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A Body of Writing: Inscribed Human Sculptures in
Archaic Greece

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Declaration:

The author has not submitted any of the enclosed thesis as part of any publication nor has the thesis been submitted for a degree at another university.

List of Abbreviations

- CEG* P. A. Hansen, *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca* (Berlin and New York 1983, 1989).
- IG* *Inscriptiones Graecae* (Berlin, 1873-).
- LSAG* L. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece: A Study of the Origin of the Greek Alphabet and its Development from the Eighth to the Fifth Centuries BC* (Oxford: 1963).
- LSCG* F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques (École française d'Athènes, Travaux et mémoires des anciens membres étrangers de l'École et de divers savants 18)* (Paris, 1969).
- LSJ* H. G. Liddell, R. Scott and H.S. Jones, *Greek- English Lexicon* (Oxford, 1996).
- ML* R. Meiggs. and D. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the end of the Fifth century B.C., Revised Edition* (Oxford, 1988).
- NGSL* Eran Lupu, *Greek Sacred Law: A Collection of New Documents* (Leiden; Boston, 2009).
- SEG* *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (Leiden, 1923-).

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Thesis Abstract

This thesis takes as its subject sculptures from the Archaic Greek world which have accompanying inscriptions carved upon the figure itself, as opposed to on a separable base. This thesis will show how these inscribed figures are important evidence for the formulation of the relationship between Archaic Greek images and texts and have yet to be explored fully. This is for the purpose of better understanding the combination of media during this period which has mainly focussed on painted pottery or the rare few examples of funerary statues which have been paired with their original bases by modern archaeologists which are mainly Attic. This thesis will propose a methodology with which one can dissolve the separation between the sculptural and epigraphic elements of these dynamic monuments to understand better the way in which these two media work together to make meaning through their juxtaposition, contrast, comparison and synergy. Furthermore, this thesis will show the ways in which temporal, spatial, cultural, and religious contexts not only play a part in the meaning-making of Archaic inscribed sculptures, but also how in turn how these figures play a part in creating their own contexts for their interactions with the percipient.

0.1 Introduction

'How should one holistically analyse the meanings and aesthetic effects of an Archaic monument when it includes both epigraphy and free-standing sculpture?' is the fundamental question that underlies this thesis and to which it is a response.¹ Central for answering this question is the stressing of the word 'holistically', which lies at the centre of this thesis: the importance of understanding that the component parts of something are each inextricably linked to the whole and only through acknowledgment of those parts can the whole be understood. This is a valuable question to ask for it is only through understanding multi-media monuments that we can start to understand the Archaic world to which Archaic inscribed sculptures belong. However, multiple factors have coincided to make studies of inscribed and sculptural elements of a single Archaic monument difficult. The first is that, in the case of statues which stood upon inscribed bases, often the sculpture and its base were irrevocably separated between the time of the monument's erection and its discovery by archaeologists. The second factor, and one which is within the control of modern scholars, is that when whole monuments are discovered or can be placed back together their inscribed and sculptural components may still not be published together. The third factor is that the inscribed and sculpted elements have traditionally been published in drastically different ways: the former often only being presented in typed horizontal miniscule transcriptions that add punctuation, capital letters, and accents where the editor deems the perceived dialect necessitates; the latter being represented in photography or verbal description. These methods of recording create issues as they fundamentally do not allow for comparison between the two media: for example, scholars cannot compare their appearance as we have a photo of the sculpture, but not the inscription.

Archaic material in particular has received little attention from scholars who wish to bridge the gap between the inscriptions and images included within single monuments.² The majority of 'Art and Text' studies done on Archaic material have been on inscribed painted

¹ Throughout this thesis the author will use the word 'monument' to describe the entire experience that the inscribed sculpture may provide. This includes both the material form of the stone or metal as well as any sensory or intellectual phenomena that arise from it.

² The study of Greek dedicatory and sepulchral epigram in particular is passed over within the history of the genre, or at least dealt with teleologically, using it as an introduction to discussions of Hellenistic epigram. Baumbach, Petrovic, and Petrovic (2010) 9 reveal such a mindset when they describe the contributions within section 2 of their multi-author volume as concentrating 'not merely on the important notion of the transition *'from stone to book'*, and the subsequent literarisation of the genre, but also on the key poetic practices which *foreshadow the birth of the most prominent features of the genre*. Hence, the contributors focus on the language and imagery of archaic and classical epigram as compared to that of the Hellenistic age' [my italics].

vases.³ This may be due to the perceived paucity of examples of sculptures and inscriptions which may be securely identified as coming from the same monument. Furthermore, inscriptions and sculptures may be understudied in the Archaic period in comparison to inscribed pottery because of the relatively insecure cultural and spatial context from which sculptures come in contrast to the well-documented and well-studied spatial and cultural context attributed to the symposium, from which inscribed painted pottery is thought to originate.⁴ In short, academics have found that commenting on the intellectual and artistic flourishes of artists and viewers within the symposium far safer ground than discussing the same issues at play within the context of sculptors, sanctuaries, and necropolises.

The Nikandre Kore is a good example with which to show how some of these problems can be overcome, and how some of these issues have perpetuated. The Nikandre Kore is an instance when both sculpture and inscriptions are securely identified as belonging to the same monument but they are not necessarily discussed together or published in comparative ways.⁵ The Nikandre Kore presents a particularly stark case of the disciplinary divide that has opened up between the study of epigraphy and sculpture. The Nikandre Kore's inscription is on the side of the sculpture itself, not on a separable base. Despite the inscription and sculpture being inseparable and known to scholarship for equal lengths of time, the two elements of this monument have not been understood in light of one another. Given the prominent place that the Nikandre Kore has in Greek sculptural history as the first around-life-size stone sculpture, it is surprising that the inscribed component of this monument features so little in scholarly discussion of the figure. Not even the case of Nikandre's Kore has forced the question posed at the beginning of this thesis to be satisfactorily answered.

This thesis takes up the Nikandre Kore and monuments like it- that is, inscribed human figures from the Archaic period- as the prime evidence for answering the question, 'How should one analyse the meanings and aesthetic effects of an Archaic monument holistically when it includes both epigraphy and free-standing sculpture?'. This thesis will use Archaic

³ See footnote 21 below for analysis of Archaic material in Art and Text studies.

⁴ This will be discussed more below.

⁵ Jeffery (1963) provides a drawing of the inscription but no image of the entire monument. Many studies on epigraphy and dedications don't provide an image of the inscription at all, instead providing only a transcription. Richter (1988) Kore no.1 provides a transcription of the inscription and little other comment and a photograph and description of the statue. Stewart (1990) 108 only recounts the inscription and makes a brief comment about the relationship it set up between Nikandre and her male family members. Powell (1991) provides Jeffery's drawing of the Nikandre inscription and a transliteration but no picture of the whole monument. Pedley (2006) discusses the identity of the sculpture. Bowie (2010) 339-40 only presents a transcription and no pictures at all. CEG 403 only provides a transcription and a diagram to show the directions of the inscription.

sculptures, both figurines and above life-size figures, which bear inscriptions on their bodies as examples of the combination of epigraphy and sculpture within a single monument.

As a species of object, inscribed sculptures overcome any anxieties about the correct pairing of inscription with sculpture as can be the case with sculptures and separated inscribed bases. Furthermore, due to their sharing of space, the inscribed and sculpted elements of these monuments may be presented together in comparable ways to allow for comparison and contrast between the media. With these case studies I will show how Archaic epigraphy and sculpture worked side by side within the same monument. Similarly, by focusing on Archaic inscribed sculptures this thesis will contribute towards rebalancing the focus that sculptures and their inscriptions have received in contrast to inscribed painted vases. Inscribed sculptures also force scholarship to confront questions of context in regard to questions of 'Art and Text' for they are all votive objects with only one *possible* exception.⁶ As such, the practice of inscribing upon the body was a choice by contemporary artists or lettercutters and specifically chosen for the votive act. This thesis will interrogate these monuments for what they can tell us about their religious significances and the role that their aesthetics played in them.

This thesis studying inscribed sculptures has resonance for three main disciplines within Classics due to the early nature of the material studied: epigraphy, art history, and religion. The majority of the case studies of inscribed human figures come from between 700 and 650BCE. Firstly, this is important to the study of epigraphy as this is directly after the formation of the Greek alphabet in the mid eighth-century.⁷ Inscribing on the sculpted human figure was one of the earliest extant uses of writing but it dwindled as a practice within the Archaic period, before being extremely rare from 480BCE onward. This may help us to understand the ways in which contemporary Greeks thought about the new technology of writing as well as its conceptual relationship to the voice and representations of the body. Furthermore, it will help us to conceive of the medium of writing as part of the visual world—the primary difference between the spoken and written word to which Archaic Greek culture was still adapting. Interrogation of inscribed sculpture will thus allow us to inspect the ways

⁶ The only exception within the monuments collected in this thesis is the monument of Sombrotidas which may be funerary (discussed in chapter 1). There is little evidence to confidently assert whether this monument is either dedicatory or funerary.

⁷ Indeed, the inscription on Mantiklos' Apollo is one of the earliest dated inscriptions at c.700BCE. Powell (1991) 119-86 gives a thorough review of early inscriptions to 650BCE, including the Mantiklos and Nikandre inscriptions. Hurwit (1990) 80-1 gives a brief outline and explanation of how and why Greeks were inscribing directly on the sculpture during such an early period of Greek writing, that words were considered part of representation and as such are not alien to images.

in which writing was used in one of its earliest iterations across the Greek world from Boiotia in the North West, to Asia Minor in the East, to Samos in the South.

Secondly, for art history this study is important for, as has already been pointed out above, these inscribed figures are already figures within standard art historical narratives about Archaic sculpture but they have yet to be properly fleshed out and treated holistically as multimedia monuments. Art history has failed to absorb all of the aesthetic material these monuments have to offer. Furthermore, the combination of the inscribed and sculpted material can help us better understand how sculptures worked within their spatial and functional contexts. Many inscribed bases and many statues are extant from Archaic Greece, yet there are remarkably few statues that we can confidently reunite with their bases.⁸ Inscribed sculptures provide secure pairings of sculpture and inscription, providing invaluable evidence for how these two media worked together within sanctuaries and as gifts for gods. As such, the evocative and referential nature of the inscriptions, sculptures, and their combined effects can be understood within the contexts of Archaic sanctuary cultures. In particular, having both parts of the monument provides greater evidence for how dedicators and viewers interacted with these monuments and how their various elements were performed.

Thirdly, the benefit of this study for scholars of Greek religion is that it will not only elucidate how and why sculpture and epigraphy worked together within the sacred sphere to constitute an aesthetics of religion, but also help with our conception of how these objects are evidence for religious performance. This is at a time in history when Greek religion was undergoing a massive and widespread period of monumentalisation- the material world was not only playing an ever more important part in religious practice, but also constituting much more of the religious experience than ever before which perpetuated well into the Hellenistic and Roman periods of Greece's religious history.

The remainder of this introduction will further elaborate on the state of current scholarship most relevant to this thesis in order to show the value of the following thesis. The following sections will focus on the separation of Archaic images and inscriptions in current scholarship; how images and texts are affected by their performance and context in the

⁸ Those Archaic statues that have been paired up with their bases (such as the Kroisos Kouros and the Phrasikleia Kore) have been heavily published upon, which is evidence enough for the value of having both inscription and statue reunited. Furthermore, these most famous examples are both funerary, skewing the evidence and discussion of the sculpture-inscription combination toward sepulchral contexts to the detriment of the study of votive monuments.

Archaic world; how Archaic votive cultures have been understood with Art and Text approaches. These sections will then be followed by overviews of the following chapters of this thesis.

0.2 Art and Text in the Archaic Period and its Relation to Contemporary Religion

0.2.1 The Conceptual Separation of Archaic Art and Text in Modern Scholarship

Material from the Archaic period features only sporadically in scholarship on the Art and Text of the Greco-Roman world.⁹ One reason for this is the question of literacy during this period. Proposed levels of literacy vary wildly within scholarship on ancient Greece, much of it focused on the city of Athens, which is likely to be an outlier.¹⁰ Scholarship has moved from proposing optimistic estimates such as '[b]y the fifth century it is clear that the average male citizen could read and write'¹¹ to the far more likely and conservative estimate of William Harris, '[t]here must have been an audience of hundreds in the most cultivated cities, such as Athens, Corinth, and Miletus, and a nucleus of dozens of fully literate men in many Greek cities. Nothing implies a wider readership, at least until the late sixth century'.¹² Scholarship avoided trying to quantify the levels of literacy in the ancient world, which itself could at best achieve well evidenced estimation, in order to qualify what was meant by literacy. Different levels of literacy clearly exist within a single culture, from the completely illiterate to the

⁹ In comparison to the Hellenistic period, the Archaic period has received little attention. There are good reasons for this weighting of discussion: this period oversaw massive cultural changes which brought the value of the image and the word into direct discussion. The literary and artistic developments, especially the definition of genres and their subversion during the Hellenistic period as well as the movement of epigram from 'lapidary' to 'literary' effected the discussion on the visual world and the ability of words to represent that: for this discussion, see Baumbach, Petrovic, and Petrovic (2010) 3-8.

¹⁰ For instance, Murray (1980) 95 highlights how the Athenian practice of inscribing an individual's name on a potsherd for the purpose of ostracism may skew our impression of Athens' literacy levels.

¹¹ Murray (1980) 96. Murray's evidence for this statement is an anecdote in Herodotus (6.27.2) in which a Chian school's roof crushes children learning their letters (*grammata*). Murray's evidence here reflects a strand within scholarship which seems to draw an overly direct line between the presence of formal schooling within a culture and high levels of literacy. This reflects anthropological scholarship studying literacy in modern literate and illiterate societies without taking into consideration the availability of mass produced writing and reading materials. Missiou (2011) takes as its subject Classical Athens and argues that there was a very high level of literacy. For Missiou's discussion of inscribed stones in particular, see 85-108.

¹² Harris (1989) 49. For the general image of literacy's spread across Archaic Greece, see Yunis (2003) 2-7.

ability to read, write and compose literary verse and prose texts, all of which rejects clear numerical quantification.¹³

Furthermore, not only different levels but different types of literacy are clearly present within a single culture, such as the ability to write only that which is necessary for one's job, such as a signature or dedicatory inscription, or to participate in political institutions.¹⁴ Rosalind Thomas chose to look to the surviving texts as evidence of literacy, but there has been little to show that there is a connection between literacy and the frequency of written material and only using writing as evidence for literacy may itself be a circular argument, especially in light of the oral nature of Archaic and Classical Greek culture.¹⁵

In particular, dedicatory and votive inscriptions have been highlighted as a form of writing that was unlikely to have been read by their contemporary audiences. Peter Bing led this argument with his 2002 article 'The Un-Read Muse? Inscribed Epigram and its Readers in Antiquity', which later featured in his 2009 book *The Scroll and the Marble: Studies in Reading and Reception in Hellenistic Poetry*.¹⁶ The case is argued that epigrams were not likely to have been read except by 'in all ways exceptional persons' until the early Hellenistic period.¹⁷ The reasons behind this argument are multiple, the two most relevant to this thesis being the "numbingly conventional" epigrammatic formulae and the impractical location of

¹³ Thomas (1989) 17-9 discusses the issues of speaking about the literacy levels of members of a city in sweeping generalisations. Whitley (2001) 133 states that literacy and the use of writing was evidently a central part of Greek religion even as early as the eighth and seventh centuries BCE.

¹⁴ Cartledge (1978) 28-33 argued for different types of literacy for different members of the Spartan population based on their function within society. Havelock (1982) 191 argues that due to the importance of names in Greek oral culture, the ability to write and read names was a most common form of literacy. However, he argues that the boustrophedon style of inscription with its decorative and demanding layout 'scarcely bespeaks habits of fluency' in its readers.

¹⁵ Thomas (1989) 17. Thomas (1992) 3-13 revisits this topic with a more interdisciplinary and theoretical bibliography. Harris (1989) 51-2 attempts a similar argument by interpreting the use of lettering on the coinage of many cities by the end of the sixth century as evidence for the expanding uses of writing and its familiarity to people during the Archaic period. For the discussion of the oral nature of the Greek world, see the original proposals of its application to the ancient world in Lord (1960); Parry (1971). For the effects of Parry and Lord's work, see Ong (1982); Thomas (1992) 31-6.

¹⁶ Bing (2002); Bing (2009). Due to the only slight differences between the two publications, references will only be made to Bing (2009). When argument differs, reference will be made to both.

¹⁷ Bing (2009) 119. Bing makes this claim despite on the very same page outlining myriad examples of people reading inscriptions before the early Hellenistic period, including: the reading of the Delphic maxims (6th century); Theran graffiti which respond to one another (7th century); Aristophanes' *Wasps* 97-9 where a character responds to a *kalos* inscription (5/4th century). It is unclear whether Harris' (1989) 49 nuclei of dozens of literate people equates to Bing's exceptional persons. What this does highlight is the difficulty scholars have with clearly characterising literacy, for in this case it seems like personal authorial outlook makes the difference between these numbers of people being significant or not.

inscriptions.¹⁸ The “numbingly conventional” aspect of inscriptions in the Archaic period should actually aid reading, even if it makes their content less attractive to a prospective reader. If one has already seen or heard a formulaic phrase before- even if in a foreign language, ‘hakuna matata’ or ‘requiescat in pace’- this phrase is more easily read and understood. Inscriptions on human figures from the Archaic period is a good case study with which to confront this problem due to their known contexts within sanctuaries where they would be surrounded by similar dedicatory inscriptions, meaning interplay is actually a possibility in their original performance context.

Bing specifies what he means when he argues that reading particularly Archaic inscriptions was impractical: they are often low down during the Archaic period, whereas they often inhabit higher spaces on Classical monuments. Inscribed human figures are evidence to the contrary. Most inscribed statues in this thesis bear their inscription on the legs of the figure and can be read from a standing position. Furthermore, it is possible that the figurines within this study would have been handheld and so reading would be extremely easy. This argument by Bing typifies a pattern across scholarship on epigraphy- people generalise epigraphy as monumental writing on a square stone block (either a statue base or *stèle* of Classical Athens or Imperial Rome) whereas, especially in the Archaic period, epigraphic material was less standardised and extremely diverse in form and material.

All these arguments against high levels of (varying types of) literacy and the lack of appeal of epigrams and inscriptions must be tempered by an important factor: scholarly consensus is that reading was very likely done aloud.¹⁹ This factor means that even if only a tiny minority of people in a city had the type and level of literacy required to read an inscription, it was possible, especially in a public and possibly crowded space like a sanctuary, that much larger

¹⁸ Bing (2009) 122-5. The remaining three reasons for audience indifference toward inscriptions are that they were stuck in one place and thus only reach a limited readership. This argument was made with reference to Hom. *Il.*13.437; 17.432-3 where epigrams and *stelai* are used as a synonym for fixity. For this, see Grethlein (2008) 31-2. Notwithstanding the conflating of epigrams with the *stelai* or objects they are inscribed upon that this argument requires, the fixity of inscriptions being a contributor to their being ignored can be flipped: they can be revisited, re-read, less literate people can try on multiple visits to read a hard inscription. Another reason for ancient people ignoring the inscriptions around them put forward by Bing is that epigrams would have become weathered or covered in vegetation and thus become illegible. Weathering is difficult to argue for in the case of metal or stone inscriptions given their hardy material, especially in light of their survival down to today (at least in the case of stone inscriptions). The final argument is that inscriptions cannot speak and thus cannot appeal to humans as effectively and faithfully as other humans. This issue is discussed in section 1.2.3 more fully, suffice it to say here that epigrams were composed as speech acts and were read aloud by the reader, making their inscriptions emanate from human speakers.

¹⁹ Havelock (1982) 190-1; Hurwit (1990) 194; Thomas (1992) 62; Svenbro (1993) *passim*, but especially 109-22; Day (2010) 39; Turner (2016) 146-7.

numbers of people could have perceived the content of inscriptions via an intermediary.²⁰ As a type of inscription that inhabited the well-frequented space of the sanctuaries and Sacred Ways of Archaic Greece, inscribed votive sculpture is once again a good category of material with which to analyse the impact of writing and images on contemporary audiences.

This thesis will reassert the Archaic period as integral to the understanding of the relationships between image and text in Greco-Roman culture, for it was the formative period in which these two media defined themselves in comparison and contrast to one another. The Archaic formulation of Art and Text relations is the basis upon which Classical and later periods were founded, yet it has received relatively little attention or discussion. Similarly, it is the period to which the creation of the Greek alphabet and the beginnings of monumental Greek stone sculpture reside.

When Archaic material is discussed within narratives of Art and Text in the Greco-Roman world inscribed vases often dominate those discussions.²¹ There are good reasons for this skewed representation: inscribed vases are abundant and regularly carry painted images and inscriptions on one surface where image and text cannot be separated; vases very often depict mythological narratives during the Archaic period, so the writing present can be more easily related to our knowledge of the story represented; statues and inscriptions are less frequently represented in scholarship as each component is separated from the other, often

²⁰ Harris (1989) 33-4. Harris also talks about the use of written records by illiterate people with help in contexts such as law courts. See Burnyeat (1997) 74-6 and Gavrilov (1997) 56-73 on the arguments for people reading silently in antiquity- though it must be noted that again, their evidence comes from periods later than the Archaic.

²¹ See for example *Texte et Image dans l'Antiquité* ed. Luce (2013) wherein Lissarague's chapter is the only chapter among fourteen to deal with Archaic material and is focused on inscribed pots. Small's (2003) *The Parallel Worlds of Classical Art and Text* also uses predominantly vase material for its discussion on the Archaic and Classical periods, with only one brief mention of the Phrasikleia Kore on page 10. Squire's (2009) *Image and Text in Graeco-Roman Antiquity* only briefly covers Archaic material at all, discussing the Phrasikleia Kore among vases on pp150-3 before moving on to Classical grave stelai then returning to vase painting pp157-60. Goldhill and Osborne's eds. (1994) *Art and Text in Ancient Greek Culture* only covers Archaic material via vase painting in Lissarague (1994) 12-27 Hoffman (1994) 28-51, and Henderson (1994) 85-137. Hurwit's (1990) article 'The Words in the Image: Orality, Literacy and Early Greek Art' is the closest this author has found to a balanced use of vases and sculpture (monumental or free-standing) to address the issue of Archaic Art and Text relations. Svenbro's (1993) *Phrasikleia: An Anthropology of Reading in Ancient Greece*, despite its title, relies most heavily on vases and mythical/ literary evidence to build his picture of reading. Rutter and Sparkes eds. (2000) *Word and Image in Ancient Greece* includes only Snodgrass' (2000) 'The Uses of Writing on Early Greek Painted Pottery' on Archaic Greece. Newby and Leader-Newby eds. (2007) *Art and Inscriptions in the Ancient World* includes one discussion of Archaic material (beyond brief discussions in the introduction): Osborne and Pappas' 'Writing on Archaic Greek Pottery'. Gerleigner's (2016) chapter in Yatromanolakis ed. (2016) looks at the visuality of inscriptions, but focuses on the Eurymedon Vase from the mid fifth century.

irreversibly.²² An additional reason why vases have dominated discussion is the relative ease with which the vase material has traditionally been published, especially prior to the wide use of photography in academic works. Images and letters on pots are more easily reduced to a page's two-dimensional surface and drawn and presented in books. The representation of a free-standing, three-dimensional statue and its inscription has proven more challenging, especially when attempting to represent the inscription in place on the statue. Indeed, in the smaller and more damaged cases even modern photography often fails to properly record both statue and inscription sufficiently in one image.²³ The difficulty in publishing inscribed statues adequately has hampered the examination of the combination of statue and epigram because the epigrams are most regularly seen as transcribed with typed lettering, left to right, formatted lines, and with accents, such as in Hansen's *CEG*, rather than as inscription at all. This means that in many publications of epigrams the way an epigram looks is entirely irretrievable. This has allowed for disciplinary divides to widen and also make the examination of the visuality of an inscription impossible without autopsy.

The prominence of vases as evidence for discussions on Archaic Art and Text has also skewed the scholarly focus within this area. This is mainly due to Archaic vases depicting mythological scenes and other narrative scenes, which has prompted scholars to wish to identify a direction of influence between an image and a text. There are two main forms of this directionality: the image is the original and has inspired a verbal response or accompaniment and thus an ekphrasis; or, the image is a visual response or accompaniment to the text and

²² The most famous examples of Archaic sculptures which have (to some degree of certainty) been paired up with their inscribed bases are the Phrasikleia Kore and the Kroisos Kouros. These examples will be discussed in this section below.

²³ Jeffery's *LSAG* with its mixture of photography and drawings to represent inscriptions still often means that the position of the inscription on the monument as a whole cannot be appreciated, for instance, the Nikandre Kore (Naxos 2) only has the inscribed parts represented. The reliability and scholarly use of drawings should also be questioned. Ideally modern scholarship should only use drawings for clarifying photography when it is insufficient (as has been required in this thesis). Hansen's *CEG* includes no pictures at all, arrows indicating the direction of the writing, and most often just verbal descriptions of the placement of the inscription on the monument. This form of record allows for the visual and verbal aspects of these monuments to be completely separated in scholarship, making such analyses as is proposed in this thesis as impossible with *CEG* as the lone source for the inscription. The publication practices of art historians are similar: Richter (1988) provides photographs of the statues, but rarely photographs specifically of the inscriptions they sometimes carry. She also records their inscriptions like Hansen (typed with accents) but with often only descriptions of how they are set out on the statue- sometimes this information is provided by the photography, but due to its quality this is often not the case. Graham (2013) 383-7 provides an extremely good overview of the ways in which inscriptions have been recorded insufficiently for the study of the way an inscription looks and proposes a new methodology which she puts into practice.

thus an illustration.²⁴ This favouring of vases has meant that particular focus has been put on being able to identify the scene on the vase with a particular text, mainly Homer or mythological episodes during the Archaic period, and Attic drama during the Classical.²⁵ Illustration has been the way in which many scholars have sought to understand the relationship between the images on vases and the verbal art that existed contemporaneously- normally that these images represent episodes from Homer or Greek mythology. This desire to identify a directionality of influence in the relation of images and texts has not only come across serious methodological criticism, but also does not reflect the way in which contemporary audiences would have perceived these images.²⁶

This discussion of directionality is often absent in discussions of Archaic free-standing sculpture as they are not often identified as representing any particular narrative (or at least one that can be found within an extant text). The Phrasikleia and Kroisos monuments represent the most famous examples of Archaic free-standing sculpture which have been paired with their inscriptions and as such they have inspired many publications. However, because these two monuments have received so much discussion, their sepulchral context has loomed large in the discussion of the relationship between their images and texts.²⁷ Little

²⁴ Squire (2009) 120-146 argues that the overly proscriptive delineation between image and text by modern scholars has limited our understanding of interaction between visual and verbal media. Ekphrasis and illustration will be discussed further in section 1.3.

²⁵ Homer and vases: Lowenstam (1997); Anderson (1997); Snodgrass (1998); Lowenstam (2008); Langridge-Noti (2009) 125-33; Giuliani (2013). Drama and vases: Taplin (2007a); Taplin (2007b) and Lissarague (2007) in Krauss et al. eds. (2007); Karamanou (2003). Baumbach, Petrovic, and Petrovic (2010) 4-8 describe the three chief reasons why Archaic inscribed epigram has featured relatively little in the history of the genre of epigram, but this also goes far in explaining why literary texts are preferred material with which to have discussions about Art and Text from the Archaic period. They are: 1) 'natural selection versus canonisation'- the survival of inscriptions is somewhat random, whereas most literary texts that we have are the result of their canonisation and selection by authorities; 2) 'formulaic character'- there is a lot of repetition across epigrams; and 3) 'epigram and interdisciplinarity'- where its own nature equidistant between material culture, epigraphy, and philology has meant that few have dealt with it on its own terms.

²⁶ Small (2003) 6 states that 'Artists were illustrating stories, not texts.' Such a characterisation, if carried to its logical conclusion would make the possibility of illustration anachronistic for the ancient world, and consequently its identification by modern scholars impossible or incredible. No one makes this point more clearly than Snodgrass' (1998) 150 conclusion that 'one per cent or less of the surviving legendary scenes in early Greek art are likely to have a direct Homeric inspiration.' The Archaic period clearly had written texts which could be compared to their visual representations, but it is unclear within the Archaic oral culture whether a story that had been written down was considered unchangeable and inflexible. This caused problems for the methodologies of many discussions of illustration, for they often seek to identify a certain level of fidelity to the text in terms of details in order to categorise it as an illustration at all. For this see discussions of Taplin (2007a) 23-6 on 'indications and contra-indications'; Small (2003) 21-31 remains the best exploration of this issue, especially in her discussion of White Rabbit and Peter Rabbit as modern examples.

²⁷ Svenbro (1993) 64-80 is underwritten by legacy and posthumous glory. Vestheim (2010) 73 discusses the image and inscription's representation of the deceased. Turner (2016) 146- 50 and

scholarship has been done to examine how the combination of Archaic image and text affect and are affected by a religious, sanctuary, or votive context.²⁸

With all of these factors taken into account, it is clear to see that inscribed sculptures, despite their central position within Archaic Greek art history, have often had their epigraphic elements ignored or unavailable for adequate comment. Instead, inscribed and painted pottery has dominated discussions of art and text in the Archaic period to the detriment of free-standing sculpture. Inscribed sculptures do not bear some of the disadvantages that sculpture have had in scholarship so far in that they have not been separated from their inscription during their time underground or through the process of uneven excavation. This thesis will allow for the inscriptions themselves to be examined as visual phenomena, their place upon and as part of the monument central to their presentation, conceptualisation and effect. Even an illiterate viewer of the monument cannot escape the visual impact of the inscription. Inscribed sculptures also provide evidence for how image and text worked together during this period within a religious context, escaping the sympotic context of vases and the funerary context of the few free-standing statues to have been paired with their inscribed bases. They are an underappreciated cache of data on the relationships that images and texts shared within specific contexts that is difficult or impossible to reconstruct for many other areas of Archaic culture.

0.2.2 Image, Text, Context, Performance

Within their respective field of scholarship Greek inscriptions have been mined for what they can tell historians about the wider world from which they come.²⁹ It is only within the last twenty years that scholars have begun to appreciate how the way inscriptions look and are

Brown (2019) 39-40 discuss the language of *semata*. Kroisos: Osborne (2011) 110 discusses the effect of the deceased's image on the community. Neer (2010) 43-4 discusses the effect the statue and inscription's differing communicational necessities (such as viewing distance needed for each component) affects mourning. It is only later (50ff.) that Neer discusses the sanctuary alongside the graveyard as a site of desire wherein sculpture reawakens the viewer's 'phantasmatic gratification'.

²⁸ Neer's (2010) 55 discussion of the Geneleos Group discusses the image of the family, rather than the group's votive significance. Votive images of women in particular have been used as evidence of familial or societal structures rather than their votive significance. For instance, the Nikandre Kore and its inscription primarily are discussed in terms of family dynamics and an Archaic Greek woman's relationship to her male relatives. For this, see Neer (2012) 115; Donohue (2005) 220-1; Stewart (1990) 108; Day (2010) 190-2.

²⁹ Jeffery's landmark work *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* is an invaluable source on the styles of inscriptions as they relate to certain areas and periods of the Greek world via dialect or letterform. Lupu's (2009) *NGSL* by its very nature organises epigraphy according to what the inscription tells us about the wider world, specifically whether or not it tells us about religious regulations or practice.

presented on the monument can affect their meaning and impression upon the audience.³⁰ Yet there have been few studies upon the context of inscriptions and how they affected or were affected by their spatial context or performance.³¹ Greek sculpture has similarly attracted historicising approaches that have been expressed by showing how style progressed and in turn how that style is an expression of the culture that produced it.³² The result of this approach to Greek sculpture has been to apply a directionality to the influence between images and their context and also to acknowledge that the flow of influence ceases when the object has been created and put in place. It is clear that context's importance for the understanding of epigraphic and art historical material has been acknowledged and has a clear effect on their perception. However, the common directionality of influence between context and cultural texts has often been one-directional: context affects cultural text.

Scholarship on Archaic sculpture has focused on how context influenced the creation of the object, whereas only within the last twenty years have scholars sought to reconstruct the

³⁰ Powell (1991) 121 interprets the boustrophedon style of inscription as a sign of the Greek alphabet's relation to the spoken language. Osborne and Pappas (2007) 137 analysed the strategies behind painted and inscribed vases. Graham (2013) *passim* discusses the importance of size and positioning of Roman inscriptions in Ephesos. Pappas (2017) 2877 specifically discusses the role of form and function in ancient writing. The main exception to the study of the form of Greek inscriptions must be the study of the stoichedon style and its relation to Athens' late-sixth and early-fifth century society. Osborne (1973) acknowledges the difficulties that there are with even identifying the stoichedon style and the dangers that this style of ancient inscription has presented to modern scholars who wish to reconstruct them. Thomas (1992) 76-8 analyses the visual uses of writing on painted vases. Lissarague (1992) 191 discusses the visibility of inscriptions on vases, going further than Thomas (perhaps incorrectly) to identify it as an Athenian practice.

³¹ Svenbro (1993) 187-216 proposes that the reading of an inscription bent over may have been connected to or evocative of the reader (who, for Svenbro, was a man) being sexually penetrated. Most studies of the spatial dynamics of epigraphy have understandably focused on the epigraphically rich contexts of the sanctuary and thus have found mainly historical or political, rather than religious, significance in their placement. For this, see Morgan (1990) 29-47; de Polignac (1996) 59; Bruneau and Ducat (2005) 33; Scott (2010) *passim*, esp. 114-8; 201-10.

³² One result of the uneven archaeology and the illicit excavation of Greek sculpture over the past three hundred years or so has meant that there are large numbers of monuments that cannot be attributed to a certain date other than through stylistic grounds. This has the result of creating within art history narratives of progression which are only reliant upon the *relative ordering of objects* dependent on their style. This is not only a cyclical argument, but has meant that the creation of an art history is only ever conjectural and provides broad date ranges for individual objects, making synchronic studies extremely difficult. Expressionist theories of texts and images are largely influenced by 18th and 19th century scholars, especially Hegel. Such influence can be found in Sourvinou-Inwood's (1995) 108 discussion of Homeric influences on Archaic grave. Similarly, Gombrich's (2002) *Story of Art*, originally published in 1950, heavily focuses on the 'ecology of art' - a term to describe the cultural context that made the creation of a certain piece of art inevitable and almost proscribed. These approaches largely push back against the study of an individual artist's genius ('Connoisseurship', most famously used in classical art history by John Beazley's (1956) and (1963) studies of vase painting. Such expressionist approaches risk practising contextual determinism that effaces the work of art entirely. The nature of the object as cultural text and the many ways in which it may suggest such an interpretation are subordinated to the interpretation itself.

viewing practices and interactions that these monuments inspire within their viewers.³³ This is fundamentally to do with the framing of these objects and which frames modern scholarship deems important. This thesis will focus largely on the frames accessible to the original percipients of these monuments as a way to reconstruct their contemporary meanings within context.³⁴ Furthermore, this thesis will assert how inscribed monuments were able to curate their own contexts through both their content and form which trigger the imagination of the percipient. This is an important area to focus on because this was the way in which most Archaic Greek monuments would have been experienced. Another reason to use inscribed statues for investigating art and text relations during the Archaic period is that they are examples where we have a greater amount of data with which to reconstruct original interactions due to the secure pairing of epigraphic and sculptural elements of the same monument.³⁵ This gives us a better understanding of what religious or sepulchral ends these objects serve.³⁶

Because of their primary purpose as votive offerings inscribed sculptures look outward at the very least to their intended recipient- they are not images made for their own sake but working monuments that have to have a meaning beyond themselves. Scholarship has primarily sought to locate and analyse the two components of these monuments and their effects separately along entirely different axes, as discussed above. Within studies of Art and Text these axes were broadly defined by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing who outlined that images were bodies in space and texts were sounds in time. As such, Lessing set up the dimensions

³³ For instance, much has been made of Archaic sculpture's deployment of the frontal gaze in coordination with the viewing process. For this, see Osborne (1994) 88; Hedreen (2017) 155 discusses the frontal gaze in vase painting as an 'all-out assault on the frame' which will be discussed further in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

³⁴ Throughout this thesis the word 'percipient' will be used to describe a person that engages with a monument. This is to avoid the sense-specific, and overly narrow meanings of words such as 'reader', 'viewer', and 'audience', though they will be used when appropriate.

³⁵ Having both elements is necessary, for it is posited throughout modern scholarship that Archaic statues would have rarely appeared without an inscription: Pedley (2006) 108; Carpenter (2007) 410; Squire (2009) 150; Lorenz (2010) 145. Due to this assumption, it is technically impossible to achieve a full understanding of an Archaic sculpture unless it is accompanied by an inscription and that inscription is analysed fully in conjunction with the statue.

³⁶ I do not also include political or social ends within this listing because during the Archaic period the primary uses of free-standing sculpture were as cult statues, votive statues, temple decorations, or grave markers. This does not mean that they did not have political or social effects or motivations behind them. Part of this thesis is not just to repeat the conclusions of other scholars that these images and texts had a religious, sepulchral, or political function, but rather that they were also aesthetic objects the aesthetics of which contributed to their primary function, whilst also pushing the aesthetics of that culture further to question and play with artistic themes. I argue that solemn function, boundary-pushing aesthetics, and intellectual play were not separate within Archaic culture but were deployed together, as in the inscribed sculptures of this thesis and beyond.

in which these two media had power and Art and Text scholarship since has largely sought to show how images and texts either conform to or rebel against Lessing's dimensional theory.³⁷ This leads us to discussion of ekphrasis and illustration as examples of media crossing the borders between image and text to incorporate space or time, but inscribed sculptures lead us forward in these studies for they unavoidably combine the image and the text within the same monument that defies physical or conceptual separation or differentiating frames.³⁸

Analysing Archaic inscribed sculptures will help to see beyond this dichotomy and also highlight not only how difficult Lessing's delineations are to uphold, but also force modern scholarship to accept that neither of these media acted in isolation. First and foremost, as discussed above, inscriptions in the Archaic world would only ever have been read aloud. This means that in the presence of a literate person writing never existed without vocalisation: until the writing was vocalised by the reader it would have been only a visual phenomenon. The performance of inscriptions via the act of reading aloud should alert us to the fact that these images and inscriptions were performed and this performance included components outside of themselves, namely the reader/viewer. Indeed, the importance of individuals beyond just the reader are necessarily asserted within the interaction between the monument and its percipient. Votive inscriptions in particular regularly name their dedicator and the god(s) to which they are dedicated, the voice in which the inscription should be read is also made present, as well as the creator of the monument, through the

³⁷ Lessing ([1766] 1887) 91. Ong's (1982) definition of writing as the commitment of words to space is strongly influenced by Lessing's dichotomy which it purposefully oversteps. Mitchell (1994) 95 similarly shows how the act of writing itself breaks down Lessing's dichotomy. In particular, studies on ekphrasis in Greek literature and illustration (or narrative) in Greek art are built upon the assumption that these media are *by nature* defined as Lessing described. For Ekphrasis, see: Krieger (1992) 11-30 takes Lessing's dichotomy as a baseline for his study of ancient ekphrasis and posits the abilities of ekphrasis to take on the qualities of an image for language as the grounds for a Greek epigram's challenging of its sculpture's primacy (esp.15-6); Cunningham's (2007) 61 discussion of the materiality and presence of ekphrastic writing; and Koopman's (2018) 4 definition of ekphrasis; Fearn's (2017) 184-90 discussion of ekphrasis and time politicises Pindar's use of time in *Pythian 1*, while bringing out the texture of Simonides' Danae fragment in 229-42; Fowler (1991) especially 28-9, makes the most important leap in classical ekphrastic studies by pulling apart the vocabularies of narration and description and argues for their practical inseparability within language and its experience. For illustration, see: Small (2003) 24 on the relative limitations and opportunities of presenting an image with words and vice versa; Fullerton (2016) 9 on narrative in even a Geometric bronze group of a man and centaur shows the early stage at which images were attempting to tell stories and depict the passage of time; Lessing's work will be further discussed in Chapter 2.

³⁸ Day (2007) 35 discusses how formulaic epigram may have a framing effect on the act of viewing. Platt and Squire (2017) 25-37 argue that the physical separation of inscribed base and sculpture has allowed scholars to intellectually separate the inscriptions and sculptures and thus apply differing frames to them.

use of the artist's signature and all the temporalities that these imply. This is in addition to the (human, divine or non-specific) person represented by the body of the sculpture, the locality made explicit by the placement of the sculpture within a sanctuary or along a Sacred Way, and the occasion of the object's dedication that the monuments as a whole necessarily evokes, to name just a few. All these references to times and places that are implicitly at play within these monuments simply through their creation and deposition in space show how these monuments as a whole constantly look outside themselves to recruit and gather meaning to themselves for the reader/viewer to activate upon engagement with the monument.

Epigrams must be understood as a medium that looks beyond itself and this is most holistically done when the object and inscription are interpreted together within their reconstructed performance context.³⁹ A holistic approach also includes the ways in which percipients would have engaged with the epigrams and sculptures in the Archaic period. Not only in terms of the oral performance of inscriptions at this time, but also the viewing, touching, and moving of figures big and small, but also the movement around figures that would have been at some points necessary in the ancient experience of art and the sanctuary space as a whole. Indeed the sanctuary acted as a large-scale frame for the experience of each votive sculpture that stood within it and the statuary along the road to the sanctuary acted as preparatory framing for the sanctuary itself. Statues and buildings within the

³⁹ This point is made most clear in Petrovic (2007) 54 with his discussion of lapidary epigrams and how they became literary epigrams through their recording in texts that are now conceived as more canonical literature, such as the original dedicatory inscription upon the Serpent Column at Delphi in Thuc. 1.132.2. Throughout this thesis 'epigram' will be used to describe the inscriptions that adorn objects, referring to the word's literal meaning 'letters-upon' while also referring to the literary genre. The term 'epigram' has historically applied only to a genre of writing that is *imagined* to be inscribed on a possibly imaginary object, normally composed of only elegiac couplets. According to Bowie's (2010) Table 1 analysis of Hansen's *CEG*, elegiac couplets themselves found their origin in epigraphic habits in the forms of *CEG* 394 (c.600BCE) which is dedicatory, *CEG* 13 (c.575-550BCE) which is sepulchral, and possibly *CEG* 458 (c.600BCE) of unsure purpose due to its fragmentary nature. This then highlights the difficulty of separating the literary from the lapidary in the history of the genre, for there was never a finite end of one practice and commencement of the other. Furthermore, within this thesis the author does not accept a particular meter (or the presence of a meter at all) to be required for an inscription to qualify as an epigram. This is partly because of the fragmentary nature of these inscriptions, as it may not be possible to determine meter in incomplete inscriptions and also because the epigrams adorning statues in this study that do have a meter are not in traditional elegiac but hexameter, and dating to both before and after the earliest known lapidary elegiac couplets. This is evidence that there was in the Archaic period no definition of epigram based on meter and that metrical and non-metrical inscriptions were being used and behaving in like fashion contemporaneously. As such, there is little from the literary conceptualisation of 'epigram' that can be upheld within an Archaic context and so the term is used here to characterise the phenomenon that is part of the present study, while also showing awareness of the significant links with, and reticence to completely divorce it from the subsequent history of epigram.

sanctuary also affected the perceptions of all of the other monuments that surrounded them, changing, enhancing, and building upon the pilgrim's experience of each phenomenon they encounter.⁴⁰

Monuments were multisensory phenomena and they would have been experienced in no other way. It is this conception of the monument as a multisensory phenomenon within a distinctive context that is to be received by a percipient that is meant by the 'performance of the monument' throughout this thesis. The performance of the monument is the creation of meaning for the monument through its media's interaction with their context and the reactions and interactions that they provoke in the percipient. This definition of performance of the monument attempts to show not only the visual and verbal elements of the monument itself, but also how it would have been interacted with, interpreted, and understood by the various types of percipient that may come upon an inscribed statue in the Archaic period. Inscribed sculptures were objects that would have had their forms seen from different angles, their epigrams heard aloud and read, and their bodies and carvings touched in the ancient world. This variety of interactions means that these monuments set up relationships with their percipients that exist only in and during the engagement of the percipient, not the monument itself- the monument merely triggers a performance that the percipient enacts and it is this action that is their perception of the monument.

The interaction that is prompted by the monument may be the act of reading aloud, the movement of one's body to read an inscription, the appreciation of the poetic phrases within the inscription, the feelings that the body of the figure elicits in the viewer, the imagined places or people the monument evokes. It is both media independently and in concert with help from the knowledge, imagination, and interaction of the percipient that achieves these various ends. It is only through the appreciation of each monument as a multimedia phenomenon and its relationship to its percipient and surroundings that we as modern scholars can begin to understand what these monuments achieved and just as importantly *how* they achieved it.

0.2.3 Art and Text and its impact on the study of Archaic votive culture

⁴⁰ Scott (2013) 48-51 for instance charts the use of space (mainly through architecture and exploitation of the landscape) of the sanctuary of Delos during the eighth century BCE to refocus the sanctuary toward female deities.

The collection of Archaic inscribed sculptures has shown that this species of Greek sculpture was used almost exclusively for votive purposes, as made clear in their inscriptions.⁴¹ As such, it is important to assess why this form of object was suitable for the act of dedication (and not as gravemarker as the main alternative use of free-standing sculpture at the time) and what made it valuable over simply inscribing a base, which practically must have been an easier option.⁴² The combined force of epigrams and sculpture to make meaning has meant that many areas of the study of Greek religion have been augmented to accommodate them. Not least of these areas is the study of Greek votive objects, that is, objects which have been dedicated to a divinity by a person or collective.⁴³ Classical and Hellenistic votive stelai have received much of this attention with Archaic material once again being less popular.⁴⁴ This weighting of discussion on material from the Classical periods onwards creates a vacuum within scholarship which has a distinct absence of precedence and sense of tradition. It was during the Archaic and Classical periods that many of the strategies deployed within Hellenistic literary and lapidary epigrams were first used and it was upon them that their Hellenistic descendants built their genre. Similarly, this has importance for the study of Greek religion because it was the Archaic period that saw the large-scale monumentalisation of Greek religious space as well as a massive increase in religious material culture left behind in the archaeological record.⁴⁵ It is the Archaic period that creates, formalises, and questions the role of votive objects within Greek culture and religion on a much larger scale than ever before- roles that subsequent periods would continue, adjust, and subvert for centuries.

⁴¹ The only exception known to the author is the kouros of one Sombrotidas now in the Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi Siracusa.

⁴² Indeed, it is not as if inscribing the body of the figure would cancel the need for a statue base and thus make the monument cheaper for the dedicator because these statues almost certainly needed bases to stand upright. As such, it is clear that inscribing the body was an artistic, aesthetic, traditional, or religious choice, not the result of practical consideration.

⁴³ Osborne (2004) 5 discusses the vocabulary of dedications and votives, arguing that when something is described as a 'dedication' it is the act of dedication that is important, whereas 'votive' stresses the relationship of the object with a vow (*ex-voto*). Although there is no disagreeing with this understanding of the language, it has become common parlance within modern scholarship to use the two terms interchangeably, as the author does throughout this thesis.

⁴⁴ See Onians (1979) 107; Newby (2007) 156-178 on the Archelaos Relief; Platt (2011) 24-48 on fourth century votive stelai. One sees the same pattern within studies of Archaic funerary monuments, most notably in Clairmont (1970) wherein ten Archaic monuments (four of which are Attic) are documented versus his eighty Classical examples (seventy of which are Attic). Wachter's (2001) *Non-Attic Greek Vase Inscriptions* has purposefully avoided focusing on Attic material, but still focuses on vase inscriptions.

⁴⁵ For instance, for Delos, see Bruneau and Ducat (2005) 53-64; Scott (2013) 53. For Samos, see Shipley (1987) 42-4; Kyrieleis (1993) 148-9; Carty (2015) 46. For Olympia, see Scott (2010) 146-180; Morgan (1990) 57-105. For Delphi, see Scott (2010) 41-74; Morgan (1990) 106-147.

Archaic votives have most often been examined through functionalist and structuralist approaches that have overlooked their multimedia natures. Functionalist approaches see Archaic Greek votives as objects that are merely a means to an end: to please the divinity with the intentional side effect of socially promoting the dedicator (whether that is an individual; family, i.e. the Alkmaeonidae; or state's people, i.e. the Athenians).⁴⁶ Whereas structuralists have chosen to identify votives as objects that take part in exchanges of power between humans and gods as well as between humans.⁴⁷ These two approaches to the understanding of votive offerings work in tandem to conclude that these objects work to fulfil a societal role wherein people are expected to partake in exchanges and competition that establishes divinities, individuals, families, and states in relationships with one another within a culture's societal structures. Though these ideas are convincing and it is not the author's intention to devalue these approaches, what they risk missing out on is an appreciation and unpacking of how these monuments as individual artefacts are deployed to achieve these ends. This thesis will focus on how these monuments achieve these ends, rather than what they achieve.

Richard Neer asserts regarding Greek sacrifice that 'it would be rash to leap from such considerations to any general theory of sacrifice, or even Greek sacrifice, as such. Rather, it is the complexity of each engagement that matters.'⁴⁸ And it is this same focus on the complexity of individual engagements that this thesis will take up. Furthermore, Julia Kindt makes the important point that we must not only approach votive offerings with a 'ritual-centred visuality', but also a 'cognitive visuality', both of which are included (and not easily separated from one another) within the act of religious gazing.⁴⁹ The monuments themselves are the best evidence available to us to reconstruct their effects and interpretation by their contemporary audience. These responses may relate to their function as pleasing gifts to gods, whereas other effects and qualities may provoke intellectual or emotional reactions, many of which may be inseparable from their religious function because they bolster their

⁴⁶ Van Straten (1981) 75; Burkert (1987) 49; Morris (1986) 7-12; Steiner (2001) 15-16; Keesling (2003) 10; Pilz (2011) 13; Day (1994) identifies epithets, many of which are included within dedicatory inscriptions as elements of pleasing the divinity- this idea will be discussed further in chapter 3.

⁴⁷ Parker (1998) 124-5; Kindt (2012) on 'symbolic capital' and its movement; Constantakopoulou (2007) 44-6; Neer (2012) 99; Larson (2016) 40.

⁴⁸ Neer (2012) 118.

⁴⁹ Kindt (2012) 53. The phrase 'ritual-centred visuality' comes from Elsner's (2007) 13-5 reading of Pausanias' description of Olympia and its altars (5.14.10). Elsner showed that Pausanias was influenced to discuss the altars in the order of their position in ritual rather than their place in the sanctuary. As such, Kindt uses it as a by-word to describe an object's ritual and religious significance being of primary importance for modern scholars to understand it.

perceived value, making them a more pleasing gift. More needs to be done to unpack the process by which these objects please the god through their diversity and deployment of form, content and overall aesthetic effect.

In sum, this thesis will use inscribed sculptures of the Archaic period to better understand votive objects as a species of Archaic Greek material culture. Such a study necessarily requires appreciation of the multimedia nature of the monuments, not only to incorporate the carved and inscribed elements, but also the oral and performative elements that these monuments trigger in their percipient. Appreciation for these aspects of Archaic votives has great significance for the study of Greek epigraphy, sculpture, and religion as it specifically comes at a time of creative growth for these three areas. It is during the Archaic period that they are revolutionised through the creation of the Greek alphabet, full-size stone sculpture, and the monumentalisation of Greek religious space and practice. This thesis will unpack the strategies of these monuments to better understand the consciousness among Archaic Greek artists of medium and message, form and content through the lens of Archaic inscribed epigram and sculpture, two media which have been surrounded by scholarship with distinctly different approaches. This is particularly important due to the reliance on sympotic or funerary material that the majority of the archaeological record has handed down to modern scholars. However, this thesis will reassert the presence of a collection of objects that allow such studies, while also shedding further light on the religious and particularly votive uses to which these multimedia monuments were put. This thesis will acknowledge the slippery position that these Archaic monuments have within our modern conceptions of image and text, specifically by reassessing the visuality of writing. Furthermore, it will explore the ways in which both Archaic epigrams and images engage with and make their own contexts through their ability to refer to things outside themselves and acknowledge the effects that these aspects of inscribed sculptures affect their ability to perform their role as votive objects.

0.3 Chapter Overviews

Chapter one of this thesis will specifically focus on addressing the materiality, visuality, and performativity of writing in the Archaic Greek world and how it related to its sculptural support and, through their combination, had meaning beyond the sum of its parts. This approach is important as it offers a different set of challenges and opportunities to the creator and commissioner than the two-dimensional images and words of painted pottery.

For the first time since Mycenaean culture, the Greeks could look at and touch their writing and they applied it to not only flat surfaces, but wanted to apply it to monumental and tiny anthropomorphic bodies. Chapter one will do this by exploring the joint effects that the read, viewed, and imagined aspects of inscribed sculpture elicit from the contemporaneous percipient and the potential lack of differentiation of what was read, viewed, and imagined. This will also lead to a discussion of the relation of how studies of ekphrasis and illustration can help us better formulate the relations between images and texts in a world where both media were still in their nascent stages, developing alongside (or upon) one another.

Chapter two will use inscribed sculptures as evidence for their own contexts and to better understand how they affected and were affected by their contexts. This chapter will show how the ability of epigrams and sculptures to refer to things outside of themselves allows them to curate their own contexts. This was done in order to strengthen their connections to networks of people which in turn increased their perceived value as dedicatory objects. Epigrams and sculptures may use both their form and content to draw upon other epigrams or sculptures, landscape and architecture, historical occasions, their own creation, and divinities in order to point their percipient's attention to myriad significances. This approach to Archaic sculptures and epigrams will push back against a perception of Archaic sculpture and epigram as formulaic to the point of limitedness and instead show that both include within them dense communicative gestures. Furthermore, highlighting these significances will show the importance of the percipient and their interactions with the monument, including the viewing, reading and touching processes that constitute their experience of the monument as a whole. This will better help us to understand the strategies behind epigrams and sculpture in the Archaic period as well as to better inform us of the experience that was a part of any pilgrim's visit to an Archaic Greek sanctuary and engagement with the material culture of religion.

Chapter three will embed inscribed sculptures within their conceptual context as gifts to gods. It will do this by identifying them as members of a larger phenomenon- the Archaic *agalma*, or gift to a god. This will help to understand the relationship between dedicated objects, performed hymns, and animal sacrifice in order to further unpack how inscribed sculptures pleased the god. It will explore the ways in which inscribed sculptures differ as a type of gift for the god from the other forms, while also acknowledging the explicit evocations of each other that these different pleasing media perform. It will reassert the importance of the similarities and differences between sacrifice, hymns, and votive objects

in order to better appreciate their effects upon the percipient for this was central to their creation- their job was fundamentally to have a pleasing effect on the divine recipient.

This thesis will present a methodology for the analysis of Archaic inscribed sculptures. It will do this through the three main steps which are outlined in the three chapters: acknowledging the visuality and interactivity of text; identifying the ways in which inscriptions and sculptures create, use, and are used by their own spatial and temporal contexts; and finally, how their inscribed and sculpted elements together feed into the overall monument's role as a gift to the god. Thematically, this thesis has three main threads which each chapter will successively develop and build upon: the prominence of medium and why this is important; the role of the imagination of the percipient in the experience of Archaic writing and images; and the ways in which Archaic images and texts show a preoccupation with their own reception by a percipient. As a whole, this thesis will assert the importance of Archaic inscribed sculptures within the histories of Greek art, epigraphy, and religion by highlighting their dynamism and complexity at the beginning of Greek writing, sculpture-making, and large-scale material religion.

Chapter 1- Readings, Hearings, and Viewings of Archaic Epigrams

This chapter will argue that the images and texts created to be perceived together in the Archaic period need to be considered and interpreted together for two main reasons: firstly, because the delineation between images and texts is not always simple and cannot be consistently deployed; and secondly, because they were intended to enrich one another and create new meanings in combination. This chapter will focus primarily on the epigraphic material that Archaic inscribed bodies provide, an imbalance of focus that will be righted by the second chapter's focus on the sculpted elements. By looking at inscribed sculptures I will show that there is much evidence to suggest that the similarity or equivalence of the media was a key aspect that artists and composers relied upon for aesthetic and intellectual play.

In the first section, 'Inscriptions and the Visual,' I will explore two important aspects of the specifically visual nature of the act of inscribing: firstly, writing's distinction from the orally spoken word; and secondly, a more precise distinction between the carved and painted word. I will show how Archaic Greek inscribing habits exploited the technology of writing not only to add verbal content, but specifically to add to the decoration and elaboration of a visual and material object. This section will also show how in the case of inscribed images of humans the inscribed word was interacting with representations of the body and clothing.

The second section, 'Inscriptions that Make and Augment Images' will explore how inscriptions and images interact when juxtaposed, not only to change how one sees the present image, but also to summon other images to the imagination of the reader and their audience. This section will look at the ways in which labels, the most deceptively simple type of inscription from the ancient world, can work in different ways and how their form can affect their interpretation. The importance of this factor will be explored specifically in relation to *kleos*- a central concept behind the creation of a multitude of cultural texts of the Archaic Greek period.

The third section, 'Epigrams and Ekphrasis,' will explore the relationship between the two types of writing: one a nascent genre still to be clearly defined, the other a trope within literary works. This section will explore the ways in which Archaic epigrams are affected by interaction with modern theoretical approaches to ekphrasis. This section will show the shared preoccupation of epigrams and ekphrasis with reception, comprehension, and interpretation of the visual and material worlds. In particular, this section will show how the

verbal content of an inscription could create an entirely new image upon which the percipient may gaze and how this affected the experience had by the percipient of the monument.

Ultimately, this chapter will show how Archaic epigrams could not fully escape the visual world, but rather relied on and were enriched by it and vice versa. This will show how sculptures and inscriptions were not so easily separated from one another in their reception by an ancient percipient and present ways for modern scholars to retrieve that process of meaning-making.

Inscriptions and the Visual

1.1.1 The Visuality of Inscriptions

The media of the Archaic period show a high degree of self-reference and one way in which inscriptions achieved this was how they made reference to their visual nature.⁵⁰ It seems startlingly self-evident to state that writing is by its very nature a visual medium, but such a statement does require some unpacking. Walter Ong stated that writing was the ‘commitment of word to space,’⁵¹ but W.J.T Mitchell was more deliberate when he described the act of writing:

Writing, in its physical, graphic form, is an inseparable suturing of the visual and the verbal, the “imagetext” incarnate.⁵²

There are two important claims that should be drawn out of this statement. The first is the explicit point that writing has claims to both the visual and verbal worlds: it is part of one and refers to the other.⁵³ The second point is implicit and particularly important for the understanding of carved inscriptions: beyond giving the word a visual form, writing gives the word a material, bodily form, as is evident in his use of the words ‘physical’ and ‘incarnate’.

⁵⁰ Grethlein (2016) 106. Importantly, Grethlein acknowledges the presence of reflexivity across media with the Archaic period, finding it in both writing, for instance lyric poetry, and images such as painted vases (this particular study focusing on the outward stare painted on vases).

⁵¹ Ong (1982) 7. Also see within this quote the strong influence that Lessing is having on the discussion of the visual/verbal relationship. Lessing created the dichotomy of poetry/time vs. art/space, which Ong’s interpretation of the act of writing augments.

⁵² Mitchell (1994) 95.

⁵³ It is important to be explicit that writing is primarily part of the visual world, not the verbal. It only makes reference to the verbal world because we can recognise the relationship between letters and spoken words.

An exploration of these points with reference to Archaic examples will show why these claims are important for the historical conceptualisations of images and texts.

Figures 1.1 and 1.2 present two artefacts with writing on them: figure 1.1 shows a small bronze figurine dedicated to Apollo by Kidos with an inscription on the chest and legs of the figure; figure 1.2 is of a black-figure Corinthian aryballos with a *dipinto* snaking in amongst its figurative scene. What both artefacts have in common is that writing is part of the image itself, it is not acting as just a text: the text has a visual effect beyond what its verbal content conveys. On Kidos' figurine, the inscription looks like the frame (or perhaps spinal column and femurs of the figure) around which the rest of the figure is moulded. The aryballos is decorated with a dancing scene with the dipinto 'Pyrvias, the lead dancer. This vase belongs to him.' weaving in among the dancers. In this example the writing acts as the visualisation of song itself that is being emitted by the diaulos player at the head of the group. The way in which the painted letters move in among the dancers shows the effect the song has upon them, lifting the first dancer (possibly identifiable as Pyrvias himself as 'lead dancer') off the ground, compelling him to jump ecstatically. Both of these examples show how writing was being used in a highly visual way by Archaic Greek artists, who would have used writing as just another vehicle for visual artistry.⁵⁴ This interpretation is bolstered by Rosalind Thomas who argued that due to the common usage of retrograde writing (as in figure 1.2) in Archaic Greece, 'letters were conceived *more like* artistic motifs', they were reversible patterns for reconfiguration within a space as much as more conventional geometric patterns.⁵⁵ This quote undermines the core visual nature of letters that was discussed above- letters are primarily components of the visual world that are references to the auditory world, Thomas' wording betrays scholarship's broader traditions of categorisation and the creation of disciplinary divides that caused the separation of words and images in the first place. Comprehending the appearance and organisation of the inscription on the object is central to experiencing the object as a whole.

Jeffrey Hurwit interpreted the application of writing to statues or painted pottery as highlighting 'surface as surface', that is, bringing to the attention of the viewer the artificial surface of the art-object, reminding the viewer of the artifice of (particularly figurative) representation.⁵⁶ However, is there a difference to the effect writing has on the perception

⁵⁴ Thomas (1992) 76-8. Lissarague (1994) 191 discusses the visibility of inscriptions on vases, identifying it as a typically Athenian trope.

⁵⁵ Thomas (1992) 78.

⁵⁶ Hurwit (1990) 192. After Hurwit, Porter (2010) 231 states that nonsensical inscriptions 'emphasis the materiality of inscriptions and of language more generally'.

of surface when one distinguishes between *dipinti* and inscriptions? *Dipinti* are painted, inscriptions are carved- they have distinctly different relationships with surface. Again, reference to our two examples can help to elucidate this issue.

In figure 1.2 Hurwit's argument can be upheld: the *dipinto* highlights the aryballos' surface, especially in light of the fact that both letters and figurative images share in the same space and their comprehensibility is irrelevant to this fact. Firstly, the painted *dipinto* juxtaposed with the paint of the figures highlights the nature of both as surface-bound media, restricted to the two-dimensional surface of the clay. Furthermore, the presence of written words 'floating' in the imaginary space also populated by dancing human shapes shatters the illusion of representation attempted in the figures. As a result of this, the viewer must understand the image of dancers as an image, rather than be absorbed- the viewer must understand these figures as *representations of dancers* (seeing-as), not dancers (seeing-in).⁵⁷

However, when applied to figure 1.1, Kidos' bronze male figure has a distinctly different relationship with its carved inscription. The carving of figures in any material relies on surface to create an illusion- carving is the art of shaping surface itself for representative purposes.⁵⁸ Instead of reinforcing surface, the act of inscription actively breaks surface. Carving an inscription into a sculpture ruptures any sense of a coherent and illusionistic surface that the statue alone may have achieved. The body of the sculpture has had its flesh cut into for the accommodation of the word. Verity Platt has emphasised the materiality of inscriptions before, stressing that they are 'carved out of the same material as the image itself', while Robin Osborne and Alexandra Pappas have argued that because inscriptions are carved *into* an image, they immediately convey a sense of three-dimensionality, which would further stress the materiality of both sculpture and inscription.⁵⁹ But technically inscription in this form is the absence of stone: a process of subtraction, rather than addition or replacement.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ This interpretation echoes Neer's (2002) 53-4 discussion of Euphronios' painting. Wollheim (2015) 140 discusses the difference between 'seeing in' and 'seeing as': 'Where previously I would have said that representational seeing is a matter of seeing x (= the medium or representation) as y (= the object, or what is represented), I would now say that it is, for the same values of the variables, a matter of seeing y in x.' The importance of this distinction is the prominence of the knowledge of artifice and the medium of the artwork in its consideration by the percipient. Newby (2009) 324-8 also applied this same idea to the comprehension of the Second Sophistic ekphrases of Philostratus when she argued that the reader may oscillate between absorption (being affected by the rhetorical techniques of the text) and erudition (the intellectual acknowledgement of the ekphrasis as artifice) which is discussed further below in section 1.3 of this chapter.

⁵⁸ Friezes are the most literal iteration of this concept, though sculpture in the round takes it to its most extreme conclusion. Both forms of carving create images that are entirely constituted of surface.

⁵⁹ Osborne and Pappas (2007) 137.

⁶⁰ It may have been the case that such inscriptions were painted to be more legible, but even in such circumstances they still showed areas cut out from the flesh of the figure. If such inscriptions were

While stressing the three-dimensionality of the sculpture, the carving of an inscription into a sculpture would highlight inscription as an act of loss, the non-illusionistic cutting out and discarding of material: a puncturing of the sculpture's corporeal inviolability. For the purposes of discussing inscribed sculptures, one might wish to revise Mitchell's definition of writing from the "'imagetext' incarnate' to the "'imagetext' incarnate in the absence of the flesh'. Indeed, in the case of inscribed figures such as Kidos' the inscriptions represent an unnatural and creative addition to the sculpture through the subtraction of material. The writing breaks any sense of illusionism, highlighting the material of the sculpture and also the absence and potential for aural material to be added to the writing through the act of reading aloud. The carved writing suggests a sense of loss of material, not only in terms of the lost stone or bronze, but also the lost voice and sound that writing signifies and has the potential to evoke in a reception by a percipient.

As such, once again the act of adding words into the space of the image highlights the nature of image as image, but *dipinti* among painted figures and carved inscriptions on sculptures achieve the same end via different routes and are thus loaded with different additional effects. Those effects are the filling of negative space in painting, collapsing any illusion of three-dimensional space, while inscriptions on sculptures simultaneously undercut the real-life fleshiness of the depicted body by cutting into said flesh with writing that does not exist in lived experience.⁶¹ In addition to highlighting image as image, the addition of writing also draws focus toward the medium that supports both writing and image- the possibility for paint to be used to write and draw, and stone to support both images and letters. In doing so, the act of deploying writing and imagery together draws comparison between the media in terms of their presence and materiality- painted images and words share in a material, paint; whereas sculpture and inscription have a more negative relationship in this iteration. The subtraction from one allows for the presence of the other (which, as discussed earlier, is itself an absence of material). The differing juxtapositions of image and writing in these two examples act as commentaries on the status of their partner medium, while also performing a reflexive, self-critical, and somewhat self-defining, exercise to develop ideas about their

filled in with a different material, either for the purpose of colour contrast or use of valuable metals/stones, this would add another layer of material and the relationship between figure and inscription would require further reconfiguration.

⁶¹ Writing on flesh rarely existed in the Archaic Greek world: the phenomena of tattooing and scarification in ancient Greece has been little studied, but Lee (2015) 84-6 has shown that it was mainly non-Greek Thracians who practised tattooing and, from the sparse extant evidence, these were patterns rather than letters or figurative imagery. For a discussion of a mythical figure who bore letters upon his body, Epimenides, see Svenbro (1993) 140-3.

own medium and its communicational and representational potentials. The repercussions of these self-defining exercises will be elaborated in the following sections.

1.1.2 Text is (not 'as') Decoration

One of the ways in which letters define themselves in relation to images is by being part of images. Letters are part of the visual world and could elaborate surface. Rather than text being an alien intruder into art's space- or indeed the other way round- texts were instead acting as part of the image: not as add-ons at all. Indeed, we have many examples of 'nonsense' inscriptions where the letters painted or carved onto a surface do not form discernible words or carry any linguistic meaning whatsoever. This use of letters to write nonsense is evidence that the value of letters was beyond purely their linguistic meaning, but also included their visual effects.⁶² Letters can form part of the coherent and illusionistic appearance of some ancient sculptures, particularly images of women. They do this by being the decoration upon sculpted textiles in forms and locations appropriate for such geometric patterning, comparanda for which can be found in images of textiles on the painted pottery of Archaic Greece.

When an inscribed sculpture of a woman is dedicated to a deity the most common site for inscription is on the clothing. The position of inscription may be due to practical reasons, for instance, the columnar shape of the lower half of korai offers a large, flat surface upon which an inscription could be easily cut and viewed. However, more than just practicality must have been behind the habits of Archaic lettercutters, for the letters very often occupy a specific position. Figures 1.3 and 1.4 are votive bronze figurines depicting women dedicated by Chimaridas and Aristomacha respectively. Each figurine bears text running vertically down the lower half of her dress, just off centre. A similar presentation of inscription can be observed on the three korai dedicated by Cheramyes, and the Philippe and Ornithe korai (figures 1.5-1.9). On these larger, more detailed votive images of women the vertical inscriptions occupy a single fold or pleat of the figure's skirt.

When compared with other Archaic statues of women that are not inscribed upon, such as on the grave monument of Phrasikleia (figure 1.10), this vertical line is occupied by geometric pattern, in this case the Greek key pattern. What both inscription and geometric pattern offer is a vertical line of decoration to an otherwise large empty space which helps to

⁶² For discussions of 'nonsense' inscriptions, see Hurwit (1990) 190-1; Porter (2010) 231-3; Major, Colorusso, and Saunders (2014) 458-461; Heesen (2016) 113-8.

maintain the viewer's visual interest, whose eyes are drawn up and down the length of the figure's dress. The simplistic and/or repetitive way of carving textiles in Archaic Greek sculpture provided an opportunity for the artist to further elaborate his work. It was thus appropriate that lettering or geometric pattern fill this space and function similarly to elaborate and decorate representations of textiles in sculpture. In the case of the monumental korai, the inscription was carved in the widest pleat of the garment, which often occupies a prominent place visually: in the case of the Cheramyes trio they are off-centre like the small bronzes mentioned above, while on the dedications of Philippe and Ornithe, the inscriptions sit below the right hand of each figure. By the grasping hand of the figure the folds of the dress flow horizontally making this an area of difference and visual interest, and it is directly below here that the folds recommence their downward journey and the inscription is carved in order for the inscription to attract this attention for itself and guide the percipient's eye along the length of the figure.

Figure 1.11, a kore dedicated to Apollo Ptoios by one 'ron' has an inscription in three horizontal lines on a layer of cloth underneath the outer *peplos*. This is similar to the way in which the wave pattern on the dresses of Hebe and Leto were depicted on the François Vase in figure 1.12. In comparing the two, one can see that the wave pattern and the letters of the inscription are both working similarly, indeed interchangeably, in that they decorate the lowest horizontal frieze of the dress's decoration. This point can be made most clearly when the evidence is interpreted in the opposite direction: in both the reconstruction of Phrasikleia's statue and on Hebe's dress on the François vase, there are letters used to decorate their dresses. For instance, the wave pattern on the François Vase is comprised of repeating contemporary Attic sigmas.⁶³ I make this point not to argue that Kleitias, the painter of the François Vase, was purposefully decorating Hebe's dress with sigmas, but rather to show the artificial boundary that modern conceptions have constructed between what are 'letters' and what constitute 'patterns' or 'shapes'.⁶⁴ The false division between letters and shapes in painted pottery has already been shown to be evident. Figure 1.13 shows a sherd of a late Geometric pot that bears lettering in a horizontal frieze in a similar fashion to the geometric patterns that fill other registers on the same vase. Osborne and Pappas argue that in the case of this dipinto, '[t]he writing here thus functions aesthetically

⁶³ This is according to Jeffrey's (1961) 'Table of Letters' in *LSAG*.

⁶⁴ This point is especially important in a Greek world where local scripts were still in use, and so letters could look distinctly different in different cities. The François Vase is a particularly good example of how the recognition of letters may have been dubious as it was produced in Attica, decorated with over 100 inscriptions in the Attic alphabet, but was unearthed in Etruria.

on two levels: it provides a necessary contrast between the decorative registers and unifies these registers by blending elements of both [figurative and geometric design].⁶⁵ Archaic Greek artists did not conceive of an ontological difference, and thus there was no requirement to separate letters from what modern viewers may consider more conventional ‘decoration’. This is evidence that patterns, lettering, and even possibly figurative elements were used interchangeably as well as putting pressure on the separate modern concepts of figurative imagery and ornamentation and their applicability to Archaic material.⁶⁶

The case of Chimaridas’ votive, figure 1.3, takes this visual use of the inscription one step further than the other examples in that it also engages with the visual world through content. Specifically, the inscription’s verbal content engages with the worlds of textiles and sculpture-making. The inscription on the figure reads from bottom to top:

Χιμαρίδας τᾷ Δαιδαλείᾳ⁶⁷

“Chimaridas [dedicated me/it] to the Daidaleian one.”

The small bronze figure of a woman holds in its left hand the lower half of a bow with its right held forward in a fist, all of which has been used to identify the figure as Artemis.⁶⁸ This dedication was a gift to Artemis Daidaleia and the inscription occupies the slightly off-centre vertical line on the dress discussed earlier where it is as much a geometric pattern as it is a legible inscription. The word *Daidaleia* acts as a cult-specific epithet of the goddess and is derived from the word *daidaleos* and in the dative acts as the recipient of the votive offering. The word *daidaleos* is most often translated from epic as ‘cunningly wrought’ and was used by Homer to describe crafted wood or metal objects,⁶⁹ while Hesiod used it to also describe embroidery.⁷⁰ This etymological family also includes the name of the original and uniquely talented mythological sculptor Daidalos. As such, Sarah Morris has argued for this word to be an example of *Kunstsprache* and not a normal, non-poetic piece of vocabulary, but rather a word to be deployed selectively to emphatic or poetic ends.⁷¹ This piece of poetic

⁶⁵ Osborne and Pappas (2007) 136.

⁶⁶ Marconi (2017) 123 argues that this is no clearer than on temples, ‘on which figural decoration occurs far less frequently than ornamentation’. Furthermore, Platt and Squire (2017) 44-7 argue that there is no division between an object and its decoration, but rather they are inseparable. They locate the root of the modern division in post-Kantian aesthetics. Such an argument would add further evidence to my contention that inscriptions, their form, and their placement deserve full exploration for they are conceptually part of the effect of the whole.

⁶⁷ Transcription from Richter (1988), no.144.

⁶⁸ Such as by Richter (1988), no.144.

⁶⁹ *Il.* 4.135; 8.195; *Od.* 1.131.

⁷⁰ *Theog.* 575.

⁷¹ Morris (1992) 30-1.

vocabulary literally applied to the present object by way of inscription could also be used for such reasons. The effects of such a deployment of this language would immediately bring to mind the other objects that this family of words are applied to- wondrous and symbolically-loaded objects of virtuosic manufacture.⁷² It is among these objects of great symbolic, artistic, and (presumably) monetary worth that Chimaridas' votive is to be seen. The inscription of this word upon the object, as well as the inscription's contribution to the object's aesthetic appeal, makes the word *daidaleos* prove itself to be correct: the cunningly wrought object is decorated with the word for 'cunningly wrought', which itself adds to its cunningly-wrought-ness. The inscription acts as both claim and proof of its own self-glorifying assertion, a distinctly rhetorical deployment of poetic language: the creator of this votive has exploited the visual nature of writing as an opportunity for wordplay in a way that increases the perceived value of the object in the eyes of its audiences.⁷³

But so far such an interpretation has failed to consider the theological and religious aspects of this monument and its components. Firstly, the inscribed epithet of the goddess acts as a representation of her, a manifestation of the goddess in the (written) visual world.⁷⁴ This means that the word *Daidaleiai* acts as an instantiation of the goddess in its own right, an instantiation of the goddess which is supported by another manifestation of the goddess in the medium of bronze sculpture. The multipurpose nature of this word shows the appropriateness of such language when applied to a votive offering: it simultaneously acts as invocation, praise, and identification- all important goals for a votive to accomplish. By naming the goddess represented in the figurine as the 'Daidaleian one', the reader is also encouraged to have their experience of the figurine's ontology oscillate between image and goddess. Through the mentioning of being cunningly wrought and the mythological artist Daidalos, the inscription reminds the reader that they are not looking at Artemis herself, but rather an image of her. As discussed above, the presence of an inscription in juxtaposition to (or superimposition upon) an image reminds the reader of the nature of the image as image, causing them to flip between seeing the object as Artemis and seeing it as an image.⁷⁵ This

⁷² Note the exceptional use of the verb form of this word in Homer which is applied to the marriage bed of Odysseus and Penelope in *Odyssey* 23.200 and Achilles' shield in *Iliad* 18.479.

⁷³ Audiences both divine and mortal. The religious significance inscribed sculptures more generally will be discussed in Chapter 3.

⁷⁴ Neer (1995) 133 shows such a use of words as representations to be at play in the Swallow Pelike of c.510BCE.

⁷⁵ Squire (2009) 114 discusses later debates on the word *theoria*- the act of going to see a god- and its relation to the word for god, *theos*. He uses this to argue that gods and their images were 'bound up with' each other. Platt (2011) 39-46 goes further in reference to fourth century BCE votive stelai, arguing that they are evidence of 'theology in action' (p.39). Platt (2011) 174 revisits this issue again

is particularly important when seen in light of the particular qualities of Archaic sculpture, specifically its own under-determination, and the very status of the image of the goddess in relation to the goddess herself.⁷⁶

There are also examples of inscribed statues that have figurative elements other than the clothing inscribed. An example of this is on the carved chair or throne of a seated figure, as can be seen in figures 1.14 and 1.15. Figure 1.14 has an entire side of the chair inscribed with a boustrophedon inscription that fairly evenly spreads out the letters of the brief inscription over the whole space. In this example the layout of the inscription also shows a mixture of both practical and aesthetic choices on the part of the inscriber: the 41cm tall object is split compositionally into a top and a bottom half that is marked by the top of the chair's arms, where the figure's torso (and now missing head) and the back of the chair continue upward. Thus an almost-square of space around half the height of the figure (roughly 20cm²) has been filled with only 26 letters (and 3 pieces of punctuation as markers of word breaks) appropriately proportioned and laid out to fill the space. Due to the frontality of such a figure (presumably the head also faced forward), when viewed from the side the object is left with few points of visual interest. The inscriber must have perceived such a condition as an opportunity to make the inscription itself the focus of the viewer's visual attention when it was seen from the side. The size and layout of the lettering makes the words no more or less legible than if they had been smaller or more squashed toward the top left of the space, as one would naturally do if they followed the rules of modern English writing habits. Instead, the lettercutter has carefully formatted his text: writing boustrophedon with alternate lines retrograde with reversed letters to emphasise the boustrophedon technique further.

The lettercutter responsible for the inscription on the monument of Chares of Teichioussa (figure 1.15) similarly acknowledges that the sculpture as a whole will be viewed from the front, but also from the side as the inscription's two lines each occupy one adjacent side of the right angle of the chair's arm.⁷⁷ Instead of being the patterns that decorate the surfaces

about Hellenistic ekphrases (ekphrastic epigrams in particular) and their similarity to the status of the sacred image, both of which flit 'between the poles of cognitive reliability (correspondence between text and object, or image and god) and cognitive dissonance (a sense of distance and incommensurability)'. This type of intellectual-visual behaviour is also identified by Newby (2009) 324-8 to be an effect of the ekphrases of Philostratus, where she characterises it as 'absorption' and 'erudition', this is discussed above in section 1.1.1. For further discussion of the relationship between an image of a god and the god itself, see chapters 2 and 3.

⁷⁶ Osborne (2011) 200-16. See footnote above for more bibliography on this issue. For more, also see Chapters 2 and 3.

⁷⁷ How the position of the inscription affects how the monument was viewed will be discussed in Chapter 2.

of pieces of clothing or pottery, in this example, the letters may imitate the carving that would appear on furniture. Once again, practicality could not have been the defining factor in the positioning of the inscription: there is a large flat area ideal for inscription unused on each side of the monument. Similarly, each line of the inscription hugging the edge of the chair seems unsuitable for inscription due to the increased risk of accidentally chipping off a large chunk of stone during the inscribing process (the current condition of this edge is testament to the vulnerability of inscribing in this area). It is likely that a chair or throne from the ancient world would be made of wood or stone.⁷⁸ The stone sculpture appears to imitate the material of wood: visible from the front of the monument, one rectangle carved into each arm of the throne imitates the protrusion of the tenon beyond the end of its mortise which one would only use in the joining of wooden components.⁷⁹ As such, the medium of stone is used here to represent the material of wood. The effect of this in the statue of Chares of Teichioussa is to play with the issue of the material and materiality of the monument in contrast to its (possibly imaginary) prototype- a real wooden chair.

Wood has been replaced by stone here, the possible motivations for which are multiple. Carved stone is a more expensive material than wood, thus conspicuous spending may have been the motivation for the whole monument being stone.⁸⁰ Similarly, the display of skill on the part of the artist is more valuable in the medium of stone than wood due to it being a harder material to carve. However practical the reasons for the use of stone are in this case, its effects are also worthy of exploration and become more clear upon reading the inscription:

⁷⁸ The chairs used in the classical period in amphitheatres across the Mediterranean for those who benefited from *prohedria* privileges attest to the use of stone for this purpose. These chairs are also, in some way, not real chairs, but 'special', grand images of chairs that do more than provide a seat- they confer/ are evidence of a greater than normal status. Similarly, the chairs that senior divinities are depicted seated on also signal a special status for their occupant, above those who stand around them. For examples of this, see the seated Zeus in the birth of Athena scene on the kylix c.550BCE by the painter of the Nicosia Olpe, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 06.1097; the assembly of the seated gods at the psychometry of the standing Memnon and Achilles on the east frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, c. 525BCE- both of which represent presumably wooden seats.

⁷⁹ Additional pseudo-tenons are visible on each side of the chair.

⁸⁰ The mixture of stone and wooden elements within the same statue are difficult to account for archaeologically due to the loss of wood over time. Acrolithic sculptures are attested to in the Greek world, but Marconi (2007) argues that few, if any, existed in the Archaic period. Thus, reason for the creation of a statue out of only one material may ultimately be convention. Metal additions are a commonly accepted component of much sculpture from the Archaic period onward, but because its value is comparable, or more than the value of stone, it is hard in this situation to compare its use to that of wood.

Χάρης εἰμί ὁ Κλε(ί)σιος Τειχιο(ύ)σ(σ)ης ἀρχηγός. ἄγαλμα το(ῦ) Ἀπόλλωνος.⁸¹

I am Chares, son of Kleisis, ruler of Teichioussa, the delight belongs to Apollo.

This monument to a ruler has chosen to turn flesh, cloth, and wood into stone, thereby monumentalising Chares and his rule over Teichioussa, while also dedicating the gift to Apollo at Didyma. One of the defining features of stone in the Greek imagination is its relationship with memory and perpetuity. This relationship is by no means un-contested, indeed, it is a trope within Greek literature that this relationship is still contingent upon factors often outside the control of the creator or commissioner of such monuments.⁸² The commissioner of this monument was striving to also grant Chares this same memorialisation and perpetuity, albeit through contingent means. In the face of uncontrollable fate, striving is all that is possible for a commissioner. By representing Chares and his throne in stone,⁸³ the sculptor has attempted to appropriate for his subject the possibility of perpetuity, permanence, and memorialisation.

Furthermore, by employing a free-standing, three-dimensional medium (as opposed to painting or stelai), and close to life-size scale, the sculptor has not only produced a representation of a chair, but an actual chair. The chair would function as a chair, if only its current user would stand up. But this is also part of the effect of the monument: the throne and its occupant are inseparable (the monument is monolithic). Chares is cemented on his throne as ruler of Teichioussa for as long as the stone lasts. With this new material status Chares and his premiership are inseparable and lasting as long as stone can resist damage and evoke the memories of its audience.⁸⁴ However, along with this status, its nature as representation is also stressed: this is not Chares, this is not the throne of Teichioussa,

⁸¹ *SEG* 56, 1216.

⁸² The *Iliad* provides multiple examples of stone monuments which have lost their perpetuity or their links to a specific memorial purpose have been lost, for instance: the grave monument/ turning-post of 23.326-33; Poseidon's construction, concerns about, and planned destruction of the walls protecting the Achaean ships at Troy at 7.446-63; Agamemnon's sceptre and its status as object with its known divine provenance (1.101-8) in contrast to its nature as dead wooden object (1.233-9), see Bassi (2016) 40-63. Also see: Simonides fr.581, thought to be a response to Kleoboulos' Midas epigram, recorded in Diogenes Laertius 1.89-90; or Pindar *Nemean* 5.1-5, both of which play with the long-lasting nature of stone and its contingent ability to memorialise and share its message. Grethlein (2008) 31-33; Fearn (2013) 233-6; and Fearn (2017) 17-20 discuss this further.

⁸³ For the moment I work under the assumption that the person depicted in this is Chares due to the first-person declaration in the inscription, 'I am Chares...'. Once again, the issue of the relationship between an Archaic sculpture and its subject will be discussed below in chapter 2.

⁸⁴ This is a distinctly political deployment of the long-lasting nature of stone, which is affected by the monument's placement along the Sacred Way- a route of pilgrimage directly associated with the regional cult of Apollo at Didyma. The importance of spatial context and sanctuaries on the interpretation of inscribed sculptures will be discussed further in Chapter 2.

neither are really present, both are apart from the monument. A distinct sense of absence is also at play in this monument which is stressed further by the use of the first person in the inscription which claims 'I am Chares'.⁸⁵

Thus we can observe that inscribing upon a statue's clothes, furniture, or any other represented inanimate object has three main effects: 1) it emphasises the artificial, man-made nature of the monument; 2) it highlights the materials at play here, both represented (cloth, wood, flesh) and present (bronze, clay, stone); and 3) as a result of the first two points, the audience is prompted to ask questions about the validity, effectiveness, and contingent nature of the act of representation and monumentalisation. Furthermore, when considering where to apply their inscriptions upon figures, both small and monumental, Archaic lettercutters were showing a sensitivity to the sculpted forms and generally applied inscriptions to areas that would normally be decorated with geometric patterns. This is due to the shared visual effect of writing and patterns with their repetitive use of lines and their presentation in either vertical or horizontal friezes.

1.1.3 Text is (not 'as') Body

In contrast to the above section which discussed the use of inscriptions for their nature as geometric patterning on inanimate objects, this section will look at how inscriptions were used in relation to the carved body. Only male bodies are put on show within Archaic Greek sculpture more generally, so it is on two male forms that we will focus in particular: the two small bronze male figures dedicated by Mantiklos and Kidos at the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoion in Boiotia (figures 1.16 and 1.1 respectively).⁸⁶

The Mantiklos figurine's inscription was scratched on its legs, starting just above the right knee, travelling up and then down the left leg, before turning round and following its route back to its starting position. The inscription reads as follows:

Μάντικλός μ'άνέθεκε φεκαβόλοι άργυροτόξοι

⁸⁵ The issues of representation, first person statements, and memorialisation will be further discussed below under the section 1.2.3.

⁸⁶ It should be noted here that there is no archaeological evidence that Mantiklos' figurine actually comes from Boiotia, its limited provenance is noted by its first publisher Froehner (1895) who only is told that it comes from Thebes and was then in the Tyszkiewicz collection. However, given its inscription, it is agreed to have come from the Boiotian Ptoion: cf. Holleaux (1885) 477-9 for descriptions of other small bronze figurines from the Boiotian Ptoion. For Mantiklos' inscription, see CEG 326.

τᾶς {δ} δεκάτας τὸ δέ, Φοῖβε, δίδοι χαρίετταν ἀμοιβ[άν].⁸⁷

Mantiklos set me up to the Far-Shooter Lord of the Silver Bow as a tithe, so that you, Phoibos, may give some delightful return.

The thighs are the largest surface of the figure which leads one to ask whether the thighs were made to be large because they would be inscribed eventually, or whether they were inscribed because they were the largest area.⁸⁸ Regardless of which was the priority in the design of this object, neither situation forbids this combination from provoking aesthetic and intellectual responses from its percipients. In this example the overall shape of the inscription mimics the shape of the body part on which it was carved: the inscription looks like legs. Furthermore, due to the processual way in which the text is intended to be read, the viewer must trace with their eyes along the up-down, up-down from the right, to the left, then back to the right leg that the inscription demands. Reading the figure's inscription instills movement into the perception of the legs of this figure.⁸⁹ This movement, necessary to the reading of the inscription, is also implicit in the sculpture itself: the figure's left leg strides forward in the typical kouros pose. As such, the inscription and the figure's body work sympathetically to produce the effect of implied movement in the figure.

Although it lacks Mantiklos' repetition, the Kidos figurine's inscription has a similar effect in that through the process of reading, the percipient must instil this same sense of movement within the figure. As can be seen in figure 1.1, the Kidos figurine's inscription begins at the top of the chest, running vertically to the stomach before veering gently down the front of the figure's right leg and stopping in the middle of the shin. The inscription then restarts on the lower left abdomen and travels down the front of the figure's left leg to the knee.

Κίδος ἀνέθεκε τοπόλονι (torso and figure's right leg)

τοῖ Πτοῖει (left leg)⁹⁰

Kidos set [it/me] up to Apollo

⁸⁷ CEG 326.

⁸⁸ Large thighs on male figures from this period exist independent of inscription, and thus it is likely that the thigh was chosen as a good place for inscription as it was a large surface that would otherwise go undecorated. The particular style of Archaic sculpture and the rendering of the thighs will be discussed in Chapter 2.

⁸⁹ This idea is an expansion of Lorenz's (2010) 141-3 discussion of how inscriptions 'vivify' the statues that bear them.

⁹⁰ Holleaux (1886) 197.

the Ptoian.

In addition to the movement this mode of inscription instils, the inscription also engages with the 3-D representation of the body on another level. In this example the letter forms and bodily forms are compared through juxtaposition. In figure 1.1b it can be observed that the inscription travels between the incised concentric circles used to represent the nipples of the figure and passes over the lines marking the pectoral muscles. The nipples and pectorals are not represented by volume and mass, but rather through schematically incised lines. In particular, the nipples of the figure resemble Greek letter forms used on the Kidos figurine: omicrons.⁹¹ When presented in such close proximity, the omicron of Kidos' name and the nipples of the figure are compared and shown to be particularly close ontologically: both nipples and omicrons are presented by an incised circle. The lettercutter's mode of inscription has played with the signficatory potential of letterforms, conflating their status and effect with those of shapes. This playful deployment of letters is even more evident when it is observed that the circular nipples are placed close to where the inscription itself requires an omicron to complete the dedicator's name 'KIDOS'. The nipples and their similarity to omicrons offers the reader of the inscription two alternative pathways to read them as a continuation of the name of the dedicator (though, the positioning of the left nipple is more suggestive of this reading): the reader may continue downward for the 'long version' of the inscription or suddenly turn left or right to finish the 'KID...' with the 'O' provided by either nipple. Ending the name of the dedicator (and inscription) with an omicron puts the name into the genitive case, the context likely making this a genitive of ownership 'of Kidos' or 'Kidos'' in reference to the votive offering as a whole.

The nipples of the figure thus act to subvert the semiotic faithfulness of the inscription to letterforms as the circle is common in both writing and decoration. This also begs the question as to who would be incising the letters and details on the body- it is likely that both of these people were using very similar tools, if they were not the same person entirely, further confirming the close relationship between letters and figurative forms in Archaic conceptualisation and practice.⁹²

More than mirroring the decoration of woven fabric or carved furniture, the inscriptions of the Mantiklos and Kidos figurines have adopted a form of figurative representation. In

⁹¹ This is according to Jeffery's (1961) 'Table of Letters' in *LSAG*.

⁹² It was common for small bronze figurines to solid cast well into the classical period and as such it is likely that the maker of the figurine also inscribed it in the wax model before pouring in the molten metal, see Mattusch (2019) 8-9.

particular, they have adopted the forms of the body parts they are carved into: legs. Furthermore, the juxtaposition of incised letterforms and incised anatomical details has shown that these processes are not so easily divisible in Archaic practice, despite their conceptual distance in modern practice.

This section has shown how letters were being used in the Archaic period not simply for their verbal content. Letters were being used as shapes in ways that are consistent with their deployment in other media, for instance the representation of textiles in painted pottery. Furthermore, when letters were carved into small bronze bodies they showed sympathy for the bodies they adorned, adding to their visual effect and showing the collapsible boundary between anatomical details and the letter. The effects of this are to constantly assert and play with each medium's artificiality and the similarities between them in order to make meaning.

1.2 Inscriptions that Make and Augment Images

In addition to the last section which argued that writing could be part of an image because they have a visual aspect to their formatting or positioning, this section will argue that inscriptions have the ability to create images of their own or change those that exist around them. While the last section focussed on primarily the form of the writing, this section will take into more consideration the content of these inscriptions.

1.2.1 Labels

Labels are the most succinct type of inscription from the Archaic period, they are often a single noun or the name of a real or mythological persona. The dedications of Philippe and Ornithe (figures 1.8 and 1.9) present their readers with a single word each:

Figure 1.8:

Φιλίππη⁹³

Philippe

Figure 1.9:

Ὀρνίθη⁹⁴

Ornithe

The modern viewer is likely to immediately accept that the words inscribed are the names of the women whom the statues represent. This assumption is underpinned by the idea that when images and words are juxtaposed, the words clarify the image's content, much like the label accompanying a painting in an art gallery that outlines the name of the piece (which traditionally has been a description of the scene, such as 'The Last Supper'), the date of its creation, and materials. Such a relationship between juxtaposed images and texts has been readily accepted by modern scholars of Archaic art.⁹⁵ The style of Archaic sculpture is such that it does not faithfully record the human body. Instead it reduces it to schematised parts, often removing the bodily uniqueness of their subject.⁹⁶ In the absence of attributes, Archaic

⁹³ Richter (1988) no.67.

⁹⁴ Richter (1988) no.68.

⁹⁵ Pedley (2006) 108; Carpenter (2007) 410; Squire (2009) 150; Lorenz (2010) 145. This is also an opinion that was expressed by Aristotle about 'old art', *Top.* 140a 21-2.

⁹⁶ For a discussion of Archaic schematism versus Classical naturalism, see Tanner (2001) 260.

sculpture makes few distinctions between gods and men.⁹⁷ Inscriptions have been seen as the answer to Archaic art's problem of representing particular individuals due to their potential to answer most directly the question 'who is represented?'. This is supported by our knowledge that statues would have rarely been seen without their inscriptions.⁹⁸ Archaic sculptors could knowingly underdetermine their statues safe in the knowledge that an inscription would be present to tell the literate viewer who was represented.

The argument that these inscriptions did indeed act as labels is supported by the performance of these inscriptions. If we are to accept that the Archaic Greeks read aloud, the reader would fall into the reading-trap that such a cultural context provides: the 'Acontius Effect'.⁹⁹ This trick, the name of which was coined by Peter Bing, applies to anyone who is tricked into enacting some sort of promise or act simply by saying it aloud. Such an example of this would be to ask someone to read the sentence 'I will pay for dinner tonight' and in doing so tricking them into agreeing to buy you a meal. Though Bing uses Hellenistic texts to explain and name this phenomenon in the ancient world, the exploitation of the oral nature of writing, and its inevitable performance aloud by the reader, is present in some of the earliest Greek texts surviving in the form of epigraphy.¹⁰⁰ This same conceit is performed by these label-inscriptions as the reader must read them aloud and in doing so address the statues as Ornithe and Philippe respectively.¹⁰¹

The Geneleos Group, of which the Ornithe and Philippe korai are two parts, presents examples of labels in conjunction with statues. For the inscription of a statue to offer no information other than the name of the person depicted offers an opportunity to see how such inscriptions interact with statues and groups of statues. These label inscriptions show a remarkable economy in their use of words for achieving the desired effect. The names of the individuals represented are present along with an image of the dedicator himself, who is

⁹⁷Carpenter (2007) 410; Osborne (2011) 200. Other than inscriptions, context may have been one of the deciding factors in discerning whether an Archaic statue is of a god or man- is it in the place appropriate for a cult statue? In addition to context, the use of the object in performance, such as, as a site for dedication, the washing, clothing, or parading of them in processions might single out an image of a god from that of a non-divine subject.

⁹⁸ Keesling (2003) 21.

⁹⁹ Bing (2009) 93-4.

¹⁰⁰ The best example of this is the 'Cup of Nestor' from Ischia/ Pithekoussai from the 8th century BCE. The inscription uses the 'speaking object' trope that itself is evidence of the Greek playing with the role of speaker (though this is partly dependent on the inscription's reconstruction). In addition to this, the inscription plays with tropes in dedicatory and curse inscriptions, which when performed in a sympotic or posthumous sympotic context, take on a more playful tone. For discussion of Nestor's Cup in this light, see Faraone (1996).

¹⁰¹ It is also worth noting here that (like first declension feminine nouns) the nominative and vocative cases for these names would be the same.

likely represented in the damaged male seated figure.¹⁰² Their nature as dedicated objects is also confirmed by their position in the sanctuary- the inscription need not be any longer than the single name of the person depicted. These labels do not lack anything in terms of the requirements of any dedicatory inscription. They have just been written in the knowledge that context will do the rest of the work: the label is a full dedicatory inscription. These label-style inscriptions are also strategically useful to the benefit of the dedicator and person on whose behalf the dedication is made, as is likely the case in the Philippe and Ornithe statues. When read aloud by the reader, it is only the name of the dedicator, or in these cases the dedicator's family members, that is repeated and memorialised by the monument. The name of the god and the act of dedication remain implicit in the background of the monument's memorialising function, a topic to which I will return later.

In the case of the Phileia statue (figure 1.17), the seated female statue of the Geneleos Group, the figure bears two inscriptions:

On the chair's arm:

Φίλεια.

Phileia.

On the figure's legs:

ἡμᾶς ἐποίησε Γενέλεως¹⁰³

Geneleos made us.

These two inscriptions are separated from one another, the label is written vertically, top to bottom, on the front of the chair's left arm, whereas the artist's signature is written horizontally right to left with reversed letters on the lower part of the figure's dress.¹⁰⁴ The lettercutter has made an immediate visual distinction between the two types of inscription: Phileia's label is presented vertically just like the other labels on the monument. This visual distinction aids the reader to understand the two inscriptions as different in effect and

¹⁰² IG XII, 6 2:559F reveals a damaged inscription of the name of the dedicator '-arches'. For discussion of the dedicator of this monument, see Fullerton (2016) 92; Muskett (2012) 45-7; Lorenz (2010) 137.

¹⁰³ IG XII, 6 2:559A.

¹⁰⁴ Another example of how the layout of an inscription aids its correct reading, even for modern readers, is the inscription on the vase by Euphronios about his contemporary Smikros, discussed by Hedreen (2016) 129, where a short inscription is painted on a depicted statue base and should prompt scholars to view it as complete and thus as referring to an artist's signature.

motive so that the act of reading is as efficient as possible- an important aspect within a culture with limited literacy.

Opposite to what one would expect, 'Phileia' is not inscribed upon the form of the woman: instead it lies on the chair, whereas the artist's signature is on the image of the woman. However, given the voice in which the artist's signature was composed, its placement makes sense. The inscription uses the third person verb and the pronoun 'us' so that it would be read either in the voice of one of the statues (presumably Phileia's) who speaks on behalf of them all, or of all of the statues in chorus in order to create a sense of collective identity and purpose for the group. The lettercutter has placed the words that are to be spoken as if from the statue's perspective on the body of the statue itself, rather than on the inanimate chair like Chares of Teichioussa did.¹⁰⁵ 'Phileia' was not inscribed upon the body of the figure in this case because it is not to be read in the voice of the sculpture, but in the voice of the viewer/reader, like 'Ornithe' and 'Philippe' it is to be read as an address to each statue, which reaffirms the use of the third person verb in the artist's signature. There are two separate speech acts intended to come from two different speakers inscribed upon Phileia's monument- the first, 'Phileia', is read in the voice of the reader and is addressed to the statue where they apply the name in aural form to the figure before them. This is signalled by the style of inscription (vertical) to be consistent with the performance of the Ornithe and Philippe inscriptions. The second is the artist's inscription that is to be read in the voice of the statue (or perhaps the whole group of statues) and this difference has been signalled to the reader by the horizontal retrograde style of inscription that is placed on the body of the figure, taking priority over the name of the statue's dedicator. It was more important to the lettercutter to attach a body to its voice than to its name because the percipient would do that for the lettercutter in their performance of the inscription aloud.

1.2.2 Piling up Representations

By considering the aural nature of reading during the Archaic period, we can appreciate that the act of labelling an image is also simultaneously an act of name-calling. Name-calling is of great significance within oral cultures such as that of Archaic Greece as pronouncing one's

¹⁰⁵ For discussion of Chares of Teichioussa and the significance of the position of his inscription, see Chapter 3.

name was part of salutation, confrontation, and oath-taking among other things.¹⁰⁶ By reading aloud label-inscriptions such as those of Phileia, Ornithe, and Philippe, the reader gives the image the name of the humans, giving them their identity. The inscribed letters trigger the oral/aural iteration of the name with its conventional and authoritative power in oral Archaic Greece, and is employed to involve the statue in a performance of identity-bestowal. The inscribed name co-opts the authority of oral communication in order to imbue the image with the status of representation of the named individual.

This point requires step-by-step unpacking, firstly the status of the inscription. In the eyes of anyone capable of reading such brief inscriptions this inscription would be recognised as a name and as an incitement to the act of name-calling. But as such, the inscribed name acts as a representation of the person on its own: it calls to the minds of the reader and all those present the individual whose name is inscribed. Painted or inscribed names are shown to have some sympathy toward other representations of their subjects, as in the case of painted pottery.¹⁰⁷ As such, when a label-inscription and an image are juxtaposed, the viewer is presented with two representations of the same individual (with the third, aural representation immanent), an idea that François Lissarague and Richard Neer have identified as present in the late Archaic Swallow Pelike (figure 1.18). Both authors acknowledge the game of semiotic complexity and polysemy at play within this image, and the written name's ability to evoke the oral representation of the name is also at play in this example.¹⁰⁸ The inscribed name of Phileia is itself recognised as a representation of Phileia when read- the exact moment when it also gives birth to another (aural) representation.

The acceptance of inscribed names as representations of their subject is particularly important when seen in conjunction with Archaic sculpture. Illusionism or mimetic likeness do not play a part in either a word's or an Archaic sculpture's abilities to represent. The relation between image and referent in Archaic sculpture has been most discussed in the case of cult statues. For instance, Verity Platt uses the Bassae frieze from the end of the fifth century BCE to contrast the semiotic strategies of Archaic and Classical cult statues:

¹⁰⁶ Havelock (1982) 191. For discussions of naming the name in the *Odyssey*, a text which plays on its importance, see Austin (1972) 1; Peradotto (1990) 94; Olson (1992) 1.

¹⁰⁷ Hurwit (1990) 185 describes how label-inscriptions that appear next to an image always start the name as close to the body as possible, moving outwards, meaning retrograde inscriptions that are to the left of the figure. Henderson (1994) 107-15 also describes how inscriptions support the limbs of striding victors, visually echo the lines of the heroes' bodies, or express some sort of pathetic fallacy as they recoil from aggressors.

¹⁰⁸ Lissarague (1992) 200-1; Neer (1995) 133; Neer (2002) 64.

‘the frieze employs formal contrasts in order to probe the epiphanic potential of naturalism, and its implication for images stylistically identified as ‘antique’. In this way Archaic cult-statues are established as material markers of divine presence that mediate between god and worshipper when activated through ritual, but are nevertheless ontologically distinct from the deities they signify. Naturalistic forms, by contrast, have no specific ritual function and are seen to elide their status as images in order to constitute ‘gods themselves’.’¹⁰⁹

But the findings of Millette Gaifman on aniconism in the Greek world breaks down Platt’s argument for naturalism or illusionism’s claims to oneness with its subject- ‘They [aniconic images] warn us against the standard assumption that if an object is venerated, named as a divinity, or termed the *agalma* of the god, then its form reflects the envisioned appearance of the divinity.’¹¹⁰ Furthermore, Platt’s idea that the Greeks saw their gods more in the sculpture of the Classical period does little to account for the continued use of and reverence towards the most ancient cult statues, even with the possibility of new ones that could ‘be’ the deity, rather than represent them.¹¹¹ Naturalism or illusionism are not necessary to believe that a statue is a god, both must undergo the highly subjective, occasional, and creative act of viewing that allows for the possibility of seeing the divine in stone, metal, or wood.¹¹²

This thesis offers a different configuration of Platt’s dichotomy of ‘mediation vs constitution’, for they are not mutually exclusive in Archaic Greek practice. Platt herself acknowledges the role of performance (under the byword ‘ritual’) in her own definitions.¹¹³ To treat a representation of a god (a statue, for instance) well by praising its appearance, presenting it with offerings, or performing a dance or song before it, simultaneously does the god the same honour. In practice this division between a representation of the god and the god

¹⁰⁹ Platt (2011) 119. Of course the Bassae frieze is a Classical depiction of Archaic and Classical sculpture and so displays a Classical conception of Archaic art, rather than the realities of Archaic art. Tanner (2006) 85 also makes a similar argument ‘statues like kouroi and korai functioned more to enforce a sense of religious aura... than to facilitate interaction between viewer and god in the medium of the image. By contrast, naturalism presents the god to the viewer as one sufficiently similar to the viewer to be a role partner with whom direct ritual interaction might take place.’

¹¹⁰ Gaifman (2012) 11. The meaning of the word *agalma* here is cult statue’. However, the changing meanings of the word will be discussed more fully in chapter 3.

¹¹¹ An example of this is the continued use of the *xoanon* of Athena that was the centre of the cult for Athena on the Athenian Acropolis despite the creation of the Pheidias chryselephantine Athena Parthenos.

¹¹² This contention is most put under pressure when one asks the question how ‘natural’ and without semiotic complexity ‘naturalistic’ or ‘realistic’ or ‘illusionistic’ images are.

¹¹³ Platt (2011) 119.

himself would collapse on account of the cognitive dissonance (which only has to be conceived as a dissonance from a modern perspective) that Archaic viewers had in relation to images. Furthermore, Platt's argument seems to claim a special status for illusionism, despite it being as artificial and culturally subjective as any other style of representation, an issue that ancient authors themselves acknowledged to some degree.¹¹⁴ As I have shown above, viewers were regularly being prompted by their images to oscillate between these two poles. These conceptualisations both contribute to the experience of the monument overall and their effects are to be felt in combination, not isolation. Ambiguity in the status of images of gods itself performs the ambiguity and fluidity of form and presence that the gods themselves exhibit.¹¹⁵

Looking specifically at Athenian votive korai, Catherine Keesling has argued that there is no necessity for mimetic likeness for these statues to be conceived of as representatives of their dedicators, terming this relationship 'disjunctive representation'.¹¹⁶ Keesling's interpretation of the Athenian monuments should alert us to the diversity of techniques of representation that may have existed contemporaneously in the Archaic Greek world, after all, writing, spoken words, and images are all different types of representation each with sub-categories of their own. Votive offerings act as mediators between dedicators and deities, many dedicatory epigrams setting out the deal the dedicator envisages being made with the dedication of the gift, often mentioning some expected kindness in return or that the object was dedicated as thanks for a kindness already received.¹¹⁷ A votive figure must represent its dedicator and act on their behalf with the deity, simultaneously acting as them and as something separate from them.

Furthermore, it should also alert us to the highly imaginative act that was 'looking' in Archaic Greece- much of the act of linking an image to its referent was to be achieved intellectually by the viewer. Written words, spoken words, two and three dimensional forms all had claim to the act of representation in the Archaic period. Archaic Greeks were acutely sensitive to

¹¹⁴ Pliny *NH* 34.65- '...vulgoque dicebat ab illis factos quales essent homines, a se quales viderentur esse.' '...commonly, he [Lysippos] would say that whereas they [his predecessors] made men as they were, he made men as they appear.' Even if apocryphal, this story shows that ancient thinkers were aware of the differences between illusionism, verism, and reality.

¹¹⁵ The issues this raises about representation and *deixis* will be further explored in Chapter 2. The religious and theological ramifications of these issues will be further discussed throughout Chapter 3.

¹¹⁶ Keesling (2003) 21.

¹¹⁷ For instance, examples of an epigram asking for something in return: *CEG* 326; 344; 360; 426; 396.

the realities of representing something absent.¹¹⁸ The Archaic Greeks acknowledged the fundamental artificiality of representation and played with it- hence the possibility of aniconic and the typical non-realistic Archaic statues existing contemporaneously with black figure paintings, names, and epithets, all of which may represent the same subject. Furthermore, these objects were in turn animated and had a very powerful existence within the imaginations of their viewers- there was always a necessary process of intellectual untangling that took place with the comprehension of representations.

In light of this analysis, it is important to acknowledge the role of mediation that statues are often used to play in Archaic Greek culture, yet this does not come at the expense of the power of the image to act as a representation of its referent. Rather, Archaic votive images were being used to act as intermediaries because they themselves have an ambiguous identity which allows them to oscillate between being seen as an image and as its referent in the eyes of their viewers. The images merely possess an underdetermination that empowers the viewer's imagination to animate the images and interpret them more freely and with less stability, finitude, or interpretative closure. This lack of stability is due to the multitude of identities and representations that are present in Archaic sculptures and their accompanying epigrams which allows them to be the subject of such imaginative acts of looking by ancient viewers who themselves oscillate between seeing a stone, an image, a woman, a mediator, a goddess-¹¹⁹ all of which are possible simultaneously: the image is what the viewer makes of it.¹²⁰

1.2.3 Like *Kleos* from a Stone

Many things motivated the representation of oneself beyond one's own body and in one's own absence. In Archaic Greece, one of the most important social reasons was the perpetuation of one's fame or *kleos*. The Muse Invocation of *Iliad* 2.484-7 sets out the relationships that humans (or at least Homer) have with knowledge and *kleos*:

Ἔσπετε νῦν μοι, Μοῦσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι –

¹¹⁸ One of the most thorough discussions of this issue is Svenbro's (1993) 26-43 analysis of epigraphic writing of the Archaic period and its relationship to the individuals represented therein. This issue will be picked up again in chapter 2.

¹¹⁹ The issue of epiphany and the possibility of votives being the image of the deity to whom they are dedicated will be revisited in Chapter 2.

¹²⁰ It is also important to note that all of these viewings have been proposed by modern scholars, modern viewers experiencing the *aporia* of their more culturally entrenched ancient counterparts.

ὕμεῖς γὰρ θεαὶ ἐστε, πάρεστε τε, ἴστέ τε πάντα,
ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἶον ἀκούομεν οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν –
οἳ τινες ἡγεμόνες Δαναῶν καὶ κοίρανοι ἦσαν.¹²¹

“Tell me now, you Muses, who have your homes on Olympos.
For you, goddesses, are there, and know all things,
but we hear only glory (*kleos*), and know nothing.
Who then of those were the leaders and the lords of the Danaans?”

Firstly, the invocation sets out that humans know nothing, instead they receive *kleos*. This acknowledges the difference between *kleos* and knowledge: *kleos* is a representation, something artificial and not necessarily the truth, whereas the goddesses possess true knowledge of all things. Furthermore, attention to the verb that applies to *kleos* also gives us an insight into its nature: *kleos* is heard. In contrast to the goddesses who ‘know all things’, humans ‘hear *kleos*’, *kleos* is not known, but heard. This means that *kleos* is both aural and subjective, it is not knowledge, but a representation of it to be perceived by the ears. In addition to this, *akouomen* is first-person plural: it is heard by a group, not an individual. *Kleos* is not only subjective, but intersubjective and a communally heard phenomenon.

This has ramifications for the current project because this definition of *kleos* privileges the aural as the way of conveying *kleos* in the ancient Greek world. So what do monuments, which are ostensibly silent and unable to produce *kleos* for an audience to hear, have to do with the *kleos* that monuments such as CEG 344 outline?

τάσδε γ' Ἀθαναίαι δραφεὸς Φαφ|εάριστος ἔθηκε
ἡέραι τε, ἠος καὶ κ|ενος ἔχοι κλέφος ἄφθιτον αἰφεῖ. (CEG 344)

Phawearistos dedicated these vessels for Athena and Hera so that he may always have imperishable glory.

The above inscription, a dedicatory inscription for two vessels to Athena and Hera at Phocis from c.600-550BCE, asks for *kleos* in return for Phawearistos’ gifts. However, it is unclear

¹²¹ Homer’s *Iliad*, 2.484-7, Allen (1963).

from the epigram alone whether *kleos* will be the direct result of Phawearistos' act of dedication or whether the pots were dedicated to the goddesses in the hope that they would empower him to earn *kleos* for himself in an area over which they have sway. Nevertheless, what is clear is that Phawearistos expected *kleos* to come from his monument and the effects it will have on the goddesses mentioned.¹²² A monument may create *kleos* due to the oral performance of the written word in Archaic Greece. Inscriptions in conjunction with the predominantly oral culture of Archaic Greece forced writing to be both visual and aural, meaning that inscriptions were not just seen, but heard. Dedicatory epigrams, which regularly feature the dedicator's name in prime position would similarly perform the act of name-calling mentioned above, making aural the iteration of the dedicator's name and bringing the dedicator's identity into the realm of *kleos*-propagation.

However, by inscribing such a *kleos*-inducing message into stone, the otherwise aural message co-opts the qualities of stone and leaves the performance of the message dormant. The inscription's message does not rely on the presence of a poet to pronounce, but instead, the literate passerby is empowered to take on the conventional role of rhapsode or poet and say aloud the inscription which spreads the dedicator's name and enacts the process that is *kleos*, i.e. the hearing of a person's glory by others.

Furthermore, the use of monuments, which are made to function in the future by constructing images of the past, is also particularly apt for the propagation of the *kleos* process.¹²³ The dual prospective and retrospective nature of monuments as representations of the past for the purpose of presenting an image in the future has many parallels with the more conventionally aurally perceived *kleos* that is created by Homer's own verbal creations. We may wish to take as an example the rare case of an inscribed statue that is possibly non-votive, the likely sepulchral monument set up by Sombrotidas (figure 1.19) in Megara Hyblaia in c.550BCE, the right leg of which is inscribed with the following:

¹²² It is also clear that this inscription's use of *kleos* is an intertextuality of the Homeric epics, due to the use of the phrase *kleos apthiton*, which appears in the *Iliad* in 9.413 during the embassy to Achilles to convince him to join the fighting once again. In response to the embassy's entreaties, Achilles outlines his own fate previously told to him by Thetis and reflects on the futilities of heroic deeds as all men are met with the same fate: death. This is a pivotal moment within the *Iliad* for it encapsulates the two possible fates of Achilles and the city of Troy as a whole while also being a greater truth about the fate of heroes within Greek myth to which the feats of mortal men aspire. For discussion of *Iliad* 9.413, see Hainsworth (1993) 117. In both *CEG* 344 and *Iliad* 9.413, *kleos* provides the two shorts of the fourth dactylic foot, and *apthiton* is the entirety of the penultimate foot, also dactylic.

¹²³ The relation of Archaic sculptures, and monuments more generally, to time will be discussed more in Chapter 2.

Σομβροτίδα τῷ ἱατρῷ τῷ Μανδροκλέος¹²⁴

Sombrotidas, the doctor, son of Mandrokles.

Though the motivation for the erection of this monument has not been determined, one can still explain its effects, especially in relation to its effects on *kleos*. During the process of viewing the statue the percipient would read aloud the inscription that recounts the name, profession, and patronymic of the person on whose account the monument was erected. As a result of this, anyone within earshot (even the illiterate) had the ability to pair the message with the monument and be recipients of the monument's message of Sombrotidas' *kleos*.¹²⁵ Although likely to be an unavoidable coincidence, the patronymic which finishes the inscription ends with the very word '[Mandro]*kleos*', thereby keying in the percipients (especially the audience) to thinking about the position *kleos* holds in the surrounding acts and objects. Recounting these facts in the context of a burial site or sanctuary would itself be glorifying due to its spreading of Sombrotidas and his father's names either posthumously or in light of his act of dedication. In so doing, the reader would pronounce aloud these facts, which is itself a separate oral/aural act of *kleos*-propagation that is contingent on the act of memorialisation that the monument itself performs. Furthermore, the sharing of Sombrotidas' name in the glorifying context of conspicuous consumption that this monument constitutes would further add to Sombrotidas' *kleos* by expressing his wealth and engagement with aristocratic traditions of public self-aggrandisement.

Even detached from the monument that triggered the vocalisation of the inscription, the oral performance of the epigram and its aural reception by the audience of bystanders constitutes its own independent act of *kleos*-propagation. Such an act of *kleos*-propagation that is not tethered to a particular monument, act of dedication, or even present person, highlights the importance of reception to *kleos* as a principle in Archaic Greece- it is not about shouting about your fame, but rather your fame being heard. Through material culture, *kleos* may be detached from the composer/poet as its only source, inscribed objects make the identity of the poet so diffuse to the extent that anyone who could perform and/or memorise the inscription could replace them, effacing the poet from the glorificatory act and thus allowing the name of the dedicator or deceased- the subject of the *kleos*- to ring out alone,

¹²⁴ Richter (1970) no.134.

¹²⁵ Day (2010) 39 also points out that the position of the dedicator's name first in many epigrams would mean that the dedicator's name would be read aloud even in partial readings.

without the distractions a poetic persona could otherwise introduce.¹²⁶ In addition to the backseat that the creator takes in many inscribed monuments, the possibility of an ‘original’ or ‘premiere’ performance is also less prominent in such a context. Rather, every performance of a monument’s inscription is presumably a re-performance of the inscription for which there was no original performance.¹²⁷ Rather, re-performance was core to the understanding of epigram- epigrams are only ever re-performances that are also likely to be followed by further reperformances, their transcendence of time, or at least their inability to be anchored to a specific point in time, contributes to their appropriateness to the act of *kleos*-production and memorialisation. The performance of an inscribed epigram creates a new act of *kleos*-production in the knowledge that it was preceded by a similar act. Instead, epigrams were receptions of the act of dedication, themselves new acts performed in the knowledge of their lack of originality. Not even the first performance of an epigram can be conceived of as an original performance, for this was still a reception of something that had come before: the dedicatory act itself.

This section has argued that labels, though simple in content, maximise their effectiveness through their form. Labels and other short epigrams exploit their form and context in order to load their miniscule content with maximal meaning through performance. To ask which came first, the brevity or the strategic deployment of context to add meaning is very much a chicken-or-the-egg question, but what it does show is that Archaic epigram was a type of writing that very much grew out of the tension between its form, content, and performance context. Furthermore, such a tension between form, content, and context makes epigram a distinctly appropriate type of writing to represent the absent and to accompany images of the absent: the deceased, the dedicator, or the divine. The option to offer minimal content for maximum effect allows for an accurate representation of someone as present who is indeed absent, for the work of making someone present is performed by the percipient, not

¹²⁶ Pindar’s *Nemean* 5.1-3 not only discusses the role of monuments relative to his own poems for the purposes of glorification, but is by extension also an act of self-positioning and self-assertion for himself as poet. Of course, sculptor’s signatures were used in Archaic Greece, and so the name of the poet is actually replaced by that of the sculptor, who uses the opportunity to place his name within this glorifying sphere. The role of poet in the composition and performance of epigram will be further discussed in Chapter 2.

¹²⁷ Day (2010) argued that dedicatory epigrams were reperformances of their respective dedications as the original performance. However, it is unlikely that epigrams were actually read aloud as part of the dedicatory act, especially considering they often take the first person from the perspective of the dedication ‘x dedicated me’. In light of this, epigrams carry a reference to a past act, but are themselves an entirely new performance for which there is no original or premiere. This is far more akin to Osborne’s (1999) 341-58 discussion of the selective and curated process of recording the activities of the Assembly in inscription in Athens. For a discussion of performance, reperformance, and pre-performance in Greek culture, see Budelmann (2017) 42-62.

the creator of such monuments. This ambiguity, underdetermination, and subjectivity that can be accommodated by epigram is uniquely suited to expressing their similarly liminal and ambiguous subjects. The percipient not only takes part in the viewing of images and the reading of epigrams, but is also induced to take part in the act of imaginative looking, inspired by the multitude of representations that a multi-media monument provides for them. These representations also take on lives of their own through performance, which includes the creation of more representations. These provide the reader with more inspiration to animate, compare, and contrast the read, viewed, heard, and imagined representations that lay dormant within such monuments. As a result of the inherent ability of monuments to play with ideas of mediation, artifice, and contingent reception, Archaic artists exploited them for their potential to enact *kleos*. As such, inscribed monuments held a position between aurally-perceived *kleos* and the far more visual world of the increasingly built-up funerary and sacred spaces of Archaic Greece.

1.3 Epigrams and Ekphrasis

This section will expand on the previous sections which have sought to show how indefinable the line was between image and text in the Archaic period. While previous sections have focused on the visual nature of inscriptions and the way that affects their understanding alongside the visual material they are attached to, this section will focus on the verbal content of the inscriptions upon Archaic figures to show how they were also generating images of their own. This will provide further evidence for how images and texts, especially epigraphic texts, were not easily separated in the Archaic world in conception or practice. I will do this by exploring the relationship between the trope of ekphrasis and the Archaic Greek epigrams that adorn figures. This is significant because scholarship on ekphrasis has largely avoided Archaic material, even in diachronic works, instead jumping from Homer and Hesiod to the Classical period with little effort to bridge the gap in between.¹²⁸ In contrast to the treatment of Archaic material, epigram as a genre of writing in the Greco-Roman world

¹²⁸ Krieger (1992) uses predominantly Homer, Plato, Aristotle, and Roman authors in his mostly theoretical discussion of ekphrasis. Webb (1999) in her seminal article on the development and definition of ekphrasis barely treats ancient material outside of Homer, Philostratus, and the rhetoricians. Bartsch and Elsner's (2007) special edition of *Classical Philology* on the subject of ekphrasis mentions nothing Archaic beyond Homer and (pseudo-) Hesiod. De Jong (2015) similarly jumps between Homer, Hesiod, and the Hellenistic poets. Koopman (2018) jumps from Homer and Pseudo-Hesiod to Hellenistic poetry. The field of Archaic lyric poetry has done much for the discussion of Archaic ekphrasis, for instance see Peponi (2004) 309-316 on Alcman's Parthenieon; Peponi (2016) 9-10 on lyric in general; Ladianou (2016) 345-352 on Sappho; Fearn (2017) 233-242 seeks to reassert the importance of ekphrasis within the Simonidean Danae fragment.

has been discussed in terms of ekphrasis a great deal. As already indicated, however, it is not Archaic lapidary epigrams that have received such analysis, but instead Hellenistic and Roman 'literary' epigrams that have been separated from, or were never even carved on, stone. In light of the closeness that Archaic epigrams have with real objects, ekphrases, and their readers, this section will use W.J.T Mitchell's sentiments of ekphrastic hope, fear, and indifference, which triangulate this relationship between images and ekphrases, in order to understand the effects of the language of epigram. This section will be divided into three sections: the first will theorise the relationship between ekphrasis and inscribed epigrams; the second will look to inscribed epigrams of the Archaic period and examine ekphrasis in action; the third will be a specific look at deictic language and how it works for inscribed epigrams and ekphrases.

1.3.1 Connecting Ekphrasis and Epigrams

Ekphrasis as a literary trope has existed since the earliest "literary" texts in Greek culture, Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.¹²⁹ In both ancient and modern conception, this trope is primarily concerned with causing an effect on the percipient, specifically the summoning of a primarily visual phenomenon before their eyes. The definition with which I will work is that formulated by Shadi Bartsch and Jas Elsner:

"the description of an artwork, a vivid presentation of any scene, whether natural or invented (so-called notional ekphrasis), the representation in words of a visual representation."¹³⁰

When understood as such, ekphrasis has been thought of as a way by which the verbal arts (most broadly conceived) have invaded the territory of the visual arts by seeking to emulate,

¹²⁹ The archetypal Homeric ekphrasis is the shield of Achilles episode in *Il.*18.478-608.

¹³⁰ Bartsch and Elsner (2007) i. This in turn is a distillation of the ideas presented in Bartsch (1989), 7-10; Webb (1999); and Elsner (2002). I prefer this broad definition, which includes different modes of performance of ekphrasis, to Bartsch and Elsner's (2007) other definition of "Words about an image, itself often embedded in a larger text" as it implies that ekphrasis is *written*, which seems removed from the ekphrases of Homer's Shield of Achilles, Attic drama, or Philostratus' *Imagines*, all of which have an explicit oral performance context or style. Similarly, the definition of ancient ekphrasis from the rhetorician Theon in his *Progymnasmata*, 118.6: "A speech that brings the subject matter vividly before the eyes" merely highlights the intended effect of the *topos*, which under-appreciates the individual responses of the reader/listener as well as the multisensorial nature of many ancient ekphrases by specifying only the *visual* nature of this effect. For the non-visual effects of ekphrases, see Squire (2013) 161.

mimic, or usurp the position and powers of the defender.¹³¹ However, characterising the relationship between the arts as such relies upon there being some essential quality for verbal and visual arts respectively that allows one to define them as separate, which I have shown is not easily achievable for the Archaic period, if possible at all. When confronting the issue of ekphrasis, such essentialising arguments come unstuck by the necessity to identify ekphrasis as either a visual or a verbal art, when it has markers of both identities.

Narratological approaches to ekphrasis have created a dichotomy between ekphrasis and narrative progression, which in turn has created hierarchical relationships between these two components of ostensibly verbal art; this dichotomy defines an ekphrasis as separate from the narrative and is thus superfluous and 'decorative' to the story.¹³² Not only does language such as 'decorative' carry the pejorative and hierarchical overtones that seek to reinforce traditional (and European Christian) ideas about the relationship between words and images,¹³³ but ironically contradicts those very ideas by using a word which refers to visual experience to define it. Ekphrasis is decorative, it does appeal to the eyes as much as/ rather than just the ears: that is the point and scholars have had a hard time describing it otherwise.

One of the ways in which an ekphrastic passage relates to the larger narrative (such as 'the shield of Achilles' scene at *Iliad* 18.478-608) is one of metonymy- the smaller ekphrasis reflects the broader narrative in microcosm.¹³⁴ Such a relationship can be observed in the common language included within epigrams, for instance in that of Hermonax:

Ἐρμῶνάξ μὲ καὶ τ[ὸ] τέκνον ἀνέθεσαν δεκάτην ἔργων τῶ[ι] Ἀπόλλωνι.¹³⁵

Hermonax and his son dedicated me as a tithe of their works to Apollo.

Hermonax's epigram includes the word *dekate*, 'tithe'- a common word used in dedicatory inscriptions to describe the votive offering. This word describes the relation that the current dedication shares with the dedicator's larger pool of wealth- a portion (perhaps, if

¹³¹ This is the language (evident from the use of the word *Grenzen*, 'borders') by which Lessing (1766) influentially set up the relationship between Poetry (as metonym for the verbal art) and Painting (as metonym for the visual arts) for the modern era in his work *Laocoon or On the Borders of Painting and Poetry* (*Laokoön oder Über die Grenzen der Malerei und Poesie*).

¹³² Fowler (1991) 26-7 shows that ekphrases have myriad ways through which they may be part of their broader narrative: they may be causally linked; they may be some form of pathetic fallacy; share a metaphoric or metonymic relationship with the plot.

¹³³ For a discussion of the effect of European and Christian identity has had on the privileged position The Word has had over images since the 16th century, see Squire (2009) 15-58.

¹³⁴ Fowler (1991) 27.

¹³⁵ Blumel (1963) no. 66.

understood literally, a 'tenth') of a recent windfall was used to pay for the monument. This phrasing reflects the metonymy by which the monument acts as a token for the dedicator's wealth. In the same way that the monument stands for the possible material possessions that the dedicator may put to the purpose of pleasing the god, so too the epigram is merely a token of the possible pool of verbal offerings the dedicator may provide to the deity. An epigram will of course be reperformed continuously, the current performance being a mere token of the infinite iterations of it that will be created over time. An epigram's brevity is simultaneously practised and described in the repetitive use of the word *dekate*- Archaic epigram not only practises being short, but it also draws attention to its own shortness, incompleteness, and metonymic relationship with a greater, less tangible treasury of verbal gifts. In so doing, the epigram highlights the equivalent statuses that inscription and monument share: they are both signs of greater gifts, greater potential pleasures, for the dedicator to bestow upon the deity in question. Monument and inscription are merely tokens of their respective media.

In order to further understand ekphrasis, modern scholars have attempted to triangulate the relationships between literary ekphrases, real objects, and their reader/viewers. Mitchell attempted to do this through a trio of sentiments:

1. 'Ekphrastic hope'- the aim that a literary ekphrasis allows its reader to imagine vividly its subject. The object is realised through the imagination of the reader.
2. 'Ekphrastic fear'- the moment of resistance that is created when the reader fears that the ekphrasis may go beyond the bounds of its medium and actually realise itself before the eyes of the reader. An ekphrasis would cease to be an ekphrasis if the object were to become present upon the ekphrasis' reading.
3. 'Ekphrastic indifference'- the state of mind that the reader takes into the process of reading an ekphrasis that allows them to remain conscious of the impossibility of the realisation of an object through vivid description. It is the knowledge of ekphrasis' inability to achieve its ultimate goal of bringing about the presence of an object.¹³⁶

These three sentiments show the complicated relationship objects have with ekphrases, but more importantly they assert that ekphrasis is artful, it requires interpretation and is not to be understood straightforwardly or prosaically: it is by nature presenting its percipient with a multitude of interpretative avenues to follow. Ekphrasis is not to be understood as a

¹³⁶ Ekphrastic hope, Mitchell (1994) 152; ekphrastic fear, Mitchell (1994) 154; ekphrastic indifference, Mitchell (1994) 157.

prosaic, scholarly comment on the relative positions or identities of images and texts made by a poet inclined to favour his own art. Instead, it is an artful reflection by an artist, which is to be seen among other contemporaneous artful reflections (such as the visual arts) which between them constitute the ever-changing attitudes of a society towards itself and its cultural texts.

Mitchell's trio of sentiments is important for understanding the relationship between ekphrases and epigrams because they are both types of text that have particularly strong relationships with objects.¹³⁷ Murray Krieger argued that the language of an ekphrasis no longer had to yield primacy to its object, instead claiming 'equivalence with it- and more'.¹³⁸ Yet this argument is borne out of the presumption that in the earliest examples of epigrams in the Archaic period epigrams were subsidiary to the images they appear alongside. But such arguments once again rely on essences and respective boundary lines being reinforced, which I have already shown are not so easily identifiable when the original objects are viewed.

Jon Steffen Bruss preferred to connect ekphrases and epigrams by categorising different elements of ekphrastic writing and showed how they were present in 'almost all pre-Hellenistic inscribed epigrams'.¹³⁹ Such an approach presupposes that ekphrasis is identifiable on the grounds of content, which is in contradiction to how ekphrasis is otherwise defined: ekphrasis is defined by its effects, not its content. An ekphrasis cannot be identified by breaking it down into its component parts, but must be experienced as a whole (including the surrounding narrative) and understood for its effect of 'bringing before the eyes' some visual phenomenon- that is what separates it from description.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ Krieger (1992) 16 went so far as to argue that ekphrases are epigrams that no longer have their companion object attached, instead the ekphrasis entirely negating the need for a material object at all through its vivid verbal representation. It is unlikely that Krieger was proposing such an aetiology for ekphrases literally for if Homer's 'Shield of Achilles' is accepted to be an ekphrasis, it almost certainly predated inscribed epigram in its oral form.

¹³⁸ Krieger (1992) 16.

¹³⁹ Bruss (2010) 387. Bruss' claim here must be tempered against the fact that his 'characteristics of ekphrasis' are so numerous that his critics could be forgiven for dismissing his statement outright. However, I feel that this would be a case of throwing the baby out with the bathwater. There are many ways by which one can define ekphrasis, the first of which its effect on the reader. Bruss has deconstructed the elements of an ekphrasis to show what specific and recurring elements most contribute to having the desired effect of making an image appear before the viewer's eyes.

¹⁴⁰ Of Bruss' elements of ekphrasis, his points '(e) an aesthetic evaluation of the object'; (f) an intimation that the object should be viewed'; and '(g) a labelling of the anticipated or hoped-for attitude or emotion with which the object should be viewed' get to the core of this issue- effect, not composition, defines ekphrasis.

In ways similar to the effects of ekphrasis, Archaic epigram is also concerned with the creation and complementing of visual experience. The connection between the two modes of writing is their shared preoccupation with the visual and material world. Inscribed epigram exhibits this preoccupation explicitly by simultaneously being a visual and verbal artform: it is undeniably verbal in its content, but is explicitly visual in its form and effect. The peculiar dual nature of inscribed epigram has been economically summarised by Anne Carson, who argued that the difference between oral epic and inscribed (here Simonidean verse) 'is physical: Simonides' poem has to fit on the stone bought for it. An oral poet may labor under restrictions of time or personal stamina or social decorum but only an inscriptional poet has to measure his inspiration against the size of his writing surface.'¹⁴¹

The reason for the alignment of interest between the two types of writing is that beyond simply being preoccupied with the visual world at large, they are specifically focussed on the *reception* of the visual world. Thomas Schmitz rightly argued that creators of epigrams must frame and pre-empt the act of reception due to the fact that the epigram does not have a single, trained performer who the creator may know, but rather will be performed by any literate person to a completely unknown and changing audience.¹⁴² Epigram as a genre, due to its practical desire for economy of words and changing audience, relied on the percipient to interpret and construct meaning from what is otherwise sparse material: 'the refusal to speculate amounts to no less than a refusal to read.'¹⁴³ It is the pre-empted reception of a (real or notional) visual phenomenon expressed through words that is the creative centre of both ekphrasis and epigram. Epigrams and ekphrases are not attempting to create an image before your eyes in a mimetic way, but rather take you through the process of perceiving that image, they make the reader practise the act of viewing.

Most importantly for our purposes, Fowler has argued that ekphrases have an implicit or explicit observer, whose very act of viewing is narrated by ekphrasis.¹⁴⁴ Indeed, this idea is complemented by ideas about what images are in art theory. According to John Berger's discussion of images in his 1972 *Ways of Seeing*, an image is not a record of a king, landscape,

¹⁴¹ Carson (1999) 78.

¹⁴² Schmitz (2010) 31 makes this point specifically about epigrammatic speech acts, which is in fact the entire reception of the verbal content of inscribed epigram in the Archaic period. This is comparable to the way in which Culler (2015) 191-4 characterised the issue of address within the genre of lyric most broadly- it does not seek to create speech acts through mimetic means, but rather have the reader perceive a speech act that has only imaginatively occurred. For the generic relationship of lyric to epideictic expression, see Culler (2015) 73-6.

¹⁴³ Hunter (1992) 114.

¹⁴⁴ Fowler (1991) 27.

or event, but rather how the artist *saw* that king, that landscape, that event.¹⁴⁵ In light of this formulation, epigrams and ekphrases can be conceived of as the expression through words of a viewing of an image before such an image exists,¹⁴⁶ whereas images themselves are creative responses to and receptions of the act of viewing- their aims are complementary. Not even on a functional level can images and texts be considered separately all the time, instead they exist on a continuum of media.

Understanding that images and ekphrastic writing are responses to and expressions of the viewing process just like images are responses to and expressions of viewing processes allows us to conceive of their shared aims. Acknowledging this also allows us to identify their similarities and further blur the line between texts and images. Indeed, the content of an inscription also defines its perceived materiality and the percipient's conception of its medium by evoking a different materiality in the imagination of the percipient. Imagination and sensory data must share in our understanding of epigrams, sculptures, and a monument as a whole for imagination and sensory data inevitably share in the percipient's experience of a monument.

1.3.2 Describing the Visual

Archaic epigrams, just like ekphrases, both are a reception of and prefigure a viewing experience: a viewing experience is both the cause and effect of an ekphrastic piece of writing and an image. For instance, see the dedicatory epigram to Hera by Cheramyes written on the edge of a female figure's dress now in Berlin:

Χηραμύης μ' ἀνέθηκε θε<ε>ῆι περικαλλές ἄγαλμα.¹⁴⁷

Cheramyes set me up to the goddess, a beautiful delight.

¹⁴⁵ Berger (1972) 10. Images themselves are representations of acts of viewing- presumably after the act of viewing has taken place, even if that act of viewing was in the artist's head.

¹⁴⁶ Paradoxically, an image of which an ekphrasis is a reception cannot exist before the ekphrasis has been read, for the ekphrasis forever changes the mode of viewing and consequently, the image. Epigram has a similar effect in that its verbal content will also change the viewing and interpretation of its accompanying image- the image is different depending on whether the epigram is read before or after the viewing of the sculpture. Given their relative visibility in the Archaic context, the statue would be viewed prior to the reading of the epigram- as such, the sculpture would be viewed once, the epigram read, and then the sculpture viewed a second time and differently in light of the epigram's own reception of the sculpture.

¹⁴⁷ CEG 422.

By describing the statue as ‘a beautiful statue’ the epigram presents its viewing of the image through its description of the object as beautiful. Not only does it describe the figure as beautiful, but presents it as a viewing, an ekphrasis.

The praise for the statue goes beyond simply the statement that it is beautiful, the word for statue itself is poetic and complimentary. The word *agalma* (ἄγαλμα) is not a denotative term for statue, but is instead a noun derived from the verb *agallein* (ἀγάλλειν) meaning ‘to adorn’ or ‘to honour’.¹⁴⁸ Joseph Day also makes use of this word in his work on epigram, further adding to the definition of *agalma* when he highlights that in earlier poetry it only appears as the middle form *agallomai* (ἀγάλλομαι), meaning ‘I glory, exult’ in something.¹⁴⁹ Thus the word *agalma* is itself a word describing the reception of an object while also prefiguring that object’s reception by a percipient: the ekphrastic aspects of this epigram are both created by and provoke a viewing experience. Rather than being a word that describes the statue, or denotes ‘statue’, it makes reference to the feelings and reactions one would have towards the object after an act of viewing.¹⁵⁰ When *agalma* is used in dedicatory epigrams to act as the word for ‘statue,’ the Archaic epigram can very efficiently express its own reflexive nature by exploiting the area where epigram and ekphrasis overlap in the expression of the reception of a visual phenomenon.¹⁵¹ This argument strengthens Grethlein’s claim to the reflexivity of media in Archaic Greece,¹⁵² as well as Squire’s claim that ‘theoretical thinking was instead reflected, constructed and debated through visual materials themselves’.¹⁵³

The opinion that the statue is beautiful and the use of the word *agalma* was not presented as a universal, generally agreed upon fact, ‘the statue is beautiful’. Rather, it has been

¹⁴⁸ Platt (2011) 90; Stewart (1990) 45 translates it as ‘delight’; Squire (2009) and Gaifman (2012) 11 use *agalma* to describe the sacred image in classical and post-classical contexts. Osborne (2011) 193 acknowledges that the use of the word changed over time. It was applicable to any sort of statue (among other things) in Archaic culture, whereas from the Classical period onward its meaning was narrowed to refer only to cult statues. *Agalma* and its meanings within the Archaic period will be discussed fully in chapter 3.

¹⁴⁹ Day (2010) 86-88.

¹⁵⁰ Day (2007) 43. Neer (2018) 475 points out how, as is typical ‘in early Greece, the image performs its own iconography’, so here the votive offering practises the adoration that it expects of itself by the viewer/reader.

¹⁵¹ Such connotative, semantically dense vocabulary is typical of Archaic epigram due to the often necessary brevity of the inscribed art form. Such language is present in the following Archaic epigrams (though not exclusively): *agalma*- CEG 183, 190, 302, 303, 328, ; *mnema*- CEG 6, 21, 54, 56, 58; *dekate*-CEG 179, 190, 194, 200, 202; *aparche*- CEG 193, 205, 206, 215, 239; *anetheke*- CEG 188, 189, 193, 195, 197; *sema*- CEG 23, 24, 26, 29 36. In addition to these words can be added the poetic/hymnic epithets of deities. Much of this language is discussed below in section 1.3.3 and chapter 2.

¹⁵² Grethlein (2016) 106.

¹⁵³ Squire (2016) 32

presented as an opinion from a distinct perspective due to the deployment of the third person 'x set me up'. This epigram is written from the perspective of the statue itself, the act of viewing that is presented is an autopsy in its literal sense of 'self-looking'- it is a reflexive act of looking, a narcissistic act of self-looking. When such a viewing process is expressed from the perspective of its very own subject- when the same persona is viewer and viewed- this situation is further complicated. The viewer has an identity (one of the symptoms of ekphrasis, as discussed above) in the common phrasing of 'x set me up'. The statue and epigram when presented together (and so close as to be the same object in the case of inscribed figures) play a game of viewing with one another. The percipient may view the statue first, without reading the epigram, and identify in it some aspect of their culture (for instance, ideals, theological issues, issues of representation). After this, they may read or have read to them the epigram which is itself an act of viewing the sculpture. Finally, having seen the object for himself once, and had another viewing process expressed to him by the epigram, the percipient once again looks at the statue in a new way in light of the authoritative statements that the monument has made about itself. The ekphrastic epigram and the image itself present different viewing experiences to the percipient on whose own experiences these experiences pile on top, creating a layering of acts of viewing that evolve together over time in light of the new revelations/focuses/insights of the subsequent viewings. Put more simply, between the image and the epigram, a multitude of viewing experiences are layered on top of the viewer's own individual subjective responses, each with their own concerns: you can never look at the image in the same way twice.

If we assume that the interaction with an inscribed monument is that the larger, more visible sculpture is seen first, then the inscription is read, and the sculpture is viewed a second time, the experience of the monument changes over time. Playing such a situation through in reference to a particular Archaic Greek epigram puts pressure on Mitchell's ekphrastic sentiments. Ekphrastic hope is fulfilled, but at a cost: it is fulfilled due to the presence of the object- the hope that the object appears is realised upon reading the epigram as the percipient already has an image of the sculpture in their mind. But through performance of the ekphrastic epigram, the percipient's original viewing of the image is lost forever and a new viewing is born in the percipient's mind. The second viewing of the real sculpture is thus complemented by an unrepeatable original viewing and an imagined image of the sculpture they created with help from the stimuli of the epigram.

Ekphrastic fear is threatened, but ultimately never realised. After the original viewing of the sculpture and the reading of the epigram, the percipient has an image in his mind that is not

the statue that he saw on the original viewing, nor that which is seen on the second viewing, but rather one that can only exist in his mind. A statue is not a 'delight', it is not conceivable as beautiful in its own opinion, as the voice of the epigram purports- but despite this situation only existing in the percipient's mind it is nonetheless still an important aspect of the percipient's experience of the monument as a whole. This is due to the fact that the ekphrastic situation requires the percipient to animate the statue with a voice and point of view that is only possible imaginatively. The imagination of the percipient enriches their experience of the monument without realising that experience outside of the mind and thus realising Mitchell's ekphrastic fear.

The adherence to ekphrastic indifference throughout the experiencing of this monument is central to the interpretation of Archaic Greek epigram: the percipient must conceive from the outset the artificial and unachievable nature of ekphrasis as part of verbal artistry. One may problematise the 'closeness' of the relationship between an ekphrastic epigram that has been inscribed into the very sculpture that it takes as its subject because their identity is linked and inseparable. However, even the most prosaically descriptive ekphrases could never supply the required information to create a complete image that can mimetically represent any object of the real world- an ekphrasis can only create an image in the imagination. Instead, the ekphrastic epigram offers an alternative image, a solely notional image, one informed by the connotative and suggestive language of the epigram itself, while also being complemented and subsidised by the viewer's original viewing and other personal or culturally specific ideas about what statues look like. So while the subject of the ekphrasis is the statue standing before the viewer, the product of the ekphrasis is an entirely new, imaginary image. Thus 'indifference' toward inscribed ekphrastic epigrams is the intended response, for ekphrasis' artificiality is stressed by its presentation alongside an object, whilst also beneficial to the perceived value of the object it takes as its focus. Furthermore, this knowledge of the artfulness of both image and text that ekphrastic inscribed epigrams evoke seems most appropriate to the context of votive dedicatory objects, considering the Greek gods' dual nature as ultimate sensory beings, yet so resistant to perception.¹⁵⁴

The implicit viewer in the act of viewing that the Cheramyas inscription describes has been given an identity: that of the statue itself. The statue then describes itself as beautiful,

¹⁵⁴ Platt (2016) 179 argues for the paradoxical status of the Greek gods as simultaneously ultimate sensory beings and resistant to perception by mortals and this bolsters my argument here by showing how media were also playing with this theme and were integral as media, 'that which is in the middle' between a sender and receiver of a sensory experience.

meaning that this epigram is the artwork's ekphrasis of itself, it is the description of the statue's own act of reflexive looking. If one conceives of the statue and inscription as one artefact (as inscribing on the statue itself would suggest) then this artefact is simultaneously an art object and its complementary ekphrasis, which gives birth to two new images: the imaginary statue that is created by the ekphrasis, and the product of the second viewing of the statue in light of the ekphrastic epigram. This also adds a sense of temporality and sequence to the act of viewing, or re-viewing to be discussed in chapter 2.

Many dedicatory epigrams, like those of Cheramyas and the '-ron' kore, include a formulaic form of the verb for being dedicated, *anetheke*¹⁵⁵:

[--]ρον ἀνέθεκε τῷ Ἀπόλονι τῷ Πτοιεῖ. [--]οτος ἐποίεσε.¹⁵⁶

'-ron set [me/ it] up to Apollo, the Ptoion. -otos made [me/it].'

Both of these epigrams, indeed almost all dedicatory epigrams, share this verb. Thus, simply by supplying the verb of dedication the epigram acts as an ekphrasis of the event of the object's dedication. An event was an equally acceptable subject for an ancient ekphrasis as a piece of art, indeed its restriction to art objects is a modern invention.¹⁵⁷ This differs from Day's idea that epigrams reperform the original act of dedication in two important ways:¹⁵⁸ first, that my interpretation of these ekphrastic gestures is that these epigrams are for the purpose of evoking an imaginary image, not the original act; second, as a result of this formulation, the performance that the percipient undertakes is a reperformance, but not one of the original dedication, instead the act of viewing the dedication. Also implicit within the Greek verb *anetheke* is the positioning of the object upward for the purposes of display and visual prominence evident from the prepositional prefix 'ana', which is still evident in the common literal English translation 'set up'. As such, *anetheke* is another ekphrastic gesture implying perception and reception by an audience that have become included within the formulae that constitute much of the Archaic votive epigrammatic corpus.¹⁵⁹ Thus the

¹⁵⁵ For discussion of the formulae included within Archaic inscriptions, particularly votives. See Lazzarini (1976) *passim*.

¹⁵⁶ Richter (1988) no.2.

¹⁵⁷ Webb (1999) 8 discusses the ancient broad definition of ekphrasis 'a description of a person, a place, even a battle, as well as of a painting or sculpture'. Webb also charts the importance of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in changing the meaning of ekphrasis for modern scholars. Francis (2009) 4 follows Webb's argument, discussing in more detail the surviving definitions of ekphrasis from the ancient world, the earliest being that of Aelius Theon from the 1st century CE which he states is 'Ekphrasis is descriptive language, bringing what is portrayed clearly before the sight. There is an ekphrasis of persons and events and places and periods of time.'

¹⁵⁸ Day (2010) *passim*.

¹⁵⁹ Keesling (2003) 1.

epigrams of both the Cheramyas and ‘-ron’ korai describe the viewing of the monument’s dedication of which the viewing of the monument is a part. In addition to the ekphrasis of the act of dedication, the ‘-ron’ kore’s epigram also represents its creation in the formulaic phase ‘x made me/it’. Again, this may be interpreted as another event as the subject of the ekphrastic epigram inscribed onto the statue.¹⁶⁰

By acknowledging the relationship between epigrams and ekphrasis, this section has shown how epigrams alone can create for the reader an image that affects and changes the viewing of the actual sculpture. Ekphrastic epigrams add a new lens through which the viewer looks at the sculpture, changing it, and in doing so creating an entirely new image which is the product of both visual and verbal components. The ekphrastic aspects of epigrams similarly prompt the reader to consider language’s visual effects, inviting interpretation and engaging the imaginations of their readers, complementing and adding to the powerful non-fixity of Archaic sculptures discussed in the previous section.

1.3.3 Deictic Language as Ekphrastic Marker

Making statements such as ‘x made me’ and ‘y set me up’ not only employ conventions of ekphrasis by describing the events of manufacture and dedication, they are also regularly used in conjunction with deictic language- for instance, the ‘me’ of the formula is deictic of the speaking object. Krieger has argued that deictic language is one of the differences between the relationship shared between word and object in lapidary epigram and literary epigram. In lapidary epigram deictic language is a sign that the words yield primacy to the visual object, whereas in ekphrasis language seeks equivalence with image.¹⁶¹ However, deictic language has a specifically visual and spatial aspect to it- it is often used to locate bodies in space and its use once again refers to the perception of the physical world, specifically through the eyes. This is evident in the relative nature of words such as ‘this’, ‘that’, ‘me’, and ‘you’, all of which create a sense of a spatial centre in relation to which all other things are considered.¹⁶²

Reference to the Mantiklos Apollo’s epigram (figure 1.16) will help us to explore deictic language due to its extensive use in the short hexameter inscription:

¹⁶⁰ A description of an object’s manufacture is a very traditional symptom of ekphrastic writing, the second of Bruss’s (2010) 387 list of ekphrasis’ components.

¹⁶¹ Krieger (1992) 16.

¹⁶² Bakker (2016) 201.

Μάντικλός μ'άνέθεκε φεκαβόλοι ἀργυροτόξοι

τᾶς {δ} δεκάτας τὸ δέ, Φοῖβε, δίδοι χαρίφετταν ἀμοιβ[άν].¹⁶³

Mantiklos set me up to the Far-Shooter Lord of the Silver Bow

as a tithe, so that you, Phoibos, may give some delightful return.

The *m'anetheke* of the epigram, referring to the votive artefact as a whole, draws attention to the material body that bears it by positioning it in space, requiring some physical point of reference. The epigram has a strong focus on aesthetic response to materials throughout due to its choice of epithets for Apollo, 'Argurotoxoi' (ἀργυροτόξοι) and 'Phoibos' (Φοῖβε) in particular. Argurotoxoi, 'Silver-Bowed one', in addition to being *Kunstsprache*, makes mention of metal, a material in which other figures like this one may have been made, strengthening this ekphrastic epigram's claims to the material and physical world as a way of further contextualising the figure overall. Phoibos, on the other hand, does not refer to materials but rather their reception for it means "Shining one". Phoibos implies a quality of shininess, a quality that the new figurine of Apollo in bronze would have had as it was displayed in the sanctuary. Thus the epigram contains epithets of Apollo that feed into the epigram's ekphrastic aim. The epithets used here do more than just refer to the god, they add synaesthetic details to the act of perception that it is meant to represent. The epigram itself is also included in this 'me' as much as the figurine: this example of deictic language asks the reader to accept the epigram and bronze figurine as one object with a coherent singular subject: me, not we. Furthermore, using 'me' or 'this' to refer to the votive artefact also highlights the individuality of the dedication among others. The epigram was meant to be read in the context of other offerings.¹⁶⁴ The linguistic choice of including shifters such as 'I,' 'me,' and 'this' compels the reader to consider their viewing context and the 'there-ness' of the object that they are reading.¹⁶⁵

Furthermore, the Mantiklos epigram's use of 'so that you, Phoibos,' (τὸ δέ Φοῖβε) also includes the god Apollo within the experience of the object by giving him a presence on an equal footing with the speaker. By evoking both partners of the exchange, this epigram emphasises a functional and commodified interpretation of the object as part of an

¹⁶³ CEG 326.

¹⁶⁴ Baumbach, Petrovic, and Petrovic (2010) 13. This issue will be dealt with further in chapter 2.

¹⁶⁵ For 'shifters' and the identity of the dedication, see Svenbro (1993) 31-34; Ma (2007) 210-215; Baumbach, Petrovic and Petrovic (2013) 13.

exchange.¹⁶⁶ Thus the epigram once again shows itself to act as an ekphrasis by reflecting the object's context of perception- it is meant to be seen during the act of dedication, as was evident in the word *anetheke* discussed above. Through the use of deictic language the epigram attempts to present the object in its physical, visual, and religious contexts in order to reflect the reality of the situation of the object.¹⁶⁷ Ekphrastic epigrams use deictic language to signal their power in taking part in *and* recreating the perception of its companion object.

In sum, the type of writing that is epigram and the trope that is ekphrasis share an occupation with expressing in words perceptions of the visual world. Indeed, many epigrams include within their most common formulae words or phrases that may contribute towards the ekphrastic goals of epigrams. Specifically, the content of Archaic Greek epigrams seek to create for the reader an imaginary image of the dedication that is separate, but complementary to, the object before their eyes which can be perceived before and in light of the ekphrastic epigram's effects. Ekphrastic epigrams use language to create and define relational space between the viewer, (imaginary) object, and identified speaker for the purpose of bringing to the fore the materiality of the real image. In addition to this, ekphrastic epigrams highlight their own powers as words that can conjure images in the mind of the percipient that can affect the understanding of the real objects before the viewer's eyes. All this is possible due to adherence to ekphrastic indifference and the acknowledgement of the artificiality of the representational acts performed by words and images that pervades the Archaic period.

¹⁶⁶ The address to the god in the vocative here, 'O Phoibos', is also reminiscent of prayers and lyric apostrophes which begin in the same way. The religious and theological ramifications of this sampling of prayer language will be discussed in chapter 3.

¹⁶⁷ Day (2010) 122; Bruss (2010) 391.

1.4 Conclusion

This chapter had three thematic aims, the first was to highlight the Archaic awareness of medium that is always brought to the fore when different media are juxtaposed. This was expressed in the deployment of the relatively new technology of writing: it was used in a way that exploited not only its verbal content and ability to evoke aural words, but also its visual quality. Archaic lettercutters were exploring the relationship between the written visual world and the visual worlds of pattern and figurative representation, testing the supposed boundaries between these different types of lines and scratches used to score the material world.

Second, this chapter has shown how epigram shares a distinct relationship with the material world: it is simultaneously a part of it, while also engaging with it from the aural world of words. I have shown how words affected the interpretation of images, and the necessity to interpret them in light of one another. This mode of interpretation is particularly important due to the period's concerns with memorialisation and (especially posthumous) glory where one's cultural texts are a potential path to immortality for a member of Archaic Greek society.

Finally, this chapter explored the relationship shared by epigrams and ekphrasis as a way of theorising their treatment of and engagement with the visual world. This final section identified the shared preoccupation with the presentation of the reception of visual phenomena enjoyed by Archaic epigrams and ekphrases and the ways in which they produce comparable effects for the percipient. Overall, this chapter has shown how necessary it is to conceive of Archaic images and texts as comparable and overlapping categories that refuse clear delineation, if categorisation is at all possible. To consider the Archaic epigram without its accompanying image is to only read half the epigram, and to see an image without its accompanying epigram is to see only one of the images this monument produces.

As such, 'writing' especially had a less defined identity, use, or purview in the Archaic period than it does today. However, that is not to say that many of the conclusions of this section are irrelevant or inapplicable to later periods of Greco-Roman antiquity. For instance, this chapter has contributed to a broader explanation as to why Hellenistic poets such as Callimachus developed and played with epigraphic and epigrammatic form to the extent that they did. Furthermore, the tension between writing and images is evident in the

recurrent play on the word *graphō* in the ekphrastic literature of the Second Sophistic around a millennium later.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁸ For instance, see Philostratus, *Imagines* 14 on Hyacinthus, which, in reference to Apollo, states 'Here is the god, painted/written with his customary uncut hair' (*ταυτι μὲν ὁ θεός, γέγραπται δὲ ἀκειρεκόμης μὲν, τὸ εἰωθός,*). The issue is that the reader of the ekphrasis is not seeing a painted Apollo, but rather reading a written Apollo. Both of these readings are present in the text, yet it is the reader who will have to decide whether they are viewing a painting or reading a book.

Chapter 2- Time, Space, and Confrontation with Archaic

Inscribed Sculptures

Whereas the last chapter showed how the effects and performance of the images and texts included within inscribed sculptures cannot be separated from one another, this chapter will show how integral performance context is to the comprehension of the monument's meanings, an aspect which is too often forgotten in scholarship. This chapter will explore the ways in which Archaic sculptures and inscriptions engage with the world around them. In particular, there will be a focus on their engagements with time and space- the dimensions that defined Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's 1766 characterisation of the difference between Painting and Poetry (as synecdoches of art and text): art is the representation of bodies and colours in space, whereas text is the articulation of sounds in time.¹⁶⁹ Understanding the engagement of Archaic inscribed statues with time and space is of particular importance as they were predominantly used for memorial or spatio-temporally evocative purposes, given their common funerary and votive uses. The votive context which will be discussed throughout this thesis inevitably has an effect on the perception of the monument by a contemporary percipient. However, this chapter will also show how the monuments themselves pull in contextual details from a (spatial or temporal) distance in order to self-position and curate their own contexts. The monument may curate its own performance through its form, content, and media in order to affect how the percipient interacts with it and the messages they receive. A greater sensitivity to the ways in which Greek sculptures

¹⁶⁹ Lessing (1766) 91. Lessing (1766) 91-2 recognised the limitations of his own theory when he stated: 'All bodies, however, exist not only in space, but also in time. They continue, and, at any moment of their continuance, may assume a different appearance and stand in different relations. Every one of these momentary appearances and groupings was the result of a preceding, may become the cause of a following, and is therefore the centre of a present, action. Consequently painting can imitate actions also, but only as they are suggested through forms. Actions, on the other hand, cannot exist independently, but must always be joined to certain agents. In so far as those agents are bodies or are regarded as such, poetry describes also bodies, but only indirectly through actions.' (trans. Frothingham) It is the reception of Lessing by classics scholars who glide over Lessing's own caveats, often excluding them entirely: cf. Krieger (1992) 17 who half-accepts Lessing's theory when he argues that texts have the power to 'exceed' the objects they represent with words as ekphrasis has access to both space and time, whereas the object may only act in space. Also see Squire's (2009) 99-102 excellent discussion of Lessing which, though it misses the above quoted passage, still discusses Lessing's admission of the weaknesses of his theory in chapter 17, arriving at a similar conclusion on page 106. Also see Bal (2006) 27 where she explores Lessing's responsibility for perpetuating what she calls the 'dichotomistic fallacy'. Mitchell (1986) 95-115 discusses Lessing's contribution to this dichotomy and indeed discusses Lessing's own reservations. Mitchell characterises Lessing's distinction between images and texts as dependent on identifying different levels of representation.

use and affect time and space will help nuance our understanding of these objects' relations to their contexts.

This chapter will be separated into three sections. Section one will discuss how the language inscribed on Archaic inscribed sculptures makes reference to its own expected performance context as well as other times and spaces. It will show how epigrams use deictic language to create for themselves and their accompanying figures a composite context consisting of that which is present as well as that which is distant in time or space and how inscribed statues articulate that.

Section two will focus on the ways in which Archaic sculptures also make reference to their own as well as other times and spaces for the purpose of focusing the viewer on aspects of their imagery. Archaic sculpture has long been understood as indexical, that is, it visually makes reference to things that are otherwise unrepresented literally.¹⁷⁰ This indexicality is in sympathy with the deictic content of Archaic epigram. Due to this similar strategy of representation, but in spite of sections one and two being about Archaic epigrams and sculpture respectively, very often reference to the companion medium is necessary to understand the references being made, and so, as ever, the line between discussing image and text is blurred.

Section three looks specifically at the ancient performance context for inscribed Archaic statues in order to show how specific monuments, when considered holistically affected, and were affected by, their reader-viewer's mode of engagement with them. It will show the difference that a percipient's interaction makes to the interpretation of the monument on a political level, a socio-cultural level, and a personal or physical level. This section will look at the specific ways in which Archaic reader-viewers would have engaged with and been engaged by contemporary sculptures, both big and small within their spatial context. In addition, this section will expand and nuance scholarly understanding of the engagements Archaic Greeks would have had with Archaic inscribed figures in light of their differing formal features, such as size, gender, and nudity.

This chapter will show that Archaic epigrams and sculptures are carriers of dense communicative gestures. These communicative gestures make connections between their media and their consumer, producer, and prototype. The recontextualisations that this

¹⁷⁰ For instance, because she identifies votive kouroi as divinities, Ridgway (1993) 66-75 sets up the relationship between prototype and image as one of indexicality. Also see Neer (2002) 53; Tanner (2006) 84.

chapter will perform will show how heavily embedded within their contexts the interactions between percipients and monuments were and the role that context played. Similarly, this chapter will show monuments incorporate places and times other than their immediate performance context to create a composite context including both things from their immediate time and space, as well as those to which the monument makes reference in order to curate its own context. It is advantageous for the dedicators to include these techniques within their monument's communicative strategies as they evoke important or valuable aspects of monuments and in doing so increase their value as publically perceived monuments and votive offerings. Unpicking the communicative gestures that these monuments perform will allow scholarship to better understand how these monuments not only worked in isolation but also prove the importance of understanding these objects within their contexts and how these performance contexts were integral elements of the monuments' performances from the moment of their dedication.

2.1 Inscriptions and Deixis

Unlike the text of an inscription, the printing of a novel in a different place does not dramatically affect the meaning of the text, nor is it considered a different book, but rather a different edition of the same text. In contrast epigraphic texts are often strongly embedded within their context: take for instance a sign that says 'no bombing' at a shallow swimming pool. If the swimming pool's inscription were transposed onto the wall of the Houses of Parliament, this text takes on a dramatically new meaning. The meaning of the text of the pool's 'no bombing' sign is so heavily supplemented by its performance context that it is entirely transformed by the transposition of the text to a new monument. In light of this, it is evident that epigraphic texts are very often written with a specific monument or place in mind for their performance. This chapter will look at how Archaic inscriptions inscribed upon the bodies of figures not only depend on and use their performance context, but also times and places beyond it. This section will be divided into four subsections each dealing with how an epigram makes reference to a different time and space via deictic language.

The first subsection entitled 'Deixis 1: The Here and Now,' deals with the ways in which epigrams talk about and bring attention to their placement in front of the reader/viewer and how this frames the epigram's performance. The second subsection, 'Deixis 2: There and Then' will show how Archaic epigrams make reference to times and places other than their own immediate vicinity, making the viewer look beyond the monument itself and to place

the monument within a broader temporal and artefactual span. The third subsection, 'Deixis 3: Authorial Deixis' will discuss the significance of epigrams and their complementary statues being associated with those responsible for their creation. Fourth will be 'Deixis 4: Anywhere and Anytime' which will focus on the ability of epigram to conjure imaginary, particularly supernatural (religious/ epiphanic), situations as well as more concrete, lived human spaces and occasions. Exploring the richness of the communicative gestures of these monuments will go beyond simply showing the dynamics of power in the act of dedication, and instead show how the perceptions of each monument are unique and often rely on their perception by a human audience to expand their significance beyond just the religious.

2.1.1 Deixis 1: Here and Now

Archaic epigram uses deictic language differently from other poetry because it has a defined position in space which for the majority of the monument's existence within that culture will go unchanged: many Archaic epigrams were carved onto stone monuments that would be set up in a position and stay there until their destruction. Deictic language inscribed in a predictable and unchanging context may have more freedom to make specific reference to its surroundings than other 'moving' songs.¹⁷¹ One way Archaic epigrams use deictic language is to stress their own 'here and now' in order to highlight the significance of each performance its text-cum-object undergo.

For instance, the epigram of Timonax, inscribed on the thigh of a kouros reads:

Τιμώναξ με ἀνέθεκε ὁ Θεοδώρῳ τῆρτέμιδι τὸ πρῶτον ἱερέυσας¹⁷²

Timonax, son of Theodoros, set me up to Artemis for his first priesthood.

Timonax's dedication refers to itself as 'me', following the common formula for dedicatory epigrams, 'x set me up to y'. Here, 'me' is a demonstrative pronoun and is an example of deixis. The common inclusion of 'me' in Archaic dedicatory epigram only has its full effect when such objects and inscriptions are put back within their original context. The reader would first be struck by how many of the dedications talk about themselves. Though formulaic, this phrase betrays one of the priorities inherent in the dedicatory act: self-assertion and competition. The most basic formula of dedicatory epigram is a distinct and

¹⁷¹ Vestrheim (2010) 61.

¹⁷² SEG 48, 1408

direct assertion of their individuality, simultaneously stressing that ‘Timonax dedicated me, not anything else’ and ‘Timonax was the one who dedicated me and no-one else’. Indeed, the inscription takes into consideration the fact that it would be read in amongst other inscribed objects.¹⁷³ This stressing of the object focusses the percipient’s attention on the current interactivity between them and the monument- it focusses the percipient on their own ‘here and now’.

Deictic language such as ‘me’ necessarily positions the epigram (and by extension the monument) in space. It is the stone body from which this message originates and upon which it is centred. The text betrays its composer’s knowledge of the materiality of this text- it not only will be spoken aloud in time, but also occupies a point in space which will have a spatial relationship with the reader and other monuments (to be discussed in section 2.1.2). Even if one were to perceive a shift in the epigram’s position in space during its performance from the monument covered in writing to the human reader who says that same writing aloud, the sense of hereness is still highly localised and the epigram’s assertion of itself is negated in the absence of the monument.

So while the ‘hereness’ of the monument is reliable in reference to an inscribed monument, the ‘nowness’ is less so. Though the monument is likely to remain stationery in space, it is certainly not expected to be ephemeral, but rather to perpetuate through time. The ‘here’ might be consistent, but the ‘now’ is expected, or even intended, to change.¹⁷⁴ Each interaction with the monument thus creates a new ‘now’ in an old ‘here’ and over time builds up its own history and reminds the reader of the monument’s independence from the reader as it asserts itself through deictic language as the deictic centre, the centre of its own point of view and voice. The epigram highlights the presence of the monument in myriad such interactions in the past and the possibility of them in the future.

This is of importance for Archaic Greeks due to the desire for monumental memorialisation. In light of this, it is unsurprising to find temporal phrases in inscribed epigrams, such as in CEG 402:

[]ης ποίησεν ἔριν ὁ[]]	...-es made [it/me] competition?
[ἐμροτοῖσιν]	...for mortals...

¹⁷³ Baumbach, Petrovic, and Petrovic (2010) 13.

¹⁷⁴ This would be most dramatic in cases such as in the Nikandre Kore’s inscription where it asserts the status of Nikandre as wife to Phraxos ‘now’. This is discussed by Day (2010) 193 though his reading is reliant on reconstruction of the inscription’s final word.

actor acknowledges the stone's continual passage through time but also his own limited, episodic experience of that time.

2.1.2 Deixis: There and Then

For every 'here' there is a 'there' and the deictic language of Archaic epigrams reflects this:

Μάντικλός μ'ἀνέθεκε φεκαβόλοι ἀργυροτόξσοι

τᾶς {δ} δεκάτας τὸ δέ, Φοῖβε, δίδοι χαρίετταν ἀμοιβ[άν].¹⁷⁶

Mantiklos set me up to the Far-Shooter Lord of the Silver Bow as a tithe, may you Phoibos give some delightful return.

In addition to asserting itself through the *m'anetheke* as discussed above, this phrase also implies the presence of an addressee through the first-person speech act. As discussed above, the phrase *m'anetheke* shows the importance of dedications being correctly attributed to their dedicators that is likely a result of a large number of dedications building up in the growing sanctuaries of the eighth and seventh centuries BCE. In addition to this, the phrase also acknowledges the presence of other dedications, reminding us of the potentially busy, cluttered contexts in which the dedications like the small bronze of Mantiklos (figure 1.16) would likely have been seen.¹⁷⁷ The most recurrent formula in dedicatory epigram admits to and tries to overcome the key problem in having one's dedication recognised by its human and divine audience: it will likely only ever be one of many.

Mantiklos' epigram also makes reference to riches that are beyond its immediate vicinity in that it acknowledges that the dedication is merely a 'tithe' or *dekatē*. Meaning literally a 'tenth', it refers to the greater wealth of Mantiklos from which the resources necessary to make the current dedication were pulled in addition to the potential future dedications it could fund.¹⁷⁸ By mentioning one's broader wealth which paid for the dedication, the dedicator has set up a metonymic relationship between the dedication and their wealth:

¹⁷⁶ CEG 326.

¹⁷⁷ Baumbach, Petrovic, and Petrovic (2010) 13-4. The excavation of the Mantiklos figurine is lost to us, it is reported to be from Thebes according to Froehner (1895). However, given its inscription, it is agreed to have come from the Boiotian Ptoion: cf. Holleaux (1885) 477-9 for descriptions of other small bronze figurines from the Boiotian Ptoion.

¹⁷⁸ The word *aparchē* also expresses the same idea, by stating how this is only the 'first fruits' of the dedicator's windfall or harvest.

their current dedication stands as part of a much greater whole. This may please the god as it is recognition of the greater benefit the god has had on the dedicator- this object is not directly representative, but instead a token of their blessing. Similarly, describing the dedication as a tithe allows the readers (and their audiences) to know of the dedicator's great wealth, acting as an advertisement for Mantiklos' social standing among his community. The word *dekatē* has both secular and religious usages as both a literal tenth used in accounting and other property matters, while the verb *dekathuein* means specifically 'to dedicate a tenth' and its cognates form part of the formulaic and much-repeated language of Archaic dedicatory inscriptions.¹⁷⁹ Indeed, the very use of formulaic phrases and vocabulary such as *m'anetheke* and *dekatē* themselves betray the status of the inscription as simply a variation on a theme through our very acknowledgement of them as formulaic. Any Archaic Greek reading the inscription or hearing it aloud would likely hear such formulaic phrases every time a dedicatory inscription was read aloud: each dedicatory epigram is ultimately a reminder, a formulaic intertextuality of, and variation on every other dedicatory epigram. The formulaic, repetitive content of dedicatory epigrams helps the readers, who would be of varying degrees or types of literacy, to read these inscriptions and know instantly what they were reading and the type of object they were viewing. Even those readers who could only recognise specific common words or phrases would likely have been able to recognise the words $\mu' \alpha \nu \acute{\epsilon} \theta \epsilon \kappa \epsilon$ in the context of a sanctuary immediately.

In the same way that the formulaicism of dedicatory epigrams is a reference to the many other examples of their species; the formulaic forms of kouroi and korai similarly point out that they are merely one of myriad other statues. In sanctuaries such as the Boiotian Ptoion (where Mantiklos' figure was dedicated), Samian Heraion, or Athenian Acropolis of the Archaic period which were crowded with kouroi and/or korai, this homogeneity would be particularly blatant and thought-provoking.¹⁸⁰ Neer has argued that 'through spatial proximity, recollection, or (most likely) a combination of the two, each individual kouros or kore calls forth the entire class to which it claims to belong.'¹⁸¹ This type of sculpture and the repetitive composition of its standard components allowed for a sense of connection between each individual and the category to which it belonged in a form of variation on a

¹⁷⁹ For a discussion of the religious and secular uses of the language of *dekatē*, see Jim (2014) 52-5.

¹⁸⁰ Holleaux (1885) 477-9 outlines the statues and figurines (stone and bronze) he found in the sanctuary during his first 1884 excavation of the site. Neer (2010) 40 describes the effect of the multitude of votives as a 'forest of kouroi'. On the homogeneity of kouroi and korai and its significance, see Keesling (2010) 102-3; Neer (2010) 39-40. Also see Hedreen (2015) 2 and Neer (2002) 97 on the generic images on painted vases.

¹⁸¹ Neer (2010) 40.

theme in Archaic sculpture. By achieving this, the kouroi and epigrams do not just call to their siblings across the space of the sanctuary, but also to their predecessors through time, granting themselves both authority and increased value in their claims to grant *kleos* and favour with the gods.

In addition to these words, phrases, and iconographies that point the percipient toward thoughts of the vast gamut of other auditory and material culture of which they claim to be merely representatives, the epigrams may also implicate other presences in their communicative strategies. Mantiklos' inscription does this by implicating an addressee in the form of an apostrophe to Apollo: 'Mantiklos dedicated this, may you give back Apollo'. Unlike later epigrams which provide imagined dialogues between two speakers,¹⁸² Mantiklos' provides an apostrophe addressed to Apollo. The dedication speaks directly to Apollo, informing the god of the contract in which he now finds himself as a result of Mantiklos' votive act. It is the job of the reader to imagine or epiphanically perceive or interpret Apollo's reaction to Mantiklos' dedication and the boldness with which it entangles the god in a contract of mutual reciprocity.¹⁸³

Such an apostrophe to Apollo develops throughout the short inscription, building due to the repeated calling of the divinity's epithets: three in the space of two lines of hexameter. This applies a kletic aspect to the epigram: the monument repeatedly calls his name, indeed showing the closeness with Apollo that such an object grants to Mantiklos with his inculcation within the dedicatory relationship. However, this request and invocation of closeness with the god is somewhat restrained or mitigated and is reflected in the fact that the god's name is not actually said- only his epithets are stated: Apollo is only ever evoked in an artful, indirect manner. The epithets of Apollo use references to the material world of metals and arms within the life experiences of the reader, as in *argurotoxi* 'Lord of the Silver Bow'. Similarly, *Phoibos*, 'Shining One' stresses the perceptibility of the god, perhaps even his ability to grab the attention of the eyes.¹⁸⁴ This effect of perceptible, shining, god

¹⁸² Such dialogues are far more common on sepulchral monuments, however, starting in the Classical period and staying largely sepulchral even when transferred away from monuments into the anthologies of book epigrams in the Hellenistic period.

¹⁸³ In the case of sepulchral epigrams, the interlocutor is the reader who stands in front of monument and plays both parts, the monument and its interlocutor. With votive inscriptions, specifically Mantiklos', the interlocutor is actually Apollo. Apollo's presence is always imaginary, however, which perhaps explains why he has no speech in the epigram, it too must be imagined and presupposed by the percipient through the dedication's representational strategies.

¹⁸⁴ LSJ translates *Phoibos*, the proper noun, as 'The Bright One', and as an adjective as 'pure, bright, radiant, beaming', the last three of which clearly carry the same sense of light and its movement away from its source..

grounded in the material world is tempered, however. The first epithet *wekaboloj*, 'Far-Shooter' shows how the god is distant and can indeed effect things from a distance, placing the hindrance of spatial distance as a limit on his perceptibility, but not his efficacy. Apollo's name, and by extension the god himself undergoes this periphrasis to reflect the mediated, not wholly satisfying, and possibly dangerous nature of contact with divinity that Greek culture more broadly acknowledges.¹⁸⁵ As is expressed through *wekaboloj*, 'Far-Shooter', Apollo will be efficacious from a distance for he is asked to bring about a 'delightful return' at a time and place remote from the act of dedication. Therefore, the space and time in which the return is to be received by Mantiklos is also indexed by the inscription and accepted as distant from the performance of the dedication.

Archaic dedicatory epigrams, and indeed the objects they complement, were constantly looking to things outside themselves to add to and augment their meaning. Primarily through their forms and formulaicism, they were created in the knowledge that they were certainly not unique examples of their species, yet wished to assert their own presences within time and space. Indeed, being part of a larger species of epigram or monument is indeed a strategy of self-aggrandisement. By invoking broader traditions and practices through both time and space the epigram or statue grants itself the authority that comes with this pedigree and affiliation. In contrast, by making reference to that which is similar or generically affiliated with it, inscribed monuments focus the attention of the percipient on the exceptional within the current variation on the form: the formulaic *m'anetheke* makes the point that this is one of many such objects which will have the same verb inscribed upon it, while the standard kouros form brings to the memory of its viewers all of its forebears and cousins across the Greek world, but both also simultaneously assert their own individuality of expression and presentation of those formulaic aspects. As such, it is important within wider scholarship to not only be able to identify what makes monuments part of a larger group, but also to identify the individual monument as individual and carefully tease out what makes it stray from formulaicism or generic rules. These individualities and variants from the norm are often evoked during the percipient's interactions with the monument, a source of infinite variation and idiosyncratic reading. To point to others present, such as the viewer (human or divine) and other dedications or wealth, epigrams used their performance context in highly complex and elaborate ways for a number of purposes: to engage the human reader; to engage the intended divine audience; and to highlight their individual and generic qualities

¹⁸⁵ This is an earlier piece of evidence that bolsters the argument presented in Platt (2011) 48 which argues that the god is simultaneously impossible to represent, but requires such mediation.

all so that their value as votives could be enhanced and brought to the attention of the god as well as their value and engagement within the religious community as public monuments.

2.1.3 Deixis: Authorial Deixis

There are few Archaic sculptors known to modern scholars whose work we also know. Indeed, we know of even fewer Archaic sculptors of whose work we have multiple examples. Such gaps in the archaeological record have resulted in a relative disinterest in sculptors when discussing such works, in spite of the connoisseurial approach that has had an important role in the writing of Greek art histories.¹⁸⁶ However, a lack of names should not stop modern scholars from assessing the presence of a sculptor in the effects of a monument.¹⁸⁷ A monument may make reference to its creator(s) in a number of ways. The most direct is of course the artist's signature, as in the '-ron' Kore's inscription (figure 1.11):

[--]ρον ἀνέθεκε τῷ Ἀπόλωνι τῷ Πτοιεῖ. [--]τος ἐποίησε.¹⁸⁸

-ron set [me/ it] up to Apollo, the Ptoion. -otos made [me/it].

Here, it is unclear whether the named '-otos' was the carver of the statue, composer of the epigram, or the lettercutter- indeed, these tasks may have been performed by one, two, or three individuals in any conceivable configuration. Such uncertainties have also undoubtedly contributed to the lack of discussion of sculptors when discussing kouroi and korai. In the medium of painted vases, the Greeks did sometimes make the distinction between the potter and painter, the painter also presumably being the one to paint the inscriptions. These roles are attributed by the formulae 'x m'epoiesen' and 'x m'egrapsen'.¹⁸⁹ The same verb,

¹⁸⁶ The lack of multiple works of a single sculptor in the Archaic period has meant that often kouroi and korai are organised into and identified by regional styles, such as Attic, Naxian, and Argive, for this, cf. Richter (1970) and (1988). On the other hand, discussions of Classical sculpture have experienced the opposite effect as many more sculptors and their attributed works (or rather copies thereof) are known. This has allowed more traditional art histories to have been written about later sculptors, whose influence can be identified in not only their own, but also the work of subsequent artists. Such studies include Moon and Hughes Fowler eds. (1995) and Palagia and Pollitt eds. (1996) which takes personal style as their subject, but the earliest artist discussed is Pheidias (c. 480-430BCE). For discussion of attribution and its importance for the construction of art histories for Classical sculpture, see Palagia (2010).

¹⁸⁷ Vivier (1992) on the work of Endoios, Philergos, and Aristokles is a rare example of a study on Archaic sculptors.

¹⁸⁸ Richter (1988) no.2.

¹⁸⁹ For instance, see the François Vase (Museo Archeologica Etrusco 4209) which names its potter as Ergotimos and its painter as Kleitias. An interesting example of when the distinction is being made between these two verbs is within the oeuvre of Exekias, for instance Berlin F 1720, which has written upon it: 'Exekias painted and made me.' For discussion of Exekias and how he signed his work, see

poieō, is used to describe the role of potter and in statue inscriptions, and so it is likely that in the case of statues, 'x m'epoiesen' refers to the sculptor.

By referring to the sculptor through the formula 'x m'epoiesen' the epigram acknowledges the enduring nature of the monument due to it having been the product of a process now completed expressed through the aorist tense. To use Bakker's term, the 'monumental aorist' acts as an instance of temporal deixis that signals to the reader the potential for the monument as a whole, but particularly the object of the verb, the statue, has travelled through time.¹⁹⁰ As such, the epigram implies the enduring nature of the statue and monument as a whole and reasserts the power of the authors of the monument to be the conduit through whom the commissioner of such a monument may achieve *kleos* as well as recognition for their contribution toward a pious act. In addition to epigrams acknowledging their monument's moment of dedication, they may also acknowledge their monument's moment of creation, placing them within a narrative including multiple points, punctuating the presence of the monument through time for the glory of its dedicator and creator. This shared benefit for all who have contributed to the monument reveals the symbiotic relationship that the dedicator or commissioner and author share in the realm of *kleos*, memorialisation and praise in both social and religious contexts. The creator of this monument has a presence at the performance of the monument, despite being absent and brought to the attention of the percipient through the epigram's content and use of formulaic language.

In addition to the epigram making reference to its creator, the statue may do the same. When looking at vase imagery of the late Archaic/ early Classical group of artists called the 'Pioneer Group' of c.530-470BCE, Richard Neer has shown that members of this group were purposefully making their images distinctly theirs in order to self-promote.¹⁹¹ Using evidence obtained through a connoisseurial approach, Neer notes that artists were purposefully adding in unrealistic flourishes within the details of their images as well as painting messages that targeted other vase painters and in doing so pushed the persona of the artist to the fore.¹⁹² Such an effect can be found earlier in the inscribed sculptures of this study. When

Hurwit (2015) 80-91. For how signatures were played with by painters, see Lissarague (1994) 15; Hedreen (2016) 129.

¹⁹⁰ Bakker (2016) 203-4.

¹⁹¹ Neer (2002) 53.

¹⁹² Neer (2002) 54 for instance, discusses Euphronios' and Euthymides' use of antagonistic writing and pictorial puns to create a tension between the image and reality and exploits that "twofoldedness" to highlight his own wit and his competition with his rivals.

applied to sculpture, the act of inscribing directly onto the body of the figure also shows that the artist was not concerned with representing the phenomenal world. The author has unrealistically augmented the image for the purposes of visual and verbal elaboration. Creating an image that is further from realism than one's own culture's standards of representation highlights the very artificial nature of the object. This augmentation of reality emphasises the role of the creator, making a show of the constructedness of the image to further show the skill that the creator displays through his work. This form of implicit temporal and spatial deixis once again points the viewer's attention away from the monument in front of them and toward a moment in the monument's biography that is likely remote from the experience of the average viewer. In light of this, the carving of inscriptions onto the naked human body is itself one of these movements away from the phenomenal world, and as such the image has its nature as image asserted and emphasised.

Furthermore, the vocabulary used to describe the dedications adds to the prominence of the author's presence within the viewing process, as can be appreciated in the Berlin Cheramyes Kore (figure 1.6)

[Χηρα]μύης μ' [ἀ]νέθη[κε θεῆι περικαλλ]ῆς ἄγαλμα.¹⁹³

Cheramyes set me up to the goddess, a beautiful delight.

As discussed in chapter 1, the words *perikalles* and *agalma*, both of which are common ways of describing statues in Archaic dedicatory inscriptions, comment on their qualities. These pieces of vocabulary, which are unambiguously applied to the statue itself (as opposed to the language of *m'epoiese* and its specific applicability to the statue), highlight the skill of the craftspeople who contributed to the creation of the dedication. Indeed, it is only through the skill of the craftspeople that the dedicator may give such gifts. The praise for the statue acts as praise for the author(s) and praise for the dedicator, all of which contribute to the perceived value of the act of dedication in the eyes of the human and divine consumers of such monuments.

The lack of paired names and sculptures in the extant record of Archaic sculpture has somewhat hindered assessment of the significance of the presence of the author in this material. In spite of this apparent lack of evidence, I have shown how the presence of the author can still be detected. In addition to this, I have shown that the author was clearly still of importance to the conceptualisation and interpretation of Archaic sculpture by

¹⁹³ CEG 422.

contemporary audiences. Through gestures of authorial deixis, I have shown how percipients of Archaic inscribed monuments could detect the monument's authors through both the verbal cues of the inscription and the visual cues of the sculpture and its relations with realism and artificiality. By making reference to the authors and their acts of making, the mind of the percipient is prompted to look beyond the immediate time and space of their own performances of looking and reading and to even look beyond the act of dedication which has been argued to be the focus of dedicatory epigrams.¹⁹⁴ Indeed, the particular significance of authorial deixis is the power it has to prompt the percipient to conceive of the monument before them as part of a much longer and capacious process of making, dedicating, looking, and reading, of which they themselves are a part, but not the end.

2.1.4 Deixis: Anywhere, Anytime

So far this section has discussed how epigrams use language (and sculptures use their forms) to stretch themselves and assert their presences into spaces and times both close to and remote from their realities during performance. This last subsection will elaborate on the way in which votive monuments attempt to evoke an imaginary world for the purpose of showing their suitability to the votive task of interacting between humans and gods, whilst also being the currency between them. To modern secular eyes, the monuments themselves also point toward the imaginative times, spaces, and figures that the distinctly divine and religious aspects of these monuments represent.

Elsner has argued that *kouroi* and *korai* link the viewer to a world in which they no longer represent, but actually embody their subjects. Thus it is through a sense of otherworldliness that the viewer may virtually travel between the plane of representations and the plane of bodies.¹⁹⁵ But through this allegory of travel, it is actually clear that it is the viewer that must come into the presence of the subject of a piece of art, not the other way round. It is the viewer that must travel to the imaginary plane of bodies, rather than remaining alone on the plane of images. Peponi argues for a similar conception of the function of deixis when she corrects the assertion that deixis 'anchors' the viewer: rather, 'what it *really* does is lift that anchor and lead the mind's eye to sail on the sea of imagination.'¹⁹⁶ As such, Archaic monuments were not simply using deixis to be seen within the contexts of the sanctuary,

¹⁹⁴ This is the central argument of Day (1994), esp. 43, and also Day (2010).

¹⁹⁵ Elsner (2006) 84-5.

¹⁹⁶ Peponi (2004) 302.

each other, and their surroundings, but also within their own world where they are an animated and enlivened populace.

One of the ways in which epigrams create for themselves an imaginary context is through the creation of ‘a purely imaginary communication’ in epigram.¹⁹⁷ One of epigram’s methods of doing this is the adoption of a voice in which the epigram is to be performed. The most obvious way in which a reader could adopt the voice of an absent or imaginary figure is through the adoption of the grammatical first person, ‘I am x...’, just as the Chares inscription (figure 1.15) does:

Χάρης εἰμί ὁ Κλε(ί)σιος Τειχιο(ύ)σ(σ)ης ἀρχηγός. ἄγαλμα το(ῦ) Ἀπόλλωνος.¹⁹⁸

I am Chares, son of Kleisis, ruler of Teichioussa, the delight belongs to Apollo.

This inscription requires the reader to simultaneously accept that the statue is talking and that the monument is Chares. The specific relationship that the monument and Chares share is unspecified in the epigram, other than as an equivalent: ‘I am Chares’. Tueller argues that in ‘the simplest terms, the speaker is the “I” of the text’, and thus the speaker is Chares, not the reader, or the object. As a consequence, the voice heard by the audience of the epigram is not in fact the reader who would say the epigram out loud, but rather the voice that the audience understood to be speaking within the self-contained fictional context of the epigram. In the imaginary world where stones are conduits for the words of an absent person, the identity of speaker must be similarly transferrable between represented and representative. Given the final clause of the inscription, however, the hearer of the epigram must perform the cognitive dissonance of accepting that the statue, owned by Apollo, is speaking and is in fact the historical individual Chares. Those who hear such claims recorded on stones throughout the Greek world must be absorbed within the imaginary world in which speaking monuments not only exist, but regularly start conversations with passersby.¹⁹⁹

The inscription of the Mantiklos Apollo goes even further than this as it reads:

Μάντικλός μ’ἀνέθεκε φεκαβόλοι ἀργυροτόξοι

τᾶς {δ} δεκάτας τὸ δέ, Φοῖβε, δίδοι χαρίφετταν ἀμοιβ[άν].²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁷ Schmitz (2010) 35.

¹⁹⁸ SEG 56 1216.

¹⁹⁹ Archaic sepulchral inscriptions accompanying kouroi specifically address the passerby ‘pariontes’, or stranger ‘xeine’, to involve them in an imaginary interaction.

²⁰⁰ CEG 326.

Mantiklos set me up to the Far-Shooter Lord of the Silver Bow as a tithe, and may you, Phoibos, give some delightful return.

Instead of a self-identification, Mantiklos' inscription it states the more common 'x set me up'. This inscription performs an apostrophe addressed to Apollo's epithet 'Phoibos' in the vocative case and the pronoun 'you', *tu*. In order to understand fully the interaction that this monument describes, the reader/listener as well as their audience must make a choice between 1) the object uses the speaker's voice as its own and calls out to Apollo; or 2) the reader speaks and addresses Apollo himself. Situation 1 does not at all seem unusual given what has been discussed above, the simple explanation being that the object speaks as object ('x dedicated me') to the god with which it was created to commune. However, this explanation is somewhat complicated by the image that this epigram lies upon: an image which has been thought to be of Apollo himself with bow and arrows in hand.²⁰¹ An image of Apollo must address Apollo himself. This creates a confusing situation that proves the object to be merely an ersatz Apollo which is to converse with the god in an imaginary private transaction that the reader/listener will not actually be privy to, but instead receives a record of in the form of the monument that he may only ever re-enact. The image of Apollo, which self-identifies as object and juxtaposes itself with the subject it actually depicts stresses its identity as medium, as intermediary, as object. However, this object would still break the boundaries of reality and force the percipient of the monument to imagine objects calling out to gods before a voiceless human. The empowered and animated object is imagined at the cost of the percipient's voice, but subject to their imagination.

Situation 2 where the reader speaks on behalf of the monument to Apollo would account for the representation of Apollo in a different way. If the reader is believed to be the speaker as is factually true without the use of imagination, the presence of the god Apollo similarly does not require imagination to perceive, for it is embodied or at least stood in for by Mantiklos' monument. Now the reader speaks to Apollo directly, who is instantiated by the image. This monument, unless the reader is expected to experience frustration, is then a tool for the creation of an epiphanic episode. The image of Apollo is no longer meant to be seen as an image, but rather as the god himself, whom the speaker may address as Apollo by way of a multitude of epithets. The acceptance of the reality of the situation must be suspended,

²⁰¹ Froehner (1895) 142. Hansen (1983) no.326 avoids strong identification of the figure, describing it as an "*Imaguncula aenea militis nudi (Apollonis?)*". Comstock and Vermeule (1971) 17 consider the possibility of the figure holding a spear in the left hand and a shield on the right arm, thus identifying the statuette as a representation of a warrior. They also argue that this arrangement would better explain the positioning of the inscription.

instead replaced by a scene of deal-brokering between the reader and the tiny bronze divinity that stands before him. This is an interpretation that also works for the dedication by Chimaridas, which also depicts the deity to which it is dedicated, Artemis:

Χιμαρίδας τᾶι Δαιδαλείαι.²⁰²

Chimaridas [dedicated it/me] to the Daidalean goddess.

In this case, the epigram has no grammatical speaker at all and thus this role most literally falls to the reader/speaker of the epigram who may 'fill in the blanks' left by the inscription as many modern translators would by saying 'Chimaridas dedicated it to the Daidalean goddess' while looking directly at an image of the Daidalean goddess while it stares back.²⁰³ I do not propose that either situation 1 or 2 is correct, but rather that both are plausible and also not necessary entirely separate in performance, for there are many perceptions simultaneously being enacted at once by the reader and by the bystanders who are his/her audience: the image may act as presentation and representation of the divine simultaneously.

This section has shown how epigrams were drawing their readers' attentions in a multitude of directions. An epigram may assert itself within its current space, as well as one of multiple epigrams in an area, and part of the broader tradition of epigrams more generally. Epigrams also highlight their relationality to the reader, each other, and their own creators. Because of this, epigrams locate themselves within a nexus of relationships in the past, present, and future, while similarly being unbound to a significance that is limited to their own immediate vicinity. Furthermore, the composers of epigrams utilise the performance context of their creations in order to provoke epiphany through the construction of scenarios where the reader addresses figures that could only be present in the imagination of the reader: the divinities to whom such monuments were dedicated. The process of reading and understanding the epigram's deictic gestures allows the reader to travel through these connections himself, giving him similar exposure to the epigram's network which transcends space, time, and, through religious conviction, the human realm.

²⁰² Richter (1988) 144.

²⁰³ Further elaboration of the ways in which the images provoke interactions with their viewers will be discussed in section 2.3 'Statues, Figurines, and the Point of Contact'.

2.2 Archaic Images in Time and Space

This section will examine Archaic inscribed images and the extent to which their material aspects also transcend time and space through deictic gestures in ways comparable to their epigraphic partners. Deixis in texts and deixis in images has been conceived of differently by classical scholars which is identifiable in the different language that they use: textual scholars most often use the term ‘deixis’, whereas the same phenomenon for classical art historians is often called ‘indexicality’.²⁰⁴ This section will take the same structure as the previous section to bring out the similarities in Archaic epigram and sculpture’s communicative strategies: here and now, there and then, author, and imaginative indexicality.

2.2.1 Archaic Indexicality: Here and Now

The monuments dedicated by Aeakes (figure 2.1) and Hermonax (figure 2.2) will be referred to throughout this subsection, and bear the following inscriptions:

Αεακης ἀνέθηκεν ὁ Βρυσωνος ὅς τηι Ἥρηι τήν σύλην ἐπρησεν κατά τήν ἐπιστάσιν.²⁰⁵

Aeakes, son of Bryson, set [it/me] up, who seized the booty for Hera in accordance with stewardship.

Ἐρμῶνάξ μέ καί τ[ὸ] τέκνον ἀνέθεσαν δεκάτην ἔργων τῶ[ι] Ἀπόλλωνι.²⁰⁶

Hermonax and his son dedicated me as a tithe of their works to Apollo.

The ‘here and now’ of each monument is expressed in multiple ways by the sculpted figures, working in tandem with the linguistic elements present in their inscriptions, as discussed in the first subsection of this chapter. The first is the material nature of the Aeakes statue: it is large (1.48m high) and made of marble: the object would be unmoveable for any passerby. This is not the same for the Hermonax figure though, as it is only 17cm tall.

²⁰⁴ Deictic language: Peponi (2004) 302; Day (2007) 38; Bing (2009) 105. Indexical art: Neer (2002) 53; Tanner (2006) 84. Eco (1994) 38 notably uses the terminology of the index to discuss semiosis more generally. Similarly, he notes that the indexical may indeed be extralinguistic: ‘But it is irrefutable that in the act of indication (when one says *this* and points his fingers toward a given object of the world), indices are in some way linked to an item of the extralinguistic or extrasemiotic world.’ Trabant (2017) 357-8 presents an important discussion of deixis in relation to *mimesis* in images.

²⁰⁵ *JG* XII.6.ii.561.

²⁰⁶ *SEG* 34, 1189.

However, both figures emphasise their own placement and immovability in their postures. The seated Aeakes and the reclining Hermonax figures both show their presence in their current position and how immovable in that place they are. Sitting or reclining figures, more so than the striding kouros, stress the importance of their placement in space to their interpretation. The seated figure dedicated by Aeakes situates itself within his throne, much like Chares was shown to be in chapter one. This asserts the importance of a steady, continuous presence for Aeakes in the town as both a religious gift, exemplum, and also political figure. The importance of the 'here' for Aeakes is central to Aeakes' identity as a political player on Samos.

For Hermonax, the reclining figure also gives the impression of immovability and stationary permanence- the figure even sinks into its carved cushion and its legs melt under the clothes, denying the chances of any implied movement for the figure. This is to highlight the practise of banqueting, or attendance at a symposium (as the drinking cup and reclining figure suggest). This gives the figure a distinctly aristocratic and religiously-engaged identity: attendance at symposia was a predominantly aristocratic activity or one which was done for devotional purposes, both of which assert for Hermonax an important stake in the cult at Myus.²⁰⁷ By claiming this combined aristocratic and religiously engaged identity, Hermonax draws attention to, and also validates his own claims to a presence within the sanctuary. As such, the sculptures show the importance of their 'here' in performance. It is important for Aeakes as he is claiming political significance for himself in the very place that he has erected the monument, while Hermonax' figure denies implied movement and instead creates for himself an image of an aristocrat who takes part in religious feasting, likely within the sanctuary itself to bolster his credentials and claims to the sanctuary which are somewhat undercut by the relatively small size of the overall figure.

The wealth that Aeakes' dedication symbolises also has a strong local importance: it is a symbol of wealth brought from outside into Samos. The placement of the dedication on the island itself is a sign of the increase of the wealth of the island to the detriment of an external factor.²⁰⁸ Thus, the position of the monument itself bears some of the message that Aeakes

²⁰⁷ The city of Myus was abandoned in antiquity and its population, along with large amounts of its architectural stone, went to Miletus. For an overview of the site's known history, see Greaves (2010) 104-5.

²⁰⁸ Shipley (1987) 70-1. Though he admits that the exact meaning of the text is unclear, Shipley states that the *sule* was 'won abroad from ships of other poleis; and, secondly, that Aeakes held a public commission or office, perhaps in Hera's name.' Carty (2015) 40 argues that he most likely earned this booty from state-sponsored piracy based on Herodotus (see following discussion). ML16 (1988) refer to Herodotus iii.47 as evidence that pirate booty is the likely meaning of *sule*. Herodotus iii.47 recounts

wishes to convey: 'look what riches I have brought to Samos.' The monument's material value and the placement of that valuable material in the town of Samos was itself a loaded gesture that re-enacts the way in which Aeakes wanted to be remembered: as someone who brings external wealth to his island state. This not only shows the importance of the spatial position of the monument, but also its temporal position. The monument asserts the value that Aeakes has brought to the current Samos, highlighting the difference between the past and present Samos and the difference that the stewardship of Aeakes has made to the island.

2.2.2 Archaic Indexicality: There and Then

The immediacy of the Archaic frontal look in combination with the large Archaic eyes is the most powerful way in which the monument confronts other presences. The frontal stare of Archaic figures, large and small, shows that these objects were for the purpose of engaging someone: the viewer (human or divine). The arresting power that the stare exudes demonstrates that these images were created to be engaged with by other beings, they imply other presences. While both Aeakes and Hermonax's monuments are missing their heads, at least in the case of the seated Aeakes, we can be confident that the head of the figure was pointed directly forward (the long tresses on each shoulder attest to as much). This gaze would have been a powerful way to signal to the viewer that their presence was expected and incorporated into the monument's performance. As such, Archaic figures index their audience, which is mirrored in the apostrophes and other speech acts that are caught within their epigrams that similarly include the reader in the performance of the monument.

Hermonax's sculpture also indexes other spaces and times outside of the sanctuary during dedication through the scene it depicts. The figure may be in the process of honouring the god through feasting, but he is certainly not reminiscent of the act of dedication. The figure is far more likely to evoke images of the symposium than dedication in the viewer, guided by the reclining posture and drinking cup in the figure's hand. As such, the statue, though designed for honouring the god, actually transports the viewer to a scene entirely removed from the public space of the sanctuary to a different public feasting occasion or a symposium within a home. This may invite the reader to engage with the image and inscription as if they

the story of the Samians stealing a bowl on its way from the Lacedaemonians to King Croesus. Regardless of the less stable evidence upon which scholars have attempted to contextualise this object in line with Samian history to explain the latter half of the inscription, it is still clear that *sule* means some form of unwilling removal of goods to the benefit of the taker.

were present at a symposium, treating the small figure as a co-diner, transporting the viewer out of the sanctuary altogether.²⁰⁹ Hermonax's monument makes direct reference to the elite lifestyle and so characterises its dedicator as a member of that social milieu. By depicting this activity the monument indexes the behaviours of the dedicator and thus also has an implied temporality. While the dedication can be understood as a representative of the dedicator forever living in a sympotic present, the viewer will understand that this stands as a sign of the dedicator partaking in behaviours both before and after the dedication of this monument. Similarly, the image of an identifiable occasion, such as the symposium, in stone also evokes the power of images to outlast the ephemeral and occasional moments the scene depicts. The symposium that normally lasts an evening is extended into the potential eternity of stone.

Aeakes' monument also shows a keen interest in setting up relationships for itself through time.²¹⁰ The statue dates to 540BCE, presumably under Aeakes I of Samos, whereas the inscription was likely carved during the reign of his grandson, Aeakes II of Samos in 500BCE.²¹¹ The younger Aeakes is revealed to be performing a very cunning act of self-promotion and positioning due to the homonymy between he and his grandfather. Aeakes II rededicates the votive in his own name, while reperforming his grandfather's act of dedication in a retrospective, *kleos*-affirming re-enactment of past glories. The act of remembering his grandfather's fame is the source of a new glory for Aeakes II, reaffirming his grandfather's *kleos* through his recycling of it for his own *kleos*. The *kleos* of Aeakes the elder and younger are intertwined and a source of each other's glorification: the elder is still remembered decades later, and the younger glorifies himself through his act of remembrance.

The younger Aeakes associates himself with his grandfather's successes in the government-sponsored piracy that made Samos prosperous during the sixth century.²¹² The grandson's

²⁰⁹ The act of looking at being looked at is also acutely present within the context of the symposium, the place Hermonax's image is likely to be imagined within. Eye-cups are only the most obvious example of this in a symposium. For 'eye cups', see Isler- Kerényi (2007) 171-6; Mitchell (2009) 36-46; Hedreen (2017) 155; Grethlein (2016) 85.

²¹⁰ Due to the dating of the statue it is equally likely that this object was set up after Aeakes' death by his sons, Polycrates or Syloson. For dating, see Carty (2015) 53-61.

²¹¹ Carty (2015) 53-6. ML16 prefer to see the entire monument as from around 500BCE and separate it from the tyrant line altogether. Jeffrey (1961) p330 (*LSAG* 13) argues that statue and inscription date from 525BCE, while also showing reservations about moving away from 540BCE as the date for the sculpture. Whatever the dates attributed, and even the relative dating of the sculpture and inscription, if scholars are correct in identifying multiple Aeakes within the bloodline, much of my analysis stands. For another example of a monument being re-inscribed, see the inscription paired with the Delphic Charioteer. For a thorough explanation of the arguments regarding this inscription, see Adornato (2008).

²¹² Carty (2015) 40.

achievements are crowned by the achievements of his grandfather and make his successes seem somewhat inevitable, inherent, and genetically predetermined. The inscription thus changes the monument from a statue of Aeakes I, to one that simultaneously represents Aeakes I and makes deliberate reference to Aeakes II. The sculpture literally embodies the continuation of hereditary rule over Samos by the same family, giving a sense of stable and coherent leadership.²¹³

Aeakes and Hermonax use the sculpted elements of their monuments in order to index places and moments in time and space other than their own occasions for performance. This had the effect of creating for the dedicator an identity that is not only glorifying, but also politically, socially, and religiously advantageous. The images on these monuments also further elaborate for the viewer the content of the inscriptions, doubling down on aspects of the dedicator's identity and the power of the monument as a whole to be evocative of multiple occasions and places.

2.2.3 Archaic Indexicality: Authorial

The sculpted elements of the Aeakes and Hermonax monuments draw the attention of the viewer to the authors of the pieces, both their dedicators and their creators. As discussed above, the Hermonax sculpture makes a visual reference to its dedicator's social position by highlighting his elite status through his dedication of an image of a symposiast.

Furthermore, by describing his dedication as a tithe (*δεκάτην*, literally 'tenth'), Hermonax and his son have aligned the value of the dedication with their achievements, which, from the expensive nature of the dedication, we can assume were lucrative and probably placing him within elite culture.²¹⁴ The statue illustrates the events (the *erga*) described in the inscription through its high value, its value being described as merely a tithe, portion, or tenth of his windfall. Thus, it can be understood that the enormous value of the object before the viewer may change the meaning of tithe from a generic term for a portion, to a far more concrete and material term that represents considerable financial resources. Furthermore, the specific depiction of a symposiast with its elite connotations visualises and illustrates

²¹³ This is particularly important if we are to accept Herodotus, iv.138.2 where Aeakes II is listed among the Ionian leaders who was only a sovereign because of Darius, and thus voted in favour of keeping Ionia subjugated under Persian rule.

²¹⁴ For discussion of the meaning and effect of *dekate*, see Van Straten (1981) 92; Day (1994) 69; Keesling (2003) 6-10; for an overview of the language of *dekate* and *aparche* by private dedications specifically, see Jim (2014) 130-175.

Hermonax's participation in elite culture, another cause or effect of the *erga* mentioned in the inscription.

Hermonax's monument has a different relationship with its creator, however. The site of the inscription on the chest and stomach of the figure has required the lines of the figure's garment to be rubbed smooth, or discontinued, in order to accommodate the lettering. This may betray a more competitive relationship between sculpture and inscription than in other monuments discussed already. There is less of an attempt to work the shapes of the letters into the image, or even have it work as further elaboration of the figure with its rather haphazard and untidy inscription. This shows the priority that the inscription has over the sculpted elements in this monument, but also how the assertion of the dedicator's name was more important than the final appearance of the gift itself due to the sacrifices of drapery and texture that are made for the purpose of accommodating the inscription. This highlights the artificiality of the image and as such promotes the roles of the sculptor and lettercutter, showing the work of both in high relief when juxtaposed in such an incoherent manner.

Similarly, Aeakes' complicated game of simultaneous self-and-other aggrandisement is bolstered by the image of the sculpture: it sits on a throne. The sculpture stresses Aeakes's position in Samos as leader. The sculpture itself also signals the 'booty' mentioned in the inscription, turning a fairly abstract amount of 'booty' and replacing this with a far more tangible economic value for the viewer. The image of his grandfather, which bears noticeably old features for a sculpture of c.540BCE powerfully shows to the viewer the validity, longevity, and continuity of Aeakes' family in the ruling, benefaction, and ornamentalisation of Samos. Archaic sculpture, as it shows few individualising features, is ideal for such 'rebranding' of a monument. Aeakes II absorbs for himself the deeds of his grandfather, while also adding to the significance of the monument the memorialisation of Aeakes II's successes at piracy and its subsequent wealth for Samos.

The sculpted aspects of these monuments have shown that they also act as indexes of their dedicators and creators. This shows the importance of self-representation in the act of dedication. This is especially important in monuments dedicated by individuals who were of an elite or political class, who undoubtedly were the majority of people who could afford to dedicate such expensive gifts. The dedication of votives could permit individuals to make their own self-aggrandising claims as well as hijack the reputations of others through the act of (re-)inscription, while taking advantage of the aspects of Archaic art that make such repurposing possible. Furthermore, the form of the sculptures and their interruption by text

shows that, even to the illiterate viewer, the roles of sculptor and lettercutter were important and unavoidable focuses for the attention of the monument's percipients.

2.2.4 Archaic Indexicality: Indexing the Imagination

The sculpted elements of the monuments of Hermonax and Aeakes also engage with the imaginations of their viewers and ask them to form images that are either so distant as to only be present in their memories, or even completely unexperienced by the audience.

Hermonax's monument clearly points its audience's attention to the symposium. However grounded in reality and experience the symposium may have been for the elite male viewer, for the majority of society this scene would only exist in their imaginations. The symposium would have been an occasion completely foreign to women who were not in the entertainment industry of Archaic Greece, and similarly distant to men who were not of the leisure class. Indeed, one must imagine that given the extensive literary and material culture that built up around such an occasion, for those who had never attended an elite symposium, the event must have been shrouded in much confusion, misinterpretation, and class tension.²¹⁵ For one of these non-elite or female viewers, the image of the symposiast would transport them into an entirely imaginary occasion which was a composite image cobbled together from second-hand images and anecdotes of the symposium. To such an audience, the elite connotations of the sculpture would be even more apparent and inform the viewer of the particular status that the dedicator was claiming for himself. This viewer would be transposed into a context in which they have no place, the image becoming an image of exclusion and displacement, rather than community-building. Similarly, the proliferation of images of elites in the publically accessible space of a sanctuary would further play a role in defining the sanctuary as a space for elite actors.

The image of Aeakes would have transported the viewer to a point in time when the senior Aeakes was still the leader of Samos, attempting to invoke a nostalgic image of the former tyrant. Indeed, the monument is likely to conjure a mixture of memories and fantasies about the not-too-distant past around 20 years earlier. Aeakes II was allying his grandfather's image to his own actions and achievements as a way of fostering good relations with the population of Samos. Particularly, by partaking in the elite activity of public dedication to a deity, Aeakes

²¹⁵ Compare the characterisation of Philokleon in Aristophanes' *Wasps*, lines 1219-31. For discussion of these lines, see Jones (2014) 232-3.

II's efforts would have been most effective at persuading Samian aristocrats of his benefaction and fostered solidarity with them. He does this by transporting them to a time when the senior Aeakes had ruled without the complications of Persian interference on the island when the island, specifically the Heraion, was undergoing a massive period of monumentalisation.²¹⁶ Aeakes II is using old images to weave himself (or passively be absorbed) into a narrative of him as a figure that can return to, or at least show continuity with, a bygone age.

The statue of Aeakes with its (presumably) frontal stare would have transported the viewer to the Heraion through its identity as a votive offering. This connection between the city and the island's main sanctuary was of significance for both Aeakes I and II as the sanctuary acts as a site of aristocratic self-representation and benefaction for the people that they ruled. Acting as a symbol of the Heraion's significance in the main city of Samos, the monument would have brought to bear all of the significance that aristocratic influence has in the sanctuary to the cityscape too. In this way, the monument positions the sanctuary within the city in order to establish a religious, aristocratic, and self-validating image of Aeakes II in the main city of Samos, furthering his political ends of establishing his tyranny over the island.

The sculpted aspects of the Hermonax and Aeakes monuments were specifically evocative of times and places distant from their own performance context. In Aeakes' case, the performance context of the sculpture was redefined by the inscription of Aeakes II's epigram. This allowed both Hermonax and Aeakes to evoke within the reader distinctly elite images of themselves in order to bring to bear on their act of devotion and socio-political context the authority of the sanctuary as a place of public performance.

This section has outlined the myriad directions in which both inscribed texts and sculpted images in the Archaic period were pointing the attentions of their reader/ viewers. It has shown how both images and texts were using deixis or indexicality as powerful communicative strategies to equally draw attention to aspects of themselves, as well as each other, other monuments, their creators, as well as entirely unreachable (or imaginary) occasions and forces, such as the gods. This is important for comprehending the ways in which Archaic dedications place themselves in time and space, or rather, how they are created to self-consciously define themselves as objects and words that constantly travel through each of these dimensions and cannot be pinned down with any definitiveness. They freely evoke times and spaces both local and remote in order to further empower the act for

²¹⁶ This is to be discussed further in the section 2.3.1.

which they are the verbal and material remains- dedicatory worship. Such acts defy enclosure within a single space or moment, instead constantly moving the attention of the reader/viewer to a time or space in which they have relevance and power.

Furthermore, the full gamut of evocative communicative gestures that Archaic inscribed sculptures perform also allows us to reconstruct the experience of Greek religion for both communities and individuals. Firstly, it does this by refusing to consider elements of these monuments in isolation: an anachronistic and impossible way to consider inscribed sculptures for a contemporary audience. Secondly, the communicative gestures of inscribed sculptures refuse to allow the viewer to see the monument in isolation from those other elements of material culture around it and indeed the monument's history as an object that was produced and presented in the past. Thirdly, this mode of looking at monuments highlights the importance of acknowledging their power to evoke things and events beyond even the sanctuary to the broader social-cultural context of Archaic Greece showing that there is no clear delineation between the sacred and profane as their expressions regularly fed into the experience of the other.

2.3 Statues, Figurines, and the Point of Contact

To complement to the way in which the last two sections have shown how inscriptions and sculptures may engage with times and spaces even beyond their own performance context, this section will focus on Archaic inscribed sculptures and their interactions with the percipient in the moment of performance. This is further changed by the scale and gestures of the sculptures which can involve the viewer in action or evoke particular reactions. The last two sections will then turn to the figuration of the body itself in terms of its level of nudity and the ways in which the audience is expected to look at and read inscribed sculptures. These aspects of inscribed sculptures are valuable for reconstructing their interpretation in the Archaic period on a public, political level, the socio-cultural level, and the personal and physical level. The latter insights, the personal private responses, are of particular importance as individual responses or actions within the experience of Archaic Greek religion are challenging to reconstruct. Reconstructing how specific monuments were viewed can inform us as to their effects on them and their experience of walking through the sanctuary and taking part in a cult. This will help to comprehend the range of ways dedicatory images functioned within sanctuaries and would have contributed to the personal experiences of individuals, and through repetition, communities.

This section will be divided into five subsections. First, 'Defining Space, Defined by Space' will look at the ways inscribed sculptures could interact with their architectural surroundings in order to see how their meanings are changed through spatial contextualisation and conversely how they can change their surroundings through their presence. Second, 'Kouroi, Korai and Material Confrontation' will discuss the size of dedicatory Archaic images and analyse how this affects viewer's engagements with typically Archaic features of sculpture, especially the frontal gaze and bodily positioning. Third, 'Naked Men', will look at the ways in which nudity affects and is affected by the inclusion of inscriptions on the nude body. Fourth, 'Clothedness' will explore how the male and female bodies each have inscriptions placed upon their clothing and how this effects the reception of their inscribed components and the bodies that are imagined to exist underneath. Fifth, 'Looking with Eyes and Hands', will look at how the most likely form of interactions for small dedications- being held in the hands- affects the reception of the image by both the hands and the eyes. This will show how small images being brought into the space of the viewer-reader may act as a counter to the large monuments that dominate their surroundings.

2.3.1 Defined by Space, Defining Space

There are many ways in which sculptures can define and be defined by space. The starkest example of this is the presence of monumental sculptures of women in the sanctuary. There are remarkably few extant life-size sculptures of female figures from the Archaic period that are not votive in nature. Even sepulchral sculptures of female figures from this period are remarkably rare.²¹⁷ As such, lifesize statues of women make the sanctuary a unique space. Sanctuaries such as the Samian Heraion and the Athenian Acropolis would have been littered with images of females, a sight that the Archaic viewer would rarely experience elsewhere. This is an occasion when size also plays a large role in the interpretation of these objects: the Nikandre Kore and the korai of the Samian Heraion and Athenian Acropolis would have greatly affected their space because of the monumentality of these female figures and their presence in the sanctuary- understanding these figures gives us a better understanding of the sanctuary at large.

²¹⁷ Muskett (2012) 25-6 discusses the rarity of funerary korai, naming only the Phrasikleia Kore (Athens, National Archaeological Museum 4889); the 'Berlin Goddess' (Berlin 1800); and the feet and base of a kore named Phile (Athens, National Archaeological Museum 81).

In addition to their subject matter, statues could change the sanctuary space around them due to their scale and material. The Isches Kouros (figure 2.3), standing 5.25m tall, was dedicated in c.580, along the Sacred Way within the Heraion on Samos.²¹⁸ The height of the Isches Kouros would have been of particular importance due to the way in which a pilgrim would approach the sanctuary along the Sacred Way. The pilgrim would have to surmount the hill Stephanía from the top of which the sanctuary could be viewed and the towering kouros would be experienced for the first time.²¹⁹ The sheer scale of the sculpture would have made it immediately eye-grabbing and, from such a distance may have had an epiphanic quality.²²⁰ From a distance the sculpture may create for the space a sense of otherworldliness, occupied as it was by a giant, anthropomorphic figure of stone. The statue would have likely attracted much of the attention of pilgrims to the sanctuary, possibly drawing attention away from the central space for dedication and sacrifice- the temple and altar. The huge sculpture would have been a stand-out monument in terms of scale, competing with the very buildings in the sanctuary and thus acted as a place marker with which individuals could orient themselves in the sanctuary.

In particular, the relationship between the Isches Kouros and the contemporaneous temple of Hera would have been striking. At the time of the erection of the monumental marble kouros, the temple was still constructed of limestone walls and external wooden columns.²²¹ Material was a key marker of conspicuous spending, with marble certainly outmatching wood and limestone given the larger extraction, carving, and transportation costs that it would incur in addition to the quality of its finish. As such, the kouros would represent one of the most sumptuous objects, including the buildings, in the sanctuary. Isches' kouros defines much of the space around it, drawing the attention of pilgrims to it, rather than the centre of the sanctuary as well as acting as a visual prelude to the sanctuary, striking the viewer before they have arrived.

The reception and perception of some statues would have been greatly affected by their surroundings. This section will now focus on how the site of the sanctuaries of Apollo and Artemis on Delos would have affected the interpretation of the Nikandre Kore (figure 0.1).

²¹⁸ Preliminary publication of the statue can be found in Catling (1981) 41 and Kyrieleis (1986), but a more full treatment can be found in Kyrieleis (1996) 35.

²¹⁹ Greaves (2010) 187-8. Greaves goes on to provide a description of the socialised landscape standing out from the natural landscape, after Tilley (1997).

²²⁰ Also see Osborne (2004) 50-4 who discusses the quality of large-scale or 'monumental' statues to remind the viewer of the super-natural space into which they had entered.

²²¹ French (1990) 68 discusses the dating of the Rhoikos Temple (the limestone temple's successor) to 575-60BCE. Also see Kyrieleis (1993) 148-51; Pedley (2006) 162.

The inscription of the Nikandre Kore is inscribed on the outside of the figure's left leg on the dress. It reads:

Νικάνδρη μ'άνέθεκεν ἠεκηβόλοι ἰοχεαίρηι, ῥόρη Δεινο|δίκηο τῷ Ναησίῳ, ἔησοχος
ἀλήον, Δεινομένεος δὲ κασιγνέτη,| Φηράησο δ'ἄλοχος ν<ῶν>. ²²²

Nikandre set me up to the Far-Shooter, Pourer of Arrows, daughter of Deinodikos, a Naxian, pre-eminent among other women, sister of Deinomenes and now bed-fellow of Phraxos.

The first clause of the inscription follows the standard formula of 'x dedicated me [me/it] to y' while also delivering multiple pleasing epithets, as discussed earlier. In addition to the religious purposes, the epigram has been exploited for the social role that dedications could play in ancient Greece. The description of Nikandre's family should, among other things, highlight to the reader a purpose other than religiosity for the dedication of the object: aristocratic self-promotion and glorification. ²²³ Ultimately, object and inscription are designed to be seen and to impress: they state to us that an important motivation behind this object's creation and dedication is to be seen by humans and for Nikandre and her relatives to be recognised. Furthermore, it is to be found particularly appealing to an aristocratic taste, as is signalled through the epigram's extensive mention of Nikandre's family, which is complemented by the statue's ostentatious presentation of its owner's wealth expressed in both its material and scale.

It is possible to detect a greater significance for the monument when seen within the wider context of seventh century Delos. Due to its centrality within the Aegean, the island sanctuary attracted many visitors from the lands on the coast of the Aegean, particularly the Ionians.²²⁴ Among those peoples who had contact with Delos were the Naxians, who inhabited an island a short distance to the south east. Because of its religious, economic, and

²²² CEG 403.

²²³ Pedley (2006) 105.

²²⁴ Gallet de Santerre (1958) 243; Karakasi (2003) 76. Dillon (1997) 127 states how even though the Ionian people inhabiting the area in and around the Aegean had the festival of the Panionion to come together as a community in Asia Minor, it was at Delos that the Ionians primarily worshipped together. Gallet de Santerre (1958) 280 highlights how the island acted as the centre for an Ionian, in particular Cycladic, market as early as the 9th century, Scott (2013) 45 notes the commercial expansion that the island underwent during the Hellenistic period, the island always acting centrally within its environment, its environment simply expanding over time. For the connection between cult and commerce, see Kowalzig (2013) 198-210.

strategic value, influence over Delos and pre-eminence within the sanctuary became a sought-after commodity.

During the seventh and sixth centuries BCE, the Naxians attempted to create a strong Naxian presence within the sanctuaries of Apollo and Artemis on Delos.²²⁵ They did this through the erection of architectural monuments in spaces of significance throughout the sanctuaries of Apollo and Artemis.²²⁶ By the end of the seventh century, the Naxians had built the Oikos of the Naxians, thought to be the first temple to Apollo on the site,²²⁷ as well as the Portico of the Naxians, both of which defined a Naxian zone from the space around the site for the worship of Artemis.

In addition to the architecture, the Naxians also used sculpted monuments on Delos to define space and to literally frame the experiences visitors to the island sanctuary. At the end of the seventh century the Naxians built the Colossos that stood by the North exit of the Oikos of the Naxians, towering at nine metres high,²²⁸ likely having a similar effect on the pilgrim as the Isches Kouros on Samos discussed above. Its positioning at the terminus of both the older North-South Sacred Way and the later South-North iteration compounded the central position that the Naxians were claiming for themselves on Delos.²²⁹ Furthermore, by the end of the seventh century they lined the North-South Sacred Way, which passes the Lake where Apollo was supposedly born, with a terrace supporting statues of lions. The 9-16 lions stood around three-times life-size and formed a corridor for the pilgrim to pass through with the lake to the North East.²³⁰ The scale, material, and subject of both the Colossos and the Lion Terrace would have had a domineering and strongly politicised effect on the visitors to the sanctuary space, a space that was itself so religiously and geo-politically important to the

²²⁵ Scott (2013) 51 notes that the Naxians played a role in equalising the presence of Apollo and Artemis in the sanctuary in the sixth century, it previously being dominated by its female deities.

²²⁶ See Rutherford (2013) 142 on the way in which sanctuaries were used as spaces of spectacle and its relation to the experience of Greek religion.

²²⁷ For evidence of this being the site of the temple, see Homolle (1877) 225. Courbin (1979) 182-5 argues that the Oikos of the Naxians was the first temple of Apollo on the site, however Bruneau and Ducat (2005) 176 argue that there is little definitive evidence of this, going so far as to say that the most persuasive evidence for this hypothesis is the absence of a good alternative. Scott (2013) 51.

²²⁸ Zaphiropoulou (1983) 18. It is important to note that colossal sculpture was a hallmark of Naxian votive culture, for instance the Naxian Sphinx at Delphi (2.22m on 10m column) and the unfinished and abandoned statue of Dionysus (10.7m tall) in the marble quarry of Apollona on Naxos itself.

²²⁹ The inscriptions on the base of the Colossus also stress a Naxian identity and also make specific mention of the sculpture's material: west side, "I am of the same marble, both statue and base." East side, "The Naxians to Apollo." However, these inscriptions have been dated to the 4th century, Zaphiropoulou (1983) 17.

²³⁰ Gallet de Santerre (1959) 9.

Ionians²³¹. Gallet de Santerre takes these monuments as evidence of not just the artistic/architectural influence of Naxos on Delos, but rather an economic monopoly and political stranglehold.²³²

This then colours the effects of the Nikandre Kore, giving it a potentially greater significance than previously thought due to the politicised space of which it was a part. The Nikandre Kore must be seen within the wider context of the effect of the multitude of edifices erected by Naxians in order to exert some economic and religious power within the sanctuary and its major cults during the seventh and sixth centuries BCE.²³³ Nikandre's votive also creates a presence for the Naxians at the temple of Artemis, for although we should not assume that it is the earliest life-size stone statue in the Greek world, it was still an early one, thus making her a stand-out votive among the tripods and smaller gifts to the goddess.²³⁴ When seen within the context of the other dedications and Naxian architecture, the Nikandre Kore is animated with a powerful and dominating presence with a distinctly political aspect.

It is then clear to see that Nikandre's assertion of her father's (and thus her own) ethnicity as Naxian makes a political statement as much as a personal one. Nikandre's inscription also identifies her hometown by way of the Naxian script as a way of stressing not only her own permanent presence within the sanctuary, but the presence of the Naxians.²³⁵ It was adding to the Naxian self-assertion within the sanctuary that was an ongoing process during the seventh and sixth centuries BCE, a pivotal period for the spatial and religious focussing of the sanctuary on the cult worship of Apollo and Artemis.²³⁶ Furthermore, this gives a certain nuance to the otherwise traditional and formulaic *m'anethēke*. The Nikandre Kore's *m'anethēke* means something far greater: it was an acknowledgement of its own position within a space of competition in that the object stresses that 'Nikandre set *me* up'.²³⁷ It verbally claims its position within the sanctuary almost taking on a territorial slant with its

²³¹ See Osborne (2004) 39-43 on the power of large buildings to enhance the religious significance of a space.

²³² Gallet de Santerre (1958) 295. Constantokopoulou (2007) 46 argues that the monumentalisation of the sanctuary by the Naxians does not imply political domination, but rather the Naxians engaging in competitive display as part of a community. The author would agree with Bruneau and Ducat (2005) 175 who identify this area of the sanctuary as a 'Naxian district' due to the important positioning of multiple monuments.

²³³ Bruneau and Ducat (2005) 175; Scott (2013) 53; Karakasi (2003) 76.

²³⁴ By the end of the sixth century, the Naxians had also created an even more sheltered context for the viewing of the Artemision and its votives: the *stoa* that was built to the south and west, which would eventually also connect to the later *propylon*, for more on the delineation of space within the sanctuaries of Apollo, Artemis, *et al.* on Delos, see Scott (2013).

²³⁵ For identification of Naxian script, see Jeffrey *LSAG* pl. 55.2.

²³⁶ Bruneau and Ducat (2005) 53-64; Scott (2013) 53.

²³⁷ Baumbach, Petrovic and Petrovic (2010) 13.

positioning of a self-proclaiming Naxian monument within the regional sanctuary.²³⁸ In addition, the phrase “pre-eminent among other women” also may be inviting a comparison between the status of Nikandre and the status of her votive among the others in the sanctuary. Seeing this broader sanctuary-wide view of the Nikandre Kore also helps to reconfigure our understanding of the image itself, for it and the Colossus share in their distinct Naxian style of carving long, narrow figures as well as their sharing of a simultaneously Daedalic and Archaic style. They resembled one another in a way that was distinctly Naxian.

This is central not only for seeing the possible political significance of the Nikandre Kore, but also for framing the way in which it was viewed by pilgrims of the late seventh and early sixth century. The presence of the Nikandre Kore amongst other prominent Naxian buildings and monuments may indeed affect the viewer’s perception of the dedication and the person responsible for it. In past interpretations, scholars have argued that the mention of the men in Nikandre’s life in the inscription is a sign of how she was defining herself in terms of the men in her life, and women have been characterised as comparable to korai in the way in which they are treated in social processes of exchange between men (and/or gods).²³⁹

However, in light of the political and spatial context of the Nikandre Kore, just such an interpretation may require reassessment. Viewing the Nikandre Kore among buildings which assert a Naxian dominance would have caused its percipients to perceive this monument as an assertion of outright and overt agency on behalf of someone prominent within an already powerful Naxian community. The objectification and subjugation of the female that the viewer may have seen in the image undergoing a transaction may in fact stand tall as a much more assertive presence within the context of the sanctuary. Indeed, the image itself may represent Artemis,²⁴⁰ and thus align the Naxian woman with the divine goddess to whom the sanctuary is dedicated. This wealthy Naxian aristocrat is making a strong statement about

²³⁸ De Polignac (1996) 59 argues that any investment of resources in a sanctuary is a reflection of a kind of attempt at control over a sanctuary. I would argue that this is perhaps an oversimplification and doesn’t take into the varying scales of dedication, from small figurines and perishable foodstuffs, to the dedication of buildings and large monuments. Despite this, it is appropriate to apply this interpretation to such a large and expensive dedication such as the Nikandre Korē due to scale, self-assertion of a Naxian identity, and the deployment of the phrase *m’anethēke*, as discussed above.

²³⁹ For this interpretation of Nikandre’s inscription, see Stewart (1990) 108; Pedley (2006) 105-6; Day (2010) 191-4 slightly modifies this argument to state how the males in her family are used to show how important Nikandre is as a link between these men; Neer (2012) 115. For the comparison between korai and real Greek women, see Osborne (1994) 90-1; Day (2010) 194.

²⁴⁰ Karakasi (2003) 70 has the most thorough description of the figure, in particular the hands which would have held attributes that would identify the figure more definitively.

her position on Delos and her status back home in Naxos. The perception of Nikandre's dedication is framed by the monuments that make up the sanctuary, her statue is politicised by its surroundings due to its Naxian identity being given more significance in the context of seventh and sixth century Delos.

An additional political effect of the Naxians' programme of monumentalisation and dedication on Delos is the distinct way in which the Naxians were expressing their identity and the role that particular cults were taking in this act of self-styling. The Naxians built large monuments elsewhere in the archaic period's religious landscape. Most famously, the Naxians erected the colossal Naxian Sphinx at Delphi in around 560BC which alone stood 2.2m high, but upon its column, stood c.12.5m high. Once again the Naxians used scale to dominate the skyline of a sanctuary (in Delos with buildings and sculpture, in Delphi with a uniquely elevated sphinx), which made their presence perceptible for even those approaching from afar.²⁴¹ The design of the sphinx with its slender elongated body, as well as the Ionic column upon which it sits betrays the Naxian and Ionian identity of its dedicators,²⁴² to finally be confirmed by priests or other visitors upon entering into the sanctuary. The use of large monuments to honour Delian and Delphian Apollo show the importance of scale and monumentalisation to the Naxian style of dedication- even the Nikandre Kore attests to this as it is the earliest extant rendition of an above life-size female in stone. The giving of large dedications to the gods may express a high level of piety in the Naxians, but it may also be evidence for how artistry and technical skill fed into their style of dedication. Making and transporting large stone objects was harder, took more time, effort, care, and money than any other material (apart from ivory). Size thus embodied a higher density of work from their artists and transporters than smaller objects in cheaper, less precious, or less fragile materials. In contrast to the smaller dedication made by Hermonax discussed above, the Nikandre Kore stands out due to its rare scale and subject matter.

Thus the aesthetic effects of the Nikandre Kore and the art and architecture around it affected each others' interpretations, causing them to be viewed in both religious and political lights.²⁴³ The process of moving around the sanctuary informed the visitor's experience and focussed their ongoing act of interpretation of the sanctuary and the cultic beliefs and practices that it plays host to and materialises. Each object observed or engaged

²⁴¹ For discussion of scale in Archaic Naxian monuments, see Lentini (2001) 4-5.

²⁴² Lambrinouidakis (2005) 84 states how an unfinished sphinx still on Naxos expresses the same features which come to characterise the Naxian style of sculpture.

²⁴³ Though that is not to say that the political and the religious are in any way cleanly separable.

with at the sanctuary is on its own timeline plotting the experience of each visitor. The interpretation of each object by the visitor is informed and augmented by each previous and subsequent engagement within the sanctuary.

2.3.2 Kouroi, Korai, and Material Confrontation

Not just context affected how a percipient engaged with the monument: the statues themselves also harboured methods of pushing their viewers to interact with them in certain ways. One aspect of kouroi and korai that invites engagement, and even confrontation, with the viewer is the stare that they universally hold.²⁴⁴ An example of this is that of the Isches Kouros (figure 2.3), with its large eyes that bulge out of its head beyond the supraorbital arch which has only been superficially carved, as is typical of early sixth century Greek sculpture.²⁴⁵ The frontal gaze that emanates from these eyes allows for a sense of direct engagement between the reader and the statue for they both share in a 'dynamic visual exchange which extends beyond the image's own frame to draw the external viewer into a direct relationship...'²⁴⁶ This relationship is one of exchange, most immediately one of visual exchange. Not only is the viewer looking at the kouros, but the kouros looks back. The kouros' ability to stare back at its viewer manifests and also creates a discourse on the viewer's act of viewing.²⁴⁷ The eyes of the kouros are themselves indexical in a way which offers a counterpart to epigram's deictic language, they look to their percipient and their surroundings in order to prompt and inform their interpretation. The act of being perceived and the monument's own augmentation and emphasis on the act of perception is a central concept behind the kouros' representational and signficatory strategy. While the epigram and figure reflect on themselves and each other, they also reflect their percipient who is similarly invited to reflect on their own act of perception. The epigram, figure, and percipient are all part of a nexus which joins their expressive and interpretative efforts through their intermediation and referentiality of one another.

In addition to the reflexive nature of kouroi and korai as viewers as well as the viewed, this is also present in their role as speakers and listeners. The inscription normally adopts the first person 'x dedicated me', and so is imagined to be the speaker, yet in reality, it is the human

²⁴⁴ This is building on the earlier discussion of this factor in section 2.2.

²⁴⁵ Cf. figure 1.3, the bronze figurine of a woman dedicated by Chimaridas.

²⁴⁶ Turner (2016) 156.

²⁴⁷ Grethlein (2016) 88.

reader saying aloud the inscription. The kouros/epigram combination should also be conceived of as a dynamic relationship between listeners and speakers in a manner as circular as that of the gazes.²⁴⁸

Neer has highlighted that the size of the statue makes a difference to the applicability of this interpretation: if colossal, like the Isches Kouros, the viewer may not be able to lock eyes with the statue at all, especially if one is close enough to read the inscription on the base or body of the figure.²⁴⁹ He argues that this creates a disconnect, a sense of aloofness for the figure, in contradiction to the direct engagement that epigrams encourage. However, large size may actually signify the figure's ability to engage and view many viewers at once, it 'overlooks' or 'super-vises' the community as well as the individual, engaging the larger audience with the performance of the epigram and sculpture through the reading aloud of the epigram. The large size of the sculpture mirrors the ability of the epigram to be simultaneously perceived by a large audience when it is read aloud by the percipient immediately in front of it. The visual medium merely matches the potential of the epigram to be perceived from a distance. The eyes of the larger figure are no less potent and able to watch over the percipient, regardless of whether they are pointed directly at the viewer. To gaze frontward is fundamentally not to have a direction to one's sight, other than simply outward, it is the default direction for one's eyes:²⁵⁰ this is an important difference between Archaic and Classical sculptures, which often look with their heads turned in a certain direction. The outward, generalised view of the Archaic figure engages all who fall under its gaze, whereas the gaze of Classical sculpture is more specific or altogether aversive.

Korai in particular have been argued to have a very direct relationship with viewers, for Osborne has interpreted the frontal gaze in conjunction with the extended or gift-bearing arm as connotative of visual and material exchange.²⁵¹ Korai are often carved with a small animal, fruit, or flower in their hand or to their chest, much like the now damaged object held to the chest of the Parisian Cheramyes statue, which is thought to be a rabbit (figure 1.5). The female figure holds the rabbit as a gift to the god, while also being a gift herself to the same god. This gesture of gift giving and exchange reinforces the role of the monument as gift, as an *agalma*, which the epigram also mirrors:

²⁴⁸ This issue will be discussed more in chapter 3 in relation to the differences between dedications and other votive acts.

²⁴⁹ Neer (2010) 44.

²⁵⁰ Wollheim (1987) 161.

²⁵¹ Osborne (1994) 90.

Χηραμύης μ' ἀνέθηκε θεῶν περικαλλές ἄγαλμα.²⁵²

Cheramyes set me up to the goddess, a beautiful delight.

An image of a maiden in the form of a votive kore to a god has been seen as parallel to the giving of a maiden in the form of a bride from a father to a new husband as well as the important role of women as priestesses.²⁵³ Thus a woman was an ideal figure upon which to apply the gestures and iconography of exchange, as well as the verbal confirmation that the monument as a whole is indeed for the purpose of exchange between human and divine parties as provided by the epigram. The Parisian Cheramyes Kore thus stands tall within its group and asserts its activity within the dynamic occurring between dedicator and divinity, as well as the percipient and itself.

Kouroi and korai thus exhibit many gestures of interaction and confrontation with their viewers, be it their frontal gaze, bodily posture, or even their depicted gender and respective socio-religious position. The product of this direct exchange between viewer and monument is the sense that the monument and the viewer share in the same spatio-temporal context. The gaze allows for a connection between the image and the viewer in both directions, while the gesture of korai similarly open up the possibility for the object to be sharing in the viewer's physical space as it perpetually performs a dedication or sacrifice as the viewer looks on.²⁵⁴

However, materials make all the difference in these interactions between man and monument. The materials used for Archaic votive sculptures and figurines are an important part of this dynamic relationship- they represent flesh, but don't attempt to look as if they are actually made of it. James Porter interprets the stiff and formulaic posture of both kouroi and korai as purposeful methods to signal their artificiality and the materials out of which they are made.²⁵⁵ The purpose for this emphasis on materiality and the materials of votive kouroi and korai is to give these monuments a potential for otherworldliness, or perhaps status as beings that may straddle the mortal and divine realms.²⁵⁶ Objects, words, and their combination in the form of monuments truly prove their status as media: things that act as go-betweens specifically because they are neither party. Votive kouroi and korai are things

²⁵² *CEG* 422.

²⁵³ Osborne (1994) 90; Neer (2010) 53.

²⁵⁴ For the gaze in kouroi, see Osborne (1994) 88; Osborne (2004) 50; Elsner (2006) 84-5; Neer (2010) 46; Turner (2016) 156.

²⁵⁵ Porter (2010) 409.

²⁵⁶ Elsner (2006) 84.

specifically made to be pleasing gifts and adept go-betweens for the human and divine parties that traffic in them. When seen in this light, the unrealistic style of Archaic sculptures, which stresses their artificial nature, strengthens their ability to perform in the role as intermediary. They are both familiar and unfamiliar to the human in form: relatable, yet not identical to the living humans and thus they can perform tasks of which normal humans are incapable.

2.3.3 Naked Men

To understand why any particular sculpted or drawn body is clothed or unclothed, we need to be able to establish what the options were. No artistic image is produced in a vacuum, and in the case of any particular image we can and must establish the alternative traditions against which, at any given moment in time, the choice of an artist or of his client to have a particular image is to be understood.²⁵⁷

The above quote by Robin Osborne makes an important point. Clothedness of the human form in art is a culturally defined one which is the result of two things: 1) that society's contemporaneous attitudes towards nakedness and clothedness, and 2) that society's own contemporaneous and prior artistic traditions. That this is a social and art-historical question has been understood since Larissa Bonfante's landmark article, which acknowledged that nudity is no less a culturally chosen mode of representation for the human body than clothedness, and she makes this point most clear by dubbing nudity a 'costume'.²⁵⁸ The medium of monolithic stone sculpture should make this abundantly clear- there is no body underneath on top of which the artist has attached clothing- nakedness never existed for a sculpture that has clothing, unlike in certain painted vases, where we can see that the naked body has been outlined, then had drapery applied on top.²⁵⁹ Furthermore, the viewer of a clothed statue has never seen the same statue naked, for it has no other state- nakedness in sculpture cannot be conceived of as lacking clothes- nakedness is not a blank canvas which is yet to be adorned.²⁶⁰ There is nothing less 'essential' in clothedness than nakedness for all

²⁵⁷ Osborne (1997) 507.

²⁵⁸ Bonfante (1989) 543-4.

²⁵⁹ If we are to accept the theory that Greek stone sculptural traditions find their roots in Egyptian sculpture it is in fact the more traditional state for figures to be covered than to be naked, reversing this essentialising argument for nakedness.

²⁶⁰ This is opposition to the argument of Steiber (2004) 11, who argue that nudity is a decontextualisation of the human figure. There are of course examples of statues in the ancient world that would be dressed in real, woven garments, such as the Athena Parthenos.

images are constructed and interpreted through cultural and social lenses, and this highlights the importance of seeing the representation of gender as an act of interpretation by the viewer/reader as much as an act of representation by artists.²⁶¹ An art-historical and socially informed approach here thus requires specificity to the Archaic age and a corpus of inscribed statues provides a good case study to investigate such issues as they are temporally and spatially specific to the Archaic age and certain sanctuaries around the Aegean.

First nudity in inscribed statues and figurines will be discussed. This is a category entirely composed of figures of males. Thus the costume of nudity cannot help but be seen in light of its male wearers. So does male nudity please the gods and/or the human viewers of statues? Richard Neer has argued that the presentation of the body is a central aim of kouroi:

[A] kouros does not represent just any old youth, any old body, but a perfect and desirable body. And it displays that body. The statue gives us the body as a whole, parades its nudity, shows it off. It makes much of the body; it makes a fuss, a to-do; it makes the body a “source of visual interest”.²⁶²

This is made all the more clear when kouroi have been inscribed upon. The motivation to inscribe the body can be interpreted in two ways: either the body gets all of the attention, so to engage the audience with the inscription they placed it on the part of the monument that they know will be viewed; or, the lettercutter uses the inscription to draw greater attention to the sculpture because the inscription always draws the eye. Inscribing the body and not the base prevents the viewer/reader’s attention from flowing away from the sculpture at all during the process of perceiving the entire monument.²⁶³ The positioning of the inscriptions on larger monumental sculpture shows a clear concern for the legibility of inscriptions and the viewer’s interaction with them- the body is being inscribed on the parts that the viewer is expected to see. In the case of the 5.25m tall Isches Kouros, the left thigh that pushes forward has been inscribed just above head height, an especially good height for a crowded space so that multiple people may read it at once.²⁶⁴ Scale has a big effect on the

²⁶¹ Lyons and Kolowski-Ostrow (2000) 3-4 argue for performances of gender to be understood as a performance to be interpreted by the viewer.

²⁶² Neer (2010) 49.

²⁶³ One instance of when inscribed statues also have an inscribed base is the Genelaos Group, all of whom sat upon a shared base that bore an inscription. This base is acknowledged to be later than the sculptures, however.

²⁶⁴ Lorenz (2010) 135 states that due to the positioning of the inscription on the front, striding leg ‘the epigram is explicitly thrust towards the recipients’ attention.’

way in which people would have viewed and read this monument: interactions were public and communal.

The sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios in Boeotia not only has monumental kouroi, but many small bronze figures are believed to have bedecked the sanctuary (such as figures 1.1; 1.16; 2.4). Like their larger counterparts the small bronze figures are represented as naked and youthful with distinguished pectoral muscles but with few individualising details apart from their differing hairstyles.²⁶⁵ These small bronzes all bear their inscriptions on their legs, which invites the viewer's eye to pass up and down the length of the figures, and in the case of Kidos' figurine, from the chest downward. Why were the figures not inscribed on their torsos, broader flat areas which are far more practical spaces for such activity? The effect of inscribing on the legs is that it draws the viewers eyes to the genitals of the figure: on Mantiklos' dedication (figure 1.16), to follow the writing the reader must start at the bottom of the figure's right leg, cross underneath the genitals (having actually displaced the genitals upwards to the centre of the pubic triangle), go down and up the left leg, cross underneath the genitals a second time and end where they started; on Kidos' figure (figure 1.1), the reader starts in the middle of the figure's chest, sweeps past the genitals down onto the figure's right leg and then rejoins the inscription to the left of the genitals; on Amphias' statuette (figure 2.4), the reader begins at the top of the figure's right leg with the figure's genitals in profile, then recommences at the bottom of the figure's left leg, to end with a view of the figure's genitals in profile once again. Amphias' figurine may even play with this viewing of the genitals, for the hands of the figure and their contents may have selectively obscured the genitals if the figure were in the reader's hands. What these examples show is that a viewing of the genitals was part of the reading of the inscription and as a result of this, there was likely an erotic allure in these objects. The figure's naked body was to be seen as a sexual object and thus part of its pleasure-inducing strategy.²⁶⁶ If we assume that the

²⁶⁵ Though, it must be stated that they clearly differ in artistic style and date of creation. The more globular forms of Amphias' facial features contrast starkly from the straight geometric lines of the face of Mantiklos' dedication. One feature that they all have in common is the prominence of the lips in each rendering- Mantiklos and Kidos' dedications have almost pursed or puckered lips, whereas Amphias' are simply too large for the face, especially when seen in the frontal view. This last point may suggest that the figure was expected to be seen from the side, which is further supported by the positioning of the inscriptions on the outside of the legs of the figure.

²⁶⁶ Indeed, the sexual appeal of Archaic and Classical male nude sculpture has been somewhat downplayed, despite Graeco-Roman art history's beginnings with the work of Winckelmann, who famously described statues such as the Belvedere torso and Apollo in amatory, appreciative, and possibly homodesirous language. On the other hand, Graeco-Roman art history has been happy to acknowledge the sexuality within female sculpture, especially from the classical period onward, with much attention being paid to the Aphrodite of Knidos. Osborne (2016) 248 argues that humans and gods must share in the same sources of pleasure: 'Any sort of supernatural power might like a gift, but

predominant viewers of these objects were men, for they are by far the most common dedicators within the Boiotian Ptoion, these objects are evidence for the male sexual gaze applied to the male form.²⁶⁷

Not only do they present the god with physically strong men (as is signalled by the outlining of pectoral muscles on all three figures), but men that fit into what some have described as the ideal youth.²⁶⁸ Furthermore, they have been distinctly presented in such a way as to focus on the thighs and genitals of these figures. The Archaic Greeks were using images which held within them erotic appeal to please their gods.²⁶⁹

It is at this point that it may be useful to try to understand better the specific attention to the thighs that such inscriptions provoke. The thighs of figures in the Archaic period are regularly large: the Mantiklos Apollo (figure 1.16) and the Isches Kouros (figure 2.3) are particularly good examples of this phenomenon. From a biological perspective, large thigh muscles are a sign of great strength in the legs. Similarly, one may use practicalities to explain the thigh as the site for inscription as they are large areas. However, this is not a human body that we can dissect and understand as a human body that reflects the rules of nature, instead these figures must be seen as constructs borne out of their culture. As such, a 'biological' explanation, though possible and even convincing, cannot be understood without culturally specific evidence for this belief being adhered to. And a 'practical' explanation similarly does not suffice given that the torso provides much more room, especially width, as a site for inscription. With these factors in mind, a cultural reason must be found to explain the exaggerated anatomies of these figures in such a uniform manner.

The cultural significance of male thighs can be detected in the works of Homer, firstly as a sign of strength. This to some extent is supported by the 'natural' explanation described above.

ὥς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἐπήνεον· αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεύς

the only way of knowing what gift a supernatural power likes is to presuppose that the supernatural power shares the likings of the giver.' This is made in reference to the Prometheus story in Hesiod, as well as religious laws that controlled the animals used for sacrifice and also who could be present within sanctuaries.

²⁶⁷ Blundell (1995) 93 argues that the acceptance for same-sex attraction among Greek men means that it was likely that this played a part in the appreciation of kouroi by their human audience. Discussion of the male body as subject of the male gaze will be discussed further below in this subsection.

²⁶⁸ Neer (2010) 49 describes the bodies of kouroi as 'perfect and desirable'.

²⁶⁹ The relationship between the male thigh and desire will be outlined in the following discussion of *Iliad* 4.

ζώσατο μὲν ῥάκεσιν περὶ μήδεα, φαῖνε δὲ μηρούς
καλούς τε μεγάλους τε, φάνεν δὲ οἱ εὐρέες ὦμοι
στήθεά τε στιβαροί τε βραχίονες.²⁷⁰

So he spoke, and they all applauded him. But Odysseus
tied up his rags about his genitals, displaying
his thighs, both beautiful and great, and he showed his wide shoulders,
his chest, and his sturdy arms.

In addition to Odysseus's thighs being 'both beautiful and great' in lines 18.67-8, Odysseus' thighs in particular are interpreted by one of the suitors as a sign of his impending victory in lines 73-4: 'Iros will soon be Iros no more, with himself to thank for the evil. See what thigh muscles are revealed from beneath the old man's rags.'²⁷¹

There is evidence to say that there is more to the male thigh than just generic strength. Instead, there is a distinctly aristocratic aspect to strength that is signalled by the large thigh. In *Odyssey* 17.219-25, Melanthius asks Eumaios the swineherd to give beggar-Odysseus to him as a worker. Melanthius first maligns the disguised Odysseus as the opposite of an aristocrat in behaviour: he is someone who 'spoils the fun of feasting' (line 220),²⁷² a typically aristocratic activity, and begs for 'handouts, never for swords or cauldrons' (line 222), the traditional gifts exchanged between aristocrats as part of *xenia* (guest friendship).²⁷³ However, Melanthius offers to take the beggar off of Eumaios' hands and offers Odysseus a path of redemption in his service where he may 'build up great thighs' (line 225).²⁷⁴ Here, big thighs are a visual, bodily sign of a good life, hard work, and a way of moving towards Melanthius' own ideals. If the beggar-Odysseus would only cease with his un-aristocratic behaviour, and instead exhibit the body of a reputable man, he might indeed be redeemable in Melanthius' eyes. In conjunction with this scene's play with aristocratic and beggar

²⁷⁰ Homer, *Odyssey* 18.66-9, Greek from Murray (1919), own translation.

²⁷¹ Own translation.

²⁷² 'Spoils the fun of feasting': δαιτῶν ἀπολυμαντήρα.

²⁷³ 'Begging for handouts, never for swords or cauldrons': αἰτίζων ἀκόλους, οὐκ ἄορα οὐδὲ λέβητας. It is also of note that as Scodel (2002) 158-60 points out, Eumaios is also a character wherein the contrast between social status and morality, or one's internal and external nobility are at odds. Thalmann (1998) 55-60 also points to Eumaios' behaviour in light of the differing statuses of slave, beggar and aristocrat. Similarly, Iros has been interpreted as a figure who has a confused identity in relation to his social position: he is a beggar used as a surrogate for the suitors in the fights as well as a character who shares in their behaviour, as discussed by Levine (1982) *passim*, esp. 202.

²⁷⁴ 'Build up big thighs': μεγάλην ἐπιγουνίδα θεῖτο. Here, *epigounida* literally means 'that which is above the knee', a word often used to describe the thigh muscles.

imagery, the scene of Odysseus's revelation of his thighs in the fight against Iros in *Odyssey* Book 18 is coloured by the fact that Odysseus was also thus signalling his aristocratic nature while still in disguise. Odysseus showing his big thighs in *Odyssey* 18.66-74 is thus an occasion when the suitors should have seen through Odysseus' deceit and recognised his aristocratic pedigree and upbringing.²⁷⁵ This scene then stands in contrast to the scene in Book 19 when Eurykleia, Odysseus' aged and ever-faithful servant, recognises her disguised master by the scar on his thigh while washing his feet.²⁷⁶

In complement to the thighs as a site of strength, the destruction of the thighs, especially in the *Iliad*, seems to be a sign of impending death for a hero:

αὐτίκα δ' ἔρρεεν αἶμα κελαινεφές ἐξ ὠτειλῆς.	140
Ὡς δ' ὅτε τίς τ' ἐλέφαντα γυνή φοῖνικι μίηνῃ	
Μηονίς ἢ ἐ Κάειρα, παρήιον ἔμμεναι ἵππων'	
κεῖται δ' ἐν θαλάμῳ, πολέες τέ μιν ἠρήσαντο	
ἱππῆες φορέειν· βασιλῆι δὲ κεῖται ἄγαλμα,	
ἀμφότερον κόσμος θ' ἵππῳ ἐλατῆρί τε κῦδος·	145
τοῖοί τοι, Μενέλαε, μίανθην αἵματι μηροῖ	
εὐφυέες κνήμαί τε ἰδὲ σφυρὰ κάλ' ὑπένερθε.	
Ῥίγησεν δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων,	
ὡς εἶδεν μέλαν αἶμα καταρρέον ἐξ ὠτειλῆς·	
ρίγησεν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀρηίφιλος Μενέλαος.	150
ὡς δὲ ἴδεν νεῦρόν τε καὶ ὄγκους ἐκτὸς ἐόντας,	
ἄψορρόν οἱ θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἀγέρθη. ²⁷⁷	

Immediately, cloud-dark blood gushed from the wound.

²⁷⁵ Murnaghan (1987) 84 describes this scene as a partial epiphany, or recognition scene that the suitors failed to interpret correctly. De Jong (2001) 437 also points out that there is a contrast between the younger Iros and the old Odysseus, further adding to the surprise of Odysseus' victory. de Jong (2001) 437-8 discusses how this scene is a burlesque and parody of typical battle-scenes.

²⁷⁶ Eurykleia recognition scene: *Odyssey* 19.386-94. The position of the scar on Odysseus' body is not actually revealed until the story of its source is told. It is specifically mentioned in 19.450 as γουνὸς ὕπερ, or 'above the knee'.

²⁷⁷ Homer, *Iliad* 4.140-52 Greek from Murray (1924), own translation. What is also notable about this passage is the extended metaphors through which Menelaos' body is described as series of material objects. It is 'dyed' by the blood (lines 141 and 146) like a Carian or Maionian ivory (line 141) for a cheek piece for a horse (line 142) to be deposited in a room as a king's *agalma* (line 144), where it will be a *kosmos* (line 145) for the horse. This section shows how powerfully material culture imagery was for the composers, as well as showing the sophisticated use of material culture and its language by early poets.

As when a Maionian or Karian woman dyes with purple
 an ivory cheekpiece for a horse:
 it lies in some chamber, though many riders long for their
 horse to wear it. It lies there to be a delight for a king,
 two things, both an adornment for the horse, and a glory for the rider.
 So, Menelaos, your shapely thighs were stained with your blood,
 and your shins and beautiful ankles beneath them.
 Then Agamemnon, the lord of men, trembled
 as he watched the black blood trickle from the wound,
 Menelaos, dear to Ares, also shuddered himself.
 But when he saw the cord and the barbs on the outside
 his heart recoiled back into his chest, reassembled.

Here the staining of Menelaos' thighs with his own blood is meant to threaten the character with death, which is similar to the way in which Aeneas has his thigh crushed by a rock thrown by Diomedes (only to be saved by Aphrodite) and how Sarpedon almost dies when he and Tlepolemos throw spears at each other (only for him to be saved by Zeus).²⁷⁸ In these cases, Homeric heroes are almost killed, their thighs being a site for the dramatization of their destruction. The weakness or destruction of the Homeric hero's thighs was used as a sign of his inevitable (or what should be inevitable if the gods didn't intervene) death.

This is particularly dramatic in *Iliad* 4 above as Agamemnon and the others misinterpret the bloody thighs as a sign that Menelaos is dying, only for Agamemnon to find the arrow has not lodged itself into Menelaos' body. Most importantly for our discussion is the language of beauty that is used to describe Menelaos' legs: his thighs are 'shapely' (*euphues*) and his ankles are 'beautiful' (*kalos*). This image of beautiful legs is further elaborated by the simile of the cheek piece. The simile frames the cheek piece (and Menelaos' legs as their prototype) as an object of desire: 'many a rider longs (*ērēsanto*) to have it' (lines 143-4); it is to be 'laid out as a king's *agalma*' (line 144);²⁷⁹ and is to be admired doubly as an 'adornment (*kosmos*) for the horse and an honour (*kudos*) for the rider'. Given its description and the simile, the

²⁷⁸ Diomedes and Aeneas: *Iliad* 5.303-10; Sarpedon and Tlepolemos: *Iliad* 5.655-67.

²⁷⁹ For discussion of the language of *agalma* and its relationship to admiration, see section 1.3.2 Describing the Visual.

gory image of the bloodied thighs is actually presented to be one of desire, allure, and covetousness.²⁸⁰

In light of this analysis it is clear that the large thighs exhibited by Archaic statues are likely to reflect broader socio-cultural ideals about not only strong, but also aristocratic male bodies. These ideals expressed within the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were not working in isolation from their material cultural contemporaries and descendants.²⁸¹ Furthermore, as shown in the passage from *Iliad* 4, the male thighs were a site for desire and allure. As such, it is appropriate to understand the large thighs of Archaic sculptures as a choice by the artist to adhere to aristocratic body ideals, making them an identifiable iconographic unit used by the artist to represent their likely aristocratic commissioners.

By inscribing the thighs of the male sculptures, the lettercutters would have been drawing extra attention to a body part which carried with it a series of cultural ideals of strength, aristocratic position, and male beauty. As such, this is evidence firstly that inscribing on the male thigh in particular is not (just) decided by practical factors, but added meaning to the statue and inscription. The thighs of the statue which act as signs of male aristocratic beauty and a centre for desire are further elaborated and are required to be stared at by the literate viewer when they are inscribed upon. At the same time, the inscription is framed by the same alluring aristocratic body which complements the votive function of the inscription as it recites 'x set me up', bringing visual pleasure and erotic allure into the act of reading.

2.3.4 Clothedness

The application of the sexual gaze is not exclusive to the viewing of naked figures, however. Clothed figures could be found similarly attractive. For instance, see the figures of Aristomacha and Ornithe, and the Parisian kore dedicated by Cheramyas (figures 1.4; 1.9 and 1.5 respectively). It should be acknowledged, first of all, that the figure of Ornithe and the Cheramyas kore wear long *peploi* that have been heavily detailed with both straight and

²⁸⁰ Kirk (1985) 346 states that the simile of the precious object reflects 'the unique value of Menelaus to the Achaeans,' but in the simile it is the staining action that is the tenor of the simile, not Menelaus' relationship to Agamemnon (or the Achaeans more broadly): Menelaus' thighs being stained by blood is like ivory being stained with purple. Ultimately the simile has the effect of treating Menelaus' thighs as a material used to create an object of beauty and prestige. Postlethwaite (2000) 80 argues that the effect of describing the object as a 'delight for a king' is to show the 'great value and beauty of the ivory which is dyed, and so the nobility of the hero who is bloodied'.

²⁸¹ The question of the relationship between Homer and his contemporaneous culture is an ongoing one evolving with focus being changed along the lines of the theoretical perspective of the author. For a brief overview of the dangers and difficulties of using Homer to understand an historical period, see Ulf (2009) 81-3.

curved striations which create a sense of the undulations of the fictive body underneath while also depicting more expensive textured fabrics. This may have been further highlighted by the pigmentation used on the figures. The hair of Ornithe's figure is cut into repetitive beads across the figure's front and back by drill work which manipulates shadow in order to add a sense of depth, to which a modern art historian may apply the term *chiaroscuro*. These figures were meant to be pretty- they were designed to be looked at and found visually pleasing, showing that aesthetics and religious function were inseparable.

Cheramyas wanted his dedications to be found visually pleasing to the point where Cheramyas actually inscribed the object describing it as such. Especially with this message of visual delight being inscribed in juxtaposition to the message that it was for the goddess, this declaration of beauty highlights the connection and shared nature of aesthetics and the function of Greek votive objects. The wearing of particular clothing and jewellery by female characters in literature has been described by Deborah Steiner as objects of strategic adornment akin to male characters wearing armour.²⁸² In both cases, the costume they apply to their body does not conceal it but reflects and extends or displays the qualities of the imagined body underneath.

The striations of the Cheramyas Kore (figure 1.5) and Ornithe Kore (figure 1.9) show some limited attempts to reflect (or rather entirely construct) the female body that supposedly underlies them. The diagonal lines on the chest of the Cheramyas Kore act to highlight the figure's right breast, the other obscured by the statue's left arm and the object it held. Above the breast the lines fall downward into the figure's cleavage while underneath they are more horizontal, drawing a distinction between the volume of the breast and the flatness of the stomach below. On the Ornithe Kore, the width of the hips is exaggerated by the right hand of the figure which grabs the cloth and pulls the lines of the garment from a vertical, to a horizontal direction. As an extension of this, the bunching of the depicted fabric in the figure's hand works in complement with the inverted V-shape of the upper part of the figure's dress and its striations to give the impression of broader hips. This has the effect of giving the sense of an expanding volume from the figure's waist to the hips, despite the sculpture being consistent in width due to the fixing of the arms to the body. Greek sculptors were using sculpting techniques such as these in order to stress the feminising aspects of the bodies that they depicted. This emphasis on a particularly feminine body may not have had the same sexual appeal to the Samian Hera that the bronzes did to Boiotian Apollo, but

²⁸² Steiner (2001) 235, especially in reference to //14.170-86.

instead engage with Hera's association with childrearing, female maturation, and marriage.²⁸³ These figures are being represented as ideal young women, nubile figures which flaunt femininity and in doing so glorify Hera in her role as making such figures exist in human flesh, not just in stone. The stressing of femininity through the carving of the figures asserts the importance of celebrating the maturation of the female body for the cult. By creating stone female bodies the dedicators emulate the powers of the goddess whom they are praising. This is presumably a successful way of pleasing a goddess associated with the protection of women during the processes of childhood, childbearing, and marriage, which are of particular prominence in the cult of Hera at Samos.²⁸⁴

But what of *male* clothedness? There are a number of examples of male figures fully clothed, lacking the nakedness that was discussed above. Male nakedness was not the standard in Archaic Greek sculpture, or at least not the standard everywhere. The Ionian tradition of sculpture regularly depicted men clothed, but how should this be understood, especially in light of the previous discussions of male nakedness and female clothedness? Figures 2.1-2 and 1.15 show the distinctly Ionian fashion to clothe men- they come from areas such as Caria and Samos. Figures 2.1 and 1.15 have two distinct differences from conventional kouroi other than their clothedness- they are seated and they are likely representations of real people, Aeakes and Chares respectively. Furthermore, in addition to their stated votive purposes, they are both overtly political, as their inscriptions reveal:

Χάρης εἰμί ὁ Κλε(ί)σιος Τειχιο(ύ)σ(σ)ης ἀρχηγός. ἄγαλμα το(ῦ) Ἀπόλλωνος.²⁸⁵

I am Chares, son of Kleisis, ruler of Teichioussa, the delight belongs to Apollo.

Αεακης ἀνέθηκεν ὁ Βρυσωνος ὅς τηι Ἥρηι τήν σύλην ἐπρησεν κατά τήν ἐπιστάσιν.²⁸⁶

Aeakes, son of Bryson, set [it/me] up, who seized the booty for Hera in accordance with stewardship.

²⁸³ Blundell (1995) 93-4 discusses how korai represent unwed virgins and the depicted fabrics of their dresses are pulled tight around their buttocks when viewed from the back and sides, which is evident in the Parisian Charamyes Kore's back.

²⁸⁴ Baumbach (2004) 153-159 discusses finds from the 7th century Heraion of images of Isis (who locals assimilated with Hera) suckling Horus as well as cows suckling calves, both of which stress a childrearing and nurturing aspect of the goddess. Pedley (2006) 154 also discusses the many groups of people that saw in the Hera of Samos some aspect of their own god.

²⁸⁵ SEG 56 1216.

²⁸⁶ IG 2.6.ii.561.

In both examples, the monument serves two overt purposes: to be votive offerings to their respective deities, but in doing so, also being claims to authority, power, and glory. Chares restates his leadership over the area, whilst Aeakes records the wealth he brought to Samos during his reign over the island before his son Polykrates succeeded him in c.538BCE.²⁸⁷ If these images are meant to be in some way portraits of the two leaders, then it makes sense that they are clothed- they depict the man in his usual, stately appearance as he would be perceived by the people in a seat that similarly encapsulates his power.²⁸⁸ The clothing also helps ancient viewers to identify the figures as male- in both cases the figure's right pectoral is uncovered by the himation. Here clothedness helps the viewer to identify the gender of the figure represented as male on account of what the garment fails to cover up.²⁸⁹

The dedication of Dionysermos (figure 2.5) presents another example of male clothedness.²⁹⁰ Once again, the figure's right breast is bare, identifying the figure as male. The inscription is borne by the top fold of the himation the figure wears over its left shoulder and states:

Διονυσέρμῶ ἐμὶ τῶντήνορος.²⁹¹

I am of Dionysermos, son of Antenor.

In the case of Dionysermos' dedication, the inscription's position on the upper body of the figure differs greatly from the more common inscription upon the thighs of male nudes or the chairs of clothed seated males. On this occasion, the position of the inscription more clearly highlights the clothedness of the male figure by drawing the reader's attention most literally to the clothes of the statue. This has the effect of highlighting the reason for the statue's clothedness, which may be due to Dionysermos' position in society like Aeakes and Chares, while the inscription also falls within the space appropriate for ornamental design for contemporary cloth, as discussed in chapter one.

²⁸⁷ Due to the dating of the statue it is equally likely that this object was set up after Aeakes' death by his sons, Polykrates or Syloson.

²⁸⁸ The argument for these images being portraits of the dedicators is made particularly strong by the use of the self-identification included in Chares' dedication.

²⁸⁹ Though this is a historically specific way to differentiate between the depicted genders in sculpture, as the female form steadily becomes relieved of its clothing over the course of the fourth century BCE.

²⁹⁰ This is once again likely due to the Eastern provenance of this sculpture, though it cannot be pinpointed exactly. Boardman (1978) 87 merely states that this sculpture was 'east Greek', similarly, Daux (1967) 491 states that the statue of unknown provenance was 'ionien-oriental'.

²⁹¹ Daux (1967) 492 refutes the reading of 'Διονυσερμῶ ἐμὶ τῶν Τηνορος' in favour of 'Διονυσερμῶ ἐμὶ τοῦ Ἀνηνορος' due to the more common use of the patronymic and the attested elision of ὀ and α as ῶ in the Ionian dialect.

Female clothedness thus acted as a way to extend and accentuate the female body imagined to be underneath it, while also acting as a space for elaboration and reflect the unacceptability of female nakedness in contemporaneous Greek culture. Male nakedness acts in much the same way as female clothedness- it made the body a source of visual interest, particularly the object of a male, desirous gaze. Indeed, the modes of representing both the naked male and clothed female betray the beauty standards and sexuality that were inevitably part of the viewing process of even artificial bodies. However, clothedness in male sculptures was a tradition more common in Ionia and the East than the Western Aegean and was often due to social factors. Clothing can also work to signal the rank or gender of the depicted figure due to the level to which it reveals and conceals the body- clothedness/nakedness is not a dichotomy, but has gradations and contexts which give it specific meanings.

2.3.5 Looking with Eyes *and* Hands

Big and small votives alike cannot be inspected all at once. The order in which one inspects the parts of the votive and those parts that receive more or less attention than others informs us of the priorities of the viewer, the artist's control over the viewer's viewing habits, as well as the performance and effects of the votive itself. This section will discuss how inscribed sculptures can be used to reconstruct Archaic viewing practices as well as discuss how the haptic senses were being engaged by these objects, especially the smaller votives which were held during inspection.

When thinking about small votives like those of Kidos and Mantiklos (figures 1.1 and 1.16 respectively) the erotic aspect of male nudity could be enhanced by the fact that such small votives were likely to be held when inspected.²⁹² They would be turned in the viewer's hands as well as brought closer to their face due to the smaller size of inscription and detailing that they carry. Their small features and small scripts invite literally close inspection. Kidos' figure engages the viewer in a gradual increase in the sexualisation of the act of reading, for it starts on the figure's chest and works its way down past the genitals and then returns to the torso only to take another pass down the opposite leg.²⁹³

²⁹² It is also likely that some small bronze votives were scattered in and around the temple as many were discovered by Holleaux (1885) 478 in his excavation of the temple itself.

²⁹³ This argument is not to endorse that made by Svenbro (1993) 187-216 who makes the case for the reader themselves being a paradigm for the *eromenos*. This argument is based on graffiti threatening

Understanding the way in which the path of the inscription enacts the sexual gaze can be aided with the use of terminology from Film Studies, mainly zooming. A camera's zooming enacts the patriarchal male-centred pleasure of the society of which it is a product.²⁹⁴ It controls and puts into a sequence the act of viewing, whilst forcing the viewer to pay particular attention to certain parts of the viewed object, described by Buchweitz and Padva as a 'structured exposure with its own particular satisfactions and climaxes'²⁹⁵. By ordering the parts of the whole, the camera lens narrativises the act of looking, an act that has otherwise been understood as immediate and whole in its perception of the object.²⁹⁶ This obviously has significant ramifications for the most traditional division between the visual and verbal arts- that is, art being bound to space and words being bound to time, as discussed over the course of the last two chapters.

In the same way, the inscription's path around the body causes the viewer's eyes to follow it, looking at certain body parts in order, acting much like the route over the body that a camera might take. As such, in the case of inscribed sculptures, we have a record of the path of the eyes of the original viewer- something that is not easily recovered in the area of art history. Moving from the Kidos figurine's (figure 1.1) chest to its groin and thighs, which it visits twice during the course of reading the inscription, the reader's eyes follow a path designed for them by the lettercutter. By guiding the gaze in such a way, it encourages and indulges the viewer's desire to look at images in such a way so as to put into practice an

to 'bugger' the reader which date from the early Classical period akin to inscribed curses or invective, which play more off of the 'Acontius Effect' (discussed in section '1.2.1 Labels'), rather than actually play upon some structural association between the passive eromenos and the passive reader. Moreover, I have argued throughout that the reader is far from dormant and passive. Svenbro's argument is elsewhere dependent on the *erastes-eromenos* dialectic developed between student and teacher in the pedagogical process and Platonic love. This more clearly lays out the argument that the *erastes-eromenos* dynamic was indeed a way of understanding the reader-writer relationship, unlike the earlier discussion which seems to argue that there is potentially something erotic about the literal act of reading.

²⁹⁴ Padva and Buchweitz (2014) 4.

²⁹⁵ Padva and Buchweitz (2014) 5.

²⁹⁶ Indeed, Mulvey (1975) 534 who discusses the male viewer gazing at the female movie star states: 'conventional close-ups of legs (Dietrich, for instance) or a face (Garbo) integrate into the narrative a different mode of eroticism [than complete bodies]. One part of a fragmented body destroys the Renaissance space, the illusion of depth demanded by the narrative, it gives flatness, the quality of a cut-out or icon rather than verisimilitude to the screen.' This also ties the focus on a particular body part in the Archaic images that the inscription provides (as discussed earlier) to another way in which it prompts the viewer to see it as unrealistic, therefore highlighting its manufactured nature. Where Mulvey and the present research part ways is in her discussion of modern dominant heterosexual viewing practises, which causes her to state (p534) 'According to the principles of the ruling ideology and the physical structures that back it up, the male figure cannot bear the burden of sexual objectification. Man is reluctant to gaze at his exhibitionist like.' However, I discuss the image of the male form represented in, by, and for a society that adheres to less heteronormative standards.

intimate relationship between viewer and viewed.²⁹⁷ In the case of the cinematic arts, zooming makes the remote close in the imagination, but for figurines such as Kidos' where the desire for intimate contact is possible, the inscription not only enacts an imaginary gaze, but also presents the opportunity for a literal caress. The visual and tactile senses are aligned for the purposes of sparking sexual appreciation of the figure.

Furthermore, the act of reading may invite the act of touch, especially in the case of inscriptions (as opposed to *dipinti* or writing on papyrus) for inscriptions are themselves three-dimensional, tactile, and textured elements of monuments. This tactile nature of inscriptions is further emphasised by their application to the surface of the sculpture, for they act upon the corporeality and volume of the sculpture. For a winding inscription with thinly cut, spidery lettering such as Mantiklos' (figure 1.16), using your finger to trace the line of the epigram enacts a form of sexually charged touching of the figure on the thighs, an area of the body with particular erotic charge.²⁹⁸ Touching the thin lines of the inscription may not yield much of a sensation, but the act of touching the body on which the inscription lies would potentially trigger a sensual reaction from the percipient. The tactile engagement with an object such as Mantiklos' or Kidos' votives acts both with and against the visual pleasure elicited from looking alone. Touching the figures while looking at them turns an imagined caress performed by the eyes and the imagination into real contact- it grounds the experience in the sensory, rather than the imaginary, realm.²⁹⁹ However, the touching of a bronze or marble object would highlight its material: the hardness of metal and stone prove that it is not soft flesh being touched. The illusion-shattering effect of the coldness or hotness of these materials would similarly break any illusionism within the image as they bear the temperature of their surroundings, marble and bronze being good retainers of heat.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁷ Padva and Buchweitz (2014) 5.

²⁹⁸ It should also be noted that gesture of the *erastes* touching the genitals of the *eromenos* was a standard image in painted pottery as half of the "up and down" motion where the *erastes* simultaneously reaches for the chin and genitals of the *eromenos*. Furthermore, the thighs themselves were the source of desire in Solon fragment 25 (=Plutarch *amatoria* 5.751b): ἔσθ' ἥβης ἐρατοῖσιν ἐπ' ἄνθεσι παιδοφιλήσῃ, μηρῶν ἰμεῖρων καὶ γλυκεροῦ στόματος. 'so long as one falls in love with a boy in the lovely flower of youth, desiring thighs and a sweet mouth.' The practice of intercrural sex may also show that the thighs were a site of particular sexual excitement, the fragment of Solon and vase painting being the main evidence for this phenomenon. For discussion of intercrural sex, see Davidson (2007) 426; 488. However, the practice of intercrural sex by the Greeks in reality has recently been questioned by Osborne (2018).

²⁹⁹ Platt and Squire (2018) 97.

³⁰⁰ Platt and Squire (2018) 97 argues that the warming of the cold bronze or stone in the viewer's hands would create an 'illusionistic potential'. However, the coldness of these materials is reliant on them being indoors in modern, often temperature-controlled, museum spaces. If these objects were displayed outside in the sun, or in a treasury without much protection from the temperature of their

Through engagement with the flesh of the viewer, the material of the image betrays its nature as image.

Further exploration of the Cheramyas Korai in light of this approach highlights how even the bodies of clothed human forms can be objectified through this method of treating writing as the path of the zooming eye. As is shown in figure 1.6, the beginning of the inscription is placed over the pubis of the figure, the Berlin Cheramyas' chi breaking up the otherwise vertical folds of the female figure's dress with the spidery letterforms of the inscription. The inscriptions on the Chermyes Korai although more easy to feel for the percipient due to their scale, invoke the more imagined touch that is enacted by the gaze. The pubic area is the point from which the inscription starts and is the point of the visual interest of the reader/viewer as it sits on the fictive edge of the fold that changes her dress's pattern from the vertical stripes on the figure's right to the smooth surface on the left. The inscription invites the reader's gaze to zoom into the origin of the inscription, acting as the prototype of the camera lens, causing its viewer to enact the penetrative and pleasure-seeking male gaze upon the inanimate image of a female, the purpose of which has been outlined in its inscription: it is a delight, an *agalma*.

The Parisian Cheramyas Kore (figure 1.5) makes the connection between pleasure and the body of the figure even more dramatically. Unlike its German cousin, the Parisian Cheramyas Kore's inscription runs from bottom to top in roughly the same area- the first pleat of the smooth fabric on the figure's left leg. As they have the same inscription as each other, the Parisian Cheramyas Kore's upper thigh is adorned with the last word of the inscription: *agalma*. The reader's eyes are drawn from the figure's feet, up the inner left leg to end on the left thigh of the figure while the viewer has a word of pleasure emitting from their own lips. The speaking aloud of the word 'delight' is to be accompanied by the culmination of the act of sexualised viewing that the viewer is imaginatively engaging in which delivers the reader to the thighs of the female figure. Once again, the inscription is playing a game with the separation, or rather closeness, of the acts of reading and viewing. The inscription takes for granted the attention-leading quality of written script and it zooms the eyes of the reader through a process of sexualised viewing, culminating in an act of focussed looking at the thighs of the figure that has specifically been geared towards a hedonistic reading due to the verbal content. Form and content have coalesced for the purpose of encapsulating the erotic

exterior, this factor would be lessened or would be the opposite of reality: the bronze or stone may feel hot to the touch.

pleasure inherent in the viewing of the female form for the presumed male subject, much like the male thighs of Menelaos.

The pathways that these ancient inscriptions follow are then ways for us as modern scholars to confidently recreate at least part of the viewing experiences of ancient monuments. Treated as pathways for the eyes, they have revealed the male viewing subject's sexualisation of the images of both males and females. Due to the textured and tactile nature of inscriptions (as opposed to *dipinti*) it is possible that the path of the eyes was also followed by the hands, potentially turning some of the imagined pleasure of touch elicited by these images, and realising it in terms of the tactile senses. In addition to this, the size of these figures varies the interactions that the percipients have: the smaller figures which require closer inspection to be read necessitate a more intimate and personal gaze that could be engaged by the male nudity, whereas the larger objects which stood apart from their percipients required more measured responses, more reliant on the imagination of the viewer in the case of the female figures, which only allude to sexualised bodies underneath.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has fleshed out and nuanced our understanding of ancient modes of engaging with Archaic inscribed sculpture. In sections one and two, Archaic epigrams and sculptures were compared in their use of deixis and indexicality to show how Archaic media were communicating with their audiences. Previously, scholarship has argued that Archaic sculpture engaged their viewer with expressions of exchange or via the dynamic gazes of the figures, but have been relatively limited in their abilities to reconstruct viewing practices of free-standing sculpture or how inscription and statue interact due to the limitations of the archaeological material.³⁰¹ Through the use of inscribed statues as a case study, I have been able to reconstruct viewing practices and been able to show how intricate, complicated, and interwoven the communications between statue, inscription, viewer, and context were in Archaic Greece. Specifically, they showed how the ways in which they communicate highlight the unnatural aspects of their language or appearance: the formulaicism, schematisation and exaggerated features all act to point the viewer's attention to occasions other than the immediate performance context in order to give the performance context further significance. These aspects of Archaic art and text transport the percipient into the world of

³⁰¹ Osborne (1994) 88; Elsner (2006) 84-5; Grethlein (2016) 88; Bielfeldt (2016) 126; Turner (2016) 156.

the monument and reveal to them the nexus of relations throughout time and space that such monuments instantiate.

Section three took a closer look at the performance and performance context of these objects to show how they can be predetermined by factors within the monuments themselves, as well as without. This section showed how monuments changed their surroundings, and could be changed by it, contributing towards the perception of entire sanctuaries. Similarly, an interrogation of the socio-cultural context of which these figures were a part showed the significance and coded meaning behind body parts and their presentation in sculpture. In contrast to the grand scale of influence that large figures could have, section three also showed how monuments carry evidence of their effects on individuals, and how they tapped into an individual's feelings and engaged their senses.

Such an approach to this material has shown how many of the aspects of Archaic art that might at first glance seem limiting and limited forms of expression, such as formulaicism and standard iconography, are in fact dense communicative gestures. Similarly, it has complemented the main argument of chapter one of this thesis by extending the inseparability of image from text to also include performance and context, both a monument's spatio-temporal context and the one a monument may create for itself. Having a better understanding of what and how Archaic inscribed sculptures communicate with their audience not only brings new significances to light, but also allows for their function, to please the god, to be understood more fully- which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 3- Archaic Inscribed Sculptures among *Agalmata*

3.0 Introduction

The previous two chapters discussed the multifaceted relationship between art and text that inscribed sculptures reveal, as well as the way in which their combinations of art and text affect and are affected by their context and their subsequent effects upon the percipient. This chapter will expand this relationship to include the purpose of these objects as votive offerings, that is, gifts to deities. It will explore how the different media used within these gifts are juxtaposed with one another and act as frames for one another, fundamentally contributing toward their value as gifts to gods, that is, as *agalmata*. Inscribed sculptures are an ideal case study with which to assess the ways in which votive objects may fulfil their role as *agalmata* due to their combination of bodies, words, and objecthood. It is these bodies, words, and objects used together that can reflect the full gamut of *agalmata* available to the ancient Greeks: alimentary sacrifice, hymns, and dedicatory objects.

Recent scholarship on Greek religion has adopted the language of *agalma* to describe a class of phenomena that the Greeks deployed for the purpose of pleasing their gods, broadly falling into three categories: alimentary sacrifices, hymns, and votive dedications.³⁰² As discussed in chapter one, the word *agalma* has a connotative meaning: it comes from the word *agallein*, most commonly in this period's poetry used in the middle voice, *agallomai*, which means 'I exult, glory'.³⁰³ Because the word meant anything that one may 'glory' or 'exult' in, its meaning was very broad during the Archaic and Classical periods for composers, as can be seen from the three examples below, the sacrificial cow given by Nestor, the Parisian Cheramyes inscription, and a Bacchylidean *epinikion*:

...γέρων δ' ἱππηλάτα Νέστωρ
χρυσὸν ἔδωχ'· ὃ δ' ἔπειτα βοὸς κέρασιν περίχειεν
ἀσκήσας, ἴν' ἄγαλμα θεὰ κεχάροίτο ἰδοῦσα. (*Od.*3.436-8)

³⁰² Votive dedications such as *CEG* 183, 190, 302, 303, and 328 bear inscriptions which describe them as *agalmata*. Hymns or songs are described as *agalmata* in Bacchylides *Ode* 5.4 and Pindar *Nemean* 8.16. The sacrificial cow which has its horns gilded is described as an *agalma* in *Od.*3.438.

³⁰³ Day (2010) 86-88. Stewart (1990) 45 describes *agalmata* as 'anything that pleases' and uses it to discuss statues; Keesling (2003) 10 similarly describes *agalmata* as 'an object endowed with the quality of being pleasing or capable of eliciting pleasure'.

Then old man Nestor, driver of chariots, gave some gold and then [a smith] worked it and poured it around the horns of a cow, so that the goddess would rejoice in seeing the delight [*agalma*].

Χηραμύης μ'άνεθηκε θε<ε>ῆι περικαλλές ἄγαλμα. (CEG 422) (figure 1.5)

Cheramyes set me up to the goddess, a beautiful delight.

εὔμοιρε [Σ]υρακ[οσίω]ν
ἵπποδινήτων στρατα[γ]έ,
γνώσηι μὲν [ι]οστεφάνων
Μοισᾶν γλυκ[ύ]δωρον ἄγαλμα, τῶν γε νῦν
αἴ τις ἐπιχθονίων,
ὀρθῶς· φρένα δ' εὐθύδικ[ο]ν
ἀτρέμ' ἀμπαύσας μεριμνᾶν
δεῦρ' <ἄγ'> ἄθρησον νόωι·
ἧ σὺν Χαρίτεσσι βαθυζώνοις ὑφάνας
ὕμνον...

Fortunate general of the chariot-whirling Syracusans, you will know best out of all men upon the earth today this sweet gift, a delight [*agalma*] of the violet-crowned Muses. Abate your anxieties and still your calm and just mind to consider this: a hymn weaved by the deep-girdled Charites.³⁰⁴

³⁰⁴ Bacchylides, *Epinician* 5 1-10, Greek from Campbell (1992), own translation. For an earlier traditional, 'literary' use of *agalma*, see Alcman, *Partheneion*, line 69, where it describes the Lydian headdress on girls with tinted eyelids. Peponi (2004) 301 discusses how Alcman is using that which is really present to facilitate the creation of other beautiful things in the mind of the hearers of his poem's performance. This shows how easily transferred the nature of being an *agalma* is, but highlights that there is more than one visual form of pleasure- both the real and the imaginary manifest visually, but one may invoke the pleasure-inducing qualities of the other through metaphor and voice. Pulleyn (1997) 49 also argues that the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, line 494 summarises the hymn as 'a gift or offering, an ἄγαλμα for the god' because the composer asks for heart-cheering substance in return for the song. The song's function as a votive gift causes Pulleyn's identification of it as an *agalma*.

These three examples show the long period of time over which the word *agalma* was being applied to a range of phenomena and how the word was used for poetic and aesthetic reasons for its multi-media application and connotative slipperiness. These three uses of the word *agalma* show it describing three different phenomena: the first describes a (soon to be) sacrificial animal; the second, a stone statue; the third, the epinician song that Bacchylides calls a hymn and this idea captured in three distinct media.³⁰⁵ As discussed in chapter one, when something is described as an *agalma* it reflects the expected positive reception of that thing by a percipient: to describe something as an *agalma* is to foreshadow, and perhaps induce, the audience's positive reaction. The Odyssean cow, the Cheramyas inscription, and Bacchylides' epinician ode are all *agalmata* for those who perceive them, not their dedicators: the cow is to be admired by the goddess who receives it; the statue is for the goddess; the hymn is for Hieron.³⁰⁶ Within studies of Greek religion, this has led scholars to draw comparisons between these three media as their functions are equivalent: they please the god.³⁰⁷

³⁰⁵ It is possible that Bacchylides uses the language of *agalma* metaphorically, to draw comparisons between his sonorous product and the more concrete dedicated objects that he would have seen in contemporaneous Greek sanctuaries. However, this further proves the fluidity and multimedia applicability of this word to denote something to please the god, regardless of its material. Pindar in *Nemean* 8.16 describes a Lydian crown which has been embroidered with song an *agalma*, see discussion of this in Fearn (2017) 105-17. Similar to Bacchylides' exploitation of the language of *agalma*, Pindar uses the word's more ubiquitous application to monuments of the material world. Another example of a hymn being called an *agalma* is the second century BCE inscription on a base for statues from Paros, *IG XII 5*, no.229 which describes the entire monument as an *agalma*, but only in modern times has been described as a 'hymnic temple-dedication' by Furley and Bremer (2001), no.12.5.

³⁰⁶ One may argue that the hymn is actually a delight of the *Muses*, not Hieron. However, given that this part of the poem is addressing Hieron ('general of the Syracusans') it is actually he, the hymn's recipient, that will recognise it as an *agalma* 'best of all men on earth today'. These three examples also show that the word *agalma* was not exclusively used to describe gifts to gods. Other examples of this are *Od.*18.300 a necklace given as a wedding gift; *Od.*19.257 the brooch Penelope gave to Odysseus; *Od.*4.602 the horses that were offered to Telemachus by Menelaus; and of course, *Il.*4.144, the horse's cheekpiece used in the simile about Menelaus' thighs discussed in chapter two. These uses of *agalma* question how specifically religious the pleasure they induce is or how specifically religious the term is in early Greece.

³⁰⁷ Van Straten (1981) 66 notes the equivalence in function, but difference in material of sacrifice and dedications, when he states that '[w]e talk of sacrifices when the object offered is intended for consumption (human or divine), while votive offerings are basically durable'. This functionalist approach does not work in light of the known practice of dedicating cakes, fruit, and flowers to deities—these materials would not last, nor would they be on display for more than a few days. Day (1994) 43 argues that sacrifice and dedication are 'functionally parallel', and goes on to say how epithets, as abbreviated narratives in hymns serve 'the same ritual function as sacrifice' on 54; Furley (2007) 119 argues that hymns, dedications, and sacrifices are all parts of the human "charis-drive"; Pulleyn (1997) 50 assumes the equivalence of hymns and sacrifice to draw a distinction between hymns and prayers. Day, Joseph W. (1994) 43 equates sacrifice and dedication; Day (2007) 43 equates hymns and

Conceptualising these three different media of pleasure that were given to a deity as equivalent is indeed effective in understanding *what* they achieve on a macro view of Greek religion. Indeed, the answer to the question ‘what do sacrifices/ dedications/ hymns hope to achieve?’ is always primarily to please the god.³⁰⁸ However, such a view does not often explain *how* such a diverse trio of gifts actually achieved their objective, nor does it appreciate the differences between killing an animal, singing a song, or setting up a statue, which are extremely diverse in regard to performance, aesthetics, and economics. Furthermore, by answering the former question we also ignore much of the aesthetic significance of the votive act for the donor: scholarship has focused on the effect on the divine recipient and not on the human donors whose experiences constitute Greek religion. Modern scholarship has thus proven that ‘it is the thought that counts’ when giving a gift to a god but not interrogated dedicated objects as evidence for those thoughts, preferring to focus on the outcome rather than the process.³⁰⁹ An inscribed sculpture is an example of a gift to a god and thus the thought behind its design and donation must be better understood within this broader context of Archaic *agalmata*. This chapter will show that the forms and media that these gifts took were central to their affect and contributed to the thought behind their creation. With a specific focus on inscribed human figures this chapter will deepen our understanding of similarities and differences between the media available to an ancient devotee. This will show the power of the different combinations of form and medium that the Archaic Greeks were consciously exploiting to make effective and diverse gifts for their gods. Indeed, this will allow us to gain an improved picture of the ways in which individual creativity had a role in shaping votive practice. This chapter will not only investigate the effects inscribed sculptures have on the relationship between dedicator and recipient, but just as importantly examine the human gift-giver’s interaction with their own gift and those of others in order to show how these gifts contributed to broader Archaic Greek religious experience.

dedications; Van Straten (1981) 66 equates sacrifices and dedications; Furley (2010a) 119 equates hymns and dedications.

³⁰⁸ Whether that gift is given in thanks for a benefit already received, to ask for a benefit, or in fulfilment of a vow is discussed by Day (2010) 6.

³⁰⁹ The conclusion that pleasing the god is the point of *agalmata* is also somewhat predicated on the assumption that Osborne (2011) 214 highlights: ‘But how could men influence the gods or expect the gods to take any concern for the pleasures and pains of human life, if gods do not share the same experiences? In Greek terms, statues can be *agalmata*, things of delight, alike to men and to gods, only if gods and men are commensurable.’ In order for *agalmata* to please the gods in ways that are comprehensible to a human, we must assume they like the same things as us, and to some extent compare the divine to the human.

By the end of this chapter there will be a greater understanding of how inscribed sculptures were a type of dedication that exploited the full range of forms of religious gift-giving in order to bolster their own effectiveness as gifts for the gods. This quality will be identified through the appreciation of these objects within their greater categorisation as *agalmata* of the Archaic period. Their contextualisation within our much broader picture of Archaic votive practice allows us to reveal the complex role that inscribed images of bodies played within Greek religion at a time when Greek religion was undergoing a massive change in its expression through material culture.³¹⁰ It will expand our understanding of the role of votive objects in shaping Greek religion for their human participants and nuance our understanding of the role that medium and form play in the votive act so central to Greek religious practice.

Chapter Three will be separated into three sections. The first section, 'Separating Inscribed Sculpture', will take inscribed sculptures as examples of votive dedication and explore the ways in which they achieve effects differently from the other pleasure-media, or even things impossible for the other two media. This will build upon the media-sensitive approach implemented within chapter one of this thesis to nuance and add to the understanding of both inscribed sculptures and other *agalmata* in light of their relationship. Similarly, this section will draw on the dynamics between inscribed sculptures and context discussed in chapter two to further highlight the differences between *agalmata*. By looking at the contrast between these three pleasure-media, we can have a greater level of appreciation for how all three separately achieve their status as *agalmata*.

The second section, '*Agalmata* Using One Another', will explore the ways in which Archaic inscribed sculptures are evidence for the pleasure-media making use of one another. This section will argue that inscribed sculptures adopt iconography and language that was reminiscent or evocative of hymn, alimentary sacrifice, and their performances. This will further exploit the significance of the blur between visual, written, and aural media explored in chapter one by showing their diverse deployment toward this same goal. This section will show that the pleasure-media made reference to one another for the purpose of expanding their own effects and perceived value for religious ends.

The third section, '*Defining Agalmata*', will explore how the discussion of inscribed sculpture among other *agalmata* helps us to understand and redefine the category of *agalma* within current scholarship and the Archaic Greek context. It will not challenge the inclusion of alimentary sacrifices, hymns, and votive dedications within this category. However, section

³¹⁰ Snodgrass (2006) 264.

three will reassert the diversity of the acts collected under this umbrella term in order to show the ways in which pleasure is elicited differently by different media that their categorisation as *agal mata* implies.

Beyond the scope of just inscribed sculpture, this chapter will explore the specific ways in which the Archaic pleasure-media differ and- because of their differences- adopted aspects of one another to absorb the valued powers of each other for themselves. This is all the more important when these conclusions are drawn from evidence so early in the extant record of Greek religion for it is the basis upon which later changes, evolutions, and adaptations took place.

3.1 Separating Inscribed Sculpture

This section will explore inscribed sculptures as an example of a dedication in order to contrast how they function as *agal mata* in ways that are distinctly different from the other two pleasure-media, or exhibit qualities that are entirely inaccessible to them. This will help to better position dedications, especially inscribed sculpture, among the array of acts of religious giving that were available to Archaic Greeks of various means.

The following sub-sections will discuss the ways in which inscribed anthropomorphic sculptures could play important roles in setting up the relationship between their donor and the deity, as well as how they work to please the god. They may do this by representing an audience within the sanctuary for religious behaviours, as well as acting as active, speaking agents within the sanctuary and religious exchange, and interact with or constitute the passerby's experience of the god.

3.1.1 A Captivating Audience

To set up an image of a human, especially a life-size or over image, is to populate the sanctuary with people. These figures then become lasting figures on the landscape of a sanctuary and act as a lasting audience within the religious space.³¹¹ By providing a permanent audience for subsequent acts of piety (whatever they may be), the sanctuary is turned into a space where one's presence being perceived by others is of paramount importance- it is not only a place to act, but a place to be perceived when acting. We have

³¹¹ Snodgrass (2006) 261-2.

seen in previous chapters how epigram as a genre considers its own reception by its audience, and the anthropomorphic objects that accompany some epigrams provide a potential audience in order to perceive each other's dedications and their subsequent reperformances throughout the lives of these monuments.³¹² Again, this point is strengthened by the specificities of Archaic art, particularly free-standing sculpture's regular use of the frontal face. The outward-looking face in Archaic art, both in sculpture and painted pottery, dramatizes the act of looking and reverses the expected direction of the gaze: it is no longer just that you look at images, but rather images look back at you and thus you are made more conscious of your own act of viewing.³¹³ The statue and epigram are interested in observing you react to themselves. Thus aspects of Archaic sculptural art and Archaic epigrams betray the Archaic artist's interest in their art forms' audience and the process of interpretation performed by them. This creation of an artificial audience means that subsequent dedications actually have their effectiveness as social and religious objects increased as every new votive is being received by a bigger and bigger crowd. This means that the pleasure that these objects induce is being perceived by more people and thus their dedication is an ever-greater act of religious good will toward the god: a greater and greater public statement of religious devotion.

If the frame in Archaic painted pottery is intended 'to delimit the represented world of the picture from the real world inhabited by its spectator', as Guy Hedreen states, 'the en face figure arguably amounts to an all-out assault on the frame.'³¹⁴ But what is the frame for sculptures or statuettes? Verity Platt and Michael Squire have argued that an inscribed base may act as a frame for a sculpture, for it delineates separate spaces for reading and viewing different parts of the monument.³¹⁵ However, as I have already argued in Chapter 1, inscribed statues trump this delineation of space. I propose that statues, inscribed statues included, use each other as one of their possible frames.³¹⁶ As shown throughout chapter two, votive epigrams point to their own presence and also the presence of other dedications through the use of deictic language such as 'x dedicated me'. Furthermore, Richard Neer has argued that when seen in groups of similar images, kouroi show how they are 'generic in the strict

³¹² Day (2010) 39 argues that the placement of the dedicator's name at the beginning of dedicatory epigrams highlights the importance of the reception of this name for the purpose of propagating their *kleos*. For discussion of this, see chapter two on deixis and chapter one's subsection on *kleos*.

³¹³ The interpretation of the frontal face as a dramatisation of the image looking back originates with Wollheim (1987) 161. Grethlein (2016) 106 applied this interpretation to Greek painted pottery in particular. Elsner (2007) 24 discusses frontality specifically in reference to Archaic sculpture.

³¹⁴ Hedreen (2017) 155.

³¹⁵ Platt and Squire (2017) 34-7.

³¹⁶ Indeed, it is likely in most cases that monuments of this sort could be seen within multiple frames.

sense of the term: they exemplify a genre.³¹⁷ In addition to this, in sanctuaries such as the Athenian Acropolis or the Ptoion in Boiotia where statues densely populated the space within the *temenos*, it is highly likely that the statues would have been seen within the frame of one another, if not as a cohesive and ever-growing group.³¹⁸ Indeed, with their outward stares, Archaic sculptures (including figurines) acted as audience members for the dedication of new members to their ranks.³¹⁹ Standing at 5.25m tall, the Isches Kouros (figure 2.3) would watch over all activities within the Heraion on Samos, while the Nikandre *Kore* (figure 0.1), with its position close to the temple of Artemis, would similarly have a position from which it could play audience to the dedication of new votives and even possibly the sacrificial altar.³²⁰ These statues were part of the throng that permanently filled the sanctuary with audience members for the performance of sacrifices, dedications, and hymns. They were the artificial audience on which even the smallest votive act on the quietest of days could rely for acknowledgement.

Similarly, small statuettes like those of Mantiklos, Chimaridas, and Kidos, which were dedicated in much larger numbers than the monumental above life-size statues of Nikandre and Isches, would have also created an audience and sanctuary-in-miniature, populated with miniature buildings, human figures, animals, tripods, and fruits.³²¹ Small votives stored within treasuries, or simply deposited around the altar, would create miniature throngs of imagined activity and interaction, the most common (and least imaginary) of which would be the exchange of gazes between anthropomorphic figures and the live visitors to the sanctuary.³²²

Statues such as the dedication of Chares of Teichioussa (figure 1.15) were placed along the Sacred Way on the road to the sanctuary of Apollo. Here, rather than standing inside the *temenos* and acting as witnesses to the acts of dedication, sacrifice, and hymn singing, the statues view the large processions or individual acts of pilgrimage from the town to the

³¹⁷ Neer (2010) 39.

³¹⁸ Steiber (2004) 2, focusing on the korai of the Athenian Acropolis argues that 'together, like a chorus, is how the korai make their strongest impression, since together is, after all, the only way they were meant to be seen'.

³¹⁹ Kindt (2012) 134.

³²⁰ Due to the quality of the archaeological record and simply the effects of being buried, it is impossible to reconstruct the sight lines or fields of (imagined) vision for most dedicatory statues. This would possibly change the perceived relationship that sacrifice set up between the person making a sacrifice and the god, if the deity were perceived to be standing among the crowd watching.

³²¹ Neer (2012) 80-8.

³²² Indeed, it is worth considering how this state of constantly being watched may affect behaviour within the sanctuary. Especially if there are multiple images of the presiding god supervising activity within the sanctuary one may expect that adherence to the laws of the sanctuary would be increased.

sanctuary. They do not view the act of piety performed by the visitors in the sanctuary, but explicitly the acts that occur before their arrival at the destination. They act as an acknowledgement of the importance of the processional and pilgrimage aspects of Greek religion that occur outside of the *temenos*. Statues along the Sacred Way acclimatise and sensitise the pilgrim to the sense of the religious and public nature of their act by playing the role of an audience with all the religious, social, and political weight of a real human audience.

The distinct power of votives to add to the audience not only affects the perception of votives, but also interacts with the other pleasure media. For sacrifices the act would get an inflated audience and thus the donor's act of sacrifice would be perceived by a larger crowd. Furthermore, if the votive was an image of the deity to whom the donor was sacrificing, this could mean that it was felt that the god was indeed present for the sacrifice.³²³ Similarly, the performance of hymns would have a larger audience, the bulging eyes of anthropomorphic figures watching the performance while the 'archaic smiles' beam. Indeed, if the 'smiles' are meant to be interpreted as smiles at all, these figures may indeed be acting as pleased audience members viewing the religious activity going on within the sanctuary.³²⁴ If this is the case, they similarly display the desired effect that they cause in their own recipient, as well as the recipient of the other votive acts going on in the form of the other two pleasure-media. The statues are exempla to the god as to how to react to the votive gestures happening within the sanctuary as they exhibit the desired reaction. Alternatively, the image may be considered to be the deity and thus already be exhibiting the desired reaction to the dedicatory acts which it supervises.

This aspect of religious giving further shows how the dedication of statues or statuettes differs from the performance of hymns or the sacrificing of animals, for it is an act which affects the perception of subsequent acts by adding to the ever-growing audience. By continuously adding to the spectatorship for acts of sacrifice, hymn singing and object dedication, the setting up of votive figures increases the affective qualities of all three by making them more broadly acknowledged and public in nature. They act as celebrants or

³²³ For a discussion of the proximity of the god to the three types of dedication, see section three of this chapter.

³²⁴ Tanner (2006) 62 comes to this conclusion but through different means: through the elite identification as 'geleontes' and the etymological link between *gelao*, *aglaos*, and *agalma* to which the current author does not entirely subscribe. *Contra* Osborne (2011) 200 who argues that the Archaic smile does not denote an emotional response in the figure. Osborne argues that the Archaic style of sculpture only denotes the type of person through reference to the visual world, further details cannot be deduced.

perhaps even images of the very deity to which pilgrims give their pleasure-inducing media. Over time this crowd of artificial witnesses expands and provides an audience that spans the history of the sanctuary, acting as a material record of the act of giving performed by both the contemporaneous dedicator and others in the past. The addition of stone or bronze figures to the perceived audience of an act of religious giving makes the giving more socially significant as it is recognised by a larger crowd and thus their connection and devotion to the deity in question is recognised communally and potentially by images of the god, or the god him/herself.

3.1.2 Bestowing Voice and Agency

As well as providing a long-lasting audience to the sanctuary, votives also added voices or messages to be re-voiced to the sanctuary. The identity(ies) of the speaker and the presences that are to be detected in epigram are allowed such fluidity and imagination due to the performance context of epigram. This is due to the fact that only parts of the whole communicative context can be preordained by the composer- he must take the randomness of the reader/viewer into account. Epigram would be read aloud by different people with different relations to the people involved, in front of different audiences, or they may be only partially read: one performance of an epigram could not be replicated for the act of repetition would itself be significant to the second performance, or rather repetition is always a part of an epigram's performance.³²⁵ The significance of locating the voice in the image has even more significance than simply labelling the object a speaker. Archaic Greece was a society that had developed writing, but was still oral in many of its societal practices: the performance of poetry was mainly through memorisation and recitation mixed with improvisation; the majority of communication would be done orally between people; even the act of reading still maintained oral characteristics as it was only done aloud.³²⁶ Furthermore, the content of Archaic Greek epigram exhibits evidence of orality. Archaic epigram's use of the first person speaker, 'X dedicated *me*,' shows how Greek culture's orality had an effect on Greek culture's written habits. The Greeks wrote as they orally performed- through voices expressing speech acts,³²⁷ such as that of Hermonax:

³²⁵ This is assuming that the reader read aloud. See introduction on literacy and reading aloud.

³²⁶ Ong (1982) 13; Havelock (1986) 85; Thomas (1992) 26. de Polignac (2005) 15-23 shows the particular abundance of writing within the sanctuary which further lends weight to the importance of considering the aural aspects of reading and writing in the Archaic period.

³²⁷ Davis (2003) 49-50.

Ἑρμῶνάξ μὲ καὶ τ[ὸ τ]έκνον ἀνέθεσαν δεκάτην ἔργων τῶ[ι] Ἀπόλλωνι.³²⁸

Hermonax and his son dedicated me as a tithe of their works to Apollo.

But in Greece's oral culture voices could only normally emanate from bodies. Epigram, then, seems to be the answer to the problem of sharing language in the physical absence of a human body's vocal instruments- you apply the voice and language to the artificial body of a sculpture, a cup, a stele. The word epigram (ἐπίγραμμα, *epi-gramma*, 'a letter upon') itself expresses this sense of the application of words to something that would otherwise not have them.³²⁹ Thus epigram is the bestowal of a voice upon an otherwise mute object through the physical application of letters. Epigrams afford an otherwise bodiless voice an entirely artificial body from which it can emanate and in which it can locate itself in space- the body acts as the framing device for the voice, it is defined in relation to its artificial body. Day arrives at the same conclusion- that the first person 'I' refers to the object upon which the epigram is inscribed- from the opposite starting point. Day argues 'An oral poet composes for live performance; thus *ego* is self-referential or refers to the performers. An epigrammatist composes for writing; at least in early inscription, *ego* is the object...'³³⁰ Day chooses to see a shift in performance, whereas I argue that the voice has been transferred to another body- a component of the voice which is necessary in a predominantly oral culture that only reads aloud.

What are the consequences of transferring the voice inherent in words to another body, particularly an artificial one? One consequence that clearly resonates with Archaic Greek culture is that this transferral makes human speech, which is normally dependent on the ephemeral state of the human body (and its faculties of memory, individual skill, quality of voice) into a consistent and long-lasting phenomenon. The achievement of immortality, or at least to extend a community's memory of oneself beyond the length of one's life is the concept of *kleos* discussed in chapter one. The word inscribed on stone, metal, wood or ceramic had the potential to outlast any human in longevity and bestow *kleos* on its subject. The reframing of the voice within the context of Archaic artificial, sculpted bodies provides the ephemeral with aspects of longevity. Thus, epigrammatists were adopting the qualities of the material world for their own otherwise purely sonorous works. It is also notable that

³²⁸ SEG 34, 1189.

³²⁹ Höschle (2015) 190 prefers to translate *epi-gramma* as 'written upon', whereas I prefer the more direct translation of *gramma* as letter, for the word is denotative of the product of writing, letters, rather than the process by which they are made, writing.

³³⁰ Day (1994) 41.

it is not just any speech that is recorded in epigrams, but very regularly it is verse.³³¹ Epigrams, along with other types of inscriptions and writing, were recording poetic utterances for the purpose of memorial permanence.³³²

Those who have studied epigram have theorised the relationship between the author, object, and reader differently. On the one hand, Jesper Svenbro has argued for roles based on the Foucauldian sexual model, according to which the reader must passively surrender their voice to the active and penetrative voice of the writer.³³³ C.B. Davis argues similarly for an act of ventriloquism whereby the reader becomes the helpless dummy to the writer's words.³³⁴ On the other hand, Jon Steffen Bruss puts forward more of an exchange after he states the epigram 'fades from the communicative situation once it has served its purpose as a prompt for the utterance' and that the inscription takes the voice of the reader, while the reader takes the words of the inscription.³³⁵ However, these interpretations of the act of speaking downplay the central role of the inscribed object itself. The author, although in some ways present, is entirely re-presented by their work. It is the object that gestures towards them and enacts the author's words. Similarly, the reader is at the mercy of the object's expressive limitations as much as the monument is of the reader's subjective interpretations.

Deborah Steiner states, '[t]hrough the text, the object mediates between the giver and the god, pointing out the value of the dedication, prompting the desired response.'³³⁶ But what has gone under-appreciated is the importance of that act of mediation and the important role that the object evidently plays in mediation as the thing that sparks a positive response in the divinity and thus relations between the two parties.³³⁷

Μάντικλός μ' ανέθεκε φεκαβόλοι ἀργυροτόξοι

τᾶς {δ} δεκάτας τὸ δέ, Φοῖβε, δίδοι χαρίφετταν ἀμοιβ[άν].³³⁸

Mantiklos set me up to the Far-Shooter Lord of the Silver Bow as a tithe, so that you, Phoibos may give some delightful return.

³³¹ Schmitz (2010) 30.

³³² This is the case to such an extent that Steiner (1993) 178 argues for Pindar's adoption of monumental imagery in his non-epigraphic works to have the same effect.

³³³ Svenbro (1993) 2-3, but also see chapter 10: 'The Reader and the *erōmenos* The Pederastic Paradigm of Writing,' 187-217.

³³⁴ Davis (2003) 50.

³³⁵ Bruss (2010) 395.

³³⁶ Steiner (1994) 77.

³³⁷ Furley (2010a) 119.

³³⁸ *CEG* 326.

Mantiklos' dedication takes the central role of mediator in between Mantiklos and Apollo as it speaks in the first person. It is the object that brokers the deal 'x dedicated me so that you give y' - it is the object that is present. Mantiklos' actions are described as having happened in the past and now it is the monument that sees the deal through to the end. By addressing Apollo on multiple occasions by way of the god's epithets, the monument displays activity in seeking out Apollo, as opposed to the passivity of waiting to please the god.³³⁹ It is also essential that it is the object that acts as go-between for the dedicator and the god, for it is in fact the object that creates the pleasing relations between its own donor and the recipient.³⁴⁰ It is the *agalma* that creates the pleasing effect that exists between the dedication and the god, not the dedicator and god: the dedication is the proximate cause of the *charis*, this system of pleasure reciprocity, while the dedicator is the more removed distal cause. Mantiklos' dedication can speak directly to Apollo because it is the proximate cause of the pleasure that gives Mantiklos a channel of communication with the god. Thus when Albert Henrichs notes how Mantiklos' dedication describes the relationship it sets up with Apollo as 'with an aplomb and immediacy that illustrate the ease with which Greeks could talk to, and interact with, their gods, at least within the relative safety of cult'³⁴¹ it would be more accurate to say that the Greeks knew how to create objects of art (verbal, visual, aural) which they trusted to be able to engage with gods as directly as possible *on their behalf*.

3.1.3 Cult and Votive Figurines

In addition to the points already highlighted, there is even more at stake when the image is of a god. Votive offerings regularly use the image, or even take the form of the deity, anthropomorphised or otherwise. So how does one recognise a cult statue, whether in particular examples, or more generally? Through inspection of the Bassae frieze, Platt showed that during the Classical period the statue of Athena taken from the city of Troy was represented as a *xoanon*, or smaller 'antique' image, in contrast to contemporary naturalistic images being used to represent an instantiation of the goddess Athena herself.³⁴² As such, in the Classical period there were at least some occasions when cult statues and the goddess they represent could be differentiated and that difference visibly signalled in art.

³³⁹ Neer (2010) 43-4 argues that the Kroisos Kouros and its inscription, instead of idly waiting to be read, fictively shout out to passersby 'Stop and mourn!' in the same 'Acontius effect' described by Bing (2009) 93-4. For discussion of this, see chapter one.

³⁴⁰ For discussion of symbolic traffic and its many forms, see Kindt (2012) 66.

³⁴¹ Henrichs (2003) 48.

³⁴² Platt (2011) 119.

For the Archaic period this becomes a more complicated issue. For instance, the dedication of Nikandre mimics the plank-like and daedalic appearance thought typical of *xoana*- is it to be seen as a cult statue and thus as an expression of Artemis' presence?³⁴³ If *xoana* are to be conceived as the traditional form of cult statues in Archaic Greece, and cult statues were believed to be an incarnation of the deity him/herself, xoanomorph objects that are not themselves recognised cult statues must be an attempt at evoking the presence of the god through their reference to his/her image. When Archaic Greeks saw a xoanomorph statue, they immediately knew that they were in the presence of a representation of the god. However, this interpretation is at odds with the fact that *xoana*- plank-like, blocky statues-betray their unnatural (or supernatural) states as manufactured, man-made artifices. They do this by stressing their original material, whether that be a plank or log of wood, or a block of stone cut in straight lines that show signs of workmanship.³⁴⁴ This is evident in the way in which the Cheramydes korai still share in the round, log-like appearance of their wooden contemporaries and antecedents.³⁴⁵ Are we meant to see a god or an image of one? If we are to accept that xoanomorph statues were a more traditional style of carving cult statues, the Nikandre Kore would have made claims to the viewer of being more venerable and epiphany-inducing than other votive offerings that did not adopt this style of representation, making this object the centre for an experience akin to that of a cult statue.³⁴⁶

Did size play a role in the phenomenon of epiphany? Size is one way in which the gods once again may show their boundlessness to the laws which control human existence.³⁴⁷ Images of gods vary in size in the Archaic period from small handheld bronzes, such as the dedication of Mantiklos, to above life size in the case of Nikandre's *Kore*. Thus having images of divinities in different sizes itself represents the Greeks' belief in the changing nature of divine self-manifestation, yet there is little to indicate that large images or small images were more likely to cause epiphany through inspection of Archaic material alone.³⁴⁸

³⁴³ For the most thorough discussion of the possible subject of the Nikandre Kore, see Karakasi (2003) 24-6.

³⁴⁴ Neer (2010) 34.

³⁴⁵ Neer (2010) 34. Also see Donohue (2005) 73-6 on Archaic sculpture's relationship with the transfer in materials.

³⁴⁶ Gaifman (2012) 30 does argue for there being some images that were more venerable than others, but her evidence is Pausanias 1.26.6 where he claims that the *xoanon* of Athena Polias is the most religiously significant image of Athena on the Acropolis. It is difficult to tell whether Pausanias' opinion here represents the opinions of an Archaic Greek audience, however.

³⁴⁷ Gordon (1979) 14.

³⁴⁸ There are of course Hellenistic and later epigrams and stories which recount the effect of large, chryselephantine statues on viewers and the relationships these images had with their divine subjects. Some of these accounts are studied in Platt (2011) 77-90.

Performance may also have been a way in which ancient viewers differentiated between cult and votive statues. Vinciane Pirenne- Delforge proposed that the 'difference is *hidrysis*, the setting up, which officially creates the conditions of the god's benevolence and protection for the community.'³⁴⁹ However, all votive offerings presumably go through their own process of *hidrysis*, which is in part commemorated in their inscriptions which record that 'x dedicated [me/this]'. But Pirenne- Delforge immediately follows her statement with a far more important point:

On a private level, however, any worshipper in a sanctuary may give preference to any statue representing the deity to whom he or she wants to pray, whatever status this image assumes within this sanctuary.³⁵⁰

Images of the deity, big or small, xoanomorph or kouros, could be chosen by the individual dedicator and used as a recipient of prayer. The inscription on Mantiklos' dedication even addresses Apollo in the vocative 'Phoibe', so when spoken aloud the reader addresses the small bronze figurine as the god himself. Seeing the divine presence in these objects may have been an entirely subjective experience, with only a single example set up by a community (the 'cult statue' in the temple) that was the default image to use in the absence of one more personally convincing. The seeming lack of visual differentiation between cult and votive statuary suggests that these categories (if they even existed for Archaic Greeks at all) may have been subjective and to a great extent dependent on being reinforced by tradition and (repeated) performance. Rather than being able to differentiate cult from votive statues, perhaps it is more valid for scholars to attempt to perceive the epiphanic potential of all images of gods in the Greek world: modern scholars must acknowledge the epiphanic in the votive image.³⁵¹

Seen in this light, votive objects become very important for the dedicant's experience of the divine during their visit to the sanctuary. If the dedicant aims to go and see the cult statue and pray before it and experience their contact with the god there, votives prepare the dedicant for their climactic encounter with the god by acting as previews and advanced exposures to the presence of the divinity.³⁵² However, if they aim to treat a votive as the god itself, the votive becomes the site of the culmination of their journey to the sanctuary. Their

³⁴⁹ Pirenne- Delforge (2010) 130.

³⁵⁰ Pirenne- Delforge (2010) 130.

³⁵¹ Furthermore, the uniformity of anthropomorphic statues across the Greek world in the Archaic period meant that the form would become synonymous with cultic worship or encounter with the deceased, meaning that it was a form that was distinctly evocative of supernatural presence.

³⁵² Platt (2011) 77.

connection to the divinity may even be felt to be more personal and thus more evocative of the dedicant's emotions and memories or previous engagements with the divine. More than this, votive images of the divine, such as the Mantiklos Apollo or Chimaridas' dedicated image of Artemis may themselves be records of previous epiphanies and exposures to the divine. Mantiklos and Chimaridas may have asked for their dedications to reflect the way in which the deity had appeared to them before, for instance did Artemis appear to Chimaridas as elaborately dressed and bearing a bow?³⁵³ Perhaps the epithets used in the inscriptions describe how a previous encounter occurred (in Mantiklos' case, perhaps Apollo appeared to him shining, as the vocative 'Phoibe' indicates). Dedicatory objects (as opposed to sacrifices) had a distinctive memorial function so it is possible that votive images intended to reflect a dedicant's previous religious experiences, trigger future epiphanies, and/or act as memorials of their own dedication. Indeed, it is also important to add that these events are not mutually exclusive, but could happen simultaneously for a visitor to the sanctuary. Votive objects not only reflected contemporaneous attitudes toward what the gods looked like, but also played an active role in constructing the visual experiences of the divine for viewers and artists alike. Votive images were the most numerous images within a sanctuary. Temple decorations were often displayed at great heights and thus proper engagement and examination of these images was difficult from a distance,³⁵⁴ whereas votives were objects that the visitor to the sanctuary could walk among, view inside treasuries, and closely engage with via touch and vision.³⁵⁵

This section has shown that there are multiple ways in which inscribed sculptures, as a form of dedication, may act differently from the other two pleasure-media. The dedication of anthropomorphic objects can create an audience that populates the sanctuary and Sacred Ways of Archaic Greece and thus increase the perceived social impact of not only dedicating other objects, but also the dedication of hymns and alimentary sacrifices to the god. This increased social impact thus influences the significance of the religious act in terms of pleasing the god as more is at stake in the donor's act of piety. Furthermore, these

³⁵³ Platt (2011) 73-74 chooses to interpret Classical votive plaques as pulling on the visual authority of the cult statue, rather than on their own personal experiences.

³⁵⁴ Though, perhaps the remoteness of images of divinities on temples was meant to express the distance between the human percipient and the divine subject and the subsequent difficulty in perception.

³⁵⁵ The mention of these two senses were most likely the predominant senses to which votive offerings appealed. That is not to say that they did not engage with the other senses- touch may cause sound, particularly in cases of hollow bronze objects, the addition of sacrifices or flowers to the hands of korai may have engaged the olfactory sense, and images of foodstuffs and animals may have sparked a gustatory reaction in the viewer.

anthropomorphic images may react to, and in turn influence, the reaction of the god toward subsequent gifts due to their displayed emotions.

Dedicated inscribed objects, especially ones that have the human form also provide voices into the space of the sanctuary. The source of these voices is not always clear, indeed is often left vague, requiring active choices on the part of the reader about how to make sense of the inscription. These voices are thus shared by the reader, the object, and the donor, all of whom present a different performance of the same object and text, meaning the ways in which a single object can be pleasing to the god and set up a relationship with the god can be manifold and slippery. This causes the status of the object as object to be called into question along with its role as interlocutor between the donor and god, as well as the reader and the god. This is especially complex when the image takes on the form of the deity to which it was dedicated as this prompts questions of epiphany and redefines the access that Archaic people believed they had to their gods via images and words.

Therefore, *agalmata* that came in the form of dedicated objects not only took part in exchanges of pleasing goods and favours between gods and men, but also constituted and brokered those relationships, while also affecting subsequent religious experiences in the sanctuary. Indeed, this level of perceived presence of the divine that surrounds the act of dedication differs from sacrifice and hymns singing, as will be discussed in the following sections.

3.2 *Agalmata* Using One Another

The second section of this chapter will discuss how inscribed statues, as examples of dedications, may cite, adopt, and create for themselves the forms or effects of the other two pleasure media: hymns and sacrifice. The forms and subjects of both the sculpted and inscribed elements of these monuments may include elements of hymn or sacrifice within their iconography or language in order to evoke these other media. This is advantageous for the donor as they are able to co-opt the qualities, implications, and associations that these other media bear due to the nature of their medium. This was a way of further elaborating and adding more technical and artistic skill into the votive, increasing its perceived value in the eyes of the donor, other members of the cult, and the god to whom it was given. Furthermore, the combination of multiple pleasure-media within one gift means that the act may be reframed and seen in light of the aesthetic and religious effects of both types of gift. As a result, these votives are even more effective at performing their roles as *agalmata* for gods and social objects between humans. This section will show that the featuring of other media was possible, powerful, and advantageous for their donor in a way that has not been wholly appreciated in studies on Archaic Greek votive material or practice.

3.2.1 Inscribed Statues and Hymns

Inscribed statues adopt for themselves elements typical of hymns during the Archaic period as a way of using the positive qualities of hymns for the elaboration and strengthening of the object's claims of being pleasing *agalmata*. The first is the use of hexameter as the meter deployed by dedications, such as that of Mantiklos' dedication:

Μάντικλός μ'ἀνέθεκε φεκαβόλοι ἀργυροτόξοι

τᾶς {δ} δεκάτας τὸ δέ, Φοῖβε, δίδοι χαρίφετταν ἀμοιβ[άν].³⁵⁶

Mantiklos set me up to the Far-Shooter Lord of the Silver Bow as a tithe, so that you, Phoibos, may give some delightful return.

Dactylic hexameter is the meter of epic, the *Homeric Hymns*, and Mantiklos' inscribed dedication. Many Archaic inscriptions do not have a meter or are too short to provide a complete line. Mantiklos chose for his votive to bear two lines of dactylic hexameter as an artistic and technical flourish to bolster the impact of his dedication on his religious

³⁵⁶ CEG 326.

community and Apollo. One of the effects of sharing in the meter of epic and hymn is that when read aloud, the inscription has a more standardised mode of performance and is more easily repeated. The inscription is no longer to be read as everyday prose speech, but rather performed as poetry or song. The contents of the inscription are an elevated and particularised type of word which is no longer quotidian, but specialised to the goal of epic rhapsody or hymnic praise. Furthermore, the ability to be repeated is pivotal to reperformance and keeping performance consistent: for the non-expert changing a metrical line would be difficult and so Mantiklos' (likely commissioned) verse would go unchanged and be reperformed, repeatedly calling to and praising the god, making this the gift that keeps giving to Apollo.

Furthermore, the adoption of the hymnic and epic meter associates the inscription with these culturally and religiously central forms of performance.³⁵⁷ This is valuable to Mantiklos as this means that his dedication required a contribution from someone able to compose metrical verse, such as a rhapsode or similarly trained lettercutter. As such, Mantiklos' dedication carries a higher cultural cachet due to its connection to the most important and ubiquitous poetic outputs of Archaic Greek culture. In addition to the cultural prestige, it likely is a sign of an extra, or more expert, artisan having been hired by Mantiklos: the composer. Mantiklos is deploying his resources as effectively as possible for the purpose of maximising the perceived value and pleasure derived from his single gift.

Mantiklos' inscription echoes a phrase that epic set forth as exemplary of hymnic language: *didou chariwessan amoiben* in *Odyssey* 3.58:

χαῖρε δ' Ἀθηναίη πεπνυμένω ἀνδρὶ δικαίω,

οὔνεκα οἷ προτέρη δῶκε χρύσειον ἄλειςον·

αὐτίκα δ' εὔχετο πολλὰ Ποσειδάωνι ἄνακτι·

“κλῦθι, Ποσειδάον γαιήοχε, μηδὲ μεγήρης

55

ἡμῖν εὐχομένοισι τελευτῆσαι τάδε ἔργα.

Νέστορι μὲν πρῶτιστα καὶ υἰάσι κῦδος ὄπαζε,

³⁵⁷ Faulkner (2011) 17-8 provides internal evidence from Hymn 6 to Aphrodite that the *Homeric Hymns* would be performed within competitions, they would precede the performance of epic recitations, and at festivals.

αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' ἄλλοισι **δίδου χαρίεσσαν ἀμοιβήν**

σύμπασιν Πυλίοισιν ἀγακλειτῆς ἑκατόμβης.³⁵⁸

But Athena rejoiced in the wise man's judgement

Because he gave to her first the golden cup.

Immediately she prayed mightily to Lord Poseidon:

'Hear me, Poseidon Earth-mover, do not think my praises of you

to be too great, but bring these deeds to pass.

First, to Nestor and his sons give renown

and then **bestow gracious return** for this hecatomb

for all those together in Pylos of wide-renown.

Here Athena performs a prayer to Poseidon, a prayer being a key component of hymns and she asks for, among other things, Poseidon to 'give a gracious return' to the people of Pylos for the hecatomb. This language is echoed in Mantiklos' inscription and is evidence of how strongly embedded epigrammatic composition was within the oral performance of epic that formulae and phrases can be lifted from one type of performance to another. Mantiklos' composer is influenced by exemplary prayers and hymns being spread within the oral culture such as the one above and is using traditional ideas and phraseology to create a sense of a simultaneously contemporary and timeless ideal praise. This phrase, which encapsulates the aim of prayers to broker the deal and make known to the god the donor's thanksgiving and expected recompense aligns the inscription with the prayer element of a hymn, while the rest of the statue and its aesthetic effects perform the job of the remainder of the hymn in invoking and pleasing the god.³⁵⁹ Mantiklos' dedication is a stone hymn complete with prayer section and praise due to its adoption of hymnic performativity and language. This part of the inscription shares the same relationship with the rest of the inscription as well as with the body of the figure: the prayer frames the attached aesthetic elements and their pleasure-inducing qualities as specifically religious *agalmata* made for the purpose of setting up and carrying out the transaction with the god.

³⁵⁸ Homer, *Odyssey* 3.52-9, Greek from Murray (1919), own translation.

³⁵⁹ Furley and Bremer (2001) 50-62 describe this element of hymnic composition as the 'praise', but it has previously been identified as the *eulogia*.

This section has shown how inscribed sculptures bear elements of hymns in both their adoption of the hymnic meter as well as phraseology and formulae from a shared oral culture. The exemplary hymn from the *Odyssey* and Mantiklos both share in the traditional language of hymn and prayer by using these infinitely re-performable formulae of giving, thanksgiving, and return. Similarly, by deploying the meter of contemporary epic and the *Homeric Hymns* the inscribed elements of these monuments show how they were to be performed in ways comparable and evocative of hymnic practice, meaning that performing the monument incorporated hymnic elements.

3.2.2 Inscribed Statues and Sacrifice

Inscribed statues not only take within their iconography and language elements of hymns, but also sacrifice. The Berlin Cheramyes Kore bears in her left hand a hare, holding it against her chest. The meaning of the hare is not entirely clear- it could be understood as a love gift, as the animals are often depicted in vase paintings for this purpose,³⁶⁰ but similarly it could represent an animal to be consumed within the sanctuary.³⁶¹ The inclusion of an animal in the sculpture means that it is absorbing within in it some of the performativity of sacrifice as it hints at the narrative and relationship implicit within the juxtaposition of the two figures. Furthermore, the animal is indeed being offered to Hera whether or not the internal narrative that the sculpture depicts is one of sacrifice, for the hare is part of the sculpture dedicated to the goddess.³⁶² An animal forms part of this stone *agalma*. Indeed, sculptures and figurines of animals are ubiquitous dedications in the Greco-Roman world throughout its history, the Archaic age seeing a spike of dedications of this sort in sanctuaries, Olympia being an extreme case.³⁶³ Images of cattle and horses in sheer number represent a large portion of the dedications found at this sanctuary from the eighth to sixth century and it is clear that cattle were indeed the animal of choice to sacrifice to Zeus at Olympia as a hecatomb of oxen were given to the god on the third day of the Olympic athletics festival.³⁶⁴

³⁶⁰ Images of lovers exchanging rabbits or hares abound within black and red figure pottery 550-450BCE, such as Rome National Museum, Etrusco di Villia Giulia: 50462; Boston Mus. Fine Arts: 08.30D

³⁶¹ The representation of the rabbit as love gift would be particularly appropriate for the pleasing of Hera at Samos as she acted as a god of kouratrophy and marriage Baumbach (2004) 154-6.

³⁶² Rabbits and hares are rarely animals included for sacrifice in literary sources, though zooarchaeological approaches to the study of Greek sacrifice have shown that they did feature in the meals eaten in sanctuaries, for instance, see Ekroth (2017) 37.

³⁶³ Morgan (1990) 35-46.

³⁶⁴ Morgan (1990) 38 discusses the animals represented in bronze by the eighth century at Olympia as 99% horses, oxen, or deer. Oxen here represent the agricultural and sacrificial animal, whereas the horse and deer may be more obviously about social prestige (though bovines do not lack this

Therefore, it is not out of the realm of possibility that this sculpted hare may have similarly been considered a sacrificial victim on top of the religious identity of the object as a whole reflected in its status as a votive offering.

In a more clear representation of an animal being carried to sacrifice, the Moscophoros likely dedicated in 560-530BCE in Klaros, now in the Izmir Museum (figure 3.5) shows an animal, likely a calf, being held out by a male striding figure. The calf bears the following inscription on its right flank:

[- - 11-12 - -] : με ἀν[έθηκε - - - -] | : μνήμα ὦν | αὐτῶν³⁶⁵

[- - 11-12 - -] : set me up [p - - - -] | as a memorial of....

The sculpture shows more clearly a scene of sacrifice than the Cheramyes Kore given that the animal was a more common victim for the act plus the fact that the male figure holds the animal away from his body in front of him, suggesting a gesture of giving, as korai also do with one or both arms forward as if to give or receive.³⁶⁶ This monument is an example of a dedication using the imagery most associated with sacrifice (the eventual victim) to evoke the emotional, visceral, and sensuous aspects of the act of sacrifice in order to give his dedication greater impact on the viewer. The male figure strides forward assertively thrusting the calf forward, as opposed to the more famous Moscophoros statue dedicated by Rhombos, now in the Acropolis Museum in Athens (figure 3.6). The Athenian Moscophoros carries the calf over its shoulders, whereas the Klarian Moscophoros is more clearly in the act of giving by carrying the calf by its legs in front of him in a stiff awkward pose. The depiction of this particular moment heightens the drama of the kouros as it puts the normally narrative-less figure into a scene of dedication, making this monument mimetically represent a specific event: the moment of dedication.³⁶⁷ By doing so, the monument benefits from the momentousness and sense of occasion and action that sacrifice possesses that is more public and fleeting than dedication. This image, as opposed to most kouros, depicts a particular moment in a narrative due to its representation of a sacrificial

association) due to their associations with elite husbandry and hunting activities. Neer (2012) 104-7 has argued that the Olympian figurines of cattle also make reference to the act of sacrifice. Osborne (1987) 185-7 discusses the votive representations of animals in bronze and terracotta in Archaic Greek sanctuaries, their relation to their dedicators, and their specificity to the Archaic period. Horses are also attested as sacrificial victims and their bones have been found bearing chop marks among the remains thought to be the leftovers of sacrificial meals within sanctuaries, Ekroth (2017) 36.

³⁶⁵ SEG 48 1406.

³⁶⁶ Osborne (1994) 88.

³⁶⁷ For a kouros' normal lack of narrative, see Stewart (1990) 109; Osborne (1994) 88.

scene and in doing so appeals to the attention of the god because of the ephemerality of the moment and the sense of urgency and attention that sacrifice requires.³⁶⁸

Conversely, both of these examples could be interpreted as sacrifice using elements of dedicatory practice to enhance its effectiveness as a form of *agalma*. They both exploit the power that votive objects have to last, as opposed to sacrifices which require repetition to perpetuate. This is made not only in the monumentalisation of the act of sacrifice, but also in the use of the word *mnēma* in the Moscophoros' inscription, translated here as 'memorial'. Though it is unsure what this monument was described as a memorial of in the now fragmentary inscription, it is certain to memorialise the act of dedication that the monument depicts. The positioning of the inscription on the animal, as opposed to the more common site of the leg of the male figure supports this idea, as it is the animal that bears the dedicatory inscription rather than the man, showing that the animal is the depicted gift in the imagined scene. Indeed, the image of the calf is a gift's gift, for it the gift that is given by the stone man, which is in turn a gift from a real man to Apollo. This reveals the awareness of Archaic Greek religious participants of the advantages and disadvantages of each of the pleasure media: this dedicator knew that the memory of his sacrifice and the animal's flesh would fade, whereas a stone monument had the potential to last longer than just the memory.

This section has shown how inscribed sculptures sampled, adopted, or cited aspects of the other two pleasure media in order to augment, expand, and reframe their significance as *agalmata*. Votive dedications adopted prayer formulae from hymns and used the hymnic meter as a way of adopting their performativity as well as formalising the votive's role as broker of the deal between man and god, just as the Mantiklos dedication used formulaic phrases and hymnic and Homeric meter. Similarly, votive dedications may also choose to evoke sacrifice in their iconography. They may do this through the representation of human figures presenting animals for sacrifice, complementing the contemporary habit of dedicating figurines of dedicatory animals on their own or small ensembles throughout the Greek world. In this way votive offerings may co-opt for themselves the momentousness and

³⁶⁸ Burkert's (1972) *Homo Necans* argues for the deep emotional effect of the act of killing during a sacrifice. Though the current author does not agree with the concept of universal psychological urges that Burkert's entire argument prescribes, the implication that the act of sacrifice has the potential to be emotionally and psychologically affective is undeniable. Bremmer (2007) 136 discusses the *ololygmos*, or sacrifice-cry, as evidence for the emotive effects of animal sacrifice. Parker (2011) 135 avoids discussing the emotive power of the act of sacrifice, instead preferring to discuss the 'religious charge' built up by the series of ritual actions. The attention that each of the pleasure media requires will be discussed in section three of this chapter.

ephemeral, emotional and visceral elements of sacrifice, heightening the tension that the slaughtering of an animal carries that is not present for the dedication of an object. It is this ability of the different pleasure media to make references to one another that makes inscribed sculptures effective and complex votives due to their innate inclusion of multiple media. Inscribed sculptures thus represent forms of votive dedication that may regularly take on aspects of the other two types of pleasure media and as such evoke their effects and implicit qualities increasing the thought in the ‘thought that counts’.

3.3 Redefining *Agalmata* with Inscribed Sculptures

As the previous examination of inscribed sculptures has shown, the three types of *agalmata* were functionally equal- this idea encapsulated within the use of the word *agalma* well into the Classical period- but they were not the same. Furthermore, the fact that these media were not the same was a point of aesthetic tension that artists and composers felt mattered and exploited for the elaboration of their own work. This section will outline three main ways in which these three pleasure media were different in terms of their performance, reperformance, and inclusivity. These three differences, by no means the only differences, are central to the votive object’s function as pleasing object, but also for its socio-political and communal functions with and between its human percipients across time. This will develop our understanding of the mechanisms and effects of inscribed sculptures as well as how Archaic Greek religious practice affected its participants. Furthermore, it will bring to the fore the significance of the different pleasure media and how they differently constituted Archaic Greek cult praxis on an individual and Panhellenic scale, complementing the effects already discussed in chapters one and two.³⁶⁹

3.3.1 Performance

As has been discussed in previous chapters, the performances that the dedication of a votive object may lead to in the eyes of a bystander are multiple and varied. However, this section will focus on the effects of the performance of the act of dedication, rather than its

³⁶⁹ By comparing and contrasting votive dedications, sacrifices and hymns we can better understand their effects on individuals even if, for instance, we lack the specific hymns performed at a particular cult on a particular occasion, but we know that one was performed. This is because all three pleasure-media were likely part of every cult and, as such, seeing one medium in light of the others is a reliable way to acknowledge some of the effects of the hymn, even if it is not extant. The Panhellenic scale can also be assessed because of the generic consistency and medium-specific aspects that this section will bring out.

admiration by later viewers (this will be covered in the below section on reperformance). There is little evidence from the Archaic period that describes or outlines the process of dedication. One thing that is possible to reconstruct is the deposition of votive gifts and their placement within the sanctuary, as discussed throughout chapter two.

Another is that the act of dedication did not require the presence of the god at the time of the dedication. If we assume that the inscriptions that adorn some votive offerings were to be read by the gods, their language does not imply any necessity for the deity to be present, in fact, it implies a certain belatedness on behalf of the god:

Left leg	τὸ Πτοῖῆο[ς].
right leg	Εὐφειτίας ἀνέθεκε.
Left leg	[Property] of the Ptoian One.
Right leg	Eueitias set [it/me] up.

It is possible to read the inscription's use of the aorist tense for 'set [me/it] up', which is one of the most common elements of dedicatory inscriptions of this period, shows the expectation that the god will come later, assess the object's worthiness, and enact a fair recompense after the act of dedication. Context also often renders the inclusion of the divinity's name redundant, as most votives are deposited within sanctuaries of the god to which they are dedicated. Thus the unnecessary inclusion of the name also makes doubly clear to the divinity that the object is for them, despite the absence of the dedicator. There are exceptions to this rule, for instance Mantiklos' dedication includes the apostrophe to Phoibos, implying that the god would be present when the inscription is read aloud.³⁷⁰

As such, the presence of the deity was not necessary at the moment of dedication. In general the act of dedication expects a distance between the dedicator and the deity temporally and spatially. The dedication enforces a sense of distance between the two members of this social contract, reflecting their different ontologies and also enacting the limited contact that Greeks felt they had with their deities. This also reinforces the idea that the human agent is at the mercy of the divinity's will: the dedicator must wait and hope that the deity pays

³⁷⁰ This assumes that inscriptions were read out as part of the dedication process. However, if they were not read at this point, but instead were only for the divine and human audiences to read later, this further bolsters the present argument that the inscriptions imply a belated presence for the god.

attention to their votive offering and deems it adequate thanks for a fortune already rendered or to be rendered in the future. Furthermore, the potential belatedness of the divinity is also consistent with the highly competitive nature that scholars have previously identified within sanctuaries at large.³⁷¹ In complement to the social and political competition that previous scholars have argued for within sanctuaries, there is also a religious imperative to dedicate an attention-grabbing votive offering in a prominent place so that the deity registers the dedicator's generosity.

Conversely, sacrifices do imply some presence of the divinity during the act itself. The majority of sacrifices see an animal slaughtered, a portion (*geras*) given to a god via burning and the rest distributed to people such as the priest or priestess according to the laws of the sanctuary or particular rite.³⁷² At the mythological ur-sacrifice described in Hesiod's *Theogony* 535-44, the presence of the god is explicit at Mecone, wherein Prometheus presents the two deceptive portions to Zeus. Here the presence of Zeus is obvious for he addresses Prometheus' trickery (543-4). Indeed, it is the god's choice and approval of the rite at the moment of sacrifice that F.S. Naiden puts at the centre of the event: the god 'will receive the smoke and aroma that arise from the sacrificial fire, or will allow the entrails of the animal to be normal'.³⁷³ There is further evidence to argue that the deity was present at the sacrifice, as in the seated Athena who extends a libation bowl while a man brings a bull to the altar in figure 3.1. However, it is unclear from the image whether this is meant to represent Athena herself or a statue of Athena, but what this image shows is the importance of some form of Athena's presence. The many images of people sacrificing in front of herms from the Archaic period shows how commonplace and appropriate sacrificing specifically to an image was during this period (as in figures 3.2-4). In these cases there was nothing to stop the artist from simply painting the god imagined to be represented by the herm, yet they decided to paint the semi-anthropomorphic sculptures instead. The presence of an image of the deity to whom you are sacrificing seems sufficient in the case of sacrifice.

Comparing this to the Classical dramatization of sacrifice in Aristophanes' *Birds*, we know that the smoke travelled to the gods from the altar, allowing the gods to be remote from

³⁷¹ Morgan (1990) 29-47; de Polignac (1996) 59. Bruneau and Ducat (2005) 33; Scott (2010) *passim*, esp. 114-8 and 201-10.

³⁷² Examples of sacred laws that prescribe the division of the animal among benefactors include *NGSL* 9 (=SEG XLVII 488); *NGSL* 3 (=SEG XXXV 113) and require that each receive their due *geras*.

³⁷³ Naiden (2013) 39-40. Naiden seeks to reassert the importance of the deity in the act of sacrifice, rebalancing the focuses on killing that he attributes to Burkert (1983) and the meat-eating that concerned Detienne and Vernant eds. (1989).

performance of the hymn to another deity entirely.³⁷⁵ This first difference makes hymns stand out as a medium for pleasing the gods as it regularly involves the invocation of deities to assure the quality and power of the gift itself.³⁷⁶ In addition to the call to the Muses many hymns also call to their recipient, as in the hymn to Delian Apollo (*Homeric Hymn 3*) 19-21:

πῶς τάρ σ' ὑμνήσω, πάντως εὖμνον ἐόντα;
πάντηι γάρ τοι, Φοῖβε, νομὸς βεβλήαται ὠιδῆς, 20
ἡμὲν ἀν' ἤπειρον πορτιτρόφον ἢ δ' ἀνά νήσους.

How should I hymn you, who are worthy of hymning in every way? In every direction, Phoibos, you provide pasturage for song, both for the cow-nourishing mainland and upon the islands.³⁷⁷

The direct address to Phoibos here implies that the performer of the hymn has the god's attention and indeed is in proximity enough for the god to respond to the performer's request for advice.³⁷⁸ Similarly, the performance of a hymn is distinctly ephemeral, and requires attention at the time of performance as it leaves no sign of its performance behind: no object, no ash.³⁷⁹ Furthermore, the god often plays a far greater role within the hymn itself, it often being an opportunity to retell a mythological story from their biography.³⁸⁰ The divinity is evoked to a great degree during hymnic performance as they are the protagonist of the hymn, acting as the main agent of the story. As such, the presence of the god is created by the hymn, bringing them and their actions to the imaginations of the performer and the audience of the hymn to the point where the god may even respond and interact with the performance itself.

³⁷⁵ Other *Homeric Hymns* begin with Muse invocations, but these have been excluded as their dating is likely post-archaic. These include the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*. For the dating of the Homeric Hymns, see Faulkner (2011) 7-16.

³⁷⁶ This is assuming that sacrifice of animals was not accompanied by a thanks to a god of livestock or animals, such as Hermes, Pan, or Artemis, or a votive offering not accompanied by an invocation of Athena or Hephaestus as gods of craft. Similarly, the Muses are appropriate gods to provide the example to humans for performing hymns as they practice it themselves to the other gods, as in Hesiod's *Theogony* 36-44. See Furley and Bremer (2001) 14-5 for discussion of the Muses' relation to hymns.

³⁷⁷ Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo 19-21, Greek from West (2003), own translation.

³⁷⁸ Even if the question posed here 'how should I hymn you?' is rhetorical and does not expect a response, the hymn itself is the response to the question, and as such still requires a divine recipient paying attention and to receive that rhetorical question. Similarly, the rhetorical question also acts as a vehicle to deliver the flattering line 'you who are worthy of hymning in every way'.

³⁷⁹ This is based on the assumption that the hymn was purely an oral performance and did not exist in a written form. Inscribed hymns are briefly discussed above in note 61 of this chapter.

³⁸⁰ Calame (2011) 350-1

In contrast to dedications, hymns often imply the presence of the deity in question, and in addition very often invite the Muses along to safeguard the quality of the performance. In this way they also differ from sacrifice as they require a god to be close spatially where they may both receive the message and respond to the calls and questions delivered in the hymn. Hymn would seem through this analysis to instigate the closest contact between the dedicator and the divinity as their performance requires and creates the greatest implied presence of the god of the three pleasure-media. The small dedication of Chimaridas (figure 1.3), which calls to its recipient Artemis via the epithet 'Daidaleian One' while also representing the goddess with bow in hand highlights the play with the presence of the goddess and her representations and thus how this image was thought to be performed.

3.3.2 Reperformance

For votive dedications reperformance can come in two main forms: the same dedication being reactivated through interaction with a later bystander or a second dedication in some way connecting with the first dedication.³⁸¹ As discussed in chapter two of this thesis, the deictic reference back to the original dedication made in the aorist *anetheke* so common to dedicatory epigrams can indeed be used as evidence of the dedication's potential reperformance whilst still showing deference to that first dedication within the sanctuary.³⁸² This reperformance of memorialisation of the act of dedication can carry through time for as long as the dedication stands and the inscription is legible: their existence and discussion to this day attests to their potential for longevity and continued power to evoke an event that has now been completely lost to human memory.

As discussed in chapter two, dedications can make reference to one another through their repetitive iconography and formulaic language. The schematic and repetitive image that kouroi present connects all kouroi to one another and engages them in a network of images throughout the Archaic sanctuary and across the Greek world. In complement to this, the formulaic language within the often short dedicatory inscriptions of votive offerings mean that they are infinitely repeatable and echo one another with a consistency that makes them virtually predictable. In light of this, it is difficult to conceive of the dedication of a human figure that is in some way accompanied by an inscription (whether on the body or not) that

³⁸¹ For instance, through the *deixis* discussed in chapter two.

³⁸² Day (2010) *passim*. Day's argument that the inscription reperforms the original act of dedication must be somewhat tempered by the fact that it does not reperform, but rather performs remembrance due to the inscription not being the act of dedication.

could truly be considered original or unique, for its forebears and cousins would have been so well known to its viewers.

However, this adds to the meaning of each dedication and results in a layering of the sanctuary as a whole in a network of dedications each of which are evocative of the other gifts that surround them. Dedications, their imagery, and their formulaic language all add to one another. Each dedication does not have a clean slate for its performance, nor reperformance, but instead must be set up within a context that already is loaded with gifts which connect to it and its artistic and linguistic effects. Each additional dedication within a sanctuary which adopted a particular form or formula could be interpreted as a reperformance of the messages and effects conveyed by other earlier votives. In this way, the second main type of reperformance is possible. The Cheramyes group dedicated to Hera at the Samian Heraion is such an example where interaction between multiple dedications was likely an intention of the dedicator. The three korai and single kouros share extremely similar carving and iconography and two of the three are reconstructed to have identical inscriptions, with the third (the Berlin Cheramyes Kore) only significantly differing due to the addition of the adjective *perikalles*. These three figures, undoubtedly would have interacted with one another within the sanctuary by repeating Cheramyes' acts of dedication, having repeated the act itself multiple times even before a later viewer could engage with his catalogue of dedications within the sanctuary. Even if they belonged to one single act of dedication, the fact that all of the figures involved bore their own inscription naming Cheramyes shows that repetition was an important aspect of Cheramyes' votive practice.

Reperformance was an aspect of votive objects that was built-in and implicit within the act itself. Votives would be interacted with by later passers-by and the language of their inscriptions acted as a reminder of the past event and person that placed the object before them. Furthermore, Archaic votives could not help but make reference to one another through their repetitive imagery and linguistic formulae: no votive could be made in a vacuum.

It may seem at odds with the finality of the slaughter of an animal, but sacrifice similarly has a repetitive and reperformative aspect inherent within it. Many sanctuaries, festivals, and deities required specific animals to be sacrificed in order to be suitable gifts for the god.³⁸³

³⁸³ Both from the fifth century BCE, *LSCG* 1 (=IG I², 840) prescribes that a pig be sacrificed in Athens to the Charites, whereas in Thasos, *LSCG* 114 B (=IG XII 8, 358) prescribes 'To the Charites a goat, it is not right ever [to sacrifice] a pig': Χάρισιν αἶγα οὐ θέμις οὐδε χοῖρον. Also see religious calendars, such as that of 4th century Cos in Rhodes and Osborne (2004) no.62.

As such, an individual's sacrifice is simultaneously inimitable, because that animal cannot come back to life, but also a highly imitative act. It would be an act that had been performed innumerable times before by other people, or even by the same individual as a previous occasion. Proscriptive sacrifices, such as the sacrifice to the Charites in Athens meant that regardless of the year or the dedicator the sacrifice was the same, maintaining a uniformity and repetitive element within the sacrifice as people would make it in the knowledge that the same act had been done before, and that their act would be imitated and reperformed at the next sacrifice.³⁸⁴

Similarly, some sacrifices may have a sense of internal reperformance, in that they included multiples of the same animal to be slaughtered. Repetition was clearly an important effect of sacrifices which prescribed numerous victims of the same species. Furthermore, there would be the external sense of reperformance in that the sacrifice as a whole would be reminiscent of identical sacrifices done in the past. This is a key element of the prescriptive nature of sacrifices, which is a further difference between sacrifices and the other two pleasure media: they can be performed incorrectly. Sacrifices were regulated by specific rules which ordained which animals are to be sacrificed and how their bodies should be distributed between the divinity, the cult officials, and the donor of the sacrifice. These rules, called 'sacred laws' by modern scholars meant that, unlike the dedication of votive objects and the singing of hymns, sacrifices were very closely controlled and their practice heavily regulated.³⁸⁵

The act of feasting on the sacrificed animals similarly connected the performances of otherwise distant and different sacrifices. The communal consumption of the meat of the sacrificial animal was not a universal aspect of sacrifice (holocausts and the sacrificed animal being placed whole into a body of water being notable exceptions).³⁸⁶ However, feasts were a common event following animal sacrifice, and this would have been an event of repetitive

³⁸⁴ For sacred law of Athens prescribing a pig, see note above. Sacrifices may also exhibit internal repetition and reperformance, such as those that require the sacrifice of multiple animals, such as hecatombs. The sacrifice of each individual animal would be a reperformance of the sacrifice of the previous animal, while the whole hecatomb itself would have been a reperformance of previous hecatombs. Hecatombs are recorded in the *Iliad*, as in line 1.65 where Achilles describes a hecatomb to Apollo that might be the reason for his wrath in the form of the plague from which they are suffering. *LSCG* 78 (=IG II² 1126) prescribes hecatombs to the god at Delphi.

³⁸⁵ This may be due to sacrifice's potential for very practical public benefit in the form of food for large numbers of people, unlike the less tangible benefit of monuments and hymnic performance to the public.

³⁸⁶ Holocaust sacrifices are prescribed in *LSCG* 151 A, 31-4 to Zeus Polieus in Cos; *LSCG* 151 B, 10-3 prescribes an entire cow being burnt to Zeus Machaneus in Cos. See Jameson (2014) 199 and 279 for discussion of holocaust sacrifices.

reperformance of societal position.³⁸⁷ Walter Burkert has been a leading proponent of the investigation of the social effects of sacrifices and their feasts, arguing that in Greek culture they reinforce social standing. Burkert argues that the Greeks distributed the sacrificial animal according to each individual's 'geras', which he translates as 'piece of honour'.³⁸⁸ Each person who was owed a portion of the sacrificed animal was expected to get a specific share, whether that be in quantity or a particular cut of meat.³⁸⁹ This reinforced social hierarchy,³⁹⁰ but what it also achieved was it acted as a reminder of the sacrifice, for it was an individual's act of sacrifice that triggered the social act of feasting and re-establishes and reasserts the relationships that the community has with the dedicator, the cult, and the divinity to whom the sacrifice was made. It acts as a communal way of reminding the feasters of the donor's generosity and activity within the cult, using the animal's flesh as the continuous thread connecting the religious sacrifice to the socially powerful feast. The political, competitive, and communal meaning of sacrifice was extended, repeated, and reinforced again and benefits the donor above all of the human beneficiaries. The feast gives the act of sacrifice further significance after it is over, reperforming it in a way that not only set up a relationship between the donor and divinity, but also the donor and their religious community.³⁹¹

Sacrifices thus include reperformance firstly as it was an activity that a cult would see multiple near-identical iterations of,³⁹² but also because the sacrifice itself may have an internally reperformative element. This may be through the sacrifice including multiple animals, or the sacrifice being followed by a feast where the same material, the animal's flesh, bones, and hide, memorialise and refocus the attention of the sacrifice on the human relationships it set up. However, their reperformance differs from that of votives in that sacrificial reperformance does not layer like dedications do within sanctuaries they lack the

³⁸⁷ *LSCG 18* Forbids sacrificial meat being taken out of the sanctuary and thus this may further foster (or even enforce) the communal aspects of sacrifice.

³⁸⁸ Burkert (1987) 46. One's *geras* can also refer to one's portion of other prizes, such as the loot (human and material) taken from the cities plundered by Achilles in *Il.* 9.334. Stocking (2017) 52 makes the important point of highlighting that amount or subsistence-value of the portion allotted to the honoured person or god is irrelevant to its perceived value. Instead value is given to the portion through the very act of identifying it as such an honorary piece and that its value is at times entirely symbolic.

³⁸⁹ Carbon (2017) 174-6 discusses the dangers of interpreting the meaning of the particular parts of the animal going to specific people in his discussion of the right and left hand sides of the animal.

³⁹⁰ I also hasten to add that it not only reinforced social hierarchy, but constituted its very creation. The political and hierarchical aspect of Greek sacrifice is made clear in the Mecone episode of Hesiod's *Theogony*, as interpreted by Stocking (2017) 27-54 in relation to sacred laws.

³⁹¹ *LSCG 18* from Attica mandates that sacrificial meat may not be taken away for the deme Erchia.

³⁹² The repetition of sacrifices on a monthly or yearly basis are common throughout the Greek world and is evident from Greek sacrificial calendars, such as that of the Athenians of the late fifth and early fourth centuries collated and discussed in Lambert (2002).

particularity that dedications can provide.³⁹³ Dedications allow for many specific acts, attributable to individuals, to be seen as pre-performances, whereas remembered sacrifices would not come with the same recorded lineage, instead being accompanied by a more generic knowledge of earlier performances.

Hymns are arguably the most obviously re-performable of the three pleasure-media as their words can be recited after the original performance.³⁹⁴ This is because hymns are not bound to the same spatial and temporal situations as the other two pleasure-media. Dedications are presumably left where they were dedicated, or perhaps moved into a treasury.³⁹⁵ Similarly, sacrifices had to be performed at the altar of the deity to whom one sacrificed.³⁹⁶ Hymns, songs, and poetry were conceived of as much more transient and prone to movement.³⁹⁷ Hymns could be sung anywhere, indeed their performances often acted as shorter poems to be recited before the performance of a portion of epic verse.³⁹⁸ Even if a particular hymn was associated with a particular festival at a particular sanctuary, such as the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* performed at the Delia on Delos, this does not mean it was not performed elsewhere on different occasions.³⁹⁹

Reperformance in hymns also comes in other forms. Felix Budelmann argues that in the case of epinician poetry the poem itself already looks backward to the athlete's victory, and thus

³⁹³ The exceptions to this are ash altars that were comprised of the ashes of previously burnt sacrifices. Ash altars could adopt the possibility for longevity and a sense of growth and layering of votive materials for a sacrificial rite, despite these qualities being normally typical of the dedication of objects.

³⁹⁴ *Contra* Calame (2011) who argues that 'the self-referential act of singing (aedic-rhapsodic) is located in both time and space: it takes place *hic et nunc*'. However, this *hic et nunc* is internal and belongs to the narrative, whereas from the perspective of performance, the hymn is not anchored to a particular place or time. As poems that are remnants of oral poetry, reperformance and repetition are also necessary factors in their survival to later periods when they were written down.

³⁹⁵ Snodgrass (2006) 261-2 discusses the treatment of especially smaller votives after dedication in sanctuaries such as Olympia.

³⁹⁶ Figures 3.1-3 all show the presentation of the sacrificial victim to the altar.

³⁹⁷ Homer's phrase 'ἔπεα πτερόεντα' often translated as 'winged words' indeed could be interpreted as evidence of this, as by Vivante (1975) 2, who says that '[f]or Homer this was hardly a metaphor. He perceived in words a concrete reality: breath gathering into voice, sound formed into meaning and travelling through the air'. This phrase has been discussed many times and given many different meanings, such as 'feathered words' meaning words that are aided by feathers like an arrow and thus fly straight by Thompson (1936) 1-3. Suhr (1974) 169-72 provides a review of literature on this issue. Another example when an author assumes the flighty, mobile nature of words is the opening of Pindar *Nemean* 5 'I am no sculptor who makes statues [*agalma*'] that stand still on the same base, but upon every freight ship and row boat sweet song marches from Aegina announcing that mighty Pytheas, son of Lampon, won the crown for the pankration at Nemea'.

³⁹⁸ Nagy (2011) 327-8.

³⁹⁹ For discussion of the link between the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* and the Delia, see Nagy (2011) 282-4, which cites Thucydides 3.104.2-6 recording the Athenian reorganisation of Delos in 426BCE. Indeed, this attribution of the hymn to this context by the Athenians may be evidence for it having been used elsewhere, or at least more generally beforehand.

already has mixed temporalities.⁴⁰⁰ Hymns similarly look backward, often to the biographies of the deity to whom they are dedicated. As such, rather than understanding the original performance as a telling of a story, it can be seen as a replaying of the events that happened at a previous mythological time. Hymns often adopt as their narratives the re-telling of a glorifying episode from the life of the deity as a form of praise.⁴⁰¹ As such, their very narrativity often forces their retrospection and sense of belatedness.

Furthermore, the Muse invocations discussed earlier also may act as evidence that even the 'original' performance of a hymn was not entirely conceived as its premiere. If the Muses were conceived of as some source of poetic inspiration for the performer, or even the origin of the poem, using the performer as merely a conduit, the singer's performance can hardly be seen as the hymn's original performance. The beginning of the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* provides evidence of this latter interpretation when it states 'Tell me Muse, of the deeds of golden Cyprian Aphrodite'- the main narrative of the hymn is thus to be imagined as the performer reporting what the Muse has told him.⁴⁰² The hymn as a second-hand product given to the performer by the Muses or at least inspired by their influence shows once again that reperformance may have indeed been the only real type of performance they ever had, if one is to accept a hymn's own poetic conceits.

Votives, sacrifices, and hymns all have the ability to engage in issues of reperformance, but they do so in different ways. Votives and their lasting nature in a specific place means that their reperformance is more likely anchored to a spatial context, but their reperformance can be reinvigorated endlessly by anyone interacting with them. Sacrifices have a finality to their act in that they cause the irreversible death of an animal, but due to proscriptive sacred laws and other sanctuary and ritual-specific regulations, a sacrifice can have an endless possibility for reperformance through repetition. Similarly, hymns also were readily reperformed, untethered to a specific place or occasion, unlike the spatially anchored votive and sacrifice which is anchored to a certain time and place in the form of a specific festival. All three pleasure-media also exhibit internal evidence of not only having reperformance as an expected part of their reception, but also to have reperformance part of their 'premiere' performance- if any of them can be conceived to have had such a debut. In light of this, the

⁴⁰⁰ Budelmann (2017) 45.

⁴⁰¹ Sowa (1984) 241.

⁴⁰² *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, lines 1-2: Μοῦσά μοι ἔννεπε ἔργα πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης Κύπριδος... Greek from West (2003), own translation.

existence of reperformance is easier to argue for than a first performance, and it is their reperformance that would have dominated their social and religious effects.

All three pleasure-media had a built-in sense of repeatability showing that the dynamic that they were a part of setting up between the donor and the divinity was not expected to end with the conclusion of the original performance. Instead, they all had an ongoing significant role to play in the continuation and propagation of favour with the god for the donor as well as potential other donors in the future and those already in the past. The significance of reperformance to inscribed sculptures can be seen specifically through the multitude of ways in which one may engage with Mantiklos' Apollo with its epigram so embedded within the reperformative oral culture of Archaic Greece, and its imagery so strongly echoed in the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios where human figures abound: reperformance was unavoidable and to be exploited and embraced.

3.3.3 Inclusivity

Archaic dedications are gifts to the deity that can come in all shapes, sizes, and materials, and as such have a broad price range. Although this study focuses on statuary, votives could also be objects used by the dedicator that they now wish to retire and dedicate to the god, such as a weapon of war, craftsman's tool, toy, or clothing. These 'raw' dedications would likely be of more sentimental than monetary value as they were likely old objects, perhaps becoming less practical or the donor may grow out of them.⁴⁰³ As such, these objects are the cheapest as they are likely of low value, or were going to be replaced or disposed of anyway as part of the donor's everyday life. Conversely, dedications could be objects specially made for dedication and no other purpose. Among the objects specifically made to be votives, small wooden or terracotta figurines must have been the cheapest votives to donate as their material could believably be gathered or purchased cheaply and they could be shaped (even if not completely finished) without specialist equipment.⁴⁰⁴ At the other end of the spectrum, marble statuary, as well as large metalwork objects, especially those of precious metals, must have made up the most expensive type of dedication, further modulated by size.⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰³ For the outlining of 'raw' and 'converted' offerings, see Snodgrass (2006) 263-4.

⁴⁰⁴ Morgan (1990) 29 discusses the role material likely had in representing the economic status of dedicators in Olympia.

⁴⁰⁵ Herodotus' account of Croesus' generosity toward Apollo at Delphi (*Histories*, 1.50-2) shows the most extreme example of extravagant and public dedications.

As a result of the huge range in the value of dedicatory objects, dedications reflect, or rather make, social distinctions between members of a particular cult. The juxtaposition of votives has often throughout scholarship been discussed in terms of competition, for individuals, families, and states,⁴⁰⁶ but what is less commented upon is how this was also a highly exclusive activity that drew drastic distinctions between the richest and the poorest sections of society. Furthermore, the small votives may not have even qualified to receive juxtaposition with large, expensive monuments as they may have been moved or piled up and so been partly obscured.⁴⁰⁷ Given this situation, the poorest sections of society were not only underrepresented in quality of dedication, but also in quantity. Furthermore, the more expensive dedications also carried elite imagery: korai in particular wear jewellery and elaborate clothing with painted patterns and represent wealthy young women.⁴⁰⁸ The nude kouros also exhibits a body that could only be obtained through attendance at the gymnasium and elite self-cultivation, such as the large thighs of the elite male.⁴⁰⁹

Another factor that can make dedications even more exclusive is their accommodation of inscriptions. The ability to read an inscription, even one of relative brevity, would have made an aspect of the monument inaccessible to many bystanders other than through its reading aloud by another literate bystander. This would draw lines of inclusion and exclusion around the literate and illiterate people that attended the sanctuary: it would impose hierarchies of dependency upon the attendees of the sanctuary where the illiterate attendees were dependent upon their literate companions to read the inscriptions. This would create a sense of community among the pilgrims at a sanctuary as listening to an individual read aloud the inscription may attract a crowd and become a group activity. However, this community is still one dominated by a strict hierarchy of literate and illiterate members who would feel empowered and disempowered respectively by the inscribed elements of dedications.

Lastly, the act of dedicating an object to a god is one which would have been a relatively private affair that did not include many people outside of the dedicator, the maker of the object and their staff, a transporting team (if it required one), and possibly a priest to organise a place for larger monuments to be positioned. People may have gathered to watch

⁴⁰⁶ Scott (2010) *passim*, esp. 114-8 and 201-10; Morgan (1990) 194-205 discusses the relations and competition that are played out within sanctuaries (particularly Delphi and Olympia) during the early Archaic period.

⁴⁰⁷ LSCG 43 from Athens describes where dedications should be placed in regard to statues in the sanctuary.

⁴⁰⁸ Steiner (2001) 234.

⁴⁰⁹ See also the section on Homeric thighs in chapter two, an example of an iconographical unit that represents elite ideals of the male body.

the erection of the larger monuments, but it is unlikely that many people would have been involved in the dedication of a 'raw' or even a small 'converted' offering. As such, the act itself is relatively private in contrast to the reception and reperformance that the object may undergo subsequently.

Sacrifices on the other hand were far more public with their performance, especially with the division of the sacrificial animal and the following feast, not only people connected with the donor, or those who just happened to be present at the sacrifice, but potentially far-flung individuals may receive their portions.⁴¹⁰ Laws banning the consumption of the sacrificial meat outside of the sanctuary implies that there were occasions when those who did not take part in the sacrifice itself may also still be deliberately included in the act remotely by eating the flesh of the sacrificed animal.⁴¹¹ This creates networks of connection that spread far further than the sanctuary and the quality of their inclusion is especially close, sensuous, and emotive, rather than purely intellectual. Each person who receives a share of the sacrificial meat is connected with one another and the deity through the sharing of a meal, regardless of proximity, and a shared gustatory and olfactory experience. The sensuous aspect of the sacrificial meal is strongly connected to the visceral, smelly, and emotive act of the sacrifice. Both engage the same senses but with opposite effects- one of comfort and nourishment, the other of disgust and violence. Both the positive and negative emotions act as a way of creating and reinforcing these communities.

However, inclusion within this sprawling network still reinforces hierarchy and distinction between its members who, according to tradition, are given the piece to which they are entitled, rather than what would be considered 'equal' by today's standards.⁴¹² The distribution of the meat would be 'fair' to contemporaries in that it reflected the societal hierarchy and everyone gets their share, but some shares are more than others. Although sacrifice was inclusive as a whole, parts of the animal were exclusive to certain parties. This has the effect of setting up and bolstering a privileged few who benefit most (or who are

⁴¹⁰ Indeed, the sacrifice of a single cow can produce as much as 110kg of meat (not including the viscera that would also be consumed), and thus easily feed hundreds of people, see Carbon (2017) 153.

⁴¹¹ For instance, see the religious calendar of Cos, Rhodes and Osborne (2004) no.62, which stipulates that meat may be taken 'to the priestess' (side A, line 62) implying that she may not have been present. Furthermore, it says that meat should be taken away 'for the city' (side A, line 54) but should not taken outside of the city, implying that even more people would be expected to receive sacrificial meat.

⁴¹² *NGSL* 20.2-7 (=SEG XXXV 923) describes the appropriate recipients for particular aspects of the sacrifice, with only a *geras* (portion) of the meat, the priest's own portion, and the tongue to be placed on the *liknon* (dedicatory basket used in processions).

perceived to get the best cut) from the shared wealth of the sacrificial meat. This idea of everyone receiving what they are due rather than an equal portion is most famously reflected in the myth of Prometheus and Zeus at the feast of Mecone retold in Hesiod's *Theogony*.⁴¹³ Rather than receiving an equal share of the sacrificed animal, Zeus is given a choice between two drastically different portions in terms of edible flesh. This disparity in the mythological ur-sacrifice is made real in human practice, the thighbones of animals given to the god, while the humans eat the meat according to their position. As such, the gods are treated within the same scheme as the human participants of the feast in that they share in the same animal, they are just the first person to receive their particular portion and people deny them their portion at their own risk. Rather than act as a go-between for men and gods, the sacrifice acts as a performance of simultaneous commonality and deference.

The inclusion of people also extends further than those who receive meat: there are also networks of people comparable to those who contributed to the creation of a large or elaborate votive, such as herdsman, farmers, and the priest who performs the sacrifice and butchers the animal. These networks may be based around the sanctuary, local to the donor, or the donor's family may be the original owner of the animal.⁴¹⁴ In this latter case, the sacrifice of an animal that had been nurtured for months, if not years, that travels to the sanctuary with the donor may carry with it a sense of pride in one's rearing, self-deprivation of a farmer's valuable profit, or even sadness at the loss of a prized animal imbued with sentimentality. These networks, however impersonal, are all affected by the economic and agricultural infrastructures that supported the sacrifice of animals on a large scale at certain times of the year at the larger sanctuaries of Delphi and Olympia, much like the votive-creating industry.⁴¹⁵

In contrast to votives, sacrifice has a far more nuanced situation in regard to inclusion and exclusion. There is a more clear line between those who are included and those who are not in sacrifice, yet those included are far more diffuse at times and also sit within a hierarchical

⁴¹³ See earlier discussion about the Mecone feast in this chapter under section 3.3.

⁴¹⁴ Thucydides 1.139 records the dispute between the Athenians and Megarians in which the Athenians accuse them of tilling sacred land, presumably owned by a cult. For discussion of the economics and cultivation of land and animals for sacrifice, see McInerney (2010) 149-51; Osborne (1987) 172-184 discusses particularly Athenian religious festivals and their relation to the agricultural year in relation to sacrifice; Morgan (1990) 40-1 places the large Panhellenic festivals in their position on the yearly calendar, showing their timing avoids busy periods for farmers, while also being good for travel by sea. Parker (2014) 205-20 does a thorough case study of three Attic demes in order to reconstruct the demand that sacrifice placed on the local communities.

⁴¹⁵ Morgan (1990) 35-9 discusses the evidence for *in situ* bronze casting at Olympia, such as moulds, miscastings, and casting debris.

system. Within this system the deity is at the top and their place impossible to usurp and the humans actors are similarly held in place within a system that is not equal, but considered proportional.

Hymns have an even more diffuse sense of inclusivity as their performance was likely always before a crowd and had many players and performances. Anyone within earshot is included within the performance of a hymn and similarly, anyone who hears a reperformance of a hymn is also connected to the first performance of the hymn and the context in which it was first performed and most associated.⁴¹⁶ Similarly, an audience member's participation in a hymn is far more equal with another in contrast to the participants of a sacrifice who get apportioned cuts of meat: all listeners are equal.⁴¹⁷ There is not the hierarchical access that sacrifice mandated, nor the more binary access to dedications that everybody experienced after dedication, and so access to hymns was open to all. This does come with the proviso that they are only available when they are being performed- unless one performs the hymn for oneself.⁴¹⁸ Memories of narratives, scenes, or the ability to recite a few lines may have been available to non-experts, but otherwise hymns would be performances exclusive to special occasions such as festivals. The fact that for the majority of people hymns were only heard when a specialist or trained chorus performed them meant that they were only accessible on certain occasions, much like sacrifices, but in contrast to the viewing of votive offerings.

Similarly, the material of hymns is far less tangible than sacrifice or dedications, yet infinitely more shareable. Telling, retelling, and reminiscences of hymns and the replication of their glorifying content that this produces means a hymn can be evoked by other people with varying degrees of fidelity to the 'original' performance, as an oral performance culture

⁴¹⁶ The *Homeric Hymns* show internal evidence that they were preludes to the performance of epic poetry, such as the in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 19-20 which refers to competitive recitation, as well as Herodotus 3.104 which refers to the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* as a *prooimion Apollōnos*, or a prooimion to Apollo. For discussion of the performance of the *Homeric Hymns*, see Furley and Bremer (2001) 43; Faulkner (2011) 178.

⁴¹⁷ This is in terms of access to the performance of hymns. However, one cannot ignore the internal evidence within the poems that still betrays the hierarchy implicit within the audience which has, in the case of epinician song, the honourand or politicians involved at the top. In light of this, the performance of hymns is relatively inclusive, despite their content performing Archaic Greece's hierarchical society.

⁴¹⁸ Herodotus 6.27 accounts a chorus of one hundred boys was sent to Delphi by the Chians. Such numbers imply that a larger section of the population had the opportunity to take part in performing hymns, at least on a one-off basis. Bremer (1981) 203 discusses the use of children most frequently within hymnic choruses.

would allow. However, the degree to which this occurred in Archaic Greece is difficult to assess for either the archaeologist or literary scholar.

In their production hymns are extremely exclusive: they were likely composed (perhaps extemporaneously like oral epic) by a single individual who may be influenced by past performers, but otherwise only include the dancers and the commissioner of the hymn.⁴¹⁹ Only a very small number of individuals would have been able to commission a hymn for the benefit of the god, indeed, their performance at public festivals likely suggests that though they may have been paid for by a rich benefactor or under a liturgy, but made in the name of a collective of people, such as a polis or the followers of a cult.⁴²⁰ As such, being able to commission a hymn would be the reserve of the elites who would employ a highly-skilled composer to create the hymn, which in turn would be performed by a broader crowd of singers or dancers.⁴²¹ Having an active role in the performance of a hymn, such as the commissioner, composer, or performer, was the reserve of the rich, well-educated, or a select few others, and as such inaccessible to the vast majority of people of Archaic Greece. The poor viewer of the Klarian Moschophoros must have felt excluded not only because he could never offer such an expensive gift to the god, but also because he would also never be able to afford to sacrifice the calf that has so painstakingly been carved into expensive marble and inscribed with letters inaccessible to him. Similarly, he must feel short-changed that his potential meal has now been so beautifully presented in stone rather than the far more sustaining flesh and viscera for the glory of the dedicator's *kleos*.

In conclusion, this section has shown that though the three pleasure-media all have the same goal of being something in which the god may rejoice or enjoy, they achieve this end in decidedly different ways. In regard to performance, the three media create different relationships between the donor and the deity: dedications require no sense of direct

⁴¹⁹ The evidence that Rutherford's (2013) 36-40 presents that there were *theoroi* elites in the Archaic and pre-Archaic periods of Greece is weak, relying on much later literary evidence which he admits had the desire to project this practice back into even their mythological pasts on page 36. However, Rutherford's proposal on these pages that aristocratic travel to inter-state or the emerging Panhellenic sanctuaries may have prompted this practice is convincing, if not backed adequately by evidence. If Rutherford is correct, the performance of hymns at sanctuaries could have been an elite activity, and similarly their audience would have been skewed towards the proposed elite *theōroi* also.

⁴²⁰ Comparison to epinician verse suggest that mainly aristocrats and political families would have commissioned songs. Similarly, epinician poems often claimed glory for the victor's home city as much as they made individual claims about the victor's personal excellence.

⁴²¹ It is possible that the performers themselves were also well-educated as according to *Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo* 162-4 recounts how the singers of praise to Apollo, Leto, and Artemis could imitate and sing in the languages of all men.

encounter, sacrifice required them to be paying attention but not necessarily physically close, and hymns call out to their recipient god to be present as well as the Muses to lend a hand. The different media's modes of reperformance similarly show the diversity of experience that Archaic cult donors would experience when attending the sanctuary or partaking in the act of religious gift-giving. Dedications are reawakened when they are interacted with by later viewers, but also through new dedications evolving from or engaging with their imagery and formulae together; sacrifices often carry with them a tradition that is simply to be replicated, and so they are always looking backward and forward to each occasion that they are performed; and hymns are infinitely reperformable and were styled as a form of reperformance from the outset. Inclusivity also shows that not all *agalmata* were created equal. Dedications have a price range, unlike the more proscriptive sacrifice or the entirely elite hymnic commission. All three media could instantiate and restate a societal hierarchy within the religious community that they engaged and represented.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored further the strategies that inform the form and content of Archaic inscribed sculptures. The examples in this chapter have shown that inscribed sculptures used both their visual and linguistic content to make reference to the other two types of *agalmata*: sacrificial animals and hymns. Through a holistic understanding of the inscribed figures, and more specifically inscribed bodies, this chapter has shown how central to their effect the combination of media is. Indeed, it is because they are multimedia creations that these connections can be made- especially in connecting votive dedications with hymns which otherwise are invisible and ephemeral. By acknowledging the broader conceptual category that these inscribed sculptures belong to, this chapter has identified strategies within not just dedicatory practice, but also within hymns and sacrifice which similarly may use their sister *agalmata* in their own performances and presentations to their human and divine audiences. It has shown the religious and aesthetic significance of these bodies, the words they carry, and the performances they elicit.

On the one hand, this chapter has allowed us a greater insight into the inner workings of inscribed sculptures so that we understand how they worked. This chapter has further embedded inscribed sculptures within Greek religion to show that these objects were never created, nor did they ever act, in a vacuum. These objects were part of the creation of Greek religious thought, they show the conceptual and functionalist similarities between different

elements of Archaic Greek religious practice, yet also retain a sense of the pleasure-media's differences and unique qualities. This further shows the intricate and subtle sense of medium that the Archaic Greeks had and how they put this sensitivity to use in their social and religious lives for the creation of effective and thoughtful aesthetic products and their assumed benefit of pleasing the gods.

On the other hand, this chapter has shown through the close reading of inscribed sculptures the dynamic relationship that the three pleasure-media of alimentary sacrifice, hymns, and votive objects shared. It is because of an inscribed sculpture's combined presentation of bodies, words, and objecthood that cannot be separated that they have allowed for such a dissection of the issue of pleasing the god. Their multimedia nature allows us to understand better the three different pleasure media by studying where they overlap and where they diverge. Indeed, this chapter has shown that the three pleasure-media were used apart and together to be effective gifts for the god and powerful social tools for the dedicator.

Conclusion

This thesis set out to answer the question ‘How should one holistically analyse the meanings and aesthetic effects of an Archaic monument when it includes both epigraphy and free-standing sculpture?’. This question was first asked because of the divides that both the sporadic nature of archaeological preservation and modern disciplinary boundaries have created for modern scholarship, especially scholarship on the Archaic period. The holistic approach of understanding the relations between each component part and their combined whole is at the centre of understanding multimedia monuments. The important data that inscribed sculptures provide have been obscured or ignored due to these physical and intellectual separations. Archaic inscribed sculptures are thus an ideal case study with which to respond to the above question because they avoid the misfortunes of separation that archaeology may entail and also challenge the disciplinary boundaries of scholarship that have been imposed upon them since their discovery.

Chapter one took as its main subject the blurring of the disciplinary boundaries between images and texts in the Archaic period and argued for the inclusion of aural media to the combination of the written and the carved word. The relationships shared by images and texts were multiple in the Archaic period: texts could be part of images, texts could mimic images, images could look like texts, images could specify the meaning of a text, and so many more. Indeed, the multiplicity of the relationships between images and texts was an integral component of the creative potential that Greek artists exploited for artistic virtuosity and play. Through the lens of ekphrasis this thesis showed how, when images and texts are combined as they are in the case of Archaic inscribed sculptures they can create entirely new images which exist in the imaginations of the percipient and are a product of aural, written, and sculpted input.

Chapter one, as a result, began to highlight the importance of medium and how much medium can communicate to the percipient, as well as how the nature of medium was constantly a point of reflection and play for Archaic artists. Because of a medium’s importance it was brought to the attention of the percipient through various means such as verbal description, the representation of one medium through another, and the expression or invocation of another medium’s qualities. Similarly, another central theme begun in this chapter was the empowerment of the imagination and the factoring in of the imagination into the appreciation of the monuments- indeed, it was an integral and unavoidable part of

an Archaic percipient's experience of inscribed sculpture.⁴²² It is only in the mind of the percipient that these seemingly disparate (from a modern perspective) media combined and created new significance and effect for inscribed sculptures. Chapter one also engaged with the issue of the power of the varying media of the Archaic period to create a sense of value and pleasure for their human and divine percipients- more generally, the overriding preoccupation with their reception that Archaic inscriptions and images express. From highlighting the donor's generosity, advertising the creator's artistry, to projecting the god's reaction, these objects were made to please and perform for an audience- no aspect of the monument was important until it was understood by a percipient. Chapter one showed the multitude of ways in which these monuments achieved these ends and thus furthered and nuanced our understanding of not only what an *agalma* is, but also how an *agalma* works.

Chapter two positioned inscribed sculptures back within their temporal and spatial contexts in order to show how these monuments and their meanings were effected by, and in turn affected, these contexts. Beyond this, however, chapter two showed how the direction of influence between monument and context is not always a driving force from the outer context onto the monument embedded within it. Instead, chapter two empowered inscribed sculptures to curate their own contexts through their inscriptions' deictic language and their sculptures' indexical images. Similarly, chapter two showed the importance that the performance of the monument had for its understanding: the way in which the monument was interacted with by the percipient could add further resonances for the percipient and modify their experience.⁴²³ The experience of the percipient could be affected at a multitude of levels: in particular chapter two showed how different interactions with inscribed sculptures may prefigure a political, socio-cultural, personal, and/or physical response.

Chapter two, as a result, continued the thematic developments of this thesis by showing that medium was not only the materials included within the monument itself, but also that which the monument refers to and draws into the percipient's reception of it. Each medium's ability to signal to other phenomena outside of itself is just as important to its definition as the qualities that are uniquely its own. Indeed, this amalgamated imagined perception, which is itself not necessarily internally consistent or stable, is the only monument that the percipient

⁴²² This was made most clearly in the cases of the decoration of the Chimaridas figure's inscribed dress (figure 1.3) and the nipples/omicrons of the Kidos figurine (figure 1.1).

⁴²³ For instance, in the case of the political surroundings of Nikandre's statue on a Naxian-dominated Delos or the intimate touching that the reading of the Mantiklos inscription promoted.

can comprehend.⁴²⁴ Once again, this shows the importance of the imagination and human interaction and performance of these monuments to our understanding of them now as modern scholars. The complete recreation of such imagined images is indeed impossible for the modern scholar, but to risk not appreciating them at all limits our knowledge of the Archaic experience greatly. Chapter two also went a long way in adding to the power of context to contribute to the values and powers of these monuments to please- especially in their use of time and their curation of their own context. Indeed, it credited the monuments themselves with an active role in the creation and curation of their own contexts, while positioning the monument centrally in that discussion. These monuments were not perceived in vacuums, and indeed chapter two showed how it is impossible to simply unpack the most bare of images or inscriptions without consideration for how these monuments were part of a much larger experience for the individual and community with whom they interacted in space and through time.

Chapter three zoomed out further than the previous chapters and looked at the big picture of how inscribed sculptures fitted with the dynamics of Archaic Greek religious practice. The status of votive offerings as *agalmata* in ancient and modern categorisations entangles them in with the behaviours of sacred feasts, sacrifices, singing, and dedication that still require more specific study sensitive to each time period and individual cult. It is in comparison and contrast to sacrifice and hymnic performance that inscribed statues and other votive monuments would inevitably be perceived because of their similar functions. However, chapter three separated out the three phenomena of sacrifice, hymns, and votive objects that have risked being homogenised by modern scholarship under the title '*agalmata*', in order to show that there was strength and opportunity in the diversity of the act of giving that the Archaic Greeks exploited and used to creative and ultimately religious ends. Chapter three clearly delineated the differences between the three pleasure-media in order to appreciate more fully their similarities and differences, and in particular to show how inscribed human forms reveal the occasions when one pleasure-medium emulated the appearance or effects of another.⁴²⁵ This was effective in answering not just *why* the Archaic Greeks sacrifices, sang hymns, and gave gifts for the benefit of the deity, but also *how* they expected them to be effective at fulfilling that purpose. Chapter three showed how through

⁴²⁴ This appeared throughout this thesis, but was brought to the fore in the discussion of the monuments of Aeakes with the surrounding politics and Hermonax's sympotic context.

⁴²⁵ This came out through the discussion of the Klarian Moscophoros and the hymnic meter of the Mantiklos inscription.

deployment of both written and carved media, inscribed sculptures were able to harness the powers of the other pleasure-media for the category of dedicatory objects.

Chapter three thus rounded out the thematic analysis of the thesis by testing the significance of medium against comparanda that structurally are considered equivalent or comparable. By comparing and contrasting the dedication of inscribed figures with the practice of sacrifice and hymnic performance, chapter three showed the ways in which medium was being played with within the context of Archaic Greek votive culture. The equivalence that was identified due to the shared function of the three pleasure-media was nuanced with the identification of the differences, references, and overlaps that were performed between the three and their subsequent effects. The referentiality to each other that the three pleasure-media take advantage of is mirrored in the use of multiple media within the single monuments that are the subject of this thesis. Inscribed sculptures perform this referentiality with their deployment of multiple media in the first instance, making them ideal case studies with which to test this hypothesis. The importance of the imagination to this point is central: the power of sacrifice, hymn-singing and votive offerings is bestowed upon them by the dedicator's and percipient's imagination within the religious context of Archaic Greece where gods were expected to take part and engage with the pleasure-media. Similarly, chapter three placed the power and effectiveness of the inscribed sculptures discussed throughout this thesis within the broad dynamic picture of Archaic Greek religion in both practical and theoretical terms.

Our understanding of inscribed sculpture in particular has centred on the word 'holistically' that featured at the beginning of the introduction and conclusion of this thesis. For inscribed sculptures to be fully appreciated for their variety of meanings and the techniques by which they convey those meanings each of their component parts need to be considered in relation to each other as well as with the monument as a whole. However, the discussions and conclusions within this thesis also have ramifications for subjects outside of the explicit purview of Archaic inscribed sculpture.

This thesis has nuanced the modern scholarly perception of Archaic art and text relations. Especially when combined with studies of painted vases, this thesis shows that Archaic artists were using the newly-created medium of writing in ways beyond simply labelling and using formulaic phrases that bore no relationship to their material carrier. Instead, a sensitivity to the materiality and the visibility of writing was the default position for creators and percipients of inscribed sculpture and so for inscribed vases which should prompt modern

scholarship to revise the deceptive simplicity of inscribed vases and the strategies of representation that they carry.

For instance, in figure 4.1 *Ketos*, Perseus, and Andromeda are depicted on a Corinthian black-figure vase and all are labelled. The dipinti for the names 'Perseus' and 'Ketos' are neatly painted horizontally with the name beginning from the figure and emanating outward (hence why 'Perseus' is in retrograde. However, 'Andromeda' is written in a curved line from Andromeda's stomach to Perseus' posterior, then it follows the line of Perseus's back leg downward. Immediately this design can be explained due to practicalities of space: the word 'Andromeda' simply couldn't fit horizontally in the negative space like the other two shorter names could.⁴²⁶ But if we look at the effects of this writing we can interpret the writing of the word 'Andromeda' as a way of enacting the same character's desirous gaze upon the hero's nude body.⁴²⁷ Like the inscription upon the Mantiklos Apollo's thighs, the word 'Andromeda' causes the percipient's eyes to pass over the body of the hero, in particular areas evocative of sexual desire. Furthermore, should the finger of the reader follow the lines of the graffito the reader may also touch or at least graze these same areas in an inadvertent act of sexually charged caress as they were invited to do in the cases of the *Kidos* and Mantiklos figurines which would have similarly been held in the hands. Through the act of reading the character's name, the reader adopts the role of Andromeda in falling in love with the hero who saves her and who she will subsequently marry. The act of reading makes the reader practice the admiration and sensuous looking that Andromeda once did, giving them a first-person stake in the story depicted. When the visual nature of inscriptions of the Archaic period is acknowledged, the images that they accompany are given greater depth and reveal their exploration of dynamics as yet unrecognised.

Throughout this thesis the study of art and text in the Archaic period has also been allowed to escape the contexts of the symposium and necropolis and has been allowed to explore its importance to the sanctuary, and votive culture in particular. The appreciation for individuality and variety available to the Archaic dedicator that this thesis has sought to highlight can be applied more broadly to scholarly understandings of Greek religion. The

⁴²⁶ For discussions of the positioning of an inscription of a painted vase, in particular where space is a defining factor, see studies as recent as Immerwahr (1990) 20-5; Smith (2016) 151; Gerleigner (2016) 181.

⁴²⁷ Another effect of the curved writing of 'Andromeda' is to have the reader avert their eyes from the bag hanging from Perseus' left arm which presumably carries Medusa's severed head, known from the myth to turn any who look upon it to stone. If the letters of 'Andromeda' had continued in a straight horizontal line from the woman's stomach, they would have led the reader's gaze to this harmful object, the power of which purely resided in seeing and being seen.

evidence advanced in this thesis will allow for more readings of individual experiences of dedication and pilgrimage. Inscribed sculptures and how they were experienced helps us to understand the personal and communal aspects of specific cults across time. Indeed, the approaches used in this thesis allow for the recreation of individual experiences of monuments that can only be done through close reading of individual monuments and their myriad contexts. Similarly, any perceived simplicity in the votive habits of Archaic people in contrast to later more sophisticated Classical or Hellenistic practices must be reviewed in light of the sophistication and sensitivity revealed through the approaches in this thesis.⁴²⁸ For example, the small bronze figures of cattle (as in figure 4.2) which fill the display cases of the Olympia museum and were once dedicated to the god can be understood as evidence of a personalised, complicated, self-conscious culture of giving votive objects that uses the imagery of sacrifice to enhance the power of their gesture. Through this thesis' analysis of inscribed sculpture, these small bronze figures can now be seen as a crystallisation of a complex theology and the strategic development of a range of religious activities not limited to just votive dedication and sacrifice.

It is also important to see how the conclusions and approaches of this thesis affect the understanding of later material from the Greco-Roman world. This thesis contributes to understandings of the history of Greek religion as discussed above, but it also contributes to the history of epigram as a genre. The point at which epigrams moved from stone to book is marked by many classical scholars as the point in time when epigram's complexity increased greatly and conceptualisation between the object and the now (partially) disembodied words rises in importance.⁴²⁹ However, as has been shown throughout this thesis, the materiality

⁴²⁸ An example of where Classical material has been credited with having encapsulated beliefs of epiphany or viewing is Platt's (2011) 31-50 discussion of Classical votive stelai and how they model and enact epiphany. Throughout this thesis I have shown that the potential for epiphany in much earlier votive objects, requiring a rewriting of the development of ideas toward epiphany across the Archaic and Classical periods.

⁴²⁹ For discussion of Hellenistic epigram and the Hellenistic age being a turning point for the history of the genre due to the recording of inscribed epigrams onto papyrus, see Gutzwiller (1998) 47 who argues that the removal of inscribed epigrams from their original place upon an object and transposition into a book during the Hellenistic period removed their functions as memorials or dedications which allowed for their aesthetic and poetic appreciation and development; Bing and Bruss (2007) 4-7 who argue epigram's new-found availability in book form in the fourth century prompted its increase in popularity and development; Day (2007) 31 argues that the functional nature of Archaic inscribed epigrams limits their appreciation as aesthetic or poetic phenomena as well as inscribed epigram's lack of signs of 'literariness' such as 'self-awareness of themselves as poetic texts'; Petsalis-Diomidis (2018) 439 who argues that the movement from stone to book allowed an expansion of topics covered by Hellenistic dedicatory epigrams; Day (2019) 243 reiterates his argument that the function of lapidary epigrams reduces the poetic potential of inscribed epigrams and that the earliest (Archaic) epigrams are defined by their relation to a real object. However, Cairns (2016) 243-75 proves

of words and their relationship to the material world was a central theme within the earliest epigrams in Greek culture. Archaic Greek inscribed epigrams were dealing with the material and visual manifestation of Greek language for the first time and using it in a multitude of creative and artistic ways. This has implications for scholarly understanding of the innovation and novelty of especially Hellenistic epigram and the relationship between Hellenistic 'literary' epigrams and contemporaneous and antecedent 'lapidary' epigrams. Indeed, this thesis has only begun to sketch out the techniques and artistry of Archaic epigrams, but the questions asked of this diverse material, such as 'what are the visual effects of writing in the Archaic period?', have raised further questions, for instance 'when did calligrams, the artistic layout of writing to relate to its content, begin to be made and how should that relation be defined for the purposes of consistent generic categorisation?'. Such exploration begets further assessment of scholarly understanding of the development of epigram over time.

The three chapters that compose this thesis have cumulatively shown how our modern ways of unpacking inscribed sculptures, and inscribed monuments more generally, must be informed by broader and broader aspects of the Archaic world: starting from the monuments themselves, to their temporal and spatial context, and ending with their religio-cultural context. But these three layers are by no means the end of the significance of these inscribed sculptures or what they have to teach us about Archaic Greek media, their use of context, or Greek religion. Indeed, inscribed sculptures and their deposition across the Archaic Greek world may enlighten scholars to local and shared votive practices across disparate parts of the Aegean as well as highlight routes of cult(ural) interaction, economic movement, and the performance of religious rites. In particular, the practice of inscribing upon the body of the figure as opposed to a statue base is more common in the Southern Aegean, particularly Samos and the Carian and Ionian coastlines with an outlier in the form of the Ptoion of Apollo in Boiotia, with fewer examples from Athens or the Peloponnese. A historico-geographical study of this same material may indicate a shared religio-cultural thread, or art historical shared heritage (if we are to believe that their similarities are evidence of divergent evolution as opposed to convergent) and how that heritage travelled. Inscribed sculptures may also offer evidence for our understanding of the history of the Greek language and its uses throughout the Archaic Greek world.

the difficulty of proving a now 'literary' Hellenistic epigram was never a 'lapidary' epigram through reference to epitaphs of those who died by drunkenness or drowning.

Furthermore, the historical specificity of the analyses offered in the previous chapters is important due to the chronological position of the material discussed. In short, this thesis has proposed an image of the Archaic world as one of development, reconfiguration, adaptation, and experimentation for the nascent media that the Greek world would continue to practice through the creation of differing artistic outputs. As a result of this, the approach to Archaic Greek visual culture that this thesis has proposed must also be understood as a starting point for a new history of sculpture and visual media at large which simply continues to change between the Archaic and Classical styles in the early fifth century.

Figures

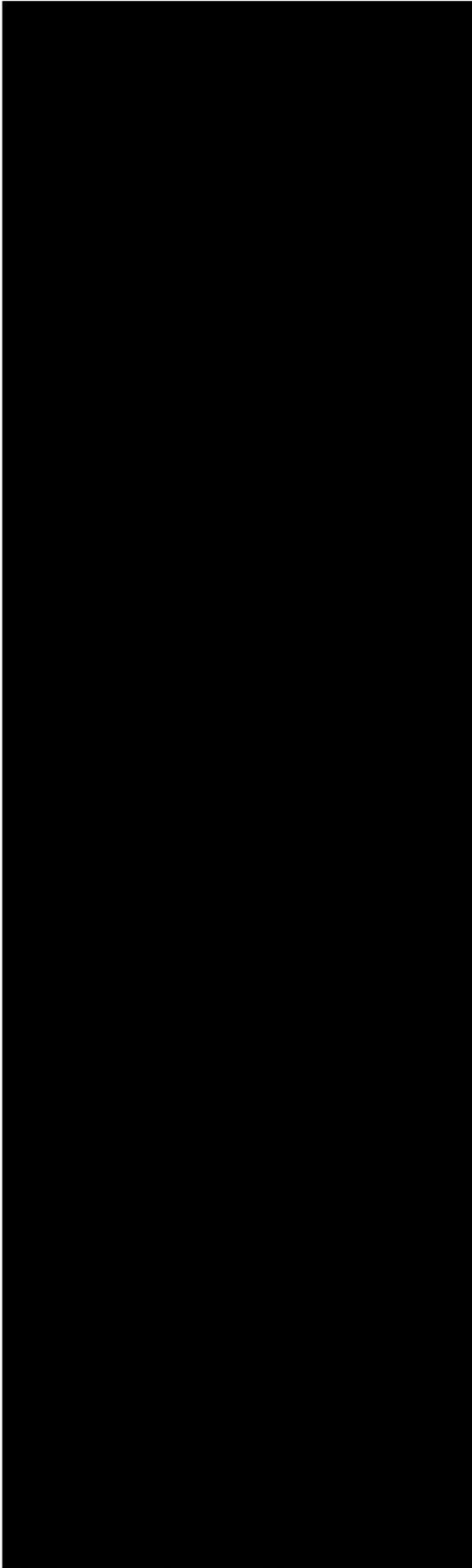


Figure 0.1a Nikandre Kore dedicated to Artemis on Delos c.650BCE. Source: Day (2016) figure 2.



Figure 0.1b detail of the Nikandre Kore's inscription on the figure's left side.

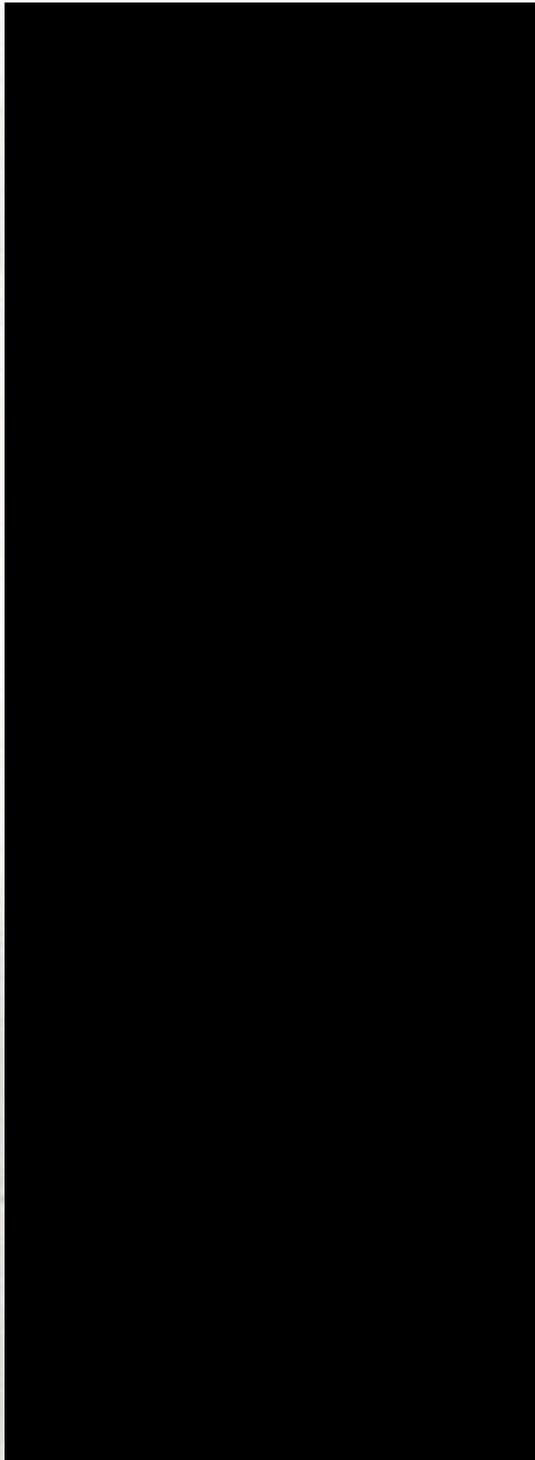


Figure 1.1a Kidos figurine, c.540BCE from Boiotia. The Inscription "Kidos set me up to Apollo, the Ptoian" starts on the figure's chest, going down the right knee, then breaks, and starts again from the top of the figure's left leg, travelling down to about the knee.



Figure 1.1b Detail of the Kidos figurine's torso, showing nipple, outline of pectoral muscles and the beginning of the inscription.

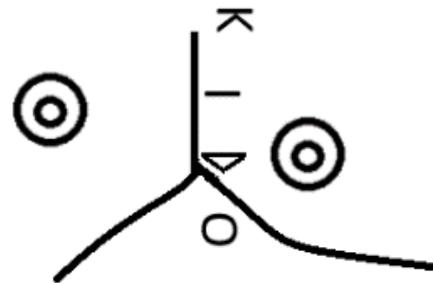


Figure 1.1c Diagram of the beginning of the Kidos inscription with nipple and pectoral muscle incisions included. One can see that the position and form of the nipples (particularly the figure's left) bears a direct relationship to the inscription.



Figure 1.2 Corinthian black figure aryballos, 580-570BCE. Depicts a diaulos player at the head of a group of dancers.

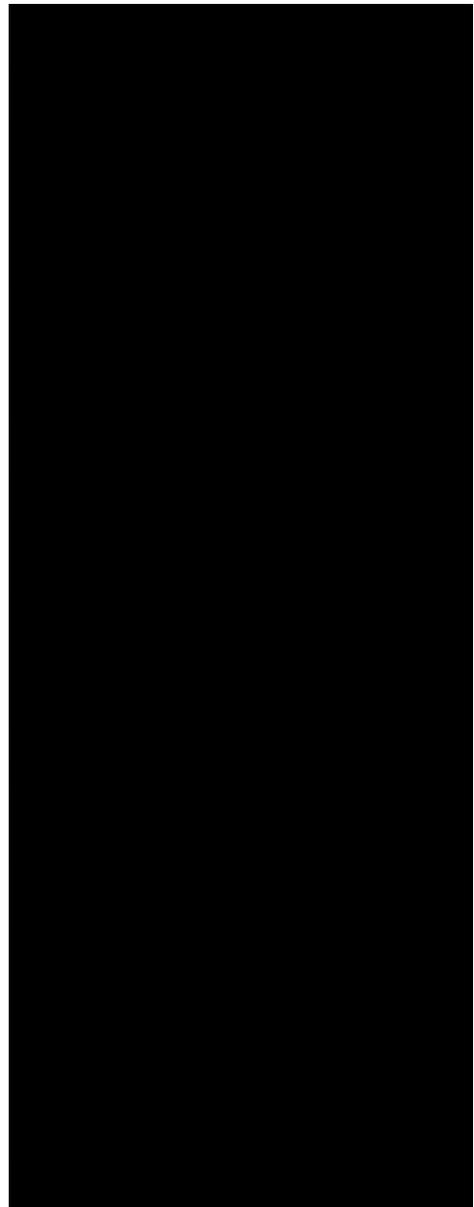


Figure 1.3 Bronze figurine of Artemis dedicated to Artemis Daidaleia by Chimaridas. c.525BCE, found in Mazi, Elis.

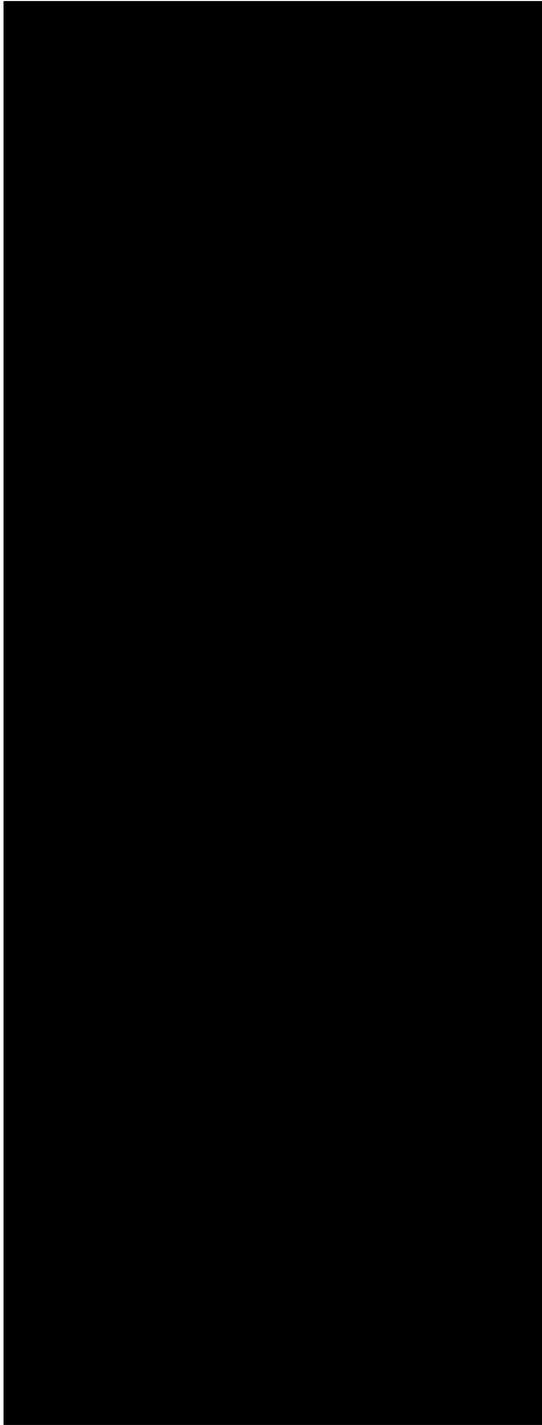


Figure 1.4 Bronze figurine dedicated to Eileithya by Aristomacha c.500BCE.

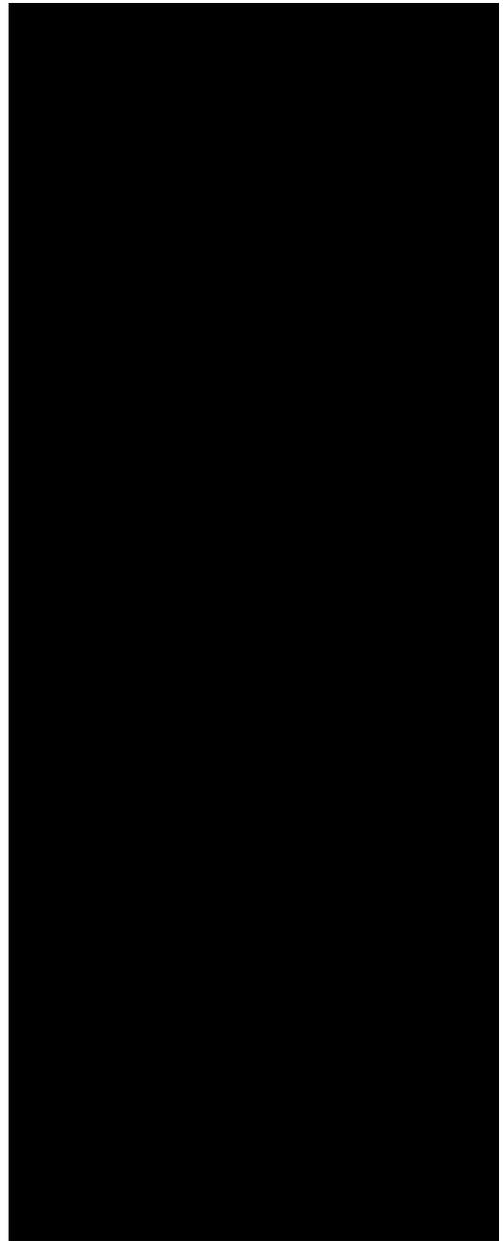


Figure 1.5 Parisian Cheramyes Kore dedicated to Hera at Samos, 575-550BCE.

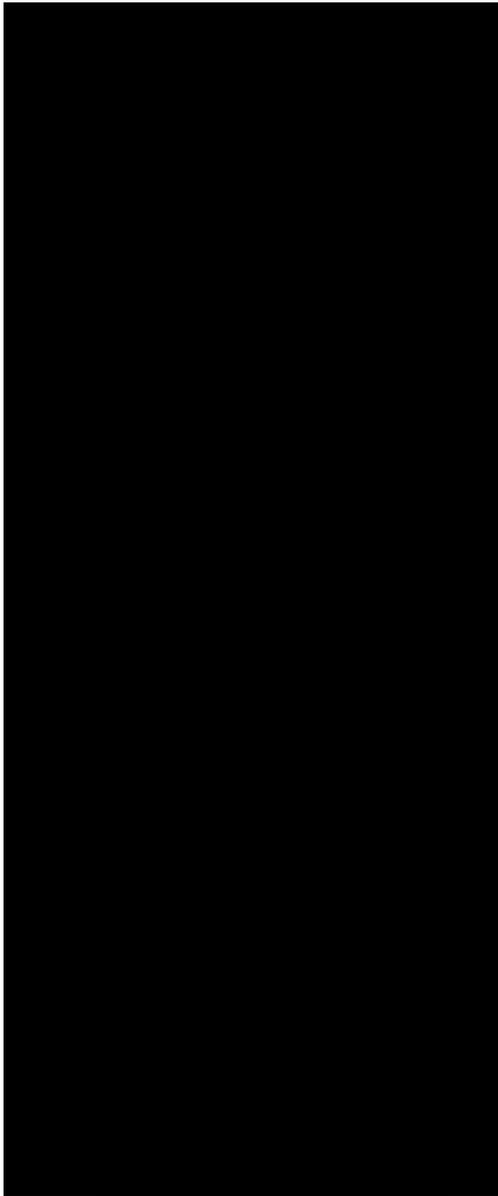


Figure 1.6 Berlin Cheramyes Kore dedicated to Hera at Samos, 575-550BCE.

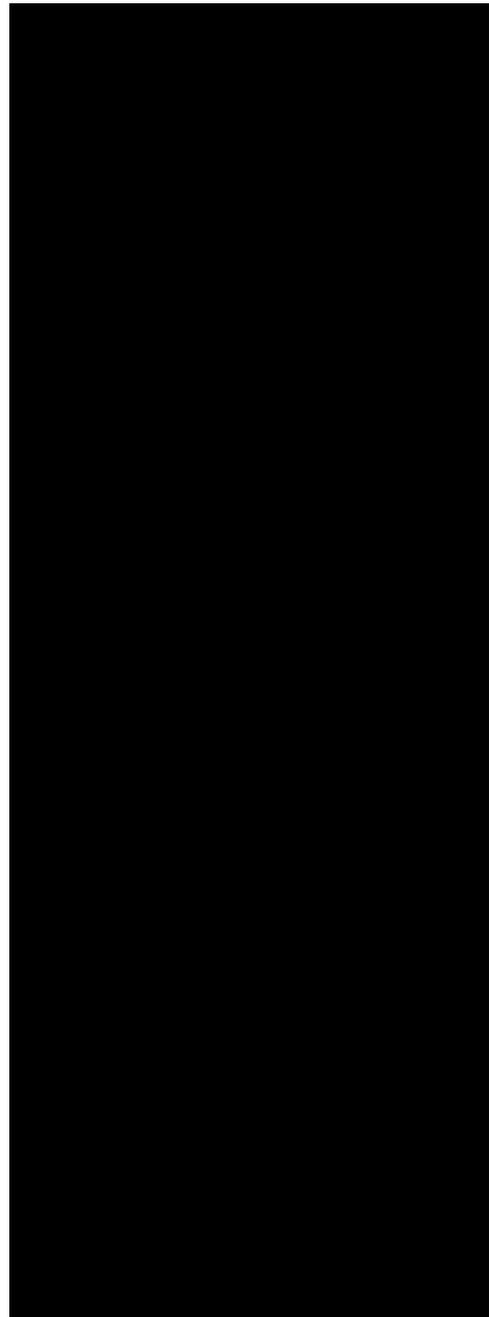


Figure 1.7 Samos Cheramyes Kore dedicated to Hera at Samos, 575-550BCE.

Figure 1.8a Dedication by Philippe from the Geneleos Group dedicated to Hera at Samos, 575-550BCE.

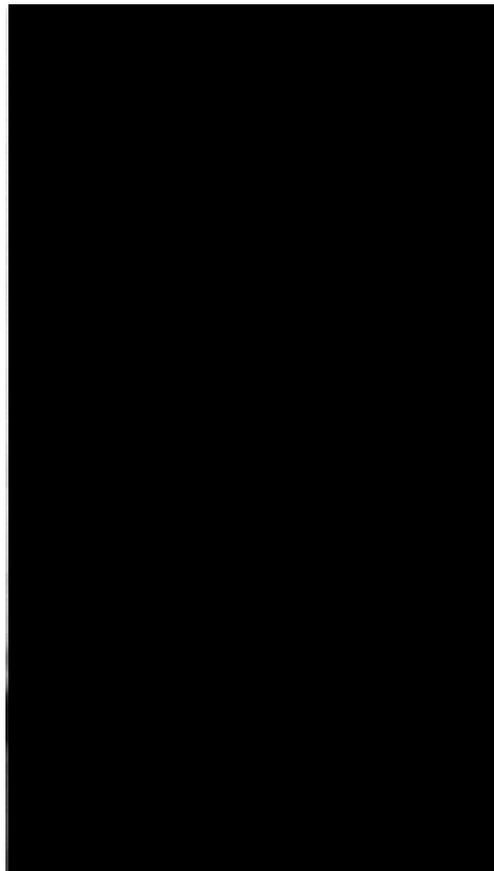
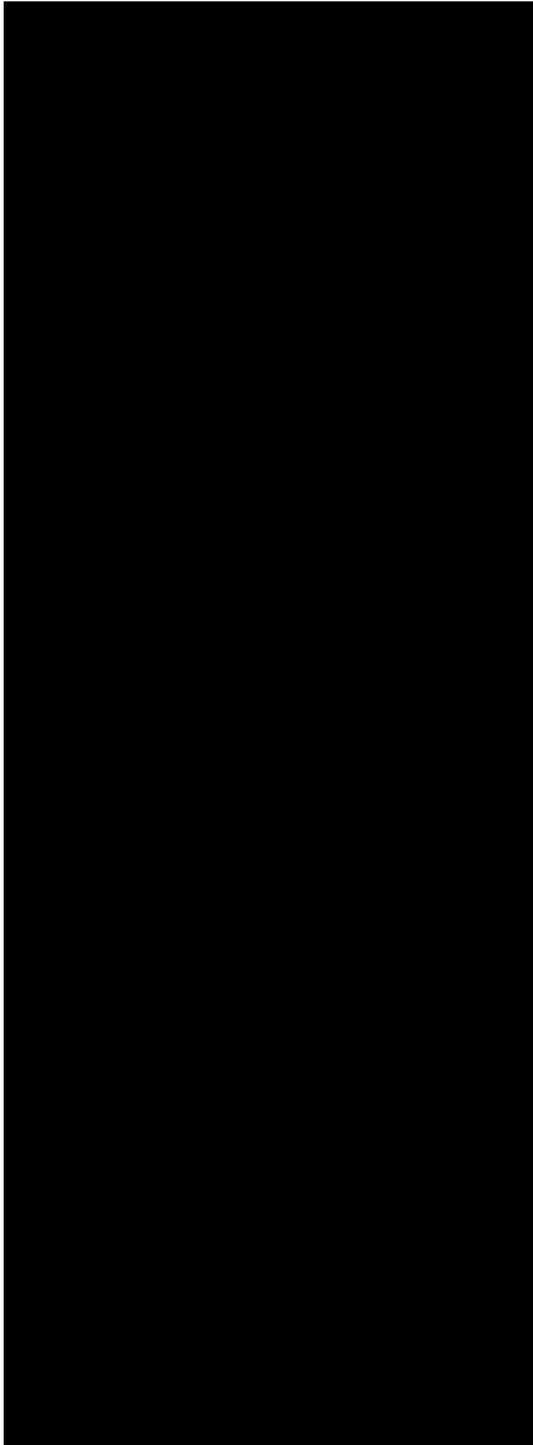


Figure 1.8b Detail of Philippe inscription.

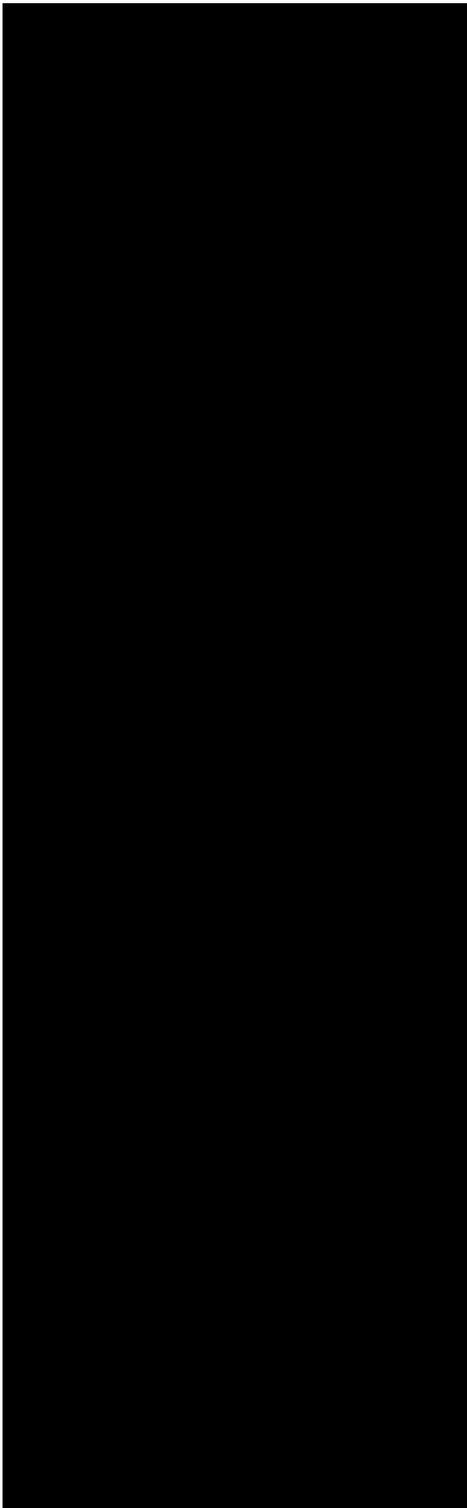


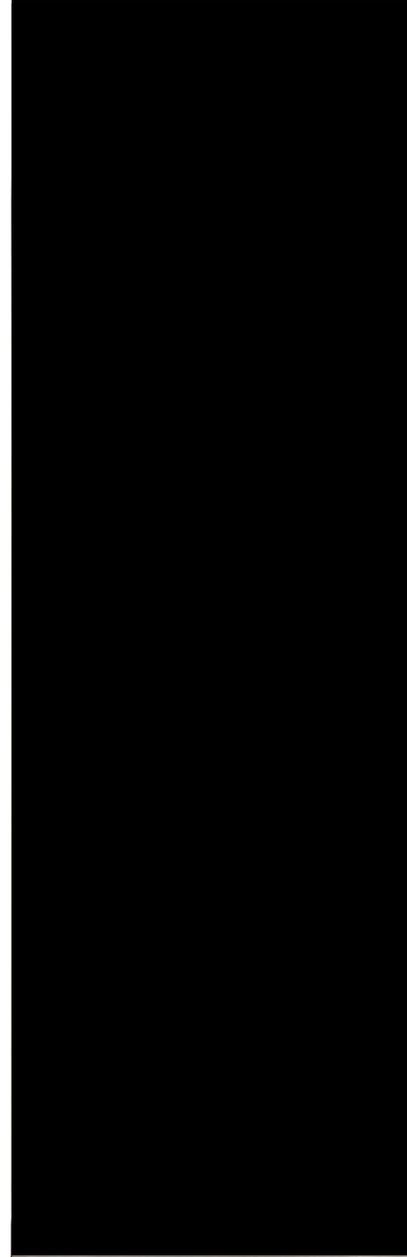
Figure 1.9a Ornithe Kore dedicated to Hera at Samos, 575-55-BCE.



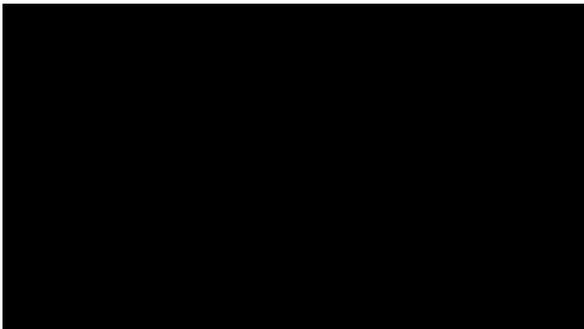
Figure 1.9b Detail of Ornithe inscription along largest pleat of dress hanging from the figure's right hand.



Figure 1.10 Colour reconstruction of Phrasikleia Kore c.540BC, Myrrhinous, Attica. Note how the vertical Greek key pattern of her dress is comparable to the vertical inscription of figures 1.3 and 1.4.



(Above) Figure 1.11a ‘-ron’ Kore dedicated to Apollo Ptoios, Boiotia. c.650-600BC.



(Left) Figure 11b Detail of inscription at bottom of dress.

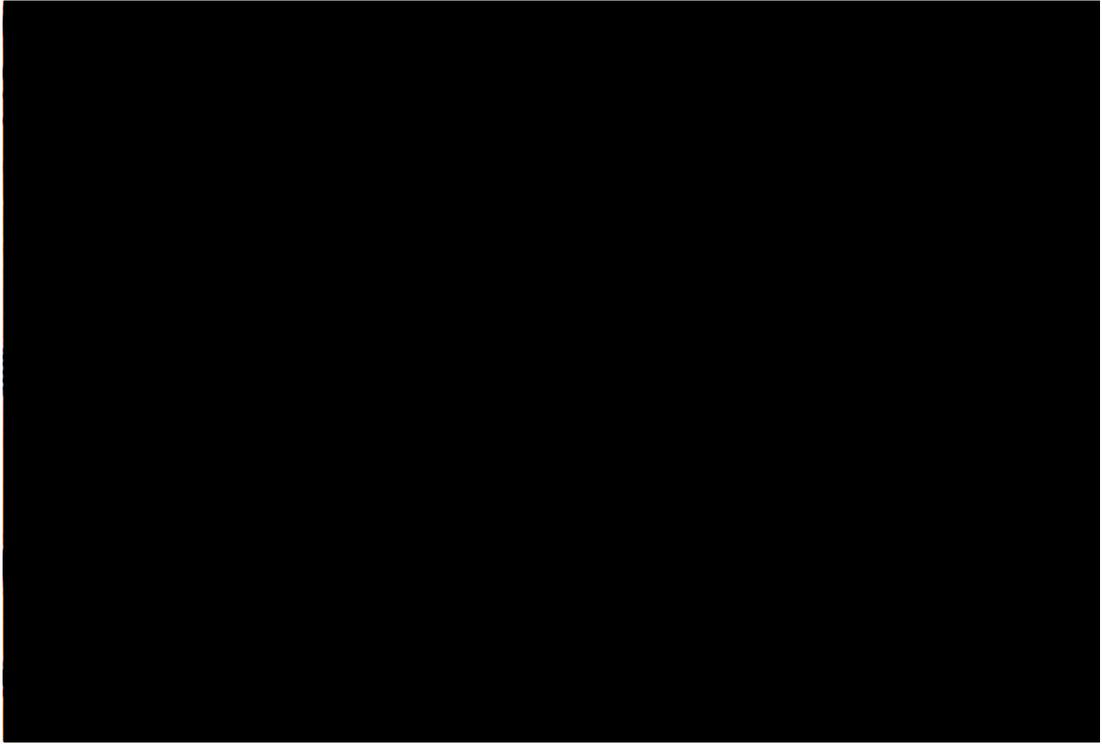


Figure 1.12 Detail of Francois Vase, notice the decoration at the bottom of the dresses of Hebe and Leto in the wave pattern.

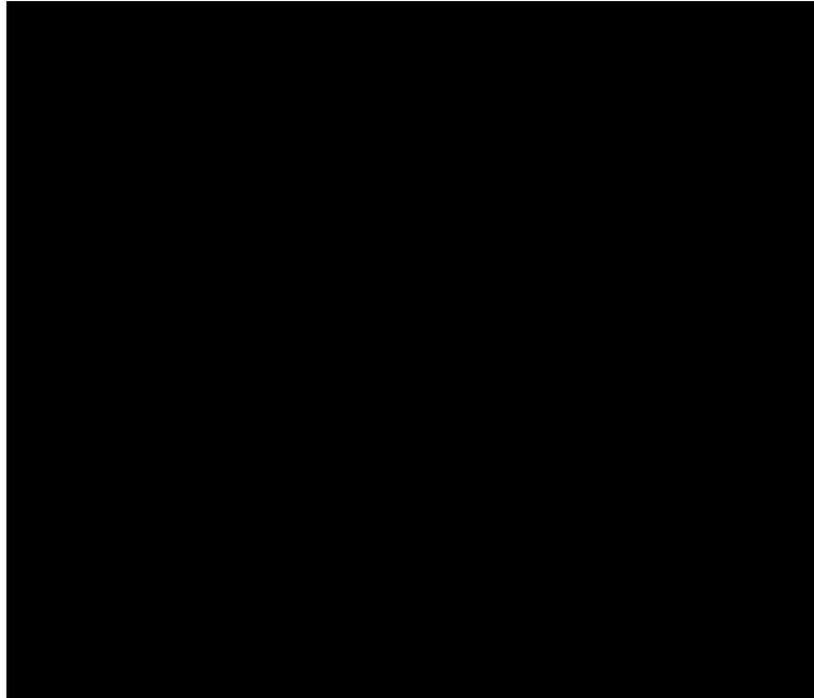


Figure 1.13 Drawing of a fragment of a late geometric Pitheculsan pot.

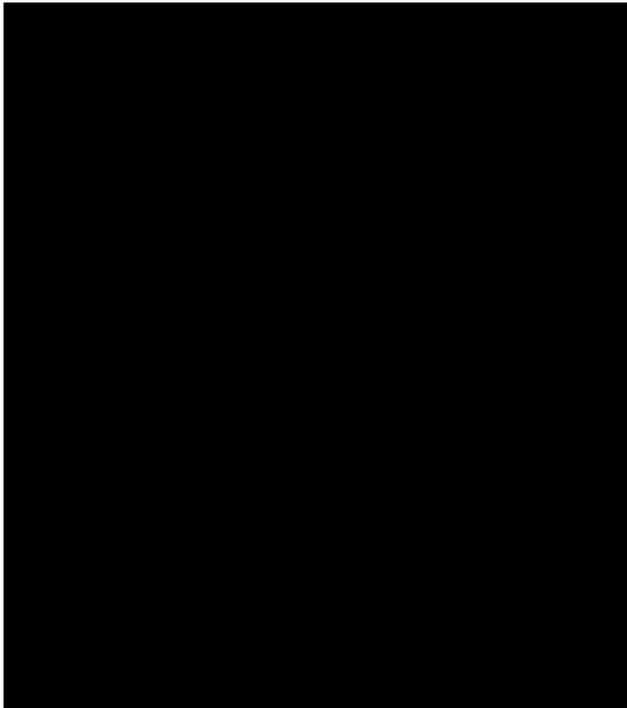
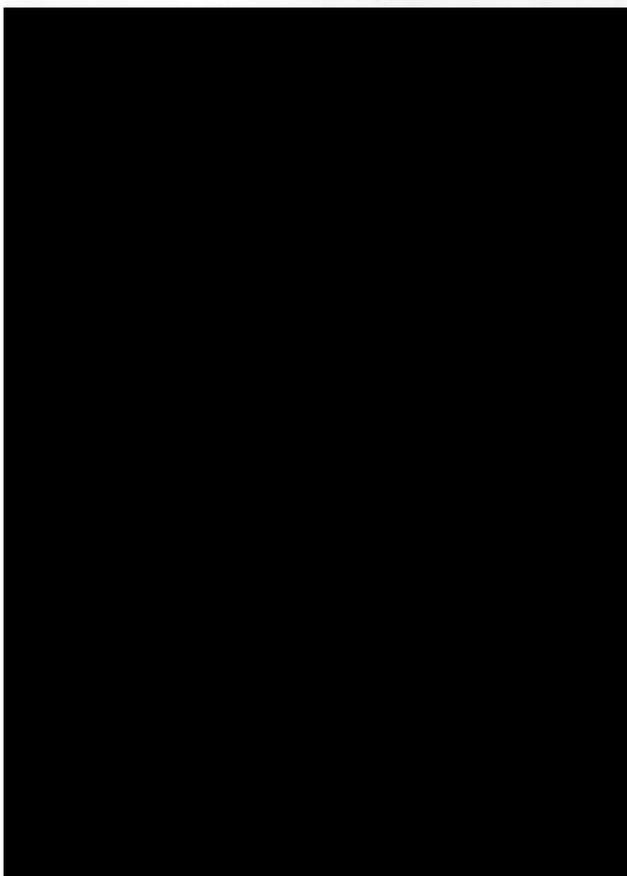
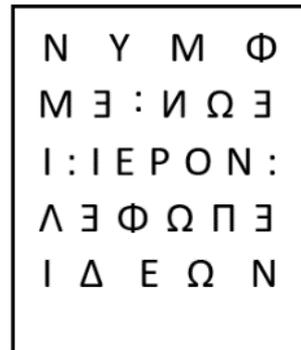


Figure 1.14a Seated figure dedicated to the Nymphs, c.525BC

Figure 1.14b Diagram to display the layout of the lettering as seen in figure 1.14a.



(Left) Figure 1.15a Seated figure dedicated by Chares of Teichioussa. C.560BC from Didyma.

(Right) Figure 1.15b Detail of inscription inscribed vertically along the front right edge of the throne.

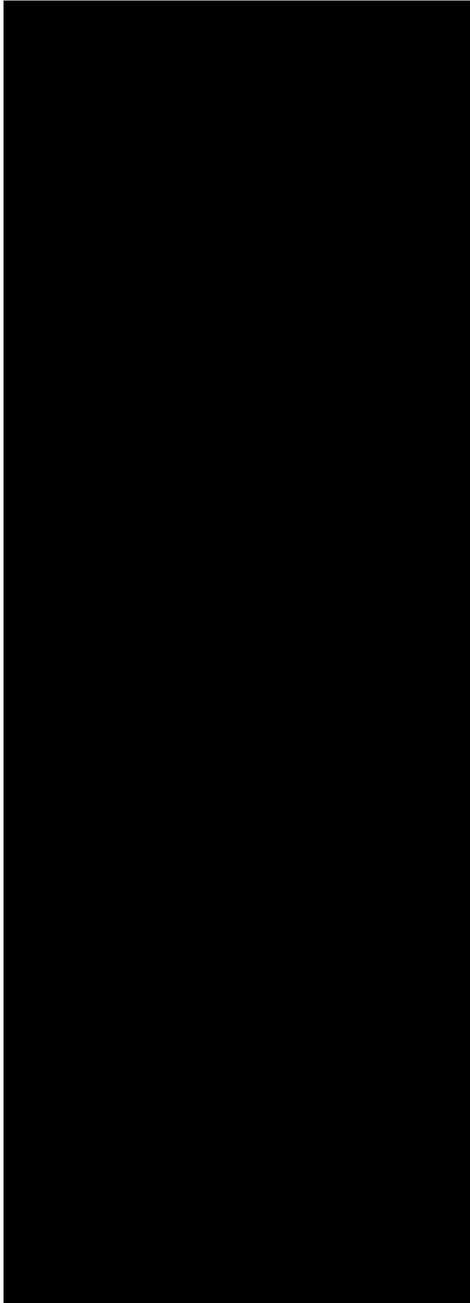


Figure 1.16a Photograph of Mantiklos Apollo, a bronze figurine, c.700-675BC.

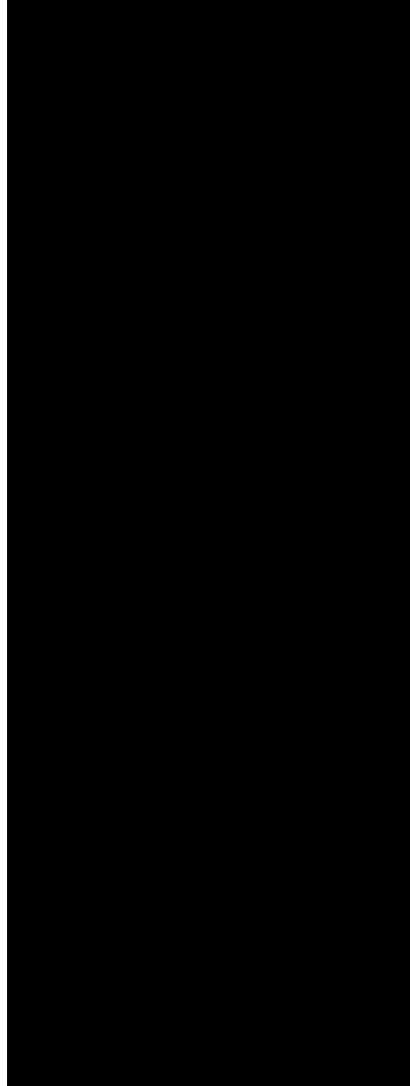


Figure 1.16b Drawing of the Mantiklos Apollo to show the position of the inscription clearly on the figurine.



Figure 1.16c Drawing of the Mantiklos Apollo's inscription.

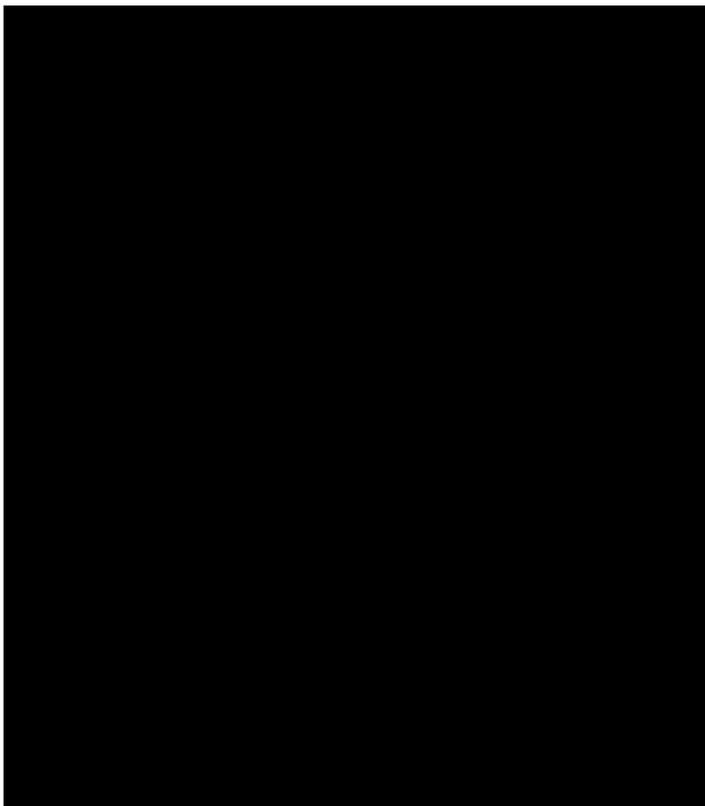


Figure 1.17a Phileia statue of the Geneleos Group.

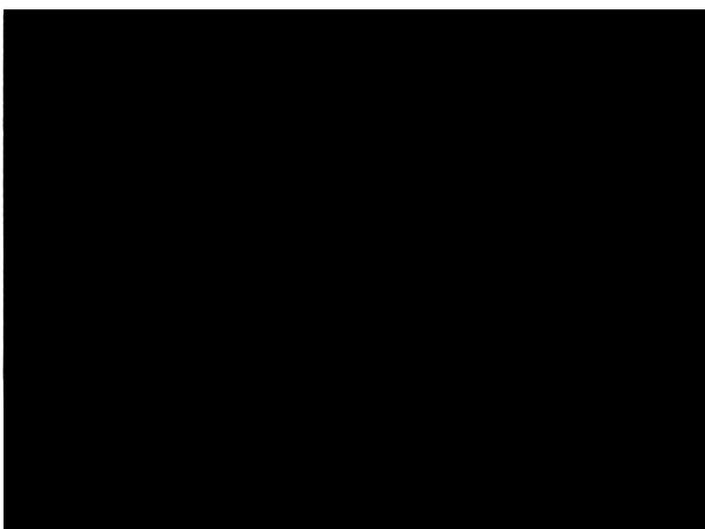


Figure 1.17b Photograph of a cast of the legs of the Phileia statue and arm of chair, showing inscriptions.

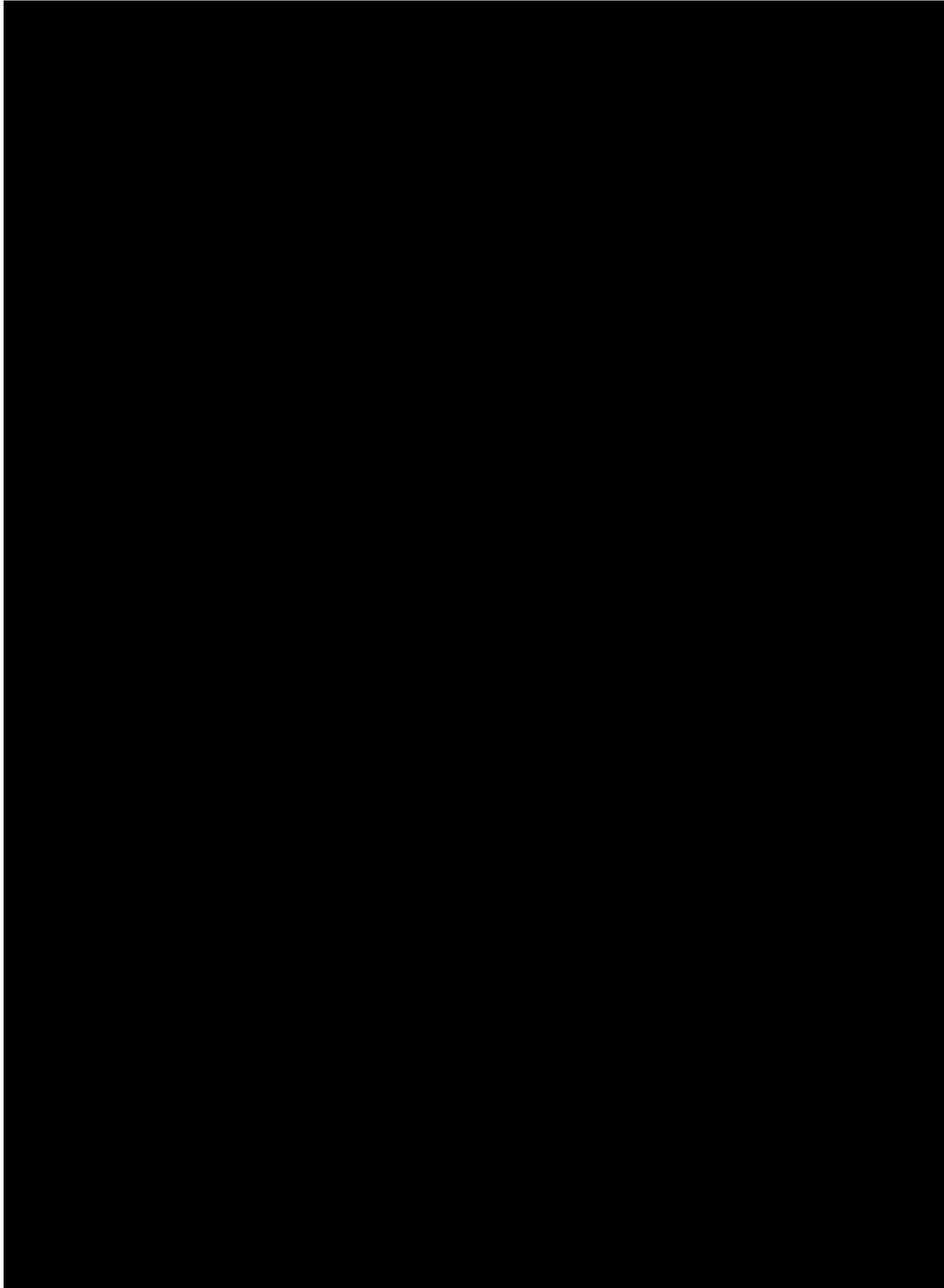


Figure 1.18 Swallow Pelike, red-figure, c.510BCE, by an anonymous Attic member of the 'Pioneer Group', now in the Hermitage Museum.

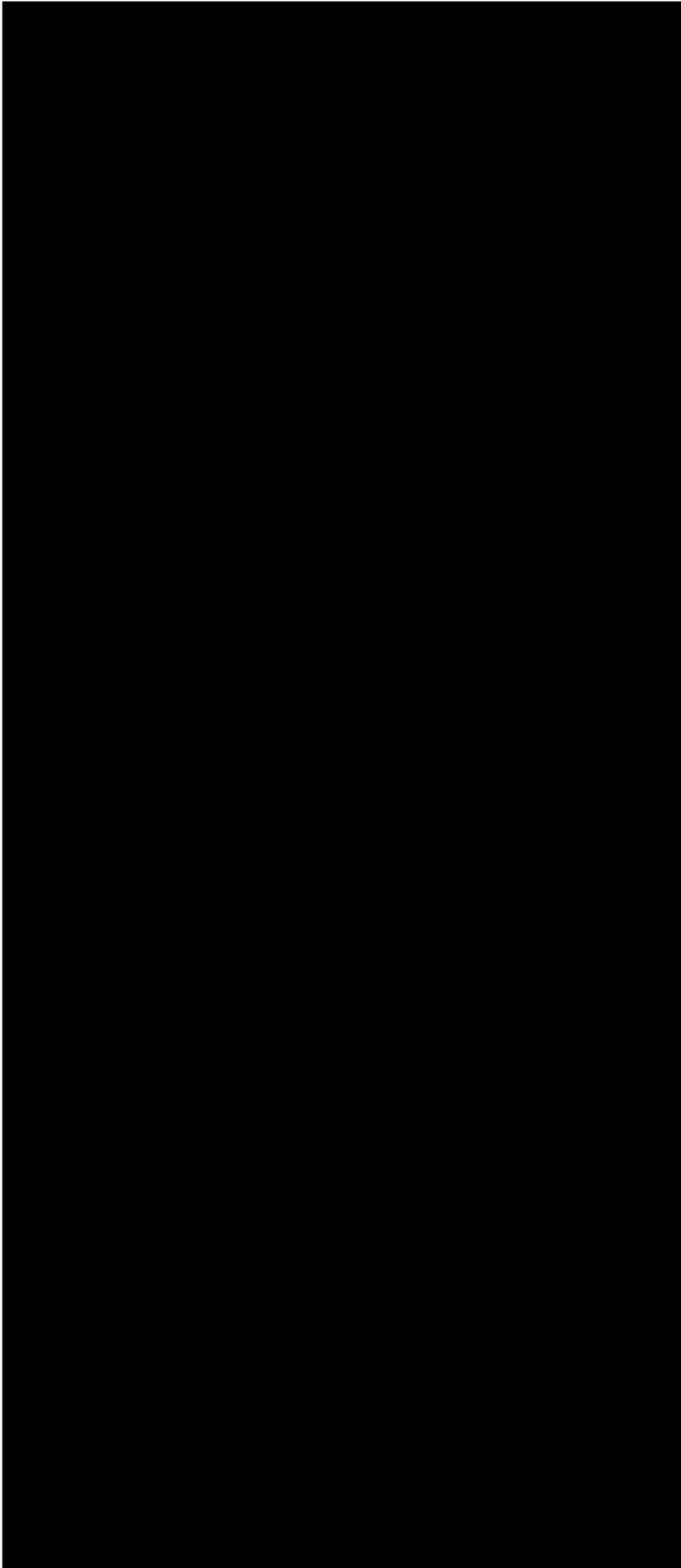


Figure 1.19 Kouros set up by the doctor Sombrotidas in Megara Hyblaea, c.550BCE.

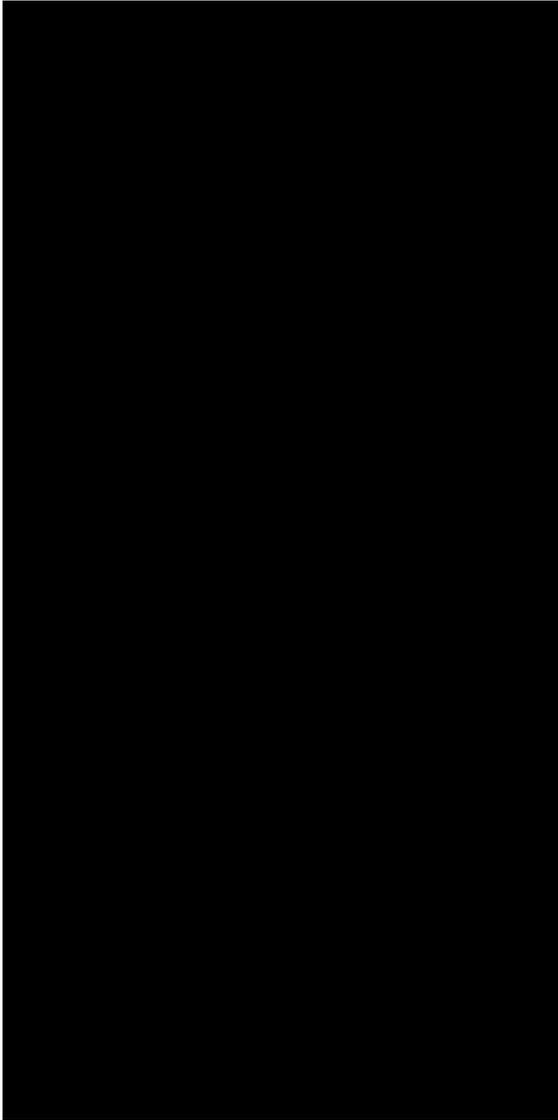


Figure 2.1. Dedication of Aeakes, from the ancient town of Samos. Statue dates to c.540BCE.

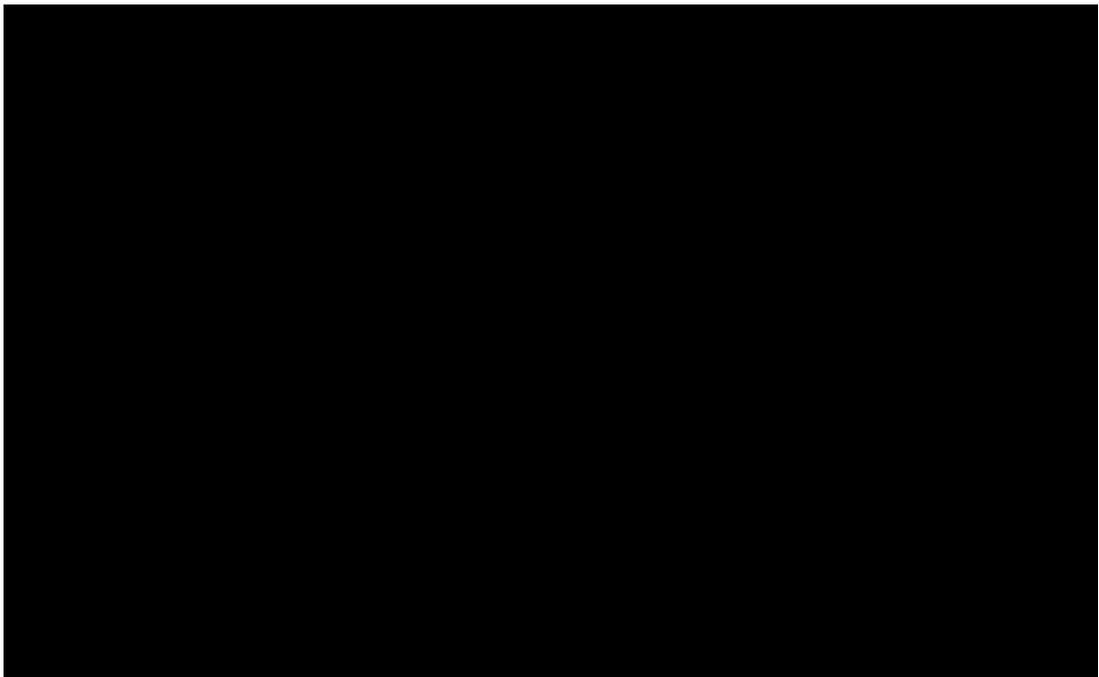


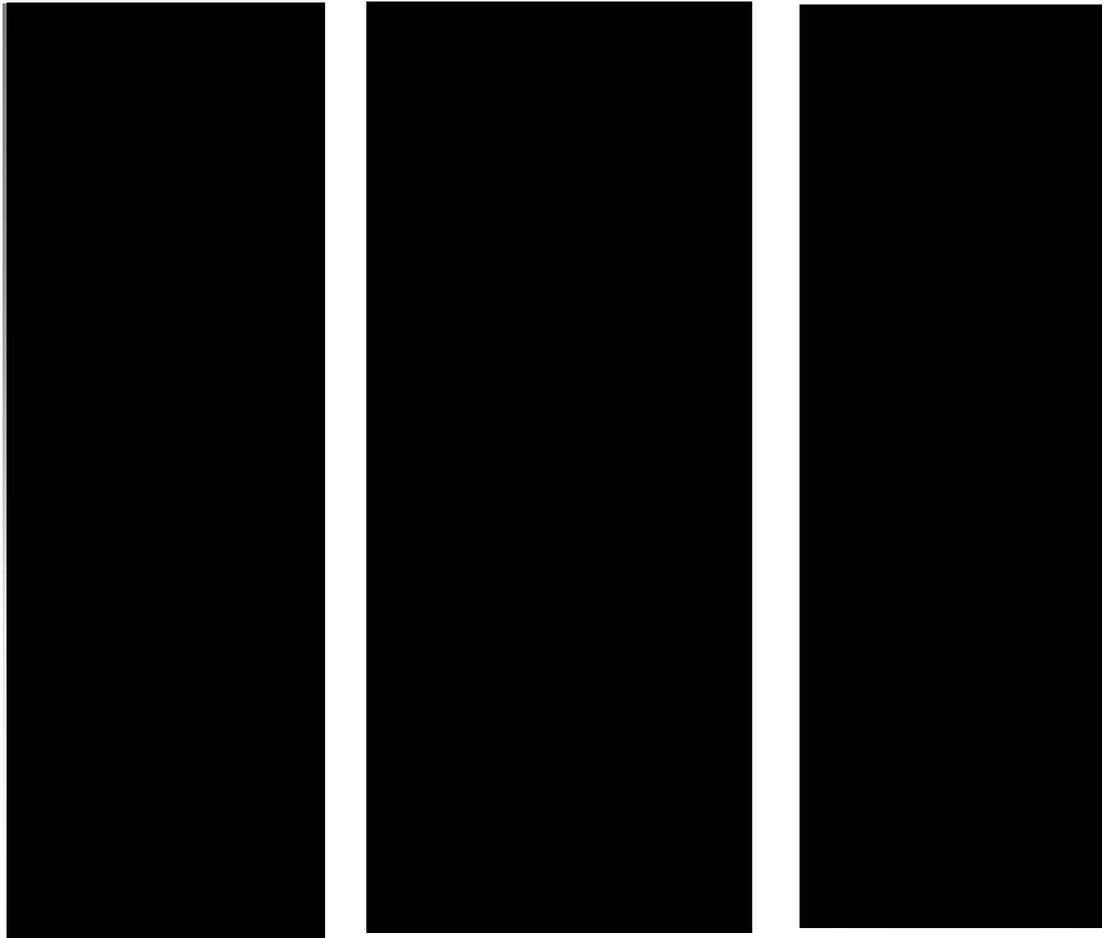
Figure 2.2. Dedication of Hermonax, c.550BC from Myus, Caria.



Figure 2.3a Isches Kouros photographed from an elevated position.



Figure 2.3b Isches Kouros from side.



Figures 2.4a-c Amphas' dedication to Apollo Ptoios, c.540BCE.

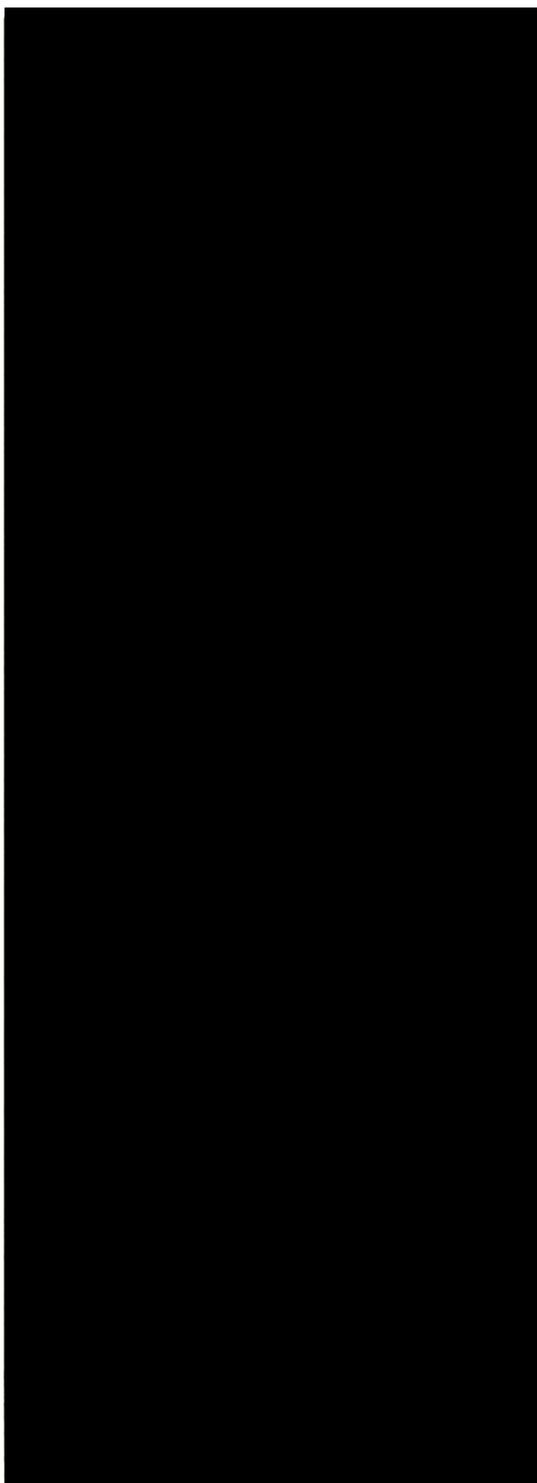
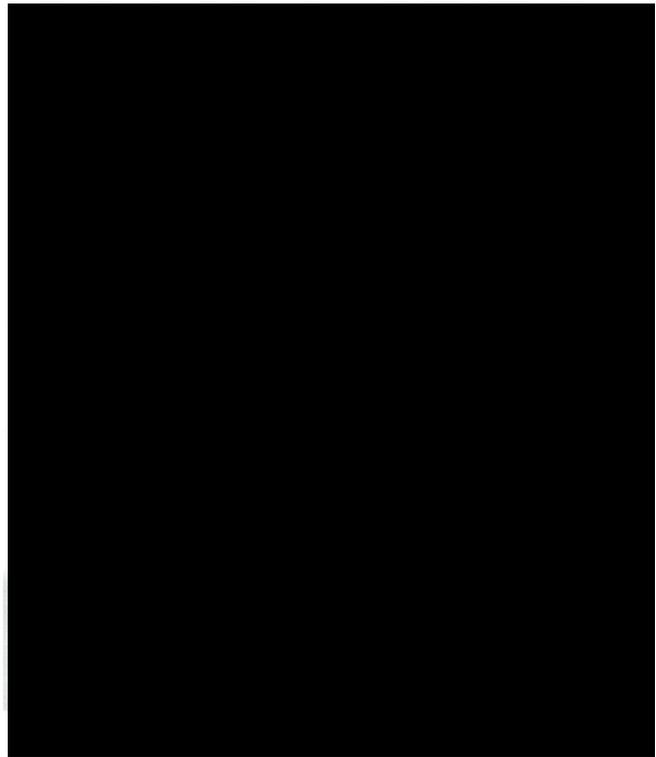
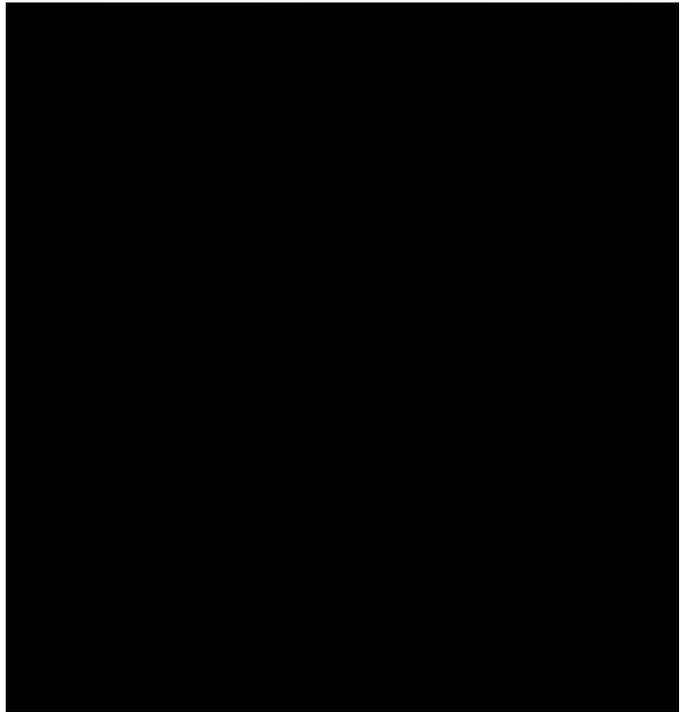


Figure 2.5 Statue dedicated by Dionysermos, c.520BCE, of Eastern origin.

Figures 3.1a and b Attic
Black figure Oinochoe
showing a bull being
processed toward Athena
seated behind an altar.
c.510-490BCE.



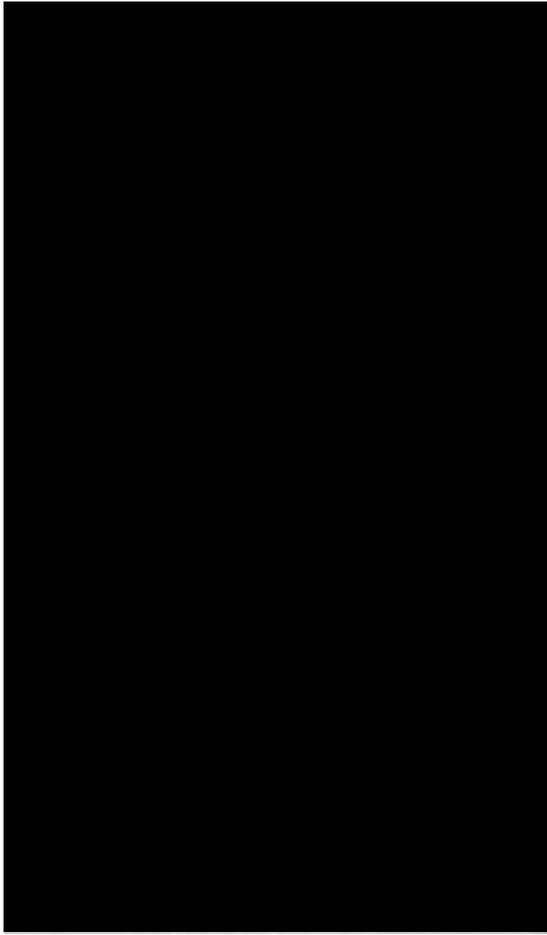


Figure 3.2 Athenian black-figure neck amphora, c.525-475BCE, attributed to the Edinburgh Painter.



Figure 3.3 Athenian black-figure neck amphora, c.550-500BCE.

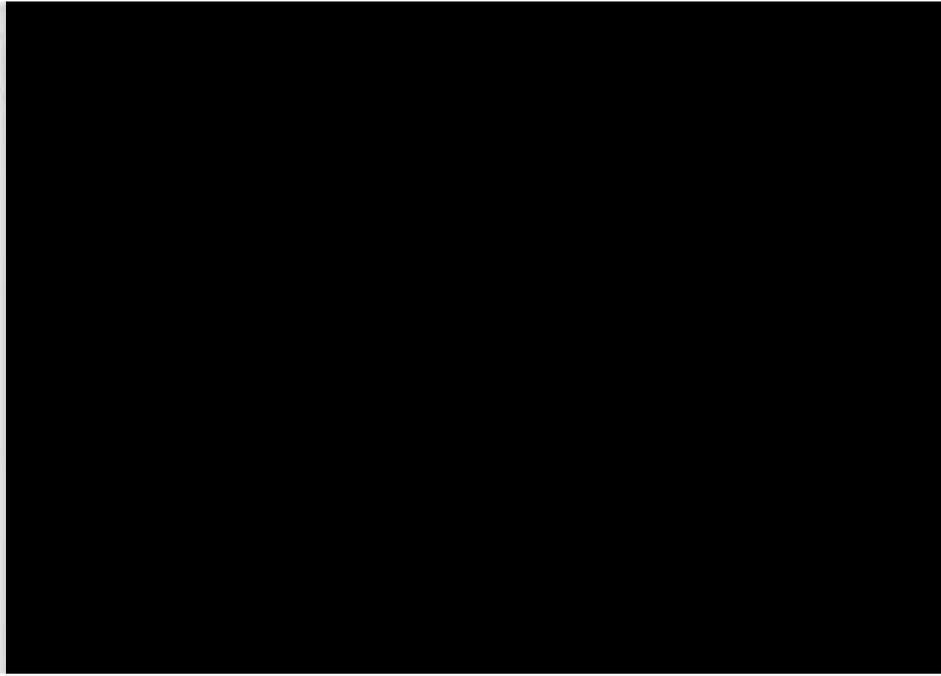


Figure 3.4 Athenian black-figure skyphos, c.525-475BCE.

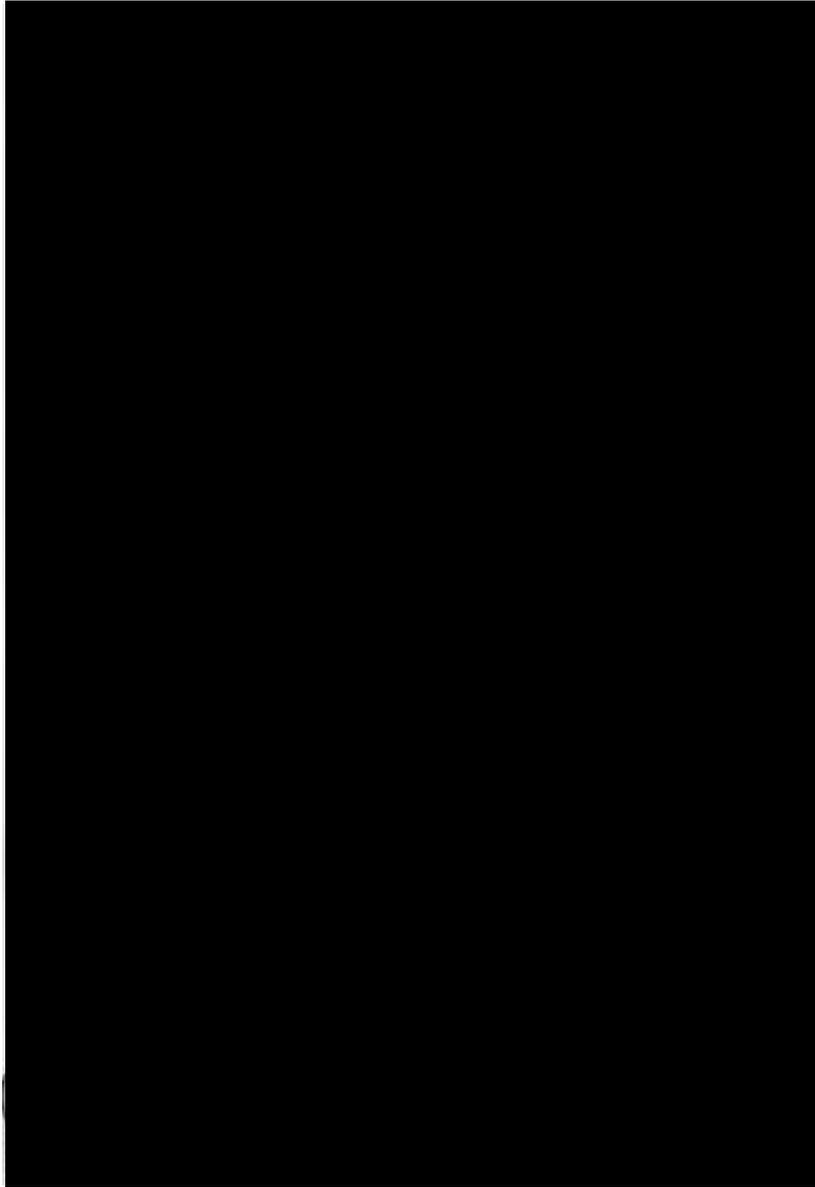


Figure 3.5 Moschophoros likely dedicated to Apollo at Klaros, 560-530BCE.

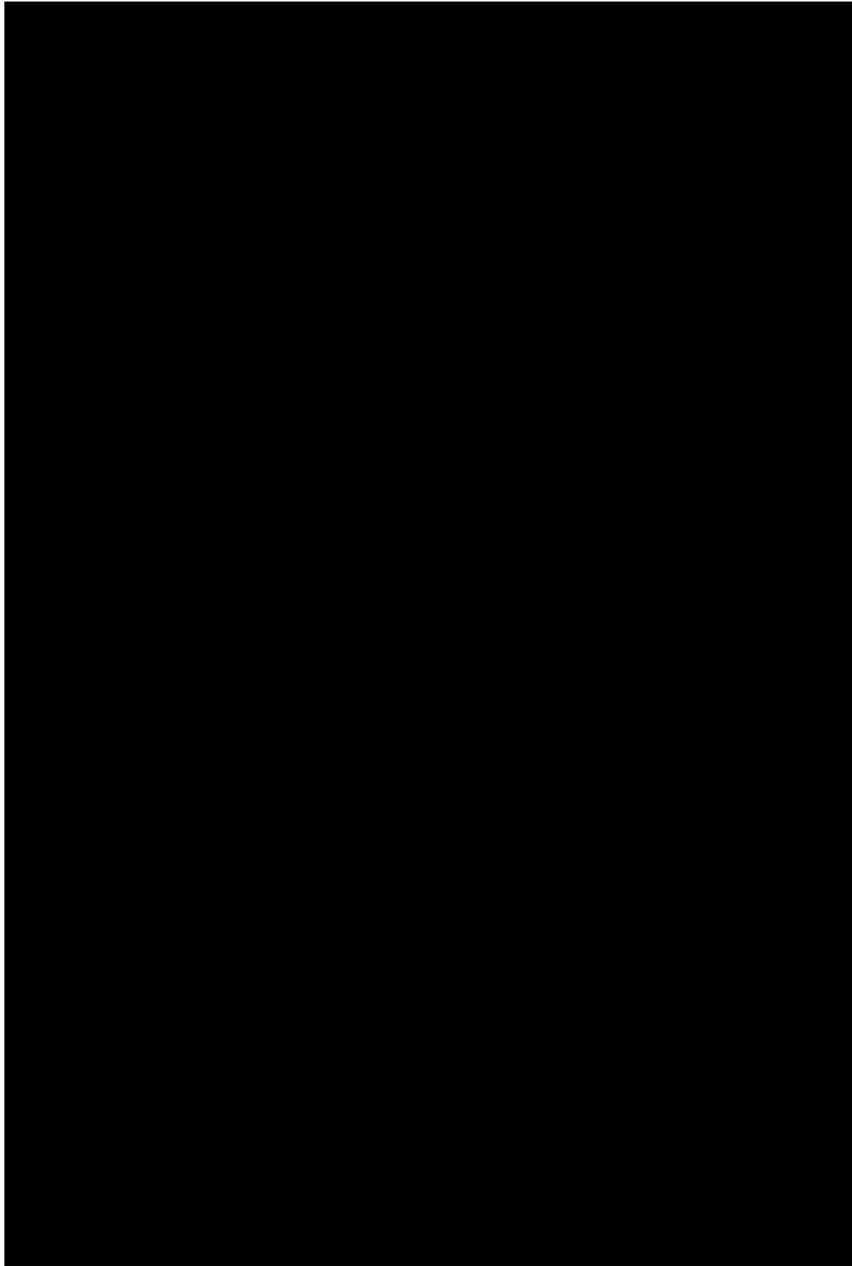


Figure 3.6 Moscophoros dedicated by Rhombos, 570-560BCE.

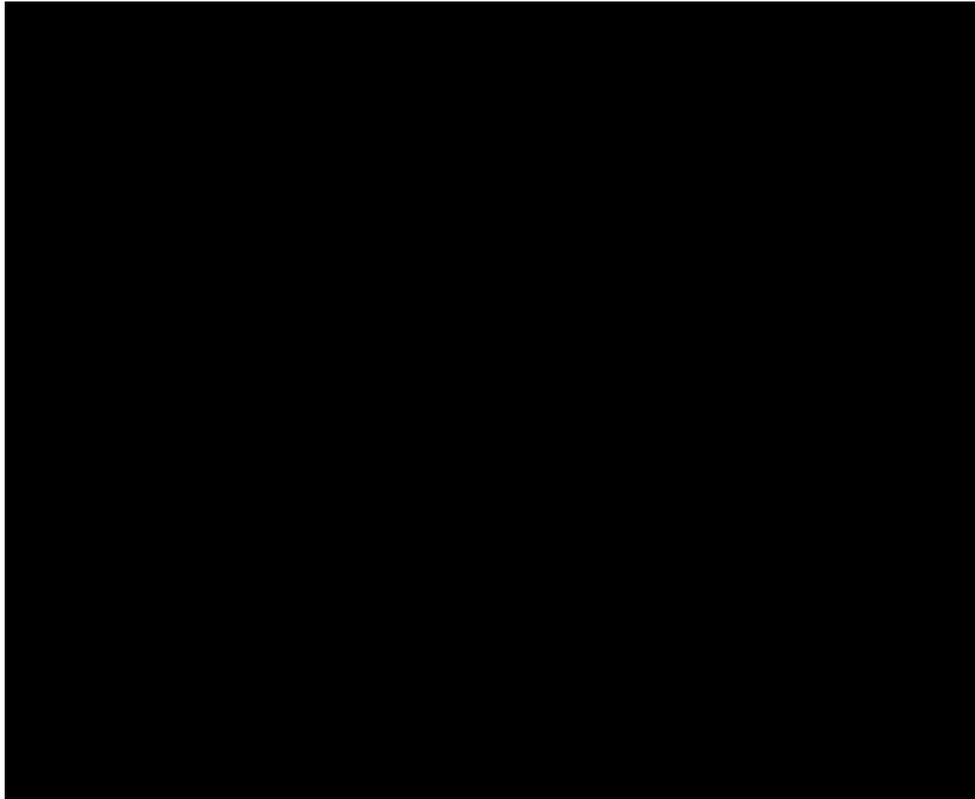


Figure 3.7 Reconstruction of the ash altar of Zeus at Olympia.



Figure 4.1 Corinthian Black-figure vase, 575-550BCE depicting Ketos, Perseus, and Andromeda (l-r), all of whom are labelled.



Figure 4.2 A small amount of the bronze votive figurines made at Olympia from the early Archaic period, many of which take the form of cattle or horses.

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