The development of emotional rendering in Greek art, 525-400

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To my parents

Abstract

This thesis explores the development of naturalistic rendering of emotion in the art of Greece through facial expression and body posture from 525 to 400. Why does emotional naturalism arise in the art of Greece, and in which particular regions? Why at this period? In which contexts and media? What restrictions on situation and type of figure can be interpolated or reconstructed?

The upper chronological limit is based on simple observation. It is about this time, in many media, that naturalistic emotional expression is employed, although there are exceptions that blur this line slightly. The lower limit marks a major historical turning point, a culmination in Beazley's chronology of Attic vase painting and a common dating threshold for small finds. Emotional expression accelerates from the fourth century, and requires a different set of questions. 400 is for this reason held as a strict end-point.

Many categories of physical object were considered; gems and coins did not offer substantial results, but are used for comparison. The rest have formed the armature of the thesis. Only original objects are included, as emotionality undergoes marked changes in Hellenistic and Roman copies. The first section treats publically-commissioned sculpture – sculpture integrated into architecture. The second section treats privately-commissioned sculpture, stone and terracotta; the third pottery: black-figure, red-figure and white-ground. Within these sections, material is arranged broadly chronologically. Human figures are the focus, and semi-humans such as Centaurs and satyrs are included; figures with essentially non-human faces such as the Gorgon are not.

Human anatomy is constant, so the method of analysis is physiological. Rather than putting facial expressions in folk terms – a frown, a smile – they are described anatomically for precision: by muscular contractions and extensions and their correspondent manifestations on the surface of the body. Moving beyond description to explanation, neurochemistry and psychology are the preferred tools, although neither discipline has a consensus on the nature of emotion or its expression. History, religion, location, maker, commissioner, viewer, medium and technique are brought to bear in order put expressivity in context.

An important methodological tool has been the separation of emotional 'input' and 'output'. Output is the evocation or intended evocation of an emotional state in the viewer, and the thesis is constantly aware of the disconnect between the 'intended audience' and a modern one. It focuses instead on input – the methods used to render the inner state of the figures shown. This has twofold benefit: it avoids insurmountable subjectivity – one might laugh at the expression of fear on a maenad being raped by a satyr, while another might not – and allows for comparison across genre and medium.

Preface

Emotion in art straddles aesthetics and art history and psychology; emotion in ancient art gains archaeology and Classics. It seems that it is so interdisciplinary that it has been largely ignored. Perhaps foolishly, I thought that an attempt, even should it fail, would at least point out the benefit of addressing the subject directly, and supply an initial method. I have aimed to be as broad as possible – all media, every emotion, anywhere in Greece – limiting myself only to a period of time. It quickly became clear that the material's testimony rested in its nature as art, rather than as object. Indeed, some definitions of art take emotion as their fulcrum – an object meant to portray the artist's emotion, or to arouse the emotion of the viewer, or having come to exist because of a strong emotional impulse. In this thesis, as a result, the objects analyzed and their makers are referred to as art and artist. They are other things too, but as bearers of emotional renderings they are treated as art foremost.

The relationship between object and text, both fiction – 'art' text – and nonfiction, whether history or philosophy or inscriptions, helps to illuminate both. Translations of text are my own. Greek text has been more-or-less latinized; exceptions are when doing so would obscure meaning. Thus vase-shapes and vase-painters are left in their more familiar forms (stamnos, Kleophrades Painter), but other proper nouns (Aegina, Chaeredemus) have been regularized to correspond to normal English orthography. Dates are BC unless marked AD.

Citations have been kept to a minumum; the bibliography is a full catalogue of works consulted, not a list of works cited. Figures not credited in the list of figures below are photographs taken by me. Vases are cited with their Beazley Archive (on-line) unique numbers in brackets; this is the most direct way to access full bibliography, images and metadata. Architectural and funerary sculpture is described according to the labelling systems used by excavation reports, major publications and museum labelling, so differs by monument and type. Small objects are cited variously, as those published in excavation reports cannot always be connected to museum inventory numbers and vice-versa.

The desire to study emotional expression in Greek art emerged from my bachelor's thesis, completed at Brown University, on warrior departures. Having intended on

continuing and expanding that study into a doctoral dissertation, I soon changed course, hoping to explore broader themes. Some weeks after beginning research, I became of aware of a project, directed by Professor Angelos Chaniotis (Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton), *The Social and Cultural Construction of the Emotions: The Greek Paradigm*. Professor Chaniotis brought me on to the project as a research assistant, and I have benefitted from the project and from his knowledge and advice. The project is one of many in Europe, America and Australia exploring the role of emotion in art and literature. Over the course of my preparing this research, the topic has increased in popularity, and will perhaps continue to do so. My hope is that 'emotion' does not become a permanent subsection of the discipline as has 'gender', but will instead be absorbed, a tool of analysis rather than a field unto itself.

To Professor Chaniotis, and the current and past members of the emotions project I give great thanks. Professor Chaniotis acted twice as a reader of my thesis, Professor Irene Lemos (Merton) and Dr Thomas Mannack (Beazley Archive) once; their comments have strengthened my arguments. The Meyerstein Fund generously permitted a research trip in Spring 2010 that provided many of the photographs used as figures below. The European Cultural Center of Delphi provided for me to participate in a symposium at Delphi in Summer 2010. I particularly thank Professor Lucia Athanassaki (University of Crete), Professor Ewen Bowie (Corpus Christi), Dr Penelope Murray (University of Warwick) and Dr Oswyn Murray (Balliol) for their support and interest. In Spring 2011, Professor William Harris (Columbia University), through the Center for the Study of the Ancient Mediterranean, organized a workshop for historians whose subjects had to do with psychology; to Professor Harris, Professor Keith Oatley (University of Toronto) and Professor William Ian Miller (University of Michigan), as well as the other participants in the workshop I am grateful for lively and convivial debate, and for the opening of new fields of inquiry. The British School at Athens has been a happy and nourishing environment, and I thank its director, Dr Catherine Morgan and assistant director Mr Robert Pitt, as well as Professor Chris Mee (Liverpool University) for their support and kindness.

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Professor Donna Kurtz (Wolfson) has supervised this thesis with utmost generosity and good humour. For many years she has supported and guided me, encouraged me to be plainspoken and sincere. I have not always met her hopes, but the struggle has bettered me as a scholar, as a teacher and as an advocate for this subject. Gratitude is only a small part of my tremendous regard for her.

I have benefitted from the kindness and support of many during these expatriate years, too many to name. Some that stand out are Dr Anna Camilleri (Balliol), Sir David and Lady Susan Dain, Dr Jane Masséglia (St John's), Ms Gabriela Sotomayor (Wolfson) and Mr Benjamin Stevens (University). To my friends I have not only gratitude but love. My family has supported me fiercely, and their pride has made the rough places plain. This thesis is dedicated to my parents.

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(*Olynthus* 1934 & 1938 no. 271, pl. 90.)
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(B. Schmaltz, 'Terrakotten aus dem Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben', *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben* (Berlin, 1974) V, no. 312, pl. 24.)
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(*CVA* Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1, pl. 54)
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(*CVA* Northampton, Castle Ashby, pl. 9)

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(*CVA* Northampton, Castle Ashby, pl. 10)
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(*CVA* New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 4, pl. 27)
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(*CVA* Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 5, Taf. 209)
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(O. Taplin, *Comic Angels* (Oxford, 1993) pl. 8.)
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(Beazley Archive)
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(*CVA* Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (2) III I, Taf. 86)
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(*CVA* Berlin, Antiquarium (2), Taf. 68)
Fig. 234: Cup attributed to the Brygos Painter.
(*CVA* Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum (8) pl. 420)
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(*CVA* Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum (8) pl. 419)
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(D. Buitron-Oliver, *Douris: a master-painter of Athenian red-figure vases* (Mainz, 1995), pl. 5.)
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(S. Kämpf-Dimitriadou, *Die Lieber der Götter in der attischen Kunst des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Bern, 1979) pl. 1.)
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(E. Vermeule, 'A Love Scene by "The Panaitios Painter"', *AJA* 71.3 (1967) fig. 1.)
Fig. 245: Cup fragments attributed to Onesimos.
(*CVA* Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum (8), pl. 415)
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(Trustees of the British Museum)
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(A. Dierichs, *Erotik in der Kunst Griechenlands* (Mainz, 2008), 63a.)

Chapter 8: White-ground bases and free painting

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(J.H. Oakley, *Picturing Death in Classical Athens* (Cambridge, 2004) fig. 116.)
Fig. 252: White-ground lekythos attributed to the Phiale Painter.
(J.H. Oakley, *The Phiale Painter* (Mainz, 1990) fig. 111.)
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(J.H. Oakley, *The Achilles Painter* (Mainz, 1997) pl. 141.)
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(J.H. Oakley, *The Achilles Painter* (Mainz, 1997) pl. 141.)
Fig. 255: White-ground lekythos attributed to the Achilles Painter.
(J.H. Oakley, *The Achilles Painter* (Mainz, 1997) pl. 140.)

Abbreviations

ABL	C.H.E. Haspels, *Attic black-figured lekythoi* (Paris, 1936).
ABV	J.D. Beazley, *Attic Black-figure Vase-painters* (Oxford, 1956).
ARV^2	J.D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters* (3 voll., 2nd ed. Oxford, 1963).
Ashmole & Yalouris, *Olympia*	B. Ashmole, N. Yalouris, *Olympia: The Sculptures of the Temple of Zeus* (London, 1967).
Beazley, 'Charinos'	J. D. Beazley, 'Charinos', *JHS* 49.1 (1929) 38-78.
Beazley WWW	[http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/xdb/ASP/default.asp]
Berger & Gisler-Huwiler, *Fries*	E. and M. Gisler-Huwiler Berger, *Der Parthenon in Basel: Dokumentation zum Fries* (2 voll., Mainz, 1996).
BNP	H. Cancik, H. Schneider, and C.F. Salazar (edd.), *Brill's New Pauly: encyclopaedia of the ancient world* (Leiden, 2002-).
Brinkmann, *Beobachtungen*	V. Brinkmann, *Beobachtungen zum formalen Aufbau and zum Sinngehalt der Friese des Siphnierschatzhauses* (Ennepetal, 1994).
Burnett, *Songs*	A.P. Burnett, *Pindar's Songs for Young Athletes of Aigina* (Oxford, 2005).
CAH	D.M. Lewis, et al. edd., *The Cambridge Ancient History* V: The Fifth Century B.C. (2nd ed. Cambridge, 1992).
CAT	C.W. Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* (9 voll., Kilchberg, 1993-1995).
CAVI	H.R. Immerwahr, *Corpus of Attic Vase Inscriptions* [http://avi.unibas.ch/home.html]
CVA	*Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*
DELG	P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Grecque: Histoire des Mots* (4 voll., Paris, 1968-1980).
Farnell, *Commentary*	L.R. Farnell, *Critical Commentary to the Works of Pindar* (Amsterdam, 1965).
FdD	La Coste-Messelière, P. de, *Fouilles de Delphes* IV.1-4 (Paris, 1909-1957).
FGrHist	F. Jacoby (ed.), *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Leiden, 1950-1963).
GeW	H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (2 voll., Heidelberg, 1960).
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
LIMC	H.C. Ackermann and J.-R. Gisler (edd.), *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* (Zurich, 1981-).

LSJ	H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H.S. Jones (edd.), *A Greek-English Lexicon* (9th ed. Oxford, 1996).
M-L	R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the end of the fifth century B.C.* (rev'd. ed. Oxford, 1989).
M-W	Hesiod (ed. R. Merkelbach and M.L. West), *Fragmenta* (Oxford, 1967).
Madigan-Cooper, *Bassitas*	B.C. Madigan, *The Sculpture*, vol. 2 of F.A. Cooper, ed., *The Temple of Apollo Bassitas* (Princeton, 1992-1996).
Neumann, *Gesten*	G. Neumann, *Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst* (Berlin, 1965).
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary,* online edition (June 2012) (www.oed.com)
Olynthus	D.M. Robinson, 'The Terra-Cottas of Olynthus found in 1928', *Excavations at Olynthus* (London, 1931) IV. D.M. Robinson, 'The Terra-Cottas of Olynthus found in 1931', *Excavations at Olynthus* (London, 1933) VII. D.M. Robinson, 'Terracottas, Lamps, and Coins found in 1934 and 1938', *Excavations at Olynthus* (London, 1952) XIV.
Para	J.D. Beazley, *Paralipomena: additions to Attic black-figure vase-painters and to Attic red-figure vase-painters* (2nd ed. Oxford, 1971).
PartheKonBa	E. Berger (ed.), *Parthenon-Kongreß Basel* (2 voll., Mainz, 1984).
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
S-M	Pindar (ed. B. Snell and H. Mähler), *Carmina cum fragmentis* (2 voll., 1964-1975).
ThesCRA	*Thesaurus cultus et rituum antiquorum*
Treu, *Bildwerke*	G. Treu, *Die Bildwerke von Olympia in Stein und Thon* (Berlin, 1897)
TrGF	B. Snell, R. Kannicht, and S.L. Radt (edd.), *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta* (5 voll., Göttingen, 1971-2004).
Younger & Rehak, 'Observations'	J.G. Younger and P. Rehak, 'Technical Observations on the Sculptures from the Temple of Zeus at Olympia', *Hesperia* 78 (2009) 41-105.

Introduction

Naturalistic emotional expression in Greek art is at the heart of its visceral appeal, yet has not in itself been the subject of scholarly inquiry. Investigating it systematically, identifying its influences and beginnings, its progression over time and its development in type, yields not only a more thorough understanding of the material itself, but also glimpses of attitudes towards idealism and the role of emotional expression in drama, daily life and religious practice. The questions of such a study range in complexity. Where and when, by whom and in what media is emotion rendered through facial expression and body posture? What hastened and hindered its development? Do certain subjects and contexts particularly foster emotionality? To what extent is modern appraisal adequate in looking at ancient objects?

This last question has perhaps prevented academic treatment. Using anatomical and psychological tools and terms allows for accurate description; the shift to appraisal is subjective to a degree, so the description of objects and figures serves as the main tool of discussing emotionality. Since human anatomy is constant, there is no need to define a 'Greek' smile or frown. As opposed to gesture, which is deeply dependent on culture, naturalistic expression – spontaneous physical manifestations of inner state – stems primarily from human physiognomy.

An important distinction for this study is that between emotional display and emotional arousal. The latter, which focusses on the interaction between object and audience, is subject to difference of place and time. It can have have manifestations outside of the body such as attire or landscape. Setting can have more effect than content; any image on a tomb may well arouse sadness or pity. Naturalistic emotional display depends on the relationship between artist and object: the technical means of representing a figure as he might appear in a given situation. This is necessarily tied to observation.

The rise of observation-based rendering provides the basis for beginning the inquiry in 525, when naturalistic emotion begins to appear in various media. There are exceptions both great – such as the masks found in the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta, profoundly expressive and dated to ca. 600 – and small – such as a handful of vases attributed

to Exekias and to the Amasis Painter dated about a decade earlier, as well as several terracottas. As a result, this upper limit is blurred slightly. The lower limit of 400 has been chosen because of its historical significance as the end of the 'Athenian century' and its use as a common dating threshhold for terracottas, grave reliefs and vases. By this time naturalistic emotional expression is common and always increasing.

All categories of object bearing figural decoration – coin, gem, vase, sculpture, figurine, relief – were investigated. Coins and gems, due at least in part to their size, did not provide sufficient data; they are used for comparison only. Especially in the case of vases and grave reliefs at this period, many of the objects come from Athens. Data come from the Greek-speaking eastern Mediterranean; the art of Italy, despite profound influence from Greece, follows its own trajectory and is for this reason excluded.

Investigating emotions and emotional expression is a pursuit with a history that begins at the very end of the historical period under investigation. What follows is a rapid survey of important and influential discussions an analyses up to the present in order to illustrate how the current conception of emotion developed.

Greek authors

The earliest extant explicit discussion of emotion is in Plato's *Philebus*, written around the turn of the fourth century. In the dialogue, Plato has Socrates distinguish between three sets of ἡδοναί καὶ λύπαι, *pleasures and pains*: those of the body (σῶμα) alone, those of the soul (ψυχὴ) alone and those mixed of body and soul. In this second group, the pleasures and pains acting on man's internal state, Socrates places anger, fear, longing, lament, love, emulation and envy – the emotions.[1]

Without suggesting that it is wholly clear what is meant by ψυχὴ, conventionally rendered *soul* but perhaps closer to the English *psyche*, it is the part of a man that is not physical. The difficulty in interpretation lies in locating the relationship between the ψυχὴ and the brain. Distinguished from sensations of hunger or physical pain, these pleasures and

1 *Philebus* 47e.

pains are reactions to external occurrences that do not affect the body. Aristotle, writing a generation later, makes explicit in the *Rhetoric* that emotion is a consequence of perception.[2]

Plato and Aristotle, in support of these claims, cite the same passage of the *Iliad*, specifically in respect to anger, *ὅς τε πολὺ γλυκίων μέλιτος καταλειβομένοιο*, *which is much sweeter than gathered honey*.[3] The *Iliad* is rich in observations about the nature of emotion and the ways in which it is expressed through the human form. The poet's descriptions of teeth bared, eyes flaring and lips curling are indeed the first extant literary record of emotional expression. Narrative and emotion are intimately linked in literature as in art. The epic poems, as well as lyric, dramatic and historical texts, all well before Plato, contain accounts and descriptions of people expressing their internal pleasures and pains. Yet against this closely-observed account of emotional expression in text, the art of the period is still frozen and without expression.

Xenophon, writing sometime after 371, presents conversations of Socrates with the painter Parrhasius and with the sculptor Cleiton about the rendering of emotion in their artworks. Socrates brings Parrhasius to agree that depicting the emotions is a laudable pursuit in painting, and all but says that art representing the finer emotions is better to look upon (*ἥδιον ὁρᾶν*) than that representing the baser emotions;[4] this is in following with Plato's justification of the expulsion of the artists from the ideal city because of their tendency to incite men to baser thoughts and pursuits.[5] In his conversation with the sculptor, Socrates remarks that accurate rendering of the *πάθη, feelings* or *emotions*, produces a sense of *τέρψις*, *joy* or *satisfaction* in the viewers; this is achieved, he suggests in the same way as in painting: the look of the eyes and face.[6]

Writings of the earliest Greek natural philosophers and later medical writers concerning the body itself survive in quotation from the turn of the sixth century. Thales of Miletus, active at around this time, is quoted by Aristotle in the *De anima* as postulating that

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2 1378a30-2. See also *EN* 1104b and 1105b, where Aristotle lists a different and larger set of emotions: desire, anger, fear, confidence, envy, joy, friendship, hatred, longing, jealousy and pity.
3 *Iliad* XVIII.108-109 (Plato) and 109-110 (Aristotle).
4 *Memorabilia*, III.x.
5 Broadly, *Republic* III and X; see also I. Murdoch, *The Fire and the Sun: Why Plato banished the artists* (London, 1977) 5-6. See below, p. 160.
6 *Memorabilia* III.x: *τὰ ὄμματα ἀπεικαστέον… ἡ ὄψις μιμητέα*. This is echoed in *Poetics* 1448b.

the soul is in motion; this allows Thales to have had some theory of emotion.[7] Many pre-socratic philosophers put natural phenomena in terms of movement, and it is in this framework that early conceptions of emotion – 'motion away' – come to be. Alcmaeon of Croton, born around the turn of the fifth century, is the first extant writer to postulate health in terms of balance of internal fluids – a balance that, when disturbed, has effects of the body (illness) and the soul (madness).[8] This madness is difficult to distinguish from what might otherwise be called strong emotion. Hippocrates' theory of the four humours also attributes emotion to their imbalance. The Alexandrian medical writers continued the tradition of the Hippocratic school, and furthered the potential reach of their inquiry with dissection.[9] It seems as though little was said on the emotions by the post-Hippocratics other than what Hippocrates said: emotion is due to an imbalance of the humours. The continuation of this view suggests how firmly it was held.

Roman and Christian authors

Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations* (ca. 45) contain the first Stoic conceptions of emotion and its expression. In the modern vernacular, 'stoic' is considered synonymous with 'inexpressive', whereas the stoic strategy targets emotion rather than its expression. Cicero's term for emotion, *perturbatio*, literally 'disturbance', illustrates his opinion. He also writes that emotions are to be made repugnant to one, should one wish to lead a tranquil and undisturbed life.[10] The Stoics as a sect were less hostile towards art than Plato and Aristotle, suggesting that it is close to nature, rather than contrary to it.[11]

Cicero and his Stoic antecedents construct emotions along two axes: good and ill, present and anticipated. His examples, all pejorative, are *wild delight* and *desire* (good present and anticipated) and *distress* and *fear* (ill present and anticipated). This builds on Aristotle's conception of emotions as consequences of perception: the output of emotion is closely bound to the input and varies accordingly. Emotions are natural reactions determined

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7 *De anima*, 405a.
8 E.D. Phillips, *Greek Medicine* (London, 1973) 20-22.
9 *Ibid*., 140: Diocles was considered the first to have dissected a human corpse.
10 *Tusculan Disputations*, III.xi.
11 M.-A. Zagdoun, *La philosophie stoïcienne de l'art* (Paris, 2000) 11.

by what is perceived and moderated by specific circumstances: anger (reaction, emotion) is the product of a slight (perceived action) when one thinks it undue (specific circumstances).

Galen, active in the second half of the AD second century, did much to continue and refine the medical tradition of the Alexandrians, dissecting humans occasionally and other animals fairly frequently. He constructs strong emotions as diseases to be treated. Rather than eliminating the emotions altogether, as the Stoics would advocate, Galen recommends their moderation (*μετριοπάθεια*), following the Platonists.[12] He also follows the Hippocratic theory of the humours as generating the emotions. In the *Ars medicalis*, Galen describes the six non-natural (i.e., not of the body *per se*) phenomena that affect health, the last of which is *affectiones animi*, *emotions of the soul*.[13] He was the first to state that purely mental afflictions could cause physical maladies.[14]

The philosophical analysis of the emotions is taken up by Christian authors based on their connection to the soul. Saint Augustine, for example, claims that angels are not subject to 'the infirmity of emotions'.[15] This is largely in keeping with the Stoic view of the emotions. Saint Thomas Aquinas devotes questions 22-39 of the *Summa Theologiae* (AD 1265-1274) to emotion. Aquinas, who is so familiar with Aristotle as to call him 'the philosopher', disagrees with him in a fundamental way, asserting that emotion is not of the soul, since '*passio est motus*', literally 'experience is movement' and, since the soul does not move, emotion cannot belong there.[16] This is one of the firmest etymological links between the ancient words commonly translated as 'emotion': *πάθος*, *passio*, *perturbatio*, *affectio*.

Πάθος and *passio*, etymologically connected, both translate literally as *experience*, though they are often rendered as *suffer*. Properly, this is 'suffer' in the sense of 'undergo', as when a word in poetry 'suffers elision'; to Aquinas, however, it had the same negative connotation as it does in modern usage, to the point that he claims *tristitia magis proprie est*

12 See P. Donini, 'Psychology' in R.J. Hankinson (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Galen* (Cambridge, 2008) 193-196.
13 Ibid., I.367, cited in S. Jarcho, 'Galen's Six Non-Naturals: A Bibliographic Note and Translation', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 44.4 (1970) 376.
14 S. Jackson, 'Galen – On Mental Disorders', *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 5 (1966) 365-366.
15 *De civitate Dei*, IX.5: *affectionum infirmitatem*. See J. Wetzel, 'Augustine' in J. Corrigan (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Emotion* (Oxford, 2007) 349-63.
16 *Summa Theologiae* 1a.2ae.22.1.

passio quam laetitia, *sadness is more fittingly an emotion than is happiness*. Cicero asserts that he renders πάθη as *perturbationes* rather than as *morbos*, 'infirmities'; that is, there were those who held emotions in lower esteem than him. The English term 'emotion', not in common usage until the eighteenth century,[17] is derived from Aquinas's *motus*, and is consistent with his construction of its cause.

Although Aquinas's concstruction of the soul will have differed substantively from Aristotle's, the location of the emotions outside it marks a fundamental shift. Rather than the antithesis of action and reaction favoured by Academics, Aquinas constructs emotion as a movement toward an outside agent.[18] He thus distinguishes between the perception and the resultant physical response, since the two originate from separate bodies.[19] This manifests pseudoscientifically, e.g., *ira est accensio sanguinis circa cor*, 'anger is the heating of the blood around the heart', but allows a general connection between emotion and the body, rather than strictly to the soul.

Notably, it is Jean de Gerson's *De passionibus animae* (ca. AD 1408) that first defends the emotions against the attacks of the Stoics and Christians that came before. Rather, he argues, emotion has a place in prayer and spiritual life, since devotion without appropriate emotion (piety, humility, awe) is empty and insincere.[20] His qualification of 'appropriate' necessitates a division of the animal emotions from the human, as well as judgment of their relative merits; thus his role as emotional apologist is limited in its scope.

Classical and theological constructions of emotion and emotional expression are founded, ultimately, on the Academic definition of 'pleasures and pains': for Plato and Aristotle themselves, these were simple reactions to external forces acting on the soul. By the time of Cicero, the Stoic school had separated the notion of reflex from the definition, encouraging its followers to fight against *perturbatio*, suggesting that the reflex could be moderated or even disabled. This prejudice against excess complemented Christian morality,

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17 *OED s.v.* emotion 3.a.
18 *Summa Theologiae* 1a.2ae.22.1: *pati dicitur ex eo quod aliquid trahitur ad agentem*.
19 *Summa Theologiae* 1a.2ae.22.2.
20 Ed. Palémon Glorieux, *Oeuvres Complètes* (10 voll., Paris, 1973) IX.1.

and allowed Aquinas to shift subtly from *passio* to *motus*, i.e., the movement towards an outside agent.

Renaissance and to the twentieth century

The Renaissance brought about renewed interest in the emotions, due in part to the rediscovery of Hellenistic (or pseudo-Hellenistic) artworks, notably the Laocoön group, now in Rome, which depicts extreme emotions. René Descartes published *Passions de l'Âme* in AD 1649, just a year before his death.[21] Descartes defines '*passions de l'âme*', like Plato's pleasures and pains of the soul alone,[22] as 'perceptions, feelings or emotions of the soul, which are connected specifically to the soul, and which are caused, extended and strengthened by some movement of the spirits', which are the descendants of the Hippocratic humours.[23] Later in the work, however, Descartes writes specifically on the exterior manifestations of emotion, both on the face and eyes and in the body.[24] These are descriptive rather than explanatory, but show a reckoning with the complexity of facial expression and the difficulty of doing much more than listing what one sees on the face of one angered or pleased. Writing specifically about the expression of the eyes, he notes that even the stupidest servant can tell by his master's eyes whether he is in trouble or no, but to qualify their movements more finely 'n'est pas aysé pour cela de les descrire'.[25]

In the same year, John Bulwer published *Pathomyotomia, or, A dissection of the significative muscles of the affections of the minde*.[26] This can be seen as something of a hybrid of Descartes's inquiry and the works of Diocles or Galen, *viz*. attempting to ground in science the observations that could be made by any attentive man. Its conclusions are not always accurate, though it does state explicitly that facial muscles, to a greater or lesser extent, have evolved specifically to be maximally expressive.

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21 R. Descartes, *Les Passions de l'Âme* ((1st ed., 1649) Amsterdam, 1650).
22 *Philebus* 47e.
23 *Ibid*., Article XXVII.
24 *Ibid*., Articles CXII, CXIII and CXXXVII.
25 *Ibid*., CXII.
26 J. Bulwer, *Pathomyotamia, or, A dissection of the significative muscles of the affections of the minde* (London, 1649).

Charles Le Brun's 1698 *Méthode Pour apprendre à Dessiner Les Passions* approaches the rendering of emotion on the face with an eye towards the artist, rather than the medic or the anatomist.[27] Le Brun was court painter to Louis XIV, and so his concerns were practical rather than theoretical; the book can be said to be the first study of the artistic rendering of the emotions, and so deserves special attention. He did not claim to be able to explain why or how the emotions came to be, but instead aimed for his book to serve as a guide to other artists to depict the face accurately as it expressed dozens of emotions, which he defines cursorily at the beginning of the treatise. Alongside a small description of ways in which the face changes as different emotions arose in a figure were sample drawings, many with guidelines to show variation from the base state of 'tranquillity'. Some showing frontal and profile views, the simple line-illustrations serve to show how specific facial components – eyebrows, nostrils, brow, mouth – move according to emotion. With respect to the goal of this study, this is a major step towards linking rendering with emotions.

The 'outside-in approach' allowed for deeply sensitive portrayals of emotions on faces and bodies. Some of this surface analysis makes its way into Winckelmann's influential *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* in 1764, where it is asserted that the expression of love in the Medici Venus is due entirely to the raising of her lower eyelid.[28] This represents the limit of a theory of anatomical emotional expression without true scientific inquiry. The first serious foray in this vein was made by the physician Sir Charles Bell's 1806 *Anatomy and Philosophy of Expression*.[29] Bell asserted, based upon observation and dissection, that because most facial expressions of emotion involved air and blood (laughing, weeping, blushing, etc.), the heart and lungs formed the seat of the emotions.[30] He also advanced the belief that certain facial muscles (e.g., the *corrugator supercilii*, muscle of the inner eyebrow, which governs the movement of the eyebrows) evolved explicitly to show emotion.[31]

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27 C. Le Brun, *Méthode Pour apprendre à Dessiner Les Passions* ((1st ed., 1698) Amsterdam, 1702).
28 J.J. Winckelmann, trans. G.H. Lodge, *The History of Ancient Art Among the Greeks* ((1st ed. 1764), London, 1850) 127.
29 C. Bell, *The Anatomy and Philosophy of Expression as connected with the fine arts* (3rd ed. (1st ed. 1806), London, 1844).
30 *Ibid*., 88.
31 *Ibid*., 131, 137-139 and 152.

Representing a great leap forward in scientific, empirical understanding of facial expression is Guillaume-Benjamin Duchenne de Boulogne's 1862 *Mécanisme de la physionomie humaine*.[32] The first psychological study to be illustrated with photographs, Duchenne set about stimulating the muscles of the face with electrodes, causing them to contract, and thus categorised and divided the muscles based on their actions in representing the emotions. He identified primary and secondary muscles that, in combination, could render all human emotions, fully eliminating supernatural forces from the theory of emotions. Furthermore, he identified 'primordial' expressions that, when combined, could generate complex expressions, such as lasciviousness or a sardonic smile.[33]

Charles Darwin's 1872 *Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*,[34] based on his earlier theory of natural selection, laid the groundwork for the universalisation of facial expressions: they are the evolved product of a species that lives communally, and so needs a sophisticated way of expressing and reading internal states; this he compares to the expression of emotion in 'lower animals', especially cats and dogs. Through simple experiments Darwin determined that all people had a set of inherent facial expressions that signalled the same thing:[35] the most famous showed several photographs of an old man making particular facial expressions to 'above twenty educated persons of various ages and both sexes' and asked their impression of his emotional state. He began to explore psychological and physiological reasons for these expressions, though he rejects what Bell and Duchenne asserted: that any facial muscle evolved specifically for communicative purposes.[36]

Two years later, the first book to treat the representation of emotion in Greek art directly appears: Gustav Körte's 1874 *Über Personificationen psychologischer Affekte in der späteren Vasenmalerei*. It's not clear whether Körte was familiar with Darwin's treatise, but he offers a sophisticated, if racially biased, perspective on mostly South Italian vases, notable for their deeply expressive figures. Soon after came Carl Sittl's 1890 *Gebärden der Griechen*

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32 English trans. R. Andrew Cuthbertson, *The mechanism of human facial expression* (Cambridge, 1990).
33 *Ibid*., 16-17.
34 Darwin, *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (3rd ed. (1st ed. 1872), London, 1999) 21. For criticism of Darwin's experimental techniques, see Russel and Fernández-Dols (edd.), *The Psychology of Facial Expression* (Cambridge, 1987) 5-8.
35 Darwin, *op. cit*. 21.
36 *Ibid*., 17 and 25-6.

und Römer, which attempts to make sense of the complex assortment of symbolic gestures to be found in Greek art from its very earliest incarnations through the Roman Empire.

Twentieth century to the present

Beginning in 1900 with Alexander Conze's monumental work on Attic grave reliefs, there was a great increase in the amount of data for the study of emotion, notably the publication of the reliefs of Melos in 1921[37] and of the masks found at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in 1929.[38] Clarence Young discussed the ways in which emotions are expressed in Attic grave reliefs in 1936,[39] but other than that, scholarship on emotional expression *per se* is rare in the early part of the twentieth century. Eric Dodds's 1951 *Greeks and the Irrational* provided a vocabulary for discussing the ways in which Greek art was not all coolly classical.[40]

Following Sittl's *Gebärden*, Gerhard Neumann furthered the subject in his 1965 *Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst*. With the topic so thoroughly laid out, many studies of Greek art in the second half of the twentieth-century contain discussions and analyses of rendering emotions, but none treats the subject *per se* or systematically. A notable exception is David Konstan's 2001 *Emotions of the Ancient Greeks*, which helps especially with interpretation of Aristotle.[41]

Darwin's scientific heirs begin to research emotional expression, focussing largely on the face. From the sixties of the twentieth century, the psychological engagement with emotions and their expression has been defined against the Facial Expression Program, a composite set of assumptions that emphasise universality, a list of basic emotions and the dual role of facial expression as the representative of emotion and the communicator of emotion to others.[42] While it took as given that facial expression and emotion were linked, that supposition is now rejected by many prominent researchers.[43] To the psychological,

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37 P. Jacobsthal, 'Melische Reliefs', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 56 (1921) 95-104.
38 R.M. Dawkins (ed.), *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta* (London, 1929).
39 C.H. Young, 'Emotional Expression in Attic Grave Stelai' in (ed.) *Classical Studies presented to Edward Capps on his seventieth birthday* (Princeton, 1936) 364-68.
40 E.R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley, 1951).
41 D. Konstan, *The Emotions of the Ancient Greeks* (Toronto, 2001).
42 For an early articulation, see P. Ekman, 'Universals and Cultural Differences in Facial Expressions of Emotion' in J. Cole (ed.) *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation* (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1971) 207-82.
43 For an overview of scientific (largely psychological) research, see J.A. Russell and J.M. Fernández-Dols (edd.), *The psychology of facial expression* (Cambridge, 1997) 8-19.

biological and physiological approaches can be added the neuropsychological approach, discussed concisely by Nancy Etcoff in *The Neuropsychology of Emotional Expression* in 1985.[44] Mirror neurons, discovered in the eighties of the twentieth century, correlate body action and perception; their role in emotion and in facial expression especially is large but not yet fully understood.[45]

Modern philosophers, too, have their analysis of the rendering of emotion in art, articulated by several aesthetic theories.[46] These challenge the fundamental vocabulary used to discuss emotion in art, including the word 'emotion' itself and common phrases such as how art 'makes one feel'.[47] Generally, these studies tend to focus on the effect on the viewer rather than on the intent of the artist, which is not the purpose of this study.

From these two-and-a-half millennia of analysis comes a startling lack of clarity: almost every author has his own definition of emotion. Indeed, there is so little consensus that Russel and Fernández-Dols suggest striking the term 'emotion' from the scientific discussion altogether precisely because of its rich history, most of which is unscientific.[48] Fortunately, a layer of complexity is unravelled by visual art, for only emotional expression and not emotion itself can be rendered.[49] As such, this study concerns itself only with the expression of emotion:

> *a figure's observable physical reaction to stimuli, internal or external, real or imagined, stemming from an emotion or a change in mental state*

Emotionality is the presence, absence and strength of the expression of emotion.

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44 N.L. Etcoff, *The Neuropsychology of Emotional Expression*, (Post-Doctoral Thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1985).
45 G. Rizzolatti and C. Sinigaglia, trans. F. Anderson, *Mirrors in the Brain–How Our Minds Share Actions and Emotions* (Oxford, 2008).
46 E.g., E.H. Gombrich, 'Ritualized Gesture and Expression in Art', *Philiosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London. Series B, Biological Sciences* 251.772 (1966) 393-401 and *Art and Illusion* (3rd ed. London, 1968).
47 B.R. Tilghman, *The expression of emotion in the visual arts: a philosophical inquiry* (The Hague, 1970) 3.
48 *Ibid*., 19.
49 See S. Tarlow, 'Emotion in Archaeology', *Current Anthropology* 41.5 (2000), 723 and n. 9.

Chapter 1: Sculpture before the Persian War

Sanctuaries began to take shape as permanent sites of man-made religious structures and offerings in the eighth century, initially constructed of perishable materials. Dedications came to be very rich, including large-scale metal works and jewellery. Sanctuaries were sometimes connected with cities, but could just as often serve as gathering points for multiple communities in a region or across multiple regions; in this last case they are called pan-Hellenic, though the validity of that term is questionable.[1] One must consider a sanctuary's often richly-layered internal development, as well as the development of its relationship with the communities that it served.

The cost of these buildings, along with their ritual importance as places of sacrifice, cult and dedication, brought them to be placed in the landscape of the sanctuary to maximize their visibility and prominence, especially when the building was one of many. In the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, for instance, it has been postulated that the Athenians were able to secure a prime location at the turn of the Sacred Way because of their generosity in refurbishing the temple of Apollo after it had been destroyed by fire several years earlier.[2]

Inscribed documents dictating the physical features of sanctuaries, notably the 'Building contract from Lebadaia',[3] can be quite specific in their stipulations, down to the distance between joints and the size of under-cuts.[4] Extant documents relating to sanctuary sculpture only treat the apportioning of money, materials and labour – they do not mention subjects or themes.[5] The architect will have supplied models, as many contracts attest, but it is unclear who was the initial impetus for design, and whether there was a process of revision or veto.[6] Contracts from the Italian Renaissance, for instance, show that the commissioners could request specific dimensions and design elements, and would leave everything else 'to the judgment of a good master'.[7]

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1 See M. Scott, *Delphi and Olympia: The Spatial Politics of Panhellenism in the Archaic and Classical Periods* (Cambridge, 2010) 256-260 for a discussion of salient problems.
2 R.A. Tomlinson, *Greek Sanctuaries* (London, 1976) 66-67; for Cleisthenes' patronage: Herodotus V.62.
3 *IG* VII.3073 + *SEG* 38.383; J.A. Bundgaard, *Mnesicles: A Greek Architect at Work* (Copenhagen, 1957) 246 suggests dating it to the late IVc.-early IIIc.
4 For a list of relevant inscriptions see *ibid*., 249-257.
5 *SEG* XV.208; see also below, p. 69.
6 Burnett, *Songs*, 38 refers to the 'temple supervisors' asking for specific figures to be in the Aphaea pediment, but it seems outside of the realm of expertise of priests or amphictyons.
7 Contract of Michelozzo and Donatello for the Pulpit outside the Cathedral of Prato (AD 1428), in D.S.

Siphnian Treasury

The Treasury of the Siphnians at Delphi was erected in 525 and is considered a major turning point in Greek sculpture. Its date is among the best attested.[8] Financed, Herodotus reports, from the riches of the Siphnian mines, it is situated on the south side of the Sacred Way leading to the Temple of Apollo in Delphi, just before it bends toward the east. It is the earliest surviving religious building made entirely of marble.[9] The treasury comprises a distyle-in-antis pronaos, with caryatids as pilasters in the very front and topped with a pediment, and a cella behind, whose pediment (the east) is poorly preserved; the west pediment seems to have been left undecorated. There is a continuous frieze running right round the entablature, the first on the mainland.

Frieze

The frieze has received much scholarly attention.[10] It is very well preserved on the east and north faces, less so on the west and south (*fig*. 1). The sculptor of the pediment does not seem to be the sculptor of either of the friezes,[11] and it is unclear how many hands took part. Pierre de La Coste-Messelière, the excavator, argues extensively for two masters, one of the east and north ('insular') and one of the south and west ('Ionian'), who render figures quite differently: the east and north master (EN), whom La C.-M. and Ridgway describe as the younger of the two, is less conservative in his execution than the west and south master (WS).[12] Separate from the two masters, La C.-M. and Rups identify 'at least' four hands.[13]

Chambers, *Patrons and Artists in the Italian Renaissance* (London, 1970).

8 The kneeling figure in the east pediment of the Siphnian Treasury, for instance, is noted for its similarity to comparable figures in red-figure painting: for a summary, see L.V. Watrous, 'The Sculptural Program of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi', *AJA* 86.2 (Apr., 1982) 159. Pausanias X.11.2; Herodotus III.57. Its construction in the 470s was proposed by E.D. Francis and M. Vickers, '*Signa priscae artis*: Eretria and Siphnos', *JHS* 103 (1983), 49-67 and discredited by J. Boardman, '*Signa tabulae priscae artis*', *JHS* 104 (1983), 161-163.

9 O. Palagia and N. Herz, 'Investigation of marbles at Delphi' in J.J. Herrmann Jr., N. Herz, and R. Newman (edd.) *ASMOSIA 5: Interdisciplinary Studies on Ancient Stone* (London, 2002) 241 (table 1) shows that it is a mixture of Parian, Naxian and Siphnian marbles.

10 First in T. Homolle, 'Nouvelles et Correspondance', *BCH* 18 (1894) 175-200; for bibliography, see R.T. Neer, 'Framing the Gift: The Politics of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi', *ClAnt* 20.2 (2001) 273-336.

11 *FdD* IV.1-2, 162 argues that the pediment is a collaboration between the two; this seems to contradict his earlier assertion that 'c'est l'oeuvre d'un sculpteur attardé à de vieilles formules', both in number and in the assertion that the master of the East and North is *not* working in the older idiom.

12 P. de La Coste-Messelière, *Au Musée de Delphes* (Paris, 1936) 429; B.S. Ridgway, 'The West Frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi: A Rearrangement', *BCH* 86 (1962) 25. These distinctions are made purely on stylistic grounds. For La Coste-Messelière's analysis in general, see *ibid*. chapter VII (*Les Deux Sculpteurs*), 413-436 and *FdD* IV.1-2, 112 and 167.

13 *FdD* IV.4: 194, n. 5; M. Rups, *Thesauros: A Study of the Treasury Building as Found in Greek Sanctuaries*, (Ph.D. Dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1986) 111.

A worn inscription around the periphery of a giant's shield on block D of the north frieze has now been reconstructed as Ḇ[όπαλ]ο[ς Ἀρχέρμο? τά]δε καὶ τὄπισθεν ἐποίε, *Boupalus son of Archermus made these and those at the back*.[14] Vivier would have this refer locally to the group of giants in which the shield is found and the figures behind them – at most, the entire north frieze.[15] This identification makes the sculptor a Chian; presumably WS was as well.

The west and south friezes are so poorly preserved that only one human head remains intact. It is therefore difficult to discuss the figures' overall expressivity, and consequently the ways in which two simultaneously working sculptors, probably from the same place, can render forms, and thus emotions, differently. La C.-M. dubs WS the 'sketcher'[16] and EN the 'modeller', though he does not fit his several hands into this paradigm. Put simply, there is a decrease in schematic rendering – patterned, geometric, parts not related to one another – from the West counterclockwise to the North. This progression can be seen clearly in the rendering of drapery: the rounded hems of the goddesses mounting and dismounting their chariots in the West (*fig*. 2) give way to the double curves of a man's skirt in the South (*fig*. 3); in the East, the goddesses' mantles in the assembly of the gods drape realistically over chair-cushions (*fig*. 4) and the warriors' skirts bunch between their legs (*fig*. 5); in the North, a running warrior's ('Tharus'[17]) skirt flaps in the wind, gathering naturally at his back leg (*fig*. 6). The East and North sides of the frieze show a closer observation of the physical disposition of the anatomy and drapery than do the South and West.

The figures of the east and north display emotion, albeit inconsistently and unsurely. In the assembly of the gods,[18] for instance, the leftmost goddess, Eos, and the rightmost, perhaps Thetis, lean in, both ankles off the ground, as though they are moved to rise (*fig*. 8). Eos' opponent, Apollo, turns around to engage her, but his mouth angles downwards and opens slightly (*fig*. 9); this sort of variation must not be disregarded as carelessness or an

14 D. Vivier, 'Le bouclier signé du Trésor de Siphnos à Delphes', in *Identités et Cultures dans le Monde Méditeranéen Antique*, edd. C. Müller and F. Prost, (Paris, 2002) 53-85 (accepted by *SEG* LII.538).
15 *Ibid*., 73.
16 For an illustration of the technique, which involves treating the figures as deepened, flat images by creating an even ledge towards the rear of the frieze, see *fig*. 7.
17 Names after Brinkmann, *Beobachtungen*, Beil. 9-12.
18 The earliest surviving in stone; Exekias (*ABV* 144.9) painted the earliest (530) surviving seated assembly.

accident.[19] Two assemblies on vases illustrate how unusual the emotionality of the Siphnian Treasury frieze is for its time. The first, on the shoulder band of a black-figure oinochoe (*fig*. 10),[20] is similarly angular, with elbows out and strong hand gestures. The second, one side of the exterior of a red-figure cup (*fig*. 11),[21] signed by Oltos as painter, depicts the gods' bodies more compactly. Hand gestures have been replaced by the holding of a flower. The shape of the space, like that of the frieze and the band of the oinochoe, lends itself to a row of figures.

The association of the Siphnian Treasury's divine assembly with the battle that goes alongside it is logical and widely accepted; the identity of the corpse in the battle has now been safely proposed to be Antilochus,[22] though previously most considered it to be Sarpedon, and some thought it to be Patroclus. The gods in the frieze are more facially expressive than those on the oinochoe – the difference in medium, scale and expenditure must be taken into account – but both groups begin to express emotion.

In the north, the renderings of the figures' inner states are more numerous and varied than in the east. There is naturalistic lifelessness in the corpses, which is not seen in the fallen warrior in the Trojan scene of the east frieze: his bent left leg, as though he is reclining on a couch, belies his mortality. The face of the corpse beneath the running warrior ('Ephialtas', *fig*. 12), obscured by his own arm and the leg of another, is slightly more naturalistically rendered, his legs slightly less bent and his limply folded hand above his head a concession to lifelessness. The dead – perhaps, rather, dying – giant, 'Astarias', is deeply expressive in both face and body (*fig*. 13).[23] His right leg bends slightly more than than his left, his body beginning to curl into a fetal position. He, too, has the limp hand, a motif also used to mark

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19 To quote Ashmole, B., *The Classical Ideal in Greek Sculpture* (Cincinnati, 1964), 7: 'carving marble... is slow work... it forces the sculptor to explore, not only by eye but constantly, by touch, every part of the surface, however minute'.

20 From the Leagros Group: *Para*. 164.31ter (351201), Münster 565 (ca. 515).

21 *ARV*^{2} 60.66 (200502), Tarquinia RC6848 (ca. 515).

22 V. Brinkmann, *Beobachtungen zum formalen Aufbau und zum Sinngehalt der Friese des Siphnierschatzhauses* (Ennepetal, 1994) 149-150. The name is reconstructed as '---ος (?)' in the catalogue, but Brinkmann's large colour plate shows the initial vertical of a letter, presumably an alpha, to the left. The scenes' connection is strengthened by the presence of Eos, whose son, Memnon, killed Antilochus. *Odyssey* IV.187-188: Ἀντιλόχοιο, / *τόν ῥ'* Ἠοῦς ἔκτεινε *φαεινῆς* ἀγλαὸς υἱός, *Antilochus, whom the radiant famed son of Eos (*viz. *Memnon) killed*. The death of Antilochus is the focalising myth of Pindar *Pythian* 6; the connection made concerns his role as a charioteer (*Iliad* XXIII.426-427 and *passim*).

23 Cf. Y. Korshak, *Frontal Faces in Attic Vase Painting of the Archaic Period* (Chicago, 1987) 20, asserting that losers are depicted in a specific way as a result of their victimisation; and D. Buitron-Oliver, *Douris: a master-painter of Athenian red-figure vases* (Mainz, 1995) 30, noting that Douris depicts only sub-humans and villains with snarls and grimaces.

the ebb of life in the dying warrior on the pediment of the temple of Aphaea at Aegina (E.xi, see below, p. 29), and his head rests on his bent left arm.

Astarias differs from Ephialtas, or from Antilochus from the east frieze, in his vivid facial expression (*fig*. 14). In contrast to the slack appearance of the body, his eyelids and lips are wide open, his eyes bulging, his teeth bared and clenched. It is unclear whether he is conveying his pain or has died, his expression fixed in death, a sort of rigor mortis (cf. Ajax, *fig*. 235). The frontal face as a grotesque is well documented, but the face of Astarias is hardly mask-like or gorgonesque. His muscle of the inner eyebrow[24] extends, slanting his eyebrow downwards towards the outside of his face, demonstrating the pain from the blow to his head. The clenched teeth and taut lips have been emphasised by the removal of a large ring of beard around Astarias' mouth.

Parallels to Astarias can be found in contemporary vase-painting[25] and on a metope from Temple F at Selinus in Sicily, also dated to 525.[26] It shows a giant, raising himself on one arm, kept on the ground by the foot of a goddess (*fig*. 15) who has pierced him with her spear through the armpit. The expression of the giant is exceptional in the period for its savagery and intensity (*fig*. 16);[27] not even the snarls of the giants on the Olympia pediments are as violent. His mouth gapes open, his teeth entirely visible, his lower set of teeth extending beyond the upper like a goat's, as though his jaw is jutting out. His eyes are half-closed, presumably indicating the progression towards death. The anatomy of the face, however, does not reflect these gross distortions of both halves; there are no visible signs of the muscular flexions and extensions to produce such a strong motion, and in this the metope differs fundamentally from the Siphnian Treasury frieze. Though the effect is striking, its execution is emotionally ambiguous because of the absence of anatomical accuracy – it is

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24 Which G.-B. Duchenne de Boulogne, trans. R. Andrew Cuthbertson, *The mechanism of human facial expression* ((1st ed. 1862), Cambridge, 1990) 13 calls the 'muscle that portrays suffering'.

25 E.g., Antaius on a krater signed by Euphronios as maker, *ARV*^{2} 14.2 (200064), Louvre G 103 (ca. 525-510), showing exertion; J. Hulot and G. Fougères, *Sélinonte: La Ville, L'Acropole et les Temples* (1910) 290, incidentally, juxtaposes this with the Selinus metope.

26 The temple is usually considered to have been sacred to Athena. *Ibid*., 249 proposes an early date of 540, but V. Tusa, *La scultura in pietra di Selinunte* (Palermo, 1983) 118 argues convincingly for 525. Comparisons to the Siphnian Treasury and earliest red-figure are complicated by distance.

27 The composition has no exact parallel in either black- or red-figure; Athena killing a giant is ubiquitous in black-figure, whereas in red-figure, she is supplanted by Poseidon and Dionysos. The giant usually falls backward, with one leg bent and one extended, and is not depicted after the blow of the spear. Cf. Beazley WWW nos. 12367, 13754, 24786, 204546, 220533, 275166.

difficult to distinguish the Giant's pain from the expression of the saint in Bernini's *Estasi di santa Teresa d'Avila* (*fig*. 17).[28]

Directly above Astarias is another expressive face: that of 'Biatas' hurling a boulder (*fig*. 18). His downturned mouth, even more pronounced than that of the goddess in the east (above, p. 15), is combined with a heavy arch above his eye to give him a look of anger or rage, perhaps also of exertion at lifting the boulder. His frown is straightforward, but the arc could represent a contraction of the *frontalis* (forehead), and thus an approximation of the furrowed brow in profile (exertion) or a retraction of the eyelid (fury or rage; cf. *fig*. 19).[29] This ambiguity is perhaps intentional, the sculptor wishing to show a generalised negative-aggressive emotion. Technical unfamiliarity with the accurate rendering of emotion, this being one of the earliest surviving examples, must not be ruled out, though the sympathetic muscular contractions of a frown – the bulging of the *depressor anguli oris* (muscle lowering the corner of the mouth) and the *buccinator* (cheeks) – are accurately rendered.

Biatas and Astarias are the only two giants without helmets; it is unclear whether the desire to depict expression is the cause of removing the helmets, or the absence of helmets offers to possibility of depicting emotion. Though there is no facial expression visible under the helmets of the surviving figures, there are attempts to convey emotionality in the absence of facial visibility. The 'Corinthian' helmet can give the impression, especially from the height at which the frieze was installed, of wrath or anger, by means of the slant of the eye-holes and the nose-piece, which give the impression of the contraction of the muscle of the inner eyebrow and the corresponding creasing of the forehead, e.g., on Hyperphas and Thar(s)us[30] (*figg*. 20, 21), the former marching towards Apollo and Artemis and the latter fleeing from them;[31] on Hyperphas the effect is heightened because of the proximity of the edge of his helmet's eye-piece to the eye, standing in more credibly for an eyebrow.

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28 A confusion both of rendering and of recognition – men are likelier to see sexual pleasure where women see pain (see below, p. 130, n. 24)

29 C. Le Brun, *Méthode Pour apprendre à Dessiner Les Passions* (Amsterdam, 1702), fig. 8 (*le mépris à la haine*); the meaning of 'Biatas' could certainly extend to contempt.

30 V. Brinkmann, *Beobachtungen zum formalen Aufbau und zum Sinngehalt der Friese des Siphnierschatzhauses* (Ennepetal, 1994) 161-162: Tharus is written, presumably an error for Tharsus. Brinkmann does not discuss whether Thar**r**us is meant (geminates written as single letters, e.g. ΑΠΟΛΟΝ for Ἀπόλλων as on the Dinos signed by Sophilos as painter, *Para* 16.18bis, London 1971.11-1.1 (ca. 580-570 =*SEG* XXXV.37)), i.e., the Attic substitution of -ρρ- for -ρσ-, which would be very interesting.

31 A pun on his name, θάρσος, *courage*.

Tharsus is rendered very carefully, with his skirt (*fig*. 6) and crest wind-blown by his speed, and unique among the surviving figures of the frieze for turning entirely to meet his attackers, excepting Apollo arguing with Thetis in the assembly of the gods. Cognition, which is necessary to emotional response in the Platonic and Aristotelian models,[32] strengthens narrative cohesion and so justifies emotion and its expression. Compare the giant just the other side of Artemis and Apollo, attacked by a pair of lions (*fig*. 22), who turns to meet his attackers, but incompletely, so his gaze is directed partly outwards towards the viewer, who is thereby engaged. His facial expression is also neutral, though the shadow of his nose as articulated by the cheekpieces of his helmet gives the impression of an open mouth to the viewer below.

The gradual abandonment of schematic rendering, starting in the west and progressing through the south, then the east and most fully in the north, parallels the gradual rise of emotional display. With greater reflection of the way the human form changes according to its circumstances comes more attention paid to the role of emotion in those changes, and at this early date, their connection is inconsistent but can hardly be said to be random. There is variability to be expected from the participation of multiple sculptors,[33] and this extends as much to drapery and anatomy as it does to emotion.

Caryatid

The Siphnian Treasury porch was, like that of the Cnidian Treasury, supported in the centre by two caryatids. One has been reconstructed according to the hypothesis of Homolle at the turn of the last century,[34] a draped young woman with one arm outstretched, presumably making an offering of some kind, and the other hanging by her side. A Cycladic master, perhaps the same hand as EN, is credited with its production by Ridgway.[35] With the discovery of the front portion of the polos in the early 1990s, the full subject of its decoration,

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32 Plato, *Philebus* 38b; Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1378a.

33 B.S. Ridgway, 'The West Frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi: A Rearrangement', *BCH* 86 (1962) 25 believes, with La C.-M., that the hegemony of the master over his sculptors was not so complete as that of Pheidias is supposed to have been.

34 T. Homolle, 'Les Caryatides du Trésor de Cnide', *BCH* 23 (1899) 617-618. Homolle is at this time of the opinion that they belong to the Cnidian Treasury, which is no longer considered accurate; his interpretation, consequently, is flawed at points.

35 B.S. Ridgway, *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture* (2nd ed. Chicago, 1993) 395; cf. R. T. Neer, 'Framing the Gift: The Politics of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi', *ClAnt* 20.2 (2001) 316.

a Dionysiac ritual, came to be understood.[36] With three maenads and two satyrs (*fig*. 23), a familiar enough decorative motif from vase-painting (*fig*. 24),[37] its appearance on a sanctuary building dedicated to Apollo is unexpected. One of the satyrs bears a lifelike mischievous smile and a 'twinkling eye' (*fig*. 25). Finding a comparable rendering is difficult in sculpture; one might turn to a gem of the archaic period, depicting a Centaur abducting a woman, to see such an expression (*fig*. 26).

That this scene, which bears no relation to the frieze or pediments above, is the least accessible and visible part of the structure, at the inside of the top of the porch, which will have been badly lighted, seems intentional. Neer notes the fundamentally liminal position of Dionysiac ritual in society,[38] and this could be extended to the liminal position of emotionality, and especially positive (ecstatic, pleasurable) emotionality. The kalathos is to the caryatid as the frieze is to the treasury, and its association with an individual – a woman, a temple servant in the most literal of senses, rather than a structure, is vital to understanding the scene. Positive emotions are lacking in the frieze, with its generally martial tenor, but the 'hiding' of the scene informs of a desire to include them and a restriction on depicting them prominently.

Athenian Treasury

The Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi stands round the corner on the Sacred Way from the Treasury of the Siphnians.[39] Its date, unlike that of the Siphnian Treasury, is not firm, and is the subject of much debate.[40] The centrist view of ca. 500 makes the most sense stylistically, assuming that Pausanias' assertion that the treasury was built from the spoils of Marathon

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36 P.G. Themelis, 'The Cult Scene on the Polos of the Siphnian Karyatid at Delphi', in R. Hägg (ed.) *The Iconography of Greek Cult in the Archaic and Classical Periods* (Athens-Liège, 1992), 49-72.

37 E.g., *ABV* 151.21 and the fragmentary *ABV* 151.18, with a composition closer to that of the polos frieze.

38 R.T. Neer, 'Framing the Gift: The Politics of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi', *ClAnt* 20.2 (2001) 317.

39 The results of its excavation are published in *FdD* IV.4.

40 507: W.B. Dinsmoor, 'The Athenian Treasury as Dated by Its Ornament', *AJA* 50.1 (1946) 113.
500: J. Boardman, 'Herakles, Theseus and Amazons' in D.C. Kurtz and B.A. Sparkes, edd., The Eye of Greece: Studies in the Art of Athens (Cambridge, 1982) 3; K. Hoffelner, 'Die Metopen des Athener-Schatzhauses: ein neuer Rekonstruktionsversuch', *AM* 103 (1988) 78.
500-490: *FdD* IV.4, 2 (on stylistic grounds).
Post-490: W. Agard, 'The Date of the Metopes of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi', *AJA* 27.2 (1923), 181-183; R. T. Neer, 'The Athenian Treasury at Delphi and the Material of Politics', *ClAnt* 23.1 (2004) 47; Pausanias X.11; *FdD* III.2, 1: Ἀθēναῖοι τ[ō]ι Ἀπόλλōν[ι ἀπὸ Μέδ]ōν ἀκ[ροθ]ίνια τῆς Μαραθ[ō]νι μ[άχēς], *the Athenians (dedicated this) to Apollo as firstfruits from the Medes from the battle at Marathon*.

came from the inscription on the pediment, which could have a variety of chronological relationships with the temple; Amandry's conclusion that the inscription need not refer to the temple but rather to dedications is strong reason to deny Pausanias.[41]

Thirty metopes encircled the entablature of the treasury, in the analogous position to the frieze of the Siphnian Treasury. Their subject is the labours of Heracles and Theseus; all reconstructions (except Hoffelner's) place the Heracleid on the north frieze and the Theseid on the south, but there is no consensus on the decoration of the shorter east and west friezes.[42] Multiple hands can be identified,[43] and there is no sense of a stylistic progression as one circles the building, as in the Siphnian Treasury. The marble of the entire structure is Parian; this has led to the suggestion that it was constructed by Parians.[44] The identity of the sculptors of the metopes need not be the same, and the Athenians did certainly have experience in the carving of figures in marble.

The metopes are poorly preserved, and only seven humanoid faces with discernible features are extant; the figures' bodies survive to a greater extent. Most surviving faces bear the archaic smile – all but Cycnus' in metope 21. This is perhaps most surprising for Sciron in metope 4 (*fig*. 27): whereas a slightly earlier kylix depicts him without expression (*fig*. 28),[45] a slightly later kylix shows an extremely strong expression (*fig*. 29).[46] Based on the Siphnian Treasury and the metope of Temple F at Selinus, phyiscal pain is a ready canvas for emotional rendering: it can be shown either through muscular tension and extension, as in Temple F, or through slackness as death approaches, as in the figure of Astarias on the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury (see above, p. 17). Facial expression parallels the possibilities of bodily expression: eyes, mouth, cheeks, forehead and nose can be tense or slack, as the plight of the figure varies. The sculptors of the metopes on the Athenian Treasury, as far as can be seen in what survives, eschewed those possibilities, perhaps for the sake of making the

41 P. Amandry, 'Le socle marathonien et le trésor des Athéniens', *BCH* 122.1 (1998) 89-90.
42 A useful summary of the various theories of their exact disposition is given in K. Hoffelner, 'Die Metopen des Athener-Schatzhauses: ein neuer Rekonstruktionsversuch', *AM* 103 (1988) 105-107; his own proposal, which seems no less probable than the others, is outlined *ibid*., 108sqq.
43 *FdD* IV.4, 194.
44 P. Amandry, 'Le socle marathonien et le trésor des Athéniens', *BCH* 122.1 (1998) 87.
45 LIMC Theseus 101(= *Münzen und Medaillen* cat. 51 (1974) no. 149). Theseus is depicted twice here, on the left with a 'brigand' and on the right with Sciron, identifiable by his rock; the Athenian Treasury version is something of a portmanteau of these two scenes.
46 Attributed to Onesimos as painter *ARV*2 318.1 (203217), Louvre G104 (ca. 500).

faces consistent in order to make clear the cyclical themes.[47] Theseus and the Amazon in metope 8 smile (*fig*. 30), as they do in the Theseus and Antiope group from the west pediment of the Temple of Apollo Daphnephorus in Eretria (*fig*. 31), which is perhaps less than a decade later.[48]

Metope 21, which depicts Heracles slashing downwards at the falling Cycnus (*fig*. 32), contains the only surviving head that does not bear a smile: Heracles' thick lips, set off by a strong outline, follow the curve of the face, basically level. Beazley first noted the connection of this face to vase-painting, specifically to a hydria attributed to the Kleophrades Painter (*fig*. 33),[49] and the disjunct in emotional rendering is stark in comparison. In both the metope and the hydria, Heracles has straight lips and bulging eyes, which in the context of the murder of Busiris makes sense as a depiction of rage or battle-lust;[50] in the Cycnus metope, there is no such contextualisation. The hydria, which depicts an entire scene rather than a duel, features a wide range of emotional renderings – the worry of the man fleeing at right, the surprise of the citharode, the gaping mouth and upward-rolling eye of Busiris – and demonstrates the gap between the two depictions of Heracles. The need to replicate figures from one metope to the next will have motivated the staidness of Heracles' and Theseus' expressions, but cannot account for it wholly, and does not explain the inexpressivity of their foes. The fine-grained Parian marble from which the temple was built will have been familiar to workmen from the 'Alcmaeonid' Temple of Apollo in the decades prior,[51] so the medium presents no challenges. Especially in light of the multiple vase comparanda, it is as though the sculptors have wilfully minimised the emotional rendering of the figures; it does not seem otherwise plausible that a structure metres apart from the Siphnian Treasury and built perhaps a quarter-century later, could have less emotionality. La Coste-Messelière char-

47 R. T. Neer, 'The Athenian Treasury at Delphi and the Material of Politics', *ClAnt* 23.1 (2004) 74 and 80: the Theseid will not have been familiar outside Attica, and so required visual signals of continuity.

48 E. Touloupa, Τα ἐναετια γλυπτα του ναου του Ἀπολλωνος Δαφνηφορου στην Ἐρετρια (Athens, 2002), 12-14 provides a catalogue entry for the group. From the same pediment there is a fragment of the lower-left corner of a bearded man's face, which lacks the archaic smile, for which see *ibid*., 16. Metope 3, depicting Theseus and Cercyon, has a similar composition to the Theseus-Antiope group.

49 J.D. Beazley, 'Kleophrades', *JHS* 30 (1910), 52; Louvre G 50 (201718), *ARV*^{2} 188.70.

50 Cf. Herodotus II.45 and Isocrates XI (Busiris) on the comic treatment of the myth.

51 O. Palagia and N. Herz, 'Investigation of marbles at Delphi' in J.J. Herrmann Jr., N. Herz and R. Newman (edd.) *ASMOSIA 5: Interdisciplinary Studies on Ancient Stone* (London, 2002) 243-244.

acterises the style of the metopes as precisely at the juncture of the archaic and the severe,[52] yet emotionality is stronger before and after: one of the fundamental principles of the severe style is an increased interest in emotional rendering.[53]

The influence of vase-painting seems a potential catalyst of the paucity of expression in the metopes.[54] There are, in addition to Beazley's observations about the rendering of faces, several characteristics of their execution that point towards vase-painting. The carving of shields flush with the field in metopes 11, 12, 14, 21, 27 (bottom) and 28;[55] the rendering of drapery two-dimensionally in metopes 2, 5, 7, 8 (Theseus) and 12; and the hanging of quiver and bow and leaning of the club in metopes 15 and 19[56] are practices well-suited to vase-painting. Contemporary vase-painting is more emotionally expressive, even in the same scenes, and so the borrowing is not quite so direct. It seems as though the sculptors have taken vases as their exemplars (especially in the deeds of Theseus, which had no place in previous sculpture[57] and were not depicted in black-figure pottery[58] excepting Theseus and the Minotaur) and in so doing have fundamentally changed their execution such that the progress of sculptural technique is superseded by the influence of vase-painting.

The linear technique essential to vase-painting is used in the carving of the metopes: Heracles in the Cycnus metope meets the field at a hard edge (*fig*. 32), just as do the horses on the south side of the Siphnian Treasury frieze (*fig*. 7). The Louvre Onesimos cup (*fig*. 29), similar in its subject and execution but not in its emotional valence, a cup attributed to the Euergides Painter,[59] and a cup once attributed to Douris (*fig*. 34)[60] are close enough to the

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52 *FdD* IV.4, 2; it is difficult to reconcile this with the accepted beginning of the severe style: ca. 480.
53 B.S. Ridgway, *The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton, 1970) 10; G.M.A. Richter, *Three Critical Periods in Greek Sculpture* (Oxford, 1951) 5-7.
54 G. Gullini, 'L'Hephaisteion di Atene', *ArchCl* I (1949) 28 notes this connection, though would reverse the influence.
55 Cf. the shields of the west pediment of the Temple of Aphaea on Aegina (below, p. 26); the shields of W.ii and v are viewed straight-on, those of i, ix, xii and xiii oblique.
56 To the left of each scene on the Onesimos cup (see above, p. 21), which depicts Theseus and: Sciron, Procrustes, Cercyon and the Marathonian bull, is a tree upon which is draped Theseus' cloak (and a sword), almost identical to metope 15.
57 R. T. Neer, 'The Athenian Treasury at Delphi and the Material of Politics', *ClAnt* 23.1 (2004) 74.
58 There are two black-figure vases juxtaposing Theseus and the bull with Heracles, Beazley numbers: 7543 (white-ground), Heracles and the lion; and 301632 (*ABV* 315.2), Heracles and the Cercopes.
59 *ARV*^{2} 89.21 (200739) Louvre G 71 (ca. 525-510); Theseus with the Minotaur and with Procrustes – thematically linked to both black- and red-figure depictions.
60 Athens NM 1666, *ARV*^{2} 1567.13 (350911) (attributed to Douris in *ARV*^{1} 281.25). On A, Heracles' leaning club and hanging quiver and bow are almost identical to those on metope 15.

treasury metopes to show that the sculptors' closest models – though it is unlikely that they knew these specific pieces – were ceramic.[61]

Conclusion

The above monuments have a common material, and are of such a size that no individual could have commisioned them. As products of a group or state they necessarily reflect consensus rather than the will of an individual commissioner, and this seems to correlate very well with the presence of emotional renderings. The decoration of the interior of the polos of the caryatid is the part of the Siphnian Treasury most likely to have been left to the judgment of an individual sculptor – it need not fit into the overall thematic design and does not require collaboration with another – and it hardly seems a coincidence that it is the most emotional.

The realistic rendering of emotion corellates highly with the absence of pattern: pattern in clothing, the rhythm of figures (cf. the Parthenon frieze, below, p. 63), symmetry across a field or within a single figure. If pattern is the schematization of what is visible, then it is opposed to observation. A sculptor's schema will be emotionless, since a weeping figure, say, is inappropriate to a Dionysiac scene. As he abandons these schemata, with their symmetry and repetition, emotional rendering prevails, for he realises that a 'completely naturalistic model was continuously present in every human being'.[62] Thus the regular rhythm of the south side of the Siphnian Treasury frieze and the two-dimensional drapery and highly schematised anatomy in the Athenian Treasury metopes of the Temple of Aphaea provide the background for unemotional rendering.

Missing from sanctuary sculpture is a sense of personal involvement and response. How is the emotional intent of a sculptor visible when filtered through his style and the style of his workshop? Can we equate the intent of the sculptor with the perception of the viewer? These questions bear particular weight for the study of emotion. The effect of religion on emotional expression in the decoration is also unclear, and there is no reason to assume it is regular. The effect is not constant, either in time or place in later sanctuaries.

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61 There are many vases that juxtapose the deeds of Heracles and Theseus (excluding Theseus and the Minotaur, which is common), Beazley WWW nos. 7543, 9445, 44988, 201326, 201327, 201712, 202633, 203729, 203842, 204506, 217557, 301632, 352428.

62 G.M.A. Richter and I.A. Richter, *Kouroi: Archaic Greek Youths* (3rd ed., London, 1970) 5.

Chapter 2: Sculpture of the Persian War

In the twenty years after the construction of the Athenian Treasury, much of Greece is at war with Persia: in 499 the Athenians and Eretrians support the Ionians in their revolt,[1] and in 490 the battle of Marathon repulses the Persians for nearly a decade.[2] In 481 several Greek states formed a defensive alliance against the Persians who would begin to push into Greece the following year; the Persians were for a time repulsed again after the battle of Plataia,[3] but conflict lasted until roughly mid-century.[4] In the midst of this, sanctuary construction slowed; the 480 sack of the Acropolis demonstrates how large building projects could be a great liability in time of conflict.[5] As a result, a continuous record of sanctuary sculpture cannot be reconstructed in the same way as is attempted for vase-painting. Three major surviving monuments, the Temple of Aphaea on Aegina, the Temple of Zeus at Olympia and the Hephaisteion of Athens provide the points articulating the progress of sculpture from severe into classical.

Temple of Aphaea on Aegina

The Temple of Aphaea, a local goddess who has been associated with Artemis,[6] sits within a small sanctuary on the island of Aegina. Its excavation was undertaken first by Cockerell and Baron Haller in 1811, then recommenced in 1901 by Furtwängler. Current opinion puts the date of its construction anywhere between 500 and 475;[7] here, the centrist date of ca. 490, which seems supported both by the sculptures' style and the deposits of pottery in the temple foundations,[8] will be taken. Herodotus and other historians do not mention Aegina's role in the Persian wars, though a scholium on Pindar *Isthmian* 8 suggests that Aeginetans died at

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1 Revolt: Herodotus V.36; Embassy to Athens: V.55, 97; Participation of the Eretrians: V.99.
2 Herodotus VII.1-20.
3 Preamble: Herodotus IX.1; Battle: IX.31.
4 Ended by the elusive Peace of Callias; for a summary and a defense of its authenticity, see G.L. Cawkwell, 'The Peace between Athens and Persia', *Phoenix* 51.2 (1997), 115-130.
5 Herodotus VIII.53.
6 M. Kraus, 'Artemis Aphaia', *CR* 22.1 (1908) 17 proposes a connection to Hebrew יָפֶה (yafah), *beautiful*, explaining the loss of the initial 'i' by crasis with an article (*τᾶι ̓Ιαφαίαι*).
7 The earlier date is more traditional, adopted, e.g., by A. Invernizzi, *I Frontoni del Tempio di Aphaia ad Egina* (Turin, 1965), 248-249; along the Francis-Vickers chronology, the later date is adopted, e.g., A. F. Stewart, 'The Persian and Carthaginian Invasions of 480 B.C.E. and the Beginning of the Classical Style: Part 2, The Finds from Other Sites in Athens, Attica, Elsewhere in Greece, and on Sicily; Part 3, The Severe Style: Motivations and Meaning', *AJA* 112.4 (2008) 593-597, furthering the work of D.W.J. Gill.
8 See Burnett, *Songs* 29, n. 3.

Salamis.[9] The temple was built onto the foundations of an earlier archaic structure that was destroyed ca. 510.[10] Both pediments take Greeks attacking Troy as their subject:[11] the east depicts the campaign of Heracles and Telamon in the generation before the *Iliad* (*fig*. 35), the west pediment Telamon's sons, Ajax and Teucer (*fig*. 36).[12]

West Pediment

The west pediment, once thought to have been at least ten years older than the east, is now considered to be the work of a different workshop. Athena stands at centre, and is flanked by three pairs of warriors: a pair of standing duelists, a pair of crouching warriors (one kneeling and one lunging) and a pair of fallen or falling warriors.[13] Overlap between each pair is minimal, and the composition moves outward from the centre. The standing and crouching warriors' bodies are largely covered with armour or shields. The pair of falling warriors second from the outside calls to mind the compositional variation from the Athenian Treasury metopes, which Furtwängler called its closest stylistic comparison,[14] a comparison enhanced by its episodic quality.

The foot of the left falling warrior in (W.xii, *fig*. 37) has not yet made contact with the geison (true also of W.vii), his right hand landing beyond its edge. Though his head does not survive, the figure reflects the force of downward motion, enhanced by his shield, brought about by his attacker. Comparison to the posture of the right fallen warrior (W.vii, *fig*. 38) makes clear the variability in levels of observation within the workshop of the west pediment. The stiffly crossed legs of the wounded warrior (cf. the fallen warrior on the east frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, above, p. 16) match his stiff frontal smile, with lips parted though showing no teeth (*fig*. 39). Such an expression might elsewhere signify a shout or physical

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9 *Scholium veterum ad Isthm.*VIII.12: *ἐν τῇ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα ναυμαχίᾳ προσήκοντές τινες Κλεάνδρῳ ἐτελεύτων*, *in the sea-battle at Salamis, some relatives of Cleandrus (of Aegina, honorand of the ode) perished*. See also Pindar *Isthmian* 6.47-50. Farnell, *Commentary*, 376 points out that the references are all vague.

10 Stewart, 'Invasions', 593 points out that the material from the temple is not merely destroyed but 'smashed to pieces', rendering it unusable; the question 'why?' remains. He suggests *ibid.,* 597, that it was the work of the Persians.

11 Cf. Pindar *Isthm*. 5.36-37: *δὶς πόλιν Τρώων πράθον, ἑσπόμενοι/ Ἡρακλῆι πρότερον,/ καὶ σὺν Ἀτρείδαις*, *twice did (the Aiacids) sack the Trojans' city, first alongside Heracles, then with the sons of Atreus*.

12 Telamon is a son of Aiacus, whose connection to Aegina (his mother by the time of Apollodorus (III.12.6)) is established with certainty only by the end of the sixth century (Burnett, *Songs*, 19). His connection to Heracles is noted in the scholia to Pindar *Isthm*. 6.53.

13 Following Ohly's reconstruction, which is largely accepted.

14 A. Furtwängler, *Aegina: das Heiligtum der Aphaia* (Munich, 1906) 351. Furtwängler does not account for stylistic variation within the Athenian Treasury and the Aphaea Temple, but the comparison still holds.

agony, but upon comparison to the open mouth of 'Hector' (W.ix, *fig*. 40), it seems as though it is a variant of the standard smile, especially since they seem to come from the same hand.

In comparing the face of 'Memnon' (W.iii, *fig*. 41), whose mouth is closed, it becomes clear that the workshop had no defined idiom for its portrayal of 'standard', i.e., neutral, emotion. The relaxation of a convention within a workshop marks the beginning of the dissolution of the archaic smile: as sculptors abandon schemata and observe with their own eyes, the result of that observation will differ between sculptors. The face of 'Memnon' is unique among those surviving from the west pediment for the pronounced asymmetry of his mouth: the left side of the mouth bends upwards while the right side is nearly horizontal. The right side will have been completely invisible; as in the polos of the Siphnian Treasury caryatid (see above, p. 20), the least visible components of sculptural decoration are most fertile for experimentation.

East Pediment

Whereas the west pediment calls to mind its antecedents, the east looks forward. The most immediately visibly difference between the two pediments will have been the stance of the Athenas at centre: frontal and symmetrical in the west; striding, arm extended, in the east. To compare their faces, both above the fray around them, is the best illustration of the difference between the two workshops (*figg*. 42, 43). The action of the pediment as currently constructed moves towards Athena, linking the pediment's wings; the peripheral figures operate as large-scale groups, rather than sets of pairs.[15] This combined with the less schematic rendering of the human anatomy (e.g., E.iii, *fig*. 44, though not drastically; cf. W.ii and E.ii), sets a scene ripe for emotional expression. Compare the faces of 'Memnon' (W.iii, *fig*. 41) and that of the youthful Heracles as an archer (E.v, *fig*. 45). Both have sharp delineations of the brow above the eye, snail-curls at the bottom of the hair and a rounded chin. The face of Heracles, however, indicates the nasolabial fold, as well as the muscles of the cheeks, more clearly, and the lachrymal caruncle (the opening of the tear duct) is less stylised. The eyes' upward slant towards the sides of the face better reflect the physiological

15 D. Ohly, *Die Aegineten: die Marmorskulpturen des Tempels der Aphaia auf Aegina* (3 voll., Munich, 1976-2001) I (text), 105 shows his account of four hands visible in the sculpting of the east pediment, which seem each to have worked on a pair or trio of figures.

effects of smiling, the flexion of the cheeks compressing the skin beneath the outer corners of the eye. That said, the figure of Heracles is itself more rigid than the other figures of the pediment, perhaps by reason of his cuirass that does not at all show his torso below; this matches his emotional expression.

The figure of the 'boy with pretty metallic curls',[16] a dying Greek (*fig*. 46) in the right-hand corner of the pediment in Heracles' party,[17] has a poorly preserved torso but a head in very good condition (*fig*. 47). The remaining fragments of the body allow the reconstruction of naturalistic death; the hands in particular, his right dangling over the edge of the geison, the left slack in his shield-handle, demonstrate the disparity between this figure and the analogous figure on the west pediment, W.vii (*fig*. 38). Even in death the figure seeks to rise, his left leg not crossed awkwardly but straining with effort; the sculptor, Ohly's 'Athena-Meister',[18] has considered the figure's context and imbued him with a complex emotionality: pain-struggle-determination.[19]

His face is asymmetrical, like that of 'Memnon' on the west pediment. While the portion of Memnon's face that differed from the norm will have been invisible to the viewer, the peculiarity of the dying boy's face, the closing left eye, is presented clearly (*fig*. 47). Ohly suggests that this might be an optical illusion, but its singularity among the surviving sculpture (even in figures in the same circumstance, e.g., E.xi) and its appropriateness to its disposition argue strongly otherwise.[20] His face, crucially, is not frontal, as were those of both dying warriors on the west pediment, but is somewhere between profile and three-quartered; the head falls as it would in nature, the neck muscles too weak to support it. The ridges of the hair-line, with holes to support the attachment of metal curls, are also asymmetrical, the bottommost ridge fading away at the right side of the forehead. Though not itself a marker of emotion, it is by no means insignificant: assuming symmetry to be partly symptomatic of schematic rendering, asymmetry is a product of observation.

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16 *Ibid*., 77 citing Furtwängler: Cockerell wrote that at the time of discovery 'several ringlets – of lead–, very exactly formed, were still remaining'.
17 Burnett, *Songs*, 38.
18 Responsible for Athena (E.i), as well as E.x and perhaps E.vii and viii. His responsibility for Athena perhaps indicates a high position within the workshop.
19 Aristotle, *Politics* 1340a: character (*ἦθος*) becomes visible through emotions (*ἐν τοῖς πάθοις*).
20 D. Ohly, *Die Aegineten: die Marmorskulpturen des Tempels der Aphaia auf Aegina* (3 voll., Munich, 1976-2001) I (text), 79.

Moving left across the pediment, there is a broad range of body postures, from the crouching archers to the lunging 'helpers' and duellists at parallel diagonals. Yet the surviving faces to do not match the bold bodies; Heracles (E.v), who wears a corselet that entirely covers his thoracic anatomy, and the right 'helper' (E.iv) both have nearly identical smiles.[21] The youthfully-lunging 'Priam' (E.ii, *fig*. 48), although he is much weathered, smiles as well, despite his violent thrust. If the open mouth of 'Hector' (W.ix, *fig*. 40) is taken to indicate strain, then this is an unexpected instance of the west pediment showing more emotionality than the east in analogous figures.[22]

One must look to the opposite corner to find another emotionally-rendered figure. Usually identified as 'Laomedon' (E.xi, *fig*. 49),[23] a bearded man lies dying, his left forearm still engaged in his shield-strap; his hand, like that of E.vi, dangles lifelessly. The figure is complete save a portion of the right thigh, and the state of preservation is good. His placement in the pediment is guaranteed by his shape, which tapers continuously from his shield to his left foot. The naturalism of his rendering extends even to his position, since his left leg dangles almost completely over the geison, giving him the appearance of being lifeless in the bottom half, while the top struggles to pull itself up.

While elsewhere scenic unity has been an important component of emotional rendering, here Laomedon is separated by the diameter of his shield from the rest of the pediment, and breaks the frame of the narrative more than any other figure. The cause for his pain will have been apparent from the arrow lodged in his chest; most reconstructions show that bright red blood was painted coursing out of the wound.[24] His isolation is significant, and can even enhance his *pathos*, since his suffering is alone; the bulging of his left biceps and the swelling of his veins show how he struggles to rejoin the fray, and his limp hand shows his failure (*fig*. 50). As with E.vi, a narrative arises from the figure's portrayal and his emotionality.

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21 *Ibid*., 105 attributes them both to the 'Herakles-Meister'.
22 A criterion in favour of dating the pediments to the same period, rather than a generation apart.
23 It is strange that so central a figure is so marginalised in this representation; Pindar's contemporaneous justification of the pre-Iliadic sack of Troy in *Isthm*. VI.29 is Λαομεδοντιᾶν ὑπὲρ ἀμπλακιᾶν, *on account of Laomedon's crimes* (*viz*. refusing to pay Heracles for the construction of the city walls).
24 V. Brinkmann, *Die Polychromie der archaischen und frühklassischen Skulptur* (Munich, 2003), no. 280 shows various reconstructions from 1838-1906.

Laomedon's face, like that of E.vi at the opposite corner, is not turned towards the viewer, but sinks to his chest, unaligned with his torso and causing the protrusion of the sternocleidomastoid muscle (the side of the neck, extending from jaw to pectoral). His heavy beard and moustache only partially obscure his open mouth. He smiles, but the the descent of his moutsache into his beard creates a downward curve that obscures his lips' upward turn (a motif used in the Centaurs of the Olympia pediments and the Parthenon), a curve emphasised by the edge of the cheekpiece of his helmet,[25] presenting a different emotion to the viewer.

In addition to differentiating the sculptor's intent from what is visible, one must also place possible emotional markers into their stylistic context. The open mouths of W.vii and W.ix were, because of their disconnect with their circumstances, taken merely to be the idiom of a sculptor and not the expression of an emotion. The same open mouth as seen on on E.xi, however, can be differently interpreted: in conjunction with the limp hands and legs, straining upper body and the position of the figure in the pediment, the open mouth is indicative of the expression of a homogenous set of emotions. This progression from observation to interpretation of expression is necessarily subjective.

Joint discussion

Many analyses of the pediments make reference – even rely largely upon – Pindar's epinician odes.[26] Parallelism, however, does not imply causality in either direction, and so the juxtaposition of the two must be limited. Assuming the temple to have been built ca. 490, its influence on Pindar's earlier poetry ought to be strongest, and this appears to be the case:[27] *Isthmian* 6 (ca. 480), *Isth*. 5 (ca. 478[28]), *Nem*. 3 (ca. 475)[29] and *Nem*. 4 (ca. 473) all mention Heracles' sack of Troy in parallel with that of the *Iliad* generation, whereas *Nem*. 6 (ca. 465),

25 Which does not survive, but which all reconstructions, including D. Ohly, *Die Aegineten: die Marmorskulpturen des Tempels der Aphaia auf Aegina* (3 voll., Munich, 1976-2001) I, Beilage C, show.
26 E.g., E. Walter-Karydi, trans. J. Clough, *How the Aiginetans Formed Their Identity* (Athens, 2006) 54-55, citing Thiersch's collation of Pindar's odes featuring the feats of the Aiacids. Collated also in A. Zunker, *Untersuchungen zur Aiakidensage auf a*, (Doctoral Dissertation, Tübingen, 1987).
27 Dating of the odes following Snell's edition.
28 *Ibid*., 357: pre-480.
29 The juxtapostion of Heracles' deeds to those of of the Aiacidai is by proximity.

Olympian 8 (460),[30] *Nem*. 8 (ca. 459) and *Pythian* 8 (446) do not.[31] This justifies serious consideration of the temple's influence on Pindar.[32] His emotional content will have been inherited largely from epic and lyric forebears, so it cannot be safely estimated a reaction to the pediments. The correspondance of the juxtaposition of the two sacks of Troy with the construction of the temple, however, suggests that the subject of the pediments has been accurately understood.

The two pediments make very different use of shields. In the west, shields cover significant portions of several figures' bodies (W.xi, ix, viii, iii), but only one figure in the east (E.vii). The covering of warriors' figures with shields is a motif as old as geometric ceramics, and can save the sculptor the effort of carving abdominal anatomy. The sculptors of the Aphaea Temple pediments, however, carved all their figures in the round; there must have been some reason, then, for covering the fully-executed torsos (especially W.xi, lunging forwards) with shields. The compositional benefits must have outweighed the possibility of showing the figures' bodies reacting naturalistically to their situations. Thoracic armour does the same, though to a lesser degree; its use is limited to archers (except, interestingly, E.viii).

Helmets serve a more explicit role in blocking emotion; it obscures his affection for Astyanax because its purpose is, in part, to create fear in those who look upon it:[33]

> ἂψ δ' ὃ πάϊς πρὸς κόλπον ἐϋζώνοιο τιθήνης
> ἐκλίνθη ἰάχων πατρὸς φίλου ὄψιν ἀτυχθείς,
> ταρβήσας χαλκόν τε ἰδὲ λόφον ἱππιοχαίτην
>
> *and the child fell back upon the breast of his well-girdled*
> *nursemaid, wailing from fright at the sight of his dear father,*
> *afraid of bronze and horsehair crest alike.*

The Aphaea pediments are the earliest surviving sculptures to show those helmets that would block the face (generally 'Corinthian helmets') pushed back from the face and sitting atop the

30 There is a very indirect mention in the prophecy of Apollo, but Farnell, *Commentary*, 64 notes that there are serious problems with the meaning.

31 A serious omission is *Nemean* 7 (ca. 485); Heracles' deeds are mentioned, as is the Iliadic sack of Troy, but the two are distant in the poem and in thought. Perhaps it was written before the temple's construction (Farnell, *Commentary*, 289 cites but dismisses Gaspar's date of 493).

32 Pindar almost certainly will have seen it; many odes give fairly positive proof of his presence on Aegina, at least, e.g., *Isth*. 6.19-21: *ὔμμε τ', ὦ χρυσάρματοι Αἰακίδαι,/ τέθμιόν μοι φαμὶ σαφέστατον ἔμμεν/ τάνδ' ἐπιστείχοντα νᾶσον ῥαινέμεν εὐλογίαις, and to scatter you with praises, you Aiacids in golden chariots, is my most unswerving custom, I say, when I set foot on this island.*

33 *Iliad* VI.467-469.

head.[34] Those helmets that do cover the face have much larger eye-holes than those shown on earlier monuments, and roughly on par with contemporary vase-painting,[35] and minimal cheek guards. As seen in the case of 'Laomedon' (E.xi), these can emphasize emotion as well as 'distort' it.

Assuming that the interpretation of the pediments' subject is correct, it remains to discuss the origins and influences of the depictions. The story of the pre-Atreid sack of Troy is at least as old as that told in the *Iliad*,[36] and Homer knew of it.[37] The pairing of the two in the pediments, then, is not entirely without precedent, though what sources there might have been do not survive.[38] Assuming there to have been some epic account of the Heraclean sack, it is possible that the sculptors knew of both, only one or neither. This does not advance the case, but must merely act as a caution against assuming that the sculptors knew any written version of the sack of Troy. The west pediment could only be called an epitome of the Iliad, and not a depiction of an actual scene.

Temple of Zeus at Olympia

When the Temple of Zeus at Olympia was begun in 470, the power balance in Greece favoured the Peloponnese more than it had in a decade. Athens was weakened from the stasis that resulted in the ostracism of Themistocles in (roughly) 471,[39] and Sparta had recovered from battles with Tegea (defeated, 473) and Dipaieis (victorious, 471?).[40] Elis, which constructed the temple, had synoicised in 471,[41] and so was flush with money and well-regarded.[42] The temple's visibility to Greek-speakers from around the Mediterranean is a

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34 Cf. *ARV*^{2} 199.27 (201835) (ca. 490-480), with a helmet worn in this manner.
35 Helmets entirely obscuring faces is the standard for black-figure warriors; in red-figure, it is seen mostly on low-quality pieces as a time-saving device.
36 M.J. Anderson, *The Fall of Troy in Early Greek Poetry and Art* (Oxford: 1997) 92-97.
37 *Iliad* V.638-642. Homer, however, does not attribute the costruction of Troy's walls to Heracles, as does Pindar; Apollo and Poseidon undertook it jointly (*Iliad* XXI.446).
38 Farnell, *Commentary*, 360 (*ad* Pindar, *Isthmian* 5.28-34 (= S-M 6) conjectures that the source of these myths is Peisander's *Heracleia* (ca. 640), which is known to have included and perhaps canonised the twelve labours. Of the surviving fragments, no mention is made of Heracles' sack of Troy alongisde Telamon, though *communis opinio* locates an epic source for most of Pindar's mythography.
39 Thucydides I.135.
40 Tegea: Herodotus I.65ff.; Dipaieis: Pausanias III.11.7 (usually taken as having taken place in 471 based on inscriptions). For analysis of Sparta's relations with her neighbours in the period, see A. Andrewes, 'Sparta and Arcadia in the Early Fifth Century', *Phoenix* 6.1 (1952), 1-5.
41 Diodorus XI.54.1, citing the Athenian archon and the Roman consuls.
42 This can be deduced from their presence on the list of Greek victors over the Persians at Plataia, despite having shown up late – the Mantineans, also late, were excluded; see *M-L* 27 and notes.

direct function of the games' popularity, attested by the quantity and geographical diversity of the dedications found there.

The temple was completed by 457, in time for the 456 Olympics, at which Herodotus is reputed to have recited his *Histories*.[43] In those thirteen years, much had changed: the helots' revolt in Sparta began in 464 and continued for a decade;[44] the 'First Peloponnesian War', really a string of incursions, began immediately after the Athenians returned to Attica.[45] Athens' victories in Tanagra and Boeotia in 457 enriched her, as did the string of victories and the addition of allies up to the transfer of the Delian League treasury to Athens in 454.[46] The five-year truce between Athens and Sparta negotiated by Cimon in 451 shows the full extent to which the axis of power had slanted towards the Athenians.[47] The Peace of Callias,[48] ending hostilities with Persia, is posited in 449, the year in which the construction of the Hephaisteion in Athens began.[49] At that point, Athens had a maximum of allies and a minimum of enemies – the perfect juncture for Pericles (whose main rival, Cimon, died on an expedition to Cyprus[50]) to begin his building program.

The Temple of Zeus at Olympia and the Hephaisteion in Athens are not traditionally joined in the scholarship of fifth-century sculpture; Olympia is cast as the end and pinnacle of the severe style, the Hephaisteion a precursor of the Parthenon. Ancient history treats the period as a unity: the post-Persian War build-up of the causes that led to the Peloponnesian War, including the evolution of the Delian League into the 'Athenian Empire'. On that model, these temples have been placed together, eliminating glare from the Parthenon and clearly showing the progress of emotional rendering.

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43 Lucian, *Herodotus* 1.
44 Disputed but defended solidly by David Lewis in his chronological notes to *CAH* V^2 500.
45 Thucydides I.102: *εὐθὺς ἐπειδὴ ἀνεχώρησαν*, *straightaway after they left the territory*.
46 Tanagra: Thucydides I.108: *καὶ Λοκρῶν τῶν Ὀπουντίων ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας ὁμήρους τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους ἔλαβον*, *(the Athenians) took one hundred hostages, the richest of the Opountian Locrians*; treasury: I.96.
47 Diod. XI.86.
48 For a summary, see *CAH* V^2 122-123; the salient point: 'to fuss about the details involves the dangers of losing sight of the main fact. The war did come to an end'.
49 *Viz*. the temple still standing on the Colonos hill in the Agora, earlier called the Theseion more or less skeptically. (On the attribution, see R.E. Wycherley, 'The Temple of Hephaistos', *JHS* 79 (1959) 153-56.) The discovery of metal-casting paraphernalia in and around the temple confirms Pausanias' account at I.14.6. W.B. Dinsmoor, 'Observations on the Hephaisteion', *Hesperia* (1941) 153 calculates of the date of foundation as 17 October 449.
50 Plutarch, *Cimon* 19.

Built between 470 and 457[51] with spoils, Pausanias recounts, from the Eleans' victory over the Pisatans and their neighbours,[52] the Temple of Zeus replaced earlier temples of wood and then of sun-baked brick. The temple's sculptures are unfinished.[53] Finishing would have had an impact on the nature but not the presence of emotionality, since the broad anatomical representation of emotion will have been made during the first dressing before shipment, while the blocks were still at the quarries of Paros. Finer details such as wrinkles in the forehead or around the nostrils could and should in some cases be assumed. Their importance in the development of emotional rendering in Greek sculpture has been perhaps overstated,[54] though they represent a great change from the sculptures of the Temple of Aphaea on Aegina, completed a decade or so earlier. The rendering of the body and of the face is more closely based on observation than in Aegina, though the sculptures have been attributed with 'doughy plasticity'.[55]

East Pediment

The east pediment (*fig*. 51) depicts the preparations for the chariot race of Oenomaus and Pelops, a theme so well-suited to Olympia that its absence would be surprising. It perfectly mirrors the war between the Eleans and the Pisatans as well as the chariot races so popular at the games. Much has been made of the anti-hubristic and justiciary themes of the sculptures, but the themes of the sculptures are neither so homogenous[56] nor so singularly concerned with δίκη, *justice*,[57] as has been argued.

Zeus, standing at the centre of the pediment, is removed from the scene around him, and was likely inexpressive as a result; his head does not survive. Like the Zeus in the Siphnian Treasury frieze, his role is divine arbiter, perhaps here receiving the oaths of

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51 For a proposed timetable of the construction, thought to have lasted about twelve years, see Younger & Rehak, 'Observations', 47; for cost estimates, see *ibid*., 50-51.
52 Pausanias V.10.2, though this battle is dated to 570; the synoicism and its accompanying consolidation of wealth seems a much likelier impetus.
53 First pointed out by C. Bluemel, trans. L. Holland, *Greek Sculptors at Work* (London: 1955), 29.
54 E.g., Ashmole & Yalouris, *Olympia*, 11: 'it is worth remembering that this is the first time in European sculpture ... that the attempt had ever been made to show emotion in the face'.
55 Younger & Rehak, 'Observations', 43.
56 The overarching argument of N.D. Tersini, 'Unifying Themes in the Sculpture of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia', *ClAnt*, 6.1 (1987) 139-59.
57 The overarching argument of J. M. Hurwit, 'Narrative Resonance in the East Pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia', *ArtB* 69.1 (1987) 6-15.

Oenomaus and Pelops;[58] his impartiality and thus impassivity is his defining characteristic. The direction of his gaze (towards his right) has been a catalyst in the debate over the arrangement of the central group, *viz*. on which side of Zeus the two heroes stand. The evidence points towards the arrangement advanced by Ashmole,[59] which is in agreement with Pausanias,[60] as well as with the Siphnian Treasury pediment, in which Zeus turns towards the eventual victor in the struggle for the tripod.[61] The direction of a gaze is a gesture rather than an emotional expression, and the two need not be in unison.[62]

Pelops is portrayed beardless, nude save his helmet, while Oenomaus is older and has a light mantle around his upper arms. The head of Pelops is not well preserved, but it seems as though his mouth was closed and turned gently up at the corners (*fig*. 52). Hurwit labels Pelops a personification of justice, 'contemplative and slightly anxious',[63] though his facial expression is not substantively dissimilar to that of Apollo on the west pediment (*fig*. 59); neither seems particularly expressive, especially compared to the other figures.

The figure of Oenomaus has an open mouth and eyes that seem to squint, his muscle of the inner eyebrow contracting, giving him a communicative face, if not one whose expression is entirely clear (*fig*. 53). Hurwit calls the figure an 'ogre of disorder, his mouth half open in a snarl, imperiously addressing the assembled crowd',[64] while Ashmole claims that 'his dropped jaw, with open mouth, seems to show that he realises the omens are against him'.[65] Against both, there are comparisons within the sculptural program that can help to decipher how emotions were rendered. As for an 'ogre of disorder' who snarls, one need

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58 E. Simon, 'Zu den Giebeln des Zeustempels', in *Die Olympia-Skulpturen*, ed. H.-V. Herrmann, (Darmstadt, 1987), 111.

59 Ashmole & Yalouris, *Olympia* fig. 18; Yalouris proposes the opposite. M.F. Squarciapino, trans. Marianne Elster, 'Pelops und Hippodameia im Ostgiebel von Olympia' in H.-V. Herrmann (ed.) *Die Olympia-Skulpturen* (Darmstadt, 1987) 91-92 agrees.

60 V.10.6-7.

61 H.-V. Hermann, 'Die Kontroverse um die Mittelgruppe des Ostgiebels' in H.V. Herrmann (ed.) *Die Olympia-Skulpturen* (Darmstadt, 1987) 140-141: 'Die Evidenz ist so zwingend, daß es geradezu unverständlich erscheint, daß man immer wieder die beiden Helden vertauscht hat, ja dies teilweise auch heute noch tut.'

62 Cf. M.F. Squarciapino, trans. Marianne Elster, 'Pelops und Hippodameia im Ostgiebel von Olympia' in H.-V. Herrmann (ed.) *Die Olympia-Skulpturen* (Darmstadt, 1987) 96, for whom the gaze of Zeus towards Pelops and Hippodameia signals his bet on them as the victors. In the Siphnian Treasury pediment, Zeus' turn towards Apollo signals the eventual victor, but not whom he marks as his favourite, who is Heracles; Zeus grabs the wrist of Apollo in order to hinder him.

63 J.M. Hurwit, 'Narrative Resonance in the East Pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia', *ArtB* 69.1 (1987) 6.

64 *Ibid*., 6.

65 Ashmole & Yalouris, *Olympia,* 13.

look no further than the Centaurs of the west pediment, the very embodiment of disorder and hybris; his expression is nothing like that of, say, Centaur D (*fig*. 64). As for the recognition of the omens in despair, there is the figure of seer N for comparison (*fig*. 54). His muscle of the inner eyebrow also contracts, but the seer's *pathos* is made clear by the gesture of his right hand, brought close to his face, signalling disbelief-shock-despair. Oenomaus' expression is not enough like those of either figure to be demonstrating the same emotions.

Like the expression of the giant Biatas on the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury (see above, p. 18), Oenomaus' is not signalling a definite emotion. That the figure is unfinished – his beard especially – contributes to this ambiguity. The moustache, which stands apart from the face nearly as much as the fleshy lower lip, contributes the impression of a great frown, which is not mirrored in the position of his mouth. The combination of the open (but not frowning) mouth and the squinting eyes suggests a boast or a shout, though not a particularly grotesque or intense one (cf. Centaur N on the west pediment, below, p. 39).

The 'seer', figure N of the east pediment, whose exact identity is the subject of guesses,[66] is in the entourage of Oenomaus according to the reconstruction accepted here. He is called 'fleshy' since his abdominal musculature cannot be seen beneath a layer of fat; this along with deep wrinkles in his face and a receding hairline make for a closely-observed portrayal of an old man. The seer raises his right (rear) hand, shut in a fist, to his right cheek (*fig*. 55), resting his elbow on his right knee. In analysing the gesture of the figure, Neumann constructs a complete narrative: since the seer cannot change the fate of Oenomaus, he expresses (by raising his hand to his face) awe and impotence in one.[67]

There is no evidence to support such a specific analysis of the gesture. A hydria attributed to the Villa Giulia Painter (*fig*. 56), which is roughly contemporaneous,[68] shows a woman holding a phiale making the identical gesture with her right hand, but her circumstances (looking at a woman wielding a sword) are different. Neumann classes this woman,

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66 For a conspectus, see J. M. Hurwit, 'Narrative Resonance in the East Pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia', *The Art Bulletin* 69.1 (1987) 12.

67 Neumann, *Gesten* 130.

68 *ARV*^{2} 623.66 (207220). The *CVA* (Fitzwilliam I.XXXV) date (440-430) is perhaps a little low for the Villa Giulia Painter, usually thought to be active 470-440.

along with the Olympia seer, under 'Innerer Kampf',[69] but the reaction to a violent gesture represents an immediate reaction to danger rather than a silent internal struggle.[70]

Whether or not the gesture is naturalistic, the seer's face is essentially inexpressive.[71] It is difficult to distinguish the wrinkles and bagginess of the eyes from a contraction of the muscle of the inner eyebrow; if it does contract, it does so slightly. His mouth underneath his beard is closed and horizontal, his cheeks and forehead show no distension.[72] An inexpressive face in combination with a stylised gesture is typological rather than naturalistic. Hurwit argues that there is a basis in the representation of Amphiaraus,[73] but the 'wise old man' type is much earlier.[74] Seer N is uniquely naturalistic, but is not rendered emotionally.

West Pediment

The west pediment (*fig*. 58) depicts the struggle between the Lapiths and the Centaurs, who disrupted the wedding of Peirithous and Hippodameia.[75] With Apollo at centre, the pediment comprises pairs or trios of Centaurs and Lapiths[76] and four (originally two) women prone.[77] Apollo points with his right hand in a bold gesture, although his face, like that of the seer, is impassive. Much has been made of this gesture, but since it is deictic and not emotional, it can be passed over.[78] Apollo's face is well preserved (*fig*. 59), and is a good standard for an emotionless expression in the style of the sculptor, whom Pausanias calls 'Alcamenes'.[79]

Herrmann's reconstruction[80] of the west pediment places Peirithoös to Apollo's right and Theseus to his left, each making overhead back-strokes in preparation of their attack on

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69 Neumann, *Gesten* 128-136.
70 Cf. the Stoic conception of the emotions along an axis of imminence and presence (above, p. 4).
71 *Contra* J. M. Barringer, 'The Temple of Zeus at Olympia, Heroes, and Athletes', *Hesperia* 74.4 (2005) 223-225: no explanation of what exactly the seers' facial expressions are is offered; perhaps she thinks the 'aged' eyes show a contraction of the muscle of the inner eyebrow.
72 J. M. Hurwit, 'Narrative Resonance in the East Pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia', *ArtB* 69.1 (1987) 12 claims 'the lines (of the forehead) are surely signs of pathos rather than mere wrinkles', yet this is not at all sure.
73 *Ibid*., 13-15.
74 Such as Egyptian scribe statues, which portray the corporal effects of age in a similar way, e.g., *fig*. 57.
75 In scholarship relating to the temple she is Deidameia, the name given her only in Plutarch, *Theseus* 30.3.
76 The Lapiths' and Centaurs' struggles mirror wrestlers' holds: J. M. Barringer, 'The Temple of Zeus at Olympia, Heroes, and Athletes', *Hesperia* 74.4 (2005) 234.
77 The omission of the women at the corners (A, B, U, V) is intentional; their dates are uncertain, and may all be non-original additions or replacements; their expressions, in addition to their material, execution and style, are not of the early fifth century.
78 This is not to say that it has not been contorted into an emotional gesture: Younger & Rehak, 'Observations', 84 suggest that it is a gesture of anger, telling the Centaur that he 'should get off his altar'.
79 Pausanias, V.10.8.
80 Explained in P. Grunauer, 'Der Westgiebel der Zeustempels von Olympia. Die Münchner Rekonstruktion - Ergebnisse' in H.-V. Herrmann (ed.) *Die Olympia-Skulpturen* (Darmstadt, 1987) 46-54.

the Centaurs immediately adjacent to them (*fig*. 60).[81] Like Apollo, who marshals the Lapiths against the Centaurs, the two leaders of the fight are also expressionless (*figg*. 61, 62). The state of the head of Peirithous makes this uncertain; as preserved, the mouth opens and curves downwards and the muscle of the inner eyebrow contracts, but the coincidence of perceived emotion and a poor state of preservation – a Romantic attitude to antiquity – should not be overlooked.

Peirithous' bride, Hippodameia, is handled violently by the Centaur who stands between them (*fig*. 62) She strikes her attacker, Eurytion, in the face with her left elbow and uses her left hand to loosen his grip on her left breast. This double effort results in an awkward contortion of the arm; her body does not realistically show her strain against the Centaur in the way that, say, that of Lapith woman R does. Hippodameia's face, which is as well-preserved as that of Apollo, is impassive save for an open mouth. The rest of her features are composed, and the angle of her head and eyes turn her gaze towards the spectator, not her attacker or rescuer.

Lapith girl E, two groups to Hippodameia's left, makes a more credible attempt to free herself from the Centaur, and her face is deeply expressive (*fig*. 63). With a slight frown and her mouth open more at the corners than the centre, she is depicted at the moment before she cries in pain, the *orbicularis oculi* (muscles around the eye) distending. Her nostrils flare and the muscle of the inner eyebrow contracts, seen in the angle of her eye and a wrinkle in her brow. It is a rare example of the upper and lower face in emotional concord.

These two figures, Hippodameia and Lapith girl E, represent each end of the spectrum of emotional expression; it is notable, therefore, that they are in the same pediment and seemingly identical in age and circumstance.[82] They do not look to be by the same hand, though this does not seem to have been discussed elsewhere. Both figures seem to be in the same state of completion, despite Lapith girl E's locks having received much more detail and differentiation than Hippodameia's monolithic hair. This serves to illustrate two points: state

81 A pose also adopted by Harmodius in the Tyrannicide-group; J. M. Barringer, 'The Temple of Zeus at Olympia, Heroes, and Athletes', *Hesperia* 74.4 (2005) n. 11 claims that it was 'borrowed', but the pose is natural enough to the wielding of a sword that it does not need an exemplar; it is adopted elsewhere in the temple (in single form) by Heracles in the Amazon metope and altered slightly in the Geryon metope.

82 Cf. Hippodameia in the Bassae frieze, whose facial expression, despite her dramatic gesture, is muted (below, p. 76).

of completion need not have an effect on the fundamental emotionality of a figure and, more broadly-reaching, is that women's emotions are not depicted in a single way; one might argue that Hippodameia's status as bride and princess puts her in a different class of women to the anonymous Lapith woman, and thus justifies her 'aristocratic impassivity', but this risks becoming a circular argument. Ashmole makes a broader claim: 'how little to the modern eye she is affected by what is taking place. The main reason for this is the ideal of how a Greek of heroic strain, whether man or woman, should behave in such a situation...'[83]

All but one of the Centaurs are expressive in face and body. This consistency does not, however, entail monotony, since each Centaur bears a slight variation from the next (e.g., Centaur O, who is bald, or Centaur S, whose beard is exceptionally full) and their facial and bodily expressions differ by circumstance. Centaurs J and N, both being repulsed by their victims, share a similar facial expression. Their open mouths appear to gape because of the shadows cast by the thick (unfinished?) moustaches. Their eyes open wide and the muscle of the inner eyebrow contracts. Combined with the angle of the head, governed by the direction of the blow, these all show close consideration of the physical reactions to combat. The great opening of the eyes in both cases is marked with a shallowing of the indentation of the eye, caused by the tension of the forehead, which also wrinkles the brow.

Centaurs P and D also form a pair (*figg*. 65, 66); P bites the arm of a Lapith youth Q. Though the bottom half of his face is missing, the upper portion of Centaur D's face is remarkably similar to that of Centaur P.[84] Both have pronounced forehead wrinkles, distended cheeks and deep lines around the nostrils that come from the contraction of the *zygomaticus major* and *minor* (greater and lesser muscles of the corner of the upper lip), muscle around the eye and forehead, which show concentration, exertion or pain. The narrowing of the eyes is more evident in P, lending to the ferocity of his bite. Reconstructions leave D's mouth open in pain, but his upper face does not correspond to those of Centaurs J and N.

83 Ashmole & Yalouris, *Olympia* 18.
84 Younger & Rehak, 'Observations', 65.

The opponents of Centaurs P and D, the Lapith youths Q and C, react according to the circumstances of their individual duels. Lapith C, whose extreme pose, marked especially in the flexion of the left *triceps surae* (calf muscle), the extension of the *latissimus dorsi* (flank) and the downward tilt of the head, demonstrates his great exertion, has a facial expression to match.[85] The head is not preserved as well as the body, but the forehead is wrinkled and the mouth open, frowning slightly; it is very similar to the face of Heracles in the Nemean Lion metope (see below, p. 42).

Lapith Q, part of the so-called 'biter group', reacts rather differently to his opponent. His body is not so articulated as that of Lapith C, since he sits on the body of his opponent (the two figures are carved from a single stone). His facial reaction to the Centaur's bite consists of two wrinkles on his brow and an opened mouth (*fig*. 66). The lips curve open in what appears to be a smile; Treu claims that this is battle-lust, though the expression is ambiguous.[86] If the Lapith is shouting in pain, as the the wrinkles of his forehead would suggest, then the contraction of the *muscle of the inner eyebrow*, essential to other expressions of pain or dismay in the pediment, is markedly missing.

The solution does not lie in a broad theoretical distinction between which classes of figure (*viz*. 'others') can show emotion; there is as much variation among the Lapiths as there is between Lapiths and Centaurs. One possible cause is that a marked depression at the corner of the lips, absent in Hippodameia (*fig*. 62) but evident in Apollo (*fig*. 59), creates a shadow, much as the Centaurs' moustaches do, which makes a figure look more severe than it really is.[87] This seems unlikely because its effect (to emphasise the downward position of the mouth) amplifies and never contradicts the angle of the lips. More likely is that Lapith Q's unique circumstances in the pediment made the sculptor unsure of how he ought to depict the

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85 Reconstructions of the west pediment depict this group (the dramatically lunging Lapith youth C, Centaur D and Lapith girl E) as though the youth is tugging on the head of the Centaur, which is also repulsed by the girl. The youth is so obviously pushing (bent toes, force on forward instead of rear knee) that this seems impossible. If he is pulling from his crown, and assuming his force on the Centaur's head is greater than that of his victim (Lapith girl E), who pushes on the jaw, then his head ought surely to tilt the opposite direction. Treu, *Bildwerke ad loc*. claims that an indentation in the Centaur's head is to receive the crown of Lapith C's head; in the museum's reconstruction, their two heads are quite far apart. Rehak and Younger, 'Observations', 81-83 doubts the reconstruction as displayed in the museum, but does not mention that the pose of the youth does not allow him to pull in the first place.

86 Treu, *Bildwerke* 83. Ashmole & Yalouris, *Olympia*, 19: smile and indications of pain coexist.

87 The impression given to the viewer, even if 'erroneous' (i.e., not substantiated by the figure's anatomy), as a result of the state of finishing cannot be discounted; the perception of the sculptures is moderated by distance and angle, along with the 'accidents' caused by thick beards or shadows from helmets.

figure, resulting in this emotional 'composite'. He is the only figure bested by his opponent; the source of his pain is opposite to that of Lapith C, resulting from action, not passion.

In a pediment whose major combatants, barring Theseus, Peirithoös and Hippodameia, are very expressive, Centaur G, whose head is fragmentary, stands out for his impassivity. Centaur G has taken a Lapith youth F whose body is not so young as that of the crouching boy of the east pediment, presumably in order to abduct him. The act is not as violent as the other contests between males, whose objective is death. Though the entire upper half of his face is missing, this Centaur differs from all the others in that his mouth is closed. Attention is paid to the specific circumstances – against a weak opponent, and for amorous goals – and there is a corresponding alteration in emotional expression, even in non-humans.

The range of emotions and, equally as significant, of emotionality on the west pediment is broad. For the former, there is accurate rendering of pain, surprise, despair and exertion; for the latter, the heroic impassivity of Theseus and the strongly marked suffering of several Centaurs. These renderings are matched to the circumstances dictated by the narrative. Emotional renderings do not show bias from sex, species or status;[88] rather, the sculptors have attempted, largely successfully, to depict emotion as brought about by circumstance.

Metopes

Atop the cella, inside the colonnade of the temple, twelve metopes depict the labours of Heracles (*fig*. 67). In enumerating these metopes, Pausanias omitted the eleventh, the retrieval of Cerberus, but otherwise put them in what is now accepted as their correct order.[89] Heracles' connection with the games, with Zeus and with the sanctuary (the Altis is on the site of the stables of Augeias) make the cycle a natural choice. The subject also allows for a direct comparison to the metopes of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi, which show the labours of Heracles alongside those of Theseus (see above, p. 20), although the style is very different.

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88 All separable from ἦθος (see Aristotle, *Politics* 1340a), although they can each serve as determinants.

89 Pausanias V.10.9; listed from final to first. H. Geertman, 'Überlegungen zu den Metopen des Zeustempels von Olympia' in H.-V. Herman (ed.) *Die Olympia-Skuplturen* (Darmstadt, 1987) 173 lists the labours with their location. Pindar fr. 169a S-M is the earliest literary attestation of the conception of the labours of Heracles as a cycle and sets out an order, though it is not clear.

The metopes are better preserved than those of the Athenian Treasury; Heracles' face, as an index, is preserved in eight of the twelve.

Stylistically, the metopes have been described as contemporary with the final phases of the west pediment.[90] Some parallels are very close indeed, such as the stance of Peirithous with that of Heracles in the Geryon metope, or the face of Lapith C with that of Heracles in the Nemean Lion metope. Heracles stands with one foot upon the dead lion, whose tongue is lolling out and left forepaw contorted as though from a fall. The presence of Athena is now widely accepted, and that of Hermes generally postulated though without concrete evidence.[91]

The hero himself is not the proud conqueror, nor the fierce warrior seen on the corresponding metope from the Athenian Treasury. He appears himself to have been vanquished; Schuchhardt characterises his mood: 'so zu Tode erschöpft, so zunichte gemacht, so unheldisch war der Heros gewiß noch nie gesehen und geschildert worden'.[92] His right hand supports his head at the temple; his brow is wrinkled, his eyelids low, his lips horizontal and perhaps (the head is imperfectly preserved) slightly open. It is a naturalistic, understated rendering of one certainly tired, perhaps even unsettled.

Heracles is beardless and so presumably a young man, but only in this metope. Ashmole claims that over the course of the metopes Heracles 'passes from youth to age before our eyes',[93] but there is no transition. Most contemporary representations of his conquest over the Nemean lion show him bearded,[94] as does the corresponding metope of the Athenian Treasury.[95] This has been taken as natural by scholars,[96] presumably as a mannered way of showing that this must be the first labour because Heracles is at his youngest. Yet the Nemean lion is perhaps the labour least in need of placement in the hero's chronology.[97] The

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90 W.-H. Schuchhardt, 'Inhalt und Form bei den Olympia-Metopen' in F. Schalk (ed.) *Ideen und Formen: Festschrift für Hugo Friedrich* (Frankfurt, 1965) 243.

91 Treu, *Bildwerke,* Abb. 175a-b-c shows the possible reconstructions. *Ibid*., 156 remarks on the ambiguity of the sex of the face that is now taken to be Athena's; the wrinkles of the forehead make this difficult.

92 W.-H. Schuchhardt, 'Inhalt und Form bei den Olympia-Metopen' in F. Schalk (ed.) *Ideen und Formen: Festschrift für Hugo Friedrich* (Frankfurt, 1965) 251.

93 Ashmole & Yalouris, *Olympia*, 24.

94 But cf. Moscow Pushkin 3392 (19345) (*fig*. 69, early fifth century), where a beardless Heracles wrestles the Nemean lion in a pose quite similar to that of Lapith T.

95 Though Heracles' head is missing, one can just see the fragments of a beard on his chest. The Hephaisteion metopes all show a beardless Heracles.

96 E.g., H. Geertman, 'Überlegungen zu den Metopen des Zeustempels von Olympia' in H.-V. Herman (ed.) *Die Olympia-Skuplturen* (Darmstadt, 1987) 178.

97 Pindar, *Isthm*. 6.48: *θηρός, ὃν πάμπρωτον ἀέθλων κτεῖνά ποτ' ἐν Νεμέᾳ, the beast, which first of all my labours I killed when in Nemea*; Euripides, *Heracles*, 359-360: *πρῶτον μὲν Διὸς ἄλσος/ ἠρήμωσε λέοντος,*

beardlessness in this metope alone, then, is problematic, as is the expression of exhaustion-sadness-contrition, which is not explicable through literary parallels.[98]

Heracles is also glum in the Geryon metope. The hero, on tip-toe, is about to bring his club down on his already partially-subdued foe. His muscle of the inner eyebrow contracts, distending his brow above his eyes,[99] and his thick moustache makes him appear to frown greatly, though his mouth angles down only slightly; the effect is one of regret-pity-pain. Heracles' violent gesture is at odds with his facial expression, whereas in the Nemean lion metope they agree. In the Stymphalian birds metope, the same emotional disjunction appears: though Heracles merely presents Athena with the dead bird, his mouth is open and his brow wrinkled, as though he is exerting himself. Compare, e.g., Heracles' face in the Atlas metope, which is inexpressive[100] – even less so than the face of Biatas from the Siphnian Treasury frieze (see above, p. 18), who is in similar circumstances – and it becomes clear that the connection between circumstance and emotional rendering is not as close as it is in the pediments.

Besides the animals,[101] Heracles' humanoid victims, Hippolyta and Geryon, show emotion. Hippolyta fights for her life, having been knocked to the ground by Heracles.[102] Her partially closed eyes do not show coming death, but rather a simple wince; she is anticipating the final blow. The eye of Eurystheus also squints in anticipation of the Erymanthian boar being brought down upon him. Her squint is confirmed by the angle of her head, which shows that she is looking directly at Heracles' arm; this adds to the *pathos* of the scene, much as with the giant attacked by two lions in the Siphnian Treasury frieze (see above, p. 19): cognition is a precondition for emotion.[103]

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first he despoiled Zeus' grove of the lion. By the time of [Eratosthenes] (third century), this was canonical: τινὲς δέ φασιν ὅτι Ἡρακλέους πρῶτος ἆθλος ἦν, *they say that this was the first labor of Heracles* (*Catasterismi* 12, *sub* 'Λέοντος'). *LIMC* V.i.6 notes that the Nemean lion is always depicted as first among Heracles' labours.

98 For a general discussion of the early literary treatment of Heracles, see G.L. Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry from Eumelos to Panyassis* (London, 1969), 99-112.

99 And, perhaps, generating wrinkles on his forehead; photographs are unclear.

100 The angle of Heracles' head is dictated by his burden and not, as in the Nemean lion metope, by emotion.

101 The distinctions between the expressions of, say, Cerberus (snarling) and the mare of Diomedes (flaring nostril), are explained by C. Bell, *The Anatomy and Philosophy of Expression as connected with the fine arts* (3rd ed. (1st ed. 1806), London, 1844) 121 as based on diet; the carnivorous animals snarl because they have canine teeth to display, whereas graminivorous animals do not.

102 She has not, *contra* Ashmole & Yalouris, *Olympia*, 182, 'been mortally wounded', since Heracles' weapon is a club and not a sword or bow; if she had been knocked senseless, she could hardly protest.

103 Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1378a.

Hephaisteion of Athens

The Hephaisteion is a Doric temple still standing in the northwest corner of the Agora of Athens on the Colonus hill, which had been levelled to accommodate its construction.[104] It was originally thought to have been the Theseion, but is now widely agreed to be dedicated to Hephaestus and Athena. The date of its foundation has been set at 17 October 449 (see above, p. 33, n. 49); the year, at least, is secured by an inscription.[105] Scholars differ on nearly every other point of the building's chronology such that there is a span of thirty or more years in which the temple and its decoration are argued to have been completed.[106] As once attempted with the sculptures of the Temple of Aphaea on Aegina (see above, p. 25), this is justified by perceived differences in style. Yet none of the scholars who posit a span of construction of several decades seeks to explain why. In 449 Athens (see above, p. 33), was wealthy from her allies, in a period of truce with Sparta and had ceased her fighting with Persia for the first time in five decades; it is the ideal time to build and complete a large temple in the city's commercial centre. The only evidence that ought to be considered is a document dated to 421/0-416/5 treating the installation of the cult statues of Hephaestus and Athena in the Hephaisteion.[107] Pheidias' cult statue of Zeus at Olympia, however, is usually dated to 432, a full twenty-five years after the consecration of the temple; the dedication of cult statues does not correlate with the completion of architectural sculpture.[108]

The dates of the construction of the Hephaisteion can be placed at 449 to pre-440; that is, begun at the same time as the Parthenon but finished earlier. Identifying the presence and, if so, direction, of influence will be a goal in the study of both buildings; this is a strong reversal of previous scholarship, which takes as obvious that the Parthenon was the root of

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104 D.B. Thompson, 'The Garden of Hephaistos', *Hesperia* 6.3 (1937) 398.

105 *IG* I^3 1453 C, vv. 17-18.

106 For a summary of opinions up to 1950, see G. Gullini, 'L'Hephaisteion di Atene', *ArchCl* I (1949) 11-38. 23 and 37; up to 1998, see M. Yeroulanou, *Aspects of design and technique of fifth century Greek architectural sculptures and their related architecture: the case of the metopes of the Hephaisteion and the Parthenon*, (M.Phil Thesis, Oxford, 1996). n. 8.

107 *IG* I^3 472 v. 1: *ἐπιστάται ἀγαλμάτον ἐ(ς τὸ) hεφαίστιον*, *the commissioners of the two statues for the Hephaisteion*. The inscription is dated by archon-names.

108 Contra C. H. Morgan, 'The Sculptures of the Hephaisteion: III. The Pediments, Akroteria and Cult Statues; IV. The Building', *Hesperia* 32.1 (1963) 102: this inscription ought to bear on dating. Cf. the dedication of the Athena Parthenus in 438, *before* the architectural sculpture had been finished: IG I^3 460. It is considered to mark the end of the process because of the large sums mentioned, i.e., totals rather than annual expenses; this is not very strong evidence, but it is widely accepted.

style in its period and afterwards.[109] The celebrated architectural refinements of the Parthenon are all present in the Hephaisteion,[110] so it is not possible even to say that the design of one antedates that of the other.

Pediments, Acroterion and Metopes

Three fragments thought to form part of the pediments are preserved: a draped torso of Athena; a nude male torso in strong contrapposto, called Hephaestus; and a fragment of male neck, shoulders, pectorals and the upper rib cage, called Heracles on account of its strong musculature. In addition, the 'ephedrismus group' (*fig*. 70), the upper bodies of two women, one of which has a fairly well-preserved head, has been posited as an acroterion, likely at the top of the east pediment.[111] Little can be said of the pediment torsos. None seems to be in very violent action, as is consistent with the subjects that have been proposed;[112] their emotionality can be presumed consistent with their languid poses.

The ephedrismus group, for want of a better phrase,[113] fits well as an acroterion, especially since it is of Pentelic rather than Parian marble. The head preserved (*fig*. 71) tilts to the carrier's right; her eyes squint slightly and the muscle of her inner eyebrow contracts, resulting in deep shadows at both ends of the brow. Her mouth is open, showing the bottom of her upper teeth, and the corners turn downwards; in its current state the mouth might be thought to smile, but the flexion of her muscle of the corner of the lower lip on her right side shows that it is indeed a frown. This altogether represents pain-exertion-despair; these are at least partly justifiable by her passenger, though not entirely.[114] Thompson suggests that she is a singing Hesperid, adducing vase and literary evidence,[115] but this discounts the negative emotion on her face and ignores the woman on her back; he notes also that the same facial

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109 Morgan, *ibid*., 226: 'the style of the Parthenon... served as a long-lasting quarry of forms and ideas'.
110 M. Yeroulanou, *Aspects of design and technique of fifth century Greek architectural sculptures and their related architecture: the case of the metopes of the Hephaisteion and the Parthenon*, (M.Phil Dissertation, Oxford, 1996) 29.
111 C.H. Morgan, 'The Sculptures of the Hephaisteion: III. The Pediments, Akroteria and Cult Statues; IV. The Building', *Hesperia* 32.1 (1963) 95 and 97-98.
112 Excluding E.B. Harrison, 'The West Pediment of the Temple of Hephaistos', *AJA* 60.2 (1956) 178, which suggests a Centauromachy.
113 H.A. Thompson, 'The Pedimental Sculpture of the Hephaisteion', *Hesperia* 18.3 (1949) 249-250: there is no indication that the women are playing that or any game.
114 G.-B. Duchenne de Boulogne, trans. R. Andrew Cuthbertson, *The mechanism of human facial expression* ((1st ed. 1862) Cambridge, 1990) 28 calls the combination of these two muscular contractions 'pain with despondency or despair'.
115 E.g., Hesiod appending to them the epithet λιγύφωνοι, *clear-voiced* (*Theogony* 275 and 518).

expression on the temple's metopes indicate 'rage and anguish', but offers no explanation for the differentation.[116]

The expressivity of the isolated group is due to their interaction, which provides narrative; the caryatid from the Siphnian Treasury in Delphi, on the other hand (see above, p. 19), is emotionless because she has nothing to which to react. In order for the carrier's facial expression to make sense, the sculptor must have had a narrative context in mind – whether the viewer would have understood that context is what generates the debate over subject. In the absences of attributes, nothing definite can be said; the slippage of the passenger's chiton from her left shoulder would suit an erotic pursuit.[117]

Eighteen metopes – ten along the east side and four each at the east ends of the north and south sides – survive, and this appears to have been the total number carved; they remain *in situ*. Those along the east depict the labours of Heracles,[118] the north and south those of Theseus. The Theseus metopes are better-preserved that those of Heracles, which lack a single preserved head.[119] The figures' bodies correspond well with those seen in metopes from Olympia and in Delphi, the musculature more naturalistic but the poses bold and largely canonised (e.g., Heracles with a knee on the back of the leaping Hind or Theseus overturning the seated Sciron).

Three heads survive: Sciron (N.ii), Cercyon (N.iii) and Procrustes (N.iv).[120] The head of Sciron is a consistent opportunity for expression, especially in vase-painting; the heavily-wrinkled forehead, thick shaggy beard and open mouth are regularised early.[121] Here he has his regular characteristics (*fig*. 72), though his head is in three-quarters view; the strong eyelids typical of the Hephaisteion sculptors emphasise his contracted muscle of the inner eyebrow. More unusual are the sensitive emotional renderings of Cercyon and Procrustes, since they are not depicted as 'others' but merely as bearded nude males. Both have widely-

116 H. A. Thompson, 'The Pedimental Sculpture of the Hephaisteion', *Hesperia* 18.3 (1949) 256.
117 E.g., that of the Danaids; Aeschylus' *Suppliants* was produced ca. 463.
118 All save the Augesian stables, Ceryneian hind and Stymphalian birds; Geryon takes up two metopes.
119 W. B. Dinsmoor, 'Observations on the Hephaisteion', *Hesperia* (1941) 117-122 discusses a head found in a Roman house and calls it 'Eurystheus', placing it in E.iv; this association has been called into question.
120 Procroustes: B. Sauer, *Das sogenannte Theseion und sein plastischer Schmuck* (Lepizig, 1899) 167; Periphytes: C. H. Morgan, 'The Sculptures of the Hephaisteion: I. The Metopes', *Hesperia* 31.2 (1962) 218. Procroustes is generally attacked by the double axe on vases, e.g., *ARV*^{2} 861.13 (211337), which better suits Theseus' pose here.
121 E.g., *ARV*^{2} 108.27 (200931) or *ABV* 703 (306781) (both late-sixth century).

opened eyes and accompanying wrinkles in their foreheads, and Procroustes appears to have an open mouth.[122] Procroustes is especially unusual in his emotionality, since he is not involved in physical struggle (excepting his arms outstretched[123] in entreaty and defence).

Friezes

The friezes of the Hephaisteion (*figg*. 73, 74) are very well preserved and *in situ*. The western frieze extends the width of the opisthodomos, the eastern frieze beyond into the pteroma, so that it is considerably longer. The friezes have been dated to as late as 430-425,[124] but the most reasoned analysis puts at least the east frieze no later than 445.[125] The figures barely overlap the end of each slab, which has been taken as an indication that the friezes were carved on the ground and hoisted into place when completed.[126] Especially because of their late date, many scholars see them as particularly strongly influenced by the Parthenon frieze, but both may be reflections of the same current; indeed, it would be more remarkable if there were no discernible affinity.

The smaller western frieze depicts a Centauromachy, though it differs from the depiction of that theme at Olympia (see above, p. 37) in its all-male rendition. There are twenty figures, ranged into eight groups and two single figures;[127] W.11, in the middle, has been called Theseus, though this is perhaps a residue of the Theseion-attribution. There is a telescoping of depth of field by actual physical (as opposed to illusionistic) devices,[128] shown by the ABBA arrangement of W.3-6, .4-5 and the apparent isolation of the two single figures from the rest of the battle. Also of note is the presence of two small mounds underneath W.5 and 12; this differentiation of levels is often connected with Polygnotus.[129]

The bodies of W.1, 5 and 18 are in various C-curves, in positions of disadvantage – W.5, a supine Centaur wrestling with a Lapith, is the most dramatic rendition. Though their faces are not well preserved (the opened and downturned mouth of W.18 is just visible),

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122 A major barrier to working with the sculptures of the Hephaisteion is the scarcity of photographs.
123 A pun on his name, from *προκρούω*, *beat out* or *stretch*; cf. Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae* 1017 (see below, p. 138 and n. 68)
124 S. von Bockelberg, 'Die Friese des Hephaisteion', *AntP* 18 (1979) 23-48. 48: friezes date to 430-425.
125 J. Dörig, *La Frise est de l'Héphaisteion* (Mainz am Rhein, 1985) 74-76.
126 C. H. Morgan, 'The Sculptures of the Hephaisteion: II. The Friezes', *Hesperia* 31.3 (1962) 223.
127 E.1-2, 3-6, 4-5, 8-9-10, 12-13, 14-15, 16-17-18, 19-20; the singletons are E.7 and 11, and seem to be attacking no one figure in particular.
128 I.e., utterly unlike the Parthenon frieze, which has a very shallow actual depth of field.
129 Pausanias X.25.1ff.; Polygnotus is also attributed with showing the teeth, as in the ephedrismus group.

their torsos reflect close observation of protest and defence (e.g., metopes S.i and N.iv Periphytes or Procrustes). The depiction of heroes (in contradistinction to villains, cf. the Amazon metope from Olympia) as begging for their life or succumbing to rather than struggling against a foe has not yet been seen in extant sanctuary sculpture.

The only two remaining faces, those of Centaurs 8 and 10, who are bashing Lapith 9, Caineus,[130] into the ground, are quite similar to those at Olympia. The most prominent features are a downturned mouth, seen in strong shadow due to the thick beard, and squinted eyes – a contraction of the muscle around the eye – also seen primarily as shadows; in Centaur 8 the remains of a strong forehead wrinkle can be seen.[131] Centaur 10 and Lapith 9 make eye contact despite Centaur 8 taking the bulk of the stone; his face is at a slight three-quarters view, indicating that he is further behind the boulder than his partner-in-arms. Their faces are more easily compared to the Centaurs of Olympia (e.g., *fig*. 75) than to those of the Parthenon (e.g., *fig*. 107), which have stronger expressions generally and, specifically, more modelling in their faces.

The subject of the eastern frieze has been debated for well over a century; when the building was thought to be the Theseion, conjectures included a Gigantomachy, Theseus and the Athenians against the Peloponnesians and, most plausibly, Theseus against the Pallantids.[132] This last has been accepted by some even after the building was recognised as the Hephaisteion,[133] but the most careful and recent study, that of Dörig, which is accompanied by a rich set of photographs, concludes that the conflict is between an Athenian king with his followers and some 'aggresseurs géants et barbares'; more specifically, Erechtheus leading the Athenians against the Thracians under Eumolpus.[134]

Beyond doubt is the presence of six Olympian gods seated in two sets of three (E.6-8 and 22-24) observing the combat; just as on the Siphnian Treasury east frieze (see above, p.

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130 Apollonius, *Argonautica* I.59-64.
131 S. von Bockelberg, 'Die Friese des Hephaisteion', *Antike Plastik* 18 (1979) 34 judges that he looks tired and worried rather than terrifying; C.H. Morgan, 'The Sculptures of the Hephaisteion: II. The Friezes', *Hesperia* 31.3 (1962) 227 calls their gazes 'almost compassionate'. Neither takes into account their state of preservation.
132 For a tabulation, see B. Sauer, *Das sogenannte Theseion und sein plastischer Schmuck* (Lepizig, 1899) 94-95.
133 E.g., C.H. Morgan, 'The Sculptures of the Hephaisteion: II. The Friezes', *Hesperia* 31.3 (1962) 222.
134 J. Dörig, *La Frise est de l'Héphaisteion* (Mainz am Rhein, 1985) 71-73.

15), though here integrated physically into the scene, as on the Parthenon east frieze (below, p. 63). Unlike on the Parthenon, where the gods seem to pay no mind to their surroundings, the Hephaisteion gods are intently watching (as Zeus, E.8, with the same C-curve of his body as seen on the metopes) or strongly gesticulating (as Hera, Aphrodite or Hephaestus (E.7, 23 and 24)). Gesticulating gods on the Siphnian Treasury do show some sort of facial expression; there is not enough evidence to conclude whether they did on the Hephaisteion.

The combatants are only in two cases ranged into fighting pairs (E.9-10 and 15-16); most of the warriors run, crouch, gesture or hurl against no-one in particular; this suspends the emotional ties formed between groups that characterize battle scenes. The facial expressions of these fighting pairs are not preserved; the surest places to look would be the fallen warriors, E.12 and 18, by reason of their naturalistically contorted and lifeless poses, their heads limp as they tumble onto the conveniently-placed hillocks. The one preserved face, that of E.19 (*fig*. 75), a giant hurling a boulder, like that of Biatas from the Siphnian Treasury north frieze (see above, p. 18), shows a squinted eye and a mouth that at least appears downturned from the shadow of his heavy beard – the only beard on a combatant. It is nowhere near as severe as the Centaurs' faces on the west frieze, who lift a similar burden.

The sculptural scheme of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia is not homogenous in its emotional rendering, whether figures in identical situations in the same pediment or Heracles in different metopes. This inconsistency comes alongside deeply nuanced and accurate emotional renderings, showing emotions such as exhaustion and despondency, as in the Nemean lion metope, as well as panic and outrage, as in the face of Lapith girl E. Is this the result of a permissive workship that allows variation? Or is it the result of differing abilities rather than technical approaches? More information about the process of design as it relates to the quarrying of stones could assist in determining to what extent individual sculptors will have been responsible for the rough working of individual stones; if it is a small group or even an individual making 'broad strokes', then it would be difficult to assume that the presence of emotion would vary so widely.

As exemplars of severe sculpture, the Olympia pediments and metopes have contributed to the characterisation of the style, including especially increased interest in

emotion.[135] This ignores the variability and inconsistency of the style. By defining classicism as a solution to a set of problems, posed by Hallett as the restoration of 'a feeling of monumentality in sculpture without sacrificing the liveliness and excitement of advancing naturalism', some of the metopes of the Temple of Zeus, such as the defeat of the Nemean lion, are more 'classical' than those of the Parthenon.[136] Emotion in the Olympia pediments is permitted by the style, to be sure, but only insofar as it seeks to further strip away the human surface decoration that had so characterised archaic art; the presence of impassive figures shows that the motivation of this development is something besides, or at least in addition to, emotion.

The Hephaisteion master, whom Gullini claims to be trained in the severe idiom but beginning to incorporate Pheidian classicism,[137] follows very much in the tradition of the Olympia master, insofar as increased understanding of human anatomy allows but does not guarantee emotional rendering. Ridgway's connection of emotion to motion[138] does largely hold true for Olympia, but the great innovation of the sculptors of the Hephaisteion is to do away with this connection, allowing for a greater range of emotions in a wider set of circumstances. The naturalistic and unheroic deaths of figures on the east frieze and the pitiable face of Procroustes in the metopes are innovations that do not appear on the Parthenon or indeed any other surviving architectural sculpture until much later;[139] the Parthenon seems to be a separate heir to the Olympia tradition, rather than the progenitor of the Hephaisteion.

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135 B.S. Ridgway, *The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton, 1970) 8-11.
136 C.H. Hallett, 'The Origins of the Classical Style in Sculpture', *JHS* 106 (1986) 71-84. 82.
137 G. Gullini, 'L'Hephaisteion di Atene', *ArchCl* I (1949) 32
138 B.S. Ridgway, *The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton, 1970) 11.
139 Cf. C.H. Morgan, 'The Sculptures of the Hephaisteion: III. The Pediments, Akroteria and Cult Statues; IV. The Building', *Hesperia* 32.1 (1963) 92, naming Lysippus as the closest parallel.

Chapter 3: Sculpture of the Peloponnesian War

Treating these two temples built on opposite sides of the Greek mainland together, though connected solely by the tradition of their common architect, Ictinus,[1] is meant to accord the Parthenon its place at the crux of the development of emotionality in Greek art, and to point out the limits of its influence. The Temple of Apollo at Bassae may be small, but it is less than a day's travel from Olympia, besides being well-preserved and well-published; it serves as an ambassador of Peloponnesian architectural sculpture in a period of Athenocentrism. As an original monument, it cannot be ignored despite its provincial setting.

The Parthenon of Athens was begun ten years after the completion of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, in 447, and some three decades after the Persian sack of 480/479, when the uncompleted 'pre-Parthenon' was destroyed.[2] The journey between the two, ca. 185 km/ 115 mi., will have become increasingly difficult with the growing hostility between the Delian and Peloponnesian Leagues. Athenians nonetheless attended the quadrennial games on official visits (*θεωρίαι*),[3] to say nothing of private visits. This contact makes it possible for the sculptural style of the former to have influenced the latter.

Construction lasted for ten years, and the installation of the sculptural decoration was finished by the beginning of the Archidamian War in 432/1.[4] Pheidias is known to have executed the colossal chryselephantine cult statue of Athena in the temple;[5] his connection to the carving of the frieze, metopes and pediments is not at all certain.[6] The 'doughy plasticity' of Olympia gives way to fine drapery (the 'rich style', e.g., *fig*. 76),[7] and a rendering of human bodies more thoroughly based on observation. Pheidias' influence on this is unknown, but the shift in style over the fifteen or so years (cf. the differences between the

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1 Pausanias VIII.41.9 connects his time in Arcadia to the cessation of the war, presumably 421-413; he is explicit that this is the same Ictinus as is associated with the Parthenon.

2 Herodotus, VIII.53: *τὸ ἱρὸν συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν*, *plundering the sanctuary, they set fire to the entire Acropolis*.

3 Thucydides, VI.16 (the games of 416) and Aristophanes, *Wasps* vv. 1382-3 (performed 422) indicate that these continued even during the Peloponnesian War; Andocides *On the Mysteries* 132 (delivered in perhaps 400) mentions an *ἀρχεθέωρον*, *chief of a sacred embassy* from Athens to Olympia in 400. See M. Dillon, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in Ancient Greece* (London & New York, 1997) 24-26 and notes.

4 M. Robertson and A. Frantz, *The Parthenon Frieze* (London, 1975) 9.

5 E.g. Plato *Hippias Major* 290a-c (ca. 390), discussing Pheidias' use of gold and ivory on various parts of the cult statue; among countless others (for all, see Davison, *Pheidias* vol. 2).

6 G. Becatti, *Problemi Fidiaci* (Milan & Florence, 1951), e.g., takes all Parthenonian material as Pheidian.

7 See C. Waldstein, 'The Eastern Pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia and the Western Pediment of the Parthenon', *JHS* 5 (1884), 195-204.

Siphnian and Athenian treasuries in Delphi, similarly spaced) is marked enough to require explanation beyond chronological development.

Standing somewhat outside three sculpted zones of the temple is a 'Parthenonian' head, attributed by Beccati. Beccati discusses the head (*fig*. 77), bought on the antiquities market, as the first chapter of his *Problemi Fidiaci*.[8] Confident that it belongs to the Parthenon, he is unable to fit the head, sculpted in very high relief, into any portion of the frieze due to its size and carving technique. He assigns it instead to a north metope, largely on the grounds of facial expression: 'la testa leggermente reclinata in atteggiamento velato di un leggero *pathos*, quasi soffusa di una nota di tristezza contenuta'.[9] No head survives intact from the north metopes, and only one metope (N.32) has anything approaching its original level of detail extant. It is possible that Becatti, who was fluent in the style of the Parthenon sculptures, has correctly assigned this fragment. His logic is sound enough: the size and style best suit the metopes,[10] and the pained expression could suit a sack of Troy. The attribution, however, is something of a compromise, since Becatti links it closely to the east frieze on stylistic grounds; Poseidon's facial expression (E.vi.38, *fig*. 78) is similar, as is his hair.[11] The facial expression, characterised by a slightly contracted muscle of the inner eyebrow, downturned head and glance, wrinkles in the forehead and a frown particular to the Parthenon (on which more below), seem entirely appropriate to a presumably violent depiction of the Iliupersis. It is comparable to the expression of Heracles in the Nemean lion metope of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (see above, p. 42) and that of (perhaps) Theseus on a fragment in Athens (below, p. 137). A stronger parallel is found among the expressions of figures on grave reliefs (e.g., *fig*. 151); there, death is dissociated from its cause and the figures tend to meditate on rather than react to death.

While the unattributed head is an extreme case of disassociation, context will prove a constant problem in an emotional reading of the Parthenon; why, for instance, there should be

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8 G. Becatti, *Problemi Fidiaci* (Milan & Florence, 1951) 13ff.
9 *Ibid*., 15.
10 The hair seems shallow and strangely conceived, with three distinct receding rows of scalloped locks. Most young men have rather more Olympian hair (i.e., with unarticulated locks, *fig*. 4), and Centaurs have deep and shaggy manes (*fig*. 5). This argument quickly becomes circular since, again, no heads survive from the north metopes.
11 Berger & Gisler-Huwiler, *Fries* I.162-3: 'Er blickt etwas ernst, fast etwas finster dem Festzug entgegen'.

emotional expressions of negative emotion in a procession at all is not clear. The head's lack of immediate surroundings – the death of Astyanax or a foe's spear entering his torso – as well as the necessary corroboration of its body make it impossible to construct the narrative of which this expression is a snapshot.

The Parthenon

The surviving sculptures of the Parthenon are today principally in Athens at the Acropolis Museum and in the British Museum in London.[12] In addition to the surviving sculptures are the testimony of Pausanias (I.24.5,7; only the pediments and the statue of Athena Parthenos) as well as various modern drawings, the earliest being attributed to Jacques Carrey (AD 1674), and followed by those of Dalton, Pars, Stuart, Worsley and Ivanovich, all made while the sculptures remained on the Acropolis.[13] Carrey's drawings are at times imprecise, which is problematic especially in the study of emotion, but are the only detailed illustration of the sculptures before the 1687 explosion. Casts made by Westmacott (1816) and others also preserve elements of the sculptures that have deteriorated, either through the passage of time or the 1938 British Museum cleaning.[14] The Acropolis Museum does not permit photography, and high-reolution photographs of their holdings are lacking; there is a Web-site that reconstructs all the surviving portions of the frieze.[15]

Frieze

The exterior of the cella wall had at its top a continuous (Ionic) frieze, 160 metres in length. Unlike the Siphnian Treasury in Delphi, which also had a continuous frieze, the Parthenon frieze is unified in its theme: the preparation for (W), progression (N & S) and conclusion (E) of a religious procession,[16] generally assumed to be the Panathenaea.[17] There is neither agreement nor strong internal evidence for anything more specific – Lesser (i.e., annual) or,

12 See generally D.E.L. Haynes, *An Historical Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon* (London, 1962).
13 Berger & Gisler-Huwiler, *Fries* I.21-23 gives an overview.
14 See I. Jenkins, *Cleaning and Controversy: The Parthenon Sculptures 1811-1939* (London, 2001).
15 [http://www.parthenonfrieze.gr]; see also [
16 *ThesCRA* I.2 stipulates that the procession (ἡ πομπή) includes competitive events.
17 J. B. Connelly, 'Parthenon and Parthenoi: A Mythological Interpretation of the Parthenon Frieze', *AJA* 100.1 (1996) 53-80 sees Erechtheus' daughters; for a conspectus, see I. Jenkins, *The Parthenon Frieze* (London, 1994)24-26.

more likely, Greater (quadrennial) Panathenaea,[18] and if so, then perhaps that of 490,[19] or perhaps the very first – and so it will here be called merely 'a Panathenaea'.[20] Epigraphic evidence for aspects of the festival is uniformly later and often significantly later.[21] Mixed in with the procession are chariot-jumpers (ἀποβάται), participants in the games rather than the procession itself, making the frieze a palimpsest rather than a direct reflection of the celebration. The frieze would have been difficult to see because of the narrow gap between the cella and the peristyle, its height and the intercolumniations.[22] Unlike the pediments and metopes, the frieze was illuminated by indirect light (*fig*. 79); the sculptors compensated by carving the upper portion of the frieze in higher relief, effectively tilting the figures downwards.[23] Most state as matter of fact that the faces of the figures in the frieze are undifferentiated,[24] which, based on observation, is untrue.[25]

Showing the early stages of the procession that moves along the north and south, the west frieze aligns with the contest of Poseidon and Athena in the pediment and the Amazonomachy in the metopes. It is remarkable for observance of block-divisions in its composition.[26] The horsemen, beardless and bearded, are accompanied by squires and men who supervise the undertaking in some way.[27] With some already at the gallop and others only fastening their sandals, the composition emphasises disjointedness; it too is a palimpsest.

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18 J.A. Davison, 'Notes on the Panathenaea' *JHS* 78 (1958) 29-33 presents good evidence that ἀθλοθέται, the magistrates responsible for organising constests, only operated at the Greater Panathenaea.

19 J. Boardman, 'The Parthenon Frieze – Another View', in U. Höckmann and A. Krug (eds). *Festschrift für Frank Brommer* (Mainz am Rhein, 1977) 39-49.

20 T. Stevenson, 'Cavalry Uniforms on the Parthenon Frieze?' *AJA* 107.4 (2003) 629 points out that the horse-jumpers and chariot races reflect the festival rather than the procession alone.

21 S.V. Tracy, 'The Panathenaic Festival and Games: An Epigraphic Enquiry' *Nikephoros* 4 (1991) 133-153. Much information comes from *IG* II^2 334 (ca. 335/4, Acropolis), recording regulations and exenditures.

22 R. Stillwell, 'The Panathenaic Frieze', *Hesperia* 38.2 (1969) 231-41; R. Osborne, 'The Viewing and Obscuring of the Parthenon Frieze', *JHS* 107 (1987) 98-105.

23 Brommer, *Sculptures* 34.

24 *Ibid*., 33; cf. the British Museum label beneath N.xliv-xlv: 'The facial features of horsemen are never sufficiently varied so as to distinguish personalities. Instead, expression is given to the head by varying the angle at which it is held'; cf. C.C. Davison, *Pheidias: The Sculptures & Ancient Sources* (3 voll., London, 2009) I.577: the Parthenon style's 'use of pose rather than facial expression on the idealizing heads to convey mood', but 'there is variation in the treatment of human faces, as can be seen...' (578).

25 As, e.g., W.-H. Schuchhardt, 'Die Entstehung des Parthenonfrieses' *JdI* 45 (1930) 218-280 (specific examples 230-231, 256 etc.) and S. Symeonoglou, 'A New Analysis of the Parthenon Frieze' in M.B. Cosmopoulos (ed.) *The Parthenon and Its Sculptures* (Cambridge, 2004) 15-18 and *passim*.

26 Berger & Gisler-Huwiler, *Fries* I.37. The procession moves towards the left, i.e., the north frieze.

27 E.g., W.xii.22 has been interpreted as carrying out *dokimasia,* the inspection of cavalry, by, e.g., H. von Heintze 'Athena Polias am Parthenon als Ergane, Hippia, Parthenos' *Gymnasium* 101 (1994) 301-306. Elsewhere they are called marshals or commanders (on W.i.1, see I. Jenkins, *The Parthenon Frieze* (London, 1994) 104).

The northernmost rider of the west frieze, W.ii.2 (*fig*. 80), turns around and lifts his left arm, now broken halfway down the biceps, and places his hand near his head, which once bore a garland or crown; his gesture has been reconstructed (as, e.g., in the Westmacott casts) as a point in the direction of the procession. Since the action of the west frieze moves from right to left (south to north), he is at its front. Though this sort of 'encouraging signal' can probably be found once elsewhere,[28] it seems likelier that the gesture ends with his adjusting the crown on his hair.[29] The effect of this torsion and gesture is to emphasise pectoral anatomy, to vary composition, to contrast with the flow of the cavalcade and to draw attention to the figure (as a result of all these); it follows that this emphasises the mental state of the figure. The turning figure is inclusive of the audience, who is also not taking full place in the procession; the same technique can be found in large groups of figures in early modern painting, as in the *Maestà* from Duccio's Siena altarpiece (*fig*. 81).

Taken in isolation, W.ii.2's facial expression (*fig*. 82) is unmistakably negative. With a transverse furrow in his brow, raised and slightly contracted muscle of the inner eyebrow, contracted muscle around the eye, and a strong contraction of the muscle lowering the corners of the mouth coupled with the aperture of his lips, it is difficult to see this other than sadness. Yet when the muscle of the inner eyebrow normally contracts, it produces a wrinkle or a distension between the eyebrows. In W.ii.2, however, there is no such wrinkle, despite a wrinkle in the forehead, due in part to the three-quarter angle at which the face has been sculpted, which deepens the shadow cast by the left brow. The strong 'frown', however, is perhaps the hallmark of the Parthenon face; called 'moody', 'sullen', 'pensive', here it will be called not by an emotional moniker, but by its physical manifestation - the 'M-mouth'. The M-mouth is characterised by emphasis of the peaks of the upper lip at the philtrum and a marked downturn of the corners – beyond what is anatomically possible. It must be determined whether this is a true 'frown' or merely a convention.

There are three similar figures on the west frieze: W.ix.17 (*fig*. 83), W.x.18 (*fig*. 84) and W.xi.21 (*fig*. 85). The incline of their heads separates them from their fellow horsemen.

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28 N.xliii.118; it is not impossible that this rider is holding something in his raised right hand.
29 As in S.xlv.138, N.xlviii.131 (the gesture includes an extended index-finger), N.xxxvi.97.

Upon close inspection, W.xi.21 hardly frowns, and indeed seems to be looking down at his reins,[30] or at something else in his hands. W.ix.17 and W.x.18, however, seem to display the same facial characteristics: strong M-mouth and contracted muscles of the inner eyebrow. While W.ii.2 is the only nude figure (save a cape) on the west frieze, the similarity of his expression to the clothed W.ix.17 and W.x.18 – and to figures on other sides of the frieze – suggests that they should be read together, i.e., of the same time, place and divine status.[31] Given that their circumstances are identical to those of several other horsemen, it is not immediately clear why their emotionality should so markedly differ.

Even if, following Boardman and others,[32] it is supposed that heroes are either the sole participants or intermingling with the mortal participants in the Panathenaea, and that these emotional figures on the west frieze be those heroes, why should they be expressive? Heroes are, excepting a handful of examples of Heracles and Theseus in the context of their defeat of animals (see above, p. 52 and below, p. 137), marked for their *in*expressivity; their foes' strong emotion serves as an external confirmation of their exceptional strength. Since there are no foes and no certainty that the figures are superhuman, the frieze must be interpreted as what it simply is: a religious rite whose apex took place within the building it decorated.

The simplest and most difficult conclusion to support is that this 'moody', heavy-featured depiction of the human face embodies the 'classical style' as seen in the Hephaisteion, funerary reliefs and vase-painting. The sculptures of the Hephaisteion, however, depict figures in violent action; unhappy expressions are natural and appropriate to monuments to the dead. It is not at all clear why in a celebration (as the garlands attest) there should be no rejoicing. In vase-painting, there is a tendency, first known on a vase of ca. 470 attributed to Hermonax, to paint 'drooping' eyelids with three lines instead of the normal two.[33] There is a somewhat earlier tendency of mouths to be either flat or slightly downturned to form the 'classical frown' as opposed to the 'archaic smile'; they are both technological advancements rather than any apparent change in ethos. The problem with ascribing these facial character-

30 Berger & Gisler-Huwiler, *Fries* I.51.
31 *Contra* E.B. Harrison, 'Time in the Parthenon Frieze', *PartheKonBa* 234, there is nothing within the west frieze to justify locating its action and not the action of the other sides in the mythical past.
32 J. Boardman, 'The Parthenon Frieze', *PartheKonBa* 210-215.
33 F.P. Johnson, 'The Career of Hermonax' *AJA* 51.3 (1947) 242-243.

istics to the 'spirit of the age' is their inconsistency over the frieze, that is, they do not correspond to a specific type of figure or circumstance, but seem to appear at random, due in part to the different hands at work on the frieze. Their isolation and analysis was taken up incompletely by Buschor in 1961 but has since then been largely ignored.[34] That W.ii.2 was considered by Buschor to have been sculpted by the same hand responsible for Athena and Hephaestus (E.vi.36-37)[35] surely impacts interpretation, but the current state of research prevents more being said.

There is, furthermore, a disconnect between the intensity of emotionality on the Parthenon frieze and its 'moody' antecedents. The expression of W.ii.2 is strong, deliberate, muscular: the transverse furrow in his brow is unparalleled in the surviving sculpture from the Parthenon save the violent metopes, and the downturn of his mouth is extreme, marked by muscular distension and aperture of his lips. His rotation towards the procession behind is, as often, a signal for emotionality based on the Aristotelian cognitive model. The other figures who look back on the frieze, with one exception, are also deeply expressive.[36] These standouts in a frieze that is written about as a monument of idealized facial homogeneity unseat the 'classicism' solution, or rather force a reclassification of it.

Another possibility is the historically-determined frieze: the sombreness of the figures (or certain of them) is a reflection of the battle of Marathon or, what is more likely but less often suggested, of the Persian sack of the Acropolis including the earlier Parthenon and the Athenian response to the Persian wars as embodied in the 'Oath of Plataea' that, if taken literally, is contravened by the construction of the Parthenon. Hurwit, based on simple archaeological evidence, notes that whether or not such an oath existed, there was in fact no rebuilding; 'if we did not have the Oath of Plataia we would have had to invent something like it to explain why'.[37] Like the Oath of Lucius Junius Brutus,[38] sworn to end the period of Roman kingship, its reversal required posturing; for the Roman emperors this was the

34 Brommer, *Sculptures* 38 takes this up casually: slab W.ii 'is obviously the work of two masters'. This has resumed, albeit preliminarily, in Symeonoglou, 'New Analysis' 5-42.
35 E. Buschor, *Parthenonfries* (Munich, 1961) 72-74.
36 N.xxxviii.105, N.xli.114, S.xlv.138; N.xli.113 looks back but is apathic.
37 J.M. Hurwit, *The Athenian Acropolis* (Cambridge, 1999) 143.
38 Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 2.1.9 & 1.59.1 and R.M. Ogilvie, *A Commentary on Livy* (Oxford, 1965) *ad locc*.

absurdity of multiple consecutive consulships,[39] for the Athenians it was a broad reading of the 'Peace of Callias' and the technical satisfaction of the terms of the oath by allowing the ruins of the older Parthenon to remain. The frieze lacks explicit reference to Marathon,[40] but its placement inevitably refers to the sack of the Acropolis, and cannot but reflect the sadness pervading the Panathenaea that was for so long destined for ruins. It is attractive to link this 'post-bellum parade' with one of the aetiological myths of the Panathenaea, Athena's defeat of the giant Asterius.[41]

Short of suggesting that the frieze does not represent a Panathenaea at all – an idea so entrenched that to argue against it is unwise even if one suspects it to be an assertion of convenience and agreement – other solutions are not as strong. That expressions could be accidents or below the level of the sculptor's cognition is ridiculous (see above, p. 16, n. 19). That emotionality is symptomatic of the differences of sculptors' styles does not hold, even for the rudimentary assignations already made. That these expressions are of religious piety rather than grief is tempting, especially in light of the Asterius-aetion as well as the ways in which grief can be addressed through religious practice. The figures that walk in front of the cavalcade, the 'something-bearers',[42] are the most concentrated locus of emotional expression on the frieze, and this can be attributed to little else than their ceremonial centrality. This is weakened slightly by the inconsistency of the expression as well as the athletic subject of some of the procession. That the insertion of emotionally-rendered figures is an exercise of the principle *variatio delectat* is perhaps the most serious, although it is unclear why facial expression should be the source of variation since it would have been more difficult to see than, say, items of dress. Still, in the north and south friezes especially, where the repetitive-ness is extreme, this must not be ruled out.[43]

It will be assumed that the individuated facial expressions of participants in the Panathenaea – rough count gives about twenty-five figures, all with variations of the

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39 Suetonius, *De vita Caesarum* 1.LXXX.3 notes that this was on the minds of first-century Romans; cf. Caesar's reply that '*Caeserem se, non regem esse*', *I am Caesar, not a king* (*ibid*., 1.LXXIX.2): the distinction was made if not accepted. Dio XLIV.12.2-3 gives similar sentiments.

40 *Pace* J. Boardman, 'The Parthenon Frieze', *PartheKonBa* 210.

41 C. Sourvinou-Inwood (ed. R. Parker), *Athenian Myths & Festivals* (Oxford, 2011) 271-277.

42 R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens* (Oxford, 2005) 259-260 for the role of the vergers.

43 Cf. above, p. 38; the variation of the Centaurs' expressions as a relief from monotony is plausible because of scale and lighting.

expression noted in W.ii.2 – are deliberate and meaningful, indicative of the figures' inner states and meant to convey those states. The west frieze along with the north, since the west frieze is the beginning of that procession, sometimes unnecessarily thought to be separate from the south frieze procession,[44] are by far the richest source of emotional expression. On both long friezes, emotionality is more concentrated toward the East, as befits its proximity to the destination and purpose of the sacrifice. If the north frieze is read together with the west, the latter being the earliest stages of the former, this becomes more complicated. Here the historical reading comes to the fore: it is in preparation for the Panathenaea that the reduction in participants – the war-dead from the Persian conflicts – is felt most acutely. The Panathenaic procession began at the edge of the Ceramicus,[45] where the state graves and funeral orations will have taken place. The high class of the participants need not preclude their display of sadness at the demise of fighting men;[46] indeed, their identity as captains – or, of the captain-class – makes it all the more fit.

There are nine riders looking backward, to which might be added a dismounted rider (marked *); three lack faces (marked †).[47] N.xxxvi.98 (*fig*. 86) looks more outward (toward the viewer) than backward; from published photographs he appears to be inexpressive. Two adjacent figures looking backward, N.xli.113 and xli.114 (*fig*. 87), are essentially inexpressive, the latter seeming to be expressive because of the strong incline of his head and the peculiar exigencies of his execution in a very shallow space: the side of his face presented to the viewer is nearly flat, causing his eye to rotate upwards, giving the impression of a contracted muscle of the inner eyebrow. His closed lips and relatively mild frown, however, show that he is of a different mould, so to speak, from W.ii.2. Almost completely obscured by a horse, his body does not cause a visual break in the flow of the frieze as do the other rotated figures.

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44 Largely on the strength of the sacrifical animals at the head of each; R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens* (Oxford, 2005) 263-264 n. 47 notes that this is in no way problematic. E.B. Harrison, 'Time in the Parthenon Frieze', *PartheKonBa* 230-234 differentiates the long friezes even more strongly: the south frieze represents the ten Cleisthenic tribes, the north the four Ionian (pre-Cleisthenic) tribes.

45 P. Fehl, 'Rocks on the Parthenon Frieze' *JWarb* 24.1 (1961) 4.

46 R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens* (Oxford, 2005) 259-260 suggests that the front of the procession was highly ordered (and exclusive), the back open to all comers; this fits very neatly with logic and with the evidence of the frieze.

47 W.ii.2; N.xxxiv.89†, xxxvi.98, xxxviii.105, xli.113 (the 'tête La Coulonche' in the Louvre; perhaps it is misplaced), xli.114, xlv.126†, xlvi.131†, xlvii.133*; S.v.13.

The remaining three figures who, along with with W.ii.2, are almost nude, are expressive. S.v.13 (*fig*. 88) turns most sharply of all, to the point that he is nearly in profile. The deep shadow cast by his brow over his left eye as well as by the large aperture of his lips contrast to the smooth plane of his face. The contraction of the muscle of his inner eyebrow is slight, though the effect will have been enhanced by the shadow cast by the protrusion of the muscle around the eye. Although the face of N.xxxviii.105 is damaged (*fig*. 89), his left eye shows contraction of the muscle of the inner eyebrow, the left corner of his mouth parted lips and a strong frown. His nudity is stark in the context of chitoned riders all round; it will have caught the light more fully and made him especially conspicuous. The 'dismounted rider' N.xlvii.133 (*fig*. 90) is unique on the north frieze for his degree of highlighting: he is the only figure to stand (almost) frontal, entirely uncovered and separated from his neighbours. It has been suggested that this block was originally intended for the west frieze;[48] more likely is that the left quarter or so has been recarved. The exceptional depth cut into the slab around the right hip of N.xlvii.133, an unusual furrow in the flank of his horse as well as its shallow, sketchy mane all suggest that something has been erased. Also peculiar is the adjacent 'missing rider' (N.xlvii.132), placed too far back on his horse, whose (right) hand appears but not his leg, although it ought to, and whose head is invisible save his hair. Perhaps this is an error corrected by a master.

Though faced with genuine physical difficulty – the bucking of his horse – his emotionality does not seem to be in response to that difficulty. His body does not betray any physical effort; unlike the other figures who constrain unruly animals,[49] N.xlvii.133 does not brace himself against a rock or bring his weight to bear. Rather, he stands in contrapposto, no muscle especially flexed, his head turned away from the object of his non-exertion. It seems as though this rider was meant to be mounted after all, and was recarved standing. His left hand rests on his hair, both an indication to the direction of the frieze and a gesture of contemplation or exhaustion; his bent arm frames the eye of the horse of xlvii.134, encouraging the horse and the man to be read together. Perhaps the upper body of xlvii.133

48 See Berger & Gisler-Huwiler *Fries* I *ad loc*., citing F.-J. Peris, *Die Disposition des Parthenonfrieses* (Bonn, 1974) 137.

49 W.viii.15, W.xiv.26-27 (horses) and S.xliii.130 (a cow).

was not recarved; the scale is commensurate with other riders, as is the height. If this is the case, then the rider's face and gesture can be considered to react to the violent bucking of his horse to the same extent, minimal though it might be, as W.ii.2 and other similar figures; like Becatti's Parthenonian head, it is a case of dissociation.

Although W.ii.2 and N.xlvii.133 were carved by different hands, their faces are remarkably similar in the angle of their torsion and incline, as well as in their expressions (*fig*. 91). Both have the distinctive M-mouth with opened lips, although W.ii.2's lips are much larger and more pronounced, fitted to his broader, more squared chin. The upper face is similar despite differences in the figures' appearance and execution: the muscles of the inner eyebrow contract on both, although N.xlvii.133's left muscle does so more pronouncedly. Indeed, his heavy brows give his expression more heft, as do the sharp ('severe') delineations around his eyes. These broad similarities indicate that there was a 'master plan' that specified not only the position but the disposition of the figures.[50] It is here that it is most fitting to speak of Pheidias if one wishes to, despite no direct evidence that he was involved with anything but the sculpture of Athena Parthenos,[51] and a quantity of evidence suggesting that he was in fact in Olympia at the time of the friezes' sculpting. The translation into the frieze itself from this plan – whether in two dimensions, at a smaller scale or in a different medium (e.g., terracotta) – will have differed based on individual sculptors' hands, just as the recording of the same frieze by Carrey and the other modern artists differ so.

This close reading has provided several conclusions that will be useful in further analysis of the frieze. Based on a model (or several) that specified both composition and the attitude of individual figures, different sculptors can be distinguished, as can variation in proportion and physiognomy. Emotional expression is neither guaranteed by activity as it is in the metopes (see below, p. 65) nor is it disbarred by passivity. Physical proximity on the frieze does not correspond to stylistic similarity or 'sculptor clusters'. Critically, emotionality is not formulaic: two figures in the same position are not necessarily similarly expressive. As opposed to the strong situational influence seen in earlier monuments, figures

50 See C.C. Davison, *Pheidias: The Sculptures & Ancient Sources* (3 voll., London, 2009) I.579-582 for an endorsement of Pheidias' involvement.

51 Plutarch, *Pericles* 13 is considered to be an anachronism.

in the Parthenon frieze largely do not respond to their visible circumstaces; this is a strong reason to read the frieze historically, since it not only accounts for the strong negative expressions but also the inconsistency of expressivity, reflecting the filtering of memory.

The expression of W.viii.15 (*fig*. 92), which can be reconstructed based on casts and drawings, is among the most violent on the frieze; with open mouth and contracted muscles of the inner eyebrow and of the forehead, it is very similar to that of Oenomaus on the east pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (see above, p. 36). Since no surviving figure reacts so strongly to his physical circumstances, perhaps the horse is to be read allegorically.[52] The temptation is even greater because of the figure's isolation; he is the only human figure to occupy his own block, and is easily read separately from the rest of the frieze. Harrison would have the figure be Theseus himself, the west frieze a representation of his unification of Athens.[53] Whether the horse is an allegory for good government (as Ashmole) is also uncertain; it might be an allusion to the Dioscuri or Diomedes as horse-tamers, even to the Olympia pediments, *viz*. Hippodameia, *tamer of horses*,[54] or more broadly to war. This last is tempting especially because of the dress of W.viii.15, which is roughly non-Attic; could this be an allusion to Xerxes yoking the Hellespont, trying to break the spirit of Athens? The frieze itself is ambiguous.

Taking two adjacent riders in the north frieze, N.xliii.119-120 (*fig*. 93), certain points of differentiation are immediately visible. The two figures were not carved by the same hand. Neither figure frowns or noticeably opens his mouth; xliii.119 has an M-mouth and xliii.120 does not. Visible on the neck of xliii.120 are the 'Venus-rings' that have caused so much controversy in the deteremination of sex of the child receiving the peplos on the east frieze (E.v.35). The visible eye of each is treated very differently, with xliii.120's set more deeply in his brow and with sharper delineations. Based on Osborne's reading of the frieze in smaller chunks as divided by columns,[55] this discrete unit demonstrates the differentiation of figures in their execution and emotionality. Yet he insists on the 'incredible uniformity of the

52 As B. Ashmole, *Architect and Sculptor in Ancient Greece* (New York, 1972) 122-125.
53 E.B. Harrison, 'Hellenic Identity and Athenian Identity in the Fifth Century BC' in S.J. Barnes & W.S. Melion (edd.), *Cultural Differentiation and Cultural Identity in the Visual Arts* (Hanover, NH, 1989) 49.
54 In scholarship relating to the temple she is Deidameia, the name given her only in Plutarch, *Theseus* 30.3.
55 R. Osborne, 'The Viewing and Obscuring of the Parthenon Frieze' *JHS* 107 (1987) 98-101.

heads' that are integral to the segmented unity of the frieze. It is the heads that differ more than any other part of the riders (dress is external), engaged as they all are riding; a procession, especially one of soldiers, demands uniform bodily comportment.

Although the south frieze cavalcade is more regular in spacing and composition than the north, it is the south riders that have the most extreme facial differentiation. Taking the best-preserved sextet of riders, S.x.26-xi.31 (*figg*. 94, 95),[56] one can see the full range of emotionality. It embraces both S.x.26 (*fig*. 96), with his inexpressive head atop a finely-carved body, and S.xi.29 (*fig*. 97), whose expression is among the most pained in the frieze. Shown in three-quarter view, his contracted muscle of the inner eyebrow and forehead combine to make his right eyebrow concave, while his mouth turns down sharply at the corners, the lips open. Berger and Gisler-Huwiler propose that figures 26-31 were carved by the same hand.[57] This is not without problems, but even so, it would show that emotional differentiation is not wholly contingent on different hands. The mount of S.xi.29 bucks slightly (*fig*. 98), but the activity of the horse is at best a pretext for its rider's emotionality (see above, p. 60).

Nothing has yet been mentioned of the east frieze; this is in part because the east frieze is the most analysed for its significance to the understanding of the ritual and divine significance of the whole.[58] With the exception of the ranks of columnar women at either end, the east frieze is remarkable for its casualness. Especially after having seen the west and either north or south friezes, the viewer cannot but have been struck by the contrapposto, the leaning on sticks, hands on hips, crossed legs and arms on the backs of chairs.[59] This softening of comportment does not correspond to facial expression. The 'eponymous heroes' are, *en bloc*, the least expressive figures on the frieze. The cult scene at the centre, the faces of whose figures do not survive, would not be an expected locus of emotional expression; for although deep emotion is associated with cult ritual, it is more properly a feature of viewers rather than actors.[60] While many of the gods' faces are ill-preserved, those that do survive

56 E.B. Harrison, 'Time in the Parthenon Frieze', *PartheKonBa* 231 places these riders in the fifth rank (= group E, = sixth *phyle*).
57 *Fries* I *ad loc*.: 'stammen wohl vom gleichen Meister'.
58 C. Sourvinou-Inwood (ed. R. Parker), *Athenian Myths & Festivals* (Oxford, 2011) 284-311 gives a précis and a novelly logical interpretation: Athena and Zeus are honoured together as poliadic deities.
59 To which cf. the east frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi (above, p. 15); see also R. Vasić, 'The Parthenon Frieze and the Siphnian Frieze', *PartheKonBa* 307-311.
60 Surviving depictions from the period under discussion are uncommon, and never certain. The

vary in their emotionality. Some, such as that of Artemis (E.vi.40), are inexpressive. Poseidon and Apollo (E.vi.38-39, *fig*. 99) engage in conversation, and so the aperture of their mouths cannot be strictly emotional. Poseidon's facial expression has been read as showing his ill-disposition to the procession (see above, p. 52, n. 11); his 'gesture', really the holding of his attributes, as with all the other gods, has been interpreted as 'resigned or conciliatory'.[61] This is *petitio principii*, an accomodation of the tenet that the sculpted zones of the Parthenon are united. Poseidon's expression is very much like that of Apollo, whose strong M-mouth if anything makes his the more extreme. Particularly interesting is that Apollo's irises have been sculpted in very low relief or with some of the paint remaining visible, and seem to indicate that his gaze is directed downwards rather than at his interlocutor.

Apollo's feet do not touch the ground beneath his chair; there has been considerable contemplation of this point.[62] The position of Ares (E.iv.27, *fig*. 100), whose feet also do not touch the ground, has engendered an entire paper that labels the posture 'hostile'.[63] Grasping his right knee with his left leg extended, his pose is meant to recall the Homeric rivalry between Athena and Ares as well as his nature as the god of war, 'who would rather rush into murderous battle than sit quietly in order to watch a parade'.[64] This seems most unusual for a god receiving cult, as all the twelve Olympians are. If, as Sourvinou-Inwood suggests, the procession is dedicated to Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus, should not the god be content with his father's honor? As for the Iliadic ill-will one should have to interpolate the same for Poseidon, who also has literary enmity with Athena (to say nothing of the depiction of their contest over Athens in the west pediment). Does Apollo's similar pose give reason to assume the designer of the frieze knew of some reason the god should not wish to be present? The problem with the analysis is that a pose, especially one of supporting part of the body,[65] does

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emotionality of ritual practice is a topic too large for discussion here; see, e.g., A. Chaniotis, 'Le visage humain des rituels: expérimenter, mettre en scène et négocier les rituels dans la Grèce hellénistique et l'Orient romain' *Annuaire EPHE, Sciences religieuses* 116 (2007-2008) 171-178.

61 Berger & Gisler-Huwiler *Fries* I.163.

62 E.g., *ibid*. (perhaps they float or are supported by a short platform) and P. Fehl, 'Rocks on the Parthenon Frieze' *JWarb* 24.1 (1961) 11-12 (they rested on a rock or rocks).

63 A.M. Nicgorski, 'Interlaced Fingers and Knotted Limbs: The Hostile Posture of Quarrelsome Ares on the Parthenon Frieze' *Hesperia Supplement* 33 (2004) 291-303.

64 *Ibid*., 297.

65 See J.E.A. Anderson, *Gestures, postures and body actions in Hellenistic art*, (DPhil Dissertation, University of Oxford, 2010) for an analysis of cross-armed body positions.

not necessarily 'mean' anything *per se*; its meaning comes from context. Thus a youth in the same pose perched on a tomb (*fig*. 101) does not wish to be elsewhere, nor does he dislike the deceased; more likely he is the deceased, or at least a comrade.[66] An Athenian terracotta actor figurine, a jovial type, adopts the same pose.[67] Sciron adopts the same pose in opposition to Theseus,[68] and while their relationship is certainly hostile, here the pose is meant to lull Theseus into thinking the opposite.

Attempting to bring the frieze into line with written evidence, whether inscriptions describing the Panathenaea or literary texts describing the deeds of gods and men, has its purpose. The presence of official documentation, some contemporary, must not be taken lightly; the strong association between the reorganisation of the Panathenaea and the Homeric poems is more than adequate in justifying the comparison. Alignment breaks down, however, with an analysis of emotionality: inscriptions relating to ritual follow their own trajectory,[69] literary texts are emotional from the earliest. Taking the frieze as it survives is vital given the absence of canonical versions of spoken or written accounts, and given the geographical variety of viewers on whom allusions might have been lost. In this light, the emotionality of the frieze is beyond question: it is varied, sometimes naturalistic, intentional. Shallow carving can distort emotional expression, but the M-mouth at least is a deliberate stylistic decision, one that reflects the designer's intent.

Metopes

The ninety-two (fourteen on each of the short sides, thirty-two on the long) metopes that originally stood on the outer colonnade of the Parthenon are considered to have been the first sculpted (ca. 447-438).[70] The metopes' state of preservation is poor: twelve have surviving heads,[71] all from the south side, and only a handful more appear at all like their original state.

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66 White-ground lekythos from Group G, *ARV*^{2} 1383.6 (217807), Basel Kä 413 (ca. 410).
67 MMA 13.225.20 (ca. 400).
68 Skyphos attributed to the Triptolemos Painter, *ARV*^{2} 889.169 (211732), Munich 2565 (ca. 450).
69 A. Chaniotis, 'Le visage humain des rituels: expérimenter, mettre en scène et négocier les rituels dans la Grèce hellénistique et l'Orient romain' *Annuaire EPHE, Sciences religieuses* 116 (2007-2008) 173-174 discuss particularly how inscribed cult specifications of the archaic and classical period are not as concerned with aesthetics – street cleaning, object selection – as are those of later periods.
70 On stylistic and epigraphic grounds; see below, p. 69, n. 81.
71 This excludes Beccati's supposed north-frieze head (see above, p. 52). To Berger's plates, add a head and torso in the British Museum (GR 1854.5-13.1; GR 1816.6-10.323) now assigned to S XVI, although A. Mantis, 'Parthenon Central South Metopes: New Evidence' in D. Buitron-Oliver (ed.) *The Interpretation of Architectural Sculpture in Greece and Rome* (Hanover and London, 1997) 71-72 does not mention it;

Early modern drawings, and those of Carrey especially, assist in determining the metopes' subject matter,[72] less so in the analysis of emotionality. That said, some of Carrey's drawings of the (now missing) south metopes make plain that the figures were expressive.[73] The subjects of the poorly-preserved metopes provide much opportunity for emotional expression, but it cannot be asserted, only conjectured with confidence based on comparion to the expressivity of the south metopes.

Since, with the exception of the preserved figures of S XVI, the well-preserved metopes of the south side depict the Centauromachy, comparison to the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (see above, p. 37) and to the west frieze of the Hephaisteion (above, p. 47) is natural. Just as animals' faces are expressive much earlier than are those of men, so too the faces of the Centaurs are deeper-furrowed and marked than those of the adjacent men. There is little reason to read these as intentionally allegorical, i.e., as referencing the Persians; it is a traditional motif and well-suited to metopes, since the two figures that easily fit a square composition are differentiable by their species. Both the Temple of Zeus and the Hephaisteion depict these scenes with naturalistic body posture and facial expression, the former less consistently. The Parthenon has simplified compositions, generally with two figures, and focusses on the interaction, physical and emotional, of the combatants.

Beginning with an exception, S IV, neither the Centaur nor the Lapith bear very strong expressions. The Greek (*fig*. 102) is defenseless – his shield is not poised to intercept the hydria, but is flush with the rear of the metope[74] – and, while his mouth opens in protest or fear, its corners do not turn downwards, and the contraction of the muscle of the inner eyebrow is so slight as to be unnoticeable. Inexpressive Greeks appear elsewhere, as in S VI and VII, though neither is in immediate physical danger. The strong tilt of the neck is a

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and a head from another figure in the same metope, now in the Vatican.

72 North: Iliupersis (broadly construed)
East: Gigantomachy (with various interpretations of the identities of various figures)
South: Centauromachy (1-12, 22-32) and various interpretations for the central section
West: Amazonomachy

73 S XVI (as confirmed by the London head), XXII, XXIII, XXIV.

74 Cf. the similar motif in the metopes of the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi (above, p. 23), which bear a strong imprint of vase-painting; see K.A. Schwab, *The Parthenon Metopes and Greek vase painting: A study of comparison and influences* (Doctoral Dissertation, NYU, 1988).

response to the assault, but, as Berger remarks, the focus is very much more on the eye-contact of the figures than on the physicality of their struggle.[75] Scholars have praised the formal qualities of this metope, Buschor calling it a work of Pheidias himself, Schweitzer attributing it to Myron, Ashmole praising its 'great sensibility';[76] its composition is pyramidal and the circular shield frames the face of the Greek and unifies the figures.

The facial expression of the Centaur (*fig*. 103), with its inexpressive upper half, is, like that of the Greek, milder than similar figures in similar circumstances. The aperture of his mouth is slight and largely concealed from the viewer by his moustache; the angle of his head shows his cognition of the situation, but his reaction to that cognition is not articulated. This difference invites *Meisterfragen*; perhaps it is on the basis of this cool emotionality that Pheidias and Myron are invoked. Its anomalousness, however, suggests distance from the norm, which so consistently shows strong, even exaggerated emotionality.[77] The immediate forebear, the Hephaisteion, and the Temple of Apollo at Bassae, whose architect Pausnias identifies as that of the Parthenon,[78] both contain strong emotionality, so it is difficult to see how S IV 'gehört zu den reifsten Interpretationen der parthenonischen Zeit';[79] it is certainly a paragon of cool classicism, but since it does not cohere emotionally with the rest of the sculpture, it can hardly stand at its fore.

Compare S XXXI (*fig*. 105): the composition is less neat and straightforward, although its figures fill the space more fully than do those of S IV. Their connection is marked by the entangling of the Greek's right leg in the forelegs of the Centaur and by the simultaneous contact: the Centaur grasping the Greek's throat, the Greek punching the Centaur in the temple. Immediately apparent is the shallowness of the figures' rendering: abdominal divisions and Iliac ridges are cut at sharp angles and do not correspond to their muscles; veins are a point of focus, as is the patterning of the Centaur's hair on his tail, head and face. Whether, as Becatti suggests, the sculptor is an old man accustomed to bronze,[80] or simply

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75 E. Berger, *Der Parthenon in Basel: Dokumentation zu den Metopen* (2 voll., Mainz, 1986) I.84.
76 F. Brommer, *Die Metopen des Parthenon* (2 voll., Mainz, 1967) I.82.
77 S. Symeonoglou, 'A New Analysis of the Parthenon Frieze' in M.B. Cosmopoulos (ed.) *The Parthenon and Its Sculptures* (Cambridge, 2004) 39: 'uniformity... represents the style of the master in charge'.
78 Ictinus: Pausanias VIII.41.9.
79 E. Berger, *Der Parthenon in Basel: Dokumentation zu den Metopen* (2 voll., Mainz, 1986) I.84.
80 For a summary of scholarly opinion, which is largely damning, see F. Brommer, *Die Metopen des Parthenon* (2 voll., Mainz, 1967) I.126.

chose to give prominence to the two-dimensional aspects of his figures (e.g., as a means of compensating for the distance, angle and strong direct light) is difficult to ascertain. The inclusion of empty space directly beneath the most prominent shadow-casting parts of the figures' bodies perhaps explains why this sculptor was paired to this composition: his understanding of the effects of light on the surface – which may well come with age or experience – gives the metope a crispness that allows its contents to be read easily.

The facial expressions of the figures confirm the extent to which the sculptor privileged surface over deep forms. The throttled Greek (*fig*. 105), with his minimally modelled head and hair, expresses the pain stemming from the Centaur's hand, if not as extremely as one would expect from choking. His mouth is opened, and the corners of his mouth turn down, although the muscles lowering the corner of the mouth do not distend. The left eye, the one turned to the viewer, is, like that of W.ii.2 (see above, p. 55), distorted in order to compensate for the shallowness of carving, unusual because the head is carved nearly in the round. This distortion, broadening the maximum height of the eye's aperture (beyond what is anatomically possible), serves to exaggerate the contraction of the muscles of the inner eyebrow, which is indicated in the sculpting of a very sharp ridge of the brow, and in a slight distension of the *procerus* (muscle of the upper nose). The sculptor's choice in rendering a *trompe l'oeil* eye conforms to his two-dimensional conception of the figures. The Greek in the adjacent metope (S XXX, *fig*. 106), whose expression is more pronounced with a strong M-mouth and an even stronger contraction of his muscles of the inner eyebrow – accompanied by two parallel furrows above his nose – is conceived in three dimensions, even as he faces the viewer directly. This sculptor's understanding of anatomy is much richer, as in the rendering of the Greek's torso: aware of the sharpness of his torsion, the wrinkles of the skin correspond to the lengthening and shortening of the abdominal muscles.

The face of the Centaur of S XXXI (*fig*. 107) is also based on a two-dimensional conception of the figure. The same distortion of the most visible eye is one among several surface treatments: the comically deep and evenly-curved furrows of the brow, the wrinkles of the nose (very similar to those of Centaurs P and D in the west pediment of the Temple of

Zeus at Olympia, above, p. 39), the distension of the cheeks and curling of the upper lip revealing clenched teeth. Along with the thick beard and moustache, the effect of these exaggerations is a deeply-shadowed face that is scarcely recognisable as human. The connection to comic masks and figurines is clear, although to call the face mask-like is to deny the extent to which it is circumstantially-determined. Comparing, again, the corresponding figure in S XXX (*fig*. 108), it is immediately clear just how much variation was permissible between sculptors. The punched Centaur registers the pain of his attack. Instead of deep ridges and enormous distensions, there is a much more restrained portrayal of pain or surprise: contraction of the muscles of the inner eyebrow accompanied by fine furrows across the forehead, aperture of the mouth with a pronounced naso-labial fold. These correspond with the rendering of other parts of the metope: more impressionistic hair, shallower veins, the panther-head of the Centaur's cape fading into the field. Both S XXX and XXXI are clear in their emotionality, but the means are antithetical: while S XXXI strives for visual comprehensibility, S XXX is more, if not fully, naturalistic.

The internal variablity of the metopes and their differences from the frieze and, as much as can be determined, the pediments, challenges the credo of the Parthenon's sculptural homogeneity. As the earliest-sculpted portion of the temple decoration,[81] it makes sense that they served as the schoolground of Parthenon style, and while some of the hall-marks of that style are already present – a softening of severe renderings of eyes and drapery, stark differentiations of age, slenderly-muscled bodies – others are either in flux or not yet in effect. The surviving metopes confirm that emotionality is far from excluded by the Parthenon style: it appears in naturalistic and non-naturalistic renderings, and in a variety of styles.

Pediments and Conclusion

The pediments are ill-preserved; the east pediment is more complete than is the west, and both rely heavily on the drawings of Carrey for reconstruction.[82] Only one head, that of east D (usually called Dionysus or Heracles), certainly survives; three others may belong: the 'tête

81 See C.C. Davison, *Pheidias: The Sculptures & Ancient Sources* (3 voll., London, 2009) I.575-576 for evidence: they must have been completed by 438; the pediments were likely begun in 438; the chronology of the frieze cannot be narrowed beyond 447-432.

82 In addition to early modern drawings, many parallels are drawn with vases in particular; see O. Palagia, *The Pediments of the Parthenon* (Leiden, 1998) 27-28 and *figg*. 1-11.

de Laborde',[83] associated by various scholars to both pediments; the upper portion of a head,[84] and a worn female head,[85] both from Athens and usually associated with the east pediment. These last are too worn for analysis of their emotional content. The head of east D (*fig*. 109) is difficult to assess because of its state of preservation; given that the figure is reclining and looking away from the central action, there seems to be little reason to expect emotionality. Dyfri Williams has proposed, based on close observation of the figure and marks on his body for attachments, that the figure is Ares.[86] His body posture is relaxed and easy, as are those of several of the figures on the pediment (cf. the gods on the east frieze, above, p. 63), especially E-F adjacent, and L-M on the right wing. The 'emotional situation' of these two pairs has been compared;[87] physical proximity is not itself a mark of emotional connection, but can, for instance, be a cue to the close familial or cultic relationship between figures. This can in turn impact emotionality.

Analysis of the Louvre head suffers from the opposite problem: in the absence of certainty to which body she belongs,[88] just as with Becatti's Parthenonian head (above, p. 52), it is difficult to interpret her facial expression. The head (*fig*. 110)[89] has a slightly opened mouth and a gentle contraction of the forehead, which slants the eyes downwards towards the ears. Coupled with the angle of her head, this might indicate mild surprise or concern; Mostratos's suggestion that it should be connected with the Wegner figure, whom he labels Eileithyia, is convincing.[90] The violent motion of the figures at the centre of the west pediment, Athena and Poseidon in chiasmus, would give ground for emotional expression; Poseidon especially, since he is in the position of the loser, could have registered dismay or anger.[91] Whether the gods can register strong emotion is a much broader question of the in-

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83 Louvre MA740, acquired in 1928.
84 Athens, Acropolis Musuem 2381, in the collection since at least 1890.
85 Athens, Acropolis Museum 935.
86 Lecture to the Oxford Greek Archaeology Group, 7 vi 2012; to be published at the end of 2012. I thank Dyfri Williams for dicussing this with me. This conclusion ought to be considered against the posture of Ares on the frieze (see above, p. 64, n. 63).
87 G. Mostratos, 'A Reconstruction of the Parthenon's East Pediment' in M.B. Cosmopoulos (ed.) *The Parthenon and Its Sculptures* (Cambridge, 2004) 118: L-M is more obviously emotional.
88 For a summary, see *ibid*., 136.
89 Often published with its plaster supplement executed by P.-C. Simart.
90 G. Mostratos, 'A Reconstruction of the Parthenon's East Pediment' in M.B. Cosmopoulos (ed.) *The Parthenon and Its Sculptures* (Cambridge, 2004) 136.
91 O. Palagia, *The Pediments of the Parthenon* (Leiden, 1998) 47 labels Poseidon's torso an 'extreme example of Parthenon baroque', and adduces Athens Agora S 1214 (from a Roman triton, Palagia fig. 97) as an indication of his dramatic portrayal.

terrelation of text and religion and visual art; in the absence of evidence, it is difficult to adduce examples – even from the Parthenon frieze – because of the novelty of the pediments' composition.

The analysis of the Parthenon's sculptural program is plagued by circular logic. The relation of the Panathenaic festival to the frieze is a case in point: the sex and role of certain figures is taken as problematic in the light of later accounts of the procession, whereas the two together present an unproblematic picture, either of a shift in practice or in the description of different portions of the procession. So too the assertion of the sculptures' unity and the faces' homogeneity prevents seeing the obvious: faces are differentiated and varied in their expressions of emotion. Whether or not the frieze depicts the Panathenaea, or a specific or historical Panathenaea, some aspect of the activity depicted must justify the strength and variability of the figures' emotionality. Piety, a quasi-emotion rather than an emotion (see below, p. 113), manifests in downcast heads and looks, downturned mouths, backward glances and sober gestures. The M-mouth and heavy lids (see above, p. 56) of the figures, present in all three sculpted zones, is bound with the style of the overall designer or designers; they are not always executed, but are frequent enough to indicate their presence in plans or designs.

Defining the 'Parthenon style' must include its breadth, i.e., its internal variability, and also identify genuine departures from it. The quiet expressions of the figures on metope S IV fall into this latter category; their emotionality is appropriate to the frieze, but not to the violent circumstances of the Centauromachy. Within the style there is a range exemplified by various riders in the cavalcade and by the expressions of the Centaurs on metopes S XXX and S XXXI. This indicates either a vague 'master plan' or, more likely, a permissiveness of variance from the intent of the designer; even Pheidias' departure to Olympia around 438 did not stop progress on the sculptures, as epigraphic evidence makes clear. This role as 'prime mover' conforms to ancient appraisals and satisfies the constraints of workshop structure as understood.

Temple of Apollo at Bassae

The Temple of Apollo at Bassae, also called Apollo Bassitas,[92] or Apollo Epicurius,[93] in Phigalia in Arcadia (ca. 32 km/20 mi. from the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia), was built in the last quarter of the fifth century.[94] It was 'rediscovered' in 1765 by Joachim Bocher, and subsequently studied, drawn and visited *in situ* until its frieze and metopes were purchased by the British Museum in 1815, where it has remained.[95] The architecture of the temple is singular, and provides the setting for the frieze that ran round the inside of the adyton; scholarly treatment of the temple has largely focussed on the installation order of the twenty-three independent slabs of the frieze.[96] Cooper's multi-volume publication from 1992-1996 remains the most complete, and his reconstruction, although not accepted by Jenkins and Williams at the British Museum in their reinstallation in 1990-1991,[97] is closely argued and difficult to ignore at points. This analysis will proceed with Cooper's revision of his proposed reconstruction.[98] Although stylistic analysis of the frieze and *Meisterforschung* depend on the blocks' arrangement, the lack of overlap from block to block makes analysis of individual figures plausible if incomplete.

The frieze survives remarkably well, due in part to its sheltering environment; the metopes are deeply fragmentary; the pediments seem to have been left empty. The frieze has three discrete subjects: the Centauromachy, the Heraclean Amazonomachy and the Trojan Amazonomachy.[99] As on the pediments of the Temple of Aphaea on Aegina, the parallel exploits of two generations point out the recurrence of historical events. These themes' connection to the honoured gods is clear enough: the Centauromachy on the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia has Apollo at its centre and Amazons are associated with

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92 *IG* V ii 429 vv. 9-10: (τ)ἀπόλλωνι τοῖ Βασί/(τ)αι; other gods (Pan, Artemis, (W)orth(as)ia) follow. F.A. Cooper, 'Two Inscriptions From Bassai' *Hesperia* 44.2 (1974) 224-33 notes that this inscription was found half a kilometer from the temple; *ibid*. publishes a dedicatory inscription to Apollo from closer by, dating both it and the manumission document to ca. 360.

93 Pausanias VIII.30.4 and VIII.41.9.

94 This is much debated; 421 is plausible for the beginning of building.

95 For the modern history of the building, see U. Pannuti, 'Il Tempio di Apollo Epikourios a Bassai (Phigalia)' *MemLinc XVI.4 (1971)* 171-185.

96 Madigan-Cooper, *Bassitas* II 39 (fig. 5) provides a visual précis; some slabs overlap slightly.

97 I. Jenkins and D. Williams, 'The Arrangement of the Sculptured Frieze from the Temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassae' in O. Palagia and W. Coulson (edd.) *Sculpture from Arcadia and Laconia* (Oxford, 1993) 57, 64-67.

98 Madigan-Cooper, *Bassitas* II 63-64 offers an addendum, published just after *ibid*. that addresses some of the keepers' concerns; why is the exchange of BM 529 and BM 524 not proposed in the text proper?

99 Based on the revised Cooper arrangement; the BM display elides the two Amazonomachies, not seeking to explain how Achilles and Heracles appear within the same narrative.

Artemis.[100] Both subjects featured prominently in the sculptural decoration of the Parthenon and, if Ictinus is to be associated with the construction of the Bassae temple,[101] their inclusion is easily explained, if not their treatment and execution. Interpreting the two as allegorical for 'Greeks against The Other' – usually the Persians – has little benefit, and encounters difficulty over the orientation of a Peloponnesian sanctuary towards Persia. Rather, by recognizing the themes as traditional by the end of the century, appropriate for their demonstrations of justice and heroism, and logically connected to Apollo and the other deities of the temple, allegory is superfluous. The distinction of various sculptors at work made by Kenner,[102] Liepmann[103] and Cooper[104] only accord in their assertion that there is no homogenous style; none of the three proposes exact overlap of sculptors with subject or slabs' adjacency. From this it is certain that whatever the slabs' installation order, their order on the ground was not the same.

Despite the variation among the Bassae sculptors, there are certain common points of 'Bassae-style'. The figures' physiognomy – less slender than those on the Parthenon, bulbous musculature, broad faces with squared jaws (e.g., *fig*. 111) – is fairly homogenous,[105] and is comparable to the proportions of terracotta and bronze figurines. Extensive use of foreshortening shows the degree of experimentation encouraged generally (e.g., *fig*. 112); its deliberateness is notable considering how much deeper is its carving than that of the Parthenon frieze, yet how much less overlap there is. Drapery is the most noticeable innovation of the Bassae frieze (e.g., *fig*. 113). The billowing quantities of fabric apart from the body, either with both points anchored to the body or with one end loose, are integral to the relatively sparse population of the slabs. The drapery that corresponds to the figures' bodies below includes various weights and levels of tension (e.g., *fig*. 114), and has fewer,

100 The Lapith women bearing the statue have been identified as priestesses of Artemis Orthia in Madigan-Cooper *Bassitas* II 80-81; yet *IG* V ii 429 vv. 12-13 (κ)αὶ τἀρτέμι τâι Κοτι/λεοῖ καὶ τâ<ι> Fορθασία<ι> grammatically dissociates Artemis and (W)orth(as)ia.

101 As Cooper, *Bassitas* I 369-379 argues; rather, since so many architectural attributions are in doubt, the evidence for dissociating him from the building is no stronger than that connecting him to it.

102 H. Kenner, *Der Fries des Tempels von Bassae-Phigalia* (Vienna, 1946) 21-29: nine.

103 U. Liepmann, *Das Datierungsproblem und die Kompositiongesetze am Fries des Apollotempels zu Bassae-Phigalia (*Hannover, 1970) 70-89: three groups and two subgroups.

104 Madigan-Cooper, *Bassitas* II 91-94: three.

105 *Ibid*., 92-93: the 'Master of the Bronze Baldrics' renders somewhat more delicate figures.

larger folds than does the Parthenon 'wet-drapery' style. Treatment of facial expression is also relatively regular: many figures display situation-correspondent, naturalistic emotion.

The *caveat* is that figures having the upper hand tend not, here as elsewhere, to bear facial expressions of triumph or *Kampfeswut*. That said, it is difficult to overstate the extent to which the other figures' expressivity is an innovation. Kenner attributes its strength to the reverent preservation of the mythic depiction,[106] but the style of rendering figures is not contained in the visual transmission of a myth; Achilles' rage is central to the *Iliad*, but his late-discovered love for Penthesilea is not integral to the depiction of his killing her. On the frieze, however, in addition to Penthesilea's expression (BM 537:2, *fig*. 115) and gesture of supplication – already visible in black-figure vase-painting – Achilles is also expressive (BM 537:3, *figg*. 111, 116). Based on later accounts of the death of Penthesilea (see below, p. 132, n. 35), it is tempting to see this as Achilles' falling in love. Strictly speaking, this should not be the case because he has not yet struck the fatal blow. Love, however, does not have a single physical expression. His facial expression – mouth open, contraction of the muscle lowering the angle of the mouth, a furrow in his brow and the contraction of the muscle of the inner eyebrow – indicates surprise, perhaps pity. In order to make clear that this surprise is due to Penthesilea's begging for mercy, Achilles' gaze is directed towards his supplicant, rather than at the Amazon rushing to her aid (*fig*. 117). Although the avenger could very well contribute to Achilles' emotional state, adding a degree of urgency (cf. the Stoic time-axis, above, p. 4), the sculptor, Cooper's 'Master of the Bronze Baldrics', has hierarchized its inputs.

In the case of motion, and especially violent motion, body posture accords more closely to the necessities of executing it; in those figures, emotion tends only to be shown on the face if at all, although bodily muscular tension contributes to the portrayal of their state: heightened and exerting. The Bassae sculptors, however, portray pain in the bodies of those combatants who have not yet been killed. BM 531:1, 533:1, 539:2, 540:4, 542:2 and 542:4 have all been seriously harmed, and communicate this pain and lack of strength corporeally

106 H. Kenner, *Der Fries des Tempels von Bassae-Phigalia* (Vienna, 1946) 4: 'Die Stärke des innern Gehalts lag... am uralt überlieferten, ehrfürchtig bewahren Sagenthema.'

as well as, if their faces survive, facially. Bodily expression of pain depends largely on its source: usually the locus of injury is held collapsed in the body, either cradled by the hands or, if abdominal, tucked inwards – and this is seen on several of the figures, e.g., BM 542:4 (*fig*. 118). As strength ebbs, neck, abdominals and limbs are less able to support themselves, and this too can be seen in those closer to death, as in BM 542:2, whose eyes have begun to close (*fig*. 119). This is by no means an innovation; figures from Aegina in particular display pain from injuries acquired prior,[107] but the regularity, sensitivity and quantity of these figures in the Bassae frieze is remarkable. The inclusion of 'reconciliation' slabs at the ends of the Amazonomachies is ideal for the portrayal of previous injury.

Heracles (BM 541:3, *fig*. 120) slightly contracts his muscles of the inner eyebrow just as he is about to bring his club down on Hippolyta (BM 541:4).[108] The slight aperture of his mouth and its downturn at the corners indicates surprise or fear, as suits the composition: he and the Amazon queen spring away from each other directly above the central Corinthian capital,[109] suggesting that the Greeks are suprised by the Amazon attack after their initially amicable reception.[110] When compared to an unnamed Greek in a very similar pose and situation (BM 533:4, *fig*. 121), it becomes clear that Heracles' expressivity is a factor of his prominence and nature, rather than of his circumstances alone. The parallels between the emotional emphasis of Heracles-Hippolyte and Achilles-Penthesilea are unmistakable.[111]

The Centauromachy, the longest of the three subjects, has the most precedents. Comprising the north and all but one of the east slabs, its prominence in the overall design is matched by the limited participation of the least accomplished of the three sculptors, the 'Paratactic Workman'.[112] The overlap of subjects from one slab to another is a phenomenon restricted to the Centauromachy.[113] Proximity to Olympia makes it impossible to ignore the influence of the Centauromachy on its west pediment, and the good state of preservation of

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107 E.g., E.vi, E.xi; see above, ch. 1 p. 28.
108 That Heracles rather than Theseus takes this role is due in part to Theseus' presence in the Centauromachy (BM 524:1), but is also a marker of the location of the Temple and perhaps the origin of the designers or commissioners of its sculpture: Heracles is Dorian.
109 Just as Athena and Poseidon on the Parthenon west pediment; Heracles' slight M-mouth is Parthenonian.
110 Madigan-Cooper, *Bassitas* II 76.
111 *Ibid*., 75 notes the various genealogical and visual connections between the two Amazonomachies.
112 *Ibid*., 93-94.
113 W.B. Dinsmoor, 'The Sculptured Frieze from Bassae (A Revised Sequence)', *AJA* 60.4 (1956) 403.

the south metopes of the Parthenon, which depict the same subject, allows for chronological comparison. It is also possible to assess the two treatments' relative influence.

Beginning at the northwest corner (*fig*. 122), the only point at which a division of subject matches a corner, a Centaur (BM 520:4) is carrying off a woman who has been identified as Hippodameia (BM 520:3). The face of the Centaur is damaged, but it still possible to note the opening of his mouth; on the strength of this it can be assumed that his facial expression reflects the violence of his opposition to Hippodameia's struggle. She is rare among victims in the frieze; although her muscles of the inner eyebrow contract slightly, her mouth remains shut (*fig*. 123) – her emotional reaction is displayed mainly through the dramatic extension of her left arm. Comparing this to the same scene in the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia,[114] in which the abducted bride's impassivity is in sharp contrast to the expression of her abductor, the influence is difficult to ignore.

Parthenon metope S XXIX (*fig*. 124), which depicts the same scene if not the same figures, does not trade on the same contrast. Although the Centaur's expression (*fig*. 125) is situationally-determined, it is not as strong as that of most other Centaurs.[115] The isolation of the figures within the metope is perhaps responsible, especially since the tone of scenes of rape is set so often in vase-painting by means of ancillary figures – maids, fathers, companions – the same 'diffuse emotionality' seen in grave reliefs (below, p. 89)

Another point of comparison is the depiction of the death of Caineus (BM 530:3-5, *fig*. 126) that is such a stock element of Centauromachies. Its commonness is matched only by the conservatism of its depiction; from the earliest preserved example – a bronze plaque found at Olympia (see below, p. 120) – the motif of the half-buried Caineus striking up at one or both of his attackers persists in sculpture and vase-painting. At Bassae, however, this changes in a small but significant way: Caineus makes no attempt on either of his attackers. If his right hand was meant to hold a weapon,[116] he does not wield it so much as retract it. All effort is focussed on supporting his shield against the weight of the boulder shared by his two attackers. His facial expression (*fig*. 127) – opened and downturned mouth, contracted

114 Figures H & I (see above, p. 37). By exstension, the Centaur ought to be Eurytion.
115 Cf. Kenner, *Bassae-Phigalia* 6-9, which splits the Bassae Centaurs' faces into masklike and humane.
116 As Madigan-Cooper, *Bassitas* II cat. 139.

muscles of the inner eyebrow – along with the angle of his neck and gaze, do not correspond to exertion, rather to fear. Even though the Centaur to Caineus' left is intercepted by another Lapith (*fig*. 128), it is certain that Caineus will be bashed into the ground. In the depiction on the Hephaisteion,[117] Caineus is in a better position against his attackers, and strikes up at the Centaur on his right. The time depicted is earlier, as the 'rescuer' has not yet made contact – the depiction is altogether more uncertain.

Unique to the Bassae frieze is the scene at the north end of the east wall (BM 524:3-4) in which two women make desperate gestures, one grasping a small female statue, the other throwing both arms akimbo and looking out from the frieze. Whether the statue is of Artemis (Orthia) or not,[118] the explicit religiosity and impiety of the violation of sanctuary is reminiscent of depictions of the rape of Cassandra. The figure holding the statue (524:3, *fig*. 129) is shown almost completely naked, her genitals and both breasts bared, since a Centaur has taken hold of her by her garment. The direction of her gaze, not towards her attacker but out from the plane of action, invited sympathy. Her companion does not respond to any immediate physical threat; she is a commentary on the scene rather than a participant. Her gesture is outward-facing in every sense, and asks, breast bared, for the succour of the viewer as much as that of Artemis and Apollo in their chariot cater-corner. The open-endedness of her expression, pronounced in its gesture but subdued facially (*fig*. 130) – a trope of theatre, is a true innovation of the frieze designer (rather than the Master of the Stone Swords, to whom the slab is attributed). It has no immediate influences, and becomes – whether by its own influence or as an early manifestation of a novel attitude – a common and characteristic mode of later art.

Given its remote location and infrequent mention in ancient texts, the Temple of Apollo at Bassae has been called 'minor', and it is difficult to argue against this – although its proximity to Olympia and its reputation extending at least to Pausanias for exquisite beauty suggest that it had greater gravity than its geography would lead one to expect. The temptation to accord it a place of high influence on fourth-century art stems largely from its

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117 W.8-10, above, p. 47.

118 Madigan-Cooper, *Bassitas* II 80-81. This seems largely on the basis of the bronze manumission (above, n. 92), and testimonia from other sites of Orthia worship, which is known to have varied by location.

good state of preservation; it is much sounder to call it a first wave of an oncoming current. As such, it is immediately clear that the Parthenon is not the only, or even the major motive force. The Parthenon style is difficult to achieve, and dependent on Athenian sculptural techniques, such that its vocabulary does not translate to other regions. After the Peloponnesian War, though Athens is very much recovered within the first decade of the century, regional styles find fuller expression. The non-figural rendering of emotion – through great sweeps and swirls of fabric, sparse composition and inward-facing display – is as much an innovation of Bassae as is the figural. Scholars have made little of the frieze's 'message' – as Olympia is supposed to be a program of justice, the Parthenon one of muscle-flexing imperialism – and quite rightly; their execution is the major bearer of 'message' or ethos. Pedimental spacing of the figures with minimal overlap is brought to be a cohesive narrative unit by means of emotional expression, extending like a web over the frieze.

Chapter 4: Funerary Reliefs

Stone grave markers are the privately-commissioned sculpture *par excellence*. The period under discussion contains the last phases of the sequences of kouroi (to 460)[1] and korai (to 480).[2] The traditional view, articulated by Richter, that kouroi and korai were primarily grave markers, and sometimes co-opted for dedication, has been strongly challenged.[3] In any event, there is little to be said of their emotionality; they provide the reference point of emotionlessness and non-natural emotionalty. From them comes the 'archaic smile' and the rigid body posture that, despite becoming increasingly anatomically aware, admit of very little expression. While this rigidity is conventionally thought to be an Egyptian inheritance, this has been challenged.[4]

Free-standing funerary sculpture after the sequence of kouroi and korai does not generally survive, and figural reliefs used as votives or as embellishments to decrees do not feature emotional renderings. They stand in direct parallel to the markers of public graves (δημόσια σήματα), which identified those who had fallen in war.[5] Athens provides the most material,[6] a byproduct of the extent of its excavation and the resultant documentation and publication. Their 'disappearance' ca. 490-430 is often cited as proof of the so-called *post-aliquanto* law,[7] although the law Cicero cites in no way forbids grave markers: *ne quis sepulcrum faceret operosius quam quod decem homines effecerint triduo*, *let none have a grave made more elaborate than what ten men might execute in three days*. This thinning of the archaeological evidence, rather, is consistent througout Greece.[8] As for Athens, the

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1 Or 485 (ending with the Ptoon 20 Group); see G.M.A. Richter and I.A. Richter, *Kouroi: Archaic Greek Youths: A Study of the Development of the Kouros Type in Greek Sculpture* (3rd ed. London, 1970).

2 G.M.A. Richter, *Korai: Archaic Greek Maidens* (London, 1968).

3 M. Meyer and N. Brüggemann, *Kore und Kouros: Weihegaben für die Götter* (Vienna, 2007), 14: of 243 korai with known provenance, 183 are certainly or probably votive (= 75%); of 390 kouroi with known provenance, 270 are votive (= 69%), though the function of 65 is unknown.

4 J. B. Carter and L. J. Steinberg, 'Kouroi and Statistics', *AJA* 114.1 (2010) 103-28.

5 The 'Albani relief' (*CAT* 2.131; see *ad loc*.) is sometimes thought to have topped a casualty list, i.e., the marker of a public grave. Those commemorated in such graves (themselves partly cenotaphs: *μία δὲ κλίνη κενὴ φέρεται ἐστρωμένη τῶν ἀφανῶν*, *and one vacant bier is brought, covered, for the missing*, Thucydides II.34) were entitled to private cenotaphs, as Dexileus, d. 394/3, received. Lyceas (*CAT* 2.156, below p. 82) is presumed the trierarch of the same name recorded on the casualty list from Cynossema (*IG* I^3 1190.42) in 412/11; Philoxenus might be identified with a soldier named for 410/409 (below, n. 89). See generally C.W. Clairmont, *Patrios Nomos: Public Burial in Athens during the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.* (2 voll., Oxford, 1983).

6 The second half of D.C. Kurtz and J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* (Ithaca, 1971) treats the Greek world more broadly.

7 Cicero, *De legibus* II.64.

8 I. Morris, *Death-Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1992) 146; except in

recurrence of limitations on funerary practice (Solonian, ca. 600;[9] *post-aliquanto*, often thought to be either late-sixth or early-fifth century;[10] Demetrius of Phaleron,[11] 317) calls their efficacy into question; perhaps they were not enforced, statements of values rather than means of prosecution. These Athenian laws, laws from other places,[12] and other texts from the period[13] aim to govern other forms of display: ekphora, lament,[14] tearing of clothes and hair and so forth. These texts, along with epigrams both inscribed and handed down in the literary record provide a parallel narrative of the emotions surrounding burial, which are not identical to the emotions surrounding death. Even Plato admits the impropriety of 'legislating emotion'.[15]

The funerary reliefs of the archaic period, again largely from Attica, bear close resemblance to kouroi and korai. While gestures of mourning – tearing of hear or clothes, arms raised in salute, hands touching head – familiar from vase-painting, are seen on some tombstones,[16] naturalistic emotion is not. The elegiac tone of epigrams contrasts with the frozen facial expression and posture,[17] as on the Anavysos kouros (*fig*. 132):[18]

> στῆθι : καὶ οἴκτιρον : Κροίσο | παρὰ σῆμα θανόντος :
> *hόν* | ποτ' ἐνὶ προμάχοις : ὄλεσε | θῶρος : Ἄρες.
>
> *Stand and have pity beside the marker of Kroisos, who is dead;*
> *whom, when among those fighting at the front, rushing Ares slew.*

An exhortation to pity benefits from the portrayal of a figure who in his comportment invites none;[19] the gap between dead and alive is pronounced. In the case of a freestanding statue or

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Sparta, 'where burials elude us altogether'. The 'Adoration de la Fleur' (*fig*. 131, Louvre Ma 701), dated 470-460, is a notable exception.

9 Cicero, *De legibus* II.64 and II.59: *translata sunt de Solonis fere legibus*, *they (the XII tables' funerary laws) were based more-or-less on the laws of Solon*; Plutarch, *Solon* 21.5-7.

10 Ca. 500: R. Garland, 'The Well-Ordered Corpse: an investigation into the motives behind Greek funerary legislation', *BICS* 36 (1989) 6.

11 Cicero, *De legibus* II.64.

12 E.g., the cult regulation of the Labyadae, *CID* I.9 (a close fourth-century copy of a ca. 500 text at Panopeus: see J.McK. Camp, 'Notes for a Philologist' in *Gestures*, edd. G.W. Bakewell and J.P. Sickinger (Oxford, 2003) 184-185); cf. a late-fifth century inscription from Ceos, *IG* XII.5 593.

13 E.g., Pericles in Thucydides II.35-46, esp. 45-46; Plato, *Laws* XII (twice).

14 Plato, *Philebus* 47e calls dirge (*θρῆνος*) an 'emotion', i.e., a pain of the soul alone.

15 *Laws*, 960a: δακρύειν μὲν τὸν τετελευτηκότα ἐπιτάττειν ἢ μὴ ἄμορφον, θρηνεῖν δὲ..., *to legislate weeping for the dead – or not weeping – is unseemly; as for the singing of dirges...* See D. Bouvier, 'Peut-on légiférer sur les émotions? Platon et l'interdiction des chants funèbres', *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 2 (2008) 243-72.

16 E.g., the Lamptrai (Athens, nr. Agios Dimitrios) 'cavetto capital', Athens NM 41 (ca. 550).

17 *Cf*. P. O'Sullivan, 'Aeschylus, Euripides, and Tragic Painting: Two Scenes from Agamemnon and Hecuba', *AJP* 129.2 (2008) 185: 'the physical strength and vitality that his image embodies in fact adds to the pathos of his death'.

18 Statue Athens NM 3851; epigram *IG* I^3 1240 – see Clairmont, *Epigram* 16-17.

19 A common component of inscribed epigrams of this period; cf. *IG* I^3 1194bis, 1204 (see below, n. 41) and

a relief with one figure, the identity of the deceased is beyond doubt, so the dialectic is easily set. Up until the end of the series of kouroi and korai, the difference in state between the viewers and deceased paralleled the difference in emotion: though the viewer (may) be moved, the dead is beyond affect.[20]

Once figural grave markers carved in stone recommence in the thirties of the fifth century, this no longer holds. On those reliefs with only one figure – that is, where it is nearly certain that the figure is the deceased commemorated – the figure can appear to mourn, e.g., *fig*. 133.[21] Polyeuctus looks down at the bird in his hand, or towards the dog leaping up at his feet, and the corners of his mouth turn down slightly. This is a mild expression, even among gravestones, although the 'tone' of the relief is clear. Grave reliefs on which a child is depicted alone use objects in the hand and animals especially justify the bowing of the head.[22] This 'local' justification brings the deceased to mourn himself.[23] Like the 'Mourning Athena' (*fig*. 134),[24] whose face is inexpressive, the angle of her head is enough to have convinced many modern scholars that she does indeed mourn.

Most of the surviving emotionally-rendered single figures bow their heads in addition to having naturalistic facial expression.[25] The first exception, Agacles (*fig*. 135),[26] is unique in its depiction of the deceased isolated but engaged in active motion – perhaps tossing a ball from his right hand.[27] His facial expression, a contraction of the muscle of the inner eyebrow and a gently downturned mouth (though his moustache gives the impression of a strong frown) is equally suited to concentration or exertion. This too can be seen as a 'local' justification for an expression that could equally well depict sadness.

1219. Cf. Euripides, *Hecuba* 807-808: *οἴκτιρον ἡμᾶς, ὡς γραφεύς τ' ἀποσταθεὶς | ἰδοῦ με κἀνάθρησον οἷ' ἔχω κακά, pity me, standing back like a painter; look at me and observe the sort of ills I suffer*.

20 Cf. Plato, *Laws* 959b-c: *βοήθειάν τε αὐτῷ μήτινα μεγάλην εἶναι τετελευτηκότι... ἐκ δὲ τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων οὐδέποτε οἰκοφθορεῖν χρή, and help (i.e., the deeds of the living) is of little good to the deceased himself... accordingly it is never right to spend (on the dead) to the point of ruin*.

21 *CAT* 0.691 (Polyeuctus), Athens (Syntagma Sq.), NM 773.

22 Other examples: *CAT* 0.590, .691, .693, .694, .695, .696. MMA 27.45, from Paros (ca. 450-440), depicts a young girl bowing her head to kiss a pet dove; MMA 11.141, from Boeotia (ca. 440-425), a young girl looking at an object (pomegranate?) in her right hand.

23 J. Bergemann, *Demos und Thanatos* (Munich, 1997) 59: the bowed head can only partly be seen as a marker of sadness.

24 Athens, Acropolis Museum 695 (ca. 460).

25 J. Bergemann, *Demos und Thanatos* (Munich, 1997) 52-53 and notes.

26 *CAT* 1.100, Athens (nr. Argyroupoli), NM 2004.

27 The raised left leg argues against 'readying for combat', as *CAT ad loc*.

The second exception, the upper portion of a stele of a man holding and looking at a female tragic mask (*fig*. 136),[28] is unique in that the object in the deceased's hand is more expressive than he is. It has been suggested that the figure is the tragedian Agathon,[29] although not based on internal evidence. The deceased raises the mask to the level of his chin, and so almost imperceptibly bows his head – it is a natural posture for holding an object, especially when sitting, as has been suggested.[30] His *levator labii superioris alaeque nasi* (muscle lifting the upper lip and wing of the nose) contracts, as does the muscle lowering the lower lip; combined with his slightly opened mouth, his expression is one of sadness-concern. His gaze introduces contemplation and remorse. The mask is more severe – strongly contracted muscles of the inner eyebrow and an opened and downturned mouth – although not caricatured. Something soft protrudes from the its mouth, deliberately sculpted; perhaps it is a form to prevent the (presumably linen) mask from losing its shape. Was the deceased a mask-maker, just as Xanthippus on the London stele (*fig*. 154) is assumed to be a shoe-maker, and not a runner?

A third, whose face is not preserved to the point discerning its expression (*fig*. 137),[31] looks out from the surface of the stele and downward, perhaps toward the viewer if the stele had been raised above street level. Just as in Chaeredemus and Lyceas stele in Piraeus (*fig*. 138)[32] – both of whom are presumed to be commemorated by this stele – to which it has been linked stylistically, Chaeredemus' outward and downward gaze is expressive (*fig*. 139): the muscles of the inner eyebrow contract, the mouth is opened and downturned. Lyceas, too, inclines his head and has a similar expression,[33] though the direction of his gaze parallel to the plane of the stele changes his relation to the viewer. Chaeredemus' nudity need only be explained by contrast to Lyceas, and does not alter his 'heroic' status.[34] If, with Clairmont

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28 *CAT* 1.075, Salamis, Piraeus Museum 4229.
29 N.W. Slater, 'Vanished Players: Two Classical Reliefs and Theatre History', *GRBS* 26.4 (1985) 340-344.
30 *Ibid*., 341; preferred by *CAT ad loc*.
31 *CAT* 1.153, findspot unknown, Worcester (Mass.) Art Museum 1936.21. Thanks to Ms Kate Dalton at the museum for photographs and documents.
32 *CAT* 2.156, Salamis, Piraeus Museum 385. N. Himmelmann, *Ideale Nacktheit in der griechischen Kunst* (Berlin & New York, 1990) 63-66 notes that both can be identified (with varying certainty) as men mentioned in other inscriptions: both come from prominent families, though do not seem to be related.
33 The apparent contraction of his left muscle lifting the upper lip and wing of the nose is caused by the physical constraints of the surface of the stele; the sculptor had limited space in which to manoeuvre.
34 C.W. Clairmont, *Patrios Nomos: Public Burial in Athens during the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C*. (2 voll., Oxford, 1983) I.14 argues that *all* war dead were heroized: Lysias 2.25 is adduced; N. Loraux, trans. A. Sheridan, *The Invention of Athens: The Funeral Oration in the Classical City* (2nd ed. New York,

and others, it is assumed that all who died in war – which might include any commemorated man (even older men) in the latter-fifth-century series of Attic grave reliefs – were indeed made heroes *stricto sensu*, *viz*. that they could receive cult,[35] the opportunities for emotional expression should be curtailed, as they are for canonical heroes (Achilles, Theseus, Heracles). An argument could be made that cenotaphs such as those of Chaeredemus and Lyceas are separate from the public graves that codify heroization, but the iconography of grave reliefs does not bear out a difference between heroized and non-heroized dead.

Before turning to emotionally-rendered stelae with a single figure, the stele of Eupherus (*fig*. 140) will provide a reference point.[36] Eupherus does indeed bow his head to look at the strigil in his left hand, but his face is studiously inexpressive. Certain technical elements – the rendering of the mouth with a high-peaked bow (an 'M-mouth'), the contrast in the weight of different sections of drapery and, most tellingly, the 'pie-crust edge'[37] on the cloak falling from the arm – are components of the Parthenon style. This has led many to suggest that the sculptor is in fact a veteran of the frieze.[38] As an example of post-Parthenon scultpure that is 'non-Pheidian', i.e., the work of an individual sculptor freed of the frieze-designer's constraints, it is interesting to note the lack of facial expressivity. Compared to a somewhat later stele also decorated with a youth contemplating a strigil (*fig*. 141),[39] his head bowed and mouth downturned, Eupherus' inexpressivity is even more marked.

Otherwise, single figures with expressive faces bow their heads almost as a rule, serving to convey the impression of sadness or introspection even from a distance (*fig*. 142).[40] This is an important function of grave markers, for in order to be seen or read, they must entice passers-by.[41] Bowing the head, strange though it might seem for the deceased

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2006) 72-75 collates evidence. Cf. Lysias fr. 129 (Carey): *ὁ κῆρυξ ἀναγορεύηι τοὺς (ὀρ)φανοὺς πατρόθεν ὑπειπὼν (ὅτι) τῶνδε τῶν νεανίσκων οἱ πατέρες ἀπέθανον ἐν τῶι πολέμωι μαχόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἄνδρες ὄντες ἀγαθοὶ, the herald would proclaim that these were the orphans of their fathers, adding that the fathers of these young men died in war fighting for their country were good men*.

35 *LSJ s.v*. ἥρως I.3.

36 *CAT* 1.081, Athens, Ceramicus Museum P 1169.

37 Coined by C.H. Morgan; see R. R. Holloway, 'The Date of the Eleusis Relief', *AJA* 62.4 (1958) 406.

38 *CAT ad loc*. gives a synopsis. No attempt has been made to identify him with an individual hand.

39 *CAT* 1.191, Athens (found in Piraeus?), NM 881.

40 The 'iconic' simplicity and thus recognizability of an image can be tested by degradation – reduction of detail; see M. Kemp, *Christ to Coke: how image becomes icon* (Oxford, 2011) 348.

41 M.A. Tueller, 'The passer-by in archaic and classical epigram' in *Archaic and classical Greek epigram*, edd. M. Baumbach, A. Petrovic and I. Petrovic (Cambridge, 2010), 42-60; cf. *IG* I^3 1204: *φρασὶν : ἄλ<λ>α μενοινον : | στεθι καὶ οἴκτιρον, eager for other things in your mind, stand and have pity*.

mourning himself, is legible from a distance. Up close, the name or epigram can be read, as can facial expressions or subtle gestures. A young woman on an early stele (*fig*. 143, ca. 430-420) bows her head, her facial expression largely obscured in shadow.[42] With a contracted muscle of the inner eyebrow and a downturned mouth, engendering distensions of the forehead and cheek respectively, her expression is closely observed. She removes an object from a box in her left hand, at which her gaze is directed. This very common motif provides local justification for her comportment; whether it is meant to be a *vanitas*[43] or merely a scene of daily life, her contemplation mirrors that of the viewer.

Like the man looking at the tragic mask (*fig*. 136), there are depictions of women looking (slightly downwards) into mirrors, e.g., *figg*. 144[44] and 145[45] – both offer versions of the human face. Mirrors' symbolic significance is obvious enough,[46] and they double-confirm facial expressions.[47] Etruscan bronze mirrors, of which some are punched with the word '*suthina*', *tomb-property*, bring together vanity and burial.[48] Attempts have been made at reading attributes allegorically, but a defining characteristic of Attic grave reliefs is their icononographic inscrutability. The meaning of the mirrors is perfectly legible as a marker of beauty, vanity and youth, and as local justifications for pensive (in lieu of sad) facial expressions.

Once a grave relief bears more than one figure, questions of identity with the deceased commemorated by the stone are raised.[49] Inscribed names and epigrams can assist. A name either placed against a figure or isolated (e.g., on an the architrave) but of the same gender as a figure depicted is taken as an indication that he is deceased and commemorated by this relief. The cenotaph of Mnesagora and Nicochares (*fig*. 146) bears an epigram that confirms

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42 *CAT* 1.050, Athens (Botanical Garden), National Museum 910.
43 Cf. E.H. Gombrich, *Meditations on a Hobby Horse and other essays on the history of art* (London, 1963) 104.
44 *CAT* 1.152, Athens, Ceramicus Museum P 685.
45 *CAT* 1.170, provenance unknown, Boston MFA 04.16.
46 E.g., Phaedra in Euripides, *Hippolytus* 428-430: *κακοὺς δὲ θνητῶν ἐξέφην' ὅταν τύχῃ / προθεὶς κάτοπτρον ὥστε παρθένῳ νέᾳ / χρόνος*, *time reveals evil men whenever it will, holding forth a mirror as to a young girl*.
47 I.e., the lower- or sub-conscious cognition, and then visual recognition. This phenomenon gives its name to mirror neurons, which correlate observation and body action; see G. Rizzolatti and C. Sinigaglia, trans. F. Anderson, *Mirrors in the Brain–How Our Minds Share Actions and Emotions* (Oxford, 2008).
48 Cf. J. D. Beazley, 'The World of the Etruscan Mirror', *JHS* 69 (1949) 16: 'there is no sign that any of the mirrors were intended in the first instance for the grave'.
49 J. Bergemann, *Demos und Thanatos* (Munich, 1997) 35-46.

that both figures have died.[50] It is iconographically impossible to show that they are siblings, so the epigram is doubly important. The epigram is not particularly expressive; it refers only to *μέγα πένθος*, *great sorrow*, left to the parents by the two children.[51] Nicochares, perhaps 4 or 5, looks up at the bird in his sister's hand, but without joy or amuseument (*fig*. 147). His mouth is wide open, turned down at the corner, the lower lip protruding; his muscle of the inner eyebrow also contracts – it is an expression of sadness-fear-worry. Though he looks upwards, which is unusual for an expressive figure on a grave relief, his 'suppliant' pose separates him from other upward-looking children. Mnesagora, not quite old enough to be Nicochares' mother,[52] looks down at her brother, adopting the more common pose of the deceased. Her mouth turns down strongly; she seems to reflect her brother's worry, the device of the bird doing little to lighten their moods.

The relief of Ampharete (*fig*. 148) also specifies those commemorated through the epigram.[53] Iconographically it seems to depict a mother and son, although the 'mother' is perhaps older than are others in similar circumstance.[54] The epigram, two hexameters surrounding a pentameter, explains that Ampharete is the child's grandmother:

> τέκνον ἐμῆς θυγατρὸς τόδ' ἔχω φίλον, ὅμπερ ὅτε αὐγάς :
> ὄμμασιν ἠλελίο ζῶντες ἐδερκόμεθα,
> ἔχον ἐμοῖς γόνασιν καὶ νῦν φθίμενον φθιμένη 'χω.
>
> *The beloved child of my daughter I hold here, whom, when*
> *we saw the rays of the sun with our eyes while alive,*
> *I held on my knees. Even now I dead hold him*[55] *dead.*

The chubby-cheeked infant raises his hand towards his grandmother, and his mouth turns down (*fig*. 149), although he can hardly be thought to express based on his state (dead). Ampharete, who has fixed her gaze solidly on her grandson (*fig*. 150), bows her head. Her

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50 Relief *CAT* 1.610, Athens (Anagyrous, nr. Vari), NM 3845; epigram *IG* II^2 12147. It is presumed to be a cenotaph because of the strange construction *μνῆμα... τόδε κεῖται*, *the memorial here lies*, instead of *κεῖμαι* referring, as is usual, to the deceased; for discussion, see *CAT ad loc*.

51 Πένθος in Attic funerary inscriptions is found more often in the fourth century, though cf. *IG* I^3 1149.2: *πένθο(ς δ' ἔτλασα|ν)*, *they bore misfortune* (*LSJ s.v. πένθος* II), referring to the deceased (casualties of the battle of Tanagra in 458) and not those who remained. Antigone in Sophocles, *OC* 1708: *οὐδὲ πένθος ἔλιπ' ἄκλαυτον*, *nor did he (Oedipus) leave sorrow that was unwept*.

52 *Pace CAT ad loc*. Nicochares is an unusual age for children represented with mothers, and Mnesagora cannot be more than ten years older than her brother. This, then, should bring at least a consideration of his conclusion in C.W. Clairmont, *Gravestone and Epigram* (Mainz, 1970) 90: the stele was bought 'off the rack' and fitted to this purpose.

53 Relief *CAT* 1.660, Athens, Ceramicus Museum P 695, I 221; epigram *IG* II^2 10650.

54 *CAT ad loc*. suggests that she appears 'around 35', which suits two (female) generations of 17-18 years.

55 The sex of Ampharete's grandchild is not specified.

muscles of the inner eyebrow and forehead contract, producing a distension on her forehead.[56] The muscle lowering the corner of the mouth and the muscle lifting the upper lip and wing of the nose both contract, producing something like an M-mouth, though much less exaggerated than is the Parthenonian version. Distensions around her mouth show a high level of anatomical realism.

Without any inscription, then, it would be assumed that the seated woman has died, and not the child as well. Elsewhere an infant is an accessory of a kind, marking the deceased woman as a nurturer of her family. Without the inscription, it would be assumed on the grounds of comparison that only Ampharete was commemorated by the stele. So much of the focus on grave reliefs goes towards distinguishing who is commemorated. Friis Johansen addresses this directly: 'from first to last the common theme (of Attic grave reliefs) is, after all, the community of the two parties, the dead and the living members of the family, who in spite of the intervening grave are indissolubly connected and together make up a whole'.[57] Thus while it may appear clear, as it is especially in 'mistress and maid' scenes, whose death is commemorated by the stones, for the sake of analysis of emotional rendering, it is not of the utmost importance.

A relief depicting a young man and a boy presents a similar scenario (*fig*. 151);[58] the young man is significantly larger, and is more prominently placed, yet in the absence of inscription or epigram, there is no way to be certain which is commemorated by the stele – though it would be unlikely that the boy be if the young man is not. The boy (*fig*. 152) is almost completely frontal; he bows his head and looks to his right. His mouth is opened and turned down at the corners, the flesh under his lower lip and around his mouth distends. His eyes slope down, but only slightly. Like the young boy in the Ilissus relief,[59] though not as extreme, he might be read as an accessory figure, standing in place of the viewer and expressing his grief. Without barring the possibility that he too is commemorated by the relief, his expression does indeed reflect the viewer, especially as he faces outward. The

56 As elsewhere, the carving of her left (rear) eye is the result of the sculptor's constricted movement; the distension of the forehead, too, is only on the right of her face.
57 *Grave Reliefs* 149. Just as there is no common allegorical language, so too there are no iconographic markers of being dead – not sitting, or shaking hands, or indeed displaying emotion.
58 *CAT* 1.550, from Salamis (?), Athens NM 715.
59 *CAT* 2.950, Athens, NM 869 (ca. 340-330).

young man (*fig*. 153), in profile, has an M-mouth, slightly opened. His right eye does slant down at the outside of his face, but this, as so often in relief sculpture, is at least partially attributable to the sculptor's constricted movement.[60] The influence of the Parthenon on the relief is strong, visible most clearly in the pie-crust edge of the himation (see above, n. 37) and in the M-mouths of both figures. Clairmont (*CAT ad loc*.) proposes an allegorical reading of the relief, with a strong Platonist bent, *viz*. that the bird removed from the cage represents the soul of the young man. This is logical so long as it is not assumed that there is a language or code of Attic grave reliefs; the bird is so often represented, and its connection to the cat provides ample local justification. Like the mirror, this allows the viewer to overlay his own reading, which must include the figures' expressions.

Children are more freely expressive, and the intensity of their expressions reaches heights paralleled only in the Hellenistic period. On the 'shoe-maker' relief in London (*fig*. 154),[61] Xanthippus' two daughters (or granddaughters), reaching upwards, enhance the grief of Xanthippus himself, whose mouth opens and turns down, though his eyes are inexpressive. The elder, standing at Xanthippus' knees, contracts her muscle of the inner eyebrow, and her opened mouth is turned down at the corner, the muscle lowering the angle of the lip distending. Though possible that she or her sister or both are also commemorated by the stele, their iconographic role is to draw attention to Xanthippus and to amplify his mild sadness. The little girl in the relief of (Cleo)menes in Athens (*fig*. 155),[62] presumed to be his daugher, has a similar expression, characterised by contraction of the muscle of the inner eyebrow and an opened and downturned mouth. In contrast to the solemn handshake of the two men, the girl acknowledges the loss commemorated.

Even when the child is not young, as in the relief of Crito and Timarista (*fig*. 156),[63] the existing relationship with a parent – Timarista is thought to be Crito's mother – provides a strong foundation for emotionality. Scholars disagree on which of the two is commemorated by the stele;[64] none seems to suggest that both were, as seems likely. The composition

60 But cf. E.vi (above, p. 28) in the pediment of the Temple of Aphaea at Aegina, whose right eye, not visible to the viewer, closes in death, while his left eye is open.
61 *CAT* 1.630, Athens (Petraki Monastery), BM 1805.7-3.183.
62 *CAT* 2.620, Athens (Piraeus), NM 880.
63 *CAT* 2.125, Camirus, Rhodes Archaeological Museum 13638.
64 J. Frel, 'The Krito Sculptor', *AAA* III (1970) 369.

is chiastic, with the outer legs of each figure extending. Timarista and Crito have placed their rear hands around each other's necks, and Crito reaches her forward hand around to complete the hug. Unusual in its depiction of movement, it has been suggested that the relief is non-Attic, though Clairmont includes it in his Attic lists; it is difficult to find compositional parallels. Crito bows her head and turns down the corner of her mouth rather strongly, distending her cheeks and chin. Timarista looks downward without bowing her head yet contracts her muscle of the inner eyebrow and turns down the corner of her mouth as well. While Crito's hand might be interpreted as a gesture, her motion, indicated by the strong flexion of her right leg, shows that it is situationally-appropriate; that it has no parallels (*CAT ad loc*.) is all the more reason to appreciate its naturalness.

While depictions of related figures speak to the generational effects of death, slaves in scenes of 'mistress and maid' have only local bearing.[65] Regardless of the identities of the figures, the composition – one woman sitting, another standing – is called mistress and maid, especially as the attributes often relate to a woman's toilet. The Hegeso stele in Athens (*fig*. 157) is particularly interesting in that its two figures both bow their heads, conforming to the expectations of the single-figure relief.[66] Hegeso has removed something (usually presumed to be jewellery, and painted and worn away) from the box, and mistress and maid gaze at it. Of it Rhys Carpenter writes: 'the favorite modern interpretation of the scene, according to which the lady has put on her shoes and is adding a bit of jewelry because she is about to go forth from her house ... forever, probably errs by adding that final sentimental word'.[67] Even should it seem obvious that the seated woman alone is commemorated by the stele, the scene is from her life (just as Ampharete holds her grandchild as in life) and so both women are to be understood as 'alive'. This holds, but for the figures' expressions; the maid (*fig*. 158) bows her head, opens her mouth, contracts her muscle of the inner eyebrow as well as the muscle raising the upper lip and the wing of the nose – a strong expression of grief-worry-surprise. Hegeso also looks down (*fig*. 159), and her expression is similar though not as

65 *CAT* (II.8-9, 96 and *passim*) attempts to distinguish free (i.e., relative) from slave by dress and haircut.
66 *CAT* 2.150, Athens (Dipylon Cemetery), NM 3624.
67 R. Carpenter, 'Tradition and Invention in Attic Reliefs', *AJA* 54.4 (1950) 328. The extent of the maid's and the chair's overlap with the architectural frame dissociates the scene even further from death.

intense as the maid's. Carpenter is right to dispel sentimentality, but the displayed emotions belie normality; this is a version of daily life tailored to the grave.

Not all mistress-and-maid scenes are so fitted to the conventions of grave reliefs.[68] A roughly contemporary relief (*fig*. 160) has much milder expressions, and the gaze of the seated woman is directed upward, straight into the eyes of the standing woman.[69] Again, it is not clear whether the figures are related, or whether one or both is commemorated by the stele. In this case, however, the scene deals more straightforwardly with death: the seated woman in her dangling right hand holds a fillet of the sort used to adorn grave stelae. Her face is too worn to be certain, but it appears as though she might have contracted her muscle of the inner eyebrow; if so, its effect will have been lessened by the upward tilt of her head. The bowed-head maid – like that on a more fragmentary relief (*fig*. 161),[70] whose expression is stronger but essentially the same – presents the shape familiar from single-figure reliefs, and serves as a proxy for the viewer, knowing what the upward-looking mistress does not. This 'diffuse emotionality', by which is meant the spreading of emotional expression over multiple figures but legible as a unit, is similar to that on reliefs with expressive children, except that maids do not so closely relate to the family setting up the monument.

Common to the grave reliefs discussed above is the relative absence of narrative. While narrative is closely linked with emotional expression in public sculpture, grave reliefs imply in themselves only the narrative of death. One of the defining features of grave reliefs is that they do not indicate cause of death.[71] Some make allusions, such as the stele of Philoxenus and Philomene (*fig*. 162),[72] a scene of warrior departure.[73] Departure can serve as a local justification for grief; if a warrior goes into battle and does not return, then it is particularly close to the scene depicted on the stele. Philoxenus bows his head only slightly,

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68 See D. C. Kurtz, 'Mistress and Maid', *Annali. Sezione di archeologia e storia antica* X (1988) 141-49.
69 *CAT* 2.151, Athens NM 1822 + 4552; cf. *CAT* 2.196.
70 *CAT* 2.152, Athens (nr. Vasiliki), NM 1858.
71 C.H. Young, 'Emotional Expression in Attic Grave Stelai' in *Classical Studies presented to Edward Capps on his seventieth birthday* (Princeton, 1936) 364: 'in most Attic grave reliefs the faces, though sad, are calm, and show no trace of the physical effects of disease and suffering'.
72 *CAT* 2.121, provenance unknown, Malibu 83.AA.378. Two men by the name Philoxenus (Φιλόχσενος; stele: Φιλόξενος) appear on the casualty list from 410/409 (*IG* I^3 1192, A.77; B.100).
73 See W. Wrede, 'Kriegers Ausfahrt in der archaisch-griechischen Kunst', *AM* XLI (1916) 222-374. Parallels for the hand-shake exist in vase painting: a calyx crater once on the London market ((17050), ca. 475-450), a pelike in Bonn (*ARV*^{2} 1157.22 (215322), ca. 440-410).

presumably to look directly at his wife, as she is assumed to be. His muscle of the inner eyebrow contracts, and his opened, downturned mouth is emphasised by the shadow cast by his moustache. This deep furrow, along with the pronounced nasolabial fold from the distension of his cheeks, underscores a strongly negative expression – much stronger than that of Philomene. Her expression is the same but the eyebrow contracts less, the mouth not so fully open. Like Hector's departure in the *Iliad*, his reply to Andromache's protestations is not one of limitless bravery but of duty and foreboding:[74]

> ἦ καὶ ἐμοὶ τάδε πάντα μέλει γύναι· ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἰνῶς
> αἰδέομαι Τρῶας καὶ Τρῳάδας ἑλκεσιπέπλους,
> αἴ κε κακὸς ὣς νόσφιν ἀλυσκάζω πολέμοιο
>
> *In truth all these are also a concern to me, wife, but how terribly*
> *I feel shame before Trojan men and Trojan women with trailing peplos*
> *were I to be so base as to skulk, far from battle*

That Hector lacks brashness makes him no less brave or heroic; so too Philoxenus should not be thought cowardly to express his dismay – even fear, sadness – at battle, or at death.

Far from this deeply expressive warrior is Menon, a warrior taking leave from his (presumably) son Cleobolus and another man (*fig*. 163).[75] Cleobolus, a young man holding a hare, aryballos and strigil, bows his head strongly and gently contracts his muscle of the inner eyebrow and opens his mouth. The hand of the other man rests on his left shoulder, perhaps to console or restrain him from grief. Later by perhaps a decade, this all-male rendition of a warrior's departure presents a different attitude, with the grief transposed fully from the warrior to those left behind, though Cleobolus may well be commemorated by the relief; the man at right – the father of Menon, perhaps – does not by his body posture make his emotionality clear. It seems that age and emotionality are being compared; Cleobolus is not anatomically immature, but the accoutrements of exercise and hunt emphasize his immaturity and his occupation with transient pleasures.

Scenes of battle narrate, but not the death of the men commemorated by the reliefs. Although the battle-reliefs are closely connected to those who fell in battle, their own deaths cede to depictions of the deaths they caused. This narrative makes clear which figure is the

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74 *Iliad* VI.441-465.
75 *CAT* 3.195 + 3.200, Attica (Porto Rafti, E. coast), Brauron Archaeological Museum BE6 (*CAT* 3.200 ex New York, Levy-White; returned July 2008).

deceased commemorated by a relief, though this clarity is only by reason of logic. Thus in the relief of (Aristobo?)ulus in Berlin (*fig*. 164), it is evident that (Aristobo)ulus is the rider and not the fallen warrior beneath the horse's hooves.[76] (Aristobo)ulus was perhaps shown about to pierce the fallen warrior with his spear and, like Dexileus (first decade of the fourth century, see above p. 79, n. 5.), was probably inexpressive. The nameless foe contracts his muscle of the inner eyebrow in fear or exertion or wrath; the lower half of his face is not preserved. The rider can be said only to have bowed his head; again, local justification of the characteristic pose of grave reliefs. The epigram bears directly on the depiction:[77]

> [– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ἕταροι δέ τε πάντες ἴ]σασιν
> καὶ πατρὶς ὡς πολλὸς ὤλεσα δυσμεν[έων].
> [ὑμεῖς δ', ὦ παριόντες, ἐνὶ ξείνοισι γένε]σθε
> μάρτυρες ὅσσ' ἀρετῆς <σ>τῆσα τρόπαια μά[χης].
> [Ἀριστόβο]υλος Φλυεύς.
>
> [*... and the others all*] *know,*
> *and the fatherland too, that I slew many enem*[*ies*].
> [*And you, passers-by, among the foreigners*] *be*
> *witnesses of the extent of the valour* (*by which*) *I set up trophies of bat*[*tle*].
> [*Aristobo*]*ulus of (the deme) Phlya*.

The the inscription is a 'war story', one that would have been told had (Aristobo)ulus survived, and so is coloured with pride.

A fuller example is the 'miraculously well preserved' Albani relief (*fig*. 165).[78] Though its date is the subject of debate,[79] links to the style of the Parthenon sculptures are beyond question. The unnamed warrior, presumably to be identified with the deceased commemorated by the relief, has dismounted. In his left hand he held the reins of his bucking horse and with his right a bronze sword with which he was about to make a final downward stroke. He bows his head to look at his foe, his flexed arm framing his profile (*fig*. 166). His mouth turns down though it does not open; his face is otherwise halcyon. It could reflect concentration and effort just as much as something more qualitatively negative: fear, anger, hatred. Unlike the Parthenon frieze riders with similar postures, the downward curve of the

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76 *CAT* 2.130, Attica (Chalandri), Pergamon Museum 742.
77 *IG* II^2 7716 (and supplements; v. 5 supplement after *CAT ad loc*., which recalls an Aristoboulus in the casualty lists of 409/8).
78 *CAT* 2.131, found in the gardens of Maecenas in Rome, now in the Villa Albani (no. 80).
79 Summarized in P.C. Bol (ed.), *Forschungen zur Villa Albani* (5 voll., Berlin, 1989) I.249-250.

Albani victor's mouth is not of the same shape (the M-mouth) or as strong, nor do the muscles of his eyes contract; he is, in other words, unexpectedly placid given his circumstances. His foe's expression is all the more remarkable by contrast (*fig*. 167). The muscle of the inner eyebrow and forehead contract strongly, the mouth opened and downturned. Combined with his plaintive upward look, body collapsing to the ground and cloaked left hand raised in feeble defence, he is a picture of suprise, fear, pain, helplessness.[80] If the outcropping of rocks is a reference to Mount Aegaleos, as Clairmont and others have suggested,[81] this is a pointed response to the Spartan raids on Attica, one emphasising Spartan cowardice in the face of Thucydides' characterization of the raids as militarily shrewd and successful.

Reliefs with several figures – from three to six or more – tend to supply some sort of narrative in order to justify their inclusion. So a lekythos with a complex scene of warrior departure (*figg*. 168, 169 and 170): two warriors shaking hands, a woman and a young woman carved in low relief and raised above the ground-line of the picture field, and a horseman.[82] Interpretation of the lekythos has been extensive,[83] and Clairmont argues persuasively that the women were carved at the same time as the men. The internal chronology of the lekythos is unclear, but the horseman might be thought to be one of the two helmeted warriors at a different time. The women in the back, removed as they are, could belong to one or both or neither time, which has given rise to Clairmont's hypothesis that they witness the state funeral. Striking, however, is their strong emotionality – bowed heads, downturned mouths, contracted muscles of the inner eyebrow – in the face of the neutrality of the men. The justification of their emotion, along with their handling what was likely a fillet (to be tied around a grave monument), is their cognition – an omniscience well-suited to their ethereal position – that this departure will end in death.

A final lekythos, that of Myrrhine (*figg*. 171, 172), introduces new questions.[84] If, with most scholars, it be assumed that Myrrhine is the first priestess of Athena Nike, the im-

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80 Cf. Parthenon metope S XXX: a Lapith beneath the hooves a Centaur has a similar expression.
81 P.C. Bol (ed.), *Forschungen zur Villa Albani* (5 voll., Berlin, 1989) I.249; *CAT ad loc*.; Thucydides II.19. Xerxes was meant to have used Aegaleos as his viewing-platform for the battle of Salamis: Herodotus VIII.90.
82 *CAT* 4.650, provenance unknown, Athens NM 835.
83 C. W. Clairmont, 'The Grave Lekythos Athens NM 835', *Meded*. XLII (1980) 71-76.
84 *CAT* 5.150, Athens (Syntagma Square), NM 4485. For a bibliographic review see *CAT ad loc*. and P.J. Rahn, 'Funeral Memorials of the First Priestess of Athena Nike', *BSA* 81 (1986) n. 1.

plications of her celebrity must be considered. The scene, that of Hermes leading Myrrhine – or her soul, as it were – past a group of three people, is certainly more easily explained if Myrrhine is in fact the priestess famous enough to merit a 'role' in the *Lysistrata*.[85] Her élite role merits the crowd of people who, iconographically, do not seem to be her family.[86] If, in fact, they are a group of Athenians who mourn her final steps, then their place on the monument – like that of Hermes – is further removed than any other figures discussed above.

Myrrhine's mouth opens and turns down at the corner, both slightly. Along with her bowed head, she takes the familiar pose of the deceased although here without local justification. Hermes, Rahn notes,[87] seems to smile as he turns backward; it too is a slight expression. Remarkable, however, is the old man who reaches across Hermes' chest in what has been called a gesture of speaking, of mourning, of greeting. Another interpretation – one that takes the hand on his shoulder into consideration – is that he reaches out for Myrrhine, as befits her celebrity, but is detained. His facial expression, with strongly contracted muscle of the inner eyebrow, contracted muscle surrounding the eye, pursed and downturned lips (amplified by the shadow cast by his moustache), is strongly negative but not otherwise identifiable. The two other mortals turn their lips downward but their expressions are not nearly as extreme. In vase painting[88] and other sculpture,[89] old men are 'entitled' to expression more frequently and intensely than are others. More specifically, his role on this vase is as an embodiment of the mortal desire to stop death, a desire rarely given place elsewhere but pervasive in the attitude toward depicting the deceased on grave reliefs as alive, denying them the respite from *pathos* promised by death.

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85 As J. Lougovaya-Ast, 'Myrrhine, the First Priestess of Athena Nike', *Phoenix* 60.3/4 (2006) 219-220, after others; *ibid*., n. 32 does not commit to the connection between *IG* I^3 1285 and *CAT* 5.150.
86 *CAT ad loc*., *contra* Rahn *op. cit*. 197-198. One might expect a man identifiable as her husband.
87 *Ibid*., 201.
88 E.g., Priam weeping at the departure of Hector, neck amphora attributed to the Hector painter, *ARV*^{2} 1036.1 (213472), Vatican 16570 (ca. 440-420).
89 E.g., the seer from Olympia, East N (see above, p. 36).

Chapter 5: Terracottas

The materials of this chapter do not naturally cohere, as do architectural sculpture or grave-reliefs. The broad swathe of free-standing, original, privately-commissioned sculpture from 525-400, comprising bronze, stone and terracotta, was investigated for its role in the development of emotional rendering. By and large, terracottas are more consistently emotional than figurines in other media. Only a handful of large-scale bronze statues survive,[1] and they are not expressive – even many of those from the fourth and third centuries. Sculptures of this size usually stand alone; in the absence of narrative context there is little ground for emotion, e.g., the head of the 'Chatsworth Apollo' (*fig*. 173).[2]

Surviving small bronze figurines generally date to 450 and earlier. Several factors contribute to their infrequent emotionality: their small size, usually under 1 ft./30 cm., coupled with the necessarily large size of the coldworking tools (for the sake of strength) limits the extent to which they can be finished, especially early;[3] their expense limits experimentation; and their narrative isolation removes the grounds for reaction and thus emotion. Those bronze figurines that show emotion do so in the context of violent motion (e.g., *fig*. 174)[4] and when they are particularly finely crafted (e.g., *fig*. 175).[5] Strong motion supplies narrative, even in the absence of a foe or companion.[6]

While vessel production shifts gradually toward Athens, terracottas are produced widely throughout the period under discussion and beyond. The clay used is roughly the same as that used for making vessels, especially when the figurines are hollow;[7] it is logical that terracottas and vases be made in the same workshop, although it is far from clear whether the coroplasts[8] were the same as the potters or painters, or whether that relationship changed when a single piece was both painted and sculpted. While terracottas are sometimes handmade, the majority in this period were made by mould. This is the point of divergence

1 D. Heynes, *The Technique of Greek Bronze Statuary* (Mainz am Rhein, 1992) 9.
2 London 1958.4-18.1 (ca. 470-460).
3 Heynes, *op. cit*. 99-102.
4 MMA 21.88.52 (ca. 500-475); a very similar example was found at Perachora.
5 MMA 07.286.87 (ca. 480-460).
6 E.g., Zeus (*fig*. 174) can be presumed to be hurling lightning at a Giant, as in the 'Artemision Zeus'; see C. Houser, *Greek Monumental Bronze Sculpture of the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C*. (New York & London, 1987) 121.
7 See generally R.A. Higgins, *Greek Terracottas* (London, 1967) 1-5.
8 From classical κοροπλάθος (*LSJ s.v.*), Hellenistic κοροπλάστης.

from bronzes: freeing the bronze from its mould is destructive, whereas terracotta moulds – themselves either terracotta or plaster or another medium – can be and were reused. Reuse of moulds shifts the process of detailling to an earlier phase of manufacture; perhaps this explains the comparative frequency of emotional expression in terracottas.

The data fall into four classes: figures, figurines, plaques and figure vases. Figurines are the most plentiful and comprise the broadest range of subjects. By plaques are meant bas-reliefs: the 'Melian reliefs', named 'Jacobsthal-Reliefs' by Florian Stilp in honour of their major analyst, Paul Jacobsthal. It is possible that they were executed in Athens, but more likely elsewhere.[9] Figure vases are treated here rather than in the black- and red-figure chapters because of the separation of painter and potter, and that suspected to have existed between potter and coroplast.

Figures

Figures – large-scale (half-life-size and larger) terracottas – from Olympia and Corinth are outstanding in their quality and scholarly analysis.[10] Their size sets them apart from figurines, which are not only smaller but rely more heavily on moulds, as they were reproducible. True manufacture (as opposed to wheel-made or mould-made) alters the final appearance of the figure because the coroplast's decisions and their sequence are different. The individual parts of the figure were rarely made separately, as in bronze manufacture.[11] The scale of the figures allows for more detail and nuance with the same tools used for figurines; this is at the core of their expressivity.

An exception is the terracotta group of Zeus and Ganymede (*fig*. 176), found around the stadium in Olympia. Standing 1.02 metres tall, and dated to ca. 470, it is sometimes thought to have been one of the acroteria of the Temple of Zeus (see above, ch. 2).[12] If it is indeed to be associated with the Temple, it occupies a rare place as a canonical rendering.

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9 Stilp, *Reliefs* 57-64 discusses possible origins; Plato, *Theaetetus* 147a-b identifies or at least connects 'coroplasts' with (vessel-)potters.

10 N. Bookidis, 'The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore: the terracotta sculpture', *Corinth* (Princeton, 2010) XVIII.V 24-25 notes the incomparability of the Corinth statues in the context of dating.

11 E.g., the Berlin Foundry Cup, *ARV*^{2} 400.1; Antikensammlung, F 2294; ca. 490-480; see N. Bookidis, 'The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore: the terracotta sculpture', *Corinth* (Princeton, 2010) XVIII.V 73.

12 Not universally accepted; A. Moustaka, 'Grossplastik aus Ton in Olympia', *Olympische Forschungen* (Berlin & New York, 1993) XXII 43-45 does not necessarily connect it to the Temple of Zeus.

The coolness of both figures – the lack of physical indications of struggle on either part, the serene facial expressions (*fig*. 177) – contributes to the viewer's understanding of the role of Zeus. Unlike the violence of the Centaurs in the pediment, drunken and wild, who seize the Lapith women, this 'rape' is met with no resistance. That Zeus moves deliberately and swiftly is made clear enough by his strong stride;[13] beyond this there is no strong movement in the group (cf. a depitcion of the same pursuit on a red-figure kantharos, below, p. 149). Ganymede looks out and down towards the viewer, which might be understood by convention as an engagement or an invitation to sympathy. Zeus too looks outward but not at the viewer, nor at Ganymede.

Another large-scale[14] acroterion-group from Olympia, dated to ca. 500, has been re-constructed to depict Athena piercing the chest of a Giant with a spear. Its parallels with Temple F at Selinus (ca. 530) are clear (see above, p. 17): the clenched and bared teeth of Athena's victim (*fig*. 178) are here made more prominent by the strong black of the beard against the white of the teeth. Athena does not display emotion, so the suffering of her victim sets him apart both in state and type. The expression of the Selinus giant is more extreme, with the lips pulled further back over the lips and the teeth separated; without the upper half of the Olympia giant's face, it is difficult to say whether the intensity of his emotion will have been borne out by his eyes.

By way of comparison, there is a third Olympian large-scale[15] terracotta group that, although it seems to have been made in Italy,[16] is stylistically similar to the Athena-giant group. Dated to ca. 520-510, it depicts a maenad fending off the sexual advances of a satyr, and is thus comparable to the Zeus-Ganymede group. The expression of the satyr (*fig*. 179) shows bared teeth and parted lips; the distended cheeks perhaps indicate some contraction of the muscles around the eyes. Were it not for the hand entangled in the satyr's bushy beard, and comparanda from black-figure vases especially (see below, p. 114), there is not enough

13 Zeus' sceptre is reminiscent of the baton sometimes shown in the hands of runners in athletic contests.
14 A. Moustaka, 'Grossplastik aus Ton in Olympia', *Olympische Forschungen* (Berlin & New York, 1993) XXII 10-25 makes no attempt at a total reconstructed height; the height of the head of Athena (including helmet and neck) is 22.4 cm; the whole group (following the proposed restoration) was perhaps ca. 1.25 m from its base to the top of Athena's helmet.
15 *Ibid*., 51: ca. 70-75 cm tall; neither Treu's construction nor Schilbach's (*ibid*., pl. 47) convinces.
16 The case for this is made strongly by *ibid*., 49-51.

naturalism in the expression of the satyr to confirm that his expression is one of pain. The schematic rendering of beard, mustache, teeth and cheeks, however, make clear that the viewer and creator had mutual understanding. Although the physiognomy of the figures distinguishes them as non-Greek, their pathognomy conforms closely to other Greek models of the same time.[17]

A century later, in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth, a well-preserved terracotta statue (*fig*. 180, ca. 1.20-1.26 m reconstructed height), dated ca. 425-420, shows the extent of development of naturalism in anatomical and emotional rendering. A draped youth holding a hare or some other small animal, it is perhaps not an expected dedication in the largely female sanctuary.[18] Whether it is a coming-of-age dedication, as some think, or a votive set up to Dionysus as a god also worshipped on the site, analyses of the statue pass over its expression entirely. Characterised largely by the contraction of the muscles of the inner eyebrow, the muscle raising the upper lip and the wing of the nose and the *depressor labii inferioris* (muscle lowering the lower lip), the strength of the expression is augmented by the unequal aperture of the mouth, the proper left being wider. The extremity of the muscular action is mirrored in distensions and shadows across the face (*fig*. 181).

A strong contemporary parallel is difficult to find; the contraction of the muscles raising the upper lip and the wing of the nose recalls the M-mouth from the Parthenon frieze, and the rounded face with a strong but not caricatured expression recalls certain figures from the Bassai frieze (e.g., BM 531:4). This is in part because of the unique position of the Corinthian boy: as a free-standing sculpture of the fifth century it is in bare company; as a well-preserved terracotta of the period it is quite rare. Its display position – at eye-level, perhaps, or slightly above – differentiates it from architectural sculpture and from figurines. In this context, facial expression is most easily sructinized, which argues strongly against its 'accidentality'. If it is meant to represent its dedicant (or his son), as suggested by the fillet, perhaps it conveys the fear engendered by approaching the divinity – especially given his

17 Cf. the polos of the Siphnian Treasury caryatid, above, p. 19.
18 N. Bookidis, 'The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore: the terracotta sculpture', *Corinth* (Princeton, 2010) XVIII.V 272-274.

age. If the boy is himself the dedication rather than his pet,[19] the source of his fear is double. The expression of emotion by votive objects colours the interaction between dedicant and deity; terracotta's close approximation of real humans only heightens this.[20]

Figurines

Figurines are significantly more common than figures. The quantity excavated is enormous, and, perhaps for this reason, they are largely published in excavation reports and museum catalogues. Preferring the former to the latter for reasons of counterfeiting, which by all accounts is widespread,[21] and accepting that exhaustive analysis of what was published would not be exhaustive in any real sense, a selection of excavations was made. The sites were chosen according to geographical distribution and the extent to which the material had been published: Olynthus, Delos, the Cabirion at Thebes, Corinth, Perachora and Olympia.

Olynthus, excavated by the Americans over several seasons from 1928 to 1938, offers rich deposits of terracottas, of which many bear emotional expression. The history of Olynthus is murky; it was, from the Iron Age onwards, a city of the Bottiaeans.[22] After supplying troops to Xerxes in 480, it was 'repopulated' by Chalcidians in 479,[23] was by 454/3 a member of the Delian League,[24] medized in 432,[25] allied with the Peloponnesians in 418,[26] and seems to have been involved in a truce with Athens by the end of the century.[27] Onto this can be mapped the observation that the years between the Chalcidian repopulation and medization offer proportionally fewer objects.[28] Little is known of religious practice at this period; most of the figurines came from houses,[29] and child-burials are slightly more likely to contain figurines.[30]

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19 The dedication standing in place of *rite de passage*: *ibid*., 267-268.
20 As, for example, the satyrs' recognition of and identification with, according to some scholars, (terracotta) satyr masks fixed to a building in Aeschylus' *Theoroi* (see below, p. 116, n. 17). The degree of realism possible is very high, as can be seen in the early modern period: G. Bonsanti and F. Piccinini, *Emozioni in terra cotta* (Modena, 2009).
21 See J. Chesterman, *Classical Terracotta Figurines* (London, 1974) 79-84.
22 Herodotus VIII.127
23 *Ibid*.
24 Athenian tribute list of 454/3: *IG* I^3 259 V.5.3.
25 Thucydides I.63.2
26 Thucydides V.80.2.
27 M. Gude, *A History of Olynthus* (Baltimore, 1933) 16-17 and notes.
28 *Olynthus* 1931, 1.
29 *Olynthus* 1928, 1; 1931, 1; 1934 & 1938, 43: 'less than one-fourth of the figurines come from the graves'.
30 *Olynthus* 1934 & 1938, 46-50.

Emotional expression is largely found in protomes[31] – usually female figures with flat backs and shown from head to roughly mid-arm. Exceptions are few and essentially variations on the type, such as a plaque of two female figures, the one appearing to kiss the other (*fig*. 182), datable to the very end of the fifth century. The angle of the head along with the contraction of the forehead and the aperture of the mouth suggest surprise, not the intention to reciprocate; they could also indicate sexual pleasure. This is a mode that has many more parallels in the fourth century than the fifth. Noteworthy is the extent to which even this relatively small piece can be anatomically naturalistic with its distensions of cheek and forehead. Since terracotta (or plaster or wax) is additive and more pliant than is stone or wood or metal, there are more opportunities in the course of the creation of a mould to adjust and fine-tune a represenation.

Protomes abound at Olynthus – many having been found in between the foundation walls of a house[32] – and are rare witnesses to domestic religious practice. Uniformly intended to be hung on walls,[33] they were inexpensive, movable, decorative and abundant. The sequence of protomes is long, extending back into the sixth and seventh centuries, but it is not until the early fifth century that there is variation from the inexpressive type, fitted either with an archaic smile or a level mouth. From the fifth century well into the fourth, there are scores of such depictions surviving.[34] Little else can be written on the nature of protomes: their votary function, subjects, distribution, use groups and cultic implications are all matters of tepid debate, largely because of a lack of evidence. Their chthonic role has been asserted since the late nineteenth century, though never proven; attempts have been made to connect them to Egyptian funeral masks and mummy covers.[35] Far more likely, the form – whatever

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31 Not a classical word, although Euripides *Erechtheus* (Pap. Sorb. 2328 col. VIII v. 1 (= v. 83)) has *πρώταισι θύειν πρότομα*, *to sacrifice fore-cuttings* (i.e., first-fruits?) *to them* (*the Hyacinthids*) *first*; Diodorus V.30.2 notes that protomes are properly figures of birds and quadrupeds.

32 *Olynthus* 1928, 1-2.

33 F. Croissant, *Les Protomés Féminines Archaïques: Recherches sur les représentations du visage dans la plastique grecque de 550 à 480 av. J.-C.* (Athens, 1983) 1.

34 Some fifty in the fifth century; in the fourth the proportion of emotionally-rendered protomes increases, and are at points numerically dominant.

35 For a review of relevant bibliography, see F. Croissant, *Les Protomés Féminines Archaïques: Recherches sur les représentations du visage dans la plastique grecque de 550 à 480 av. J.-C.* (Athens, 1983) 4-8.

its origins – took local meaning or meanings,[36] rather than always being Demeter or Persephone or Hera or another goddess or heroine.

Yet it is precisely Demeter who seems the likeliest candidate for the emotionally-rendered protomes of Olynthus, as well as some early examples from Delos (e.g., *fig*. 183, ca. 550). Wearing a steep diadem, often with fabric trailing behind the head and neck, the attribution to Demeter is iconographically straightforward. Given facial expressions with opened and downturned mouth and contracted forehead and muscles of the inner eyebrow (e.g., *fig*. 184), it is tempting to see the goddess distressed at the disappearance of Persephone. The Homeric hymn to Demeter offers a portrait of the goddess grieved (v. 98 and *passim*) and veiled (182; though to place the veil over her face would defeat the purpose of a bust), a nurturer and protector of children (225-230) who can change her size at will (189, 275-276) – in short, very much like the Olynthus figurines. Her role as protector of households and children is well-established in the hymn; the figurines are thus excellent proxies for the goddess herself. Like the popular small-scale polychrome wooden pietàs of the northern Renaissance (e.g., the '*Roettgen Pietà*', *fig*. 185), the extreme emotion of the divine acts as a lodestone for worship. This conclusion lacks solid support, but the strong emotional expression of many of these protomes leaves few other divine options known from antiquity – Aphrodite grieving at her wound,[37] Athena disugusted at the rape of Hephaestus,[38] Artemis surprised by Actaeon,[39] the rage of Rhea or Hera at the behaviour of their husbands – of which none seems well-suited to a domestic context of dedication and worship.

Found at Perachora[40] and at the Cabirion in Thebes are rather more lighthearted figurines – comasts, satyrs, 'grotestques' – whose emotionality is well-paralleled in vases and sculpture. As these are sanctuaries, the circumstances of their dedication are better understood; they are veritable ἀγάλματα, *objects of delight*, intended to please the divinities to whom they were dedicated. Thus a little squatting comast from far earlier than the time

36 Since at Corinth – at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore – there are very few protomes (*ibid*., 295), their connection to Demeter might be questioned.
37 *Iliad* V.335ff.
38 [Apollodorus] III.14.
39 [Apollodorus] III.30-31.
40 In the Sanctuary of Hera Limenia, largely: H. Payne et al., 'Achitecture Bronzes Terracottas', *Perachora: The Sanctuaries of Hera Akraia and Limenia* I (Oxford, 1940) 190-197.

period under discussion (ca. 590, *fig*. 186) who can be thought to be defecating[41] amuses by the lifelikeness of his rendering.[42] With contracted muscles of the inner eyebrow and downturned mouth, the figure both shows the exertion of excretion and, with gaze upturned and hands clasped across his chest, mimics the attitude of a devotee. As befits the early date, the figure seems to present two different facial expressions when head-on and in profile: only head-on is the expression of exertion and fear visible. This is a symptom of the way in which the figure was conceived as four planes intersecting at right angles, rather than truly in the round, the same conceptual technique that contributed to the archaic smile.

The Cabirion, a distant but not inaccessible sanctuary some miles outside Thebes in Boeotia,[43] has produced a singular corpus of terracottas and painted vases, beginning in what has been termed 'Period 3' at the site, extending from '450/425-382'.[44] The vases have recently been discussed at length, and so have been excluded from this study.[45] They coincide with an increase in the production of terracotta figurines, which had long since usurped the primary place of bronze figurines. So little is known of cult practice on the site that hardly more can be stated about what this increase in production either responds to or entails.[46] Assertions that the cult was mysterious are obvious. The figurines form a link between other terracottas such as those from Perachora and the depictions of 'cult-practice' on the Cabirion vases. Crouching satyr figurines from Period 2 (late-VIc.–450/425) show a variety of facial expressions, from mocking (*fig*. 187) to angry or disgusted (*fig*. 188). Connecting expression to the state of the penis – erect in the former, flaccid (deflated, even) in the latter – recalls the escapades of satyrs on black- and red-figure vases (see below, p. 114 and p. 127), where 'success' with a maenad might affect facial expression and body posture.

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41 *Ibid*., 235, due to the dot of scarlet clearly marking the anus. There is a near-identical object at the British Museum (1888.6-1.660), found in Naucratis, whose expression is not nearly so marked; though they perhaps come from the same mould, the finishing is different: both the painting (as it must) and the alteration of the form itself.

42 Aristotle, *Poetics* 1448b: *τὰς εἰκόνας τὰς μάλιστα ἠκριβωμένας χαίρομεν θεωροῦντες, οἷον θηρίων τε μορφὰς τῶν ἀτιμοτάτων καὶ νεκρῶν, we take pleasure looking at the renderings most exactly made, even the forms of the most dishonourable beast and of corpses*.

43 A. Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* (4 voll., London, 1981-1994) II.73-74, 97.

44 *Ibid*., II.99; no explanation why the upper limit is imprecise.

45 A.G. Mitchell, *Greek Vase-painting and the Origins of Visual Humour* (Cambridge, 2009) 248-276. Mitchell's analysis cannot stand unchallenged.

46 A. Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* (4 voll., London, 1981-1994) II.101-102 makes an attempt, which is reconstructed from the Cabirion-ware vases.

Moving from the familiar to the unique, figurines that have been called 'grotesques' or 'caricatures' are familiar from Cabirion vases, yet seem to have originated much earlier – perhaps even by a half-century.[47] Standing at the head of the series is a small (22 cm/8.75 in.) depiction of a male figure holding what appear to be a cithara and plectrum (*fig*. 189). Standing on a thick base, the figure supports his weight on his right leg, although his hips do not reflect this. His prominent although flaccid penis and his abnormally large belly with its overstated navel connect him to other rustics, although his flabby chest and diminutive arms show that he is not a farmer but a boor – which introduces an element of dissonance with his refined instrument. Rather than the bawdy expressions of other figures (e.g., *fig*. 190), the jutted jaw, pursed lips, upturned nose and averted gaze lend this citharode a haughty, condscending air.[48] Whether he is to be understood as refusing to perform, or merely imitating the attitude of city-dwellers, the exaggerations of extreme opposites are *sui generis* – the head seems to have been handbuilt[49] – although parallels are found in actor figurines of the fourth century and beyond.

A more familiar type is exemplified by a figurine in the British Museum (*fig*. 191), draped and clutching the inside of his cloak with his right hand. The size of the ears, eyes and mouth is exaggerated, as is the proportion of the head to the body – all befitting the coroplast's emphasis. Presumably the figure speaks or shouts, but the expression of the face portrays not only that he communicates but also how: the contracted forehead, muscle of the inner eyebrow, muscles raising the upper lip and the wing of the nose and muscle lowering the corner of the mouth along with the great aperture of the mouth and the display of teeth indicate anger, contempt, violence – the emotions of iambic poetry.[50] Dated to the last quarter of the fifth century, this figurine antedates the group of actors found in a single Attic

47 B. Schmaltz, 'Terrakotten aus dem Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben', *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben* (Berlin, 1974) V 117-118.

48 Disdain might be rendered '*ὑπεροράω*', *look (from) above* (opp. *ὑπόδρα ἰδών*, *looking (from) under*), which entails this upward tilt of the head; cf. Theocritus 22.58: ΠΟ. *ἄγριος εἶ, πρὸς πάντα παλίγκοτος ἠδ' ὑπερόπτης; (Polydeuces:) are you (Amycus) a boor, bearing grudges and disdain towards all?* On the conceptualization of boors, see R.M. Rosen, 'Comic Aischrology and the Urbanization of *Agroikia*' in R.M. Rosen and I. Sluiter (edd.) *City, Countryside, and the Spatial Organization of Value in Classical Antiquity* (Leiden, 2006) 219-38.

49 B. Schmaltz, 'Terrakotten aus dem Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben', *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben* (Berlin, 1974) V *ad loc*.

50 M.L. West, *Studies in Greek elegy and iambus* (Berlin, 1974) 22-25.

grave and now in New York.[51] While similarities are evident, the Cabirion figure is not specific in the same way: he lacks attributes to separate him typologically from other figurines. One might seriously question whether these figurines or indeed the figures on Cabirion-ware vases do indeed represent theatre or cult masques. It seems more likely that these stylizations – by merit of which emotion has been preserved and exaggerated – are just that: stylizations. It seems naïve to regard them as direct documents of cult practice.

Plaques

Surviving two-dimensional terracottas are not nearly so plentiful as figurines; their inclusion here is due to the exceptional survival and thorough analysis of the 'Jacobsthal-Reliefs', also called Melian reliefs.[52] Many were found or said to be found on Melos, which lent its name to the class of object, although they have been found from Italy to Troy.[53] Analysis of workmanship extends to the division of the reliefs into 'Blöcke', largely chronological clusters, though not into hands.[54] Their use, too, is only the subject of guesses: Jacobsthal insists that their sphere is sacred and profane,[55] despite having been found largely in funerary contexts. Method of display is also not clear or consistent, as many are pierced before firing as if to accept a nail or a string for suspension, and most have some sort of ledge along the bottom that could help in remaining upright.[56] Whether they were displayed on chests as replacements for more expensive ivory or wood,[57] or hung as plaques on a wall,[58] the removal of the background around figures seems intended to allow the mount to show through. In short, little is known of the plaques' origin, makers, method of display, uses or context.

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51 Metropolitan Museum 13.225.13-28 (ca. 390). See A. Varakis, 'Body and Mask in Aristophanic Performance', *BICS* 53.1 (2010) 17-38.

52 Treated in A. Conze, *Melische Thongefässe* (Leipzig, 1862), but not comprehensively published until P. Jacobsthal, 'Melische Reliefs', *ZbK* 56 (1921) 95-104; followed by P. Jacobsthal, *Die Melischen Reliefs* (Berlin, 1931) and Stilp, *Reliefs* in 2006.

53 Stilp, *Reliefs* 65-66.

54 Jacobsthal refers loosely to a 'melische Werkstatt' and a 'melische Atelier' (P. Jacobsthal, *Die Melischen Reliefs* (Berlin, 1931) 176), although in P. Jacobsthal, 'Melische Reliefs', *ZbK* 56 (1921) 97 he writes, perhaps loosely, of a father and a son; Stilp, *Reliefs* 30-31 discusses the possibilities.

55 P. Jacobsthal, 'Melische Reliefs', *ZbK* 56 (1921) 96.

56 J.W. Graham, 'The Ransom of Hector on a New Melian Relief', *AJA* 62.3 (1958) 313-19. 314-318.

57 As P. Jacobsthal, 'Melische Reliefs', *ZbK* 56 (1921) 96: not inherently but because they were reproducible, presumably.

58 As on the obverse of the Berlin Foundry Cup, *ARV*^{2} 400.1 (204340), Berlin F 2294 (ca. 490-480).

Manufacture is not dissimilar to that of other moulded terracottas: a mould is taken from a positive of a manipulable material – clay, wax, plaster – and then soft clay is pressed in. The backs of many reveal that they were separated from excess clay with a string.[59] Of the one-hundred fifty-three surviving reliefs,[60] there is a fairly even thematic division: divine, pre-Trojan, Trojan, post-Trojan (*Odyssey*, Oresteia) and genre, i.e., those that do not correspond to a specific myth, in which are included dancing, musical, erotic, isolated scenes and images of animals. It is due to this broad distribution of subject matter that it should not be assumed that there is a single 'use context'; rather, they are a format that allows variation in the number of figures – from one to five – and in the level of detail. In this, then, the reliefs are comparable both to friezes and to metopes.

Taking as an example the depictions of the (Calydonian) Boar hunt, of which five versions survive,[61] the myth is shown extended, with four hunters and the Boar (*fig*. 192),[62] and condensed, with a single hunter and the Boar (*fig*. 193).[63] In the latter, dated ca. 480-460, the metopal composition with its strong opposing diagonals marks the connection between the hunter and his prey, who make eye-contact. Reflecting the tension of the moment of depiction, the facial expression of the hunter shows a contracted muscle of the inner eyebrow and his mouth turned down at the corners. These indicate exertion, perhaps worry; emotions rarely exhibited by victors, especially those who are unwounded.

The former has traits of a frieze: a horizontal composition with figures' heads at the same level, the representation different phases of the same activity (right to left: wounded, preparing to strike, about to strike, striking) and the placement of figures in various spaces – atop rocks, in front of the boar, behind the boar, head-on with the boar. It is, compared to the latter, more densely narrative. Later by perhaps twenty years,[64] the style is markedly different, most easily seen in the greater proportion of the head to the body. The technique differs, too, in that its figure-internal markings are made with a coarser point, as is

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59 G.M.A. Richter, 'A New Melian Relief', *BMMA* 27.2 (1932), 45-46; cf. *loc*. *cit*. n. 10: Locrian reliefs bear no such traces (whether by differing technique or different finishing).
60 As catalogued in Stilp, *Reliefs*; there are many forgeries besides.
61 *Ibid*., nos. 39-43.
62 Berlin TC 5783, ca. 450.
63 Munich N.I. 8943, ca. 480-460.
64 It belongs to Stilp's third block, which stands somewhat apart from the first two, which are earlier (Stilp, *Reliefs* 111-116), but has a closer affinity to the first in its close parallels to Attic vase-painting.

visible especially in the face of the hunter wielding a club. Isolated from the other three, the wounded hunter cradles his thigh just above the knee, his head hanging down – the other hunters also look down, but at the boar – and his body crumpled. In contrast to this expressive body posture is a staid facial expression. Jacobsthal read the distension of his brow as a mark of pain,[65] but this is a stylistic feature of the hand: all four figures (most prominently the club-wielder) bear this trait, perhaps a result of technique. Atalanta's mouth is somewhat more downturned than her companions', although her face is the least modelled.

Depictions of the death of Actaeon, of which five also survive, show a similar variation in emotionality. Body posture and facial expression correspond. At one extreme is *fig*. 194:[66] Actaeon's limbs are stiffly-angled, his facial expression neutral though his head is bowed. At the other two examples from the same mould as one another (*fig*. 195):[67] Actaeon has fallen in a plausible posture, his right arm and leg curled in to protect his body. His head falls back, directing his gaze heavenward rather than at either Artemis (for obvious reasons) or the dog,[68] his downturned mouth opens, and his muscle of the inner eyebrow contracts. Despite the extremity of the situation, the expression is not exaggerated or caricatured. The parallels with the 'metopal' version of the slaying of the Calydonian boar (*fig*. 193) are abundant; stylistic similarities suggest that the two be attributed to the same hand.

Violence is not the only context for emotionality in the reliefs. A depiction of the ransom of Hector (*fig*. 196)[69] features various states of emotion. Priam, heavily draped from head to ankle, cradles his head with his right hand, supporting his right elbow with his left hand atop a stick; his mouth turns down out the corners. The slave offering an object[70] looks down at it; his forehead contracts and his mouth also turns down at the corners. On the opposite side of the chest, Achilles, holding a helmet (Patroclus'?[71]) in one hand and with his other steadying the balance, toward which he directs his gaze. His mouth turns down at the

65 P. Jacobsthal, 'Melische Reliefs', *ZbK* 56 (1921) 95-104. 79. The *ἐπισκύνιον*, *skin of the brows*, is not, as *LSJ*, involved in frowning but rather in squinting; Aristotle *De generatione animalium* 780b: animals contract it to see clearly.
66 Naples CS 361, ca. 480-470.
67 Athens NM 5906 & BM 1877.8-1.1, ca. 480-470.
68 Cf. the Pan Painter's name piece, a calyx krater, *ARV*^{2} 550.1 (206276), Boston 10.185 (ca. 470).
69 Royal Ontario Museum 926.32, ca. 450-440.
70 Graham, 'Ransom' 315 suggests that it is a gold vessel in lieu of bullion.
71 *Iliad* XVI.794-795.

corners, but his muscle raising the upper lip and the wing of the nose is contracted, his muscle of the inner eyebrow and forehead also contract. It is a look of concentration (see n. 65), perhaps, but also one of disdain-contempt-anger – a hostile expression. In addition to having no known parallels in other art, it contrasts strongly with Priam's and his slave's downcast, suppliant expressions. The depiction is similar to the account in the *Iliad*.[72]

Although many of the Jacobsthal-Reliefs treat recognizable stories, including eight surviving renditions of the 'reunion' of Penelope and Odysseus (disguised as a beggar) in which Penelope supports the chin of her downcast head with her left hand, and many scenes from the Oresteia, it is the nonspecific representations that refocus the analysis of the reliefs' context of display and use. With well over a dozen surviving examples of scenes involving dancing girls holding κρόταλα (*clappers*), this most popular single subject has little connection to the mythical scenes discussed above. The scene consists in a seated aulete, a young man and a dancing girl, who sometimes appears singly.[73] The aulete's face is determined by his (once, her) exertion, *viz*. distended cheeks and furrowed brow; the face of the dancer is not expressive. The young man, when he is preserved (e.g., *fig*. 197),[74] leans in towards the dancing girl and watches her, his muscle of the inner eyebrow and forehead contracted, his eyelids low, his mouth slightly open. It is a look of love or lust; the level of attraction corresponds to the angle of lean.

Given the frequently amorous, sometimes profane and rarely cultic subjects of the reliefs, there is reason to consider that dedication or burial was not the plaques' primary intended context.[75] The variety of subjects on the plaques on the Berlin Foundry cup (above, n. 58)[76] confirms that theme need not have dictated purchasers – classicists for the scenes of the Odyssey, lechers for dancing girls – as holds true for the consumers of vases. Around one-fifth of surviving Jacobsthal-Reliefs feature figures displaying naturalistic emotion. Even scenes taken from epic – Achilles and Priam, Odysseus and Penelope – render their figures

72 *Iliad* XXIV.559: Achilles glowers at Priam; XXIV.577-579: Idaion (the herald and charioteer) is brought into the tent in order to deliver the ransom for Hector.
73 Stilp, *Reliefs* nos. 115a-c, 116-118, 120-135.
74 Louvre MNB 1032, ca. 470-460.
75 Stilp, *Reliefs* 152.
76 Apparently, clockwise from top left: a woman holding a branch, a man with a hammer, a seated person, a goat; many pinakes (or Jacobsthal-Relief-types, though less likely) on red-figure vases appear near herms.

emotionally much earlier than in other media. They have no particularly strong connection to graves, dedication or sanctuary adornment. Rather, they belong foremost to the human sphere, and so the 'humanity' – the expressivity – of the figures is a point of emphasis.

Figure vases

Partway between terracottas and decorated vases are vessels that either have been shaped to depict figures or else set into a figured base. Based on the German *plastisch* meaning *shaped*,[77] these are sometimes called plastic vases.[78] Originating, perhaps, from adaptation of wheel-made forms, in the period under discussion the figured parts of the vases are made either by mould or by hand. The connection between potter (of wheel-made portions), painter and 'sculptor', if he is different from either of the other two, is unknown. For the purpose of this study, it will be assumed that the painter is not the sculptor. Figure vases are not constrained to Athens, but the preponderance of surviving examples is Attic.

These vases, painted in the red-figure technique, fall into roughly two categories: Africans and satyrs. In this, they are old-fashioned, as these are commonest classes of black-figure emotional renderings (see below, p. 114). The subject of figure vases was first studied intensively by Buschor in an article focussing on rhytons, attributed to Sotades, whose figured portion depicts a crocodile biting an African.[79] Five of these survive (e.g., *fig*. 198), and provide a case study for the class as a whole. The crocodile group is mould-made, and so could be identical, but in practice have slight differences, physical alterations being made after moulding and painting differing by necessity. Painters within a single workshop have been assigned to these five based on the decoration of the rhyton proper.[80] Not only did these stem from a single workshop but all were found in Italy,[81] so there is an unusually coherent narrative of their life from producer to consumer.

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77 Yet ultimately from πλάσσω, *form*; e.g., as Hephaestus forms Pandora, Hesiod, *Works and Days* 70. Shapers of terracottas were called πλάττοντες *vel sim*. by earlier authors.

78 As Beazley, 'Charinos' 38.

79 E. Buschor, 'Das Krokodil des Sotades', *MüJb* 11 (1919-1921) 1-5.

80 *ARV*^{2} 764.10, 764.11 (Sotades Painter); 765.1, 766.2 (= *fig*. 198; Manner of the Sotades Painter); *Para* 416 (Sotades). *ARV*^{2} 764.9 (= E. Buschor, 'Das Krokodil des Sotades', *MüJb* 11 (1919-1921) 24) lacks the figure group, and *CVA ad loc*. expresses hesitation whether it is actually the same figural scene.

81 E. Buschor, 'Das Krokodil des Sotades', *MüJb* 11 (1919-1921) 5. *ARV*^{2} 764.9 was found in Paphos on Cyprus, but see previous note.

Is the scene racist? The primary force of a racist depiction would be to encourage antipathy at the black figure because of his race.[82] Such an assertion is impossible lacking the painter and purchaser, besides which it is a matter of output – attempt at emotional arousal – rather than input. Just as with depictions of Heracles and Busiris,[83] xenophobia is difficult to ignore, but the role taken by Africans there as on the crocodile rhytons is taken by non-Africans (giants, foes of Heracles and Theseus etc.), though they too are 'non-Greek'. Certainly showing Africans in pain is not an innovation of the Sotades workshop, and as such fits into an established tradition. Moreover, the striking dark black glaze, well-suited to the flesh of Africans in a red-figure tradition,[84] against the white of the crocodile – shown to its full advantage with the outstretched left arm of the African along the crocodile's flank – is visually appealing as well as demonstrative of the workshop's skill.

The face and body of the African whose right arm is caught in the jaws of the crocodile are deeply expressive in the surviving examples. Having fallen to his right knee, and extending his left arm in a suppliant gesture, he tilts his head back, directing his gaze away from his attacker (cf. the Giant Biatas in the Siphnian Treasury frieze, above, p. 18). Rather than absorption in his situation, he looks outward for sympathy or assistance. His face conforms to other depictions of extreme pain: clenched teeth visible through an opened mouth and strong contractions of the muscles of the inner eyebrow and forehead. In these depictions, there are many wrinkles and strong distensions. It is a strong study of human anatomy that challenges models of division of labour between painter, potter and, perhaps, 'sculptor'. If it is a coroplast who is not the potter of the rhyton, how were the two intergrated? Was he a member of the workshop? If the potter of the rhyton is the coroplast, then it is surprising that he be so skilled at rendering human anatomy and emotional expression, beyond most painters of the period. Yet the painter, potter and 'sculptor' cannot have been the same person in all five surviving cases, as the painted decoration of the rhytons differs.

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82 See generally B. Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity* (Princeton, 2004) 352-370.
83 E.g., *ARV*^{2} 216.4 (202323), Oxford 521 (ca. 510-470).
84 D. Williams, 'Some Thoughts on the Potters and Painters of Plastic Vases Before Sotades' in *Papers on Special Techniques in Athenian Vases*, ed. K. Lapatin (Los Angeles, 2008), 162.

These questions intensify when the vessel and the figured portion of the vase are closely integrated, and when the subject matter is linked. Two such examples survive: a head-kantharos in which the head is that of a draped Persian man.[85] The London example (*fig*. 199),[86] is decorated around the lip with the unusal scene of a male Persian serving a seated Athenian woman. Although the painted figures are not expressive, the sculpted head is deeply so. His mouth is open and the muscles lowering the angle of the mouth are contracted, his upper teeth visible within. There is a highly stylised indication of the contractions of the muscles of the inner eyebrow and of the forehead, with great swirls indicating both the distension of the forehead and the eyebrows. It is an expression similar to that of Oenomaus on the east pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia (above, p. 36), though slightly stronger. A mixture of surprise, fear and anger is reminiscent especially of the representation of the Archer (Τοξότης) in the *Thesmophoriazusae*.[87] Read along with the scene above, the vase presents a coherent picture of an Athenian attitude to 'Easterners', newly reviled because of the Spartan alliance with Persia begun in 413.[88]

A great portion of the surviving figure vases, especially head-vases, depict satyrs. The place of satyrs on drinking vessels – especially on the kantharos, the chosen cup of Dionysus – needs no justification. Like eye cups, which transform their users, satyr-head vases are theatrical masks for drinkers.[89] An interesting example, especially in light of representations of Africans, is a janiform head-kantharos with an expressionless woman as one side, and an 'African satyr' on the other (*fig*. 200).[90] With his muscles raising the upper lip and the wing of the nose contracted, his left more so, his mouth slightly agape and his muscles of the inner eyebrow gently contracted; his is a look of confusion or contempt (cf. *fig*. 201).[91] Other depictions of satyrs are more straightforward, as on a janiform head-

85 *ARV*^{2} 1550.3-4; 1550.5 has the rising of a goddess above the face of a Persian. The latter two, in the collection of the Museo Jatta in Ruvo, lack published photohraphs.
86 Class W: The Persian Class, *ARV*^{2} 1550.3 (218694), London E 791 (ca. 410-400).
87 Produced in the spring of 411; see especially vv. 1210-1216. Beazley, 'Charinos' 75 adduces a quotation from Lysistrata (v. 8: *τοξοποιεῖν τὰς ὀφρῦς*, *to arch the brows like bows*) which is explicitly connected with *συντετάραξαι*, *to be confounded*.
88 Thucydides VIII.6, .18 (first treaty, 412), .37 (second treaty), .55 (third treaty).
89 G. Hedreen, '"I Let Go My Force Just Touching Her Hair": Male Sexuality in Athenian Vase-Paintings of Silens and Iambic Poetry', *ClAnt* 25.2 (2006), 287-291.
90 Class K: The Toronto Class, *ARV*^{2} 1537 (218428), ex San Simeon 9904 (ca. 480-450).
91 Class W: The Persian Class, *ARV*^{2} 1550.7 (218698), London E 792 (ca. 410-400).

kantharos in Boston (*fig*. 202):[92] contracted forehead and muscles of the inner eyebrow, open mouth and teeth clenched. This look of pain or surprise accords well with two-dimensional depictions of satyrs who have been rebuffed in their attempts on maenads or frightened by an apparition (see below, p. 128).

The later fifth-century examples display similar emotions but the means of expression is radically different. Anatomical divisions are less linear – less derived from two-dimensional technique – and perhaps indicate either a progression or a shift in the role of the coroplast. These satyric faces are more human, too, given away only by asinine ears or a slight snub-nose. Of some of their facial expressions, Beazley remarks 'how aloof, almost contemptuous, they are';[93] they are not the same satyrs, nor are they particularly genteel (e.g., *fig*. 203).[94] They have come to imitate the faces of their users, since, unlike eye-cups, they do not need to be used in order to function. Considered in this way, they instead become place-holders of their users: ordinary men who have become 'satyrized', i.e., drunk. Depictions of satyrs become significantly less frequent in the second half of the century, so assimilation to other types is unsurprising. This is not, however, explicable solely by a change in technique: taste and attitude are at work as well. There is an element of beautification in the addition (post-mould)[95] of ringlets on the temples and beard that is difficult to imagine pre-450. Euripides' *Cyclops* gives a good context for these satyrs – witty, irreverent pranksters, rather than simply lusty boors.[96]

Conclusion

The survey of terracottas has encompassed the largest single span of time and place of the classes of data in this study. The method fits the medium: vases are overwhelmingly Athenian and stone sculpture is limited to very wealthy individuals or groups, but terracotta is the great democratic medium, catering equally to members of lower classes, and those who do not live in major urban centres such as Olynthus. Although they travel, there is a good

92 Syriskos Painter/Class M: The Vatican Class, *ARV*^{2} 266.82 & 1539.6 (202763), Boston 95.37 (ca. 480).
93 Beazley, 'Charinos' 74.
94 *ARV*^{2} 1174.5 (215561), Aison, NY 27.122.9 (ca. 420).
95 Beazley, 'Charinos' 74.
96 Dated to 408: R. Seaford, 'The Date of Euripides' Cyclops', *JHS* 102 (1982), 161-72.

deal of evidence for local production and consumption of figurines especially. Emotionality in terracotta encompasses a wider range and is more consistent chronologically and geographically.

Given that, in the period under discussion, emotionality and anatomical naturalism roughly increase over time, terracottas stand apart. Although figure vases maintain the link between emotion and naturalism – fitting for products of vase workshops – figurines and plaques do not. Early figurines, while not particularly closely-observed anatomically, display rich emotion; the Boeotian Cabirion figurines buck naturalism in favour of an idiosyncratic style that tends toward caricature, anticipating the actor figurines that are some of the richest sources of emotional rendering of the fourth century. Most remarkable is the consistent in-consistency: terracottas stand apart from vases and sculpture, their production centres being scattered and their makers among the least likely to travel. The domestic context of certain classes offers some explanation, as do the homogeneous techniques of manufacture. Even more than vases, originating in Athens and usually exported, terracottas provide mortar to larger blocks, filling in gaps in the material record, even when they are themselves fragmentary.

Chapter 6: Black-figure vases

The black-figure technique does not lend itself to emotional rendering. Its similarity to earlier black-silhouette techniques connects it to a time when naturalistic emotion was almost completely absent. Red-figure is a clean slate; even in its earliest phases, when black-figure remains prevalent, red-figure is not subject to the same conventions that make emotionality so infrequent. Technique does not fully account for the phenomenon, although the use of dilute paint in red-figure allows for a subtler rendering of anatomy than does incision in black. Because the career of a vase-painter could be decades, it is necessary to include material perhaps even a quarter-century before the scope of this study. Sir John Beazley's attribution of vases to hands allows the study of vases to become a study of individuals, which is valuable to an investigation of emotional rendering.[1]

The discussion must begin with the physical process of creation.[2] By the time of Exekias and Amasis (beginning ca. 550), black-figure is mature: relatively consistent in its ornament and border and in its use of added red and white. The unit of detail is determined by the fineness of the incision point, and is multiplied out to create rich textures in fabric, armour, animal skins, human flesh and hair (e.g., *fig*. 204). Internal detail is limited by the width of this point, which produces a line of invariable opacity. This process creates two discrete stages of decoration: the application of paint and its removal by incision. Emotion can be included at either stage, and the difference is discernible.

The most common context for emotionality is Dionysiac, or, more precisely, the activities of satyrs. These essentially anthropoid creatures of the rural world (but not their female counterparts, the maenads) show a range of emotions – anger, love/lust, pain, mischievousness – and quasi-emotions[3] – drunkenness, revelry – stemming from their activities involving Dionysus, wine, women, song and dance. These scenes account for over two-thirds of the collected black-figure examples. The remaining vases with emotional figures depict

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1 His *ABV* and C.H.E. Haspels, *Attic black-figured lekythoi* (Paris, 1936), along with their extensions, the *Para* and T.H. Carpenter, et al., *Beazley Addenda* (2nd ed. Oxford, 1989) for the former and the T. Mannack and C.H.E. Haspels, *Haspels Addenda* (Oxford, 2006) for the latter.

2 J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases* (London, 1974) 9.

3 Defined by R. Harré (ed.), *The Social Construction of the Emotions* (Oxford, 1986) 11 as those internal states extant only in certain environments, such as 'cosiness'.

battles and duels in which the defeated or overpowered participant displays his internal state. This is a simplification but not a gross one; very few vases do not fall into either category.

Satyrs and Drama

Satyrs stand apart from other emotionally-rendered figures due in part to their role in satyr-drama. Pratinas (ca. 500) is handed down as the 'inventor'[4] of satyr-drama as it is understood through surviving examples; the theatrical role of satyrs certainly antedates this by a considerable period, and Aristotle mentions that it is the soil from which tragedy grows.[5] If Thespis's first drama is supposed to have been performed at the Dionysia of 534,[6] then satyr-drama is at least as early as the earliest vases under discussion. That said, satyrs are almost entirely absent from the surviving mythological tradition, as they are not part of heroic narrative.[7] Nor is drama the source of depictions of satyrs on vases; but the creation of satyr-drama as a discrete genre brings it more fully into the context of Athens proper, and so makes it more accessible to vase-painters.

To what extent, then, does satyr-drama influence black-figure vases? Influence is enhanced if artisans had access to the theatre; for the period under discussion, there is insufficient evidence.[8] Data from fifth and fourth centuries put the standard cost of a day at the theatre at a price of two obols.[9] This is, presumably, within the reach of a skilled worker, whose pay is generally reckoned to be one drachma (six obols) per day. If, however, the forum for satyr-dramas in the late sixth century is the Rural Dionysia,[10] which was separately organised by each deme, the performance will perhaps have been free. In either case, a

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4 Suda, s.v. Πρατίνας: '*πρῶτος ἔγραψε Σατύρους*', *he was first to write satyr-drama*. Elsewhere he is remembered only as a tragedian.

5 *Poetics* 1449a; cf. E. Buschor, *Satyrtänze und frühes Drama* (Munich, 1943) 3: 'Ausgangspunkt des griechischen Dramas'.

6 Suda, s.v. Θέσπις, though the assertion is not put very strongly: *ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτὸν πρῶτον τραγικὸν γενέσθαι φασί*, *others say that he was the first tragedian*.

7 C. Isler-Kerényi, trans. E.C. de Sena, *Civilizing Violence: Satyrs on 6th-Century Greek Vases* (Fribourg, 2004) 2; the only early attestation is Hesiod fr. 123M-W. G.M. Hedreen, *Silens in Attic Black-figure Vase-painting* (Ann Arbor, 1992) 13-14 proposes the existence of an archaic poem narrating the satyric return of Hephaestus to Olympus.

8 See A.W. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (Oxford, 1953) pp. 268-285.

9 *Ibid*., 271.

10 The name and nature of the Rural Dionysia is challenged in N.F. Jones, *Rural Athens Under the Democracy* (Philadelphia, 2004) 125-127.

dramatic festival will have made it unnecessary for the urban worker (such as a ceramicist) to travel far outside of Athens in order to view its rustic plays.

The early satyr-drama, according to Aristotle, was constructed ἐκ μικρῶν μύθων καὶ λέξεως γελοίας, *out of small stories and humorous diction*.[11] Seaford emphasises this claim, and cites it as proof of a strong metamorphosis of the genre from its roots to the overtly tragic form preserved, in Sophocles' *Ichneutae* and Euripides' *Cyclops*.[12] 'Small stories' points to non-heroic plots; that is, not involving recognisable heroes or stories, but rather non-specific and light-hearted scenarios of the rural, sexualised satyrs having to do with Dionysus.[13] This distinction, along with a characterisation of Plato's that satyr-drama οὐκ ἔστι πολιτικὸν, *does not belong to the city*,[14] form the constraints of what is thought about early (pre-Pratinas) satyr-drama: possibly unscripted, short depictions of the (often humorous) pursuits of satyrs engaging with their master and patron, Dionysus, that originate from the mimetic practices of people in the countryside. Understood thus, early satyr-drama corresponds well to depictions on vases.

Unlike other attempts to connect pots and plays, this does not rely on the bridge of literature, since there is no evidence of scripts for these 'small stories'. Indeed, presuming tragedy to have grown from satyr-drama as Aristotle claims, then his location of the origins of tragedy in improvisation must also extend to satyr-drama.[15] Central to such improvisation is the non-humanness of the chorus. The mask, consequently, is integral even to very early satyr-drama.[16] A satyric fragment of Aeschylus, considered part of his *Isthmiastae* or *Theoroi*, begins with chorus of satyrs marvelling at objects widely agreed to be satyric

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11 *Poetics* 1449a.

12 Euripides (ed. R. Seaford), *Cyclops* Oxford, 1984) 10-17. For the *Ichneutae,* no date has been assigned; R. Seaford, 'On the Origins of Satyric Drama', *Maia* 28 (1976) 211-212 conjectures a late date of ca. 408 for the *Cyclops*.

13 In a fragment of the Peripatetic Chamaileon, the proverb οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον, *nothing to do with Dionysus*, is explained as a protestation from audiences when satyric drama began to diverge from its traditional subject matter and morph into tragedy. See *ibid*., 11-12.

14 *Laws* VII.815c.

15 *Poetics* 1449a: γενομένη δ' οὖν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτοσχεδιαστικῆς, *it came about, really, from an improvisational beginning*.

16 F. Lissarrague, trans. A. Szegedy-Maszak, 'Why Satyrs Are Good to Represent' in J.J. Winkler and F.I. Zeitlin (edd.) *Nothing to Do with Dionysos?* (Princeton, 1990) 229-230 (on the Pronomos Vase (*ARV*^{2} 1336.1)): 'The mask, when it covers the face of a chorus member, is visually indistinguishable from an ordinary satyr's face'. This can be treated axiomatically for satyr-plays of all periods. For 'body masks', see above, p. 104, n. 51.

masks.[17] This has been interpreted as a manifestation of Aeschylus and his contemporaries viewing art as 'as extremely vivid and amazingly full of life',[18] largely missing the irony of the masked performers regarding the performerless masks.[19]

Although depictions of satyrs do not begin to nod formally to the conventions of drama – *viz.* discernible masks and costumes (including the strapped-on phallus that also appears in comedy) – until the late fifth century, the presence of what might be called satyr-protomes in other media blurs the distinction between face and mask. On the Vatican Exekias amphora (*fig.* 1), on which Ajax and Achilles play astragals, the device on Achilles' shield is the face of a satyr.[20] Rendered sculpturally, as opposed to the gorgoneion on Ajax' shield,[21] there is a strong temptation to consider this a mask rather than a depiction of a 'real' satyr's face, although this distinction has already been blurred in the *Theoroi* fragment.[22] It is on this apotropaic role that discussions of the *Theoroi* focus, though the connection to the more common gorgoneion is unexplored.[23]

While the facial expression of the gorgoneion is fixed – frozen, even – that of the satyr is more flexible. On a fairly early (ca. 550-530) amphora, two satyrs are shown flanking Dionysus, holding a rhyton (*fig.* 205).[24] Looking at the scene as a whole, one might attribute to them drunkenness on the strength of the drinking vessel, lust based on the right-hand satyr's erection, and revelry given their dancing as indicated by the position of their arms and legs. Their faces, however, indicate surprise (cf. *fig.* 206) – perhaps at the epiphany of Dionysus – by their raised eyebrows, wide-open eyes, and open mouths. This disparity is characteristic of satyric scenes on early black-figure vases, and part of the reason for querying

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17 *P.Oxy* 2162 (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XVIII, 1941) = fr. 87a Radt ≈ B. Snell, 'Aischylos' Isthmiastai', *Hermes* 84.1 (1956) 1-11, vv. 1-17. The play has a *terminus ante quem* of Aeschylus' death in 456.

18 C.H. Hallett, 'The Origins of the Classical Style in Sculpture', *JHS* 106 (1986) 77.

19 P.O'Sullivan, 'Satyr and Image in Aeschylus' Theoroi', *CQ* 50.2 (2000) 353-66 for an interpretation of Aeschylus's attitudes towards art.

20 The first reference to satyrs in surviving literature is in Hesiod fr. 123M-W, i.e., post-Homer; Homer compares Andromache to a maenad (μαινάδι ἴσῃ, *Iliad* XXII.460), although it is usually rendered *madwoman* or *one beside herself*. There is a case to be made for the distinction, i.e., between a maenad and a Bacchante, but to categorically reject the latter because Homer does not mention satyrs is *petitio principii*; Andromache as a maenad, see R. Seaford, *Reciprocity and Ritual* (Oxford, 1994) 330 and n. 6.

21 A fragment of a cup (*ABV* 262.49 (302281)) shows a satyr with a frontal face, sticking his tongue out and nearly indistinguishable from a gorgoneion.

22 The plasticity is more exaggerated on, e.g., an amphora of type B attributed to the Leagros Group (ca. 520-500), London B 158, *ABV* 368.105 (302100).

23 P. O'Sullivan, 'Satyr and Image in Aeschylus' Theoroi', *CQ* 50.2 (2000) 361 notes the ugliness of the satyr (-mask); the satyrs in the *Theoroi* claim that it would put their own mothers to flight.

24 Amphora from Group E, *ABV* 135.42 (310302), Munich 1394.

the relation to satyr-drama, in which the expression of the chorus is fixed by their masks, and the repertoire of expression fixed by the stock-scenes of the genre.

The (often humorous) reaction of the satyrs to the introduction of new things, whether inventions (εὑρήματα) or wonders (τέρατα), is one of the only securely-attested topoi in satyr-drama.[25] Central to the topos is the characterisation of satyrs as rural, rustic: ἄγροικος, literally *field-dwelling* (see above, p. 103, n. 48). This is both cause and symptom of their unfamiliarity with the novelties such as fire and musical instruments that forms the basis of many of the surviving fragments of satyr-plays. Whereas Aristotle characterises the ἄγροικος as insensitive to pleasure,[26] the satyrs on vases and in drama are quite the opposite: constantly seeking the joys of wine, dance, sex and confraternity.[27] Aristotle also calls the rustic incapable of pleasant and witty conversation, which fits well with his description of early satyr-drama.[28]

Connecting late-sixth century depictions of satyrs on black-figure vases with the development of satyr-drama helps to explain the early calcification of composition, most notably the placement of two, three or four satyrs flanking central figure or figures. One group that runs counter to this trend serves to show how steady the form was. Six vases, all attributed to the Amasis Painter,[29] show Dionysus flanked by four human males (e.g., *fig.* 207). They narrate a story in which youths outside the city (i.e., on a hunt – indicated by spears, dogs, bows, dead rabbits) encounter the god. These six vases are notable for their rigidity of facial expression and body posture as compared to depictions of Dionysus flanked.

Most depictions involve Dionysus, in which respect depictions of satyrs on vases adhere more closely to the supposed roots of satyr-drama than does the satyr-drama that survives (see above, n. 13), the earliest of which is perhaps fifty years later. Until ca. 530,

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25 R. Seaford, 'On the Origins of Satyric Drama', *Maia* 28 (1976) 216-217. From this one ought to reconsider whether all scenes of satyrs and Dionysus represent his epiphany; the satyrs could be responding to his inventions, largely relating to wine.

26 Especially in *EN* 1230b. H. Cullyer, '*Agroikia* and Pleasure in Aristotle', in *City, Countryside, and the Spatial Organization of Value in Classical Antiquity*, edd. R.M. Rosen and I. Sluiter, (Leiden, 2006) 181-183 discusses the incongruity of Aristotle's evaluations with those of comedy.

27 *Ibid*., 191-196 ignores the role of the satyr as the consummate ἄγροικος, but the links are too many and strong to ignore, especially the tendency of both towards sexual appetitiveness.

28 *Rhetoric* 1408a, contrasts the ἄγροικος with the πεπαιδευμένος; *EE* 1234a notes their coarseness and lack of fluidity in intercourse. While the satyrs of preserved drama tend to be witty and urbane – though crass – this is surely a necessity of scripted drama fitted to tragic forms.

29 None of the vases attributed to the Amasis Painter depicts naturalistic emotion.

satyrs mostly display the set of facial and bodily emotion discussed above, corresponding well to the earliest satyr-drama. Thereafter, and especially in the workshops of the 'mannerists', this small repertoire grows to include fear (*fig*. 208), pain, anger and exertion (*fig*. 209). These outgrowths stem from satyrs' unbridled interaction with the world around them, but show nonetheless that within a period of twenty years, vase-painters had fully adopted the representation of satyrs as their own and felt free to manipulate them, just as the dramatists did.[30] Depictions in red-figure soon after begin to display even more variation, especially in the depiction of satyrs as unsuccessful in their erotic pursuits.[31]

Most preserved depictions of satyrs in black-figure pottery lack emotionality, and this is in keeping with depictions of other subjects in the period; the reason for their prominence in this discussion is that they most frequently of all digress from this norm. The characteristic tendency of satyrs to express their desires more freely and fully than men is part of the reason. The existence of a mimetic tradition in Attica[32] that came into the city proper in the third quarter of the sixth century must also play a part. The satyrs' masks with their wide-open eyes and mouth indicating surprise (making them particularly well-suited to performance) form an emotional rendering easily imitable on vases and appropriate to situations ranging from seeing a god to raping a donkey. Once the form took hold as a stock scene in vase-painting, it is unnecessary to propose a continuing connection.

Unfortunates

After satyrs, 'unfortunates' form the largest group of emotionally-rendered figures on black-figure vases. It is not a coherent group; the only connection between the figures is that their position is unenviable. Scholars often call this figure 'the Other',[33] but the label is of little

30 F. Lissarrague, trans. A. Szegedy-Maszak, 'Why Satyrs Are Good to Represent' in J.J. Winkler and F.I. Zeitlin (edd.) *Nothing to Do with Dionysos?* (Princeton, 1990) 234.

31 G. Hedreen, '"I Let Go My Force Just Touching Her Hair": Male Sexuality in Athenian Vase-Paintings of Silens and Iambic Poetry', *ClAnt* 25.2 (2006) 280.

32 Satyrs themselves do not come from Attica (insofar as they 'came from' anywhere); Pratinas is credited with bringing certain features from Laconia, though never with having introduced the tradition outright. Etymology shines little light, other than that Τίτυρος and Σιληνός are perhaps Doric or Laconian in origin (see *GeW* and *DELG ad locc*.), but both are distinguished from Σατύροι in Strabo X.3.15.

33 In Classics, the concept has departed from Hegel, and takes its most fully articulated form in F. Lissarrague, *L'Autre guerrier* (Paris & Rome, 1990); on the victim as 'Other', see T.J. McNiven, 'Behaving Like an Other: Telltale Gestures in Athenian Vase Painting', in *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek art*, ed. B. Cohen, (Leiden, 2000) 76ff.

use in this study. While some of the figures in this group, such as Centaurs, are distinguishable as something paranormal, others, notably Eurystheus, have nothing to mark them out besides their own personality. Satyrs also fall into this chasm, but this ignores their role as visualisations of the impulses of men.

Still, the figures in this category are separable from the heroes that are besting them. Indeed, victorious warriors in vases as well as sculpture are among the least likely candidates for emotional display; whereas defeat entails definite states (fear, physical pain, death), the emotions of a conqueror are ambiguous at best, and less likely to be displayed. Most unfortunates are inexpressive, but those that are emotionally-rendered show a wide range of emotion and sound anatomical knowledge on the part of the painter. The distinction to be made within the group is between those depicted at or just before the point of physical harm and those either avoiding it or having experienced it before the point of the depiction.

The former group is the easiest to distinguish. The moment of a wound, whether fatal or not, is a clear indicator of context and narrative. Centaurs begin to be rendered emotionally in the third and fourth quarters of the sixth century.[34] The most frequent type is a single Centaur, typically running towards the viewer's right and looking back over his shoulder, where Heracles is pursuing or winding up for an attack with his club (e.g., *fig*. 210). The torsion of the figure neatly illustrates Aristotle's connection of emotion and perception,[35] and strengthens compositional cohesion. Their eye contact reinforces this relationship, just as on Exekias' Achilles and Penthesilea amphora in London (*fig*. 211).[36] The Centaur's face is easily comparable to satyr-faces, with the equine ear, bouffant hair-style, shaggy beard and, most notably, the open mouth with lips turned in, as though forming a harbour. The muscle of his inner eyebrow contracts along with the raising of the entire eyebrow, signalling a range of surprise-anger-pain that might be more simply termed 'outrage'. There is a stark contrast between the Centaur's heightened emotionality and the impassiveness of Heracles and the bystanders.

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34 The Minotaur is also rendered emotionally beginning in this period, but his bull-face makes it impossible to compare him to other more fully-humanoid figures such as satyrs and Centaurs.
35 *Rhetoric* 1378a.
36 *ABV* 144.7 (310389); London B 210 (ca. 540).

This contrast, which diminishes to absence in the Parthenon metopes, is particularly noticeable on an amphora in the Vatican depicting, on one side, Heracles amidst the Centaurs, and on the other, two Centaurs bashing Caineus into the earth (*fig*. 212).[37] The former is an elaboration of the type exemplified in *fig*. 210, Heracles and the rightmost Centaur forming the central unit and the other two Centaurs framing them, the recipients of earlier wounds. The two peripheral Centaurs' expressions do not noticeably differ from their comrade's. On the reverse, the Centaurs are as impassive as is their attacker on the obverse; Caineus' face is covered by his helmet and his body by his arms and armour, inexpressive.

Whereas this vase is a neat illustration of the role of context, Centaurs elsewhere display emotion even in the uncommon position of victor, *viz*. in depictions of Caineus' defeat (e.g., *fig*. 213).[38] This is often explained by calling the Centaurs personifications of animalistic hubris, but this ignores a separate tradition of the Caineus-myth. As recounted in a synopsis of Acousilaus of Argos, Caineus' hybris is punished by Zeus.[39] Caineus, king of the Lapiths, sets up his own javelin – after a battle with the Centaurs – to be worshipped as a god by his subjects. The Centaurs are sent as agents of Zeus, enforcers of cosmic humbleness, to punish the king. The vase-painters might have known neither or both versions, but it merits questioning the equation of Centaurs with hybris here and elsewhere, such as the friezes of the Hephaisteion or the metopes of the Parthenon.

The earliest known representation of the Caineus-myth is a bronze plaque from Olympia, dated to the second or third quarter of the seventh century (*fig*. 214).[40] Its presence in the sanctuary of Zeus can strengthen the connection to the version of Acousilaus; the deliverance of divine justice has been read as a theme of the sculptural decoration of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia.[41] The Centaur on the viewer's left is the most closely bound to Caineus: he is met by the gaze of his victim, grasps the plume of his helmet and makes the

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37 Amphora from the Group of Toronto 305, *ABV* 283.9 (320254), Vatican 388 (ca. 520).

38 E. Laufer, *Kaineus: Studien zur Ikonographie* (Rome, 1985) 3-16 is a full discussion of the types of early representations of the Caineus-myth.

39 *Fl*. early fifth century. *FGrHist* II F 22 = P.Oxy 1611 (vol. XIII, 1919) fr. 1 coll. ii-iv (+ comm., 127-128). See J.T. Kakridis, 'Caeneus', *CR* 61.3 (1947) 77-80 for the significance of the fragment on the understanding of the origins of the hero and the myth, especially its variance from Ovid *Met*. 12.169ff.

40 Laufer, *Kaineus* 3 and n. 5.

41 See generally N.D. Tersini, 'Unifying Themes in the Sculpture of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia', *ClAnt* 6.1 (1987) 139-59.

most visible blow. Punctured by one of Caineus' two swords,[42] he closes his visible eye and opens his mouth slightly. The facial expression is neither naturalistic nor pronounced, but it is deliberate and stands in contrast to the neutral expression of the other Centaur. This along with the high frequency of emotional rendering in black-figure depictions of the myth points towards emotionality being an integral part of its representation.

Centaurs are represented at the point of impact, but several emotionally-rendered figures are depicted either side. Naturalistic depictions of death or dying are relatively rare in black-figure; much more frequent are the extremely angular 'repose' positions as seen in certain portions of the Siphnian Treasury frieze (see above, p. 16) and the western pediment of the Temple of Aphaea on Aegina. Eurytion, Geryon's herdsman whom Heracles killed during his tenth labour,[43] is rendered with languidity and heaviness on a neck-amphora of the last quarter of the sixth century (*fig*. 215).[44] His slumped body, limp right hand,[45] inclined head, closed eye (with blood flowing out[46]) and downturned mouth reflect observation and consideration of the naturalistic rendering of pain and death.[47] On the same vase (*fig*. 216), one of the bodies of Geryon is in the grip of death, his eye mostly closed and his legs collapsing under his weight although his hands still grasp his shield and spear. This amphora stands apart for its range and depth of emotionality, and demonstrates a painter's autonomy.

The depiction of Eurystheus, the cowardly king of Argos who set Heracles his labours,[48] is a consistent environment for emotional rendering. Invariably in the context of the delivery of the Erymanthian boar, Eurystheus cowers in a partially-submerged storage jar, his head and arms protruding. Its iconography is well-established, with Heracles on the viewer's left bearing the boar, usually having placed a foot on the rim of the jar.[49] In approxi-

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42 S. Marinatos, 'Kaineus (Caeneus): a further link between the Mycenaean and the Greek worlds', in J. Boardman, M.A. Brown, and T.G.E. Powell (edd.), *The European Community in Later Prehistory: Studies in honour of C.F.C. Hawkes* (London, 1971) 53-56 discusses the significance of the two swords.

43 Hesiod, *Theogony* 289-294, [Apollodorus] II.106ff.

44 Amphora attributed to the Madrid Painter, *ABV* 329.5 (301769), New York, Callimanopoulos (ca. 515).

45 Cf. the limp hands of Aphaea E.xi and E.vi, above, p. 28.

46 *CVA* Northampton, Castle Ashby *ad loc*., presumably thought not to be tears because of the use of red.

47 What can be reconstructed of Stesichoros' *Geryoneïs*, collected by D. Page, 'The Geryoneïs', *JHS* 93 (1973) 138-154 (145-146 for a summary) and analysed specifically with respect to vase painting by M. Robertson, 'Stesichorus and the Vase-Painters', *CQ* 19.2 (1969) 207-21 shows clearly that Eurytion will have had no special place in the telling of the myth. If the vase-painters knew of it, their own version is unbeholden to its specifics, including the chronology of the story itself: Eurytion is killed well before.

48 *Iliad* XIX.95-133 and elsewhere.

49 Brommer, *Herakles* 18 notes that the earliest depictions of this labour come considerably later than those of, e.g., the lion or the hydra.

mately one quarter of surviving representations, the face of Eurystheus is rendered emotionally. His hands are raised in fear or protest, but this is gestural and communicative rather than purely emotional. His face is isolated from his body, and so is not unlike a mask. Two examples (*figg*. 217, *fig*. 218) show the variability of the depiction.

In *fig*. 217,[50] Eurystheus is at his least naturalistic: his eye is shown as a circle (i.e., without tear-ducts, unlike the rest of the figures on the vase), his hands are not directed towards the boar and he makes no attempt at eye-contact with Heracles or his porcine missile. The unique form of his eye and the aperture of his mouth make perfectly clear that he perceives and reacts naturalistically to Heracles' threat, but the reaction is abstracted. His expression in *fig*. 218 is much more closely observed.[51] Eurystheus places his hands between his face and the boar, his eye is rendered appropriately to the painter's style and is shaped to indicate a contraction of the muscle of the inner eyebrow. His eyebrow is raised to indicate surprise and his mouth is opened more at the corners, reflecting the contraction of the muscle raising the upper lip and the wing of the nose, indicating terror (cf. *fig*. 219). Moreover, he looks directly at his attacker (see above, p. 119), emphasising their connection and the reason for Eurystheus' expressivity.

The surviving literary references to Eurystheus, including and especially his extensive biography in *Iliad* XIX.95-133, make his loathsomeness clear. Born two months premature in order to foil Zeus' plans for an omnipotent heir, his cowardice and bitterness are a counter-point to Heracles' bravery and jollity. In Euripides' *Heracleidae*, Eurystheus morphs from Heracles' gadfly to the maniac in pursuit of the hero's children, his own kinsmen. The connection of the king to Athens is to be expected as a convention of Attic drama, although his burial and heroization in Attica is perhaps an invention of the author.[52] His submersion within the storage jar could be an allusion to a burial practice with a specific connection to Athens.

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50 Amphora attributed to the Antimenes Painter, *ABV* 269.49 (320059), Oxford 1965.115 (ca. 520).
51 Amphora from the Group of Würzburg 199, *ABV* 287.1 (320304), NY 41.162.190 (ca. 520).
52 *Heracleidae* 1026-1044 and J. Wilkins, ed. *Euripides Heraclidae* (Oxford, 1993) xix-xx. E. Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica* (London, 1989) 47-50 discusses Eurystheus as a sort of anti-hero.

Unlike other foes, Eurystheus presents no physical threat. His bodily infirmity, rooted no doubt in his premature birth, is bound up with his meanness of character and his cruelty.[53] The juxtaposition of the two, together with the slightly absurd boar – especially when pitched hind-first – makes for a humorous situation.[54] Brommer's comprehensive analysis of Heracles' twelve labours categorically denies this possibility, although without explanation or justification.[55] Comparisons to similar situations involving satyrs (e.g., *fig*. 208, above) show that such an expression is not *a priori* outside the realm of humour. Other portions of Heracles' myth, especially his capture of the Cercopes, have clear humorous elements.[56] The depiction of this labour stands on its own chronologically: only here is Heracles shown well after the deed's climax.[57] The standard visualisation of the labour focuses on the king's emotional response and its unseemliness, and this context lent itself to naturalistic rendering of that emotionality.

Conclusion

The set of black-figure vases with emotional renderings is relatively homogenous; fewer than a dozen examples stand outside the categories mentioned above. Some are unique, such as a depiction of 'heroes quarrelling' (*fig*. 220),[58] about which much can be described though little said.[59] It might be compared to Exekias' mourner plaques in Berlin, or an amphora with a woman saddened by the departure of warrior (*fig*. 221).[60] Their commonality only extends as far as they depict purely human contexts in which some figures are rendered emotionally. Non-mythic contexts rarely feature naturalistic emotion in black-figure vase-painting.

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53 Cf. Thersites in *Iliad* II.211ff. The description of his physical deformity at vv. 217-219 is preceded by assertions of his odiousness to the omniscient narrator, then to Achilles and Odysseus.

54 This crosses from emotion depicted to emotion aroused; the two must not be confused. The Greek is γέλοιος (cf. Aristotle's characterisation of early satyr drama coming from λέξεως γελοίας, *humorous diction*, see above, p. 115), or Homeric γελοίος: Thersites says ὅ τι οἱ εἴσαιτο γελοίον Ἀργείοισιν, *whatever would seem to him to be humorous to the Argives* (*Iliad* II.215).

55 F. Brommer, *Herakles: Die zwölf Taten des Helden in antiker Kunst und Literatur* (Cologne & Vienna, 1972) 19: 'Man könnte in Versuchung kommen, diese Darstellungen, besonders auf den Vasenbildern, humoristisch aufzufassen. Sicher hat dies aber nicht in der Absicht der griechischen Künstler gelegen'.

56 Suda, s.v. Κέρκωπες (1).

57 Cf. the departure from usual chronology in depictions of Eurytion (see above, n. 47).

58 Amphora from the Leagros Group, *ABV* 363.38 (302033); London, British Museum B327 (ca. 510).

59 Another difficult piece to discuss is a lekythos attributed to the Beldam Painter, *Para* 292 (352144) Athens NM 1129 (ca. 500-480), depicting a woman (sometimes called Lamia) lashed to the mast of a ship and tortured by satyrs. It too stands apart, but there is no cogent explanation of the scene.

60 Amphora in the manner of the Antimenes Painter, *ABV* 279.47 (320208); London B161, (ca. 520).

Satyrs occupy a middle zone between the 'human sphere' and myth, insofar as they can be placed in an infinite variety of situations, since their mere presence transforms a scene.[61] Aristotle's *ἐκ μικρῶν μύθων*, *out of small stories*, could describe depictions of satyrs on black-figure vases just as well as it does satyr-drama. In the discussion above of the satyrs' emotional rendering, no mention was made of the arousal of laughter or amusement in the viewer, although their intention to do so in certain contexts is beyond doubt. Did their naturalistic emotionality make them more *γέλοιον*, *humorous*? As the satyrs' facial expressions and body postures become more naturalistic – that is, more naturalistically human – the disconnect between 'Self' and 'Other' becomes stressed and compressed. In *The Birth of Tragedy*,[62] Nietzsche explains that the satyr-chorus

> represents existence more truthfully, really, and completely than the man of culture does who ordinarily considers himself as the only reality ... this vision is strong enough to make the eye insensitive and blind to the impression of 'reality,' to the men of culture who occupy the rows of seats all around.

In the case of the epiphany of Dionysus (or of some wonder) it is difficult to disentangle their expressions from the types of early satyr-drama or from other Dionysiac ritual analogue to the types in comedy, about of which little is known. When their pursuits are amorous or bestial or ancillary to them, the more humanity (i.e., naturalistic emotion) visible in them, the easier it is for the viewer to place himself in relation to the satyr. In this respect satyrs' emotionality in art does not substantively differ from that of humans.

The final broad class of emotionally-rendered figures in black-figure vase-painting might just as well have been called 'foes of Heracles' rather than 'unfortunates'. The broad range of scenes defined by Centaurs and Geryon on one end and by Eurystheus on the other is unified by Heracles. As the most frequently-depicted hero, his presence in the narrative of emotionality is less surprising than would be his absence. Not rendered emotionally himself,[63] those whom he encounters in violent situations – as opposed to his fellow-banqueters, for instance – are licensed to show emotion whereas the victims of other heroes

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61 Cf. the contemporary genre featuring the insertion of incongruous characters into classic fiction, e.g., J. Austen and B.H. Winters, *Sense and Sensibility and Sea Monsters* (Philadelphia, 2009).

62 F. Nietzsche, trans. W. Kaufmann, *The Birth of Tragedy* ((1st ed. 1886) New York, 1967) §8.

63 In black-figure vases, that is; his depiction in several of the metopes of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (see above, p. 41) is nuanced and rich in its emotionality.

or of men are not.[64] His place outside the normal ranks of heroes, which is bound up with his super-heroic strength and divine connections, makes comparison difficult, just as it helps to explain how he licenses emotional rendering.

While the viewer is induced to identify with the satyr on the basis of his emotionality, he is not brought to identify with Heracles' victims: their context is different, and their purpose is different. A Centaur and a satyr might both show pain in response to a physical attack, but in the pain of the satyr there is an element of humour that comes from his physical appearance as well as the connection to satyr-drama. The pain or fear of Heracles' victims is a testament to his great strength,[65] but also serves a cautionary role to the viewer. These characters suffer so greatly at the hands of this hero that they cannot control the display of that suffering. Here the early equation of goodness and emotional restraint, can be seen.

64 A liminal case is the Minotaur, who sometimes shows pain caused by Theseus (see above, n. 119, n. 34).
65 F. Brommer, *Herakles: Die zwölf Taten des Helden in antiker Kunst und Literatur* (Cologne & Vienna, 1972) 19.

Chapter 7: Red-figure vases

The technique of red-figure vase-painting was developed around 530.[1] It overlaps chronologically with the larger portion of black-figure vases discussed above. While many of the elements characteristic of the style are present in black-figure – the relief line, especially – the employment of dilute paint, producing a thin brown line usually used for elaboration within figures, is a major point of differentiation.[2] This tiering of lines' heaviness allows for a closer approximation of human anatomy's divisions and subdivisions, and anatomical realism correlates highly with emotional expression. Vases decorated with a white ground, a sub-technique of red-figure, will be discussed in chapter 8.[3] Vases with three-dimensional modelling (figure vases) have been discussed in chapter 5.

Although there is a certain connection between emotional expression and sympotic shapes – roughly one-third are on cups – this is in part a reflection of their general distribution. Plotting the vases' findspots (based, sometimes, on uncertain information) shows a preponderance in Italy, although this too reflects standard distribution.[4] Emotionality does not correlate highly with date,[5] shape or findspot. This is in itself a conclusion, although it is difficult to generalise from statistics that report survival rather than production.

Satyrs and maenads

Just as emotional rendering in black-figure was characterised by the homogeneity of its subjects – the reign of the satyr – so red-figure is remarkable for its diversity. Of the collected red-figure vases containing emotional representations – upwards of three hundred[6] – fifty-two depict satyrs; this is the commonest, but nothing near their frequency in black figure. This is so even in very early red-figure examples; it always stands apart from black

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1 J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Archaic Period* (London, 1975) 11-15 describes the technique and its innovations.
2 For more detail, see J.V. Noble, *The Techniques of Attic Painted Pottery* (New York, 1965) 54ff.
3 *Ibid*., 62.
4 I thank Greg Parker (Oxford) for writing an algorithm that performs this task; the results are viewable at [http://explore.clarosnet.org].
5 Earlier vases are more likely to bear emotional figures; this is difficult to dissociate from the general decline in carefulness after 450.
6 This is in no way meant to be exhaustive. This encompasses only vases in *ARV*^{2} with photographs in the Beazley Archive that were large or fine enough for the discernment of emotional rendering; many vases I have seen, but by no means all.

figure. Whereas satyrs' drunkenness had been indicated by the presence of drinking implements and a facial expression that might be termed 'slack', a phenomenon described in the couplets of Macedonius Consul (*fl. ca.* AD 531):[7]

> Κισσοκόμαν Βρομίῳ Σάτυρον σεσαλαγμένον οἴνῳ
> ἀμπελοεργὸς ἀνὴρ ἄνθετο Ληναγόρας·
> τῷ δὲ καρηβαρέοντι δορήν, τρίχα, κισσόν, ὀπώπην,
> πάντα λέγοις μεθύειν, πάντα συνεκλέλυται·
> καὶ φύσιν ἀφθόγγοισι τύποις μιμήσατο τέχνη,
> ὕλης ἀντιλέγειν μηδὲν ἀνασχομένης.
>
> *To the Bromian an ivy-crowned Satyr sozzled with wine*
> *did a vine-dressing man, Lenagoras dedicate.*
> *On the drowsy satyr, his skin, hair, ivy, face*
> *– everything – you would call drunk, everything disjointed;*
> *craft imitates even nature with voiceless images,*
> *though the wood makes no attempt to reply.*

This is rare in red-figure, so their activities must be attributed to earlier tippling or to sober vulgarity. They do persist in their (sexual) violence towards maenads, goddesses and one another, though their rate of rebuff increases over time.[8]

Satyrs are sometimes portrayed as wearing 'the drawers, complete with phallus, of the satyr-play';[9] they are often also tailed, thus providing the actors with the satyrs' most recognizable features.[10] The satyr-choristers do not seem obviously to wear masks, and while their ears are usually in their equine form, this effect must have been achieved in some other way. There are few data for the performance practice of satyr drama, especially early, although is it clear that masks were worn in Aeschylus' *Theoroi*, i.e., after the earliest inclusion of satyr-breeches on vases.[11] It is unclear whether this is a genuine discrepancy, an artistic convention or an indication of a separate tradition. The drawered satyrs are not rendered emotionally; a case could be made for a correlation to the absence of masks.

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7 *Anthologia Palatina* VI.56.

8 G. Hedreen, '"I Let Go My Force Just Touching Her Hair": Male Sexuality in Athenian Vase-Paintings of Silens and Iambic Poetry', *ClAnt* 25.2 (2006) 277-326.280.

9 J.D. Beazley, 'Prometheus Fire-Lighter', *AJA* 43.4 (1939) 632. F. Brommer, *Satyrspiele: Bilder griechischer Vasen* (Berlin, 1959) 71-73 lists the vases; add *ARV*^{2} 285.2, in which the drawers appear more as a girdle, but the intention is clear.

10 Ithyphallic drawers were not limited to satyr-drama (see above, p. 104, n. 51), though their sometimes hairy appearence will have been especially appropriate to satyrs.

11 See also above, p. 116, n. 17. Aeschylus, *Theoroi* 1-17 are agreed to indicate that the satyr-chorus views satyr masks, which they evaluate thus (6-7): *εἴδωλον εἶναι τοῦτ' ἐμῆι μορφῆι πλέον/ τὸ Δαιδάλου μίμημα· φωνῆς δεῖ μόνον, this image is full of my form, the copy of Daedalus; it lacks only a voice.*

Maenads,[12] uniformly inexpressive in black-figure, are sometimes expressive in red-figure, if not certainly emotive. The earliest is on a fragment of the tondo of a cup, once in Munich (*fig*. 222).[13] An ithyphallic satyr with eyebrow sloping down toward his nose (marking a contraction of the muscle of the inner eyebrow) and an open-mouthed frown roughly lays hold of the maenad.[14] She responds to his intent with fear rather than anger: her right hand palm-up above her head, eyebrow angled up toward her nose (contraction of the muscle of the inner eyebrow along with a contraction of the forehead) and mouth open with a less strongly-angled frown. The emotional rendering of both figures engaged in a physical struggle is unusual for the period, as is the naturalism of those expressions.

This is a rare instance in which the maenad is clearly a victim of the satyr; there are two other such surviving vases, although neither maenad has the same vividness and deliberateness of expression.[15] Usually, as Hedreen and others have noted, it is the maenads who have the upper hand over the comically failing satyrs[16] – bald, shaggy old goats lusting hopelessly after amazonian women with thyrsus at the ready. In all three vases the maenad and satyr are alone. Unlike most segregations of figures, which separate from the narrative, these do just the opposite: having removed his prey from his competitors, her companions and the watchful eye of (here, Apollinian, order-bestowing) Dionysus, the satyr has placed the maenad under real threat of rape.

Although the role of the maenad is often to repel the satyrs' violence, there are no preserved examples of angry or exerting maenads;[17] this is the key to the peculiar distribution of emotionally-rendered maenads on vases. Satyrs are a distinct class of mythological

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12 T. Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery in Archaic Greek Art* (Oxford, 1986) 82-83 discusses terminology for the companions of Dionysus; Beazley's terms are used here for consistency.

13 Nikosthenic cup (not signed by Euergides as potter, as *ARV*^{2}), *ARV*^{2} 87(.13) (200697), ex Munich (ca. 510). Now lost.

14 Women among satyrs tend, almost as a matter of course, to be called maenads.

15 *ARV*^{2} 290.6bis (202638) and 488.75 (205458). In the former, the satyr menaces with the thyrsus, which is properly of the maenad. To this add, perhaps, 320.9bis (275179); this cup, attributed to Onesimos (ca. 500), is quite similar to the Nikosthenic cup discussed: two scenes of (only one) satyr with his hand on the thigh (?) of a sleeping woman, who may be a πορνή, *prostitute*, rather than a maenad.

16 Not only in comedy: Euripides *Bacchae* 732-733: θηρώμεθ' ἀνδρῶν τῶνδ' ὕπ'· ἀλλ' ἕπεσθέ μοι./ ἕπεσθε θύρσοις διὰ χερῶν ὡπλισμέναι, *we are hunted by these men; but follow me, follow armed with thyrsoi in your hands*. *Contra* Arrowsmith's (Loeb) translation which reads 'use your hands for weapons', presumably on strength of later (v. 736) ἀσιδήρου, which is not *unarmed* (as Arrowsmith) but *without iron (arms)* as Seaford translates and Dodds notes *ad loc*.

17 For maenad iconography, see S. Moraw, *Die Mänade in der attischen Vasenmalerei des 6. und 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr* (Mainz, 1998).

creature with their own genealogy (albeit an obscure one, and geographically inconsistent), a hybrid of human and animal that is essentially bound to the rural sphere.[18] Maenads lack an explicit story of genesis because they are not a species but a state of woman: *καὶ πᾶν τὸ θῆλυ σπέρμα Καδμείων, ὅσαι/ γυναῖκες ἦσαν, ἐξέμηνα δωμάτων, and all the female line of Cadmus' house, however many women there were, I (Dionysus) drove mad from their houses*.[19] The verb (from *ἐκμαίνω*[20]) might be rendered 'turn out a maenad/madwoman' in its transitive sense, i.e., Dionysus has brought this quality to the otherwise normal women, and can, presumably, remove it.

If mania is to be called an emotion, albeit deeply culturally-specific and complex, it stands apart from all the others in that it does not come from within the individual; indeed, it has the function of numbing and obscuring the other emotions. It is akin to rage (anger with violence) but lacks the attendant components of exertion and, presumably, the pleasure that attends anger in its pursuit of revenge;[21] this is made clear in the maenads' attacks on animals in text and image. Mania obscures the cause-effect relationship of Aristotle's theory of the emotions, based on perception.[22] Essential to the maenad is her ability to behave contrarily to her (true, interior) emotions, as Agaue in killing her son Pentheus. As an anti-emotion, mania has its own species of naturalism; in other words, maenads displaying fear are potentially contradictory.

Liminal area can be found in the depiction of a sleeping maenad (*fig*. 223) accosted by two ithyphallic satyrs (both expressionless).[23] Her facial expression is difficult to place: it seems to straddle the divide between sexual pleasure and pain.[24] The satyr at her head has a hand on her hair, presumably holding her down; the satyr between her legs lifts her right leg and has his right hand underneath her skirt – where, exactly, his hand is is left unclear. Is this

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18 See above, p. 118, n. 32.
19 Euripides, *Bacchae* 35-36.
20 *DELG s.v. μαίνομαι* notes that its root-meaning (PIE: *think*, *consider*) is dissasociated from its Greek manifestation – it is, in other words, an essentially Greek usage.
21 Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1378a-b, with reference to *Iliad* XVIII.109-110.
22 *Rhetoric* 1378a: *διὰ φαινομένην ὀλιγωρίαν, on account of a perceived slight*.
23 Cup attributed to Makron, *ARV*^{2} 461.36 (204718), Boston 01.8072 (ca. 470).
24 A recognised overlap in facial expressions: see S.M. Hughes and S.E. Nicholson, 'Sex differences in the assessment of pain versus sexual pleasure facial expressions', *Journal of Social, Evolutionary and Cultural Psychology* 2.4 (2008) 289f. The results show that men are less likely to correctly identify female pain and more likely to correctly identify female pleasure. This raises the question of how my own sex biases my reading of these and other facial expressions.

a rape-fantasy?[25] The picture on the reverse, which has the same components (two satyrs making an attempt on a recumbent maenad), shows the satyrs failing in their attempt: the maenad has woken up, and turns to the satyr at her head, who displays a facial expression of fear (eyebrow angled up at the nose, mouth open and angled down at the corner, enhanced by his moustache) and has lost his erection. The satyr on her other end again has his hand up her skirt. This second picture is more in keeping with the description of the maenads in the *Bacchae* attacking (and rebuffing) men.

A further ambiguity in reading the facial expressions of maenads is the incidence of singing or chanting. In the presence of instruments, especially the aulos, maenads occasionally throw their head back and open their mouths; this is the standard rendition of singing as seen in citharodes as well as symposiasts (see below, p. 146).[26] In the absence of a musical instrument, it is difficult to dissociate Dionysus' worshippers from their ululations and cries proclaiming their lord's power and high birth.[27] These are expressions, partly facial, that derive from mania, but they are not emotional expressions.

Amazons

Besides the madwomen of Dionysus there are Amazons, madwomen of the East. The earliest Amazonomachy preserved is on a terracotta shield of the seventh century;[28] conflicts with Amazons are twice mentioned in the *Iliad*.[29] The Amazons' origin (both genealogy and name[30]) is obscure – they are 'of the East', but hardly anything more precise is posited.[31] Despite the apparent plurality of Amazonomachies, only those of Achilles, Heracles[32] and

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25 Cf. the 'Torture of Lamia' lekythos, discussed above, p. 123, n. 59. For comic aspects of rape scenes, see D. Walsh, *Distorted Ideals in Greek Vase-Painting: The World of Mythological Burlesque* (Cambridge, 2009) 79-89. Walsh does not treat whether men ought, due to their greater success at identifying female pleasure than pain, have similar success in depicting the emotions of female figures; there is the additional question of audience similarity: male creator and male viewer? The vases on which these scenes appear are all sympotic: cups, kraters, stamnoi and amphoras.

26 J.D. Beazley, *The Berlin Painter* (4th ed. Mainz, 1974) 4 on NY 56.171.38 (ex Hearst): 'the young citharode, with bent knees and head thrown back as he sings, is one of the most expressive renderings of musical absorption in ancient art'. It does not seem logical to propose that 'musical absorption' is a quasi-emotion.

27 Euripides, *Bacchae* 725-726; Demosthenes *On the Crown* 260: *βοῶν* "*εὐοῖ σαβοῖ*," *καὶ ἐπορχούμενος* "*Ὑῆς Ἄττης Ἄττης Ὑῆς*", *shouting 'euoi saboi' and dancing to 'Hyes Attes Attes Hyes'*.

28 Nauplia 4509; see D. von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art* (Oxford, 1957) 1-3.

29 *Iliad* III.189 and VI.186. Both receive the epithet *ἀντιάνειρα*, which *LSJ q.v.* renders *a match for men*.

30 Summarised in J.H. Blok, *Early Amazons* (Leiden, 1995) 21-29.

31 Many attempts have been made, e.g., the 'Hittite thesis' (*viz.* Hittites are the Ur-source of Amazons) in W. Leonhard, *Hettiter und Amazonen* (Leipzig & Berlin, 1911).

32 Heracles is supplanted by Theseus by the middle of the fifth century: D. von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek*

Theseus[33] appear on surviving vases. In the context of this study, the first (and only black-figure) emotional representation of an Amazon is Exekias' London amphora depicting Achilles slaying Penthesilea, ca. 530 (cf. above, p. 119).

Two vases attributed to the Berlin Painter are the earliest red-figure examples, ca. 510 and ca. 500. The former (*fig*. 224) also depicts Achilles and Penthesilea, in isolation on the shoulder of the vase.[34] Achilles is inexpressive, but Penthesilea, fallen to the ground with wounds to her right breast and thigh, supplicates her attacker. Her pupil is at the top of her eye, signalling death's progress, and positioned forward to indicate that she is looking at Achilles; it does not particularly seem that he has fallen in love with her, as in certain textual accounts.[35] With opened and downturned mouth, her facial expression of pain and fear is clear enough. To this can be added her gesture – palm upright at the end of her extended arm – to put together a portrait of supplication. Supplication is more culturally-conditioned than, say, fearful resistance, where the palm directed towards the source of danger allows for the physical diversion of danger. The upturned palm (with wrist rotated rather than extended) indicates supplication (*viz*. ceasing struggle in exchange for mercy) precisely because it is the contraindication of the position of resistance.

The latter is a scene of Heracles' Amazonomachy (*figg*. 225, 226);[36] as a result, his most proximate comrade is called Telamon, though without justification.[37] Both are about to deliver the final blow to an Amazon who has been wounded at his feet, and both Amazons are rendered emotionally. Telamon's Amazon, who is bracketed between the swordsman and a spearman, is either falling or crouching to the ground, avoiding her attackers' strikes. Her

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Art (Oxford, 1957) 133.

33 The Amazonomachies of Theseus and Heracles are connected: Euripides, *Heracleidae* 215-219.

34 Hydria, *ARV*^{2} 209.169 (201987), NY 10.210.19 (Beazley: 'very early').

35 The earliest surviving sources lack this. *Contra* E.C. Keuls, *The Reign of the Phallus* (New York, 1985) 45, there is no reason to suspect this element was present in the lost *Aethopis*. Hellanicus (*FGrHist* 149) perhaps identifies her coming to Troy with a search for marriage (ἐπιήλυθε Τροίῃ κῦδος ἀεξήσουσα, ὅπως τε γάμοισι μιγείη, *she came to Troy to increase in glory, in which way she might mix in marriages*; presumably after Herodotus IV.117); her inclusion in Propertius III.11.13ff. suggests a love-story; it does not appear until [Apollodorus] V.2; cf. Menelaus sparing Helen on sight of her breast, also a seemingly later addition. Achilles' expression on the frieze of the Temple of Apollo at Bassae (BM 537:3, see above, p. 74) suggests a pitying reaction to the Amazon queen's entreaty.

36 Neck amphora, *ARV*^{2} 199.30bis (275091), Basel BS 453 (Beazley: 'early').

37 This is a bad habit; D. von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art* (Oxford, 1957) 134 (on an amphora attributed to the Andokides Painter): 'if this were a black-figured vase we should call the fallen Amazon Andromache... but in red-figure, as will be borne out by the other vases of this section, the old nomenclature no londer holds and the choice of figures becomes increasingly less governed by tradition.'

pupil is again poised at the top of her eye though it is not towards the front. Her mouth is opened and downturned, perhaps indicating a mixture of fear and pain. Heracles' Amazon supplicates, her mouth opened and downturned. The facial expression is too vague on its own; the emotional reading comes from her outstretched hand, palm upwards, and the angle of her neck. This signals but does not make explicit her gaze towards Heracles; he does not return it. Her wounds exactly match those of Penthesilea on the New York hydria (right breast, right thigh); perhaps the attitude of supplication is also a borrowing from the Penthesilea type.

(About a dozen vases bearing emotional depictions have been attributed to the Berlin Painter; of those, all but one[38] are placed by Beazley and others into the 'very early' or 'early' phases of his career, although that the majority of surviving pots are so dated.[39] Emotional rendering could certainly form an element of style or of a period of style (i.e., manner), but there is not enough consistency to justify this equation.[40] Presuming that the early stages of the development of the Berlin Painter's style bear the closest resemblance to his masters,[41] Phintias and Euthymides (as Beazley; Pinney emphasizes the former), the component of emotionality was not learned, as there is only one surviving vase between them that bears an emotional rendering;[42] nor are the Pioneers noted for their emotional naturalism. Perhaps emotionality was an idiosyncrasy of the young artist that faded into absence as he aged and took pupils.)

Later depictions – those from, say, 460 onwards – are more sympathetic, i.e., are more likely to depict their fear in violent situations than merely pain or death. This is, perhaps, reflected in the Amazonomachy on the exterior of the shield of Athena Parthenos in

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38 A neck amphora depicting a warrior (with his mouth open, though perhaps only in valediction) departing from a sad old man, *ARV*^{2} 199.29 (201857), Vatican (*ARV*^{2} places it in the 'middle' period, presumably 490-480). The placement is well-justified by the loose rendition of drapery. This also excludes pieces by the HP-Carpenter Group (which G.F. Pinney, 'The Nonage of the Berlin Painter', *AJA* 85.2 (1981) 148 forms), since her identification of the group with the Berlin Painter is not accepted here (*ibid*., 153).

39 J.D. Beazley, *The Berlin Painter* (4th ed. Mainz, 1974) 6 notes that certain shapes as well are confined to the early stages; see G.F. Pinney, 'The Nonage of the Berlin Painter', *AJA* 85.2 (1981) *passim* for an explication of the criteria for chronological disposition.

40 D.C. Kurtz and J.D. Beazley, *The Berlin Painter* (Oxford, 1983) 21-22 discusses renderings of facial anatomy; e.g., n. 80: 'on some early vases, lips are parted', but without emotive significance.

41 *Ibid*., 20: 'in his earliest years, he betrays this heritage, but remarkably quickly he expresses his own artistic temperament'; emotional rendering stands a little apart from this.

42 Amphora signed by Euthymides as painter, *ARV*^{2} 26.1 (200160), Munich 2307 (ca. 525-510); the satyr-protome on a shield has an expression of surprise.

the Parthenon.[43] Penthesilea stands at the centre of the type, which antedates the Parthenon; the finest is the name-piece of the Penthesilea Painter (*fig*. 227).[44] The anatomical fidelity of the figures, and especially the face of Penthesilea, with its contraction of the muscle of the inner eyebrow and of the muscle lowering the corner of the mouth, coupled with the placement of her pupil to make clear her eye contact with Achilles, which is reciprocated, is extraordinary. Coordination of the upper and lower muscular regions of the face is significantly less common in vase-painting than it is in sculpture (cf. Lapith Girl E from the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, almost exactly contemporaneous, *fig*. 63).

Centaurs

As Amazons are the mirror image of 'civilized men', so too are the Centaurs; with the exception of Chiron,[45] they are marked in literature and art as brutes. They are grouped naturally, therefore, with Amazons and Cyclopses and Giants, but their animal genealogy augments their emotionality. Horses are rendered 'emotionally', insofar as their nostrils flare, mouths open and eyes bulge in contexts of exertion of fear, long before humans.[46] Whatever the cause, this bleeds into the depiction of Centaurs, whose emotional rendering on vases is consistent from at least 540 to the end of the fifth century. In black and red figure, Centaurs are shown in battle with various humans – Heracles, Theseus, Lapiths[47] – and display the martial expressions: surprise, anger, pain, fear and death; there is no apparent chronological progression of how they are shown, as with Amazons. As in most scenes, Heracles appears less frequently in the second half of the fifth century.

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43 E.g., a squat aryballyos attributed to the Eretria Painter, *ARV*^{2} 1248.9 (216945), NY 31.11.13 (ca. 420). See generally E.B. Harrison, 'Motifs of the City-Siege on the Shield of Athena Parthenos' *AJA* 85.3 (1981) 281-317, though she does not mention the Eretria Painter aryballos; the correspondance is between her figures 4-5, the 'Death-Leap Group', and the pair of Theseus and an Amazon and an unnamed Greek and Amazon, posed in opposite directions; cf. the Piraeus relief with the motif.

44 Cup, *ARV*^{2} 879.1 (211565), Munich 2688 (ca. 460).

45 Tutor to Achilles, *Iliad* XI.831-832; *BNP s.v*. Chiron; but he stands alongside the other Centaurs at Pholus ([Apollodorus] II.85 (not .84 as *BNP*)).

46 On horses in art with bibliography, see L. Calder, *Cruelty and Sentimentality: Greek Attitudes to Animals, 600-300 BC* (Oxford, 2011) 44-46. The general violence and vehemence of horses might be explained by the severity of bits – either with spikes on the inside of cheekpieces or even on the bit itself; see J.K. Anderson, *Ancient Greek Horsemanship* (Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1961) 64-78.

47 These are conflated, even by Beazley. Properly, Heracles '*apud Pholum*' is a separate Centauromachy to that of Theseus among the Lapiths, whose king is Peirithous (or Caineus). Peirithous, in advance of his wedding to Hippodameia, engages in the Amazonomachy with Theseus: Pindar frr. 175 S-M: Ἀντιόπην ὑπὸ Πειρίθου καὶ Θησέως ἁρπασθῆναι, *Antiope was taken by Pirithous and Theseus*. Heracles fought *against* the Lapiths at the request of Aegimeus; the connection between the two is made as early as Pindar, but Diodorus IV.58.6 is the earliest surviving source for the battle.

The Caineus-myth stands apart from other portions of the Centauromachy. Invincible, he is beaten into the ground with stones or pines. As the only named Lapith victim, he becomes a byword for hybris (see above, p. 120) although in Homer and Hesiod this is not the case.[48] The standard composition, stretching back to the seventh century, shows Caineus immersed just above or just below the knee (though in some cases he has merely collapsed to the ground). This connects him with other semi-submerged figures: Persephone, rising from the underworld; Eurystheus, cowering in the pithos as he is 'presented' with the Calydonian boar; Ge, emerging briefly to deliver Erichthonius; the 'large heads' ought to be interesting for their connection to other disembodied heads (*viz*. theatrical masks), but are strangely lacking in emotion.[49] Of these only Eurystheus is also a locus for emotionality;[50] presumably this has to do with the violent circumstances of the two figures' submersion and their separation from aitiological myth.

Caineus is a *named* victim, and as such is often depicted with a Corinthian helmet pushed back from his head (cf. above, p. 120), revealing his face and allowing for emotional expression. Caineus does not cower, however; he often strikes up against at least one of his Centaur attackers with a sword or spear. In that case, he causes the expressivity of his attackers: the pain of the foe whom he has stabbed or the surprise (see n. 50) of the other – either at his riposte or at his invincibility (e.g., *fig*. 228).[51] Although the facial expressions of the two Centaurs do not markedly differ, their circumstances both justify fear-surprise. The Centaur towards whom Caineus turns has been wounded, but does not display pain; perhaps the two simply reflect one another.

The Centauromachies with Lapiths other than Caineus and with Heracles do not differ greatly from one another. Those depicting the battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs tend to have

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48 Hesiod, *Aspis* 179 (cf. *Iliad* I.262ff.) describes the other combatants Καινέα τ' ἀμφὶ ἄνακτα, *fighting around Lord Caineus*.

49 For a discussion of these heads and their treatment, see C. Bérard, *Anodoi* (Rome, 1974) 43-45. Their connection to satyrs makes their expressionlessness doubly puzzling. Bérard renders ἄνοδος '*passage chthonien*' (22), i.e., going up from or down into (κάθοδος) the Underworld. Καθόδοι are rather more rare in vase-painting.

50 Satyrs' reaction to the emergence of Persephone is an exception; their surprise at phenomena mundane and extraordinary is the only definitely-known topos of satyr drama (see above, p. 115). Καινεύς is connected etymologically to καίνος, *new* or *unexpected* (*DELG q.v.*); the anodos of Persephone or the epiphany of Dionysus are easily described as καίνος.

51 Stamnos attributed to the Kleophrades Painter, *ARV*^{2} 187.58 (201756), Louvre G 55 (ca. 490).

many figures, of whom never more than a few – usually the Centaurs, though not exclusively – are expressive. Heracles is very much more isolated in his combat, so too the interpersonal dynamics of the duel are at work: eye-contact, intimacy and close physical disposition of the figures. This is marked even in a neck amphora with Heracles and his Centaur foe (*fig*. 229) on opposite sides of the vase.[52] Their separation brings the viewer to contrast the violence of the Centaur's expression with the neutrality of Heracles, stoic humanity and animal spleen.

At the other end of the chronological spectrum from these two vases attributed to the Kleophrades Painter is an oinochoe (*fig*. 230) decorated perhaps eighty years later that depicts Heracles and Nike as charioteers and a team of four Centaurs in lieu of horses.[53] In front of the team is a man bearing two torches, and, with the figures' faces heavily lined and generally quite snub-nosed, the vase is agreed to depict masked actors; Oliver Taplin calls the torchbearer 'the only painted Attic figure who closely resembles the hundreds of comic actors found on the South Italian vases'.[54] Portrayals of drama are rare and present the additional focalisation of the mask-maker; that is, the vase-painter has interpreted the emotionality depicted by another artist (real or imagined). When interpreted also in light of contemporary history – major reversals in the balance of power between Athens and Sparta, the Sicilian Expedition, unrest and revolt among the members of the Delian League – the literal subjugation of unruly Centaurs by Nike and Heracles, it is difficult to interpret this vase other than allegorically. Despite being harnessed and bitted (the angles of their heads imitate those of shaft- and trace-horses),[55] the Centaurs have rich and varied facial expressions, all with multiple furrows in their brows indicating strong contraction of the muscle of the inner eyebrow along with varying degrees of frown. Heracles and Nike are depicted similarly.

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52 Neck amphora attributed to the Kleophrades Painter, *ARV*^{2} 183.12 (201665), Munich 2316 (ca. 490).
53 Attributed to the Nikias Painter, *ARV*^{2} 1335.34 (217495), Louvre N3408 (ca. 410).
54 O. Taplin, *Comic Angels* (Oxford, 1993) 10.
55 These seem to be thong (i.e., leather) rather than bronze bits; the harnesses are of no recognisable type, presumably because of the adjustment for the human torso. See L. Taylor, *Bits: Their History, Use and Misuse* (London, 1966) 62-63.

Theseus

The placement of the labours of Theseus alongside those of Heracles in the metopes of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi (see above, p. 20) aligns with the rise of their appearance in Attic vase-painting. As these largely lack emotionality, the presence of expression in vase-painting must, then, be explained separately. With a single exception, the surviving emotional renderings of Theseus during his 'labours' (i.e., not in his other environments such as the Amazonomachy or Centauromachy) involve his human challengers, rather than animal. This exception is a fragment from the Acropolis in Athens (*fig*. 231) whose subject Beazley calls 'Theseus and the bull', largely, perhaps, on the strength of the youth's hairstyle.[56] Of particular interest here is the similarity to the attitude of Heracles on the Nemean lion metope on the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (see above, p. 42 and *fig*. 67). The contraction of the muscles of the inner eye and forehead and the opened, downturned, slightly slack mouth altogether contribute to an appearance of exhaustion, perhaps also of sadness. Unlike the other depictions of the deeds of Theseus – and although the attribution is uncertain, it is difficult to suggest an alternative – this does not seem to involve action or violence; rather in the mould of the the Nemean lion metope, the focus is the effect of action on its protagonist.[57]

The remaining emotional depictions of Theseus' labours,[58] the five encounters on his way from Troezen to Athens and thus called 'Isthmian', are of his foes: Sinis, Sciron, Cercyon, Periphetes[59] and Procroustes.[60] Unlike Amazons, these figures almost invariably have expressions of fear – wide eyes, contractions of the muscles of the inner eyebrow and forehead, opened mouths – right from their first appearance in the final decades of the sixth century.[61] Although the origins of these duels are not clear,[62] the common thread is the nature of the foes: brigands, extra-urbanites, tricksters. They are attributed with semi-divine

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56 Manner of the Aegisthus Painter, *ARV*^{2} 507.2 (205706), Athens Acr. 628 (ca. 450).
57 Perhaps the exhaustion of Heracles and Theseus after their contests with great beasts of the mythical world stem from observation of hunters' exhaustion; there are very few other scenes of hunters after the hunt. See K. Schauenburg, *Jagddarstellungen in der griechischen Vasenmalerei* (Hamburg & Berlin, 1969) 9-11 and J. Fornasier, *Jagddarstellungen des 6.-4. Jhs. v. Chr*. (Munster, 2001) 46-51.
58 The 'heptathlos' includes the Minotaur and the Marathonian Bull.
59 *Contra* J. Neils, *The Youthful Deeds of Theseus* (Rome, 1987) 145, Periphetes as 'club-man' is unlikely to have been an invention of the Hephaisteion, as a black-figure pelike of the late-sixth century (Musée de Laon 37.978 (12353)) depicts Theseus attacking Periphetes with a club by his side.
60 This is the order given in Bacchylides' dithyramb 4.16-30, excluding Periphetes.
61 C. Servadei, *La figura di Theseus nella ceramica attica* (Bologna, 2005) 199-202 with table.
62 J. Neils, *The Youthful Deeds of Theseus* (Rome, 1987) 147.

parentage so are not of a sub-heroic class,[63] but their behaviour and location belie their origins. This is emphasised by the means of their malfeasance: tree, cliff, club; to these are contrasted Theseus' sword and spears,[64] although in art he too sometimes bears a club. Theseus' foes stand apart from other similar antagonists (i.e., Thersites is low-born and Polyphemus lives in a community), and so must their analysis.

Although their first attestation in art is not, as Servadei notes, until after 520, it cannot be assumed that they were 'invented' around this time.[65] Their form is regularised relatively early and is stable, with small but notable variation,[66] through the end of the fifth century. Though the foes' emotionality is not as standard as, say, Sciron's turtle (i.e., the markers that allow differentiation), it has the highest rate of occurence of all the subjects. Perhaps they increasinly reflect satyr drama. Quotations from a lost satyr-play of Aeschylus entitled *Cercyon* give little more than single-word fragments.[67] There is sexual pun on Procroustes' name in Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae* (produced ca. 392),[68] which has a neat parallel in Euripides' satyr-play *Cyclops*.[69] There is no evidence (excepting the *Cercyon*) that the heptathlon actually *featured* in satyr drama, especially since satyrs are nowhere to be seen in the scenes. What does seem likely, however, is that the parallels between satyrs and Theseus' foes – ex-urban, semi-divine, uncivilized, mischievous pranksters – were noted by vase-painters. Perhaps a connection is to be made between satyrs' surprise at the epiphany of Dionysus or other miracles and the propensity of Theseus' feral foes toward surprise rather than fear.

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63 E.g., Sinis: *ὃς ἰσχύϊ φέρτατος/ θνατῶν ἦν*, *Κρονίδα Λυταίου/ σεισίχθονος τέκος*, *who in strength was the best of mortals, son of Cronus' son, Lytaius the earth-shaker* (Bacchylides dithyramb 4.20-22).

64 Bacchylides dithyramb 4.49-50. Cf. Amazons as *ἀσιδήρου*, *without iron (arms*; Euripides, *Bacchae* 736).

65 J. Neils, *The Youthful Deeds of Theseus* (Rome, 1987) 145.

66 E.g., the alteration of scenes of Sinis, perhaps in the 440s, to emphasise a single bent tree (cf. later versions, which emphasise two trees (e.g., *LSJ s.v. πιτυοκάμπτης*)); the earliest known is on a bell-krater attributed to the Painter of the Ferrara Sinis, *ARV*^{2} 1086.1 (214583), Ferrara 3066. This was once of a pair of bell kraters by the same painter found in the same tomb (*CAVI ad loc.*); perhaps this was a commission.

67 *TrGF* 102-107: ΚΕΡΚΥΩΝ ΣΑΤΥΡΙΚΟΣ. No attempt has been made at dating.

68 V. 1021: *οἴμοι, Προκρούστης τήμερον γενήσομαι, ah me, today I shall become Procroustes*; from *προκρούω, I beat* or *stretch out*. *LSJ ad loc*. (v. 1017, the setup of the joke) claims a *sensus obscurus*, but it must be slang for sexual intercourse.

69 *Cyclops* 176-179, asking whether Helen had intercourse with each of her Greek rescuers.

Battle

Emotional renderings arising from anthropoid-anthropoid battle are worth distinguishing, since it is the most distinctive of red figure. Whereas in black-figure this is largely limited to Heracles and his human foes, in red figure there is a considerable corpus (ca. 80 vases) with various 'human' battles: Gigantomachies, gods slaying humans, Trojan scenes, Greeks fighting Persians. Amazons have been held apart because they do not reflect normal (male-male) conflict. Although battles involving gods and Giants have religious and mythistorical dimensions, their physicality and emotionality is essentially human, despite their divine weaponry and accoutrement. Despite the survival of textual accounts of these battles, access to those or other versions cannot be presumed.

The Gigantomachy has already been discussed with reference to the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury in Delphi (see above, p. 16). With a single exception,[70] emotional figures in Gigantomachies stop ca. mid-fifth century. Hesiod describes the Titanomachy explicitly and at length.[71] The pattern is very much the same, and both have their origins in visual and literary sources from Egypt and Persia, where the Pharoah or King might be substituted with much the same surrounding iconography: the vanquished made to kneel, held by the hair, or under the foot of the conquerors.[72] Unlike later divine combats, e.g., the wounding of Aphrodite or Ares in the *Iliad*,[73] or indeed in other large-scale battles such as Amazonomachies and Centauromachies, the tide of victory flows only in one direction.[74] Scholars impute the triumph of civilisation over barbarism, but this is reductive. The emotional outcome is simple: the subjugated giants display the overwhelming might of the gods by means of their expressions of surprise, anger, fear, pain and death.

An early example shows Athena and Heracles marching against a giant who slumps under the assault (*fig*. 232).[75] The extraordinary imbalance is obvious: two great warriors against one armed in a distinctly non-heroic manner, having failed even to remove his sword

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70 Neck-amphora attributed to the Suessula Painter, *ARV*^{2} 1344.1 (217568), Louvre S 1677 (ca. 420).
71 *Theogony*, 629ff.
72 See F. Vian, *La Guerre des Géants* (Paris, 1952) 9-16 for sources and early attestations.
73 Aphrodite: V.330ff.; Ares: XXI.406ff. Ares is attacked by Athena; this has different antecedents, but the salient point is that gods are immortal but not invulnerable – in literature, at least.
74 Excepting Caineus; see above, p. 135).
75 Pelike attributed to the Syleus Painter, *ARV*^{2} 255.2 (202916), Louvre G 228 (ca. 490).

from its sheath. Athena and Heracles are expressionless. Heracles' fish-eye is a convention rather than an indication of surprise or wonderment, and Athena's wrath is static rather than situationally-dependent: the gorgoneion on her aegis. Compare the face of the giant: his mouth gapes and turns down at the corner; his eyebrow angles steeply upwards toward the centre of the face, as does his eye, showing the contraction of the muscles of both the inner eyebrow and the forehead. His pupil (like that of Athena) is placed at the front of the eye and, with the angle of the head, this gives the impression that he is perceiving the tip of the spear piercing his flesh where it is unprotected by his corselet. His focus on the mechanical means of wounding is especially uncommon.

This is one of two types of Gigantomachies: the other has many figures rather than focussing on duels. This type allows for a variety of narrative and emotionality, and especially for the overlap and interplay of figures. A particularly rich example is a cup attributed to the Brygos Painter, in which some of the gods, extraordinarily, are also rendered emotionally (*fig*. 233).[76] From left to right in the figure are the victim of Poseidon attacked by trident and boulder, Hermes and Hermes' victim. Poseidon's victim, gushing blood from his treble wound, is the closest to death: falling to the ground, neck slack, mouth barely opened and downturned at the corner, eyelid falling and pupil rolling upwards. Hermes is overlapped to the extent that his weapon, presumably a sword, is wholly obscured. His face registers surprise, as indicated by his raised eyebrow indicating a contraction of the muscle of the forehead and the aperture and downturn of his mouth. The presumable cause of his distress is the movement of his foe, the Giant below the handle, towards retaliation. Pushing off of the foe of Poseidon with his right foot, the Giant rotates his torso as if to spring up with an uppercut of his brandished sword. His facial expression contrasts to that of his comrade, his eyebrow turned downwards to indicate a contraction of the muscle of the inner eyebrow, his mouth opened but not downturned – either to loose a (battle-)cry or reflecting the exertion of his final attempt. The tight composition of the three figures and the variety of their disposition, motion and emotion is possible only in large-scale battle scenes. This sort of

76 *ARV*^{2} 370.1 (203909), Berlin F 2293 (ca. 490).

composition is ill-suited to literature: it is the antithesis of Homer's picking out individuals among the fracas.

Of the scenes from the Trojan war depicted emotionally, most do not have a precedent in Homer at all. Most common are quarrels, usually identified as that between Telamonian Ajax and Odysseus over the arms of Achilles. Rare in black figure (see above, p. 123), this proves a rich environment for emotional rendering. It stands apart in its lack of lethal violence and in the parity of its participants – all Greek, all heroes, both sides having reasonable claim to the armour. A (fragmentary) cup attributed to the Brygos Painter depicts the voting, in which no emotional renderings survive, and the quarrel and suicide of Ajax, both containing emotional renderings.[77] The voting, which has ended with the single deciding vote in favour of Achilles, depicts Ajax holding his head in his hand, although this is a gesture rather than a naturalistic emotional expression (cf. Sophocles, *Ajax* 41). The figures are stationary (all the legs survive), unmoved in the sense of locomotion and of emotion. While a vote is in itself dramatic (cf. Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 566ff.), the only emotionality on surviving red-figure vases is once the quarrel has already begun, i.e., after Athena's vote has been cast.

On the reverse is the quarrel, and from the surviving legs it is apparent that Ajax and Odysseus are restrained from violence by their own supporters. None of the combatants' upper bodies survive; only that of Agamemnon (*fig*. 234), who, surprisingly, is rendered emotionally. With his mouth open wide and raised eyebrow, he is perhaps commanding an end to the violence, or simply taken by surprise. The violence of his agitation is remarkable in his capacity as neutral arbiter.[78] Comparing the stoic figures of Athena at the centre of both pediments of the Temple of Aphaea on Aegina, or Apollo from the West Pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, his emotionality is all the more unusual. Perhaps Ajax and Odysseus, if not also their supporters, were emotionally rendered as well. Ajax, at least, on the interior of the cup, is deeply emotive even after his suicide (*fig*. 235). With his pupil

77 *Para* 367.1bis (275946), Malibu 86.AE.286 (ca. 490). With twenty vases bearing emotional representation attributed to the Brygos Painter, he is numerically the 'most emotional painter', although not as a proportion of his surviving output. Cups, in which he specialized, bear large numbers of figures around the outside at this period (490-470), and so are prime sites for emotionality. Three cups attributed to him survive with the quarrel over the arms.

78 Not to be conflated with his violent speech at *Ajax* 1226ff., which shows him in favour of Odysseus.

rolling most of the way up and his mouth agape, it is difficult to determine whether he is in the last throes of life or is frozen in death. His rigid limbs suggest the latter, as does Tecmessa's sheet; the violence of his expression is the antithesis of the 'beautiful death'. It is perhaps connected with Ajax' madness, or with the painter's attitude towards his suicide.

The second Trojan group consists of Achilles fighting against either Memnon or Hector. In the absence of inscriptions it can be difficult to distinguish between the two (or even determine whether it is Achilles at all). This fight is described at length in *Iliad* XXII, the method of Hector's demise from 322: Achilles' spear passes through the neck but not the windpipe; this is the most opportune spot left uncovered by the armour. Not a single surviving representation of the death of Hector conforms to this. The consequence of this, besides underscoring the autonomy of visual representations, is to dissociate the emotionality of the two accounts. Homer's account focusses on Hector's fearlessness – he is likened to an eagle swooping to catch a lamb or hare – and then, once he has been wounded, on his entreaty to Achilles that his corpse not be treated in the manner it eventually is. Hector, like Memnon, is depicted with the standard range of victims' expressions in red-figure: surprise, fear, pain and death. The two figures are, in other words, undifferentiated form each other or other victims discussed here.

Memnon's origins merit comment.[79] King of the Ethiopians, he is the protagonist of the lost *Aethiopis*. He appears on the Siphnian Treasury frieze in combat with Achilles over the body of Antilochus (see above, p. 16), a scene largely absent from red figure. Unlike Busiris, the other African who appears regularly, Memnon does not differ in his features from Greeks, i.e., he is not visibly 'African'.[80] Busiris, depicted in the sack of his temple by Heracles, as well as his attendants, are sometimes rendered emotionally. A stamnos in Oxford is particularly varied (*figg*. 236, 237).[81] Like many of Heracles' foes, the fleeing attendants have strong reactions, which convey the gravity of the threat.

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79 Whether or not Memnon was 'actually' Ammenemes or Amenhotep has little bearing here. See R.D. Griffith, 'The Origin of Memnon' *ClAnt* 17.2 (1998) 212-221.

80 Observational renderings of African features – especially broad noses and curly hair – appear before 540.

81 Attributed to the Group of London E 311, *ARV*^{2} 216.4 (202323), Oxford 521 (ca. 490).

The differentiation of facial features is perhaps to be linked with emotionality; with observation of the physiognomy comes heightened awareness of pathognomy. Memnon, however, bears regular Greek facial features. To what extent did his origin influence his frequency as an emotionally-rendered combatant? The association could be made on a racial basis (*viz*. Africans were thought more emotionally expressive), on analogy with other non-Greeks such as Amazons or Centaurs, or by analogy with Busiris – a sort of synecdoche. Perhaps also influential are the popularity of his second myth (the rescue of his corpse by his mother, Eos[82]), or the parallelism with the duel of Achilles and Hector.

Although the number of emotional depictions of Achilles' duels with Memnon and Hector together comes to just over a dozen, their consistency suggests that Memnon's emotionality was no different from Hector's: given that Achilles was successful in both, only his victims are depicted emotionally. That circumstance rather than heritage is the criterion for emotional expression, *ceteris paribus*, can be stated with some confidence based on depictions of Hector defeating Ajax, as on a cup signed by Douris (*fig*. 238), in which Ajax is expressive.[83] Whereas Homer is notable for his emotional analysis of both figures (i.e., victor and victim), victors in red figure are largely stoic. This is especially interesting when one considers the emotions comprising the *aristeia*. Though Achilles' emotion is the prime mover of the *Iliad*, his emotionlessness on vases discourages connection.

Indeed, Achilles' mourning and weeping are shown more frequently than his rage, though rarely naturalistically.[84] The standard depiction of Achilles 'in mourning' has the hero seated with his chiton drawn up over his head as though a veil; usually it obscures his face. The same motif is used for Achilles' reaction to the quarrel with Agamemnon,[85] as well as for his reaction to the death of Patroclus.[86] Ajax wears his chiton in an identical manner in some scenes of his losing the contest over Achilles' arms. The gesture is a short-hand for feelings of shame and sadness in non-violent contexts. It straddles the line of naturalism: the

82 For selected examples and analysis see G.E. Lung, *Memnon: Archäologische Studien zur Aithiopis* (Doctoral Dissertation, Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, Bonn, 1912) 48ff.
83 *ARV*^{2} 434.74 (205119), Louvre G 115 (ca. 480).
84 For psychological analysis of Achilles' behaviour: J. Shay, *Achilles in Vietnam* (New York, 1994) 29-35.
85 The removal of Briseis (e.g., *ARV*^{2} 406.1 (204400), London E76); also in the mission of Odysseus (and others) to try to abate the wrath.
86 In the context of the deliverance of his new arms by Thetis (i.e., subsequent to and presumably contingent on the death of Patroclus, e.g., *ARV*^{2} 298.2 (203087), Leiden PC88).

impulse to escape sight in contexts of shame and sadness is physiologically determined, and it is generally accompanied by hanging of the head. Obscuring of the human form and especially the face, as do the helmets of Giants on the Siphnian Treasury north frieze (above, p. 18), gives the impression of emotionality rather than the anatomical markers of it. Thus it bears certain hallmarks of gesture.

There is a corpus of ca. 20 vases with emotional depictions whose figural decoration can be described only as 'fights': they bear no explanatory inscriptions and the figures lack attributes that would allow designation as a particular battle. Some of these are no doubt Trojan. There remains, however, a conundrum: why are there no vases with scenes of the pre-Iliadic sack of Troy (represented on the East pediment of the Temple of Aphaea on Aegina)? The emotionality of the Trojan scenes discussed above, as well as that of Heracles, would make such scenes rich veins of emotion; there is only one surviving in Attic pottery.[87] Some of these nameless battle-scenes might be pre-Iliadic;[88] more broadly, some that are labeled Amazonomachies by dint of their 'eastern' attire – patterned stockings and sleeves, 'Phrygian' caps etc. – might well be reclassified as pre-Iliadic Trojan scenes.[89]

Depictions from the Persian Wars are conspicuously rare.[90] Extending from 499-449, these conflicts between Persia and Greece, especially Athens, have little representation in surviving red-figure pottery. This longest conflict[91] caused great physical damage to Athens in Xerxes' invasion of 480[92] and a tremendous loss of life besides. One might expect those surviving treatments of the events to bear emotional renderings: because of their chronological and physical proximity, because of the lack of precedent in depicting recent historical events, because of the strong differentiation between Greek and Persian (*qua* victor and

87 Black-figure skyphos near the Haimon Group, *ABV* 567 (330868), Louvre F 419 (ca. 500): Heracles attacks a falling warrior with TP⊙Σ (perhaps T*ρώς* or T*ρωός*, *viz*. Laomedon) on his shield.

88 There is reason to consider Beazley WWW nos. 200991, 275088, 202366, 204360, 204502, 205114 and 205341 show the pre-Iliadic sack of Troy. None of these features Heracles.

89 Especially when no attempt is made to indicate that the 'Easterners' are female, or particulary eastern, and in the company of Heracles, Beazley WWW nos. 360, 2784, 8711, 14527, 19919, 305332, 305632, 305641, 331730, 331957, 340545, 351682. These are by no means certain, but at least demand review.

90 That is, literal depictions. Attempts have been made to read them into nearly every monument of the fifth century: see, e.g., D. Castriota, *Myth, Ethos and Actuality* (Madison, WI, 1992).

91 And the greatest: Demosthenes, *Funeral Oration* (LX) 10-11: *τοσούτῳ γὰρ ἀμείνους τῶν ἐπὶ* T*ροίαν στρατευσαμένων νομίζοιντ' ἂν εἰκότως*, *for to such an extent they (who fought in the Persian Wars) might be fairly judged better than those who battled against Troy*.

92 Herodotus VIII.52ff.

vanquished) and because of the precedents in Amazonomachies and Trojan scenes. Yet only two survive, made decades after 480.

The 'Eurymedon vase' in Hamburg (*fig*. 239), is unique.[93] With each figure in isolation on one side of the oinochoe, a Greek holds his erect penis and a Persian bends over, looking towards the viewer holding his hands palm-forwards either side of his face. Read as a rape-farce, this has also been read as explicitly pro-Athenian.[94] The facial expression of the Persian (or Scythian) bent over is one of fear: raised eyebrows, rounded eyes and an open mouth with teeth bared.[95] Although there are naturalistic depictions of lust surviving on Greek vases (see below, p. 148), the Greek (Athenian?) is apathic: his hand gesture, along with those of the Persian, are communicative but not necessarily emotive.[96] The other surviving scene (*fig*. 240) very much follows the standard duel-type discussed above: a Greek's spear passes through the corselet of a Persian.[97] His muscles of the inner eyebrow and forehead contract and his pupil is placed at the top of his eye; the emotionality is clear but not very radical. Indeed, the emotion of the Persian is difficult to specify. It might best be described as 'pathetic', fear-pain-despair. It is a notably sympathetic rendering. His pain is not violent – it is as though his emotional reaction is not to the insertion of a spear into his torso, but to the encounter itself. Yet it and the Eurymedon vase are reactions to the same historical event; this warns against characterising 'The Athenian Reaction' to the Persian Wars.

With the exception of some large-scale scenes, especially on cups, scenes of battle on red-figure vases are very excerpted versions; often duels or sets of duels. Whether this is a limitation of artistic convention or a reflection of battle-practice is unclear. The quasi-emotions of the mêlée, however, are absent from these excerpts. Simplification allows for a greater degree of focus on the emotions of the individual participants; this is a limitation of

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93 Oinochoe in the manner of the Triptolemos Painter, (1107), Hamburg 1981.173 (ca. 465).
94 A strong argument against the nationalistic reading is G.F. Pinney, 'For the Heroes are at Hand' *JHS* 104 (1984), 181-183.
95 This facial expression suggests, *pace ibid*., 182, that the Persian is not willing. See M.F. Kilmer, *Greek Erotica on Attic Red-Figure Vases* (London, 1993) 22.
96 *Ibid*. suggests that the Persian's hands are for bracing against a wall rather than held up in fear; both indicate a state of negative anticipation (cf. the Stoic acial construction of emotion, above, p. 4).
97 Neck amphora comparable to the Yale Oinochoe Painter, *ARV*^{2} 1656 (bottom) (275257), NY 06.1021.117 (ca. 475).

narration in general: the Homeric *aristeia* is as much a tool for cutting through the fray as it is for chronicling the deeds of a great hero. The exultant emotions of victory are missing in red-figure; the devastating effects of a rampaging hero are instead highlighted by the emotionality of foes, regardless of their status or background.

Revelry

The emotionals discussed above have been largely violent and sad, aggresive, fearful and painful. The overwhelming majority of contexts in which emotion is depicted are negative: battle, funerals, scenes of rape and other violence. This final category comprises exceptions: just as satyrs' revelry often entails danger for maenads, so too the revelry of men and women has negative consequences. Naturalistic emotion does not appear in these contexts in black figure, though it appears in in red figure from ca. 520 through to the end of the fifth century. The closest parallel is to satyrs and maenads, who are also often under the influence of wine, and whose pursuits are often amorous. The similarities stop there: these are explicitly urban and urbane, as were symposia.[98]

Surviving depictions of symposia do not themselves contain emotional renderings; rather their aftereffects, from sexual intercourse to vomiting. Difficulty arises here, as there are figures shown during symposia who, seen in isolation, display naturalistic facial expression and body posture – head thrown back, eye shut, mouth open – that would be described as ecstasy or drunkenness or pleasure. These figures have been excluded because they occur, without exception, in the presence of music-making. Music, especially singing, blurs the line of emotionality; it is communicative expression rather than emotional expression.[99] Seldom is more than one symposiast 'singing' to the music, and so the instrument's sound is to be considered accompaniment rather than siren-song, bidding the revelers to leave themselves.[100]

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98 O. Murray (ed.), *Sympotica* (Oxford, 1990) 149 explores the class-connotations of the symposium; cf. Aristophanes, *Wasps* 1174ff.

99 For a highly emotionalised view of music, see J. Robinson, *Deeper than Reason: Emotion in Literature, Music and Art* (Oxford, 2005) 295-321, writing specifically of Lieder, although her conclusions can be generalised; soberer is M.L. West, *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford, 1992) 24-25: the emotional effects of music in the sympotic context are related to alcohol consumption and relaxation among compeers.

100 Music as seduction: S.D. Bundrick, *Music and Image in Classical Athens* (Cambridge, 2005) 103-106.

Drunkenness, a quasi-emotion (see above, p. 113), is portrayed in komasts rather than in bibulous symposiasts. Participants in this second phase of a symposium differ, since they are no longer merely among friends: the komos wanders the streets, and serves as the public face of the symposium. As the most visible portion of the otherwise exclusive party, it is the behaviour of the komos, more ebrious than the symposium itself, that shapes the perception of the foregoing event.[101] Comedy adopts the most entertaining features of the komos, but vases are more frank. There are sensitive renderings of drunkenness – slack mouths being the major feature – though once again questions of communicativity rise.[102] The emotion is perceptible via drinking paraphernalia rather than *per se*, the other facial markers of inebriation (especially lowered eyelids) are absent and the possibility of unaccompanied song cannot be ruled out.

The vomiting as a result (presumably) of intoxication has markers of bodily pain that bring it wholly into the domain of emotion as opposed to quasi-emotion. A cup-fragment in New York, attributed to the Brygos Painter, depicts a man thus (*fig*. 241), but his circumstances are unusual.[103] The mature man, located in a gymnasium (as the aryballos and strigil on a short column would suggest) and in front of branches, stoops onto a stick, holding his penis with his right hand and his head with his left. His facial expression, with mouth opened and turned down at the corner, eye opened wide and eyebrow raised to indicate a contraction of the muscle of the forehead, is one of suprise and presumably discomfort. Perhaps a gymnasiarch or paedagogus who has emerged from a komos, or who has simply indulged too much during the course of the day, his hands' activity has led to the suggestion in the museum's description that he intends to bind his penis with the fillet round his head, as if to take exercise. The gesture of holding one's head accompanies other scenes of vomiting, as in the tondo of a cup in the Vatican (*fig*. 242).[104] This leaves the man's right hand: his penis is

101 Especially comedy, with the same etymological root, from the komos' tendency towards ridicule and boisterousness; see S. Halliwell, 'Aristophanic Satire' *The Yearbook of English Studies* 14 (1984), 6-20.
102 Always a single emotionally-expressive komast in a group (synecdoche): Beazley WWW nos. 203223, 203626, 213397. All antedate 440.
103 *ARV*^{2} 374.60 (203958), NY 22.139.80 (ca. 480).
104 Attributed to Douris, *ARV*^{2} 427.2 (205046), Vatican 16561 (ca. 500; D. Buitron-Oliver, *Douris: a master-painter of Athenian red-figure vases* (Mainz, 1995) 10: early).

flaccid, although he could be masturbating all the same; interpretation is complicated by ignorance of other figures in the scene.

The Vatican cup is more straightforward, and has many parallels in its composition and participants. The reclining symposiast turns over the side of his couch and vomits into a podanipter placed on a platform, presumably for this purpose. At his side is a woman holding his head; traditional interpretation would call her a hetaira.[105] Hanging on the wall is an aulos case that explicitly marks the scene as sympotic. The symposiast's left hand holds his head while his right retains the gesture that has brought about or hastened his vomiting: two fingers extended in order to activate his gag-reflex. The head-holding hand is not identical to that in the New York fragment: there the gesture might be interpreted as less naturalistic, since it does not support the head.[106] His facial expression, with eye opened wide, eyebrow raised, nostril flared and mouth opened (to permit the flow of vomit) but also turned down at the corner and raised towards the centre, indicating a contraction of the *levator labii superioris* (muscle raising the upper lip), paints a vivid picture of physical pain and discomfort. The placement of the scene before the eyes of one who risks such an end to his evening is both humorous and a half-serious warning to the drinker.[107] Comparison to similar decisions in the context of satyrs and victims of Heracles shows how naturalism allows for sympathy not in order to teach or warn, but rather to mark the strength of the overcoming force – here, wine. That the symposiast is himself the (immediate) cause of his own discomfort makes especially clear that he is meant to be risible and not pitiable.[108]

Besides the vagaries of alcohol, the largest portion of scenes of revelry include the pursuits of love at various stages. Courting is the first in the process, but is not depicted

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105 Largely on the strength of her clothing and jewellery: see I. Peschel *Die Hetäre bei Symposion und Komos* (Frankfurt, 1987) 92-94.

106 This is not to say that nonfunctional gesture cannot be naturalised to the point of nature (e.g., touching the forehead or chin in moments of indecision), only that motions of physiological necessity (the muscles of the neck slackening in illness or exhaustion) are less susceptible to cultural pressures.

107 D. Buitron-Oliver, *Douris: a master-painter of Athenian red-figure vases* (Mainz, 1995) 10 takes this entirely seriously; the interior of a kylix is hardly the place for a *memento mori*, despite the cup's having been excavated from a tomb. Scholars are perhaps conditioned by the medieval intentions of represenations of the viewer in a future state (see below, n. 124)

108 *Ibid*., 11 notes that naturalistic facial expression is uncommon in Douris' early period, though does not connect that specifically to this cup. Ten surviving vases attributed to Douris bear emotional depictions; although not common as a proportion, these are enough to call into question the suprise at its appearance on Boston 00.338 (*ARV*^{2} 427.4 (205048)) expressed in L.D. Caskey and J.D. Beazley, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (3 voll., London, 1931-1963) iii 18.

emotionally; whether the intimate courting scenes involving contact with chin and genitals, or the more sedate presentation of gifts,[109] facial composure is the norm, although it is made clear when the advances are unwelcome. Failing that, literal pursuit follows. This is relatively common, and is misleadingly called rape.[110] These pursuits involve mortals and immortals or just mortals; in either case, the power dynamic is very clear, as with Heracles and his foes. One might expect the pursued to communicate this dynamic emotionally; in one extraordinary case, pursuer (Zeus) and pursued (a woman, perhaps Aegina,[111] on one side, Ganymede on the other) betray their emotions (*fig*. 243).[112] Although Zeus is portrayed emotionally elsewhere (see above, p. 140), here his exertion and desire,[113] more marked in his pursuit of Aegina, is surprising, especially since he is eventually successful in both pursuits. This is, in other words, a relatively rare exception to the avoidance of victors' emotional display.

The objects of Zeus' desire follow a more clearly delineated model, although the variation between the expressions of boy and woman are instructive. Although Aegina's head does not wholly survive, her open mouth with its contraction of the muscle raising the upper lip is enough to read fear: her eye was perhaps enlarged as well, her eyebrow raised. The gesture of her left hand, presumably one of supplication (see above, p. 132), signals that pursuit is close to its conclusion. Ganymede's mouth is also agape, though not to the same extent nor in the same manner. His eyebrow is raised although his muscle of the inner eyebrow is not contracted; less afraid than surprised. He does not gesture, as the arm not supporting his himation holds his hoop and trundling-stick. The consequences of Zeus' pursuit of each corresponds to the severity of their reaction: whereas Aegina will be subjected to sexual intercourse and bear children, Ganymede's fate once captured is not so explicit.

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109 Beazley's type alpha and beta, respectively. For an overview, see H.A. Shapiro, 'Courtship Scenes in Attic Vase-Painting' *AJA* 85.2 (1981) 133-134.

110 E.g., E. Keuls, 'Plato on Painting', *AJP* 95.2 (1974) 100-27 47-55. That 'the Athenian Greeks were obsessed with' rape (47) is perhaps an overstatement; pursuit with erotic and of mortal intent have a great deal in common – more so than do erotic pursuit and erotic consummation.

111 L.D. Caskey and J.D. Beazley, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (3 voll., London, 1931-1963) i 14 *ad loc*.: 'a process of elimination... she is not Europa or Danae or Semele, and therefore, in all probability, Aegina.' It is worth noting that the preserved literary accounts of these pursuits do not have distinct emotional profiles, i.e., her exact identity does not affect analysis.

112 Kantharos attributed to the Brygos Painter, *ARV*^{2} 381.182 (204081), Boston 95.36 (ca. 485).

113 M.F. Kilmer, *Greek Erotica on Attic Red-Figure Vases* (London, 1993) 17-18 n. 14: (Olympian) gods are never shown with erections.

Whereas the later reception of Ganymede is explicitly pederastic,[114] his role on red-figure vases never takes the form of Beazley's type gamma, sexual intercourse. The overall dearth of depictions of homosexual intercourse does not inform on sexual practice so much as artists' practice, but the lack of emotionality especially in scenes of homosexual pederastic courting suggests that vase-painters at least did not impute deep displeasure to the eromenos, even if he does occasionally make to discourage the erastes.[115] Whether this reflects an evaluation of the intended act is ambiguous.[116]

Scenes of sexual intercourse, unvaryingly between a man and a woman, are in several instances rendered emotionally. Literature is silent on the subject of facial expression and naturalistic body posture during sexual intercourse. The sources for naturalistic emotionality during sexual intercourse are presumably either personal or autoptic: observation of a partner or of others *in flagrante delicto*. The ambiguity of facial expressions of sexual pleasure hones the point (see above, n. 24). Two surviving cups attributed to Onesimos are not evidence that he was profoundly sexualised, but rather that he observed emotion even in sexual contexts. The more ambiguous (*fig*. 244) features dialogue: '*ἔασον*', '*yield!*' and '*οὐ παύσει*;', '*will you not stop?*', but is too fragmentary to be certain what act is under negotiation.[117] The face of the active partner, a bearded man, is angled down towards his passive partner, of whom very little survives.[118] The pupil is placed in the front of his eye to emphasise this contact. His mouth opens, perhaps to issue his command (although the passive partner's mouth does not open in response), but the protrusion of the upper lip is perhaps meant to convey that the chin has been pulled back and the lower lip folded in, as if to express concentration or effort, even surprise. This is echoed by his raised eyebrow, with contraction of both the forehead and the muscle of the inner eyebrow. Altogether, it is an

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114 E.g., a mild sexual pun in Aristophanes *Peace* 723-725 or Latin *catamitus* (not a 'corrupt collateral form' of *Ganymedes* as *LSJ s.v. catamitus* but an adoption of the Etruscan *catmite*: E. Fiesel, *Namen des griechischen Mythos in Etruskischen* (Göttingen, 1928) 67-68) as the recipient of anal penetration.

115 *Pace* K.J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (London, 1978) 92, the facial expression of the eromenos never matches these gestures.

116 Most scholarship presumes that homosexual intercouse was intercrural. *Ibid*., 99 dispels this decisively.

117 Cup fragments, *Para* 360.74quater (275918), Boston 65.873 (ca. 500). Detailed analysis: E. Vermeule, 'A Love Scene by "The Panaitios Painter"', *AJA* 71.3 (1967) 311-314. The 'Panaitios Painter' is now considered an earlier phase of Onesimos.

118 K.J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (London, 1978) 95 presumes that the passive partner is male; if this were the case, it would be an early and rare example of what could only be penetration. The fragments as reconstituted by Vermeule (see *fig*. 244) preserve what may be the very edge of a cloth cap.

expression of concern-concentration-effort. Clearer is a cup in Malibu that, though fragmentary, does preserve a mostly complete couple engaging in sexual intercourse (*fig*. 245).[119] The man's expression is almost identical to that of the commanding lover of the Boston cup, with his mouth open in the same manner and his pupil placed at the front of his eye. His lover, raised on a cushion, has her closest parallels in maenads with her wide-open eye, but what appears to be a smile (aperture of the mouth, corner angled up indicating contraction of the muscle raising the upper lip) albeit weak, is unusual. Whether this is surprise or happiness or sexual pleasure or even drunkenness (the tondo, which depicts a vomiting man, suggests that the scenes are all sympotic) is unclear. The naturalistic form of her breasts, her garter and the cushion below – in addition to her facial expression – all signal that this representation is observation-based rather than confected.[120]

In surviving emotional renderings of lovemaking, the woman is expressive if and only if the man is as well. There are scenes in which only the man is expressive: androcentric. In some cases, as in the tondo of a cup in London (*fig*. 246), they are phallocentric as well.[121] The woman (dis)mounting the reclining man is bent over such that much of her form is obscured. She is inexpressive. The reclining man, whose erection is nearly as large as his upper arm, cranes his neck forward and throws his head backward, opens his mouth slightly and contracts his forehead and muscle of the inner eyebrow. Whether he is in the midst of an orgasm or simply experiencing (or anticipating) pleasure is left ambiguous; if the woman is a prostitute, then the former would suggest she is dismounting to avoid contraception. Whatever the circumstance, the vase-painter is more sympathetic to his emotional experience than to hers. It is fitting to close with a voyeur (*fig*. 247).[122] Although this spectator is dressed, he participates in the orgy, proferring some object (perhaps a sandal). His reaction – mouth open, eye wide, eyebrow raised – is one of amazement-surprise-desire. The

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119 Also attributed to Onesimos, *ARV*^{2} 325.74bis (203337), Malibu 86.AE.284 (ca. 500).

120 The form of women's breasts in late-archaic vase-painting is usually anatomically implausible, projecting laterally away from the torso when seen frontally. Perhaps this is because of difficulty in rendering them thus; from the side, it is much easier to depict them as they are, though it must be at least posited that the vase-painter's recollection is more vivid in some circumstances (*viz*. lovemaking) than in others.

121 Attributed to the Dokimasia Painter, *ARV*^{2} 412.10 (204492), London E 818 (ca. 480). The orientation of the cup is not certain due to the unusual positions of the figures, but the *CVA* publishes the tondo with the phallus upright, i.e., as the focus.

122 From a cup attributed to the Brygos Painter, *ARV*^{2} 372.31 (203929), Florence 3291 (ca. 480).

viewer of the cup (whence the wine that might facilitate such an orgy) is linked to this figure and to the vase-painter who painted him, outsider and potential participant.

Conclusion

Aristotle's definition of the emotions as 'those things accompanied by pleasure or pain'[123] accounts for the division of this chapter, although not its imbalance. In red-figure pottery as in other media, the latter is more common: anger, surprise, fear, (physical) pain and death outstrip pleasure. Just as conflict provides much of the narrative force for literature and visual art, so too it provides the basis of emotion. This is the case even when the actual difference in strength is not great, as in the battle of the gods and the Giants. Victory and moral high-ground always coincide, and foreknowledge of the outcome ensures that emotionality is expressed by the victims. In order to be intelligible, that knowledge needs to be shared by producer and consumer.

Portrayals of negative emotions require a further distinction between subject and object, active and passive, victor and victim. The viewer is not invited to empathise with the figure displaying emotion – a Centaur or an Amazon or Procroustes or Eurystheus – because he is almost without exception the object of that negativity: passive and victimized. In these cases, emotionality is a major support of the viewer's distance from the expressive figure. The greatness of the conquerors is defined negatively: their victims are not only beaten, they are wholly overcome. Emotions of victory – pride, exultation, 'sneering' – are never depicted. Indeed, a quasi-emotion central to Greek culture is absent from Greek art: hybris.

Portrayals of revelry do, however, invite the viewer's empathy with the figure displaying emotion. Wine is the link: it makes satyrs lustful and symposiasts sick and is either displayed or implied in displays of emotion in lovemaking. It may lower inhibitions; it certainly lowers the threshhold for emotional display. When these are on cups or other sympotic shapes, the connection is explicit: *quod ego sum, ipsi fuerunt; et quod ipsi sunt, ego ero, what I was, they were; and what they were, I shall be*.[124] Although most scholars read

123 *EN* 1105b: '*οἷς ἕπεται ἡδονὴ ἢ λύπη*'.
124 (Bernard of Clairvaux), *Meditationes piisimae*, II.4 in Bernard of Clairvaux (ed. D.J. Mabillon), *Opera Omnia* (6 voll., Paris, 1839).

this as a serious exhortation to rectitude, there is little evidence for such moralisation; in the context symposium, drunken and joyful, wit is at play. The vase-painter in this case does not serve a didactic but an inclusory function: he contributes to the easy exchange of the symposium by presenting a realistic rendering of lust or intoxication or vomiting or lovemaking that all viewers (including modern ones) could recognize and with which they might empathize.

Chapter 8: White-ground vases and free painting

Covering the surface of a vase with a thin layer of clay, refined and thinned to form a white slip, is a techniqe developed in the seventh century and, in Athens, in the third quarter of the sixth.[1] In its earliest phase, when black figures stand against the white background,[2] the rendering of figures is little altered. Thus, white-ground has no inherent effect on emotional rendering; only in its specific execution, relation to other media and common contexts does it require separate treatment. As it is coterminous with red-figure,[3] much from chapter 7 holds for white-ground vases. A white-ground cup attributed to Sotades (*fig*. 248), for instance, does not differ in its method of rendering of fear or surprise.[4] Up until the last third of the fifth century, white-ground vases are produced by the same painters as red-figure; only when their subject matter and shape range narrow do they split into what Beazley would call separate workshops.[5] Lekythoi eventually become by far the most prominent white-ground shape, and also provide the bulk of evidence for emotional rendering.

These vases provide the best window on painting carried out on flat surfaces – either panels or walls themselves – that do not survive from the period.[6] The application of blocks of colour on a neutral surface differs from the fundamementally linear technique of red- and black-figure vase-painting, so the rendering of human anatomy and thus emotionality changes. As lekythoi gradually become near-cylinders, the minimal distortion caused by curvature allows the surface to be treated more-or-less as a curved wall. Free painting is discussed by 'Socrates',[7] Plato[8] and Aristotle,[9] Pliny, Pausanias and Strabo. In the case of the philosophers, it allows for engagement with their theories of the emotions on their own terms.

Beazley characterises white-ground lekythoi as particularly inexpressive: 'there are no tears on these vases: to be exact, in all the hundreds of lekythoi that have come down to us, there are only one or two weeping figures. Grief is not rendered by a distorted face, but by

1 I. Wehgartner, *Attisch weissgrundige Keramik* (Mainz, 1983) 3-4.
2 *Ibid*., 4-5.
3 Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae* 996 implies that white-ground lekythoi were being painted even in 392: *ὃς τοῖς νεκροῖσι ζωγραφεῖ τὰς ληκύθους*, *he who paints the lekythoi for the dead*.
4 *ARV*^{2} 763.3 (209460), London D7 (ca. 470-450).
5 J.D. Beazley, *Attic White Lekythoi* (Oxford, 1938), 23.
6 I. Scheibler, *Griechische Malerei der Antike* (Munich, 1994) 87-94.
7 Xenophon, *Memorabilia* III.10.3-6: a dialogue of Socrates and Parrhasius; Plato, *Ion* 532e-533a.
8 E. Keuls, 'Plato on Painting', *AJP* 95.2 (1974) 100-27 gives a conspectus; the main source is *Republic* X.
9 G. Zanker, 'Aristotle's 'Poetics' and the Painters', *AJP* 121.2 (2000) 225-35; also Politics 1340a.

bended head, by gesture of hand or arm, by the attitude of the whole body'.[10] This is not quite precise, but his assessment stands: like grave reliefs, most are 'quiet' – depicting reflection rather than expression. A lekythos attributed to the Bosanquet Painter is in this respect typical (*fig*. 249).[11] The neutrality of the figures' expression is the negative of the viewers' expectations. Contemplating death is universal but heterogeneous; this experience is smoothed by theatrical displays of mourning, with prescribed gestures,[12] postures and utterances.[13] They need no glossing for a modern viewer, since their emotional components are – by design – perfectly clear.

Though these displays were regulated through legislation, both proposed and enacted, at several points,[14] they persist on vases and, presumably, in practice. Lament and wailing show no decline, so it comes as no surprise that legislation had little effect; hence its repeated enaction. It is the depiction of theatrical lament on the vases, rather, that speaks to the desire of the purchasers, especially since they are uncommon. While the preponderance of white-ground lekythoi come from Greece and Attica in particular, the posture is regular (e.g., *fig*. 250)[15] – kneeling, the left hand atop the slightly downturned head, the right arm extended above the head with palm upwards – suggesting a closed iconography. Does this iconography represent a particularly Athenian way of carrying out this lament?[16]

Only in some cases does this very clear gesture correspond to naturalistic rendering of grief in the face. There are two major obstacles to assessing facial expression in white-ground especially. One is technical: the style of drawing is often sketchy and linear, especially later. Washes of colour and overpainting have in many cases faded completely; taken together, these can make it difficult to assess emotionality. The second is stylistic: the three-line rendering of eyes, first surviving in the work of Hermonax,[17] is extremely common in the rendering of figures on white-ground lekythoi. This heavy-lidded appearance can, in

10 J.D. Beazley, *Attic White Lekythoi* (Oxford, 1938), 21-22.
11 *ARV*^{2} 1227.5 (216333), NY 23.160.38 (ca. 440-430).
12 M. Pedrina, *I Gesti del Dolore nella Ceramica Attica* (Venice, 2001) has collected and analyzed the gestures, breaking them into those with either one hand or two relating to the head.
13 M. Alexiou, *The ritual lament in Greek tradition* (Cambridge, 1974), esp. 102-110.
14 D. Bouvier, 'Peut-on légiférer sur les émotions? Platon et l'interdiction des chants funèbres', *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 2 (2008) 243-72.
15 Lekythos comparable to the Painter of Athens 1934, *ARV*^{2} 1236 (216468), NY 22.139.10 (ca. 440-430).
16 Pedrina, *op. cit*. 116-117 opines that the gesture is inspired by Attic tragedy.
17 F.P. Johnson, 'The Career of Hermonax', *AJA* 51.3 (1947) 242-243.

combination with downturned heads and the expectation of grief in funerary contexts, contribute to an appearance of sadness or mourning.

Theatrical mourning, however, provides a context in which the intended emotionality is beyond doubt. *Fig*. 250 provides a baseline for the absence of facial expression.[18] Unlike the other examples, both of the mourner's arms are extended, and the direction of her gaze is very clearly toward the man on the other side of the stele, perhaps meant to be the deceased commemorated by it. Compare to this, then, a much more facially expressive rendition (*fig*. 251).[19] The old woman turns her gaze upward, her muscle of the inner eyebrow and forehead contracted as shown by her dramatically s-shaped eyebrow. Her mouth is open and downturned. Not only is she of a different breed to the woman in *fig*. 250, she stands in strong contrast to the woman on the other side of the tomb, wholly composed with diadem and hare (cf. the stone lekythos of Myrrhine, above p. 92), it is an implicit critique of emotionality.

Just as on grave-reliefs, which do not depict theatrical mourning at this period, white-ground lekythoi also have more restained depictions of sadness. One lekythos attributed to the Achilles Painter (*fig*. 253)[20] helps to illuminate another (*fig*. 255):[21] though obscured in the latter the old man in the former is finely expressive, 'one of the most moving renditions in all of Greek art'.[22] His lowered head is supported by his right hand, his pupil moved to the top of his eye to accomodate his gaze at the warrior on the opposite side of the stele. His muscle of the inner eyebrow contracts, again indicated by an eyebrow with a strong s-curve; his mouth is downturned at the corner and opened. These contractions are echoed by wrinkles on the forehead, around the eyes and beside his nose and mouth. The strength of this expression is, in *fig*. 255, obscured by the old man's cloak[23] – indicating rather than depicting emotion (cf. Achilles shrouded by his cloak, above, p. 143). This saves the painter time and effort, but because of the viewer's expectations the emotional intent, underscored by the visible hand cradling his head, is clear.

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18 Lekythos attributed to the Sabouroff Painter, *ARV*^{2} 845.171 (212319), Munich SS76 (ca. 470-445).
19 Lekythos attributed to the Phiale Painter, *ARV*^{2} 1022.139bis (214321), Athens NM 19355 (ca. 460-430).
20 (8941), Berlin 1983.1 (ca. 450).
21 (8940), Athens Acr. 6473 (ca. 450).
22 J.H. Oakley, *Picturing Death in Classical Athens* (Cambridge, 2004) 158.
23 See J.H. Oakley, *The Achilles Painter* (Mainz, 1997) 66-67.

Among the many problems in using white-ground vases – especially lekythoi – to reconstruct free painting is that the vases' subjects are relatively limited, whereas wall-painting covered a broad range of subjects. Some of those subjects, such as Odysseus' trip to the Underworld[24] or the Battle of Marathon,[25] are impossible to depict on lekythoi because of their scale. Scholars have, rather, traced technical developments attributed to the free-painters to vases: *σκιαγραφία*,[26] *painting shading*, is seen in the varying dilutions of the delineation of the anatomy of the warrior in *fig*. 254. In some respects, the preserved evidence on vases is more reliable than the recollections of Pliny and Pausanias.

Indeed, the writings of Plato and Xenophon and Aristotle (see above, n. 7) have the benefit of being closer in date and nearly certainly based on autopsy of the paintings – especially those in Athens. While their concern is less with paintings than with painters, this is not problematic in the discussion of emotion; descriptions of paintings that survive in later writers seldom discuss the appearance of individual figures. The exceptions are telling. Pliny remarks that Zeuxis made a Penelope *in qua pinxisse mores videtur*, *in which it seems that he painted her character*,[27] and that Parrhasius depicted the 'People of Athens' with kaleidoscopic variation:

> *iracundum iniustum inconstantem, eundem exorabilem clementem misericordem; gloriosum –,*[28] *excelsum humilem, ferocem fugacemque et omnia pariter*
>
> *irascible, unjust, changeable – all the same easily moved, indulgent, merciful; boastful and (–), haughty and humble, brave and cowardly – and all of these at the same time* (*NH* XXXV.69)

Pausanias is even more explicit; of Polygnotus' painting of the Sack of Troy in the Cnidian Lesche at Delphi, he writes that a naked child *τὴν χεῖρα ὑπὸ δείματος ἐπίπροσθε τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν πεποίηται*, *holds his hand before his eyes out of fear* (X.26). Explicit connection of gesture and emotion is rare and valuable; connection of facial expression and emotion rarer still: *ἡ Πενθεσίλεια ὁρῶσα ἐς τὸν Πάριν, τοῦ προσώπου δὲ ἔοικε τῷ νεύματι ὑπερορᾶν τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν οὐδενὸς τίθεσθαι λόγῳ*, *Penthesilea is looking at Paris, and seems with the*

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24 Pausanias X.28-30.
25 Pausanias I.15, V.11; Aelian *de Nat. Anim*. VII.38: even the dog of a soldier was included.
26 See E. Keuls, 'Plato on Painting', *AJP* 95.2 (1974) 105-108.
27 *NH* XXXV.63.
28 Perhaps missing a word.

tilt of her face both to malign him[29] *and to make no account of him* (X.31). Of course, facial expression is basically constant and so need not be confirmed by ancient authors; that they remark on them attests rather to the clarity and comprehensibility of those expressions.

Aristotle in the *Poetics* at several points discusses painters (see above, n. 9), usually to compare them or the qualities of their work to authors or literature. In distinguishing tragedy as the representation of σπουδαῖοι, *serious men* and comedy that of φαῦλοι, *insignificant men,* he compares the work of poets to those of painters (1448a): Πολύγνωτος μὲν γὰρ κρείττους, Παύσων δὲ χείρους, Διονύσιος δὲ ὁμοίους ἔικαζεν, *for Polygnotus paints better men, Pauson worse and Dionysius men equal (to existing men).* Zanker reads this distinction as one primarily of class,[30] and stemming from this, one of moral good. The discussion falls within Aristotle's classification of ἦθος, usually rendered *character*. Just as 'character' can have a positive meaning,[31] so ἦθος tends to link social status with good character. Aristotle makes this distinction clear in the *Politics* (1340a):

> δεῖ μὴ τὰ Παύσωνος θεωρεῖν τοὺς νέους, ἀλλὰ τὰ Πολυγνώτου κἂν εἴ τις ἄλλος τῶν γραφέων ἢ τῶν ἀγαλματοποιῶν ἐστιν ἠθικός.
>
> *The youth must not look at the works of Pauson but at those of Polygnotus and (of others), if there be some other painter or sculptor that is 'characterful'.*

While ἠθικός is usually rendered *moral*, Aristotle glosses the force of the term just before:[32]

> ἔτι δὲ οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα ὁμοιώματα τῶν ἠθῶν, ἀλλὰ σημεῖα μᾶλλον τὰ γιγνόμενα σχήματα καὶ χρώματα τῶν ἠθῶν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐπίσημα ἐν τοῖς πάθεσιν
>
> *furthermore, images are not themselves representations of character, but the shapes and colours are, rather, signs of character, and these are prominent during emotions.*

The distinction in the *Poetics* is not straightforward, but amounts to the same: character is made clear through emotion.[33]

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29 Cf. the figurine of a boor with a haughty look, tilting his face upward (above, p. 103)
30 G. Zanker, 'Aristotle's 'Poetics' and the Painters', *AJP* 121.2 (2000) 226-229.
31 *OED s.v.* character 12.a, 13.a.
32 1340a; Aristotle (ed. and trans. R. Kraut), *Politics Books VII and VIII* (Oxford, 1997) *ad loc.*: 'an artist can depict someone who is evidently in a certain emotional state; and the portrait suggests, through its depiction of these emotions, that its subject has a certain chracter'. Aristotle does not refer to portraits.
33 C. Gill, 'The Ēthos/Pathos Distinction in Rhetorical and Literary Criticism', *CQ* 34.1 (1984) 152-153.

Aristotle and 'Socrates' – if not Plato – seem to agree on this particular point. Xenophon, recounting a conversation between Socrates and Parrhasius the painter,[34] has Parrhasius initially deny that a painter can portray *τῆς ψυχῆς ἦθος*, *the character of the soul*, objecting that it has *μήτε συμμετρίαν μήτε χρῶμα*, *neither proportion nor colour*. Socrates asks whether the eyes can show emotions, to which Parrhasius assents, and then drives his point home with other physical manifestations of inner state. When *ἦθος*, an amorphous quality, is split into the multitude of emotions in which it consists – which can be depicted – it can itself be depicted.

If 'ethical painting' be equated with painting that faithfully depicts emotions,[35] then Aristotle's preference for Polygnotus (over Pauson, *Politics* 1340a) is closely linked to his equation of fidelity in imitation with pleasure.[36] This corresponds to his chracterisation of Polygnotus as an *ἀγαθὸς ἠθογράφος*, *a fine character painter* (*Poetics* 1450a). Could this, simply put, mean that Aristotle finds Polygnotus skilled in the depiction of emotion?[37] Pausanias' particular noting of facial expression and body posture in his description of Polygnotus' paintings in the Cnidian Lesche at Delphi echoes this evaluation.[38] Pliny also finds Polygnotus an innovator:

> *Polygnotus thasius, qui primus mulieres tralucida veste pinxit, capita earum mitris versicoloribus operuit plurimumque picturae primus contulit, siquidem instituit os adperire, dentes ostendere, voltum ab antiquo rigore variare*.

> *Polygnotus of Thasus, who first painted women in diaphanous clothing, covered their heads with dappled headbands and first bestowed much on painting, since indeed he made the mouth to open, the teeth to show, the face to vary from its ancient stiffness*. (*NH* XXXV.58)

While Polygnotus certainly was not the first, Pliny perhaps means that he is notable or memorable – not an innovator but an exemplar.

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34 *Memorabilia* III.10.
35 *Memorabilia* III.10 goes on to describe a conversation between Socrates and the sculptor Cleiton linking anatomical accuracy and artistic value.
36 *Poetics* 1448b: *τὰς εἰκόνας τὰς μάλιστα ἠκριβωμένας χαίρομεν θεωροῦντες*, *we take pleasure in looking at images that are the most accurate*.
37 J.J. Pollitt, 'The Ethos of Polygnotos and Aristeides' in L. Bonafonte and H. von Hentze (edd.) *In Memoriam Otto J. Brendel* (Mainz, 1976) 49-54.
38 Further to those mentioned above: X.27.4, 29.9, 30.9, 31.5, 31.12.

If Polygnotus was indeed a particuarly skilled or frequent depictor of human emotion, it is interesting to consider what Zeno the Stoic, pacing the Painted Stoa, would have thought of Polygnotus' scenes on the walls. Painting on white-ground pottery demonstrates that a broad range of techniques to show the figures' internal states would have been at his disposal. Shading and polychromy allow for an even closer approximation of reality than does line alone,[39] as white-ground lekythoi attest. Although the range of emotions depicted in white-ground pottery is limited to those surrounding death and funeral, the gradation from indecipherable to subtle to theatrical shows the flexibility of the techniques. The exact ways in which those technique were applied by free painters is unclear, but their fame, not faded over the centuries, is closely linked to their ability to render accurately their subjects' emotions.

39 Pliny, *NH* XXXV.65-66 describes a contest between Zeuxis and Parrhasius for the most lifelike rendering: they achieve not only enough vividness to trick birds, but also Zeuxis himself.

Conclusion

Naturalistic emotional renderings increase from the sixth to the close of the fifth century. That, the working hypothesis of this study, is broadly true. What this conceals, however, is how rare expressivity is as a proportion of the material that survives. From the beginning of the fourth century and well through the Hellenistic period, emotionality swells, such that a wounded warrior who did not express his pain or a satyr who revelled without a grin would be unusual. Were this study to continue in time, its mode would shift from remarking on the presence and nature of emotionality to noting its absence and variability. For the period that has been discussed, however, there has been a constant need to question, challenge and sometimes refute hard-held beliefs about what qualities breathe the particular spirit into the art of Greece: ideal and realistic, coolly classical and balanced. Prominent pieces of Greek art – kouroi and korai, the Discobolus of Myron and the Venus de Milo – are so often evinced as manifestations of the thought of Euclid and Plato, of the rationalism that relit Europe. Emotionlessness fits this purpose, and has been generalized.

This monolith of inexpressivity is fractured, evolving and worn down over time. In its earliest phases, around the time of the development of red-figure and the construction of the Siphnian Treasury, glimpses of emotionality are scarce and slight. Muscular contractions do not create corresponding distenstions on the surface of the body, yet as anatomical fidelity increases, so does emotionality. As sculptors and painters abandon schematic renderings of the human body they begin to imitate the people they see rather than existing representations. This has the double effect of hastening development (the 'Greek Revolution') and of shifting its course, allowing narrative to shape human figures. Types such as the subdued warrior, inherited from Egypt and Persia and based on stable iconographies or rulers and divinities, begin to thaw and change. Is the conqueror a god or a hero or man? Is the vanquished foe human or animal, Greek or not, subject to death or just humiliation? The answers to these alter representations, such that an Amazon vanquished by Theseus and a Giant stabbed by Poseidon's trident might differ in their posture and facial expression. Physical pain is, at all periods but especially early, a strong catalyst for emotional expression. The communication

of pain is spontaneous and strongly biologically-determined, relatively easy to recognize and as close to universal as any emotional expression could be.

This prominence is not determined purely biologically. Physical pain flows from violence, and violence is connected with narrative. Battle narratives are among the earliest depicted in art and in literature, so at the point of the emergence of naturalistic emotional expression, the rendition of pain had had a particularly long foment. In depictions of the battles of heroes, the physical pain of their foes is a sign of heroic adamant. Heroes do not generally reflect the effort of conquest. The exceptions – Theseus wearied by the bull (see above, p. 137), Heracles by the lion (above, p. 42) – convey the magnitude of natural forces brought under control. Emotions attendant on victory – pride, wrath, exultation, happiness – and the particularly Greek quasi-emotion hybris – are utterly absent. In part, expression of these is redundant alongside a foe expressing the effects of might. Yet David is sometimes shown to gloat over the slain Goliath, tongue lolling; the expelling angel to express the wrath of god, while Adam and Eve hide their shame; Saturn to express his fury while consuming his screaming children. The absence of 'victorious emotions' is a deliberate choice, uniquely consistent in various media and over time.

Negative emotions – pain, fear, anger, sadness – are much more common in sculpture, but in vase-painting they are supplanted somewhat by various scenes of revelry. Satyrs bridge black- and red-figure, their drunken and sexual escapades are consistent sites for naturalistic expression. They are not humans, but express deeply human emotions. Maenads – that is, women affected by Dionysus – join them in expressivity in red-figure, but not to the same extent. Men also express the emotions of revelry, from the pleasure of intercourse to the pain of hangover. Vases' private context licenses these emotions, which seldom appear in public art. The environment of the symposium, in which these vases were used or at least meant to imitate those that were, with its intimate social ties, alcohol and ritualized emotional behaviour (such as the scolion), perhaps encourages emotional expression even further.

The diffusion of emotionality in a scene is seen in depictions of battle and also in funerary art. Just as early photographs and daguerrotypes might be tinted only in the cheeks

or lips to give the impression of colour, so a whole representation might be given an emotional tinge by the inclusion of one or a few expressive figures. It is up to the viewer to read emotions into the inexpressive figures based on those figures that do express. Thus a woman with downcast head, downturned mouth and contracted forehead might cast a pall of sadness over otherwise impassive figures surrounding her. The choice of which figures display emotions and which are illuminated by the display of others is a product of taste, which is difficult to articulate precisely. What can be said is that all the figures in a large scene will not uniformly express emotion. The variation of emotionality in the Parthenon frieze, for example, combats the monotony of a long procession; whether this is a decision of taste, motivated by design, or a reflection of the circumstances of the event portrayed and the physical setting of the building is uncertain, but recognition of the heterogeneity demands that the question be asked.

Rhythm, symmetry and pattern are properties of schematized conceptions of human figures. This is articulated clearly by the series of kouroi and korai, which become asymmetrical and less geometric over time. As these organizing principles fade, individual styles diverge. Differences between the east and west pediments of the Temple of Aphaea on Aegina, and within the workshop responsible for the east pediment, are the result of different technical means of representing human bodies. Perhaps this can shed light on workshop practices as well; the Hephaisteion and Temple of Apollo at Bassae have much more homogenous styles than does the Parthenon. Early on, experimentation occurs out of sight: the closing eye on the side of the face of Aphaea E.vi not visible to the viewer, or the interior of the Siphnian Treasury caryatid's polos, poorly lit and difficult to see.

This comes as no surprise. Large public commissions encourage conservatism because of their prominence, scale and cost. Private objects – grave reliefs, terracottas, vases – are not subject to the same constraints of multiple commissioners and multiple executors working over large spans of time. This is not to say that sculptors of small works and vase-painters lacked the pressures of workshops and commissioners. Masters transmit the style of an earlier age, and the taking on of pupils can shift and calcify a painter's technique for the purpose of instruction. Commissioners and purchasers demand recogniz-

able objects. Innovation succeeds because of technical advancement – the archaic smile gives way to a level mouth because of changes in the technique of carving in the round. The Athenian Treasury at Delphi jettisons technical advancement in carving because it resorts to the techniques of vase-painting.

The covering of the human form in clothing or armour can both increase and decrease emotionality. Shields, for instance, can largely obscure bodies and so rob them of their ability to express. Helmets hide faces, making not only the expression of the wearer difficult or impossible to see, but also his identity. This tendency is explored thoroughly in the *Iliad*, from the departure of Hector (VI.467-469) to the *aristeia* of Patroclus in Achilles' armour in XVI and his eventual death, once Apollo had revealed his identity by knocking his helmet from his head (XVI.794-795). Helmets can cause emotion too, as Astyanax's fearful recoil and cries attest. Surviving (metal) helmets include contracted eyebrows, and the shapes and shadows made by helmets in the Siphnian Treasury frieze, for example, can give the impression of ferocity where there is none, and where, in the case of victors, there is reason for there not to be.

'Erroneous' emotions – those visible either from a distance or only at first glance – are a significant technique in the development of facial expression. In addition to helmets, facial hair and the incline of heads can give the impression of negative emotions because of the shadows they cast. Sometimes they echo expressions displayed muscularly, as when the shadow of a moustache emphasizes an opened and downturned mouth, but they can also stand alone. The engagement of sculpture with light is a major technical advance – one that sees perhaps its finest execution in the sculpture of the Parthenon – that can run counter to the otherwise steady progress toward anatomical naturalism. The difference between the two Parthenon metopes, S.XXX and S.XXXI (see above, p. 67), shows how the two impulses – one the closely-observed subtle rendition of human anatomy, the other the use of light and shadow to clearly define the figures – can produce depictions that have totally different appearances despite belonging to the same time and place.

If the Parthenon is the major monument defining classicism, then its emotionality must take a role in that definition. The metopes are beyond doubt the most emotional

surviving component of its sculpted decoration, and they display major markers of classicism: balanced composition, slender proportions, intimate relations between the figures. Can a definition of classicism include emotionality, even strong emotionality?

One difficulty is the stylistic development in the sixties of the fifth century in vase painting and later in the Parthenon of a heavy-lidded 'aloofness' or 'aristocratic disdain' that affects figures regardless of their circumstances. This disrupts the normally straightforward diagnosis of emotion through facial expression. The archaic smile, a similar stylistic choice, seldom coexisted with naturalistic facial expression – it could not, in other words, be confused for a sign of happiness or contentment or love. When, however, some figures have heavy-lidded eyes and a slight frown, and some display situationally-derived facial expressions of sadness or fear or pain, it can be hard to distinguish what is intentional and what is incidental. This problem is particularly promiment in the analysis of funerary objects, whether reliefs or white-ground lekythoi. Perhaps the conflation of neutral expression and *pathos* is conscious, a strategy to tint emotionality rather than colour it fully.

The purpose of this study was to frame questions regarding emotional expression in Greek art. It has proposed some solutions and generated further questions. What is the nature of the development of Greek art before 525? The masks of Artemis Orthia in Laconia are richly naturalistic, hardly 'mask-like' in their emotionality. Persian and Egyptian art exert a strong influence on the art of Greece; it is largely schematizing and inexpressive, but perhaps the effect is more complex. The 'Orientalizing' of the seventh century suggests a closer observation of nature, which can lead to emotionality.

The continuation of development past 400 involves a different set of questions than those asked here, but deserves inquiry. The benefit on the current study of continuing this inquiry through the Hellenistic into the Roman period is to understand more fully the theories of emotional expression that have led to those of the modern period. The influence of, say, the Laocoön, is much stronger on the Renaissance and Enlightenment than are the works of art discussed here. The climate after the death of Alexander, the mythography and grammar and antiquarianism, have strong effects on the art of the period – which is produced much more widely. This leads into a more aesthetic and art-historical appraisal of emotional

expression in art. This was explored by Collingwood, Gombrich and Berenson, but did not fully engage with ancient art.

This, in turn, opens the way for discussions of taste, a term seldom used in Classics or in archaeology. Berenson, for instance, attacks emotional expression in art:[1]

> Expression (in art) is the twin sister of prettiness. Of course I do not refer to the unconscious mirroring in the face of the entire body's action. That is permissible, and may have independent quality as Illustration, although the greater the art the more careful it is not to let this quality get out of hand. But I mean the expression which in actual life we connect with the emotions, and which is reproduced for the value it has there. In art it can have little or no intrinsic merit, for all such merit accrues from tactile values and from action and their harmonies, while the muscles concerned with the subtle facial transformations required for emotional expression have little if any systematic effect upon us, and the ideation of their play can have but the faintest direct life-communicating power.
>
> Besides these specifically artistic reasons, there is at least one other, of a more general but important order, against emotional expression in art. It is this. Directly expression surpasses its visible cause–the action manifested by the figures–we are inevitably led to seek for the cause of it in sources beyond and outside the work of art. The æsthetic moment–that too brief but most exquisite ecstasy when we and the work of art are one–is prevented from arriving; for the objection of vision, instead of absorbing our entire attention as if it were a complete universe, and permitting us to enjoy the feeling of oneness with it, drives us back on curiosity and afield for information, setting up within us a host of mental activities hostile to the pure enjoyment of art.

Can the same be said for classical taste regarding emotional expression? Are assertions that Greek art 'strives for the eternal' well-founded? Does the eternal exclude emotion? Some of Berenson's assertions can be seen in scholars' appraisals of ancient art, but others, such as the ideal of artwork as 'complete universe' have been rejected in favour of contextualized readings. Scholars are not immune to judgments of taste, but taste is seldom acknowledged.

A final question, not distant from taste, is that of idealism in art. Just as increasing realism characterizes archaic art, so idealism is meant to be ascendant – indeed, defining – in the classical. What role does emotion play in the construction of the ideal? What is meant by ideal? Certainly not the Platonic ideal, which justifies the jettisoning of mimetic art altogether. Is it the very weak sort of ideal that manifests in the removal of blemishes and wrinkles from a depiction, or the moderated form that composes a form from disparate sources, taking the finest of each? Realism is a component of these latter two, yet it is set

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1 B. Berenson, *The Italian Painters of the Renaissance* ((1st ed. 1930) London & Glasgow, 1960) 227-228.

against idealism in dialectic. The art of the high classical period is called idealistic when it is beautiful, balanced and expressionless, realistic when it is expressive and ugly. A more nuanced view arises by questioning the connection of expression and badness, stemming from Stoicism and early Christianity.

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Figures

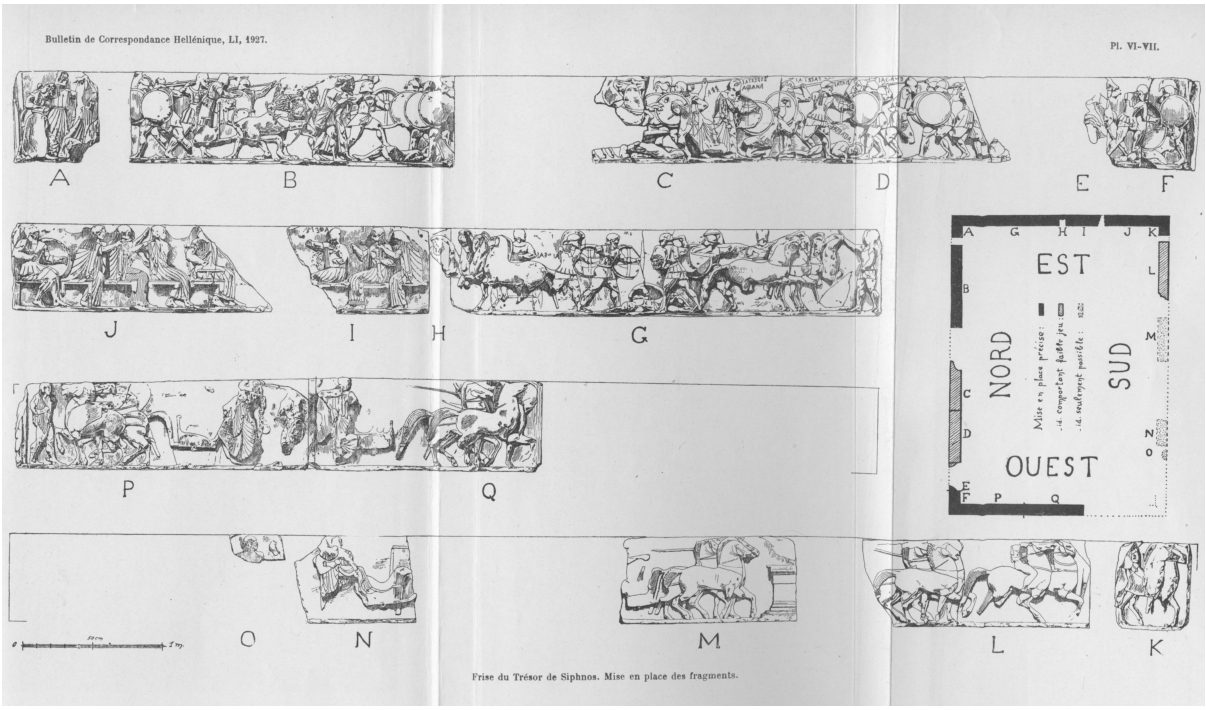


Fig. 1 – Drawing and reconstruction of the frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, Delphi (525).
(*BCH* LI (1927) pl. VI-VII.)



Fig. 2 – Hem of a goddess descending from a chariot,
block Q of the west frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, Delphi (525).



Fig. 3 – Hem of a male ascending a chariot,
block N of the south frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, Delphi (525).



Fig. 4 – Hem of Eos, block J of the east frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, Delphi (525).



Fig. 5 – Skirts of Aeneas (left) and Memnon,
block G of the east frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, Delphi (525).



Fig. 6 – Skirt of 'Tharos', block B of the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, Delphi (525).



Fig. 7 – Illustration of the technique of the so-called 'sketcher', the master of WS. Taken from above, showing the horse's back as a ledge perpendicular to the frieze.
Block M of the south frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, Delphi (525).



Fig. 8 – A collage of Eos (far left) and Thetis (far right), leaning and gesticulating.
Blocks J (left) and I from the east frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, Delphi (525).



Fig. 9 – A detail of Apollo's face.
Block J from the east frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, Delphi (525).



Fig. 10 – A divine assembly. Shoulder of a black-figure hydria from the Leagros Group,
Para 164.31ter (351201), Münster 565 (ca. 515).

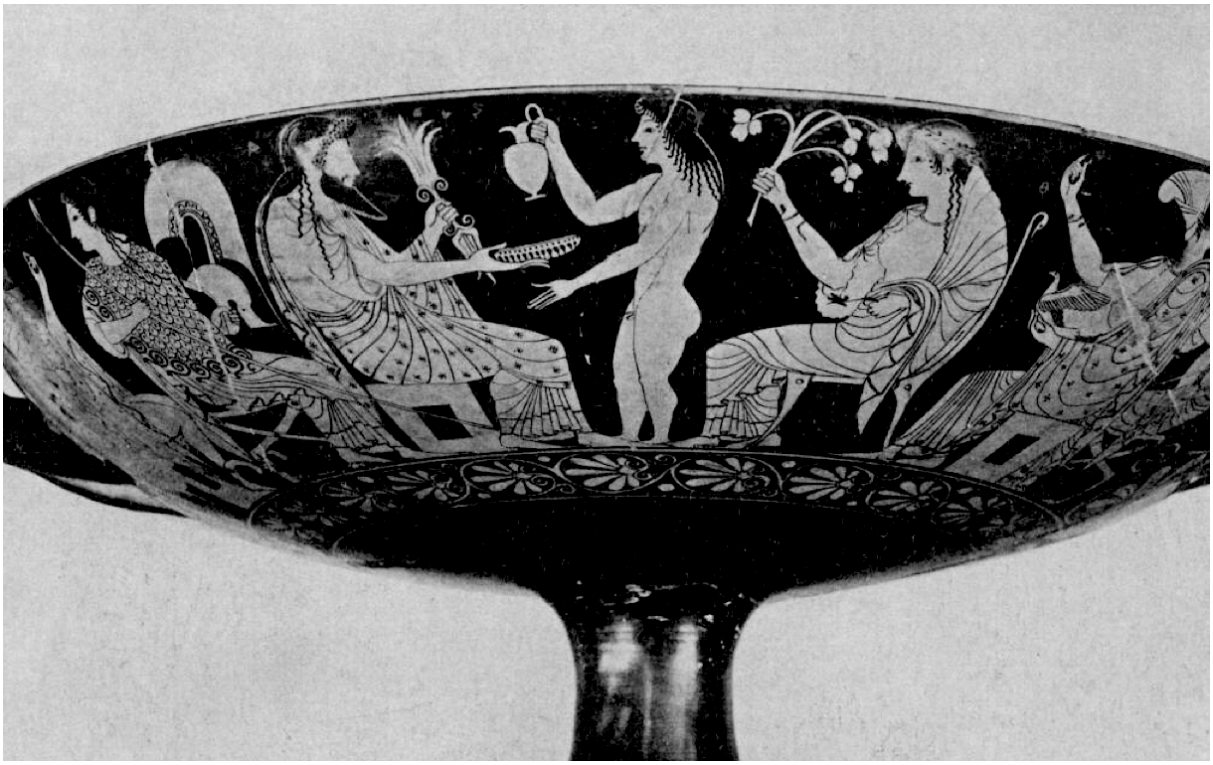


Fig. 11 – A divine assembly. Kylix signed by Oltos as painter,
ARV^2 60.66 (200502), Tarquinia RC6848 (ca. 515).

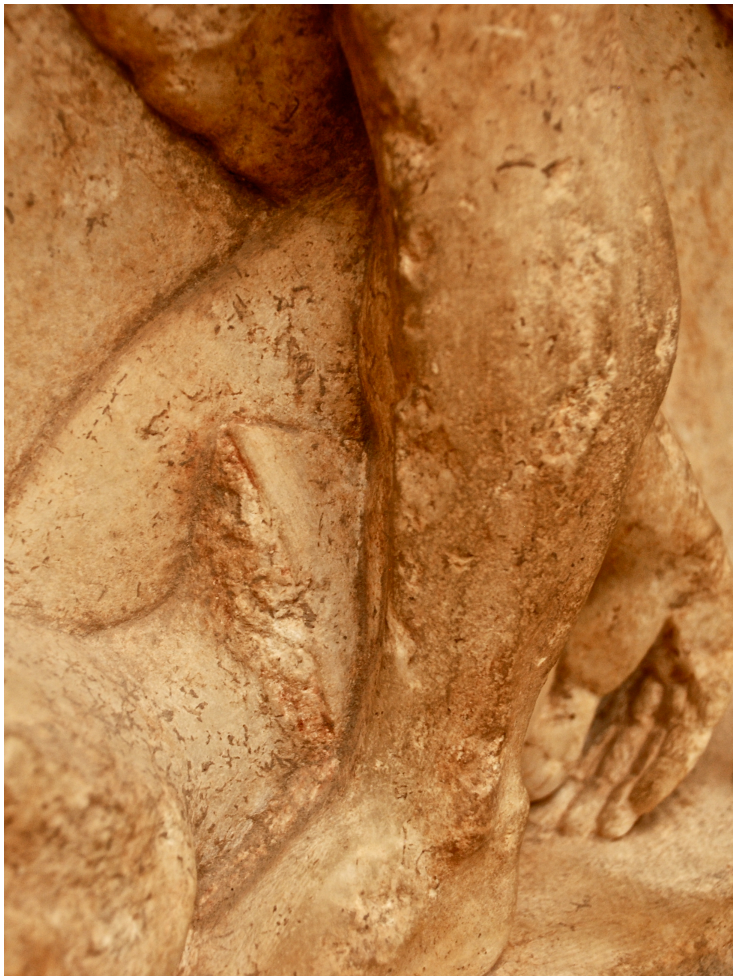


Fig. 12 – Detail of the head of head of Ephialtas,
block B of the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, Delphi (525).

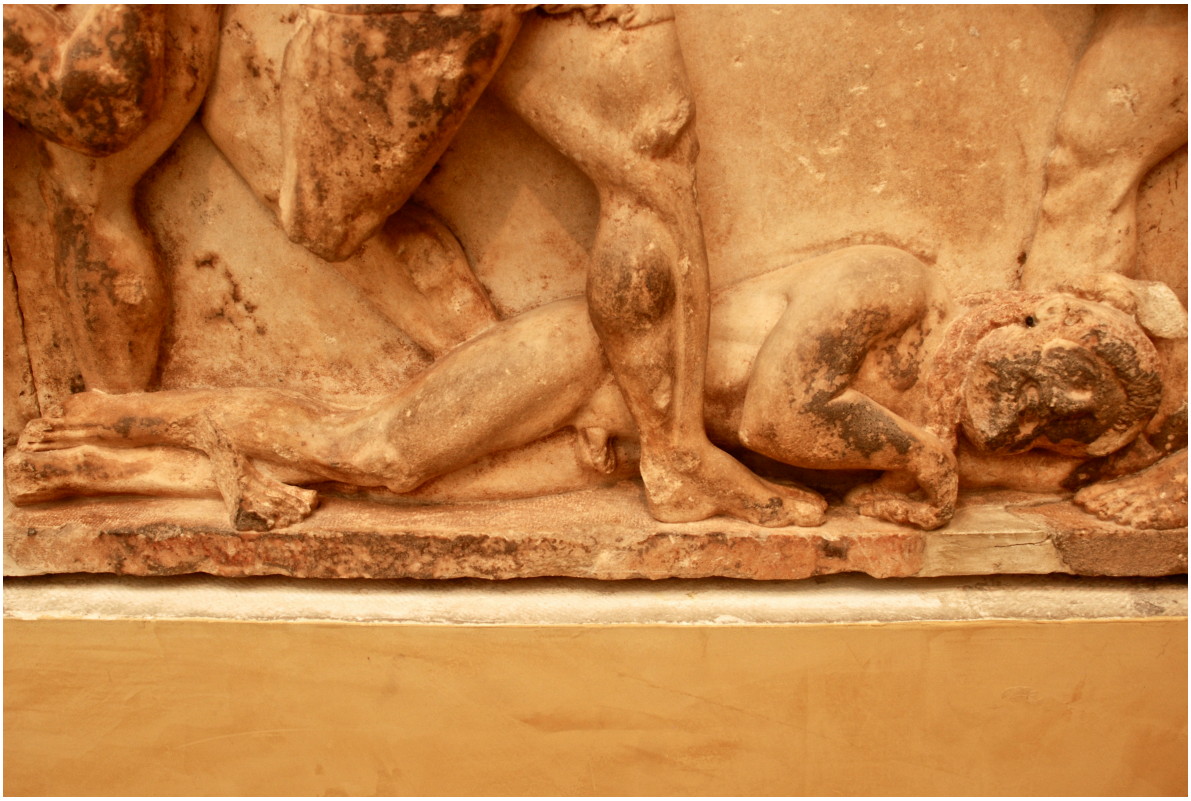


Fig. 13 – The Giant Astarias, block D of the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, Delphi (525).

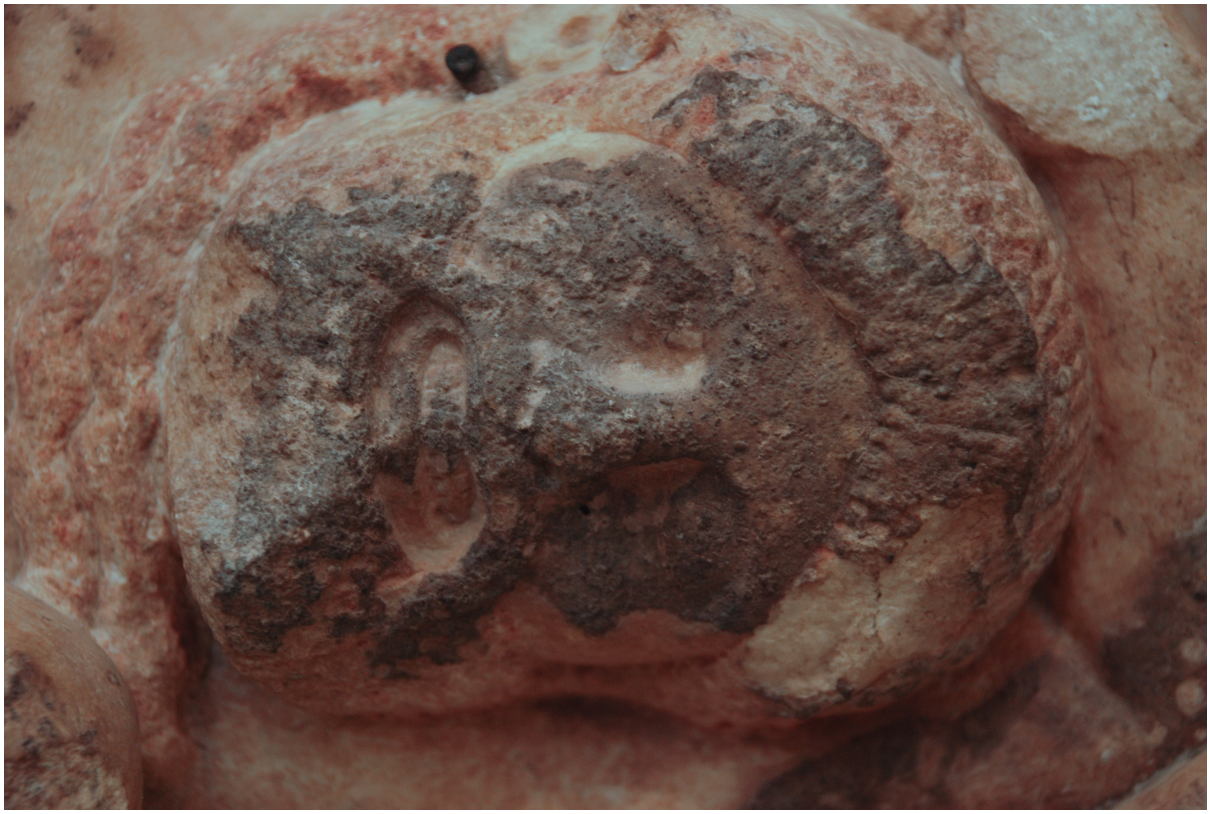


Fig. 14 – Detail of the head of Astarias,
block D of the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, Delphi (525).



Fig. 15 – A giant defeated by a goddess, bottom half of a metope from Temple F, Selinus (525).



Fig. 16 – (Left) Detail of a fallen giant, metope from Temple F, Selinus (525).

Fig. 17 – (Right) Detail of Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Estasi di Santa Teresa d'Avila*, in the church of Santa Maria della Vittoria, Rome (AD 1647-1652).



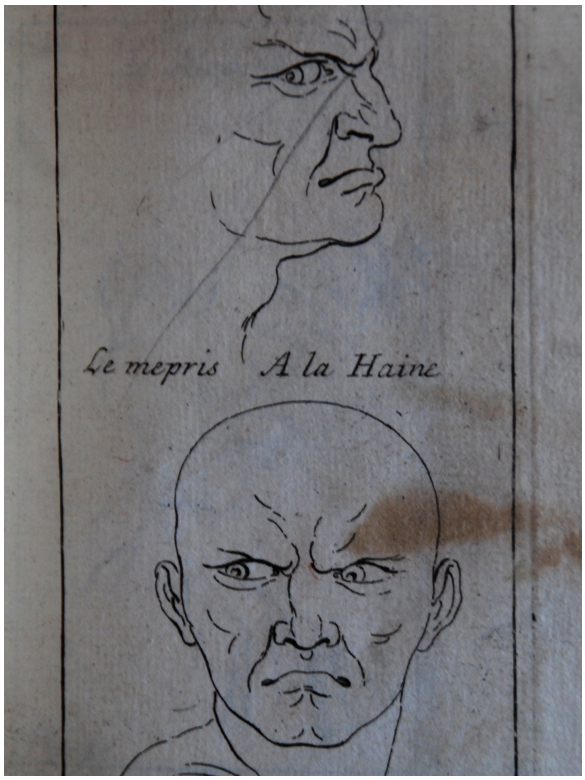


Fig. 18 – (Left) Detail of the head of the giant Biatas, block D of the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, Delphi (525).

Fig. 19 – (Right) 'Le mépris à la Haine' from C. Le Brun, *Méthode Pour apprendre à Dessiner Les Passions* (Amsterdam, 1702) fig. 8.





Fig. 20 – (Left) Detail of the Giant Tharsos, block B of the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, Delphi (525).

Fig. 21 – (Right) Detail of the Giant Hyperphas, block B of the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, Delphi (525).



Fig. 22 – (Left) A Giant attacked by two lions,
block B of the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, Delphi (525).

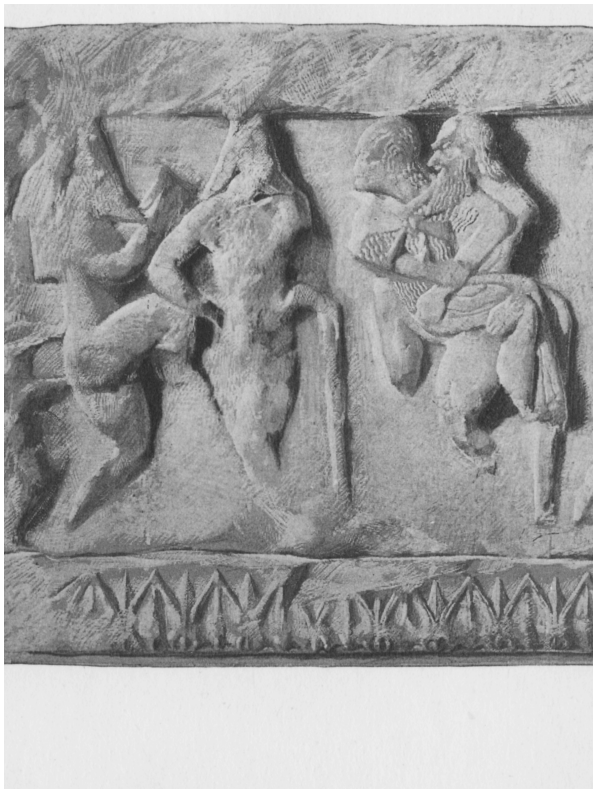




Fig. 23 – (Left) Drawing of the rear of the polos of the Siphnian Treasury caryatid, Delphi (525). (*FdD* IV, pl. II)

Fig. 24 – (Right) Detail of maenads and satyrs from an amphora attributed to the Amasis Painter; *ABV* 151.21 (310449); once Berlin 3210 (ca. 525).





Fig. 25 – (Left) Detail of the mischevious satyr from the rear of the polos of the caryatid of the Siphnian Treasury, Delphi (525).

Fig. 26 – (Right) Detail of an impression of an archaic gem depicting a Centaur abducting a woman.



Fig. 27 – (Left) Face of Sciron, metope 4 of the Athenian Treasury, Delphi (ca. 500).

Fig. 28 – (Right) Face of Sciron from a kylix attributed to Onesimos as painter, *ARV*^{2} 318.1 (203217); Louvre G 104 (ca. 500-490).

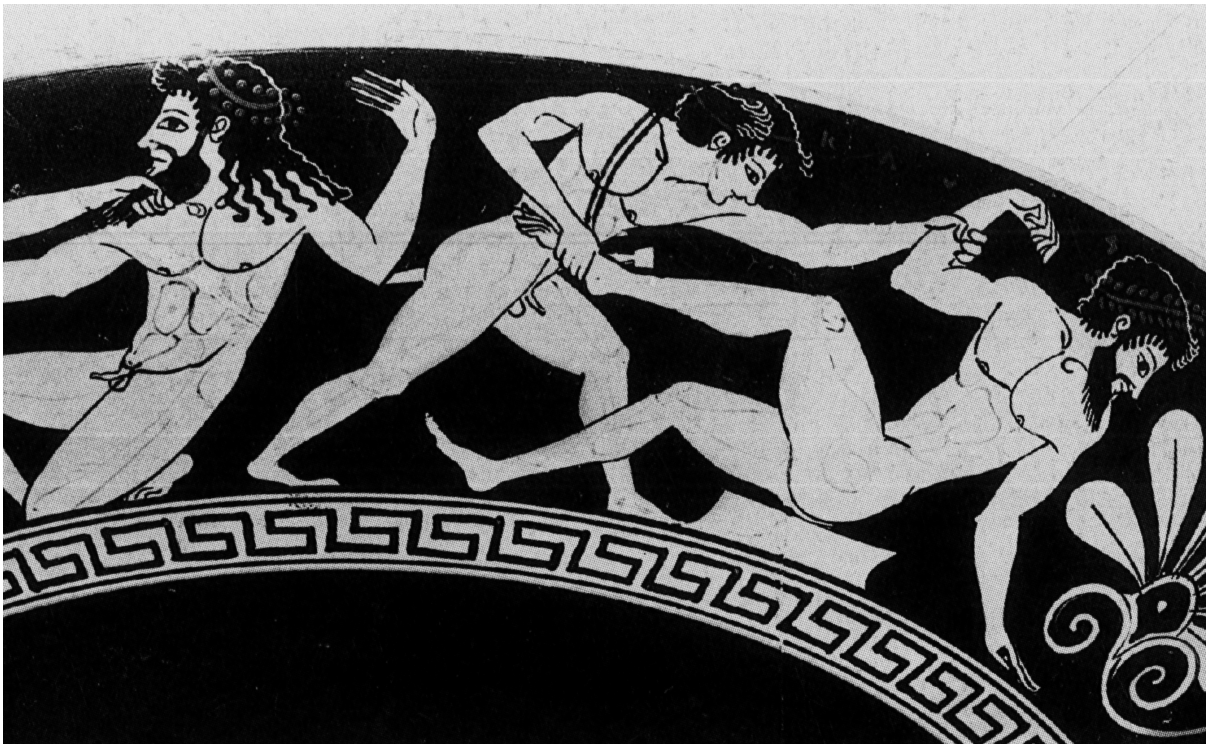


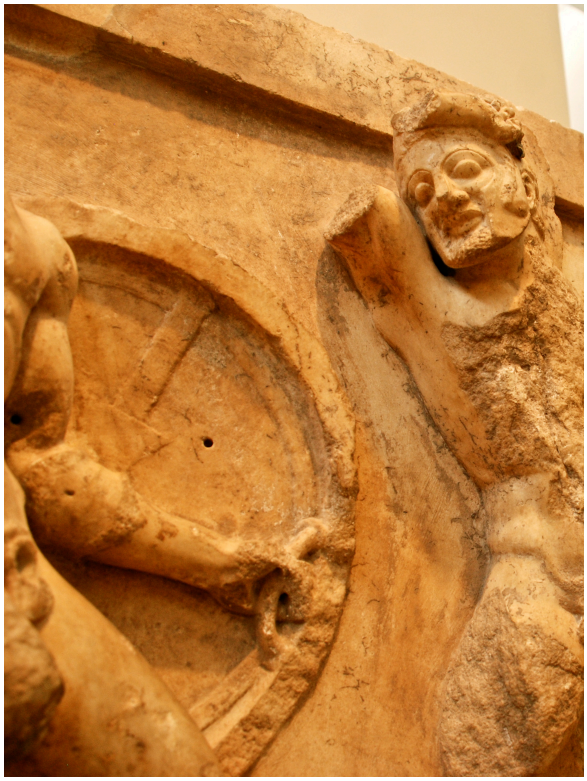
Fig. 29 – Theseus besting two foes. Kylix attributed to Skythes as painter, *Münzen und Medaillen* cat. 51 (1974) no. 149, (ca. 510).



Fig. 30 – Theseus and an Amazon, metope 8 of the Athenian Treasury, Delphi (ca. 500).



Fig. 31 – Theseus and Antiope from the west pediment of the Temple of Apollo Daphnephoros, Eretria (ca. 500).



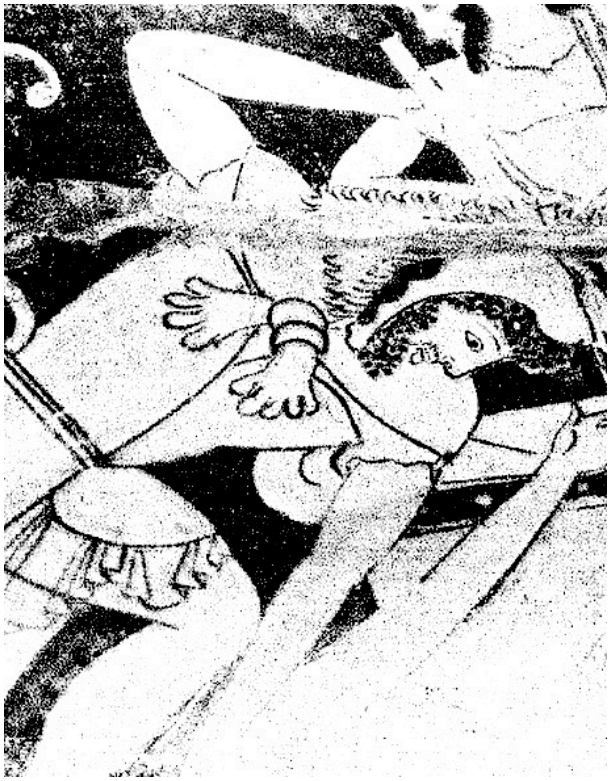


Fig. 32 – (Left) Heracles attacking Cycnus, metope 21 of the Athenian Treasury, Delphi (ca. 500)

Fig. 33 – (Right) Heracles attacking Busiris, detail of a hydria attributed to the Kleophrades Painter, *ARV*^{2} 188.70 (201718), Louvre G 50 (ca. 500).



Fig. 34 – Collage of sides A (left, Theseus and Sciron) and B (Heracles and Antaius) of a cup once attributed to Douris as painter, *ARV*^{2} 1567.13 (350911), Athens NM 1666 (ca. 500).

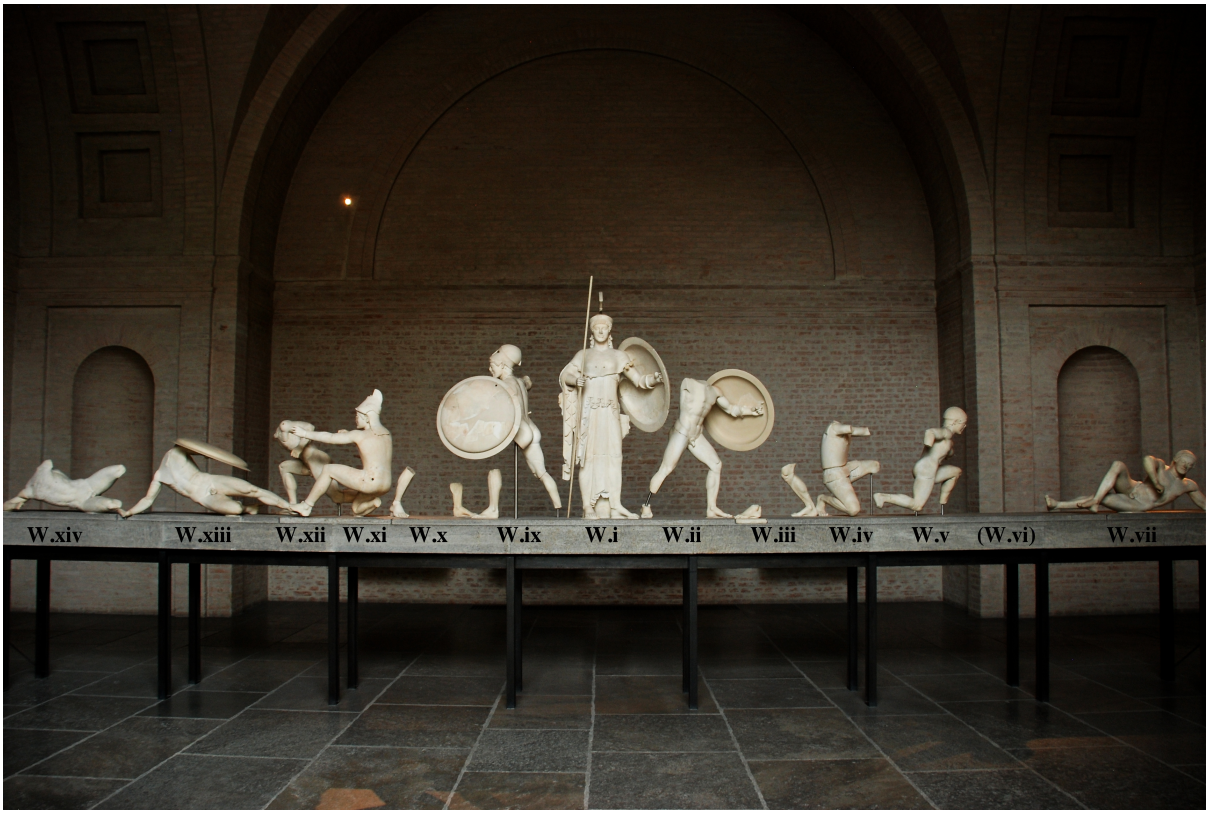


Fig. 35 – West Pediment of the Temple of Aphaea at Aegina (ca. 490) as displayed in the Munich Glyptothek according to Ohly's reconstruction (numbers added).



Fig. 36 – East Pediment of the Temple of Aphaea at Aegina (ca. 490) as displayed in the Munich Glyptothek according to Ohly's reconstruction (numbers added).

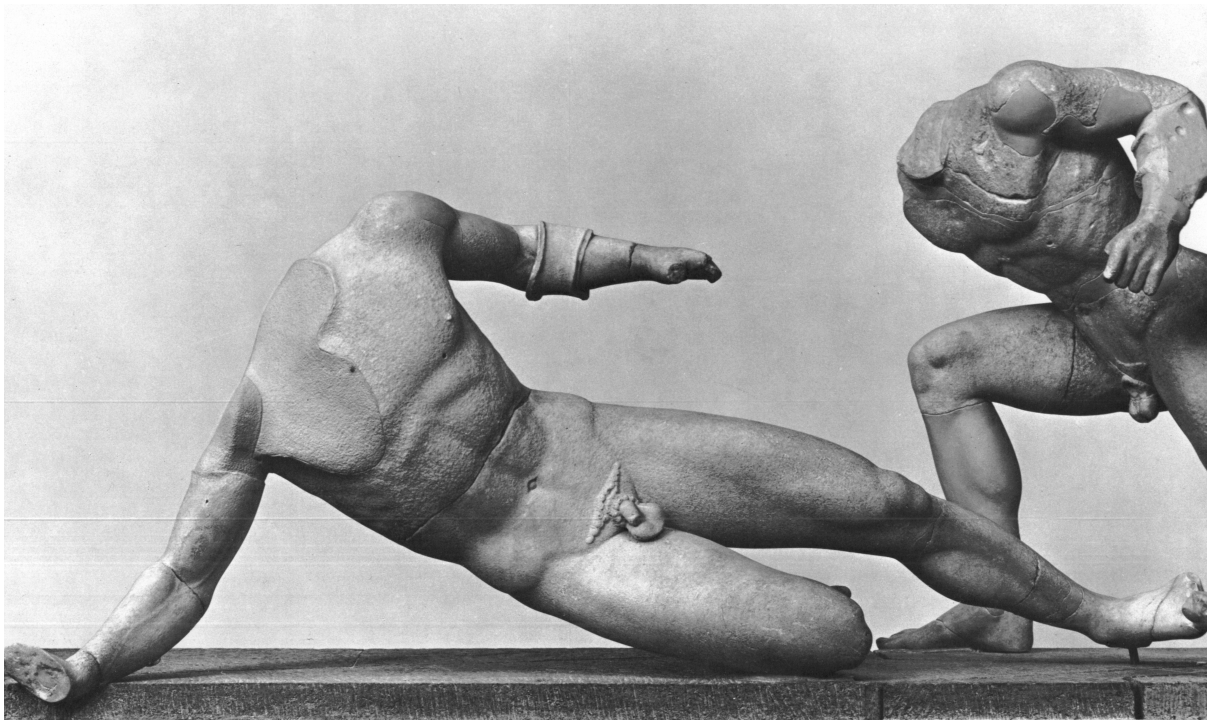


Fig. 37 – Left falling warrior (W.xii), west pediment of the Temple of Aphaea, Aegina (ca. 490).



Fig. 38 – Right fallen warrior (W.vii), west pediment of the Temple of Aphaea, Aegina (ca. 490).





Fig. 39 – (Left) Detail of the right fallen warrior (W.vii),
west pediment of the Temple of Aphaea, Aegina (ca. 490).

Fig. 40 – (Right) Detail of 'Hector' (W.ix),
west pediment of the Temple of Aphaea, Aegina (ca. 490).





Fig. 41 – (Left) Head of 'Memnon' (W.iii),
west pediment of the Temple of Aphaea, Aegina (ca. 490).

Fig. 42 – (Right) Detail of Athena (W.i), west pediment of the Temple of Aphaea, Aegina (ca. 490).



Fig. 43 – Detail of Athena (E.i), east pediment of the Temple of Aphaea, Aegina (ca. 490).



Fig. 44 – Right opponent (E.iii), east pediment of the Temple of Aphaea, Aegina (ca. 490).

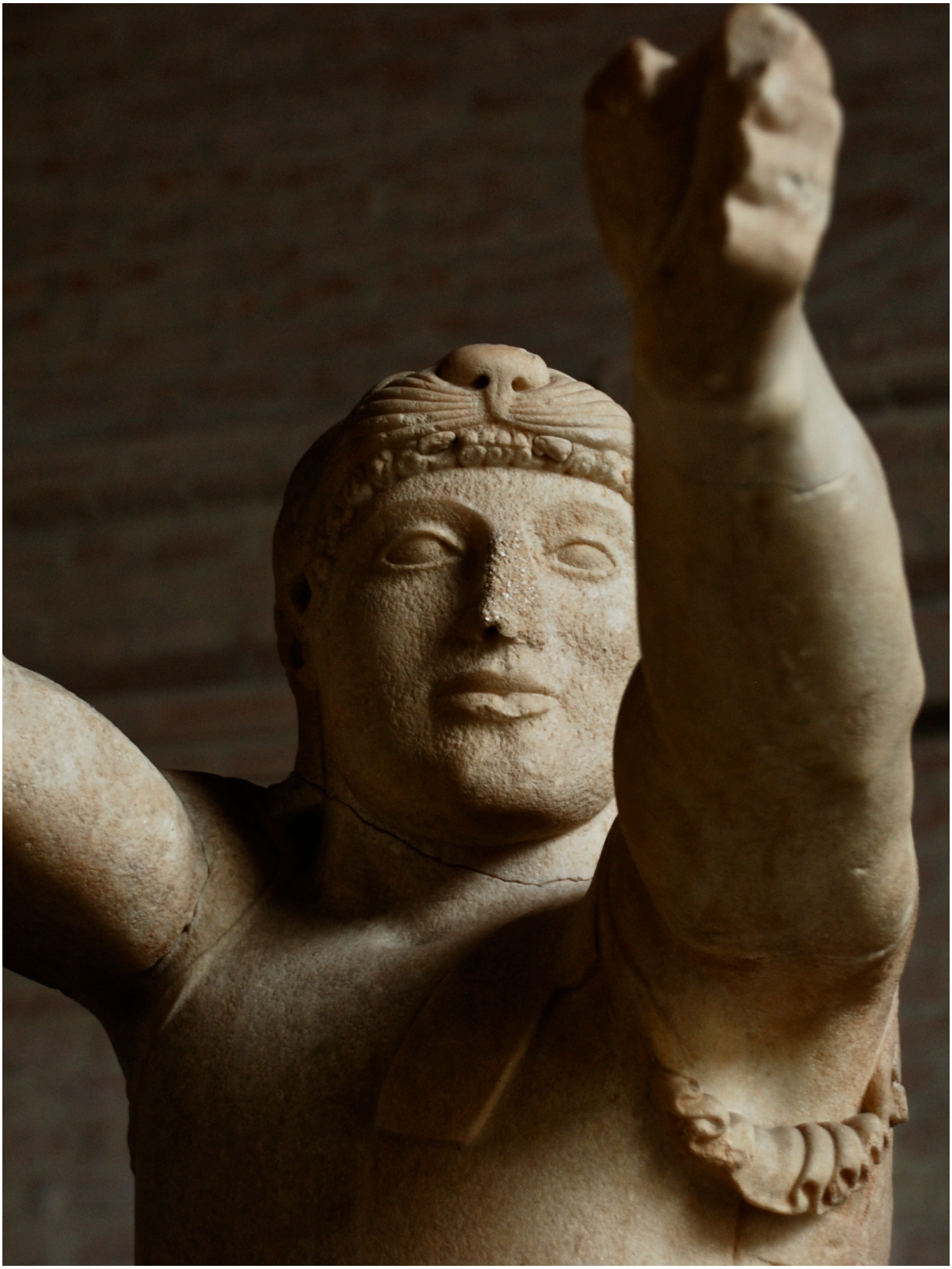


Fig. 45 – Detail of ‘Heracles’ (E.v), east pediment of the Temple of Aphaea, Aegina (ca. 490).



Fig. 46 – Right dying warrior (E.vi), east pediment of the Temple of Aphaea, Aegina (ca. 490).

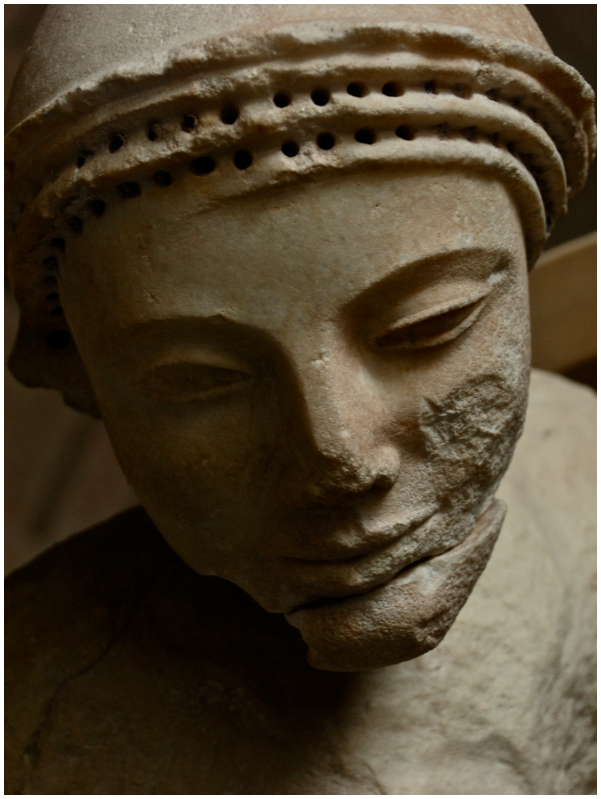




Fig. 47 – Head of right dying warrior (E.vi),
east pediment of the Temple of Aphaea, Aegina (ca. 490).

Fig. 48 – 'Priam' (E.ii), east pediment of the Temple of Aphaea, Aegina (ca. 490).

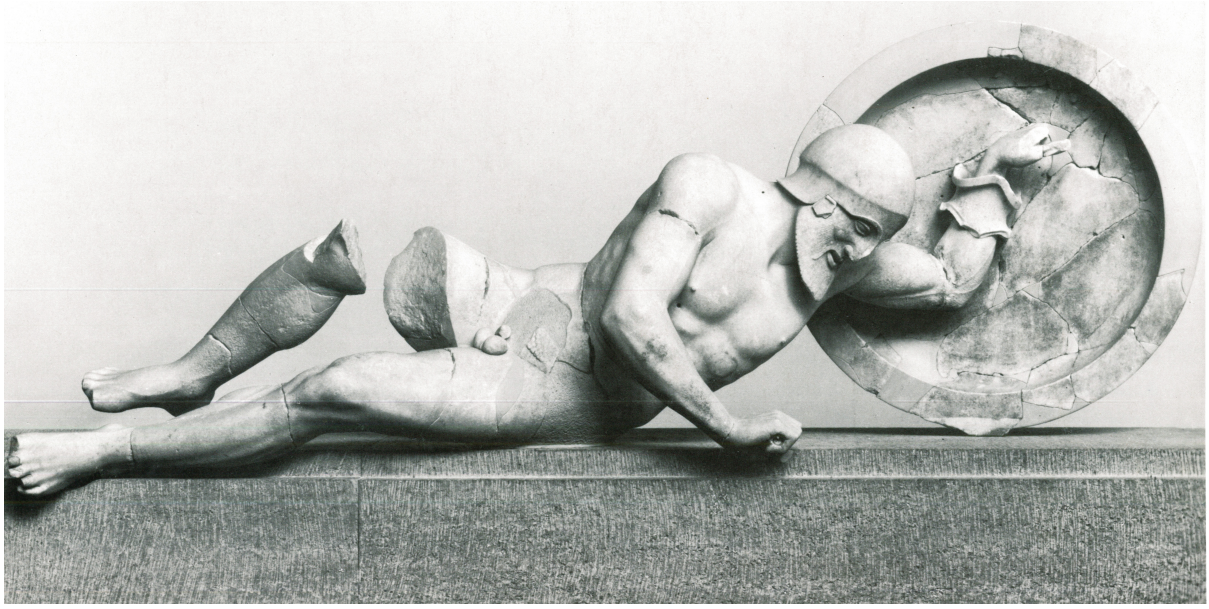


Fig. 49 – 'Laomedon'(E.xi), east pediment of the Temple of Aphaea, Aegina (ca. 490).
(D. Ohly, *Die Aegineten: die Marmorskulpturen des Tempels der Aphaia auf Aegina* (3 voll., Munich, 1976-2001) I, Taf. 64)



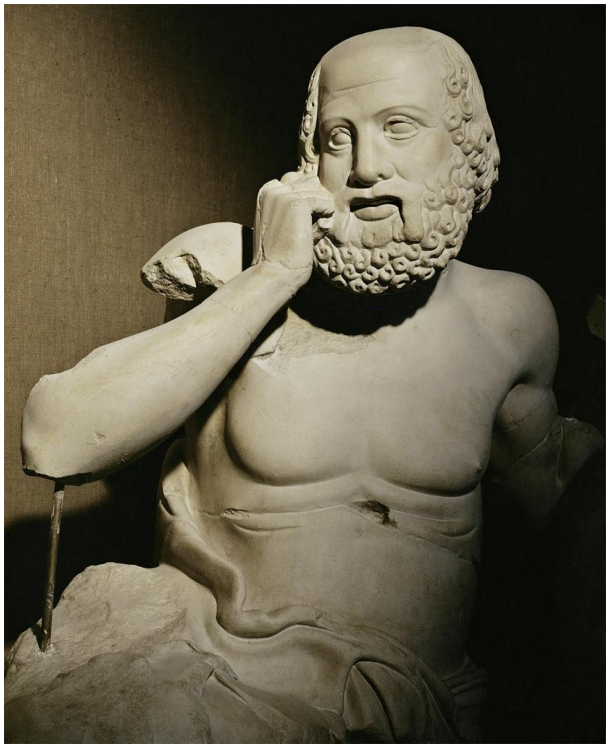
Fig. 50 – Detail of 'Laomedon' (E.xi), east pediment of the Temple of Aphaea, Aegina (ca. 490).



Fig. 51 – East pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia
as currently displayed in the Olympia Museum (470-457).



Fig. 52 – (Left) Head of Pelops from the east pediment of the Temple of Zeus (470-457).
Fig. 53 – (Right) Head of Oenomaus from the east pediment of the Temple of Zeus (470-457).



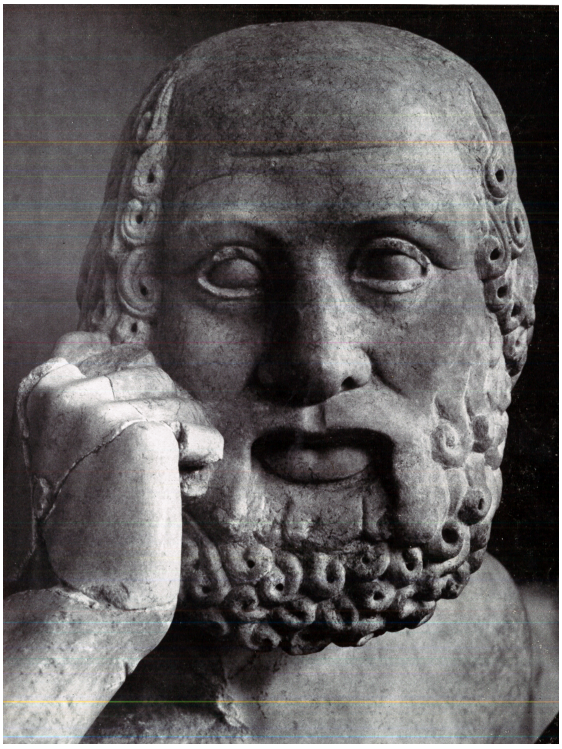


Fig. 54 – (Left) Seer from the east pediment of the Temple of Zeus (470-457).
Fig. 55 – (Right) Head of the seer from the east pediment of the Temple of Zeus (470-457).



Fig. 56 – Detail of a hydria attributed to the Villa Giulia Painter,
ARV^2 623.66 (207220), Cambridge 12.17 (ca. 450).



Fig. 57 – Statue of Sobekhotep, chief of the treasury, Berlin, ÄM 11635 (ca. 1400).



Fig. 58 – West pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia
as currently displayed in the Olympia Museum (470-457).



Fig. 59 – Face of Apollo from the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus (470-457).

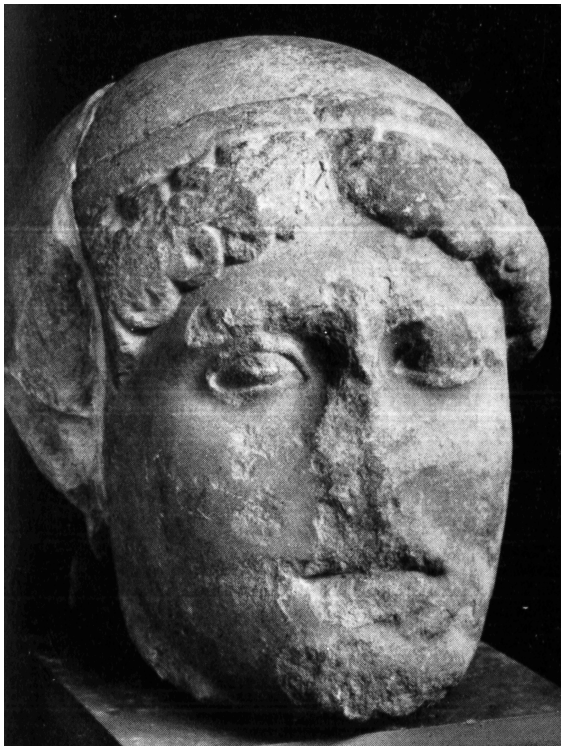




Fig. 60 – (Left) Head of Peirithous from the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus (470-457).
Fig. 61 – (Right) Head of Theseus from the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus (470-457).

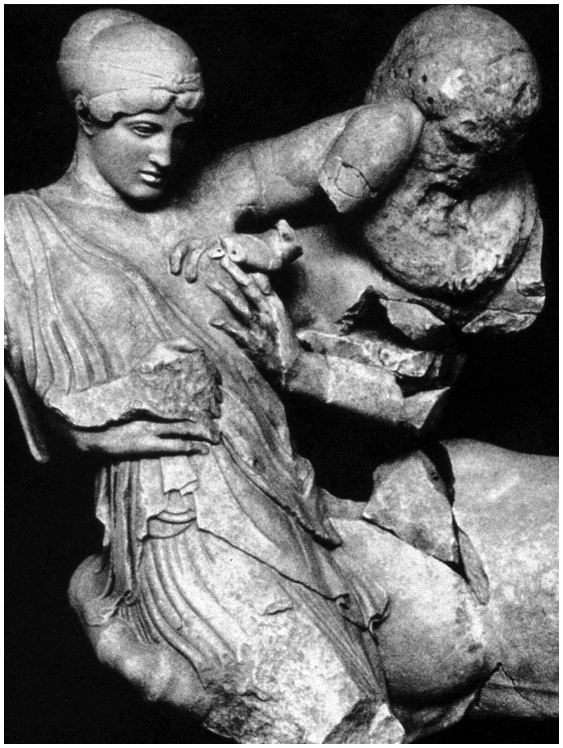
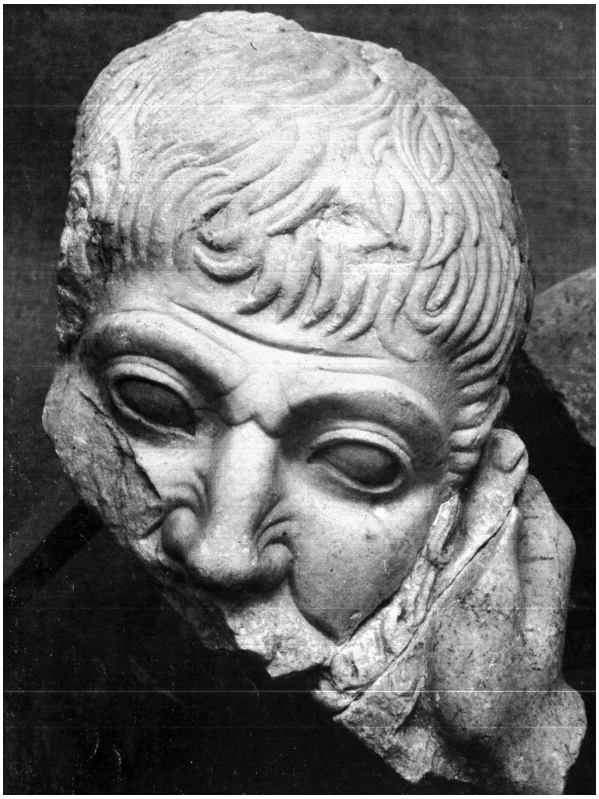




Fig. 62 – (Left) Hippodameia from the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus (470-457).
Fig. 63 – (Right) Lapith girl E from the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus (470-457).



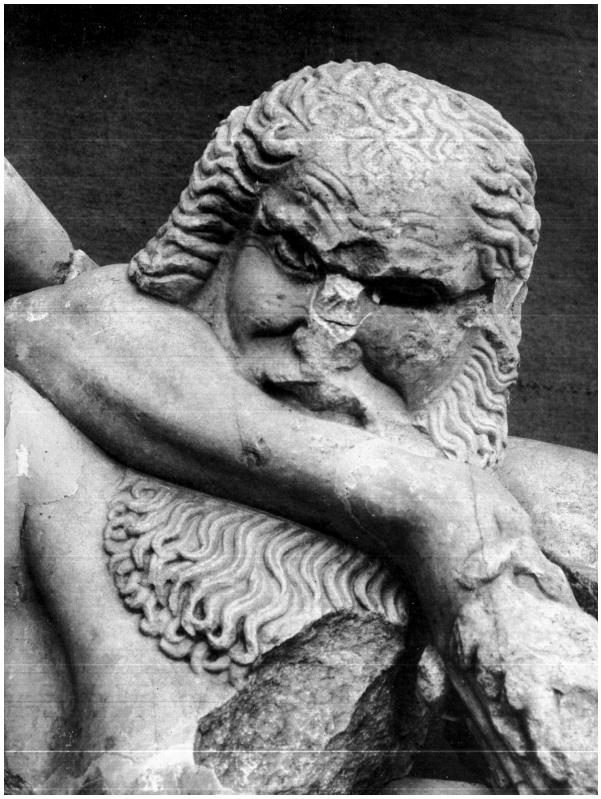


Fig. 64 – (Left) Head of Centaur D from the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus (470-457).
Fig. 65 – (Right) Head of Centaur P from the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus (470-457).

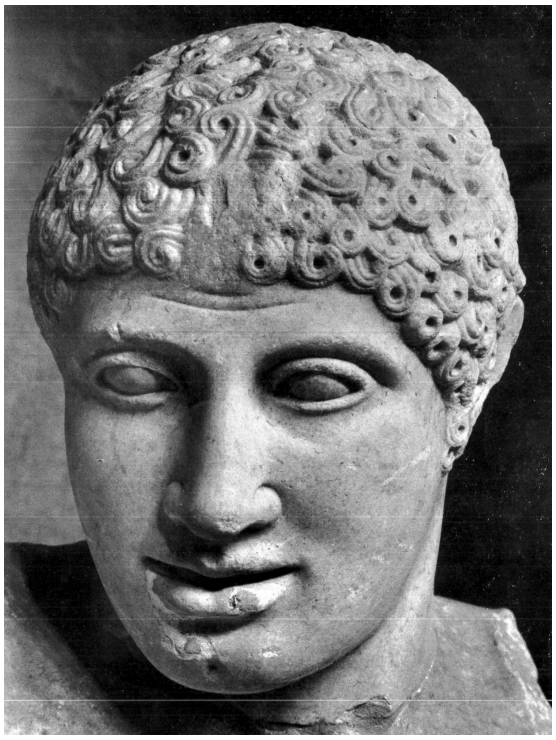




Fig. 66 – (Left) Head of Lapith Q from the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus (470-457).
Fig. 67 – (Right) Head of Heracles from the Nemean Lion metope of the Temple of Zeus (470-457).



Fig. 68 – Reconstructions of the metopes from the temple of Zeus at Olympia (470-457)
(Treu, *Bildwerke* Taf. 45 after Becatti)

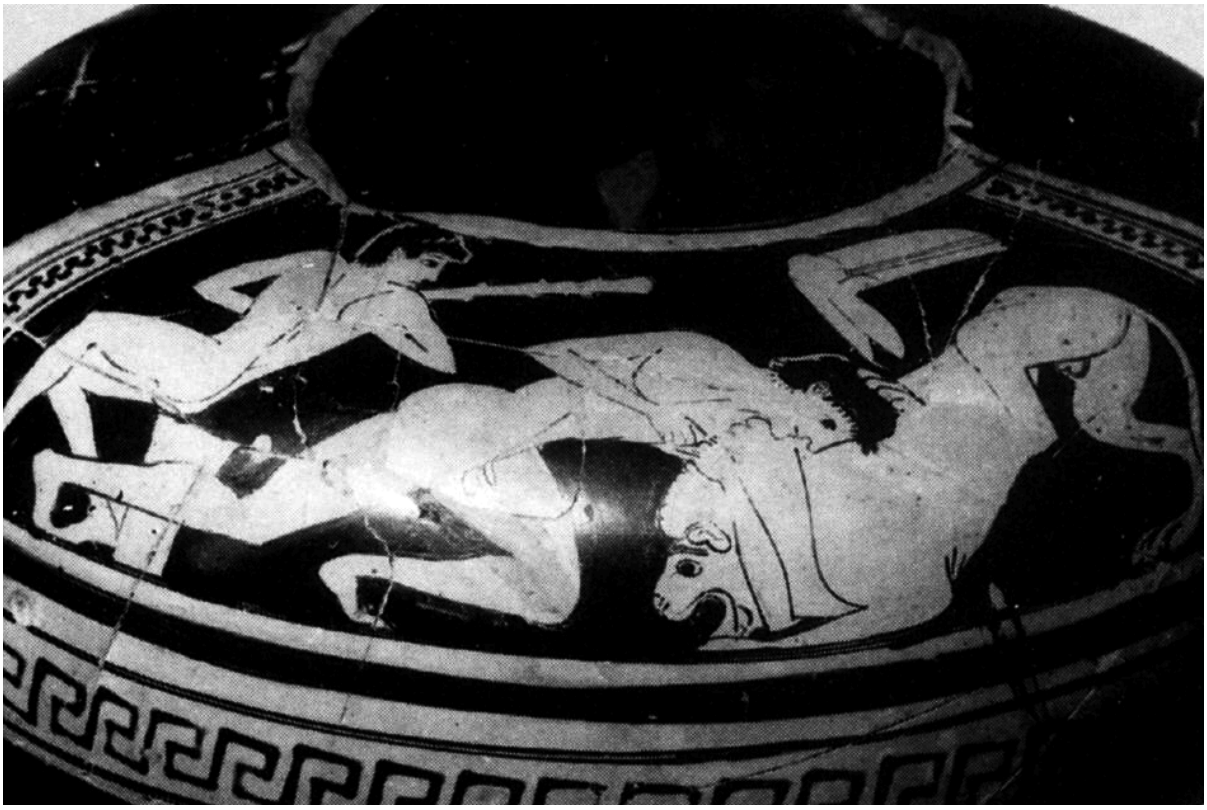


Fig. 69 – Heracles and the lion, from a hydria, (19345), Moscow, Pushkin 3392 (ca. 500).





Fig. 70 – (Left) 'Ephedrismus group', perhaps an acroterion from the Hephaisteion (449-440).
Fig. 71 – (Right) Head of the carrier of the Ephedrismus group from the Hephaisteion (449-440).



Fig. 72 – Sciron metope from the Hephaisteion (449-440).

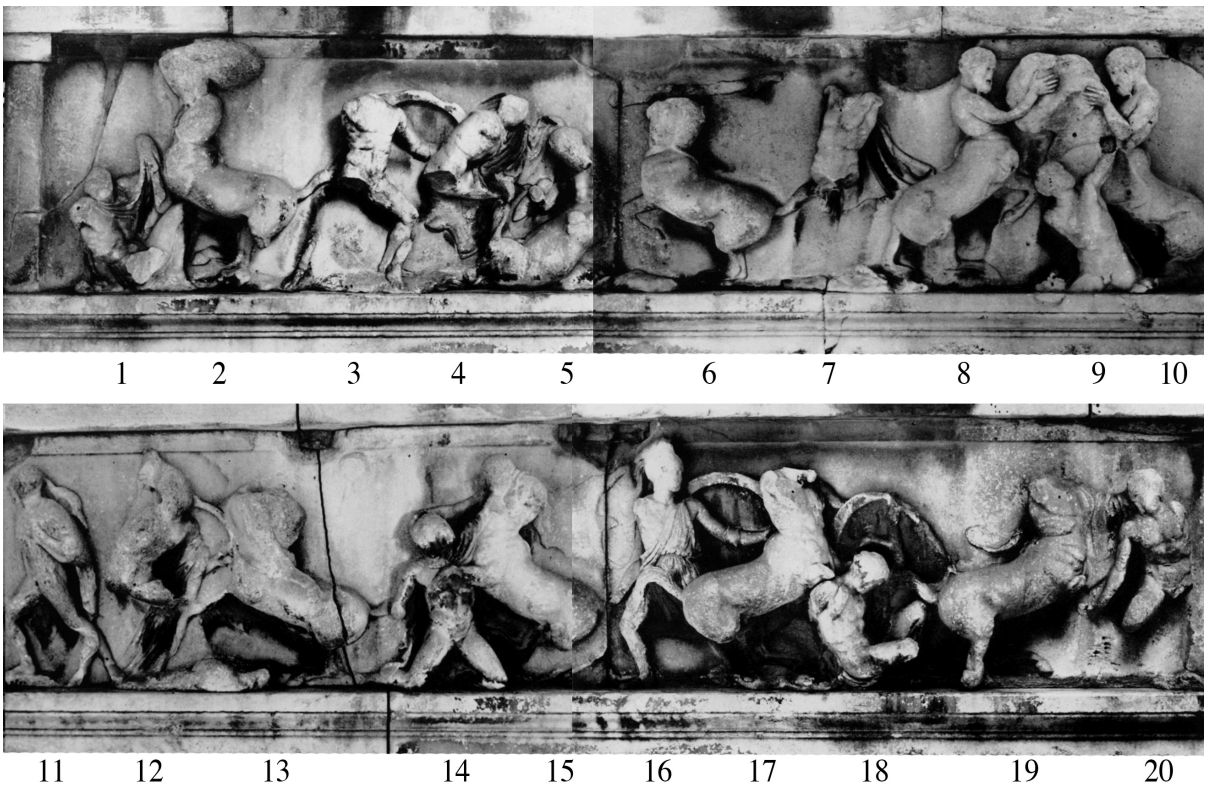


Fig. 73 – Composite of the west frieze of the Hephaisteion, (449-440) (numbers added).

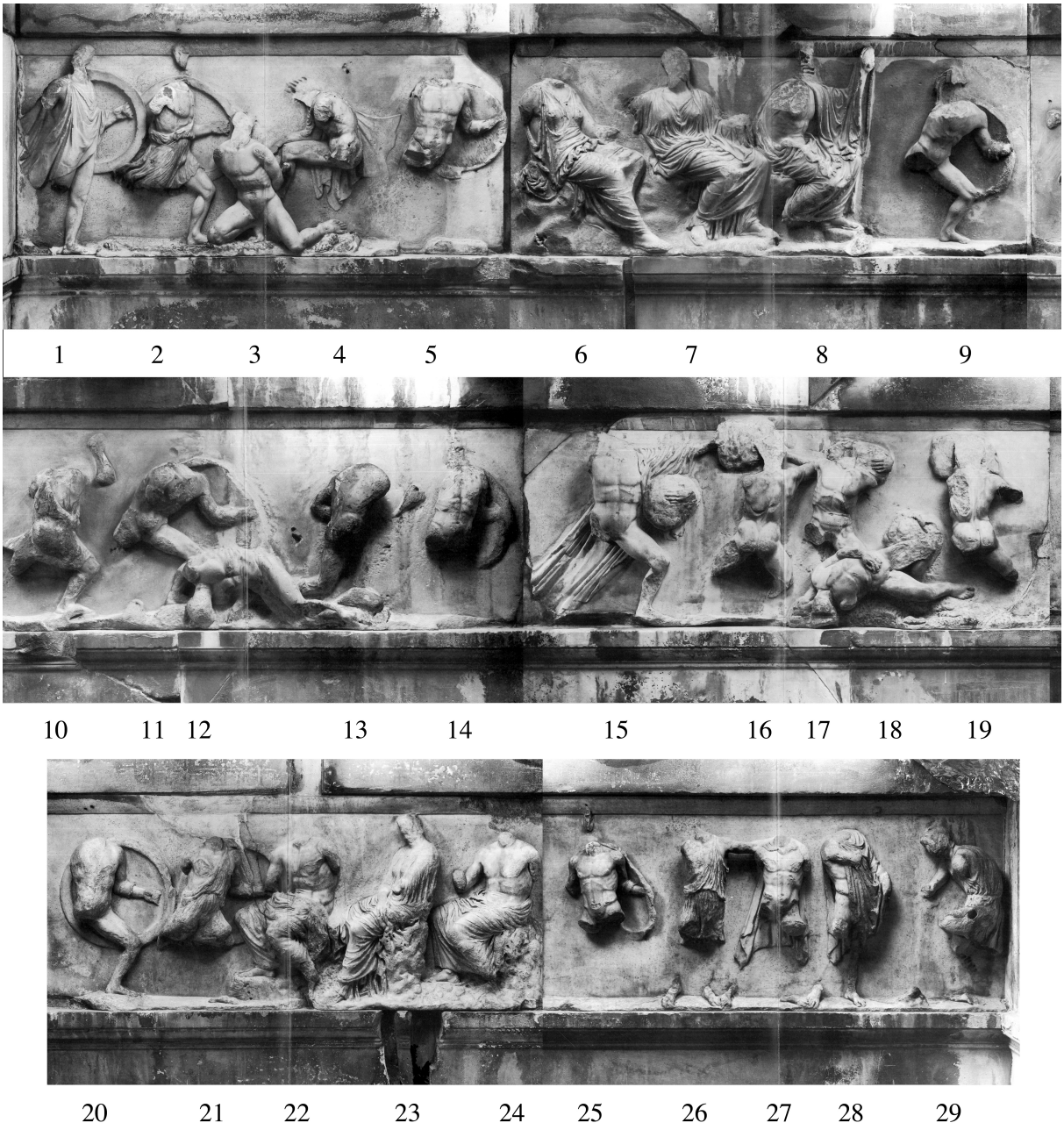


Fig. 74 – Composite of the east frieze of the Hephaisteion, Athens (449-440) (numbers added).



Fig. 75 – Detail of figure 19, east frieze of the Hephaisteion (449-440).



Fig. 76 – Detail of Figure N, Parthenon west pediment (ca. 438-432).

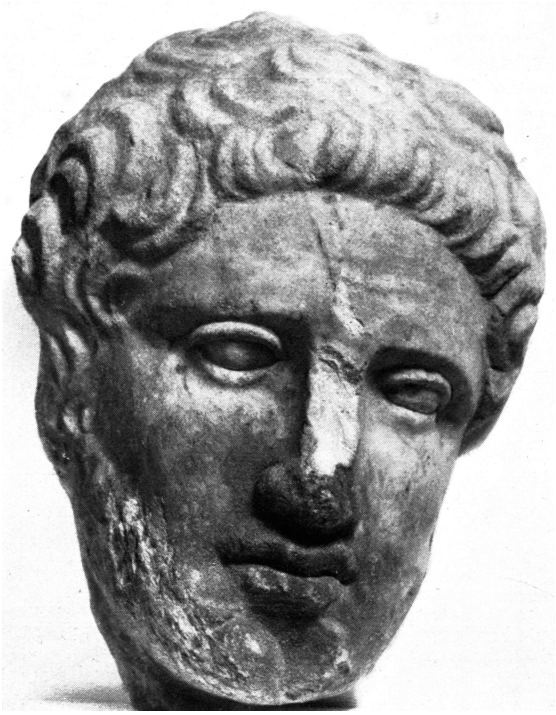




Fig. 77 – (Left) 'Parthenonian Head'(G. Becatti, *Problemi Fidiaci* (Milan & Florence, 1951), tav. 2).
Fig. 78 – (Right) Parthenon frieze E.vi.38 (ca. 447-432).



Fig. 79 – Indirect lighting on a model of the Parthenon frieze.



Fig. 80 – Parthenon frieze W.ii.2 (ca. 447-432).



Fig. 81 – Duccio di Buoninsegna, *Maestà* (detail) from the Siena altarpiece (AD 1308-1311). (ARTstor)



Fig. 82 – Detail of Parthenon frieze W.ii.2 (ca. 447-432).



Fig. 83 – Parthenon frieze W.ix.17 (ca. 447-432).

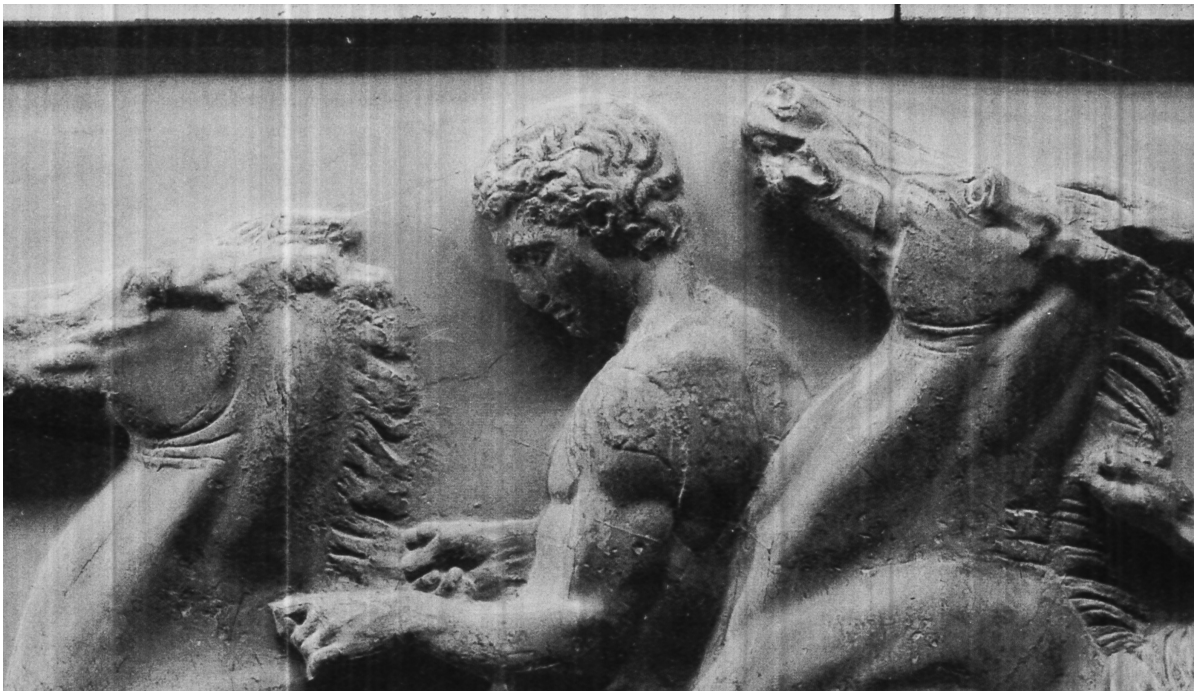


Fig. 84 – Parthenon frieze W.x.18 (cast, ca. 447-432).



Fig. 85 – Parthenon frieze W.xi.21 (ca. 447-432).



Fig. 86 – Parthenon frieze N.xxxvi.97-99 (ca. 447-432).



Fig. 87 – Parthenon frieze N.xli.114 (ca. 447-432).

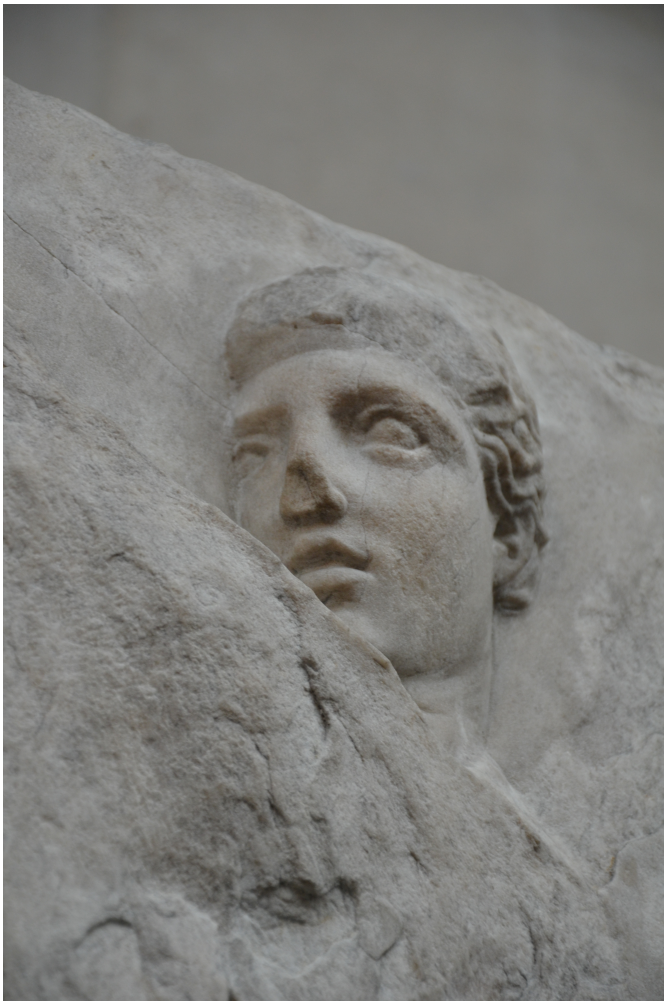


Fig. 88 – Parthenon frieze S.v.13 (ca. 447-432).



Fig. 89 – Parthenon frieze N.xxxviii.105 (ca. 447-432).



Fig. 90 – Parthenon frieze N.xlvii.133 (ca. 447-432).



Fig. 91 – Collage of Parthenon frieze W.ii.2 (left) and N.xlvii.133 (ca. 447-432).



Fig. 92 – Parthenon frieze W.viii.15 (cast, ca. 447-432).



Fig. 93 – Parthenon frieze N.xlii.119-120 (ca. 447-432).



Fig. 94 – Parthenon frieze S.x (ca. 447-432).



Fig. 95 – Parthenon frieze S.xi (ca. 447-432).



Fig. 96 – Parthenon frieze S.x.26 (ca. 447-432).

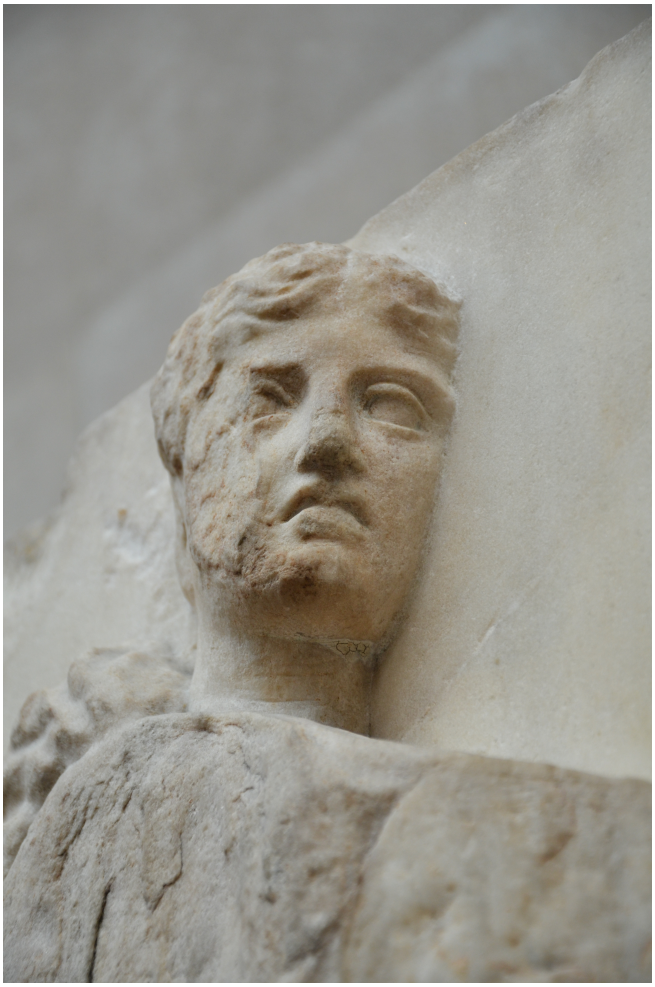


Fig. 97 – Parthenon frieze S.xi.29 (detail, ca. 447-432).



Fig. 98 – Parthenon frieze S.xi.29 (ca. 447-432).



Fig. 99 – Parthenon frieze E.vi.38-39 (ca. 447-432).



Fig. 100 – Parthenon frieze E.iv.26-27 (ca. 447-432).

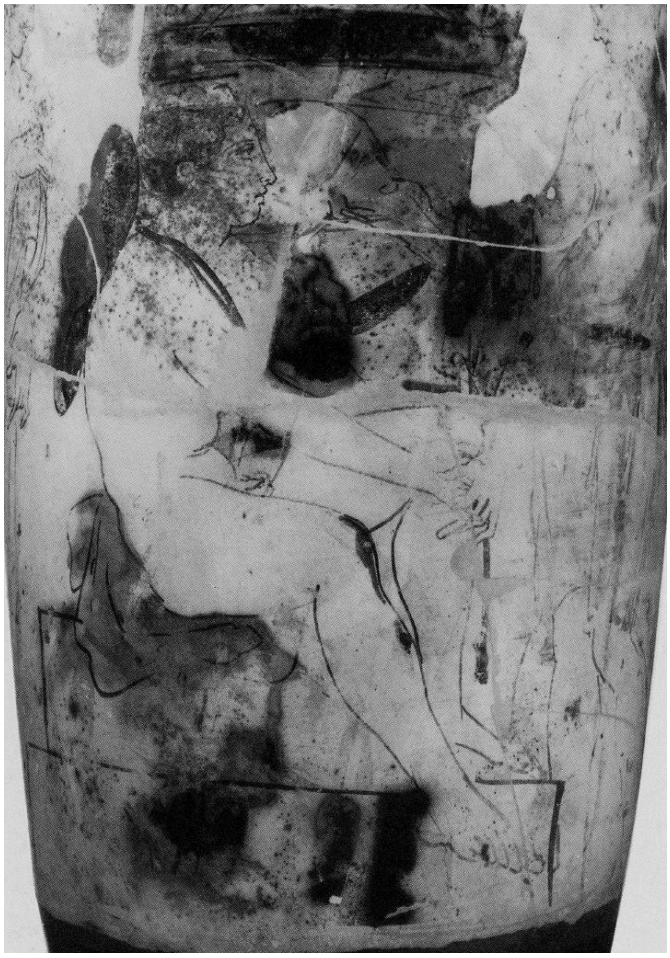


Fig. 101 – Youth seated on a tomb; white-ground lekythos from Group G, *ARV*[2] 1383.6 (217807), Basel, Antikensammlung KA413, ca. 425.



Fig. 102 – Parthenon metope S IV cast (detail, ca. 447-438).

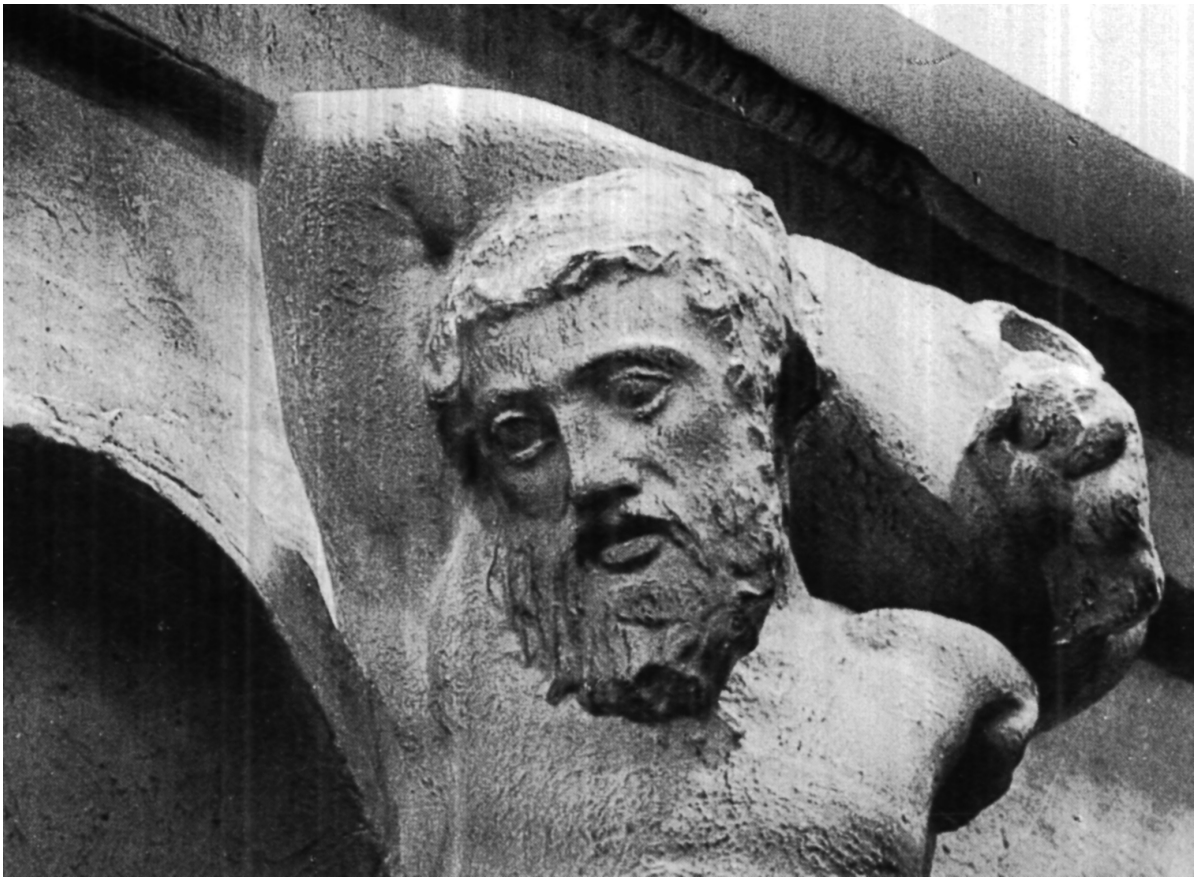


Fig. 103 – Parthenon metope S IV cast (detail, ca. 447-438).



Fig. 104 – Parthenon metope S XXXI (ca. 447-438).



Fig. 105 – Parthenon metope S XXXI (detail, ca. 447-438).



Fig. 106 – Parthenon metope S XXX (detail, ca. 447-438).



Fig. 107 – Parthenon metope S XXXI (detail, ca. 447-438).



Fig. 108 – Parthenon metope S XXX (detail, ca. 447-438).



Fig. 109 – Detail of Figure D, Parthenon east pediment (ca. 432-842).



Fig. 110 – Parthenon ‘Tête de Laborde’ (west pediment?, ca. 438-432).



Fig. 111 – Temple of Apollo at Bassae – BM 537:3 (ca. 421-410).



Fig. 112 – Temple of Apollo at Bassae – BM 521:1 (ca. 421-410).



Fig. 113 – Temple of Apollo at Bassae – BM 531:1-2 (ca. 421-410).



Fig. 114 – Temple of Apollo at Bassae – BM 534:1 (ca. 421-410).



Fig. 115 – Temple of Apollo at Bassae – BM 537:2 (ca. 421-410).

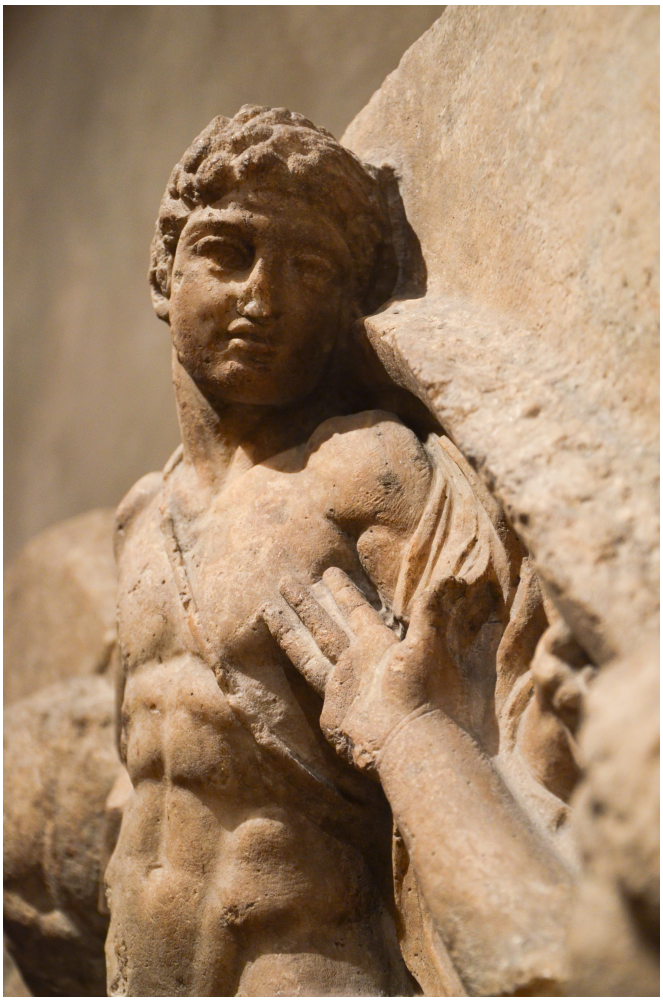


Fig. 116 – Temple of Apollo at Bassae – BM 537:3 (ca. 421-410).



Fig. 117 – Temple of Apollo at Bassae – BM 537:1-3 (ca. 421-410).





Fig. 118 – (Left) Temple of Apollo at Bassae – BM 542:4 (ca. 421-410).
Fig. 119 – (Right) Temple of Apollo at Bassae –BM 542:2 (ca. 421-410).



Fig. 120 – Temple of Apollo at Bassae – BM 541:3 (ca. 421-410).



Fig. 121 – Temple of Apollo at Bassae, BM 533:4 (ca. 421-410).



Fig. 122 – Temple of Apollo at Bassae – BM 520:3-4 (ca. 421-410).



Fig. 123 – Temple of Apollo at Bassae – BM 520:3 (ca. 421-410).



Fig. 124 – Parthenon metope S XXIX (ca. 447-438).



Fig. 125 – Parthenon metope S XXIX (detail, ca. 447-438).



Fig. 126 – Temple of Apollo at Bassae – BM 530:3-5 (ca. 421-410).



Fig. 127 – Temple of Apollo at Bassae – BM 530:4 (ca. 421-410).



Fig. 128 – Temple of Apollo at Bassae – 530:2-3 (ca. 421-410).



Fig. 129 – Temple of Apollo at Bassae – BM 524:3-4 (ca. 421-410).



Fig. 130 – Temple of Apollo at Bassae – BM 524:4 (ca. 421-410).



Fig. 131 – ‘L’adoration de la Fleur’, Louvre Ma 701 (ca. 470-460).



Fig. 132 – Croesus kouros (The ‘Anavysos kouros’), Athens NM 3851 (ca. 540-520).



Fig. 133 – Polyeuctus stele, Athens NM 773 (ca. 415-400).



Fig. 134 – ‘Mourning Athena’, Athens, Acropolis Museum 695 (ca. 460).



Fig. 135 – Agacles stele, Athens NM 2004 (ca. 415-400).



Fig. 136 – Stele with a tragic mask, Piraeus Museum 4229 (ca. 430-415).



Fig. 137 – Warrior stele, Worcester (Mass.) Art Museum 1936.21 (ca. 415-400).



Fig. 138 – Chaeredemus and Lyceas stele, Piraeus Museum 385 (ca. 415-400).



Fig. 139 – Detail of the Chaeredemus and Lyceas stele, Piraeus Museum 385 (ca. 415-400).



Fig. 140 – Eupherus stele, Athens, Ceramicus Museum P 1169 (ca. 430-415).



Fig. 141 – Stele with a boy holding a strigil, Athens NM 881 (ca. 415-400).

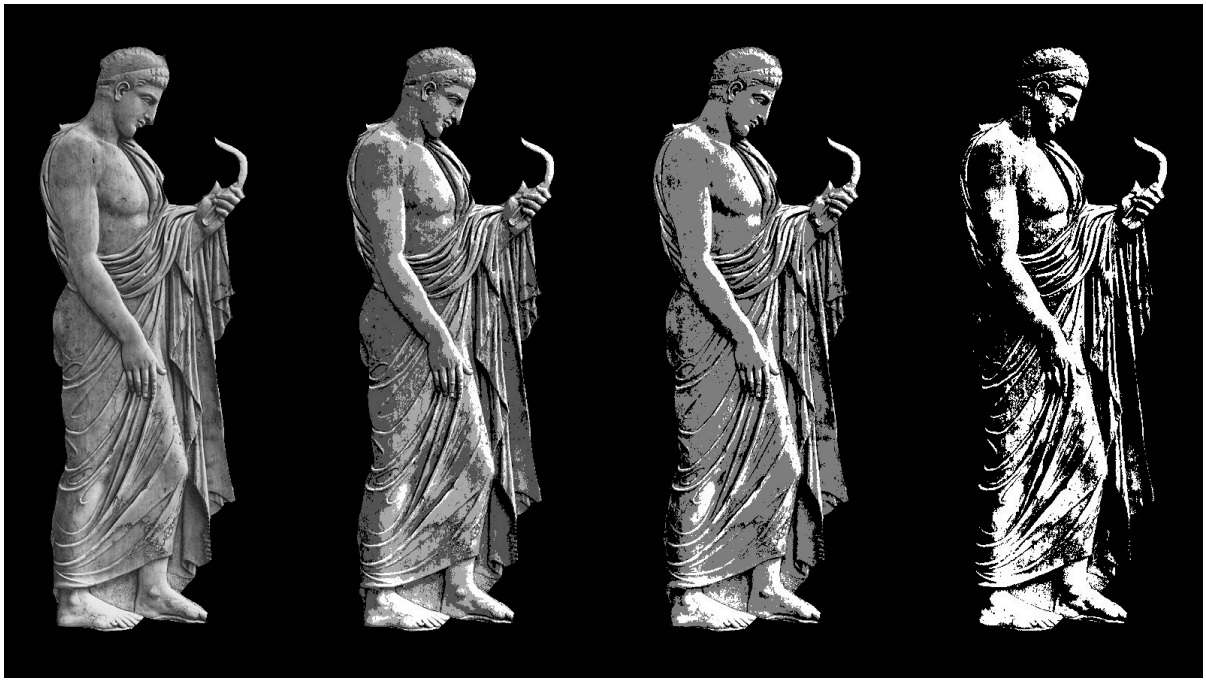


Fig. 142 – Degraded composite image of the Eupherus stele, Athens, Ceramicus Museum P 1169 (ca. 430-415); (left to right) grayscale, four-, three- and two-tone.



Fig. 143 – Stele of young woman, Athens NM 910 (ca. 430-415).

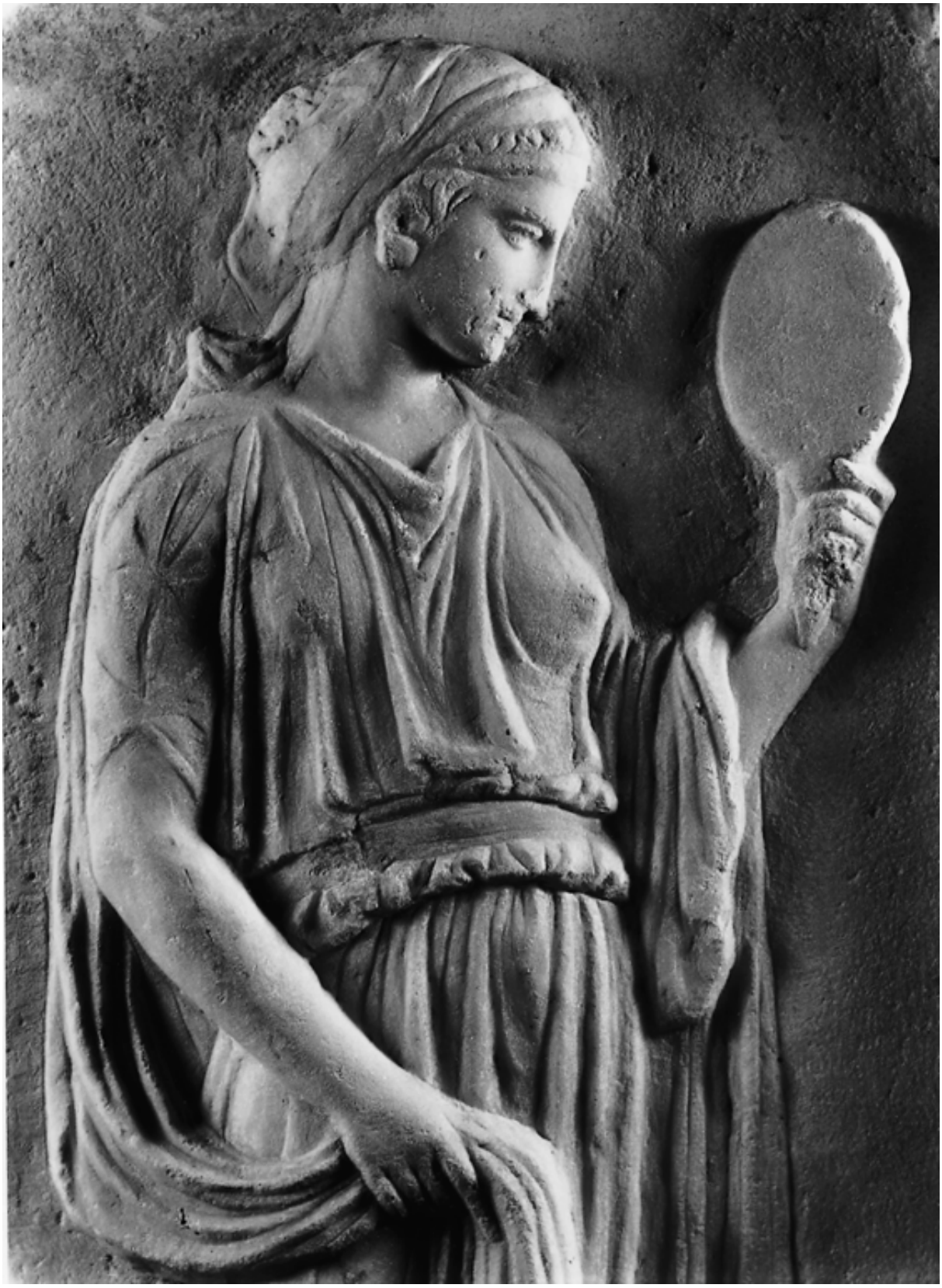


Fig. 144 – Stele of a woman with a mirror, Athens, Ceramicus Museum P 685 (ca. 415-400).



Fig. 145 – Stele of a woman with a mirror, Boston MFA 04.16.



Fig. 146 – Mnesagora and Nicochares stele, Athens NM 3846 (ca. 415-400).



Fig. 147 – Detail of the Mnesagora and Nicochares stele, Athens NM 3846 (ca. 415-400).



Fig. 148 – Ampharete stele, Athens, Ceramicus Museum P 695 (ca. 415-400).



Fig. 149 – Detail of the Ampharete stele, Athens, Ceramicus Museum P 695 (ca. 415-400).

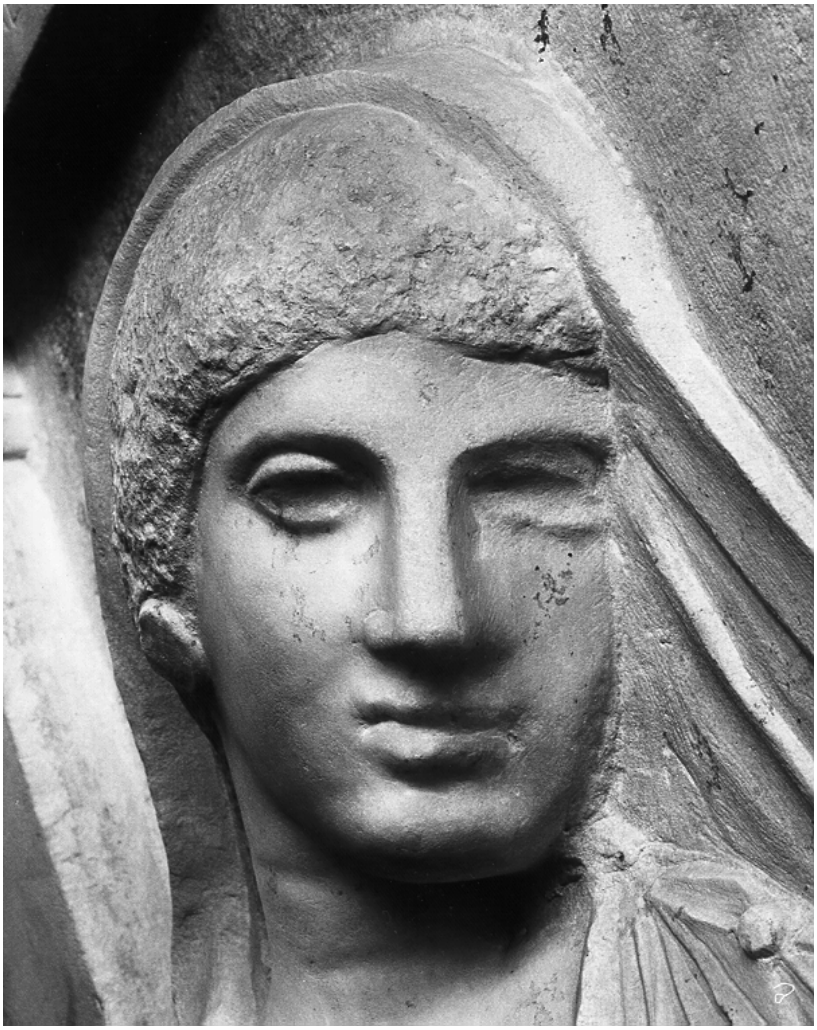


Fig. 150 – Ampharete from the Ampharete stele, Athens, Ceramicus Museum P 695 (ca. 415-400).



Fig. 151 – ‘Cat stele’, Athens NM 715 (ca. 430-415).



Fig. 152 – Detail of the ‘cat stele’, Athens NM 715 (ca. 430-415).



Fig. 153 – Detail of the ‘cat stele’, Athens NM 715 (ca. 430-415).



Fig. 154 – Xanthippus stele, BM 1805.7-3.183 (ca. 430-415).



Fig. 155 – (Cleo)menes stele, Athens NM 880 (ca. 415-400).



Fig. 156 – Timarista and Crito stele, Rhodes Archaeological Museum 13638 (ca. 415-400).



Fig. 157 – Hegeso stele, Athens NM 3624 (ca. 415-400).



Fig. 158 – Detail of the Hegeso stele, Athens NM 3624 (ca. 415-400).



Fig. 159 – Hegeso from the Hegeso stele, Athens NM 3624 (ca. 415-400).

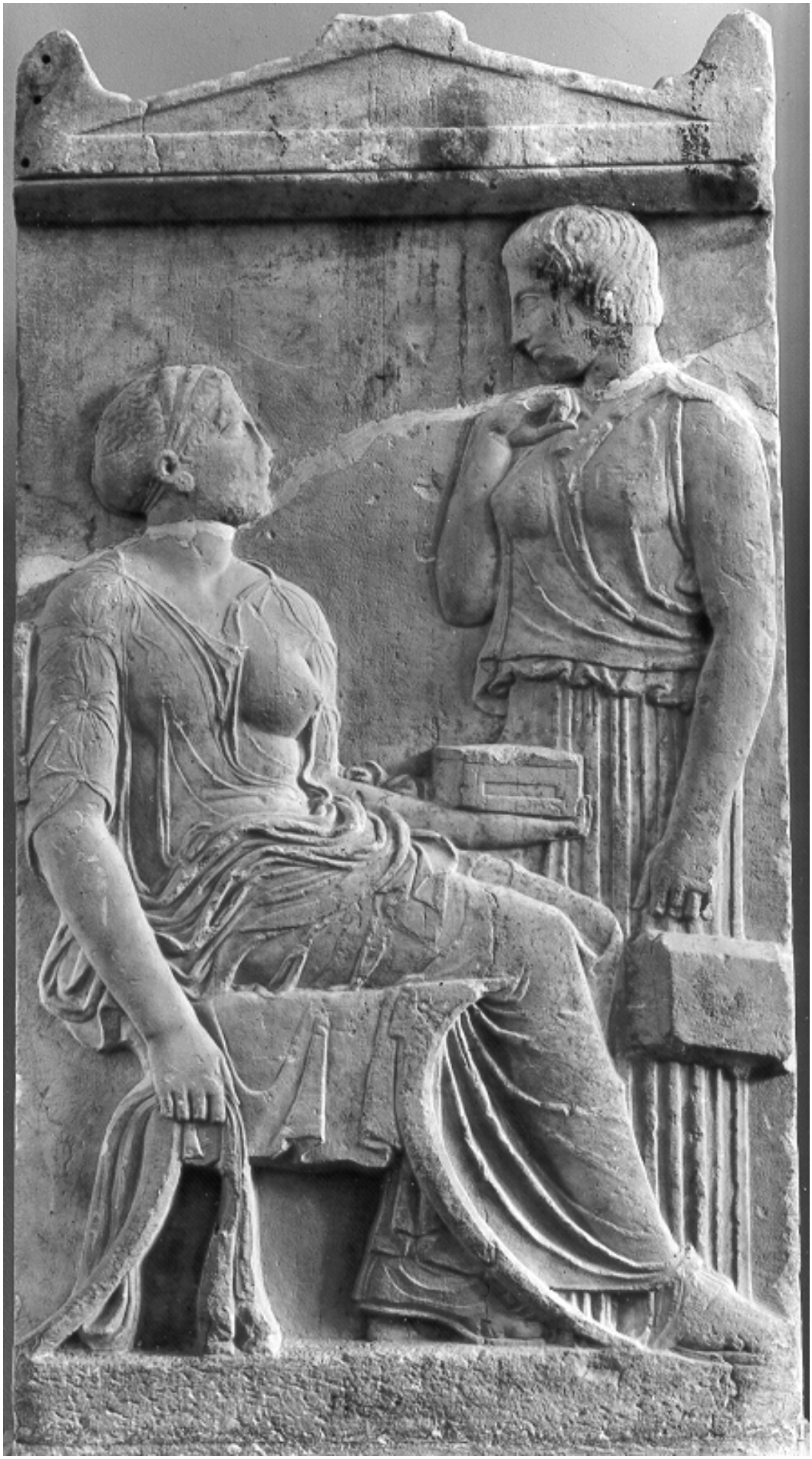


Fig. 160 – Mistress-and-maid stele, Athens NM 1822 + 4552 (ca. 415-400).



Fig. 161 – Maid from a mistress-and-maid stele, Athens NM 1858 (ca. 415-400).



Fig. 162 – Philoxenus and Philomene stele, Malibu 83.AA.378 (ca. 415-400).

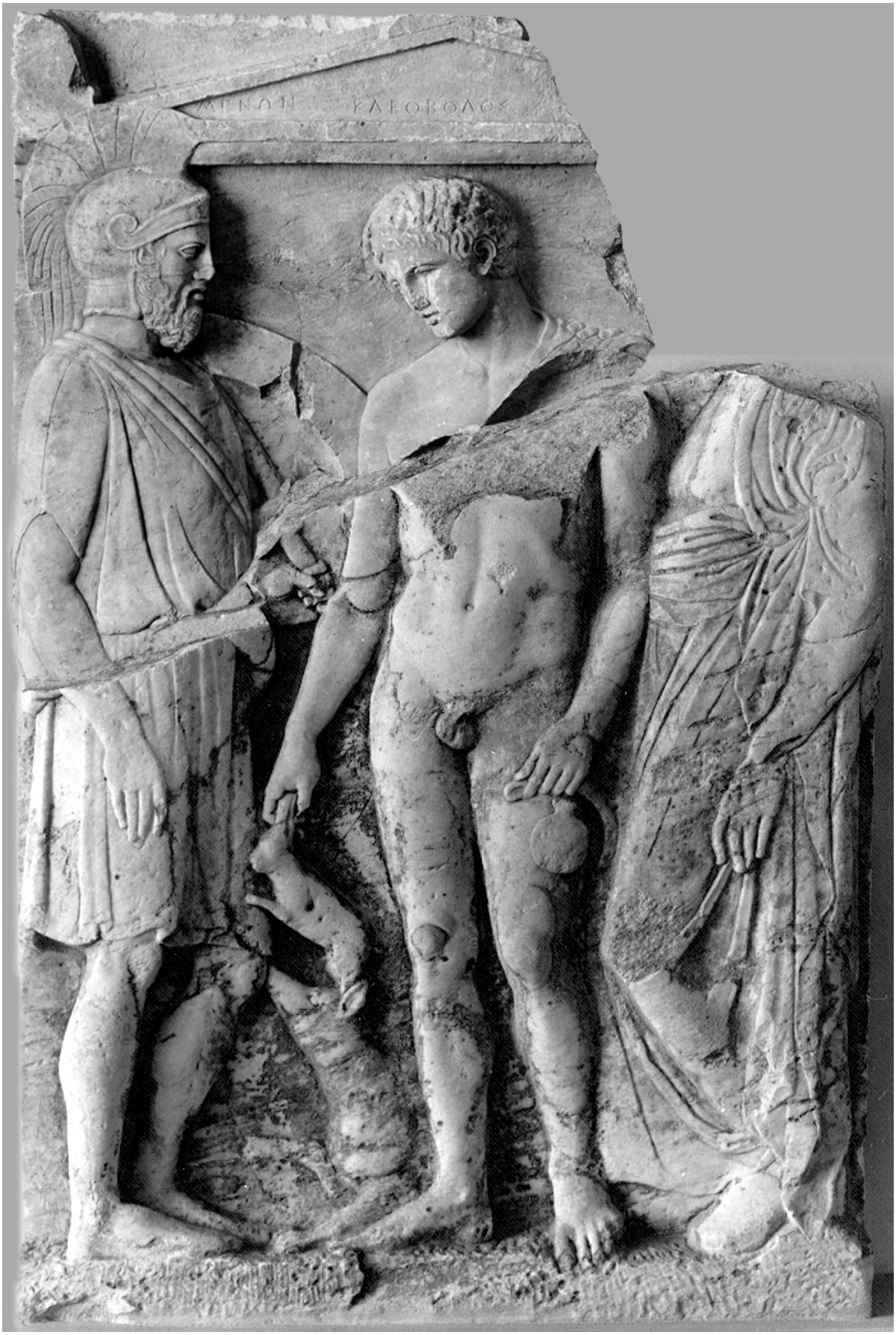


Fig. 163 – Cleobolus and Menon stele, Brauron, Archaeological Museum BE 6 (ca. 400).



Fig. 164 – (Aristobo)ulus stele, Berlin, Pergamon Museum 742 (ca. ca. 415-400).
(DAI Athens)



Fig. 165 – ‘Albani relief’, Rome, Villa Albani 80 (ca. 430).



Fig. 166 – Detail of the ‘Albani relief’, Rome, Villa Albani 80 (ca. 430).



Fig. 167 – Detail of the ‘Albani relief’, Rome, Villa Albani 80 (ca. 430).



Fig. 168 – Collage of the ‘Horseman’ lekythos, Athens NM 835 (ca. 415-400).



Fig. 169 – Detail of the ‘Horseman’ lekythos, Athens NM 835 (ca. 415-400).



Fig. 170 – Detail of the ‘Horseman’ lekythos, Athens NM 835 (ca. 415-400).

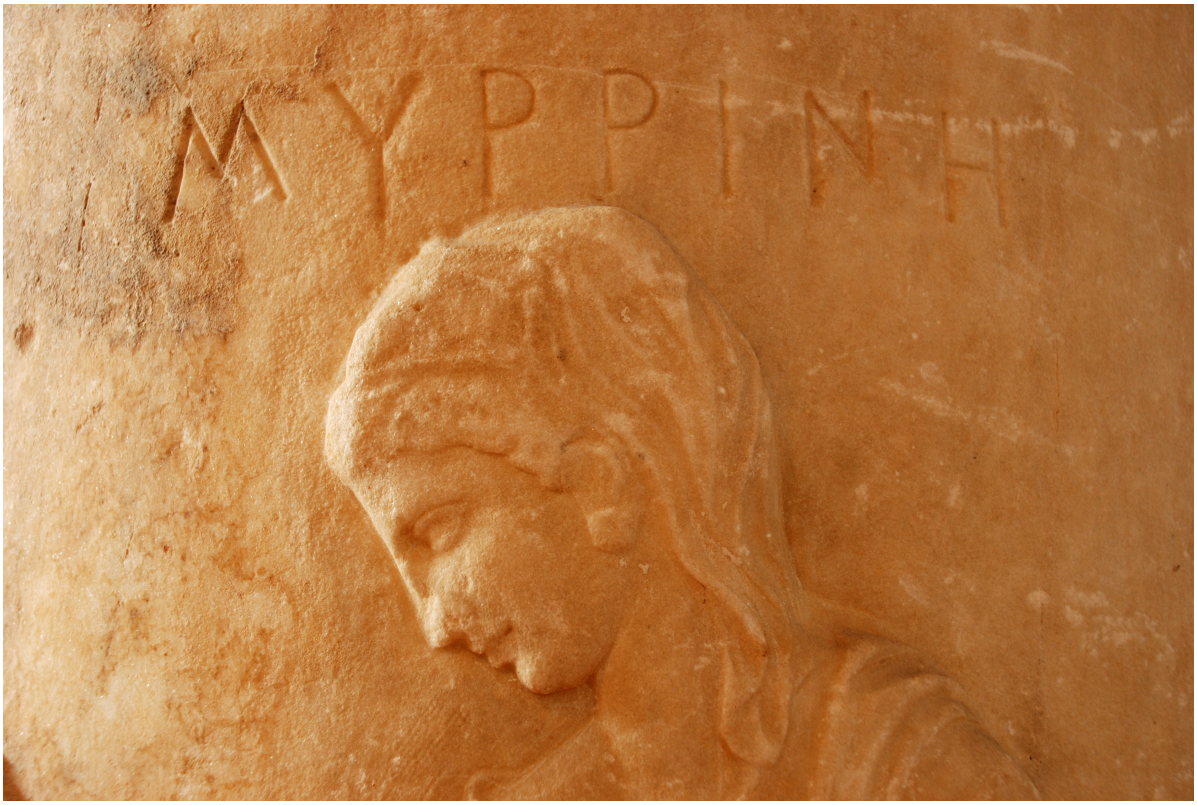


Fig. 171 – Myrrhine from the Myrrhine lekythos, Athens NM 4485 (ca. 415-430).



Fig. 172 – Detail of the Myrrhine lekythos, Athens NM 4485 (ca. 415-430).



Fig. 173 – ‘Chatsworth Head’, London 1958.4-18.1 (ca. 470-460).



Fig. 174 – Zeus hurling a thunderbolt, MMA 21.88.52 (ca. 500-475).



Fig. 175 – Discus thrower, MMA 07.286.87 (ca. 480-460).



Fig. 176 – Zeus and Ganymede group, Olympia (ca. 470).



Fig. 177 – Zeus and Ganymede group (details), Olympia (ca. 470).

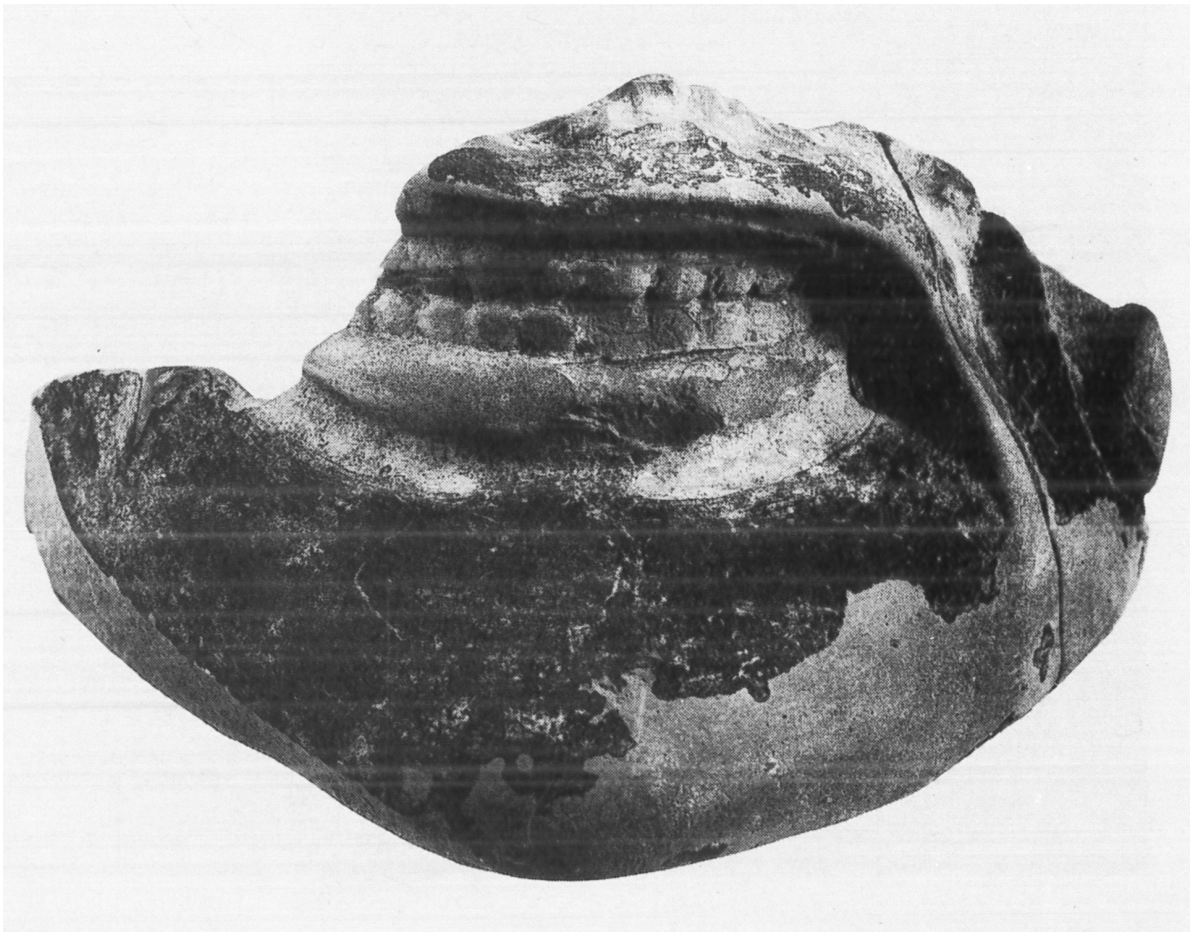


Fig. 178 – Lower face of a Giant, Athena-Giant group, Olympia (ca. 500).



Fig. 179 – Lower face of a satyr, Maenad-Satyr group (ca. 520-510).



Fig. 180 – Terracotta youth, Corinth (ca. 425-420).



Fig. 181 – Terracotta youth (detail), Corinth (ca. 425-420).

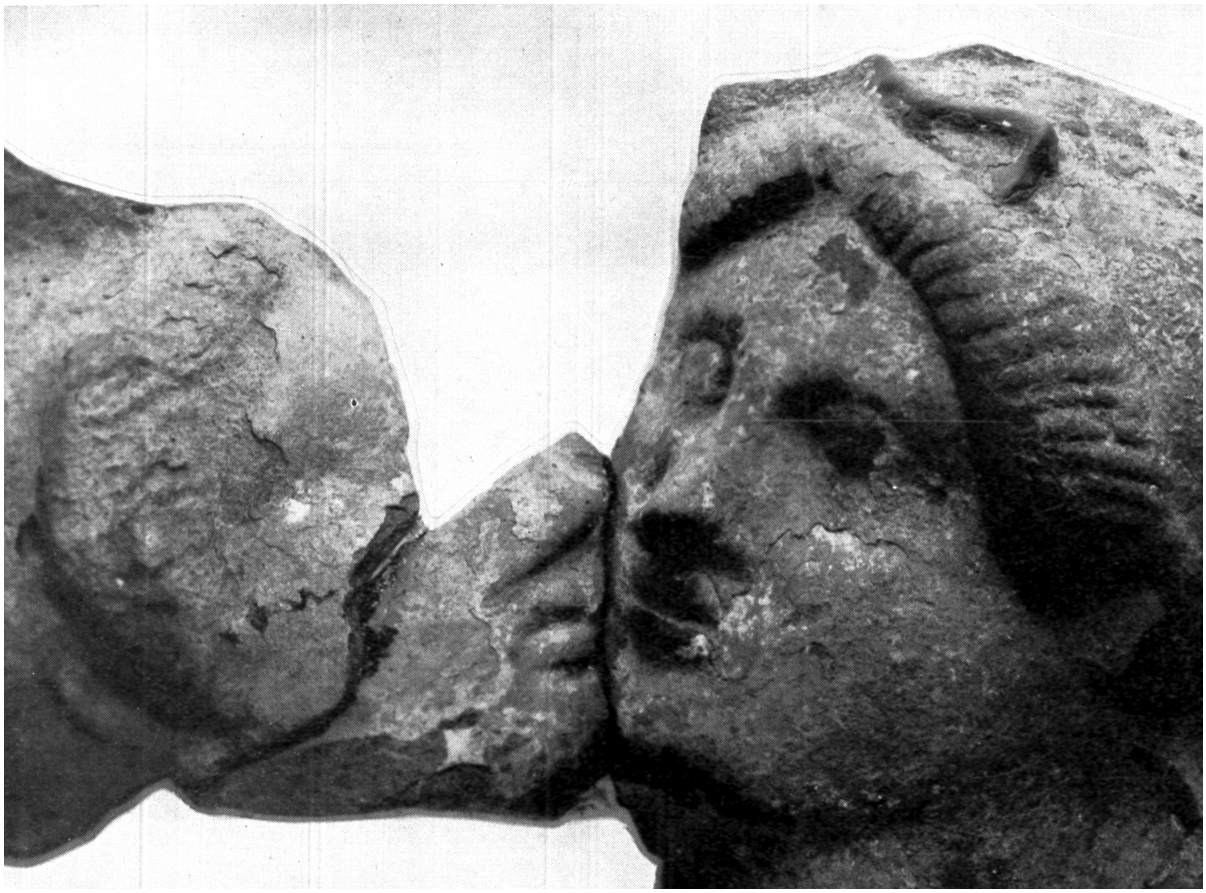


Fig. 182 – Kissing girls, Olynthus (ca. 410-400).



Fig. 183 – Protomes, Delos (ca. 550).



Fig. 184 – Protome, Olynthus (late fifth century).



Fig. 185 – 'Roettgen Pietà', Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn (ca. AD 1325).

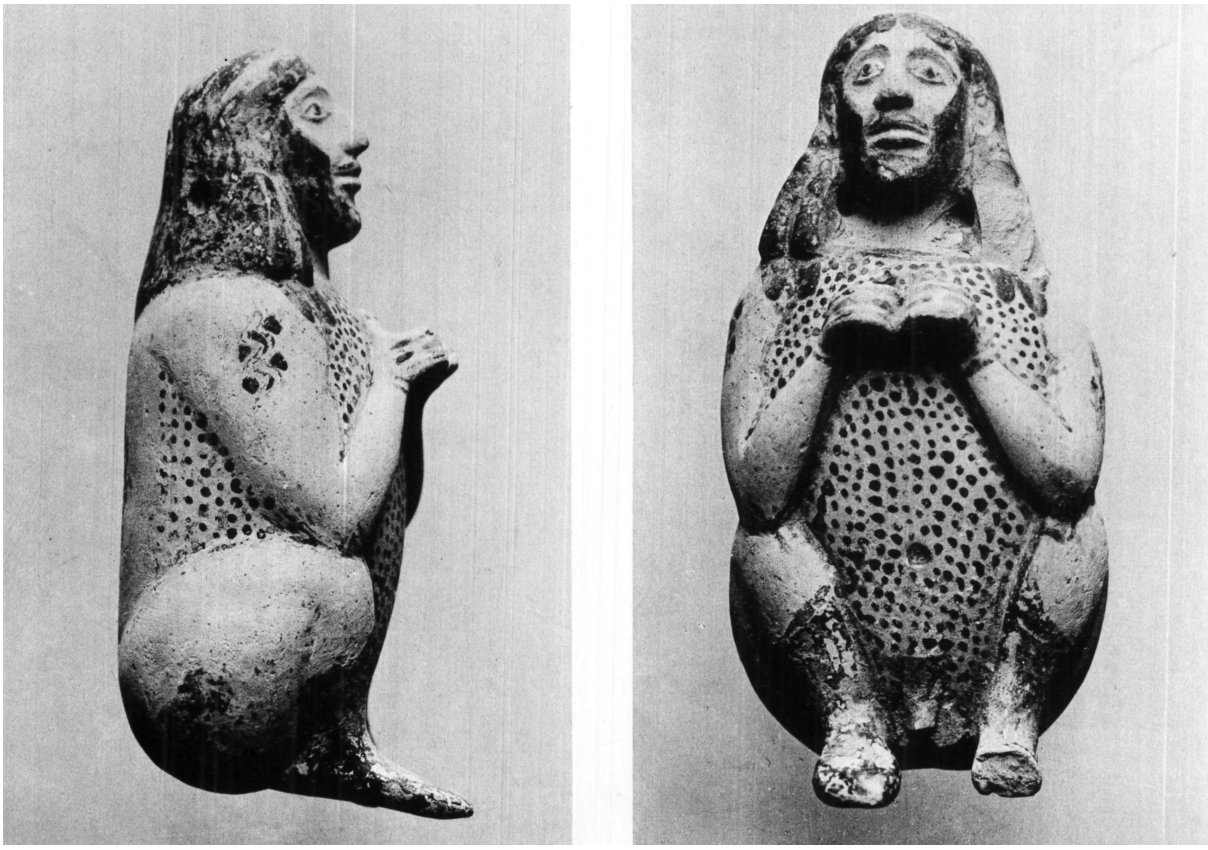


Fig. 186 – Squatting komast aryballos, Perachora (ca. 590).

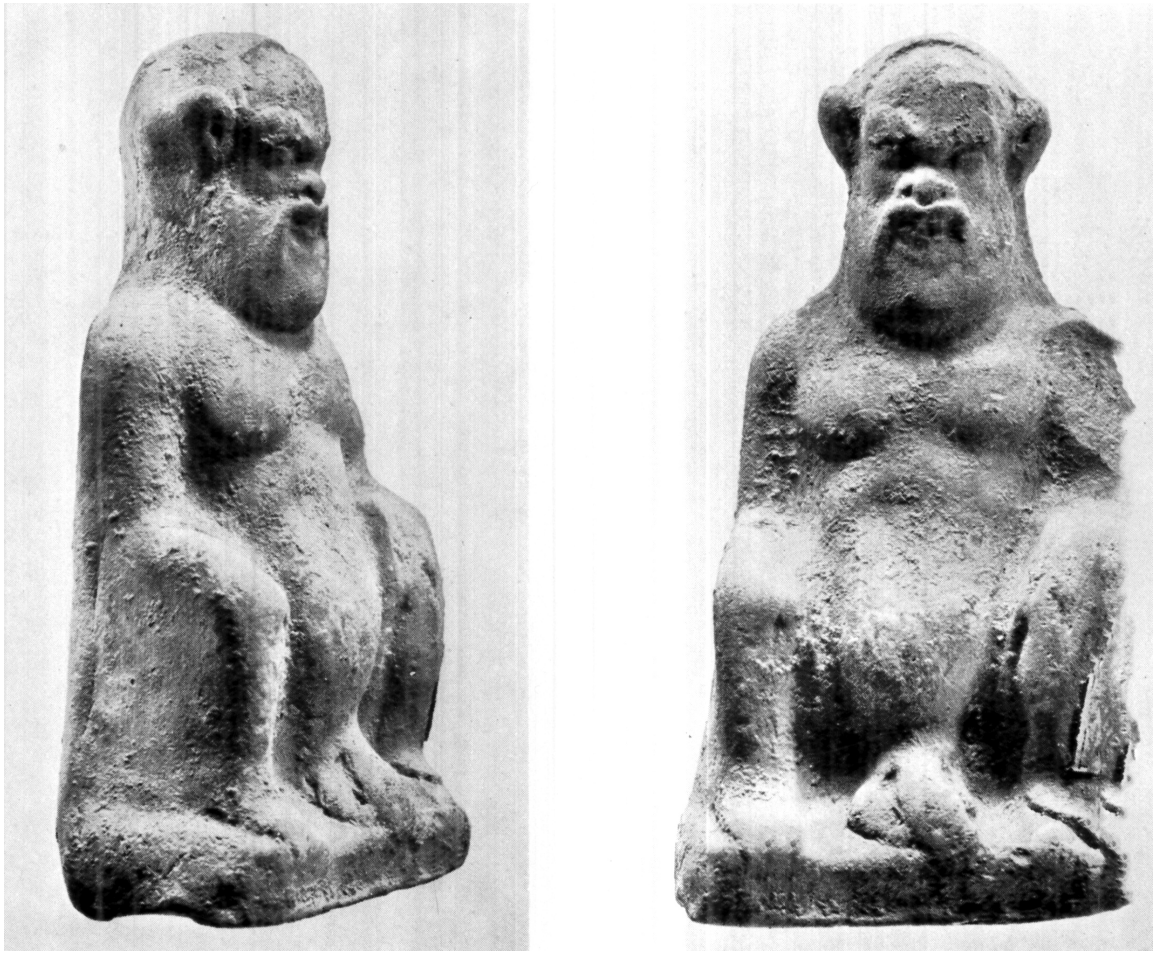


Fig. 187 – Terracotta figurine, Cabirion of Thebes (ca. 450-425).



Fig. 188 – Terracotta figurine, Cabirion of Thebes (ca. 450-425).



Fig. 189 – Terracotta figurine, Cabirion of Thebes (ca. 450).



Fig. 190 – Terracotta figurine, Cabirion of Thebes (ca. 450).



Fig. 191 – Terracotta figurine, Cabirion of Thebes, London 1996.3-26.2 (ca. 420-400).



Fig. 192 – Terracotta relief, Berlin TC 5783 (ca. 440).

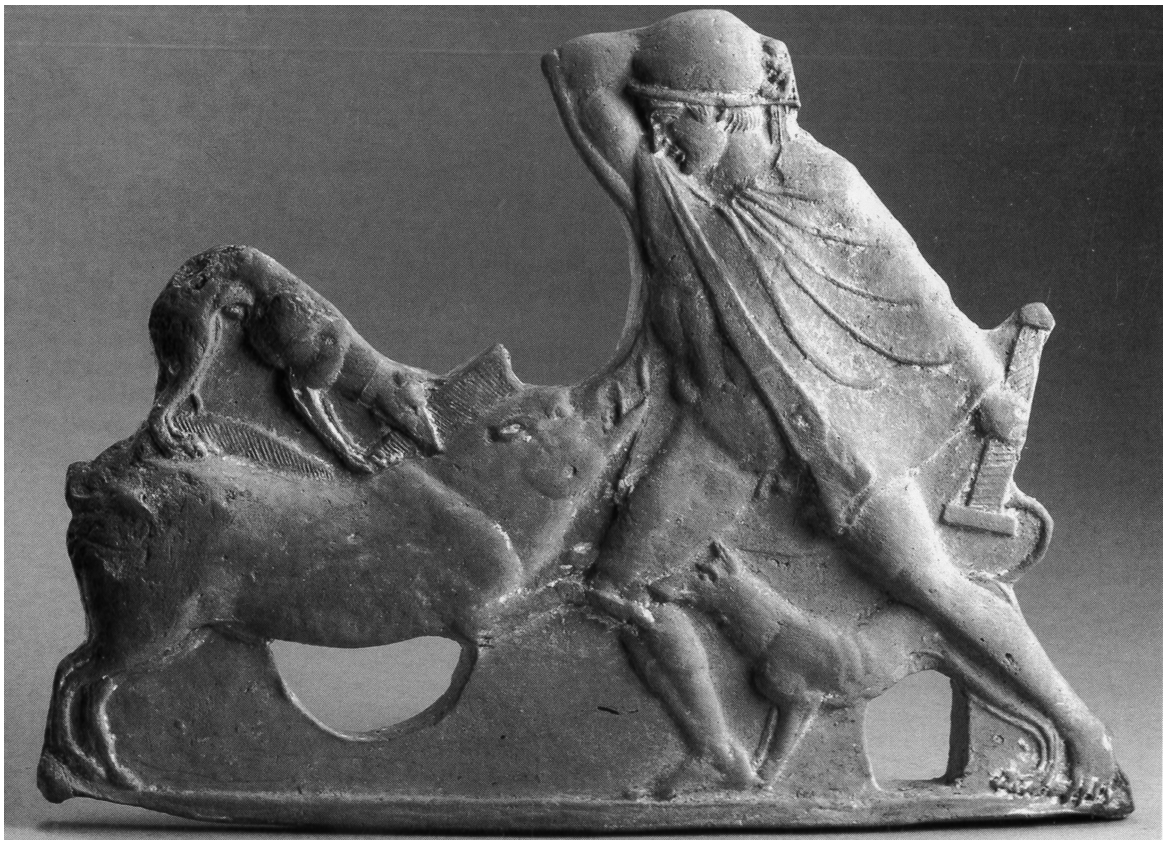


Fig. 193 – Terracotta relief, Munich N.I. 8943 (ca. 480-460).

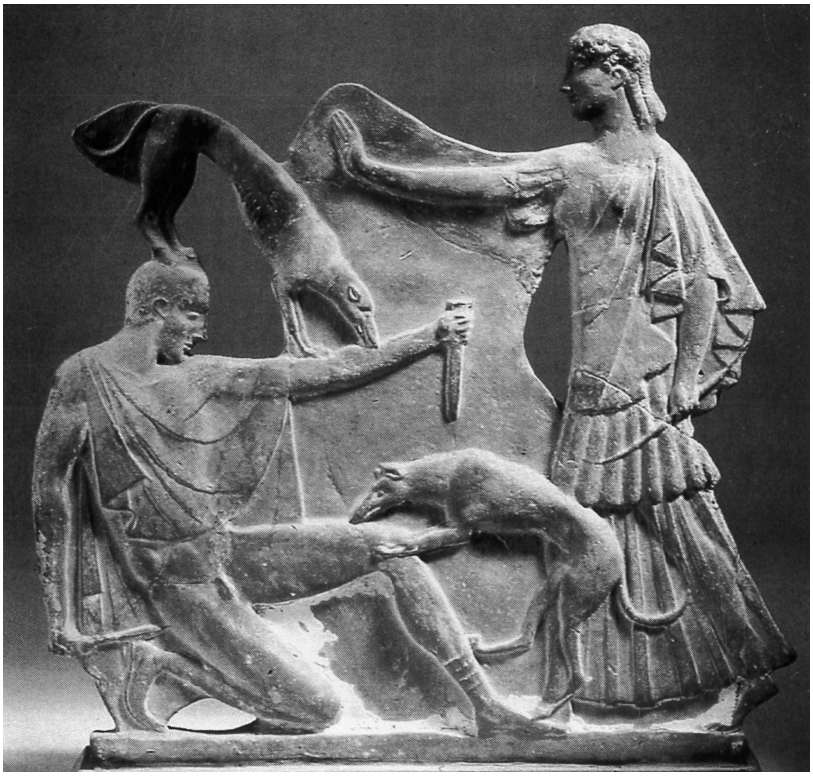


Fig. 194 – Terracotta relief, Naples CS 361 (ca. 480-470).

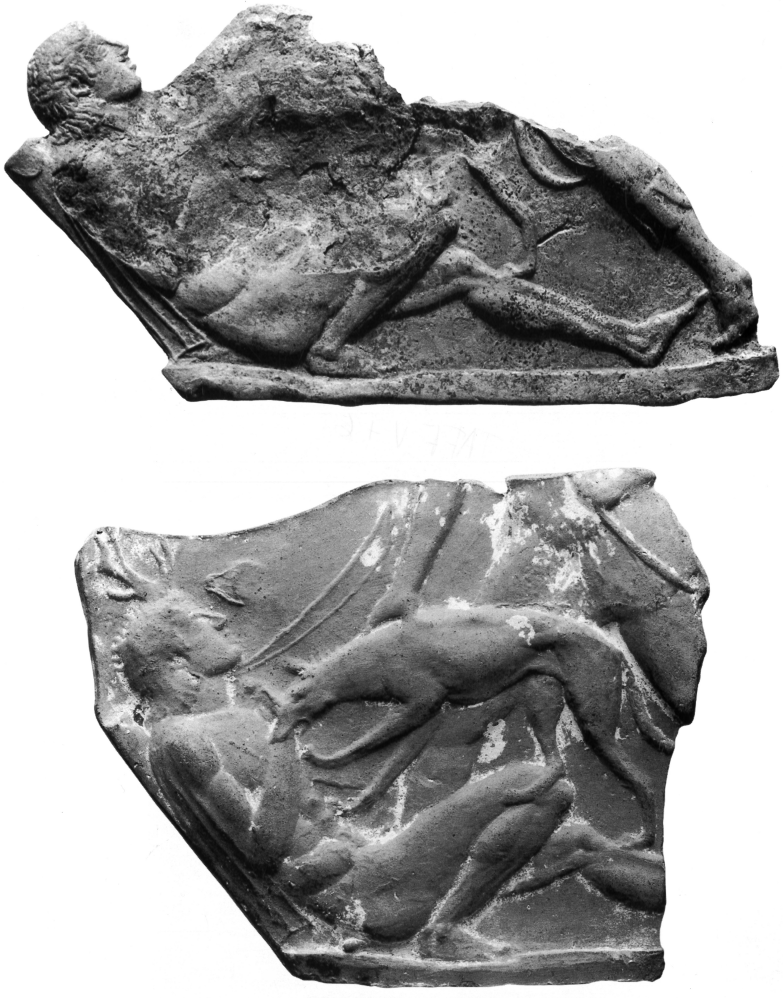


Fig. 195 – Terracotta reliefs, Athens NM 5906 & BM 1877.8-1.1 (ca. 480-470).

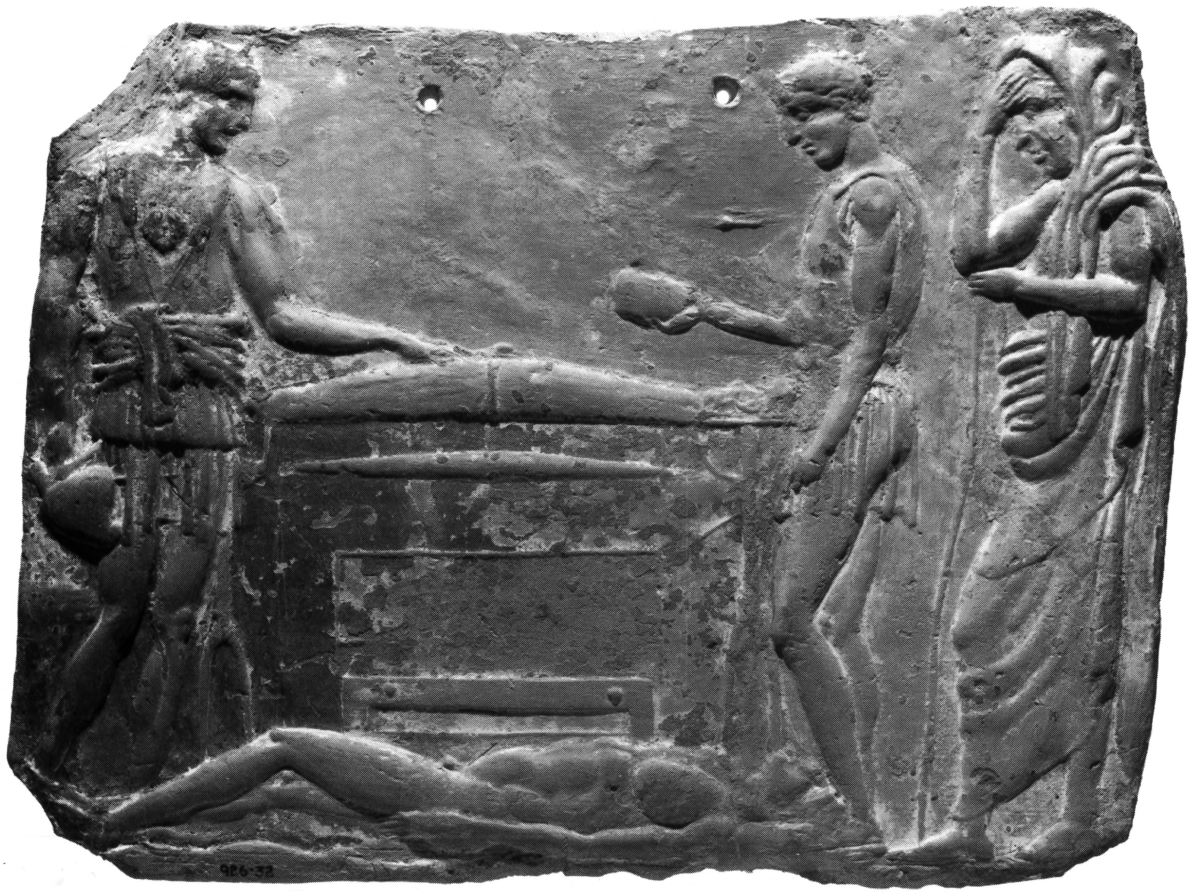


Fig. 196 – Terracotta relief, Royal Ontario Museum 926.32 (ca. 450-440).



Fig. 197 – Terracotta relief, Louvre MNB 1032 (ca. 470-460).



Fig. 198 – Rhyton in the Manner of the Sotades Painter, *ARV*^{2} 466.2, Boston MFA 98.881 (ca. 475-450).



Fig. 199 – Kantharos in Class W: The Persian Class, *ARV*^{2} 1550.3 (218694), London E 791 (ca. 410-400).



Fig. 200 – Kantharos in Class K: The Toronto Class, *ARV*^{2} 1537 (218428), ex San Simeon 9904 (ca. 480-450).

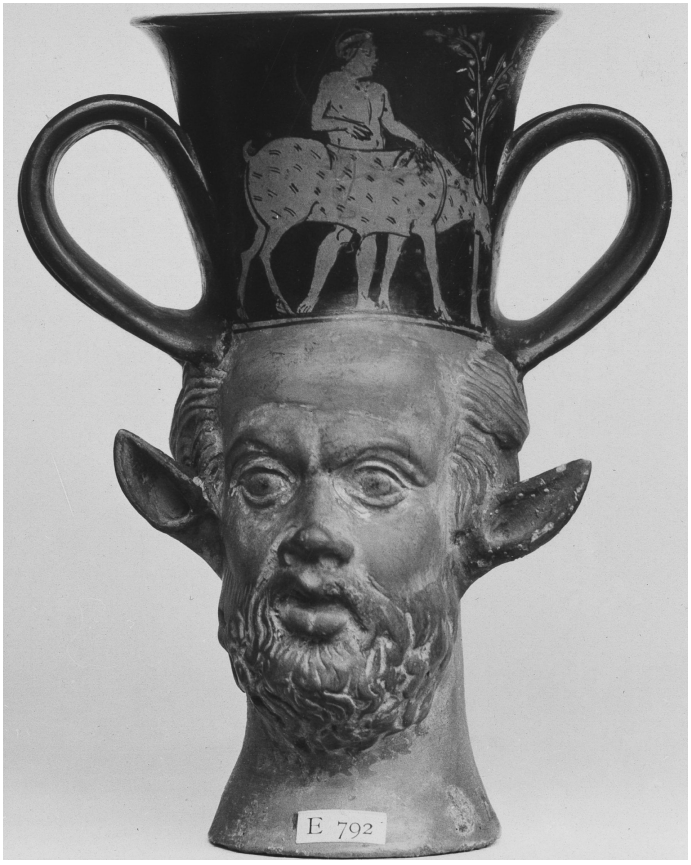


Fig. 201 – Kantharos in Class W: The Persian Class, *ARV*^{2} 1550.7 (218698), London E 792 (ca. 410-400).



Fig. 202 – Kantharos attributed to the Syriskos Painter and in Class M: The Vatican Class, *ARV*^{2} 266.82 & 1539.6, Boston 95.37 (ca. 480).



Fig. 203 – Kantharos attributed to Aison, *ARV*^{2} 1174.5, NY 27.122.9 (ca. 450-420).



Fig. 204 – Achilles and Ajax playing astragals, amphora signed by Exekias as painter, *ABV* 145.13 (310395), Vatican, Museo Etrusco Gregoriano 344, (ca. 540).

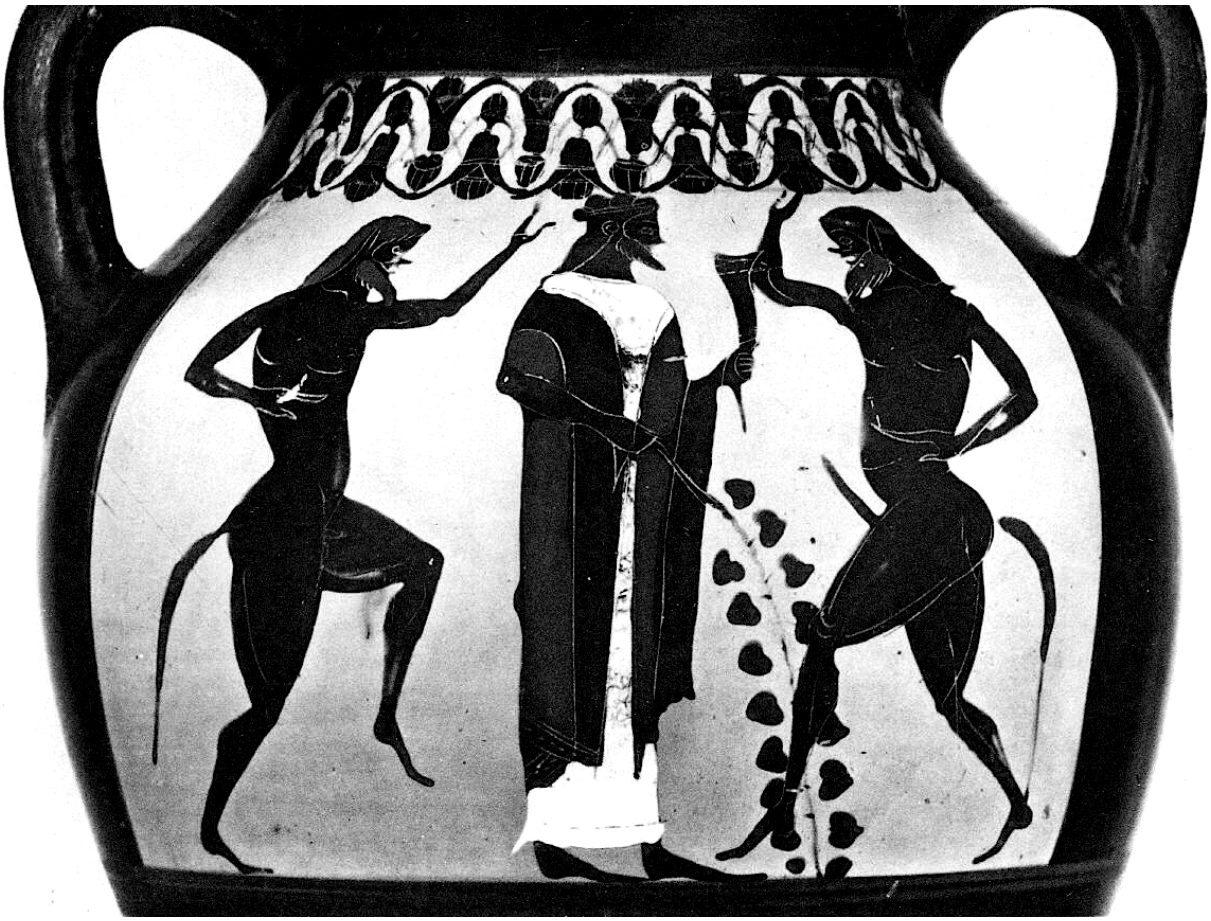


Fig. 205 – Two satyrs flanking Dionysus, amphora from Group E, *ABV* 135.42 (310302), Munich 1394 (ca. 540).

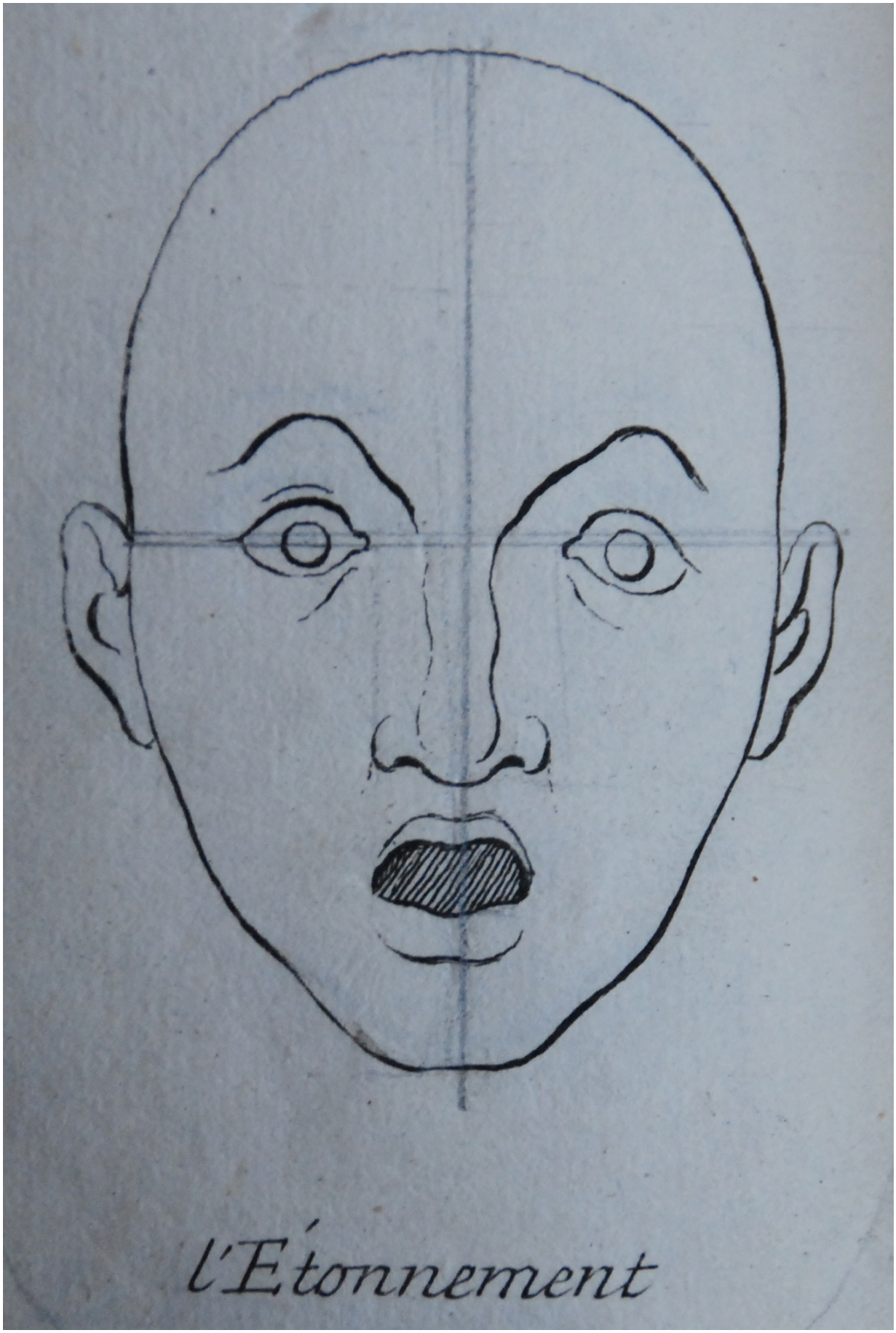


Fig. 206 – 'l'Étonnement' from C. Le Brun, *Méthode Pour apprendre à Dessiner Les Passions* (Amsterdam, 1702). fig. 2.



Fig. 207 – Dionysus flanked by two pairs of hunters, amphora attributed to the Amasis Painter, *ABV* 150.7 (310434), Munich 1383 (ca. 540).

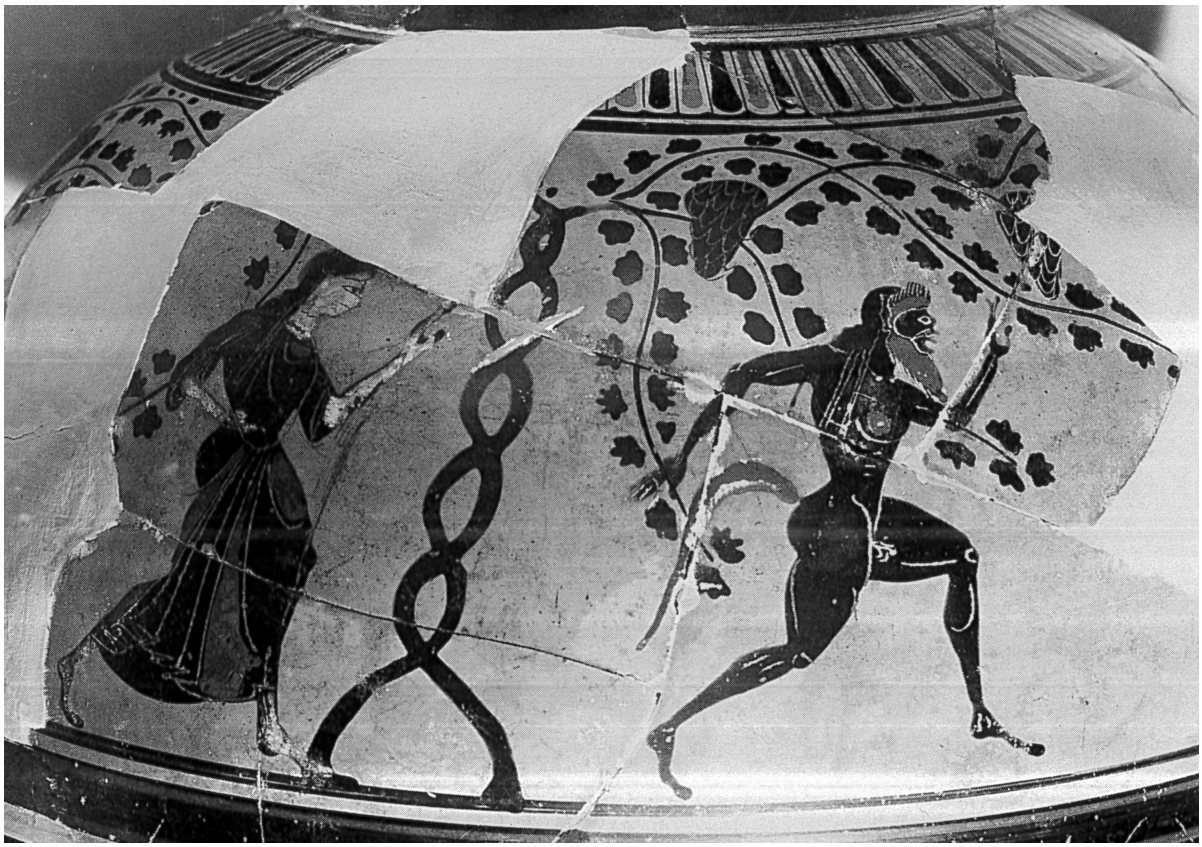


Fig. 208 – Maenad chasing a satyr, psykter attributed to the Antimenes Painter, *ABV* 275.136 (320147); Paris CP 12296 (ca. 520).



Fig. 209 – Dionysus riding a mule violated by a satyr with maenads and a satyr looking on, amphora attributed to the Painter of Boston 01.17, *Para* 144.4quarter (301662), Boston 01.17 (ca. 520).



Fig. 210 – Heracles attacking a Centaur, amphora from the Medea Group, Malibu 88.AE.24 (ca. 515).



Fig. 211 – Achilles piercing the throat of Penthsilea, amphora signed by Exekias as painter, *ABV* 144.7 (310389); London B 210 (ca. 540).



Fig. 212 – Heracles attacking three Centaurs, amphora from the Group of Toronto 305, *ABV* 283.9 (320254), Vatican 388 (ca. 520).



Fig. 213 – Two Centaurs attacking Caineus, amphora attributed to the Antimenes Painter, *ABV* 271.75 (320086); NY 69.233.1 (ca. 520).

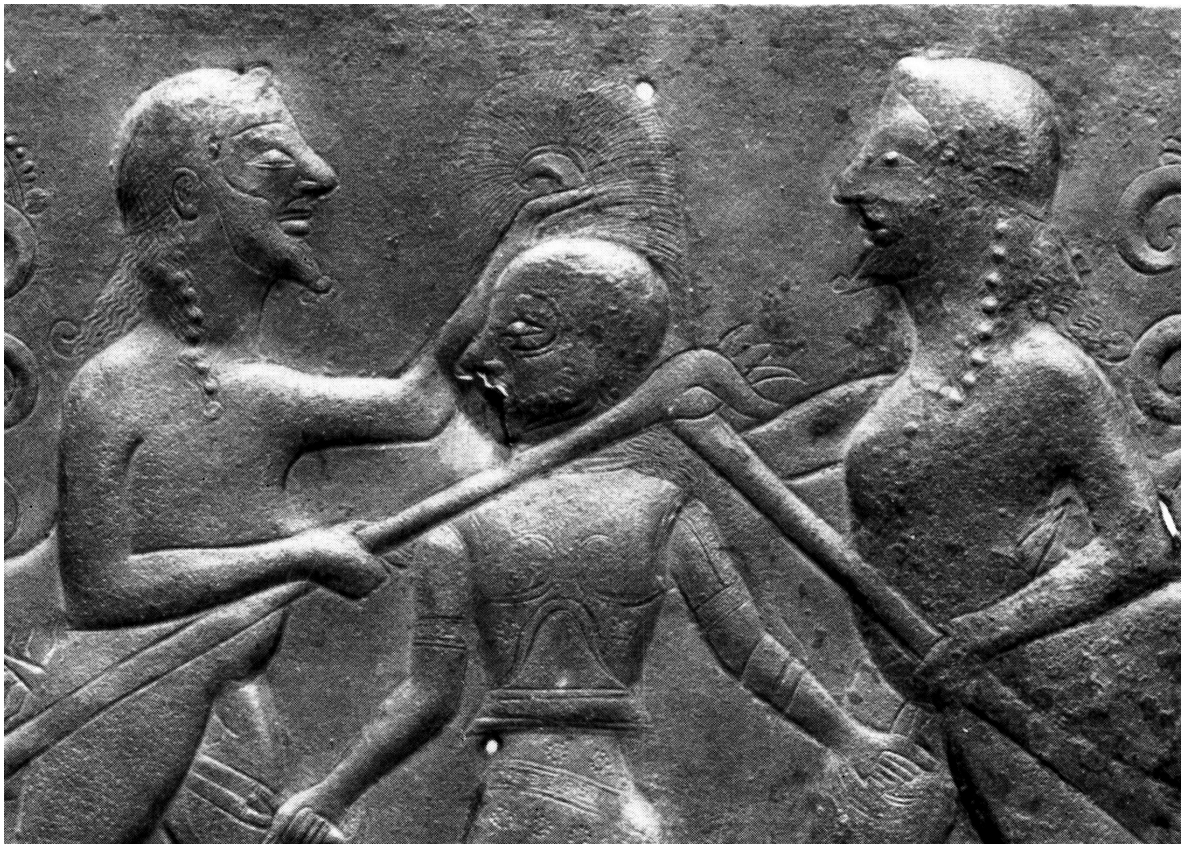


Fig. 214 – Detail of a bronze plaque dedicated at the Sanctuary of Zeus, Olympia. Caineus attacked by two Centaurs (ca. 650).



Fig. 215 – Heracles with Eurytion and Geryon, amphora attributed to the Madrid Painter, *ABV* 329.5 (301769), New York, Callimanopoulos (ca. 515).



Fig. 216 – Detail of Geryon, amphora attributed to the Madrid Painter, *ABV* 329.5 (301769), New York, Callimanopoulos (ca. 515).



Fig. 217 – Eurystheus being given the boar, amphora attributed to the Antimenes Painter, *ABV* 269.49 (320059), Oxford 1965.115 (ca. 520).

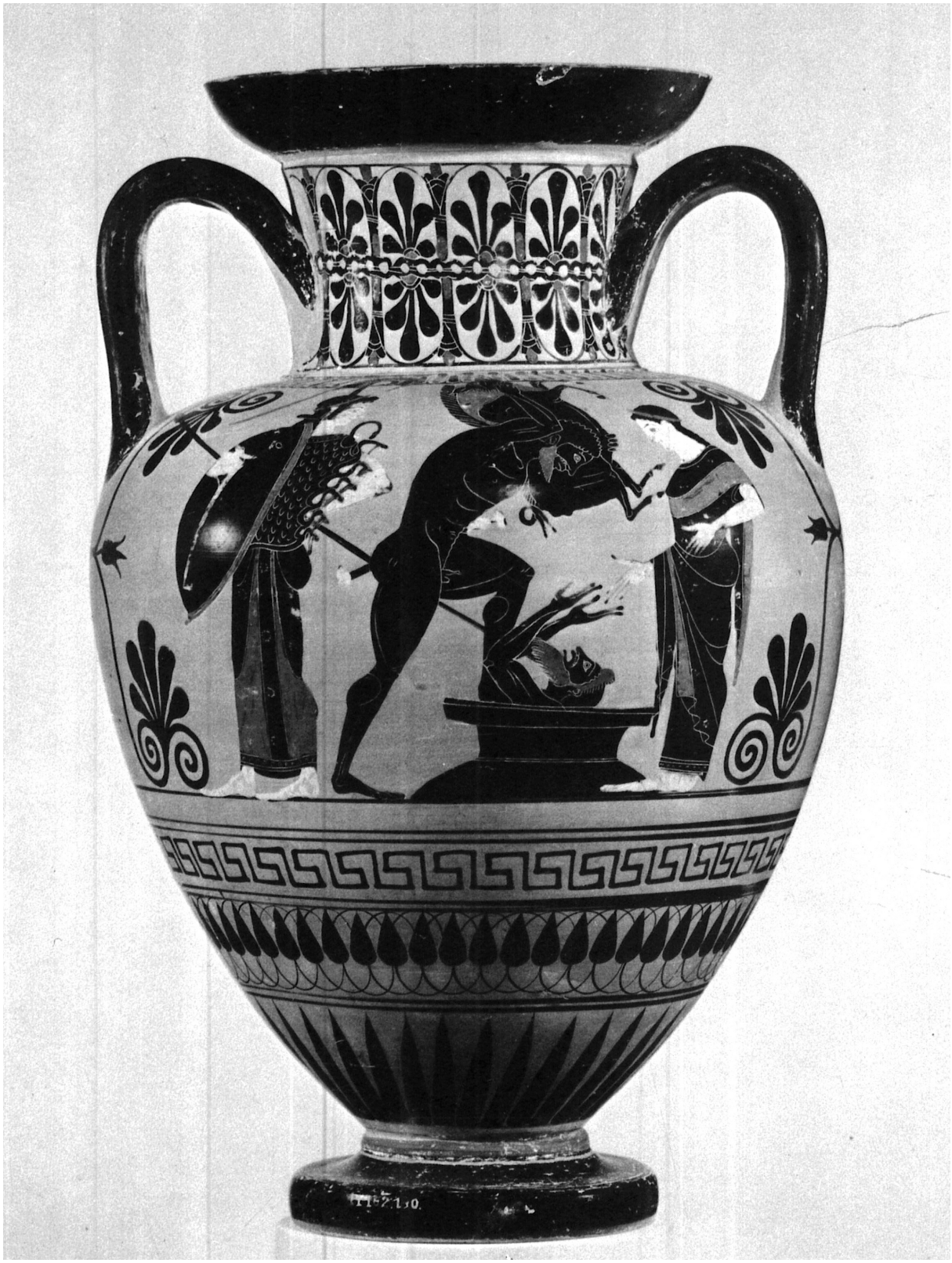


Fig. 218 – Heracles delivering the boar, amphora from the Group of Würzburg 199, *ABV* 287.1 (320304), NY 41.162.190 (ca. 520).

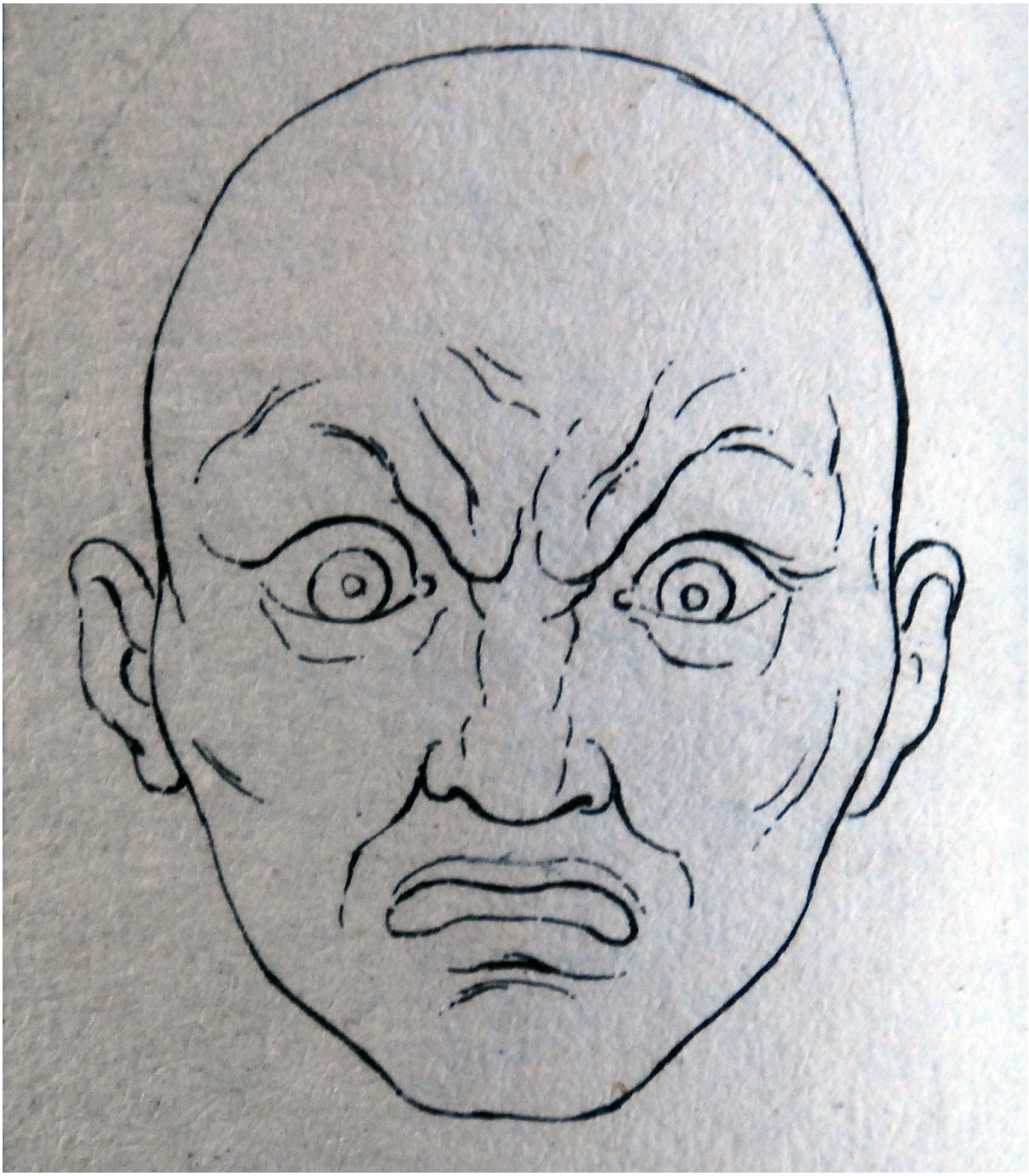


Fig. 219 – 'L'Horreur' from C. Le Brun, *Méthode Pour apprendre à Dessiner Les Passions* (Amsterdam, 1702). fig. 9.



Fig. 220 – Heroes quarrelling, amphora from the Leagros Group,
ABV 363.38 (302033); London, British Museum B327 (ca. 510).



Fig. 221 – Warrior departure, amphora in the manner of the Antimenes Painter,
ABV 279.47 (320208); London B161, (ca. 520).

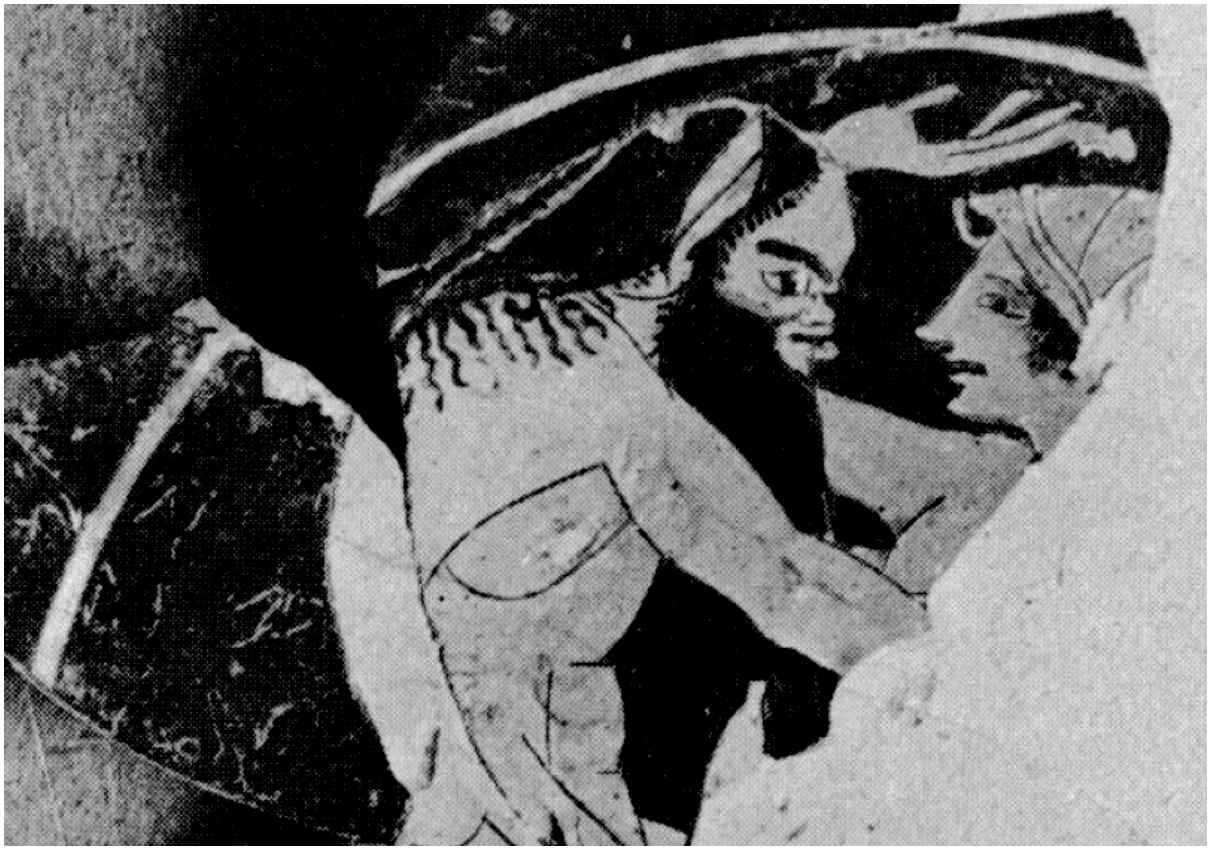


Fig. 222 – Satyr attacking a maenad, Nikosthenic cup fragment, *ARV*^{2} 87(.13) (200679), ex Munich (ca. 510).

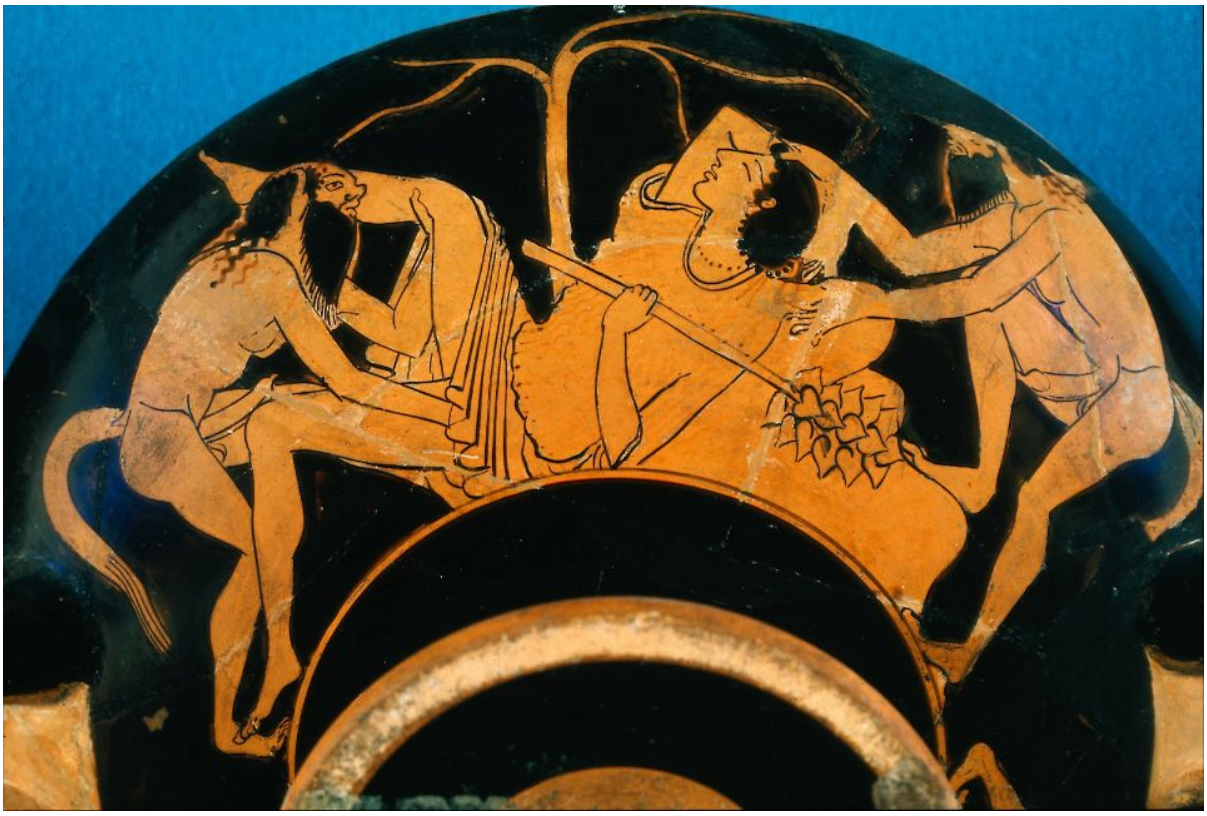


Fig. 223 – Satyrs approaching a sleeping maenad, kylix attributed to Makron as painter, *ARV*^{2} 461.36 (204718), Boston 01.8072 (ca. 470).



Fig. 224 – Achilles and Penthesilea, hydria attributed to the Berlin Painter, *ARV*^{2} 209.169 (201987), NY 10.210.19 (ca. 510).

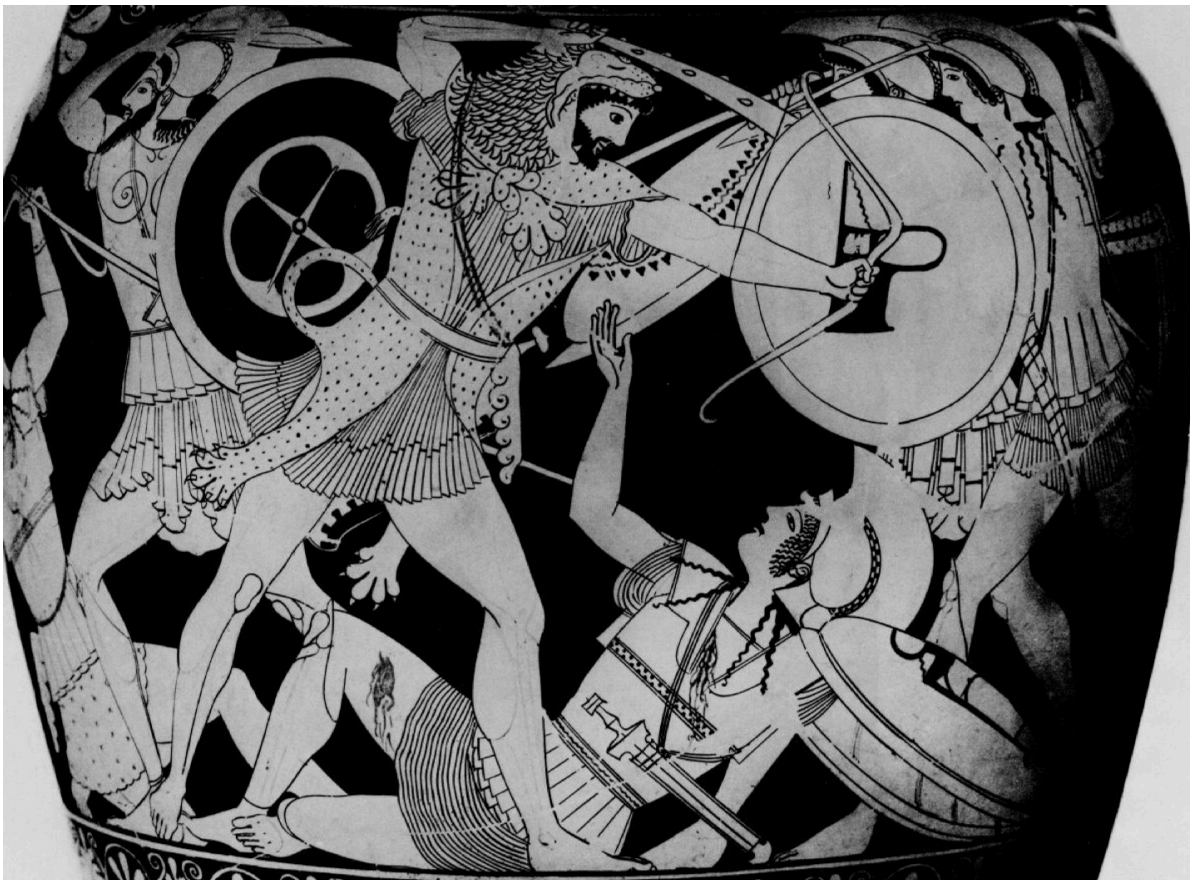


Fig. 225 – Heracles against the Amazons, neck amphora attributed to the Berlin Painter, *ARV*^{2} 199.30bis (275091), Basel BS 453 (ca. 500).



Fig. 226 – Telamon (?) against the Amazons, neck amphora attributed to the Berlin Painter, *ARV*[2] 199.30bis (275091), Basel BS 453 (ca. 500).

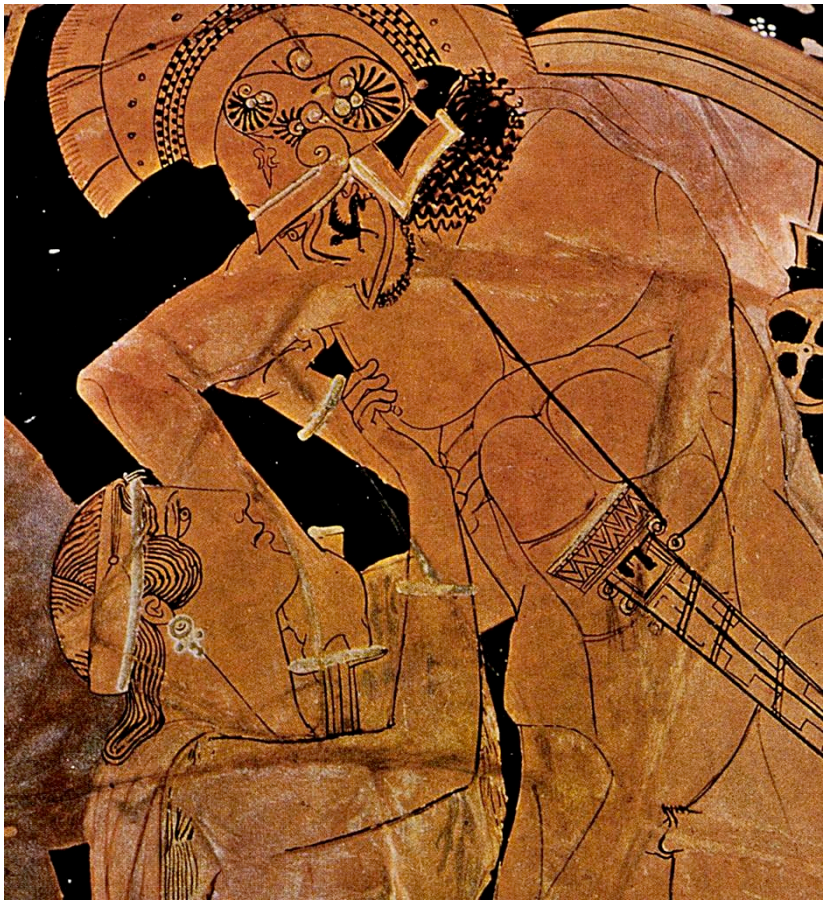


Fig. 227 – Achilles and Penthesilea, interior of a cup attributed to the Penthesilea Painter, *ARV*[2] 879.1 (211565), Munich 2688 (ca. 460).

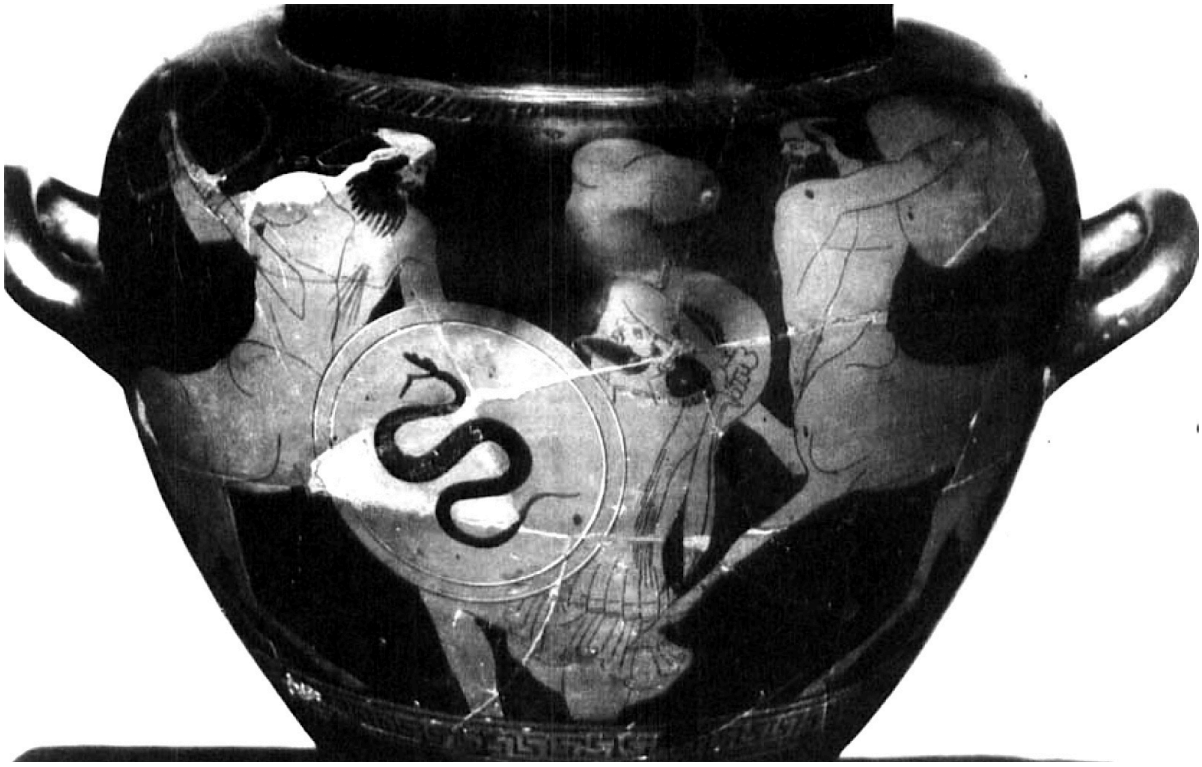


Fig. 228 – Centaurs attacking Caineus, stamnos attributed to the Kleophrades Painter, *ARV*^{2} 187.58 (201756), Louvre G 55 (ca. 490).

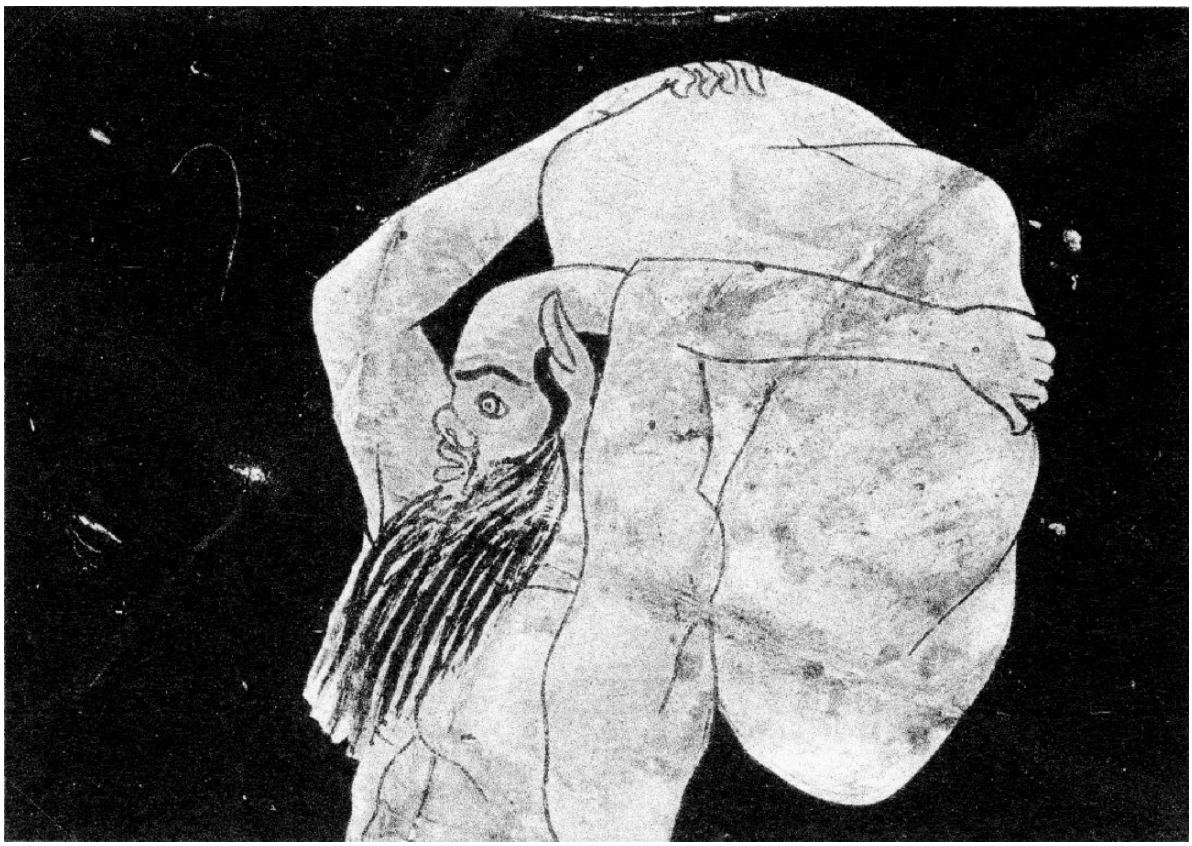


Fig. 229 – Centaur hurling a boulder, neck amphora attributed to the Kleophrades Painter, *ARV*^{2} 183.12 (201665), Munich 2316 (ca. 490).



Fig. 230 – Centaur quadriga, oinochoe attributed to the Nikias Painter, *ARV*^{2} 1335.34 (217495), Louvre N3408 (ca. 410).



Fig. 231 – Theseus (?), fragment in the manner of the Aegisthus Painter, *ARV*^{2} 507.2 (205706), Athens Acr. 628 (ca. 450).



Fig. 232 – Athena, Heracles and a Giant, pelike attributed to the Syleus Painter, *ARV*^{2} 255.2 (202916), Louvre G 228 (ca. 490).

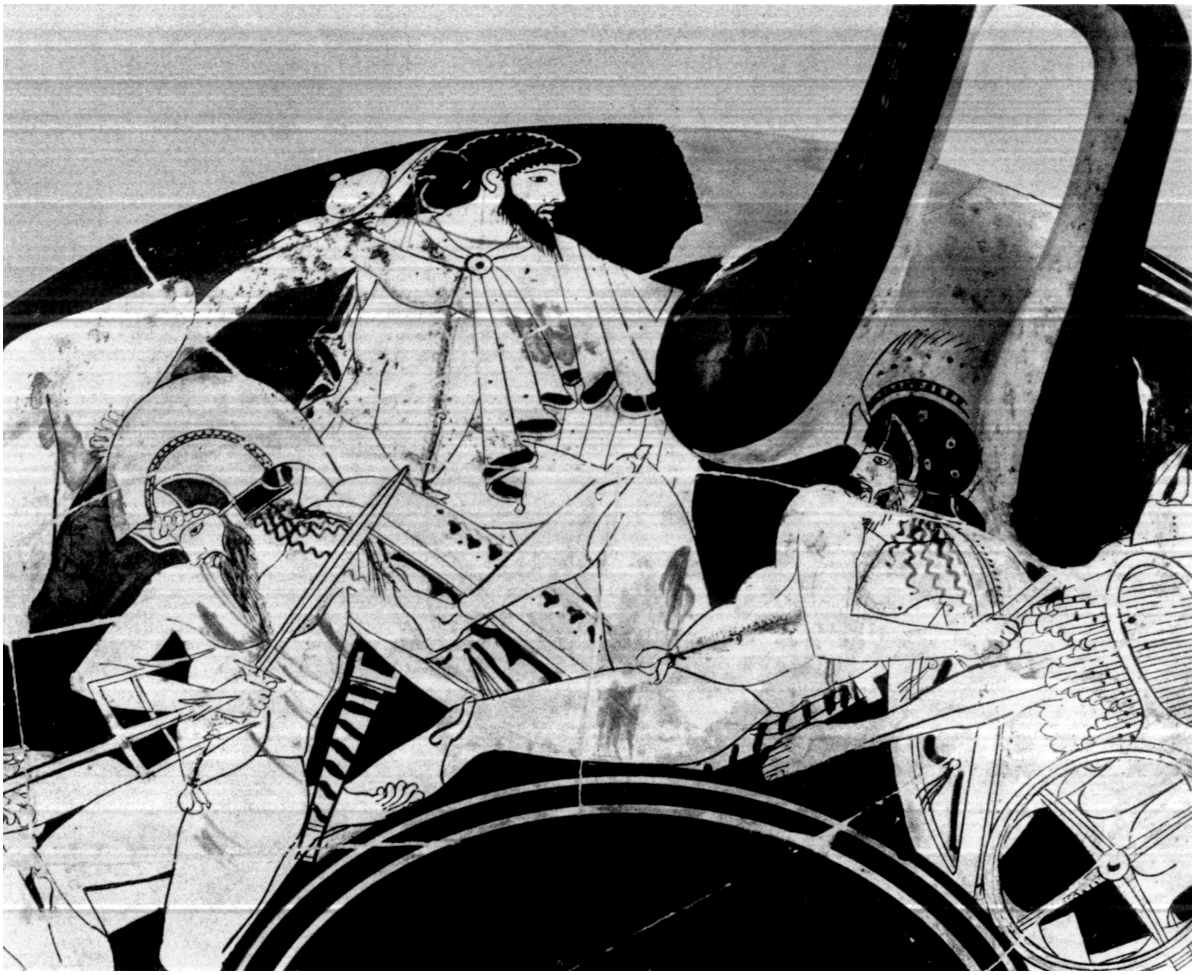


Fig. 233 – Hermes and Giants, cup attributed to the Brygos Painter, *ARV*^{2} 370.1 (203909), Berlin F 2293 (ca. 490).



Fig. 234 – Agamemnon as arbiter, cup attributed to the Brygos Painter,
Para 367.1bis (275946), Malibu 86.AE.286 (ca. 490).



Fig. 235 – Suicide of Ajax, cup attributed to the Brygos Painter,
Para 367.1bis (275946), Malibu 86.AE.286 (ca. 490).



Fig. 236 – Busiris, stamnos from the Group of London E 311,
ARV^2 216.4 (202323), Oxford 521 (ca. 490).



Fig. 237 – Temple attendants, stamnos from the Group of London E 311,
ARV^2 216.4 (202323), Oxford 521 (ca. 490).



Fig. 238 – Hector and Ajax, cup signed by Douris as painter,
ARV^2 434.74 (205119), Louvre G 115 (ca. 480).

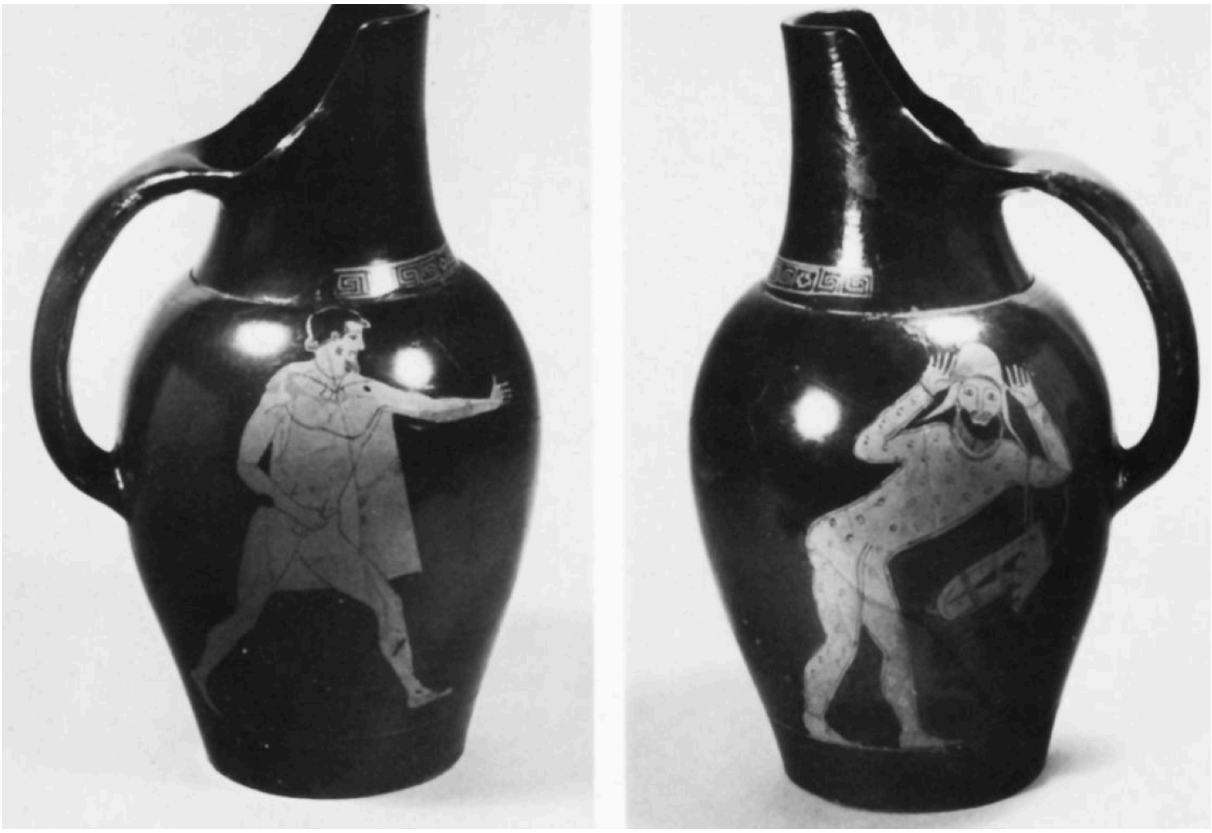


Fig. 239 – Greek and 'Eurymedon', oinochoe in the manner of the Triptolemos Painter,
(1107), Hamburg 1981.173 (ca. 465).



Fig. 240 – Greek and Persian, neck amphora comparable to the Yale Oinochoe Painter, *ARV*^{2} 1656 (bottom) (275257), NY 06.1021.117 (ca. 475).



Fig. 241 – Man vomiting, cup fragment attributed to the Brygos Painter, *ARV*^{2} 374.60 (203958), NY 22.139.80 (ca. 480).



Fig. 242 – Man vomiting, cup attributed to Douris, *ARV*^{2} 427.2 (205046), Vatican 16561 (ca. 500).



Fig. 243 – Zeus and Ganymede (top), and Aegina (bottom), kantharos attributed to the Brygos Painter, *ARV*^{2} 381.182 (204081), Boston 95.36 (ca. 485).



Fig. 244 – Lovemaking, cup fragments attributed to Onesimos,
Para 360.74quater (275918), Boston 65.873 (ca. 500).



Fig. 245 – Lovemaking, cup fragments attributed to Onesimos,
ARV^2 325.74bis (203337), Malibu 86.AE.284 (ca. 500).

(*CVA*)



Fig. 246 – Lovemaking, interior of a cup attributed to the Dokimasia Painter, *ARV*^{2} 412.10 (204492), London E 818 (ca. 480).

(Museum)

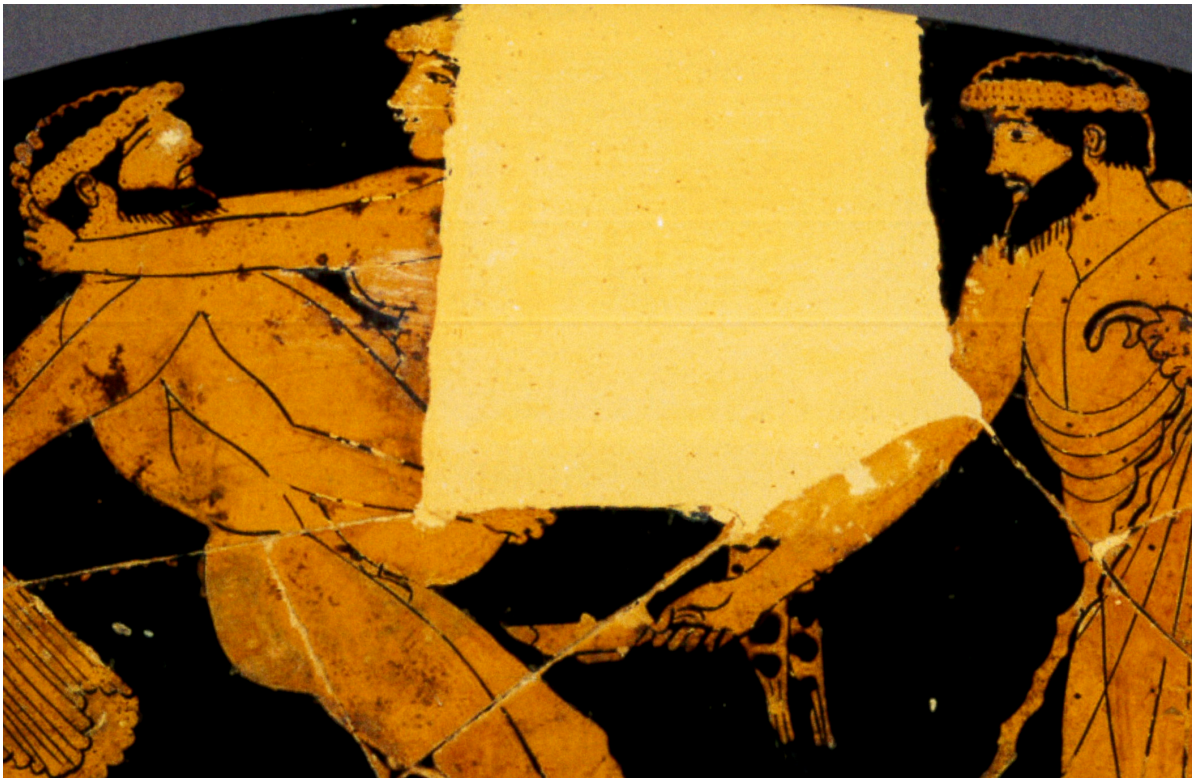


Fig. 247 – Lovemaking, cup attribtued to the Brygos Painter, *ARV*^{2} 372.31 (203929), Florence 3291 (ca. 480).



Fig. 248 – Man and snake, white-ground cup attributed to Sotades as painter, *ARV*^{2} 763.3 (209460), London D7 (ca. 475-450).



Fig. 249 – Visitation to the grave, white-ground lekythos attributed to the Bosanquet Painter, *ARV*^{2} 1227.5 (216333), NY 23.160.38 (ca. 440-430).



Fig. 250 – Woman mourning, white-ground lekythos comparable to the Painter of Athens 1934, *ARV*^{2} 1236 (216468), NY 22.139.10 (ca. 440-430).



Fig. 251 – Woman mourning, white-ground lekythos attributed to the Sabouroff Painter, *ARV*^{2} 845.171 (212319), Munich SS76 (ca. 470-455).



Fig. 252 – Collage of a visitation to the grave, white-ground lekythos attributed to the Phiale Painter, *ARV*^{2} 1022.139bis (214321), Athens NM 19355 (ca. 460-430).



Fig. 253 – Man mourning, white-ground lekythos attributed to the Achilles Painter, (8941), Berlin 1983.1 (ca. 450).

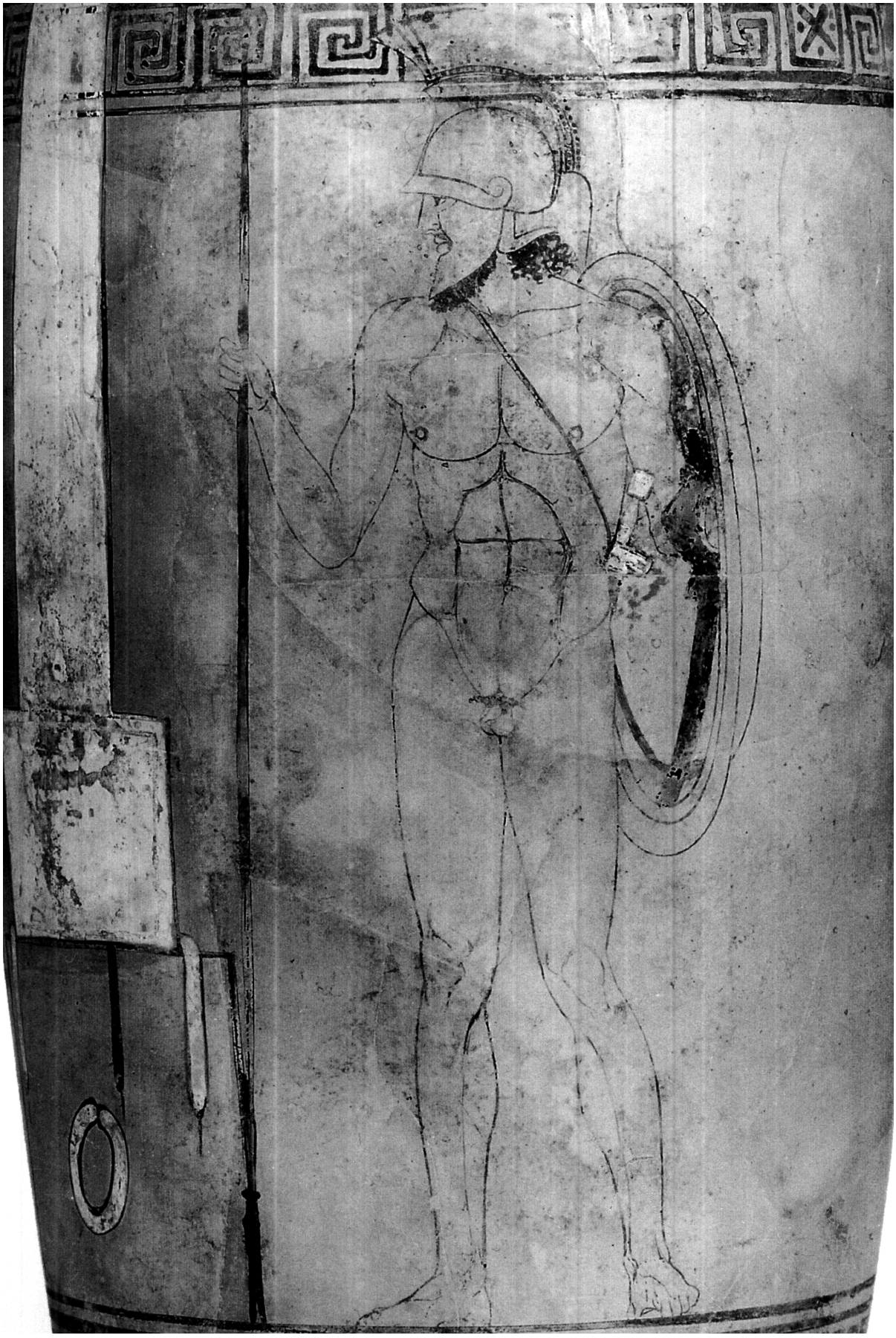


Fig. 254 – Warrior at the tomb, white-ground lekythos attributed to the Achilles Painter, (8941), Berlin 1983.1 (ca. 450).

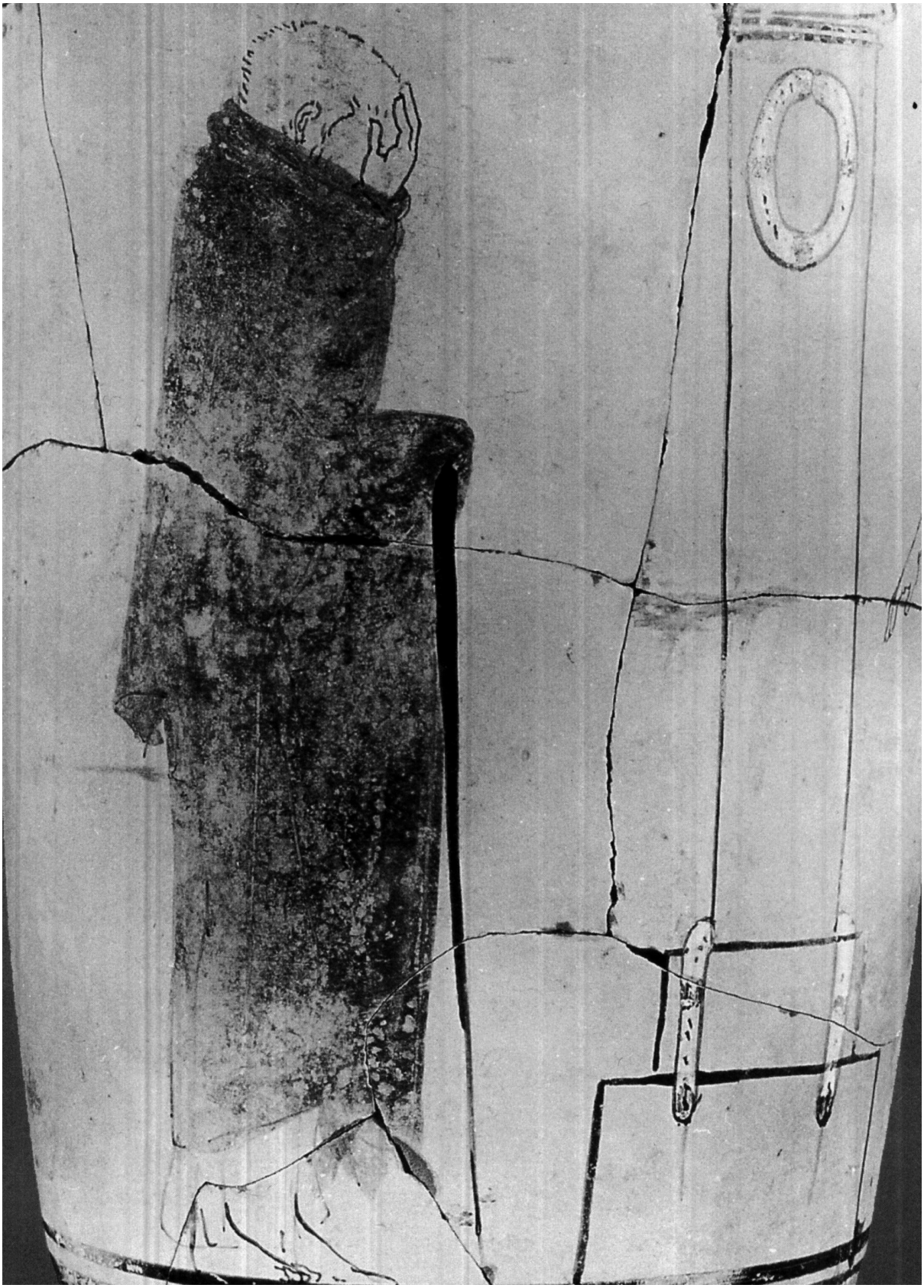


Fig. 255 – Man mourning, white-ground lekythos attributed to the Achilles Painter, (8940), Athens Acr. 6473 (ca. 450)