164-165; Vêrilhac, *Παιδες ἄωροι... [Prematurely Deceased Children...]*, 370-374; for the motif of death as sleep in Greek antiquity, Emily Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 145-154; Wypustek, “The Sleep of Eros in a Funerary Epigram from Tomis”, 81.

<sup>142</sup> Merkelbach and Stauber, *Steinepigramme aus dem Griechischen Osten*, vol. 1 (München-Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1998), no. 05/01/63; Söldner, *Untersuchungen zu liegenden Erosen in der hellenistischen und römischen Kunst*, 316 no. 317, fn. 1245.

<sup>143</sup> Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens*, 42.

<sup>144</sup> Maxime Collignon, *Les statues funéraires dans l’art grec* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1911), 342-345; Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains*, 407-409; Wrede, *Consecratio in Formam Deorum*, 127-129; Söldner, *Untersuchungen zu liegenden Erosen*, 316, 337-338; for the relations between Sleep, Eros and Thanatos and their possible eschatological perspectives, Georg Wöhrle, *Hypnos, der Allbezwinger. Eine Studie zum literarischen Bild des Schlafes in der griechischen Antike* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1995), 35-41

<sup>145</sup> Wypustek, “The Sleep of Eros in a Funerary Epigram from Tomis”, 82; Merkelbach and Stauber, *Steinepigramme aus dem Griechischen Osten*, 2, no. 11/07/05; *Appendix Planudea* XVI 201, 210-213, and perhaps IX 826-827.

<sup>146</sup> Merkelbach and Stauber, *Steinepigramme aus dem Griechischen Osten*, 2, no. 11/07/04; *Appendix Paludea* IX 627; Wypustek, “The Sleep of Eros in a Funerary Epigram from Tomis”, 83, fn. 24.

<sup>147</sup> Merkelbach and Stauber, *Steinepigramme aus dem Griechischen Osten*, 2, no. 11/09/03.

<sup>148</sup> Wypustek, “The Sleep of Eros in a Funerary Epigram from Tomis”, 83.

<sup>149</sup> Wypustek, “The Sleep of Eros in a Funerary Epigram from Tomis”, 83-84, fn. 28; Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs*, 76.

<sup>150</sup> Guntram Koch and Karol Wight, *Roman Funerary Sculpture: Catalogue of the Collections* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1988), 114, no. 43.

<sup>151</sup> *LIMC* 3, 938-939 s.v. “Eros” by Antoine Hermary et al.

<sup>152</sup> Terzopoulou, *Απεικονίσεις θνητῶν ὡς θεῶν [Representations of mortals as gods]*, 94-95.

<sup>153</sup> Sorabella, “Eros and the Lizard”, 361.



those in the rest of the Empire. Eros, either winged, or wingless, consists an ideal choice for the depictions of children and epebes, since he himself is a childlike or adolescent figure and stands as a symbol of the eternal youth and beauty, of happiness and carefree life. Following the trends in the rest of the Empire, Macedonian artists use specific iconographic types. The first type of Eros with the inverted torch, is divided into two sub-groups. In the first sub-group, Eros rests on the inverted torch that is placed under his armpit, has crossed limbs, and usually holds a wreath. The hairstyle is idealistic with a plait along the parting. Most monuments of this group depict deceased sons and derive from Thessaloniki, Veroia, Edessa Dion, Upper Macedonia. In the second sub-group, Eros holds the inverted torch in one hand and another object in the other. Most monuments of this sub-group derive from Thessaloniki, Veroia, Upper Macedonia and depict deceased sons, or even foster children. The second Eros type from funerary monuments of Macedonia is the reclining and sleeping Eros, which is found exclusively in Thessaloniki and almost only in the Newby Hall type. This detail indicates not only the preference of the city's sculptural workshops but also the existence of a model of this type<sup>154</sup>. Lastly, a series of funerary monuments from Macedonia include figures of Erotes in standing and frontal posture holding bunches of grapes, birds, or wreaths. In their majority these originate from Veroia and its territory, but some have been found also in Thessaloniki and Amphipolis. On the one hand they are related to the daily life of children, on the other hand they stand as symbols of children's afterlife and the parental desire for protection from Dionysus.

In their majority, funerary monuments with Eros figures in Macedonia depict the dead themselves (there are also cases of groups of putti as supplementary companions of other divinities, like Aphrodite). Scholarly research has accepted that the theomorphic representations of mortals, in Macedonia as elsewhere, do not consist a heroization of the deceased, nor a deification, or identification with the divinity. Usually, these god-like depictions intended to project the age, the character, the qualities, and the talents of the deceased, who in this case becomes symbolically paralleled with the depicted deity. The assimilation of mortals and gods is only iconographical<sup>155</sup>, they have a "retrospective" character and consist a reference to the earthly existence of the dead. In the case of the Eros figures, the theomorphic representations have a "prospective" character, that is, they refer to the happy posthumous destiny of the prematurely lost children<sup>156</sup>.

The iconographical choices in the funerary monuments of Macedonia seem to depend on the preferences of the local clientele, on the repertoire of the sculptural workshops, and up to a degree, on the influence and

import of models from Rome<sup>157</sup>. As regards the Eros figures, there is no certainty that they reflect the existence of an Eros cult or an Eros cult statue in the region. Epigraphical evidence is not enough to provide definite information regarding the social status of the deceased, although some are recognised as having the Roman citizenship. The general aspect is that the phenomenon of mortals depicted in the guise of a god is quite diffused in Macedonia and ranges between the late 1st century AD to the mid-3rd century AD.

This discussion about Eros figures reveals that in the region of Macedonia the general iconography of Eros figures in funerary monuments presents no differentiation from similar monuments in the rest of the Empire. Once again, sculpture operates as a connecting link, a common artistic language throughout the provinces of the Empire. Any differences are due to the variety of sculptural workshops, the local preferences, and regional particularities. But the symbolic connotations remain the same, as the perception of death does not really differ among societies. We cannot but accept that there is an eschatological content in these depictions, since they indicate the anxiety, the powerlessness of people before Fate and Death, and the unknown posthumous destiny. It also seems that there is a certain belief in immortality, whether this refers to the actual afterlife, or the preservation of the memory of the deceased by his family and friends. Especially when it comes to children and young people the sudden and unjust loss is a source of great sadness for the family. Therefore, the choice to depict them in the guise of childlike Eros is their way to manage the loss, and to beg the divinity to protect their children.

At the end, it all comes to the main role of these monuments, that is to comfort the survivors and to sooth the grieving family. The performed rituals during the funerary ceremony were another way of the family to cope with the separation. On this account, we acknowledge that the childlike figure of Eros, calmly resting or sleeping, accompanied by his toys, the bow, the quiver, the poppies, the cup of Somnus, or even the club and the lionskin of Hercules, may actually bring peace and help the family cope with their loss since their child is now in a happy place alongside with the gods and with a never-ending playtime<sup>158</sup>.

#### 4. Abbreviations used

**ΚΓΜΘ 1** = Despinis, Georgios, Theodosia Stefanidou-Tiveriou, and Emmanouel Voutiras, eds. *Κατάλογος Γλυπτών του Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου Θεσσαλονίκης* [*Catalogue of Sculpture of the Archaeological Museum of*

<sup>154</sup> Terzopoulou, "Θεόμορφες απεικονίσεις θνητών" ["Godlike representations of mortals"], 140.

<sup>155</sup> Voutiras, "Aphrodite Nymphia", 107-114; Terzopoulou, "Θεόμορφες απεικονίσεις θνητών" ["Godlike representations of mortals"], 126.

<sup>156</sup> Wrede, *Consecratio in Formam Deorum*, 4; Voutiras, "Aphrodite Nymphia", 107-108; Terzopoulou, "Θεόμορφες απεικονίσεις θνητών" ["Godlike representations of mortals"], 126, 147.

<sup>157</sup> In general, Macedonia is a region with a rich iconographic tradition and productive sculptural workshops and a recipient of numerous iconographic influences; but it gradually becomes independent of Rome and creates its own iconographic and stylistic directions. Thus, a type of the Classical and the Hellenistic period is sometimes copied faithfully, sometimes rendered freely, or concisely, while there are many cases of syncretism and combination of motifs. Wrede, *Consecratio in Formam Deorum*, 54-56; Terzopoulou, "Θεόμορφες απεικονίσεις θνητών" ["Godlike representations of mortals"], 148.

<sup>158</sup> Sorabella, *Eros and the Lizard*, 362.

*Thessaloniki*]. Vol. 1. National Bank of Greece Cultural Foundation. Thessaloniki: Altitzis Publications, 1997.

**ΚΓΜΘ 2** = Despinis, Georgios, Theodosia Stefanidou-Tiveriou, and Emmanouel Voutiras, eds. *Κατάλογος Γλυπτών του Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου Θεσσαλονίκης* [*Catalogue of Sculpture of the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki*]. Vol. 2. National Bank of Greece Cultural Foundation. Thessaloniki: Altitzis Publications, 2003.

**ΚΓΜΘ 4** = Stefanidou-Tiveriou, Theodosia, and Emmanouel Voutiras, eds. *Κατάλογος Γλυπτών του Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου Θεσσαλονίκης* [*Catalogue of Sculpture of the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki*]. Vol. 4. National Bank of Greece Cultural Foundation. Thessaloniki: Skordopoulos, 2020.

**EKM 1, Veroia** = Gounaropoulou, Lucretia, Militiadis Hatzopoulos, Irene Kalogridou, and Paschalis Pashid-

is. *Επιγραφές Κάτω Μακεδονίας (Μεταξύ του Βέρμιου όρους και του Αξιού Ποταμού), τεύχος 1: Επιγραφές Βέροιας* [*Inscriptiones Macedoniae inferioris: inter Bermium montem at Axium flumen repertae: fasciculus primus, Inscriptiones Beroeae*]. Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation, 1998.

**IG X, 2, 1** = Edson, Charles F., ed. *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Vol. 10, *Epiri, Macedoniae, Thraciae, Skythiae*. Pars. 2, *Inscriptiones Macedoniae*. Fasc. 1, *Inscriptiones Thessalonicae et vicinia*. Berolini: De Gruyter, 1972.

**IG X, 2, 2, 1** = Papazoglou, Fanula, Milena Milin, Marijana Riel, and Klaus Hallof, eds. *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Vol. 10, *Epiri, Macedoniae, Thraciae, Skythiae*. Pars. 2, *Inscriptiones Macedoniae*. Fasc. 2, *Inscriptiones Macedoniae Septentrionalis. Sectio prima: Inscriptiones Lyncestidis, Heracleae, Pelagoniae, Derriopi, Lychnidi*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1999.

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