WORD AND IMAGE IN ANCIENT GREECE

Edited by
N. Keith Rutter and Brian A. Sparkes

Edinburgh University Press

EDINBURGH LEVENTIS STUDIES I

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PREFACE

Through the generosity of the Leventis Foundation the Department of Classics at Edinburgh University was able in the session 1998–9 to initiate a biennial Visiting Research Professorship in Greek. The first holder was Professor Brian A. Sparkes.

Under the terms of the endowment it was laid down that a conference was to be arranged during the residence of each Visiting Professor. The subject chosen for the first conference was 'Word and Image in Ancient Greece' and this was held in Old College, the University of Edinburgh, on 5 and 6 March 1999 (see pp. 247–8). The present volume comprises the reworked papers delivered at the conference in the order and under the headings into which the four sessions of the conference were divided. We are grateful to the speakers for the speed with which they were willing to translate their spoken words into written texts.

Thanks are owed to the many helpers (lecturers, postgraduates and undergraduates) who assisted on the two days of the conference. For the present publication the Department of Classics and the editors are grateful once more to the Leventis Foundation for their generous subvention. We also owe a particular debt of gratitude to the commissioning editor, John Davey, to James Dale of Edinburgh University Press, to our efficient copy-editor, Fiona Sewell, and to Barbara Hird, indexer, as also to our anonymous adviser.

As usual, it has proved impossible to be consistent with the spelling of Greek proper names throughout the various chapters. However, we have striven for consistency within each individual contribution.

Acknowledgement for individual help and for the provision of illustrations is given in the list of illustrations (pp. ix–xi) and in the separate chapters. We also wish to record our thanks to Andy Vowles, of the Cartographic Unit at the University of Southampton, for his expert advice on the prints.

N. Keith Rutter
Brian A. Sparkes

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Athenian Agora XII (1970, with Lucy Talcott), *Greek Art* (New Surveys in the Classics, 1991), *Greek Pottery: An Introduction* (1991) and *The Red and the Black: Studies in Greek Pottery* (1996 – based on his Geddes-Harrower lectures in Aberdeen). He has co-edited *The Eye of Greece* (1982) and edited *Greek Civilization* (1998).

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ILLUSTRATIONS

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Figures

The contributors wish to acknowledge their thanks to the following individuals and institutions for permission to reproduce the above illustrations:

Professor Sir John Boardman (Figs 4.5; 12.2–6); Dr Herbert Cahn (Fig. 7.5); Professor Angelos Delivorrias (Fig. 4.11); Professor Eve Harrison (Fig. 4.4); Dr Martin Kreeb (Fig. 4.8); Professor Vasilis Petrakos (Fig. 4.6).

Athens, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations (Figs 4.1; 11.7), Corinth Excavations (Fig. 4.12); Athens, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (Figs 11.2; 11.5; 11.6; 12.1); Athens, Epigraphical Museum (Fig. 4.3); Athens, National Museum (Figs 7.3; 10.4); Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikenabteilung (Fig. 5.2); Brussels, Musées Royaux d'art et d'histoire (Fig. 5.4); Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (Figs 11.3; 11.4); Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe (Fig. 11.1); London, British Museum (Figs 10.2; 10.5; 10.6); Moscow, Pushkin Museum (Fig. 5.6); Münster, University Museum of Archaeology (Fig. 5.3); Munich, Antikensammlungen (Figs 7.1; 8.1); Nashville, Tennessee, Metro Government (Fig. 4.2); New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 5.1); Oxford, Ashmolean Museum Cast Gallery (Fig. 4.5); Paris, Louvre (Figs 4.9; 4.10; 7.4); Prague, Charles University (Fig. 7.2); Rome, Villa Giulia (Fig. 7.6); St Petersburg, Hermitage (Fig. 5.5); Stockholm, Nationalmuseum (Fig. 4.7).

ABBREVIATIONS

PERIODICALS

AA	*Archäologischer Anzeiger*
AandA	*Antike und Abendland*
ABSA	*Annual of the British School at Athens*
AC	*Antiquité Classique*
AD	*Archaiologikon Deltion*
AE	*Archaiologiki Ephemeris*
AGPh	*Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJPh	*American Journal of Philology*
AK	*Antike Kunst*
AMIran	*Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*
AncSoc	*Ancient Society*
AncW	*Ancient World*
AR	*Archaeological Reports*
ARID	*Analecta Romana Instituti Danici*
ASAA	*Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente*
AW	*Antike Welt*
BCH	*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*
BICS	*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*
CA	*Classical Antiquity*
CAJ	*Cambridge Archaeological Journal*
CJ	*Classical Journal*
CP	*Classical Philology*
CQ	*Classical Quarterly*
CR	*Classical Review*
GandR	*Greece and Rome*
GettyMusJ	*The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*
GRBS	*Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
HSCP	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*

JDAI	*Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JMKG	*Jahrbuch des Museums für Kunst und Gewerbe*
MarbWinkPr	*Marburger Wincklemanns Program*
MDAI(A)	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Ath. Abt.)*
MDAI(R)	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Röm. Abt.)*
MemLinc	*Memorie ed Atti della r. Accademia dei Lincei*
MJbK	*Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*
MMJ	*Metropolitan Museum Journal*
OJA	*Oxford Journal of Archaeology*
PBSR	*Papers of the British School at Rome*
PCPS	*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*
PdP	*Parola del Passato*
RA	*Revue Archéologique*
REA	*Revue des Etudes Anciennes*
RhM	*Rheinisches Museum*
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Alphen aan den Rijn: Sijthoff and Noordhoff.
TAPA	*Transactions of the American Philological Society*
YCS	*Yale Classical Studies*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

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Carpenter 1989 Carpenter, T. H., *Beazley Addenda* (2nd edn), Oxford: Clarendon Press.

CVA *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*

Davies Davies, M., *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

DK Diels, H. and Kranz, W., *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, Berlin: Weidmann.

FGrH Jacoby, F., *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker,* Berlin: Weidmann, and Leiden: Brill.

FR Furtwängler, A. and Reichhold, K., *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Munich: Bruckmann.

IG *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin and New York: de Gruyter.

KA Kassel, R. and Austin, C., *Poetae Comici Graeci*, Berlin and New York: de Gruyter.

LIMC *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, Zürich: Artemis.

LP Lobel, E. and Page, D. L., *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

MW Merkelbach, R. and West, M. L., *Fragmenta Hesiodea*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Nauck Nauck, A., *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, Leipzig: Teubner.

Radt 1977 Radt, S., *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, vol. iv (Sophocles), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

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INTRODUCTION

WRITTEN TEXTS ON PAPYRI or other media, which for us constitute a fundamental body of evidence in recreating ancient Greek history and culture, were of far less importance in the lives of the ordinary citizens of the Greek states, and writing would have been encountered more frequently on objects such as statues and statue-bases, funerary *stêlai*, public notice-boards and pottery shapes. In ancient Greek society communication was largely oral and visual. The epic poets and rhapsodes sang and recited the legends that served the Greeks as their historical past; lyric and elegiac poets sang, to the accompaniment of the lyre and the pipes, both solo songs of love and death and public celebrations of success in war and games; choirs chanted religious hymns and celebratory measures; in tragedies and comedies actors spoke and choruses sang to audiences of thousands; orators declaimed their speeches in the political arena and in the law courts; and philosophers debated the meaning of life at aristocratic drinking parties. What was of equal importance to the spoken word for the general public was the visual imagery they saw all around them. Religious processions, parades and theatrical performances were regular features at various times of the year, and they involved the majority of citizens, either as participants or as spectators. On civic display there were monuments (free-standing statues, relief carvings, architectural decoration, painted walls) erected in market places, sanctuaries, cemeteries and theatres, and in private contexts people handled metal and ceramic vases that were decorated with scenes of myth, fantasy and everyday life.

In recent years there has been a growth of scholarly interest in the power and centrality of the spoken word in Greek society and in the equally powerful effect of visual display and performance. This volume, arising from the First Leventis Conference, addresses itself to various aspects of the relationship between words and images, in both specific and general terms. The scholars who were invited to participate were deliberately chosen to represent a wide spectrum of disciplines: philosophy, aesthetics, literature, archaeology, art, etc., and were given a free rein to choose their topic under the general heading of 'Word and Image'. There

is thus no ideological agenda to be observed, and some contributors gave greater prominence to one or other of the two terms, but there are none the less many threads that link the different contributions together. The emphasis has tended to fall on Athens and the classical period, but some chapters are located, or move, beyond those geographical and chronological boundaries. The 'Ancient Greece' of the title is thus, as ever, a fluid concept.

I

First, the chapters themselves. The three chapters in the first part ('Images in Early Greece') are concerned with the early centuries of the first millennium BC when the spoken word was paramount and when figured scenes made a late reappearance: writing and figured images were both slow returning to the Greek world. Right at the start, Lemos poses the question of why this should be so. She points out that the delayed return of figure decoration on pottery and in other media was not due to lack of material to inspire the craftsmen, as imported material was available for them to copy. They chose to ignore this foreign mode of decoration and clung to the non-figured geometric designs that may have served as the expression of the élite groups of the time, whether as decoration for jewellery, dress or equipment. But she also observes that by contrast, at a time when visual images had not yet crystallised, a formative stage in the creation of Greek oral epic was already under way. In the second chapter Snodgrass deals with the interaction of word and image in one of its best-known aspects: the letters and words painted on pottery that were added at the time of production and viewed in different social contexts. He traces the rise and fall in the popularity of such lettering in the sixth century. His explanation for this process involves the notion of reading the painted words aloud, for example, at funerals or at *symposia*, where the figures portrayed are explained to the assembled company. He links the acme of this practice with the popularity of synoptic scenes on pottery: more than most, such compositions needed verbal elucidation. In the third chapter Moignard characterises the experimental masterpieces that fill the modern art books on Greek vase-painting as 'mavericks' whose existence needs more explanation than the run-of-the-mill products that constituted the bulk of the output of the craft shops. The stock elements of composition and subject-matter that were the bedrock of Greek vase-painting were borrowed by different workshops, and there developed a standardised treatment that suited both mythological and genre scenes, whether in the form of a frieze or a metope. This was the inevitable outcome of a tradition within an anonymous craft in which a consensus arose on how decoration was organised on the various shapes; it was not the context in which individually inspired or innovative artists were most influential.

The second part ('Narrative and Image') looks at aspects of making images and the difficulties of illustrating narrative. Palagia raises the question of the relationship between fragmentary sculptural remains and unclear literary source material, both of which need careful handling both singly and in unison. She considers the technique and iconography of the four multi-figure statue-bases of Pheidias and his pupils made within a twenty-five-year period. Pausanias provides the only effective literary source for three of these bases (no literary source mentions the Hephaisteion base), but his information is garbled and incomplete. The techniques employed in the surviving elements of the four works are not uniform, but the compositions are very similar in their subject-matter. They also share a disregard for the traditional manner of presenting narrative; the figures are stationary and isolated, which the loss of names from the background of the bases only accentuates. Palagia also raises the issue of the political overtones of the subjects and their protagonists: Athens' claims on Helen, Olympia's dependence on Elis, etc. Sparkes' brief comparison of the literary and artistic treatments of the pygmy-and-crane story from the sixth to the fourth centuries attempts to show that the popular archaic images which are to be found on pottery from different parts of the Greek world, and which presented a lively parody of the heroic values of society, played more sophisticated tricks with the subject than the references to the story in literature would lead us to expect. In the final chapter of this part Halliwell is concerned not with specific images but with the 'philosophy of images', questions that were already being debated during the fifth century but became more significant in the fourth. In a close analysis of Plato's comments on painting, Halliwell puts forward a case for rescuing Plato from the charge made by historians of ideas that he repudiated the 'arts', and shows how he was fascinated with the semantics of images. In Plato's fluid and exploratory discussions, works of art are seen to have embodied both interpretative and evaluative perspectives in reality, and *mimêsis* involves both representation and expression. Halliwell seeks to lay 'the spectre of the notorious mirror analogy' in *Republic* x: Plato did not merely consider painting a reflection of the appearance of the visible world but saw that it supplied meaning, value and feeling as well.

The third part ('Image(ry) and the Stage') is concerned with moving images and the audiences who gathered together for a social spectacle. March focuses attention on infanticide in Greek tragedy and shows once again how innovative the Athenian tragedians were. She also demonstrates how the images on painted pottery, when carefully studied, can be used in tandem with the texts to elucidate both extant and fragmentary tragedies of the Athenian theatre. As an example she takes the story of the Thracian king Tereus, his Athenian wife Procne and her sister Philomela

(for us this is the orthodox telling of the story), and calls into question the existence of any standard interpretation of the myth that preceded Sophocles' *Tereus*, which she sees as taking its inspiration from Euripides' *Medea*. Bardel's study of *eidôla* ranges widely over epic, tragedy and vase-painting. She shows that a misleading distinction has arisen in modern studies between the Greek meaning of *eidôlon* (met in epic and tragedy) as an 'unwinged, life-sized and life-like figure' (either dead or wounded and dying or a substitute for a living figure who is elsewhere), and the word 'eidôlon' now given by iconographers to the small, insubstantial winged figures painted in scenes of the underworld that decorate white-ground funerary lekythoi, etc. Bardel contrasts the Homeric apparitions whose insubstantial qualities can be emphasised by raising mental images in the listeners' imaginations, and the skilful use made of such visible figures as Darius, Clytemnestra and Polydorus in tragedy. She also examines the red-figure scenes that contain life-sized *eidôla* such as Elpenor, Aeetes and the Basle 'ghost of a dead hero', with the view of showing how the vase-painters were attempting to give 'concrete shape and form to the poets' words'. In the final chapter Goldhill opens up the meaning of this part and takes a broad look at the possible connotations of 'image(ry) and the stage': stage, rostrum, dais, arena, all places where word is seen in action. He shows how the very act of looking is a 'culturally and historically specific performance', and how being in an audience (in whatever context) was a political act. He then concentrates on the language of viewing (*theôros*, *theatês*, etc.) and points out that Greek words for viewing also involved evaluating and judging. 'Participation in the audience can be regarded … as an active, positive citizen's performance.'

The fourth part ('Reading (and) the Image') is mainly concerned with classical sculpture and its social context. Tanner offers a trenchant critique of the traditional and still prevalent view which sees classical art as an autonomous province with its own specifically aesthetic values and is too ready to be influenced by the eighteenth-century model of art and artists in a liberal public sphere. He argues that the connection between statuary and intellectual discourse has been overstressed and that it was a behavioural rather than a verbal system that was dominant. 'A Greek viewer would not simply have decoded a set of abstract conceptual messages, but responded bodily to the familiar forms encountered in such imagery.' Similarly, it was civic purposes and values that controlled the designs of classical sculptures such as those of Polykleitos, and social experiences such as military and athletic training, on which the security of a state depended, that dictated the viewer's response to statues in human form. Aesthetic values were not privileged above all others, but were fused with the political and social. Polykleitos' statues were designed and

executed to influence the attitude of citizens to the question of how their own bodies related to the needs of the state. Stears addresses the problem of how funerary sculptures in Athens, which all espoused the normative values of their times in both image and text, must be regarded. She, like Moignard and Tanner, wants to remove the classical funerary reliefs from the grasp of the art-historians and urges that the gravestones should be considered from a holistic point of view which incorporates their social, political and ritual contexts and takes account of burial assemblages, the particularising funerary laments and the treatment of the *stêlê* as a substitute for the deceased individual. She stresses the profound emotional effect of Demetrios' long-lasting legislation that denied Athenians the traditional expression of family unity in their observance of the rituals of death. Osborne extends his previous study of architectural sculpture and asks us to view the temple ornamentation as though we were pilgrims visiting the various sanctuaries of ancient Greece. For the most part we know the contexts in which the sculptures were placed and also the conditions of viewing. We are thus encouraged to see how the different shapes and locations of the pediments (hierarchical and confrontational), metopes (episodic but in sequence) and continuous friezes (more involving) affected the choice of subject, the style and the arrangement commissioned, devised and executed by the patrons, designers and sculptors. It was by these means of visual imagery that the power and presence of the deity was first impressed upon the viewers and their approach to the cult-statue prepared.

II

So much for the individual chapters, their content, the issues they raise within themselves, their links with current concerns. But one of the aims of the conference was to explore connections and contrasts between different sorts of material and between divergent methods of interpretation. In what ways has this aim been achieved?

To start with, as one might expect, a major concern is the problem of the definition and semantics of the two terms in the title: word and image. This is a problem both in English and in ancient Greek (e.g. *logos*/*mythos*; *eikon*/*idea*): words can be seen as written or spoken, images can be verbal, mental or visual, and interconnections between the miscellaneous interpretations are similarly variable. That variety has given the contributors an opportunity to range widely over many different fields.

Some chapters expressly address the complex questions arising from the relationship between texts and images. Bardel is correct in detecting a less than perfect fit between them: 'this often uneasy alliance between image and text'. The older, more orthodox approach tended to study

images through the medium of the written word, privileging the latter above the former. This is no longer viable, as images are seen to have a separate existence of their own. Also, a distinction has to be made about the different sorts of text that are being called into play, such as the narratives of myths that can vary greatly in their details and the accounts of sculpture and sculptural ensembles that depend on the eye and the credulity of the beholder. All the studies emphasise the way in which stories undergo development through the constraints of literary or artistic form, and are a prey to the need to create new dramatic versions (March), to politicise themes in time of interstate strife (Palagia) or even to parody accepted values (Sparkes).

Questions are raised not only about the narrative content of the stories being told in images but also about the extent to which a flowing narrative is possible in static visual terms. Snodgrass points out the help given by the inscriptions that accompany the narratives on pottery in the archaic period, and the quotation from Aristotle that heads his chapter ('… in the case of the paintings of olden days, unless they were inscribed, one did not know what each thing was') underlines the connection between the two and their dependence on one another. Attempts to sort out the figures from the base of the Nemesis cult-statue at Rhamnous, such as Palagia makes, are hindered by the absence of the accompanying names in the background. Stears also shows how the inscriptions on grave *stêlai* are part of the meaning of the relief carvings and once again carry a social message.

The actual experience of viewing the images is a central theme of many chapters with quite different content. Contemporary comment on images and image-making is rare, but Goldhill reminds us of two fifth-century texts where reference is made to the viewing of images: the papyrus fragments of Aeschylus' satyr-play *Theoroi* in which the satyrs marvel at life-like images of themselves that they have brought to fasten in the shrine of Poseidon, and Euripides' *Ion* in which the chorus of Athenian women visiting Delphi in attendance on Creusa exclaim at the recognisable figures on the doors of the Apollo temple. Osborne helps us to share the experience of visitors to a Greek shrine doing exactly that: decoding the visual images on the temples as we move round. Goldhill presents members of the audience in the theatre viewing actors as images that speak and move before them and listening to orators in the law courts and assembly, and asks us to remember that the audiences were there as social and political beings. In another context of viewing Snodgrass takes us into a *symposion* in which cups and bowls are handed round from one to another and the drinkers are shown images of gods and heroes or themselves at work and play. Yet again Tanner has citizens viewing Polykleitos' statues from the standpoint not of their aesthetic acceptability but of their reflection of the civic values that the state needed in order

to survive. However, this privileging of the viewer is not to be seen in a general way; each group of viewers is involved in a culturally and historically specific performance.

Finally, in addition to interlinking contrasts in approach, Tanner's emphasis on structured response to the normative ideal in sculpture ('toeing the party line') and on the behavioural reaction to the human statues of the classical period ('gut reaction') can be contrasted with Sparkes' claim that vase-painters, who were not working in the public sphere, had a degree of autonomy in the way on which they parodied the civic exemplars, and with Halliwell's concern with Plato's philosophical writings that still provide a level of discourse that has meaning for understanding classical Greek art and thought.

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Part I

IMAGES IN EARLY GREECE

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1

SONGS FOR HEROES:
The Lack of Images in Early Greece

Irene Lemos

AFTER THE COLLAPSE of the palatial system, in roughly 1200 BC, the Greeks lost some of the most important aspects of their Mycenaean culture. This alone would have had profound consequences for their social and political structures. But in addition during the period starting at the end of the Late Bronze Age and before 750 BC, they lost not only the ability to write (or better to record) but also to create narrative art: both images and the written word[1] disappeared from the archaeological record.

There was of course an interlude – although only a short one – in this gloomy post-palatial situation during the middle of the LH IIIC period when a few communities in the Aegean managed to reorganise themselves – though on a much smaller scale than before – and to re-establish communication with each other so that goods and ideas briefly travelled within and outside the area. But this did not last for long and by the end of the Late Bronze Age destruction and abandonment of settlements once more marks the archaeological record (Desborough 1964: 20, 228; Deger-Jalkotzy 1994: 14, 19–21; Lemos 1998: 45–8).

There is no doubt that for the next two generations life was not easy for the survivors, but towards the end of the Sub-Mycenaean period, some communities appear well established with organised cemeteries which belonged to permanent settlements, indicating that conditions were settled and gradually improving. Yet, we know that, with one exception, these communities did not produce any written evidence or many images

I would like to thank Dr James Forder for reading my text and making useful suggestions.

1 The loss of Linear B did not really have such a great impact on the life of those who survived the collapse of the palatial system. Linear B, as we know, was the language of the tablets which were important for the running of the palace economy and administration, but when the palaces went, there was no real need for them. In addition, we should not assume that, because of the existence of Linear B tablets, the average Mycenaean was able to read and write. On the contrary, writing was a palatial tool and the majority of the Mycenaeans enjoyed an oral society, as was the case even during the classical period when the written word often took second place to the spoken (Thomas 1992: 3, 15–28).

(Lemos forthcoming b). Such images as there are in these areas consist of isolated figures of animals – usually horses and birds[2] – which are mostly drawn in the more hidden areas of the vases, such as under the handles (Desborough 1952: 23–62; Kopcke 1977; Coldstream 1988; Papadopoulos 1990: 20–3). Only in Crete did figured decoration continue to appear at least on the pottery, and probably without a gap. Thus Crete – perhaps because of the strong Minoan tradition – is different from the rest of the Aegean (Coldstream 1988: 23–30).[3]

In the past, one of the reasons for this lack was thought to be the fact that during this period Greek communities were in an isolation which brought with it artistic stagnation (Snodgrass 1971: 2; Desborough 1972: 15–16, 340, 353). We now know that this is not correct and that from the middle of the tenth century BC, if not earlier, communication within and outside the Aegean was well established and in full operation. We also know that the Euboeans played an important rôle in re-establishing these links and communications. Imports were already arriving at Lefkandi in Euboea by the end of the eleventh century BC. By the end of the tenth century goods from other sites within the Aegean and from the Near East are found with the burials in the cemeteries at Lefkandi. These were given together with plenty of locally produced pottery, jewellery, weapons and dress ornaments (Popham 1994; Lemos forthcoming a).

The fact remains, however, that the craftsmen at Lefkandi, as in the rest of the Aegean apart from Crete, never copied any of the images which were imported together with the Near Eastern goods from the tenth century BC. Thus the question here might be why it took so long for the central Aegean to reintroduce to its art and crafts images and figurative art.

In order to illustrate this point it will be interesting to refer to some examples from the site of Lefkandi in Euboea, which produces most of the imported material of this period. From a tomb dated to the end of Protogeometric period, roughly 900 BC, comes a bronze bowl which is probably from North Syria. The decoration is divided into zones. The two upper bands bear sphinxes wearing helmets and flanking trees of life. Around the bottom of the bowl are leopards and palm-trees depicted in a highly realistic manner. Even modern viewers find this bowl impressive and so we can only guess at the effect this object might have had on the

2 For a good summary of most of the early figure representations on Protogeometric pottery, see Papadopoulos 1990.

3 In this I agree with Sarah Morris when she prefers to call the Protogeometric B phase in Crete 'Proto-Orientalising' (Morris 1997: 58). At the same time it is important to remember that for Crete the strong Minoan heritage was never rejected and often copied. It has been convincingly shown that Early Iron Age vases were inspired by and copied Late Minoan *larnakes* which were found in the same tholos tombs in the North Cemetery at Knossos (Coldstream 1988).

deprived eyes of the Euboeans who were used to the circles and wavy lines found on the local pottery, many examples of which were deposited in the same tomb with this impressive bronze bowl (Popham 1994: 45; Popham with Lemos 1996: pl. 133).

Another bronze bowl was found in a tomb dated around the same time. This also bears figure decoration: a procession of women carrying offerings towards a table or altar with more vases on it, while at the other end a central figure is seated on a throne with a group of musicians behind. The bowl probably belonged to a rich lady buried with two more imported bronze vessels and a large amount of gold jewellery (Popham 1994: 45–6; Popham with Lemos 1996: pl. 134).

Images of humans and animals were not only accessible from contemporary imports. Another important find from Lefkandi is the bronze amphora which was used as an urn and contained the ashes of the first burial at the Toumba cemetery. The bronze amphora has decoration on the rim and the handles: the rim is decorated with three human figures, all hunters, and twenty animals. The images of the animals include bulls and lions. On the handles there are further figures of bulls and animals. The vessel comes from Cyprus and is dated to around 1050 BC according to comparative material found in well-dated tomb groups from the island. So this piece was one hundred years old when it was used as an urn for the burial in 950 BC (Catling 1993: 86–92, pl. 19). Therefore, human and animal images involved in narrative scenes were probably in circulation well before the bronze amphora from Cyprus was used as an urn for this exceptional burial.

Nevertheless, these images were never locally copied. It is worthy of note that among the earliest human representations of this period are the archers depicted on a Middle Protogeometric hydria found in a tomb at Lefkandi (Popham, Sackett and Themelis 1980: 127, 348, pl. 106, 51.2).[4] The tomb is dated to the same stage of the Protogeometric period as the exceptional warrior burial in the bronze urn in the Toumba cemetery, and thus its theme might have been inspired by the archers on the bronze amphora. The archers on the hydria, however, are very different in that, first, they are not hunters but warriors, since they seem to shoot at each other from a sitting position. In addition, the warriors on the hydria are drawn in a very schematic manner: their body is depicted as a curved line and their head is just a fringed circle with a central dot for an eye and without the oriental, conical cup-helmet worn by the hunters on the bronze amphora. Finally, the warriors have a double-curved composite bow of the

4 This hydria has been initially considered to be an import. Richard Jones, however, groups the vase with the Black and Red Slip wares which he considers to be of local clay (Jones 1986: 629–31, with table 8.1, no. 2).

type held by later Geometric warriors, while the hunters are equipped with a single-curved bow which is generally believed to be of oriental origin (Snodgrass 1964: 141–4).

Another contemporary example is certainly one of the most celebrated vases of the middle tenth century BC from the Aegean. This is the monumental krater found above the burials at Lefkandi (Catling and Lemos 1990: 86–92, pl. 19). This vase is almost a meter high and 80 cm wide and anticipates the much later Late Geometric kraters found in Athens. It is decorated mostly with many of the current Protogeometric motifs available and in the most elaborate combinations. The main decoration is of panels with geometric designs. The vessel had four handles, and it is under each of the handles that we find a pair of trees. These trees are again among the earliest images on Greek pottery. The tree motif, however, has a long history in the figured decoration of the Late Bronze Age, and its origin might be traced to the East. Trees do occur on the pottery of contemporary Cyprus, but they are painted in panels on the body and not under the handles, and they are usually not as schematic as the trees here (for comparative material, see Catling and Lemos 1990: 86–92; for Cypriot examples, see Iakovou 1988: 70–4).

The Protogeometric trees on the krater are also different from the palm-trees on the bronze bowl discussed earlier (see p. 12), since the local potter decided to depict his trees in a schematic manner which agrees better with the rest of the geometric decoration of the vase. The trees have also been turned into a geometric motif, as were the warriors on the hydria discussed above.

It might be thought that the local potters were so primitive that they did not have the skill to copy imported images. Such a suggestion might have been correct, if there were in fact an absence of other, more sophisticated skills which were practised at Lefkandi during the same period. For example, it was believed that the skill of the jeweller had also been lost at the end of the palatial period (Desborough 1972: 313; Higgins 1980a: 88–93), but discoveries at Lefkandi, and to some extent from other sites, have proven these views wrong.

Jewellery was given to the rich burials at Lefkandi together with imported goods and a large amount of local pottery. I have argued in my forthcoming study of the period that most of this jewellery and especially the early examples were locally manufactured (Lemos forthcoming b). In the past it was assumed that techniques, such as granulation, practised by the Mycenaeans were lost and then reintroduced later from the East either in the form of imported objects or brought by immigrant craftsmen. What is interesting, however, is that the funerary jewellery at Lefkandi occurs in local types which are not to be found outside the Aegean. One category of such funerary jewellery is presented by the so-called ‘attachments’.

These were gold bands[5] in odd shapes and have so far been found only at Lefkandi and on Skyros (Higgins 1980b: 219–20). Another feature in the local jewellery is the unique combination of jewels given to the rich ladies in the Toumba cemetery (see, for example, Popham with Lemos 1996: pls. 56, 66, 69, 70, 73). These objects do not have any parallels from the Near East and should be considered local products.

In addition, it has recently been shown by experts in the field that even complicated gold-work techniques such as granulation can be copied and produced. One needs just one good example to copy, which might have been imported or kept as an heirloom (Ogden 1998: 15–16). Such an heirloom comes from Lefkandi: it is the gold pendant which was given to the woman buried next to the male burial at the Toumba building discussed above. It is decorated with impressive granulation, and its closest parallel comes from Ebla in Syria, dated to roughly 1700 BC (Weiss 1985: 238, no. 109).

There is no doubt that such pieces were symbolically important. In this case the symbol, as well as the jewel, was sacrificed – perhaps together with the owner – during the funeral rituals. But before being buried, this exceptional jewel could have been used as a model for others. So this and perhaps others may have been employed for both inspiration and copying. If this is the case, then craftsmen at Lefkandi were able to copy more complicated skills, such as granulation,[6] which were used to decorate some locally produced pieces.

Yet they did not copy images, since geometric designs are also favoured on jewellery. For example, only simple geometric designs were applied to the gold attachments and the funerary bands. Other funerary ornaments given to the burial are gold discs. Among the earliest pieces of jewellery from the site are the discs found on the same woman buried at Toumba under the building. These are decorated with spiral motifs, while similar, but smaller, discs were produced throughout the period, and they are

5 The so-called 'attachments' are made of a thin sheet of elongated gold foil. Many have small foil bands attached at a tapering end and longer bands at a broad or flat end. Their decoration consists of simple impressed or traced patterns, such as lines, dots, cross-hatching and herring-bone motifs. Similar examples have been found only on Skyros. Some of them are now in the Museum of Cycladic Art in Athens and might be of a later date, especially the piece which is decorated with warriors holding 'Dipylon' shields in a Late Geometric style (Marangou 1985: 146–7, nos. 228-9).

6 Granulation was used to decorate a number of the jewels found at the site, such as pendants and earrings (Popham, Sackett and Themelis 1980: pls. 231d and 221; Popham with Lemos 1996: pl. 136a and b). Reynold Higgins was the first scholar to suggest that the granulation on some of the examples might have been locally produced (Higgins 1980b: 221–2). Apart from jewellery, bronze metalwork was also produced on Xeropolis, the settlement site of Lefkandi, as is evinced by the discovery of moulds for casting, most probably tripod legs (Popham, Sackett and Themelis 1980: 93–7).

also decorated with geometric motifs, usually curvilinear (Popham, Calligas and Sackett 1993: pl. 18a, b; Popham with Lemos 1996: pls. 131, 137d–g).

Information about the decoration of dress comes from an example again from Lefkandi. It is a piece of band found together with the cotton garment which was given to the warrior buried at Toumba. It is a coloured band decorated with lively geometric patterns. Geometric patterns are very suitable for textiles, and it has been suggested that some of the motifs on pottery might actually have originally been copied from textiles (Catling and Lemos 1990: 28).

So far it is becoming clear that although images of people, animals and trees were available in this period from imported goods and heirlooms, they were not copied as they were in later periods. Craftsmen and their clients were happy with their geometric designs, which they applied to pottery, jewellery and probably dress. I believe this was not because they could not copy the images, but because they were not really interested in them. They were happy producing the same, sometimes monotonous, geometric decoration on pottery, jewellery and dress.

In archaeology, however, images are not the only means employed in order to understand the society which produced them. I have suggested in the past that during the period under consideration, by examining some of the most striking features of the archaeological material, it is possible to argue for the existence of a diversity of characteristics which broadly divide Greece into various regions. Attica and the Argolid are two of them, as are Western Greece and Crete. Interconnections among these areas are certain. Euboea, for example, maintains close links with Attica and the Argolid, while some Euboean imports have been found in Crete. However, it is with sites in Central Greece, Thessaly and perhaps Pieria and Chalcidice that Euboea developed a more special relationship, suggesting they formed a *koinê*. This *koinê* was expressed through the use of a similar style of pottery, similar ornaments and the spread of common ideas. It is also clear that some members shared access to imported goods, used to reinforce the status of the élite groups whose members can be distinguished in the burials in the cemeteries at Lefkandi, Skyros and Atalanti and perhaps at Marmariani and Homolion in Thessaly. Further links among the members can be suggested in the operation of the sanctuary at Kalapodi in Phocis and Poseidi near Mende at Chalcidice, where cultural links were probably reinforced through common cult practices and the dedication of similar offerings (Lemos 1998).

The suggestion that a cultural *koinê* was in operation during this period might have important implications for the formation and the rise of epic poetry or certainly for one of the most interesting and important stages in its formation (Sherratt 1990: 816–9). This is especially true after Martin

West's suggestion that Thessaly and Euboea played an important rôle in the rise of Greek epic. Thessaly is important not only because of certain Aeolisms present in the epic language, but also because of the rich saga which was in circulation in the region both during and after the Mycenaean period. West argued that some of the key figures in the plot of the Homeric songs come from a strong Thessalian tradition which eventually blended with the Ionic elements in the eastern Aegean, either on Lesbos or on the coast of Asia Minor (West 1988). It has been argued above that during this period, and perhaps even earlier, Thessaly and Euboea were in close contact. Moreover, from the little available material dated to Protogeometric and slightly more from the Sub-Protogeometric period, it appears that Lesbos, Chios, Old Smyrna and Troy had links with members of the Euboean *koinê* (Lemos forthcoming b).

This period must also be one when more stories arrived in the Aegean from the Near East (West 1997). Some of the stories from the East probably survived from earlier integrations during the Bronze Age, but others were transmitted during this period and were probably first heard by Euboeans who incorporated them into the existing poetic tradition.

Finally, the importance of Euboea for the setting of heroic poetry becomes more significant with the discovery of the burials under the building at Toumba. Aspects of their funeral, for example, can be compared to the funeral of Patroklos in *Iliad* xxiii. In addition, contacts with the eastern Mediterranean, manifested in the imported goods, can be compared with the luxurious objects described in the poems (Dickinson 1986: 24–8). Finally, one may also add that the building at Toumba suggests the existence of similar venues where epic poetry was recited.

Thus we may agree that indeed the period from the middle of the tenth to the middle of the ninth century BC was an important stage in the formation of poetry, and especially of poetry which sang heroic narrative. But during such a formative stage, when influences from the past and the present were still forming early Greek poetry, the visual images might not have crystallised. It is no accident that only by the seventh century BC are images from the *Odyssey* (and a little later for Iliadic themes) recognisable on artefacts and especially on pottery (Kannicht 1982; Snodgrass 1998: 89–100).

Another reason for the lack of images in this important stage of the formation of epic poetry might also be that geometric decoration still carried the powerful expression[7] of the élite groups which formed and manipulated the taste of the period.

7 James Whitley has also been arguing that in ninth-century Athens, specific geometric motifs and syntax, on belly-handled amphorae for female burials and on kraters for male ones, were used by rich members of the society to mark their status (Whitley

We may argue then that for the period examined here the word was a more powerful tool of expression than any image. There are of course a few exceptions, as I mentioned earlier: among the first images depicted on vases or modelled in clay is that of a horse. The earliest examples were depicted on Attic vases already in the Protogeometric period. This powerful symbol represented the dynamism of the members of the élite, which could afford to keep such animals and in exceptional cases even to sacrifice them in burial to honour their privileged owner.[8]

If the significance of the horse as a symbol becomes more important during this period, then the combination of the figure of a man with that of the horse becomes one of the most intriguing and powerful images in Greek iconography: that of the centaur. Although figurines which combine human and animal features are known in Crete and Cyprus in the eleventh and tenth centuries, none of them can be identified as a centaur.[9]

The combination of the image of a horse with that of a man was neither Near Eastern or Cretan,[10] but belongs to central Greece. This combined image provided one of the first visual images of a myth. We may perhaps start to understand why the centaur at Lefkandi (Nicholls, Desborough and Popham 1970) was among the first images that the Greek artist decided to experiment with at the outset of his long struggle to match word with image.

1991: 134–6). In the same way, it has been suggested that specific themes on some of the markers found in the Late Geometric 'Dipylon Cemetery' in the north of Athens were 'socially exclusive' decorations employed to advertise the life and death of the rich burials found in this cemetery (Snodgrass 1998: 45). Finally, Ian Morris proposed that orientalising decoration on the pottery of the late-eighth century was also employed to denote status (Morris 1997). At Lefkandi, status in the Protogeometric and Sub-Protogeometric periods was indicated by the ability to deposit not only a number of imports but also a great number of locally produced pottery pieces, decorated with geometric designs and not imported images. In this case it was probably the number of the locally produced pots which was used to balance the symbolic value of the imported goods. Only on rare occasions, a specific vase-type and decoration were employed in the same way as in Athens. One such vase is a type of large-size lekythos which has been found in the tombs of élite burials in the Toumba cemetery and in rich tombs on Skyros (Lemos 1996).

8 Apart from the four horses found in the south shaft in the Toumba building, two more horses were found in the Toumba cemetery (Popham, Calligas and Sackett 1993: pl. 22; Popham with Lemos 1996: pl. 22).

9 Lembesi (1996) has admirably demonstrated how the Euboean centaur was indebted to the coroplastic tradition of Crete. The mixed creatures from Crete and Cyprus, however, are not centaurs, and although the idea of a mixed creature might have been copied from them, the combination of a horse and a man was not a loan from either. Schiffler (1976: 78–80) also sees no connection with the Cretan and Cypriot examples, and nor does d'Agata (1997: 93). Even Karageorghis, who was among the first scholars to call the Cypriot creatures from Ayia Irini and Enkomi centaurs, has more recently noted that his 'centaurs are not equivalent of what is known as a Greek centaur', while others call them minotaurs or sphinxes (1993: 53). For a certain centaur on a Black Slip Painted II bowl now in the Louvre, see Karageorghis and des

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Garniers 1974: 42, 141. This might be the earliest representation on the island and is probably contemporary with the example discussed below.

10 The earliest representation is on a Sub-Mycenaean or Early Protogeometric pyxis from the Kerameikos (Bohen 1988: 15). The askos from Cos which has often been taken as a centaur is close to Cypriot examples and does not have the body of a horse (Morricone 1978: 349–51, fig. 766). Instead its body is an askos with a spout, a shape often used for bird-vases, while the upper body is that of a bisexual creature like the Cypriot examples. For a similar example from Vrokastro attached to a cylindrical body, see Hayden 1991: 139, fig. 12.38.

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2

THE USES OF WRITING ON EARLY GREEK PAINTED POTTERY

Anthony Snodgrass

καθάπερ τὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων γραφέων, εἰ μή τις ἐπέγραψεν, οὐκ ἐγνωρίζετο τί ἐστιν ἕκαστον.

Aristotle, *Topica* 140a21–2

'JUST AS IN THE case of the paintings of olden days, unless they were inscribed, one did not know what each thing was.' Whatever the 'old paintings' that Aristotle had in mind, the reference is certainly to large-scale work; and we know from Pausanias' detailed descriptions that the practice of inscribing still prevailed when Polygnotos and Mikon were executing their famous murals, something over a hundred years before Aristotle's time of writing. In fourth-century parlance, their work could perhaps already be counted as 'ancient'. The analogy that Aristotle is making is with definitions which are insufficiently precise and exclusive to do their job effectively. We note that this purports to be a statement of fact rather than an inference: literally, 'it used not to become known' what the paintings showed. Whether or not we believe that Aristotle was right about this, it is at least clear that he regarded the practice as obsolete and no longer necessary in his own times. What is more, when we turn our attention to vase-painting, we shall find evidence to support this temporal distinction in general terms.

The interplay of image and word had long been ubiquitous in the culture of ancient Greece. But there are very few places where the two come so close together as in the painted inscriptions on Greek vases: indeed, inasmuch as the inscriptions at times seem to be located with a view of filling gaps in the figure-scenes, the word can actually become a *part* of the image. This was a phenomenon that had a fairly rapid growth, then a pronounced peak, then a steady decline. Even at its peak, in the high

I am most indebted to Professor Stephen Halliwell for knowledge of the apposite quotation that heads this chapter; and to members of the Edinburgh audience – especially Professor Robin Osborne – for some enlightening comments on other parts of the chapter.

archaic period, it was a minority practice among vase-painters; yet it was widespread enough, within and beyond Athens, to pass with little extended comment from scholars nowadays. By the full archaic period, it had become rather rare and by the fourth century, as Aristotle's parallel suggests, even more so.

In 1990 appeared Henry Immerwahr's long-awaited[1] *Attic Script: A Survey*. The title of the book hardly conveys the fact that vase-inscriptions heavily preponderate in its content, though it fairly represents the treatment that follows, which is epigraphical first and last. There is, for example, little or no discussion (nor an index) of the range of types of pot chosen for inscription, the main aspect with which I shall be dealing here. Nor can ceramic considerations have been uppermost in the author's mind when he gave 'the backwardness of Attica' as the explanation for the relative dearth of early inscriptions there (Immerwahr 1990: 8): 'backwardness' is hardly the first word that springs to the mind of anyone contemplating the unquestioned leadership of the Attic ceramic industry in the eighth century BC. When pottery provides the writing-surface for more than three-quarters of a body of extant inscriptions, as it does in this case, then to neglect the generations of painstaking study which that material has received in its own right is to set aside all potential investigation of the *context* of the writing.

The François Vase[2] stands just at the point when the flood-gates were about to open on the inscribing of vase-scenes at Athens; but they opened rather earlier elsewhere. Probably our first painted inscription, a maker's one from the rim of a krater, belongs more than four generations earlier than this, around 700 BC, and comes from one of the furthest outposts of Greek culture, the island of Ischia.[3] Such 'signature' inscriptions form what is not only the earliest, but to later ages the most readily intelligible, category of painted inscription. Presently, in the middle years of the seventh century BC, it is joined by a second category which will provide the greater part of the material for this paper, the 'tag'- or 'caption'-inscription. Here (as on the François Vase) a name is painted beside a human or divine participant in a figure-scene or, much less frequently, beside an object. There is thus a difference of context, as well as of purpose, from the first category, in that only a representational scene will provide an opportunity for its use.

Thirdly, and *not* reserved exclusively for figural scenes, there is perhaps

1 Its forthcoming appearance had been announced as much as forty-four years previously, by Richter 1946: 167, n. 21 *ad fin*.

2 For the most perceptive discussion, see Beazley 1951/1986: 26–37/24–34. Immerwahr (1990: 24) characteristically described the vase, with its 270 figures, as 'a major monument of Attic epigraphy'.

3 See Buchner 1970–1: 67, fig. 8; Ridgway 1992: 96, fig. 26.

the best-known of all categories of painted inscription on vases: the ΚΑΛΟΣ names, praising the beauty of an individual, which can also occur as incised *graffiti*, unconnected with the production of the vase and scratched at some later time. The ΚΑΛΟΣ names begin much later and are clearly in a separate class: direct communications to the user which may or may not relate to a primary visual communication. Most intelligibly, it is the *anonymous* ΚΑΛΟΣ inscriptions which point the viewer directly to the picture: there is not much point in writing, for example, hO ΠΑΙΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ ('the boy is beautiful') unless there is a picture of a boy to go with the message. Conversely, when a name *is* given, ΛΕΑΓΡΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ, alongside a picture which may or may not actually represent Leagros, there is the possibility of confusion: this very confusion has posed problems for modern scholarship. Nevertheless, there are cases of what Beazley called the 'tag-ΚΑΛΟΣ' and Immerwahr the 'caption-ΚΑΛΟΣ', where a name, real or invented, is written beside, and is clearly meant to be taken with, an image.

Fourthly, and this time once more confined to figural scenes, there is the much rarer category of what we may call 'bubble'-inscriptions. The orthodox view of their first appearance is that it belongs latest of the four, in the latter part of the sixth century BC. But in 1987 Gloria Ferrari proposed recognising an instance of this type in what had been taken as one of the very earliest specimens of the caption-inscription, the Menelas stand from Aigina, which probably dates from before 650 BC and which had for nearly a hundred years presented a serious puzzle to art-historians and others (Ferrari 1987). A line of identically dressed men processes round this conical stand, each holding a spear. In front of one, otherwise indistinguishable from his companions, is painted the word, ΜΕΝΕΛΑΣ, which gives the piece its name. If the artist were really identifying this figure as Menelaos, as had been universally assumed, then there is a first difficulty in locating the context of this not very warlike procession. Even if that problem were solved – by identifying the scene as an assembly of the suitors of Helen, or less plausibly as the later gathering of the Achaean leaders for the Trojan War – there would remain a broader problem of iconography. Why should the artist name only Menelaos, among companions who would be certain to include some major heroic figures? Why should he show them in uniform and unheroic guise? The dress was indeed the clue which led Ferrari to her conclusion: these are dancers or singers, a lyric chorus in fact. 'Menelas' is not the name of one of them, but the title (and perhaps the first word) of the song that they are all singing: hence the fact that the name is written in Doric, the dialect of lyric. 'Not convincing' was the brief and rather icy comment which Immerwahr devoted to this suggestion in a late footnote to his book (Immerwahr 1990: 10, n. 7).

By contrast, I find this to be one of those insights which, because they unravel a whole skein of difficulties at a stroke, must be right. 'Bubble'-inscriptions are at all periods rare enough – occurring perhaps on less than one figured scene in a thousand – for it to be unremarkable that we have to wait more than a century for the next parallel. Imagine what later ages might make of a nineteenth-century picture showing a concert-group in military dress uniform, inscribed with the words 'Some talk of Alexander'. Might they falter in learned perplexity, knowing that there was a famous British commander in World War II who was also called Alexander, yet recognising that this picture was of a much earlier date? Would not they too jump at the explanation that it was the first line of a song? Be that as it may, there eventually comes a time when undoubted 'bubble'-inscriptions provide a fourth category, as in one of the several scenes of Odysseus and the Sirens, on a jug of about 500 BC,[4] where a constrained and only partially literate hero (ΟΛΥΤΕΥΣ) cries out ΛΥΣΝ (ΛΥΣΟΝ without the O) – 'untie me!', 'set me free!'.

Such written utterances lead directly on to one of the neglected insights about all these *dipinti* inscriptions on vases, whether they are signatures expressing the pride of the artist, captions to aid the understanding of his pictures, direct communications to the user like the ΚΑΛΟΣ inscriptions, actual 'bubbles' or of any other category. This is that, as far as our current understanding goes, they must very often have been designed for oral utterance – in that silent reading was probably not yet practised in the earliest stages of antiquity and, when it began to prevail, did so primarily as a time-saving device in the reading of long texts. This seems to me to have wide implications, especially but not exclusively for inscriptions on pottery. It is Jesper Svenbro, in his *Phrasikleia*, who has most fully and recently treated the general scope of these implications (Svenbro 1988), though I appreciate that his is not the last word on the subject. In particular, one must acknowledge the important contribution made in a recent paper by A. K. Gavrilov, with its equally valuable postscript by Myles Burnyeat (Gavrilov and Burnyeat 1997). But Svenbro's exploration of the cultural consequences of reliance on reading aloud remains valuable, even if it was not universally prevalent as he assumed. His own interests may lie chiefly with literary writing, and with inscriptions that aspire to a literary quality. But his arguments apply *a fortiori* to the decidedly non-literary specimens of writing that most often confront us on painted pottery, and to their destined readership, which is likely to have been, at least, around the average level of literacy for archaic and classical Greece.

Svenbro stresses the rôle of the reader as 'deliverer' of the writer's message, in a culture which practises reading out loud. In the case of our

4 For an illustration, see Boardman 1974: 150, 201, fig. 286.

inscriptions, it will clearly be the owners and users of these vessels who take on that rôle. Its importance will have increased when the use normally took place in the presence of more than one person: there will then have been an oral communication from the current holder of the vessel to one or more other people. So what do we know of the context of use of these inscribed vases? In some cases, fortunately, quite a lot; and especially for the case of Athens, which provides the material for Immerwahr's corpus.

I shall therefore use Immerwahr's catalogues, not as an exhaustive list of Athenian painted inscriptions (which he never claims them to be), but as a large and unquestionably valid sample of Athenian practice over the period, from *c*.660 to *c*.350 BC, to which they belong; and, almost as confidently, for the period (rather longer at both ends) in which such inscriptions occur in the Greek world as a whole. There are altogether some 877 inscriptions catalogued in his book, but these include substantial numbers of incised *graffiti* on pottery, which are most often secondary to the actual production of the pots and which in some cases, like the numerous *ostraka*, are by definition entirely independent of the purpose for which the pots were made. The catalogues also include a selection of extant Attic inscriptions on stone and on lead from this longish period. There remain some 544 painted inscriptions on vessels which are themselves sufficiently well preserved for us to identify their shape and function. On the latter aspect, one can usefully turn to Max Kanowski's invaluable compilation (Kanowski 1983).

Of these 544, just under two-thirds turn out to belong to categories which we can definitely associate with perhaps the best-documented of all ancient social contexts, the *symposion* (Table 2.1). Cups and other drinking-vessels form much the largest category; then come kraters and other wine-mixing bowls; then vessels more or less closely linked with the dispensing and cooling of wine (stamnoi and psykters); then wine-jugs of various kinds; painted bowl-stands; and finally ladles. One can also most easily place here the few cases of plates and dishes which, even if they did not feature at the *symposion* proper, would at least have featured at social occasions involving the serving of food. That makes a sub-total of 358, all in the broader class of table-ware and the vast majority specifically tied to the *symposion* itself.

To reconstruct the rôle of these inscribed vases at the *symposion* is not difficult, given the wealth of literary and iconographic evidence that we have for that institution. Just as the numerous visual portrayals of symposiasts on these vessels would fit in smoothly with the real-life enactment of very similar scenes, so the presence of writing would have its place in the atmosphere of convivial challenges, competitive recitation and singing, amorous discourse and table-games which we know pre-

Table 2.1 Functions of inscribed vase-shapes (Attic)

Sympotic		
cups, skyphoi etc.	239	wine-drinking
kraters, dinoi, lebetes	63	wine-mixing
stamnoi	10	wine-dispensing
psykters	15	wine-cooling
oinochoai, choes	21	wine-pouring
stands	2	
kyathoi	2	ladles
plates and dishes	6	
		Sub-total 358
'Generally banausic'		
amphorai, pelikai	74	storage; but including wine
hydriai	41	water-transport and storage
louteria	3	washing-basin
aryballoi	2	male bath-accoutrement
		Sub-total 120
Female use		
pyxides, lekanides	12	boxes for jewellery etc.
alabastra	4	female bath-accoutrement
epinetron	1	guard for wool-carding
bobbin	1	for thread
		Sub-total, without the hydriai above 18; with, 59
Funerary		
lekythoi	36	for grave unguent
pinakes	8	funerary plaques
loutrophoroi	3	for purification of the corpse
phormiskos	1	suspended at grave-side
		Sub-total 48

Note: Immerwahr's (1990) sample: total of ascertainable shapes, 544.

vailed. A drinker would read out the inscriptions to his neighbours and thereby, especially in the case of caption- or portrait-ΚΑΛΟΣ inscriptions, find himself involved in a sort of impromptu and involuntary exposition of the scenes to which they belonged. He would be identifying for the company the heroes portrayed in a legendary scene; or the boys or *hetairai* in a genre picture – with the faint possibility that the latter, at least, were physically present to hear the performance. He would likewise have to divulge the subjects of the detached ΚΑΛΟΣ inscriptions without a picture, and perhaps to describe or more fully identify their subjects for the benefit of the uninitiated. He might even – though this is harder to imagine – read out the painters' and makers' signatures: a suggestion that

becomes slightly less far-fetched in the case of the drinking cups, where the physical attributes of the vessel will have played some rôle in its user's performance at the game of *kottabos*. The likelihood that a participant at a *symposion* could bring his own cup with him, as was certainly sometimes the case, gives an added edge to this imaginary picture. The cup would then serve not only as a talking-point at the party (with the added, near-literal sense that an inscribed cup would be 'talking' itself), but as a source of pride to its owner, who could repeatedly present its iconography and inscriptions to new audiences.

None of this is problematic. In fact, it is so readily reconstructed that the impact of the proportion of sympotic shapes begins to reverse itself: if the application of painted inscriptions to the *symposion* is so self-evident, then the remarkable fact is not that so many, but that *only* some two-thirds of the inscriptions are on vessels which lend themselves to this context. We may now return to the remainder of the sample offered by Immerwahr's catalogues.

They include some 120 vessels which I have loosely grouped together as 'generally banausic' in purpose (Table 2.1). There are fairly frequent occurrences of inscriptions on amphorai, pelikai and hydriai of varying forms; and rarer incidences on two other shapes, the louterion or washing-bowl and the aryballos which served for male ablutions. Several of these 'banausic' shapes are in fact rather equivocal in their status. The amphorai could well have been included with the sympotic vessels, thus swelling that category further. As storage-vessels, they might be thought to have spent the greater part of their lives out of the sight of anyone but the owner and his family. Yet one of their functions was indeed to store wine and, especially in the case of the finer specimens with inscribed figure-scenes, it is hard to believe that they would not be shown off to the drinkers of the wine. Bulkier than our own wine-bottles, they were also relegated by the peculiarities of Greek drinking-practice to that stage in the preparations when the pure wine was being initially mixed with water, most often in a krater. Yet there is no reason to exclude the possibility that this operation was carried out in front of the eyes of the guests.

The hydriai are equivocal in a different way. As water-jars, they fall within a sphere of activity which, in Greek society, seems to have been largely the preserve of women. As such, they could well be brought into association with a smaller group of inscribed vessels (Table 2.1) which are more expressly destined for use by the female gender: the pyxis and lekanis, whose prime rôle seems to have been as boxes for prized female possessions, the epinetron, which was used as a knee-guard in wool-carding; the bobbin for spinning; and the alabastron, which may have been the female counterpart of the aryballos for ablutions. If taken together with the hydriai, these make up the quite impressive total of 59 painted

inscriptions whose primary readers (and therefore speakers) would be expected to be women.

It has been assumed throughout this discussion that the users of these vessels had the capacity, indispensable for any use of inscriptions whatever, of being literate. Put thus simply, this is too sweeping. It would suffice for the company, at the *symposion*, in the household or at the fountain, to include at least one person who could read out the messages. But in respect of the inscriptions directed at women, there is an important point to be made. It is a fact well known to the small group of scholars who have worked on this subject that, among the scenes in vase-painting which show a mortal person (as distinct from, say, a Muse) holding up or reading from a book-roll, a remarkably high proportion – about half – show women doing so.[5] From this, it is a reasonable inference that the wives and daughters of educated Athenians could often read and write. I infer therefore that Athenian women quite often read aloud to their children, servants or men-folk; and this makes it less surprising that the short messages painted on hydriai or pyxides should have been normally designed for female customers.

There remains one final category of painted inscriptions on ceramic objects on Table 2.1: those that are presumptively or exclusively associated with funerary practice. The biggest element here is formed by the lekythoi, which can have other uses, but which in this case include a number of specimens of the white-ground lekythos, exclusively funerary in purpose. To them we can add the cases of painted funerary plaques, of loutrophoroi, and of the phormiskos which was designed for suspension at funerals, giving a total of 48 in all. Here we are presumably to imagine the inscriptions being read out as contributions to the formal burial utterances; and it is comforting that, in at least one case of a 'bubble'-inscription, the words are clearly designed for just this purpose (Immerwahr 1990: 74, no. 436, figs 98, 99a–b).

But there is one rather awkward element which has not yet been worked into the argument, and which should be: the 'nonsense' inscriptions. These are, first, fairly numerous and, secondly, particularly prevalent in Athens. Immerwahr, who had earlier drawn up a skeleton typology for the 'nonsense' inscriptions according to the degree of relation to sense that they bear (Immerwahr 1971: 54, 59–60, n. 8), is particularly helpful here. In his 1990 book he draws attention to the important fact that the same painter can write both orthographically and in nonsensical letters, even on the same vase, sometimes in regular, firm characters for both (Immerwahr 1990: 44–5). But because the largest single group of vessels inscribed

5 See most recently Cole 1981: 223, nn. 21–3, citing especially the earlier lists of such scenes drawn up by Immerwahr in 1964 and 1973.

with nonsensical letters is the 'Tyrrhenian amphorae', expressly designed in Athens for export to Etruria, theories had earlier been advanced to the effect that the letters were designed to tease the Etruscans; or alternatively, that it was not worth the trouble of writing Greek correctly for Etruscan customers; or again that the 'nonsense' letters would make sense in some language other than Greek (though unfortunately it has not proved possible to make sense of them in Etruscan). Immerwahr is content to say that 'they give the illusion that the story is also told in words and show that the painter can write, even where he lacks the precise words or the time to put them on'; and that painters like those of the 'Tyrrhenian amphorae' 'use a certain type of nonsense as a kind of "trade-mark"'. This account is perhaps not fully satisfactory, resting as it does on the questionable assumption that it is easier and quicker to write just any letters rather than letters which make sense. But it is at least compatible with all the evidence on this puzzling phenomenon – a phenomenon which, I admit, may require a slight further dilution of the assumption that I have just been making, about basic literacy, or access to literacy, on the part of producers and customers alike.

I should round off the whole issue of the internal classification of the shapes of inscribed vessels by saying that, despite the positive and definite counter-examples which have been adduced, it is the *symposion* which remains the prime field for the deployment of these inscriptions. Only here do we have the full, complex interplay of different levels of reality, with depictions of sympotic activity being used in the activity itself; with actual sympotic vessels carrying depictions of other sympotic vessels; with inscriptions often relating to the *symposion* inviting utterance by the participants in it; and occasionally (since it is on sympotic vessels that 'bubble'-inscriptions are least rare) with three levels of reality, with painted figures uttering painted words which the real user must then himself utter.

I turn finally to a quite different aspect of the *dipinti* on pottery, namely the dating and the possible causes of their use and subsequent fall in popularity as a cultural phenomenon. I have already given the outer time-limits within which they prevail in Athens and Attica: between 660 and 350 BC. For Greece as a whole, the time-span is a little longer, from roughly 700 to 300 BC. But within this bracket there are very marked gradations of popularity. This is most clearly shown by a couple of simple statistics: a mere ninety-odd years, from the time of the François Vase in about 570 to the end of the archaic period in 480 BC, accounts for nearly five-sixths (81 per cent) of all the surviving Athenian painted inscriptions; even the half-century between *c*.550 and 500 BC provides over half of them. For those who prefer a more nuanced picture, Immerwahr divides his material into shorter periods of varying lengths. It is possible to adjust

Table 2.2 Chronology of inscribed Attic vases (Immerwahr's periods)

Period	No. per generation
Pre-François Vase (*c*.660–570 BC)	8
François Vase generation (*c*.570–550 BC)	25
Developed black-figure (*c*.550–530 BC)	255
Red- and black-figure (*c*.530–500 BC)	154
Late Archaic (*c*.500–480 BC)	129
Early Classical (*c*.480–450 BC)	83
Classical (*c*.450–420 BC)	55
Late Classical (*c*.420–350 BC)	17

his figures to the common standard of a number *per generation of thirty years*. The total sample, some 635 inscribed pots and fragments, would if spread evenly give about 61 per generation. The actual distribution gives the very different results seen in Table 2.2.

So there is a huge and abrupt surge in popularity at the mid-sixth century BC, then a fairly steep but even decline over the next century and three-quarters. It seems that we are dealing with a sudden craze in Athens, which later lost its attraction and gave ground steadily for six generations or so, before virtually disappearing (in Athens, that is: in one distant part of the Greek world, the colonial West, it was to linger almost as long as figural scenes on pottery did). How are we to explain such a pattern and profile?

No one, I trust, will suggest that it simply reflects changes in the prevalence of literacy. Although its rise may be explained in terms at least loosely connected with this, its decline cannot have a corresponding significance. In an equally relevant, but more specialised, comparison, we note that its sudden rise and akme are linked to the equally swift rise and akme of the Athenian black-figure style; and that the *beginning* of the decline of the one occurs at much the same date as the much more complete decline of the other, the black-figure technique. This rough correlation could be significant. There *is* a technical reason why the addition of inscriptions to a picture would have been easier in black-figure: it is that writing could simply be added in the course of the first stage of figure-decoration, when the black silhouette was being laid out with a fine brush on the clay background. In the red-figure technique, by contrast, the painter had to change implements and paints, picking up a finer brush than the one he had been using to black in the background, and writing in added red paint on top of this black background – which in turn meant waiting until it had dried. Yet the fact remains that, when the red-figure technique was adopted, not only was a method found, and frequently employed, to persevere with inscriptions, but this method was

to live on in use for nearly two centuries. Once again, then, we have found that it is easier to explain the timing of the rise of Attic painted inscriptions than to account for their long, slow decline.

It seems to me that we should be looking for something more in the nature of a cultural than of a technical explanation. This would fit more easily with the pattern of sudden popularity followed by a gradual falling out of fashion. There is a feature of Athenian (and Greek) art which, without conforming at all closely to the same timetable, does follow a broadly parallel trajectory through time – it is the use of what has been called the 'complementary' or 'synoptic' method of visual narrative; and it relates to exactly the same medium as the great majority of the painted inscriptions – that is, to the representational figure-scenes on vases. In this narrative technique, a scene (often but not invariably legendary in subject) is shown as a succession of more than one episode of the same story within the same frame; but without any single figure being allowed to appear more than once.

I have toyed with the notion that the use of 'caption'-inscriptions, easily our most prolific category of *dipinti* on vases, was first conceived as a viewer's aid for the comprehension of these 'synoptic' pictures. For, without needing to enter here into the thorny issues which have arisen over the intellectual presuppositions which lay behind the use of the 'synoptic' technique (for a recent survey, see Stansbury-O'Donnell 1999: 1–17), we can probably agree that scenes of this kind are more difficult to 'read', simply because they lack the element of unity of time.

The prime difficulty is that such pictures were first introduced into Greek vase-painting very much earlier than the first 'caption'-inscriptions. The technique is unquestionably present in some of the mythological scenes of the first half of the seventh century BC, notably in Corinth and Athens; and I myself have argued that it is already a feature of certain Attic Geometric paintings of the late eighth (most recently, Snodgrass 1987: 153–7). The conclusion would therefore have to be that it took time for this to be perceived as an obstacle to interpretation, or for the solution of inscribed names to be found, by vase-painters. At the other end of the process, however, it can at least be argued that the decline in favour of the 'synoptic' treatment, like that of the painted inscriptions, was a gradual one, surviving well after the introduction of red-figure. In the medium of large-scale painting with which we began, we may note that one and the same era exemplified a relatively late survival of both practices. It is as clear that the great early classical murals of Athens and Delphi were inscribed with names (some of them obscure enough to be taken as the painter's inventions – see, for instance, Pausanias x.25.3) as it is that, in the mural of the Battle of Marathon in the Stoa Poikile at Athens, for example, the painting took the form of a diachronic narrative

of the battle, unfolding from one side to the other, with each leading figure appearing once only (Pausanias i.15.4). Later on in the classical period, we do find that narrative scenes tend to become simpler in construction, with fewer figures and a concentration on a single moment taken from a story – just as the painted inscriptions begin to drop away (Table 2.2). Thus far, there is a very loose fit between the two phenomena: both are (in a broad sense) archaic devices, with which the classical age increasingly dispensed.

The argument cannot, however, be pressed home. An attempt to correlate the incidence of especially complex 'synoptic' pictures with that of painted inscriptions might find a few good individual correspondences,[6] but would soon run into counter-examples. All that we have uncovered are two roughly parallel cultural developments, each of them closely related to the problems of framing narrative scenes in art. I would claim no more than that this general line of explanation is likelier to be on the right track than, on the one hand, those which are more narrowly technical and, on the other, those which appeal to historical frameworks on the grand scale, such as the rise of Athenian prosperity in the sixth century BC under the rule of the tyranny.

Whatever our view on this issue, it is surely clear that the *dipinti* on Attic pottery are a unique source of evidence on 'everyman's' use of writing. Produced for users who might or might not belong to the élite, by artisans who definitely did not, they throw a flood of light on several quite different aspects of ancient cultural life, ranging from male entertainment to the status of women, and from artists' conventions to the attitudes of their public. For all of these, we badly need the evidence of their alternative voice.

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6 As, for example, with the striking scene of Neoptolemos at Troy (Snodgrass 1987: 142–6, figs 37–8), where the viewer badly needs the help of the inscriptions to identify an unfamiliar episode, and would lose much by failure to do so.

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3

TOOLS OF THE TRADE

Elizabeth Moignard

MY ILLUSTRATION (Figure 3.1) shows the black-figure side of an Athenian bilingual Type A amphora,[1] painted around 530 BC by the artist or artists conventionally known as the Andokides or the Lysippides Painter. Some of you may be aware of how many questions I beg by making what was once an unexceptionable statement about this picture. Virtually everything I have said here depends on Beazley's taxonomy – the date, the associations of the term 'artist', his or their conventional names, and the term 'bilingual', as if we were talking about a language, indeed two languages. In making these assumptions, I am working within a framework whose validity has certainly been questioned, though not, I believe, demolished; I would like to shift the ground a little by presupposing a craft tradition, rather than an artistic one, with a particular audience and a highly localised frame of reference. The quality of its products is extremely variable: the good end is a parallel to what is sometimes described as applied art today, and valued by its rather specialised clientele, and the bad end is equivalent to the dreary plague of porridge-coloured mugs (our legacy, alas, from another craft tradition) to be seen at craft-fairs up and down Britain. It is important to insist here that the aim of this industrial-craft tradition is a range of competently made, well-finished vessels, on which stock subject-matter and standardised treatments of it are a norm, desired by craftsman and customer alike. The experimental masterpieces are mavericks – we should be asking what these non-standard pieces were for, rather than suggesting that because the average craft product is a limited-run multiple it is in some sense derivative of another art form or the product of sub-standard hacks. What I want to do here is to look at the tradition as revealed in standard practice – the tools of a trade, part of whose common stock is narrative and illustrative picture-making, something which I believe develops during the sixth century BC: our picture stands at the end of it, at a point of transition.

The scene we have here appears in a panel between the handles of the

1 Munich 2301: Beazley 1956: 255.4; Beazley 1971: 11; Carpenter 1989: 66. See also Carpenter 1986: 98, 112.

Figure 3.1 Attic black-figure scene with Herakles feasting, *c*.530 BC (Munich 2301; after FR 1904: pl. 4)

amphora, high up on the body. It is often captioned as the apotheosed Herakles feasting on Olympos, welcomed by Athena. We are shown a reclining figure, kantharos in hand, on a *klinê*, greeted by the goddess, who holds out her hand. She wears her *aegis*, and a helmet and *peplos*. These are the normal attributes which allow us to identify her; those of Herakles which appear here are the bow, quiver and sword hanging in the tree. The kantharos is in fact another. Most handbooks on iconographic practice would say that the context does the rest of the job – Herakles is the only hero who is portrayed as Athena's guest in this way.

An important feature of this picture is that it does not illustrate one of the standard narratives – it captures a moment which, it has been argued, is a particularly Athenian one. It can be further interpreted to fit with the idea of vase-pictures as political cartoons – Herakles as Peisistratos at home on the Acropolis after his coup. That strand of interpretation began with an article (Boardman 1972) built around a black-figure vase in the Ashmolean Museum which showed Herakles and Athena on their way to Olympos, in a chariot.[2] Neither scene belongs to the cycle of Labours or incidental adventures; both attracted scholarly attention because they are not part of the standard repertoire, both have an overlap into the world portrayed in the genre scenes of black-figure pottery – those which are not quite everyday life, but not quite heroic myth either – scenes of *symposion* and of chariots and horsemen.

2 Oxford 212: Beazley 1956: 331.5; Beazley 1971: 46; Carpenter 1989: 90; *CVA* 2 (9) pls. 7.7, 8.5, 8.6, 9.3.

There are several strands which I should like to pursue here, to which the issues raised by this vase serve as an introduction: in particular the gradual standardisation of some sorts of mythological subject-matter in relation to genre scenes, and the idea of a craft-ethos as it seems exemplified in the workshop practice which I think is revealed in the surviving output of Athens in the sixth century, not least in its very coherent attitude to the relationship between vase-shapes and and the composition of their decoration. Others have already explored this latter theme too, in relation to particular shapes, or to relate shapes to choices of subject-matter. In fact both strands and the use and adaptation of genre scenes seem to me to be fundamental and inextricable elements of what we mean by workshop practice in archaic Athens. And, because they are inextricable, I shall not separate them.

The earliest figure-scenes on Athenian vases are ones which serve a specific purpose – they are funerary, they are highly stylised, and one common type forms a processional band of chariots and warriors round the vase, to accompany the kind which presents us with a single picture of the *prothesis* or *ekphora*[3] in a frame. Argument has raged as to whether these scenes constitute narrative; it is probably right to say that a consensus has emerged as to definitions of narrative which suggest that in this context the scene portrayed should imply a before and an after, or at least further implications of the action we see, and that the figures should be identified (Carter 1972: 25–59). This means that the standard scenes of *prothesis* and *ekphora*, both framed and continuous, are not narrative, though they may be illustrations of parts of a continuous ceremony well understood by the intended viewer of the vase. The processional scheme appears to develop from the repeated animal used as part of an overall scheme which does repeat patterns, and is based on the repeated figure or group of figures. Like the animals, it need have no beginning or end to the procession, and it encircles the vase without a break. Clearly it is a genre scene, no matter what the possibilities of heroism[4] implied by the chariots and horsemen, and it relates to, but is different from, the occasional putatively mythological scene which confuses the issue. I would like to emphasise, though, that the two different sorts of figured scene are there early, and we can continue to trace them later. They go with standard shapes for standard purposes, and that, too, is a characteristic which is still true in the sixth century, and, I should like to argue, still a powerful factor in workshop practice.

3 For example, the Dipylon krater, Athens NM 990: Coldstream 1968: pl. 8b.

4 For these connotations, see Shapiro 1991. Here he argues (630–3 and nn. 4–5) that the *ekphora* was accompanied by chariots, in its most elaborate form, and that Solon's sumptuary legislation was designed, among other things, to curb the practice.

Research on the sites of production[5] in the late seventh and sixth centuries in and around Attica suggests that there was a shift from potting by scattered workshops in villages and on smallholdings in the seventh century to a much more coherent urban industry in metropolitan Athens by the 570s, whatever the motivation. From then on, workshops are in a position to be aware of one another's output, and to adapt their own accordingly. There is also ample evidence for workshops specialising in particular shapes or groups of shapes, with painters who tend to specialise in decorating them. Cup-painters are a very obvious example.[6] Both mythological and genre scenes tend to appear on the larger vases, and cups. Small closed shapes, such as the aryballos (see, for example, Figure 5.1), are rare until the mid-century and after, and the smaller ones which are current before 550 tend to be decorated with animals and florals.

Alan Shapiro has argued (Shapiro 1990) that Athenian vase iconography underwent a notable shift of mythological content at the end of the first third of the sixth century. He showed that until about 570 BC the subject-matter of Athenian black-figure vases strongly resembled that of Corinth, which was also the source of the technique. The myths used seem a very random selection, even allowing for accidents of survival – Bellerophon and the Chimaera, Perseus and Gorgons, Argonauts, Kalydonian Boar Hunt, parts of the Theban cycle, the Odyssey, Pygmies and Cranes (see Ch. 5 below), Prometheus freed by Herakles, Herakles and Nessos, Achilles, the Funeral Games for Patroklos. During the next twenty years or so, we see Herakles' labours and a few extra adventures, including the Trojan war, creep in, and eventually the Gigantomachy, the Return of Hephaistos, the Birth of Athena, Greeks and Amazons, Lapiths and Centaurs, and Dionysiac subjects take on the prominence we might have expected to find earlier. There is now a reliance on the standard cycles of myth involving both gods and men, including the ones which have such prominence later in architectural sculpture. The myths in common use by painters have become standardised, and in fact evince a remarkably cohesive view of them. If we take a look at some common shapes, we shall see that this is paralleled by the way in which they and the organisation of the decoration on them also become standardised. The amphora is an excellent example – it is the commonest large vase-shape of the sixth century – a canvas which most of the major painters used.

The Nessos Painter[7] is the first recognised name in Attic black-figure;

5 For this, see most conveniently Williams 1995: 142–4, and Arafat and Morgan 1989.

6 For example, the C Painter and his followers, Beazley 1956: 51ff; Beazley 1971: 23ff; Carpenter 1989: 13ff.

7 Beazley 1956: 4ff; Beazley 1971: 1ff; Carpenter 1989: 1ff. For a discussion of Athenian amphora typology, see Moore and Philippides 1986: 4–18.

his name vase is a big amphora found in Athens, of a transitional type which is both a descendant of the geometric grave-marker amphora of 150 years earlier, not least in size,[8] and an ancestor of the later neck-amphora. The handles are up on the neck, which is offset from the body, leaving the body itself free of obstruction. The figure decoration is organised in two distinct areas – the Herakles and Nessos scene on the neck, a metope in which the two figures form a square, and the Gorgons on the body, forming a procession for rather more than half of its frieze-space; the back of the pot is black, which suggests that it was not meant to be seen. It is perhaps useful to notice that an earlier treatment of the Herakles and Nessos encounter does exist on the New York Nessos Painter's name vase,[9] where the scene has more of the personnel involved in the story, because there is more space in which to show them, but also, and this, I think, is crucial, they are arranged as a frieze on the body. A choice has been exercised about the subject-matter in relation to its appointed space, even though the body-picture does not encircle the vase completely.

The Nessos Painter also decorated an early example[10] of the other standard amphora type – the belly-amphora, potted in a continuous curve. It has animals rather than human figures, and they are arranged in two pairs on body and neck respectively. The griffins on the body are disposed to curve at the outer contour with the shape of the vase: their tails form a spiral under the handle where later amphorae will actually have spirals as part of their decorative scheme. A compositional problem emerges already – the intervention of the handles makes this a shape which, if left with a light ground, will need to be treated as a four-sided one, with a choice to be exercised about the relationship, if any, between the two sides, and what you do about the space under the handles.

In fact this shape of amphora, with the continuous curve, produces a far more drastic solution – the dark-ground vase which also has a very remote ancestor in the Protogeometric grave amphorae of the tenth and ninth centuries (for example, Desborough 1952: pls. 3–5), their decoration contained in panels already carefully related to the handle position then. The horse-head amphora is an early manifestation of this type of amphora composition, which will soon involve human figures[11] and then the more favoured and more common scenes with symmetrical figure arrangements, of which the most famous is perhaps the Exekias amphora[12] of

8 Nessos amphora: Athens NM 1002 (1.22m); Geometric amphora: Athens NM 804 (1.62m).

9 New York MMA 11.210.10. For discussion of this vase, see Hurwit 1977: 25–7; Osborne 1989: 312.

10 Berlin 1961.7: Boardman 1974: fig. 8.

11 For example, Berlin inv. 4823: Beazley 1956: 81.4; Carpenter 1989: 22; Boardman 1974: fig. 48, by the Painter of Acropolis 606, with a pair of overlapping cavalrymen.

12 Vatican 344: Beazley 1956: 145.13; Beazley 1971: 60; Carpenter 1989: 40.

around 540 BC with Ajax and Achilles playing a board game, where the figures are extremely carefully related to the handles of the vase and its shape. Exekias used the single-figure composition too – his suicide of Ajax[13] is a striking example, but notice that he does frame his figure with the tree and the armour. Although we can, and should, see Exekias as something special, he is also very much the inheritor and exploiter of an existing technical consensus.[14]

The neck-amphora develops the light-ground decorative scheme; it goes into bands with animals and people, but begins, around 550 BC, to adopt habits from its East Greek cousins and become self-conscious about its handles. At the beginning it keeps a picture on its very flat shoulders, or on its neck, but gradually discards that to showcase two-figure groups and handle patterns (Jackson 1976: 13–37). Again, Exekias was the most advanced practitioner, and perhaps a pioneer who moved compositional thinking forward, but he was far from being an isolated case. We can see what the next generation, including the Andokides Painter, in Beazley's scheme a pupil of his, did next: the Herakles and Athena vase[15] of around 525 BC has the two inward-facing balanced figures, and another form of the handle decoration, the palmette-and-volute cross, which is by then absolutely standard throughout the Kerameikos, with very little variation.

It is possible to push this further, to argue that the shapes impose constrictions on the painter in the same way as the orders of architecture do on the designer of a building's sculptures, and that is, in itself, a reason for some choices of subject-matter, or interpretation of it. A dinos, or round-bottomed krater, by the Gorgon Painter[16] is an excellent example: it dates from the first twenty years of the sixth century, and it is often cited as a good example of Corinthianising Attic painting. The single mythological scene is at the top, and below it are bands with animals and monsters, or florals. The scene, which gives the painter his conventional name, is a version of the Perseus and Medusa story which gives us the whole chase, Medusa collapsing, her sisters pursuing Perseus, our hero himself, and his getaway chariot, which forms the punctuation which the painter evidently felt that he needed – it is one of a pair framing a fight which is both the end and the beginning of the Perseus frieze, otherwise a continuous strip around a vase which has no handles to break it up. By the mid-century, when the dinos has become much less popular, the Amasis

13 Boulogne 558: Beazley 1956: 145.18; Beazley 1971: 60; Carpenter 1989: 40.

14 See also Scheibler 1987 on belly-amphora scenes and their adaptation to shape and mass circulation.

15 Munich 1575: Beazley 1956: 256.16; Beazley 1971: 113; Carpenter 1989: 66; Boardman 1974: fig. 165.

16 Paris, Louvre E 874: Beazley 1956: 8.1; Beazley 1971: 6; Carpenter 1989: 2; Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962: pls. 35–7.

Painter, and others, are treating the scene as a metope[17] containing a three-figure composition as metopes do: Medusa, still possessed of her head in the centre, and Perseus and Hermes as framing figures. It is this composition, with variable personnel, which persists, and not the processional version, which is there to fill a continuous frieze. This is why the wedding-party of Peleus and Thetis, with their guests, which has three well-known versions in early Attic black-figure, becomes less popular after the François Vase, where it is already interrupted by the handles. Painters turn to their earlier wrestling match, reflecting a growing taste for athletic genre scenes,[18] or show them in a chariot as bride and groom, assimilated to human weddings,[19] paralleling the recurrent chariot motif. Both are possible as a metope composition. Shapes have evolved in such a way that certain kinds of composition are being left behind, or themselves evolve to fit a view of the proper way to design the decoration for a specific shape.

Cup-exteriors are a particularly awkward field for figured decoration, and yet, or perhaps more likely so, they too have quite rigid rules. The surface is curved in both directions, and the available area for figures between the handles is effectively fan-shaped. Much of the visible outer surface tends towards the horizontal, when we view the cup from the side, so that we lose the lower half of the figures underneath the bowl. Some of the earliest Attic black-figure drinking vessels, the komast cups, have this problem, and the later continuous-curve Type A and B cups exaggerate it. 'Little Master' cups have a greater proportion of vertical surface to the outer face than Type A cups do, and also have an offset lip. The usual ways of dealing with this either isolate the lower half of the body as a reserved band on which there may or may not be a small picture or an inscription and handle palmettes, or leave both bowl and lip in the red clay, usually divided by a line at the base of the lip, with the picture, if there is one, in the upper deck.

A second compositional problem is posed by the fact that the handles of any Greek cup occupy a large proportion of the circumference of the bowl. They generally interrupt any frieze running round the bowl; most painters accept that and treat the two sides as separate fields. The handles often have florals round the roots, sometimes obviously imitating the decorative rivet-plate which would appear on a metal version of the shape.

17 London, British Museum B 471: Beazley 1956: 53.32; Beazley 1971: 64; Carpenter 1989: 44; Boardman 1974: fig. 80.

18 For example, Paris, Louvre F 301: Beazley 1956: 361.20: Carpenter 1989: 96. The frequency with which the scene appears at Beazley 1956: 500ff indicates great popularity with lekythos painters.

19 For example, Oakley and Sinos 1993: figs 62–71.

The Amasis Painter's cup with the divine stables[20] shows a unique scene which could logically be continuous if the field in which it appears allowed it – it has metopes and triglyphs which could continue without a break; in fact they are chopped off brutally beside the handles, and the figures below them are contained by a pair of static men, one of them in himself an early example of the vase-painter's compositional boilerplate – the stock 'mantle figure' with a staff; he will still be filling space at the fag end of red-figure, 300 years later.

On the face of it these are problems created by the potter, who could, after all, have chosen to pot quite a differently shaped drink receptacle, and of course did in some circumstances – the skyphos does not pose these difficulties. Exekias' Dionysos cup[21] is a very special case compositionally and in terms of subject-matter; it uses the constrictions imposed by a shape he may have invented or developed, in a very specific way for the purposes of this particular cup, which links death in battle, transformations and the *symposion* in a sophisticated whole. This assumes, though, that he had control over the production of the whole vessel, a reasonable assumption, on the basis of the signature on its foot – 'Exekias made me'. The interpretation of working signatures[22] is a big discussion in itself – does '*x* made me' mean that *x* actually got his hands dirty, or that *x* is equivalent to Marks and Spencer? What I have argued here tends towards suggesting, or perhaps assuming, that the potter is the key figure in the development of the black-figure craft aesthetic; this fits with the view that the potter was the workshop owner, who employed the painters – a position borne out by research into the relationships or interrelationships between groups of painters and a much smaller number of potters. Exekias signs as both, and presumably therefore controlled his own practice. Shapiro observed the shift I mentioned earlier from friezes to metopal composition (Shapiro 1990), and argued that potters developed shapes specifically to support certain kinds of composition; that is that the needs of the painter come first. Probably neither his position nor mine could be exclusively true – both happened; Exekias is credited with the invention of the calyx-krater; the example from which this attribution derives[23] is an extremely architectonic pot, designed to have a low centre of gravity and

20 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1989.281.62 (gift of Norbert Schimmel Trust, 1989): Beazley 1971: 67; Boardman 1974: fig. 83; von Bothmer 1985: no. 60; Carpenter 1989: 46.

21 Munich 2044: Beazley 1956: 146.21; Beazley 1971: 60; Carpenter 1989: 41; Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962: pl. XVI; Moignard 1997.

22 For a useful discussion of the problem, with further bibliography, see Williams 1995: 141–57, with n. 11.

23 Athens, Agora Museum AP 1044: Broneer 1937; Beazley 1956: 145.19; Beazley 1971: 60; Carpenter 1989: 40.

no in-curved rims on which to bang a ladle and spill the contents. It has a punctuating fillet-lip, like the upper edge of an architectural frieze, and part of its subject-matter is Athena's chariot and a group of gods with Herakles, possibly an apotheosis, one of those very Athenian subjects which comes to the fore during the sixth century. Who is to say whether the shape was invented by Exekias the potter to showcase his work as a painter, or whether he evolved the pot to meet demand for a practical shape, and the scene was a natural one for the picture space, and perhaps the commission: it was found on the North Slope of the Acropolis. We should note, though, that part of the frieze space has a Death of Patroklos; the painter was not here doing the obvious thing with his picture space and using one continuous theme. An early experiment?

Now there is a related issue, about which Anthony Snodgrass wrote influentially some time ago (Snodgrass 1982; 1987: 132–47; and see Ch. 2 above); he was building on and expanding the work of Carl Robert[24] on the basic principles of visual narrative in archaic Greek art. He outlined four ways of dealing with a narrative: the monoscenic, in which part of a story is presented, with no necessary reflection on other episodes, if there are any; the cyclic, a number of scenes with the protagonist and others repeated; the series of scenes without explicit divisions between them; and the synoptic, in which elements of several chronologically and often logically sequential parts of the story are in fact present at once. These concepts are now a premiss in any discussion of narrative technique in vase-painting. The monoscenic and the synoptic schemes tend to be earlier, and the cyclical or continuous presentation later. In view of what I have been suggesting so far this may seem odd or contradictory, until one notices that the cyclical or continuous narratives, such as the adventures of Theseus, tend to appear on cup exteriors, with a concentration in the sizeable output of the red-figure cup painters of the early to mid-fifth century (Brommer 1973: 211–12). We are still in fact left with a position where many popular stories have a frieze version and a metope version, or disappear as soon as the frieze possibility is lost. Now I think this is perhaps what drives another feature of single-scene myth presentation in archaic art generally, not just black-figure painting. I suggested at the start that a narrative scene should imply a before or an after, or it is not really narrative. I used the Perseus story as an example earlier; let us consider that again.

The Gorgon Painter has the decapitated Medusa, her pursuing sisters, the fleeing Perseus, and two bystanders, one of whom is Hermes, and the other may be Athena. Metope versions tend to have Medusa, Perseus and one of the two gods, though there is a Corinthian painted metope from

24 Robert 1881; later developments are usefully reviewed by Shapiro 1994.

Thermon[25] which has Perseus with the head in a shopping bag, and there is a pediment from Corfu (Boardman 1978: fig. 187) with Medusa and her two children, but no Perseus. Notice, though, that where the presentational format demands a small number of figures, a choice has been made about which figures to use, and therefore what to imply or emphasise about the story. The Corinthian metope is about the success of the expedition; the versions which show a divine helper are reminding us (via the choice of helper illustrated) about the instructions given Perseus by his various sources of help as well as about the fact that he had it. The pursuing sisters cease to be important very quickly. This sort of nuanced excerpting of a story is not rare – one can start with the Troilos scene on the François Vase[26] and produce a similar sequence. In fact it is an important feature of visual narrative in archaic and classical Greece – it implies prior knowledge of the story in the viewer, and familiarity with the technique, both entirely possible in the milieu of this particular craft tradition. It also suggests a technique which developed from the demands made by the available formats of display, just as it can be shown to do in some architectural sculpture.

We noticed earlier that the subsidiary scenes on Geometric vases were genre scenes of horses and chariots; I suggested that that sort of subject can be observed later, and that some choices of mythological subject run in parallel to that particular taste. The earliest non-mythological scenes in Attic black-figure are ones which involve chariots, horsemen, fights, departures, often with a horse or a chariot – they clearly do descend from the Geometric processions, via the non-mythological scenes on proto-Attic pottery (for example, Morris 1984: figs 8, 9). Cups carry both the horse-related scenes, and early manifestations of Dionysiac activity – komasts dancing and *symposia*.[27] Scenes of ordinary urban life, and indeed work, are a separate strand, and do not really appear until well after 550 BC.[28]

Instead, we can trace painter or workshop preferences for particular types of genre scene, often for specific positions on the vase – one of the Tyrrhenian amphora painters,[29] for example, likes horse-races and duels on the shoulders of his amphorae. He tends to frame the duel with horsemen, or make women the bystanders; that schema can easily become the confrontation between Achilles and Memnon, witnessed by their mothers, Thetis and Eos, duly labelled, and does so on two other vases from this

25 Athens, NM: Schefold 1966: pl. 18.
26 Florence 4209: Beazley 1956: 76.1; Beazley 1971: 29; Carpenter 1989: 21; Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962: pl. 40.
27 For a discussion of early cup scenes, see Brijder 1984b.
28 Especially on pelikai; for a discussion of these scenes, see Shapiro 1997.
29 The Fallow Deer Painter: von Bothmer 1944: 169; Heesen 1996: 46–9.

workshop. The scheme with horsemen, in fact inherited from Corinth, also becomes a Homeric encounter with the aid of labels.

After 560 BC many of the mythological scenes which do not involve solo heroes in personal conflicts are ones which involve them or gods in mass action – precisely the battles, processions with chariots, hunts, which demand frieze presentation on a large vase, and which echo the subject-matter of the genre scenes. The Gigantomachy, the Return of Hephaistos, the Birth of Athena, Greeks and Amazons, Lapiths and Centaurs, all fit this mould, and clearly reflect a market catering to a specialised taste which will sell the vase, whether it is a domestic purchase or a grave offering with a subject which will heroise the dead.

The Exekian calyx-krater I discussed has one of the earliest scenes of Herakles associated with Athena's chariot,[30] in a context which, like the Gigantomachy, also has massed gods. The Olympians were worshipped as a family in Athens[31] by the latter half of the sixth century, and there is a corresponding rise in scenes which involve them as a group, fighting or feasting.[32] Exekias' scene, which is not unique, may be a forerunner of a version of Herakles' apotheosis; this has basically two schemes, an early one in which he arrives in Olympos on foot, which later becomes vehicular; a third, static scheme shows him with Hermes and Athena, and occasionally Iolaos, who may replace Hermes or join them. The chariot scheme with Athena and perhaps Hermes can be seen as a smaller-format version of the massed gods with Herakles and the chariot on Exekias' krater. Once again, we can perhaps see here a matter of compositional practice going hand in hand with what was originally a standard scene, adapted for a specific shape and perhaps a specific occasion at will. It also relates to wedding scenes with chariot and gods, such as the Peleus and Thetis metope scheme we noticed earlier.

Towards the end of the century gods and some heroes, but especially Herakles, begin to be presented individually (what Himmelmann called *daseinsbilder*)[33] rather than en masse, apart from genuine group episodes, pouring libations, hunting, playing an instrument, very like upper-crust humans. This links the shift towards small populations in vase-scenes with the format-specific myths I argued for earlier. Our initial Herakles is one such representation (Figure 3.1), and there is more to be said about the history of this piece as an iconographic phenomenon. Herakles is the first Greek illustrated reclining at a *symposion* in the manner which later

30 These scenes have been collected and discussed by Mingazzini 1925; Brommer 1973: 159–71; Schauenburg 1963: 113, n. 1; 1964: 66f.

31 See Boardman 1972: 59 on the altar dedicated by the younger Peisistratos (Thuc. vi.54.6); Shapiro 1989: 133ff.

32 For these groups, see Vian 1952; Knell 1965.

33 Most recently and accessibly in Himmelmann 1998: 103–38.

becomes standard for participants of whatever status. He is a guest in the house of Eurytios, in a scene on a Corinthian column-krater of about 600 BC[34] which manages to evoke the tension caused by the appearance of Iole, and to foreshadow the tragic ending of the story, showing Herakles confidently propped on his elbow, holding his cup, and looking at the girl standing before him, watched by her father and brothers. The *symposion* itself shows a string of *klinai* arranged around the vase with their drinkers, mirroring the reclining viewers of the krater in use. Depictions of *symposia* continue to be shown as a string of *klinai* with their drinkers in Attic black-figure – they are, in effect, a reversion to the old repeated chariot scheme. Two volute-kraters by the Acheloos Painter[35] have a chariot frieze as well, which brings our themes neatly together.

Herakles is not a naturally convivial hero, indeed inviting him to a party is usually disastrous. After about 570 BC, however, pictures of Herakles in a sympotic context become fairly frequent on Attic vases, and continue into early red-figure. There are enough of them to allow a typological breakdown into categories such as parties at which the gods are present, some gods being commoner than others (see Shapiro 1989: 135), or a rather different group in which Herakles is with his patron Athena,[36] such as ours (Figure 3.1). In fact, the association of Herakles with Athena or other gods in a sympotic context, which often involves the kantharos and the wreath, is a black-figure habit.[37] Herakles is a hero who becomes progressively more human, perhaps even more demotic, and more often symbolic of human aspirations and faults; here he acquires a more approachable imagery to match, that is to say one which will appeal to a particular circle of buyers who will appreciate a presentation of Herakles who subscribes to the same social norms as they do, rather than the Labours, where he is fighting monsters or performing the otherwise impossible.

Our original Herakles picture is, in effect, a metope version of the *symposion* scheme with multiple *klinai*; it is adapted to fit the panel of a belly-amphora, with its Athena and Hermes following the curve of the pot at the side, and the dinos fitted neatly into the curvature of the frame at the other. We need not doubt that it may have the political connotations argued for it elsewhere, or that it was painted to please an audience who

34 Paris, Louvre E 635: Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962: pls. 32 and IX.

35 The Acheloos Painter: Beazley 1956: 384.21 (Taranto, fr.) and 384.22: Carpenter 1989: 102 (New York 41.162.64), both volute-kraters, and both with the double neck-frieze.

36 The earliest of these is a fragmentary hydria, Cahn 919, of the Archippe Group: Boardman 1984: 241, fig. 1; Carpenter 1986: 111–12.

37 For detailed exposition of scenes involving Herakles as a symposiast, and their socio-political implications, see Wolf 1993.

wanted to see Herakles and Athena associated in this particular kind of social context;[38] it does all that, but, in its appropriateness for its vase, in the fit of that vase with what were by now standardised schemes for decorating the shape,[39] in the place of this picture in the context of traditional ways of dealing with the apotheosis theme, and even in giving Herakles a kantharos[40] and a wreath rather than a club and a lion skin, this vase is a product of a craft-ethos which above all uses the tools of its trade.

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38 For these scenes as a reflection of cult, see Schefold 1978: 49, n. 117; Shapiro 1989: 160–1. See also Schauenburg 1963: 118 for a view of a gradual evolution towards apotheosis in these scenes.

39 For a discussion of Herakles and Athena scenes, with the view that this one is not an excerpt, see Verbanck-Piérard 1992: 85–106.

40 On Herakles' kantharos, see Carpenter 1986: 117–22; Hoffmann 1989: 131–66; on Laconian and Boeotian *stêlai*, see Boardman 1978: 165; with Athena as butler, Boardman 1984: 245; as ex votos to Herakles, see Hornbostel 1984: 176–9 ; Ober 1987: 217–20; dedicated to Herakles at Tanagra: *SEG* 34 (1984) no. 367, *SEG* 35 (1985) no. 411 *bis*.

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Part II

NARRATIVE AND IMAGE

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4

MEANING AND NARRATIVE TECHNIQUES IN STATUE-BASES OF THE PHEIDIAN CIRCLE

Olga Palagia

I

THE AIM OF THIS chapter is to discuss a number of problems of technique and interpretation posed by the four cult-statue-bases produced by Pheidias and his chief pupils, Alkamenes and Agorakritos, between about 439 and 415 BC. Pheidias led the way with his base for the Athena Parthenos in the Parthenon, completed just before the dedication of the statue in 438.[1] This was followed by his own base for the Zeus at Olympia in the mid-430s,[2] then by Agorakritos' base for the Nemesis at Rhamnous around 430.[3] Alkamenes comes last, with his base for the group of Athena and Hephaistos in the Hephaisteion, probably completed around 415.[4] What evidence we have shows that the bases were of stone, decorated with friezes of widely spaced relief figures in stiff poses. The figures on Pheidias' base at Olympia were metalwork, those on the bases of his pupils were carved in marble; the evidence on the Parthenos base is

I am grateful to Xeni Arapogianni for permission to examine the fragments of the base and the interior of the cella of the temple of Zeus at Olympia; to Charalambos Kritzas for permission to examine *IG* i^3 472 in the Epigraphical Museum and for discussing it with me; to Manolis Korres for showing me the fragments of the Parthenos and Hephaisteion bases and for discussing them with me; to Nancy Bookidis for permission to examine the neo-Attic fragment in Corinth and to Mary Sturgeon for discussing it with me; to Kevin Clinton, Alan Shapiro and David Harvey for advice; to Evelyn Harrison, Vasilis Petrakos, Martin Kreeb (editor of *MDAI(A)*) and Angelos Delivorrias for permission to reproduce the drawings Figures 4.4, 4.6, 4.8 and 4.11 respectively; and to John Boardman for kindly providing the photo Figure 4.5.

1 Pausanias i.24.7; Pliny, *NH* xxxvi.18. The Athena Parthenos was dedicated in 438 BC: Schol. Ar. *Peace* 605; Leipen 1971: 23, n. 1; Harrison 1996: 39.

2 Pausanias v.11.8. The date of the statue is established by the inclusion of a portrait of Pantarkes, Olympic victor for 436 (86th Olympiad): Pausanias v.11.3; vi.10.6; Moretti 1957: no. 318.

3 Pausanias i.33.8. For the date of the temple and statue, see Petrakos 1986: 90–1; 1987: 318.

4 According to the construction accounts of the statue group, *IG* i^3 472. The scene on the base is not mentioned in the ancient sources.

inconclusive. The scenes are remarkable for their lack of narrative. The myths were recognised thanks to the names of the figures presumably painted on the background. The absence of narrative is not uncommon in contemporary vase-painting, where the figures are named to make up for the lack of action.

We begin with problems of technique. Pausanias (v.11.8) explicitly states that the figures on Zeus' base were golden. The base itself was made of Eleusinian limestone as attested by fragments of the blocks inside the cella;[5] the figures would have been attached, glowing against a dark background. Pausanias (v.11.10) remarks that a ledge of Parian marble surrounded the sunken floor of the cella in front of the statue-base, forming an *impluvium* that held olive oil for the protection of the ivory against the humid climate of Olympia. Examination of the marble in situ has revealed that the marble is in fact Pentelic: Pheidias seems to have imported Attic stones from home. Neda Leipen has argued that Pliny's description of the birth of Pandora on the Parthenos base as *caelatum est* (*NH* xxxvi.18) implies that it was metalwork.[6] Pliny, however, uses the same verb for the sculptured marble column drums of the Artemision at Ephesos: *columnae caelatae* (*NH* xxxvi.95). Most scholars have questioned the metalwork theory because the six surviving blocks from the core of the Parthenos base are of Pentelic marble.[7] The front blocks of the base do not survive and may in fact have been of Eleusinian limestone, as was the case with the bases of Zeus at Olympia and of Athena and Hephaistos in the Hephaisteion.[8] Gorham Stevens' reconstruction of the Parthenos base, showing a high-relief frieze carved in Pentelic marble, has proved extremely influential.[9] However, the fourth-century inventories of the Parthenon, listing only objects in gold, silver, bronze and ivory, include the Parthenos base among the treasures.[10] This may be taken to imply that the figures were made of gold (or gilded silver or gilded

5 Dörpfeld in Adler et al. 1892: 11–15, figs 4–8; Mallwitz 1972: 229; Gadbery 1988: 154–9.

6 Leipen 1971: 24, 27. That the figures on the base were made of gold and ivory like the rest of the statue was suggested by Becatti 1951: 57.

7 The blocks must come from the core because they carry anathyrosis on all four sides. In the Byzantine period they were recut and reused when the Parthenon was converted into a Christian church. They are currently stored inside the Parthenon. See Dinsmoor 1934: 93–4, fig. 1; Stevens 1955: 240–76; Leipen 1971: 23, fig. 61; Gadbery 1988: 160–5.

8 That the front blocks may have been of Eleusinian limestone was suggested by Dinsmoor 1921: 129, followed by Schuchhardt 1975: 120, n. 5. Stevens 1955: 240–76 argued that the entire base was of Pentelic marble.

9 Stevens 1955: 270–2, fig. 19; Delivorrias 1988: 53–64; Harrison 1996: 50–1.

10 The Athena Parthenos, described as the golden statue in the cella (ἄγαλμα χρυσοῦν τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἑκατομπέδῳ), its shield (ἡ ἀσπίς) and its base (τὸ βάθρον) were listed among the Parthenon treasures which did not include marbles: Harris 1995: 130.

Figure 4.1 Block from the Hephaisteion statue-base (Athens, Hephaisteion; photo: American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations)

bronze) and pinned onto the stone. A small helmet with gold cheekpieces and an ivory crest, described in the same inventories as coming from the base, may be cited as additional evidence.[11] As we have no evidence of ivory attachments to marble reliefs of the classical period, it is easier to accept them as adhering to metalwork figures. Besides, a relief frieze in ivory and gold would have echoed the materials of the statue. And since Pheidias' other base was decorated with golden figures, it is reasonable to assume that he would have employed the same technique on the Parthenos base. The question, however, remains open for lack of adequate evidence.

A block of Eleusinian limestone (Figure 4.1), found reused in a Byzantine wall inside the Hephaisteion and attributed to the front of the base of the statue group by Dinsmoor, carries five dowel holes for the attachment of figures (Dinsmoor 1941: 105–10). Dinsmoor suggested that the crowning mouldings may have been in Eleusinian limestone, but Pentelic marble is equally possible. Agorakritos' base at Rhamnous, for example, combines Pentelic marble with a crowning member in Eleusinian limestone.[12] The rectangular cuttings on the face of the Hephaisteion block recall those in the Eleusinian limestone blocks forming the background of the Erechtheion frieze, which consisted of separately carved figures in Parian marble. The similarity of the dowel holes indicates that the figures

11 Harris 1995: 116. *IG* ii^2 1421.123–5; 1424a.319–21; 1425.245–7. For a critical view of this evidence, see Leipen 1971: 27.

12 On the crowning member of the Hephaisteion base: Dinsmoor 1941: 108. Rhamnous base: Petrakos 1986: 90, fig. 1.

Image Not Available

Figure 4.2 Athena Parthenos by Alan LeQuire (Nashville, Tennessee; photo: Gary Layda)

attached to the Hephaisteion base were probably also in marble.[13] Metalwork attachments would have required nothing more substantial than pins.

The golden figures of Pheidias' base at Olympia can be accounted for by the lavish budget at the sculptor's disposal and match the gold and ivory cult-statue that it supported. The marble reliefs on his pupils' bases were no doubt due to reasons of economy, since both were created in the course of the Peloponnesian War. In addition, the cult-statues on top were of more modest materials, bronze in the case of the Hephaisteion group and marble for the Nemesis. Alkamenes' base betrays an attempt to imitate his master's technique by combining a background in Eleusinian limestone not with golden figures but with figures perhaps in gilded marble. A modern reproduction of a frieze in gilded marble is the base of the Nashville Parthenos in Carrara marble by Alan LeQuire (Figure 4.2) (Harrison 1996: 43–9, fig. 9). In this LeQuire followed established opinion that the Parthenos base carried an all-marble frieze.

In 1977 Evelyn Harrison set out to demonstrate that the proportions of the Hephaisteion base, calculated on the basis of the Eleusinian stone block (Figure 4.1), are far too small for Alkamenes' group (Harrison 1977). Her argument was based on her reading of the construction accounts for this group (*IG* i^3 472). She noted that the large quantities of copper and tin purchased for the manufacture of a flower (ἄνθεμον) entail a bronze floral ornament containing a tonne and a half of metal, and therefore of colossal dimensions. If we look at the inscription (Figure 4.3), however, we realise that the ending of the crucial word τὸ ἄνθεμ[ον] in IG i^3 472, line 142, containing a very large amount of tin, is restored. It is in fact possible that the huge amount of metal was purchased for two flowers, since the inscription can equally well be restored in the dual as τὼ ἀνθέμ[ω]. That the floral ornaments were two is also suggested by the fact that in lines 146–7 one is called the 'flower under the shield' (τὸ ἄνθεμον ὑπὸ τὴν ἀσπίδα) being differentiated by its position under the shield. By assuming that there was a single colossal bronze *anthemon*, meant as a floral support for Athena's shield, Harrison arrived at a reconstruction of the group of Athena and Hephaistos which demands a base far too large to fit into the cella of the temple currently identified with the Hephaisteion (Figure 4.4). She thus reached the conclusion that the Hephaisteion is not the Doric temple now standing on the hill of Kolonos Agoraios. The uncertainty of the textual restoration, however, allows us the benefit of the doubt: what if the flowers were two?

13 Erechtheion frieze: Stevens et al. 1927: 239–76; Economakis 1994: 148. That the figures on the Hephaisteion base were in (Pentelic) marble was also suggested by Papaspyridi-Karusu 1954/55: 92.

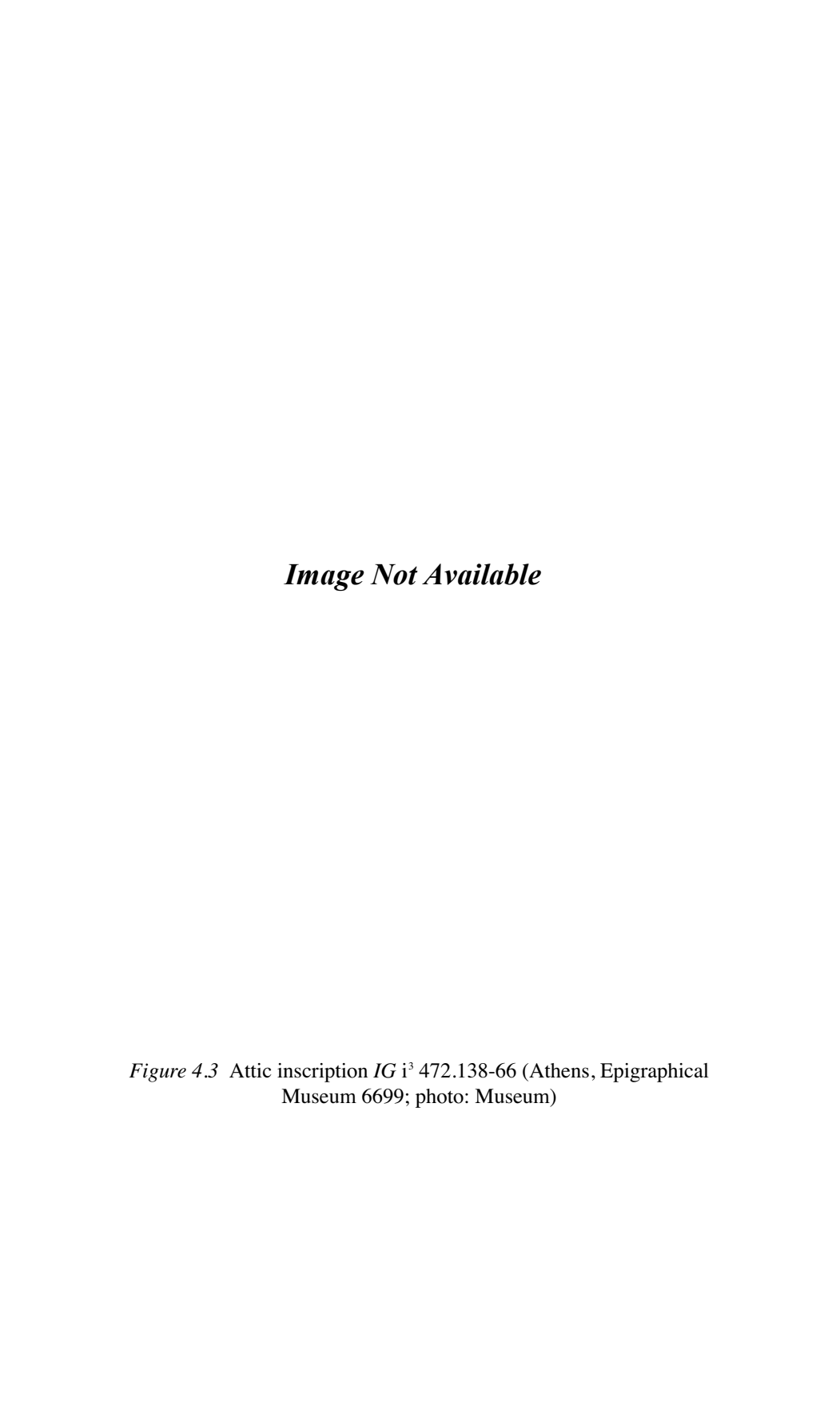

Figure 4.3 Attic inscription *IG* i^3 472.138-66 (Athens, Epigraphical Museum 6699; photo: Museum)

Figure 4.4 Hephaisteion statue group, reconstructed by Evelyn Harrison (after Harrison 1977: 140, ill. 2)

Harrison's single *anthemon* is an acanthus column, taller and bigger than each of the statues, which would have served as a chimney for Hephaistos' fire burning on an altar between the two deities (Figure 4.4). She cited as a parallel the floral chimney for Kallimachos' lamp in the Erechtheion, described by Pausanias (i.26.7) as a palm tree reaching to the ceiling.[14] Kallimachos' palm tree, however, was a separate unit, and if the construction accounts of the Hephaisteion group actually list two

14 On the *anthemon* as an acanthus column: Harrison 1977: 157–62. She now informs me that she would place the shield nearer the top than the bottom of the *anthemon*. Harrison 1977: 414 associated a possible fire within the Hephaisteion with the torch race at the Hephaisteia festival, reorganised in 421 (according to *IG* i^3 82), when the cult-statues were begun. On Kallimachos' palm tree, see Palagia 1984: 515–21.

flowers, the second could be interpreted as a separate floral column. It may indeed have been a chimney like Kallimachos' palm tree but it would at any rate have been set on its own base. By restoring two flowers in *IG* i^3 472, we can accept the Eleusinian limestone block (Figure 4.1) as part of the original base of the cult group in the Hephaisteion, particularly as it seems to imitate Pheidias' use of Eleusinian limestone as a background for the attached figures of the frieze.

II

We now move on to the iconography. Pausanias (i.24.7) says that Pandora, whose creation was depicted on the Parthenos base, was the first woman according to Hesiod, and that there were no women in the world before her birth. Only two reduced marble versions of Pheidias' frieze survive, both belonging to copies of the Parthenos: a Hellenistic one from Pergamon in Berlin (Figure 4.5), one third the original size,[15] and an unfinished miniature of Roman date from a sculptor's workshop near the Pnyx, now in the National Museum in Athens.[16] They are consistent in showing a row of quietly standing figures. On the Pergamon base (Figure 4.5) Pandora is flanked by the Graces on the spectator's left, Hephaistos and Athena on the right. The unfinished version from the Pnyx includes Helios and Selene at either end, giving a cosmic frame to the scene. Pausanias' reliance on Hesiod has directed scholars to the *Theogony* (507–616) and *Works and Days* (47–105), where Pandora is described as a beautiful evil, sent to mankind by a vindictive Zeus, who orders Hephaistos to fashion her out of clay and then Athena and the other gods to adorn her with jewellery and endow her with gifts. But she descends to the earth carrying a jar of ills. Hesiod's misogyny has conditioned most modern interpretations of the Parthenos base, and its myth has been construed as a cautionary tale, a dire warning of divine duplicity.[17] In a series of desperate attempts to sugar the pill, Pandora has also been interpreted as a manifestation of the earth-goddess[18] or of Athena Ergane (Harrison

15 Berlin, Pergamonmuseum P 24: Becatti 1951: 58–9, fig. 32; Leipen 1971: 7; 24–7, fig. 64; Schuchhardt 1975: 120–2, pl. 26b–d; Harrison 1977: 149–50, fig.7; Harrison 1996: 49; Hurwit 1999: fig. 200.

16 Athens NM 128 (Lenormant Athena): Leipen 1971: 3, figs 1 and 63; Harrison 1996: 42, figs 5–6.

17 For Hesiod's negative view of Pandora, see West 1966 on lines 507–616, and West 1978 on lines 47–105. Recent interpretations of Pandora as a dark force: Loraux 1993: 72–100; Jenkins 1994: 40–2; Hurwit 1995: 171–86; Reeder 1995: 277–86; Hurwit 1999: 235–45. Iconography of Pandora: Simon 1981: 790–1; Oppermann 1994: 163–6; Reeder 1995: 277–86.

18 Becatti 1951: 61; Loraux 1993: 84; 115, n. 17; 241. On Pandora as an earth-goddess, see also West 1978: 164–6.

Image Not Available

Figure 4.5 Reduced copy of the statue-base of the Athena Parthenos, from Pergamon (Berlin, Pergamonmuseum P24; photo: from a cast in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; photo: Robert Wilkins)

1996: 50; Hurwit 1999: 243) or even as one of the daughters of Erechtheus (Connelly 1996: 72–6).

We tend to forget that in antiquity Hesiod was also credited with the *Catalogue of Women*, and this tells quite a different story (West 1985: 50–3). Pandora is the primeval woman, wife of Prometheus and mother of Deukalion.[19] Deukalion married Pyrrha, also a daughter of Pandora by Epimetheus according to a number of later sources, and their son is Hellen, the ancestor of all the Greeks.[20] Thus Pandora is the progenitor of the Greek race. She is moreover the child of Hephaistos, who fashioned her out of clay, and of Athena, who breathed life into her. And Pheidias has chosen to show the moment when Pandora is adorned by Athena, aided by her companions, the Graces. The political implications are obvious: Athens is showering Greece with the gifts of civilisation; Athens not only adorns Greece, she educates it as well. And each Athenian citizen is trained in all the arts of peace and war. Pheidias' frieze anticipates a sentiment publicly expressed by Perikles in his *Funeral Oration* of 431: 'In sum, our city as a whole is the school of Hellas, and each one of us, being endowed with grace and versatility, can undertake a great range of activities' (Thuc. ii.41.1).

Far from being a dark force, Pandora on the Parthenos base is a benign goddess.[21] She is moreover intimately associated with Athena. That she received cult on the Acropolis in conjunction with Athena is attested

19 Hesiod, *Catalogue of Women* fr. 2 MW; West 1985: 50.

20 Ancient sources listed in West 1985: 50, n. 35; 51–2, n. 39.

21 The same conclusions were reached, quite independently, by John Boardman (forthcoming). His manuscript became available to me after this article was already written. I kindly thank him for sharing it in advance of publication.

by Philochoros' statement that a sacrifice of a calf to Athena must be followed by the sacrifice of a sheep to Pandora.[22] Aristophanes, in his *Birds* (970), written in 414, implies, perhaps in jest, that Pandora was an oracular deity, who received sacrifices of white-fleeced rams.

No copies survive of the birth of Aphrodite on Zeus' base at Olympia. Pausanias (v.11.8) saw Aphrodite emerging from the sea, received by Eros and Peitho, attended by the Olympians and Herakles, the scene being framed by Helios and Selene. Aphrodite's birth was probably an illustration of an episode related by Hesiod in the *Theogony* (154–210).[23] The iconography of Aphrodite's birth in contemporary Attic vase-painting shows the *anodos* of Aphrodite, shown as a half-figure, received by Eros.[24] Even though she was the child of Ouranos, not Zeus, she must have been depicted on the base because she was the chief goddess of Elis, a city responsible for the administration of the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia. It is probably no accident that the sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania at Elis had a cult-statue made by Pheidias in ivory and gold (Paus. vi.2.51). The Eleians felt they had to honour their own goddess on equal terms. The fact that the cult-statue of Zeus was supported by a base carrying the birth of Aphrodite may have been intended as a subtle allusion to Olympia's dependence on Elis.

The cult of Nemesis at Rhamnous received a new temple and a cult-statue in the 430s, ostensibly as a belated thank-offering for Nemesis' contribution to the repulsion of the Persians at Marathon in 490.[25] The goddess was perceived as the avenger of barbarian arrogance. According to ancient tradition, her cult-statue by Agorakritos was carved out of a block of Parian marble, carried by the Persians to Marathon to serve as a trophy of an anticipated victory against Athens (Paus. i.33.2). The use of an old block is nevertheless symptomatic of the limited means at the Rhamnousians' disposal. Not only were they obliged to leave the columns of the Nemesis temple unfluted at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, they were also content to purchase a cult-statue which may have been the runner-up in a competition for a cult image of Aphrodite, according to ancient tradition.[26]

The mythical equivalent of the Persian Wars was of course the Trojan War, and it is only natural that a scene related to that war was chosen to

22 *FGrH* 328 F 10. Pandora is usually emended to Pandrosos: Kearns 1989: 192.

23 West 1978 on lines 154–210. See also *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 5–13.

24 See Attic red-figure hydria in Genoa, Museo Civico 1155: Beazley 1963: 917.206; Carpenter 1989: 304; Simon 1959: 43, fig. 28; Delivorrias et al. 1984: no. 1175. Attic red-figure hydria in Syracuse, Museo Nazionale 23912: Beazley 1963: 1041.11; Carpenter 1989: 320; Simon 1959: 44–6, fig. 29; Delivorrias et al. 1984: no. 1178.

25 Pausanias i.33.2. Petrakos 1987: 305–6, 317–20; Shapiro 1993: 174.

26 The competition, considered apocryphal by some, is recorded by Pliny, *NH* xxxvi.17. See Despinis 1971: 61.

adorn the base of the Nemesis. It amounts to a virtual birth scene. According to Pausanias' description (i.33.7–8), Helen of Troy is introduced to her real mother, Nemesis, by her foster-mother, Leda, being, in a manner, reborn:

> The Greeks say that Helen's mother was Nemesis, while Leda only brought her up. They believe, like everybody else, that Helen's true father was Zeus, not Tyndareos. Being aware of all this, Pheidias represented Leda leading Helen to Nemesis. He also showed Tyndareos with his children (παῖδες) and a man standing by his horse, named Hippeus. There are also Agamemnon, Menelaos and Pyrrhos, son of Achilles, first husband of Hermione, Helen's daughter. Orestes was omitted because he was his mother's murderer, even though Hermione stood by him and bore him a child. Next on the base we see a man called Epochos and another young man (νεανίας). All I know about these two is that they are the brothers of Oinoe, who gave her name to the deme.

Pausanias' *neanias* has turned out to be a proper name, Neanias, a local hero of Rhamnous, who is attested epigraphically (Petrakos 1986: 93–5).

The birth of Helen out of an egg is represented on Attic red-figure vases of this period, but Nemesis is nowhere securely identified.[27] Nemesis' only certain association with her daughter Helen in art, apart from the Rhamnous base, is a pointed amphoriskos in Berlin with the courtship of Paris and Helen, also dating from about 430.[28] The Attic version of the myth, where Zeus in the form of a swan courts Nemesis at Rhamnous and Helen is born out of an egg, is first told in the *Kypria* in the seventh century (F7 Davies). Kratinos repeats the story in his comedy *Nemesis*, produced at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War and presumably contemporary with the Nemesis base.[29]

The revelation of Helen's parentage implies that she is a local heroine, who deserves to be celebrated at Rhamnous. The scene on the base easily conforms to the pattern of birth scenes of local deities known from the bases of Pheidias. It may also entail a cult of Helen at Rhamnous, but the evidence for this is still lacking. The only known cult of Helen in Attica is at Thorikos, where she received sacrifice along with the Dioskouroi, as attested by the fourth-century sacrificial calendar of Thorikos now in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (Daux 1983: 153, lines 37–8). Nemesis'

27 For the iconography of Helen's birth, see Kahil and Icard 1988: 503–4.

28 Berlin, Antikensammlung 30036: Beazley 1963: 1173.1; Carpenter 1989: 339; Shapiro 1986: 9–14; Kahil and Icard 1988: no. 140; Karanastassis 1992: no. 211; Lapatin 1992: 116, n. 38; Shapiro 1993: 192–5, fig. 151.

29 Eratosth. *Cat*. 25. See also Apollod. iii.10.7. Kratinos' *Nemesis* is usually dated to 432/1: Geissler 1969: 28–9 and xii; Kassel and Austin 1983: 179. For an alternative dating to 429 and an association of Zeus with Perikles, who started the Peloponnesian War, cf. Shapiro 1999: 105–6; see also below, n. 39.

Figure 4.6 Statue-base of Agorakritos' Nemesis at Rhamnous, reconstructed by Vasilis Petrakos (after Petrakos 1986: fig. 8). 1 = Epochos; 2 = Neanias; 3 = Hippeus; 4 = Zeus; 5 = Pyrrhos (Neoptolemos); 6 = Hermione; 7 = Helen; 8 = Nemesis; 9 = Leda; 10 = Menelaos; 11 = Agamemnon; 12 = Castor; 13 = Pollux or Klytaimestra; 14 = Tyndareos

daughter, Helen, was of course the cause of the Trojan War, which Themis, who had a joint cult with Nemesis at Rhamnous, had actually planned. Thus is Helen seen as the instrument of Nemesis and of her alter ego, Themis, in the destruction of Troy.[30] This, at first sight, is the message of the scene.

The figures on the base were reassembled from 1975 to 1980 and published by Vasilis Petrakos in 1981 and again in 1986 (Figure 4.6).[31] Not all the extant fragments can be joined to the base. There is, for example, a loose head of a Dioskouros, still unplaced (Petrakos 1986: 97, fig. 5), and uncertainty about the sex of at least one figure (13). A neo-Attic relief in Stockholm reproduces versions of the first four figures of the front (Figure 4.7).[32] Current scholarship on the Nemesis base is based on the new reconstruction but remains tentative, pending the discovery of more fragments. Most scholars have focused their attention on two problems: first, the occasion for Helen's presentation to Nemesis, and second, the identification of the figures. The two questions are intimately related because the interpretation of the episode depends on who takes part in it. The matter of the figures' identification is compounded by the fact that Pausanias only names twelve out of the fourteen figures on the actual

30 Lapatin 1992: 117, n. 41; Shapiro 1993: 216. For the joint cult of Nemesis and Themis at Rhamnous, see *IG* ii^2 2869, 3109, 3462 and 4638; Palagia and Lewis 1989: 341, with n. 35, pl. 49; Karanastassis 1994: 126–31.

31 Pétracos 1981: 227–53; Petrakos 1986: 89–107. The finest photos of the fragmentary figures are in Kallipolitis 1978: pls. 2–32.

32 Stockholm, National Museum Sk 150 (the upper parts of the figures are heavily restored). See Lapatin 1992: 110–11, pl. 27a; Delivorrias 1997: 116, n. 20; Leander-Touati 1998: 76.

Figure 4.7 Neo-Attic relief after the Rhamnous statue-base (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum Sk 150; photo: Hans Thorwid)

base. Pausanias mentions Helen, Leda, Nemesis, Tyndareos, his children or sons (probably meaning the Dioskouroi), Menelaos, Agamemnon, Pyrrhos (also known as Neoptolemos), two local heroes, Epochos and Neanias, and Hippeus, possibly a third local hero, otherwise unattested. Two figures remain nameless – or do they? Pausanias' musings may provide the answer, as we shall see.

Nemesis and Helen are at the centre of the scene, Nemesis on the spectator's right (8), Helen on the left (7), in the position of honour to the left of the axis (Figure 4.6). The position of Leda is anybody's guess. It must be noted, however, that the woman at Helen's left (6) is the only one with head uncovered, which, according to Pausanias (x.25.10), indicates an unmarried virgin. She is also making a bridal gesture, not easy to reconcile with Leda.

When is Helen supposed to have met her true mother? Did it happen at Troy, Rhamnous or Sparta? The presence of Pyrrhos (Neoptolemos), son of Achilles, indicates that Troy is already taken. Angelos Delivorrias believed that the figures named could not have coexisted at any time and preferred to set the scene in the Underworld (Delivorrias 1984: 83–102), whereas Martin Robertson's and Vasilis Petrakos' choice was Rhamnous (Robertson 1975: 353; Petrakos 1986: 102–3). The presence of the local heroes of Rhamnous may be cited in support of this argument. What, on the other hand, are all these Spartans doing at Rhamnous? For her reception as a local heroine, Helen seems to have dragged along her Spartan family. Could the scene be set in Sparta instead? We will address this question later on.

The unknown fourth woman (9) has generated a lot of discussion. Petrakos originally identified her with Helen's daughter, Hermione (Pétracos 1981: 240). Pausanias names her as the wife of Neoptolemos

though he does not say explicitly that she appears on the base. Petrakos later changed his mind and suggested Oinoe instead.[33] She too is mentioned by Pausanias, again without a hint of her presence on the base. Oinoe was one of the neighbouring demes and Petrakos' identification is in accordance with the local character given to the scene, though a personification of a nearby deme may well be considered superfluous. Kenneth Lapatin named the unknown woman Klytaimestra (Lapatin 1992: 113–17). This was based on his reading of Pausanias' Τυνδάρεών τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας, where παῖδας is taken to mean 'children' rather than sons. Paulina Karanastassis has suggested that the unknown woman must be the one (9) next to Nemesis, therefore likely to be Themis, not only on account of their joint cult, even though this is first attested at Rhamnous only in the fourth century, but also because of the pair's connection to the origins of the Trojan War, which forms the background to the scene (Karanastassis 1994: 121–31). Finally, Wolfgang Ehrhardt questioned the gender identification of the fragmentary figures 2, 9 and 13, and tentatively placed both Oinoe and Hermione on the sides. In addition, he suggested that the figure (9) behind Nemesis is male, namely Tyndareos, with head covered (Ehrhardt 1997: 29–39). That Ehrhardt's Oinoe (2) is clearly male is shown by his naked lower leg. Ehrhardt's Hermione (13), on the other hand, may conceivably be female on account of the long drapery, which seems to cover the feet. As for his Tyndareos (9), considering that draped heads are far more common in female figures and that a man with head covered requires special pleading, it is safer to continue to regard the companion of Nemesis as female.

Only Petrakos and Lapatin attempted to identify the unknown man. Lapatin's Zeus (identified with 4) as the true father of Helen is the more likely candidate, particularly since he is mentioned by Pausanias in passing (Lapatin 1992: 114–15). Petrakos called the unknown man Theseus because he was the greatest Attic hero and on account of his affair with Helen (Petrakos 1986: 103). According to a myth first told by Herodotus (ix.73), Theseus carried Helen off from Sparta when she was still under age, and kept her at Aphidna, a deme near Rhamnous. Later on, the Dioskouroi, taking advantage of Theseus' absence in Hades, raided Attica and liberated their sister, who eventually married Menelaos.[34] It is interesting that the Helen associated with Aphidna is not the local girl from Rhamnous but the foreign Spartan princess, and neither literature nor art ever conflate the two. In addition, there is no evidence that Theseus

33 Petrakos 1986: 95, following Delivorrias 1984: 99, n. 35.

34 The story of Theseus' rape of Helen and her rescue by the Dioskouroi was variously recounted by the ancient sources: Hom. *Il*. iii.143–4; Diod. iv.63.2–3; Plu. *Thes*. 31–3; Apollod. i.23; Eust. on *Od*. i.399. See also Hermary 1986: nos. 174–8; Kahil and Icard 1988: 498–9 and 507–12; Shapiro 1992: 232–6; 1999: 100; 106–7.

as Helen's first husband (or lover or Platonic lover as the case may be) ever appears alongside Menelaos, her other husband. Besides, Helen's connection with Attica does not depend on her association with Theseus: she is here shown to be the daughter of a local goddess and therefore truly Athenian.

This brings us to what may properly be described as the hidden agenda of the iconography. Pausanias' puzzled description of the base indicates that he did not quite understand the scene. He wonders at the absence of Orestes, Hermione's second husband, and this has confused the issue, because we cannot expect to see both husbands of Hermione in the same scene. If, however, we assume that Neoptolemos' presence on the base is connected to Hermione, whom he married after his triumphant return from Troy, then the unknown woman must be the one (6) next to Helen (7), and is best identified as her daughter Hermione (Figure 4.6). This would account for the bridal gesture and the uncovered head: she is the virgin bride of Neoptolemos. The occasion would be their wedding in Sparta, after the fall of Ilion, as described in the Fourth Book of the *Odyssey* (1–14). Menelaos had promised his daughter's hand to Neoptolemos as a prize if he captured Troy. A royal wedding in Menelaos' palace could easily explain the presence of Tyndareos, Leda, Agamemnon (en route to Mycenae) and the Dioskouroi. The identification of the woman next to Helen as Hermione would necessitate a reshuffle in the cast of characters. The naked youth beside Hermione could be the bridegroom, Neoptolemos (5), followed by Zeus (4).[35] His opposite number beside Leda (9) would be Menelaos (10), followed by his brother, Agamemnon (11). This leaves the two sides for the accommodation of Tyndareos (14) and his children (12, 13) on the right and the three local heroes, Epochos (1), Neanias (2) and Hippeus (3), on the left. Hippeus is the only figure described by Pausanias as standing by his horse, and this suggests the figure restraining his horse on the left side (3). If Tyndareos' children here are both male, then Castor would be the owner of the horse as on the Vatican amphora by Exekias.[36] If figure 13 is female, then she could be Castor's sister, Klytaimestra. Her presence here is not impossible.[37] Klytaimestra, Helen and Hermione, along with Eros and therefore perhaps in a wedding preparation context, are represented together on an Attic red-figure hydria of about 410 from the Kerameikos.[38]

35 That figure 4 could be Zeus was convincingly argued by Lapatin 1992: 114–15.

36 Attic black-figure amphora, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 344: Beazley 1956: 145.13; Carpenter 1989: 40; Hermary 1986: no. 181. Castor as horseman *par excellence*: Hom. *Il*. iii.237; *Od*. xi.300.

37 Klytaimestra's presence on the base was forcefully argued by Lapatin 1992: 113–17.

38 Athens, Kerameikos Museum 2712: Beazley 1963: 1313.6; Carpenter 1989: 362; Kahil 1990: no. 6; Lapatin 1992: 116, n. 36.

The wedding in Sparta would thus be used by Agorakritos as a backdrop to the presentation of Helen to her true mother, Nemesis, the avenger of Troy, whose agent is Neoptolemos. At the heart of Sparta, Helen is revealed to be an Athenian. And as an Athenian from Rhamnous, she brings along with her the local heroes of Rhamnous, Neanias and Epochos. But she also brings Nemesis – on the Spartans. Kratinos, the poet of *Nemesis*, in the surviving fragments of another comedy, *Dionysalexandros*, produced in 430 or 429, drew a parallel between the Peloponnesian and the Trojan Wars and between Perikles and Paris, who started them.[39] If in the late 430s and early 420s the Trojan War served as a mythical allusion to the Peloponnesian rather than the Persian War, the same may well apply to the iconography of the base. Helen and Nemesis will strike at the enemy, be he Trojan, Persian or Spartan. Helen's son-in-law, the conqueror of Troy, will be there to implement the punishment of the gods.

A further twist is the Athenian attempt to summon away the greatest deity of the enemy in wartime. Helen is recruited for the propaganda war and used to subvert her own people on the excuse that she is not really Spartan but Athenian. This practice is familiar from Athenian attitudes to Salamis and Aigina, with the introduction of the cults of Eurysakes and Aiakos into Athens in the sixth century as a means of laying claims on the two islands.[40] The Spartans too clearly introduced the cult of Athena Alea in order to demonstrate ownership of Tegea (Xen. *Hell*. vi.5.27). But the use of Helen in the propaganda war was short-lived and I know of no echoes of the Nemesis base iconography.

The accounts of the expenditures for the cult-statues of Athena and Hephaistos for the Hephaisteion date them to 421–415 (*IG* i^3 472). That period of respite from the Peloponnesian War thanks to the Peace of Nikias provided a good opportunity for continuing the building programme initiated by Perikles. On seeing the cult-statues of Athena and Hephaistos, Pausanias (i.14.6) says that he is not surprised they are side by side because they are bound together by Erichthonios. According to Eratosthenes (*Cat*. 13), the Hephaisteion was built on the spot where Erichthonios sprang up from the earth. If Alkamenes' Athena had her shield deposited on a floral support as seems to be implied by the contruction accounts, it may have been because she needed her hands free to hold the infant Erichthonios. The existence of a famous statuary group of Hephaistos, Athena and Erichthonios is attested by *Anth*. *Pal*. ix.590, 'On

39 Geissler 1969: 24–5 and xi; Kassel and Austin 1983:140–1. Kratinos had already compared Perikles to Zeus, Helen's father, in his *Nemesis*: Plu. *Per.* 3.5; Kassel and Austin 1983: 182.

40 The evidence is discussed by Kearns 1989: 46–7; Stroud 1998: 88–9.

the statue of Hephaistos, Athena and Erechtheus (Erichthonios)'.[41] A good example of Athena's shield resting against a tree stump while she shakes hands with Hera appears on an Athenian record relief of 403/2 in the Acropolis Museum.[42] The Hephaisteion accounts mention a base consisting of several blocks, and we have seen the block that survives from the front, with dowel cuttings for the insertion of marble figures (Figure 4.1). This is as far as the evidence goes. We do not know what scene was illustrated on Alkamenes' base but it would be rather surprising if it repeated a scene possibly already enacted by the cult-statues themselves. Semni Karouzou tentatively identified the Cherchel Athena with Alkamenes' Athena Hephaisteia because the copy in Cherchel has her shield resting on a floral ornament (Figure 4.8) (Papaspyridi-Karusu 1954/55: 77–9, Beil. 33.1). Her suggestion has been rejected on account of the fourth-century appearance of the Cherchel type,[43] and Harrison has pointed out that the small acanthus plant used as a support of her shield could hardly rank as the *anthemon* of the construction accounts (Harrison 1977: 145). However, the choice of the Cherchel Athena is quite apt and we should not be quick to dismiss it. A variant in the Louvre (Figure 4.9) holds a basket with the snake guardian of Erichthonios, while another variant in Potsdam holds the infant Erichthonios.[44] Considering that this is the only classical statuary type of Athena with Erichthonios, one wonders if the Louvre/Potsdam Athena might not derive from a fourth-century reduced version of Alkamenes' Athena Hephaisteia.

On the basis of Pausanias' statement (i.14.6) that Hephaistos and Athena were grouped together on account of Erichthonios, Semni Karouzou was the first to suggest that the Hephaisteion base was decorated with the birth of Erichthonios (Figure 4.8), and she associated it with the original of a neo-Attic relief in the Louvre (Figure 4.10).[45] On this relief, Ge hands the infant Erichthonios, born of the seed of Hephaistos, to his foster-mother Athena, attended by Hephaistos on the spectator's right (wrongly restored as a woman) and by a seated god on the left, identified as Zeus. The maximum height of these figures is 58 cm. The central group of Athena, Erichthonios and Ge is reproduced on another neo-Attic relief in the Vatican, of even larger scale, as the

41 This group could only have stood in Athens, as was pointed out by Brommer 1978: 46.

42 Athens, Acropolis Museum 1333: *IG* i^{3} 127; *IG* ii^{2} 1; Meyer 1989: 273, A 26, pl. 10,1; Lawton 1995: 88–9, no. 12, pl. 7.

43 Harrison 1977: 145; Palagia 1980: 22; Landwehr 1993: 45–7, no. 31, pls. 40–2.

44 Paris, Louvre Ma 847: Palagia 1980: 22–3, fig. 41; Kron 1988: no. 37; Landwehr 1993: 47, n. 9. Potsdam, Schloss Sanssouci: Kron 1988: no. 38.

45 Papaspyridi-Karusu 1954/55: 79–94, fig. 3, Beil. 34,1. Relief, Paris, Louvre Ma 579: Harrison 1977: 266, fig. 3; Kron 1988: no. 27. On the birth of Erichthonios, see Powell 1906 (for the ancient sources); Kron 1988: 928–32; Kearns 1989: 160–1; Baudy 1992: 1–47; Delivorrias 1997: 117, n. 24; Shapiro 1998: 127–51.

Figure 4.8 Hephaisteion statue group, reconstructed by Semni Karouzou (after Papaspyridi-Karusu 1954/55: 83, fig. 3)

maximum height of its figures would be about 70.8 cm.[46] This approaches the estimated height of the figures on the Parthenos base, tentatively restored by Stevens at *c*.75 cm, supporting a statue just over 10 m high.[47] Having removed the Eleusinian stone block (Figure 4.1) from the Hephaisteion, Harrison believed that the Vatican relief was closer in both style and scale to the Hephaisteion base (Harrison 1977: 265–7, fig. 1). The style of the central group of Ge, Erichthonios, Athena and Hephaistos

46 Vatican Museum 1285: Helbig 1963: no. 304; Harrison 1977: 265–7, fig. 1; Kron 1988: no. 26; Delivorrias 1997: 113, fig. 5.

47 Stevens 1955: 254; 260, fig. 10; Leipen 1971: 23–4.

Figure 4.9 Marble statue of Athena holding a basket with a snake (Paris, Louvre Ma 847; photo: Museum)

belongs to the post-Pheidian phase and may indeed echo a late fifth-century prototype (Harrison 1977: 416–21). But was it part of a base? And how is the rest of the scene to be reconstructed? Harrison reached the conclusion that Alkamenes' base was all marble because the style of the figures that she attributed to it suggests a continuous frieze rather than separately attached units in metalwork (Harrison 1977: 267). Both the Louvre and the Vatican reliefs are too large for the Hephaisteion base as we know it, since Dinsmoor had calculated that the height of the figures attached to the Eleusinian stone block was about 50 cm.[48] This is equal to

48 The orthostates of the base are 59.4 cm high: Dinsmoor 1941: 106 and 109.

Figure 4.10 Neo-Attic relief with the birth of Erichthonios (Paris, Louvre Ma 579; photo: M. et P. Chuzeville)

the height of the figures on the Nemesis base, which supported a statue *c*.3.55 m high.[49] If the central scene of the birth of Erichthonios derives from a classical relief, it need not have belonged to the Hephaisteion statue-base, and we do not have enough evidence to reconstruct the rest of the composition beyond the central group of Ge, Erichthonios and Athena.[50]

Karouzou completed the composition adding random figures of Aglaurids and other triads, also borrowing Kekrops from the Berlin cup of the birth of Erichthonios (Figure 4.8).[51] Harrison improved on this scheme with a different choice of dancing triads (Graces and Aglaurids), with the addition of Hermes and Aphrodite, and by greatly increasing the size of the base to fit an imaginary Hephaisteion (Figure 4.4) (Harrison 1977: 267–87, ill. 1). Delivorrias has retained the central group but recast the attendant gods as Aphrodite, Hermes and Ares (Figure 4.11), after other neo-Attic reliefs in Tivoli and the Vatican.[52] As figures on neo-Attic reliefs tend not only to vary in scale at each reproduction, but also to regroup themselves in different scenes, this game can be replayed at will.

49 Measurements of Rhamnous base: Pétracos 1981: 231. Height of Nemesis: Despinis 1971: 62.

50 The attribution to the Hephaisteion statue-base of the neo-Attic reliefs with the birth of Erichthonios was questioned by Kron 1976: 63–4; Brommer 1978: 45–6.

51 Berlin Antikensammlung F 2537: Beazley 1963: 1268.2; Papaspyridi-Karusu 1954/55: 81–92, fig. 3, Beil. 36.1–2; Kron 1988: no. 7.

52 Delivorrias 1997: 109–18. Reliefs: Tivoli, Hadrian's Villa 713: Helbig 1972: no. 3210; Delivorrias 1997: fig. 2; Vatican: Delivorrias 1997: fig. 3.

Image Not Available

Figure 4.11 Statue-base of Athena and Hephaistos in the Hephaisteion, reconstructed by Angelos Delivorrias (after Delivorrias 1997: fig. 6)

A good example of this tendency is offered by the Zeus on the Louvre relief (Figure 4.10), who reappears as Hades on an Underworld sarcophagus in Aphrodisias (Smith 1993: pl. 30d). Even Hermione (6) from the Nemesis base (Figures 4.6 and 4.7) reappears as Hera on a neo-Attic relief in Corinth (Figure 4.12).[53] This relief was found near the local Asklepieion and may derive from a Roman statue-base. Zeus is enthroned to right at what is obviously a corner of the base and may not belong to the central scene, which, if deriving from a statue-base of Asklepios, could not have included Zeus.

An additional problem with neo-Attic reliefs is that several figures or even compositions, having started life as high classical creations, were recast in the fourth century before being copied in these reliefs. This has led to confusion in the past. For example, the figures on the Madrid puteal, now shown to derive from a fourth-century statue-base, were long thought to be echoes of the east pediment of the Parthenon.[54] The del Drago relief in Rome was likewise attributed to the Parthenos base though it clearly draws on several prototypes.[55] An additional complication is the fact that Zeus on the del Drago relief reappears on the Corinth relief, alongside Hermione (6) from the base of the Nemesis (Figure 4.12). As a result,

53 Corinth Museum S 1449: Becatti 1951: 53–70; fig. 30; Leipen 1971: 25.

54 Madrid, Archaeological Museum 2691: Becatti 1951: fig. 35. Convincingly rejected as an echo of the Parthenon by Despinis 1982: 100–10, pls. 61–71. See also Palagia 1993: 27, fig. 8.

55 Rome, Palazzo Altemps: Scoppola and Vordemann 1997: 21. Attributed to the Parthenos base by Schrader 1924: 300–2, fig. 282; Becatti 1951: 53–70, figs 21–2; Leipen 1971: 25–7, fig. 66. Rejected by Langlotz 1947: 44. Schuchhardt 1975: 123–4 has pointed out that the figures on the del Drago and Corinth reliefs draw on various prototypes of the fifth and fourth centuries that do not necessarily belong to the same monument.

Figure 4.12 Neo-Attic relief with Zeus and Hera, from the Asklepieion, Corinth (Corinth, Museum S 1449; photo: American School of Classical Studies. Corinth Excavations)

Hermione (6) from the Rhamnous base came to be attributed to the Parthenos base.[56] All this casts doubts on the current reconstructions of the Hephaisteion base. In addition, their animated narrative, enhanced by the dancing maidens framing the central episode, hardly conforms to the hieratic poses familiar from the bases of the Parthenos and the Nemesis. I remain sceptical pending further evidence on the subject and style of the Hephaisteion base. Additional grounds for scepticism are provided by the fact that Erichthonios per se had no known cult, whereas the other three bases of the Pheidian circle depicted the births of divine figures who did receive cult. If the Hephaisteion base was not decorated with the birth of Erichthonios, it may well have depicted the birth of Athena, where Hephaistos also played a leading rôle.

In conclusion, let us sum up the general characteristics of the cult-statue-bases of the Pheidian circle. The three securely identified ones showed miraculous birth scenes of local deities, two of whom, Helen and Pandora, were born of or created by the deity standing on the base. Most births involved foster-parents with absentee or reluctant progenitors. At least two of the deities celebrated, Aphrodite and Pandora, had cults in the area. Pheidias' own bases were lavish affairs, decorated with golden (or gilded silver or gilded bronze) figures pinned onto white marble or dark limestone. Alkamenes' base was a cheap stone imitation of this technique, while Agorakritos' base was all stone. The scenes can be shown to illustrate Homer and Hesiod, with the Parthenos base reflecting Hesiod's *Theogony*, *Works and Days* and the *Catalogue of Women*, the Zeus base

56 Hermione (6) attributed to the Parthenos base: Leipen 1971: 25–7, figs 68–9.

illustrating Hesiod's *Theogony*, and the Nemesis base creatively drawing on both the *Kypria* and the *Odyssey*. Their iconography nevertheless seems to have had covert political overtones, reaching beyond the religious significance of the myths represented.

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5

SMALL WORLD:
Pygmies and co.

Brian Sparkes

THERE WAS A TIME when scenes painted on Greek pottery were understood to be closely linked to the varied literary sources that preceded or were contemporary with them, and the presumed connections between the two were investigated assiduously. The vase-painters were generally considered to be subsidiary to, and dependent on, the writers of the literary works. But the relationships between stories told through the medium of words and those presented in visual images are now seen to be more complex and to need more sophisticated treatment (see March below, pp. 119–39). Although the images are still useful in helping us to understand the varied levels of mythical narratives (including those met in literary works) and aspects of everyday life such as *symposia*, religious ritual and funerary practice, more attention is being paid to the reasons behind the choice of subjects, to the ways in which the images consciously or unconsciously comment on contemporary life and society, and to the less obvious meanings which lie hidden beneath the surface.

I

The year 1993 saw the publication of Veronique Dasen's excellent *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece*, in which she collected together all the literary and visual evidence that concerned her subject. In her chapter on 'Dwarfs in Myth' in the Greek half of the book she was mainly concerned

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with 'the exotic pygmies',[1] and in interpreting the material she had collected, she cleverly wove together the testimonia from different periods. What I want to do is to concentrate on what Greek writers wrote (and sometimes recited) and what Greek craftsmen presented of the mythical battle between the pygmies and the cranes (the *Geranomachia*) in the archaic and classical periods, and to consider how this related to shared knowledge and understanding of the story. So we must begin with Homer.

After the detailed 'Catalogue of Ships' in *Iliad* ii Homer introduces a striking double simile[2] to describe the first clash that is about to take place in the poem between the Trojans and the Achaeans (iii.1–9):

> Now, when the Trojans were marshalled, each contingent with their captains, they advanced with a clamour and with a cry like birds, just as the clamour of cranes rises beneath the sky, when they come to flee from winter and boundless rain, and with clamour fly towards the streams of Ocean, bearing slaughter and death to pygmies, and in the air they offer evil battle. But the Achaeans advanced in silence, breathing might, eager at heart to come to each other's aid.

Time and again Greek audiences of the *Iliad*, in whatever context we imagine them to have gathered, would have heard the Trojans likened to squawking birds and doubtless rejoiced at the quiet courage with which the Greeks were shown to face them. Cranes were a regular, if intermittent, feature of the Greek landscape: Greek farmers saw these huge birds in their fields, heard the noise they made and noted their flight in what looked like battle formation as they left to fly south in the autumn and returned in the spring. By contrast, the pygmies, to whom the cranes were said to bring annual slaughter and death, were an exotic group and would not raise in the eyes of the Greeks the specific image that the cranes produced. But the casual manner with which reference to them is introduced by Homer and the proverbial cast given to the simile suggest that the story was well enough known to evoke some response of recognition in the audience. Tales of a small race living down south are likely to have come, by direct or indirect routes, through Egypt, and modern folklorists and anthropologists have commented on the widespread occurrence of the story of birds versus little men. One suggestion is that the fable may have 'an actual foundation in the pursuit of the *ostrich* by a dwarfish race';[3]

1 See Dasen 1993: 175–88, 294–304. For previous general treatments of the pygmy-and-crane battle, see the bibliography in Dasen 1993: 175, n. 3, and see now Dasen 1994, which also deals with the Hellenistic and Roman images.

2 For a detailed study of this simile, see Muellner 1990. It is not easy to gauge how late the second element (5–7) in the double simile entered the poem – perhaps in the early sixth century?

3 Thompson 1936: 73. For folktales, see Thompson 1955–8: F 451 (dwarfs) and F 535 (pygmies).

another notion sees cranes as mythical substitutes for members of such tall African tribes as the Nuer or Dinka standing on one leg like birds (Dasen 1993: 177). Be all that as it may, for the generality of audiences of the *Iliad* who knew nothing of such outlandish phenomena, the battle was a mythical contest, taking place at the far-off edge of the world, near the streams of Ocean where the cranes received their come-uppance for the damage done to farmers' crops in Greece. Any image of the cranes' opponents that the Greeks may have conjured up for themselves had to be based on nothing more than the name: they were small men measured by the size of a *pugmê* or cubit, mere Tom Thumbs. Cranes were seen every year, but the poet added no circumstantial detail to help his audience visualise the pygmies.

We next meet the pygmies in the sixth century[4] in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (fr. 150.11 and 17–18 MW). Here they are not mentioned in the context of the battle; they are glimpsed by the Boreads as they chase the Harpies over the whole world. The poet gives the pygmies some parents and some neighbours; they are made the sons of Poseidon and Mother Earth, and reference to them follows a mention of Black Men (*Melanes*) and great-hearted Ethiopians (*Aithiopes megathumoi*), and, as a contrast to those, the *Pugmaioi* are paired with Underground Men (*Katoudaioi*). The poet also gives the pygmies an epithet; they are called *amenênoi*, 'puny' or 'insubstantial'. In epic poetry the word *amenênoi* was associated with such images as the wounded and the dying, with dreams and souls that haunt the living, and it was on the banks of Ocean that one of the entrances to the Underworld was to be found. Ballabriga has suggested that the mention of *Pugmaioi amenênoi* would bring to the minds of the audience hints of death and the shortness of life, to add to the pygmies' physical insignificance (Ballabriga 1981: 57–8), and this notion may have been present in the *Iliad* passage, a reminder of the dangers consequent on warfare.

There is very little that the songs of the archaic period tell us of the combatants. Also, a distinction has to be made between the information that would be generally known to the public at large (including craftsmen), whether from their own private experience or by hearing the epic simile or the Hesiodic tale of the Boreads delivered by a singer, and the information that those fewer people who could read and had access to papyri might glean from any written texts that came into their hands. There has been much study recently of how confined the breadth and depth of literacy was and of the different levels of ability at which people's

4 Martin West (1985: 131) dates the passage to the sixth century on account of its synoptic treatment. On Phineus, the Boreads and the Harpies, see Schefold 1984; Kahil 1988 and 1994; Tsiafakis 1998: 165–81, 225–8.

competence should be understood to have operated.[5] The overwhelming majority of Greeks would have heard, not read, the stories.

By the end of the sixth century we have an instance of this distinction. The few crumbs of information that we can gather of what the historian and geographer Hecataeus wrote in his *Periegesis* about the pygmy-and-crane battle are preserved in the comments of scholiasts and later commentators who were attempting to elucidate the simile in the *Iliad* with which we started (*FGrH* 1 F 328a–b).[6] It is not altogether clear what details the later scholars excerpted from Hecataeus himself and what came from other sources, but the details they do preserve are a curious mixture of mythology and ethnography, the fabulous and the real. The pygmies were imagined to be small farmers who had to use axes to cut their corn; we are also told that they rode rams and wielded rattles to frighten away the birds. The cranes were said simply to despise the pygmies for their small size. Whatever Hecataeus' text actually said, the number of people who had access to his writings would have been limited. The illiterate majority would have depended on tales heard by word of mouth or glimpsed on painted pottery, some details of which might or might not have coincided with Hecataeus' information.

The story of pygmies fighting big birds in the heart of Africa looks tailor-made for Herodotus to relate to his audience.[7] But although he is at pains to explain how he gained his information about groups of what he calls 'little men' in Africa (ii.32.6 and iv.43.5) and tells his audience that they were small, black, wore palm-leaf clothing and spoke an unknown language, he has nothing to say about cranes, nor does he use the word 'pygmies' to describe the 'little men'. It is suggested that this may be because he is telling us about real 'little men', whose existence had been observed by travellers; they are no longer figures of fable. He reserves the reference to pygmies to the squat statue of the Egyptian god Ptah in the sanctuary of Hephaistos at Memphis (iii.37), but he assumes that his audience will understand what the statue looked like by simply comparing it to a *pygmaios anêr* (see pp. 91–2 below).[8]

5 Harris (1989: 327), arguing for restricted literacy, calculates that 'it would be surprising if more than 10 per cent of the population of Attica (male and female) was really literate by the time of the Persian Wars.' The percentage elsewhere is unlikely to have been higher.

6 On the reading of the text, see La Penna 1976.

7 On Herodotus reciting his work, see Momigliano 1978: 64–6 (=1980: 366–8); Hornblower 1987: 29; Gould 1989: 16–17; Harris 1989: 84–6. For the restricted readership of Herodotus, see Flory 1980. For expeditions to Africa, see Carpenter 1956; Lloyd 1975–88: 135–9.

8 For images of Ptah, see Dasen 1993: 84–98; Page-Gasser 1994. It has been noted that Herodotus does not use the name Ptah, though it was in Hecataeus (see West 1991: 145, n. 6). Herodotus uses the same phrase as Homer *(pygmaios anêr/andrasi Pygmaioisi)*.

In the fourth century the number of historians increased, but even if we imagine that the proportion of people who could read texts was also numerically larger, there is not much more information for them to glean about the battle. The Greek historian Ctesias, physician to the Persian king and prize fabricator of stories, writing in the early years of the fourth century, has much to say about pygmies (*FGrH* 688 F 45.21–3). He is the first writer to locate them in India and tells us that they were black, had snub noses, genitals down to their ankles, hair so long they used it instead of clothing, and small animals to match their size. Of the battle with the cranes he has not a word to say. He, like Herodotus, is presenting us with his own perception of real pygmies, not of any mythical figures. Later in the century, Aristotle gives details about both cranes and pygmies: the cranes fly to the source of the Nile where the pygmies live in caves and where they ride miniature horses. Though he dismisses some of the more fanciful notions about them that were prevalent at the time, it is interesting that in his *Historia Animalium*, if the passage is his and the text is sound (viii.12.597a), he may be seeking to assure us that the pygmy-and-crane battle is no myth.

But it is in the more credulous Hellenistic period that the battle is reinvented and treated seriously, as a reality that needs circumstantial evidence. For instance, Megasthenes, another outrageous teller of tall tales, recounts that wounded cranes (only three spans high, a little more than two feet tall) would often exit from the battlefield with bronze arrowheads lodged in them (Megasthenes *FGrH* 715 F 27) – this was the sort of sign that was needed to assist in confirming the authenticity of the pygmy-and-crane story. The circumstantial details accumulate in later authors: pygmy homelands vary (see Dasen 1993: 176, n. 16; 1994: 594), and the cranes are ruled by a remarkable queen, Gerana (Ballabriga 1981: 64–6). We are also told, for instance, that the pygmies were small enough to ride on partridges during the fight (Basilis *FGrH* 718 F 1) and that they built their huts of feathers and eggshells (Pliny *NH* vii.2.26). It is also in the period after Alexander that we first meet references to the story of the cranes who witnessed Ibycus' murder,[9] and that we hear that the dance that Theseus and the Athenian youths and maidens on their victorious return from Crete performed on the island of Delos went by the name of *geranos* or the 'crane'.[10] By contrast, Strabo in earnest vein is one of the few to doubt the very existence of small pygmies, and comments: 'no man

9 Davies 1991: 237–9. For the folktale, see Thompson 1955–8: N 271.3; Fairweather 1974: 271–2. For possible derivation from a poem by Ibycus himself, see Lefkowitz 1981: 37–8.

10 Bruneau 1970: 19–35; Calame 1977: 108–15 (=1997: 123–8). Dicaearchus (fr. 85W) (*c*.300 BC) is the first extant writer to name the dance on Delos the *geranos* (Plu. *Theseus* 21). See n. 15 below.

worthy of belief claims to have seen them' (xvii.2.1). The details mentioned above cannot be clearly traced back to the archaic or classical periods. In fact, the written evidence for the battle that is preserved to us prior to the end of the classical period is remarkably meagre. It is naturally difficult to gauge what we have lost in the texts that have not survived, but there is no indication that the battle was given any parodic treatment before the Hellenistic period.[11] When we turn to the archaic and classical images, it is best if we assume that the artists were free to use their imagination in creating the appearance and in suggesting the significance of these men the size of a cubit. As we shall see, they treated the story with some sophistication.

II

It is being increasingly recognised that, in a society that was only marginally literate, most stories were transmitted by word of mouth, whether in public performance or private story-telling, and that paintings and sculpture were important media for embodying and disseminating stories that were being handed on informally as well as those that came to the surface in more formal song and poetry. The images are a prime source of evidence for us in trying to grasp what people at large knew, how they appreciated and understood the tales, and also what use the craftsmen made of them. Visual images were used on public display for making statements of political propaganda, of religious devotion or of family and personal pride. In the private sphere they reflected more personal concerns and attitudes – to life as it is and to death as it may come to be, to lesser-known myths of the divine and to legends of local or familial heroes. It should cause us no surprise that the images of the pygmy-and-crane battle are mainly to be found on painted pottery, the medium that supplies the richest vein of imagery whether of myth, everyday life or sheer fantasy. The pygmy-and-crane story was too slight a tale for sculpture, of no political significance for the city at large; it was a tale for private images, not for public exhibition. It was, however, a popular subject, and it follows that its very popularity provides us with more material than has survived in written texts.

The battle decorated a wide variety of vases associated with the varied social contexts with which the shapes can be connected (*symposion*, *gymnasion*, funeral, etc.), whether made initially for the living or not.[12]

11 The dating of such 'animal' parodies as the *Geranomachia* (cranes), the *Psaromachia* (starlings) and the *Arachnomachia* (spiders) is vexed; their ancient ascription to Homer is of no significance. The only surviving example of the genre, the *Batrachomyomachia* (frogs and mice), has been dated to both the archaic and the Hellenistic periods (for the latter, see Wölke 1978: 46–70).

12 For images of the pygmy-and-crane battle, see n. 1 above and Freyer-Schauenburg

Study of the local centres of production shows that the story was painted in a large number of different pottery workshops scattered over the Greek world, so the folktale, as might be expected, was widely known and not connected with one city or cult-centre. From the evidence of the archaeological provenances, it was obviously a popular subject with the public and had something of interest to offer successive generations in different areas of the Greek world and beyond, in whatever different ways the recipients might have understood the meaning of the painted images that reached their shores. Given what one might call the 'iceberg' effect as it relates to the number of vases that survive *vis-à-vis* the number produced, in view of the many pots that have survived with this subject, we must conclude that many more were produced (Oakley 1992: 198–200).

In considering visual images of the battle we are on sure ground only by the beginning of the sixth century, at a time when figured images were already well established on painted pottery.[13] As we saw from the *Iliad* passage and from the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, there seems to have been no helpful description to assist the vase-painters when they first chose (or were requested) to draw pygmies – only the meaning of the name. The craftsmen had to invent complete images of pygmies or pick up ideas from whatever gossip was current. In the archaic period the typology and iconography of the battle are fairly constant, and no geographical clues are given of their whereabouts, even though by this time painters were using shorthand details to help in suggesting location.

The earliest certain rendering (*c*.570 BC) is that painted on the foot of the so-called François Vase – an Attic mixing-bowl (volute-krater) found in an Etruscan tomb.[14] The friezes on the body are mainly concerned with the heroic adventures of Achilles and Theseus.[15] The scene on the foot

1975 (on archaic). There are only two archaic images on media other than vases: a (lost) mid-sixth-century gold diadem from Rhodes (Dasen 1993: G 58; 1994: no. 19) and a sixth-century terracotta altar from Corinth (Dasen 1993: G 53, pl. 61, 2; 1994: no. 18, pl. 471; Boardman 1998: fig. 410.1). Unusually for so early a date, the pygmies on the diadem are shown as grotesque. For Hellenistic and later images where the grotesqueries are more in evidence, see Dasen 1994: nos. 21–34, 42–58, 63–6.

13 For pre-sixth-century images, see Karageorghis 1972; Freyer-Schauenburg 1975: 82, nn. 5–7. There are a few seventh-century relief pithoi that show men being pecked by birds, but these are likely to be dead warriors on the battlefield, see Caskey 1976: 24–5. The early sixth century may be the date when the second part of the Homeric simile entered the *Iliad* (see n. 2 above).

14 Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 4209, from Chiusi: Beazley 1956: 76.1 and 682; 1971: 29; Carpenter 1989: 21; Dasen 1993: G 40, pl. 58 a–d; 1994: no. 1, pl. 466. See also Snodgrass, above, p. 23.

15 Whether there is a connection between the *geranoi* on the foot and the '*geranos*' dance of Theseus on the rim is unclear; see n. 10 above. There is disagreement on the location of the Theseus scene on the François Vase. Some scholars place the dance on Crete, others on Delos (see Neils 1994: 943). Alan Shapiro (1989: 146–7 and 1995: 22 (with further bibliography)) denies it is a dance and sees it as the arrival on Crete – an attractive proposal.

provides a striking contrast to the legendary stories, and the vase-painter Kleitias presents a lively version of the struggle: long-legged birds doing battle against small humans. The vase-painter had no alternative but to paint the pygmies as well-proportioned mannikins – he had no other information on which to build his picture. He made them primitive fighters: there are no shields, swords or spears in their hands, they wield clubs and curved sticks – the very weapons with which farmers back in Greece would have protected their crops from marauding birds, whether cranes or any other similar predators (Beazley 1951/1986: 36–7/33–4). None of the pygmies wears the armour of 'civilised' man; they are naked or in short tunics, and some wear hats. The pygmies riding on goats and carrying slings might suggest that the detail of their equestrian ability we find in Hecataeus and later texts was already being disseminated (see p. 82 above). A more sombre image is that of a crane pecking out the eye of a dead pygmy on the ground – a fate suffered by many a corpse on the battlefield (see n. 13 above), and one is reminded of the word *amenênoi* mentioned earlier, though the pygmies certainly show no feebleness in the fight. Andrew Stewart, in his detailed study of the vase, observes that the painter 'signs off' his work with a scene of parody, 'a commentary on the tragi-comedy of human pretensions'.[16] The parody mocks the heroic values displayed on the body of the vase, a more advanced approach than we find expressed in the written sources in the archaic and classical periods (see n. 11 above).

Another lively treatment is seen a little later (*c*.550 BC) on a small Attic oil-bottle (aryballos) carrying the name of the maker Nearchos (Figure 5.1).[17] The figures that share the surface of the oil-pot with the pygmy-and-crane battle are less heroic than on the François Vase but equally meaningful. On the handle-plate, satyrs are hard at work on the business they know well and are given names to fit their actions. On either side of the handle, the painter has set Perseus and Hermes, both named, alongside nonsense words. Then, round the vertical rim of the mouth (half an inch high), a miniature battle of pygmies and cranes is in full swing in the midst of a welter of nonsense words.[18] The groups are similar to, but less varied than, those on the François Vase, but a new detail appears that other painters pick up later: a pygmy drags a dead crane away from the battle-field.

16 Stewart 1983: 70; cf. Ballabriga 1981: 71–2 and Dasen 1993: 184, 187–8.

17 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 26.49, from Attica: Beazley 1956: 83.4 and 682; 1971: 30; Carpenter 1989: 23; Immerwahr 1990: 27; Cohen 1991: 53–5; Dasen 1993: G 41, pl. 59, 1 a–c; 1994: no. 2, pl. 467.

18 Hampe 1935–6: 295–6, no. 23 suggested that the nonsense words were meant to signify their clarion calls ('Als Geschrei der Kraniche, vielleicht auch als Kampgeschrei der Pygmäen'), but this has usually been rejected. On nonsense inscriptions, see Snodgrass, above, pp. 29–30.

Image Not Available

Figure 5.1 Attic black-figure aryballos, made by Nearchos, *c*.550 BC (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 26.49; purchase, The Cesnola Collection, by exchange, 1926; photo: Museum)

Given a long and narrow band to fill, the artist has filled it with a popular story concerning small men and large birds that had recently begun to be painted in the pottery shops. The aryballos was a man's oil-bottle, decorated with varied scenes to delight the owner. Even if intended for deposition in a tomb (we have no idea of its archaeological context), it might suit a dead man as well as a live one, the battle likely to remind the owner of the mightier battles that he had fought against more impressive foes. The illustration again seems to present a parody of the struggles of

normal-sized humans in that 'reverse world' that we saw on the François Vase and that later becomes a traditional feature.[19] It has been pointed out that pygmies and satyrs share some common characteristics, not least for the way in which they both mock heroic values, and it is suggested that Hermes and Perseus are depicted here to underline the 'exotic' element.[20]

This contrast with accepted values can also be seen when the story appears a little later on Attic drinking cups. The battle is usually placed between the handles of black-figure band-cups, opposing the image on the other side where an heroic scene of action is in play. The two scenes on an Attic black-figure band-cup in Taranto are the pygmy-and-crane battle and the hunt for the Kalydonian Boar: mannikins versus birds matched by men versus a wild animal.[21] The subject is also found on water-pots (hydriai) where, as shoulder decoration, it contrasts with the scene on the body, such as a wedding procession.[22] In Attic black-figure the iconography tends to be standard, though a hint of a change in the conception and visualisation of the pygmy is to be seen on a cup fragment in Berlin that presents them as chubbier figures than the preferred norm (Figure 5.2).[23]

When we leave Athens and consider other archaic centres of production, we find the treatment of the story follows the same pattern, but with less narrative thrust. The mainland centres of Corinth, Boeotia and Laconia furnish a few examples.[24] In East Greece, narrative scenes on pottery were less a feature than on mainland Greece. The so-called Fikellura amphorae[25] that are now thought to have been manufactured at Miletus rarely furnish narrative scenes. But one composition, on a group of fragments said to have been found on Cyprus, shows a line of dancing party-goers on one side of the amphora, and on the other side there are

19 For the 'reverse world', see Hoffmann 1997: 13, n. 75 (with bibliography).

20 For satyrs and pygmies, see Dasen 1993: 185; Hoffmann 1997: 27, 30–1, 35. The tale of the satyrs stealing Herakles' weapons (see Simon 1982: 136–7) is a story later told of the pygmies (Brommer 1984: 47 and see n. 32 below). For the exotic background to Hermes and Perseus, see Dasen 1993: 186.

21 Taranto, Museo Nazionale IG 4435, from Taranto: Beazley 1956: 159.1; 1971: 67; Dasen 1993: G 42, pl. 59, 2; 1994: no. 3a. Drinking cups: Dasen 1993: G 42–3, 45–6 (= 1994: nos. 3a–b, 4–5, pl. 468). Add the fragmentary black-figure band-cup, Athens, Agora P 24951, and the fragmentary black-figure skyphos, Agora P 13853 (Moore and Philippides 1986: nos. 1722, pl. 112, and 1471); and the black-figure band-cup, Brussels, Theodor: Heesen 1996: no. 41, pl. 41 and figs. 123–4.

22 For example, Paris, Louvre F 44, from Etruria: Dasen 1993: G 47, pl. 60, 3; 1994: no. 3, pl. 468. For another hydria, see Dasen 1994: no. 3c.

23 Berlin, Staatliche Museen F 1785: Freyer-Schauenburg 1975: pl. 15c; Dasen 1993: G 45, pl. 60, 1; 1994: no. 4, pl. 468. Only the lost diadem (see n. 12) had presented the pygmies as other than usual in the archaic period.

24 Freyer-Schauenburg 1975: 76–7 and 82, nn. 6–17; Dasen 1993: G 49–55.

25 On Fikellura, see now Cook and Dupont 1998: 77 and Boardman 1998: 147–8.

Image Not Available

Figure 5.2 Fragment of Attic black-figure band-cup, *c*.540 BC (Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, F 1785; photo: Ute Jung)

episodes from a pygmy-and-crane battle (Figure 5.3).[26] One bearded pygmy, who wields a club and is being bitten by a crane, is sexually excited and seems to have wandered off course from the drunken rout or to be confused with the usually tumescent satyr figure. Indeed, the scene of the battle has little narrative content; it serves the same purpose as the dancers – to fill out the belly of the amphora with a string of lively figures. But we may perhaps detect some deliberate antithesis again: not this time a distinction with heroic struggles, but drunken revellers at play contrasted with midgets and birds in a life-and-death struggle.

In the west, the well-known Northampton neck-amphora,[27] perhaps made and decorated by immigrant Eastern Greeks in Etruria *c*.540 BC, also plays games with the story and again creates a decorative rather than narrative composition. Sir John Beazley put forward a tentative proposition that the war was over and civil war had begun. He wrote (1929: 2):

> What one usually sees, of course, is pygmy and crane at odds, and the artist might have put a crane on the right of his tree and a pygmy on the left; but he wanted a tall thing on either side, so he doubled, shuffled, cut and got his two pairs. Viewed as a representation, his picture illustrates a new era in pygmydom: the cranes have been finally conquered; the war now is civil war; and the cranes must serve their masters as steeds.

This is too forced. Apart from the fact that the mythical war can only end when the cranes fail to fly south, it is better to see this as an imaginative use of elements and not strain for an unlikely fable. The artist has cleverly

26 Münster, University 292 and 293, from Cyprus (?): Cook 1933–4: pl. ix, K 2; Freyer-Schauenburg 1975: pl. 15a–b; Dasen 1993: G 57; 1994: no. 7, pl. 468.

27 London, Niarchos: Dasen 1993: G 56, pl. 62, 1; 1994: no. 40, pl. 475; Boardman 1998: fig. 485.1.

Figure 5.3 Fragments of a Fikellura amphora, *c*.550 BC (Münster, University Museum of Archaeology 292 and 293; photo: Museum)

decided that the narrative is no use to him, the participants can be treated as interchangeable elements. He is unconstrained by any mythical strait-jacket and feels free to improvise. It might be noted that satyrs are not far away on the other side of the vase.

Let us now return to Athens and look at the red-figure images. In the early fifth century the subject returns to popularity, and the shapes of vases that carry the images of the battle are even more varied than before, made for a variety of social contexts.[28] However, changes in the composition have now occurred: the full-scale battle is less in favour than it was in black-figure, either with painters or with customers, and there is a marked preference for a duel or small group. Also, the pygmies themselves are now usually shaped to imitate dwarfs;[29] they have ceased to be portrayed as the proportioned mannikins they once were. Occasionally the full-scale battle and the more traditional shape of pygmy are presented,[30] but more commonly it is the duel and the new configuration of the pygmy that the

28 For example, cup, hydria, amphora, pelike, krater, mug, pyxis lid, askos, lekythos, oinochoe. For the animal-head cups and figurine vases, see below.

29 For dwarfs in Athens, see Dasen 1990 where she suggests (198) that some images may be based on individual dwarfs known in the city. Dasen proposes (1993: 178–9) that the stories of pygmies were created to account for the pathologically short people in Greek cities and that they were located far away to remove any threat they might seem to pose.

30 For example, Athens, Agora P 8892: Beazley 1963: 587.63; Carpenter 1989: 263; Dasen 1993: G 62, pl. 63, 2; 1994: no. 10. A battle scene is depicted on an elaborately woven textile for a couch at a *symposion* painted on the interior of an Attic red-figure stemless cup of *c*.470–460 BC (London, BM 95.10–27.2: see Csapo and Miller 1991: 371, n. 22).Textiles are of course another means of dissemination of stories.

Figure 5.4 Attic red-figure neck-amphora by the Epidromos Painter, *c*.450 BC (Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire R 302; photo: ACL)

painter creates. On a neck-amphora in Brussels a dwarf pygmy with a club and a lionskin defends himself against a fearsomely tall opponent (Figure 5.4).[31] The pygmy has been distanced from the archetype and made to look ridiculously sub-human, no longer any real threat to birds. We may now see how Herodotus was able to assume that his hearers and readers would be able to visualise what the dwarfish statue of Ptah looked like from his

31 Brussels, Musées Royaux d'art et d'histoire R 302: Beazley 1963: 1044.7; Dasen 1993: G 70, pl. 65, 1; 1994: no. 12a.

Image Not Available

Figure 5.5 Attic red-figure dog's-head cup by the Brygos Painter, *c*.480 BC (St Petersburg, Hermitage inv. 1818; photo: Museum)

reference to a *pygmaios anêr* (see p. 82). It has also been observed that the pose that the pygmy strikes, combined with his lionskin, must be intended to imitate Herakles, again the laughable contest providing a parodic image of more heroic confrontations.[32]

In the early fifth century two remarkable series of red-figure shapes that carry the pygmy-and-crane duels were produced in Athens. First, there were the animal-head cups.[33] The shapes were borrowed from Persian metal-ware, Persia being a source of emulation as well as an object of hatred, both before and after the Persian Wars. Persian silver cups were produced in straight and angled versions, pierced below to allow a jet of liquid to spurt out.[34] Although some of the Greek ceramic versions may have been produced from moulds taken from the Persian originals, the Greek craftsmen adapted and 'hellenised' the shape, and they added a handle or sometimes both a handle and a foot, not found on the Persian models. They also enlarged the Persian bestiary of such creatures as lions and rams by adding animals such as dogs and donkeys (Hoffmann 1989: 127–47). When there was no foot, the cup was placed upside down with the rim resting on the table (see Hoffmann 1997: 9; Shefton 1998: 654).

32 For pygmy as Herakles ('hero-in-reverse'), see Dasen 1993: 187–8; Hoffmann 1997: 28 and 165, n. 22; for pygmies attacking Herakles, see Brommer 1984: 47; Dasen 1993: 181; 1994: nos. 67–8. See also n. 20 above.

33 Animal-head cups: Hoffmann 1961; 1962; 1989; 1997: 47–75 (with previous bibliography); Tuchelt 1962; Guy 1981; Miller 1991: 70; 1993: 122–6; 1997: 141–4; Robertson 1992: 99–100; Paoletti 1992; Shefton 1998: 653–5. I have avoided the word 'rhyton' as it denotes function, not shape (see Miller 1997: 142–4 and Shefton 1998: 654, n. 112).

34 Persian silver cups: Tuchelt 1962: 83–9; Miller 1993: 122–6; 1997: 141–4; Boardman 1994: 86–90; Shefton 1998. The Attic pottery shapes were rarely pierced like the Persian silver cups (see Miller 1993: 123, n. 81).

Image Not Available

Figure 5.6 Fragment of an Attic red-figure ram's-head cup, in the manner of the Sotades Painter, *c*.450 BC (Moscow, Pushkin Museum M 471; photo: Museum)

Whatever the original use made of the silver shapes in Persia, the Greeks fashioned their animal-head ceramic versions to serve as *symposion* articles.[35] The Greek ceramic versions carry red-figure compositions below the mouth, often related to Dionysiac and sympotic subjects; satyrs are prominent, and pygmies and cranes are also depicted.

A dog's-head cup by the Brygos Painter (Figure 5.5),[36] of the early fifth century, is furnished with two handles but no foot, and it presented to the drinker's gaze lively pygmy-and-crane groups just below the rim. The cranes involved in the encounter have not changed in appearance; the pygmies are very different from any of the black-figure versions. They are the new midgets, modelled, as we saw earlier, on images of dwarfs or on actual dwarfs to be seen at this time in the streets of Athens. They are squat, snub-nosed and burdened with rather large and cumbersome genitals, as Ctesias later affirmed (see p. 83). They carry clubs, bows and

35 I agree with Miller (1991: 70; 1993: 122; 1997: 141–3), Lissarrague (1995: 6 and 8) and Shefton (1998: 648) that these vases would have been used at *symposia*. Hoffmann 1997: 6 and 9 seems confused on this point.

36 St Petersburg, Hermitage 679 (Б 1818; St. 360): Beazley 1963: 382.188 and 1649; 1971: 512; Carpenter 1989: 228; Stahl 1986: 353–4, figs. 2–3; Dasen 1993: G 60, pl. 62, 2a–b; 1994: no. 8, pl. 469.

swords (the benefits of civilisation have reached them via the painters), and they wear animal skins and boots, and hats worn by non-Greeks living in the north.[37]

The evidence that we have for animal-head cups, some of which carry our story, is strongest in the years of the mid-fifth century, and the name most closely associated with the output is that of Sotades, who was a distinctive and innovative potter and may also have been a painter of his own vases.[38] He fashioned animal-head cups similar to those produced earlier in the century, and here again the pygmy-and-crane duels have their place among the Dionysiac and satyric subjects. Such a one is the little-known fragment of a ram's-head cup in the Pushkin Museum in Moscow (Figure 5.6).[39] What remains below is part of the fleecy dots of the ram's head, and above a dwarfish pygmy, with negroid features and woolly hair, lies supine. The fragment was found in the area of the ancient town of Panticapaeum (modern Kerch) in the Crimea, not in the cemetery. So its archaeological context would suggest that it was used by the living, and not (or not yet) for the dead – a Crimean *symposion* seems the likeliest context.

From the mid-fifth century we also find our subject decorating the necks of a series of differently moulded cups. Besides the animal-head cups, the Sotades workshop produced even more complex figurine vases made in moulds,[40] with red-figure scenes above and around. One of these figurine shapes presents an unheroic struggle between a black boy being bitten by a crocodile,[41] and the red-figure scene on the neck of one dating to the late fifth century carries a pygmy-and-crane duel[42] – again by the

37 Although the dog's-head cup is now in St Petersburg and might be presumed to have been found in the Crimea, it was part of a purchase from the Campana collection – so the northern bonnets cannot be claimed to signify any local preference. On the Campana collection: von Bothmer 1977.

38 On Sotades and the Sotades Painter, see Hoffmann 1962; Beazley 1963: 763–73; Robertson 1992: 185–90; Hoffmann 1997.

39 Moscow, Pushkin Museum M 741, from Kerch: Stahl 1986: 352, fig. 1; Hoffmann 1997: 162 (L, no number; not in Dasen 1993 or 1994). For other red-figure scenes of the pygmy-and-crane fight on animal-head cups, see Hoffmann 1997: O 1 (= Dasen 1993: no. 67) and O 7 and Reggio: Beazley 1963: 766.11 *bis* (not in Dasen 1993 or 1994, or in Hoffmann 1997); Hoffmann 1997: P 1 (= Dasen 1993: no. 68).

40 Figurine vases: Buschor 1919; Boardman 1994: 86–90, 208; Hoffmann 1997: 35–46; 77–96. The distribution of some Sotadean products is unusual: besides the expected find-spots in Greece and Italy, fragments have been found in Susa, Babylon, the Nile Delta and Meroe; see de Vries 1977; Robertson 1992: 186; Dasen 1993: 186; Hoffmann 1997: 1, n. 6. Interestingly, none of the pieces with exotic provenances carries the pygmy-and-crane subject.

41 See Hoffmann 1997: 19–33 and 155–7, F 1–9, with South Italian replicas and adaptations.

42 Ruvo, Museo Jatta 1408: Beazley 1963: 1551.19; 1971: 505; Carpenter 1989: 388; Dasen 1993: G 71, pl. 65, 3 a–b; 1994: no. 13, pl. 470; Hoffmann 1997: 27, figs 11–12

presence of a lionskin and the stance parodying Herakles, though the crocodile-figure sets the scene firmly by the Nile where the pygmies fought. Yet another series from one mould promotes the painted duel to a 3-D shape with a bearded pygmy dragging away a dead crane on his back from the battlefield,[43] a motif we saw first 100 years before on the *aryballos* by Nearchos (p. 86 and Figure 5.1).

In *Sotades: Symbols of Immortality on Greek Vases*[44] Herbert Hoffmann sets out his latest thoughts on the work of Sotades as potter and painter and discusses the pygmy-and-crane story. His interpretation of the battle as a 'reverse-world' contrast to heroic struggles (Hoffmann 1997: 13) accords with what we have already seen. But his contention (which he has argued earlier) that all vases had a votive and symbolic function, with the figured decoration carrying a ritual meaning, and that they were 'traded primarily as temple offerings and for deposition in graves'[45] is hard to accept. His attempt to make tight connections between shape and figured compositions also leads him into involved explanations and theories. He sees both the animal-head cups and the figurine shapes as special vessels, not drinking cups suitable for a *symposion*, but wants all the vases that issued from Sotades' workshop to serve as exemplars for an understanding of every other shape of pottery and the figured decoration they carry. I would rather see the pygmy-and-crane story continuing to serve the well-established uses that it had served earlier, but now on the more elaborate forms of pottery in vogue and with the change in the appearance of the pygmy that was to be found on other images at this time.

The words that have survived from antiquity, either of publicly sung

and 156, F 6. Hoffmann 1997: 26, fig. 10, and 156, F 5 (not in Dasen 1993 or 1994) is another negro-and-crocodile vase with the pygmy-and-crane battle.

43 See Hoffmann 1997: 35–46 and 157–8, G 1–6, with South Italian replicas and adaptations (G 1 = Dasen 1993: no. 64; G 2 = no. 63; G 4 = no. 66; G 5 = no. 65; G 6 = no. 69; Dasen 1994: no. 35 and list). Hoffmann's South Italian no. 4 is actually his G 2.

44 His discussion of the pygmy-and-crane battle is to be found on 27–8, 30–31, 35–8. Unfortunately the volume is riddled with slipshod mistakes (spelling, punctuation, missing and wrong references) and worrying errors in the transcription of Greek words (11 and n. 63, and 15, n. 89, *sparmagos* for *sparagmos*; 29, n. 23, *lambanos* for *lambano*; 44, n. 47, *diadochos* for *daidouchos*; 56, n. 42, *todasmos* for *tothasmos*; 63, *gela* for *gelai* (said to be 'the nominative case of the participle'); 89, *upernoia* for *hupernoia*; 145, *zenoi* for *xenoi*; 162, *nebrida* for *nebris*). His widespread use of the word 'rhyton' for both animal-head cups and figurine vases is also not helpful.

45 Hoffmann 1997: 4, n. 18. In the fourth century the pygmy-and-crane battle is mainly found on Attic red-figure pelikai that were exported to the Crimea and deposited in local tombs (see Stahl 1986; Dasen 1993: 186–7). The iconographical similarity of the pygmy-and-crane battle to the Arimaspians versus the Griffins, whose struggle was located in the northeast (Gorbunova 1997), is likely to have been a stronger influence than the relocation of the homeland of the pygmies in the north (*contra* Dasen 1993: 186–7).

poems or of privately read texts, give us little idea of the sophisticated way in which the painters (even in the archaic period) handled the images and of the symbolic meanings that were given to the pygmy-and-crane story.[46]

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46 The parodic aspect of the pygmy-and-crane battle is seen at its most extreme on the late fifth-century Boeotian vases produced near the Kabeirion at Thebes; see Dasen 1993: 185, fig. 13.1, and 303–4, G 94–8.

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6

PLATO AND PAINTING

Stephen Halliwell

WORDS AND IMAGES JOSTLED one another, co-operatively or competitively, in diverse areas of classical Athenian culture. This chapter will address one particular domain in which images, the images of figurative art, were subjected to the questioning of words, the words of philosophical enquiry. I am concerned here with philosophical discussion of images – discussion not, for the most part, of specific images, but of images as a class of objects: objects with representational content, or, in Greek terms, mimetic objects, *mimêmata*. Mimesis is still a widely misunderstood concept (or family of concepts, as it is preferable to say). Its continued translation as 'imitation', which has become largely inimical to any effort to do justice to the scope and ramifications of the concept, is only the most immediate index of this state of affairs.[1] One purpose of this essay is to try to show that the understanding of mimesis, principally in the context of Plato's references to the visual arts, is more complex, but also more rewarding for the history of aesthetics, than existing accounts might suggest.

Plato refers to artistic images, especially painting, on numerous occasions. He does so, it is true, predominantly for the purposes of analogy or by way of *obiter dicta*, rather than with sustained attention to the subject in its own right. But as Wittgenstein was fond of stressing, the analogies philosophers draw are revealing, and indeed partly constitutive of their patterns of thought. One reason for the frequency and range of references to graphic and plastic art in Plato is a responsiveness to the prominence of images in the surrounding culture, that is especially in fourth-century Athens. While philosophy partly shaped itself, then as later, by standing back critically from its cultural environment, Plato certainly did not close his eyes to the images of the painters and other artists. For Plato, the mimetic or figurative arts (including narrative textiles, which he interestingly mentions several times) are part of the city of luxury in the *Republic*, the city which suffers, so Socrates suggests, from

1 See Halliwell (forthcoming) for a full perspective on the history of mimesis.

a cultural 'fever' whose affinities with Athens itself need no demonstration.[2] For my present purposes, however, direct connections with elements of contemporary Athenian culture will remain in the background. What I want to foreground is the cast of Plato's philosophical interest in the mimetic status of images, that is in such questions as what can and should be represented in painting or sculpture, the relationship of visual images to other types of representation or signification, how the viewer of an image can or should respond to it, and what value might be ascribed to the kinds of experience which images make possible or in which they play a part. This is the arena in which the words of philosophy engage most sharply with the images of the artists.

I

A useful entry-point into the subject is provided by a well-known passage in a semi-philosophical text, Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, where Socrates speaks to the painter Parrhasius and the sculptor Cleiton, and in both cases probes the representational capability of their art-forms.[3] There are various ways of reading Xenophon's text in relation to the history of Greek art. Jerome Pollitt, for instance, sees here a reflection of what he regards as the new 'subjectivism' of visual art in the early fourth century, the date of Xenophon's work but not of the putative conversations which it contains.[4] While I cannot discuss the art-historical details as such, I am unconvinced by this approach, and would rather see here, as in many early fourth-century texts, a glimpse of issues and debates which were under way in the previous century. Evidence for fifth-century arguments about images is scarce; but that does not make it wrong to believe that there was much more of a culture of interpretative debate about visual art than we can now reconstruct. Consider Plato *Ion* 532e–3b, where Socrates alludes in passing to the critical exposition or exegesis (*epideiknunai* and *exhêgeisthai* are the verbs)[5] of the works of major painters such as

2 Plat. *Rep*. ii.372e–3b mentions painting specifically and visual art (using 'shapes and colours') in general. For textiles (both on cult-statues and in domestic use) see *Euthyphr.* 6c1; *Rep*. ii.373a7, 378c4, iii.401a2; and perhaps *Hipp*. *Maj*. 298a2.

3 Xen. *Mem*. iii.10.1–8. Notice that Xenophon's text contains a rich vocabulary of visual representation, including the verbs *apeikazein*, *proseikazein*, *apomimeisthai*, *ekmimeisthai* and *aphomoioun*. The suggestion of Vernant (1991: 165) that Xenophon is here innovating by applying the language of mimesis to figurative art is historically untenable; such a conception of mimesis is at least as old as Aeschylus fr. 78a.7 Radt.

4 Pollitt 1974: 30–1, whose discussion is unreliable in several details. A possible link with the actual art of Parrhasius is seriously entertained by Robertson 1975: 412–13.

5 *Epideiknunai*, echoing *Ion* 530d5, belongs to a word-group which has, of course, strong Sophistic associations. Sophistic discussion of visual art was surely more extensive than our sources now reveal: Hippias of Elis (DK 86A2) is said to have discussed painting and sculpture; *Dissoi Logoi* 3.10 (cf. the mention of Polyclitus at

Polygnotus. The reference, though embedded in a context of heavy irony, marks the recognition of a parallelism within established cultural practice between 'expert' discourse about pictures and poetry. That observation reinforces a general inference one can draw from Socrates' conversations with the artists in the *Memorabilia*. However fictional the elaboration of these conversations may be, they suggest that Xenophon's readers could be expected to recognise not just the possibility of informed discussion of visual images, but, more significantly, the emergence of philosophical considerations about mimesis from technical questions about figurative art. To that extent, I submit, these anecdotes open a small window on the background to some of Plato's arguments.[6]

Socrates' questions to the artists focus on how we get, or whether we *can* get, from the design of a visual field ('shapes and colours') to the representation or expression of non-material properties.[7] With Parrhasius, Socrates starts from the premise that painting is 'imaging/modelling of the visible world' (*eikasia tôn horômenôn*) and moves to overcome the painter's initial doubt whether visual mimesis can depict 'character', *êthos*, by suggesting that painting can show character '*through*' its physical expression, especially on the face.[8] Socrates is raising a basic question about the relationship of 'appearances', *phainomena*, to human meaning. In part, it is worth adding, this is a question about 'life' as much as about 'art': the question how we can 'see' or perceive character at all. In this connection Socrates' use of the verb *diaphainein*, 'to show through' (intransitively), at iii.10.5, of the link between outer bodily signs (including the face) and 'inner' *êthos*, is extremely interesting.[9] Character 'shows through': this metaphorical transparency is first applied to the phenomenology of character, and then turned by Socrates into a justification for ascribing to visual art the capacity (which Parrhasius had doubted) to depict character in its visual medium.

6.8) applies to painting as well as tragedy the paradox of desirable deception articulated by Gorgias (DK 82B23), who himself refers to painting and sculpture in his *Helen* (ibid. B11.18).

6 Another possible echo of pre-Platonic debates, and a partial parallel to our passages of the *Memorabilia*, occurs at [Hippoc.] *De Victu* i.21, where the text (disputed) says that sculptors produce mimesis of the human body 'except for the soul' (*plên psuchês,* words bracketed by Wilamowitz, cf. DK i.187.29). The date of this work is uncertain, but a fifth-century origin cannot be ruled out.

7 See Halliwell (forthcoming) for arguments in support of the thesis that ancient concepts of mimesis straddle the common modern distinction between representation and expression.

8 The aesthetics of facial expression become part of a long-lasting ancient tradition in the interpretation of visual art; compare, to go no further, the proem to Philostratus *Imagines* (where interpretation of pictures is called both *hermêneuein* and *epideixis*, proem 5).

9 Cf. Aristotle *De Sensu* 440a7–8 (colours appearing 'through' one another: *phainesthai di'allêlôn*) with n. 11 below.

A bridge from life to art is constructed again by Socrates' question to the sculptor Cleiton, 'how do you produce (*energazesthai*) the appearance of life [*to zôtikon phainesthai*] in your figures?', which crisply encapsulates a concern that picks up older Greek ideas of what one might call the quasi-vitalistic quality of mimesis. In the phrasing of this question, the adjective *zôtikon* identifies the simulation of 'life' that might be experienced in an image, the sense of what might be called its vividly 'world-like' properties, while the verb *energazesthai*, literally 'to work in', contrastingly marks the artefactuality of the image. These two things are held together, so to speak, by the idea of appearances (*phainesthai*). The notion of artistic appearance, semblance or even illusion has a long history in aesthetics; it is the realm of what eighteenth-century German aestheticians liked to call *Schein*, as, for example, in Lessing's programmatic statement, in the Preface to *Laocoon* (1766), that both painting and poetry, notwithstanding their differences, 'present us with appearances as reality' ('Beide [Künste] stellen uns … den Schein als Wirklichkeit vor'). Even within the limitations of the short conversations related by Xenophon in the *Memorabilia*, we can discern a tension – a tension which becomes central to the entire legacy of mimesis – between divergent views of representational art as, on the one side, fictive illusion, the product of 'deceptive' artifice, and, on the other, a reflection of and engagement with reality (that sense of 'life'). We need not attribute to Xenophon a deep insight into fundamental issues of aesthetics in order to take Socrates' conversations with a painter and a sculptor as at any rate oblique evidence for the development of a philosophical analysis of images in the intellectual climate of late fifth- and early fourth-century Athens. It was within that climate that Plato's thinking about visual mimesis evolved. And it is to Plato that I now turn.

II

Part of the difficulty, though also the main interest, of elucidating Plato's references to graphic and plastic art is that most of them appropriate and enlist aspects of visual mimesis for his own philosophical ends. One incidental consequence of this is that we cannot turn to Plato for much help on the history of Greek painting, though a few quasi-technical details are alluded to, among them a series of highly contested mentions of *skiagraphia*.[10] For example, there is nothing in Plato, I think, which

10 Some Platonic references to technicalities of graphic/pictorial/plastic art: mixing colours (*Crat*. 424d–e, with the reference to 'flesh-tints', *andreikelon*; *Rep*. vi.501b, the same details as metaphor; *Polit*. 277c2; cf. Empedocles DK 31B23.3–4); contrast between a sketch/outline (*perigraphê*, *hupographê*) and a finished/detailed work (*Rep*. vi.501a–b, viii.548c–d; *Polit*. 277b–c); erasure and correction (*Rep*. vi.501b9); adjust-

implies the same kind or degree of attention to pictorial technique as is conveyed by an intriguing and relatively neglected passage from Aristotle, *De Sensu*, which describes the overlay of less vivid on more vivid colour to depict objects in water or haze.[11] Yet Plato's references to painting (and I shall sometimes use painting, as Plato himself does, as a synecdoche for the figurative arts as a whole) are philosophically more far-reaching than Aristotle's, precisely because they become much more entangled with special strands in his own thinking and writing. If painting had not existed, it would perhaps not ultimately have mattered to Aristotle's scheme of things, but it would have deprived Plato of a recurrent and telling, if profoundly ambiguous, source of reflections on human attempts to model and interpret reality.[12]

One important general claim I want to make is that Plato's attitude to the visual arts is more exploratory and fluid than is usually realised. Standard accounts of Plato's supposed 'hostility' to painting, including many attempts to trace evolving patterns in his references to the art, are reductive and simplified; they depend on over-dogmatising readings of individual arguments, and they often miss subtleties within those arguments. Crucial, one has to say, is *Republic* x, in particular the infamous mirror analogy of 596d–e – a text which Ernst Gombrich went so far as to say had 'haunted the philosophy of art ever since'.[13] But I would like to work up to a fresh interpretation of that controversial text, rather than to start from it. There is much else in Plato which calls for reconsideration in this context, though I shall not be able to avoid being both selective and concise in my treatment of relevant material. My aim is not to construct an explicit and well-ordered philosophy of images out of Plato's many references and allusions to painting, but to chart some of the issues that Plato repeatedly and urgently associates with artistic images.

Perhaps the nearest Plato comes to providing a definition of pictorial mimesis is in the *Cratylus* (probably the earliest Platonic dialogue in which the subject of artistic mimesis arises), where Socrates, in the course of attempting to work out a hypothetical semantics of language (later rejected, we need to remember), sketches an analogous 'semantics' of

ment of proportions to allow for angle of viewing (*Soph*. 235e–6a, with my text below); clay modelling technique in sculpture (*Polit*. 277a–b); modification of already applied colour (*Laws* vi.769a–b, with Rouveret 1989: 42–9). On the vexed question of *skiagraphia*, see n. 30 below.

11 Aristotle *De Sensu* 440a8–10; cf. Gage 1993: 15.

12 Morgan 1990 attempts to explain why painting came to matter to Plato; see also Janaway 1995, esp. Ch. 5, for a recent analysis of the dialogues' ideas on painting. Surveys of references to painting in Plato can be found in (among others) Sartorius 1896; Steven 1933; Demand 1975; Keuls 1978; and Rouveret 1989: 24–59; though all contain over-confident, and mutually discrepant, views on Plato's relationship to the art-historical background.

13 Gombrich 1977: 83.

visual signification (*sêmainein*, *Crat*. 422e4), based on the idea of resemblance or correspondence.[14] Pictorial mimesis, on this admittedly rudimentary account, uses a visually organised field ('shape and colour') to produce 'the likenesses of things'. But it is important that the *Cratylus* itself acknowledges that the relationship between a graphic image or 'likeness' and its object or model is not restricted to the copying of actual particulars in the world. In addition to images such as portraits, which can be correlated with individuals, there are images which represent imaginary members of classes such as 'man' and 'woman', or even, perhaps, the classes themselves.[15] This point matters in part because it serves to combat the common belief that Plato straightforwardly limits visual mimesis to the 'mirroring' of visible reality (I shall later dispute this even for *Republic* x). And there are two sides to the point: one touches the 'semantic' status of an image's representational content (its specific relationship, if any, to 'things' in the world); the other concerns the optical conditions of visual mimesis (the general relationship of its perceptual properties to the perceptual properties of objects in the world). My denial that we can confidently identify a 'mirror theory' of mimetic art in Plato applies in both these respects, as I hope will become clear.

It is worthwhile in this connection to recall the admiration expressed by the Athenian in the *Laws* for Egyptian art as a paradigm of cultural conservatism.[16] Whatever else Plato believed about Egyptian art, he must have known – though the Athenian does not comment expressly on this – that its pictorial traditions did not depend on the pursuit of optical naturalism through techniques of foreshortening, modelling and the like, as employed by Greek artists in Plato's own time. So the Athenian's praise of Egypt implies the possibility of approval for at least some kinds of non-naturalistic and heavily stylised figurative art. There is another much-cited Platonic text which explicitly contrasts different types and conventions of visual representation, namely the *Sophist*'s distinction between two kinds of mimesis or image-making, the 'eicastic' and the 'phantastic'. However, this distinction is not the same as that between naturalistic and non-naturalistic images, but marks the difference between an image's (measur-

14 Plato *Crat*. 422e–3e. Cf. the more general definition of mimesis at *Soph*. 265b: 'a kind of making, but the making of simulacra (*eidôla*) not of things themselves.' For a study of *eidôla* in epic, tragedy and the visual arts, see Bardel below.

15 *Crat*. 430a–31d: 430e5 refers to portraits, but the section as a whole allows for images of 'tokens' and perhaps even of 'types' (esp. 431a3–4).

16 Plato *Laws* ii.656–7: the Egyptians laid down obligatory forms of beauty and standards of correctness in music, painting and other arts; thus the character of recent Egyptian art is (supposedly) just the same as that produced ten thousand years ago; cf. Davis 1979. Contrast, however, *Polit*. 299d–e on the need for enquiry and exploration, *zêtein*, rather than mere written rules, in all *technai* (both mimetic and otherwise), and the interesting reference to artistic 'progress' (in sculpture) at *Hipp*. *Maj*. 282a.

able) ontological fidelity to the proportions (*summetriai*) and surface features of what it depicts, and, on the other hand, the adjustment of an artistic image to the perceptual point of view from which a human observer contemplates it.[17] This passage of the *Sophist* places most painting, and indeed most mimesis, in the second category, the category of distorted 'semblance-making', *phantastikê*, and it is actually difficult to see what kind of painting could count as 'likeness-making', *eikastikê* – presumably, only painting of two-dimensional objects. Thus, despite the hostile rôle which the eicastic/phantastic distinction plays in the dissection of sophistry itself, it serves to corroborate that Plato does not take the pursuit of literal correspondence between depictions and objects in the world to be a necessary condition for visual mimesis, and juxtaposition with the *Laws*' reference to Egyptian art shows that the consequences of this principle are not intrinsically negative.

It is instructive now to return to the *Cratylus*, to a passage which enunciates a 'qualitative' conception of visual images and rejects the need for mimesis to justify itself in terms of replicatory fidelity (*Crat*. 432a–d). The correctness (*orthotês*) of an image (*eikôn*) is said to be qualitative in the sense that while any adjustment, any addition or subtraction, is 'mathematically' significant, the overall quality of an image does not require such exactitude – indeed, if such exactitude *were* required, its fulfilment would amount to a duplicate, not an image at all. 'Do you see, then, my friend,' says Socrates, 'that we must look for a different standard of correctness for images … and not make the presence or absence of particular features a necessary condition for something to be an image? Surely you realise that images are far from having the same properties as the things whose images they are?' If we put this passage together with the implications of the eicastic/phantastic distinction in the *Sophist*, what emerges is a strong Platonic recognition that the kinds of correspondence or correlation which qualify images as types of 'likeness' (*homoiotês*) will vary according to the materials and techniques of individual arts,[18] as well

17 Plato *Soph*. 235d–6c: mimetic art (*mimêtikê*) or image-making (*eidôlopoiêtikê*) is subdivided into 'likeness-making' (*eikastikê*, cf. *Laws* ii.667d1, 668a6), which reproduces the proportions and surface attributes of its *paradeigma*, and 'semblance-making' (*phantastikê*), which adjusts its properties, and thereby distorts its original, in order to produce a certain appearance when viewed from a particular position. Most painting falls into the second category (*Soph*. 236b9). See Notomi 1999: 147–55 for a recent discussion.

18 One conceptual detail worth adding is that in some Platonic passages we find the notion of mimetic likeness joined with that of 'appropriateness', *to proshêkon*; see esp. *Crat*. 430c–31d, *Rep*. iv.420c–d. The latter passage, which draws an analogy between the unity of the ideal city and the unity of a human image in sculpture or painting, suggests that appropriateness modifies the requirement of likeness by putting it in the context of a mimetic work's overall structure and coherence (cf. *Gorg*. 503d–e). But appropriateness may sometimes be synonymous with close likeness, as with eicastic mimesis at *Soph*. 235e1.

as the cultural traditions which grow up around these arts (a factor exemplified by the difference between Egypt and Greece cited in the *Laws*).

It is my provisional contention, then, though one still to be tested against *Republic* x, that Plato's argumentative strategies regarding visual art do not depend on the supposition that visual mimesis is intrinsically, necessarily mirror-like in its aspirations, and do not suggest that such aspirations furnish the sole, or even the most important, criterion of the value of artistic images. There is no such thing, I maintain, as a single Platonic paradigm for the understanding of visual images. In fact, Plato's multifarious references to painting betray a recurrent tension between two models and standards of representation: the first, of maximum fidelity between a mimetic image and its original or exemplar; the second, of an artistic manipulation and reconstruction of appearances which brings with it the image's inescapable divergence from the properties of its original. I shall attempt to suggest, in my conclusion, what the fundamental significance is of this tension in Plato.

It is clearly pertinent here that a number of Platonic texts, including *Cratylus* 430a–31d (cited above), acknowledge that the objects of mimetic representation need not exist independently in reality, a point Aristotle was to apply more thoroughly to the interpretation of mimesis. Particularly remarkable is the fact that we encounter this point in as many as five passages in the central books of the *Republic*, in four of which the term *paradeigma*, 'model', 'exemplar' but also 'ideal', occurs. At v.472d Socrates compares the status of his hypothetical city to a good painter's rendering of an ideal (*paradeigma*) of human beauty which might never be found anywhere in the flesh.[19] At vi.484c Socrates says that, unlike true philosopher–rulers, political leaders who lack philosophical knowledge 'have no vividly clear *paradeigma* in their mind' to which they can constantly 'look' and refer, as painters do, in trying to match their work with their models.[20] Shortly after this, in the prelude to his parable of the deaf ship-owner and unruly sailors, Socrates cites painting's invention of such fictive entities as goat–stags, compounded from different elements of reality.[21] In a more extended comparison between philosophers and painters, at vi.500e–501c, Socrates restates his programme for

19 At Halliwell 1993: 196–7, on 472c4 and 7, I suggested that the language of idealism in Plato is sometimes influenced by the terminology of the visual arts; cf., somewhat differently, Carpenter 1959: 107–8. Flasch 1965b: 270 goes too far in speaking of mimesis of 'the Idea itself' at *Rep*. v.472d.

20 This passage could, in isolation, be construed without idealistic implications for the painter's side of the comparison; but such a construal would, I think, be forced, and we have seen idealistic painting clearly acknowledged elsewhere in the *Republic*.

21 Plato *Rep*. vi.487e–8a; the idea of an image constructed from many exemplars, which becomes such a topos in later art-criticism (see Jex-Blake and Sellers 1896: lxi–ii), was already familiar at this date: the phrasing of 488a5 is akin to Xen. *Mem*. iii.10.2.

philosopher–rulers by asserting that the city will never flourish in happiness 'unless its form is delineated by the painters who use the divine model (*paradeigma*)'.[22] And this sequence of passages is concluded at vii.540a, in terms which echo all the earlier ones, with a description of the climax of philosophical training as the moment when the mind's eye can be opened to the light of the good itself, which the philosopher–rulers will then take as their perpetual ideal model (*paradeigma*).

In addition to intimating that the *Republic* itself is a kind of philosophical word-picture,[23] the cumulative force of these analogies seems to converge on the thought that philosophers are painters in another medium, in the sense that they endeavour to give realisation or embodiment to ideals which they hold before their minds. The metaphorical character of these passages should not, of course, be allowed to obscure crucial differences. The philosopher's *paradeigma* is putatively immaterial and, in some sense, transcendent; the painter's, even if fictive or imaginary, has to be linked to possibilities of the visible.[24] These passages, with others already cited, none the less confirm a Platonic awareness that the status of a painter's *paradeigma*, and therefore the significance of what he paints, is variable. While they imply an effort to match a depiction as closely as possible to a model or 'original', they leave entirely open the source and status of the latter in particular cases. Moreover, by recognising that the process from model to representation takes place, in part, inside the artist's mind, these texts broach possibilities which were to have momentous consequences for various types of neoplatonist idealism in aesthetics, from antiquity, through the Renaissance, to Romanticism.

The contention that Platonic texts do not reduce either the aim or the value of visual mimesis to that of mirror-like reflection of the world can be both reinforced and deepened by bringing into the reckoning various Platonic references to 'beauty' (*to kalon*) in painting and other visual arts. Though avoiding, once again, any attempt to integrate the diverse contexts of these references into anything like a seamless doctrine, I suggest that it is legitimate to see behind many of them a deep, recurrent Platonic concern for what one might call the ethics of form. This is perhaps most concisely, though not unproblematically, summed up by *Laws* ii.669a–b, where the judge of any mimetic image's beauty (669a3–4) is said to need to know three things: first, what the object depicted is; secondly, how

22 Aissen-Crewett 1989: 269 rightly sees in this passage at least an oblique implication for painting's own scope, but wrongly describes it as implying something more than 'mimetic'.

23 Cf. *Timaeus* 19b–c, where the *Republic* is referred back to precisely as a painting.

24 Immaterial (*asômata*) entities cannot be visually represented, they allow no perceptual 'likeness' (*homoiotês*) or image (*eidôlon*) to be produced, but can be grasped only by *logos*: see *Polit*. 285e–6a, with Rowe 1995: 211–12.

'correctly' it is represented (though we have already seen that the criteria of such 'correctness' need not be simple); thirdly, how 'well' it has been represented. Leaving aside difficulties in the larger setting of this passage, it is reasonable to see here overlapping or connected criteria – the 'what?', the 'how?' and the 'what for?' – of the beauty of representation, and it is this nexus of considerations which entitles us to speak in terms of a concept of ethical form. On this account, the beauty of a mimetic work (visual or otherwise, 669a8) depends not on straightforward, one-to-one correspondence to its (putative) model,[25] but on a complex relationship in which a certain kind of purposiveness ('what it [sc. an image] wants/intends/means', *ti pote bouletai*, 668c6) must be taken into account, and in which mimetic imaging turns from a technical into an ethical activity.

Something comparable can be seen at *Rep*. iii.401a–d, a very important passage which is the culmination of the analysis of the use of poetry in education. As a tailpiece to that analysis Socrates generalises the principle of ethical form to all mimesis – in fact to the entire fabric of a culture. He states there that painting is 'full' of formal manifestations of 'character', *êthos*, and he speaks of mimesis in a way which should be construed, in part at least, as a concept of expression, saying that beautiful form (*euschêmosunê*) involves *mimêmata* of good character: beauty of form is a matter not just of appearances, but of appearances which embody ethical value. This last passage contains one of the most wide-ranging statements about mimetic art to be found anywhere in Plato, and it rests on the proposition that in the visual arts (and elsewhere) form is not neutrally representational, but communicative of feeling and value. Although the view Socrates puts forward here is not exactly the same as the one attributed to him in the passage of Xenophon's *Memorabilia* from which I started, there is a striking kinship between them: it would be a bold, though not unsustainable, hypothesis that an authentically Socratic view lies behind them. In both cases we can see at work an idea of the enrichment of representation by an implicitly evaluative perspective: in Xenophon's anecdote it is a case of 'character' showing through the figures; in *Rep*. iii it is a matter of the form of the mimetic artwork as a whole (including that of individual figures) serving as a medium for affective and ethical attitudes. In both contexts, but much more forcefully in the *Republic*, mimesis is taken to be inescapably engaged in making sense of the human world – not just *registering* appearances, but actively construing and interpreting them. That gives us a clue as to why beauty in

25 While *Laws* ii.667c–d, 668a, d–e, apparently recall the eicastic mimesis of the *Sophist* (see n. 17 above) and insist on strict reproduction of the attributes of the model, the stress on music (668a ff) means that something other than literal copying is envisaged by the terms of the argument as a whole.

the figurative arts is regularly taken in Plato to entail something other, or more, than optically definable fidelity.

Now, if that is true, then this is an apt point at which to confront the spectre of the notorious mirror analogy in *Republic* x. If that analogy is taken, as it often has been, to be the vehicle of a general theory of visual mimesis, then it is difficult to square with what I have just suggested. Whatever else a mirror can do, it cannot in itself, that is *qua* strictly optical phenomenon, interpret.[26] That point has always been taken, I think, even by mimesis-theorists who find some use for the language of art as the 'mirror of nature'. Take, for example, Leonardo da Vinci, who, in addition to recommending the use of a mirror by painters, sometimes compares the mind of the painter to a mirror. But Leonardo also, in a crucial passage of the notebooks, writes that the painter who relies exclusively on the eye, without the use of reason, is *no better* than a mirror, which reproduces everything without knowledge or understanding.[27] Similarly, Samuel Johnson, in a *Rambler* essay of 1750, speaks of the 'mirror which shows all that presents itself without discrimination' as an analogue to the idea of literature or art which shows no discernment, above all ethical discernment, in its selection or treatment of subjects.[28] Both Leonardo and Johnson can be regarded as 'mimesis-theorists' in so far as they accept some version of the idea that representational art seeks to reflect reality truthfully. Yet both, as indicated, place serious qualifications on the notion that art should reflect the world in the way that a mirror does.

So, if Plato means us to take the mirror simile of *Rep*. x as a cogent denunciation of visual mimesis, he must be ignoring the considerations of mimetic choice, form, design and expressive force to which, as I have tried to document, he allows characters to give voice in many other passages of his dialogues. But there are other, more intrinsic, reasons for not taking the mirror simile this way. First, the mirror comparison belongs to an argument which draws attention to its own rhetorically provocative character. The tone is set at the start by Socrates' paradoxical suggestion that 'making everything' (a motif already found in the analogy with painting in Empedocles DK 31B23.5) is 'not difficult' (596d8), a slur which

26 Mirrors can, of course, be *used* interpretatively, say in a scheme of interior decoration; cf. the Arcadian sanctuary at Pausanias viii.37.7, discussed by Osborne in this volume (below, pp. 228–46). But to speak of a mirror's interpretation of a scene in such cases is metonymy.

27 See Richter 1970: 119, no. 20 ('il pittore che ritrae per pratica e guiditio d'ochio, sanza ragione, è come lo spechio, che in sé imita tutte le a sé cotraposte cose sanza cognitione d'esse'). For Leonardo's comparison of the painter's mind to a mirror, see Richter 1970: 306, no. 493.

28 *The Rambler,* 4, 31 March 1750: 'If the world be promiscuously described, I cannot see of what use it can be to read the account; or why it may not be as safe to turn the eye immediately upon mankind, as upon a mirror which shows all that presents itself without discrimination.'

cannot be applied literally to the visual arts themselves, since their status as *technê* is acknowledged throughout the dialogues.[29] This semi-satirical touch is sustained later both by the sarcastic gibe that *trompe l'oeil* effects can fool only 'children and stupid adults' (598c2), and by the choice of cobblers and carpenters as objects of figurative art (598b6). The significance of this last detail has been generally obscured by the mistaken assumption that Plato's argument here is about the kind of Greek painting we still have access to, vase-painting. But the idea of *trompe l'oeil*, with the requirement of distance viewing at 598c3, establishes a reference to the major but largely lost forms of wall- and panel-painting, in whose predominantly mythological and historical subjects the depiction of low-grade artisans cannot have been typical.[30] Too many readings of *Rep*. x have completely ignored the rhetorically provocative character of the argument about painting, and have consequently failed to consider the possibility of taking the mirror as part of a challenge to refine the conception of (pictorial) mimesis which is at stake here. To treat a Platonic argument as a challenge of this sort is hardly arbitrary: it is precisely what Socrates himself indicates later in Book x (607d–e), in relation to the critique of poetry. To ignore the equivalent possibility in the case of painting, and to take the earlier part of Book x as an unequivocal condemnation of visual mimesis, is therefore to run the risk of missing Plato's point.

But even as regards the immediate force of the mirror comparison, the argument is more subtle than common paraphrase would make one believe. It is crucial to notice two things that the mirror simile (and its sequel) does *not* say or entail: first, that all painting purports to be a simple 'mirroring' of the world (in the sense of striving for optimum optical fidelity to the appearance of things); secondly, that painters always or even normally use actual models in the world (a supposition that we have seen would clash with other passages of the *Republic*).[31] These two negative

29 Sartorius 1896: 133 speculates that 598d alludes to the use of mirrors by contemporary artists. Pictorial *technê*: for example, *Ion* 532e–3b, *Gorg*. 448b, 450c10, *Rep*. vii.529e, *Soph*. 234b7, *Polit*. 288c, *Laws* ii.668e7–9a1.

30 The reference to distance viewing, paralleled at *Soph*. 234b, is elsewhere linked to *skiagraphia*: for example, *Rep*. vii.523b, *Tht*. 208e, *Parm*. 165c, with Rouveret 1989: 24–6, 50–9, for the best analysis of the vexed issue of *skiagraphia*. Distance viewing makes little sense for vase-painting. It is not clear to me that Plato ever has vases in mind when he refers to painting; the only painters he mentions by name are Polygnotus (*Ion* 532–3a, *Gorg*. 448b12), his brother Aristophon (*Gorg*. 448b11), Zeuxis (*Gorg*. 453c), and Zeuxippus (= Zeuxis?, *Prot*. 318c–d). The point is blurred by, for example, Burnyeat 1999: 300–1, who supplies an illustration from a vase-painting of a carpenter. I offer the speculative suggestion that the proverbial story about Apelles and a cobbler at Pliny *NH* xxxv.85 may go back to someone who was reacting to Plato's rhetoric at *Rep*. x.598b9.

31 Janaway 1995: 119–20 states this second point forcefully; others, including Gombrich 1977: 83, have got it wrong.

observations add weight to the claim I have already made that the introduction of the mirror analogy is part of a deliberately provocative stance on Socrates' part. The assimilation of painting's capacity 'to make everything' to something as easy and commonplace as holding a mirror does not constitute a direct condemnation of painting as necessarily or limitingly mirror-like, but issues a challenge to consider whether, and with what consequences, it is appropriate to think of painting as a reflector of appearances.

Before suggesting where that challenge should lead, it is essential to clarify the notoriously metaphysical framework of the first part of *Republic* x. Here I want to insist that Socrates' use of painting as an analogy does not hang on any particular view of the so-called 'Theory of Forms'. At 596e–7e Socrates puts forward a tripartite and hierarchical scheme of (i) perfect being, reality and truth (the realm of 'god' and 'nature'), (ii) material particulars (including the products of artisan crafts such as carpentry), (iii) 'semblances' or 'simulacra', *phainomena*, *eidôla*, *phantasmata* (the realm of mimetic artists, *mimêtai*). The status of the top tier of this scheme has often embarrassed Platonic specialists, both because it appears to posit metaphysical forms of general classes such as 'couch', and because it appears to give (for example) the carpenter mental access to such forms (596a–b).[32] Now, it is important to see that, regardless of larger issues of Platonic metaphysics, Socrates' tripartite schema in Book x can function as a stimulus to further scrutiny of the status of mimetic art (both visual and poetic), provided we can give *some* sense to the notion of a domain of truth and reality which goes beyond that of material/sensible particulars. If we call this domain the domain of philosophical truth, then one aspect of Socrates' analysis will be the double suggestion that such truth cannot be captured by an account of the material world, and that representational art, because tied to our experience of the world as essentially material, takes us even further away from the search for philosophical truth.

However, it calls for some emphasis that the second and third levels of Socrates' tripartition formulate a concern which is, or can be made, *independent* of the top level of the schema. The suggestion that painting deals in 'simulacra' – that is, in insubstantial appearances which are ontologically secondary and inferior to the particulars of the material world – does not depend for its force on a 'Theory of Forms' (in whatever version or interpretation), or even on a conception of philosophical truth. It is often overlooked that most of what is said about painting in *Republic*

32 It is one of several paradoxes about this passage that the carpenter's mental access to the idea/form is reminiscent of the language used in the analogies between philosophers and painters at v.472c–d, vi.501b. For two recent, rather different approaches to the 'Forms' in *Rep*. x, see Fine 1993: 110–13, 116–19; and Burnyeat 1999: 245–9.

x addresses the relationship between painting and the visible world, not that between mimesis and 'truth' or 'being' in some larger sense. When we reach the third and fourth phases of the argument (601c–2b, 602c–3b), which arrive at the conclusions, first, that mimetic artists are themselves ignorant (regarding the things which their works purport to represent) and, secondly, that their works appeal to lower parts of the mind, there is no explicit rôle for 'forms' at all. What this means, I suggest, is that the treatment of painting in this context becomes above all a critique of the status of visual verisimilitude or naturalism (or, in its extreme form, illusionism) as a sufficient justification of pictorial mimesis. From this angle, what I earlier called the rhetorically provocative force of the mirror analogy can now be brought into sharper focus. By claiming that 'making everything', in the sense of simulating the appearance of everything, gives painting an aspiration that can already be easily accomplished with a mirror, Socrates issues a challenge to those who value visual art, just as he later does to the lovers of poetry, to find a justification for pictorial representation that will give it something other than the cognitively redundant value of merely counterfeiting the 'look' of the real.[33] The mirror analogy stands for the threat, not the final assertion, of a reductive conception of visual mimesis – a threat against which I have already observed later mimesis-theorists like Leonardo and Johnson arming themselves. Stated in a generalised form, Socrates' mirror analogy points towards a denial that what I earlier called the world-like properties of artistic representation are worth having for their own sake.

Whether or not Plato intended to develop a position that was directed especially against certain schools of Greek painting,[34] his critique of pictorial naturalism leaves open two possibilities: one, that visual art (and, by implication, other mimetic arts too) may just as usefully, if not more usefully, turn to non-naturalistic styles of representation as to the pursuit of, at the extreme, illusionism (*trompe l'oeil*); the other, that naturalism may have instrumental, though not intrinsic, value. As regards the first of these options, we do not need to rely on speculative hypotheses: we have already noted the Athenian's admiration for the (supposedly) unchanging canons of Egyptian art in the *Laws* (ii.656–7), an admiration which implies the repudiation of artistic verisimilitude as an end in itself or an invariable desideratum of pictorial mimesis. But this conclusion is itself related to the second possible response that might be made to the critique

33 We can continue to talk about the 'real' here, with reference to the material/sensible world, even in the terms of Plato's argument, which itself relativises such language: witness the linguistic parallelism between 597a and 598b, though the ontological contrast in the two cases is quite different.

34 Various views on this issue are canvassed by the scholars cited in n. 12 above.

of painting in *Republic* x, that is the contention that naturalism – the 'look' of the real – may be instrumentally valuable in art. Now it is true that because of the priorities of his text (in which poetry is the major target) Plato shows no immediate interest in pursuing this point *vis-à-vis* painting as such. But that need and should not prevent us from identifying the kind of direction in which we would have to move in order to satisfy the challenge implied by his discussion of painting. We can do that precisely because of the discussion's analogical function in relation to poetry, the focus of the larger argument. In the case of poetry, Plato's critique revolves around intertwined ethical and psychological considerations, and the eventual invitation to the lovers of poetry to justify the object of their love calls for an account that will show 'the benefit, and not just the pleasure, which poetry brings to human societies and to individual lives' (607d). This entitles us to say that an account of painting that satisfied the challenge of the Platonic argument in *Republic* x would have to be, at bottom, an ethical account. If pictorial naturalism can be valuable, then on Plato's terms it can be so *only* instrumentally – only by ethical, not intrinsic or technical, standards of judgement.

That last point implies, of course, the feasibility of reading Plato's painting–poetry analogy in reverse, and the reversibility of the analogy is indeed entailed by its logic.[35] Yet this fact about the form of the argument has been scarcely noticed by interpreters of the book, who have been diverted by the text's own momentum towards its major target, poetry. But we have seen that Plato's writings in general provide several grounds on which such a case could be built, so that it is entirely appropriate to say that the challenge of the mirror motif could in principle be met in Platonic terms. To meet the challenge requires, *au fond*, an acceptance that there is more to painting than meets the eye. I have tried in this chapter to show that many passages in Plato do in fact ascribe to visual art a scope which goes beyond the simulation of appearances and has a claim on the attention of more than 'children and stupid adults'. Outside *Republic* x we have encountered three major ideas which can give substance to a view of paintings as something other than mere pseudo-objects, insubstantial simulacra. Those ideas, in summary, are ethical expression, idealisation, and beauty. All three, as I have shown, can be found in connection with references to painting both within and outside the *Republic*. But of all the passages I have cited it is most worth recalling the section of *Republic* iii (400e–1a) which places painting at the head of a list of arts said to be capable of embodying and communicating ethical qualities in mimetic

35 See esp. 597e, which implies that whatever is essentially true of the painter as *mimêtês*, representational artist, must equally be true of the poet as *mimêtês*.

form (401a8),[36] and in the process advocates a moral aesthetic that integrates all three elements of expression, idealisation and beauty. That passage comes from the conclusion of the *Republic*'s first critique of poetry, and its principle of ethical form in mimetic art therefore provides particularly apt support to my contention that by reading the juxtaposition of painting and poetry in Book x more searchingly than is normally done, we can come to see that the mirror of 596d–e does not purport to be a trope for the whole truth about painting. It would be exorbitant to maintain that Plato took painting to have the same intensity of psychological-cum-ethical power as he ascribes to poetry, but the evidence of his many references to pictorial art, when taken as a whole, establishes that he discerned in it the potential not just to reflect the appearances of the visible world but to fill those appearances ('painting is full' of good and bad ethical forms, *Rep*.iii.401a1) with meaning and value. This may still leave painting low down the metaphysical hierarchies articulated in the dialogues, but it restores a recognition of painting's cultural significance to the thinking of a philosopher who has often been regarded as blind to its purposes.

In conclusion, let me offer the briefest sketch (a *hupographê* or *perigraphê*, as Plato himself might say, rather than a finished argument) of how my discussion of painting might fit into a larger interpretation of Plato. I have limited myself here to considering painting as part of a wider Platonic concern with mimesis. That concern has, I believe, two main roots (which are partly entangled): one, Plato's critical attention to the workings and influences of cultural forces in his society; the other, his philosophical attempts to grapple with larger questions of representation and truth. Mimesis increasingly insinuated itself into those attempts, but with complex fluctuations in the way it is regarded in the dialogues – fluctuations that scholars have often been too keen to smooth out. The underlying cause of this complexity, I believe, is a great tension between two impulses in Plato's thinking. The first, a kind of 'negative theology' which leads sometimes in the direction of mysticism, is that reality cannot adequately be spoken of, described or modelled, only experienced in some pure, unmediated manner (by *logos*, *nous*, *dianoia* or whatever);[37] the second is that all human thought *is* an attempt to speak about, describe or model reality – to produce 'images' (whether visual, mental or verbal) of the real.[38] On the first of these views, mimesis, of whatever sort, is a lost

36 Mimesis in this context actually covers non-figurative art, including architecture (401a3, b6); but that only strengthens the case for seeing something like a concept of expression at work here.

37 For example, *Phaedrus* 247c, *Crat*. 438–40, *Rep*. vi.510b, vii.533a (dialectic's journey beyond images).

38 For example, *Critias* 107b ('our words are mimesis and depiction (*apeikasia*)'), *Tim*.

cause, doomed to failure, at best a faint shadow of the truth. On the second, mimesis – representation – is all that we have, or all that we are capable of. In some of Plato's later writing this second perspective is expanded by a sense that the world itself is a mimetic creation, wrought by a divine artist who, at one point in the *Timaeus* (55c6), is expressly imaged as a painter. That being so, then philosophers are not only, as the *Republic* suggests, painters in a different medium; they are also interpreters of a cosmic work of art.

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29b–d, *Laws* x.897d (the need for an image, to avoid the impossible task of gazing at the sun of reason). On Plato's larger interest in (non-artistic) images, which I have had to leave aside in this chapter, see, for example, Gallop 1965; Patterson 1985.

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Part III

IMAGE(RY) AND THE STAGE

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7

VASES AND TRAGIC DRAMA:
Euripides' *Medea* and Sophocles' lost *Tereus*

Jenny March

I HAVE LONG BEEN interested in the way in which a close examination of ancient literature and art, taken together, can help to throw light on Greek tragedies, both lost and extant (see March 1987; 1989; 1991–3). In this chapter I shall be considering child-murder. Beginning with Euripides' *Medea*, and then focusing specifically on the myth of Tereus, Procne and Philomela, I hope to show how word and image, looked at in tandem, can help to throw light, in this case, on Sophocles' lost tragedy *Tereus*.[1] This is the myth of the nightingale, the very image of grief in so much of Greek poetry, who laments on and on forever the death of her son Itys.

I

Children are killed in several of the Greek myths, and the infanticide *par excellence* is, of course, Medea. In Euripides' tragedy of 431 BC she assumes her canonical form, that of the mother who murders her children in revenge for her husband Jason's desertion. After – and only after – Euripides' play her child-murder becomes a popular theme for vase-paintings.[2] One of the crucial questions about the play is whether this Medea, the Medea who deliberately kills her own children, was in fact the creation of Euripides himself. That it was his own innovation was convincingly argued by Page in his edition of the play (Page 1938: xxi–xxxvi), although certain more recent scholars remain unconvinced and

1 Of course the evidence for both literature and art is incomplete, because so much has been lost, so any conclusions must necessarily remain somewhat speculative. But I still hold firmly to the belief that I first expressed in March 1987: xii: 'Speculation on the grounds of such evidence as we have, always bearing in mind that it is indeed speculation and not established fact, is wholly justified if it can help to throw light on how the Greek poets worked, and on some of the contents of their great and all too fragmentary literature.' Moreover this chapter is, at the very least, the demonstration of a method of approach.

2 For Medea and her iconography, see esp. Schmidt 1992; Sourvinou-Inwood 1997.

argue for the priority of the shadowy figure Neophron.[3] But the details of this debate need not concern us here: the relevant fact for our purpose is that it was Euripides' play which hugely influenced the artistic tradition, and it must indeed have had a tremendous impact on the audience at its first production in 431 BC.

Let us begin this investigation into child-murder by considering a passage from the *Medea* where, just after Medea has killed her sons, the Chorus sing (1282–9):

μίαν δὴ κλύω μίαν τῶν πάρος
γυναῖκ' ἐν φίλοις χέρα βαλεῖν τέκνοις·
'Ινὼ μανεῖσαν ἐκ θεῶν, ὅθ' ἡ Διὸς
δάμαρ νιν ἐξέπεμψε δωμάτων ἄλη·
πίτνει δ' ἁ τάλαιν' ἐς ἅλμαν φόνῳ
τέκνων δυσσεβεῖ,
ἀκτῆς ὑπερτείνασα ποντίας πόδα,
δυοῖν τε παίδοιν συνθανοῦσ' ἀπόλλυται.

I have heard of one woman, only one of all that have lived, who put her hand to her own children: Ino, driven mad by the gods, when the wife of Zeus sent her forth from her home to wander in madness. The unhappy woman fell into the sea through the impious murder of her children; stepping over the sea's edge, she perished with her two sons.

Usually the tragic Chorus offers two or three mythical exemplars to illustrate the dramatic action. Here they give only one, and indeed they emphasise that there could be only one parallel to Medea's horrific murder: Ino, the one woman, the only one, who put her hand to her own children. Page notes that 'they might have added at least Agave and Procne' (Page 1938: xx, n. 8). So let us investigate the question of whether we may take what the Chorus sing at face value, first of all by asking whether they – or indeed Page – *could* have added any other names to that of Ino.[4]

There are certainly other mothers who kill their children in the Greek myths. Althaea caused the death of her son Meleager by burning in the fire the magical brand on which his life depended;[5] but this is not quite comparable with Medea, since Althaea did not directly kill her son with her own hands. Themisto killed her own children, but unintentionally,

3 For example, Thompson 1944; Michelini 1989 (with further bibliography). I have to say that I am with Page on this issue and find approaches to *Medea* such as Buttrey 1958 and McDermott 1989 more enlightening.

4 It will be seen from what follows that I disagree with Newton 1985, who believes that Euripides was deliberately suppressing other examples of filicides, especially that of Procne, and goes on to interpret *Med*. 1282–9 accordingly.

5 For Meleager's death by the brand, see Bacchylides v. 93–154; Aesch. *Cho*. 603–12; Apollod. i.8.2–3.

because she was trying to kill Ino's sons.[6] Harpalyce killed the child she bore to her own father, but this seems to be a very late myth.[7] And the three daughters of Minyas, in one of the Dionysus myths, sacrificed one of their sons to the god; but this was a joint affair, and we cannot be sure how deeply the mother herself was involved in the murder.[8] None of these child-killing mothers forms a suitable parallel to Medea.

We thus return to Agave and Procne, Page's two suggestions for mothers whom Euripides might have chosen to mention along with Ino. So now we must ask whether he could in fact have done so. First we must eliminate Agave in this context: she was maddened by Dionysus and tore Pentheus to pieces believing him to be a mountain lion, so this was not a deliberate murder in the same way as Medea's. Furthermore I have argued elsewhere (March 1989) that the canonical version of the myth, dramatised in Euripides' *Bacchae* and staged after his death in 406 BC, was in fact highly innovative, since it seems from the iconographic and literary evidence that, before Euripides' play, Pentheus went armed into battle against the maenads and was torn to pieces while fighting them. So two of Euripides' innovations, which I argue are supported by the text of the play, seem to have been the maddening of Pentheus by Dionysus, and his journey on to Cithaeron in women's dress. A third innovation may well have been Pentheus' death at his mother's hands, rather than at the hands of the maenads in general. His death occurs a number of times in vase-paintings, but nowhere is Agave identified; and on one vase, a psykter of about 520 BC,[9] the maenad rending Pentheus' torso is named Galene.

II

With Agave, then, eliminated as a parallel for Medea, we are left with Procne, and only Procne.[10] She was the daughter of the Athenian king Pandion and was married to the Thracian king Tereus. Their son was called Itys. Tereus fell in lust with Procne's sister Philomela, raped her and cut out her tongue. Philomela communicated her fate to her sister by weaving her story into a tapestry, and Procne, for revenge, killed Itys, cooked him, and fed him to Tereus. Procne, Philomela and Tereus were all three turned into birds. In extant literature there is a moving account

6 According to Hyg. *Fab*. 4, Euripides dramatised the story in his lost *Ino*.

7 We find it in Parthenius (*Er. Path*. 13), first century BC, and in Nonnus (*Dion*. xii.71–5), fifth century AD.

8 For the daughters of Minyas, see Ant. Lib. *Met*. 10 (and further below, pp. 130–1), and cf. Ovid *Met*. iv.1–415; Plu. *Mor*. 299e–300a.

9 Attic red-figure psykter by Euphronios, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 10.221: Beazley 1963: 16.14; Boardman 1975: fig. 28; Carpenter 1989: 153; March 1989: 50 and pl. 4.

10 The Medea/Procne parallel is certainly drawn by later authors, such as Ovid *Am*. ii.14.29–33; Statius *Silv*. 21.140–2.

in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (vi.424–674), as well as various other more pedestrian versions;[11] but these are all generally assumed to go back to Sophocles' famous, influential, but lost tragedy *Tereus*, of which we possess quite a few fragments and – probably – its hypothesis. We know that the *Tereus* was produced before 414 BC, because in that year Aristophanes made Tereus, in the form of a hoopoe, a character in his *Birds*, and had him joke about the indignity that Sophocles had inflicted on him by turning him into a bird. Peisetaerus and Euelpides are laughing at Tereus' beak, and he replies (100–1):

τοιαῦτα μέντοι Σοφοκλέης λυμαίνεται
ἐν ταῖς τραγῳδίαισιν ἐμὲ τὸν Τηρέα.

That's the outrageous way that Sophocles treats me – Tereus! – in his tragedies.[12]

The hypothesis mentioned above is P. Oxy. 3013 (Parsons 1974), in which we find the standard plot that appears in later authors. The heading is 'Tereus: the hypothesis'. The only other playwright whom we know to have written on the myth is Philocles. Again we learn this from the *Birds*, when a second hoopoe comes onstage and Tereus jokes that this is the son of Philocles' hoopoe, and that Tereus himself is his grandfather (281–2): the implication seems to be that Philocles' play was later than Sophocles' and was derivative from it, and the scholiast confirms this.[13] But apart from this brief mention, Philocles' *Tereus* seems to have sunk without trace, so P. Oxy. 3013 is far more likely to be, as is generally agreed, a synopsis of Sophocles' play.

Parsons' translation of the papyrus fragment runs as follows:

Pandion, the ruler of the Athenians, having (two) daughters, Procne and Philomela, united the elder, Procne, in marriage with Tereus the king of the Thracians, who had by her a son whom he named Itys. As time passed, and Procne wished to see her sister, she asked Tereus to travel to Athens to bring (her back). He, after reaching Athens and receiving the girl from Pandion and making half the return journey, fell in love with the girl. And he disregarded his trust and violated her. But, as a precaution in case she should tell her sister, he cut out the girl's tongue. On arriving in Thrace, and Philomela being unable to speak her misfortune, she revealed it by means

11 Other accounts can be found in Tzetzes on Hesiod *WD* 566 (who names Sophocles as his source); Apollod. iii.14.8; Conon *FGrH* 26 F 1.31; Ach. Tat. v. 3–5.

12 That is, by turning him into a bird. This outrageous treatment 'is unlikely to have included an actual stage appearance of Tereus changed into a hoopoe; the spectacle would not be unparalleled … but a man-sized hoopoe seems too grotesque for a tragedy' (Dunbar 1995: 164–5).

13 He remarks that a *Tereus* by Philocles was part of his tetralogy *Pandionis*, but that Sophocles had written his *Tereus* first: ὁ Σοφοκλῆς πρῶτον τὸν Τηρέα ἐποίησεν, εἶτα Φιλοκλῆς.

> of a piece of weaving.[14] When Procne realized the truth, driven mad by jealousy … she took Itys and killed him and after cooking him served him up to Tereus. He ate the meal without realizing. The women took to flight and became, one of them a nightingale, one a swallow, and Tereus a hoopoe.

The birds thereafter sing the songs commensurate with the myth: Tereus continually sings '*pou, pou*' ('where, where') is Itys?; tongueless Philomela, the swallow, twitters inarticulately; and Procne, the nightingale, forever sings her son's name in mourning: *Itu, Itu*.[15]

If we look at the extant fragments of Sophocles' *Tereus*,[16] we find some textual correspondences with Euripides' *Medea* (on this, see further below), and it is often assumed that Euripides' theme of vengeful child-murder in *Medea* was inspired by Procne's deed in Sophocles' *Tereus*. But this need not have been the case, and the influence could well have been the other way around, with Euripides inspiring Sophocles. So to delve more deeply into the relationship between the two plays, and to answer our earlier question of whether Euripides could in fact have added Procne as a parallel for Medea, we must now ask whether Procne's myth was present in the tradition prior to 431 BC. We shall consider both literary and iconographic evidence, while making no assumptions about the prior existence of the myth in the form that we know it.

III

The story of the nightingale first occurs in Homer. The first time that she is named Procne is in the fragments of Sophocles: in Homer she is called simply Aedon, which of course means nightingale and which may or may not be a proper noun. Her story is told in the *Odyssey* (xix.518–23), where Penelope likens her sorrows to those of Aedon:

> ὡς δ' ὅτε Πανδαρέου κούρη, χλωρηΐς ἀηδών,
> καλὸν ἀείδῃσιν ἔαρος νέον ἱσταμένοιο,
> δενδρέων ἐν πετάλοισι καθεζομένη πυκινοῖσιν,
> ἥ τε θαμὰ τρωπῶσα χέει πολυηχέα φωνήν,
> παῖδ' ὀλοφυρομένη Ἴτυλον φίλον, ὅν ποτε χαλκῷ
> κτεῖνε δι' ἀφραδίας, κοῦρον Ζήθοιο ἄνακτος.

14 For the means of recognition in Sophocles' play, see further below, n. 44.

15 The Roman poets reversed the fates of the two women, with Procne becoming the swallow and Philomela the nightingale, perhaps because of false etymology (φιλομήλη from μέλος, song). The 'Philomel' has become a common poetic epithet for the nightingale.

16 See Pearson 1917; Radt 1977. Calder 1974; Sutton 1984: 127–32; and Hourmouziades 1986 give some interesting suggestions about the construction of the play.

Figure 7.1 Attic red-figure kylix by the Magnoncourt Painter, *c*.510–500 BC (Munich 2638 + 9191; photo: C. H. Krüger-Moessner)

> As when the daughter of Pandareos, the greenwood nightingale,
> sings out her lovely song when spring is just beginning,
> perched in the deep foliage of the trees;
> constantly varying the melody she pours forth her far-echoing song,
> mourning Itylus, son of King Zethus, her own dear child,
> whom once she killed with bronze, unwittingly.

We learn from the scholia the Theban myth that lies behind Homer's brief reference. The twin sons of Antiope, Amphion and Zethus, grew up to be joint kings of Thebes. Amphion married Niobe and they had many children, perhaps six sons and six daughters.[17] Zethus married Aedon; they had only one son, and perhaps a daughter, and Aedon so much envied

17 The numbers can vary; for example six sons and six daughters according to Homer (*Il*. xxiv.603–4), seven and seven according to Apollodorus (iii.5.6). Eventually, of course, the children were killed by Artemis and Apollo when Niobe boasted that she had more children than Leto (see Apollod. iii.5.6).

Figure 7.2 Attic red-figure hydria, *c*.450–440 BC
(Prague, Charles University 60.31; photo: Jan Smit)

Niobe her many sons that she tried during the night to kill Niobe's eldest son in his sleep. In the darkness she mistook his bed and killed her own son Itylus. Utterly distraught, she begged the gods to turn her into a bird; so Zeus turned her into the nightingale, who sings out her never-ending sorrow for her dead son.[18]

This is the myth recorded in Pherecydes (*FGrH* 3 F 124), the fifth-century Attic logographer. It is illustrated on an Attic kylix by the Magnoncourt Painter of *c*.510–500 BC (Figure 7.1).[19] The kylix is fragmentary, but a woman is clearly pushing a child backwards on to a bed, rejecting his appeal for pity, and is about to thrust her sword point into his throat. Names are inscribed: the woman is ΑΕΔΟΝΑΙ and the child is ΙΤΥΣ. (The child is Itylus in Homer and Pherecydes, Itys here and elsewhere: the names seem interchangeable.)

This is also quite probably the myth depicted on an Attic hydria of *c*.450–440 BC (Figure 7.2),[20] with Aedon approaching the bed where

18 Sparkes 1985: 29: 'The names of Aedon, the nightingale, and Itys, the cry the bird makes in calling her dead child's name, are part of an old story of bird transformation that accounted for the dirge-like song the nightingale was thought to sing.'

19 Attic red-figure kylix by the Magnoncourt Painter, Munich, Antikensammlungen 2638, 9191: Beazley 1963: 456.1; Sparkes 1985: 29–31; Carpenter 1989: 243; Touloupa 1994: 527, no. 2. A drawing of the reconstructed scene can be found in Harrison 1887: 440 and in Sparkes 1985: 30.

20 Attic red-figure hydria, Prague, Charles University 60.31: Touloupa 1994: 528, no. 8.

Figure 7.3 Metope from the temple at Thermon, *c*.630 BC (Athens, NM 13410; photo: Museum)

Itys lies asleep, her sword at the ready. Both figures are unnamed, and this scene has also been interpreted as Clytemnestra over the body of Agamemnon;[21] but the sleeper is too obviously a child for this to be convincing.

So far, however, we have come across a myth with only one woman, the nightingale Aedon, involved. There is no sister to become the swallow as in the Attic myth of Sophocles' *Tereus*. But there must have been another and earlier myth in which the two women played a part, since it is depicted on the well-known temple metope from Thermon in Aetolia, of *c*.630 BC: two women are shown one each side of a recumbent child, whose head is just visible (Figure 7.3).[22] The woman on the right is named Chelidon, the swallow, so we may surely assume that the woman on the left is Aedon, the nightingale. It is not clear exactly what is happening. Some suggest, with the later myth in mind, that the women are preparing for the dreadful feast,[23] but the painting in fact gives no evidence of this. Schefold believes that the two women are mourning the dead child, and that the Aedon-figure, 'which has suffered more damage, was originally the more prominent due to its somewhat larger build and its more bowed position; she

21 See Touloupa 1994: 528, no. 8.
22 Temple metope from Thermon, Athens, National Museum 13410: Schefold 1966: pl. 20; Touloupa 1994: 527, no. 1.
23 For example, Touloupa 1994: 527, no. 1.

would have been so portrayed as the mother of Itys' and thus as chief mourner in the child's death (Schefold 1966: 36).

As for early literature, Hesiod mentions the swallow in his *Works and Days* (568–9):

> ὀρθογόη Πανδιονὶς ὦρτο χελιδὼν
> ἐς φάος ἀνθρώποις ἔαρος νέον ἱσταμένοιο·
>
> Pandion's daughter, the early-lamenting swallow, appears to men when spring is just beginning.[24]

The swallow is also Pandion's daughter in Sappho fr. 135 LP: τί με Πανδίονις … χελίδω …;: 'probably a complaint that dawn has come too soon (the swallow being in this case equivalent to the cock)', comments Page (1955: 145). So in both Hesiod and Sappho we have a swallow who is Pandion's daughter.

This Pandion, however, is by no means necessarily Pandion the king of Athens, as in Sophocles' later version of the myth. References to Athens and its royal line are quite rare in the archaic period, and probably a series of separate tales about various figures was formed into a coherent whole only at a relatively late date. Brommer suggests that in fact the tales themselves may well have been developing during the fifth century, given the lack of evidence from earlier periods (Brommer 1957). There is particular confusion regarding the two kings named Pandion. Our Pandion, the father of Procne and Philomela, was supposedly the first Pandion. But in the genealogies he comes between Erichthonius and Erechtheus (Apollod. iii.14.7–15.1), and these seem originally to have been one and the same person.[25] So the first Pandion has at some point been put in as a filler. The second Pandion has strong connections with Megara, where he became king when he was ousted from the rule of Athens (Apollod. iii.15.5–6). Pausanias (i.41.7–9) tells us that he had a hero-shrine there; but also – and this is perhaps significant, though adding further confusion – there was a tomb of Tereus at Megara at which annual sacrifices were made, since the Megarians said that he had been king of Pagae, Megara's port on the Gulf of Corinth.

We find further uncertainty in a fragment from the pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, fr. 180 MW, where it seems that Dardanus (presumably, as elsewhere, the ancestor of the Trojan kings, son of Zeus and the Pleiad Electra) marries the daughter of Broteas and fathers Pandion. Martin West comments: 'This is a quite extraordinary piece of genealogy, and for the time being it remains a mystery' (1985: 97). We might note that

24 We note the same phrase as Homer uses at *Od*. xix.519: ἔαρος νέον ἱσταμένοιο.
25 On this, see West 1985: 103–4; Kearns 1989: 160–1; Gantz 1993: 233.

Broteas was the brother of Niobe (they were both children of Tantalus);[26] and Niobe, as we have seen, comes into our nightingale myth as the wife of Amphion of Thebes and the sister-in-law of Aedon: so there is perhaps a Theban connection here, though a rather tenuous one. Certainly, however, we cannot conclude that Pandion in fr. 180 MW is the Athenian Pandion; so neither must we assume that the Pandion of Hesiod and Sappho is simply the Athenian Pandion of the later myth. Indeed, it may be simply another name, a doublet, of the Pandareos of the *Odyssey* myth, just as we have both Itylus and Itys, and just as Homer (*Od*. xi.271) calls Iocaste, the mother of Oedipus, Epicaste.

Other pre-Sophoclean literature provides a few more details about the myth. Another Hesiodic fragment, 312 MW (Aelian, *Historical Miscellany* xii.20), comments:

> λέγει Ἡσίοδος τὴν ἀηδόνα μόνην ὀρνίθων ἀμελεῖν ὕπνου καὶ διὰ τέλους ἀγρυπνεῖν· τὴν δὲ χελιδόνα οὐκ εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἀγρυπνεῖν, καὶ ταύτην δὲ ἀπολωλέναι τοῦ ὕπνου τὸ ἥμισυ. τιμωρίαν δὲ ἄρα ταύτην ἐκτίνουσι διὰ τὸ πάθος τὸ ἐν Θράικῃ κατατολμηθὲν τὸ ἐς τὸ δεῖπνον ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἄθεσμον.
>
> Hesiod says that only the nightingale among birds has no thought for sleep and is completely wakeful; but that the swallow is not altogether wakeful, and loses half her sleep. They pay this penalty because of the sufferings they dared to cause in Thrace at that lawless feast.

We must note here that only the first part of this, with the accusative and infinitive construction, is Aelian's quotation of what was in Hesiod, and the comment about the penalty occurring because of the lawless feast in Thrace could well be his own explanation of the Hesiodic statement. But certainly this fragment links the nightingale and the swallow, and suggests that they were punished for some crime.

Aeschylus too mentions the myth.[27] The text of *Agamemnon* 1142–5 is disputed, but we definitely have the nightingale, ἀηδών, in 1145, mourning 'Itys Itys' in 1144. And in *Suppliants* 58–67, although again the text is disputed, we have in line 61 the wife, ἀλόχου, of, in line 60, Tereus, Τηρείας, the wife who is, line 62, the nightingale, ἀηδόνος; and not only the nightingale, but the κιρκηλάτου nightingale, the 'hawk-pursued nightingale'. This suggests that, in Aeschylus's concept of the myth, Tereus was turned, not into a hoopoe, as later, but into a hawk.[28] This of

26 For Broteas as son of Tantalus, see Paus. iii.22.4, and cf. Apollod. *Epitome* 2.2, where Broteas appears between Tantalus and Pelops, though with no definite statement as to their relationship.

27 And the lament of the nightingale for Itys becomes a commonplace in later Greek tragedy: for example, Soph. *Aj*. 629, *El*. 107, 148; Eur. fr. 773. 23–6 Nauck (*Phaethon*), *Rhes*. 545.

28 Tereus also becomes a hawk in Hyg. *Fab*. 45. Two fragments of a hydria of *c*.470–460

course makes very good sense, for we know that hawks pursue nightingales, as in Hesiod's famous passage, *Works and Days* 203–12; so a hawk could be seen as the obvious choice for the myth's original metamorphosis, with Tereus pursuing the nightingale to punish her for killing their child (65–7). (Similar to the myth of Nisus and his daughter Scylla, who brought about her father's death by her treachery, then was drowned; after which she became a seabird and Nisus a sea-eagle, so that he could carry on his vengeful pursuit of her for ever.)[29]

So, to summarise what we know from the literary evidence was certainly part of the myth[30] before 431 BC: we have the names *aedon* and *chelidon*, nightingale and swallow, which may or may not be proper nouns; the swallow at least is the daughter of somebody called Pandion. We have a dead child, Itys, son of the nightingale. But we do not know exactly how the child's death occurred, though it seems to have been the result of some crime; and there may, or may not, have been a lawless feast in Thrace. We have Tereus, the husband of the nightingale, who seems to have been transformed into a hawk, and who in his bird-form pursues his metamorphosed wife. She perpetually sings in mourning for her dead son. Nothing else is certain.

Let us now consider the few relevant vase-paintings, but once again taking care not to assume that the myth depicted is necessarily the same as in the familiar plot of Sophocles' *Tereus*. First and foremost we have a famous kylix by Makron, of *c*.490–480 BC (Figure 7.4).[31] It has been taken for granted that this kylix depicts Procne and Philomela about to kill Itys,[32] but a close examination presents problems with this interpretation.

The woman on the right is generally said to be the mother, Procne, holding Itys, and the woman on the left Philomela, with sword at her side, about to carry out the murder; she is supposedly gesturing with her hands

BC by the Altamura Painter depict, according to Beazley 1963: 594.55, 'Tereus pursuing Procne (the upper part of Tereus' head remains, with a small bird perched on it; inscription TER …)'. The fragments have recently been published by Prange 1989: pl. 37, A 69, and Tsiafakis 1998: pl. 62b (in Reggio, not in Taranto, as Beazley). We assume that the bird suggests a metamorphosis, but the figure of the bird itself looks to be more hoopoe than hawk.

29 For Scylla's story, see Apollod. iii.15.7; Ovid. *Met*.viii.6–151.

30 The myth, that is, with the two women in it, not the simple Aedon myth that we find in Homer, where she accidentally kills her son, thinking him to be Niobe's. For an interesting discussion of the different elements of the legend, see Fontenrose 1948.

31 Attic red-figure kylix by Makron, Paris, Louvre G 147: Beazley 1963: 472.211; Carpenter 1989: 246; Sparkes 1985: pl. 35; Touloupa 1994: 527, no. 4.

32 In fact I used this kylix as an illustration in my recent *Cassell Dictionary of Classical Mythology* (1998) with this very caption. But I was always vaguely uneasy about it; and now, having delved more deeply into this particular myth, I am distinctly uneasy. The more I look at the kylix, the less happy I am that this is the Procne myth as we know it.

Image Not Available

Figure 7.4 Attic red-figure kylix by Makron, *c*.490–480 BC
(Paris, Louvre G 147; photo: Museum)

because she has no tongue and cannot speak.[33] But a very real problem with this interpretation is that in extant versions of the myth it is never the sister, Philomela, who kills Itys: she is always the victim, raped and mutilated by Tereus, and it is Procne who acts, who does the terrible murder out of anger and revenge for what her husband has done.

If we look at this picture with no preconceptions, we see, on the right, what is believably a mother, holding her child. To quote Sparkes' clear assessment of the scene (1985: 31): 'the mother lifts the boy from the ground by the upper arms and seems to be moving away to our right'; she is 'holding her child close to her as though to protect him'. Exactly so. As for the woman on the left, with the sword at her side: if we do not assume her tonguelessness, then her gestures seem simply threatening as she reaches out for the child, presumably with intent to murder. So I suggest that this is not a simple illustration of the usual Procne story.

There are two possibilities, the first being that this is a different myth altogether. We have already considered above the various infanticides who occur in Greek myth: the only story that might be depicted here is, I

33 Sparkes 1985: 31: '[She] bends her fingers in the space between, and if we are to imagine that she is spelling out her sufferings, this will be the first evidence for the cutting out of her tongue by her brother-in-law Tereus … the sword at her side makes clear the fate that awaits the young boy.'

suggest, that of the daughters of Minyas. Antoninus Liberalis (*Metamorphoses* 10) relates what happened. Minyas was king of Orchomenus and the father of three daughters, Leucippe, Arsippe and Alcathoe, who were punished for refusing to honour the festival of Dionysus. Being industrious girls, they preferred to stay indoors all day, weaving at their looms, instead of going out and joining in the revels with the other women. Dionysus himself appeared to them in the form of a young girl and advised them not to neglect the rites of the god. When they ignored him, he turned himself into a bull, a lion and a leopard, while milk and nectar flowed from their looms. The frightened sisters drew lots, and, when Leucippe's lot came out, they seized her son Hippasus and sacrificed him to Dionysus, then went outdoors to join the revelling maenads. Finally they were turned by Hermes into a bat and two kinds of owl.

Antoninus Liberalis is late (second century AD); but he tells us that his story is much earlier, and comes from both Nicander, who is perhaps second century BC, and from Corinna, who was traditionally thought to be a contemporary of Pindar in the first half of the fifth century BC. In this case, it was plausibly around in Aeschylus' time; and indeed his lost tragedy *Xantriai*, the 'wool-carders', was quite possibly about this particular myth.[34] So, if the Makron kylix is an illustration of the play, then here we have Leucippe trying to protect Hippasos from one of her sisters, who is intent on carrying him off to sacrifice.

The second possibility is that this does indeed depict Procne, Philomela and Itys (I shall call them by these familiar names, even though there is no evidence for the first two before Sophocles' play), but that the story shown is different from the one with which we are most familiar. Here then we would have the sister intent on murder, and the mother unwilling, trying to protect her child. It is just possible that here too there is a connection with maenadism, because Apollodorus happens to mention (iii.14.7) that the worship of Dionysus was instituted in Athens in the reign of Pandion. We know that his worship was usually instituted on earth with reluctance, rejection, and the bloodshed of some victim (as in the daughters of Minyas myth, as in the Pentheus myth). So it may be that in the early version of the Procne myth, Itys was in some way a victim to Dionysus.[35] Certainly Ovid (*Met*. vi.587–8) says that the crime was perpetrated when the Thracian women were celebrating the festival of Dionysus, and that the two women disguised themselves as maenads. His story is in most

34 The *Xantriai* certainly dealt with the rejection of the worship of Dionysus, either by Pentheus or by the daughters of Minyas: see Lloyd-Jones 1963: 435–7; also Radt 1985: 280–7.

35 This need not have taken place at Athens, despite Apollodorus' comment. He may have conflated this early version with the Sophoclean myth, then drawn his conclusion that the worship of Dionysus came to Athens at the time of Pandion.

Figure 7.5 Attic red-figure kylix by Onesimos or the Magnoncourt Painter, *c*.500–490 BC (Basle, coll. H. C. Cahn HC 599; photo: Cahn)

respects the usual Sophoclean version; but the Dionysiac aspect may be an intrusion from an older story.[36]

This is of course speculation. But we must conclude that there is uncertainty as to exactly what is happening on the Makron kylix, and, this being the case, there is also doubt as to exactly what is shown on a kylix fragment, either by Onesimos or by the Magnoncourt Painter, of *c*.500–490 BC (Figure 7.5).[37] This is a savage scene, with one woman apparently killing a child (presumably she has a sword in her right hand); and behind the child, another woman, whose fingers can just be seen curled around

36 Just as Ovid's version of the Pentheus myth in *Met*. iii.511–733 may well have been influenced, not only by Eur. *Bacch*., but also by the pre-Euripidean version of the myth; see James 1991–3, with March 1989.

37 Attic red-figure kylix fragments by Onesimos or the Magnoncourt Painter, Basle, coll. H. Cahn HC 599: Sparkes 1985: 31–3; Touloupa 1994: 527, no. 3.

Figure 7.6 Attic red-figure column-krater, *c*.470–460 BC (Rome, Villa Giulia 3579; photo: Museum)

the child's right wrist. The child is inscribed Itys. It has been assumed, on the analogy of the Makron kylix, that the figure on the right is the mother holding up her child, and the figure on the left the sister carrying out the murder; but if we allow that there is some doubt about the Makron scene, then there are other possibilities here. Certainly the left-hand woman, let us say Philomela, is the active murderer. But is the right-hand woman, let us say Procne, necessarily helping in the murder, or could she be trying to save the child, to pull him away? Or again, this could be a maenadic scene, and the child a Dionysiac victim. We cannot be sure, with so small a set of fragments, just what is happening, and we must not simply assume that our familiar story lies behind this scene.

Finally, a column-crater of *c*.470–460 BC (Figure 7.6)[38] depicts a man on a couch and two women apparently fleeing from him. Beneath the couch is a basket with a child's leg protruding. One interpretation is that here is Tereus about to pursue Procne and Philomela, having eaten Itys. But, as we have seen, there is no certainty that cannabalism was part of the legend before Sophocles; and another possibility is that this depicts a scene from the Thyestes legend, with the remains of his bloody feast beneath him.[39]

38 Attic red-figure column-krater, Rome, Villa Giulia 3579: Beazley 1963: 514.3; Touloupa 1994: 527, no. 6.

39 Cannibalistic parallels would certainly later be drawn between the legends of Thyestes and Procne. In Seneca's *Thyestes* 275ff Atreus invokes Procne and Philomela to inspire him. In Ovid's *Fasti* ii.627–30 Atreus and Thyestes, Medea, Ino, and Procne and Philomela are linked.

The Thyestes myth was immensely popular: Sophocles probably wrote at least one tragedy on it; so did Euripides, and at least six other tragedians (Lloyd-Jones 1996: 106–7).

To summarise, then, the evidence for the myth before Euripides presented his Medea of 431 BC: we have the nightingale and the swallow, and the death of the child Itys, but with no certainty of the motive for his death, and no certainty of how actively involved the mother was in that death. In answer to our question as to whether Euripides could have added Procne to Ino as a parallel for Medea, we have to reply that this was by no means necessarily the case – unless, of course, Sophocles' *Tereus* was produced prior to the *Medea*. But since that is deeply uncertain, I suggest that we take Euripides' words at face value, and accept that when the Chorus sing 'I have heard of one woman, only one of all that have lived, who put her hand to her own children: Ino', they do indeed mean what they say: there was no established myth whereby the woman whom we call Procne deliberately set out to murder her own child. Thus, I further suggest that Sophocles' *Tereus* was produced later than Euripides' *Medea*.[40]

IV

So let us move one step further. Let us imagine that Sophocles was watching Euripides' innovative *Medea* in 431 BC (as surely he would have been). Here for the first time Medea, to spite her husband for his infidelity, chooses to kill her sons because in this way she can most hurtfully get her revenge on him. At the end of the play she escapes on the dragon chariot – another of Euripides' innovations[41] and a highly dramatic one (small wonder that it inspired the vase-painters). To appreciate its effectiveness, we must visualise that first production in the ancient theatre. Jason rushes in at the beginning of this last scene, hoping to save the lives of his sons, to prevent their being killed by Creon's angry family, because he does not know that they are already dead. The Chorus tell him that Medea has killed them, and they say: 'Open the doors and you will see your sons' dead bodies' (1313). Jason's eyes and the audience's eyes are now focused on the doors of the stage building as he calls on the servants to let him in. Everyone expects that the doors will open and out will roll the *ekkyklêma* on which will be the children's corpses and, probably, Medea standing over them with bloodstained sword – just as in so many tragedies of bloody death. But no. With great surprise they hear a voice from on high,

40 For a more specific date, see n. 42.

41 On Euripides' innovations, see Page 1938: xxi–xxxvi; and on the dragon chariot, see Easterling 1977: 190–1. (Easterling also gives a most enlightening discussion of Medea's reasons for killing her sons.)

and there up on the *mêchanê* is the wondrous dragon chariot and Medea: very effective indeed.

So there, let us suppose, was Sophocles, deeply affected by the impact of this tremendous play, and it became the inspiration for his own tragedy.[42] The Chorus in Euripides sing 'One woman, only one, put her hand to her own children: Ino'. Sophocles would make, after Medea, a third woman do a similar deed.

Medea knows full well the grief she will cause herself by killing her sons, and says to herself just before she kills them (1246–9):

> καὶ μὴ κακισθῇς μηδ' ἀναμνησθῇς τέκνων,
> ὡς φίλταθ', ὡς ἔτικτες· ἀλλὰ τήνδε γε
> λαθοῦ βραχεῖαν ἡμέραν παίδων σέθεν,
> κἄπειτα θρήνει·
>
> Do not weaken, do not remember how you love your children, how you gave them life. Instead, for this brief day forget your sons – and mourn hereafter.

So what better myth for Sophocles to choose than that of the nightingale who forever mourns her dead son? – the nightingale, moreover, who, after effecting her vengeance, 'lifts her winged body into the air' (*Med*. 1297). He would take the nightingale and the swallow from the earlier myth, giving them the human names of Procne and Philomela and making them sisters. Procne's motive for killing her son would be similar to Medea's passionate desire for revenge on a faithless husband. He would take the robe, that instrument of death in *Medea* for Creusa (and used in other tragedies too), and develop the theme,[43] making it, with its woven story of Philomela's sufferings, a means of recognition, revenge and death.[44]

42 Thus I suggest that Sophocles' *Tereus* was produced fairly soon after Euripides' *Medea*, perhaps in 429 BC. For other scholars' datings of the play, see Radt 1977: 436. Mills 1980 draws some interesting parallels between *Medea* and *Tereus*, though working on the assumption that *Tereus* was produced first.

43 A robe serves as the instrument of death in, for example, Sophocles' own *Trach*., and (in a different way) in Aesch. *Ag*. Its use by Euripides to kill Creusa was probably his own invention: see Page 1938: xxvi. I owe this insightful suggestion as to the development of the robe motif to Karen Stears.

44 This is not the place to discuss either the fragments or the structure of the play in detail, but perhaps a few words on the recognition scene may be appropriate. Aristotle (*Poetics* 1454b) likens the recognition in Soph. *Tereus* to that in Eur. *IT*, where Orestes simply announces his identity to Iphigeneia. This suggests that Sophocles had Philomela present when Procne received her weaving – just as she is present in Ach. Tat. (v.3), though certainly not in Ovid (*Met*. vi.571–86), where she is imprisoned by Tereus and has to send her weaving by a messenger. Is it possible, I wonder, that Sophocles made Tereus bring Philomela home with him after he had ravaged her and cut out her tongue? Perhaps, as in Antoninus Liberalis' otherwise very different story (*Met*. 11), Tereus cut her hair and dressed her in slave's clothes, then introduced her to the palace as a servant, so that Procne did not recognise her sister until Philomela

He hears Medea give her, later very famous, speech about the trials of a woman's life, beginning (230ff) 'Of all creatures that have life and thought, we women are the most unfortunate.' He would write along similar lines; and a small fragment of what he wrote remains (fr. 583 Radt):

> νῦν δ' οὐδέν εἰμι χωρίς. ἀλλὰ πολλάκις
> ἔβλεψα ταύτῃ τὴν γυναικείαν φύσιν,
> ὡς οὐδέν ἐσμεν. αἳ νέαι μὲν ἐν πατρὸς
> ἥδιστον, οἶμαι, ζῶμεν ἀνθρώπων βίον·
> τερπνῶς γὰρ ἀεὶ παῖδας ἀνοία τρέφει.
> ὅταν δ' ἐς ἥβην ἐξικώμεθ' ἔμφρονες,
> ὠθούμεθ' ἔξω καὶ διεμπολώμεθα
> θεῶν πατρῴων τῶν τε φυσάντων ἄπο,
> αἳ μὲν ξένους πρὸς ἄνδρας, αἳ δὲ βαρβάρους,
> αἳ δ' εἰς ἀγηθῆ δώμαθ', αἳ δ' ἐπίρροθα.
> καὶ ταῦτ', ἐπειδὰν εὐφρόνη ζεύξῃ μία,
> χρεὼν ἐπαινεῖν καὶ δοκεῖν καλῶς ἔχειν.

Now on my own I am nothing. But I have often regarded the nature of women in this way, that we are nothing. When we are young we live the sweetest of mortal lives, I think, in our father's home; for innocence always rears children in happiness. But when we come of age and have understanding, we are pushed out and sold, far from the gods of our fathers and from our parents, some to foreign husbands, some to barbarians, some to joyless homes, others to abusive ones. And this, once a single night has joined us, we must approve and think to be happiness.

Jason at the end of the *Medea* cries (1339–40):

> οὐκ ἔστιν ἥτις τοῦτ' ἂν Ἑλληνὶς γυνὴ
> ἔτλη ποθ'

No Greek woman would have dared to do this!

Sophocles would have not only a Greek woman, but an Athenian woman committing this terrible murder: Pandion/Pandareos in the early myth becomes Pandion the Athenian king, and the myth is made Athenian – just as Aeschylus brought the Argive Orestes into Athenian myth in his *Eumenides*; just as Euripides introduced Theseus into the Theban myth of the Seven against Thebes in his *Suppliants*; just as Sophocles himself would later bring the Theban Oedipus to Athens in his *Oedipus at Colonus*.

Jason cries to Medea (1330–1):

addressed her with the κερκίδος φωνή, the 'voice of the shuttle' (fr. 595 Radt). The fact that this lack of recognition might seem a little far-fetched would account for the change in later authors.

ἐκ δόμων σε βαρβάρου τ' ἀπὸ χθονὸς
Ἕλλην' ἐς οἶκον ἠγόμην,

I brought you from your home in a barbarian land to a Greek house.

Procne would be, not a barbarian in a Greek land, but an Athenian woman taken to the barbarian land of Thrace.[45] And there, not only would she kill her son, as does Medea, but she would serve him up for her faithless husband to eat.

This has been the story ever since. Small wonder that it prevailed over the earlier myth and became the standard tale, told and retold by later writers, inspiring creative artists down to this day.

Small wonder, you might say, that the nightingale still laments. Or, to use the gloriously lyrical words of Swinburne in his 'Itylus', where he memorably depicts the nightingale as bird of mourning, calling to her sister:

Sister, my sister, O fleet sweet swallow,
Thy way is long to the sun and the south;
But I, fulfilled of my heart's desire,
Shedding my song upon height, upon hollow,
From tawny body and sweet small mouth
Feed the heart of the night with fire …

(how better could one define the nightingale?) and she ends:

The hands that cling and the feet that follow,
The voice of the child's blood crying yet.
Who hath remembered me? who hath forgotten?
Thou hast forgotten, O summer swallow,
But the world shall end when I forget.

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45 P. Oxy. 3013 makes Thrace the setting, as does Tzetzes on Hesiod *WD* 566; and fr. 582 Radt of the play mentions the Thracians. Thucydides (ii.29.3) claims that Tereus lived, not in Thrace, but in Daulia, a part of Phocis inhabited by Thracians. As Hornblower (1991: 287) comments, this digression looks polemical, as though Thucydides were correcting, from superior knowledge, another's verdict – quite possibly that of Sophocles. If *Tereus* was indeed produced soon after *Medea*, Thucydides would have been familiar with it before his exile in 424 BC.

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8

EIDÔLA IN EPIC, TRAGEDY AND VASE-PAINTING

Ruth Bardel

I

A 1999 ADVERTISEMENT[1] cast Greece as the 'longest running theatrical event', a status paradoxically endorsed by 'Friends, Romans, countrymen'. The caption underneath the full page advert stated, 'Ask anyone who has been to Greece about the spectacular open air *amphitheatres*. Witness the grandeur of these astonishing monuments either as a visitor or a spectator in the musical shows, theatrical plays and other cultural events featured each summer in the land that is the birthplace of the dramatic arts' (my italics). The advertisement's background picture shows a drama in mid-flow, staged in the Odeion of Herodes Atticus (built in the second century AD) at the foot of the Acropolis. Assuming for a moment that the drama in question is a re-enactment of an ancient Greek tragedy, the disjuncture between image and text (and even context) becomes apparent. It is precisely this often uneasy alliance between image and text that this chapter examines in relation to the figure of the ghost or, more specifically, the *eidôlon*.

Greece was not only the birthplace of the dramatic arts, it was also the birthplace of the stage-ghost, a much neglected but utterly fascinating dramatic character. Since Ruby Hickman's 1938 monograph, *Ghostly Etiquette on the Classical Stage*, there has been no comprehensive study of ghosts in ancient Greek drama.[2] 'Ghostly etiquette' demands that a ghost appear at night to one unaccompanied person, a code of behaviour which renders all ancient Greek stage-ghosts rather impertinent, appear-

1 This advertisement was run by the Hellenic National Tourism Organisation for about three successive weeks in the *Sunday Times Magazine*. I would be grateful to any reader who could furnish details of the performance pictured. If the performance in question is a re-enactment of an ancient Greek drama, the scene from Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, where Clytemnestra's ghost rouses the Erinyes, presents itself as a likely candidate.

2 All of the material discussed in this chapter is examined in greater detail in my doctoral thesis, which focuses on the stage-ghost, submitted in Michaelmas Term 1999, under the title 'Casting shadows on the Greek stage'.

ing as they do in broad daylight, in the open-air theatre of Dionysus, often in the presence of the chorus – not to mention the spectators. Ghosts are slippery customers and classification does cause problems. Hickman (1938: 16, 62–3, 124–5, 160), for example, categorises ghosts in Greek and Roman tragedy as dream-ghosts, stage-ghosts, off-stage-ghosts, doubtful ghosts, anonymous ghostly shapes, hallucination, pseudo-ghosts, borderline-ghosts, fictitious dream-ghosts and minor pseudo-ghosts. In order to avoid such complicated categorisation and its attendant problems I have focused on the word *eidôlon*, the term which is used to designate stage-ghosts in the *dramatis personae* of ancient Greek tragedy and which, although it does in many ways support the kinds of distinction that Hickman makes, certainly facilitates the attempt to categorise such elusive figures as ghosts.

By focusing on the word *eidôlon*, however, it soon became apparent that this figure not only seemed to refuse any one categorisation but was also a provocative amalgamation of many areas normally held to be distinct, such as religion, philosophy, epistemology, ontology, representation and, in particular, iconography. As the lengthy title of Peifer's 1989 monograph, *Eidola und andere mit dem Sterben verbundene Flügelwesen in der attischen Vasenmalerei in spätarchaischer und klassischer Zeit*, demonstrates, iconography generally designates the small winged figures found in vase-paintings as *eidôla*, in contrast to the literary and dramatic deployment of the word *eidôlon*, which designates an unwinged, life-sized and life-like figure. The attempt to secure an effective definition of the word *eidôlon* and its connotations for a fifth-century spectator, whether of the dramatic or visual arts, is perhaps analogous with Odysseus' futile attempt to embrace the ghost of his dead mother in the *Odyssey*. However, an attempt to clasp the ghost, as it were, may shed some light on the nature and meaning of the *eidôlon*.

Beginning, somewhat anachronistically but nevertheless in deference to one of the *eidôlon*'s defining features, a discussion of the well-known 'Medea vase' (Figures 8.1–8.2) will graphically highlight the disjuncture between the dramatic and/or literary and the iconographic use of the word *eidôlon*. The only figure in Greek vase-painting which can with absolute certainty be identified as a tragic ghost is the figure labelled 'ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΑΗΤΟΥ' in this fourth-century volute-krater by the Underworld Painter, inspired by an unknown Medea tragedy.[3] According to Siebert, Aeetes' clothes mark him as barbarian, and the column of smoke beneath his feet marks him as a tragic ghost (Siebert 1981b: 67); apart from these two signifiers there is little to denote 'spectre'. Trendall and Webster (1971:

3 Munich 3296 (J. 810): Bieber 1961: figs 121, 122 and 289; Trendall and Webster 1971: 110, no. III.5.4; Trendall and Cambitoglou 1982: 18.283, pl. 195.

Figure 8.1 Apulian red-figure volute-krater by the Underworld Painter, *c*.330–320 BC (Munich 3296; photo: Blow Up)

110) thought the 'column of smoke' beneath the *eidôlon*'s feet was a rock: but, whatever the case, it does seem significant that the ghost of Aeetes is the only figure in this representation who stands, for want of a technical expression, on a wobbly, smoke-like rock. All the other figures are, as it were, firmly grounded. Aeetes' ghost looks as substantial as the other figures in the vase-painting, played as he must be by a very live actor. The *eidôlon* may have delivered the prologue, as Taplin suggests (1997: 80), or he may have returned, as Shapiro states (1994: 181), 'in spirit to remind his daughter of the betrayal of her hearth and home that has brought her ultimately to this sorry state'. Whether at the beginning or at the end of the narrative, the *eidôlon* often stands outside the temporal sequence of the (literary, dramatic or pictorial) narrative proper.

Whatever the rôle of the ghost, it is clear that the artist has compressed time and space: the painter has combined, as Shapiro (1994: 181) notes, 'at least three discrete scenes into one multi-level composition, with

Figure 8.2 Detail of Figure 8.1

subsidiary figures who may allude to several more'. The *eidôlon* itself, in many significant ways, acts within the representational – or even theatrical – space as a marker of this compression of time and space, a figure from the past whose gaze seems to be directed downwards, towards the final sequence in the present narrative. Aeetes' *eidôlon* stands at the fringes of the pictorial space, spanning two of the three distinct scenes.

Unlike the other figures in the vase, who all seem to be interacting with, or in response to, at least one other character, the *eidôlon*'s isolated, marginal position is, therefore, all the more marked and one suspects that he has little or no relation to the dramatic action unfolding around him – very much the ideal candidate for a prologue speaker. But, most significantly, within this pictorial representation, the image and the text/inscription cohere: the *eidôlon* is a life-size, life-like and fully recognisable figure, and Homeric epic seems to endorse this late, that is fourth-century, use of the tag *eidôlon*.

II

The ghost, like the word *eidôlon*, always has a past and its history and/or story helps to explain its appearance in the world of the living. Since 'Pictures and descriptions of ghosts are not easy to come by' (Winkler 1980: 160), it will be worthwhile to examine the deployment of the word *eidôlon* in Homeric epic, which, undoubtedly, influenced the nexus of ideas surrounding this dramatic figure. The first extant use of the word *eidôlon* appears in the fifth, and arguably the most chaotic, book of the *Iliad*. The already anomalous conditions of warfare are heightened, in the fifth book, by the direct intervention of the gods in the conflict between the Trojans and the Achaeans. Ontological categories which are normally kept distinct here interact and the correlation between the human and the divine problematises cognitive certitude and is set against a backdrop of uncanny experiences. One such instance of 'supernatural events' (Fenik 1968: 39) is the creation, by Apollo, of Aeneas' *eidôlon*.

Wounded by Diomedes, Aeneas is speedily removed from the battlefield by Apollo, who thus completes the rescue mission initiated by Aphrodite but frustrated by Diomedes. Apollo then devises an *eidôlon* (v.449) resembling Aeneas' self and wearing similar armour (v.450), and around this *eidôlon,* the Trojans and Achaeans continue fighting, unaware that any substitution has taken place (v.451–3). The very short episode of the creation of Aeneas' *eidôlon* and its insertion into the heart of battle provides discernible evidence, a token, of the gods' intervention in the affairs of mortals. Most significantly, however, Aeneas' *eidôlon* marks Diomedes' breach of Athena's injunction not to do battle against the gods and thus acts as a sign of this transgression. It is clear from this episode that the word *eidôlon* need not exclusively denote a 'wraith of the dead' (Kirk 1990: on *Il*. v.449–50): Aeneas is alive but wounded, and it may be that this precarious state qualifies the making of an *eidôlon*, whose essential qualities seem to be that of representation, substitution for an absent person and fidelity to the original.

Homer does not tell us precisely what Apollo used in the construction

of Aeneas' *eidôlon*: in fact, it matters little since the emphasis is placed on the *eidôlon*'s external appearance. Apollo fashions (τεύχω) an *eidôlon* of Aeneas just as Athena makes (ποιέω) an *eidôlon* of Iphthime, Penelope's sister, in the *Odyssey* (iv.795–800).[4] The *eidôlon* is thus ostensibly a divinely, but ultimately a poetically, generated image of a living, wounded or, as we shall see later, dead but unburied individual. In all of these instances, however, the aspect of the *eidôlon* is crucial to its recognition: just as the clothes (or costume) of the barbarian king on the Medea vase would facilitate its recognition in the absence of the explanatory label, so Aeneas' armour, as sported (or rather, imitated) by the *eidôlon,* acts as a signifier for the man himself, and in the same way, Iphthime is recognised by Penelope because the *eidôlon* adopts her corporeal aspect (δέμας, iv.796).

But the apparent corporeal reality of Iphthime's *eidôlon* contrasts strikingly with its mode of entry and exit: this *eidôlon* passes through the keyhole into Penelope's room (iv.802), delivers its message of comfort and finally dissolves into the winds (iv.838–9). The distinction between what the narrator describes and what Penelope sees is explicit: in response to Penelope's distress, the narrator describes what the 'dim phantom' (εἴδωλον ἀμαυρόν, iv.824, 835) says in response. An *eidôlon* may be dim and shadowy (unreal) to its creator, but it is vivid and (real) to the percipient (cf. iv.841).

Similarly, the departure of Patroclus' ghost coincides with Achilles' attempt to embrace it: it is also at this point that Achilles, 'seized with amazement … sprang up' (*Il*. xxiii.101), and his response to what happened is significant. Striking his hands together, Achilles 'spoke a word of lament' (xxiii.102):

> 'ὦ πόποι, ἦ ῥά τίς ἐστι καὶ εἰν Ἀΐδαο δόμοισι
> ψυχὴ καὶ εἴδωλον,'

– even in death there *is* something, a *psuchê* and an *eidôlon*. As with the encounter between the sleeping Penelope and the *eidôlon* of Iphthime, there is a clear discrepancy between what the poet describes – the dim *eidôlon* or *psuchê* (respectively) – and what Achilles describes – both a *psuchê* and an *eidôlon*. And this is not mere textual redundancy, the conjunction of two synonymous terms. Etymologically, *psuchê* and *eidôlon* could not be more distinct: breath and image do not seem to cohere; the invisibility of the former and the visibility of the latter appear contradictory. The phenomenon described by the poet (text) and that of the character (image) are crucially different.

4 Prier (1989: 102) is wrong when he states that, 'Athena assumes an appearance of Penelope's sister … Homer describes Athena as a "dim likeness" (*eidôlon amauron* – *Od*. iv.824)'. Athena *makes* an *eidôlon* (εἴδωλον ποίησε, iv.796) of Penelope's sister, she does not assume a 'dim likeness' of the sister's appearance – a crucial difference.

Verbal descriptions, unhampered by concrete visual portrayal, as in Homeric epic, can portray *eidôla* slipping through keyholes or disappearing like a puff of smoke – all actions which would be demanding on the ancient, or even modern, stage just as they would be in static pictorial representations. As Aristotle notes (*Poetics* 1460a10–15), epic affords greater scope for the *alogon*, the inexplicable, because we do not actually see the persons of the story – rather as we do not actually see the ghosts of a ghost story. And yet, during the process of visualisation (*enargeiâ*), the images are conjured up in the mind's eye, as the listener listens and gives shape and form to the poets' words, imaginatively fleshing out, as it were, the bare bones of the narrative.

Like the *eidôlon* of Aeneas, that of Patroclus is 'in all things like his very self, in stature and lovely eyes and in voice and in like clothes was he clad' (*Il*. xxiii.66–7). It is these attributes, the 'as-in-life' appearance of the *eidôlon*, that seems to anchor it more firmly within the world of the living than in that of the dead. The difference, however, between the two descriptions is significant: the focus on the armour of Aeneas' *eidôlon* is frigid in comparison with the intimate and tender description of Patroclus' *eidôlon*, which is consistent with his characterisation as kind and gentle.[5] The distinction between these two *eidôla* – Aeneas (and indeed, Iphthime) and Patroclus – could not be more apparent; the one mechanical, deliberately created and used as a tool, the other spontaneous, sensitive and, as it were, full bodied. Both *eidôla* are, however, reflections, so to speak, of the ontologically unstable status of their originals, the one wounded and the other dead but unburied. The ghost of the unburied Patroclus wanders in vain (*Il*. xxiii.74): like Elpenor in the *Odyssey* (xi.54), Patroclus is an 'exile' in the other world, isolated from the living by death and from the 'home' of the dead until the proper rites of death have been performed.

It is also significant that Patroclus' *eidôlon* appears without armour: that is, as he was before he was clad – and killed – in the armour he borrowed from Achilles. The lack of armour in the description of Patroclus' *eidôlon* divests Patroclus of his warrior, and social, status and stresses the fraternity between the two men. Significantly, as Edwards notes (1991: on *Il*. xviii.338–42), it is the times that Achilles and Patroclus *talked* alone together, rather than their fighting exploits, that the *eidôlon* recalls. The *eidôlon*'s evocation, in a 'more leisurely narrative development', of their childhood together in the house of Peleus and the 'recollection of their closeness in life' (Richardson 1993: on *Il*. xxiii.69–92) accentuates the memory of the living, dear comrade Patroclus rather than the wounded corpse of the dead warrior. The *eidôlon* is thus, in two senses, intimately

5 See further Edwards 1991: on *Il*. xvii.669–73 and xix.300, with references.

connected with memory, both of the recent and the more distant past, a memory which is articulated by a figure, itself dependent largely upon recollection.

It seems paradoxical that vase-painters, unlike Homer, focus on the martial qualities of the dead Patroclus; his diminutive '*eidôlon*' (in iconographic nomenclature) is often armed and winged. The correlation between Hector's and Patroclus' deaths and the discrepancy between the treatment of their two corpses, a crucial theme in the *Iliad*, are brought together on a black-figure lekythos (*c*.510–500) of the Leagros Group[6] which shows the tomb of Patroclus, Achilles in his chariot with Hector's corpse tied to it, and two small, armoured and winged warriors hovering in the two corners of the scene, one on the left and one on the right. The wings attached to such '*eidôla*' in vase-paintings suggest (rapid) movement rather than any intrinsic attribute of the *eidôlon*, a mobility that contrasts well with the inert corpse of Hector. Iris is also present, dispatched by Zeus, and here she makes a 'warning gesture' (Schefold 1992: 260) towards Achilles. This depiction is, as far as I am aware, unique in its presentation of *two* small, winged warriors: are they the so-called '*eidôla*' of Patroclus and Hector? The presence of the two small winged figures illustrates, I suggest, in pictorial terms, the essence of the appearance of Patroclus' ghost in Homer's epic narrative. Patroclus' *eidôlon* appears in Homer at the height of Achilles' violation of Hector's corpse and of the ethics of burial and of normal warfare: revenge, as Kerrigan (1996: 299) rightly argues, is 'an overdetermining factor in combat', where simply to have an opponent justifies killing. Achilles has, in effect, two restless souls on his hands.

The *eidôlon*'s speech, by uniting the themes of proper burial rites, exile and supplication, marks the disruption of normal and acceptable behaviour in such circumstances. Furthermore, the appearance of Patroclus' *eidôlon* is itself a symptom of this disruption: unwept and unburied, the restless '*psuchê* of hapless Patroclus' (*Il*. xxiii.65) is an inadvertent casualty of Achilles' relentless pursuit of vengeance. The vase-painting from Delos appears to unite the themes of the unwept and unburied corpses – both of Patroclus and of Hector – and the two '*eidôla*', I propose, mark this abnormal state of affairs, just as the *eidôlon* of Aeneas marked Diomedes' transgressive behaviour. If revenge was the focus of Homer's text, he could have painted a very different picture of the ghost of an unwept and unburied man, one who had, furthermore, been violently slain and threatened with mutilation. The small winged warrior figures at the fringes of the representational space of the vase discussed above, as in

6. Delos 546: Beazley 1956: 378.257; Carpenter 1989: 100; Schefold 1992: fig. 313; Kossatz-Deissmann 1981: 588, pl. 117.

others depicting the same theme, are a small, but pertinent, reminder of Achilles' violation of the cosmic order.

Patroclus' *eidôlon* requests a speedy burial since the spirits (ψυχαί), the phantoms of men that have done their work (εἴδωλα καμόντων, xxiii.73), will not let him cross the river to 'mingle' with them.[7] In the *Odyssey*, the same phrase recurs with a stress on the distinction between mortals and immortals – βροτῶν εἴδωλα καμόντων (xi.476) – which highlights the laborious life of mortals in contrast to the ease of the immortals. This generic and formulaic phrase is a generalisation that dehumanises the dead, and also articulates their lamentable and depleted post-mortem state, mere images of worn-out mortals. Reduced, metonymically, to heads (*Od*. x.521, 536; xi.29, 49), the dead are barely recognisable, an undistinguished mass of vague, flitting shadows (*Od*. x.495). Such phrases seem to be reserved for the anonymous dead who have no attachment to the living percipient (in this case, Odysseus) and who have been dead for a long time. Against the backdrop of anonymous flitting shadows, the *eidôlon* stands out in conspicuous contrast.

The dead in general are conceived of in terms of superfluity: they are the *hoi polloi* (xi.42; cf., for example, x.521, 529–30, 536; xi.29). The sheer number, coupled with the notions of powerlessness, frailty and transience, heightens their insubstantiality and their distance from the world of the living. Most telling is the phrase, μυρία νεκρῶν (xi.632; cf. xi.25), a spectral multiplicity that overwhelms and frightens Odysseus both at the very beginning (xi.42–3) and at the very end of his encounter with the 'glorious tribes of the dead' (x.526; xi.29). It is the anonymous legions of the dead tribes which frighten Odysseus (xi.37–43), not the individual *eidôla* of familiar people such as Elpenor or his mother. But to characterise Homer's ghosts as 'whining, impotent things of little use … as imposing as puffs of smoke … drab creatures trapped in an utterly dull space', as does Finucane (1996: 5), is to miss the point. In Homeric epic, it is the *psuchê* that is consistently described as insubstantial by analogy to a wisp of smoke, a dream or a shadow. These similes and other figurative language used to describe the post-mortem state suggest that metaphysical notions originate at the very level of the image, the *eidôlon*.

It is the images of the anonymous dead that, I suggest, influence the small winged '*eidôla*' schema in iconography, in particular on white-ground lekythoi. The Charonian scenes with their legions of small winged figures serve, as Sourvinou-Inwood argues (1995: 336–7), to render death as 'Other'. The small winged '*eidôla*' in scenes depicting the reception of

7 Although μίγνυμι (to mix, to mingle) can denote social intercourse, it is properly used of liquids and thus evokes the mercurial nature of the *psuchai* and the *eidôla kamontôn* who refuse Patroclus this contact.

the deceased by Charon are 'part of the landscape', which helps to denote the 'localisation of the scene in the underworld'; they also 'participate in the shade's reception, and help articulate her introduction into the community of the dead' (Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 337). One such scene on a black-figure lekythos by the Sabouroff Painter[8] shows (from left to right) Charon in his boat with Hermes, who reaches out his hand to a life-sized, veiled woman: many '*eidôla*' are also represented, 'the majority shown coming from the direction of Hades on the other side of the water, like a reception committee' (ibid.).

Here, the central figure of Hermes bridges the gap between two literary and iconographic articulations of the post-mortem state: on the one side (the left), the small winged '*eidôla*' predominate and on the other (the right), the full-scale image (*eidôlon*) of a veiled woman. I suggest that, rather than acting as a reception committee, the small-scale '*eidôla*' are, like the anonymous dead of Homeric epic, the frightening image of what one becomes upon death (*psuchai*). One wonders if the vase-painter sought to convey how the movement from the world of the living to the world of the dead corresponded to a change in size and status. Does the visual, textual or dramatic representation of the dead depend upon which side of the fence – or boat – one is on? Just as Patroclus' *eidôlon* stands out from the rest of the dead, so the *eidôla* of the Odyssean *Nekuia* stand out in sharp relief from the *hoi polloi,* and so the *eidôlon* of the veiled woman stands out amid the *psuchai* that flit about. The throngs, the anonymous *hoi polloi*, thus provide the background – as in the lekythos discussed above – against which the recognisable individual ghosts (*eidôla*) appear and serve to emphasise the distinction between these two categories of the dead in both literary and pictorial representations.

Elpenor bids Odysseus 'remember me' (*Od*. xi.71), a spectral injunction that highlights the association of the *eidôlon* with memory, and one which resonates throughout ghostly appearances within drama. The motif of the unwept and unburied corpse is a prominent one in tragedy: improper burial disturbs the social and cosmic order, throwing up plaintive ghosts (Polydorus in Euripides' *Hecabe*, for example), whereas proper burial mediates between the desire to remember and the necessity of forgetting the dead. It may well be that Elpenor's privileged status as an *eidôlon* derives from his close association with Odysseus, a reflection of the fact that, as in the cases of Aeneas, Patroclus and Iphthime, the *eidôlon* draws upon the framework of previous relationships. The *eidôlon* points as well to the instability of Elpenor's ontological status; he is dead but not yet fully integrated into the realm of the dead. Elpenor's *eidôlon* is also

8 Athens NM 1926: Beazley 1963: 846.193; Carpenter 1989: 297; Boardman 1989: fig. 255.

significant in that it acts as a prologue to the 'drama' of the *Nekuia,* an episode that prompts Page (1955: 44–6) to propose that the figure of Elpenor was a device used to introduce the *Nekuia* to a poem in which it does not belong. Whether the *Nekuia* was originally part of the *Odyssey* or not, it is clear that the Elpenor episode sets a precedent wonderfully manipulated by Euripides in his *Hecabe*, a drama introduced by the *eidôlon* of Polydorus.

Significantly, it is the figure of Elpenor, like that of Tiresias, who captures the vase-painter's imagination: it is Elpenor's or Tiresias' *eidôlon*, rather than the mass of flitting shadows of the indistinct dead, that is portrayed in visual representations of the *Nekuia*. Odysseus' consultation with the ghost of Tiresias features on a Lucanian calyx-krater by the Dolon Painter of the early fourth century[9] – the so-called 'Tiresias Vase'. Odysseus is seated, sword in hand, and between his feet lies the head of the ram killed as a sacrifice. In the bottom left-hand corner, at the feet of Odysseus and the figure on the viewer's left (Perimedes; Eurylochus may well be the figure on the viewer's right), is the head of Tiresias' ghost, looking up at them, rising from the depths of Hades.[10] The dead seer Tiresias is here, reduced to a head, emerging from the decorative border defining the representational space and very much reminiscent of the oracular head of Orpheus.[11] The strengthlessness of the dead is graphically illustrated on an Etruscan mirror in the Vatican (Beazley 1949: 69, pl. 5b) showing Odysseus and the 'floppy' *eidôlon* (Etr. *hinthial*, which is inscribed) of Tiresias, who not only supports himself on his walking stick but also hangs limply on the arm of Hermes – a slack posture that will presumably be rectified once the ghost has quaffed some blood. Hermes in this image seems to be introducing the *eidôlon* of Tiresias to Odysseus, who is seated, sword in hand. Both Odysseus and Hermes are unshod, unlike the *eidôlon* of Tiresias,[12] whose cloaked body contrasts with the naked and athletic figures of Hermes and Odysseus.

This contrast between the clothed dead and the (almost) naked living is reversed in one well-known representation of Elpenor's *eidôlon*. An Attic

9 Paris, Cab. Méd. 422: Trendall 1967: 102.532; 1989: fig. 79.

10 This vase-painting, in particular the ghost of Tiresias, is often linked to a fragment from Crates' *Heroes* (fr. 12 KA): τὸν αὐχέν' ἐκ γῆς ἀνεκάς, εἰς αὐτοὺς βλέπων ('turning his head towards them from the ground'). See further Riess 1897: 193.

11 For example, the Attic red-figure hydria of the mid-fifth century in Basle Museum BS 481: Schmidt 1972: pls. 39–41.1; Vermeule 1979: 197, fig. 21; Garezou 1994: no. 18.

12 Shoes were important to the dead in medieval society and 'were supposed to help in their passage into the hereafter' (Schmitt 1998: 204). Precisely what the signification of the shod Tiresias designates in this image is open to debate. Two ancient ghosts demonstrate a concern with clothing: Melissa's ghost (Hdt v.92) and the dead wife who returns to claim a gilt sandal (Lucian, *Philopseudes* 27).

red-figure pelike in Boston[13] by the Lykaon Painter, *c*.440 BC, shows Odysseus, Hermes and the naked and rather athletic *eidôlon* of Elpenor, who emerges at knee-level from the reedy marshes, his two hands leaning on the banks of the Styx as if to support or steady himself. Elpenor's ghost is one of the privileged few to be specifically referred to as *eidôlon*, in *Odyssey* xi, and yet Peifer confidently asserts that 'Hier ist der Tote nicht als Eidolon dargestellt … Es ist kein Eidolon' (1989: 131): this is one discrepancy between text and image, an inconsistency between iconographical distinctions and textual description. Apart from the suggestive familiarity with certain details of the Homeric text, the illustrators of Odysseus' meeting with his dead comrade Elpenor, or his consultation of the dead seer Tiresias, are engaging in a creative process whereby private mental images are translated into public, concrete and recognisable visual portrayals. Drawing on both the individual and socio-mythic imagination, the vase-painter, like the tragedian, gives concrete shape and form to the poets' words.

The beginning of the speech by the ghost of Anticlea draws on one of the most revealing aspects of Odysseus' encounter with the dead: Anticlea asks her son how he came to be there, for it is 'hard for those that live to *behold* these realms' (xi.156). Tiresias also asks why Odysseus has left the light of the sun and come to 'behold the dead' (xi.93–4), a question that casts Odysseus in the rôle of spectator and establishes at the outset a relationship between viewer and thing(s) viewed. Odysseus is unable to embrace his mother's ghost (206–8), a literal empty gesture that signifies the recognition of its non-existence in the empirical world. Once again, as with Achilles' attempt to embrace the ghost, the discrepancy between (visual) appearance and (tactile) reality is made explicit, prompting Odysseus to ask whether his mother's ghost was some *eidôlon* (213) stimulated, or 'roused' (214), by Persephone to make him grieve all the more. Already in the sphere of the anonymous images of mortal men who have done with their earthly labours, Odysseus' grief is heightened by the life-like appearance of his mother's familiar ghost, which can be seen but not touched. In his *Helen*, Euripides was later to elaborate upon the problems relating to sensory perception, epitomised in the *eidôlon* of Helen, to create a thoroughgoing epistemological enquiry. Far from writing a play devoid of metaphysical depth (Dale 1967: xvi), Euripides employs the ruse of Helen's *eidôlon* to address perplexing ontological issues.

Odysseus sees (xi.601) only Heracles' *eidôlon* (602),[14] for Heracles himself (αὐτὸς δὲ, 602) is in Olympus: like Iphthime and Aeneas, he, by

13 Boston MFA 34.79: Beazley 1963: 1045.2; Carpenter 1989: 320; Boardman 1989: fig. 150.

14 This passage (xi.602–4) is often regarded as an interpolation.

virtue of his phantom, can be in two places at once. As Heracles strides towards Odysseus, the other ghosts raise a clamour as of birds flying everywhere in terror (605–6), a striking example of the conspicuousness of the *eidôlon*. The phantom of Heracles looks like dark night and glares about him terribly like one always about to shoot (606–8).[15] Heracles' *eidôlon* is the only spectre who is physically described in terms of what he is wearing – a 'terrible belt' (609). The brief *ekphrasis* of the belt is suitably prefaced by an image of frozen action, as though the intention of Heracles' *eidôlon* – to shoot – is perpetually suspended in time, a sharp contrast with his energetic life-time activities. Heracles' belt serves as an iconographic *curriculum vitae*: it features bears, wild boars, lions with flashing eyes, conflicts, murders and ἀνδροκτασίαι ('slayings of men', 611–12). The construct of Heracles' *eidôlon* is articulated and accentuated by the belt upon which 'wondrous deeds were fashioned' (θέσκελα ἔργα τέτυκτο, 610). The link between art, representation, the rôle of the artist, artistic creation of any sort, and the manufacturing or presentation of an *eidôlon* is provocative.

The *ekphrasis* of the belt of Heracles' *eidôlon* also acts as a meeting point for strategies of visual and verbal persuasion: Odysseus is not a passive but an ideal spectator who converts seeing into story-telling, by which the past becomes present through (re)presentation, evoking an immediacy that excites emotional involvement. Heracles' *eidôlon*, differentiated from the other dead both linguisticially and iconographically, thus articulates the fundamental association between the *eidôlon* and representation, whether in narrative, dramatic or visual strategies. The very fact of telling a (ghost) story gives a kind of existence, presence, form and voice to what is ultimately an imaginary (mythical) being. And, like the consummate story-teller that Odysseus proves to be, he draws on the socio-mythic imagination to describe his encounter not only with the *eidôlon* of Heracles but also with the seer Tiresias, the noble (but notorious) women, Agamemnon, Achilles, Ajax, Minos, Orion, Tityus, Tantalus, Sisyphus and the Gorgon as well as the anonymous tribes of the dead. What the *Nekuia* as a whole admirably demonstrates is that the ghost is intimately connected to narrative strategies which place the ghost within a given context, space and time. The relationship between the living and the dead is, as Schmitt notes (1998: 185), 'formed on the spatiotemporal line of the tale'.

Each ghost story is, in fact, two stories: the story of how the ghost came to be a ghost and the story of one's encounter with the ghost (the *Nekuia*). Odysseus' encounter with the *eidôlon* of Heracles highlights the way in which images (*eidôla*) generate more images (*ekphraseis*) and more

15 For the colour of ghosts see the discussion in Winkler 1980.

spectral narratives. The talkative ghost, of which there are many in Homeric epic, in stark contrast to the silent corpse, is a fundamental characteristic of many spectral episodes, and yet the sublime silence in the *Nekuia* of the ghost of Ajax, who carries his anger to the grave, conforms rather more readily to the characterisation of the dead as silent and speechless. The poets and the dramatists give voice and action to these dead mythical characters time and again: for example, the once reticent ghost of Ajax in the *Odyssey* is released from the underworld, revivified as a character and given one of the most poignant speeches in Greek tragedy in Sophocles' *Ajax*. Far from being 'guilty of too much explanation and descriptive detail in their speeches' (Braginton 1933: 45), the ghosts, their narratives and the images conjured up as a result are inseparable, a factor greatly influencing the dramatic *personae* of Darius in Aeschylus' *Persians* and Polydorus in Euripides' *Hecabe*.

III

The Homeric portrayal of *eidôla* is crucial to our understanding of the stage-ghost in ancient Greek drama. The Homeric characterisation of *eidôla* would have worked on the collective imagination of the spectators of any given drama that either presented ghosts on stage or recounted sightings of ghosts. Elpenor's ghost acts as a prologue to the narrative of Odysseus' encounter with the dead, thereby setting a precedent for Polydorus, the prologue-speaker of Euripides' *Hecabe*. In a grand finale to the *Nekuia*, the *eidôlon* of Heracles appears, a wonderfully apt conclusion to the spectacle of the dead which adumbrates Heracles' dramatic appearance *ex machina*. Most significantly, Odysseus is cast throughout the *Nekuia* as a spectator, an eye-witness: he essentially presents an autopsy to the enthralled Phaeacian audience and it is, arguably, just such a context that furnishes a precedent for the reported sightings of ghosts in tragedy, such as that of the ghost of Achilles in Euripides' *Hecabe*.

Like forensic orators, the dramatic poets practise *eidôlopoiia*, animating a known but dead person, one who has ceased from speaking. Forensic oratory, according to Aristotle (*Rhet*. 1357a36–b29), looks to the past and urges justice, and it has been recently argued (Hall 1995: 45–6) that one connection between tragedy and forensic rhetoric lies precisely in their mutual concern with the past and with justice. Characterisation, *êthopoiia*, was crucial to speech-writers and tragedians alike and, in the case of a dead relative of a client, the orator or the tragedian imagined what the person would have said if alive – *eidôlopoiia*, the imitation of a character of a dead person, created in order to animate the past. This connection between the forensic orator and the tragedian is perhaps most explicit in the figure of Clytemnestra's *eidôlon,* who appears at the beginning of a

drama which treats of the establishment of the Areopagus. Aphthonius in his *Progymnasmata* 11[16] links *eidôlopoiia* specifically with Eupolis' *Demoi*, but the same could be argued for most, if not all, tragedies and their characters. One such is Aeschylus' fragmentary *Psychagogoi*, whose title evokes another correspondence between rhetoric and drama, both of which were held to beguile (*psuchagôgein*) the minds of their audience. Much later, both *eidôlopoiia* and *psuchagôgein* are used in a derogatory sense by Plato (*Rep*. x.599d3, 600e5, 605c3), who accuses Homer and the dramatic poets of deliberate and deceptive 'image-making'.

Extant tragedy furnishes us with three stage *eidôla*; fragmentary tragedies and the summaries of lost epics suggest that this type of literary and dramatic character was rather popular. In a recent article, Taplin (1997: 69–70) suggests that only two fifth-century vase-paintings can plausibly be claimed to show a play in performance, and both are early, from the era of Aeschylus.[17] One of these is the Basle column-krater,[18] an Attic vase dated to around 490 BC, which shows six youths dancing in unison before a bearded and shrouded figure who rises behind, or from, a structure which has been variously interpreted as a tomb, an altar or a monument. Indecipherable lettering, interpreted as the chorus' song (Schmidt 1967: 71 with n. 4), issues from the open mouths of these 'Basle Dancers'. It seems clear that these six youths are a masked chorus;[19] as Taplin (1997: 70) notes, 'Their identical hair, head-dresses and features are suggestive of masks, though there is no decisive indicator. And their military costumes, with some indications of ornate decoration, appear to be a signal of their mimetic rôle as soldiers (bare feet seem to be standard for choruses).'[20] Taplin suggests that the structure they are dancing in front of (or around) seems to be a tomb rather than an altar and that the facing figure may be rising from the tomb rather than standing behind it.

16 *Rhet. Gr*. i.101.12W; ii.44.28S.

17 The other fifth-century vase-painting that (according to Taplin) can plausibly be claimed to show a play in performance are the five hydria fragments (Corinth T1144: Beazley 1963: 571.74; Carpenter 1989: 261; Taplin 1997: 71, fig. 5), *c*.460s, from Corinth, published by Beazley in 1955. The hydria fragments have attracted two main interpretations: Beazley suggested that they might be evidence for a 'Croesus' tragedy during the first quarter of the fifth century. Considerably later, Hammond and Moon 1978 proposed that the fragments showed Darius rising from his tomb, as in Aeschylus' *Persians*. Since these fragments were published by Beazley, another fragment has been found, see Roller 1984: 262–3 with fig. 3, who interprets these fragments as depicting Croesus on his pyre.

18 Basle BS 415: Schmidt 1967: pls. 19.1 and 21.1; Boardman 1975: fig. 333; *CVA* 3 (7) pl. 6.3; Gasparri 1986: no. 845, pl. 401; Taplin 1997: 70, fig. 4.

19 Robertson 1977: 81, with n. 5, and Green 1991: 34–5; 1994: 17–18, with n. 5 on 177.

20 Green 1991: 35 interprets the line on the left ankles of the nearer figures as indicating footwear: this would have been a strange item of footwear indeed, as all the chorus members' toes are very clearly delineated.

If this is so, then 'we would have a ghost-raising scene, as, for example, in Aeschylus' (lost) *Psychopompoi*, where Odysseus' men summoned the dead prophet Tiresias' (Taplin 1997: 70, n. 2).

The chief interest of the Basle column-krater has focused on choral formation, costume and choreography, but it is also an important piece of fifth-century Athenian evidence for the ghost-raising motif in tragedy,[21] and the two facets of the vase can be harmoniously combined if one bears in mind the active rôle of the chorus in the necromancy scene of Aeschylus' *Persians*. This chorus is 'surely raising the ghost of a dead hero' (Green 1991: 35). Whom does this ghost represent? Is it, as Taplin suggests (see above), the dead prophet Tiresias summoned by Odysseus' men? The figure rising from the structure appears to be veiled – perhaps one of Aeschylus' infamous veiled and muffled figures, derided in Aristophanes' *Frogs* (911–13). The analogy between veiling and death is strong in literature and serves as iconographic short-hand for a dead figure (as in the lekythos discussed earlier, p. 149). Whatever the specific performance this vase-painting refers to, it does demonstrate the existence of the motif in ancient Greek drama before Aeschylus' *Persians* of 472 BC.

Aeschylus' *Persians*, a play which, according to Hickman (1938), would be 'dull' without its ghost, features an *eidôlon* who, under the rubric of 'ghostly etiquette', is a very gauche ghost appearing, as he does, in broad daylight to the chorus and the queen – not to mention the *theatai*, raised both dramatically and literally in the centre of the *polis*. There is a strange injunction in [Paulus] *Sententiae* (iii.4b2), admittedly a late source, against publicly appearing in the costume of a savage or a ghost: Darius is not only a barbarian ghost (ethnic and ontological states which mark his character as decidedly other), he is a kingly barbarian ghost – rather like the *eidôlon* of Aeetes mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, with whom Darius has certain affinities. During the evocation of the ghost of Darius, the chorus implore him to rise to the peak of his funeral mound, 'revealing your yellow-dyed slippers on your feet and revealing the tip of your kingly tiara' (660–2). This is often regarded as an indication of what the spectators are beginning to see as Darius rises from his tomb: a literal dramatic interpretation of these lines would have Darius rising feet-first, which is clearly not the case.

The ghost of Darius is asked to appear in the 'distinguishing marks of royalty': why, asks Gow (1928: 151), does Aeschylus mention only Darius' hat and shoes? Gow suggests that the language about clothes is deliberately vague: Persian dress is dissimilar to Greek, but its essential

21 As Schmidt 1967: 74 notes, 'Solche Beschwörung der Toten war in der Tat in äschyleischer Zeit ein beliebtes Tragödienmotiv.' See also Green 1991: 37 and 1994: 17–18.

garment, the jacket or *chitôn*, differs in cut, colour and material, though not in name, from what Aeschylus and his audience wore themselves. To name it, in the description of Darius, would be to weaken what Aeschylus sought to strengthen – the illusion of a strange foreign fashion. So, Gow concludes, 'betwixt head and heel, what else was there for him to mention? The trousers? But the Greeks thought them ridiculous (Eur. *Cycl*. 182, Ar. *Wasps* 1087); and, after all, in no age have trousers been a fitting theme for tragedy.' But the costume and aspect of the Persian *eidôlon* of Darius clearly draws not only on the Homeric 'as-in-life' motif but also on the collective imagination. Darius is a regal ghost from foot to head, a being whose magnificence is measured – and recognised – by or at its extremities, and whose social status is confirmed by its attire.

Furthermore, the inability to describe anything 'betwixt head and heel' appears to be symptomatic of the play as a whole. The world of the *Persians* is a cosmos of extremes in which simple binary oppositions are spanned by artificial (and unstable) constructs. The physical collapse of the Persian empire is dramatically portrayed by the figure of Xerxes: what the empire once was is articulated by the impressive ghost of Darius, which also signifies the collapse of ontological and natural boundaries – men behaving as if they were gods, bridges erected where there should be none, and the dead appearing among the living.[22] The corpses of the Persian youth are tossed to and fro by the sea on the shores of Salamis (272–7), exposed to the light of day just as that which should remain hidden – the dead King Darius – comes into the light of day (630). Is the raising of Darius' ghost another defiance of natural laws, both spatial and temporal, which compounds the Persian disaster?

Smyth (1924: 81) describes the raising of Darius' ghost as the 'greatest ghost scene in all literature', surpassed, if at all, only by the ghost of Clytemnestra in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*. Clytemnestra's *eidôlon* is portrayed in the process of waking the sleeping Erinyes on an Apulian red-figure bell-krater by the Eumenides Painter, *c*.380–360.[23] Clytemnestra's *eidôlon* is veiled, a clear indicator of her ontological status. An Erinys emerges at waist level from the decorative border of the vase, an indication, as Bérard notes (1974: 24), of vertical movement, and one which also stresses the chthonic origins of the Erinyes, who intrude into the world of the living and the representational space of the vase and/or theatre. Both Clytemnestra's *eidôlon* and the Erinyes are placed at the fringes of the main focus of the image – Orestes, at the *omphalos*, is in the

22 In *Antigone* (1067–71), Tiresias rebukes Creon for having hurled below one of those above (Antigone), blasphemously lodging a living person in a tomb and keeping here (above ground) something belonging to the gods below, the corpse of Polyneices.

23 Paris, Louvre K 710: Bieber 1961: 27, fig. 96; Trendall and Cambitoglou 1978: 97.229; Kahil and Icard 1984: no. 1382, pl. 560; Shapiro 1994: 147, fig. 104.

centre of the image. Unlike the *eidôlon* of Patroclus, who makes a subtle plea against the ethics of revenge, Clytemnestra's *eidôlon* in the *Eumenides*, without a shadow of doubt, is a precursor of the classic revenge ghost of the sort parodied in 1599 in an anonymous play[24] by the character of Comedy: 'Then of a filthy whining ghost / lapped in some foul sheet of leather pilch / comes screaming, like a pig half-sticked / and cries Vindicta! Revenge! Revenge!'. However, in this particular vase-painting, Clytemnestra's *eidôlon* looks rather benign, and its inoffensive ghostly behaviour – in contrast to the *eidôlon's* portrayal in the *Eumenides* – seems to be characteristic of ancient Greek ghosts in general. It was left to the Hellenistic period, perhaps, and even more so to the Roman era, to amplify the horrific and frightening aspects of ghosts.

The *eidôlon* of Polydorus who delivers the prologue to Euripides' *Hecabe* does not, as far as I am aware, feature in the vase-painters' repertoire. Was he too much of a Euripidean rags-and-pathos figure to inspire the vase-painters? How did the ghost of Polydorus enter? Although a late source, the Bobbio scholiast on Cicero's *pro Sestio* 126 (Hildebrandt 1971: 102) comments that the ghost of Deiphylus in Pacuvius' *Ilione* appears creeping low upon the stage, dirty, and wearing mournful clothes as do those who are brought on stage as dead. The contrast between the (reported) resplendent ghost of Achilles and the dirty, ragged ghost of Polydorus is perhaps one which Euripides would not have missed. It certainly seems a preferable entrance to Flickinger's (1939: 359–60) suggestion that a 'wraith-like puppet was suspended from a pole above the scene building while an actor spoke the prologue from off-stage'. The visual impact of a phantom prologue-speaker must have been considerable, especially if it was unprecedented. It also complicates the audience's response to the figure of Polydorus: is the primary focus of his identity that of a prologue-speaker or that of a ghost? Our response must be two-fold: Polydorus is, literally, split into two distinct entities: his corpse lies on the sea shore, unwept and unburied (30), while his itinerant ghost (*eidôlon*) hovers near the temporary Achaean camp. What the *theatai* actually *see* on stage is Polydorus' *eidôlon*, what they are invited to *imagine*, through Polydorus' evocative prologue, is his murdered body tossing to and fro on the sea-shore.[25]

Polydorus' *eidôlon* also reiterates far more explicitly than any of the Homeric *eidôla* that the existence of the *eidôlon* is dependent upon its being seen. To whom, if not to the audience, does the *eidôlon* of Polydorus appear? The absence of any other dramatic characters on stage at the time

24 The author of this play is anonymous: the verses (47–50) come from the Induction to 'A Warning for Fair Women'. See Stanford 1940: 91–2.

25 So Hickman 1938: 53, who does not, however, develop the dramatic, epistemological or ontological implications.

of the *eidôlon*'s prologue may help to explain the absence of this particular figure from vase-paintings, which, if they derive from tragic or other literary episodes, place the character(s) within a definite context. Polydorus' *eidôlon* appears in a performative (and therefore representational?) vacuum and, were it not for the spectators who are vital to dramatic action, he would not exist at all. Polydorus' first stage presence, as prologue (1–59), is complemented by his silent stage presence as a corpse for more than half the play (658–1295). By casting Polydorus' ghost as the prologue-speaker, Euripides establishes, right at the beginning of the play, the crucial, and synchronous, components of a dramatic performance and experience – the spectator's imaginative powers and the palpably real figures appearing on the stage.

The task of the dramatist – or vase-painter – was to convert the private mental images evoked by epic into public representations on stage, or in the visual arts. As Rohde (1925: ii. 225) notes, 'what had hitherto seemed a dream-vision (*Traumbild*) of the imagination (*Phantasie*) now visibly presented itself to the eyes of the beholder … Thus rewakened to a palpable (*greifbarer*) and fully realized life (*voll lebendiger Gestalt erweckt*), the myth was seen in a new light.' Text and image may not always cohere, but it is abundantly clear that the 'dead have no existence other than that which the living imagine for them' (Schmitt 1998: 1), and palpable and fully realised characters are, I propose, precisely what the word(s) *eidôlon* and *eidôla* meant to a fifth-century spectator of the dramatic and visual arts.

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9

PLACING THEATRE IN THE HISTORY OF VISION

Simon Goldhill

IF THE INVENTION AND development of Athenian democracy required a reconstruction of the self-representation of the city and citizens of Athens, a reconstruction that inevitably involved words and images, perhaps no site of the *polis* focuses this concern more sharply than the *theatron*, the place for viewing where *logoi* were on display. Indeed, to work through all the interrelations of what the editors of this volume have termed 'image(ry) and the stage' could lead in very many different and potentially fascinating directions.

I

'The stage', to begin with, is not a self-evident term. At one level, of course, it implies the *skênê* of the fifth- and fourth-century tragic, comic and satyric drama, and that I take to be its primary reference here – a place not to put your daughter on. But when an English word is used for a Greek institution, it is always worth asking what is being included and what is being excluded by such a translation. First, we should note the physical versus the institutional sense of the term (though the overlap is perhaps the most important here). So one relevant subject in this discussion could be the construction of stage sets, the invention of the *skênê* and *skênographia*, the development of the *ekkuklêma* and crane, the presence or absence of rocks in the orchestra.[1] The physical conditions of the *skênê* and its accoutrements construct a frame for tragedy, and inform a repertoire of images and imagery. Indeed, we could move beyond a rather narrow archaeological or historical account of the physical properties of

Thanks to R. Osborne, J. Tanner, S. Halliwell and A. Snodgrass for lively discussion on the version of this chapter delivered at the Leventis Conference in Edinburgh.

1 This material has been extensively discussed. For a useful survey, which does not replace Pickard-Cambridge 1946, see Csapo and Slater 1995 with bibliography (410–11). See also Bieber 1961. On the *ekkuklêma*, see Taplin 1977: 442–3. Mastronarde 1990 is the fullest discussion of that aspect of the theatre. See also in general Arnott 1962; on painting in the theatre, see Rouveret 1989: 16–63, with bibliography.

the theatre to see how such elements affect and are affected by the wordy arts of drama and by the projects of contemporary optical science, say. So, on the one hand, the impact of theatrical space on the conceptualisations of drama could be explored within the political *écarts* of democracy.[2] On the other hand, tragedy's treatment of such a physical arena could be investigated – from the famous fragment of Aeschylus' satyr-play *Theoroi*, where satyrs see images of themselves on a temple and comically reflect on the *topoi* of verisimilitude and *mimêsis*, to Euripides' *Ion*, where a chorus of female tourists are depicted viewing the temple doors at Delphi (Zeitlin 1994; 1996b). The changes in theatrical practice and theory could be mapped on to the rapidly developing sophistic work on vision and art.[3]

From another point of view, the institutional frame can be further broadened. For the festivals of theatre included a great deal of what would now be called political ritual, with its particular deployment of imagery and words.[4] The presentation of ephebic war orphans in full military uniform, for example, accompanied by the recital of the ephebic oath and the herald's announcement, is part of the Great Dionysia which stages – represents and enacts in language and visual imagery – a commitment to democratic military ideals. Many events take place 'on the stage' of the theatre of Dionysus which are not drama in the strictest sense – from Dithyrambs and Assemblies to the self-aggrandising processional displays of orators and *chorêgoi*. What is more, there are many 'stages' in Athens – the rhapsode's rostrum, the rhetor's dais, the deme theatres, the athletic arena, even the performances at *symposia*.[5] Each of these events not only involves the interaction of word and image in public, but is further represented in the texts and art of the period (and later periods). The *symposion* as event is discussed and represented extensively both inside and outside a/the *symposion* (Lissarrague 1987; Murray 1990). Or (to stay with the theatre), the parade of tribute from the allied states in the theatre at the festival of the Great Dionysia is also described (in polemical terms) by Aristophanes in the theatre and by Isocrates in the rhetorician's arena. It finds a record in the tribute lists: a relief which surmounts a decree concerning this tribute also has images of leather bags which may, it has been suggested, have been used in the procession itself.[6] To focus

2 See, for example, Wiles 1997; de Polignac 1984; Loraux 1984; Padel 1992; Winkler 1992.

3 See Rouveret 1989; Simon 1988; Frontisi-Ducroux 1995; Stewart 1997.

4 See Goldhill 1992; 1994; 1997a; Cartledge 1997; Wilson (forthcoming); Pelling 1997; Seaford 1994; Meier 1988; Cole 1993.

5. See Goldhill and Osborne 1999; Shapiro 1992; Murray 1990; Lissarrague 1987; Hall 1995; Ober 1989; Zimmerman 1992; Osborne 1993.

6 For the texts, see Goldhill 1992, reconsidered by Goldhill (forthcoming); for the image of the leather bags, see the discussion of Raubitschek 1941, following Meritt 1937.

too narrowly on tragedy can distort an ancient sense of performance – which *links* different sites of agonistic display (for all that theatre is invented by this city and recognised as a privileged place).

'Image(ry)' also needs careful glossing as a term, especially when conjoined with the word 'word'. On the one hand, the idea of 'the image' on stage could imply a discussion of significantly marked props – say, the urn in Sophocles' *Electra*. It would certainly be relevant to consider how the *sêma* of the urn is treated in Sophocles' play and how it becomes fully part of that play's self-reflexive discourse about deception, lying words, false appearances and emotional commitments. How words and the world relate is a central concern of the *Electra*, a play which repeatedly mobilises the language of *logos* and *ergon*, and the utilisation of the urn is integral to this nexus of ideas.[7] Indeed, as the *Choephori* and Euripides' *Electra* may indicate, the bearing of significant offerings (tomb-offerings, funerary urn, water urn) is an image which may be associated intertextually from play to play with the figure of Electra. On the other hand, 'image(ry)' (stage, word) in a broader sense may indicate tragedy's deployment of dramatically powerful tableaux. The appearance of Clytemnestra, for example, in Aeschylus' *Oresteia* over the bodies by the door of the palace has been well analysed, both in dramatological and in narratological terms, as a central image in another founding work much concerned with how words work and relate to institutions such as the law court (see, for example, Taplin 1977). The carpet scene of the *Agamemnon*, indeed, constructs perhaps the most over-determined and repeatedly discussed image on stage in all Greek tragedy. The display of an object (the tapestry), its symbolic value, the meaning of the act of stepping on it, and the rhetorical debate which surrounds and informs the act together make this scene the *locus classicus* of 'image(ry) and the stage' in this sense (see, for example, Goldhill 1986: 11–14).

This interest in 'staging' and stagecraft should be extended also to costume and masks, where a work like David Wiles' *Masks of Menander*, which links ancient writing to the physical signs on stage, demonstrates how a semiology of theatre would be a potent way of understanding 'image(ry) and the stage'.[8] The cultural concern with *to eikos*, 'the probable, natural, likely' – which is not merely an Aristotelian project – goes to the heart of how a physiognomics of the image and a narrative of the word must be linked.

7 See most recently Ringer 1998 (with further bibliography). Taplin 1977 and 1978 are especially influential here. Philoctetes' bow has been another object much discussed: see, for example (with further bibliography), Segal 1981.

8 Wiles 1991, which, although not wholly reliable on the evidence, is the most stimulating account of the issue. See also the fine discussion of Foley 1980 (for which the discussion of Jones 1962 is influential). In general, see Elam 1980. See also Green 1994; and for a general discussion of masking, Frontisi-Ducroux 1995 and 1991.

From yet another angle, the focus of discussion could be on the language of tragedy, its imagery. This argument could take at least three different paths under our present rubric. First, we could investigate what later rhetoric would call *enargeia*, the capacity to make vivid, and consider how tragedy's specific emotive language adopts and adapts Homer and the language of the *polis* to create its particular imagery, its images of the world.[9] This can take a more or less sophisticated form. The further one moves from cataloguing and from appreciations of beauty and the closer one moves towards understanding the ideological and narratological import of such imaging, the more promising the project is likely to be, in my opinion.[10] 'A word is a normative machine for dividing and defining reality', wrote Plato, ὄνομα ἄρα διδασκαλικόν τί ἐστιν ὄργανον καὶ διακριτικὸν τῆς οὐσίας (*Crat*. 388b13–c1). One injunction to the critic is to see how particular languages aim at particular orderings, particular dividings and definings of the world.

The second way tragedy's language could be approached is through the more delimited and specific use of language for particular images; that is, what we might call *ekphrasis*. The shield of Achilles, for example, is described in the first stasimon of Euripides' *Electra*: it is an image of elsewhere in that it takes us away from the rural, impoverished world in which the play is set, back towards the heroics of the *Iliad*; and it is also the description of a work of art which plays a significant rôle in the history of *ekphrasis* as trope.[11] Similarly, the shield scene of Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes* has been the subject of extensive and often sophisticated debate, as has the tent at Delphi in Euripides' *Ion*.[12]

The third connection between language and imagery is the description – the imagery – *of* the word – how tragedy described what words *do*. In Aeschylus, language itself can hit, burn, bind, penetrate, run off the course, unfold, be inscribed in the notebook of the mind – as well as the usual gamut of shrieking, crying and articulating. Again it is important to go beyond the catalogue. As the understanding of writing and speaking changes under democracy, so the language of tragedy engages with – plays a rôle in – the democratisation of the scene of speech, as it stages the word in action. The politics of representation of what words do has also been well discussed in recent years.[13]

There are two further interactions of 'image(ry)' and 'the stage' that need to be indicated, both of which have been extensively analysed

9 General introduction to be found in Goldhill 1997b.

10 See, for example, Barlow 1971; McDonald 1978; Dumortier 1935; Knox 1952; Goheen 1955; Padel 1974.

11 O'Brien 1964; Walsh 1977; King 1980; Goldhill 1986: 164–6.

12 Zeitlin 1982; 1996b; Vidal-Naquet 1981; Goff 1988.

13 Lewis 1996; Steiner 1994; Thomas 1989; 1992; Osborne 1999.

in contemporary scholarship. The first is the connection between the imagery contained on Greek pots or other forms of material culture and the theatre, a connection far more complex than the term 'illustration' captures. Indeed, the interplay between both Homeric and theatrical texts and painted pottery in particular remains one of the most hotly contested topics in this field.[14] The second interaction takes us back finally to the thematics of tragedy. The *Oedipus Tyrannus* links blindness and knowledge, sight and misprision in a way which challenges the assumptions of standard Greek epistemology. 'Vision' itself, especially as it becomes enfolded with (mis)understanding, and the problems of perception, so dear to the sophists, have repeatedly been articulated as part of tragedy's thematic concern.[15]

These different possibilities of analysis of 'image(ry) and the stage' (under the rubric of 'word and image') should not be conceived as wholly discrete projects, however. In combination, they demonstrate how, in Froma Zeitlin's words, theatre becomes a space which investigates and contributes to a connection between 'vision and cultural memory' (Zeitlin 1994: 144–5). That is, the development of a discourse of looking – how theatre, the place for looking, explores that act of visual perception – is to be linked, she argues, to the development of cultural memory, the images by which a culture articulates itself and its sense of its changing history. Theatre 'floods the eyes and minds of the spectators with memorable pictures that themselves can signify their allegiance to and participation in that interpretive history' (Zeitlin 1994: 196). The analysis of how word and image interrelate on the stage here broaches the very broadest categories of cultural history – and thus it is not hard to see why theatre should have such an important rôle in the history of vision.

II

Now, this introductory attempt to indicate something of the range of relevant questions and relevant material invoked by the title 'image(ry) and the stage' is designed to provide a necessary frame – a foundation even – for the particular claim I wish to make: namely, that the act of looking, central to any discussion of word and image, must be comprehended in the broadest possible way as a *culturally and historically specific performance*, and that if we are to understand how word and image are conceptualised in ancient democratic Athens, then the *construction of the democratic subject as viewer* is a necessary project. It is

14 See in particular Snodgrass 1998; Taplin 1993; Green 1994; Shapiro 1994; Prag 1985 (each with further bibliography). See also March, above, pp. 119–39.

15 Especially with Sophocles: see, for example, Seale 1982; Segal 1981; Buxton 1980; and the particularly influential Reinhardt 1979.

the aim of this chapter first briefly to stress the connection between the conceptualisation of 'the viewer' and democratic politics, and secondly, to emphasise how the democratic viewing subject, the *theatês*, *theômenos*, *theôros*, provides one privileged organising principle for understanding these different areas of cultural activity in the classical *polis*.

I have written elsewhere about the political construction of the audience of theatre (Goldhill 1997a), and, in an article on erotic viewing, outlined how democracy from the Cleisthenic reforms onwards developed institutional sites and practices which changed the conceptualisation of spectatorship (Goldhill 1998). The Assembly, law court and theatre each made public debate, collective decision-making and the shared ideals of participatory citizenship central elements of political practice. To be in an audience was not just a thread in the city's social fabric, it was a fundamental political act. To sit as an evaluating, judging spectator was to participate as a political subject. I have also sketched elsewhere how the language of such spectating is part of the performance of democracy – a performance which draws on but fundamentally alters any Homeric models.[16] In this chapter, I shall be looking in far greater detail at how this language for the rôle of the evaluating spectator is developed across a range of texts. In particular, I shall be looking at how the terms θεωρός and θεατής and their cognates together become charged expressions for this rôle. θεωρός and θεατής are not precise synonyms – as Harpocration puts it, θεωροὶ λέγονται οὐ μόνον οἱ θεαταὶ ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ εἰς θεοὺς πεμπόμενοι, '*theôroi* are not only *theatai* but also those sent on religious delegations' – but, as we will see, the verbs θεωρεῖν and θεᾶσθαι are often used in very similar ways. I shall begin from the term θεωρός, and try to indicate such differences as I proceed.

θεωρός, as the citation from Harpocration indicates, can imply a formal and institutional sense of a 'state mission' to view or participate in a range of cultural and political activities. The noun θεωρία, the verb θεωρεῖν and the adjective θεωρικός are all used with this precise and delimited meaning. This sense is well-known and common enough in both the prose and poetry of the classical period, and I will cite only a pair of cases where the verb is used absolutely, which will be relevant to the discussion below. In Thucydides, the verb is used absolutely for the state's representative attendance at a festival (viii.10): οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι … ἐθεώρουν ἐς αὐτά [τὰ Ἴσθμια], 'The Athenians sent delegates to them [the Isthmian Games].' Similarly, in Aristophanes' *Wasps* a political mission becomes the source of a joke as Bdelycleon tries to teach

16 Goldhill 1999. For a somewhat unreliable if extended version of Homeric viewing see Prier 1989: although the verb *theaomai* is common in Homer, neither *theatês* nor *theôros* occur.

Philocleon how to behave at a rich man's *symposion*. 'What stories should I tell?', asks Philocleon; 'Grand ones', replies Bdelycleon (1187): ὡς ξυνεθεώρεις Ἀνδροκλεῖ καὶ Κλεισθένει, 'like how you went on a state delegation together with Androcles and Cleisthenes'. It is seen as a sign of social status to tell of such political clout as to have joined leading politicians on state business. Philocleon replies, however (1188–9):

> ἐγὼ δὲ τεθεώρηκα πώποτ' οὐδαμοῖ
> πλὴν ἐς Πάρον, καὶ ταῦτα δύ' ὀβολὼ φέρων.
>
> But I have never been on a state delegation, except to Paros, and that was for two obols' pay!

The 'ordinary' man's delegation was a different sort of duty – rowing in the state's navy (which was what the 'two obols' payment denotes).

Although this sense of 'state delegate' is limited to *theôros* and its cognates, presence at public ritual in any capacity is also indicated by *theasthai* and its cognates. So Isocrates in his *Panegyricus* (iv. 44–5), praising the culture of festivals in general and athletics in particular, talks of how some 'have the opportunity to display (ἐπιδείξασθαι) their fine attributes', others:

> to be spectators (θεάσασθαι) of those men competing against one another. Neither lacks spirit for these activities, but both sides have the opportunity for pursuit of honourable ambition (φιλοτιμηθῶσι), the ones when they look (ἴδωσι) at the athletes toiling on their behalf, the others when they reflect that everyone has come for gazing at them (ἐπὶ τὴν σφετέραν θεωρίαν).

This, he concludes, is the aim of Athens' spectacles (θεάματα). The reciprocity of spectators and performers in the pursuit of *philotimia* is articulated through the audience's gaze and the consciousness of that gaze as participation in the festival – expressed in the overlapping vocabulary of *theasthai*, *theôria* and *theama*. Spectators and performers are linked in the value of festival culture for the *polis*. In this same sense, Apollodorus notes that an adulterous woman is banned from temple precincts, where the law permits even a foreigner or a slave woman 'to enter to attend as a spectator or to participate in a ritual of suppliant prayer', θεασομένην καὶ ἱκετεύσουσαν εἰσιέναι ([Dem] lix.85).

Attendance at the Great Dionysia is repeatedly expressed in this vocabulary. Thus the speaker of Isaeus viii, proving his connection with his disputed father, points out how they had shared ritual life together (viii.16): καὶ μετ' ἐκείνου τε ἐθεωροῦμεν καθήμενοι παρ' αὐτόν, καὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς ἤγομεν παρ' ἐκεῖνον πάσας, 'I attended the festival [*theôrein*] with him and sat next to him, and I celebrated all the feasts in his company.' So, an aggressive act of Alcibiades in the theatre is

described by Andocides (iv.20) as taking place ἐναντίον ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τῶν θεωρούντων, 'before you and the other Greeks who were spectators in the theatre [*theôrein*]'. *Theatai* and *hoi theômenoi* are extremely common terms for the audience in Aristophanic comedy, of course; but also are used by Demosthenes, say, in the political context of *chorêgia* and the pursuit of status by the orators (for example, xxi.216; xx.26; v.7). Thus Aeschines and Demosthenes argue vitriolically over Demosthenes' proposal to allow the Macedonian ambassadors special seats in the theatre at the Great Dionysia, and Demosthenes replies to Aeschines' accusations with (xviii.28): ἢ θέαν μὴ κατανεῖμαι τὸν ἀρχιτέκτον' αὐτοῖς κελεῦσαι; ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν ἐθεώρουν ἄν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτ' ἐγράφη, 'Or should I have ordered the theatre-manager not to give them seats? They could have joined the spectators in the two-obol sections, if this proposal had not been passed.' The general term for a spot in the theatre is *thea*, 'a sight', 'a viewing' (cf. Dem. xxi.178), and the alternative to special seats is to join the spectators [*theôrein*] in the two-obol seats. With this sense of *theôrein* here, then, it is as if by attending the theatre – taking up the state benefit of two obols, the *theôrikon* – each citizen becomes not merely a spectator but a participant in a ritual, festival occasion. The theoric fund makes every citizen in the theatre a *theôros*.

The word *theôria*, however, is also used for a more general sense: the idea of exploring the world through travel and informed looking. Solon left Athens *kata theôrian*, 'to see the world', as does the speaker of Isocrates' *Trapezeticus*. Aeschines (i.25) takes it for granted that every Athenian would have sailed to Salamis to view [*theôrein*] the statue of Solon. This idea is explored more fully in the following passage of Xenophon's *Hiero*, a work of political theory which contrasts the life of a tyrant and the life of a private citizen. The first area of comparison in which a tyrant can be seen to be worse off than the private citizen is in *opsis*, 'viewing', 'sight-seeing', 'spectacle', and specifically in the 'viewing of spectacles through vision', ἐν τοῖς διὰ τῆς ὄψεως θεάμασι (1.11–12):

> ἄλλα μέν γε ἐν ἄλλῃ χώρᾳ ἐστὶν ἀξιοθέατα· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων ἕκαστα οἱ μὲν ἰδιῶται ἔρχονται καὶ εἰς πόλεις ἃς ἂν βούλωνται θεαμάτων ἕνεκα, καὶ εἰς τὰς κοινὰς πανηγύρεις, ἔνθα γ' ἃ ἀξιοθεατότατα δοκεῖ εἶναι ἀνθρώποις συναγείρεται. οἱ δὲ τύραννοι οὐ μάλα ἀμφὶ θεωρίας ἔχουσιν. οὔτε γὰρ ἰέναι αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλὲς ὅπου μὴ κρείττονες τῶν παρόντων μέλλουσιν ἔσεσθαι, οὔτε τὰ οἴκοι κέκτηνται ἐχυρά, ὥστε ἄλλοις παρακαταθεμένους ἀποδημεῖν.
>
> In every land there are things worth viewing. In search of these, private citizens visit any city they wish and any festival, where things most worth viewing are collected. But tyrants have nothing to do with missions to

> festivals [*theôria*]. For it is not safe for them to go to where they are not likely to be stronger than the crowd there, nor is their property at home secure so that they can go abroad leaving others in charge of it.

Private citizens can see what is worth seeing [*axiotheata*], and travel for sight-seeing [*theamata*] whenever they want, and thus can attend festivals [*theôria*]. Tyrants cannot travel safely – Xenophon assumes, as is typical of Greek discourse, that tyrants are always under threat of violent deposing – or leave home lest things go wrong there. Thus the pleasure of *theôria* is lost to tyrants. Xenophon marks how political position will affect the possibility of what he takes for granted as a good citizen's interest and desire, namely, to travel and take pleasure in looking [*theôria*] at sights [*theamata*].

A more developed expression of this pleasure is found in a much better-known passage from Plato's *Republic* (v.476a–b) where Socrates distinguishes between the *philotheamôn*, 'lover of sights', and the *philosophos*, 'lover of wisdom'. The *philosophos* is a kind of *philotheamôn* of truth, but the *philotheamôn* has a different aim:

> οἱ μέν που … φιλήκοοι καὶ φιλοθεάμονες τάς τε καλὰς φωνὰς ἀσπάζονται καὶ χρόας καὶ σχήματα καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων δημιουργούμενα,
>
> Those who love sounds and sights are delighted by beautiful sounds and colours and forms and everything fashioned out of such things.

Plato links 'lovers of sounds' and 'lovers of sights' – the two aspects of being in an audience (a connection we will return to). Their pleasure comes from beautiful sounds, colours and forms. Pleasure in looking – the erotics of gaze – is a *topos* of Greek thought which Plato constantly attempts to appropriate to a philosophical *theôria*, not least in his most celebrated allegory of looking, the image of the philosopher's escape from and return to the cave. The pleasure of a citizen's *theôria* is taken for granted in both Xenophon and Plato as part of the social and psychological performance of the viewer.

None the less, one reason why *theôria* is a term Plato needs to appropriate for his philosophical agenda in this way is because of the necessary link between this type of gaze and the act of judging, evaluating, analysing. (Plato's *philotheamôn* is a connoisseur of beauty. Herodotus' Solon travels to learn about the world.) Demosthenes, standing before the court, makes the connection plain (xviii.315): πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἐμαυτοῦ νῦν ἐγὼ κρίνωμαι καὶ θεωρῶμαι; 'Am I to be judged and viewed by the standards of my predecessors?' κρίνεσθαι and θεωρεῖσθαι are made significantly parallel, as the orator portrays himself as the object of the citizens' judgement and the object of the citizens' gaze. Being viewed is being evaluated. Aeschines, however, neatly reverses that

positioning (i.196): νῦν μὲν οὖν ὑμεῖς ἐστε τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων κριταί, αὐτίκα δ' ὑμέτερος ἐγὼ θεατής· ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ὑμετέραις γνώμαις ἡ πρᾶξις καταλείπεται, 'Now you are the judges [*kritai*] of my words; but I shall shortly be your spectator [*theatês*]; for the matter rests on your judgement.' The orator, object of the citizens' evaluation, is to take on the rôle of spectator – judge – as their judgement of the case is set at stake. So, he declares (iii.247), ὡς οὖν μὴ μόνον κρίνοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεωρούμενοι, οὕτω τὴν ψῆφον φέρετε, 'Know that you vote in this way not merely as judges but also as objects of the citizens' gaze.' For the citizens who are not present, he explains, will call them to account for their decision, and this sense of being the object of evaluation should determine their behaviour. Dinarchus (i.22) also suggests that the Greeks will be watching and evaluating (θεωρήσουσιν) the jurors as they decide (κρίνοντας). Meidias in Demosthenes' representation of him (xxi.216) threatens Demosthenes by invoking this power of how the Athenians look and judge their politicians: θεάσονταί σε τί ποιήσεις Ἀθηναῖοι, 'The Athenians will be watching to see what you are going to do.' With an even more vivid sense of the face-to-face pressure of being a juror, the speaker of [Demosthenes] xxv imagines that (98–9) 'the bystanders, the foreigners, the citizens will look (θεωρήσουσιν) at you and will stare at each man as he passes and try to read from his face how he voted.' 'With what demeanour (πρόσωπα), with what expression (ὀφθαλμοῖς) will you look back (ἀντιβλέψεσθε) at each of them?' The reciprocity of the evaluative gaze is powerfully evoked here, as the physical language of looking is repeatedly stressed. Aeschines again sums up this political perception of the judging citizens well (i.117–18):

> ὁρῶ δὲ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν νεωτέρων προσεστηκότας πρὸς τῷ δικαστηρίῳ … οὓς μὴ νομίζετ' ἐμὲ θεωρήσοντας ἥκειν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς εἰσομένους, εἰ μὴ μόνον εὖ νομοθετεῖν ἐπίστασθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ κρίνειν τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ μὴ καλὰ δύνασθε.
>
> I see many of the younger men standing by the court … Do not think they have come to view [*theôrein*] me, but rather to evaluate you, to see if you not only know how to pass good laws, but also can judge [*krinein*] the good from the bad.

As the citizens/jurors judge, so they are being evaluated by the surrounding circle of citizens.[17] As the orator is aware of himself performing in the gaze of the citizens, so he makes the jurors aware that they too act in the public eye. The evaluative gaze of the citizens regulates the courtroom performances.

17 The phenomenon of the bystander is discussed in very general terms by Hunter 1994: 138–9; Cohen 1991: especially 47–55, 64–9, 90–95; and in the strictly legal context, Lanni 1997.

Although the passages I have just cited give a very striking sense of how the orator represents both the orator and the jurors standing before the judging gaze of the citizenry, it is even more common for the orator to enjoin the jurors or the citizens of the Assembly to use their reflective and evaluative power by an appeal to the vocabulary of *theôrein* and *theasthai*. Both verbs are set parallel to ἐξετάζειν, σκοπεῖν, λογίζεσθαι ('scrutinise', 'reflect', 'calculate') to encourage or indicate a process of evaluative judgement: καὶ θεάσασθ' ὡς δικαίως αὐτὸν ἐξετάσω, πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν κρίνων, 'Observe/evaluate how justly I will scrutinise him, judging in comparison with myself' (Dem. xxi.154). πάνυ δ' ἄξιον ἐξετάσαι καὶ θεάσασθαι τὴν ἀπάτην ὅλην, 'it is absolutely worthwhile to scrutinise and evaluate the whole deceit' (Dem. xix. 315). So Aeschines uses the verb *theôrein* absolutely in the sense of 'to evaluate' or 'to recognise the value of': τὸν δ' ἐκ φύσεως προδότην πῶς χρὴ θεωρεῖν; 'How must one recognise the natural traitor?' (ii.165); χρή δέ … τοὺς μὲν πρέσβεις θεωρεῖν πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν καθ' ὃν ἐπρέσβευον. 'One must evaluate delegates according to the crisis for which the delegation was sent' (ii.80); θεωρῶν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου φύσεως, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀνανδρίας, 'he judges Alexander not from Alexander's nature but from his own cowardice' (iii.160).

Hence it is common for an orator to boast how he has looked at and evaluated the evidence (for example, νῦν δὲ θεωρῶν καὶ σκοπῶν εὑρίσκω, 'But as things are, when I observe and reflect I find' (Dem. ii.6) and even more common for an orator to ask his audience to view and evaluate a character in general (θεωρῆσαι τὸν τρόπον τἀνθρώπου, 'Observe the character of the fellow' (Dem. xxiii.154), a specific trait (θεάσασθε τὴν κακοήθειαν, 'Observe his corrupt nature' (Dem. xxi.86); ἀσέλγειαν (liv.3); ὑπερβολήν (lvi.40); δεινότης (xviii.144), etc.). In each case, the citizen is being asked to play the rôle of the evaluating, judging spectator – the democratic citizen, who shares a moral framework with the orator and acts within such a frame. Even when the injunction to see/evaluate is being used in its apparently weakest form – 'to observe a train of argument', 'to see how a case is developing' – I would suggest that such vocabulary still echoes with the normative force of a democratic ideal. Indeed, the only example in the orators that I have found which may suggest in a contrary fashion a passive failure to act – to be a mere spectator – is Dem. ix.33, where Demosthenes is attacking the Greeks for not standing up to Philip's advances – for making bad decisions: ἀλλ' ὅμως ταῦθ' ὁρῶντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀνέχονται, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ τὴν χάλαζαν ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσιν θεωρεῖν, εὐχόμενοι μὴ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἕκαστοι γενέσθαι, κωλύειν δ' οὐδεὶς ἐπιχειρῶν, 'Even when they saw this, the Greeks held back; they seem to me to be just like

men watching [*theôrein*] a hailstorm, each praying it wouldn't happen to them, but no one lifting a hand to stop it.' Even here there is a vestigial sense of a failure of judgement, as both the tenor of the whole speech and the specific picking up of ὁρῶντες, 'when they saw', may indicate.

This general sense of evaluative judgement within a political and cultural frame leads to Plato's influential and extensive adoption of the language of *theôria* and *thea* – and hence the language of 'theory'. I wish to conclude this selective survey, however, with three key passages on the active rôle of spectating. The first is a brief but telling remark from Demosthenes, who is scornfully contrasting Aeschines' political life with his own. He offers a series of doublets, each of which emphasises how he, Demosthenes, was a good, active, proper citizen, and how Aeschines was a less good, inactive, subordinate, improper citizen (xviii.265): 'You did the initiation, I was initiated; you were the clerk, I participated in the assembly. You were the third actor, but *I* was in the audience' – ἐτριταγωνίστεις, ἐγὼ δ' ἐθεώρουν. This is a remarkably clear example of how participation in the audience can be regarded within democratic rhetoric as an active, positive citizen's performance – parallel to participating in the Assembly. To be a *theôros* here is privileged as the proper citizen's rôle. When Milton imitates the passage, he gives a different sense of spectating – from his different ideological framework: 'There while they acted and overacted, among other young scholars I was a spectator: they thought themselves gallant men, and I thought them fools; they made sport, I laughed; they mispronounced, and I misliked; and, to make up the Atticism, they were out, and I hissed' (*Apology for Smectymnus* 221). The modern notion of the disengagement of a spectator contrasts strikingly with Demosthenes' portrayal of his active rôle.

The second passage is from Thucydides, where he is representing the figure who for him embodies the dangers of the democratic arenas of decision-making, Cleon. It is an extremely intricate passage, which also needs to be carefully placed in its narrative context. For Cleon is berating the Athenians for becoming mere spectators of speech-making instead of acting in a proper, judging fashion – an accusation that is ironised by the fact that Cleon is attempting precisely to persuade the Athenians not to change their mind over the previous day's murderous decision to destroy Mytilene. This famous passage (iii.38) is too long to quote in full here, but what is important for my argument is that Cleon first constructs a full picture of the passive, unengaged, self-serving, slavish audience (a fine rhetorical attack). The Athenians have accustomed themselves to becoming *theatai tôn logôn*, 'spectators of speeches', he claims, and mere auditors of (others') action. Indeed, they no longer rely on their own sight (*opsis*) to judge events, but rather use some clever speaker's ideas. A desire for novelty has made them slaves of the bizarre and 'overlookers'

(*huperoptai*) of the usual'. Victims of pleasure, they are like 'spectators of sophists', *sophistôn theatais*. This image of a corrupt citizenry, failing in their duty as *theatai*, is contrasted with those who properly 'deliberate on behalf of the city', περὶ πόλεως βουλευομένοις. Here in Thucydides' sophisticated and cynical portrait of a demagogue in action, we find the counter-image to set against the picture of the evaluating, judging citizen that was so evident in the orators. Even in this rhetorical tirade, however, the democratic ideal of the 'parliament discussing matters of state'[18] is the constant implicit, and, finally, explicit ideal.

My third example is taken from Gorgias' *Encomium of Helen*. His fourth defence of Helen's adultery is that she could not have resisted *eros*, and his argument depends on an extensive discussion (DK 82B15–19) of the working of vision, which, as with his arguments on *logos*, proposes an extreme passivity of the (viewing) subject (see Wardy 1996). A person has no control over what is seen and how it effects his/her soul. The powerful emotions that come from a terrifying sight overwhelm the soul. And thus (finally) Helen, when she saw Paris, had no chance and cannot be blamed. As with the passage of the *Republic* quoted above, language and vision, words and sight, are inevitably made parallel. And with both *logos* and *opsis*, the arch-sophist Gorgias polemically challenges contemporary debate with his extreme position and playful exploitation of paradox. If democracy depends on speech-making (a πολιτεία τῶν λόγων, as Demosthenes put it) and on the ability of each citizen to judge, evaluate, scrutinise from the audience in order to make an informed decision, Gorgias threatens the whole logic of democratic subjectivity by asserting that the citizen is the victim, the passive experiencer of words and sights, and not the active regulating citizen of democratic ideology. Thucydides, Gorgias and Plato each shows an intellectual engagement with the subject of democracy, and in their different ways offer polemical challenges to the idealisation of the democratic citizen.

III

It is within such a frame of the evaluating – and contested – gaze of the citizens that I wish to place the *theatron*, the place for looking. As a political site, it allows for the *lamprotês* of the *chorêgos* to be displayed before the largest collection of citizens in the calendar[19] and becomes thus a charged site for political performances, as Demosthenes and Aeschines frequently attested.[20] Within the culture of spectacle, it offers special democratic processions and events, and a special architecture. But above

18 Rex Warner's translation of Thucydides (1954: 182).
19 On *lamprotês*, see Wilson (forthcoming).
20 See, for example, the fine discussion of Wilson 1991.

all, it displays argument after argument, example after example, *agôn* after *agôn*, to the evaluating audience's gaze: as Lycurgus puts it with customary rhetorical flourish (100) Euripides ἡγούμενος κάλλιστον ἂν γενέσθαι τοῖς πολίταις παράδειγμα τὰς ἐκείνων πράξεις, πρὸς ἃς ἀποβλέποντας καὶ θεωροῦντας συνεθίζεσθαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς τὸ τὴν πατρίδα φιλεῖν, Euripides 'considered that those men's actions would be the finest example for the citizens, actions which they could look at and evaluate by observing and thus accustom their souls to love their country'. By being a spectator watching a tragedy, claims the orator, a citizen is educated into patriotism.

What is more, tragedy repeatedly discusses this process of that evaluation, and points again and again to the activity of looking. In its most direct form, Sophocles, for example, loves to have his characters to look – or not to look – at a character centre-stage: ἰδού, θεᾶσθε πάντες ἄθλιον δέμας, ὁρᾶτε, screams Heracles in the *Trachiniae* (1079–80): 'look, gaze everyone at my wretched body, see'. 'Terrible to see', sing the chorus of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* of the blinded hero, Oedipus, 'I can't look, but I want to gaze at you much' (*OT* 1303–5). Euripides often plays with notions of illusion and reality in ways that echo the contemporary intellectual projects of the sophists, notably in the *Helen*, say, or in the *Bacchae* with the palace miracle scene, and with Pentheus dressed up to be a transgressive *theatês* of the women's religious rites on the mountain. Tragedy, as it encourages reflection on the business of how words work in a political or social setting, so too is concerned to explore the activity of looking.[21]

It is interesting to note therefore that, on the basis of the extant evidence at least, it would seem that as we move through the fifth century with its development of imperialist democracy on the one hand and of sophistic optics on the other, tragedy appears to become more and more interested in the visual conditions of performance. *Theama*, *theôrein*, *theatês* and their cognates occur regularly in Sophocles and Euripides, but are very rare and in a different sense in Aeschylus. In the *Choephori* (246) Zeus is instructed to prove himself a *theôros* of events, which seems to mean to be a divine over-seer, an expression with religious connotations in this trilogy (see Garvie 1970: 81 and 89, n. 8). (It is an expression which may perhaps echo Archilochus, where the same prayer occurs.)[22] Otherwise, the terms are hard to find, especially applied to the construction of a space of spectacle – with one notable exception: the *Prometheus Vinctus* – which uses such terms a dozen times or more, with precisely the sense of a reciprocal, spectacular gazing that we have seen elsewhere. Since the

21 The best discussion of this is Zeitlin 1994.

22 See the discussion of Garvie 1986: *ad* 246 – whose suspicion I share.

final draft of the *Prometheus Vinctus*, however, is probably to be dated later than Aeschylus' death, this 'exception' might well support the tentative suggestion of an increasing focus on visuality as the century progresses.

The space of action which I have called 'in the gaze of the citizens' constitutes a special sort of public life with special kinds of performance for the democratic viewing subject. Theatre has been called the schoolroom of democracy, and I would like to suggest that the place for viewing was in part an education in how to be a *theatês*. It is in this way, I maintain, that theatre has one important (political) place in the history of the visual.

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Part IV

READING (AND) THE IMAGE

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10

SOCIAL STRUCTURE, CULTURAL RATIONALISATION AND AESTHETIC JUDGEMENT IN CLASSICAL GREECE

Jeremy Tanner

I
WORDS AND IMAGES

THIS CHAPTER EXPLORES THE rôle that words played in the construction of aesthetic experience in classical Greece. I argue that the contemporary focus of historians of classical art on parallelisms between word and image should be replaced by a consideration of words as one functionally specific component – in this particular case the mediators of a set of 'evaluative standards' – in material processes of aesthetic expression which have their foundations in the body, embodied social practices, and social structure.

The traditional view of classical art suggests that in the fifth and fourth centuries BC art emerged as an autonomous domain of specifically aesthetic values, 'freed from the tutelage of religion and the state' (Metzler 1971: 62). Artworks are interpreted as statements of aesthetic philosophy, and any art-critical terms that we can recover from ancient Greeks' writings are privileged as explaining the 'intrinsic meaning' of Greek art (Pollitt 1974: 25). In recent interpretations of Polykleitan sculpture, much is made of homologies between statuary and intellectual discourse. One strand of such arguments develops the traditional view of Polykleitos as aesthetic–philosopher. Meyer (1995: 87) argues that 'the untenable equilibrium of the Doryphoros [Figure 10.1] makes visible the cosmic harmony in which the human being (in Herakleitos' thinking

The ideas in this chapter owe their origins to the stimulus of a discussion with Zhang Xuan, at the Old Summer Palace in Beijing, concerning the nature and significance of the scientific and mathematical components in the formation of classical Greek artistic style, and the rather different foundations of style in imperial China. I am also grateful to the participants in the Leventis Conference for the interesting questions and conversation, and to Jas Elsner and Peter Stewart for comments which have materially improved the final version of this chapter.

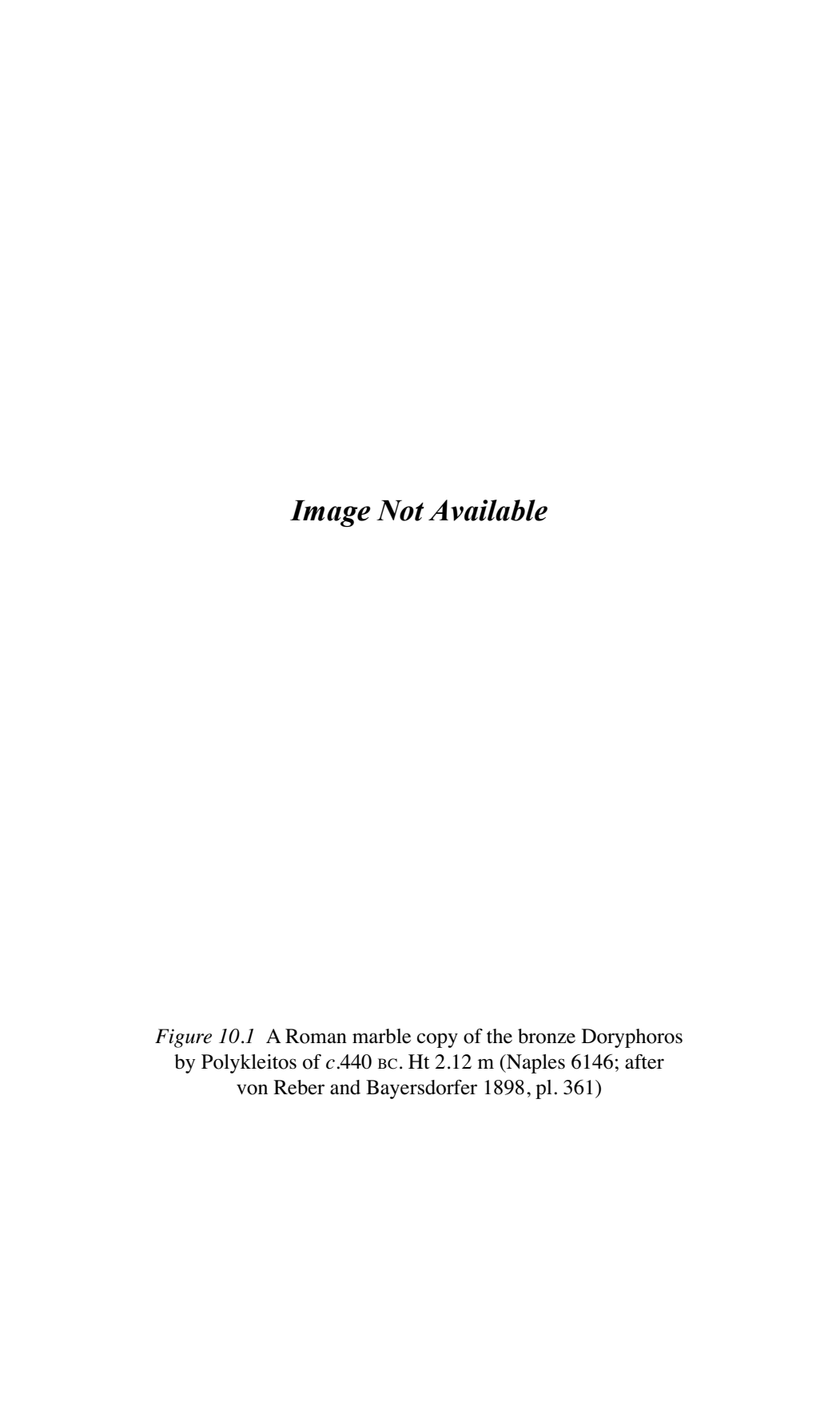

Figure 10.1 A Roman marble copy of the bronze Doryphoros by Polykleitos of *c*.440 BC. Ht 2.12 m (Naples 6146; after von Reber and Bayersdorfer 1898, pl. 361)

the *oppositum coincidens* of the gods) partakes.' According to Pollitt (1995: 22), 'works like the Doryphoros were vehicles through which one could contemplate, like a Pythagorean philosopher … the perfect number, *to eu*, of man.'[1] Others have drawn attention to the parallels between the art of Polykleitos and the medical writings of the Hippokratics. Leftwich (1995: 46) performs a 'gait analysis' on the Doryphoros, arguing that the use of binary opposition in the elaborate chiastic structure of the Doryphoros 'is completely consonant with the formulations of Hippokratic medicine' (Leftwich 1995: 38), also preoccupied with such binary oppositions. The Doryphoros, like a Hippokratic treatise, is a 'scientific and analytical' work, which 'visualises the underlying principles necessary to any human movement through a system of binary oppositions'. Leftwich guides the reader through a painfully detailed account of Polykleitos' 'anatomy lesson', somewhat in the tradition of Richter's *kouroi*:

> the quadriceps are differentiated above the knee … One can distinguish two of the muscles, the vastus lateralis and the vastus medialis, immediately above the patella (knee cap). The proper left muscles are passively elongated by the flexion of the leg … The left foot is everted at the ankle … The left peroneal muscles on the lateral surface of the lower leg contract in the eversion of the foot.[2]

Such medical and aesthetic/philosophical readings over-intellectualise the process of interpretation, effectively conflating visual art with philosophy. Whilst the careful anatomical analysis of Leftwich is a perfectly legitimate exercise – and does indeed tell us much about the extent of Polykleitos' anatomical knowledge – it tells us little about what Polykleitan statues, and their sculptural successors, may have meant to most classical Greek viewers, who were no more able to distinguish the biceps

1 Hurwit 1995: 11 suggests that the early classical sculptor Pythagoras, whom Pliny reports to have been concerned with questions of *symmetria* and *rhythmos*, 'may have tried to embody in his bronzes certain Pythagorean philosophical principles concerning harmony and mathematically expressible proportion'. He then (12) draws parallels between Polykleitan *chiasmos* and Pythagorean interest in paired opposites, before concluding that the four-square characteristics of the Doryphoros fit very well with the Pythagorean conception of *aretê* as 'a "four-square" harmony … quadratic and blocklike'. The danger of such simplistic juxtaposition of philosophical texts and visual form is indicated by the fact that exactly the same texts can be used, and have been by Hurwit himself (1985: 199), to account for the visual appearance of *kouroi*. Cf. also Tobin 1975: 313: 'His choice of that form is an aesthetic one, and the aesthetic upon which he bases his choice is itself grounded in the current metaphysic of beauty that holds the human body, like all things in the cosmos, to be subject to and expressive of a thoroughly geometric view of the world … Visual beauty is an expression of number.'

2 See Tobin 1995 for a similar medical reading of the Doryphoros. For an explanation of the development of naturalism in fifth-century Greek art in medical terms, see Metraux 1995.

Figure 10.2 Parthenon, South frieze XXV.62-3, *c*.442–438 BC. Ht 1.06 m (London, British Museum; photo: Museum)

femoris from the gastrocnemius, let alone say whether their relationship was correctly represented, than most of us. Only a minute fraction of the population of any Greek city, even an intellectual centre like Athens, could have had the kinds of intellectual interest and the text-centred education presupposed by these philosophical and medical readings of Greek statues. Only in the fourth century did the institutionalisation of the philosophical and rhetorical schools even begin to erode the dominance of oral culture and traditional *paideia*, which was still in the second quarter of the fourth century taken for granted as the primary framework for education by Plato in his *Republic* (Robb 1994: 204ff). Philosophical and medical readings privilege the artist as producer at the expense of any consideration of the expectations of, or categories available to, most contemporary viewers, or of bases of response, for example bodily or behavioural bases, different from the intellectualism of aesthetic philosophy.

Perhaps most importantly, such readings are simply inadequate to the specificity of the visual forms of the sculptures themselves. If Pythagorean numerology can be used, as it is by Hurwit, for example (cf. n. 1), to explain both the appearance of *kouroi* and that of the Doryphoros, it

Figure 10.3 Attic funerary *stêlê* of Chairedemos and Lykeas, from Salamis, *c*.410 BC. Ht 1.81 m (Piraeus Museum; after Diepolder 1931, pl. 16)

seems a somewhat blunt analytical tool. The intellectual points supposedly being asserted by Polykleitos' Doryphoros hardly require repetition once made, yet the Doryphoran type is recycled not only on the Parthenon frieze, but also in fifth- and fourth-century funerary reliefs (Figures 10.2–10.4).[3] Lastly, the visual form of Polykleitan statues is necessarily underdetermined by the rules of the canon, which was a design tool, not an expressive end in itself (Gordon and Cunningham 1962). The canonical body designed by Polykleitos could be adjusted to a variety of different poses, as we see in the Doryphoros, the Diadoumenos, the 'Westmacott

3 For example, Parthenon frieze: Fehr 1979: 36 and figs 10–11; stele of two warriors, Pushkin Museum, Moscow iv. F-1601: Clairmont 1993: ii.354; Ridgway 1997: pl. 33.

Figure 10.4 Marble funerary lekythos, *c*.410 BC. Ht 2.12 m (Athens NM 835; photo: author)

ephebe' and so on (Figures 10.5–10.6).[4] Polykleitan design techniques, and the kinds of differences that can be marked through his analysis of movement and chiastic compositions, are the material substratum of meaning. Although they set limits, they do not determine the final form of a statue, let alone its 'meaning', or the responses of viewers to that form. Whilst the rules of the canon generated outcomes which in their broad parameters bear obvious family likenesses, the particular pose and pattern of movement displayed by a sculpted figure was left open by the canon. How then were these particular choices of form selected, and on what basis were they evaluated and responded to, if not in the art-philosophical or medical modes favoured in recent writing?

4 It is in any case not entirely clear that the Doryphoros is the Canon. Pliny *NH* xxxiv.55 apparently thought those were two separate statues. Even if the Doryphoros was the first statue in which the Polykleitan canon was exemplified, the canon itself was the underlying design technique for constructing the human body, not a particular concrete visual image of 'man'.

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Figure 10.5 A Roman marble copy of the bronze Diadoumenos by Polykleitos of *c*.450–420 BC. Ht 1.49 m (London, British Museum GR 1870.7-12.1; photo: Museum)

II
INSTITUTIONAL SETTINGS AND VOCABULARIES OF ART EVALUATION

In developing an answer to this question, I wish to extend Burkhard Fehr's iconographic readings of patterns of muscular effort and movement in particular statues (Fehr 1979) by exploring the institutional contexts within which statues were commissioned, evaluated on completion, and consumed. I aim to show how these patterns of reading, and the vocabulary evoked in the evaluation of images, are grounded in the social structure of the Greek *polis* and the life-exigencies of its citizenry. Unlike Fehr, my concern is less with what any particular statue or sculpted body 'means' than with the institutional frameworks and cultural horizons of reception, evaluation and response, and their existential groundings. My argument will be that the vocabularies deployed in the evaluation of

Figure 10.6 'Westmacott ephebe': a Roman marble copy of a bronze original by Polykleitos of *c*.450–420 BC. Ht 1.49 m (London, British Museum 1754; photo: Museum)

art were mutually transposable with those learned in contexts of military and athletic socialisation and deployed thereafter in military and civic settings. Similarly the capacity for and structure of aesthetic response was grounded in the sensuous experiences undergone by the body in these socialisation processes. This generated a specific disposition for aesthetic-expressive response, in which behavioural rather than verbal schemata played the dominant rôle. The rationalisation of bodily form, accomplished most prominently by Polykleitos amongst other classical sculptors, was designed to gear with this specific sensibility in generating affective attachment to a certain mode of valuing one's own body, as a resource for the city, and also prestige for those who most adequately embodied that disposition, as manifested in the services they had performed for the state. No detour through contemporary philosophy is required in order to understand the meanings, or – perhaps better – the

'expressive effects', being generated when viewers engaged with such imagery.

The institutional contexts in which the representational choices made by artists in such major media as sculpture or wall-painting were evaluated and sanctioned were either directly or at one remove political, as were the criteria of evaluation. Decisions about the particular iconographic forms to be used – in honorific portraits (Tanner 1992) or in the competition to determine which pattern should be used in order to weave the Gigantomachy on the peplos offered to Athena at the Panathenaic festival (*Ath. Pol.* 49) – were made by the assembly, the *boulê* or a commission set up to be representative of the *dêmos*, the sovereign body in classical Athens. If certain elements of a painting's iconography or composition were left to the artist's discretion, this work was still subject to political scrutiny and sanctions if the artist's choices injured the politically formed aesthetic sensibilities of viewers. Mikon was commissioned to produce a history painting showing the Greeks fighting against the Persians. His technically innovative attempt at perspective representation had the effect of making the Greeks, in the background, appear smaller than their Persian opponents in the foreground, thus assimilating the Greeks to subordinate figures like slaves according to the still dominant 'symbolic' rather than 'naturalistic' or perspectival conventions of viewing. For this offence he was fined (Harpocration s.v. *Mikon*).

These processes of evaluation, however, did not function in a mechanical way. They involved discourse and discussion. Mikon presumably tried to explain what he had been trying to do in painting his figures in this way, whilst other speakers criticised his painting and proposed that he be punished for its shortcomings. We can imagine Mikon drawing upon precisely the kind of theoretical claims that later become elaborated in the writings of artists like Polykleitos and his successors in the fourth century, in order to try to explain to the commissioners of his work the particular choices he had made, within the broad framework they had set. We should envisage comparable discussions taking place when submissions in competitions for the design of major wall-painting or a statue were evaluated, and of course when the completed image was displayed.[5] The development of *contrapposto* in the Greek revolution considerably complicated

5 We get occasional glimpses of the process whereby works were commissioned, designs solicited and evaluated, and projects then realised through epigraphic testimony, such as *IG* i^3 64 (with Coulton 1983: 458 and Mark 1993: 108–10) – a decree calling for the submission of designs for the door of the temple of Athena Nike, submissions to be no larger than a cubit high, possibly either details of the ornamentation or a drawing of the whole at less than full size. These civic frameworks remained in place as long as the classical city continued to exist, alongside the additional frameworks of royal and imperial patronage in later periods – see, for example, Squarciapino 1943: doc. 1: the *boulê* and *dêmos* judge a competition for the best statue

the degree and level of choices made by artists in composing representations of the human body. Whether in competition between different designs at an early stage in a project, or in evaluation of a completed project, such choices required justification by the artist in public arenas of discourse. Artists, like other *technitai* such as doctors, were expected to be able to explicate and justify the particular differential choices they made in executing their work (Xen. *Mem*. iv.2). The Roman architect Vitruvius (iii pref. 1) claims that an architect needed eloquence in order to secure respect proportionate to his real achievements. This was also doubtless true of artists in classical Greece, as it was demonstrably of other practitioners of rationalising *technai* like doctors, who, in the absence of the systems of professional certification which we take for granted today, were faced 'with a continual need' to demonstrate their qualities as physicians, to explain to patient and onlookers why one particular course of treatment was to be pursued rather than another often being advocated on the spot by a competitor (Edelstein 1969: 87ff, 100ff).[6] The contexts in which commissioning, discussion and evaluation of works of art took place, however, were not to the same degree structurally differentiated or autonomous from the state as those in which scientific and philosophical discussion took place – quite contrary to the eighteenth-century model of a liberal public sphere which is tacitly assumed by most classical art-historians.[7] As Mikon's fate suggests, moreover, the technical artistic criteria elaborated within rationalising craft-traditions were by no means always congruent with those of the persons on the board commissioning a work of art, or approving it on completion. What criteria of aesthetic judgement were they using, what kind of vocabulary was it articulated through, and in what was this pattern of discourse grounded? Where did the citizen who sat in the assembly and *boulê*, or who was selected to sit

at/of a particular five-yearly religious festival. My attempt to envisage the kinds discussion involved in the formulation of a project between commissioner and executing artist was stimulated by Gros' superb discussion of the social and cultural construction of the architect's brief in Augustan provincial architectural commissions (Gros 1983b). For the emphasis on contexts of communication, see Lloyd 1990.

6 Cf. Lloyd 1987: 97–101 suggesting that the dressing for success of Empedocles and Gorgias, wearing the purple robes of rhapsodes, might have been designed to gain and hold attention, as also may be true of the similar dress-style of the painters Zeuxis and Parrhasios.

7 Most explicitly in the work of Hölscher 1974: 106: 'Visual art was conceived increasingly as a discipline *sui generis* with its own specific problems and possibilities. In contrast to the traditional apprehension of art and its function in the life of the community, there began to develop a public of cultivated experts who discussed questions of Art.' Metraux's consideration of the parallels between artists' writing practices and those of physicians (Metraux 1995) is vitiated by his failure to recognise how different was the articulation of art and medicine within the broader social structure of the *polis*, consequently how different the contexts in which such discourses circulated.

on a board commissioning and supervising the execution of a work of art, learn 'how to judge correctly', as Aristotle puts it (*Pol*. 1339b)?

One of the problems of reading early Greek scientific and medical texts is that their ideology and vocabulary exists at various degrees of remove from popular or 'folk' conceptions, depending on the extent of the processes of cultural rationalisation that the new 'scientific' discourses and modes of communication set in train. Often philosophical or medical concepts are elaborations or refinements of concepts whose original field of reference was political and which continued to function within contexts of political discourse with their original meaning. The originally political concept of *isonomia* (equality before the law), for example, was elaborated in medical contexts as a way of discussing the proper balance between the functional components of the body (Raven 1951; Vegetti 1983). Many of the concepts that modern art-historians use to attach classical statuary to a philosophical and scientific domain were also used in antiquity in more sociologically embedded political contexts. These are not always so immediately accessible to us, since written texts did not play the same rôle in these contexts as in the emergent realms of science and philosophy. In these contexts, moreover, they may have had rather different significance, being embedded in practices and forms of life very different from those being developed in philosophical circles. The preoccupation with symmetry and order in Polykleitos' canon may be 'consonant' (Leftwich 1995: 38) with Hippokratic writings not so much because Polykleitos' canon was influenced by Hippokratic thought – or because Polykleitos expected his viewers to bring the concepts and preoccupations of Hippokratic writing to his statues – as because Hippokratic thought elaborated much more widely held conceptions and preoccupations of Greek viewers to which Polykleitos' sculpture was adapted. It is not the distinctive medical meanings of these concepts – shared only by specialists – which might help us understand how contemporary viewers responded to Polykleitan bodies, but their broader social and political meanings and the patterns of social experience which they articulated. In a sense we need to read backward rather than, as we normally do as classicists, reading forward and seeing everywhere anticipations of the origins of cultural practices and institutions fundamental to later western history.

III
CIVIC *PAIDEIA* AND BODILY BEAUTY: THE SOCIAL AND BEHAVIOURAL BASES OF AESTHETIC JUDGEMENT

Recent work on 'male beauty contests' in the classical Greek world suggests one possible source of experience which could be transposed

into artistic evaluation, and also some of the cultural and social parameters which shaped such patterns of evaluation.[8] Whilst our knowledge of these competitions is extremely fragmentary, a composite picture can be built up on the basis of epigraphic evidence and occasional literary references, to give us some sense of what kind of institution these beauty contests represented, and how they worked (Crowther 1985; 1991; Reed 1987). Many cities, including Athens, organised beauty contests as part of the regular cycle of competitive athletic events which might be held at religious festivals. The most common titles for such competitions are *euandria*, *euexia* and *eutaxia*. Such competitions were often team events, contested by the tribes or *phulai* into which the citizenry were divided for purposes of military organisation. Similar kinds of arrangement seem to have been put in place to those used for judging other civic performances, or indeed for supervising and evaluating artistic commissions, namely a panel chosen by lot (like the members of the *boulê* or a court jury) and hence representative of the *dêmos* (*SEG* 27 (1977) no. 261.45ff (Beroea, second century BC); Crowther 1991: 289). Much of the recent debate has been concerned with whether such competitions were really displays of military prowess, like the *euoplia*, or whether they were really proper beauty contests.[9] This seems misplaced. In Greek culture, art, athletics and military training flowed freely one into the other. It was a commonplace that athletic competition had as its goal military fitness (Plu. *Mor*. 639e; Lucian *Anacharsis*; Xen. *Mem*. iii.12.15; Plat. *Rep*. iii.404; Pritchett 1974: 213). Dancing might involve rhythmic movement and *cheironomia* (controlled movement of the hands), in order to enhance agility and dexterity with weapons (Pritchett 1974: 213; Athen. xiv.628f; Xen. *Anab*. vi.2.11; Polyb. iv.20.12; Plat. *Laws* vii.814). Dances with armour and weapons not only enhanced levels of strength, but also *eutaxia* in the

8 Cf. Spivey 1996: 38–43 asking 'what if the caliper-led criteria used by judges of the euandria and other beauty contests directly influenced the commemorative presentation of the male nude in Classical sculpture?', followed by a suggestive but rather vague analysis, omitting the mediation of the social frameworks of patronage and evaluation. Spivey conflates the rationalised technology of design, used by Polykleitos in order to produce statues which could adequately represent these values, with the practical sense of the body of contemporary viewers, which was not of course grounded in mathematics and measurement, but in a particular relationship to the body generated by the military and athletic training of the hoplite. There was nothing theoretical or mathematical, 'caliper-led', about viewing or the criteria for evaluation.

9 Crowther 1985: 288 argues, against Jacoby's earlier account of these contests (which stressed the strictly military character of these displays, and argued that the question of beauty was merely 'incidental'), that the *euandria* should be sharply distinguished from the *euoplia* and *eutaxia*. Reed 1987: 59 makes the perverse suggestion that one should perhaps still entertain the notion that the *euandria* was a beauty contest not a military event, despite the fact that one of the prizes was a shield, since the shields were perhaps intended as reflective objects in which the winners could 'admire themselves'.

battle-line and when the battle-line is disrupted at the turning point of a battle (Plat. *Laches* 182). The *euschêmosunê* – beauty of bodily form (*schêma*) – which such exercise generates is at once a sign of military preparedness and an aesthetic phenomenon which draws the gaze of viewers sensitised by their own experiences and bodily training, evoking the admiration and pleasure of those who behold it. Xenophon (*Hell*. iii.4.16) describes Ephesos, filled with the soldiers of Agesilaos training for competitions in *aristeia* of the body, as 'a sight worth seeing'. Plutarch (*Mor*. 788a) tells how the Arcadians 'admire and gaze' at the Thebans as they 'perform their military exercises and wrestle (*pros ta hopla gumnazomenous kai palaiontas*)', whilst quartered in Arcadia over the winter (cf. Pritchett 1974: 220–1).

The classical Greek sense of beauty and formation of the body in athletic and military training are internally related. According to Aristotle (*Rhet*. 1361b):

> Beauty varies with each age. In a young man, it consists in having a body capable of enduring all efforts, either of the racecourse or of bodily strength, whilst he himself is pleasant to look on and a sheer delight. This is why the athletes in the pentathlon are most beautiful, because they are naturally adapted for bodily exertion and for swiftness of foot. In a man who has reached his prime, beauty consists in being naturally adapted for the toils of war, in being pleasant to look upon and at the same time awe-inspiring.

The *eumorphia* of the ephebe Autolykos, a prize winner in the Panathenaic games, which arouses the desire of his admirer Kallias in Xenophon's *Symposion*, is characterised in terms of strength (*rhômê*), endurance (*karteria*) and manliness (*andreia*).[10] It is only in this political and military context that the perhaps somewhat over-sexed viewings of male nudity in recent writings on Greek art begin to make sense: erotic desirability is a function of the perceived potential of a youth to fulfil in an exemplary way the rôle of hoplite–hero and hence to occupy other positions of leadership within the city. The pederastic relationship was designed to realise the development of that civic ideal through the mutually affective investment of the younger and the older man.

Athletic and military displays by mature men were merely the culmination of a programme of education and training through which young Athenian citizen males were socialised into a normative relationship to their body. In school, teachers were concerned with *eukosmia* of their pupils, ensuring that they conducted themselves in a manner which was both *eurhythmos* and *euarmostos* (Plat. *Prot*. 326b). Ephebes participated

10 Xen. *Sym*. viii.6ff. These were the same qualities which the Greeks, and above all the Athenians, had claimed as their defining characteristic since the Persian Wars and Marathon, manifested in the famous armed run at Marathon (Fehr 1979: 29).

in armed dances (naked but for spear and shield), torch races, and athletic training in the *gymnasion* which prepared them for military service (Fisher 1998). This disciplining of the body was grounded in the political reality that the security and autonomy of any Greek state was directly dependent on the capacity of its citizen–hoplites to defend their territory against all comers, and a corresponding value-system in which primacy was laid upon each citizen's obligations to the state. The citizen's body belonged to the state. As the Corinthian ambassadors tell the Spartans, shortly before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war: the Athenians 'use their bodies in the service of the city as if they were the bodies of quite other men … to accomplish anything on her behalf' (Thuc. i.70).[11]

Such training, the traditional *paideia* of the Greek citizen–hoplite, shaped an entire bodily *hexis*, and with it a disposition to classify and respond to bodies in terms of a common vocabulary and shared value-system. The very high degree of institutional integration of art and politics, along with the *practical sensibility* engendered by such patterns of athletic training, predisposed viewers to blur the distinctions between responding to and evaluating the body of an athlete, hoplite or fellow-citizen, and the body of a statue of an athlete or hoplite, set up in civic space to celebrate and memorialise a particular individual's exemplary embodiment of civic virtue.[12] The same evaluative language as was

11 Cf. Thuc. ii.40: 'In sum, I declare that our whole city is an education to Greece, and that I think each of our citizens can adapt his body to all life's manifold aspects with exceptional grace and versatility and complete self-sufficiency too'; Stewart 1997: 80–5.

12 The immediate transferral of such vocabulary to works of art might seem inappropriate, a typical form of sociological reductionism; after all, a human body is not a work of art. Such criticism, however, presupposes the differentiated art and critical institutions that are characteristic of the modern world. Greek art was embedded in the institutions of the *polis*, and in practice we find exactly this conflation between judging bodies and judging works of art being made by Greek writers. Aristotle, for example, comments (not entirely favourably) on the introduction of drawing into school curricula, that 'drawing also seems to be useful in making us better judges of the works of *technitai* – δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ γραφικὴ χρήσιμος εἶναι πρὸς τὸ κρίνειν τὰ τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἔργα κάλλιον (*Pol*. 1338a13–24). On the following page, he elaborates the meaning of this practical use of an education in drawing in order to 'judge the works of *technitai*' in a contrast with an orientation to drawing more appropriate to free men (*Pol*. 1338a41–b4): 'and similarly they should study drawing *not* in order that they may not go wrong in their private purchases and may avoid being cheated in buying and selling furniture, but rather because this study makes a man observant of bodily beauty; and to seek for utility (τὸ χρήσιμον) everywhere is entirely unsuited to men that are great-souled and free (τοῖς μεγαλοψύχοις καὶ τοῖς ἐλευθερίοις)'. This makes perfect sense in an institutional context when portrait-statues were set up as rewards for citizens who had shown themselves as pre-eminent embodiments of civic virtue by their services towards the *dêmos* of Athens, and where the vocabulary of criticism and structure of response is not a specialised theoretical one of 'circles of cultivated art-lovers', but a practical sense shared by all citizens by virtue of a common educational experience.

applied to patterns of orderly movement in war – *kosmiotês*, *eutaxia* – could be used to describe the orderly, self-controlled movement of well-brought up youths or model citizens (Ar. *Clouds* 961–5) and statues like Polykleitos' Doryphoros, with its orderly composition of a complex pattern of movement.[13] The same aesthetic vocabulary as might be used to describe the visual impact of a bronze statue, glistening with the polish of the oil periodically used to cleanse it, might equally be used to describe the ideal body of the athlete–warrior, 'chest *liparos* (literally 'sleek', 'fat', 'oily' or 'greasy' in a positive sense, hence 'shiny') and skin *lampros* ('gleaming', 'shining', 'reflective of light')'.[14]

This is the institutional background to the well-known passages of Xenophon, Plato and Aristotle suggesting that the specifics of character can be read not only from the features of the face, but also from the *schêmata* of the body, at rest and in movement (Xen. *Mem*. iii.10.5; Plat. *Laws* ii.655; Arist. *Pol*. 1340a). It also underlies their preoccupation with learning and becoming 'habituated' to 'enjoy and judge rightly' all kinds of mimetic representations from music and choric performances to sculptures and paintings (Arist. *Pol*. 1339b; Plat. *Laws* ii.656). Mimetic form 'reaches into' and forms *êthos* (character), and viewers inevitably 'become assimilated to' (*homoiousthai*) the patterns of action embodied in mimetic postures in which they take pleasure (Plat. ibid.). Both art-historians and philosophers have drawn on such texts in order to reconstruct some kind of systematic Greek, Platonic or Aristotelian aesthetic theory, valorising the aesthetic as an autonomous domain with its own constitutive values (Osborne 1987; Keuls 1978; Rouveret 1989). This, however, misses the point. First, both Aristotle's and Plato's 'aesthetics' are embedded in treatises on political and ethical theory. Second, if we wish to use Aristotle and Plato to reconstruct 'the ancient view of Greek art' (Pollitt 1974), we need to bear in mind that their whole intellectual project is designed to abstract and make self-conscious – as objects of reflection and rational-theoretical intellectual control – moral codes and patterns of action that were tacit, rooted in bodily habits and embedded in social and institutional life. They are processing and handling these concepts using techniques (literacy, writing, philosophical dialectic) and in contexts of communication quite different from the ways in which they might have been used by most ordinary viewers in classical Greece. It is

13 Cf. Fehr 1979: 20–1 with references, esp. for the suggestion that *kosmiotês* might involve the harmonisation of the speed, scope and strength of the movement of each element of the body in their mutual relations to each other.

14 Ar. *Clouds* 936ff, describing the Marathonomachai; for the anointing of statues with oil, *Clouds* 1523. Bronze also evoked the suntan of the farmer–hoplite–athlete who enjoyed a liberal life-style in the outdoors: Fehr 1979: 124, n. 513, with refs; Steiner 1998: 133.

Figure 10.7 Attic red-figure column-krater by the Florence Painter, *c*.450 BC (Florence, Archaeological Museum 3997; after Pfuhl 1923: fig. 48)

to the question of how, and in what contexts, these evaluative categories may have been used in practice by most ordinary Greeks, and with what social and psychological entailments, that I now wish to turn.

IV
THE SOCIAL USES OF AESTHETIC JUDGEMENT

It is perhaps easiest to see how such evaluative vocabularies might be deployed – and the processes by which viewers assimilated themselves to and identified with, or conversely became habituated to recoil from, certain patterns of action and the disposition of character which gave rise to them – by looking at two vase-paintings (Figures 10.7–10.8),[15] both (possibly) derived from Athenian wall-paintings of the period 460–450 BC, shortly before the creation of Polykleitos' Doryphoros. On a column-krater by the Florence Painter (Figure 10.7), a Lapith youth battles a Centaur. The Greek male Lapith 'is taut, muscular and alert; his actions ordered and controlled … a boxing technique redolent of training and discipline. His facial expression is cool and nobly determined. The Centaur rears awkwardly … drunken and brutish confusion in his face'

15 Florence 81268 (3997): Beazley 1963: 541.1; Carpenter 1989: 256; Boardman 1989: fig. 50; New York MMA 07.286.84: Beazley 1963: 613.1; Carpenter 1989: 268.

Image Not Available

Figure 10.8 Frieze from the neck of an Attic red-figure volute-krater by the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs, *c*.450 BC (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.286.84; after FR 1924: pl. 12)

(Castriota 1992: 37). The posture of the Lapith recalls Plato's description (*Laws* vii.815a) of the *pyrrhic* dance, performed by ephebes as part of their civic and military *paideia*: 'It also tries to represent the more aggressive postures adopted when shooting arrows and discharging javelins and delivering various kinds of blows. In these dances which portray fine physiques and noble characters, the correct posture is maintained if the body is kept erect (*orthon*) in a state of vigorous tension (*eutonon*), with the limbs extended nearly straight (*euthupheres*).' A similar opposition between the beautiful and highly ordered posture of a Lapith, and the contortions of a Centaur, who falls backwards, cowering under the protection of a cushion, 'low and grovelling' (Xen. *Mem*. iii.10), marks the centre pair on the long neck-frieze of a volute-krater from Numana (Figure 10.8). Iconographers, like Castriota, note the visual contrasts and their parallels with the texts, and then cash out the meanings of the images in terms of the 'analogues' between the myths represented and contemporary history, in particular the perception of the triumph of the Greeks over the Persians through the perspective of the battle of the Lapiths against the hubristic, half-bestial Centaurs. The iconographic contrasts between Centaurs and Lapiths, made possible by the development of naturalism, facilitate a closer fit between the visual image, myth and historical analogue, and thus function to legitimate contemporary history and relationships of power in terms of a mythic past. Such iconographic decodings of meaning, whilst a helpful starting point, run the risk of allegorising visual art into the realm of verbalised ideas, etherealising and effectively ignoring the material basis of aesthetic expression. Aesthetic-evaluative practice is eliminated, and the institutional and behavioural grounds of the moral codes identified by Castriota are ignored.

Such readings construct art as an epiphenomenal superstructure which may legitimate social structure or political power, but is not as such significantly constitutive of such supposedly more fundamental political and social realities. My argument has suggested, on the contrary, that

the body was the material means of the construction and transmission of central social values in the classical *polis*. Visual representations of bodies, stylised in particular ways, do not simply reflect intellectually abstract moral codes but materially instantiate them, expressively intensifying the corporeal experiences of traditional civic *paideia*. A Greek viewer would not simply have decoded a set of abstract conceptual meanings, but responded bodily to the familiar forms encountered in such imagery.

This generative and embodied capacity for aesthetic evaluative response, inculcated through the 'incorporating practices' of civic *paideia*, far from being restricted to evaluating and responding to works of art, was constantly deployed in the evaluation and monitoring by citizens of each other's embodied social styles.[16] The categories we have been considering – *eutaxia*, *kosmiotês*, *symmetria*, *orthotês* and the like – constitute a set of appreciative standards, normative patterns against which particular realisations of style might be evaluated. It was language which could be deployed when commissioning and evaluating civic statues or paintings in the assembly, or equally images such as gravestones like that of Chairedemos and Lykeas (Figure 10.3), which project an image in civic space. It was a widely shared set of standards which could be and was applied not only to bodies represented in paintings and sculptures but to the evaluation of bodies competing in the choric and other ritual performances of civic *paideia*, or even simply walking through the *agora*. Of course, exactly how those general standards should be applied varied according to context: political virtue is embodied somewhat differently in the violent action of war (or rituals imitative of war) and in peaceful everyday civic life, notwithstanding the fact that the same value-concepts could be applied in both contexts.[17]

Such evaluations were not simply a question of personal taste. Because the appreciative standards were linked to civic and military values integral to the very survival of the *polis*, in terms of both its internal integration and its external security, embodied style functioned as a form of 'symbolic capital'. It was an indication of the extent to which an individual had

16 Connerton 1989: 70, 94, for the concept of 'incorporating practices' and for a powerful critique of linguistic models of cultural analysis which reduce the body to a sign, a 'vehicle for the expression of mental categories', and which conceive 'understanding as subsuming a sense datum under an idea'.

17 Cf. Plat. *Laws* vii.814e: 'Of the noble kind [of motion of the body] there is, on the one hand, the motion of fighting, and that of fair bodies and brave souls engaged in violent effort; and, on the other hand, there is the motion of a temperate soul (*psuchês sôphronos*) living in a state of prosperity (*eupragiais*) and moderate pleasures (*hêdonais emmetrois*).' Fehr's analysis (1979) of the Kritian boy and the Doryphoros is particularly concerned with signs such as narrow gait, small size and gentleness of movements as indicators of *sôphrosunê*, or self-control appropriate to contexts of civic interaction.

internalised and was capable of realising the constitutive values of the *polis*, and was thereby entitled to enjoy prestige and influence within the civic community.[18] Evaluations of embodied stylistic behaviour – whether directly realised in action or mediately through an image set up of oneself or of members of one's family – functioned to enforce stylistic and social norms and to enhance or deflate the prestige of those evaluated. Such evaluative behaviour – amid the competition for symbolic capital it implies – is commonplace both in Greek rhetorical writing (designed, of course, to be consumed by a popular jury representative of the *dêmos* as a whole) and in Aristophanic comedy.

Some members of the social élite fell short of these bodily and stylistic norms, and could pay the price whether in public mockery or, more seriously, in popular hostility when they appeared in court. Aristophanes (*Frogs* 1089–98) describes the spectators at the Panathenaic torch-race slapping and beating a young ephebe too fat and poorly trained to keep up with the race. Rich, arrogant and potentially hubristic aristocrats were held to swagger about, with a wide gait and fast pace (Ar. *Knights* 77; *Wasps* 188; Arist. *Rhet*. 1390b–1391a). In court, one litigant tries to explain away his 'fast walking' as a congenital defect which he could not control and could not be held responsible for, not (as his opponents had suggested) an indicator of bad character (Dem xxxvii.55–6; Ober 1989: 151). Another counters criticisms of his loud voice and fast walk by noting that in fact his actual style of life was more 'measured' (*metrios*) and 'well-ordered' (*eutaktôteron*) than that of his opponent in the case at hand (Dem. xlv.77–8; Ober 1989: 221).

Just as failures to realise norms of bodily style were negatively sanctioned, so a pre-eminent capacity to perceive, promote and realise them was esteemed and rewarded. The slowness and gentleness of the Athenian leader Perikles' style of movement was especially praised as one component of a set of self-imposed controls on bodily behaviour, which he cultivated as part of a specifically democratic leadership style (Plu. *Perikles* 5 and 36; Plat. *Polit*. 307). The *chorêgoi* who were charged with preparing teams for the *euandria* – in ordinary years some thirty men, fifty in Panathenaic years – needed not only money but also taste in order to select from the *gymnasia* and ensure the appropriate training of the

18 Cf. Arist. *Pol*. 1254b for two related arguments: first, that nature designed the bodies of slaves and of citizens to be different, the first suitable for menial labour, the second 'upright (*ortha*) and serviceable for a life of citizenship, as that divides into the employments of war and peace'. Whilst he acknowledges that sometimes, by virtue of accidents of nature and war, citizens have only the soul of a free man, and a slave may sometimes be bodily a freeman's superior, his basic reflex is to see exceptional bodily beauty as a sign of a natural endowment for rulership: 'since this is certainly clear, that, if free men were born as distinguished in body as are the statues of the gods, everyone would say that those who were inferior deserved to be these men's slaves'.

boys, youths or men who might best embody the particular type of beauty most valued by the Athenian citizenry, and thereby carry off the prize. Such teams were exemplary embodiments of civic values. As such they accumulated prestige for the tribe they represented, for the *chorêgos* who had financed and trained the team (and might celebrate the victory in a lasting monument), and for the city of Athens as a whole within the wider sphere of inter-*polis* competitions when Athens sent choruses to Panhellenic events such as the festivals in honour of Apollo at Delos.[19]

Statues – above all public honorific statues – and other works of art, as exemplary embodiments of civic virtue, play a central rôle in this process. They are used as a rhetorical resource in the political evaluation and control of citizens' behavioural styles. Politicians and orators in public settings might assimilate themselves to the bodily rhetoric of statues in order to evoke the respect and trust appropriate to such exemplars of civic virtue, whilst they would invoke statues as symbols of civic propriety with which to contrast the hubristic or decadent behaviour of their opponents.[20] Statues functioned as collective representations of the ideal citizen for members of a *polis* and of the embodied potency of a city to outsiders. 'Where', asked Alexander the Great (Plu. *Mor*. 180), on seeing the statues of Panhellenic athletic victors in the public spaces of the city of Miletus, 'were the men with bodies like this when the barbarians were besieging your city?' In commissioning funerary monuments which represented members of their family with 'Polykleitan' bodies, the relatives of Chairedemos and Lykeas (Figure 10.3), and others like them, were not making a philosophical statement, but objectifying a permanent claim to the symbolic value of the 'body-capital' that had been accumulated by their family members during their athletic and military training and realised or cashed in on behalf of the city in their deaths in battle. The enduring significance of Polykleitos' techniques of design and models of bodily order, and correspondingly his prestige as a sculptor, probably rested less on their intellectual and philosophical foundations *per se* than on his capacity through this technology of design to realise, reproduce and objectify these specific forms of embodied symbolic capital. It was the problem of capturing this kind of bodily potency and self-control, in order to be able to project his clients as exemplary embodiments of civic virtue, that generated Polykleitos' concern with measurements and symmetry between component parts in the design of the statue (and presumably

19 Xen. *Mem*. iii.3.12: no choruses to be compared with those of the Athenians for *euandria*.

20 See, for example, Aeschines' use of a portrait of Solon, arm in mantle, to contrast the lack of self-control of Timarchides (i.26); with Demosthenes' riposte xix. 251–2. Cf. Dem. xviii.129 with Fehr 1979: 58 on the high degree of self-reflexive theatricality with which this was carried in some late fourth-century orators.

motivated his medical explorations, if Leftwich is right in detecting these). Neither specific medical or philosophical knowledge, nor an awareness of the technical/mathematical means by which Polykleitos put together a design which could meet these demands, were required for the viewer adequately to interpret and respond to the sculpture.

The word played a crucial rôle in the construction of aesthetic experience in classical Greece, but not the dominant or determining one which conventional stories of the classical origins of aesthetics might suggest. Words, in the form of a quite limited evaluative vocabulary, mediated between cultural values, behavioural dispositions, contexts of social interaction, and objective aesthetic forms. The vocabulary was partly determined by the social, structural, behavioural and interactional contexts in which it was embedded. But it also played a crucial constitutive rôle in linking these domains together, and relating them to objectified aesthetic forms, both in statues and in the embodied self-stylisation of citizens. Such evaluative vocabulary thereby helped to secure the production of affective commitment to normative representations of the good citizen.

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11

LOSING THE PICTURE:

Change and Continuity in Athenian Grave Monuments in the Fourth and Third Centuries BC

Karen Stears

I
INTRODUCTION

FROM THE THIRD QUARTER of the fifth to the last decades of the fourth century Athens produced some of the finest sculpted grave monuments to be found anywhere in the ancient world. These monuments, which were produced in thousands, adorned cemeteries and roadsides throughout the *polis*. The majority of them were decorated with sculpted or painted images of the deceased, often amongst his or her family, and were identified by the addition of an inscribed or painted name or epigram. This juxtaposition of word and image makes a study of them especially suitable for a volume devoted to an exploration of the two media. As we shall see, however, the relationship of word and image on classical Attic monuments is not merely a matter of comparing the one with the other; in fact this has proved to be a particularly frustrating approach. This chapter thus investigates other aspects of the concepts 'text' and 'art' and indeed of 'reading' and 'viewing' within the Athenian funerary context. In so doing, it argues that monuments should be studied in a 'holistic' manner, intellectually a simple notion, but actually hindered by the publication traditions and demands of our discipline, in which artistic images are often dissociated from their accompanying inscriptions and, where known, their archaeological contexts. Section II of the chapter focuses on the classical era during which, for well over a hundred years, a thriving sculpture industry supplied a market eager for gravestones ranging in quality from the mediocre to some of the finest examples of Attic workmanship in any sculptural form. From the fourth century we have (to date) about 1800 sculpted funerary monuments, a figure which suggests that a sizeable proportion of the population was commemorating graves in this fashion. This memorial tradition was brought to a sudden end, however, by a piece of legislation enacted by Demetrios of Phaleron, in his period of rule as

epimelêtês at Athens between 317/6 and 307/6: a law which forbade the erection on graves of any monument which bore figurative decoration and restricted the tomb-marker to a number of simple forms bearing only a brief inscription (Section III).

Section IV of this chapter considers the implications of this change in memorial form in an attempt to assess the impact of the loss of the figurative grave-markers and the intrusion of a purely inscribed monument on Athenian funerary and commemorative practices as a whole. In so doing it addresses not only socio-political issues but also, and more unusually, aspects of ritual performance, and concludes by considering the wider implications of funerary change and continuity within early Hellenistic Athens.

II
THE FIFTH AND FOURTH CENTURIES

The first Athenian grave monuments bearing reliefs sculpted in the style recognised as 'classical' appeared in small numbers from around the middle of the fifth century onwards (Stears forthcoming a). These reliefs are objects of outstanding beauty and even serenity, and unsurprisingly, by the close of the fifth century, stone-masons in Attica had found a ready market for their work. These tomb-markers are characterised by both relatively restricted and repetitive iconography and sculptural styles, and largely formulaic epitaphs.

Throughout the course of the fourth century Attic grave monuments were produced in large numbers in only a small variety of forms, a factor which, together with the limited iconographic repertoire, has both facilitated and determined their classification and study. The earliest and simplest of these forms was the rectangular gravestone, the *stêlê*, which was carved in shallow relief. The figurative scene was usually surrounded by an architectural framing, consisting of a crowning pediment or other finial and *antae* along the vertical edges. Originally most of the surface of the gravestone was used as a relief field, but increasingly throughout the fourth century a secondary form developed on which the scene was carved, often rather poorly, in a recessed panel in extremely low relief (Figure 11.1). In striking contrast to these *Bildfeldstelen*, as they are termed, the simple *stêlê* also developed into another form on which the height of the architectural framing and the relief field was increased and the overall size of the monument enlarged. By the 340s some of these monuments were so large as to be life-size and the relief so high that they were practically carved in the round (Figure 11.2). On these memorials the architectural elements were sometimes produced separately from the figures; the whole monument, when assembled, took on an appearance

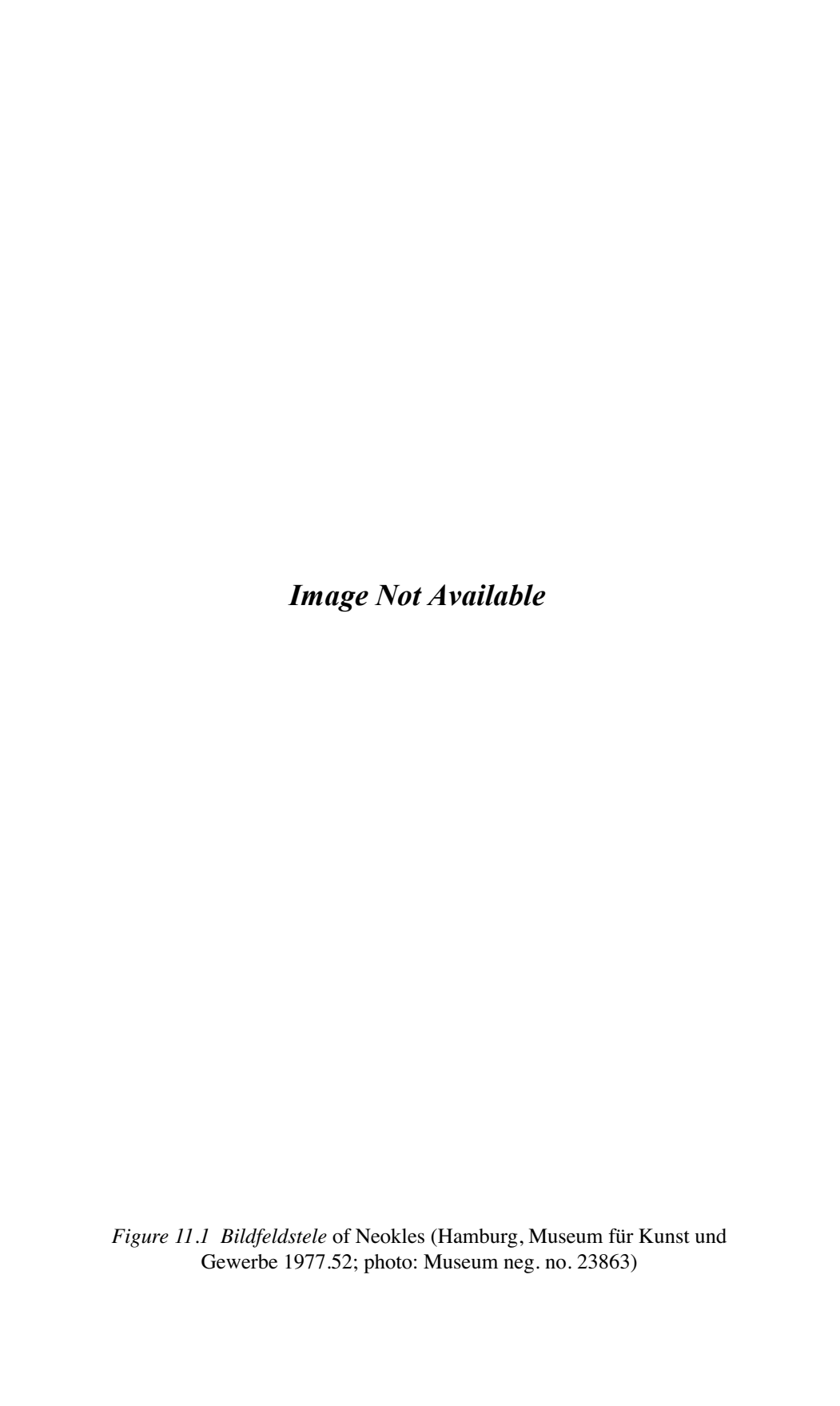

Figure 11.1 Bildfeldstele of Neokles (Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe 1977.52; photo: Museum neg. no. 23863)

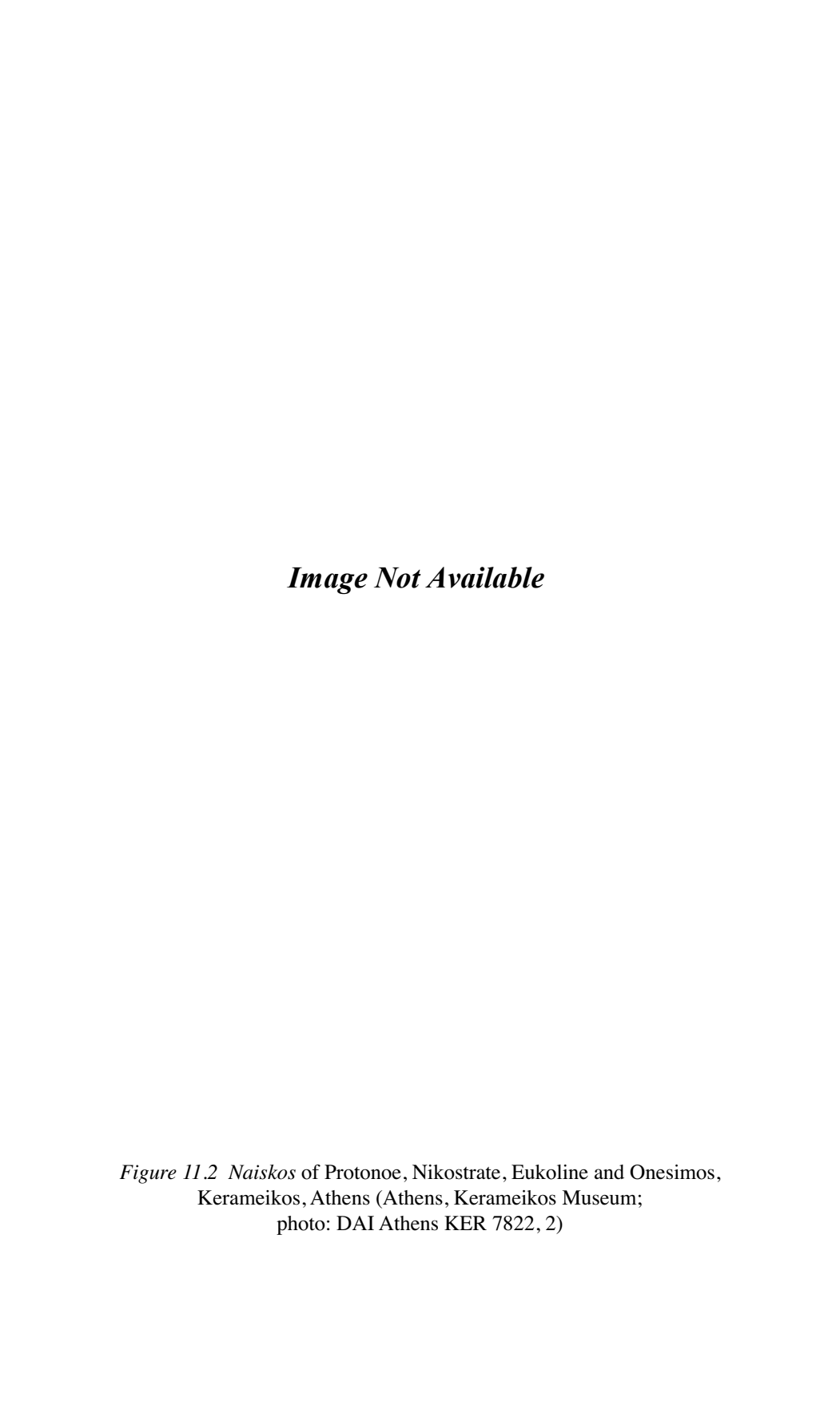

Figure 11.2 Naiskos of Protonoe, Nikostrate, Eukoline and Onesimos, Kerameikos, Athens (Athens, Kerameikos Museum; photo: DAI Athens KER 7822, 2)

reminiscent of a shrine; hence their modern name, *naiskoi*, little temples or shrines.

Both *naiskoi* and *Bildfeldstelen* were produced in comparatively large numbers; by 1997 some 769 *naiskoi* and 626 *Bildfeldstelen* had been published (Bergemann 1997: 157–82). Such figures suggest that sculpted funerary memorials were being purchased by most classes and statuses of Athenian society, a conclusion supported, as we shall see, by both the epigraphic evidence and also the range of monument size and quality, and hence financial outlay (Hansen et al. 1989).

There were also a number of other memorial forms, including simple painted *stêlai* which appear to have been decorated to imitate the more expensive carved versions (and which we are only recently being able to study thanks to new photographic techniques (Posamentir forthcoming)). There were also two memorials which took the form of pots; first, the stone lekythos (Figure 11.3), which as a ceramic vessel was an oil-flask frequently used in funerary ritual and which, in both black-figure and white-ground, is commonly found as a grave good throughout the classical period. The second stone vase-shape was the loutrophoros (Figure 11.4), in ceramic form a slender water-carrier especially associated with nuptial rites but also used at the *prothesis*, the laying-out of the corpse. These loutrophoroi appear to have been erected on the graves of those who died unmarried, a practice by which the dead received a form of the vase in death which had been denied them in life (Kokula 1984).

The stone lekythoi had a different function. From the closing decades of the fifth century many graves were arranged in familial groupings, *periboloi* (Garland 1982; Bergemann 1997). These were usually enclosed by low walls, often with archaistic masonry, and the marble lekythoi were placed at the front corners. As this placement suggests, the arrangement of monuments within a *peribolos* was carefully considered; the graves themselves tended to be located at the back of the plot (and could be left unmarked), whilst the most elaborate and expensive *naiskoi* and *stêlai* were positioned at the front of the enclosure for maximum visual impact (Figure 11.5). At the centre of the *peribolos* assemblage might stand a tall shaft *stêlê* crowned with vegetative decoration on which were usually inscribed the names of the male members of the family buried within the enclosure (Schmaltz 1979; Humphreys 1980; Stears 1995). Towards the end of the fourth century there was also a fashion for further expenditure on sculpture with the erection within the *peribolos* of apotropaic figures, such as sphinxes, sirens and lions. This new trend recalls the similar usage of the sphinx as a *stêlê* finial in archaic Attic funerary sculpture and reminds us that, with the ever-present threat of wandering ghosts, the cemetery might be a dangerous place.

The funerary monuments, including both vase-shapes, were regularly

Figure 11.3 Lekythos of Kleochares (Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 222; photo: Museum)

Figure 11.4 Loutrophoros of Demetrios (Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 227; photo: Museum)

carved with scenes portraying the deceased and his or her family. The most commonly found figure grouping is that of two adult figures, a male and a female, followed by three-figure groupings, most frequently parents with their son or daughter. Through the course of the fourth century there was a general tendency to include more and more figures, varying the relative relief height of each, according to their importance in the scene, and cleverly overlapping and often twisting the figures until in some examples the sculptor had produced a virtuoso complexity of figure relationships of the highest artistic quality.

Figure 11.5 Grave monuments on the south side of the Street of the Tombs, Kerameikos, Athens (photo: DAI Athens KER 5956)

Even on these late classical Attic masterpieces, in which sculptors are clearly exploring the technique of relief-carving and pushing it to new limits, there is comparatively little experimentation with the form and attributes of the figures themselves, beyond the sculptural portrayal of fabric and coiffure; innovation is technical not iconographic. Scenes displaying characterisation of individuals are thus very rare; overt indication of trade had only occasionally appeared in the fifth century and is almost absent altogether in the fourth.[1] Even on the examples sculpted at the largest scale, faces are generally idealised, hence the depiction of old age is rarely found beyond its usage in a few late examples on background figures who are clearly intended to represent grieving mourners and not

1 Priests and priestesses may be shown holding a sacrificial knife or temple key respectively (Bergemann 1997: 120–1). Some women shown working wool may be ex-slaves who had earned their freedom by means of their industry (Stears forthcoming b).

the deceased (Pfisterer-Haas 1990); dress and attribute are also standardised. Thus women are depicted usually at leisure within the household, or very rarely in childbirth or wool-working, whereas men are shown as soldiers, as athletes, or dressed in the *himation* and bearded in the guise of the politically active citizen. We also find that similar figure groupings appear again and again; for instance, a woman with her slave and perhaps a jewellery box or small child, or a couple shaking hands (*dexiôsis*). All these scenes are imbued with an air of calm restraint and resignation; overt expressions of grief are rarely found in Attic funerary sculpture.

Little wonder then that these scenes are commonly interpreted as reifications of some of the dominant values of the Athenian democracy. The idealism of the facial form and the normative and repetitive iconography with its serene restraint may be particularly associated with prized behavioural traits such as *aretê* and *sôphrosunê* (Osborne 1987; Stears 1995; Bergemann 1997; see also Tanner above). It is perhaps not surprising that classical Athenian funerary art was centred on the expression of normative values celebrating equality and conformity, since memorials are most likely to record those aspects of a social persona thought suitable for permanent commemoration and glorification within the public domain. The iconographic phenomenon is paralleled in the funerary inscriptions of the same period.

The most common form of inscription for a citizen is brief, consisting simply of the formula of name, patronymic and demotic. For women there might be the addition of *gunê* ('wife') or *thugatêr* ('daughter'), occasionally both. Metics are identified in a parallel form, with an ethnic replacing the demotic. Slaves who had the privilege of a stone grave-marker are sometimes identified by the use of *chrêstos* or *chrêstê* ('useful'), presumably testament to their utility. Many hundreds of names are given simply with neither patronymic, demotic nor ethnic. It may be that their original place within a family plot, where there were monuments carrying more information, made their status clear.

What we do not find in Attic funerary inscriptions is a list of achievements or details of age, both so familiar from the epitaphs of the Roman world. Declaration of individual achievement and attainment of rank are largely unknown in private Athenian funerary epigraphy. Such affairs were the prerogative of the *polis* in its annual commemoration of the war dead; and even on the *polyandria* erected by the state in the public cemetery, the *dêmosion sêma*, men were recorded as citizen–soldiers, listed only by campaign and tribe, not by individual exploit (Clairmont 1983).

More elaborate private funerary epigrams are a relatively rare phenomenon in the classical period in comparison to the more simple inscription form. Fourth-century Athens has yielded to date a total of around 150

epigrams (for both citizens and non-citizens), a figure which we might contrast to the two thousand or so simple funerary inscriptions recording citizens alone for the same period (Hansen et al. 1990: 27). These epigrams furnish us with little more information than their more brief counterparts, only occasionally making mention of particular details, such as the faithful service of a wet-nurse, extreme longevity or a peculiarly strange death. Mainly the themes are little more than eulogistic *topoi,* limited to the praise of the deceased's attainment of normative behavioural ideals such as *aretê*, *sôphrosunê*, *dikaiosunê* and *sophia*. Such expressions may be accompanied by mention of grief and loss, occasionally at what seems to be a truly personal level, but more often in terms of death being the common lot of humankind. The relative paucity of verse epigrams in comparison to the simple name, patronymic, demotic/ethnic epitaph and the vast numbers of sepulchral images may perhaps have implications for the extent of literacy in classical Athens, and for the relative primacy of eye-catching image over text within the crowded classical cemetery.

Some monuments bear both sculpted image and epigram, and an attempt has been made to correlate the two media (Clairmont 1970; but see also Daux 1972). This undertaking met with little success, chiefly because of the lack of individualism and overt cross-reference in either form. There are, in fact, only two classical funerary memorials in which the epigram makes any direct reference to the accompanying image. The first is the famous *stêlê* of Ampharete in the Kerameikos, which appears to portray a mother and child, but which in fact according to the epigram depicts a grandmother and grandchild (Figure 11.6). The second is the equally well-known *stêlê* (Athens NM 1488: Clairmont 1993: 3.410), with a bilingual Greek and Phoenician inscription, which tells of the unfortunate demise of a ship-wrecked Phoenician at the paws and jaws of a lion on the coast of Attica. The relief shows him being mauled, with the prow of his ship visible in the background.

These two monuments are exceptional in that there is an explicit relationship between text and image. In the vast majority of classical Attic funerary sculpture, however, there is no cross-reference between the two, beyond the practice of carving a name directly over or next to a figure in order to facilitate identification. The failure of Athenian funerary inscriptions and epigrams to refer directly and in detail to the figures on their monuments appears at first sight to be frustrating, but it ceases to be problematic if we attempt to understand the monuments within their own terms. What we seem to have in the epigraphic habit is a verbal expression of socio-political and ethical ideas and ideals depicted in the accompanying relief scenes.

So ingrained are these values that conformity to them influences and structures both form and content of text and image. We look in vain for

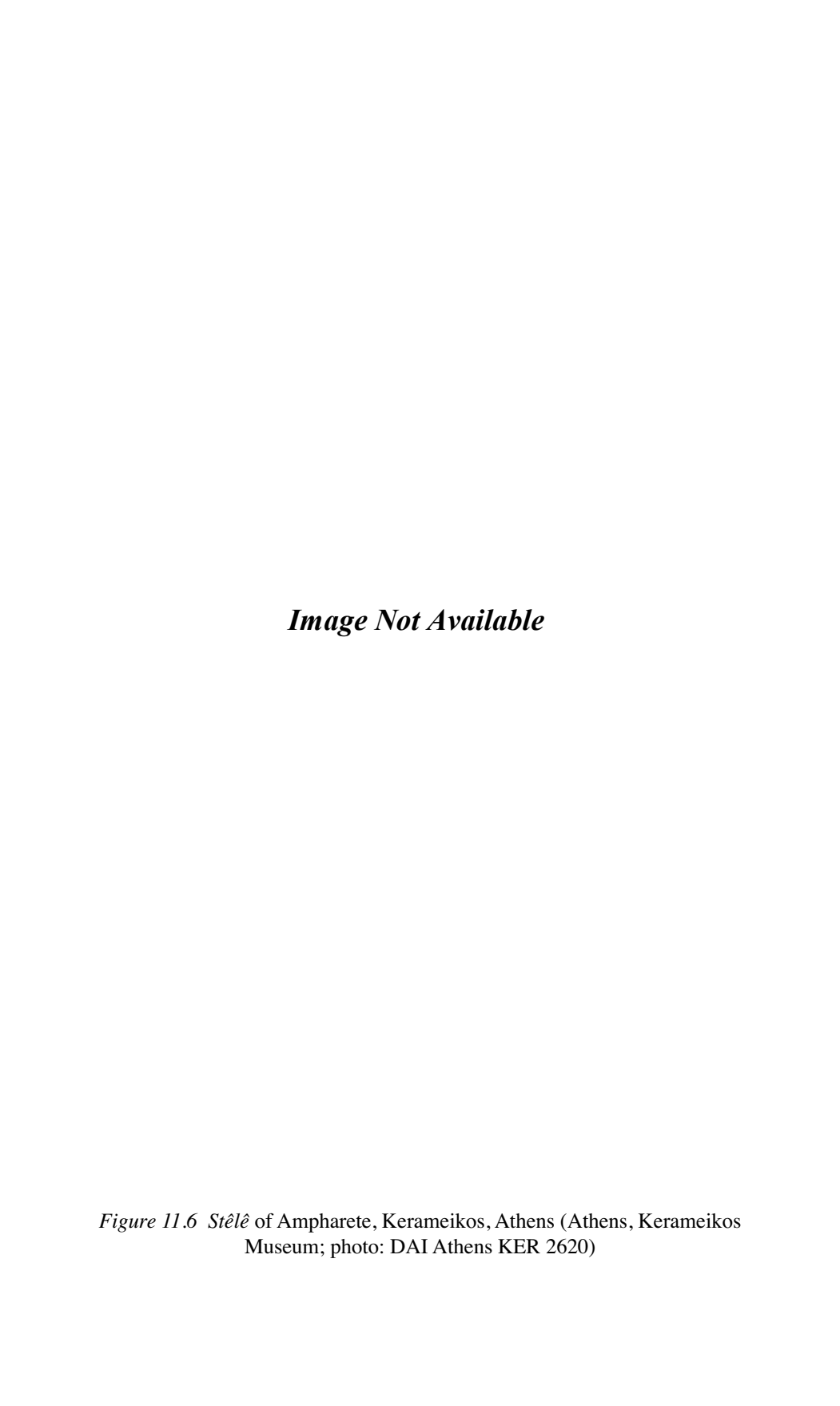

Figure 11.6 Stêlê of Ampharete, Kerameikos, Athens (Athens, Kerameikos Museum; photo: DAI Athens KER 2620)

details to inform us about the individuals represented, in either the sculpture or the epitaph, and meet instead the blank wall of idealism and repetition.

In our attempts to match textual and iconographic details we are in danger of failing to perceive that the very lack of detailed information about the deceased is itself the correlation between text and image. For both are acceptable expressions of the individual who died in a society in which conventionality and conformity were perceived to be the most acceptable manner for the permanent commemoration of the dead. Classical Athenians appear, therefore, to have been remarkably uninterested in the depiction and recording of actual age (except in cases of extreme longevity); the concepts of age-grouping and associated status categories appear to have been much more important (Stears 1995).

Information concerning the age-grouping and marital and other statuses of the deceased might be furnished by the form of the monument itself. So fine, expensive *stêlai* with a single youthful figure appear to have been reserved for those who died young without marrying, those subject to a *mors immatura*, whereas cheaper loutrophoroi, long known to have stood on the graves of those who died unmarried, appear in fact to have been erected on the tombs of those who died as spinsters and bachelors after the first flush of youth (Schmaltz 1979). Since less money appears to have been spent on this latter group of monuments than the former, those who had least time to be memorialised in other ways, for instance by career or production of children, seem to have been considered in need of the finest monuments. As well as marking an obvious tragedy, the death of a young adult, this may have been an attempt to facilitate the construction of a position in the social memory of both the family and the wider *polis*, a position which they themselves had been unable to achieve during their brief lives (Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 224–70 in an archaic context).

The use of different monument forms within the cemetery to impart information about the deceased suggests then that it was not only the text and images on the monuments that could be read, but the monument form itself. A contemporary visitor to a fourth-century cemetery might therefore not just 'view' images and 'read' words, but 'read' an entire burial plot in a variety of ways involving the interplay of memorial type, inscription and sculpture, thereby constructing a history of the relationships, finances, marital statuses, social rôles and age-groupings of various members of the household.

This discussion has focused on aspects which arguably arise from a socio-political consideration of the material, and this is an approach to which the monuments lend themselves well. However, these funerary memorials are merely the residue of various and continuous burial practices and rituals. When we consider the monuments together with their

ritual contexts and the associated burial assemblages, they form structural elements of a prolonged ritual performance that in its entirety is lost to us. Such structures of performance, however fragmentary, lend themselves easily to the kind of analysis centred on normative ideologies outlined above; what they are less good at revealing is the *performance* of these very same structures.

What I mean by this is that grave monuments were not merely erected by individuals and families to mark a grave, or to act as indicators of familial wealth within the city-state, or to reify, consciously or subconsciously, certain dominant ideologies. They were primarily erected as indicators of the proper completion of the first stage of the funerary rites, namely the burial, and as a focus for the future performance of continued funerary ritual by which the memory of a beloved individual and family member would be both preserved and reconstructed.

The lay-out of *periboloi* makes clear that it was the monument and not the grave site that was the focus for funerary cult in the classical period. In funerary cult it was the gravestone that was anointed and decorated with fillets, the sculpted monument thus taking the place of the corpse and 'becoming' the individual deceased. Recognition of this fact is important, for it forces a reassessment of these figurative images that appear to us to be so generic. Just because a sculpted image appears to be idealised does not mean that it may not be viewed as a representation of a particular individual. This is best witnessed in the practice mentioned previously, namely the care undertaken to inscribe and, in perhaps more cases (sadly lost to us), to paint a name next to a sculpted figure. The addition of a simple name not only facilitates the construction and preservation of memory but enables a sculpted figure to 'become' an individual; when we name something we distinguish the particular from the general.

We know that generally *periboloi* were in use for about three generations (Humphreys 1980; Garland 1982; Bergemann 1997), which suggests that gravestones might be repainted periodically, an act which could be understood as the dressing of beloved family members; and if that seems fanciful, we might note that on some of the finest monuments female figures had their ears pierced for the attachment of metal earrings, and in Athens and elsewhere wooden cult-statues were regularly dressed in real clothes (Foxhall and Stears forthcoming). Such adornment suggests that in ancient Greece some sculptural forms in particular contexts were regarded as 'embodiments' as much as they were as images.

The establishment of the representations on funerary monuments as 'individuals', taken together with the emphasis on performance within the cemetery, not only allows us to deproblematise the relationship of word and image on funerary monuments, but permits us to relocate the inscribed word and sculpted image within the ephemeral world of oral

tradition and ritual. Funerary monuments reveal only what is chosen to be recorded on a *permanent* memorial, and in classical Athens this was representative merely of normative aspects of the deceased and not the full and complex pattern of his or her life. I have argued elsewhere that the funerary laments sung by women at these tombs were important (Stears 1998); although we have none of their *gooi* or *thrênoi*, ethnographic comparison suggests that they were likely to have expressed the grief and loss experienced by mourners at a death. Furthermore, I would maintain that they may well have contained detailed and personal descriptions of the deceased's character and achievements (Alexiou 1974; Danforth 1982; Holst-Warhaft 1992). Thus there may well have been an oral tradition creating and recalling the deceased as a special individual, recounting particular and personal details which augmented the epigraphic and iconographic memory commemorated in more concrete form around which the lament was sung. In such a scenario the image of the deceased, together with his or her name, would have been of central importance, acting as a focus and a spur for continued lamentation – a stone replacement of the corpse at the *prothesis*. There would, therefore, be a further interaction between image and word – the spoken word – the lost voice of private grief.

The cemeteries of Attica were therefore centres of public performance, as much as were theatres and the *ekklêsia*. However, in a distinctive amalgamation and augmentation of those two spheres, this was public and private space, in which both public and private concerns were explored, lamented and celebrated over an extended time-scale, and in which, uniquely, women had a voice.

It may well be the case that through the course of the fourth century the increase in figure-size on some monuments, together with the growing popularity of the *peribolos*, in which the grave might be separate from its monument, led to a rise in the importance of the representation of the deceased as a focus of funerary cult, as opposed to the grave site itself. Such a hypothesis might also serve partly to add another dimension to our understanding of these phenomena, which are usually regarded simply in terms of increasing financial competition within the cemetery.

In conclusion, the fifth and particularly the fourth century present us with a picture of a vibrant and developing sculptural form situated within a busy and noisy cemetery, in which the living celebrated and recalled the dead in a variety of ways as both familial and *polis* members, centred on the figure of the deceased and his or her relatives. All was to change abruptly however, when in 317/16 Demetrios of Phaleron came to power.

III
DEMETRIOS OF PHALERON

Demetrios was an Athenian Peripatetic, a pupil of Theophrastos, who was installed by Cassander in 317/16 to rule Athens in his stead, supported by a Macedonian garrison in Mounychia. Demetrios' rule lasted for ten years, until he was ousted by Demetrios Poliorketes.

Demetrios enacted a number of laws, including one specifically aimed at funerals and funerary monuments. According to the details recorded by Cicero (*De Legibus* ii.26.66; Philochoros *FGrH* 328 F 65), Demetrios stipulated that the *ekphora* must take place before first light and that henceforth graves might only be marked by a *columella*, a small column, less than three cubits in height, or a *mensa* or a *labellum*. The enforcement of the law was to be overseen by a magistrate. Cicero's terminology and its relationship to the archaeological remains are problematic. We have little information about cemeteries in the third century, perhaps largely thanks to the actions of Philip V, who took great interest in destroying funerary monuments throughout the Athenian *chôra*. But of the 249 monuments collected in *IG* ii^2, which were erected for citizens and date between 317/16 and the end of the third century, all but twenty-eight are small columns (*kioniskoi*) (Figure 11.7), presumably to be identified as Cicero's *columellae*. There are twelve low, table-like structures, possibly the *mensae*, ten simple, small, plain *stêlai*, and two columns that appear to have been made from reused ornamental basins – both of these forms have been tentatively linked to the enigmatic *labellum* (Twele 1975; Stupperich 1977: 135; Houby-Nielsen 1998). None of these forms is decorated with sculpted figurative scenes.

That Demetrios had to appoint an overseer (presumably one of his *nomophylakes*) to check that the terms of the law were being obeyed suggests that initially the measure may have met with opposition. (Indeed recent work on the funerary inscriptions traditionally dated to just before the legislation suggests that they may have to be downdated by a few decades, implying that the transition from one form to another may not have been as sudden as has been hitherto believed.)[2]

The law is traditionally understood to have been chiefly aimed at the wealthiest members of society who were erecting the most lavish funerary monuments in the 330s and 320s,[3] and this would certainly tie in with other areas of Demetrios' legislation, in which he abolished a number

2 Graham Oliver, personal communication.

3 Andreas Scholl (1994: 239) argues conversely that the legislation was aimed not at ordinary citizens but at those predominantly foreign individuals such as Theodektes, Isokrates and Harpalos who were erecting lavish funerary monuments on a monumental scale (see p. 224 below).

Image Not Available

Figure 11.7 Kioniskos of Apollonides with relief loutrophoros, Agora, Athens (Athens, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations I 7038; photo: Agora Excavations)

of liturgies including the *chorêgia*. These measures are indicative of an attempt to establish Demetrios himself at the centre of the state by curtailing the avenues for display of potential rivals in the form of members of wealthy families. This would also explain the story, admittedly not particularly well attested, that he had erected for himself as many honorific statues as there were days in the year. If this tradition is true, then it suggests that we do not have here a philosopher sensitive to outlandish visual display, but a canny politician who wished to dominate the city visually with images of himself. Whatever the veracity of the story, what is of particular interest is not the fact that Demetrios legislated as he did, but that the prohibition forbidding the erection of figurative funerary monuments was enforced for well over a hundred years after his flight from Athens.

IV
THE THIRD CENTURY

Demetrios Poliorketes abolished the board of *nomophylakes* established by his predecessor and repealed some of his legislation, but our sources make no mention of the fate of the funerary law. It is likely that the law

remained active until the second century. That the *nomophylakes* had been abolished is without relevance: Demetrios Poliorketes had also disbanded the garrison at Mounychia; he still had complete authority. Furthermore, he failed to reinstate the choregic liturgy, thus limiting a particularly popular route to renown within the *polis*; the continued enforcement of Demetrios of Phaleron's funerary law would serve much the same ends. Athenian relief-carvers left Athens and sought work elsewhere, as is witnessed in the atticising nature of many funerary reliefs from the eastern Aegean in the third century, and in the demise of the Athenian decree- and votive-relief (Meyer 1989: 258–62; Stewart 1990: 49; Habicht 1997: 56).

The loss of the figurative memorial is not the only change witnessed in funerary practice. Perhaps just as striking is the fact that the practice of grouping graves within walled *periboloi* seems largely to end. For the fifth and fourth centuries there is evidence of some 260 *periboloi*, for the third and second centuries the number is three (Garland 1982; Bergemann 1997).

A related difference between the late classical and early Hellenistic cemeteries is witnessed in the epigraphic habit. Since fourth-century monuments were carved with more than one figure, they were commonly inscribed with more than one name, thereby emphasising familial relationships by both image and inscription. In contrast, perhaps because the post-Demetrian forms bore no images, they usually commemorated only a single individual and presumably marked the actual burial spot, crowning a small *tumulus*. Thus of the 249 third-century memorials for citizens listed in *IG* ii^2, only three are inscribed with the names of two people. One of the chief ramifications of the Demetrian legislation, therefore, appears to have been some sort of breakdown in the commemoration of individuals as family members by means of burial grouping, and a change in epigraphic habit.

There had been great upheaval in the urban cemeteries in 338 BC, when many monuments appear to have been used to augment the fortifications of the city in the panic after Chaeronea. This disturbance was followed by a period of reorganisation in the cemeteries, in which, using the Kerameikos as a model, many *periboloi* were earthed over (and hence preserved) and the resulting space used for new burials. Not all the earlier monuments were hidden however, and Sanne Houby-Nielsen has shown that within the Kerameikos in the third century clever use was made of those sculpted memorials which were still visible. Houby-Nielsen has argued that the arrangement of the Hellenistic *kioniskos* on small *tumuli* covering a single grave is perhaps a conscious imitation of much earlier burial traditions (Houby-Nielsen 1998: 132–3). These *kioniskoi* might occasionally be placed in conjunction with sculpted classical monuments which had survived the turmoil at the end of the fourth century, whilst in

other cases a classical memorial might be moved and reused for another burial (Houby-Nielsen 1998: 140–2). Houby-Nielsen sees such ploys as evidence of a nostalgia for the 'virtues and values' of the fifth and fourth centuries. Houby-Nielsen's study is suggestive of a society attempting to establish (within the terms of enforced legislation) a new relationship with its various 'pasts' – immediate or more distant – following a period of upheaval and fracture. Sue Alcock (1991: 458) has charted the growth of cults at Bronze Age burial sites throughout the post-classical world. Interestingly, whilst this appears to have been an innovation widespread throughout much of the Aegean and mainland Greece, there appears to be no evidence for it in Attica. This too implies, amongst other things, that in the Hellenistic period the Athenians were choosing to emphasise specific elements in their past and were largely uninterested in the remote past.

There are other changes throughout the course of the third century which are suggestive of wide-ranging development and discontinuity in burial practices. These include the replacement of clay lekythoi as the standard grave-good by the cruder unguentaria. The black-figure lekythos had been commonly decorated with palmettes or Dionysiac scenes, which, with the advent of the undecorated unguentarium, now disappear from the grave. Coins begin to appear more frequently in the grave, as payment for Charon, and gold wreaths also make an appearance. The implications of these three innovations are uncertain, but they are suggestive of developments in ideas about life in Hades. Furthermore the third-century cemetery seems not to have been protected by apotropaic sculptures (beyond those which had perchance survived from earlier centuries), a fact which might hint at a changing attitude regarding death.

Even with the loss of the carved memorial the cemetery was of course still the focus for funerary cult, but the Hellenistic preference for inhumation over cremation suggests that funerals may not have been the grand affairs they once had been. The emergence in the Hellenistic period of private associations, some of which guaranteed the performance of continued funerary rites for its members, indicates that such ritual remained of primary importance (Leiwo 1997: 116). Such associations, however, reveal a concern for the fate of the individual soul in the afterlife and may be indicative of familial lack of interest in the cemetery. This may be behind the apparent decline in the number of funerary inscriptions from the fourth to the third century (Hansen et al. 1990).

V
CONCLUSION

In conclusion I suggest that the loss of the ability to erect figurative monuments for the deceased instigated major changes both within and

beyond the cemetery. At the level of emotional and psychological experience, I would argue that lamentation and adornment of an image were fundamentally different from those same acts performed around an aniconic monument, particularly in a society in which figurative imagery was all pervasive, and in which there was a tradition dating from the mid-seventh century whereby tombs had been adorned with sculpted and painted figures perceived as representations of individuals. How such a change in burial commemoration was perceived by contemporaries who were steeped in the tradition of respecting and continuing ancestral customs (*ta nomizomena*) can only be surmised.

Certainly funerary monuments and burial groupings could no longer be 'read' as I have suggested was possible in the fourth century. Beyond utilising classical monuments that still stood, some citizens did attempt to retain elements of previous practice that were of significance – for on some seven third-century *columellae* (five of which are for men) small loutrophoroi are inscribed on the surface, indicating that those commemorated had died unmarried. But other than these meagre nods to a dead sculptural (but still living ritual) tradition, we have no other sculptural decoration.[4]

The Hellenistic period is often regarded as an era in which there was an increased interest in the exploration of the representation of emotion and individualism in many areas of intellectual life and within the various artistic genres. This is perhaps witnessed in the development of the Hellenistic funerary epigram, which became as concerned with expressions of grief as with *polis* ideologies. But we might note that there could be no such experimentation with or development of the funerary relief or statue – in visual terms the Hellenistic cemetery was for the most part a sterile and uniform place. Perhaps this dearth of sculptural imagery accounts in some degree for the small numbers of third-century Attic funerary monuments in comparison to those of the fourth century. Were such monuments simply unpopular? Was this apparent lack of interest in the cemetery by families paralleled by a concomitant decrease in funerary rites performed at the tomb? If this were the case, then there are important implications not only for the origins of burial associations but also, more widely, for the construction of familial memory and gender rôles.[5]

4 *Kioniskoi* might be painted with leaves and berries and were probably adorned with some sort of wreath resting on a *torus*, which is a standard feature (Houby-Nielsen 1998: 131).

5 Houby-Nielsen (1997) maintains that fourth-century grave-reliefs failed to keep abreast with developments in gender rôles throughout the course of the century, which, she argues, led to a decline in interest in grave reliefs in the second half of the century. *Kioniskoi* conversely were in keeping with new ideas about the nature of gender, hence, for her, their popularity.

As mentioned above, the Demetrian legislation is traditionally viewed as having been aimed at curbing the funerary excesses of powerful citizen families. That the law was not repealed after Demetrios' departure in 307/6 has been understood as indicating that a majority of the citizen body disapproved of permitting a small number of very rich Athenians to flaunt their wealth in such a manner (Habicht 1997: 56). A problem with this line of argument is that the law affected not only the very rich but a much wider section of the population who had been erecting monuments of modest or poor quality. Why would the majority of the citizen body prevent themselves from erecting sculpted funerary monuments? Had their sensitivities been so offended by the growing lavishness of the funerary monument? Moreover, burial traditions were an area in which the maintenance of customary practice was of central importance – would over a century of burial practice be so easily and quickly spurned? It is more likely that the Macedonians found it of use to enforce the law for their own ends.[6] What is clear is that the wealthy circumvented it by spending on other sorts of image, with the erection of portrait and honorific statues within sanctuaries and elsewhere.

Arguably such a practice was a natural sculptural development of some of the largest *naiskoi*, which in some ways prefigure certain portrait types. It may well be too that in the last decades of the fourth century, the wealthiest families had felt themselves limited by the traditional monument forms within the cemetery. Certainly their increased expenditure on memorials had grown to such an extent that the *polis* norms formulated in the iconography and epitaphs were in reality travestied by the sheer size of the tombs themselves. We might see the last of the fourth-century memorials as being constrained by fifth-century values about equality and the power of the democracy that were in many ways already anachronistic, as was made patent to any Athenian by those memorials erected by foreigners such as the Kallithea monument, and as Harpalos' shrine to his beloved courtesan Pythionike, which outshone anything an Athenian might attempt (Scholl 1994).

The cemetery had therefore perhaps already had its day as a centre for conspicuous familial display, even before the legislation of Demetrios, for it had one major handicap – one had to be dead to be commemorated within it, and what good was that sort of memorial in the new world

6 When the first sculpted memorials appear in Athens in the second century, they are for metics (Kirchner 1937; 1939; Stears 1993: 401–2), suggesting that metics were able to transgress the law, in contrast to citizens. A similar phenomenon may perhaps be witnessed in the mid-fifth century after the abandonment of the so-called *post aliquando* legislation (Stears forthcoming a).

of living gods?[7] Portrait statues and honorific decrees with their lists of benefactions and achievements could be set up throughout the city, and the former became especially popular in sanctuaries throughout the second century (Stewart 1979: 157–74; Habicht 1997: 112). These allowed for more publicity and declaration of personal attainment than the grave monument had ever achieved, and now such glory could be celebrated and enjoyed during one's life-time: the age of euergetism had arrived. There was a new morality, with new concepts of *philotimia* and *megaloprepeia* (Hakkarainen 1997), which were witnessed in new fashions both in sculptural forms and styles, and in the epigraphic habit. Great changes were taking place in the Hellenistic world – but not in the cemetery.

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7 Ian Morris (1992) has suggested that funerary reliefs do not appear in third-century Athens because the Athenians decided not to engage in a competitive display of wealth with the Macedonians and other foreigners. However, this argument will not account for the specificity of lack of expenditure *within the cemetery alone* as opposed to other public arenas within the *polis*. It also presupposes a marked degree of social cohesion throughout the Athenian *dêmos* which had probably not been witnessed since the Persian invasions.

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12

ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL GREEK TEMPLE SCULPTURE AND THE VIEWER

Robin Osborne

> In this mirror you see yourself very dimly or not at all but you have a clear view of the statue of the goddesses and their throne.
>
> Pausanias at Lykosoura, viii.37.7

I

BRIAN SPARKES (1991: ch. 4) has taught us that the shape of a pot matters. It matters not just because different pots offer different fields and different constraints to the artist, but because different shapes are used, handled and seen differently. This has been most fruitfully explored with regard to those vessels used at the *symposion*, and particularly by François Lissarrague in his *Un Flot d'images* (1987). It is clear that the images on sympotic vessels exploited the conditions in which they were seen in a variety of ways: shape and imagery could be made to interact closely, as on the Bomford cup[1] where the user has to decide whether to enjoy the slippering of the slave boy on the tondo while grasping the male genitals that are the cup's foot, or whether to use the outer handles (no mean feat on a cup this large) and cock the foot at the other symposiasts. Certain types of scene were painted only for locations in which they would normally be displayed not to the collective gathering but to the individual (so the scenes on Douris' psykter in the British Museum);[2] other scenes relied for their effect on the gradual uncovering which occurred as a cup was drained (it is not by chance that the vomiting reveller features primarily on the tondos of cups).[3]

As well as relating the scenes shown to the way a vessel was seen and handled, recent studies have made much more of the interrelationship

1 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1974.344: Boardman 1974: fig. 177; 1976.

2 London, British Museum E 768: Beazley 1963: 446.262; Boardman 1975: fig. 299; Carpenter 1989: 241.

3 For example, Würzburg 479: Beazley 1963: 372.32; Boardman 1975: fig. 254: Carpenter 1989: 225; Berlin. Antikenabteilung F 2309: Beazley 1971: 372.11*bis*; Carpenter 1989: 233.

between different scenes on a pot. Sometimes this relationship is more or less transparent, as when three scenes relating to the same story are shown on the two sides and interior of a cup. Sometimes the parallels are 'typological', with parallel scenes shown on two sides of an amphora, or whatever.[4] Except when it comes to 'lay figures' on the 'backs' of classical red-figure vases, cases where we can be confident that scenes are quite unconnected are rather rarer than the long ignoring of the possibility of linkages would suggest.

If the study of pot painting has increasingly paid attention to the way in which images relate to each other and to a pot's shape and use, the same does not apply to the study of sculpture. To some extent this is a product of the nature of our evidence: the number of pieces of free-standing sculpture where we can be confident of the precise setting and circumstances of viewing is quite small. We would give a great deal to know, for instance, the original setting of the Riace Bronzes (much ink has been spilt in speculations), or even how warrior A and warrior B were placed in relation to each other. Even in the case of funerary reliefs, where the general setting is not in doubt, few are the cemeteries where we can be confident that we have a full picture of the company that a classical *stêlê* enjoyed at the moment of its erection.

There is, however, one category of sculpture for which we can be reasonably confident about the conditions of viewing, and that is architectural sculpture. Although we may not always be able to put metopes back into their original order – even putting the Bassai friezes into order has proved baffling enough (Jenkins and Williams 1993) – and the precise disposition of figures within a pediment may remain disputed, we are most often at least able to assign a sculpture to pediment, metope or frieze, and to discover the general position of the frieze or metope on the building. Scholars have indeed long taken into account the place from which a piece of sculpture comes in their discussions of composition, talking about the problems of scale and pose created by the triangular space of a pediment. ('The pediment is an unhappy shape into which to force figure sculpture', Boardman 1978: 152) or about the constraints that a square metope brings. But few standard discussions take the position of the sculpture *on the building* into account, beyond occasionally noting that the backs of pedimental figures were not visible, or that figures were seen from below.

I want to suggest that the extent to which the architectural setting on the temple influenced, if not controlled, the viewer was much greater than it has generally been considered to be, and that the choice of theme and the treatment of a theme was very much affected by the way in which it would

4 For various cases of and reflections on such interconnections, see Osborne 1985: 54–7; 1991: 272; 1998a: 17–20, 101–3, 112–13, 137–9, 147–54; 1998b: 21–31.

be viewed. Or, to put it the other way round, that the conditions of viewing created by the various architectural spaces that could be used for sculpture were exploited by artists to encourage viewers to enter into a particular relationship with the figures or scenes sculpted.

The basic framework for which I want to argue is quickly built. The triangular format of a pediment draws the attention of any viewer to the centre; it entices the viewer to stand in front of the middle of the temple façade and view the whole composition from that position. Pediments are hierarchical spaces, whether the hierarchy suggested be of action (the most important action is in the middle) or of status (the most important figure is in the middle). Pediments do not, however, unfold; they manifest themselves to the viewer at once: any partial view is unstable; only the view of the whole can be satisfactory. The viewer has to face up to a pediment, and to face up in a quite literal sense. Pediments are confrontational spaces.

Metopes are different. They are the most ambiguous of all the sculpted surfaces of a building, for they exist both individually and as a sequence. They are heavily framed by triglyphs, whose insistent vertical lines resist the motion of the eye laterally, yet their size is such that the viewers on the ground will always have more than one metope in their field of vision, always be conscious that the one metope on which they are focusing is but part of a set and requires to be compared and contrasted with its neighbours. That process of comparison establishes the expectation of links, of continuities: viewers expect to find that what is shown in one metope is, in one way or another, comparable with what is shown in the next.

In continuous ('Ionic') sculpted friezes there is no ambivalence; viewers' eyes are drawn across the frieze, both to scan it from one end of the visible portion to the other and to move along it bringing its parts successively into detailed focus. Continuous friezes as such are the form of sculpture which least constrains the viewer. Friezes may have ends and beginnings, at which sculptural forms may exploit the terminals provided by the corners of the building, but their form offers no hierarchy; there can be no expectation that the central scene will be either the climax of action or the key to the understanding of what lies to left and right. There is no architecturally imposed order of scanning imposed by the architectural framework, and viewers may begin to look from either end or spread their gaze successively in each direction from the middle. How a frieze is seen depends very much on exactly which continuous surface of the building it adorns and what the conditions of viewing are for the building as a whole.

That then is my own architectural framework. How exactly do such considerations about ways of viewing affect what we understand specific temple sculptures to be doing? I want to look again at the familiar land-

Figure 12.1 West pediment of the temple of Artemis, Corcyra, *c*.590–580 BC (Corfu Museum; photo: DAI (A) Corfu 559)

mark monuments of architectural sculpture and see how they relate to their setting, how they make use of the constraints upon, and conditioning of, the viewer.

II

I begin with the first fully fledged pedimental sculpture that survives, from the temple of Artemis on Corcyra (Rodenwaldt 1939; Benson 1967). The temple of Artemis faced its viewers with the Gorgon Medusa, who dominated the centre of the composition and even broke through the top frame, obscuring the top angle of the pediment from all but the most distant viewer (Figure 12.1). Flanked by the long, heads-to-centre, bodies of lion–leopards, whose heads turn towards the viewer, the Gorgon attracts the viewer to stand before her and to stare. The pedimental position forces the viewer into place, ensures that the would-be fatal gaze of the Gorgon is not resisted, requires the viewer to entertain with this monstrous creature the confusion of 'I' and 'you' inevitable whenever anyone stands before a face that returns the gaze.[5] This is indeed the power

5 Much has been written on the gaze of Medusa. Particularly pertinent here is Marin 1995: 118–21.

Image Not Available

Figure 12.2 East pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, *c*.470–457 BC (Olympia Museum)

of the Gorgon: the Gorgon always stares, and those who catch sight of her find themselves obliged to move into a position in which they become the objects of that stare, become the objects of her gaze, and become objectified by it. Medusa was always already staring: you cannot attract her gaze, she always attracts yours. Yet Medusa loses by winning, the viewer wins by losing. At the moment when the viewer is turned into an object by the Gorgon's gaze, the viewer also ceases to be active in gazing and becomes merely the mirror of the Gorgon's gaze. Once the viewer is a mirror, the Gorgon finds herself the object of her own gaze that is mirrored back to her, is herself objectified by her own gaze. But in becoming the Gorgon's mirror the viewer becomes no longer the object but now the agent of supernatural power, a participant in the relation of the gods to the world. By positioning the viewer as it does, the pedimental Medusa prepares the viewer not simply to regard the deeds of the gods from afar, but to aspire to be an agent of the gods in the world. The tiny figures of, perhaps, Zeus and Poseidon struggling with Titans that were shown in the corners of this pediment become subordinated not merely to Medusa, but to the direct encounter of human viewer and gods which Medusa induces. Admiring and giving thanks for divine elimination of the monstrous forces of evil is, by this pedimental composition, made but the prelude for, or accompaniment to, the worshipper's empowering encounter with the divine, some further manifestation of which presumably stood before worshippers when they dropped their eyes to look into the temple before them.

Many later pediments repeated, or played upon, the trope of the Corcyra pediment by having a central frontal face or even pair of frontal faces. It has been conjectured that the temple of Athena Polias on the Athenian Acropolis had a frontal Gorgon and two frontal lions to the east, two frontal lions to the west (Beyer 1974). Both pediments of the temple of Apollo at Delphi had frontal chariot teams driven by gods. To the east, it seems likely that the frontal chariot team was flanked by further frontal figures (divinities, it is conjectured) and that these were themselves flanked by lions attacking a cow and a deer (de La Coste Messelière 1931). To the west it seems rather to have been scenes of the gods fighting giants, a scene taken up again on the Siphnian treasury frieze.

Image Not Available

Figure 12.3 West pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, *c*.470–457 BC (Olympia Museum)

One feature that demands comment here is the differentiation between west and east. In both the Athena Polias temple at Athens and the temple at Delphi the frontality motif is much more insistently stressed to east than to west, and we will go on to see how regularly this is the case. The sense of the centre of a pediment as a place of meeting, in which any motion to right or left is inappropriate or unsatisfactory, seems strong, but sculptors feel their way to making the still centre of the west pediment in some way inconclusive: the two confronting lions of the west pediment of the Athena Polias temple are given so strong a lateral thrust by their trailing bodies that their frontal gazes can only temporarily break their motion towards a conflict. The surrounding Gigantomachy on the west pediment at Delphi draws attention away from the centre, and encourages the spectator to move off to left or right to pursue the thrust of Poseidon's trident or the flight of Apollo and Artemis's arrows. By contrast, the array of flanking frontal figures on the east pediment, and the strong pressure towards, rather than away from, the centre exerted by the lions' attacks ensures that the viewer's attention will move only in a vertical, not a horizontal plane.

At Aigina, in a temple which seems to have allowed access to the cella from both ends, the composition of west and east pediments seems to have been very closely parallel. It is not Aigina, therefore, but the temple of Zeus at Olympia (Ashmole, Yalouris and Frantz 1967) that provides the most obvious comparison with the Apollo temple at Delphi. Here the east pediment once more offers a succession of frontal figures at its centre, with clear movement from the corners towards the centre produced by the chariot horses and by the lunging figures of Alpheios and Kladeos, who emerge from the very angles (Figure 12.2). The west pediment has its composition pivoted upon the central figure of Apollo, but it offers no excuse to the eye to rest at the centre (Figure 12.3). Apollo directs a hand and his gaze to the left side of the pediment, and the battling Centaurs, Lapiths and Lapith women allow the eye to run easily in both directions. This west pediment differs from the west pediment at Delphi in the more direct involvement of the central figure, but in other respects its conception is the same. In the case of the east pediment, however, the same compositional trope has been employed to very different effect. At Delphi

we are still in the world of the Corcyra temple: the central gods face the viewer and challenge the viewer, as worshipper, to engage with a divine power which is mirrored in the animal struggles which frame it. At Olympia, the central frontal figures are not all divine, and the worshipper is probably (the position of Zeus' head is not certain) unable to enter into the straightforward mirroring relationship that makes worship an active matter. The viewer is, indeed, not able to find a single position from which to engage with the central figures, for each of those figures inclines his or her gaze a slightly different way. The viewer is made to move and realign, is as frustrated here in any attempt to enter into a relationship as is the viewer of the west pediment, and yet here to the east the viewer is enticed to expect such a relationship.

The unease created by the central group in this east pediment at Olympia is magnified by the way in which the rest of the composition insists that the central group is the focus of attention. The viewer's eye, straying to the angles of the pediment to gain some grounding or direction, is repeatedly brought back to the centre that fails to satisfy it. The viewer's eye, in straying, finds the worried gaze of the seer, and in it an image of its own perplexed scrutiny of the central group. The uncertainty of the viewer is thus turned not simply into a matter of the perplexity of the worshipper, whose expectations of the manifestation of divine power and of the possibility of entering into a relationship with that power are thwarted, but into a matter of uncertainty about what exactly gods and men together will conspire to do.

In due course the uncertainties induced by the east pediment at Olympia came to play against the massive statement of divine omnipotence that most ancient viewers saw in Pheidias' Zeus. It is easy to see in the commissioning of that large statue, which gave an even more massive impression than one would expect from its measurements (Pausanias v.11.9), simply Round Two of the competition with the Parthenon which the Athenians had won in Round One by exceeding the Zeus temple in size in almost all dimensions (Snodgrass 1986): Athens had a massive chryselephantine statue, so Olympia had to have one that was even more massive. But one might wonder whether a massive affirmation of divine power, backed up with stories of how Zeus himself had displayed his power by sending a lightning flash in active approval (Pausanias ibid.), was not felt necessary in the face of the innovative uncertainties of the east pediment and its subtle exploitation of the way that pedimental space was viewed.

In the case of the Parthenon we have the advantage of knowing what the Athena Parthenos, against which the east pedimental sculptures were seen, looked like (Leipen 1971). West and east pediments on the Parthenon seem again to have contrasted with each other, though less than

at Olympia (Brommer 1963; Palagia 1993). The struggle between Athena and Poseidon at the centre of the west pediment apparently presented them in a way which emphasised that they were pushing apart, creating a strong tension against the motion towards the centre presented by the rearing horses of the flanking chariots. But various subsidiary figures looked back, rather than onward, and the viewer was encouraged to move from a central position to one from which the backward glances can be more closely investigated. Such backward glances were a feature of the east pediment also (as in the figure of Dionysos), but the central composition here seems, on Berger's reconstruction (1977: folding pl. 2; Palagia 1993: fig. 15), to have found space between the chariot horses for five essentially vertical figures, though none of them perhaps was completely frontal, drawing the eye very strongly to the centre. Viewers are encouraged to move their gaze up and down rather than from side to side, to see Athena's birth here as but the crowning scene of the victorious Athena within.

I hope that by redescribing those few classic pedimental groups in this way I have done enough to suggest that sculptors, in designing pedimental groups, were not simply experimenting with a variety of ways in which to fill an awkward space, but were exploiting the conditions of viewing, drawing the worshipper into a central position before the façade and then directing his or her progress round the temple, or to the view of the cult statue to be gained by lowering the gaze. I hope to have shown also that there were theological implications to the relationships between viewer and sculpture that were established, and that the sculpture might confront the worshipper more or less straightforwardly with the manifestation of the power of the gods. Pedimental sculpture faces the worshipper with situations and draws worshippers on, it does not enhance the worshippers' consciousness of themselves; even in mirroring the worshipping gaze, pedimental sculpture leaves worshippers perceiving themselves dimly, if at all.

III

Viewing metopes is a very different story. The earliest metopes that we know of already show how the fact that there are several strictly equivalent spaces that are being decorated opens up possibilities for a number of different strategies of showing. So, at Thermon, we have cases of two metopes relating to the same myth, as well as of different myths being set up for comparison and contrast. It is notable that although some of the Thermon metopes are balanced – that is, their compositions focus in the middle, as with the metope showing Khelidon and Aedon (see above, Figure 7.3) where the composition focuses on the head of the murdered son – many of the metopes show figures in motion or figures

whose gaze is all one way, and so cause the viewer to look on to the next metope. We are not now in a position to recover the full arrangement of the metopes, or to reconstruct how they worked as a set, but we can see here at Thermon the initial exploration of almost the full variety of modes of use of this architectural space.

The metopes preserved from the various Selinous temples (Giuliani 1979) almost all prefer the static, balanced, approach to metopal decoration, and as far as we can gauge were all placed at the ends, rather than the sides, of the building. They thus fell into the gaze of the viewer who, in one case at least (temple C), was attracted into a central viewing position by the gaze of a pedimental Gorgon. The complete metopes preserved from temple C are very insistently frontal: the Gorgon appears again, in the process of decapitation by a frontal Perseus supported by a frontal Athena, Herakles displays the frontal (if upside-down) Kerkopes, and a god appears frontally on a frontal chariot; the latter composition affords four strong vertical accents, the former compositions both afford three. In the case of metopes from temple Y, the figures are not all so insistently frontal, but the accent is never on strong lateral movement: in the case of Zeus carrying off Europa, the god/bull turns his head to interrupt the lateral motion of his body and of Europa's gaze, and, in the case of three goddesses shown in profile, the contrary motion of one of them ensures a more or less balanced composition.

The repeatedly static emphasis of the Selinous metopes contrasts with the much more numerous fragments from the Heraion at Foce del Sele (van Keuren 1989; Conti 1994). So many fragments have been found here that there can be no doubt that carved metopes surrounded the building, even though the exact placing of each metope cannot be firmly determined. Frontal figures appear to have been present in only two cases, and only in these and one or two other metopes is there any equivocation over lateral motion; otherwise there is a strong lateral drive in each case (Figure 12.4). Speculative assignment of the metopes to particular sides of the building makes both centrifocal and centifugal arrangement possible. In any case there can be no doubt that these metopes encouraged the worshipper to move round the temple, not just by force of composition but, in many cases, by the links between the subject-matter of successive metopes. Whether the centre of the east front was in any way distinguished in this sequence is something we would dearly like to know, but cannot tell.

The sequential approach to the metope was to be found too on the Sikyonian treasury at Delphi (Homolle 1909: 18–40). Here, not only was one *story* continued over more than one metope, but one *scene* was so continued in at least one case, where the Argo was shown over two metopes. In that case, the lateral force which that continuation created

Figure 12.4 Metopes from the Heraion at Foce del Sele, Italy, *c*.530 BC. (The numbering is conventional; the arrangement here is grouped by theme rather than by possible position on the temple.) (Paestum Museum)

played against the static emphasis of frontal figures of the Dioskouroi, but in the other metopes we have, it is certainly the lateral emphasis that is strongest. The Dioskouroi certainly appeared in one further metope (raiding cattle), and may have appeared at least once more, but the most common thematic link between the surviving fragments seems to be that the scene involves animals as well as men (cattle raided, Phrixos and ram, Europa and bull, Kalydonian(?) boar).

It is only with the temple of Zeus at Olympia, the Parthenon and the Hephaisteion that we can be at all sure about the relationship of any individual metope to the building. In the case of the Parthenon, two-figured compositions seem to have predominated and balance to have been the norm (Brommer 1967; Berger 1986). Strongly directional compositions are found on all four sides.[6] In the case of the east, they may have been partially balanced (no. 5 with no. 10), and certainly focus attention on the centre. In the case of the west, metopes 3, 5, 9 and 13 have very similar compositions and all pick up a strong left-to-right (north-to-south) movement from the even more unequivocal direction of metope 1. Against this flow stood, as far as we can see, only metope 11. This urging of the viewer from north to south is particularly interesting since the dominant direction of the frieze, glimpsed between the west columns, is from south to north. The worshipper who disengages himself or herself from the pediment is thus faced with a choice of whether to move with the mounted Amazons, and against the flow of Athenian citizens in the frieze, or to join the Greeks in confronting those Amazons. This decision is made more important by what happens on the north.

The loss of most of the north metopes of the Parthenon is a great tragedy, since they were almost certainly the most interesting set. They have a very strong direction of movement, with no clear exceptions preserved, and that is from east to west. The viewer who decides to take on the Amazons turns the corner to the north side and is met first by Trojan refugees (metope 28), and then faces the drawn sword of Menelaos (metope 24) and the onset of the Greeks. It seems possible to construe many of the metopes of the Parthenon (note especially all those Lapith and Centaur duels on the south side) as individual episodes, as so often the scenes on the metopes of earlier buildings are to be construed, even when the individual episodes are part of a sequence. But the metopes of the north side not only continue a particular 'story' over two metopes (the encounter of Menelaos with Helen in metopes 24–5), but are so strongly linked as episodes of a single event that, as they lead the viewer on, so they require of the viewer a viewpoint; the viewer is not just a spectator before whose eyes something is happening, the viewer is the one who makes

6 In what follows I develop some ideas explored in a different way in Osborne 1994a.

these things happen. This effect is reinforced by the impossibility, on a building the size of the Parthenon, of a viewer ever seeing all the metopes of the north (even less those of the south) at once, and so as a group; by the time you are far enough away you simply cannot make out any of the detail.

The viewer who decides to move 'with the flow' of the west metopes, and to turn to the south side, rather than the north, is initially made predominantly to face up to the opposition to the Greek: in seven out of the first twelve metopes (metopes 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9 and 12) the Centaur moves from east to west. But after Centaurs reappear in the metopes (in metope 22) the story is different: in metopes 22, 24, 25, and all six metopes from metopes 27 onwards, the Centaurs are moving, as the viewer is, from west to east, and the viewer either joins the Centaur in running off with a Lapith woman or joins the Centaur in facing up to a Lapith man. Even on this side there is no possibility of the viewer consistently lining up with the Greek against the non-Greek: all the faces of battle are shown, something reinforced by the great mixture of sympathetic and unsympathetic renderings of the Centaurs.[7] It is precisely the combination of sequence and disjunction, necessarily created by metopes, that allows the viewer constantly to be resited, brings out difference, prevents a stable relationship between viewer and figures viewed, and defers final meaning.

The curious and particular way in which the Parthenon metopes have themselves read becomes very apparent by comparison with the Hephaisteion (Morgan 1962). Here, the only sculpted metopes were at the east end of the two flanks and on the east façade (Figure 12.5). The very decision to place sculpture only on these metopes implies that the viewer is expected not to be circulating the building but to be viewing it from the east end, perhaps viewing the metopes on the flanks only all together and from a distance. Although the victorious hero – Theseus on the flanks, Herakles on the façades – most usually appears on the left, few metopes, except the two (east 8 and 9) between which the single scene of the struggle with Geryon is split, have any strong directional force. The Herakles scenes on the façade involve primarily monsters (all bar the Amazon and, in a sense, the apples of the Hesperides); on the flanks those Theseus scenes that involve at least near-humans are placed furthest from the façade: it is the monstrous, with whom there can be no sympathy, that provides the model. One of the effects of having a sequence of actions by the same hero, rather than a series of episodes in a single struggle, is that the nature of the comparability between the successive scenes is quite different. For the viewer taking these in as a group, typological repetition

7 I have discussed this at greater length in Osborne 1994b.

Figure 12.5 Metopes from the Hephaisteion, Athens, *c.*450–425 BC

is stressed much more heavily than contrast, and interest centres on the varied challenges posed to the hero.

The labours of Herakles were, of course, also the subject of the earlier metopes at Olympia, several of which had used the same iconographical scheme for the same scene (Figure 12.6). The conditions of viewing were, however, rather different, in so far as the Olympia metopes were above the columns of the pronaos, and to see more than one metope at a time was problematic whether the viewer looked through the columns of the peristyle or up at a steep angle from within that colonnade. Both sets of

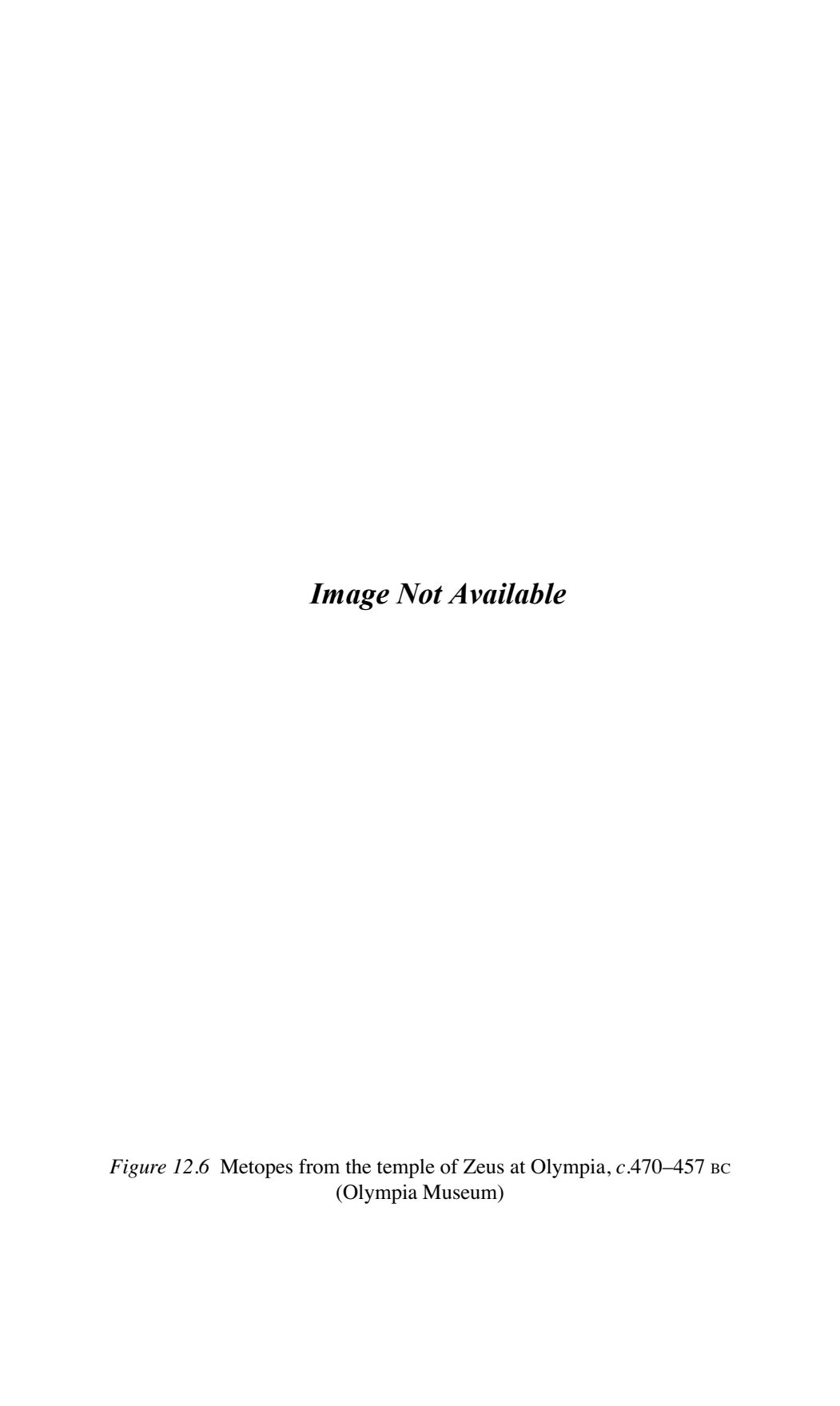

Figure 12.6 Metopes from the temple of Zeus at Olympia, *c*.470–457 BC (Olympia Museum)

metopes seem to have directed the viewer towards the centre, with the edges patrolled by boundary figures, Athena in the northwest (metope 1) and northeast (metope 12) metopes, the thrusting figure of Herakles himself in the southwest (metope 6) and southeast (metope 7). The metopes are devoted to one episode each, and the effect is cumulative by repetition.

Just as the state of later pediments from Epidauros and Tegea makes it hard to know whether any later temple picked up the innovations of the Olympia pediments,[8] so the state of preservation of later metopes prevents us from knowing whether the innovative use of metopes there was picked up later. In both cases it is perhaps unlikely, in the case of Olympia because of the degree to which the strategy depended upon a willingness to distinguish individual actors that is greater than is displayed by surviving sculptures from later in the fifth or from the fourth century, and in the case of the Parthenon because of the way in which the strategy depended upon sculpting the metopes all round the building and, at least to some degree, upon the interplay with the uniquely placed continuous frieze.

IV

Continuous friezes are first found on small buildings, and can first be studied in detail in the case of the Siphnian treasury in Delphi (Picard and de La Coste Messelière 1928: 57–171). The inclusion of inscribed names here (Brinkmann 1985) implies that viewers are expected to pick their way along each side in detail, unfolding the actions of gods and heroes whose names will be more or less familiar to them. On the other hand, the way in which the north side is powerfully centred and the east has a double centre strongly implies that a static viewpoint, or more than one static viewpoint, per side is also envisaged. The Siphnian treasury was not a building that could be walked round, although it could be walked past on the north side. The double focus of the east frieze served to diminish the centralising force of the east pediment, leading attention off in one direction or another rather than concentrating it. Since the east wall was the back wall, and had no doorway, no marked centre, the decentring was required. By contrast the west frieze seems to have split into three equal parts which corresponded to the spaces between the Caryatid figures, thus preparing any viewer of the pediment who turned his or her gaze down for the disposition of architectural space, and equally preparing any viewer who adopted a position in front of one of three possible entrance spaces

8 But it is clear that the same contrast between east and west pediments that we have observed in sixth- and fifth-century temples was also to be found at Epidauros; see Yalouris 1986.

for the single centre of the pediment with its (presumed) frontal chariot group.

The Siphnian treasury frieze, in varying its compositional strategy according to the conditions of viewing, reveals the continuous frieze as capable of two sorts of relationship to a story. One way that a continuous frieze can organise itself is as the battle of Achilles and Memnon on the east here is organised: a single episode is encompassed within a single view, taking advantage of the range that normal vision covers in order to set a combat into a wider perspective (here the fight over the body of Antilokhos), and to juxtapose that episode to a related one, dealt with in similarly extensive way (here the weighing up of the fate of Achilles and Memnon by the gods). Alternatively, a continuous frieze can show a series of encounters with no hierarchy at all, as in the Gigantomachy with its successive clashes and acts of violence, no one of which is 'central'. Looked at from the point of view of a story, the frieze is here revealed as having the advantage over metopes that it can be organised to indicate a climax or climaxes, the advantage over pediments that it can avoid hierarchy.

I have talked about the relationship of the Parthenon frieze to the way that it is viewed too many times before to repeat my views here (Osborne 1987; 1994a; 1998a). What needs to be brought out in this context is the way in which the organisation of the frieze exploits sequence without hierarchy on the flanks, exploits the possibilities for not just avoiding hierarchy but implying deferral in the repeated false starts and interruptions of the west frieze, and embraces hierarchy and climax in the east (albeit a climax of a problematic sort). Once away from the west, this frieze is single-minded in its directionality, driving on as no other frieze does. It is precisely the expectation, created by the onward impetus provided by every view through the peristyle until the viewer comes to gaze up at the centre of the east, that makes the climax on the east side so striking, and its failure to offer a clear action so perplexing. But if the Siphnian treasury had nothing to reveal that made the space in front of the door more important than the space between Caryatids and side wall, the Parthenon did – the gold and ivory statue of Athena.

Some relationship between placing and treatment of scenes can be seen in the Hephaisteion frieze (Morgan 1962), where the west frieze, limited to the width of the cella, ends at both north and south with powerful Centaur attacks, which lead the spectator to want to look round the corner (not that there is anything there) and so move towards the east and the front of the temple, while the east frieze sets up a framework by having two groups of inward-facing gods (not that the focus of action in between is at all clear). More interesting, however, than these two strips of frieze, or the four faces of the frieze of the temple of Athena Nike with its three

battle compositions, and pointedly centred array of gods to the east, are the continuous friezes with which some interior spaces came to be lined, notably the inside of the pronaos at Sounion and the interior of part of the cella at Bassai. What is so interesting about these friezes is that, far from contributing to the focus upon the cult-statue, as I have argued that pedimental sculptures, metopes and centred friezes do, these, if they attract the worshipper's attention at all, distract it. The condition of the surviving fragments from Sounion is such that we cannot trace this distraction in detail, but at Bassai (Hofkes-Brukker and Mallwitz 1975; Madigan 1992: chs 7–11) the complete preservation of the frieze shows that there was no focus for the eye, and that even the figures of Apollo and Artemis insisted, by their outstretched hands, on moving the viewer's gaze ever onward, and the sculpted cult-statue that appears on the frieze was not only largely concealed, but largely concealed by a figure whose outstretched arms insist that the viewer look elsewhere.

V

The earliest pediments anticipated the presentation of the divine to worshippers by facing them with images of divine power with which they had to engage. That remained the basic pedimental trope, at least on east pediments; west pediments developed less decisive images. But at Olympia the newly developed richness of reference to individual characteristics enabled the sculptures to imply the unfolding of a story of which at least some of the actors involved were unaware, and this led to an east pediment which offered a much more quizzical relationship to divine power, if not to divine presence.

The earliest metopes equivocated between repeating the presentation of divine power and the developing of a theme by linking scenes in a sequence. Once more, in the fifth century, this time on the Parthenon, the relationship of viewer to sculpture was newly elaborated as advantage was taken of a continuous and unbroken sequence of metopes to create a particular point of view that the worshipper was encouraged, if not obliged, by the rest of the sculptural setting to confront.

Continuous friezes have a less rich history, and they too generally offered separate modes of viewing, either in sequence or as a single long thin scene. The Siphnian treasury frieze plays with these modes according to the side of the building involved, and other friezes also vary the approach depending on whether they are adorning the east front or another side of a temple. From this point of view, the Parthenon frieze, although viewed in a different and much more constrained manner, offers only limited innovation. The radical change in the use of frieze sculpture came in its employment in temple interiors, where the continuous and

unbreakable sequence of a frieze came into competition with, rather than reinforced, the impact of the cult-statue. That competition raised a theological question about the possibility of the gods' effective intervention in the world that is exactly parallel to the question raised by the east pediment at Olympia. Just how clearly one could see oneself, and just how clearly one could see the god, was an issue well before the ingenious placement of the mirror at Lykosoura.

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PROGRAMME OF THE FIRST LEVENTIS GREEK CONFERENCE

WORD AND IMAGE IN ANCIENT GREECE

Friday 5 March 1999

9.30 a.m. Registration
10.00 a.m. Welcome by Professor John Richardson

1st session – Images in Early Greece (Chair: Mr David Ridgway)
10.20 a.m. Dr Irene Lemos (University of Edinburgh) *Songs for heroes: image and society in early Greece*
11.20 a.m. Professor Anthony Snodgrass (University of Cambridge) *The inscribed image: the uses of writing on early Greek painted pottery*
12 noon Dr Elizabeth Moignard (University of Glasgow) *Tools of the trade*
12.40 p.m. Discussion

2nd session – Narrative and Image (Chair: Dr Elizabeth Moignard)
2.00 p.m. Professor Olga Palagia (University of Athens) *Meaning and narrative technique in High Classical statue bases*
2.40 p.m. Professor Brian Sparkes (Leventis Visiting Professor) *Small world: pygmies and co.*
3.50 p.m. Professor Stephen Halliwell (University of St Andrews) *The philosophy of images*
4.30 p.m. Discussion

Saturday 6 March 1999

3rd session – Image(ry) and the Stage (Chair: Mr Christopher Strachan)
10.00 a.m. Dr Jenny March (University of Oxford) *Vases and tragic drama*
11.10 a.m. Dr Ruth Bardel (University of Oxford) *Eidôla in Greek tragedy and vase-painting*
11.50 a.m. Dr Simon Goldhill (University of Cambridge) *Placing theatre in the history of vision*
12.30 p.m. Discussion

4th session – Reading (and) the Image (Chair: Professor Brian Sparkes)
2.00 p.m. Dr Jeremy Tanner (University of London) *Social structure, cultural rationalisation and aesthetic judgement in classical Greece*
2.40 p.m. Dr Karen Stears (University of Edinburgh) *Losing the picture: image*

and inscriptions in Athenian funerary monuments

3.50 p.m. Professor Robin Osborne (University of Oxford)
'In this mirror you see yourself very dimly or not at all' (Pausanias viii.37.7): temple sculpture and the viewer

4.30 p.m. Discussion

Closing address

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Note: References in italics denote illustrations.