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ARTICLE

Kritios and Nesiotes as Revolutionary Artists? Ancient and Archaeological Perspectives on the So-Called Severe Style Period

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This article focuses on periodization in ancient art history, on aesthetic notions and judgments in ancient literary sources, and on the creation of the modern stylistic and cultural classification of the Severe Style period. Conventionally, this stylistic phase spans from ca. 480 to 450 B.C.E. and is generally associated with a new style adopted by artists soon after the Persian Wars and with the sculptural group of the Tyrannicides by Kritios and Nesiotes. This investigation provides an overview of the artistic production by Kritios and Nesiotes and analysis of signed monuments from the Athenian Acropolis; an examination of literary sources concerning Kritios and Nesiotes and aesthetic judgments regarding Late Archaic artists and their works in Greek and Latin sources from the end of the fourth century to the Early Imperial period; and an exploration of the modern meaning of the Greek and Latin words *skleros* and *durus* ("rigid, motionless, stiff" rather than "severe"). I propose that it is not possible to distinguish such a "Severe Style period," since technical and stylistic improvements are detectable on statues dating from before 480 B.C.E., and that a paradigm of continuity, as suggested by ancient literary sources and archaeological evidence, is preferable to a clear-cut division of artistic periods and styles.[1]

INTRODUCTION

The principal aim of this article is to outline an art history according to ancient writers by bringing together literary sources and archaeological records and using the aesthetic and technical parameters employed in the ancient world. This approach compels us to reflect on the invention, use, and limits of the so-called Severe Style period (ca. 480–450 B.C.E.), a modern stylistic and

[1] This work began in 2013 thanks to a research grant to study Pliny the Elder's Books of Art, funded by the Italian Ministry of University and Research and carried out at the Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa. Some parts of the work were presented at universities, in Tsukuba and Foggia (2014), Oxford (2016), Rome and Edinburgh (2017), and Pisa (2018). I am very grateful to Judith Barringer, Gabriella Cirucci, Anna Maria D'Onofrio, Riccardo Di Cesare, Jas Elsner, Eva Falaschi, Elena Ghisellini, Fernande and Tonio Hölscher, Sasha Kansteiner, Catherine Keesling, Kenneth Lapatin, Caterina Maderna, Carol Mattusch, Marion Meyer, Toshihiro Osada, Richard Rawles, Bert Smith, Andrew Stewart, Peter Stewart, and Raimund Wünsche for their suggestions and helpful critiques on previous drafts and specific issues. I also must thank Laura Forte, Hans R. Goette, Joachim Heiden, Alexander Heinemann, Angelika Kouveli, and Anna Pizza for their assistance with obtaining photographs. Editor-in-Chief Jane Carter and the *AJA* editorial staff very generously assisted me in preparing the final version of the manuscript. Thanks are also due to the four anonymous reviewers for the *AJA*, whose sharp comments helped me tighten my arguments. Translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

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chronological label currently used in textbooks and elsewhere.[2] In identifying this artistic phase, scholars have suggested that the period after the Persian Wars represented a significant turning point in sculptural production and stylistic traits. This supposed artistic revolution in Greek sculpture is generally associated with one fundamental historical event, the Persian Wars; with two of the most important sculptors, Kritios and Nesiotes; and with their sculptural group, the Tyrannicides (fig. 1), precisely dated to 477/6 B.C.E. thanks to the documentation provided by the *Marmor Parium* (263/2 B.C.E.).[3] The chronological span stretches from the end of the Persian Wars and the destruction of the monuments on the Athenian Acropolis (480/79 B.C.E.) to the beginning of the construction of the Parthenon (448/7 B.C.E.).[4]

In this article, I adopt a new perspective on the notion of an artistic revolution in Greek art during the second quarter of the fifth century B.C.E. To single out technical improvements in Greek sculpture, I examine inscribed and signed statue bases, mainly from the Athenian Acropolis, that are connected to Late Archaic and Early Classical artists and coeval bronze and marble sculpture from Athens and other places. I also explore the literary evidence for precise chronological and stylistic distinctions to help us understand the reception of artists of the Archaic and Classical periods during the Hellenistic and Roman eras. How do literary sources understand Kritios and Nesiotes and their works of art? Were they indeed revolutionaries, as Stewart has recently proposed?[5] Lapatin has noted that the supposed revolution in style that modern art historians have associated with political events seems to have bypassed the ancient sources.[6] Following Lapatin's premises, I focus here on periodization in ancient art history by discussing art historical notions and aesthetic judgments found in ancient literary sources that address artists and works of art from the second quarter of the fifth century. I am not proposing that we should expunge the idea of the Severe Style period from handbooks and specialist literature. As we use it, however, we must be alert to the historical and art historical implications it has had and still has in our discipline. Reading ancient sources is very instructive for perceptions of aesthetic evaluation and judgments of ancient art and artists and for their modern reception in the construction of an art historical system. For this reason, it seems appropriate to begin with the story of the art historical terminology and in particular with that terminology's chronology and meanings in modern scholarship.

THE SEVERE STYLE: A MISLEADING NOTION

The conventional notion and definition of the Severe Style period are generally accepted and employed by scholars (and students). Kramer appears to have been the first scholar to introduce the term and distinguish a specific style. In his 1837 monograph on Greek vases, Kramer identified three main phases: *Alter Styl*, or Old Style, up to Olympiad 80 (= before 460 B.C.E.); *Strenger Styl*, or Severe Style, to Olympiad 90 (= 420 B.C.E.); and *Schöner Styl*, or Beautiful Style, until Olympiad 100 (= 380 B.C.E.).[7] Neither the terminology nor the periodization proposed by Kramer coincides with the labels used in archaeological literature and handbooks today. Specifically, his Severe Style period (460–420 B.C.E.) coincides with what scholars now usually identify as approximately the High Classical period, while his Old Style period, up to 460 B.C.E., is today's Severe Style period.

Before the notion of the Severe Style was adopted in the literature as pertaining to a specific chronological and stylistic period, Joubin, at the turn of the 20th century, had avoided applying a restrictive label in his analysis of Greek sculpture made between the Persian Wars and the age of Perikles. The French scholar highlighted the change in artistic features as a reaction against the Ionian style and Ionian influence. To him, the Tyrannicides by Kritios and Nesiotes announced the triumph of a new spirit.[8]

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[2] On the Severe Style period: Kramer 1837; Joubin 1901; Poulsen 1937; Ridgway 1970. For an exhaustive analysis of archaeological contexts and chronology: Stewart 2008a, 2008b. On periodization in selected textbooks: Lippold 1950; Richter 1951; Ridgway 1970; Boardman 1985; Harrison 1985; Hurwit 1985; Rolley 1994; Bonacasa 1995. On the emergence of the Classical style: Hallett 1986; Neer 2010, to be read with caution.

[3] *IG* 12 5 444 (= *FGrHist* 239, 70–1): "αἱ εἰκόνες ἐστάθησαν Ἁρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος, ἔτη ΗΗΔΙΙΙΙ ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν [Ἀ]δειμάντου" (the statues of Armodios and Aristogeiton were installed in the year 214, when in Athens [A]deimantos was archon).

[4] See, e.g., Stewart 1990; Rolley 1994.

[5] Stewart 2017, 37.

[6] Lapatin 2010, 257.

[7] Kramer 1837, 101.

[8] Joubin 1901, 5; this book has been totally neglected in recent historiography.

FIG. 1. Tyrannicides, Roman marble copy of bronze original by Kritios and Nesiotes, 477/6 B.C.E., ht. 1.83 m (Aristogeiton, *left*); 1.85 m (Harmodios, *right*). Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. nos. 6009 and 6010 (G. Albano; © Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli).

In his *Zur Zeitbestimmung der strengrotfiguren Vasenmalerei und der gleichzeitigen Plastik* (1920), Langlotz applied the adjective *streng* ("severe, stern, austere") to the red-figured vases produced a generation after the invention of the red-figure technique. After a thorough investigation of the *kalos* acclamations on the vases and their connections to Athenian historical figures, Langlotz attempted to link the developments of some stylized patterns on the vases, such as the folds of the chitons, to the coeval sculpture.[9]

With the publication of *Der strenge Stil* by Poulsen in 1937, however, the term "Severe Style" was adopted unequivocally to indicate a specific style employed between 480 and 450 B.C.E. For Poulsen as well, Kritios and Nesiotes and the Tyrannicides group marked a turning point: "Kritios and Nesiotes come first: we have a datable masterwork by them from the beginning of the Severe Style, the Tyrannicides" (Vornean stehen Kritios und Nesiotes, von denen wir ein datierbares Hauptwerk aus dem Anfang des strengen Stils besitzen, die Tyrannenmörder).[10]

[9] Langlotz 1920, 97–115.

[10] Poulsen 1937, 116.

More recently, in 1970, Ridgway catalogued the marked traits of Severe Style sculpture as (1) simplicity or severity of forms, (2) plainer drapery on female figures, especially the Doric peplos rather than the Ionic garments of the preceding korai, (3) change in subject matter and characterization ("the basic Kouros type now becomes sharply differentiated into either Apollo or a human being"), (4) interest in emotion, (5) interest in motion, and (6) predominant use of bronze.[11] Ridgway continued, "The official date of the Tyrannicide group by Kritios and Nesiotes, 477 B.C.E., can therefore be considered the legal birthday of the Severe style."[12]

The terminology of the Severe Style has taken various forms in the last century.[13] The period has been labeled the "Transition Period,"[14] the "Early Classical Style,"[15] or the "Bold Style."[16] Hurwit, for instance, identified a watershed moment: "Archaic history ends with the battles of Salamis and Plataia. What happened next happened in a new age: the Early Classical period."[17] In Bonacasa's *Lo Stile Severo in Grecia e in Occidente* (1995), the Severe Style period has been interpreted and explored as a cultural phenomenon in the wider Mediterranean context; for Bonacasa, the artistic style of the years following the Persian Wars became a kind of historical testimony that affirmed a common intellectual rejection of irrationality as well as a visual model shared by mainland Greece and the western Greek cities.[18] In Sicily, the Severe Style period coincides with the most important historical and artistic events of the Deinomenid and Emmenid tyrants at Syracuse and at Akragas, respectively.[19] In this perspective, the Severe Style period in Sicily represents a transitional phase from the tyrannies to democracy.

In his 2008 article on the chronology of the Severe Style period, Stewart defines this cultural and artistic phase more precisely and concludes that "the totality of the evidence from the stratigraphy, architecture, pottery, and sculpture of the Acropolis deposits supports the theory that the Severe Style began (just) after the Persian sack."[20] For Stewart, the statues of the Tyrannicides, the masterpieces of Kritios and Nesiotes, were "not only the earliest dated monuments in the *new style* but also themselves *revolutionary*."[21] Stewart argues that the group celebrated a new militaristic, disciplined Athenian civic ideal, consigned the kouros and its world to history, and inspired influential men to adopt this ideal and make it their own.[22] "The Severe Style," Stewart writes, "appears suddenly and in revealing circumstances. . . . It characterizes its (Greek and Olympian) subjects, irrespective of age, gender, and status, as paragons of simplicity, strength, vigor, rationality, self-discipline, and intelligent thought. It conveys this by clear-cut proportions and the novel, integrating, disciplined, and lifelike compositional device of contrapposto; by dynamic poses and robust modeling; by simple, unornamented clothing; and by sober facial expressions."[23] More recently, Stewart has somewhat modified his view in an article published in 2017:[24]

> [A]t least two Archaic mannerisms still linger [in the Tyrannicides]. . . . Aristogeiton's lips still retained faint traces of an Archaic smile and his cloak still featured a set of typically Archaic, zig-zagging step folds. . . . Yet not only were the Tyrannicides stylistically revolutionary but also compositionally so, applying the principle of the *contrapposto* to figures in violent motion. Best defined as a balanced asymmetry about a central axis, *contrapposto* first appears in datable form on the colossal bronze Apollo at Delphi commissioned by the Greek allies from Theopropos of Aigina to celebrate their victory at Salamis in 480. Although the statue itself is lost, its base survives, and shows that its right foot was close to and a little forward of its left. So it was not an Archaic kouros, but a figure standing on its left leg with its right leg advanced and slightly flexed at the knee.

From neither an art historical nor an archaeological point of view are Stewart's arguments totally convincing. I might argue that we cannot define a statue or a monument as revolutionary if it retains stylistic and formal features of a previous artistic tradition. Or we might wonder which new and revolutionary technical, stylistic, and formal criteria we find in the artistic production of Kritios and Nesiotes that had not already appeared in previous sculptures. A third coun-

[11] Ridgway 1970, 8–11.

[12] Ridgway 1970, 12. See also Poulsen 1937, 116.

[13] E.g., Lippold 1950; Ridgway 1970; Rolley 1994; Stewart 2008a, 2008b.

[14] Richter 1951.

[15] Boardman 1985; Hurwit 1985.

[16] Harrison 1985.

[17] Hurwit 1985, 336.

[18] Bonacasa 1995, ix.

[19] Adornato 2008, 2011, and 2012.

[20] Stewart 2008a, 406–7.

[21] Stewart 2008b, 608 (emphasis added).

[22] Stewart 2008b, 610.

[23] Stewart 2008b, 601–2.

[24] Stewart 2017, 48 (italics original).

terargument comes from marble and bronze statues dated before the Persian destruction of Miletus in 494 B.C.E., such as the Miletus torso,[25] and before the Persian sack of Athens in 480 B.C.E., such as the bronze statue of Poseidon from Livadhostro, and the kouros 692 and a sculptural group with Theseus (?) from the Acropolis,[26] which were created before Theopropos fashioned his bronze Apollo. Surprisingly, these sculptures have been neglected by Stewart and are absent from the art historical framing he provides. Yet, these statues, which date to around the end of the sixth and the very beginning of the fifth century B.C.E., are technically and formally significant predecessors for the artistic production by Kritios and Nesiotes and other artists working in the first half of the fifth century.

KRITIOS AND NESIOTES: ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

The names of the artists Kritios and Nesiotes are known from six inscribed statue bases found on the Acropolis.[27] Five of these bases provide evidence for the present analysis:[28]

1. *IG* 1³ 847 (*DAA* 120 = *DNO* 564; Athens, Acropolis, after 480 B.C.E.; fig. 2). This appears to be the base of a statue seen by Pausanias (1.23.9): "Ἐπιχαρίνου μὲν ὁπλιτοδρομεῖν ἀσκήσαντος τὴν εἰκόνα ἐποίησε Κριτίας" (the likeness of Epicharinos who practised the race in armour was made by Critius).[29]

Ἐπιχαρῖνος ἀνέθεκεν ho Οφ[ολ]ο̣[νίδο]
Κριτίος καὶ Νεσιότες ἐπο[ιε]σ̣άτεν.

Epicharinos, son of Oph[ol]o[nides], dedicated it.
Kritios and Nesiotes made it.

2. *IG* 1³ 850 (*DAA* 121 = *DNO* 565; Athens, Acropolis, after 480 B.C.E.; fig. 3)

[Πα]ρθένοι Ἐκφάντο με πατὲρ ἀνέθε
κε καὶ hυιὸς ἐνθάδ' Ἀθεναίει μνῆμα
πόνον Ἄρεος Ἑγέλοχος μεγάλε<ς> τε φι
λοχσενίες ἀρετῆς τε πάσες μοῖραν
ἔχον τένδε πόλιν νέμεται.
Κριτίος : καὶ Νεσιότες : ἐποιεσάτεν.

Hegelochos, father and son of Ekphantos,
who lives in this city,
having a share of great hospitality and every virtue,
dedicated me here to Athena Parthenos as a memorial of
the toils of Ares.
Kritios and Nesiotes made it.

3. *IG* 1³ 851 (*DAA* 122 = *DNO* 567; Athens, Acropolis, 470–460 B.C.E.)

[Κριτί]ος κα[ὶ Νεσιότες]
[ἐποι]εσάτε[ν].

Kritios and Nesiotes
made it.

4. *IG* 1³ 849 (*DAA* 123 = *DNO* 566; Athens, Acropolis, 470–460 B.C.E.)

[- - -]κλέε[ς - - ca.15 - -]ος Αἰγ[ιλι]εὺς δεκάτεν.
Κριτίο[ς καὶ Νεσιότες ἐποι]εσ[άτ]ε̣ν.

[- - -]klee[s - - ca.15 - -]os Aig[ili]eus the tenth [dedicated].
Kritios and Nesiotes made it.

5. *IG* 1³ 848 (*DAA* 160 = *DNO* 569; Athens, Acropolis, after 480 B.C.E.; fig. 4)

[- - ca.6 - -]ας καὶ [Ὄ]φσιο[ς] ἀνεθέτεν
[τεῖ Ἀθ]εναίαι ἀπαρχὲν Ὄαθεν.
[Κριτί]ος καὶ Νεσιότες ἐποιεσάτεν.

[Ariste]as and Ophsios dedicated
to Athena the *aparche* [first-fruit] from the deme of Oa.
Kritios and Nesiotes made it.

[25] Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. Ma 2792; Linfert 1973; Bode 2001; Bol 2004a, 1–2; Bol 2005.

[26] Poseidon: Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. X 1.1761; Kaltsas 2001, 86, no. 146; Zographaki 2003; kouros: Athens, Acropolis Museum, inv. no. 692, Richter 1960, 137, no. 160; Hurwit 1989, 47–52; Theseus (?) group: Acropolis Museum, inv. no. 145, Payne 1950, 43–4.

[27] *DAA* 120, 121–23, 160, 161; *DNO* 564–69. *DAA* 161 (*IG* 1³ 846 = *DNO* 568), a fragment found between 1877 and 1886 west of the Erechtheion, contains too few letters to be included in this analysis. According to Raubitschek (1949, 179), the letterforms indicate a date ca. 480 B.C.E. The discovery of two new fragments of *DAA* 161, containing just a few letters, made it possible to consider a more complete reconstruction of the monument; see *DAA* 161a, where Raubitschek presents the new fragments (Agora I 5408 a and b), which were found on the slopes of the Acropolis and may have fallen down in more recent times. The inscription may belong to the bottom molding of a round pedestal. See Kissas 2000, 106, no. B33. In *DNO* 568, the inscription is dated after the Persian Wars (470–460 B.C.E.).

[28] No. 2 trans. Keesling 2003, 187. The dates of the bases are taken from *DNO* 564–69 and rely on the historic and paleographic investigation of the Acropolis bases by Raubitschek (1949).

[29] Trans. Jones 1959, 119. Pausanias differs from the inscription on the base in two aspects: he spells the name of the sculptor as Kritias rather than Kritios and does not mention Nesiotes.

FIG. 2. Upper surface of the base of a statue dedicated by Epicharinos, inscribed face at the left side of the photograph, after 480 B.C.E., Pentelic marble, lgth. 0.62 m; wdth. 0.74 m; ht. 0.32 m. Athens, Acropolis Museum, inv. no. 13248 (E. Feiler; © DAI Athens, neg. 1976/1623).

FIG. 3. Base of a statue dedicated by Hegelochos, short side of the base in the foreground carrying faintly visible inscriptions, after 480 B.C.E., Pentelic marble, wdth. of inscribed face, 0.64 m; ht. 0.35 m; lgth. 1.29 m. Athens, Acropolis Museum, inv. no. 13206 (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports / Archaeological Receipts Fund).

FIG. 4. Base of a statue dedicated by [Ariste]as and Ophsios, three-line inscription at the top of the vertical face shown in the photograph, shortly after 480 B.C.E., Pentelic marble, diam. 0.915 m; ht. 0.445 m. Athens, Acropolis Museum, inv. no. 13270 (Y. Koulelis; © Acropolis Museum, 2018).

All five bases supported bronze statues. During the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.E., marble statues were carved in one piece with a plinth, which was inserted into a plinth cavity on the upper surface of the base and set with lead soldering poured around its edges for stability. Most bronze statues were attached to their marble bases by molten lead poured into holes in the undersides of the statue's feet and into corresponding holes in the base.[30] Thus, the holes in the base of a bronze statue provide information about the position of the feet and the pose of the absent figure.

The dowel holes on these bases help us identify novelties in the poses adopted by Kritios and Nesiotes as compared with the poses of earlier and coeval statues. On the upper face of the pedestal on which inscription no. 1 is carved, there are two rectangular cuttings and a large elliptical cutting with two dowel holes inside it (see fig. 2; inscription is on the side of the base toward the left). The elliptical cutting represents damage inflicted when the statue was removed from the base. According to Pausanias' description, the statue represented an armed hoplite runner (*hoplitodromos*), and scholars have suggested that the cuttings on the base would correspond to a statue in the pose of the Late Archaic bronze statuette of a *hoplitodromos* now

[30] Mattusch 1988, 109–13.

in Tübingen (ca. 500 B.C.E.; fig. 5).[31] In this case, the two deep dowel holes were for the statue's heels, both placed flat and set close together with the left slightly advanced, and the larger rectangular cutting (at upper left in fig. 2) was under the ball of the left foot. The purpose of the shallow rectangular cutting that is contiguous with the elliptical cutting is not clear; it could, like the elliptical cutting around the dowel holes, have been made when the statue was removed from the base. The bronze statue stood in profile to the left for a viewer facing the inscription.

On top of the base with inscription no. 2 (see fig. 3), the distance between the two widely separated dowel holes (from center to center is about 74.5 cm) suggests that the base supported a large-scale bronze figure in a striding or attacking pose with the left leg advanced (right-handed attackers generally raise the right arm and advance the left leg). The dowel holes are large, and the feet were placed one in front of the other, along the same axis. On one of the short sides of the base, below the original, fifth-century B.C.E. votive dedication by Hegelochos, an honorific inscription of the Roman period reads "The *Boule* and the *Demos* [dedicated the statue of] Leukios Kasios, on account of his virtue."[32] The reinscription of this dedication makes it clear that the statue must have represented a male figure suitable for reuse as a portrait. For this reason, it would seem appropriate to reconstruct Hegelochos' dedication as an approximately life-sized striding male figure, perhaps a warrior, in light of the original inscription. The left foot was turned slightly oblique and placed flat, as we can infer from the eroded area on the upper surface of the base; the right foot, if the large dowel was under the heel, would also have been placed flat on the base.[33]

Now in the Acropolis Museum, the circular base on which inscription no. 5 appears was dedicated by [Ariste]as and Ophsios and is dated shortly after 480 B.C.E. There are two roughly oval dowel holes on its surface (see fig. 4). The length of each dowel hole corresponds to the shape and dimension of a foot from heel to toe.[34] The position of the dowel holes in the center of the base indicate that the statue, a lost bronze Athena,[35] had its feet close together and did not directly face the viewer of the inscription but was oriented somewhat to the viewer's left. The figure was standing, not portrayed in motion.

While unfortunately we cannot evaluate the style and technique of the sculptures by Kritios and Nesiotes, the dowel holes on the bases can reveal some

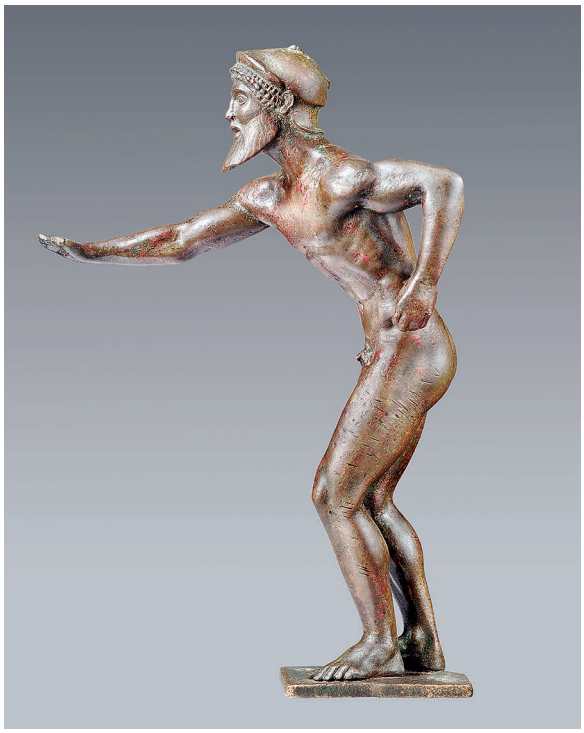

FIG. 5. Bronze statuette of a *hoplitodromos* (armed hoplite runner), ca. 500 B.C.E., ht. 0.164 m. Tübingen, Museum der Universität Tübingen, Antikensammlung, inv. no. 1 (T. Zachmann; © Museum der Universität Tübingen, Antikensammlung).

[31] Tübingen, Museum der Universität Tübingen, Antikensammlung, inv. no. 1; see *DAA* 120; Keesling 2003, 172, fig. 54. It is worth noting that Stewart (1990, fig. 183) dated the bronze statuette to ca. 500, but more recently to 480 B.C.E. (Stewart 2017, 42). On issues related to the base, the cuttings, and the statue, I would like to thank Carol Mattusch and Catherine Keesling.

[32] Keesling 2003, 186–90.

[33] Raubitschek 1949, 128; Keesling (2000) proposed reconstructing a life-sized striding male warrior in an attacking pose; Keesling 2017, 124–26, fig. 39.

[34] The circular shape of the base is uncommon, and Raubitschek (1949, 128) proposed to identify it as an unfinished column drum of the Older Parthenon reused as a base. Keesling (2000) rejects this hypothesis. On paleographic evidence the base is dated to the 470s. On this issue, I would like to thank Marion Meyer for her comments.

[35] Keesling 2000. The pose of the lost Athena is echoed in the feet of the marble statue of Athena dedicated by Angelitos and signed by Euenor (ca. 470 B.C.E.); Athens, Acropolis Museum, inv. no. 140; Keesling 2003, 129–30.

aspects of the statues' poses. On one monument (no. 1; see fig. 2), the statue of the *hoplitodromos* would have been standing with feet flat on the base, in a pose very similar to the Late Archaic bronze statuette in Tübingen (see fig. 5). On another monument (no. 5; see fig. 4) the figure would have stood with both feet flat on the surface, in accord with poses already attested in the sixth century B.C.E. More interesting is the case of Hegelochos' dedication (no. 2; see fig. 3): the figure had its legs stretched far apart in the pose of an attacking/striding warrior, a stance used by Kritios and Nesiotes on the Tyrannicides group.

For the attacking pose of the Tyrannicides group and Hegelochos' statue, I point out the imposing Athena Promachos (fig. 6) of the Gigantomachy pediment from the Athenian Acropolis, dating from around the end of the sixth century. Here the advanced left foot is flat on the ground, while the right heel is raised.[36] This common pose is also attested outside Athens, as for example on the Ugento Zeus, dated to ca. 510 B.C.E.; the god has stretched legs with the right heel raised, but the rendering of the musculature does not correspond to the attacking attitude and conveys an impression of immobility.[37] Further examples of attacking poses comes from the pediments of the temple of Aphaia at Aigina, now dated after the Persian Wars and coeval with the Tyrannicides; the fighting warriors are arranged with stretched legs.[38] We can also cite the statue of the warrior with shield and spear on the early fifth-century Berlin Foundry Cup (fig. 7). The statue is represented in the attacking pose with the left leg advanced and the right heel raised.[39] The pose is documented on the Athenian Acropolis after the Persian Wars, as we can see on the small bronze depicting Athena that was dedicated by Meleso (fig. 8), found to the east of the Erechtheion in 1887 and generally dated to 475–470 B.C.E.[40]

FIG. 6. Athena Promachos from the Gigantomachy pediment, ca. 500 B.C.E., marble, ht. 2.00 m. Athens, Acropolis Museum, inv. no. 631A (Y. Koulelis; © Acropolis Museum, 2018).

With this information, we can now return to our initial question: were the pose (with legs stretched far apart) and the iconographic scheme (striding or attacking) of the Tyrannicide statues new and revolutionary in comparison to the sculpture of the (Late) Archaic period? The answer must be in the negative. Kritios and Nesiotes adopted and exploited a typological scheme already present, in different media and different sizes, in Late Archaic artistic production, before the Persian Wars and the Severe Style period. The archaeological evidence provided by the dowel holes and the cuttings on the bases shows that Kritios and Nesiotes continued to use poses that were common during the Late Archaic period (the similarity between the pose of the statuette in Tübingen and the apparent pose of Epicharinos' statue is striking), so in this respect, their statues represent a continuation of the Late Archaic tradition. The pose of the attacking statue on Hegelochos' base should be similar to that of Aristogeiton (see fig. 1, on the viewer's left), already attested in Athens (see figs. 6, 7), and Magna Graecia (Ugento Zeus) and used for the contemporary attacking warriors in the pediments of the temple of Aphaia at Aigina. To summarize, then: the poses of statues on

[36] Stewart 2008a, 407, table 2.

[37] Taranto, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 121327; see Adornato 2010, 318–20, with bibliography.

[38] See the discussion in Gill (1993) and Stewart (2008b, 593–97), the latter proposing a chronology in the 470s.

[39] Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv. no. F2294; Neils 2000; Smith 2007, 91–4.

[40] Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. X 6447; Keesling 2003, 81–2, 141–42, fig. 22; Stewart 2008a, 388 ("Meleso's Athena has a Severe Style head but canonically Late Archaic drapery"), 410, cat. no. 16, with bibliography; for the inscription, *IG* 1^3 540.

FIG. 7. Berlin Foundry Cup, detail of exterior showing a colossal bronze statue of a warrior, 490–480 B.C.E., ht. 0.12 m; diam. 0.30 m. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. no. F 2294 (J. Laurentius; © 2019, Foto Scala, Firenze/bpk, Bildagentur für Kunst, Kultur un Geschichte, Berlin).

the Athenian Acropolis made by Kritios and Nesiotes do not appear to have been innovative.

GREEK ART AND ARTISTS IN LITERARY SOURCES

Although we have no primary fifth-century documentation, we can usefully scrutinize and analyze sources that contain clear traces or less distinct reflections of the sort of technical treatise writing on the arts that began in the sixth century B.C.E. Most of this material has been lost, but some has been conserved in later works, particularly in Latin writings. We know that during the Archaic and Classical periods a number of artists wrote treatises on their *techne*. From Vitruvius, for instance, we know that Agatharchos wrote a commentary (*commentarium*) on stage painting in association with Aischylos' tragedy; Demokritos and Anaxagoras wrote treatises on the same topic; Silenos wrote a work (*volumen*) on Doric proportions; Rhoikos and Theodoros on the Ionic temple of Hera at Samos; Chersiphron and Metagenes on the Artemision of Ephesos; Pythios on the temple of Athena at Priene; Iktinos and Karpion on the Parthenon; Theodoros of Phokaia on the Tholos at Delphi; Philo on the proportions of temples and the arsenal at the Piraeus; Hermogenes on the temple of Artemis at Magnesia; Arkesios on Corinthian proportions; and Satyros and Pytheos on the Mausoleum.[41] Polykleitos wrote the

FIG. 8. Bronze statuette of Athena dedicated by Meleso, 475–470 B.C.E., ht. 0.28 m. Athens, Acropolis Museum, inv. no. X 6447 (Y. Koulelis; © Acropolis Museum, 2018).

Canon, illustrated with the artwork itself, as attested by Pliny the Elder.[42] And in the first half of the fourth century, the painter Pamphylos of Amphipolis wrote a book on painting and painters.[43]

During the Hellenistic age, beginning with Duris (ca. 340–280 B.C.E.), the figure of the artist who writes about his own art was replaced by that of the scholar, historian, or connoisseur. A new literary genre arose: the artist biography, in which works of art were linked to the chronology of the Olympics. The most important such contribution is associated with Xenokrates of Athens, son of the sculptor Ergophilos, who, according to the epigraphic evidence, was active between 280 and 230 B.C.E.[44]

Evidence of discussions of art is found not only in (lost) technical treatises or in biographies of artists,

[41] Vitr., *De arch*. 7 *praef.* 11–12; Porter 2010, 179–96.

[42] Plin., *HN* 34. 55–6.

[43] *Suda*, s.v. "Pamphylos."

[44] Schweitzer 1932; Pollitt 1974, 74–7.

but also in other literary genres, such as the epigram. An initial search focusing on style and chronology turns up a number of epigrammatic compositions by Poseidippos of Pella (late fourth to first half of the third century B.C.E.), not coincidentally gathered under the title *andriantopoiika*, "the making of statues."[45] For our purposes, one of the most significant compositions is epigram 62 AB, whose potential to inform us about Hellenistic perceptions of past artistic production and the novelties proposed by Hellenistic artists has been partially explored from an art historical point of view.[46] It reads:[47]

> μιμ[ή]cacθε τάδ' ἔργα, πολυχρονίουc δὲ κολοccῶν,
> ὦ ζ[ωι]ο̣πλάcτα̣ι, γ[αί] π̣αραθεῖτε νόμουc·
> εἴ γε μὲν ἀρχαῖα̣ι .[. .].πα χέρες, ἢ Ἀγελάιδηc
> ὁ πρὸ Πολυκ‹λ›είτο[υ πά]γχυ παλαιοτέχ̣νηc,
> ἢ οἱ Διδυμιδου cκληρ̣[οὶ τύ]ποι εἰc πέδ̣ον ἐλθεῖν,
> Λυcίππου νεάρ' ἦν οὐδ̣[ε]μ̣ία πρόφαcιc
> δεῦρο παρεκτεῖναι βα̣c̣ά̣ν̣ο̣υ̣ χάριν· ε̣ἰ̣[τα] δ̣' ἐ̣ὰ̣‹ν› χρ̣ῇ̣ι
> __ καὶ πίπτηι ‹ὦ›θ̣λο‹c› κ̣α̣ι̣ν̣οτεχνέω̣ν̣, .ε.εcηι
>
> Imitate these works of art, and race past, yes do, sculptors,
> the rules of long ago for making large statues.
> If the ancient hands of a sculptor, either Hagelaides,
> who was long before the old art of Polycleitus,
> or the rigid forms of Didymides were to enter the field,
> there would be no reason for Lysippus' new works
> to be set out here for trial. But if then it's necessary,
> let also the contest of new arts take place.

The epigram refers: to images of the past and to statues made according to antiquated rules (*polychronioi*); to the art of Hageladas (active around the last decades of the sixth and the first half of the fifth centuries B.C.E. and the teacher of Polykleitos), who is described as an "old-school" artist (*palaiotechnes*); to the rigid figures (*skleroi typoi*) made by the Didymides—that is, by Kanachos, who worked at Didyma;[48] and finally to the technical and artistic innovations (*neara*) of Lysippos.[49] Poseidippos invites poets and artists to imitate the new artistic solutions that he has advanced in literature and that Lysippos has introduced in statuary. Chronologically and stylistically, according to Poseidippos, previous artistic and poetic productions appear rigid and outdated, and they must be rejected. These aesthetic-descriptive aspects of Poseidippos' compositions may be articulating a widely accepted opinion about an artist or an artwork, or they may be drawing on the terminology of a specialized literary genre, such as treatises on art. Very evident in Poseidippos' epigram is, however, a clear-cut division of stylistic and chronological issues. Before Lysippos' activity, sculptors were not technically and thematically innovative. Their works of art, or *kolossoi*, followed obsolete rules and are perceived as *skleroi*.[50] This evaluation seems to include art made before Lysippos, whose sculptures are appreciated as *neara*, novelties. The period that modern scholars usually identify and distinguish as Archaic and Early Classical—broadly speaking, the sixth and the first half of the fifth centuries B.C.E.—is portrayed in Poseidippos' words as an indistinct stylistic and formal era characterized by old-fashioned rules, antiquated masters, and stiff sculptures.

In a later discussion of styles in rhetoric and oratory, Cicero compares rhetoric with the art of sculpture:[51]

> Quis enim eorum qui haec minora animadvertunt non intellegit Canachi signa rigidiora esse quam ut imitentur veritatem? Calamidis dura illa quidem, sed tamen molliora quam Canachi; nondum Myronis satis ad veritatem adducta, iam tamen quae non dubites pulchra dicere; pulchriora Polycliti et iam plane perfecta, ut mihi quidem videri solent. similis in pictura ratio est: in qua Zeuxim et Polygnotum et Timanthem et eorum, qui non sunt usi plus quam quattuor coloribus, formas et liniamenta laudamus; at in Aetione Nicomacho Protogene Apelle iam perfecta sunt omnia.
>
> What critic who devotes his attention to the lesser arts does not recognize that the statues of Canachus are too rigid to reproduce the truth of nature? The statues of Calamis again are still hard, and yet more lifelike than those of Canachus. Even Myron has not yet fully attained

[45] Bastianini and Gallazzi 2001 (*editio princeps*), 72–3, 185–87; Gutzwiller 2005, 31 (section V is translated as "The Making of Statues"), 185, 207.

[46] E.g., Stewart 2007; Angiò 2013.

[47] Greek text from Bastianini and Gallazzi 2001, 72–3; trans. K. Gutzwiller, https://chs.harvard.edu/CHS/article/display/1360.

[48] According to Moreno (in Angiò 2013), the name Didymides must refer to Kanachos as sculptor of the statue of Apollo for the sanctuary of Didyma. For the reference, I thank one of the anonymous *AJA* reviewers.

[49] See Kosmetatou 2004; Adornato 2007, 2015a; Stewart 2007. On technical treatises and Xenokrates: Schweitzer 1932; Ferri 1942; Settis 1993, 2010; Lapatin 2012.

[50] On the meaning of *kolossoi*, see Kosmetatou 2004; Adornato 2007; Stewart 2007; further discussion in Adornato 2015a, 2017.

[51] Cic. *Brut.* 70. Trans. Hendrickson and Hubbell 1971, 67.

naturalness, though one would not hesitate to call his works beautiful. Still more beautiful are the statues of Polykleitos, and indeed in my estimation quite perfect. The same development may be seen in painting. In Zeuxis, Polygnotus, Timanthes, and others, who used only four colours, we praise their outline and drawing; but in Aetion, Nicomachus, Protogenes, Apelles, everything has been brought to perfection.

According to Cicero's sources, the works of Kanachos, active around the end of the sixth century,[52] are considered too stiff (*signa rigidiora*) to render a realistic effect (*ut imitentur veritatem*).[53] The statues by Kalamis, who was active in the first half of the fifth century B.C.E.,[54] are also hard but are more supple than those of Kanachos (*dura illa quidem, sed tamen molliora quam Canachi*). The sequence continues with Myron of Eleutherae,[55] a contemporary of Kalamis, whose sculptures are still not quite close enough to naturalness but can unhesitatingly be defined as beautiful. Even more beautiful are the works of Polykleitos, now entirely mature (*pulchriora . . . iam plane perfecta*).[56]

This overview suggests that evaluation of sculptures by Kanachos and Kalamis, active between the late sixth and the middle of the fifth century B.C.E., was made based on naturalness in representation according to two criteria: hardness and beauty. An improvement has taken place, from the most rigid (*rigidiora*) bronze statues by Kanachos to the hard (*dura*) ones by Kalamis to the beautiful (*pulchra*) ones by Myron, which yet do not achieve *veritas*, to the even more beautiful and perfect (*pulchriora, perfecta*) works by Polykleitos. The technical-artistic turning point for both scales is perhaps provided by Kalamis' more supple (*molliora*) sculptures. Starting with Myron's activity, Cicero (and his source) introduces the aesthetic attribute of beauty (table 1).

To bring a historical-literary perspective to Cicero's testimony, we can cite a well-known passage from Quintilian in which styles and genres of oratory are defined in relation to the major developmental phases in painting (Quint., *Inst.* 12.10.3–6) and sculpture, with the latter described in terms of hardness (Quint., *Inst.* 12.10.7–9):[57]

Similis in statuis differentia. Nam duriora et Tuscanicis proxima Callon atque Hegesias, iam minus rigida Calamis, molliora adhuc supra dictis Myron fecit. Diligentia ac decor in Polyclito supra ceteros, cui quamquam a plerisque tribuitur palma, tamen, ne nihil detrahatur, deesse pondus putant. [8] Nam ut humanae formae decorem addiderit supra verum, ita non explevisse deorum auctoritatem videtur. Quin aetatem quoque graviorem dicitur refugisse, nihil ausus ultra levis genas. At quae Polyclito defuerunt, Phidiae atque Alcameni dantur. [9] Phidias tamen diis quam hominibus efficiendis melior artifex creditur, in ebore vero longe citra aemulum vel si nihil nisi Minervam Athenis aut Olympium in Elide Iovem fecisset, cuius pulchritudo adiecisse aliquid etiam receptae religioni videtur, adeo maiestas operis deum aequavit. Ad veritatem Lysippum ac Praxitelen accessisse optime adfirmant: nam Demetrius tamquam nimius in ea reprehenditur, et fuit similitudinis quam pulchritudinis amantior.

There are similar differences in statuary. The work of Callon and Hegesias was stiff, very like the Tuscanic work,[58] that of Calamis less so, and Myron's more fluid than any of these. Polyclitus had more craftsmanship and grace than the rest; most critics award him the palm, but, in order to find some fault in him, judge that he lacks "weight," because, while he gave the human form a beauty transcending the reality, he seems not to have given adequate expression to the authority of the gods. He is said also to have avoided portraying the mature adult, never venturing beyond smooth cheeks. What Polyclitus lacked, Phidias and Alcamenes are allowed to have possessed. Phidias is thought more skillful at representing gods than men; in ivory he would be far and away without a rival, even if he had produced nothing but the Athena at Athens and the Olympian Zeus at Elis, the beauty of which is said to have added something to the traditional religious concept of the god, so perfectly did the majesty of the work match its divine original. Lysippus and Praxiteles are said to have achieved the best approximation to reality; Demetrius is criticized for carrying realism too far, for he was more concerned with likeness than with beauty.

[52] On Kanachos: Plin., *HN* 34.75; Paus. 1.16.3; 2.10.4; 8.46.3; *DNO* 476–86; Muller-Dufeu 2002, nos. 482–89; on Apollo Philesios in Didyma plundered by Xerxes in 494 B.C.E. see Strocka 2002. On the returning of art works: Lapatin 2010.

[53] On *aletheia/veritas*, see Pollitt 1974, 125–38; Adornato 2007, 2015a, and 2017.

[54] On Kalamis' work: Plin., *HN* 34.57; *DNO* 578–610; Muller-Dufeu 2002, nos. 683–706.

[55] On Myron: Vitr., *De arch.* 3.2; Plin. *HN* 34.57–8; *DNO* 720–840; Muller-Dufeu 2002, nos. 707–84.

[56] On Polykleitos: Plin., *HN* 34.55–6; *DNO* 1205–294; Kaiser 1990; Neumeister 1990.

[57] Trans. Russell 2001, 285.

[58] On the *Tuscanica signa*, see Adornato 2018.

TABLE 1. Aesthetic judgments and scale of hardness and beauty, according to Cicero's *Brutus* (70).[a]

Artist	Evaluation
Kanachos (ca. 500 B.C.E.)	*rigidiora*
Kalamis (480/70–440 B.C.E.)	*dura, sed molliora quam Canachi*
Myron (480–440 B.C.E.)	*pulchra* *nondum satis ad veritatem adducta*
Polykleitos (460–410 B.C.E.)	*pulchriora* *iam plane perfecta*

[a] The proposed dates derive from *DNO*.

The works of Kallon of Aigina[59] and Hegesias,[60] which date roughly to the end of the sixth and first half of the fifth centuries, are rather rigid and similar to Etruscan sculptures. Compared with these, Kalamis' sculptures are less rigid; those of Myron are still more lithe (*molliora*) than earlier ones. Polykleitos' statues are distinguished by their precision and beauty,[61] although they are criticized for their lack of stability (*deesse pondus*).[62] Polykleitos gives the human figure a beauty beyond the bounds of reality but is unable to represent satisfactorily the authoritativeness of the gods. Where Polykleitos was lacking, Pheidias[63] and Alkamenes—both active before the middle and during the second half of the fifth century—succeed.[64] Pheidias in particular is noted for his representation of gods distinguished by their majesty (*maiestas*).

Going a step further than Cicero, Quintilian introduces additional aesthetic concepts in distinguishing more specifically the technical characteristics and expressive peculiarities of individual artists. The hardness of Kallon's and Hegesias' statues is followed by the less rigid works of Kalamis; the turning point is embodied by Myron's more sinuous sculptures. The work of Polykleitos introduces the parameters of precision (*diligentia*), beauty (*decor*), and equilibrium (*pondus*). In the case of Pheidias and Alkamenes, Quintilian refers to the authority (*auctoritas*) and majesty (*maiestas*) of the divine images they made (table 2).

Epigraphic evidence from the Acropolis at Athens confirms the picture outlined in the literary passages, with attestations from as early as 500 B.C.E. of the artistic activities of Kallon of Aigina and Nesiotes ("the islander"); each sculptor created and signed a bronze statue of a kithara player.[65] Alkibios the *kitharoidos* (kithara player) dedicated a monument made by Nesiotes—"Ἀλ̣κίβιος ἀνέθεκεν κιθαροιδός. Νεσιότες" (Alkibios the *kitharoidos* dedicated.

[59] On Kallon: Paus. 2.32.5; 3.18.8; *DNO* 491–92; Muller-Dufeu 2002, nos. 498–502.

[60] On Hegesias or Hagesias: *DNO* 554–56.

[61] On *diligentia*: Perry 2000. Here I prefer to translate *decor* as "beauty" rather than as "appropriateness" (Hölscher 2002, 45), since the meaning of the Latin term fluctuates between "of beautiful appearance, ornate, exceptional" and "suitable, convenient, worthy." For a meticulous analysis, see Dyck 1996, 238–60.

[62] Neumeister (1990, 441), Hölscher (2002, 45, 52, 75), and La Rocca (2013, 184) translate *pondus* as "solemnity," or "majesty," but this meaning would be repetitive in the context of the passage, which already contains the concepts of *maiestas* and *auctoritas*. Hence I prefer to interpret *pondus* as "solidity," "stability," "gravity," as according to *OLD*, s.v. *pondus*, #8; Adornato 2019; I would like to thank Nathan Kish for providing me with insightful comments on this passage. Reading the *Institutio Oratoria* and the occurrences of the term in it, we can detect the oscillation of the meaning of *pondus*: sometimes it is used to provide a sense of "weight, stability of the rhythm or pose" (i.e., 11.1.91; 12.2.12), sometimes it indicates a stylistic quality of the discourse, meaning "dignity, gravity" (i.e., 10.1.97). This oscillation of meanings is also attested in previous, rhetorical contexts, like in Cicero's *Brutus* (141; 265) or *Orator* (26; 197), even though in those and other cases *pondus* can be easily translated as "equilibrium, solidity."

[63] On Pheidias: Plin., *HN* 34.54; 36.18; in general, *DNO* 841–1075; Harrison 1996; a recent overview in Papini (2014) without novelties; Muller-Dufeu 2002, nos. 785–986. On chryselephantine sculpture: Lapatin 2001.

[64] On Alkamenes: Plin., *HN* 36.16; *DNO* 1106–136; Muller-Dufeu 2002, nos. 991–1020.

[65] *DAA* 84, 85 (no dowel holes are preserved on the top of the fragment).

TABLE 2. Aesthetic judgments and technical parameters, according to Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* (12.10.7–9).[a]

Artist	Evaluation
Kallon (500/490 B.C.E.) and Hegesias (first half 5th c. B.C.E.)	*duriora et Tuscanicis proxima*
Kalamis (480/70–440 B.C.E.)	*minus rigida*
Myron (480–440 B.C.E.)	*molliora*
Polykleitos (460–410 B.C.E.)	*diligentia ac decor* *deesse pondus* *decorum addiderit supra verum* *non explevisse deorum auctoritatem*
Pheidias (470/60–420 B.C.E.) and Alkamenes (440–400 B.C.E.)	*decor* *maiestas*

[a] The proposed dates derive from *DNO*.

Nesiotes [made it]; *IG* 1^3 666)—which presumably commemorated his victory in a kithara competition in the Great Panathenaea, ca. 500 B.C.E. The other monument, dedicated by Ophsi[ades] or Ophsi[os] the *kitharoidos* (*IG* 1^3 753), has been connected to the signature of Kallon of Aigina (*IG* 1^3 754) and dated to around the same period.[66] Unfortunately, the fragment of Alkibios' monument by Nesiotes lacks the dowel holes that might allow us to reconstruct the figure that stood on it. Another sculptor, Hegias, is attested around the beginning of the fifth century on the Athenian Acropolis (*IG* 1^3 702) by the votive offering for Aristion and Pasias, which might have been a statue of Athena, a kore, or a kouros.[67] In this case, the two cuttings on the top of the base are situated one behind the other, almost in the middle, and the distance to the right edge is less than that to the left. It is possible that the two cuttings once received the two dowels of the advanced left foot of a bronze statue and that the feet were grounded on the surface of the base.[68]

Although we can only speculate on the style of the statues in question, Alkibios' dedication and the fragments of a possibly contemporary base signed by Kritios and Nesiotes,[69] along with Quintilian's and Lucian's assessments, encourage us to direct particular attention to the figure and activity of Nesiotes, whose artistic production dates back to ca. 500 B.C.E., close in time to Antenor and creation of the earlier Tyrannicides group.[70] Nesiotes was thus familiar with the technical and formal modes of Late Archaic art. The possibility that Nesiotes, who was active in Athens and on the Acropolis around the end of the sixth century, changed his style soon after the Persian Wars appears unlikely. As we have noted, the monuments and the bases that he signed with Kritios do not suggest innovation in either the positioning or the balancing of the related statues, which stood on both feet, sometimes with legs stretched apart.

MOTION AND PONDERATION

At the end of the sixth and beginning of the fifth century B.C.E., sculptors were already attempting to unshackle the archaic-style pose of the kouros (a standing figure with its left foot forward and its arms held straight down by its sides), trying out new positions over the course of decades, with increasing attention to anatomy and the relationships among the parts of the body. Greater freedom of composition is attested as early as the last quarter of the sixth century B.C.E. on

[66] *DAA* 85 (*IG* 1^3 753) with the signature of Kallon of Aigina, has been associated with *DAA* 86 (*IG* 1^3 754), dedicated by Ophsi[ades] or Ophsi[os], for paleographic similarities.

[67] On Hegias: Dio Chrys., *Or.* 55.1.282; Plin., *HN* 34.78; *DNO* 547–53; *IG* 1^3, 702; Muller-Dufeu 2002, nos. 556–61.

[68] Kissas 2000, 105–6.

[69] *DAA* 161 (*IG* 1^3 846 = *DNO* 568) and 161a (Agora I 5408 a and b); see supra n. 27.

[70] In *DNO* 486, the artistic activity of Nesiotes is dated between 480 and 460 B.C.E.

a few reliefs, such as the Ball Players base, in which the technique oscillates between drawing and sculpture.[71] Diodoros considered the introduction of movement to the lower part of the body, with the legs spread apart and the hands or arms held away from the body, an invention chronologically and artistically attributable to Daidalos.[72] Previously, artists had made statues with closed eyes and arms by their sides:[73]

> πρῶτος δ' ὀμματώσας καὶ διαβεβηκότα τὰ σκέλη ποιήσας, ἔτι δὲ τὰς χεῖρας διατεταμένας ποιῶν, εἰκότως ἐθαυμάζετο παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· οἱ γὰρ πρὸ τούτου τεχνῖται κατεσκεύαζον τὰ ἀγάλματα τοῖς μὲν ὄμμασι μεμυκότα, τὰς δὲ χεῖρας ἔχοντα καθειμένας καὶ ταῖς πλευραῖς κεκολλημένας.
>
> And since he [Daidalos] was the first to represent the open eye and to fashion the legs separated in a stride and the arms and hands as extended, it was a natural thing that he should have received the admiration of mankind; for the artists before his time had carved their statues with the eyes closed and the arms and hands hanging attached to the sides.

Technical and formal innovations can be detected in medium-sized and large bronze and marble statues beginning in the final decades of the sixth century B.C.E. For example, if we compare the Anavyssos kouros (ca. 530 B.C.E.; fig. 9) with that of Aristodikos (ca. 500 B.C.E.; fig. 10),[74] a difference in arm position is evident. In the former case, the arms are stretched straight down along the body, while in the latter instance they are raised, held forward and bent, probably to hold one or more attributes.[75] This adaptation was an important technical and formal achievement in large-scale sculpture, even though the differences between the two sculptures may appear otherwise minimal. Thanks to the improvement of the pose, the forward shift of the left leg emphasizes the figure's movement; the head, no longer forward-facing, is turned slightly to the left; the left shoulder and flank are tilted downward.

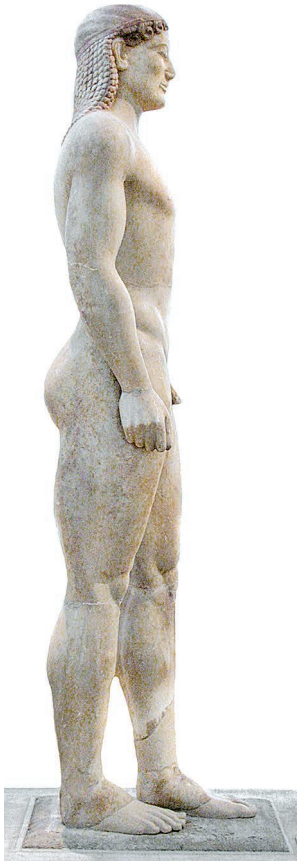

FIG. 9. Kouros from Anavyssos, ca. 530 B.C.E., marble; ht. 1.94 m. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 3851 (courtesy H.R. Goette).

Even greater technical and compositional freedom and ease can be found in the original bronze of Poseidon from Livadhostro (ancient Kreusis; ca. 490–480 B.C.E.; fig. 11),[76] depicted with both arms held away from his body. The right arm was held forward, the left was raised and perhaps held a trident, and the right leg is shifted forward and the knee is bent. The attempt to

[71] Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 3476; Kissas 2000, 75. The poses of the athletes—shown frontally, in profile, in three-quarter view, and from the back—reprise iconographic poses from painting and pottery decoration. Much attention is paid to the rendering of movement, musculature, and ponderation. The execution of the upper part of the torso is not always satisfactory, and the pectoral and abdominal muscles are not in harmony with the action depicted. On the youth depicted from behind, the gluteal muscles are at the same height despite the position of the legs. The result is more of a graphic effect than a careful and precise study of the human body, reproduced according to the schemas of painting.

[72] On Daidalos: *DNO* 67–143; Morris 1992.

[73] Diod. Sic. 4.76.3, trans. Oldfather 1939.

[74] Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 3851 (Anavyssos kouros) and 3938 (Aristodikos); Richter 1960, nos. 136, 165; Karouzos 1961; Kissas 2000, 68; Neer 2010, 21–30. On kouroi in general: Fehr 1996.

[75] On Ptoion kouroi as predecessors of this sculpture: Richter 1960, nos. 145, 155; Ducat 1971, nos. 197, 202.

[76] Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. X 1.1761; Kaltsas (2001, 86, no. 146) dates the bronze around 480 B.C.E.; Zographaki (2003, 36–7) proposes a date around 490–480 B.C.E.; see also Mattusch 2006, 217–18, on Archaic bronzes.

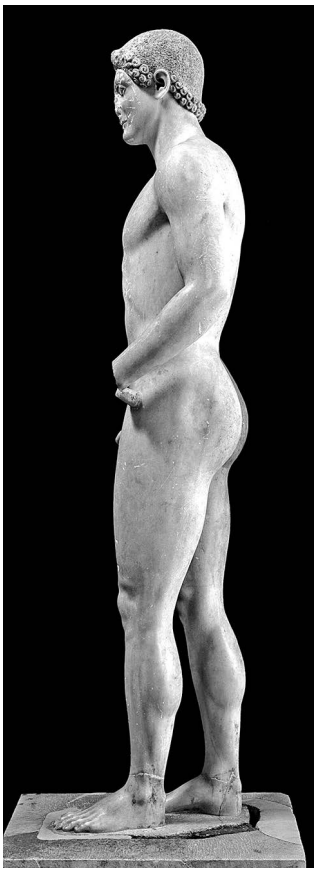

FIG. 10. Kouros of Aristodikos, ca. 510–500 B.C.E., marble, ht. 1.98 m. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 3938 (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund).

create movement is readily detectable on this bronze, for the divine figure displays an evident ponderation (or contrapposto) with the left arm raised and the right leg advanced. The left shoulder is raised higher than the right one, and the gesture pulls the muscular torso to its left; the left receding leg is balanced by the outstretched right arm; the weight is on the left foot, the left hip projects slightly, and the right buttock is lower than the left one; the right foot is set forward, and the right hip correspondingly drops.[77] This statue provides one of the first testimonies of attentive investigation of the body and its movements by a bronze sculptor.

The Livadhostro statue permits me to make corrections to Hurwit's and Stewart's statements about the appearance of contrapposto in sculpture and the chronology of the bronze statue as well.[78] The statue has formal affinities with kouroi of the Ptoion 20 Group (ca. 520–485 B.C.E.):[79] the double row of snail curls across the forehead and the arrangement of the hairstyle resemble the heads of kouroi dated to around the final decade of the sixth century,[80] and the pubic hair has the same treatment and shape as that of late sixth- and early fifth-century kouroi from Athens, Eretria, Thebes, and Samos.[81] Since these particular formal patterns are not attested after 480 B.C.E., the Livadhostro Poseidon should be dated before 480 B.C.E, probably in the second decade of the fifth century (the chronology is also supported by the paleography of the dedicatory inscription).[82] Consequently, it is incorrect to state, as Stewart does, that "*contrapposto* first appears in datable form on the colossal bronze Apollo at Delphi commissioned by the Greek allies from Theopropos of Aigina to celebrate their victory at Salamis in 480 B.C.E."[83] The legs and the arms of the bronze Poseidon are arranged in a quasi-chiastic scheme, and its pose predates the Tyrannicides group by Kritios and Nesiotes. In marble statuary too we detect significant improvements and formal achievements before 480 B.C.E. Such is the case for the kouros 692 from the Acropolis of Athens (ca. 490 B.C.E.; fig. 12),[84] which is depicted in a pose that is truly radical for the period given that the statue is in marble rather than in bronze,

[77] Mattusch 1988, 80–1.

[78] Hurwit 1989, 73: "The pose of the Kritios Boy, in short, is otherwise unattested before 480"; Stewart 2017, 48.

[79] Richter 1960, 126–47.

[80] Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 20, from the Ptoion sanctuary, ca. 500 B.C.E. (Richter 1960, 134, no. 155; Kaltsas 2001, 71–2, no. 102). Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. MND 890 (Richter 1960, 138–39, no. 163). Kansas City, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, inv. no. 38–7 (Richter 1960, 139, no. 164).

[81] Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 3370, end of sixth century B.C.E. (Kaltas 2001, 76, no. 118) and inv. no. 3938, ca. 510–500 B.C.E. (Kaltsas 2001, 66, no. 94). Chalkis, Museum, inv. no. 3, from Eretria, 510–500 B.C.E. (Richter 1960, 140–41, no. 168). Thebes, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 7, from Eutresis, 510–500 B.C.E. (Richter 1960, 134–35, no. 156). Samos, Vathy Museum, 490–480 B.C.E. (Richter 1960, 143, no. 176; Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 207–10, no. 139). Heraklion, Museum, inv. no. 37, 500–490 B.C.E. (Richter 1960, 143, no. 177).

[82] For the inscription on the base of the bronze Poseidon, see Philios 1899, 64.

[83] Supra n. 24.

[84] Richter 1960, 137, no. 160; Hurwit 1989, 47–52; Karakasi 2004, 165.

FIG. 11. Bronze Poseidon from Livadhostro, 490–480 B.C.E., ht. 1.18 m. Athens, National Archaeological Museum inv. no. X 11761 (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund).

a material that generally permits greater freedom of movement. The arms of the kouros are held away from the torso, without struts, and the right arm is bent and held forward. The position of the right buttock, lower than the left, is anatomically inaccurate. Crucially important in light of our concerns, the left leg is advanced and bent, which means that the marble statue breaks the canonical pose of the kouros type, although the pose is attested in the kouroi of the Ptoion 20 Group.

As the kouros 692 and the bronze Livadhostro Poseidon demonstrate, the experimental phase attested in small-scale objects and vases from around the end of the sixth century B.C.E. can be detected in large-scale marble and bronze sculpture as well. This evidence, generally overlooked in the scholarly literature, encourages us to rethink the cultural and artistic revolution of the Severe Style period and its modern periodization. In a nutshell, the Poseidon and the kouros 692 anticipate what we see in a more advanced and perfected scheme with the Tyrannicides and, as we will see below, with the so-called Kritios Boy.

Once again Quintilian offers food for thought in a passage that describes the posture to be maintained during a speech (*actio*), which he compares with the schemes of certain sculptures:[85]

> Nam recti quidem corporis vel minima gratia est: nempe enim adversa sit facies et demissa brachia et iuncti pedes et a summis ad ima rigens opus. Flexus ille, et, ut sic dixerim, motus dat actum quondam et adfectum.

[85] Quint., *Inst.* 2.13.9, trans. Butler 1920, 293. This passage is omitted in the literature, e.g., Pollitt 1974.

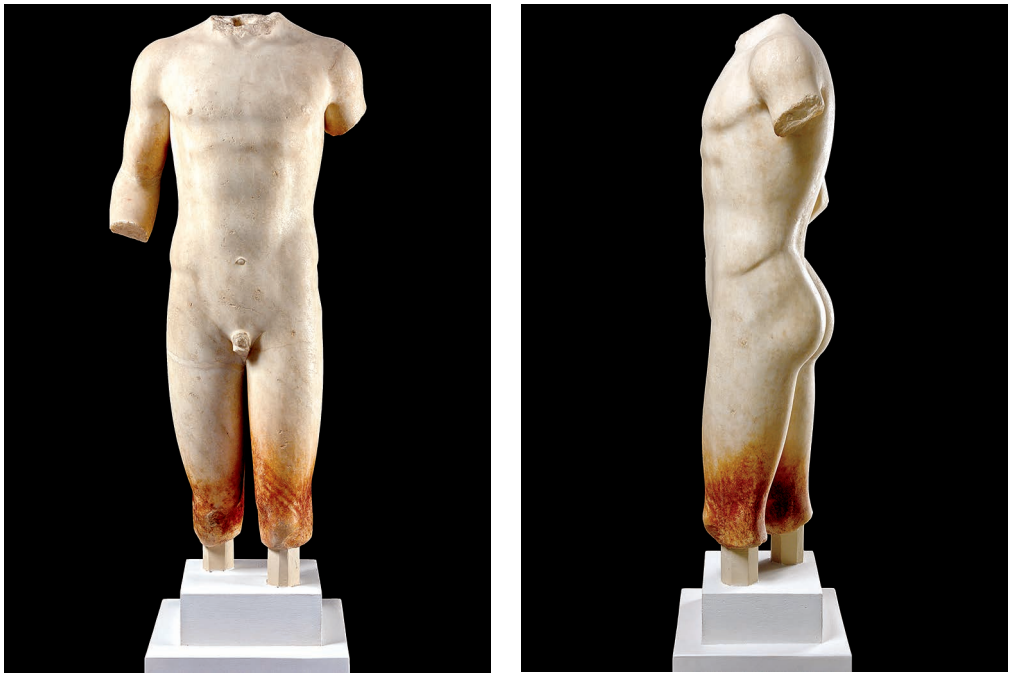

FIG. 12. Kouros from the Athenian Acropolis, ca. 490 B.C.E., marble, ht. 0.87 m. Athens, Acropolis Museum, inv. no. 692 (Y. Koulelis; © Acropolis Museum, 2018).

> The body when held bolt upright has but little grace, for the face looks straight forward, the arms hang by the side, the feet are joined and the whole figure is stiff from top to toe. But that curve, I might almost call it motion, with which we are so familiar, gives an impression of action and animation.

This passage, too often ignored by scholars, helps us more exactly comprehend ancient assessments of art and comments on the hardness of sculptures. The impression of rigidity and immobility appears closely linked to the iconographic scheme employed by the artist—specifically, the erect posture, the fixed position of the face, the arms hanging by the sides, and the placement of the feet, as in the case of Archaic kouroi.[86] By lending a sense of movement to the body through bending and tilting, the pose of a sculpture can give the impression of action and animation. Perhaps owing precisely to the absence of anatomical flexibility (*flexus et motus*), sculptures by Kanachos, Kallon, Hegesias, Kalamis, and Kritios and Nesiotes could beget in the observer that sensation of rigidity and fixity attested in Greek and Roman literary sources.

We return now to the Tyrannicides group by Kritios and Nesiotes.[87] The representation of the attack by Aristogeiton and Harmodios (figs. 13, 14) employs readily recognized traditional schemes: spread legs, raised arm, erect torso, lifted rear foot, and frontal gaze, as attested on Athena from the Gigantomachy pediment (see fig. 6), the Ugento Zeus, and the warrior statue on the Berlin Foundry Cup (see fig. 7).[88] The depiction of the two protagonists' anatomy (*flexus*) does not correspond with their action (*motus*). The abdominal musculature is detailed but not typical of movement, while the heads are set straight and fixedly

[86] Fehr (1996, 833–39), e.g., does not cite Diodoros' and Quintilian' s passages, which in my opinion offer eloquent contributions to understanding technical and artistic developments in human representation.

[87] Naples, National Archaeological Museum, inv. nos. 6009, 6010; *FGrH* 239 A 54; *Marm. Par.* A, lines 70–1 (*IG* 12 5 444, lines 70–1); Brunnsåker 1971; Taylor 1991; Ajootian 1998; Azoulay 2014; Keesling 2017, 23–8. On the political importance and compositional innovation: Hölscher 1998.

[88] For keen analysis of the use of the attacking scheme in vase painting: De Cesare 2012.

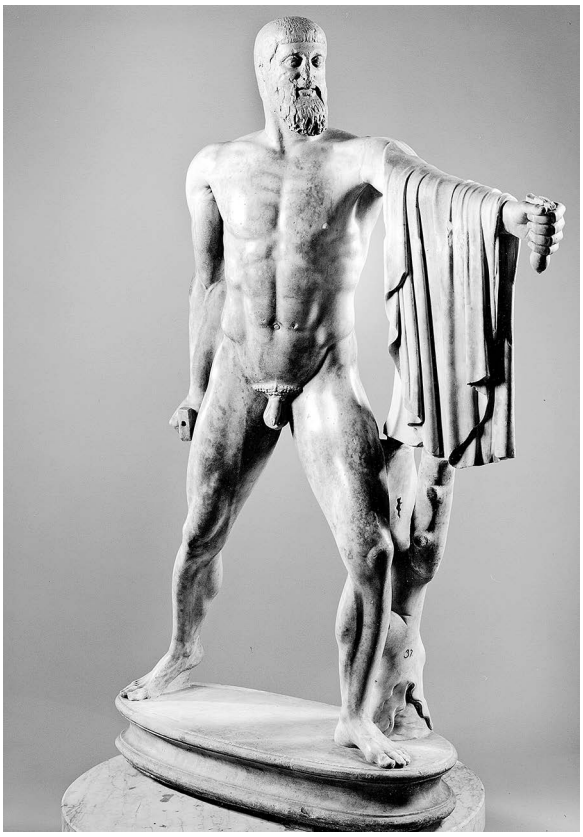

FIG. 13. Aristogeiton from the group of the Tyrannicides. Roman marble copy of bronze original by Kritios and Nesiotes, 477/6 B.C.E., ht. 1.83 m. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. no. 6010 (L. Spina; © Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali—Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli).

FIG. 14. Harmodios from the group of the Tyrannicides. Roman marble copy of bronze original by Kritios and Nesiotes, 477/6 B.C.E., ht. 1.85 m. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. no. 6009. (G. Albano; © Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali—Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli).

forward on muscular necks.[89] It is worth noting that, in a rhetorical context, Lucian reinforces the aesthetic evaluations of the hardness of late sixth- and early fifth-century sculptures. In chapter 9 of his *Rhetorum Praeceptor*, the author mentions Hegesias and artists around Kritios and Nesiotes[90] as exemplary exponents of ancient technique, characterizing their works as rigid (ἀπεσφιγμένα), robust and muscular (νευρώδη), hard (σκληρὰ), and precisely divided into parts with lines (ἀκριβῶς ἀποτεταμένα ταῖς γραμμαῖς).[91] The passage reads:[92]

> εἶτά σε κελεύσει ζηλοῦν ἐκείνους τοὺς ἀρχαίους ἄνδρας ἕωλα παραδείγματα παρατιθεὶς λόγων οὐ ῥᾴδια

[89] This interpretation is in disagreement with Stewart's statement (1997, 73) that the "revolutionary 'severe' or early classic style [of the Tyrannicides group] with its emphatic, powerfully organic, yet still rigorously ordered articulation of the male body did what the archaic style's calligraphic patterning could not do." In my view, on the contrary, the rendering of the joints and muscles is still bound to the formal conventions and patterning of the Late Archaic period.

[90] On Kritios and Nesiotes: *DNO* 557–70; Muller-Dufeu 2002, nos. 576–84; see also Keesling 2000.

[91] Zweimüller 2008, 240–43. Lucian's statement is similar to the judgment of Dionysios of Halicarnassos, *Isaeus* 4, on ancient paintings (ἀρχαῖαι γραφαί): to the ancient viewer they appear to be precise in terms of lines (ἀκριβεῖς δὲ ταῖς γραμμαῖς). The emphasis of Lucian and Dionysios on precise lines suggests "the archaic style's calligraphic patterning" (supra n. 89).

[92] Trans. Harmon 1925, 147.

μιμεῖσθαι, οἷα τὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς ἐργασίας ἐστίν, Ἡγησίου καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ Κρίτιον καὶ Νησιώτην, ἀπεσφιγμένα καὶ νευρώδη καὶ σκληρὰ καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἀποτεταμένα ταῖς γραμμαῖς.

Then he will tell you to imitate those ancient worthies, and will set you fusty models for your speeches, far from easy to copy, resembling sculptures in the early manner such as those of Hegesias and of Kritios and Nesiotes—wasp-waisted, sinewy, hard, meticulously definite in their contours.

As we saw in Quintilian's passage, Hegesias' art,[93] along with Kallon's, is characterized mainly by its high degree of hardness. In Lucian, this evaluation is extended to include the sculptures of Kritios and Nesiotes and artists of their circle. Those artists are the paradigm of the *palaia ergasia*, the "old technique." Although in contemporary art history Kritios and Nesiotes are considered leaders of the artistic revolution of the Severe Style period, in ancient literary sources their works are classified among the "hard" (σκληρὰ [Lucian]) statues and considered similar to the "hardest" (*duriora* [Quintilian]), like those of Hegesias.

We gain the same impression when we observe the torso from Miletus (fig. 15), dated near the beginning of the fifth century B.C.E., before the destruction of the city by the Persians in 494 B.C.E.,[94] and so earlier than Kritios and Nesiotes' Tyrannicides. The abdominals are precisely divided with lines, and the pose is very solid, as both feet must be reconstructed as placed flat on the base, the left leg shifted forward and bent. From a rear view, the left buttock is lowered and the left hip drops, as the body stands on the right leg; the right buttock is in tension and the right hip projects. The formal features of the Miletus torso exemplify sculptors' improved rendering of anatomical details. In the Miletus torso and on the coeval kouros 692 from the Acropolis (see fig. 12), the artists were interested in depicting the balance of the lower and upper body when the leg is bent. While the buttocks of the kouros 692 are not anatomically accurate, since the right is lower than the left, the Miletus torso is correctly positioned anatomically with the weight on the right leg; the left leg is advanced, and the left buttock lowered. There is further compensation in the shoulders. The right scapula juts out, and the right arm has to be reconstructed as extended; the left shoulder moves backwards, and the left pectoral is wider than the right one. The Tyrannicides' bodies are very close to the Miletus torso, and it is difficult to perceive a clear-cut stylistic distinction between these works of art. Other good comparanda are the statues of athletes from Delos: torso A 4277,[95] ca. 480 B.C.E., is presented in a frontal pose, with the abdomen divided and well outlined and quite calligraphic, and torso A 4275,[96] ca. 490–480 B.C.E., is in the pose of a javelin thrower, as suggested by the wide-open arms and the stride of the legs. Neither the divided abdominal musculature nor the serratus participates in the thrust and effort of the body as a whole, and the posterior muscles also appear anatomically little indicative of the action in progress. On the later Delos torso A 4276 (ca. 480–470 B.C.E.),[97] chronologically closer to the Tyrannicides group, the raised left arm seems to have no effect on the abdominal, pectoral, and serratus muscles, but greater care and attention is lent to the figure's back, with a well-thought-out balancing of the gluteal muscles, though not of the dorsal muscles. It would thus not be easy to reconstruct the poses and iconographic schemes of these figures exclusively on the basis of the abdominal musculature, which remains identical on statues in standing and moving poses. The torso of an archer from the Acropolis (fig. 16), dated to 470–460 B.C.E,[98] suggests that the sculptor had great difficulty in combining the position of the outstretched arms with the anatomy of the muscles; the torsion of the body (the abdomen faces forward) does not pick up the movement of the arms.

Sculptures created during the fifth century B.C.E. allow us to visualize the slow technical progress toward an artistic (and anatomical) solution for the ponderation. In the Kritios Boy (fig. 17), for example, we can infer from the struts on the hips that the arms were still stretched down along the sides even as the artist tried to coordinate the forward shift of the right

[93] In Paus. 8.42.7, Hegias is considered a contemporary of Onatas of Aegina (*DNO* 501–13) and Hageladas of Argos (*DNO* 453–64).

[94] Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. Ma 2792; Linfert (1973, 88) dates the statue to ca. 490 B.C.E.; Bode (2001) dates the statue to ca. 500–494 B.C.E.; Bol (2004a, 1–2) dates it to ca. 490 B.C.E.

[95] Hermary 1984, 9–11, cat. no. 6; Rolley 1994, 336–37.

[96] Hermary 1984, 8–9, cat. no. 5.

[97] Hermary 1984, 11–3, cat. no. 7.

[98] Athens, Acropolis Museum, inv. no. 599; Stewart 2008a, 385–86, 408, with bibliography.

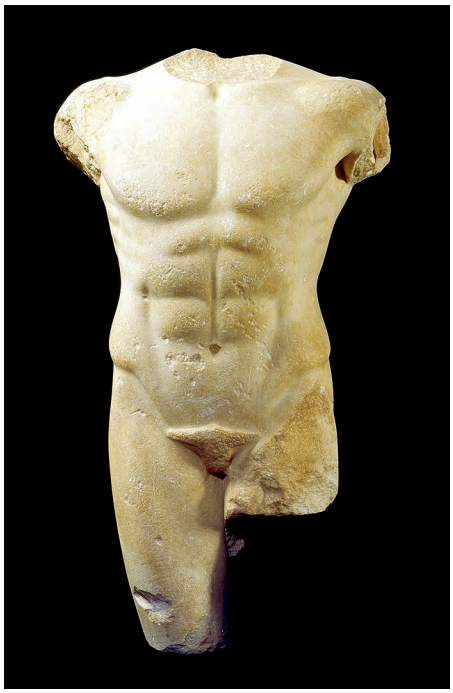

FIG. 15. Torso of kouros statue from Miletus, before 494 B.C.E., marble, ht. 1.32 m. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. Ma 2792 (D. Lebée/C. Déambrosis; © Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN—Grand Palais).

leg with the lowered right pelvis and shoulder.[99] And both feet must be reconstructed as firmly planted on the surface of the base, giving the sculpture the impression of immobility; the left leg bears the weight of the body, while the right one is slightly advanced and the knee bent. This impression is true of other statues from a slightly later period, such as the bronze Warrior A from Riace (ca. 460 B.C.E.),[100] the Delphi Charioteer (ca. 470 B.C.E.),[101] or copies of sculptures dating from around the second quarter of the fifth century such as the Kassel[102] and Tevere Apollos.[103]

[99] Athens, Acropolis Museum, inv. no. 698; for an exemplary analysis, see Hurwit 1989.

[100] Reggio Calabria, National Archaeological Museum; Vlad Borrelli and Pelagatti 1984.

[101] Delphi, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 3484, 3520, 3540; see Adornato 2008. Also relevant, the figures from the eastern pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia; see Barringer 2005a; Younger and Rehak 2009; Hennemeyer 2013.

[102] Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlung, inv. no. Sk. 3; Gercke and Zimmermann-Elseify 2007.

[103] Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. no. 608; Bol 2004a.

FIG. 16. Statue of archer from the Athenian Acropolis, ca. 470–460 B.C.E., marble, ht. 0.57 m. Athens, Acropolis Museum, inv. no. 599 (Y. Koulelis; © Acropolis Museum, 2018).

SKLEROS/DURUS = SEVERE?

Our analysis of Hellenistic and Imperial Greek and Latin sources indicates that sculptures by Greek artists active during the late sixth and the first half of the fifth centuries B.C.E. were defined as (and appeared) hard, rigid, and immobile (*skleros/durus*). In literary sources, sculptural pieces by artists of this period are distinguished from one another by degree of hardness. The maximum degree of rigidity is exemplified by the statues of Kanachos and Kallon, followed by Kritios and Nesiotes together with Hegesias; still hard, but less rigid in appearance were the works of Kalamis and Myron. To be precise, the statues of Kalamis are *dura* (Cicero) and *minus rigida* (Quintilian), and those by Myron are *pulchra* (Cicero) and *molliora* (Quintilian). Beginning in the Classical period and continuing through the Hellenistic age into Roman times, representations of human figures were evaluated by the criterion of *aletheia/veritas*.[104] As attested in Cicero's *Brutus*, Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*, and Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis Historia*, the main goal of the ancient artists was the achievement of naturalism (*veritas*) in art. According to these authors and their

[104] Porter 2010; Adornato 2015a.

FIG. 17. The so-called Kritios Boy statue from the Athenian Acropolis, ca. 480–470 B.C.E., marble, ht. 1.17 m. Athens, Acropolis Museum, inv. no. 698 (S. Mavrommatis; © Acropolis Museum, 2010).

Greek sources, Kanachos' statues were more rigid than they should be in order to imitate the reality, Myron's statues have not yet been brought satisfactorily to true representation, Polykleitos gave the human form a beauty transcending the reality, and only Lysippos and Praxiteles were praised as having achieved *veritas*.

The adjectives associated with the Late Archaic or Early Classical artists and their works (*skleros*, *durus*, *rigidus*) refer to the aesthetic evaluation of the achievement of *aletheia*/*veritas*, or truth, in their works of art. Contemporary aesthetics, by contrast, value both naturalism and abstraction, and modern translations have rendered the ancient adjectives as "severo,"[105] "severe,"[106] "sévère,"[107] and "streng,"[108] with a positive twist on an aesthetic concept that was by no means positive for the ancients. Such adjectives in their ancient contexts indicated an unfavourable assessment

[105] *EAA* 7:228–29, s.v. "Severo, Stile."

[106] E.g., Ridgway 1970. On the reception of Archaic style: Hallett 2012.

[107] Rolley 1994, 320: "C'est sous l'influence des auteurs latins, qui caractérisent les ouvres des sculpteurs de cette période par les qualificatifs *durus*, *rigidus*, *austerus*, que Winckelmann, dans son *Histoire de l'art antique* de 1764, qualifie de sévère (*streng*) la sculpture antérieure à Pheidias. . . . C'est l'étude fondamentale de V. Poulsen qui a imposé l'expression 'style sévère'" (italics original).

[108] Poulsen 1937; Bol 2004a; Germini (2008, 19) attributes the concept of *hardness* solely to Archaic artistic production, in clear contradiction of the literary sources analyzed here.

of rigidity, fixedness, and immobility.[109] In the course of the centuries, the Greek and Latin terms attested in ancient literary sources (*skleros*, *rigidus*) have undergone a marked semantic change in scholarly literature. To the ancient viewers, the adjectives conveyed the impression of fixed, motionless sculptures.[110] To us, the notion of "severe" implies an appreciation of the austerity in the pose and attitude of the sculptures, as suggested by Muller-Dufeu: "le style sévère, en référence à la noblesse d'attitude que les artistes donnent alors à leurs oeuvres" (the Severe Style, referring to the noble attitude that the artists gave then to their works of art),[111] or by Barringer: "art—particularly sculpture—from the early Classical period is characterized by sobriety, solemnity, less abstracted and symmetrical renderings of the human figure and the world, in general, but also a new freedom of movement, including figures who stand in contrapposto that imbues them with a feeling of relaxation and naturalism."[112]

Art historical chronologies have tended to associate stylistic and formal terminology with historical events and specific dates, or, in the words of DaCosta Kaufman, "the discipline [has been] carried on according to the principles that visual appearance was an index of history, and that style marked historical periods in art."[113] Since Poulsen, scholars have tried to single out a unified style across the Mediterranean that characterized the historical period from just after the Persian Wars to the construction of the Parthenon and that defined the corresponding art historical phase, namely the Severe Style period. This general principle, however, has been challenged by art historians since the 1960s, when Gombrich spoke of "classification and its discontents" and regarded the use of generalization as a tool that was a necessary evil.[114] In the same period, Białostocki considered ideas of style to be problematic, a "Manifestation der Kultur als Ganzheit" (manifestation of culture as totality), and posed instead the notion of modes and their variety.[115] As DaCosta Kaufmann astutely stated, efforts at periodization flatten the diversity of artistic phenomena that appear in any particular time by giving them a unified label.[116]

From ancient aesthetic and art historical points of view, it is not easy to distinguish one artistic phase in ancient times from another, in this case the Late Archaic period from the Severe Style or Early Classical period. And it is very difficult, and also misleading, to apply labels to artists (and their styles) who were active around the end of the sixth and through the first half of the fifth centuries B.C.E.[117] Generally speaking, in ancient as in modern times, workshops contain trainees, more skilled persons, advanced artists, and renowned artists, all at different ages and with different skills and competences. Furthermore, some artists will be conservative and will continue making their works of art in a specific, and valued, style for decades. Others, however, will be artists whose technical, stylistic, typological, and iconographic innovation constitutes a significant change in the artistic process itself and a move away from past artistic production.[118] In a well-known passage, Pliny recalls artists who invented and artists who perfected a specific technique. In his account (*HN* 34.56) we read, for instance, that Polykleitos is considered to have brought the scientific knowledge of statuary to perfection (*hic consummasse hanc scientiam iudicatur*) and to have systematized the art of *toreutice* (statuary) that Pheidias had started (*toreuticen sic erudisse ut Phidias aperuisse*). In the same passage, Pliny recalls contemporary artists who contributed to

[109] E.g., Quint., *Inst.* 11.3.76: "rigidi vero et extenti, aut languidi et torpentes, aut stupentes, aut lascivi et mobiles, et natantes et quadam voluptate suffusi, aut limi et, ut sic dicam, venerei, aut poscentes aliquid pollicentesve nunquam esse debebunt" (trans. Butler 1922, 285: but they [the eyes] must never be fixed or protruding, languid or sluggish, lifeless, lascivious, restless, nor swim with a moist voluptuous glance, nor look aslant nor leer in amorous fashion, nor yet must they seem to promise or ask a boon). Literary evidence of the aesthetic concept of *skleros* in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.E. is lacking.

[110] Ridgway 1970, 3: "ancient literary sources which stress the value of individual Severe artists but still define their works as 'hard,' 'stiff,' and 'dry.'"

[111] Muller-Dufeu 2002, 171.

[112] Barringer 2014, 190; she states quite correctly that "it is important to bear in mind that this dating [of the Early Classical period] is a convention of modern scholarship and does not reflect the complexities of the period: some of the hallmarks of the new artistic style are already present before the conclusion of the Persian Wars."

[113] DaCosta Kaufmann 2010, 1.

[114] Gombrich 1966, 81–98.

[115] Białostocki 1961.

[116] DaCosta Kaufmann 2010, 3.

[117] To Strocka (2002), the Severe Style period begins around the end of the sixth century.

[118] Schweitzer (1932) has brilliantly discussed this issue regarding the Parthenon sculptures.

the improvement of statuary with single innovations. Myron (*HN* 34.58) was the first to multiply truth; he was more productive than Polykleitos, and a more diligent observer of symmetry (*in symmetria diligentior*). Still, Myron too only cared for the physical form and did not express the sensations of the mind (*animi sensus non expressisse*), and his treatment of the hair of the head and of the pubes continued to betray an old-fashioned want of skill (*non emendatius fecisse quam rudis antiquitas instituisset*). Myron was technically and stylistically surpassed by Pythagoras (*vicit eum Pythagoras Reginus*). According to Pliny's source (*HN* 34.59), Pythagoras was the first to make sinews and veins duly prominent (*hic primus nervos et venas expressit*) and to bestow greater pains on the hair.

CONCLUSION

This study of the supposed artistic revolution of Kritios and Nesiotes and the impact of the Persian Wars on the artistic production of the second quarter of the fifth century B.C.E. demonstrates that the notion of the Severe Style period in archaeological literature and periodization is misleading. It is highly problematic to link technical, stylistic, and formal achievements in Greek sculpture to that specific historical event. The dowel holes on the bases signed by Kritios and Nesiotes confirm that these sculptors continued using poses employed in the Late Archaic period, as do the poses of the Tyrannicides group. As Mattusch argued,[119] the group by Kritios and Nesiotes was intended to be a replica of Antenor's Tyrannicides, made around the end of the sixth century B.C.E. Her sensible analysis is supported by formal and stylistic features detected on the plaster cast fragments from Baiae. On Aristogeiton's face, for instance, the Archaic smile and the treatment of the mustache and beard are reminiscent of Late Archaic sculpture.[120] The almost vertical folds of the himation over Aristogeiton's arm (see fig. 13) are not naturalistically rendered to reflect the apparent movement of the body. The folds should have been arranged obliquely, following the direction of the assault, but the himation hangs down vertically as if the statue were shown standing still. The sculptors adopted the well-known attacking pose, already exploited by the artists of the previous period (see, e.g., fig. 6). If the first and second Tyrannicides groups were both represented with similar dynamic poses, and if the second group intentionally mimicked the first, as seems indicated since the second Tyrannicides group retains Late Archaic formal features, then the statues of Kritios and Nesiotes cannot be revolutionary and radical.

As we have seen, some late sixth- and early fifth-century sculptural production in Athens and abroad presents formal traits commonly attributed to sculptures dated to around the 470s B.C.E.[121] From the Athenian Acropolis, we can mention the kouros 692 (see fig. 12), a significant precedent for the later and stylistically more advanced Kritios Boy (see fig. 17), and outside Athens, the bronze Poseidon from Livadhostro (before 480 B.C.E.; see fig. 11) and the Miletus torso (archaeologically dated to before 494 B.C.E.; see fig. 15) are further fundamental steps in the improvement of the technique and style in bronze and in marble, respectively. We can detect a continuous advancement in naturalism in the sculpture from Athens. The kouros 692 (ca. 490 B.C.E.) from the Acropolis of Athens is depicted in a pose that is truly radical for the period: the left leg is advanced and bent, although the position of the right buttock, lower than the left, is anatomically inaccurate. The Kritios Boy (ca. 480–470 B.C.E.) develops the pose and the ponderation we see in the kouros 692 and effectively ends the kouros tradition. Unlike all previous kouroi, the right leg, rather than the left, is advanced. The difficulties detected in the kouros 692 are now solved and surpassed: the left leg bears the weight of the body, and the left hip is higher than the right hip above the flexed right leg. The head is slightly turned and lowered, not frontal. The long strands of hair are replaced by a *krobylos* with the hair twisted up and bound under the band, and at the base of the neck are tendrils of hair.

If we look for the simplicity or severity of facial features, hairstyle, and drapery singled out by Ridgway, we will observe that not all works made after ca. 480 show these features. The Propylaia kore (ca. 470s B.C.E.), perhaps the last kore dedicated on the

[119] Mattusch 1996, 61–2.

[120] Particularly apparent on the plaster cast of Aristogeiton's head from Baia, Museo Archeologico dei Campi Flegrei, inv. no. 174.479; see Landwehr 1985, 30–4, figs. 4–7; Adornato 2008, 43–4.

[121] Compare Ridgway 1970, 12: "Incipient signs of the Severe style are amply attested as far back as 500 B.C., and in marginal cases it is difficult to decide exactly whether a certain work falls just before or just after the fateful date of 480 B.C."

Athenian Acropolis,[122] does not wear the peplos but rather a dress richly embellished with folds and the himation on the shoulders, as in Archaic korai. The face presents more innovative stylistic elements but retains the Archaic smile, as we can appreciate from a side view. The bronze Athena dedicated by Meleso (475–470 B.C.E.; see fig. 8)[123] also displays an exuberance and richness in clothing and a pose found in previous decades. More striking, if both pediments of the temple of Athena Aphaia at Aigina are to be dated after 480 B.C.E., according to Stewart's hypothesis,[124] are the hairstyle and clothing of the Athena from the west pediment (fig. 18), which are imbued with Archaic motifs.[125] Warriors from the west pediment have snail-curl coiffures stylistically close to the Aristodikos kouros (see fig. 10) and other Late Archaic kouroi of the Ptoion 20 Group. On the Kerameikos head (fig. 19),[126] dated to the 470s, the snail curls, very similar to Aristodikos' hairstyle (510–500 B.C.E.; see fig. 10), run around the head. They are still visible on the left temple, on the neck, and around the ears. The Blond Boy,[127] also dated to the 470s, has elongated curly strands coming down on the forehead and ending in curls. From both sides of the neck, two tresses move forward, in opposite directions. In light of these examples, I cannot concur with Ridgway's statement that the artists of the so-called Severe Style period avoided using the "decorative approach of archaic sculptors, who multiplied details and fractioned into a variety of patterns the basic unity (of single garments)."[128] Rather, clothes and hairstyles on some statues created soon after 480 B.C.E. are still reminiscent of Late Archaic features and patterns, and it seems quite impossible to single out a drastic transition to the new style.

FIG. 18. Athena, from the west pediment of the temple of Aphaia at Aegina, between 490 and 470 B.C.E., marble, ht. 1.72 m. Munich, Glyptothek, inv. no. 74 (R. Kühling; © Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Munich).

The typically somber face, replacing the Archaic smile, has been considered essential in the modern definition of the Severe Style. However, some Late Archaic korai, whose faces are more serious or even lack the Archaic smile, are neglected in this perspective. The best examples are two korai in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens and Acropolis korai 645, 672, 684, and 685 (fig. 20), all dated to the late sixth to early fifth centuries B.C.E.,[129] on which the lips are not heavily curved but appear horizontal from frontal and side views. They are the most striking testi-

[122] Athens, Acropolis Museum, inv. no. 688; Ridgway 1970, 34–5; Keesling 2003, 142–43; Karakasi 2004; Stewart 2008a.

[123] Supra n. 40.

[124] Stewart 2008b, 593–97, with bibliography; see also Gill 1993.

[125] The long hair of the Athena of the west pediment is very similar to the hairstyle of Acropolis korai 684 and 685, dated to the first decades of the fifth century B.C.E.; see Karakasi 2004, 115–41.

[126] Athens, Kerameikos Museum, inv. no. P 1455; Stewart 2008b, 583–86, with bibliography.

[127] Athens, Acropolis Museum, inv. no. 689; Ridgway 1970, 56–60; Stewart 2008a, 408–9.

[128] Ridgway 1970, 8.

[129] Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. nos. 24 and 60, from Eleusis. Athens, Acropolis Museum, inv. nos. 645, 672, 684, 685; Karakasi 2004, 115–41, 161–63, pls. 121–23, 150–51, 163, 192–94, 189–91.

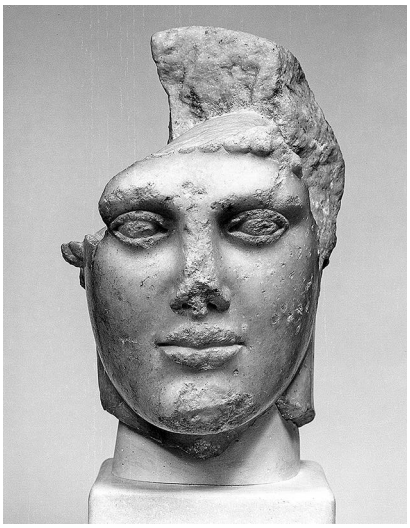

FIG. 19. Marble head from the Kerameikos Cemetery, Athens, ca. 480–475 B.C.E., ht. 0.20 m. Athens, Kerameikos Museum, inv. no. P 1455 (© DAI Athens, neg. Kerameikos 12338).

FIG. 20. Head of kore from the Athenian Acropolis, ca. 500–490 B.C.E., marble, ht. of statue 1.25 m. Athens, Acropolis Museum, inv. no. 685 (Y. Koulelis; © Acropolis Museum, 2018).

mony that, before the Persian Wars, artists had started to modify the pronounced Archaic smile, which nevertheless survives in the case of the Propylaia kore. This archaeological evidence confirms that the crucial year 480 B.C.E. does not represent a tabula rasa nor, from an art historical point of view, a drastic change in style and form.[130] The pattern of the Archaic smile was not abandoned after this date, as testified by the plaster cast of the face of Aristogeiton from Baiae or the Propylaia kore, and more serious faces were already attested on korai and kouroi (e.g., Aristodikos) around the end of the sixth century B.C.E.

For the aforementioned reasons, I suggest a more nuanced approach to these archaeological materials and the supposed connection between the Persian Wars and the beginning of a new artistic era and to advocate against a clear-cut chronological division. Analysis of literary sources and archaeological data suggests a continuous advancement in understanding and representing the body during the first half of the fifth century B.C.E., with no possibility of isolating a period of transition or drawing a dividing line between the Archaic and Classical periods.

Degrees of hardness or of formal achievements can be distinguished and articulated, as Cicero and Quintilian noted, and the archaeological evidence confirms this. If we look at the scheme of the kouros of Aristodikos (see fig. 10), innovative compared with earlier kouroi, with the kouros 692 (see fig. 12) and the Kritios Boy (see fig. 17), created about 20 years later, we can comprehend the difference in hardness that must have been visible to the eyes of the ancients between the statues of Kanachos or Kallon and those of Kalamis. From an art historical point of view, it is not until we reach Polykleitos and his *Canon* that we have clear testimony of the successful execution of the movement of the body and its laws. Hence, in the statue of the Doryphoros,[131] the inflection of the body, the position of the head, and the movement are all precisely anatomically reflected in the individual parts.

In the *Canon*, a technical treatise, Polykleitos had detailed his own artistic theory, illustrated by the work

[130] See Stewart 2008b, 605: "Persian violence had created a sculptural and pictorial tabula rasa"; and 608: "It is arguable that the Persian and Carthaginian invasions of 480 were a tipping point: an earthshaking event after which everything looks utterly different." By contrast, Morgan 1969, 205: "The common assumption that all Archaic sculpture met a sudden death along with Mardonios and his Persians on the battlefield of Plataia, and that after 479 B.C. all Greek sculptors throughout Hellas immediately adopted new forms and mannerisms to express their ideas is utter and unsupported nonsense. . . . No style so deeply rooted for so long in the eyes of all Greeks everywhere could have come to an instant and universal end."

[131] Borbein 1985; von Steuben 1990; Donohue 1995; Moon 1995; Bol 2004b, 123–32.

of art itself (*artem ipsam fecisse artis opere*), as we know from Pliny the Elder.[132] Pliny adds that the sculptor's peculiarity was to have created statues standing on one leg (*uno crure ut insisterent signa excogitasse*), a break with the traditional stance of sculptures characterized by a certain rigidity and immobility and inaugurating a new technical and artistic phase. We need only compare works attributed to Polykleitos with other coeval sculptures to understand and visualize his technical and formal achievements. In his works,[133] the traditional pose of the kouroi and other statues standing with both feet grounded on the surface is surpassed by the new ponderation on a single leg. The base of Kyniskos of Mantinea (fig. 21),[134] dedicated at Olympia during the late 460s or early 450s, shows the characteristic positioning of the lower limbs, with the left foot resting flat on the ground and the right foot held to the rear with the heel raised.[135] This ponderation is seen in both

FIG. 21. Base of a statue dedicated by Kyniskos at Olympia, late 460s or early 450s B.C.E., with front of the base at the bottom of the drawing. Marble, ht. 0.17 m, wdth. 0.61 m. Olympia, Museum of the History of Olympic Games, inv. no. 526 (Dittenberger and Purgold 1896, no. 149).

the Doryphoros and the Diadoumenos. The figure's weight is entirely on a single leg (*uno crure*), the right one, while the left, bent and shifted to the rear, has only the ball of the foot resting on the base.[136] The rest of the body compensates for this balancing on a single limb; the right shoulder is lowered and corresponds to the weight-bearing right leg, while the left shoulder is higher with the left leg relaxed.

Perhaps as a result of this new technical solution, Polykleitos' statues must have seemed to lack stability (*deesse pondus putant*), as reported by Quintilian,[137] in comparison with Pheidias' and Alkamenes' statues. In fact, if we compare the anatomical structure of the Kassel Apollo (believed to be a replica of the Parno-

[132] Plin., *HN* 34.55: "Polyclitus Sicyonius Hageladae discipulus diadumenum fecit molliter iuvenem centum talentis nobilitatum, item et doryphorum viriliter puerum. Fecit et quem canona artifices vocant lineamenta artis ex eo petentes veluti a lege quadam, solusque hominum artem ipsam fecisse artis opere iudicatur . . . proprium eius est uno crure ut insisterent signa excogitasse" (trans., Rackham 1961, 169: Polyclitus of Sicyon, pupil of Hagelades, made a statue of the "Diadumenos" or Binding his Hair—a youth, but soft-looking—famous for having cost 100 talents, and also the "Doryphoros" or Carrying a Spear—a boy, but manly-looking. He also made what artists call a "Canon" or Model Statue, as they draw their artistic outlines from it as from a sort of standard; and he alone of mankind is deemed by means of one work of art to have created the art itself . . . a discovery that was entirely his own is the art of making statues throwing their weight on one leg.). See Stewart 1978; Kaiser 1990, 58–9; Steinhart 2018.

[133] In general, see La Rocca 1979. On the Doryphoros: von Steuben 1990. On the Diadoumenos: Bol 1990; Settis 1992; in general, Franciosi 2003 (with bibliography), to be read with the discerning assessments of Di Cesare 2003.

[134] The attribution of Kyniskos' base to Polykleitos derives from Pausanias 6.4.11, since the base in Olympia is not signed. The inscription reads: "πύ[κ]τα̣ς τ[όν]δ' ἀνέθεκεν ἀπ' εὐδόξοιο Κ̣υνίσκος Μαν[τ]ινέας νικῶν, πατρὸς ἔχον ὄνομα" (winning in the boxing, Kyniskos from Mantinea dedicated this [monument], having the name of his famous father); Dittenberger and Purgold 1896, 255–58, no. 149. Ghisellini (1993) has correctly pointed out the link of the statue of Kyniskos with the sculptural type of the Westmacott Boy; the link is rejected by Borbein (1996, 78) for chronological reasons, but Stewart (2008c, 167, fig. 84) is open to a possible connection. For a significant overview of Polykleitos' works, see Ridgway 1995.

[135] The two dowel holes on the right half of the base anchored the heel and ball of the advanced, weight-bearing, left foot. The single dowel hole at the upper left anchored the ball of the right foot and shows that the right heel was raised and, thus, that the right leg was relaxed.

[136] Leftwich (1995) is very detailed. On *chiasmos*: Thomas (2013), to be used with caution. It is worth noting that statues like the Riace Bronzes stand with their weight on one leg while relaxing the other, like the Doryphoros; both feet, however, are grounded flat on the surface.

[137] Neumeister (1990, 441) links—in a bit of a stretch—the meaning of *pondus* to the concepts of *auctoritas* and *maiestas*; see Hölscher 2002; La Rocca 2013.

pios Apollo) or the Lemnian Athena,[138] both considered to be Roman copies of statues by Pheidias, or the marble group of Prokne and Itys (ca. 420–410 B.C.E.) from the Athenian Acropolis by Alkamenes,[139] with the Kyniskos statue (as far as we can reconstruct it from the dowel holes), we find a major difference in ponderation. The feet of the Kassel Apollo and the Lemnian Athena, like those of Prokne, are flat on the base, while Kyniskos' pose is balanced on a single foot, like the Doryphoros and the Diadoumenos. The impression gathered from the statues attributed to Pheidias and Alkamenes is of stability of poses and solidity of bodies. It seems that Polykleitos' youthful figures balanced on one leg were not deemed suitable for conveying the impression of authority (*auctoritas*, *maiestas*) in representations of the gods or of mature characters. This comparison of the most representative works of the major artists of the period demonstrates the importance of Polykleitos' characteristic ponderation. On a more strictly formal level, the study of the proportions of the human body and the theories of Polykleitos' *Canon* continued to characterize sculptures, with modifications and alterations, at least up to the time of Lysippos, who selected the statue of the Doryphoros as his (anti-)model ("Polycleti doryphorum sibi Lysippus aiebat . . . magistram fuisse" [Lysippos stated that Polykleitos' Doryphoros . . . was his model]).[140]

This literary, archaeological, and art historical analysis leads me to conclude that significant changes in Greek sculpture are to be detected around the end of the sixth and the early fifth centuries. As attested on pottery, bronze and marble sculpture, reliefs, and small-scale statuettes, this is a transitional period that seems to continue through the second quarter of the fifth century. The aesthetic concepts articulated with words such as *skleros* and *durus* by Greek and Latin writers, when compared with their rendering in modern languages ("severe" in English) and the art historical and cultural value attached to them (as in the "Severe Style period"), reveal the distance between the ancient sources and modern historiography. According to Latin literary sources—Cicero, Quintilian, and Pliny, for example—the art of bronze sculpture proceeded through formal steps that could be gauged on a scale of hardness and beauty and advanced toward the achievement of *veritas*, or naturalism, in art—from the most rigid statues by Late Archaic artists to the less rigid statues by Kalamis, to the beautiful statues by Myron and those that were more beautiful by Polykleitos, and on to the truthful sculptures by Praxiteles and Lysippos. The adjectives, used in the comparative degree (Cicero's *rigidiora*, *molliora*, *pulchriora*; Quintilian's *duriora*, *minus rigida*, *molliora*, *melior artifex*), refer to the progress of bronze statuary in technique and style.

Like the ancient writers, I prefer a paradigm of continuity to a clear-cut division of artistic periods, artists, and styles into the Late Archaic period and the Severe Style period. Since development is gradual and uneven, "periodizing must be vague in its boundaries. The types of art which seem distinct in the particular works cited in defining the types become less distinct when we try to specify the earliest and latest examples of the types."[141] This is evident for the so-called Severe Style period. As we have seen, poses of statues made in the second quarter of the fifth century were inherited from the previous decades. Late Archaic artists of the ancient Mediterranean survived the Persian invasions and worked across the specific year 480 B.C.E., as the case of Nesiotes shows. This experimental stylistic and formal phase lasted several decades, until the middle of the fifth century B.C.E. It is with Polykleitos' activity that we detect a significant change, a disruptive innovation in pose and scheme compared with earlier artistic production. In fact, what we have is an innovative approach to ponderation, thanks to the measured and careful combination of some anatomical parts bending (*flexus)* and others in motion (*motus*) and the shifting of body weight (*pondus*) onto a single limb (*uno crure*).[142] Polykleitos' statues, characterized by sinuousness, movement of the body and joints, and ponderation on a single leg, constitute the final outcome of

[138] Apollo: Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, inv. no. Sk. 1; Bol 2004a, 29–32, and 2004b; Gercke and Zimmermann-Elseify 2007, 44–50. Lemnian Athena: Dresden, Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen, Skulpturensammlung, inv. no. Hm. 49; Knoll et al. 2011, 121–31.

[139] Athens, Acropolis Museum, inv. no. 1358; Barringer 2005b.

[140] Cic., *Brut*. 296; see Adornato 2015b, esp. 174–79.

[141] Schapiro 1970, 113.

[142] Neumeister (1990, 436) underscores the momentary pause in the movement ("auf einem Bein haltmachen," "Innehalten im Schreiten"). Balanced analyses are provided in Leftwich (1995) and Borbein (1996).

this long, slow, continuous technical process begun at the end of the sixth century B.C.E. and carried through small but significant formal stages. These continuous innovations and revolutions will have a strong impact on the artistic production that follows, as a sort of *paradeigma*, a point of reference, to be emulated, imitated, and surpassed.

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