

Aeschylus' *Theoroi* and Realism in Greek Art*

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Two papyri from Oxyrhynchus preserve an amusing, tantalizing fragment of a satyr play, Aeschylus' *ΘΕΩΡΟΙ Η ΙΣΘΜΙΑΣΤΑΙ*. Philologists who have studied the fragment have been concerned primarily with establishing an accurate text, identifying the *dramatis personae*, and reconstructing the plot of the lost play.¹ However, art historians have seized upon Aeschylus' inclusion of portrait images of satyrs in *Theoroi* and, recognizing that it contains a revealing contemporary insight into the art of the day, have cited the fragment in support of various theories about what it signifies for developments in the visual arts during Aeschylus' lifetime.² Assuming with good reason that Aeschylus formed his ideas about art from observing the art around him, most conclude that the art to which the playwright is responding is that of the Early Classical period. Such studies point to Aeschylus' emphasis on lifelikeness, especially his use of the attribute "Daedalic" to describe the satyrs' portraits, but overlook the fragment's equally persuasive emphasis on *likeness*. This study suggests that some form of realism has inspired Aeschylus, and that this realism, in Aeschylus' terms, can more aptly be said to apply to Late Archaic art than to Early Classical.

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¹The papyri were first edited by E. Lobel, P. Oxy. XVIII 2162, with pls. IV–V, and another fragment, supplementing lines 12–15 of fr. 2(b) of no. 2162, was added by Lobel in P. Oxy. XX, p. 167. The papyri have been re-edited frequently. Radt TrGF 3, Frgs. 78a–82 supersedes all previous editions and is the one used here. The dual name of the play is known from the Aeschylean *Catalog* (Radt TrGF 3, T 78 c 6) and Hesychius (Latte, ι 46). The attribution to Aeschylus has never been questioned. For the association with his *Theoroi*, which seems to be assured by the fragments' contents, see Lobel 1941: 14. Untersteiner's argument that *Theoroi* is a tragedy has found no support; see Pohlenz 66. There are sufficient similarities to the action of demonstrably satyric plays to secure *Theoroi*'s identification as a satyr play; see, among others, Ussher 1977–78: 25 and Snell 8–9. The date of the play is unknown. For a judicious assessment of the plot, and the one I for the most part adopt, see Lloyd-Jones 543–49.

²Faraone 37–39; Hedreen 97, n. 81, and 110; Morris 217–20; Stewart 1990: 142; Donohue 26–27, n. 64; Hallett 75–78; Philipp 27–28, 44 and 52; Sörbom 41–53; and Fraenkel 1942: 244–45. The views of these writers are addressed below.

There are four parts: Part one reviews the action and the language of the *Theoroi* fragment in order to show that two key components of realism in visual representation—likeness and lifelikeness—are repeatedly emphasized in Aeschylus' characterization of portraits of satyrs. Part two examines the question of when this realism in art manifested itself, whether in the Early Classical period of Aeschylus' maturity, as most believe, or in the Late Archaic of his youth, as I suggest. Parts three and four consider actual sources of inspiration. Since "portraits" of satyrs from any period are, by nature, stereotypes, another passage by Aeschylus that refers to some type of portrait images, those of Helen at *Agamemnon* 414–19, is brought into the discussion so that the field may be broadened to include female statues. The overall conclusion, that there was a concern in Aeschylus' lifetime for a type of realism in visual images which was capable of eliciting a highly personal response, invites the question of what this realism consisted of and raises the possibility that it reflects an early interest in portraiture.

I.

The lost play concerned a group of satyrs on their way to the Isthmian games in which they hope to participate. It is generally assumed that the action took place at the Isthmus.³ However, much about the setting, action, and *dramatis personae* remains controversial. The fragment encompasses two brief episodes, in each of which a group of chorusing satyrs is offered a crafted item. The varying degrees of fright which these objects engender form the basis of much of the action and all of the humor. In the first, and shorter, of the episodes, the satyrs are presented with portraits; in the second, the gifts are some form of "plaything" made of metal and wood, probably javelins.⁴ This paper is concerned with the first of these episodes.

³Sutton 1980: 31 suggested that the action did not take place at the Isthmus, a position which he recanted in 1981: 336.

⁴We do not know precisely what form these portraits took, only that they were portable and painted. Lobel 1941: 14 takes them for objects of two different media: "statuettes (implied by τὸ Δαιδάλου μίμημα) and painted πίνακες (implied by καλλιγραφικὸν εὐχάν, ἐπιπασ- κάλευε)." There seems to be little justification to do so. Snell 6 and Mette 1963: 165 suggest that the satyrs' portraits were the actors' own theatrical masks. Mette goes on to note that, once the satyrs had affixed them to the temple, they would have been bare-faced. Therefore, the actors must have worn another mask under these masks. This suggestion is unconvincing because the satyrs carry their portraits throughout the scene: they do not wear them. It is reasonable to assume that the actors were wearing theatrical satyr-masks all the while they were bounding about with their portraits in hand. Furthermore, there is nothing in the text that requires these objects to be facial representations only. They could be full-length figurines or statuettes. Donohue 26–27, n. 64, assumes that they were actual theatrical masks without considering the mechanics of the situation. Giuliani 120–21 suggests that a new, "livelier" and

First, it is necessary to review and discuss the relevant portion of the fragment in some detail. It opens as the satyrs approach the Temple of Poseidon. They are in the process of thanking someone for giving them portable portrait images of their very selves. The identity of the personage who offers the portraits and whether or not it is the maker, himself, remain open to speculation.⁵ Daedalus is a good candidate; however, a definitive identification is not crucial to the present argument. The text of the first episode follows (TrGF 3, *Theoroi* F 78 a):

ὀρώντες εἰκοῦ[ε] οὐ κατ' ἀνθρώπους[ὅπη δ' ἂν ἔ[ρ]ης, πάντα σοι τάδ' εὐεβῆ·	
—	
ἧ κάρτ' ὀφείλω τῶνδέ σοι· πρόφρων γὰρ εἶ. ἄκουε δὴ πᾶς σῖγα δειθελειδ[.].	4
ἄθρησον εἰ[.]. []	
εἶδωλον εἶναι τοῦτ' ἐμῇ μορφῇ πλέον τὸ Δαιδάλου μ[ί]μημα· φωνῆς δεῖ μόνον.	
ταδ[.]. εἰ ..	8
ορα[.]. (.)ρ[]	
χωρεῖ μάλα	
—	
εὐκαῖα κόσμον ταῦτ[α] τῷ θεῷ φέρω καλλίγραπτον εὐχάν.	12
(—)	
τῇ μητρὶ τῇμῃ πράγματ' ἂν παρασχέθῃ· (—)	
ἰδοῦσα γάρ νιν ἂν σαφῶς τρέποιτ' ἂν ἰαχέζοιτότ' θ' ὥς δοκοῦς' ἔμ' εἶναι, τὸν ἐξ—	16
ἐθρεψεν· οὕτως ἐμπερὴς ὅδ' ἐστίν.	
εἶα δὴ σκοπεῖτε δῶμα ποντίου κειρίχθο[ν] κάπιπασσάλευ' ἕκαστος τῆς κ[α]λῆς μορφῆς [] ἄγγελον, κήρυκ' [ἄ]ναυδον, ἐμπόρων κωλύτορ[α],	20

more expressive type of theatrical mask is developed for use in satyr plays of the early fifth century. Fraenkel's association of the satyr-masks with temple antefixes is discussed below (1942: 245). For my purpose, we need not argue endlessly and inconclusively about the nature of stage props and the actions of actors. They were, in the end, only theatrical props, and need not be imagined as having been any more realistic or credible than any other ancient theatrical prop. It is the satyrs' reaction to the images that is telling. On the javelins, see n. 12 below.

⁵More attention has been paid to the identity of the personage who presents the satyrs with objects in the second episode (TrGF 3, F 78 c, line 49) and who plays a significant role in the action of the fragment. Possible candidates include Daedalus (Lobel 1952: 167), Hephaistos

[.]. ἐπιχίρει κελεύθου τοὺς ξένο[υ]ς φ.[
χαῖρ' ἄναξ, χαῖρ' ὦ Πόσειδον ἐπιτροπ[...].]

...seeing the portraits not made by human hands. And in whatever way you act, all of your actions will be pious.

I am greatly in your debt for these things; for you are being very gracious. Listen now, everyone be silent...Look hard and tell me if...you think this image—this Daedalic counterfeit!—could be more like my own form. It lacks only a voice! These...look...come along, COME ALONG! I am taking these things to dedicate as votives, as an ornament to the god, a beautifully designed *ex voto*. It would give my mother a fit! For if she should get a look at this thing, she would surely turn tail with a loud wail [reading ἄν αἰάζοιτό with Page 191], thinking it was me, the one she raised, so like me is this portrait! Whoa! up comes the house of the Earthshaker—from-the-Sea! Let's each peg up [the image?] of his handsome self as a messenger, a herald without a voice, a way-layer of travellers,...[which] will stop strangers in their tracks...Greetings, lord! greetings, Poseidon...

The satyrs are delighted with the superhuman quality of the workmanship (1). But what really tickles their fancies is the close resemblance between portrait image and subject and, as recognition strikes, they begin to frolic with the images. Whether or not these portraits were made by Daedalus himself (7), or by another famous demiourgos, such as Hephaistos, the images could have been thought to be “Daedalic,” on account of their workmanship and vitality, high standards of which are frequently attributed to the style of the legendary sculptor. The satyrs proclaim that the resemblance was so nearly perfect that the only thing lacking was speech (7), something which is often said later about the works of Daedalus.⁶ Their close proximity to life is brought home by

(Lloyd-Jones 547–49, who assumes one personage is responsible for both gifts), Sisyphe (Snell 8), and Heracles (Sutton 1980: 32–33 and 1981: 336).

⁶On Daedalus and the ancient testimonia about him and his works, see, for example, Morris, especially 215–68, Stewart 1990: 240–43, Donohue, especially 179–83, Philipp 50–54, Frontisi-Ducroux, and Nyenhuis. For quick and easy reference but little commentary, Miller 342–44 provides a convenient collection of some of the more important ancient sources. The *Theoroi* fragment may contain the earliest reference to Daedalus as an actual person after *Iliad* 18. 590–92. Since the date of *Theoroi* is unknown, it is difficult to know how much earlier or later is Bacchylides' description of Daedalus as τεκτόν[ω]ν σοφω[τάτῳ] (Snell and Maehler *Dithyr.* 26, 6). It is therefore perilous to draw conclusions about the style and perception of Daedalus' works from the *Theoroi* passage alone. Most of the ancient *testimonia* are later; some of the most interesting are Euripidean. However, this does not render them valueless in this context. We are quite obviously missing a lot of evidence. Morris 220–22 is especially good on the issue of speech. In addition to this Aeschylean testimonium about speech, at *E. Hec.* 836–38, Hecuba longs for a voice everywhere in her body so that all parts, including her footsteps, might speak,

calling the images μ[ί]μημα (7), which further emphasizes the striking visual resemblance to their subjects.⁷

The use of καλλίγραπτον (12) is both a reference to the skillful workmanship and a humorously ironical reminder of the lack of beauty in both the satyrs and their likenesses. The joke only makes sense if the audience is familiar with the norm, that is, dedications which are beautiful both in workmanship and in physical appearance. The satyrs persist in calling their images "handsome" (19), even as they nail the portraits up for apotropaic purposes on the temple!⁸ But with this action, they face, with admirable hauteur, the uncomfortable fact that realistic portraits of themselves would strike fear in any passer-by, especially other hopefuls headed for the games.⁹ The portraits

whether by the art of Daedalus or from some god; and in E. frag. 372 N², Daedalic statues are thought to be able to move and either to speak or to see, depending on one's reading of the text; cf. Kassel 5. See Franco 135–36 on Euripidean references to Daedalus. For Vernant 1983: 311–12, silence equals death; a voice equals life. Perhaps the Archaic smile equals the ability to speak, or "life." The close association between statues and life may reach back, as so many things about Greek art do, to ancient Egypt. The Egyptians, of course, created statues of their kings to house the royal *ka* after death. The statue would have to look quite like the person represented for the *ka* to recognize its new "body" and take up habitation there. Compare the "opening of the mouth" ceremony performed on statues and mummies and so frequently depicted in New Kingdom wall paintings (see, for example, S. Quirke and J. Spencer, *The British Museum Book of Ancient Egypt*, New York, 1992, pl. 113). A special tool is used to pry open the mouth symbolically in order that life may enter, that is, the *ka* may come and go at will.

⁷On the history of the use of this highly nuanced term and its cognates with reference to the visual arts, see, for example, Stewart 1990: 73–85, Hallett 76–77, Sörbom, Webster, Else, Golden, and Murray 41–42. *Theoroi*, line 7, seems to be the earliest example of the use of the substantive, μίμημα. I see no reason why this very early use in reference to statues would not mean very close to what Euripides has it mean in 412, when he includes μίμημα at *Hel.* 74–75 and 875 among the various words he uses to refer to the "double" of Helen that went to Troy. At 74–75, Teucer mistakes the real Helen whom he does not recognize (since he assumes she is in Egypt) for a μίμημα of the one who went to Troy. The principle behind both passages is that the duplication is perfect, like the portraits of the satyrs.

⁸Just as it is impossible to determine what type of artifact/stage prop was used to represent the satyrs' portraits, so too it is impossible to determine just what they did with them. It may be best to assume no more than what the text of the play (line 19) leads us to believe, that they affixed the objects in some way to a structure that was meant to represent a temple. Whatever they did, it worked. Then, as now, theater audiences are willing and expect to engage in some degree of suspension of disbelief. On the apotropaic function of the satyrs' effigies in the *Theoroi* fragment, including a possible association with or reference to the decapitated heads that are reputed to have decorated the palace of Oenomaus at Pisa, see Faraone 37–39, Lloyd-Jones 543 and Snell 7.

⁹Even if one does not accept a conjecture for the end of line 21 like that of Untersteiner 25, φόβον βλέπων, followed by Lloyd-Jones 551, something close to "fear" is implicit in the description of the strangers' reaction to the satyrs' portraits. For other conjectured readings, see Radt's *apparatus*, ad loc.

would perform this function for the satyrs when they could not be present in the flesh.

A climax, of sorts, is reached when the chorus of satyrs remarks in unison that a likeness of one of them would startle and frighten his own mother (13–17).¹⁰ While the mere suggestion that a mother be frightened by her own child is comic, there is a further complication owing to the fact that satyrs are ugly. We cannot conclude the obvious, that the images would have scared a satyr's mother simply because they were horrifying, since we can safely assume that these mothers had already accustomed themselves to their offsprings' looks. Instead, the violent reaction that each satyr predicts for his mother could indicate that, not necessarily the art of portraiture, itself—a concept whose definition and origins in Greek art scholars find difficult to agree

¹⁰The meaning of the verb describing the satyr's mother's second reaction in line 15 is obscure. *τρέποιταναξιαζοιτο*θως of the diplomatic text is printed by Radt *τρέποιτ' ἄν †ἀξιάζοιτό† θ' ὥς*. The problem is that *ἀξιάζειν* is nowhere attested. (In his commentary, noting the metrical difficulty, Lobel 1941: 21 hesitatingly suggests alternate divisions of the letters based on a reading of *ἄζοιτο* as the second verb.) Kamerbeek 4 offers the fullest defense of reading *ἀξιάζοιτο*. He notes that *ἀξιάζω/ἀξιώω* is paralleled in its formation by *ἀτιμάζω/ἀτιμώω* and claims that “*ἀξιάζεσθαι* = *ἀξιοῦσθαι*.” According to Kamerbeek, an infinitive supplied from *τρέποιτ'* would yield *ἀξιάζοιτο τρέπεσθαι*, meaning “*sese eo convertat*.” The metrical difficulty is obviated through synizesis of *-ια-*. This rather strained explanation saves the phenomenon but misses Aeschylus' point. Two independent, and surely unpremeditated, actions are called for. The mother, as imagined by her son, first turns in fright, then says or does something as a result. The notion that she “think it fit to turn” deprives her reaction of the spontaneity that would have made the scene effective drama. Snell 7 realized that some word corresponding roughly to “*sich entsetzen*” is expected. He finds Lobel's 1941: 21 *ἄζοιτο* “*durchaus überzeugend*.” This approximates the right sense, if with less humor (“be in holy fear of”), especially if one considers that the word is often used of children in relation to their parents. Here Aeschylus could deliberately be reversing the relationship (for comic effect? We are in the world of satyrs, after all.) to that of parent in holy fear of offspring. But this reading does not account for *ἀξί-* and also leaves a problem with the meter. Fraenkel 1942: 244, without discussion (but see Lobel 1941: 21), reads *ἀσπάζοιτο* which makes the verse iambic, but lacking sense. The mother, in her son's mind, “turns” in some way, no matter how the rest of the line is construed. If she were to turn *toward* the portrait and/or the son, in what position, then, are we to imagine her to be in the first place? She would be looking at the portrait, so she would not have her back to it anytime before her reaction registers. Of course, she must be turning away. Therefore, it makes little sense to have her turn (away) and *then* embrace. To my mind, the most attractive suggestion is that of Page 191, *αἰάζοιτο* (“cry *αἰῶ* in astonishment or grief, wail”), which fits both the meter and the sense. Although it is not attested in the middle, it is paralleled by other verbs of lamentation adduced by Page. (Interesting that Page [in Owen at E. *Ion* 168–69] also suggested reading *αἰάξεις* instead of *αἰμάξεις*...*τάς καλλιφθόγγους ᾠδάς*: “you will turn your lovely song to a wail of woe.” Diggle ad loc. credits Nauck with this emendation.) Another attractive suggestion, which has less physicality to the mothers' response, is that of Gronewald 100: *ἀναγκάζοιτο* (“*ἀναγκά-ζεσθαι*=*vexari*”).

upon—but the degree of realism in such images was a new and unexpected feature, at least among satyrs.¹¹

The satyrs' shocking first encounter with realism in works of art is not without parallel. Satyr plays often exploit the comic potential of satyrs being introduced to a technological innovation. Fire, various musical instruments, wine and, later in *Theoroi*, itself, the javelin, provide the stimuli for humorous antics.¹² These "inventions" date to indefinite mythical or historical times, but all of them are, of course, entirely familiar to the audience; therein lies the humor. It is easy to imagine that much of the fun of an ancient satyr play would have come from watching these essentially cowardly, hedonistic creatures become overly agitated on first acquaintance with things that the members of the audience took for granted in daily life. On another level, the comic element, for the audience, arises from their own familiarity with the "novelty" and the dramatized ignorance of the characters on stage. The contemporary viewer is made to feel superior to the ignorant protagonists who have yet to enjoy the benefits of civilization's progress (an observation I owe to Maryline Parca). The dramatization of the introduction of the art of realistic portrayal in

¹¹Some might prefer to think of the scene as a dramatic account of the invention or introduction of something more concrete, either a type of theatrical mask or satyr-faced-antefixes rather than the art of realistic portrayal, as I suggest here. Lloyd-Jones 543 saw no obstacles to acknowledging that portraiture itself was the new thing admired here: "The fright which the portraits are likely to give to the satyr's mother or to any strangers makes it likely that such portraits, and probably the art of portraiture itself, are thought of as being unusual or even new at the time in question."

¹²Seaford 217, with n. 72, provides a useful list of "inventions" and "wonders" that are introduced to satyrs in satyr plays. He also notes (212, n. 28, and 221) that satyrs in myth are associated with the invention of musical instruments; compare the gift of the aulos to Marsyas from Athena. On the *topos*, see also Ussher 17–19, Snell 8 and Kleingünther 92–93. Sutton 1980: 157 n. 455, denies that "invention of things useful for Mankind" is a convention (or what he calls a "stereotype") of satyr plays, and asks: "Where are such inventions found outside the satyr plays of Sophocles, except in Aeschylus' *Prometheus Pyrkaeus*?" A partial answer may be found in the second episode of the *Theoroi* fragment (TrGF 3, F 78 a and F 78 c), where the satyrs are presented with objects made of metal and wood which Snell 8 explains as javelins for use in the Pentathlon. Sutton dismisses the possibility that this scene might qualify as an example of the "stereotype" of invention, claiming that the objects are "newly made" rather than "newly invented." But given the repeated emphasis on the newness of the objects and their purpose (τρόπους και[νοὺς μ]αθῶν, F 78 a, line 34; καὶ νῦν τάδ' ἄλλα καὶ ποταίν[ι, F 78 a, line 69;]α καὶνὰ ταῦτα, F 78 c, line 49; νεοχμὰ [...] ἀθύρματα, F 78 c, line 50; and ν]εόκτ[ιτα, F 78 c, line 51) and, more importantly, the satyrs' characteristically chicken-hearted response to them (ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐχί· τῶν φίλων νειμόν τι, F 78 c, line 53), the humor of Aeschylus' scene would seem to require that the objects were not only newly made but also newly invented for the satyrs' new athletic pursuits (F 78 c, line 56). Furthermore, there is novelty associated with the satyrs' portraits, as well; for concurring opinions, see Hallett 77 n. 43, Seaford 217 and Lloyd-Jones 543.

Aeschylus' *Theoroi* finds its place securely within the tradition of "introduction motifs" in satyr plays.

The nature of strangers' fright is different from a mother's shock. This is purposeful. It is important not to conflate the dual causes of fright. A stranger would be subject to another kind of fright, an apotropaic fright, the rational and proper response to the sight of lifelike horrific images, different altogether from the mothers' fright. In short, it is the quality of *likeness* that frightens the mothers, while it is the quality of *lifelikeness* that unnerves the strangers. The mothers react to the uncanny likeness, the strangers, to the unnerving lifelikeness of the ugly portraits. (A stranger would presumably be subject to both kinds of fright if he were to see the satyr carrying a replica of himself, but Aeschylus does not entertain that possibility.) The rhetorical device of approaching a subject from complementary polar points of view in order to characterize it in its entirety is a familiar one in Greek literature from Homer, where "word" and "deed" are frequently contrasted, onwards: In Aeschylus' own day, for example, "land" and "sea" are used frequently to emphasize the completeness of the Greeks' victories over Persia.¹³ To encourage his audience to recreate fully in their imaginations the lifelike likenesses that are the satyrs' portraits, Aeschylus is careful to include the complementary polar points of view of both a φίλος and a ξένος.

It is worth noting how many different words and periphrases (eight in twenty-one lines) Aeschylus uses to convey the cumulative message of lifelike likeness: εἰκὸν[c] (1); εἶδωλον and ἐμῇ μορφῇ πλέον (6); τὸ Δαιδάλου μ[ι]μήμα and φωνῆς δεῖ μόνον (7); ἐμφορῆς (17); τῆς κ[α]λῆς μορφῆς and ἄγγελον (20). The case for ἄγγελον is, perhaps, most striking. Whether it is the direct object of κάπιπασσάλευ' or in apposition to a lost direct object at the end of line 19, it functions as another synonym for εἰκὼν. The use of personification is peculiar—the portrait is called a messenger instead of a message—and furthers the implied personification of the image in the use of ὅδ' in line 17. In Greek plays, a messenger is a useful dramatic device frequently employed to relate events which have taken place offstage, events like battles which, of course, would be extremely unwieldy to present onstage (e.g. A. *Persae* 353–514; E. *IT* 1327–1419). Since what the messenger relates is central to the plot, the messenger must be someone whom the audience as well as the other characters can trust, that is, someone who can be relied upon to report correct, detailed and trustworthy information. Characters may act or react

¹³See, for one example of many, Meiggs and Lewis #26 (Athenian epigrams on the Persian wars). One who assumes that "polar" and "complementary" are antonyms might think of the color wheel, where colors directly opposite one another are called "complementary."

based upon what the messenger says. For the satyrs to claim that their portraits will function as messengers further emphasizes their realism, suggesting that the visual “message” conveyed by the images is similarly accurate, detailed and trustworthy (that is, they look just like their ugly selves and could stand in the satyrs’ places). Lloyd-Jones, following a suggestion by Denys Page, has conjectured σαφή to modify ἄγγελον, although there is virtually no evidence to do so, presumably because he interprets the force of the metaphor as I do here (551 line 19). In sum, where the modern reader might be struck as much with the redundancy of this language as with its poetry, the ancient listener would have been accumulating nuances of meaning—visual, in the mind’s eye, as well as conceptual—whose total effect by the end of the segment must have been quite powerful. It is as if old, familiar words like εἰκοῦ[c], or εἶδωλον, by themselves, were not sufficient to carry the full weight of describing the extraordinary objects just offered to the satyrs. Thus, the very language of the *Theoroi* fragment clearly and repeatedly emphasizes realism.

There is, I think, a powerful piece of evidence that Aeschylus was interested in realism in a significant way. In his *Life of Apollonius* 6.11 (=TrGF 3, T 106), Philostratus recounts a discussion about the differences between the religions of India and Egypt, in favor of the former. Indians, he claims, have “truer” (ἀληθέστεροι) opinions about nature and the gods because, it seems, they live “nearer” to the source. This brings up a comparison with the dramatic art of Aeschylus or, at least, the impression that his artistry made upon his original audience which led them to consider him the “father of tragedy.” Aeschylus is credited with several innovations—including the introduction of dialogues for the actors and having people killed offstage instead of on—all of which apparently increased the *realism* of the performance.¹⁴ He devised costumes for the actors which made the characters and their characterizations seem more authentic, more like the audience would imagine their mythical and heroic figures to be, that is, taller and more regally dressed than they. The introduction of the platform-soled buskin is mentioned specifically as a way of increasing the physical height of the actors. Most interesting for our purposes is the claim that Aeschylus “made use of a type of mask which portrayed the features (and/or the inner characters) of the heroes” (σκευοποιίας μὲν ἄψατο εἰκασμένης τοῖς τῶν ἡρώων εἶδεσιν).¹⁵ Such acute attention to detail in the

¹⁴Without collapsing swords and prepared packets of “blood,” onstage deaths must have been quite clumsy and unconvincing. Better to do it offstage and out of sight.

¹⁵Text is from F. C. Conybeare (Loeb, 1912: 46). Thanks are due to Maryline Parca for directing my attention to this passage.

physical presentation of characters on stage is, to me, synonymous with an interest in realism.

II.

A review of the first episode of the *Theoroi* fragment has revealed that two key components of realistic visual representation, likeness and lifelikeness, are exploited in Aeschylus' characterization of portraits of satyrs. I would argue further that the intended effect is to encourage the audience to visualize in a dramatic setting something with which they were familiar in their daily lives. To ask an audience to visualize objects without a frame of reference in the real world and to structure a scene around those objects seems unreasonable; the humor would be considerably lessened or even impossible to sustain. The repertory of stage props available to Aeschylus cannot alone have served as the source of inspiration. It would seem to me to be difficult to argue against the likelihood that, in structuring a scene around portrait images of satyrs, the playwright is responding to important developments in the visual arts. Aeschylus lived ca. 525/4–456/5 B. C.¹⁶ We must now consider the question of when a new concern for realism in visual images manifested itself, whether in the Early Classical period of his maturity or the Late Archaic of his youth.

Göran Sörbom agrees that the source of inspiration is the real world: "We have to assume that the images referred to are not fanciful constructions made by Aeschylus for this play but images of a sort that could be seen in the temples, in the *agorai*, etc." Sörbom argues, however, that the *Theoroi* fragment refers to innovations in art of the Early Classical period, with the following caveat: "...the fragment does not tell us that there were, in the early classical period, painstakingly realistic works of art but that the Greeks of the early classical period experienced the art of their time as extremely vivid and amazingly full of life."¹⁷ I believe that Sörbom is already on the wrong track in looking to identify the sources of these qualities in Early Classical rather than Archaic art. However, to my mind he truly misses the mark when he tries to identify the increasing *naturalism* of Early Classical male sculptures as the source.

¹⁶A birthdate for Aeschylus sometime between 525 and 523 B. C. and a date of death ca. 456/5 B. C. come from the *Marmor Parium*, on which see Jacoby, ii, 239, A 59, with commentary. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf's collection of ancient *testimonia* on Aeschylus' life and art is now superseded by Radt 1–108. For a recent examination of the sources for Aeschylus' life, see Lefkowitz 67–74 and 157–60.

¹⁷Sörbom 41–53. Quotations are from 44 and 45. The discussion of the *Theoroi* fragment by Hallett 75–77 largely derives from Sörbom's.

Most will agree, I think, that whatever naturalism is new in Early Classical art is principally due to the introduction and perfection of the contrapposto pose, which broke forever the version of rigid and timeless regality borrowed from statues of Egyptian pharaohs and best exemplified by the series of Archaic kouroi. The new asymmetrical ideal opened the way to representations of all manner of active poses and a couple, but only a couple, of new facial expressions seen briefly and rather ineffectually in the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. Naturalism may, for the modern viewer, be one ingredient or even a *sine qua non* of lifelikeness—not necessarily so for the Archaic viewer, who seems to have experienced less naturalism but, paradoxically, as much or more realism in the art of the day. I suspect that the kouroi, though criticized later, in ancient times as well as modern, were also experienced as extremely lifelike in their time.¹⁸ In the Archaic period, there was no art to be seen that was more naturalistic by comparison, after all. In fact, Sörbom's "extremely vivid and amazingly full of life" were not at all new with Early Classical art; quite the contrary, these particular qualities had always been associated with the works of Daedalus, if we are to believe our sources. Some might go so far as to say that a bit of that life was lost as much as was gained with the advent of formal and technical perfection in the visual arts—the so-called "classical revolution." In the end, Sörbom goes to great lengths to define the "new" lifelikeness of the Early Classical period as opposed to the "archaic intellectualism" of earlier art, but he completely overlooks the other, perhaps more crucial, ingredient essential to the satyrs' responses: likeness.

The use of the word "Daedalic" in line 7 would seem to point in the general direction of "older" rather than "newer." I suggest that the realism Aeschylus had in mind would more likely have been something he associated with the Archaic art of the Athens of his youth than with the Early Classical art of his maturity. As a young man, Aeschylus was an eyewitness to the fall of the tyrants and the Persian Wars. He is said to have fought at Marathon, Salamis, and perhaps Plataea. The epitaph which may have been seen by Pausanias at Gela (1, 14, 5) mentions Aeschylus' participation at Marathon and not his illus-

¹⁸For a concurring opinion, see Ridgway 1977: 28. For an implicit criticism of Archaic kouroi, see Plato *Hippias Major* 282a, 1, where the works of Daedalus are ridiculed as old-fashioned; and Pausanias 2, 4, 5, where they are called "rather odd." On Daedalus as a sculptor of kouroi, see Diodorus 1, 97, 6, where his works are compared to old Egyptian statues, and Plato *Euthyphro* 11c–e, with its accompanying scholiastic commentary, where he is credited with being the first to separate the legs to convey a sense of movement. For contrasting views on the relationship of the style of Daedalus to kouroi, see Morris 240–41, who suggests that the sources do not explicitly connect them, and Ridgway 1977: 27–33, who suggests otherwise.

trious career as a playwright. All of this is well known. Might it not then be reasonable to infer that a man who considered Marathon (not Salamis, not Plataea) his proudest achievement felt himself at heart more a citizen of the Late Archaic world than the Classical world in which he spent the remainder of his life? It would certainly not be unusual for an artist to be haunted throughout his or her productive career by the music, the visual images and the places associated with youth, whether subconsciously or otherwise. For this and for a variety of reasons, a poet need not be expected to have been strictly up-to-date in his knowledge, understanding, and appropriation of developments in the visual arts.

In support, it can be said that many, even the majority, of Aeschylus' references to works of art are inspired by Archaic, or older, models rather than Early Classical.¹⁹ I list only a few examples. In *Eumenides* the physical centerpiece of the play's action is the "ancient image" of Athena, the one which, according to Pausanias 1, 26. 6, fell from heaven and was housed on the acropolis. In *Eumenides* 46–63, Aeschylus compares a group of sleeping women with Gorgons, not, he is careful to specify, the Gorgons that could be seen carved in relief on Archaic temple pediments, but Gorgons that he had seen in a painting, these mythical creatures being a popular motif in Archaic vase-painting as well as architecture.²⁰ In the famous scene of the sacrifice of Iphigeneia in *Agamemnon* 228–48, the tableau of Iphigeneia's piteous, dart-like gaze at her executioners is directly compared to a picture, ὥς ἐν γράφαις at 242, which could refer either to free-painting or vase-painting. (Vase-painters signed with their names and ἔγραψεν.) It may have been inspired by something like, but not necessarily, the Achilles and Penthesileia amphora by

¹⁹Huddilston 7–32 noted this long ago and collected a number of the examples which I include here. He reasonably concludes (109) that "it seems to me clear that one is justified in looking upon Aeschylus as particularly in sympathy with the past." Prag 80 includes a brief but interesting list of examples of art works, most of them Archaic, which he believes may have inspired Aeschylus. His topic, however, is a comprehensive examination of the history of *The Oresteia* depicted in art, primarily vases; Prag 80 only hints that a line of inspiration extended, as well, from the opposite direction: "Many of the images he [Aeschylus] uses are ones which he might have seen first on works of art."

²⁰Cf. the west pediment of the Temple of Artemis at Corfu, Corfu Museum; the Gorgon's head from a limestone pediment from the Athenian acropolis, Acropolis Museum 701; the Eleusis amphora, Eleusis Museum; the Athens Nettos amphora, by the Nettos Painter, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1002; and the Dinos by the Gorgon Painter, Paris, Louvre E874. For illustrations, see Boardman, et al., pls. 101, 75 and 104–106. For the acropolis example, see Payne and Young, pl. 1. The original source of inspiration for the apotropaic gorgoneion is surely the ubiquitous protective deity of the ancient Egyptians, the god Bes, who is always shown gape-mouthed and lolling-tongued. For examples, see Saleh and Sourouzian #184 and Kozloff, et al., 226 and 409, with pls. 20, 58–59.

the black-figure master, Exekias, in the British Museum, one of two known representations of the scene by this painter.²¹

In the catalog of shield devices in *Seven Against Thebes* 375ff., Aeschylus uses a number of Archaic motifs: Parthenopaios' design incorporated a sphinx, common to all periods of Greek art but especially popular on grave monuments of the Archaic period; a personification of Dike that appears on Polyneikes' shield recalls the personifications of Homer, which are vividly echoed in the Sleep and Death of Euphronios' famous calyx krater (c. 515 B. C.) at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.²² Finally, the use of an archaic word for statues, *κολοσσῶν*, to refer to images of Helen at *Agamemnon* 416, to which we shall return, suggests that the motif was inspired by long-term acquaintance with an older, established way of representing females in stone, rather than a newer one, and that it was intended to evoke precisely those "old" images.

On one occasion, at least, Aeschylus is attested to have betrayed his reverence, perhaps even preference, for the "older" style of statues (Porphyry *De abst.* 2, 18 = TrGF T 114):

τὰ παλαιότατα ἔδη κεραμεῶ καὶ ξύλινα ὑπάρχοντα μᾶλλον θεῖα
 νενόμισται διὰ τε τὴν ὕλην καὶ τὴν ἀφέλειαν τῆς τέχνης. τὸν γοῦν
 Αἰσχύλον φασι τῶν Δελφῶν ἀξιούντων εἰς τὸν θεὸν γράψαι παιᾶνα
 εἰπεῖν ὅτι βέλτιστα Τυννίχῳ πεποιήται, παραβαλλόμενον δὲ τὸν
 αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἐκείνου ταῦτὸν πείσεσθαι τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν τοῖς
 καινοῖς πρὸς τὰ ἀρχαῖα· ταῦτα γὰρ καίπερ ἁπλῶς πεποιημένα
 θεῖα νομίζεσθαι, τὰ δὲ καινὰ περιέργως εἰργασμένα θαυμάζεσθαι
 μὲν, θεῖου δὲ δόξαν ἦττον ἔχειν. καὶ τὸν Ἑκίοδον οὖν εἰκότως τὸν

²¹For a recent analysis of Ag. 228–48, see Armstrong and Ratchford. Boardman 1974: 230 says that interest in this phase of Achilles' short career "seems Exekian." For a convenient large-size color illustration of Exekias' famous amphora, BM B 210, see the front cover of Williams. Henle 139 calls this scene "indistinguishable from an 'anonymous' Amazonomachy" but for the inscriptions. Exekias' treatment and others like it probably inspired the even more expressive Achilles and Penthesileia group on the interior of the cup that is the namepiece of the Early-Classical red-figure painter known as the Penthesileia Painter from ca. 455 B. C. (Munich 2688, illustrated in Boardman 1989, pls. 80. 1 and 80. 2.) The leg position of Penthesileia is identical to Exekias'. This pose, virtually a "hieroglyph" for a person in a suppliant or captive position, has a long history. It is ultimately derived from Near Eastern art and can be seen as early as ca. 3200 B. C. on the early dynastic Narmer Palette (CM J. 14716, illustrated in Saleh and Sourouzzian #8).

²²The more famous of two by this master that depict Sleep and Death carrying away the body of the fallen Sarpedon. For an illustration of the other, see Robertson 1992: fig. 15. On personifications of sleep and death in Greek art, see Shapiro 132–47.

τῶν ἀρχαίων θυσιῶν νόμον ἐπαινοῦντα εἰπεῖν· ὥς κε πόλις ῥέζηι,
νόμος δ' ἀρχαῖος ἄριστος'.²³

The oldest terracotta and wooden statues of seated gods are thought to possess more godliness on account of both the material and the simplicity of the craftsmanship. One proof of this is that they say that Aeschylus, when the Delphians honored him with an invitation to write a paean to their god, responded that it had already been done best by Tynnichus, and that his own paean, when compared with Tynnichus', would suffer the same fate as new statues compared with old. For the old statues, although they were simply made, are thought to be godly, while the new ones inspire awe on account of having been elaborately worked, but possess less of an appearance of godliness. And Hesiod, praising with good reason the custom of the old sacrifices, says: 'Whenever a city acts, the old custom is best.'

For proof (γούν) that older images are thought to possess more "godliness," a statement attributed to Aeschylus is adduced, τῶν Δελφῶν ἀξιούτων... τὰ ἀρχαῖα. Although the subject of νομίζεσθαι is not entirely clear, it is unlikely to be Aeschylus because of its voice, almost certainly passive. Therefore, we must assume that the elaboration of Aeschylus' assertion that there is a difference between older and newer statues (ταῦτα γὰρ ...ἔχειν) represents a continuation of the thought expressed in the first sentence (γενόμενται, νομίζεσθαι) and is not necessarily Aeschylus' own.²⁴ For our purposes, what is important is the analogy Aeschylus draws. The comparison has more than a touch of false modesty. Archaism is a relative thing, and the idea of Aeschylus being a "modern" is an anomaly to those who know the works of Sophocles and Euripides, as well as Aristophanes' parody of

²³The only other mention of Tynnichus of Chalcis is Plato, *Ion* 534 d. For the earliest poet of paeans, see A. von Blumenthal, "Paian," *RE* 18:2 (1942) 2340–2362 at D. 7.

²⁴Reading ἀπλῶς in line 6 with the codd. and not the synonymous ἀφελῶς suggested by Nauck and printed by Radt, because the former is heavily documented as an art critical term. The sentiment seems to be that, whatever the finest Archaic statues may lack in technical or conceptual sophistication—in this they can be said to be "simpler" (ἀπλῶς) than classical statues—they make up for in "godliness." On the use of ἀπλοῦς (Latin *simplex*) and cognates in ancient art criticism, see Pollitt 141–43, who concludes that its uses in connection with sculpture, as opposed to painting, "do not seem to be connected with any systematic tradition of criticism." Pollitt cites ancient *testimonia* which use the word to refer to Archaic, Early Classical, as well as High Classical statues, as dissimilar a group of styles as could be imagined. From this evidence, it seems that we must interpret each ancient use of the word on its own terms, strictly within the immediate context. The use of θεῖος in reference to works of art is more difficult to construe; we may compare Pausanias 2. 4. 5, where the works of Daedalos are said to be ἐνθεον. This, however, is not the place to discuss this interesting problem. On the *testimonium*, see Stewart 1990: 134–35, Grabar 239–42, Hallett 79, Untersteiner 28–29 and Webster 173–74.

Aeschylus in *Frogs*. I am not interested, however, in defending or arguing against Aeschylus' characterization of his own style of poetry versus that of Tynnichus, but rather in the choice of analogy. Regardless of what Aeschylus really thinks of the level or quality of inspiration in his own work, when it comes to the plastic arts, he appears to articulate pointedly his profound respect for "older" statues.²⁵ I suggest that this *testimonium* helps to answer the question of which side of ca. 480 B. C. Aeschylus' artistic tastes lay.

III.

I have argued that Aeschylus formed the ideas about realism in the visual arts expressed in the *Theoroi* fragment from observing the art around him, and that the art which inspired such ideas is more likely to have been Late Archaic than Early Classical. Now I shall consider the question of actual sources of inspiration. A strictly literal approach dictates that the sources should be found among Archaic "portraits" of satyrs. It is best to begin with that category.

Eduard Fraenkel has proposed a connection between the satyrs' portable portraits and the painted, satyric-faced terracotta antefixes frequently placed along the cornices of Greek temples to mask the ends of the overlapping roof tiles. He believes that the satyrs would have carried genuine antefixes which would ultimately be "nailed" or "pegged" to a theatrical prop representing a temple and that, in *Theoroi*, Aeschylus was proposing to his audience an *aitia* for the architectural fixtures which, Fraenkel assumes, would have been a familiar sight to them.²⁶ Such antefixes, however, occur more frequently on western Greek temples than mainland ones, perhaps owing to their ubiquity in Etruscan architecture, which favored the use of terracotta over stone.²⁷ There is no need to assume that the portraits were actual antefixes to arrive at the sensible conclusion that terracotta antefixes with satyrs' faces were a source of

²⁵Note the use of *πεποιημένα* to refer to the making of Archaic statues to contrast with *εἰργασμένα* to refer to the making of Classical statues. The two words are surely meant to imply a hierarchy among the artistic processes. Cf. Plato, *Symposium*, 205b–c: Poetry (*ποίησις*), Diotima points out, literally means something like "creating," or "inspired making," (in English), but it is a multivalent term, and the act of making something out of nothing among the sister arts and crafts can also partake of being called "making," in the sense of our term, "creating." Bury 107 observes that Plato's word *ἐργασίαι* "denotes manufacturing processes."

²⁶Fraenkel 1942: 245. Cf. Lobel 1941: 14, n. 1. Lloyd-Jones 543 offers the following corrective to Fraenkel's theory: "It is not, of course, meant that the satyrs' portraits *are* antefixes, since antefixes cannot be nailed up or taken down at will." For further skepticism, see also Taplin 420–21.

²⁷Gorgoneia were also popular for this purpose. For illustrations of extant western Greek examples, discussion of their placement and further bibliography, see Wescoat, cat. nos. 13–14 and pp. 92–94; and Holloway, pp. 79–80. For Attic examples, see Winter 223–24 and 227–28, with pls. 93 and 96. Daedalus is said to have had a career in Sicily; see Morris 195–211.

inspiration for Aeschylus in *Theoroi*. Perhaps he saw them in abundance on a visit to Sicily,²⁸ was struck by their comic potential, and presented them to an Athenian audience who would, on the whole, have been less well acquainted with the western Greek practice, and who therefore might not have made the association immediately.

However lifelike antefixes may be, they do not account for Aeschylus' interest in likeness, the other half of his formula for realism in art. It is a difficult task to identify "portraits" of satyrs from any period. The very fact that their ugly features constitute a familiar stereotype provides the basis for the irony and the humor of the *Theoroi* fragment, the implication being that only a satyr's mother would be able to tell a "realistic" satyr portrait from a "generic" or an "idealized" one. Yet there is some evidence to consider. For instance, satyrs are frequently named individually on vases throughout the Archaic and Classical periods. "Silenos" and "Papposilenos" are examples of named satyrs who are sometimes visually distinguished from other satyrs by their advanced ages.²⁹ Of course, the distinction between "old age" and "youth" is really no more than an iconographical distinction that carries over into portraits of humans on vases as well. On a red-figure cup by the Brygos Painter (BM E 65) from the 480s, side A shows Hera under attack by the satyrs Styon, Hydrys, Babakchos and Terpon; side B has Iris at the altar of Dionysius being attacked by Lepsis, Echon and Dromis.³⁰ However, no satyr can be told apart without reading the accompanying inscriptions. It may be asking too much of the vase-painter to indicate clearly that the creatures are satyrs *and* show some signs of individualization at the same time. Generally speaking, there is little room for the kind of individualization attested by Aeschylus in satyrs' or any other "portraits" in vase-painting.³¹

²⁸As Snell 6 n. 1 suggests. Aeschylus visited Sicily at least twice, once shortly after the founding of Etna by Hieron ca. 476 (*Life of Aeschylus*, 8) and once again sometime before his death at Gela in 456/5. For a discussion of Aeschylus' Sicilian connections, see Broadhead xlviii ff. According to Huddilston 19–21, Aeschylus' apparent lack of interest in architecture is due to the fact that the Periclean building program had not yet begun. It would seem to me that the magnificent temples of Magna Graecia would have been inspiration enough for a lifetime of poetry. The possibility that he may have been inspired by antefixes on temples changes Huddilston's picture somewhat, but we are still, strictly speaking, in the realm of the plastic arts.

²⁹For "Silenos" named on black-figure vases, see Hedreen 162–63, with n. 35. "Papposilenos" is shown, without an inscription, on the Pronomos Vase (Naples 3240) of the late fifth century; see Hedreen 107 and pl. 32, and 174–75, n. 37, for a likely (uninscribed) representation of Papposilenos on a black-figure vase of the third quarter of the sixth century.

³⁰For an illustration, see Boardman 1983, fig. 252. On the significance of these carefully chosen and colorful satyrs' names, see Fränkel 25–34.

³¹There are, as mentioned, the generic categories of "old" or "deformed" within which vase-painters managed to convey some sense of individuality; for several examples, see Frel 5–9,

Sculpture-in-the-round offers more potential for this kind of individualization. There are examples of sculpted "portraits" of satyrs. Though most fall too late to have been a source of inspiration to Aeschylus, it is worth briefly considering this evidence for what light, if any, it sheds on the notion of realism in likenesses of satyrs. While it is Early Classical in date and, according to my argument, less likely to have served as a source of inspiration, Myron's famous bronze "Athena and Marsyas" group, known from a mention by Pliny (*NH* 34. 57), and reconstructed through later marble copies and representations in the minor arts, may be the best roughly contemporary comparandum.³² According to the copyists, the face of Myron's satyr wore the standard signs of "expression" for which Early Classical art is known, for example, the furrowed brow, very much like those of the marauding centaurs on the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia and on the south metopes of the Parthenon. This apparent touch of what some are ready to call "realism," but which is in essence only exaggerated expressiveness, does not, however, allow us to pass judgment on the degree of likeness—that is, unless you are a satyr's mother...! There are, after all, only so many ways to represent out-of-control "humanoid" creatures.

Satyrs are not the only ugly ones, however, portrayed in the Archaic period. A humorous story related by Pliny, 36, 12, tells of the existence of a portrait of the poet Hipponax from the mid-sixth century B. C.:

Hipponax was conspicuous for his ill-favored countenance, which incited the sculptors [Bupalos and Athenis] in wanton jest to display his portrait (*imagine*) to the ridicule of their assembled friends. Incensed at this Hipponax lampooned them so bitterly that, as some believe, they were driven to hang themselves. This, however, cannot be true, for they

with figs. 5–24. Robertson 1992: 30 observes that, on a well-known amphora in Munich (inv. 2307) signed by the early red-figure painter, Euthymides, Priam is shown "bald, with stubble on chin and sunken cheeks." (Illustrated in Boardman 1983, fig. 33. 1.) Earlier vase-painters had depicted him with, at most, white hair and sometimes a bent stance. The author goes on to note that "later the mask for Priam in Attic tragedy was traditionally stubbly," and suggests the possibility of a connection, a notion which I find appealing. The young or middle-aged and the normal lend themselves less, by nature, toward the depiction of individuality on vases. Compare the "portraits" of Smikros (a self-portrait and one by Euphronios) and Euphronios (by Smikros) on Pioneer vases, Frel 8, with figs. 18–20, and Robertson 1992: 26–27, where there is some slight sense of individuality but which look, for the most part, like the standard face types produced by these painters.

³²There is some controversy as to whether they were a group or two different sculptures, depending on how one reads the Pliny passage, since "et Minervam" is separated from "Satyrum" by several words. Sellers, in Jex-Blake/Sellers 46, regards them as a group. The group was probably dedicated on the Athenian acropolis around 450 B. C. For a recent treatment, see

afterwards made in the neighbouring islands, as for example, in Delos, a number of images of the gods...³³

There is no compelling reason to assume, as is commonly done, that Pliny was applying standards more appropriate to the art of his own time when he writes about the art of earlier periods. He is not in a position to pass judgment on the level of realism according to his own or any other standards since he was reading sources and not in all cases actually looking at the art; he simply reports the story as he had it. Pliny does not believe the story. However, it is important to note that his disbelief does not stem from skepticism about the level of realism possible in portraits from the Archaic period, but from the fact that he knows of other, later works by these two sculptors which would appear to undermine the plausibility of this version of their deaths. What strikes modern readers as either a startling revelation or an anachronism—that realistic portraiture of some sort existed at this early date—Pliny here takes for granted. In writing a history that unfolds strictly on the basis of who did what first and when, Pliny was well aware of what would have been within the scope of Bupalos' and Athenis' abilities. After all, statues by them could be scrutinized in the Rome of Pliny's day, where they served as acroteria atop the temple of Apollo on the Palatine and indeed "in nearly all the temples that divus Augustus built" (36, 13).³⁴ If realism in the Archaic period would have struck Pliny as remarkable and out of sequence, he might have noted this. The power of this anecdote lies in the recognition that, whatever Archaic realism consisted of, in this instance, it was impressive enough by the prevailing contemporary standards to inflict ruin on all concerned. It is not our notion of realism, nor even Pliny's, but Bupalos', Athenis', Hipponax's and their friends' notions of realism that are relevant.

What did homely Hipponax's portrait look like? Its realism is a given. How faithful a likeness this Archaic portrait actually was, we cannot ascertain; however, accurate physical resemblance to its subject may have been incidental. Humor was the main goal, and visual humor of any era is seldom subtle, especially with regard to body parts. Whatever it was that amused a con-

G. Daltrop and P. C. Bol, *Athena des Myron*, Liebieghaus Monographie Bd. 8, Frankfurt am Main, 1980, with excellent photographs.

³³Translation is from Jex-Blake/Sellers 187. See Sellers 187 and, for a more recent discussion, Rosen.

³⁴There is no reason to assume that Romans could not distinguish nuances of Greek sculptural style. They were perfectly familiar with the distinction between Archaic and Classical, particularly through the example of Etruscan art. On Bupalos and Athenis, and on Archaic Greek sculpture in Rome, see Zanker 240–45, who points to a fragment of an Archaic Athena statuette recently discovered on the Palatine (fig. 188), and Isager 149–150.

temporary audience must have reminded them of what they already knew to be true about poor Hipponax's ill-favored appearance. The man and his portrait would not need to be seen side by side.

As for the ingredients, the Archaic smile could easily have been exploited as caricature, something which happens, perhaps unintentionally, in several fine statues from the period; the well-known "Berlin Goddess" (Staatliche Museen, Berlin, inv. 1800) comes readily to mind. One or more of the horrific features of the ugly Gorgon sisters who, as was noted above, were popular subjects in art at this time could have been incorporated in a composite image that would have struck the right chords in viewers accustomed to poking fun at funny-looking people. While the extant apotropaic gorgons on temples are by no means intended to be risible and, in fact, are not, the vocabulary of forms was there for the taking. The stubby, ill-proportioned legs, the fat round face, the lolling tongue, and so on, were securely established motifs in the artist's repertory.

To gain a general idea of what a clever Archaic sculptor might have made of Hipponax, one might compare the famous red-figure kylix in the Vatican showing a dwarfish, bearded and balding cripple who is seated and conversing in earnest with a fox who is also seated. This almost certainly represents a scathingly comical (or quite realistic?) portrait of Hipponax's contemporary, Aesop.³⁵ Whatever they consisted of, the iconographical clues as to the subject (and target) of this venomous Archaic portrait were obviously not very subtle; the details were all that was needed for the message of the portrait to be conveyed. Granted that this image might be considered no more than a caricature of the man, this is little comfort to those who would claim that a caricature is not a portrait, since caricature in itself presupposes some notion of portraiture. The caricaturist, after all, takes aim at the individualizing feature, not the generalized feature, exaggerating it for satirical effect. It presupposes general or popular recognition of the likeness at which the caricature is aimed. A satyr's face in itself is not, strictly speaking, a caricature. Socrates portrayed with a satyr's face is a caricature.³⁶

The attempt to locate the sources of inspiration for Aeschylus' version of portraiture among satyrs in actual images of satyrs has taken us only so far, since ugliness and genre-type realism are readily and routinely stereotyped

³⁵For an illustration and discussion, see Richter/Smith 1984: 80, with fig. 44. See also Frel 4-5.

³⁶Although not necessarily an unflattering one: The finest encomium on the satyr-like "beauty" of Socrates can be found in Alcibiades' speech, Plato, *Symposium* 215a-216a. For the portraits of Socrates, see Richter/Smith 1984: 198-204.

and, however lifelike they may be, images of satyrs provide almost no evidence for an interest in *individualizing* likeness. At this point, it may be useful to introduce into the discussion another Aeschylean passage which alludes to some type of portraits. In *Agamemnon* 414–19, in the course of recounting the events which took place prior to the action of the play, the chorus relates what the seers of the house of the Atridae bemoaned about the fate of their lord, Menelaus. The lament includes such intimate and personalized details that it could be taken as the sentiments of Menelaus, himself. The allusion in which we are interested is to some kind of portrait image(s) of his absent wife, Helen:³⁷

πόθωι δ' ὑπερποντίας	
φάσμα δόξει δόμων ἀνάσσειν.	415
εὐμόρφων δὲ κολοσσῶν	
ἔχθεται χάρις ἀνδρί,	
ὀμμάτων δ' ἐν ἀχηνίαις	
ἔρρει πᾶσ' Ἀφροδίτα.	

Through yearning for her who is beyond the sea, a phantom will seem to rule the house. The grace of well-formed statues is hateful to the husband, and in need of seeing her, everything and anything to do with love is gone.

In his commentary on *Agamemnon*, Eduard Fraenkel recognizes that, in identifying what kind of sculptures Aeschylus wanted his audience to visualize, “we should not have in mind small figures of wood or wax or clay, but...statues ‘like those of the Attic κόραι.’ Perhaps Aeschylus transferred to the house of the Atridae that abundant array of female statues which was to be seen in the sanctuaries of his own day and city.” Fraenkel concludes that Aeschylus/Menelaus had in mind not a specific statue but generic images of a beautiful woman: “...there is no need to think of portraits of Helen... Every statue of a beautiful woman is more than the deserted husband can bear, for it reminds him of her whom he has lost” (vol. 2: 219). It is as if he assumes the Attic korai are not realistic enough to have inspired a poetic allusion to portraits, in other words, that sculptors were not capable of creating the kind of images that dramatists of the time were capable of describing. With rare exception, most have followed Fraenkel on this point. J. H. Huddilston, on the

³⁷Text is from Fraenkel 1962, vol. 1: 116. Aside from Fraenkel’s, the most extensive and comprehensive discussion of the individual words, phrases and images of *Agamemnon* 410–26 of which I am aware is that of Devereux 59–145.

other hand, focuses on what he believes to be the realism of Helen's image(s), even going as far as to call them portraits: "I understand this *κολοσσῶν* to refer to Helen's busts or images which adorned the palace rooms, portrait work, in short, to which Aischylos refers. Ideal statues would have little significance in the connexion in which the chorus employs the term. Everything points in some way to the truant Helen, and a lifeless reference to the palace decorations would stand for little in a place where the poet is doing his utmost to picture Menelaos alone in the haunts made doubly 'hateful' by the charms of the marble."³⁸

Between the remarks of these two writers, I believe, lies the truth. Huddilston, unlike Fraenkel, does not suggest any specific statues as a source of inspiration even though he concludes that Helen's images were portraits. We should probably assume that, if Huddilston had been aware of the impressive caches of *korai* which were being excavated on the acropolis as he published, in 1898, he might have been even more prescient in associating them with this passage—after all, his topic is tragedians and the visual arts. What neither writer notes, however, is that the unspoken subject of these verses is actually the effect that contemporary or near-contemporary art, that is, the very finest (*εὐμόρφων*, in one of its senses) art, had on Aeschylus, here, speaking in the person of Menelaus.³⁹ Aeschylus' *εὐμόρφων δὲ κολοσσῶν* refer to statues

³⁸Huddilston 5–6. Denniston and Page 107 agree with Huddilston that the statues represent Helen, not women in general, adding that her name may be supplied from the previous sentence, and that there is nothing in the use of the word *κολοσσοί*, even with *εὐμορφοί*, to mean or imply statues of *women*. In addition, there is no reason not to imagine life-size images, since, at this date, the term "colossus" has nothing to do with size; it is simply another Greek word for statue. For further discussion of Greek *kolossoi* in reference to the *Agamemnon* passage, see Fraenkel 1962, vol. 2: 218–19 and Devereux 112–14. Thomson 41, while he does not commit himself on the issue of portraits or realism, notes that, at this period, the term *κολοσσός* "was properly applied to an image made for ritual purposes of a person absent, unknown or dead." For a more extensive treatment of the connections between *kolossoi* and death in the *Agamemnon* passage, see Vernant 1983: 305–20 and 1990: 35–42. In general, on the association of *kolossoi* with death and their use in ritual magic, see Faraone 82–84, 85 and 92, n. 76. For fuller discussions of the many complex issues surrounding the word, *κολοσσός*, and when it refers to what type of image, see also Benveniste, Picard, Roux, Ducat, Ridgway 1977: 23–24, and Donohue 26–27 with n. 65.

³⁹This *εὐμόρφων* could be taken in a couple of ways: It could refer exclusively to the "shapeliness" of ladies' figures, as Fraenkel 1962, vol. 1: 117 appears to have taken it in his translation ("shapely"), or, it could refer as well to the fineness of the statues, themselves. Devereux 112–14 adopts a similar interpretation of *εὐμόρφων*. Cf. Picard 351–52, who renders *εὐμόρφων* as "exact." Fraenkel 1962, vol. 2: 219 dismisses Picard's interpretation as being "entirely arbitrary." The word *εὐμορφοί*, describing fallen Greek heroes at Troy, appears again in verse 45, probably in reference to how the dead are remembered in life, i.e., eternally youthful and beautiful; cf. Fraenkel 1962, vol. 2: 233. One has the feeling that, even

that reproduce Helen's beautiful form; they are beautiful because they mimic her form, *not* because they are idealized.⁴⁰ After all, could there be such a thing as an "idealized portrait" of Helen? Could an artist improve on her looks? Menelaus could be repulsed because they are like her, but not like her enough, her beauty in the flesh lying beyond the reach of even the greatest sculptor of mere stone. The important point is that the sight of the well-formed statues inspires revulsion in Menelaus—not mild delight, not religious awe, not outright indifference, any or all of which could be expected from viewing an average mass-produced votive figure from any sanctuary in Late Archaic Greece.⁴¹ In itself, χάρις (417) implies a much higher and more developed level of sensual impression than the simple delight which is implicit in the word ἄγαλμα, which Aeschylus conspicuously avoids.⁴² On the contrary, the female statues which engendered Menelaus' surprisingly complicated response would have been no ordinary statues. A rarefied and vivid expressiveness distinguishes the masterpieces implied in the *Agamemnon* passage from the countless blandly pleasant statues which populated Archaic Greek sanctuaries.

though statues are not specifically mentioned here, the sentiment is identical to that of our passage, in that portraits preserve youth and beauty accurately and intact as in people's memories. "Exact," may be fine, then, even if a bit too interpretive, in the sense of capturing and freezing the beauty of a woman or a man in their prime of life, particularly one as perfect as Helen. Picard's conclusion that the κολοσσῶν were meant to be understood as portraits seems to me to be entirely reasonable.

⁴⁰Perhaps the best argument for taking the εὐμόρφων δὲ κολοσσῶν as portraits is that Euripides took them that way. In another manuscript submitted for publication, I argue at length how E. *Alc.* 347–56 is inspired directly by and, in some ways, a response to Ag. 414–19.

⁴¹At E. *Hel.* 74–75, Teucer experiences revulsion at seeing a woman who looks just like the detested Helen. Even though a real woman and not a statue is the source of revulsion here, and the hate she inspires is obviously different in nature from that of Menelaus, in the *Agamemnon* passage, it is the shock of likeness that triggers the violent reaction.

⁴²Helen is called an ἄγαλμα πλούτου at Ag. 741, meaning simply "a delight," with no reference to statuary. This could, however, be an allusion to the old Stesichorean story of Helen's "double" having gone to Troy while she, herself, remained in Egypt which served as the inspiration for Euripides' *Helen*; on the history of this version of Helen's story, see Dale xvii–xxiv. Of course, there is a sexual overtone to Aeschylus' use of χάρις. Here, we are dealing with a kind of grace that might be translated "sex-appeal," analogous, for example, to that bestowed upon Odysseus by Athena in *Od.* 6. 232–46 for the express purpose of attracting the maiden, Nausicaa. This divine act of beautification is compared with the "grace" bestowed on an object when a craftsman who has been instructed in the arts by Athena and Hephaistos overlays silver with gold. On the erotic meaning of χάρις, see MacLachlan 56–72. For Charis attending a victorious athlete, cf. Pindar *Ol.* 6, 76. As for its usage in art criticism, according to Pollitt 301, who cites the *Odyssey* passage, among others, it is likely that χάρις only became "an important critical term in systematic art criticism around the beginning of the Hellenistic period."

In his use of the terms χάρις and εὐμόρφων in *Agamemnon* to characterize the effects of the image(s) on the viewer, Aeschylus is surely not just responding to a high level of craftsmanship. Quality in a work of art involves a combination of fine craftsmanship and draughting skills, both acquired through rigorous training, to ensure the high level of the *formal* aspects of the work and, most importantly, artistic vision (usually bestowed by nature) to inform and inspire the *content* of the work of art. The craftsmanship and draughtsmanship would have been the sources of the εὐμόρφων, the artistic vision, the source of the χάρις and thus, paradoxically, the source of Menelaus' revulsion. The presence of both, as attested by Aeschylus, presupposes an extremely refined work of art. In both passages, the *Agamemnon* and the *Theoroi*, the common element is personal response, one serious, the other humorous. Though similar in form, καλλίγραπτον εὐχάν at line 12 of the *Theoroi* fragment invokes laughter, whereas εὐμόρφων δὲ κολοσσῶν of *Agamemnon* 416 is drenched in pathos.

If the evidence of *Agamemnon* 414–17 is, then, considered along with that of the *Theoroi* fragment, the search for the source of Aeschylus' inspiration among actual art objects may be extended to include life-size female statues. In 458 B. C., the time of production of *Agamemnon*, with a very few late or unburied korai awaiting their final fates perhaps still visible on the acropolis,⁴³ the sole representatives of the avant-garde in sculpture in Athens were the somewhat cold and forbidding, tectonically built rather than shapely, Early Classical peplophoroi like the so-called Aspasia type.⁴⁴ (One could compare, as well, the figures of Sterope and Hippodamia [Fig. 1] from the east ped-

⁴³It is virtually impossible to ascertain just how long it took for the Athenians to get around to burying the material left destroyed or desecrated by the Persians in the two sacks of the acropolis of 480/79 B. C.; on this issue, see, recently, Hurwit. The rather hastily executed kore 688 (the "Propylaea" kore) was reused as late as ca. 438 in the construction of the Propylaea. This kore with her severe expression and the "broken" drapery folds visible at her back (cf. Angelitos' Athena and the Athena of the Atlas metope at Olympia) is fully Early Classical. Others such as 684 and 686 ("Euthydikos' kore") do not smile at all but appear to be otherwise Archaic, indicating they must be quite late. These two korai were found buried in the Persian destruction debris but were very likely made and erected just before the sack.

⁴⁴Though called "Aspasia" after Pericles' Milesian companion, the type may or may not be Athenian. This statue type is also known as "Amelung's goddess" after the German scholar who first identified it, "Europa" on the basis of a headless statuette version so inscribed, and "Sosandra," on its supposed identification with the statue by Kalamis on the acropolis, referred to by Lucian, *Imagines*, 6. It is best represented in the unfinished but complete copy from the Baiae Museum. The association with Aspasia comes from its facial and iconographical resemblance to an inscribed portrait herm of Aspasia in the Vatican, illustrated, with commentary, in Richter/Smith 1984: 99. On the type, see Robertson 1975: 192–193 and Ridgway 1970: 65–67 with illustrations 105–08.

iment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, perhaps the best known of the Early Classical female statues.) Even at its most inspired, this art could hardly be called “shapely.” Quantity is also a factor to consider, rendering the Early Classical peplophoroi even more unsuitable as candidates. It seems likely that it would have taken a large number of one particular kind of statue to imbed its collective image permanently in the visual memory of the poet. Furthermore, for the allusion to register with the audience, the audience must be thoroughly familiar with the type of images alluded to. Now, female statues from the Archaic period were represented in abundance in many media and at all scales, reflecting all levels of artistic inspiration. It is well to recall, as argued, above, that Aeschylus appears to have felt a particular affinity with Archaic art.

Hanna Philipp recognizes that Aeschylus had to have been aware of some form of “portraiture” (“Ebenbilder”) and that this awareness is reflected in the passages under discussion here (27–28, 44, 52). In her thorough study of the influence of the visual arts in Greek literature, mostly poetic, before Plato, Philipp suggests that Ag. 414–17 represents the first time in Greek literature that a statue is capable of evoking a specific emotional reaction as opposed to a generalized pleasant, but otherwise nondescript, aesthetic response. I would add to this that, because there was a *personal* level to this response, it appears that the statues must have struck a powerful chord of recognition in the viewer and that, therefore, they must have been impressively realistic images of some kind. Of course, it is the realism of the statues that triggers a string of emotional reactions linked to the person represented. It was not the same as looking at generic images of beautiful women. The difference in the viewer’s response is due to the fact that there is a different kind of art to which to respond. That different kind of female image is, I think, best exemplified in the Late Archaic korai from Attica, as Fraenkel proposes, especially those from the Athenian acropolis, the actual statues which would have been seen, perhaps daily, by Aeschylus during the period of his youth and middle-age.

IV.

Fraenkel had already suggested that the “Attic korai” constitute the most likely frame of reference for *Agamemnon* 414–17. He does not speculate further about whether they may have served as a direct source of inspiration for Aeschylus. However, his conclusion that the images of Helen cannot be portraits implies that the korai, although being alluded to, are not at all realistic enough to have been taken (or even mistaken) for portraits. Rather than 1) dismissing the korai as possible sources of inspiration because of a perceived lack of realism, or 2) dismissing or disavowing Aeschylus’ reference to some form of realistic images in these two passages, perhaps it would be worth

attempting to reconcile the visual evidence with the literary. Two examples of Attic korai may be cited to suggest that neither conclusion is tenable.

First—not because she is necessarily more representative as a possible source of inspiration than any of the other Attic korai, but because she is one of the rare examples that can be securely associated with a name and an inscription—is the funerary kore, Phrasikleia, carved in the latter half of the sixth century by Aristion of Paros.⁴⁵ No historical record of this young woman exists beyond the epigrammatic inscription which was known long before the kore was discovered, yet the sculpted image that once marked her grave now stands full of life and individuality in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens. To this viewer, at least, it seems beyond doubt that the sculpture was intended to represent the physical appearance of an unfortunate aristocratic girl who was, by death, deprived of all that her privileged status promised her. For others who may be less persuaded than myself, I shall try to characterize why this is so.

The statue is life-size. She wears a belted peplos decorated with a panel patterned with a perfectly executed meander running full-length and around the neck and down the sleeves. Precisely incised rosettes carpet the rest of the fabric. It is her best apparel; it may even be a wedding dress converted with tragic haste to funeral attire. She wears jewelry fashioned in the form of either fruits or flower buds, possibly lotuses, and a crown of the same, real or fashioned. She holds one of the flowers/fruits at her breast as an offering. They may be symbols of virginity or unrealized fertility, both of which are qualities properly associated with a young, unmarried girl.⁴⁶ One foot is slightly

⁴⁵Athens NM 4889. Still unpublished. Excavated, in 1972, in the cemetery of Myrrhinous (Merenda). On Phrasikleia and her sculptor, Aristion of Paros, see Svenbro 8–23, Boardman 1978: 72–76, Stewart 1976, Kontoleon, and Mastrokostas, who has the best available illustrations. For a rare color photograph, see Biers, pl. 2. Svenbro 12–13 speculates that Phrasikleia may have been a member of the Alcmaeonid family. The inscription (*IG* I2 1014, Jeffery #46) has been known and admired since the early eighteenth century, as it had been built into the wall of the church of the Panaghia in Merenda. In 1968 it was removed and brought to Athens. It reads: σῆμα Φρασικλείας· κόρη κεκλήσομαι αἰεὶ, / ἀντὶ γάμου παρὰ θεῶν τοῦτο λαχοῦσ' ὄνομα. (“[I am the grave] marker of Phrasikleia. I shall always be called ‘kore,’ this name being my fate by will of the gods who deprived me of marriage.”) Compare σῆμα in the roughly contemporary epitaph of the kouros from Anavysos, Kroisos (Athens 3851); for a transcription and illustration, see Boardman 1978: pl. 107. I suspect, with Stewart 1976, that Kroisos may also be by the hand of Aristion of Paros. On the interaction between sculpture, inscription and passer-by, see Day, and for further examples of the “Dialog-epigramm” type with bibliography, Kassel 10–11.

⁴⁶There may be further symbolism behind the lotus being so conspicuous a feature of the statue. Egyptians associated the lotus with the sun, and with life, death and resurrection, the kinds of things which would naturally accrue to this flower because of its habit of closing up at

advanced. Her hair is not abundant, but it is nonetheless delicately plaited, bound and crimped in an elaborate arrangement that reflects the latest styles. Her features are pointed and angular, fine rather than voluptuous. She is pretty or handsome but not beautiful. The few technical flaws are typical for the time: Folds of drapery are incised above the belt, while represented plastically below, and the right hand holds the fabric to the side in a motion which has no discernable effect on the drape of the wool. Like many of her generation of female sculptures, she smiles and gathers her skirts as she steps, as any well-born lady would.⁴⁷ No matter how distracting the stiff and formulaic Archaic format is, it is not enough to mask the sculpture's distinctiveness. It seems reasonable to conclude from the visual evidence that Aristion intended this statue to be the best likeness of the dead girl that he was able to achieve within the technical and conceptual conventions dictated by the tastes of the time and the skills of its sculptors. The statue's lifelikeness, on the other hand, must be experienced; it cannot be described.

There is no reason to presume, on the basis of the obviously superior state of preservation of the statue and the apparent uniqueness of its discovery, that the kore, Phrasikleia, was unique. For all that we know, many more Phrasikleias may be out there awaiting excavation. But we are not forced to postulate as yet unknown evidence in order to support my contention that a concern for realism and perhaps even for realistic portraiture was not unknown in Archaic art. Some fifty-six extant and substantially intact korai have been excavated from the Athenian acropolis. They have no names. No two are exactly alike. I believe that they do not represent goddesses, but real aristo-

night and sinking into the water only to rise again the next morning; see Wilkinson 121. Although *Nymphaea lotus* (white lotus) and *Nymphaea caerulea* (blue lotus) were probably not indigenous to Greece, the Greeks acknowledged the special botanical character of the genus and carefully noted its prominence in Egyptian art and life. (Cf. Hdt. 2.92, describing how the Egyptians used the parts of two different species of lotus for food.) In Greek, λωτίσμα means "flower" or, metaphorically, fairest, choicest, best; λωτίζομαι and ἀπολωτίζω, by analogy, become "to cull the best." See Eur. *Hel.* 1593, where a messenger reports Menelaus' command to his comrades to stop delaying and take up arms against Theoclymenus' sailors with the address: ὦ γῆς Ἑλλάδος λωτίσματα, "O choicest men of Greece." By including the lotus buds in his portrayal, Aristion of Paros may have intended an iconographical allusion to the aristocratic background of his patron's daughter, as well as to her distinctive beauty. Kannicht 415–16, in his commentary on *Hel.* 1593–4, discusses how the verbal forms come to mean "destroyed," which is singularly apt for this girl's all-too-brief life. For a different interpretation of the symbolism of the lotus bud held by Phrasikleia, see Svenbro 20–24.

⁴⁷Cf. Sappho, frag. 57, in *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta*, edd. E. Lobel and D. Page, Oxford, 1963, where a country girl is characterized as *not* knowing how to perform this action gracefully.

cratic Athenian girls, servants of Athena.⁴⁸ As Phrasikleia is pretty, our next example comes from the opposite end of the spectrum, and perhaps that is fitting: The perfect beauty of Helen and the "beautiful" imperfection of satyrs—Aeschylus' themes—are each, in its own way, irresistible to others.

Familiarly known as "The Dwarf" and "Red Shoes," Acropolis 683, as she is officially designated, is among the most captivating of the korai in the Acropolis Museum [Fig. 2–4]. Her proportions are grotesquely abbreviated. She could be a very young girl, but she has breasts and hips, and her hands and feet are quite large. She is a dwarf. Actual size (she is small by acropolis standards) contributes little if anything to the impression of diminution that is this kore's most prominent characteristic. She is the only one of the acropolis group to wear the red pointed slippers which have earned her one of her nicknames.⁴⁹ As for her facial features, her nose is short, stubby and unrefined, her eyes are large and graceless in their contours, her ears are outsized, her forehead is small and receding, and the face which houses her features is too small and round to display all of them attractively anyway. On her behalf, it can be said that, while she is not at all pretty, she has an enviably abundant crop of hair, she carries herself well, and her clothes are the finest (judging by the gorgeous, lace-like, white painted filigree design that still graces the right sleeve of her chiton). Once she had a burnished olive-toned complexion, but that is lost to viewers today.⁵⁰

⁴⁸The argument as to whether they are deities, mortals or something in between has a long, ongoing history. All sides have been argued forcefully. See, recently, Ridgway 1990 and Harrison. The standard publications of the korai from the acropolis are Langlotz, et al., Payne and Young, and Richter 1968. All contain superb black and white photographs of the korai. To date, it has been possible to reunite some sixteen of the korai with their pedestals; see Raubitschek 3–60 and 308–336.

⁴⁹Sometimes referred to as "Ionic" footgear, since, according to Morrow 42, "the earliest (ca. 630) and the most examples were found in East Greece and the Aegean islands." These are probably the shoes that Morrow identifies as *akatia* ("little boats") on account of their shape. Pollux 7. 93 (= Edmonds 739b) tells us that Aristophanes uses this term to refer to a type of shoe worn by women. Morrow 38, with n. 42, claims that a similar style is worn by a foot fragment, Acropolis 506 (Langlotz, et al., fig. 58, p. 92), which may belong to Kore 675. Photographs are inconclusive. Another foot fragment which clearly wears the same type of shoe, Acropolis 505 (Langlotz, et al., figs. 72a–b, p. 117), is perhaps best left unattributed to a figure, even though Langlotz attempts to associate in by style alone with Nike 694. For other Archaic sculptural representations of this unusual style of footgear, see von Matt and Zanotti-Bianco, pls. 62 and 87. For a wonderful late 6th–early 5th century Etruscan example, an incense-burner in the form of a kore, see *Metropolitan Museum of Art Acquisitions Bulletin*, Fall, 1993, p. 10.

⁵⁰Brouskari 81 says that Acropolis 683 preserves the "olive-toned face due to special treatment of the surface." In 1987, I was not able to observe this coloration. Presumably, the slip has since faded.

As a work of art, kore 683 is outstanding technically as well as conceptually. It might not be far from the truth to say that whoever the talented artist may have been he had a sense of humor and a deep sensitivity toward his less than favorably endowed subject. But there is no pity in his portrayal. The style of Acropolis 683 is characterized by a perfect mix of subtlety and brashness. This sculptor does not go in for the showy displays of his technical facility which are the forte of other Archaic masters, including Aristion of Paros and the unknown master of the impressive Acropolis 682. He has left us a masterpiece of realistic portrayal that, for its frankness and unsentimentalized homeliness, could hold its own against the realistic art of any period. She is, above all, believable; the creator of kore 683 has extracted a personality from the marble as distinctive as any that can be encountered in real life.

While we may judge the quality of a kore's lifelikeness, we are powerless to judge the accuracy of her likeness—that, after all, is perhaps best left to her mother. As with Phrasikleia, visual analysis—and visual evidence is the only evidence we have in this case—encourages the conclusion that the artist intended the image to be a likeness. Apart from being a dwarf, kore 683 is not otherwise exceptional in the group of korai from the acropolis. In style, in conception and in artistic quality, the korai from the acropolis are equivalent in every way but one to Phrasikleia: She is a funerary monument with a name and they are votives without names. However, I believe that the korai from the acropolis and Phrasikleia may be taken together as evidence to substantiate the existence of the kind of Archaic realism documented by Aeschylus. Perhaps the idea of realistic portrayal originated with the lavish grave monuments—isolated masterpieces like Phrasikleia and the statue by Phaidimos whose exquisite feet are all that remain of what must have been another splendid monument from an adoring father to a dead daughter (NM 81), also from Attica⁵¹—and spread to equally expensive votives, which may have been made to imitate the dominant, avant-garde style. All are thought to have been buried sometime after the Persian sack of the acropolis in 480/79, ten years after Aeschylus' proudest moment.

I realize that to claim that the Archaic korai from Attica are realistic is to challenge the prevailing assumption that they are not.⁵² However, it is important that semantics do not get in the way of characterizing that which can be

⁵¹Jeffery 72–73 believes that the inscription on the base of this statue is very similar to Phrasikleia's.

⁵²See Stewart 1990: 123–24, for a recent reformulation of the prevailing view, where the Attic korai are thought to represent idealized personifications of a female version of male *kalokagathia*.

seen. The realism which engendered the highly personal response dramatized by Aeschylus was not, of course, in the late sixth century B. C. what might be termed "photographic" realism on modern terms. Even though abnormally high standards of realism in art such as we moderns demand were out of reach or even unnecessary in the Greek Archaic period, likeness appears to be one of its two essential ingredients, if we accept the powerful evidence of the *Theoroi* fragment combined with that of *Agamemnon* 414–19. In "primitive" or formative periods of art, like the Greek Archaic, added "iconographical" elements may have played a role in the overall objective depiction of external appearances (likeness). In these cases, the inclusion of the accoutrements of a subject's status (lotus buds, red slippers, a lifted skirt) may lend additional fidelity to the whole. When an individual artist is less than perfectly equipped from a technical standpoint or when a style is in the process of evolution, iconographical additions can add significantly to the level of realism. In early images like these, we should look for signs of realism everywhere, not just in the face. As adept as they were at the technical processes of art, it is fair to say that Archaic artists had not acquired the range of skills needed to show a great range of variety in facial features alone. The whole statue was involved in the portrayal, every part conscripted for its potentially informative effect toward the creation of an authentic likeness.

Then, as now, the degree of likeness rests as often as not in the eye of the beholder. A likeness between image and sitter may be perceived indirectly or intuitively rather than overtly. In short, a viewer may have to know the person or know something of the person in order to recognize the sitter in the image. This is the game in Cubist portraits, where the pieces of the puzzle fall into place only if one knows beforehand that Mr. — smokes a pipe, imbibes a certain brand of liqueur, and curls his mustache just so. If a viewer is privy to all that, the Cubist grid of interlocking planes and scrambled motifs becomes a likeness. In a similar way, one might have had to know what Phrasikleia's wedding gown looked like or the fact that kore 683 preferred red slippers to sandals in order to recognize that these korai were intended to be likenesses. The same may be said for Hipponax's portrait: one would have only had to know how he was ugly for his portrait to have been regarded as authentic.

Likeness and lifelikeness, the two ingredients of Archaic realism documented by the evidence, both literary and visual, presented above, in my view, betray an intent to *portray*. I suggest that it would not be overreaching the evidence to consider the possibility that many of the korai from the acropolis and Phrasikleia may be actual examples of Archaic portraits, and that Aeschylus understood the artists' intentions better than we do. The creators of

the Attic korai that Aeschylus remembered from his youth would have had no overriding conception of what constituted a “portrait” by modern scholarly standards. These craftsmen were neither confined nor inhibited by the theories and conventions of art history. They freely mixed the elements of iconography, form and style and did not use any one element systematically or consistently enough to formulate a theory about its application. Hence, they developed no theory of portraiture that we know of either from the literary tradition or from the visual evidence and, very likely, we should not even look for it. Nor, significantly, did they have a single, unambiguous term for “portrait,” as the multiplicity of terms used in the *Theoroi* fragment plainly attests. There is thus a welcome unequivocality about the “primitive” portrait. Its message is wonderfully straightforward: Look at me; I am just what I appear to be. In the Archaic world, natural appearances, unencumbered by theory, were free to convey whatever meaning they conveyed; no one, as far as can be told, had an interest in altering nature for moral, aesthetic, or propagandistic usages. On the contrary, “intellectualism,” in Sörbom’s terms, is more properly to be associated with Classical art than with Archaic. The individual aristocrat was free to be shown as the pompous warrior or the demure maiden he or she was in life.

There need be no discrepancy between what Athenians heard about art from the playwrights and the actual art works that they saw on their way to the theater. A fragment of a satyr play appears to document that there was a concern for realism in the visual arts during Aeschylus’ lifetime, that is, ca. 525/4–456/5 B. C. In addition, the fragment adds to our understanding of the role of visual images in Greek drama, valued not only for what it documents on its own but for the light it sheds on the precious few other literary allusions to art of this time, including *Agamemnon* 414–19. Plot-enhancing references to works of art in passages like those discussed above are neither word pictures nor painted poetry, but rather unself-conscious reflections on real life, rendering them the most valuable sort of evidence for the ancient view of ancient art. Finally, while it has by no means gone unnoticed by art historians, Aeschylus’ *Theoroi* is largely overlooked as evidence for the early history of Greek portraiture. However, I believe that an examination of this passage in the light of the visual evidence encourages the conclusion that realistic portraiture in their terms was a goal and, more importantly, an attainable goal in Late Archaic Athens.

Works Cited

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Fig. 1. Hippodamia (Fig. K). Peplophoros female figure from the East Pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. H. 2.6m. Olympia Museum. Photo: DAI, Athens. Neg. Nr. 84/710.



Fig. 2. Kore 683 from the Acropolis at Athens. H. 81.4 cm. Acropolis Museum. Photo: DAI, Athens. Neg. Nr. 72/2930.

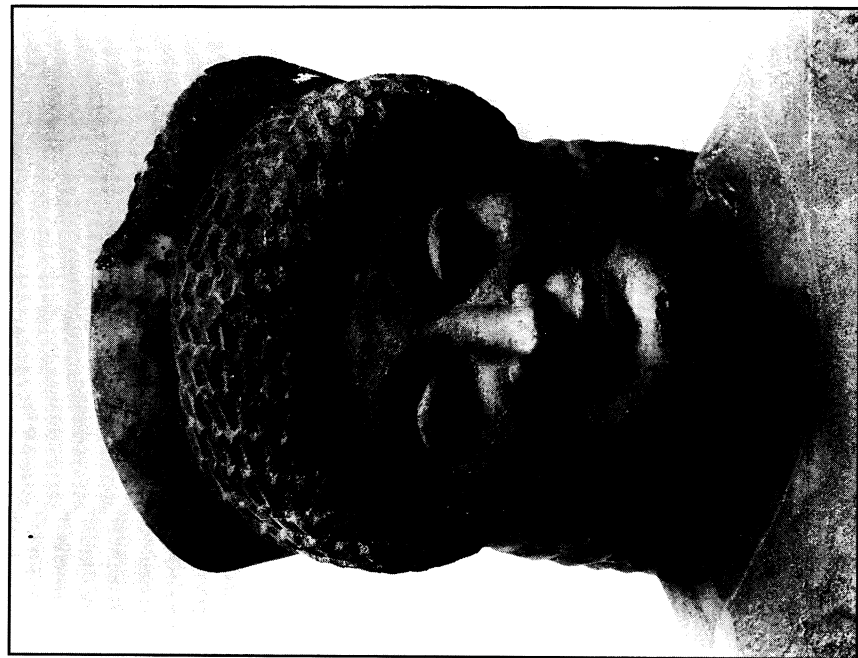


Fig. 3. Head of Kore 683.

Photo: DAI, Athens. Neg. Nr. 1571.

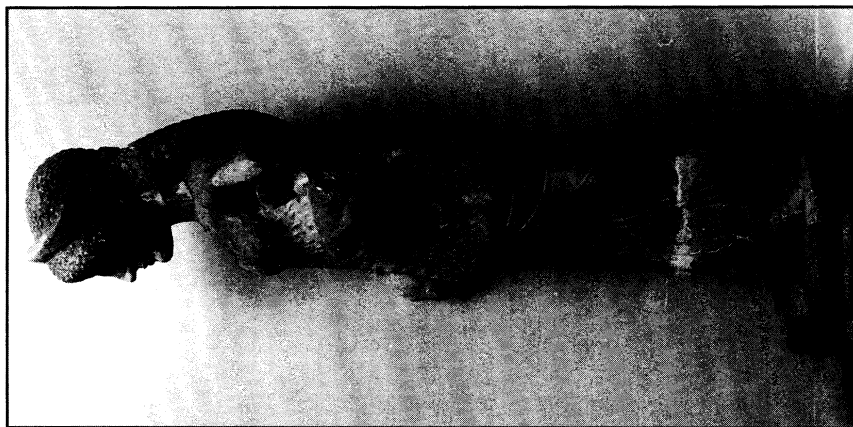


Fig. 4. Kore 683. Left side.

Photo: DAI, Athens. Neg. Nr. 1358.