II FREESTANDING SCULPTURE

In 2003, the 150th anniversary of the birth of Adolf Furtwängler was celebrated with an exhibition in his home town of Freiburg, accompanied by a memorial volume and an international symposium.[1] His influence on Greek sculptural studies through emphasis on the search for individual craftsmen via Roman copies continues, particularly in Germany and the USA. The mystery of the 'whodunit' is still strong, and the cult of the creative artist is too deeply ingrained in our own thinking to be totally jettisoned for other, more impersonal considerations. There is such an innate desire to link a work of art to a name that, over the years, there has been a tendency to concentrate on the few names that have been vouchsafed to us from classical texts and the random discovery of inscriptions carrying the names of sculptors (the earliest dating from *c.* 600 BC).[2] Recent major exhibitions have centred round the sculptors Polykleitos, Praxiteles, and Lysippos,[3] and there are studies that have highlighted the conjectural personalities of these and other named artists. Pollitt has declared his allegiance to this traditional approach:

> Those who believe that ancient Greek art, like that of all other places and times, was the result of the insights, instincts, taste and choices of individual artists and not the product of impersonal, mechanical, evolutionary forces have good reason for wanting to carry on the tradition of Furtwängler.[4]

Opponents of this view have been growing in numbers over the past decades. They claim that historical change and not the individual artist was the chief cause of stylistic evolution, and pronounce the personal approach as 'guesswork', 'too modern', 'incomplete', given that the dependence on literary sources and inscriptions is biased and partial. Absence of a name in the texts says nothing about the quality of an extant work; its presence in the texts tells us much about the posthumous reputation of the artist's name. It has been stressed that,

[1] Flashar 2003; Strocka 2005.
[2] For the variety of sources, see A. Stewart 1990: 19–32.
[3] Polykleitos: Beck, Bol, and Bückling 1990; Praxiteles: Pasquier and Martinez 2007; Lysippos: Moreno 1995.
[4] Palagia and Pollitt 1996: 15; cf. Palagia 1999.

no matter what names we have of sculptors, statues were not erected to glorify the craftsmen who made them. The scarcity of originals (or in many instances their complete absence) makes attribution perilous, though ironically it may be possible to trace an individual's impact (e.g. that of Polykleitos). The technical criteria are lost in copies, and these missing elements are particularly unfortunate, as it was more the technical quality of the statues that impressed the Greeks than their aesthetic appeal. As a result of this shift of opinion, emphasis has now moved more widely to the social and political factors that brought the sculptures into being: technology, purpose, location (sanctuary, cemetery, public space), commission (public or private), perception, and reception.

It is certainly helpful to be reminded that working with the names of the artists that we know is a very restrictive method of proceeding; it is as though we possessed a complete list of sculptors actually at work and had only to pick a name from the list. But it has been well said that 'the glory days of attribution may be behind us', but 'Reports of the death of the ancient sculptor…seem…to be greatly exaggerated'.[5]

Archaic[6]

Before the seventh century BC, three-dimensional figures were mainly small-scale: bronze and ivory statuettes and terracotta figurines.[7] We are tantalized by later references to missing early wooden images such as the *agalma* of Hera on Samos (Paus. 7.4.4) and to *xoana*, wooden statues of indeterminate size and shape (e.g. Paus. 2.19.3; 3.17.5).[8] As far as our present evidence goes, it is in the seventh century that large-scale statues of stone (limestone and later marble) began to be carved, due to increased influence from contact with more developed cultures further east.[9]

Scholarly interest in the archaic period (late seventh century to *c.*480 BC) tends to centre on the *korai* ('maidens') and *kouroi* ('youths'), as they were the most popular and prestigious form of freestanding

[5] Hurwit 1997: 590 and 591 (quote).

[6] Boardman 1978 and 1995: parts 2 and 3; Ridgway 1993; Rolley 1994: parts 2–4; Barletta 2006; Sturgeon 2006. For representations of sculptors: see Hadjidimitriou 2005: ch. 3.

[7] Ridgway 1993: 22–7; Rolley 1994: 86–113; Donohue 2005; Boardman 2006.

[8] Donohue 1988; A. Stewart 1990: 103–10; Ridgway 1993: 27–30.

[9] Stewart A. 1990: 106–8; S. P. Morris 1992; Ridgway 1993: 33–40; Gunter 2009.

sculpture over those four generations.[10] The traditional emphasis on their stylistic development has abated, and more attention is given to regional variations and geographic spread, sizes, functions, identity, individual poses and traits, inscriptions, colour, and so forth.

There is a mere handful of large-scale votive statues that can be dated before 600 BC, mainly from the Greek islands. The limestone statue called 'the Auxerre goddess', half-human-size (75 cm tall with plinth), with painted and incised patterns, belongs with sculptures that originated in Crete, an island that has produced a good proportion of early Greek statues.[11] The marble female figure from the Apollo sanctuary on Delos, inscribed on the skirt with the name of the female dedicator, Nikandre, is full-size (1.75 metres tall) and may count as one of the earliest of the long line of archaic *korai*.[12] Both these statues are usually dated to 640–630 BC. In 2000, another early marble *kore*, this time more than life-size (2.3 metres tall), was found at Sellada on the island of Thera, and may be even earlier.[13] There is no agreement on the identity of these three, nor of the later *korai*. Are they goddesses or individual humans? By the close of the Archaic period, the number of extant *korai* exceeds 250, the vast majority from sanctuaries, especially the Athenian Acropolis, with a few grave markers, particularly in Attica. Much work has been devoted to sorting out the local *korai* from the Cycladic and East Greek islands, and from the west coast of Asia Minor.[14] Noteworthy are statues found on Samos: the two 'sisters' to the well-known 'Hera' dedicated by Cheramyes, and the six-figure group signed by the sculptor Geneleos that stood at the Samian Heraion: reclining father at right, seated mother at left, and three standing sisters and young brother holding musical pipes (Figure 5) – a remarkable social document.[15]

Within the typological framework of a standing clothed female, the versatile *korai* present particular varieties of appearance – they differ in the placing of the arms (receiving or giving?), types of dress, ornament, headgear, attributes, colour, and so forth. The variety is thought to indicate different meanings, and it is suggested that we

[10] *Korai*: Ridgway 1993: ch. 4; Rolley 1994: ch. 18; Karakasi 2001/2003; *kouroi*: Ridgway 1993: ch. 3; Rolley 1994: ch. 17.

[11] Louvre 3098: Martinez 2000; Donohue 2005.

[12] Athens NM 1: Donohue 2005.

[13] Thera 318: Karakasi 2001/2003: pl. 76.

[14] The short papers in Kyrieleis 1986 are still useful for an overview.

[15] Cheramyes: Kyrieleis 1995; cf. Croissant 2005. The three *korai* are shared between Samos, Berlin, and Paris. Geneleos base: Walter-Karydi 1985.

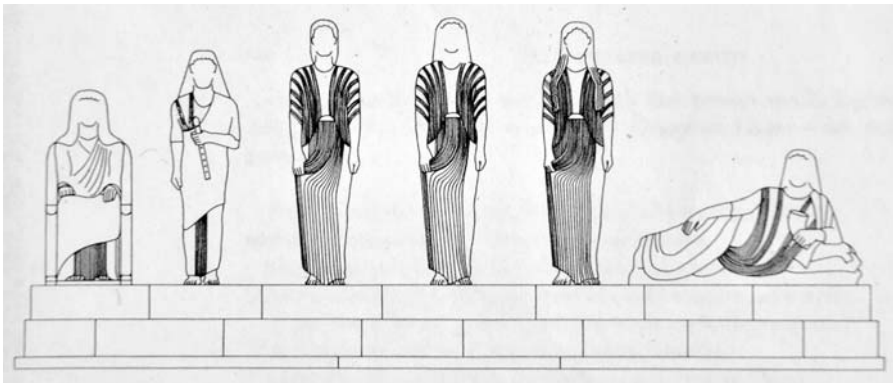

Figure 5 Marble family group found near the Heraion, Samos, *c.*560 BC. Length of base 8 metres.

should perhaps be thinking of divine beings, not the daughters of the aristocracy as had often been assumed. As Holloway has pointed out, the extant dedicatory inscriptions on the bases that supported some of the missing *korai* on the Athenian Acropolis show that the aristocracy had no monopoly on such offerings. Keesling, in her study of the Acropolis *korai*, has emphasized the vital importance of taking into consideration the inscriptions on the bases that survive, and would interpret the *korai* as statues of Athena despite the absence of the usual attributes.[16]

Before the end of the seventh century there are fragments of one of the first *kouroi* that parallel the female statues throughout the Archaic period.[17] Found on Delos, and made of marble from the nearby island of Naxos, this standing naked statue was, when entire, no less than 9 metres tall – one of the colossal figures that cluster around the beginning of the sixth century. They reach the upper limit of scale possible, given the problems of the weight of the marble and the narrowness of human ankles. As with the *korai*, the identity of the *kouroi* is not certain. Once again, the majority were set up in sanctuaries (no fewer than 120 from the Apollo sanctuary at Mount Ptoion in Boiotia); a few survive as grave markers. As far as present evidence goes, it is the grave markers for *korai* and *kouroi* that mainly carry the names of the figures: for example, Phrasikleia and Kroisos.

[16] Holloway 1992; Keesling 2003.
[17] Delos A 4094+: Ridgway 1993: 81–2; Giuliani 2005.

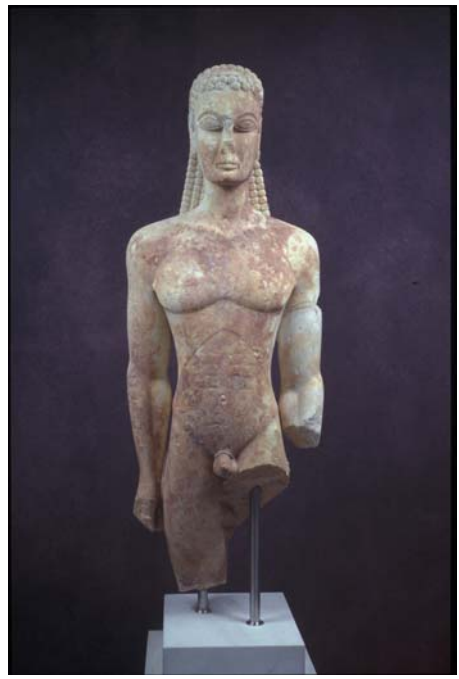

Figure 6 Marble *kouros* found near the Sacred Gate, the Kerameikos, Athens, *c.*600 BC. Estimated height 2.28 metres.

Two recent finds exemplify the funerary and votive functions of the *kouroi*. An early sixth-century *kouros*, found out of position under the roadway near the Sacred Gate in the Kerameikos cemetery in Athens (Figure 6), is a close match for the well-known *kouros* in New York and shows the typical spare Attic frame.[18] Even more impressive is the magnificent *kouros* (three times life-size) found at the Hera sanctuary on the island of Samos (Figure 7). This fleshy statue is made of local, grey-veined marble and the proportions have been shown to be based on a Samian cubit; these two factors and the quality of the work argue for an important school of sculpture on the island.[19] Stylistically dated *c.*580 BC, it is inscribed on the thigh 'Isches, son of Rhesis, set [this] up' and may have been a processional marker to the sanctuary. Is this then a statue of Isches or of Rhesis or of another member of the

[18] Athens, Kerameikos P 1700: Niemeier 2002.

[19] Samos: Kyrieleis 1996. See Pedley 2005 on the Hera sanctuary. The close connection with the Egyptian grid, which was heavily emphasized, is now questioned: see Carter and Steinberg 2010, who stress the regional aspect.

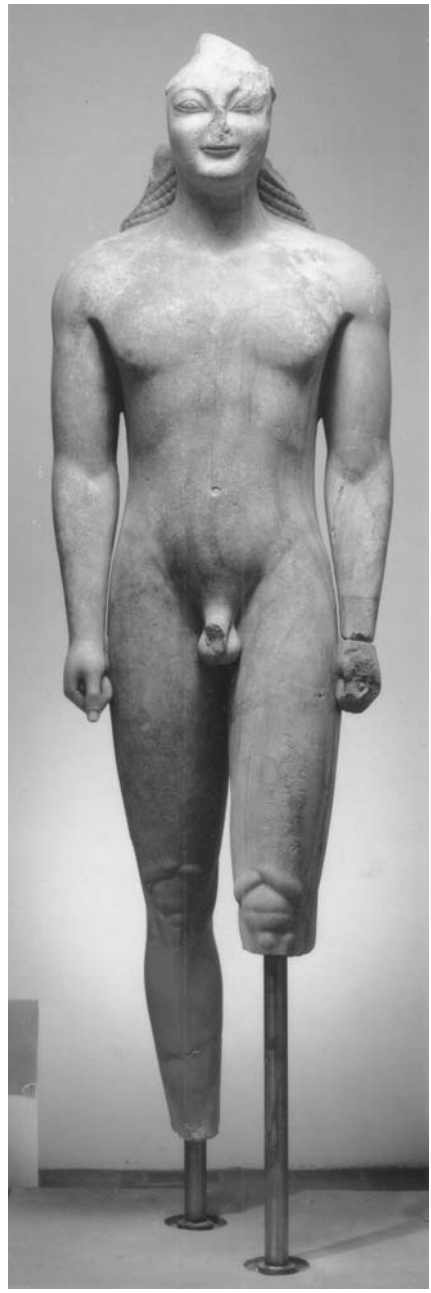

Figure 7 Marble *kouros* found near the Heraion, Samos, *c.*580 BC. Restored height 4.78 metres.

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donor's family? These two *kouroi*, although built to a formula, show the pronounced regional differences and highlight the problems raised by unprovenanced pieces. In 1992, the 'Getty' *kouros*, which had been imported from Switzerland to the United States in 1983 and had no documented history, was investigated at a colloquium in Athens.[20] Reactions to it among those present varied, some verdicts deriving from close measurements and others from an 'uneasy feeling' when facing the statue. Interestingly, the stylistic and scientific research on the statue led to no clear result concerning its authenticity. If genuine, it may date to *c.*500 BC.

The early fifth century saw the end of the traditional *kouros* statue and the aristocratic values that the young, beardless *kouroi* had personified. The herms – with their embodiment of the mature, bearded, and potent democratic male – became their popular replacements.[21]

Other forms of freestanding Archaic statues on the Athenian Acropolis have come under close scrutiny. A trio of small figures had been interpreted as scribal officials of the Athenian state holding writing tablets, but one of them has now been interpreted as a potter holding a wine bowl.[22] Equestrian figures may relate to a sixth-century institution, a form of *dokimasiā* (a test for the Athenian cavalry).[23]

Names of sixth-century sculptors are known from literary references in later centuries, and more importantly from contemporary inscriptions, complete and fragmentary, that were sometimes carved on the actual statues but more usually on the bases and columns onto which the statues were set. Unfortunately, few bases have been found together with the statues they name.[24] Given the modern antipathy to the notion of the individuality of craftsmen, it is significant to note that inscriptions show that some sculptors chose to name themselves. Viviers has proposed that, in Athens, the sculptures were all produced in workshops that were headed by masters, and has tried to show that three sculptors of the late sixth/early fifth century named on inscriptions – Endoios, Philergos, and Aristokles – comprised one group, with Aristokles as the junior member.[25]

[20] Kokkou 1993.

[21] Quinn 2007.

[22] Trianti 1994: 86–91; Keesling 2003: 182–5, 210–12, figs. 58–9. For the potter, see Williams 2009: 312–14.

[23] Eaverly 1995.

[24] There is a useful discussion of the major figures in A. Stewart 1990: 240–50; see also Ridgway 1993: chs. 5 and 10, and Keesling 2003: 208–9.

[25] Viviers 1992; see also Keesling 1999 for more detail on Endoios. Endoios' name was once read on the Siphnian Treasury frieze.

Antenor, son of Eumares, is another named sculptor of the same period.[26] His most famous composition was the group of the Tyrant-Slayers, Harmodios and Aristogeiton, who assassinated the Athenian tyrant Hipparchos in 514 BC. This group, which was carried off by the Persians to Susa at the time of the sack of Athens (480/479 BC), was the earliest sculptured image set up to honour the heroes of the democracy they were considered to have initiated. The group still poses problems. It is unclear where it was set up, and one cannot be sure, though it is very likely, that the figures were of bronze like their replacements (see below).[27] There is also no certain evidence for their appearance – did they stand like two separate *kouroi* or were they like the two later figures? Even their date is not fixed – if they were created soon after the establishment of democracy by Kleisthenes, *c.*510–507 BC, it would seem likely that they were in the shape of *kouroi*; if made after Marathon (490 BC), then a group like their replacement is more feasible. Both dates have their adherents.[28]

Early Classical

With the second set of Tyrant-Slayers we enter the period after the Persian Wars and move into what is generally called the Early Classical period.[29] The date of the pair that replaced Antenor's Tyrant-Slayers group is given as 477/476 BC in the list of dates on the Parian Marble, not an unimpeachable source but in this case likely to be close to the correct date.[30] We know much more about this group than about the earlier one. The two males, shown in athletic poses, were fashioned by Kritios and Nesiotes, stood in the Agora, were probably of bronze, and were copied in Roman times in marble.[31] The excavators of a sculptor's workshop of the Roman period at Baiae on the Bay of Naples unearthed fragmentary plaster-moulded casts of the group

[26] A. Stewart 1990: 86–9; Keesling 2003: 43–5, 53–9, 213.

[27] Mattusch 1996a: 62 thinks that the statues were of bronze and, though no longer in Athens, provided the inspiration for their replacements in the later group.

[28] For the 510–507 BC date, see Taylor 1991: 13–14; Keesling 2003: 172–5 and 255, nn. 23–4. For the 487 BC date, see Keesling 2003: 255, n. 24. See also Neer 2002: 188–9 and nn. 14–18.

[29] Ridgway 1970; Boardman 1985/1991: chs. 1–8 and 1995: parts 2 and 3; Hallett 1986; Rolley 1994: part 5; A. Stewart 2008b on the Acropolis evidence; R. R. R. Smith 2007.

[30] The Parian Marble (Marmor Parium), of the mid-third century BC, is an inscribed list of various chronological events, some certainly inaccurate.

[31] Mattusch 1996a: 58–62; 1997: 29–32; A. Stewart 1997: 70–5; Ajootian 1998 on the siting of both pairs.

that bring us nearer to some elements of the originals than the later marble copies can provide.[32] Some Athenian vase-painters of the fifth century took their inspiration for images of Theseus from the later group, which they must have seen everyday in the centre of Athens, and so furnish us with more evidence for their effect and influence.[33]

The artificiality of periodization is well known.[34] When did Archaic start and when did it end? These are questions that cannot be answered with precise dates: the process is ragged, not all Greek sculptors moved at the same pace, new ideas were slow to percolate, not all regions adopted the changes at the same time, no states developed in precisely the same way as Athens. Many see the Persian Wars themselves as providing a particular watershed; others prefer to trace a more gradual development from the later sixth century. The Kritian boy and the sculptor Euenor's Athena, both set up on the Acropolis, date from close to 480 BC and are harbingers of the generation to come, the one relaxing the frontal symmetry of the Archaic *kouroi*, the other exchanging the complex dress of the *korai* for the more severe lines of the *peplos*.[35]

There are few original freestanding statues of marble that have survived in the generation from 480–450 BC; the majority of marbles that can be stylistically related to this period are copies of bronzes (see the next section). We have entered the centuries when copies and literary sources play a much larger part in the study of Greek sculpture. However, two original marble statues of the Early Classical period are worth noting. A seated and veiled Penelope gives us an interesting spin on the subject of copies.[36] A fragmentary original in Teheran of *c.*450 BC was found in the ruins of Persepolis, the Persian capital that Alexander destroyed in 330 BC. Close Roman copies cannot have been taken from that particular original, as the making of copies was not begun until *c.*100 BC, and so it raises the question of the extent to which replicas of marble statues were made. More recently, a more than life-size, draped male figure, *c.*470 BC, was excavated in 1979 at the Carthaginian site on the island of Motya (Mozia), off the west coast

[32] Landwehr 1985: 27–47.

[33] Taylor 1991; Neer 2002: 168–81. See now Schmidt 2009.

[34] See Golden and Toohey 1997; R. R. R. Smith 2007.

[35] The Kritian boy, Athens, Acropolis 689: Boardman 1978: fig. 147; Hurwit 1989; A. Stewart 1990: 219–20 and figs. 92–3; Rolley 1994: 322–4, fig. 330. Euenor's Athena, Athens, Acropolis 140: Boardman 1978: fig. 173; A. Stewart 1990: fig. 225; Rolley 1994: fig. 364. For *peplos* figures, see Rolley 1994: 351–6 and 360–2.

[36] Penelope: Ridgway 1970: 101–5; Boardman 1985/1991: figs. 24–6, and 1994: 38–9, figs. 2, 25; Rolley 1999: 25.

of Sicily, and continues to tantalize researchers (Figure 8).[37] He has been interpreted as a Phoenician priest presented in a Greek manner and as the Carthaginian leader Hamilcar, statues of whom, according to Herodotus (7.166–7), were erected in each Punic city. Majority

Figure 8 Marble statue of a charioteer found at Motya, Sicily, *c.*470–460 BC. Preserved height 1.81 metres.

[37] Motya: Tusa 1986; Rolley 1994: 389–91, figs. 424–6; Boardman 1995: fig. 187; Donohue 2005: 157–61.

opinion sees him as a votive statue of a charioteer, in the customary long, Greek, belted tunic as he crowns himself after a victory:[38]

> The swinging new-style pose has an exaggerated swagger, one foot forward, one hand on hip, the other raised. The aim was to show at all costs the form and character of the body under the thin *chiton*…The statue loudly asserts hard-trained athlete and independent champion.[39]

Attempts to name the sculptor have inevitably failed to find agreement.

Bronzes[40]

Small bronzes cast solid are well known from the Protogeometric period and before, and continued to be a popular product throughout the following centuries, particularly as votives, seen in abundance at Olympia.[41] The technique of hammering sheet metal, which was used in the making of armour and utensils, was adopted for the hammering of statues over a prepared core.[42] Such hammered figures (*sphyrelata*) are seen to best advantage in the early trio from Dreros (Crete), dated around 700 BC.[43] They are thought to be Apollo (height 80 cm) and his mother, Leto, and sister, Artemis (each height 40 cm) and were set up on a bench by an altar inside the temple, either as recipients of cult or (less likely) as votaries.

The casting of molten metal to make large-scale hollow bronze statues seems to have been in operation by the mid-sixth century, taking their form from the marble statues of the time.[44] It was not until the demand for more active poses (e.g. for athletes) became popular that bronze took over from marble as the preferred medium for large freestanding statues, after the Persian Wars. The frequent references in texts to bronzes make clear just how small a proportion of the output has survived.

[38] Hamilcar: Bode 1993. Charioteer: Bell 1995; Pavese 1995; Denti 1997. Other suggestions have been put forward.

[39] Smith 2007: 130–5, quotes from 131 and 133.

[40] For work on Greek bronzes, see Rolley 1986; Haynes 1992; Mattusch 1988, 1996a and b, 1997, and 2006. For images of bronze workers, see Hadjidimitriou 2005: ch. 2.

[41] Barr-Sharrar 1996.

[42] Haynes 1992: 11–23, who denies that the core was of wood.

[43] Heraklion 2445–7: A. Stewart 1990: figs. 16–17.

[44] The inscribed bases of sixth-century date show by the shape of cuttings on top that the missing statues were made of bronze. The inlaid eyes on marble statues (e.g. the Moscophoros of *c.*560 BC) also indicate the influence of bronzes.

Given the small percentage of large-scale bronzes that we have (in Pliny's day there were 3,000 bronze victor statues at Olympia), the finds over the past 100 years, many from the sea and therefore without original context, have invited widespread research,[45] but not one of them can be unequivocally attributed to a named bronze worker. Much of this research has been directed towards style, subject, and dating, but over the past few decades attention has increasingly turned to the techniques of their manufacture and the new means of representation that they introduce. Workshops have been studied in different parts of the Greek and Roman world to see what they can tell us of the preferred location of the foundries, their size, the methods employed, and so forth.[46] The indirect lost-wax process by which statues are fashioned in sections is a complex procedure and even with the aid of step-by-step illustrations not easy to grasp, but studies of the methods of production have led to revolutionary ideas about the consequences of such methods.[47] Mattusch has been foremost in re-evaluating the subject. She proposes that the style of a bronze figure is no longer a reliable guide to its date because the indirect lost-wax method of bronze casting was, like most Greek art, reiterative. The only *real* original was the wax image from which the master model was made. The piecemeal casting of sections allowed similar statues to be produced serially from one model with alterations. Mattusch's most startling examples are the Riace bronzes, which, she suggests, were both taken from one original model, creating Riace A, who is keen and aggressive, and Riace B, who is weary and ageing.[48] The theory of reiteration raises questions over the significance of artist/sculptor versus technician/founder – to one belongs the concept; to the other the skill in manipulating the elements at his disposal and carrying out the finishing, mounting, patching, and so forth.[49] Ironically, the Porticello head (Figure 9),[50] which in appearance seems too individual for a date in the middle of the fifth century, has the advantage of being found with archaeological material that is datable to the late

[45] A. Stewart 1990: Appendix 1 lists over two dozen bronzes that are half-life-size and over, in the order of their discovery, with references also to bronze heads.

[46] Domergue 2008.

[47] For diagrams of the stages of manufacture, see A. Stewart 1990: 38–9; Mattusch 1997: 68, fig. 48; 2006: 213, fig. 65. Haynes 1992: 34 characterizes the *direct* lost-wax process as a 'romantic prejudice unsupported by any evidence'.

[48] Riace bronzes: Mattusch 1988: 200–8; 1997: 16–19; Rolley 1994: 347–50, figs. 36–3; Davison 2009: 541–54.

[49] On collaboration, see Mattusch 1997: 72–7.

[50] Porticello head: Boardman 1985/1991: 53, fig. 37; A. Stewart 1990: fig. 482.

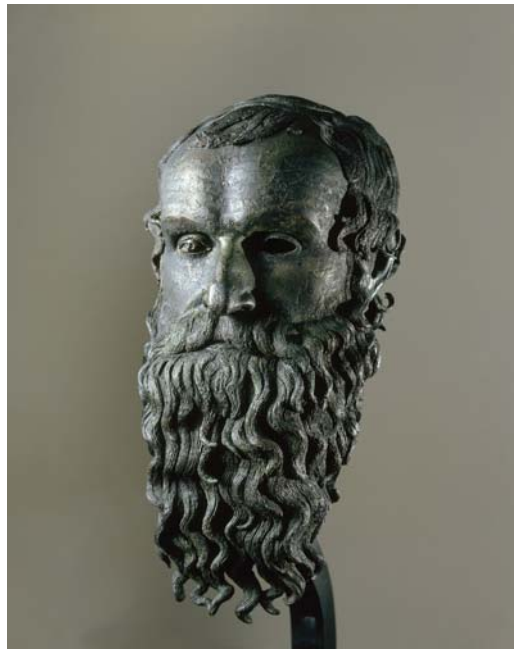

Figure 9 Bronze head from the sea off Porticello, south Italy, *c.*460–450 BC. Height 42 cm.

fifth century (see 'Portraits', below). By contrast, the bronze *kouros* found in the Piraeus has an archaic look about it, but close study of the details raise doubts – is it a work of the late sixth century or an archaizing product of a later date?[51] The new theories mean that the few major bronzes we have – such as the Delphi Charioteer, the Zeus of Artemisium, the Antikythera youth, the Piraeus goddesses, the Getty athlete, and more – cannot be dated on the basis of style alone.

Details in the casting can sometimes throw light on a possible date: for example, the early bronzes have a thicker-walled and more irregular fabric than the later, which are smoother and thinner. Moreover, the percentages of copper, lead, and tin in the alloy change over time. Clearly, the fact that one bronze could give form to another has repercussions for the whole subject of copies (see below). It also affects our understanding of the textual references that were written generations after the period when the bronzes were made and that attributed very large numbers of statues to individual bronze sculptors

[51] Piraeus Museum: Boardman 1978: fig. 150; A. Stewart 1990: figs. 168–9; Mattusch 1996a: 129–40, and 1997: 24–5; Palagia 1997b: 180–5; Rolley 1999: 285–8.

(e.g. Pliny [*HN* 34.37] attributes 1,500 works to Lysippos) – these may now be seen in the context of replicated figures and workshop practice.

The missing multitude inevitably attracts attention. Let us take Pheidias' Athena Promachos as an example; it was a public monument honouring the victory at Marathon that was set up on the Athenian Acropolis *c.*460 BC and, at 9 metres tall, could be seen when sailing in from Sounion. There have been numerous optimistic efforts to recognize reflections of it, at large and small scale (especially coins), but a recent study finds that 'none of the candidates put forward as a copy or a version of the Athena Promachos is convincing or even plausible'.[52] As a small recompense, there is general agreement concerning the site of the foundry on the south slope of the Acropolis and the position where the statue stood on the top of the rock.[53]

Copies and adaptations[54]

Furtwängler's legacy is considered flawed. His work on identifying copies of named Greek statues, not totally new at the time, was directed towards the use of Roman sculpture as the basis for reconstructing lost Greek works. The assumptions behind *Kopienkritik* ('copy-criticism') have recently been expressed as follows:

> that a single sculptural original stands behind a series of related copies; that that original was a classical Greek work of monumental scale; that the original was made by one of the 'famous name' sculptors recorded by Pliny or other ancient authors.

A tall order – and the emphasis on the Greek achievement was won at the expense of the Roman, giving the copies that had been 'recognized' a spurious cachet. Consequently the word 'copy' is often printed in quotation marks or is replaced by a less tendentious term. It has been suggested that

> for the classification as 'copy' to have any meaning, we would have to be sure that the statue was *intended* to be understood as a copy and/or it was *perceived* to be a copy; its identity as a copy needs to have been part of its function.[55]

[52] Mattusch 1988: 168–72, and 1997: 24, 35; Ridgway 1992: 127–31; Lundgreen 1997, quote from 197; Davison 2009: 277–96.

[53] Hurwit 1999: 151 and 2004: 80–1.

[54] Ridgway 1984, 1993: 456–8, 1995, and 1997: ch. 7; Bartman 1992; Rolley 1999: 406–10; Beard and Henderson 2001: 100–2; P. Stewart 2004: 102–10; Marvin 2008.

[55] Bartman 1992: 188 and Fullerton 1998: 74, emphasis original.

The Roman statues that were based on the Greek are now mainly treated as examples of retrospection, elaboration, adaptation, re-contextualization, and so forth.[56] Such statues, which were adapted from earlier works and fitted into new locations, have now come to be appreciated less for their place in Greek sculpture and more for the role that they played in the historical and cultural contexts of the Roman periods – patronage, setting, and decorative programme are taken into account. The now missing bronze statues, mostly from sanctuaries where they had 'a local habitation and a name', are seen to have been displayed in marble in public and private places, to express Roman taste and send out Roman messages. Exact copies were not the aim; the Roman patrons who handed out the commissions wanted statues that reflected the work of the Greek masters with new associations, not precise replicas.

Many students of Greek sculpture consider the copies worthless for what they can tell us of the 'originals': we cannot know how accurate a copy may be when we do not have the original with which to compare it and where all the important technical details are lost, especially when the medium has been changed. Such a stance is extreme, and defenders of the value of copies point out that the precise and detailed casts of bronze classical sculptures found at Baiae, even when very fragmentary, can be attributed to whole statues through comparison with Roman 'copies', even when the 'copies' being compared are not completely faithful facsimiles.[57] Marvin, in examining the history of Western interest in classical sculpture from the sixteenth century to the present day, accepts the versions of the Diadoumenos ('Youth binding his head'; the earliest extant copy of a classical statue – it dates from *c.*100 BC) and the Doryphoros ('The Spear-bearer', Figure 10) as close copies of Polykleitos' originals but finds all the rest unconvincing. In seeking to show that the Romans were not unthinking imitators, she quotes Baxandall's dictum: 'If one says that X influenced Y it does seem that one is saying that X did something to Y rather than Y did something to X'.[58] Roman sculptors are now seen as agents as well as patients.

In defence of studying copies, it has been said,

[56] P. Stewart 2003, 2004, and 2008.

[57] Ridgway 1995: 178–80.

[58] Marvin 2008: 151–5; the quote from Baxandall is on 168–9. Diamoumenos: Boardman 1985/1991: fig. 186; A. Stewart 1990: figs. 383–5; Himmelmann 1998: 156–86; Rolley 1999: 35–9. Doryphoros: Boardman 1985: fig. 184; A. Stewart 1990: figs. 378–82; Rolley 1999: 28–33.

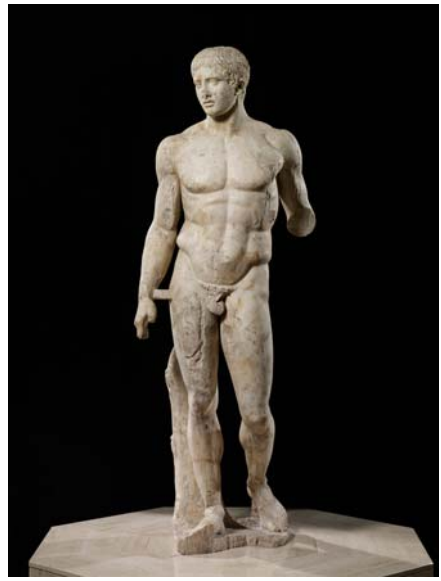

Figure 10 Pentelic marble copy of Polykleitos' bronze 'Spear-bearer', 120–50 BC (original *c.*440 BC). Height 1.98 m.

if we wish to trace the history of Greek sculpture in the fifth century and to present it as a continuous and intelligible artistic development, then we clearly cannot do without the copies. It may be unfashionable to say so, but despite the impressive discoveries of the last fifty years, we still need the copies now as much as we ever did.[59]

Classical[60]

Two of the sections that follow carry the titles 'Classical' (450–400 BC) and 'Late Classical' (400–330 BC). As already mentioned, chronological divisions are always somewhat arbitrary and beg the question of the connection between cultural phenomena and historical events. Careers overlap the chronological divisions, and styles continue into periods later than their names denote. The years from the mid-fifth to the late

[59] Hallett 1995: 121–60, esp. 121–7 (quote from 125). See also R. R. R. Smith 1991: 14–17; Rolley 1999: 406–10.

[60] Boardman 1985/1991: chs. 9–17; A. Stewart 1990: 150–74; Rolley 1999: 1–196; Palagia 2006a.

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fourth century have been sliced in various ways, with the fifty years from 430–380 BC seen to have their own rich flavour.[61]

From the second half of the fifth century onwards, though named sculptors abound in later texts, we are almost bereft of original freestanding statues that can be connected with the names. The history of sculpture in the years from 450 to 400 has tended to be built around these names and to involve a search for the essence of the classical style among the remains of original architectural sculpture, literary texts, inscriptions, images in vase-painting, and copies in marble of the missing bronzes. It is very much an academic pursuit.

The only major works still extant that are linked to *named* sculptors are three female figures that date to the decade 430–420 BC. One is the marble statue that stood near the Altar of Athena on the Athenian Acropolis; it is of Prokne contemplating the murder of her son Itys, dedicated by Alkamenes (Paus. 1.24.3), who is said to have been a pupil of Pheidias, but it is not absolutely certain that Alkamenes carved the Prokne statue as well as dedicating it. Prokne, an Athenian woman in a foreign land, was driven to murder her son in order to punish her Thracian husband. The meaning of the group is still unclear; the recent suggestion is that Prokne was driven to this ultimate sacrifice to protect the honour of her household and that the image would have offered 'consolation or comfort to Athenians, especially mothers, as they filed past it on festal days…Prokne's moment of contemplation inspires the same kind of response in the viewer: she weighs her personal loss against the greater need to the state'.[62] The sculptor Paionios won a public competition for the akroteria on the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (Paus. 5.26.1) and set up a winged Victory nearby, with an inscription on the base recording his success.[63] Little more was known about him in antiquity, and his flamboyant statue of Victory that stood high on a triangular pillar is the only sure statue of his that remains. The most famous work by Agorakritos, also said to have been a pupil of Pheidias, was the statue of personified Nemesis ('Retribution') in the temple at Rhamnous in Attica (Plin. *HN* 36.17).[64] Fragments of the

[61] Schultz 2007. For the effect on art of the Peloponnesian War period, see Palagia 2009.

[62] Athens, Acropolis 1358: Boardman 1985/1991: fig. 135; A. Stewart 1990: fig. 399; Barringer 2005a and 2008: 96–8, quote from 98. On Alkamenes, see Rolley 1999: 143–9.

[63] Olympia Museum 46–8: Boardman 1985/1991: fig. 139; A. Stewart 1990: figs. 408–11; Rolley 1999: 123–5.

[64] Nemesis: A. Stewart 1990: fig. 403; E. B. Harrison 2005. For Agorakritos, see Rolley 1999: 135–7. For the base, see Palagia 2000: 62–8; Kosmopoulou 2002: 130–5, 244–8, cat. no. 62.

statue have been painstakingly reassembled, and some of the figures from the original base are also preserved.

When we turn from these three craftsmen to the named sculptors of this period whose reputation stood highest in later antiquity (Myron, Pheidias, and Polykleitos), we find that not a single example of their works is extant. It would serve little purpose and much space to do justice to the academic research that has been spent on them. Myron, who worked all over Greece and beyond, was noted as a sculptor of animals and of athletes, and his best known statue is his bronze Diskobolos ('Discus-thrower'), of which more than two dozen copies have been recognized in later works.[65] Of Pheidias' freestanding works, it has been said that 'We have the setting, but the gem is lost'; the quest for the lost gem continues apace.[66] Davison's recent three-volume study of the sculptor now furnishes the default position from which to proceed. (For Pheidias' chryselephantine statues of Athena Parthenos and Zeus Olympios, see Chapter IV.) Polykleitos of Argos has recently undergone massive investigation, particularly by German and American scholars.[67] The Minneapolis copy of the Doryphoros ('The Spear-bearer'; Figure 10) has reinvigorated the search to find the philosophical basis for the system of proportions embodied in the original bronze (what has been termed 'anatomy and mathematics'). We are then asked to consider to what extent he moved in the philosophical circles of his day or based the *Canon* that he wrote concerning human proportions, measurements, and balance (Plin. *HN* 34.55) on the study of medicine and science. Such intellectual bases have been questioned, and attention directed to the gymnasium rather than the study.[68]

When we move from the works of named sculptors to *unnamed*, we find again that the field is still almost devoid of freestanding marble originals. Best known are the six *korai* (misnamed 'Karyatidai') who supported the roof of the south porch of the Erechtheion; they are glorious examples of the quality of the statues we have lost.[69] So also are two other magnificent female figures, both probably Aphrodite.

[65] Diskobolos: Rolley 1994: figs. 405–7; Anguissola 2005. For Myron, see Rolley 1994: 378–82.

[66] E. B. Harrison 1996 (quote from 28). On Pheidias, see Boardman 1985/1991: 203–7; A. Stewart 1990: 150–60; Rolley 1994: 382–3 and 1999: 102–3, 127–34; Davison 2009.

[67] Polykleitos: Boardman 1985/1991: 205–6; A. Stewart 1990: 160–3; Beck, Bol, and Bückling 1990; Moon 1995 (papers from a conference on the Minneapolis copy); Borbein 1996; Rolley 1999: 26–53.

[68] Tanner 2006: ch. 4.

[69] Erechtheion *korai*: Boardman 1985/1991: fig. 125; A. Stewart 1990: figs. 431–2.

Figure 11 Limestone and Parian marble statue of a goddess found in Sicily, *c.*425–400 BC. Height 2.2 m.

The Aphrodite from the Athenian Agora, slightly over life-size, *c.*420 BC, is sadly fragmentary and headless, but shows the complex carving of drapery that matches the figures on the Nike parapet.[70] The second Aphrodite (Figure 11), named 'the western equivalent of the Agora Aphrodite', is also more than life-size. Her drapery, which still retains some of the red, blue, and pink paint, is made of limestone, whereas the exposed head, arms, and feet are of Parian marble.[71] This combination of materials is a characteristic of south Italy and Sicily; her original location is not precisely known. Both statues highlight the changes that had taken place since the mid-fifth century. As Stewart comments of the Agora statue, 'The serene, restrained rhythms, balance, and clear, rational organization of the high classic' have been swept aside.

[70] Athens, Agora S 1882: Boardman 1985/1991: fig. 136; A. Stewart 1990: fig. 425 (quote from 167); Rolley 1999: fig. 126.
[71] Boardman 1995: fig. 192; Rolley 1999: 194–5, figs. 183–4.

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Portraits[72]

For Greek artists, deities and humans shared the human frame in physical perfection but, as time went by, the deviations arising from personal distinctions such as age, ethnicity, occupation, and social standing came to be represented in the images created (see Chapter VI).[73] The statues might be given the names of particular individuals but did not as a consequence represent them in reality. Likenesses to specific people were a late growth and are rare before the fourth century; it was characteristics, not likenesses, that were sought after.

The evidence on which our understanding of this development rests is imperfect. Originals, as one would expect, are few. The inscriptions on the bases of statues have the advantage of being contemporary, but the statues they supported are mostly missing. Copies are abundant but suffer from such drawbacks as the transfer of the medium from bronze to marble and the tendency of the copyists to carve only busts or herms when the original statues had expressed their meaning through the physical structure of full-length figures (pose, anatomy, gestures, dress). Even full-length copies are likely to have been adapted to suit the wishes of Roman clients. A more serious disadvantage is the change in the whole cultural background; the creation of individual portraits was well established in the Roman period, and the references to Greek portraits of the earlier centuries in later texts, and the appearance of the copies and the context in which they were placed, must be studied with that difference in mind.

In the Archaic period, statues of named individuals were fashioned, but there are few indications that the figures were specific. The votive family group of father, mother and children, set up *c.*560 BC at the sanctuary of Hera on Samos (Figure 5), preserves on the base some names of the members (the seated mother, 'Phileia'; the daughters, 'Ornithe' and 'Philippe'; the reclining father, '…ilarches', who was also the dedicator), and also that of the sculptor ('Geneleos'). Sadly, the heads are missing, but the differences in age and social position are made clear.[74] When compared to the army of *kouroi*, the Calf-bearer dedicated by [Rh]onbos on the Athenian Acropolis is carved as an

[72] Richter 1984; M. Robertson 1975: 504–27; Rolley 1994: 392–6 and 1999: 296–306; Zanker 1995; Boardman 1995: ch. 5; Krumeich 1997; Keesling 2003: 165–98; Sparkes 2004; Tanner 2006: ch. 3. For real-life faces, see Prag and Neave 1997.

[73] Himmelmann 1994; Cohen 2000. Realism is more varied in vase-painting than in sculpture.

[74] Geneleos group: see note 15 above.

individual, with his beard, cloak, and calf, but of course we cannot know how true it was to the man; the funerary *kouros* from Anavyssos carries the name 'Kroisos' but has no features that distinguish him from any other *kouroi*.[75] In general, despite the name labels, no *kouros* statue represented anyone but itself.

In the fifth century, victorious athletes used the privilege of setting up and naming bronze statues of themselves in Panhellenic sanctuaries, particularly Olympia, to record their heroic successes. These were both self-congratulatory and pious thank-offerings to their gods. Sometimes the impetus came from the state itself. The posthumous groups of the Tyrant-Slayers, Harmodios and Aristogeiton – the earlier by Antenor and the later by Kritios and Nesiotes (which survives in Roman copies, see above) – were the first public memorials of individuals set up in the Athenian Agora by the state, and they were the only ones for the next hundred years.[76] The two are presented as a younger and an older man in action poses, but with no specific likeness – it was their achievement that was being honoured; the statues were not of them but for them. However, in the Early Classical period there are brief signs of some interest in distinctive appearance, best seen in the seer from the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, heavy and balding, with pot belly and lined forehead (Figure 17). This is obviously not a portrait, but a problematic example of portraiture is that of the Roman copy of the head of Themistokles found at Ostia.[77] Later texts tell us that portraits of him were made, and the general consensus is that the Ostia head copies an original of the Early Classical period. However, there is no agreement as to the portrait on which it was based, though its similarity to the head of Aristogeiton has raised the question of whether it might be by the same sculptors. The bronze fragments found in the waters off Porticello at the toe of Italy are still a matter of interest, especially the bearded head dubbed 'Il Filosofo', an old man of the mid-fifth century (Figure 9).[78] It shows no suggestion of the ideal in its details of nose, eyes, hair, and long beard. Although it has been considered more likely to represent a mythological figure

[75] Calfbearer: Boardman 1978: fig. 112; Kroisos: Boardman 1978: fig. 107.

[76] See above notes 27–8. The statue of the victorious admiral Konon was the next, in 394 BC (Dem. 20.70).

[77] Boardman 1985/1991: fig. 246; A. Stewart 1990: figs. 232–3; Barron 1999: 49–53; Keesling 2003: 179–80 and 256, nn. 47–8.

[78] See n. 50. Ridgway 2010 discusses the second (looted) bronze head from the wreck and reiterates her belief that the bronzes are of mythological or epic figures, not portraits.

(perhaps Cheiron, the centaur), a resemblance to the Themistokles head and hence to the Tyrant-Slayers group has also been detected.[79]

Retrospective statues – for example, of Homer and Hesiod – were fashioned in the Early Classical period, but no originals exist. This was a new direction for sculptors who had no conception of their appearance; the statues were artificial creations, cast in the role of revered and authoritative poets, the embodiment of wisdom. After the middle of the century, when the naturalistic elements that had been developing in the Early Classical period were subjected to Athenian idealization, a votive statue of Perikles (d. 427 BC) made by Kresilas was set up on the Athenian Acropolis, where it was seen by Pausanias (1.25.1, cf. 1.28.2); we may have copies of the head.[80] This is likely to have been a private dedication made posthumously by his sons – it is an idealized 'career portrait' of the successful general. The many statues of poets, generals, philosophers, and statesmen that follow are characterized by their intellectual, military, or civic roles, not by their individual physiognomy.

After what might be termed a hesitant start in the fifth century, physiognomic likenesses were more widely produced in the fourth, particularly in Athens. The evidence of Greek-style heads on the late fifth- and early fourth-century coins of the Persian governors of Asia Minor (such as Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus) point the way to this new approach to cosmopolitan portraiture, which is shown to good effect in the mid-fourth century on the 'Mausolus' figure from the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. The Greeks who worked for foreigners seem to have been in the forefront of this change. The emphasis, however, is on Athens, where such honorific portraits as those of Socrates and Plato, and the three tragedians set up in the theatre that Lykourgos had built in the 340s, while revealing some individuality (Socrates has a face full of character), still show traditional characteristics and are based more on their reputation and their views on life than on their actual appearance. With the conquest of Greece by the Macedonians in the 330s and with Alexander's reported interest in having his appearance reproduced in stone (by Lysippos), on gems

[79] Barron 1999: 54–9, where the suggestion that the head is that of a centaur is rejected and a connection with the Tyrant-Slayers and Themistokles advanced.

[80] Cohen 1991b; Krumeich 1997: 114–25; Ridgway 1998; Rolley 1999: 150–2; Keesling 2003: 193–5.

(by Pyrgoteles), and in paint (by Apelles), we are on the threshold of a new stage in the development of individual portraiture.[81]

Late Classical[82]

As has been noted, there are inevitable questions about the designation 'Late Classical' to cover the period from 400 to 330 BC. In what ways are historical dates in this politically unstable period applicable in terms of artistic output? Is the fourth-century work, however chronologically divided, the tail end of Classical or does the period have a connotation of its own? Or, indeed, to what extent were the developments that we see in the Hellenistic period foreshadowed in fourth-century work? As usual, a serious problem lies in the paucity of freestanding originals, both bronze and marble, the main originals being architectural and relief sculptures (see Chapter III). We have to face the difficulty of the diverse unwieldy material that has survived and again come to grips with the issue of the named sculptors, none of whose works is certainly extant but whose reputation is particularly prominent through the medium of later texts and copies in the following centuries. It is difficult to move forward without a historical profile.

Discerning advances in new directions (such as female nudes and portraits, pathos and illusion, and surface instead of structure) depends on which original works and which copies one is willing to accept as belonging within the time frame. Artists do not stop or start at fixed dates, and styles may linger. Extant material now comes from more disseminated sites than in the Classical half-century, and the commissions received from non-Greek centres found itinerant craftsmen working at the periphery of the Greek world – both these factors helped towards a greater stylistic spread than is observable in the previous century. Also, as we know what novel approaches lie ahead in the Hellenistic centuries, there is a tendency either to look for signposts in fourth-century work or by contrast to deny the novelties a place in the fourth century and date them to the Hellenistic period.

Once more the problem of the great names cannot be avoided in any discussion of this period.[83] Ridgway has been influential in her view that we know almost nothing about the individual works of

[81] Alexander: Pollitt 1986: 20–6; A. Stewart 1993; Rolley 1999: 381–3.
[82] Todisco 1993; Boardman 1995; Ridgway 1997.
[83] See Ridgway 1997: chs. 7 and 8 on sources and names.

these renowned masters, and style has been dethroned as a necessary requisite. However, as has been said earlier, the attraction of the personal artist and craftsman dies hard, and much research continues to be devoted to the 'masters' and to sorting out and merging the text-based evidence with the copies. Lesser lights such as Kephisodotos, the sculptor of the personified 'Eirene and Ploutos' ('Wealth in the arms of Peace') set up in the Athenian Agora in 371 BC (Paus. 1.8.2); the sculptor and painter Euphranor, who carved the cult statue of Apollo, also in the Agora (Paus. 1.3.4); along with Naukydes, Leochares, Timotheos, and so forth,[84] inevitably yield pride of place to the big three: Skopas, Praxiteles, and Lysippos.

Skopas is best known to us, whether as architect, sculptor, or both, for work on the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, *c.*360 BC, from which fragmentary originals survive (see Chapter III). However, the literary references favour his frenzied Dancing Maenad and *Pothos* ('Desire'), and the presumed copies give us some notion of the passion and energy of his figures that the texts stress, though the attribution of these to Skopas has been questioned.[85]

In 2007, Praxiteles, possibly son of Kephisodotos, was celebrated with a magnificent solo exhibition in Paris.[86] The literary sources concerning him are legion and there has always been a desire to revivify such a popular sculptor, a desire characterized by Ridgway as a 'determination to flesh out the personality and oeuvre of one of the most famous names preserved for us in the ancient sources, on minimal objective grounds'.[87] His self-consciously nude Aphrodite of Knidos, *c.*350 BC, still stands out as his most innovative work, with the hint of an unseen voyeur.[88] Figures such as the Pouring Satyr and the Lizard-slayer ('Sauroktonos'), with new ways of expressing action and rest, move between rejection and approval among researchers. The Hermes and Dionysos group at Olympia, whose dedicator and

[84] Kephisodotos: Ridgway 1997: 258–61; Rolley 1999: 211–5. Euphranor: Palagia 1980; Ridgway 1997: 335–6; Rolley 1999: 284–5. Naukydes: Ridgway 1997: 243–4; Leochares: Ridgway 1990: 93–5 and 1997: 249–50; Rolley 1999: 289–94. Timotheos: Ridgway 1997: 244–8; Rolley 1999: 206.

[85] Skopas: A. Stewart 1990: 182–5; Ridgway 1990: 82–90, and 1997: 251–8; Boardman 1995: 56–7, figs. 33–4; Rolley 1999: 268–83.

[86] Exhibition: Pasquier and Martinez 2007. Praxiteles: A. Stewart 1990: 176–9; Ridgway 1990: 90–3, and 1997: 261–7; Ajootian 1996; Rolley 1999: 242–67; Corso 2004, 2007, who defends the traditional approaches to this sculptor.

[87] Ridgway 1994: 761.

[88] Knidia: Osborne 1994b: 81–5; Boardman 1995: fig. 26; Spivey 1996: ch.8; A. Stewart 1997: 97–106; Himmelmann 1998: 187–98; Beard and Henderson 2001: 100–2, 123–31.

Figure 12 Marble head of Artemis found on the Acropolis, Athens, *c.*350 BC. Height 56 cm. [This image has been removed due to copyright restrictions.]

purpose are unknown, seems now to be denied to Praxiteles, but the brilliant working of the marble (smooth skin, rough hair, limp cloth) may show the influence that developed from the master carver in marble that he was said to be.[89] A possible original has been discerned in a colossal fragmentary head of Parian marble that has been traced back to the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia on the Athenian Acropolis (Figure 12), in which Pausanias attributed the statue of Artemis to Praxiteles (Paus. 1.23.9); the complete statue would have stood at a height of approximately 3.5 metres.[90] Inevitably, not all scholars agree on the attribution; the jury is out. With regard to another attribution, the jury has decided against the connection. Claude Vatin claimed that he had read the inscription 'Praxiteles made' on the extravagant Akanthus Column at Delphi, a nine-metre high column of Pentelic marble topped by three female figures supporting a bronze tripod,

[89] Pouring Satyr: Boardman 1995: fig. 71; Rolley 1999: 248–50. Lizard-slayer: Boardman 1995: fig. 27; Rolley 1999: 246–8, fig. 240. Hermes and Dionysos: Boardman 1995: fig. 25.

[90] Artemis Brauronia (Acr. 1352): Despinis 1994; Rolley 1999: fig 267; Hurwit 1999: 197–8 and 2004: 194–8 and fig. 128; Pasquier and Martinez 2007: cat. no. 24.

Figure 13 The Daochos Monument, Delphi, *c.*338–334 BC. Height of Agias 2 metres.

bringing the total height to 13–14 metres.[91] A more recent study of the monument, denying the connection, shows that this strange concoction was even more elaborate than thought, since a marble navel stone (*omphalos*), long known from the excavations, has been found to rest on top of the tripod.[92] A fragmentary inscription shows that the offering was dedicated by the Athenian *dēmos* (people) and made by Pan[krates] of Argos; it probably dates from the 330s BC.

In 1996, Lysippos of Sikyon was also honoured with an exhibition, and Moreno has been the indefatigable researcher into this sculptor.[93] It is now suggested that the amazing number of works that were attributed to him in the texts rests on the basis of the reiterative technique of bronze-working, the large size of the workshop of which he was the master, and the repetition of the family name over generations. Once again, no original work has been securely linked to his hand, and the new research into bronze-casting is showing that the very concept of 'master' demands qualification. The new system

[91] Akanthus Column: Vatin 1983; Ridgway 1990: 22–6; École Française d'Athènes 1991a: 84–90; Boardman 1995: fig. 15.

[92] Martinez 1997; Rolley 1999: 381–3; Barringer 2008: 166–8.

[93] Moreno 1995. On Lysippos, see A. Stewart 1990: 186–91; Ridgway 1990: 22–6; Edwards 1996; Ridgway 1997: ch. 8; Rolley 1999: 323–47 and 352–5.

of proportions that tradition linked to him – his athletes were tall and slim – is usually noted in the marble copy of the bronze 'Apoxyomenos' ('The Scraper'), much admired by the emperor Tiberius (Plin. *HN* 34.62).[94] This copy has been related to a certain Agias, about whom we have some information. A verse epigram on the base of a lost bronze statue at Pharsalos, the capital city of Thessaly, names Lysippos as the maker of a statue of Agias, a victorious athlete of the early fifth century. At Delphi, a similar epigram carries a variation on the Pharsalos inscription but makes no mention of Lysippos. However, at Delphi the statue survives. In the 330s, Daochos II, a descendant of Agias and at the time the pro-Macedonian governor in Thessaly and official of the Panhellenic League established by Philip, set up a row of family statues in marble, including one of Agias (Figure 13, second from right).[95] Although unlikely to have been carved by Lysippos himself, being an original it may bring us nearer to an impression of the effect of his work.

Daochos' dedication in the Panhellenic sanctuary of Delphi is one example of the ways in which 'outsiders' were encroaching on the Greek mainland and were employing Greek craftsmen. When we move over to the eastern parts of the Greek world, to Asia Minor and the islands that lie off that coast, we see that Greek architects and sculptors were working for both Greek and non-Greek patrons there (see Chapter III).[96] The phrase 'Ionian Renaissance' is used to characterize the work that was carried out in the central fifty years of the century (387/386–334 BC), when much of the area was under Persian control. Waywell has pointed out the paradox 'that the Ionian cultural Renaissance begins and flourishes under Persian control, and is set back if not completely benighted by Alexander's liberation'.[97] Local rulers were willing to lavish money on Greek sculptors and workmen, and the finished products were tinged with ideas from Persia and other non-Greek areas. The best demonstration of this blend is to be seen on the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos, both in the design of the tomb and in the freestanding and relief figures that decorated it (see Chapter III).

[94] Apoxyomenos: Boardman 1995: fig. 35; R. R. R. Smith 1991: fig. 47.

[95] Daochos Monument: Ridgway 1990: 46–50; École Française d'Athènes 1991a: 91–100; R. R. R. Smith 1991: fig. 44; Boardman 1995: fig. 36 (Agias); Mattusch 1997: 40–1; Rolley 1999: 325–9, figs. 335–40; Jacquemin and Laroche 2001; Barringer 2008: 164–6.

[96] For work in Asia Minor and the Dodecanese, see Isager 1994; Jenkins and Waywell 1997; Palagia and Coulson 1993; Higgs 2006.

[97] Waywell 1994: 58.