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**LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
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Early Indications of the Rise of the Individual in Archaic Greece

With special reference to the invention of the
alphabet, the colonization movements, the first
Lyric poetry and the first-life-size statue in
marble.

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October 1985
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for a Master of Arts Degree.*



Irene H. Metuzals, Ottawa, Canada, 1986.

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Early Indications of the Rise of the Individual in Archaic Greece

*"...we begin to see more
clearly the face of early
Greece: while it was dawn
and while the bright day
grew..."*

H.T. Wade-Gery

I. FOREWORD

Great nations write their autobiographies in three manuscripts, the book of their deeds, the book of their words and the book of their art. Not one of these books can be understood unless we read the two others, but of the three the only trustworthy one is the last.

J. Ruskin, 1819-1900

The seventh century B.C., which in terms of art history marks the beginning of the Archaic period in Greece, has generally been characterized as a time of rapid changes in many aspects of life. It was a time when the Greeks were expanding into the wider context of the Mediterranean, an era of inventions and, generally, of new trends. This century allegedly also contained all the elements which formed the foundation(s) on which Greek thought and Greek art were to be built. It has indeed been said that by approximately 600 B.C. Archaic civilization had assumed its essential character; modern historians maintain that the Archaic period is perhaps the most important period in Greek history.

According to some authorities, during this period of rapid development the Greek personality itself underwent important changes. This phenomenon, B. Snell has called "the rise of the individual."¹

Compared with the world of Homer, in which man appears as fragmented in both body and soul, and where even the poet himself is anonymous and does not express any personal opinions, the early Greek Lyric poets emerge before us with a new self-awareness and therefore with strong personalities. This is particularly striking in the poetry of Archilochos of Paros (fl. c. 660/650 B.C.) and Sappho of Lesbos (fl. c. 600/590 B.C.), who figure especially important in Snell's theory.

The rise of the individual is, admittedly, a complex phenomenon. Indeed, as a process, it neither admits of easy definition nor can a comprehensive description be quickly offered. Apart from the complex nature of the question itself, there is the highly fragmentary state of the evidence. This applies to both the works of the early Lyric poets as well as to the archaeological material of approximately the same time. It is not surprising, therefore, that despite the enormous amount of modern research which exists on this period, opinion should vary not only on many points of detail, but also on the broader issues.

Nonetheless, any attempt to understand this crucial period in Greek history and culture must ultimately concern itself not least also with the broader aspects. One of the most recent attempts which, in fact, does so is the discussion by A. Snodgrass. It is noteworthy that,

in approaching the subject from this standpoint, Snodgrass too characterizes his discussion as "the rise of the individual."² There is, however, a certain difference of emphasis in his discussion, compared with Snell's study. While by no means neglecting the literary evidence -- a lengthy paragraph is exclusively dedicated to the latest discovery of a papyrus containing 35 lines of a poem attributed to Archilochos of Paros, the so-called Cologne epode -- Snodgrass at the same time specifically emphasizes the importance of the archaeological data. He firmly believes that intellectual advances are no less reflected in fields other than the written word. Indeed, he maintains that the written word and the material record are probably inseparable. This emphasis marks an important advance in the study of this period, for in the past, the intriguing synchronism of new forms in literature and innovations in the crafts has been a "stumbling block" to scholarly thinking, giving rise to disparate views. Many authorities agree that the achievements of this period deserve wider attention; Snodgrass stresses that the range of expertise also "needs to be wider than that of the disciplines traditionally concerned with the period."³ Long before Snodgrass expressed the above views, however, Snell had actually perceived that such a cultural process must naturally include also the achievements of the craftsmen, but he did not himself pursue this area by advancing any specific examples.

4.

One might legitimately regard the rise of the individual as receiving its impetus from a greater self-awareness and a correspondingly greater self-confidence on the part of certain personalities in some sectors of the Archaic society -- whether in most *poleis* in general or in only a few, or perhaps initially in only one. This development would then express itself in "new trends." There is no reason to think that these would not also be detectable in the works of craftsmen, amongst whom a new self-awareness might foster greater freedom of artistic activity. It is in this period that we can, in fact, observe many departures from what may be regarded as the existing norms. Moreover, these departures are of great importance, because it is not least the craftsmen who consistently achieved things which still command our unqualified admiration. This is all the more remarkable because they attained these achievements "despite their own low social standing and exclusion from any informed intelligentsia."⁴

Such a development among the craftsmen suggests that it was not simply an intellectual elite that acted as the motor, but that the whole of Greek society became caught up in the fundamental changes which were taking place. How is one to explain such a comprehensive and all-embracing phenomenon? Modern scholars have indeed been hard put to explain it satisfactorily to themselves. Thus H. Bengtson, for instance, in connection with the expansion of the Greeks into the wider

context of the Mediterranean during what he calls "the great Greek colonization", and which he sees as synonymous with the rise of the individual, confesses that ultimately the whole phenomenon "defies explanation," although at the same time described it as a "fundamentally new outlook on life." ⁵ Others have given expression to their reaction in different ways, but which doubtless essentially amount to the same thing. B. Snell, for his part, refers to an all embracing "larger historical process" which underlies the new assertiveness of the individual,⁶ although at the same time he emphasizes that only one individual becomes the catalyst of any specific innovation. F. Schachermeyr, on the other hand, lays stress on the favorable natural circumstances, especially the geographical situation in the Aegean. Accordingly, this factors not only acted as a great stimulus but also had a releasing effect on the character (the hereditary disposition) of the Hellenic people. At the same time, however, none of the major cultures of the Near East and Anatolia were close enough to the Greeks that a condition of a so-called satellite state could have developed. But even this is not in the end adequate. For Schachermeyr, no spontaneous act of creation can ultimately be explained, and will therefore remain "a miracle of history."⁷ In fact, Schachermeyr is not alone in his opinion; many authorities believe that the Greeks and their (artistic) achievements are akin to something that could be termed "le miracle grec."

The specific geographical situation in the Aegean, as emphasized by Schachermeyr, should indeed be taken into account when considering Greek artistic achievements; in addition, it should also be noted that the very special light conditions which prevail throughout the Aegean (decisive for the visual arts of any country) and the presence of fine marble on several islands (such as Paros, Naxos and Samos) played an integral role in the development of the Greek artist. Or are these factors perhaps in some way part of the "miracle"?

In this study, however, no attempt will be made to explain any miracle. Rather, after a review of the main cultural events -- events which in their seemingly logical sequence convey the impression of belonging to a conscious design, -- preceding and, in fact, preparing the road to the seventh century, a detailed analysis will be made of selected works of art from the period in question. In such a scrutinizing process the investigation could be carried back to the earliest possible clue of a conscious individual act, no matter how faint this might be.⁸ In this way we might discover the real roots of innovation. We might also find that art, especially the art of this early period, is indeed the only trustworthy, original document (cf. p. 1) from which we can perceive a relatively unadulterated glimpse of the spirit of that time. Furthermore, and most important to this particular

study, we might also discover that the art of this early date offers the visual evidence of trends (tendencies) within the world of the ancient artist, which cannot be won from any ancient text. In this early art, we may also encounter expression of ideas, which the artist would, in fact, have found difficult or even impossible to communicate. However, Snell maintains that "...it is the Lyric writers who give us the clearest picture of the spirit of innovation which thus burst upon the world. For they use words and they are specific; and from them we learn what the new discovery was -- a discovery of hitherto unmapped areas of the soul."⁹

Intellectual advances in a certain society should, in fact, be reflected in both the written word as well as the material record and are, very probably, inseparable.

In the present study this particular problem will be approached by emphasis on the early archaeological evidence. From there an attempt will be made to trace possible trends rather than reconstruct possible events. Certain trends, especially those which may indicate a greater self-awareness and a correspondingly greater self-confidence on the part of a certain personality, could account for subsequent intellectual advances, which transform the achievements of Archaic Greece from a series of precocious and small-scale innovations into something timeless

and indestructible. According to Snodgrass, a discussion of this particular kind in an archaeological-historical study may be suspected of possible pretention or even hypocrisy;¹⁰ and until recently, a study of this kind has not been attempted. Therefore, since the literary texts are not always impossible for the nonspecialist to penetrate, as stressed by Snodgrass, and since early Lyric poetry is supposed to give us the clearest picture of the spirit of innovation of this time, as maintained by Snell, the present study intends to enlist the early Lyric poetry of Archilochos of Paros, as complementary background to the archaeological material.

This might seem an insignificant approach -- it is nevertheless a novel one -- and it might throw light upon things and relationships that made intellectual advances possible.

II. WHY ARCHILOCHOS OF PAROS?

Probably the most striking remark about Archilochos comes from F. Jacoby, who compares the emergence of this poet to a "meteor" in the sky of Greek literature.¹¹ Judging from the great amount of scholarly discussions, which are still going on, it also appears to be the most appropriate epithet ever given to this poet. Although there is uncertainty about many questions concerning his particular kind of poetry, on one point we can be sure: this early poet from the island of Paros was a most remarkable figure in his time, a *phainomenon* indeed. His activities during the middle of the seventh century B.C., the period chosen for the present study, and the fact that he was born on this Cycladic island in the center of the Aegean Sea, i.e. Paros, with its famous marble, and last, but certainly not least, being contemporary with the first life-size statue of a woman in marble, the so-called Nikandre of Delos, make him, in my opinion, the obvious choice as the best representative of the early Archaic period in Greek cultural history.

It should be noted that the conclusive reasons which led to the choice of Archilochos, are independent of Snell's conviction concerning the Lyric poets. It is not only Archilochos' peculiar poetry with its new subject matter, it is the inventive effort of the contemporary

craftsmen as well, which conveys the impression that the Greeks were into some kind of a fundamentally new outlook on life; and it is this situation which calls for comment.

If Archilochos were just another iambist or, for that matter, just another Lyric poet, he would doubtless not have invited such degree of scholarly controversy, either in antiquity or today. Or if he were merely continuing a tradition of existing folk-lyric, i.e., local convention, with some unusual twists (as has been alleged), would there have been any indignant reaction by the Parians or any rejection of his songs by the Spartans?¹² Or, if Archilochos had been performing at cult events, expressing feelings not his own, but of an assumed personality and describing imaginary events, directing ritual obscenities at unreal people, would Pindar have dissociated himself from the fault finding Archilochos?¹³ Or would Critias, writing about two hundred years after Archilochos, still have criticized this poet with such hostility?¹⁴ And why did Archilochos cause problems when no other writer of iambi did? The iambist Semonides of Amorgos, for example, almost contemporary with Archilochos is known for his scolding songs against women, but he did not provoke controversy. The same can be said about Hipponax, another iambist, who lived somewhat later than Archilochos. From Lyric poets who allegedly lived earlier than Archilochos, not a single written word has survived.

If one accepts the ancient testimonia in praise of Archilochos, the picture of this poet becomes even more contradictory. Plato, for instance, refers to Archilochos as "sophotatos" (Rep. 2.365c 5), and Aristototele, i.e. Alkidamas in Rhet 2,23 1398 b 10, calls this poet "sophos".¹⁵ Of the writers, cited by Treu (Philodemos, Dio Chrysostomos and Synesios), Dio Chrysostomos considered Archilochos to be on the same level with Homer.¹⁶ Herakleitos, on the other hand, rejects Homer and Archilochos (DK 22, B 42) as well as Hesiod (DK 21, B 10-11) as composers of immoral fictions. Or does this perhaps suggest that these three were taken to be the great poets from an early date?

In the recently discovered architectural remains of a so-called Archilocheion (Heroon) on Paros, whose centre consisted of a small Doric temple, praise and honour of Archilochos are inscribed in stone;¹⁷ and a recent dissertation features the title "Honour to Archilochos".¹⁸ Although indirect testimonia have to be used with caution - Critias especially should be seen against the political background of his time - they nevertheless promise, to ensure a greater completeness of the general picture of a given era.

Many opinions which are formed on the basis of material evidence undergo changes after new material is discovered. The traditional

opinion of Archilochos was based mainly on the extant, very small fragments of his poetry, often as small as a single line. The year 1973 saw the discovery of a papyrus with, so far, the longest portion of a Lyric poem of the Epode form. This is the Cologne papyrus which consists of 35 lines, though without beginning. On the strength of these small fragments previously known, a rather consistent picture of Archilochos had been built up: a cynical, headstrong and sometimes coarse pragmatist.¹⁹ But on the basis of this long poem, with its very delicate episodes, we have a picture of this poet which seems "hard to reconcile with the crude Archilochos we know from elsewhere."²⁰

The following translation of this particular poem (by J. Van Sickle),²¹ has been claimed by several scholars (including Snodgrass) as the most satisfactory:

...but
*longing that makes a man's limbs go slack, my friend,
 still breaks my stride...*
 ...once I saw
*alone Lycambes' child, the younger one,
 gathering flowers in the close of Hera...*
 ...spoke to her these words:
...keen desire...heart...
 ...you...here...
...now...my very own.
 So much I said. She answered point for point:
 ...
 ...
*totally keeping yourself, and I'd hold out to do the
 same; but if you are pressed, if your heart drives hard,
 here in our household there is -- and wants so much to
 marry now--*

a lovely, tender girl: you won't I think,
 find any fault in her looks. Make her, not me, your
 very own.
 So much she said. I answered point for point:
 'Daughter of Amphimedo, that woman excellent and wise
 whom now the mouldering earth keeps down below,
 many delights are derived from Aphrodite for young men
 besides the main one. One of those will do;
 while as for this, in good time whenever you have grapes
 grown ripe,
 both you and I, god willing, will decide.
 I'm going to do as you say; you think I'm pressing very
 hard;
 but here beneath the rim and shading gates
 don't make a think of it, dear, since I will keep my
 course
 to grassy gardens--that for now. Neobule, no!
 Somebody else marry her! Aiai! She's more than overripe:
 her girlhood flower that has withered and dropped off,
 also the grace that was there. Her fill she never ever
 got;
 the woman's crazed; she long since showed her prime.
 Out to the crows! Keep her off! May never he who rules
 the gods
 decree that I, for keeping one like her
 stand as a neighbouring butt. Instead I much prefer you,
 for you are neither faithless or two-faced.
 She, though, is only too keen, makes many men her very
 own
 I fear I'd get a misfit--premature--
 pressing on quickly with her: just like the hasty bitch,
 blind pups.
 So much I said, but then I took the girl
 into the flowers in bloom and laid her down, protecting
 her with my soft cloak, her neck held in my arms.
 Though out of fear like a fawn she hindered, I encouraged
 her and her breasts with my hands I gently grasped.
 She, then and there, herself showed young flesh--the onset
 of her prime--and, all her lovely body fondling, I
 also let go with my force, just touching, though, her
 tawny down.

According to the most satisfactory comment, this "is a poem of

sophistication, showing a relationship between the sexes which would pass as entirely normal today in, say, a Mediterranean country or any other society...The apparent aristocratic background of the participants has little effect on the content: the poet seeks to interest us in their experience for its own sake, and we have to care about them as individuals in order to become involved. As if in one stride, Archilochos carries us from traditionalism to modernity."²² Snodgrass also emphasizes that the important novelty of this poem has to be seen in the absence of any attempt to present a general significance or any message to society. The claim is on the reader's attention of the individual authority. We have here the first literary(?) example of the fact that during the seventh century, the individual gained the liberty to express himself. Although it has been observed that the erotic scene in Archilochos' poem seems to owe something to Homer (*Iliad*, 14, Hera and Zeus), Snodgrass maintains that "to compare the two is to see the measure of Archilochos' liberation as well."²³ The real fascinating point for many scholars, as well as in my opinion, is, however, the delicacy and indeed the sophistication with which this infamous writer of coarse, mocking and invective verse was able to handle a topic of such peculiarity, as well as the restrained employment of a new liberty in literary expression. At the same time however, there are several lines of Archilochos' poetry extant from which one could have already anticipated his ability to express tender and restrained emotions, one

thinks e.g. of fragment 25 D:

*She held a sprig of myrtle she'd picked
and a rose that pleased her most
of those on the bush
and her long hair shaded
her shoulders and back.²⁴*

But comments, ancient as well as modern, on this aspect of his poetry are hard to find, or simply do not exist. It is tempting to argue that the late discovery of such a long portion of such a particular poem fits perfectly into the well-known picture of this mocking poet: having "misled" his interpreters for over two thousand years - he may have invoked Fate to delay the discovery - would have delighted Archilochos.

Scholarly opinion on Archilochos is according to Snodgrass, divided into two categories: those before and those after the year 1973. Although there are still voices which accuse Archilochos of vulgarity, even of being a psychopath,²⁵ a certain general change towards this early poet seems to be taking place.

Snodgrass claims that Archilochos of Paros might have been instrumental in the individual gaining the liberty to express himself. Moreover, he maintains that the high tide of this freedom can be observed precisely during the first half of the seventh century, which

is the time of the creation of Archilochos' long poem (the Cologne papyrus). It may also be noted that in the visual arts this is the time of the creation of the first life-size statute of a woman in marble. Two large amphorae also belong to the same period: one featuring the blinding of Polyphemus and the other, very probably from Paros, features a grazing stag of impressive size, elegantly drawn in an otherwise purely geometric design. These selected examples may illustrate that such coincidental emergence of novelties represents a high tide of freedom of expression. Greek society of this time was by no means a permissive society, but, as Snodgrass maintains, "a wide freedom of spontaneous comment in some areas seems to have generated from an early stage."²⁶ It must have been such inborn respect for individual freedom of expression in all matters that served as the initial step towards lifting the inhibitions to individual expression. And it is precisely Archilochos of Paros, the infamous poet of coarse verses, who demonstrated how elegantly and restrained such new freedom of expression can be handled in literature, no matter how peculiar the subject matter might be.

A study of the artifacts of a certain time span in Greek cultural history, which also includes a poet such as Archilochos of Paros and at the same time reflects upon trends of a growing, conscious freedom of expression, should transcend purely aesthetic considerations. It

appears that during this particular time a new attitude of mind enabled the individual to subject his surroundings to an individual point of view, both in literature and in the visual arts. Such first attempts - however small - proved to be of pioneering quality for the development of Western civilization; indeed, they signaled the beginning of a completely new era in literature, vase painting and sculpture.

References to Archilochos of Paros, the extravagant, colourful as well as controversial first Lyric poet, should give specific focus to a study of this particular nature.

III. THE BACKGROUND, OR SETTING THE STAGE

While the highly social character of the Greeks was a vital factor throughout their history, this trait never played a greater role than in the early seventh century. The close personal association of the upper classes at this time was a tremendous force in promoting the lightning swiftness of contemporary change; in intellectual outlook, the upper classes seem scarcely to have boggled at any novelty.

Chester G. Starr

If the ancient Greek craftsmen were able to achieve things in the seventh century which still command our unqualified admiration, they must have entered this century already equipped with adequate "tools". They must also have had the full support of the upper classes.

For us the previous era from which these people emerged is for the most part still shrouded in darkness. Nevertheless, like glittering stars in a dark sky, a number of civilizing events illuminate the past of these people in a very particular way. In retrospect, one could almost have predicted the direction of certain developments which took place in the following centuries. The emergence of a Greek alphabet may serve as a striking example.

a) The Invention of the Alphabet and Epic Poetry

The Greek world had been illiterate for approximately 450 years. Then, between c. 800 and 750 B.C., the alphabet was introduced. On the basis of present evidence, it derived unquestionably from Phoenicia and was probably taken over in some Greek settlement on the Semitic coast. Al Mina has been suggested²⁷ but other places in the Aegean are also possible.²⁸ While most authorities seem to agree on the location of this event (the Semitic coast), the ultimate motive for its adoption is still uncertain, as "the evidence here is perplexing."²⁹

Advances in trade contacts would obviously be the most plausible motive for adopting a script. (Apart from invasion there were, in fact, scarcely any other contacts besides trade.) However, as Jeffery emphasizes, it is not very likely that the Phoenician alphabet would actually have been taken over within the context of short trading contacts, where foreign ships were beached on the local shore and goods were bartered. In order to transfer a script between two such different speech systems as Greek and Semitic, a settlement would be necessary, so that in time some kind of bilingualism would develop.³⁰ On the other hand, one could easily imagine that the illiterate Greeks were impressed by the way in which the Phoenicians handled their trading affairs, and

this might have provided the initial impetus.

In any case, this invention, i.e., this new addition to the cultural life of the Greeks, spread rapidly. According to Jeffery and other authorities, this alphabet, unlike a complicated syllabic script, could be easily mastered by both adult and child; this was chiefly because of the addition of vowels.

Not only does this explain the rapid spread, but perhaps even more so the wide distribution of writing among all segments of society. This is in marked contrast to the restricted profession or cast of scribes in the societies of their Eastern neighbours, and demonstrates a characteristic interest in the written word, i.e., communicating a written expression. Some authorities consider the addition of vowels to constitute the first truly alphabetic system.³¹ H. Bengtson, long before Snodgrass, characterized the new Greek alphabet as the first truly phonetic writing system--the first in history of human civilization.³² Furthermore, he stresses the point that this invention must have been the creation of one ingenious individual, familiar with both the Phoenician as well as the Greek languages.

Although advancements in trade seem to be the most reasonable assumption for adopting a writing system, it must be observed that "none

of the early surviving Greek inscriptions has anything to do with commerce."³³ Moreover, it is difficult to see why trade activities should have prompted the invention of vowels. What was it, then, that "gave the Greeks the urge to develop a complete set of six vowel signs (including both a long and a short e) and to retain and even add to this range in later years..."³⁴ - The answer to this question should lie in some very peculiar feature of Greek society at this time.

Snodgrass discusses the rise of the state (*polis*) as well as the proliferation of religious cults and their dedication as two typical features of Greek society, which would benefit from the availability of writing. But he believes that this is not a specific enough explanation, since at any rate it is some time before we know of Greeks using the alphabet for either purpose. We have to look for a truly unique feature of Greek society, and there is no doubt, according to Snodgrass, as one looks around for a unique feature, which is the first to offer itself: it is the Epic.

As early as 1952 H.T. Wade-Gery claimed that the new Greek alphabet was, in fact, designed for epic (poetry), which seemed, at that time, rather far-fetched.³⁵ In the meantime, Jeffery's research shows that the earliest surviving evidence of writing (mostly on sherds) dates to the middle of the eighth century and consists specifically of

personal expressions, pensive or rude remarks and names.³⁶ The earliest potter signature so far, "...Inos made me", has been found on the island of Pithekoussai, modern Ischia, painted on a small sherd of a geometric krater, dated to around the second half of the eighth century. It seems that there does not exist any (extant) "trade talk" at all. Even if it should be possible to prove that these great cultural events in Greek society, the alphabet and the Epic poetry, were inextricably linked with each other, and thus strengthen Wade-Gery's claim, there would still remain the inscriptions on pottery (and how much else that may have been written on perishable materials and has not survived). These latter do point to a peculiar feature of Greek society, for they underline that it is not Epic alone, but simply poetry as such that should claim attention. To this end Snodgrass remarks that "vowel notation indeed does serve the purpose of poetic communication."³⁷ And since a striking proportion of the earliest alphabetic inscriptions on pottery is in fact written in verse - in perfect hexameter, as observed by Jeffery and Wade-Gery - it constitutes the material evidence for such a view.

"Poetic communication," on the other hand, could also be understood as presupposing an extraordinarily fine sense of hearing or a predisposition towards harmonious interconnections of sounds (a musical society?). The term "barbarian" for languages (and people) who were not Greek perhaps confirms such an assumption. The magnitude, both in

volume and content, of the first written Epic poems, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, emerging after c. 450 years of illiteracy, and at the same time the absence of any documents which attest trade contacts or possible trade advances, in fact, also manifest a general inclination towards poetry. The great wealth of poetic creations during the following centuries, especially the new Lyric, emphatically underlines such a view. What can be said today with relative certainty is only that at this particular point in Greek cultural history a preference for poetry over trade is demonstrated. What is also demonstrated is that a discovery in one field, i.e. here the invention of the alphabet, can stimulate advances in another, such as poetry. In this particular connection it is moreover noteworthy to observe that during the Archaic period it was presumably precisely the upper class in Greek society that scarcely seems to have boggled at any novelty; the early (humble) graffiti on pottery, however, seem to tell a different story. These potter painters, despite their low standing and exclusion from any informed intelligentsia, demonstrate a very keen interest in the new invention of the alphabet.

This first intellectual achievement of the Greeks must have not only functioned as a sort of ultimate key, which gradually unlocked all aspects of cultural life, for us it may also serve as a model for the way in which the Greeks adopted foreign ideas. This is specifically

exemplified in their art of the seventh and sixth centuries, where outside stimuli, predominantly from the East, were subject to some kind of selective process. However, already during the eighth century, results of such a selective process can be observed in examples from the minor arts, whose form or pattern of decoration points, almost certainly, to an eastern original. But, even at this early date the influence of the East, i.e. in the form of foreign artistic images, stimuli or any new impetus, has never been a matter of simply copying the original, but everything is adapted to Greek standards and taste. There can be no doubt, as maintained by Boardman, that the change which Greek art underwent in these years "is almost wholly attributable to the influence of the East, but it is just as clear that this influence was very largely superficial, that the Greeks as pupils were highly selective of what they had to learn, and that they were quick to reject anything they could not readily assimilate or mould to their own ideas."³⁸ This refers to all branches of the minor arts such as metal work, ivory work, clay and bronze relief plaques, jewellery, seals as well as vase painting.

In sculpture, the so-called *kouros*, for instance the *kouros* from Attica c. 600 B.C., now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, appears to be the best illustration, where eastern influence is "moulded to Greek ideas". Here, stance (left foot forward) and proportion are

clearly derived from Egypt, while the nude male figure is a Greek invention. The traditional theory that also the free unsupported stand of a human statue has come down to the Greeks from Egypt has been challenged by several authorities.³⁹ Egyptian sculpture, in fact, fulfilled primarily architectural functions, where in their temples, both cult and mortuary temples, huge standing and seated figures were placed before the monumental gateways or in the corners of the courtyards. Usually these statues feature a short garment covering the body from hip to knee, thus providing the sculptor, at the same time, with space to accommodate long inscriptions. The Greeks may have borrowed ideas from Egypt but "it was the Greeks, not the Egyptians, who then developed the idea from the Archaic *kouroi* and the female *korai* onto the great classical statuary."⁴⁰ In this connection it could also be helpful to consider that the efforts of the craftsmen during the eighth century and the first contact with the East were not a matter of an "immature art being overwhelmed by the sophistication" of the East, but of an already strong artistic tradition deriving new life and inspiration from the forms and subjects of arts which were already in their decline".⁴¹ Thus in the art of sculpture, they not only invented the nude as an art-form, "but in a very important sense, they invented art itself."⁴² This may be compared with the introduction of the alphabet: the initial impetus came from outside, the finished product is genuinely Greek.

In this connection it should be worthwhile to consider also the craftsman, who carried out the "order". A statue, for instance, may have been ordered by a member of the upper class, but the finished work, i.e., the quality of the workmanship, and above all the incorporation of new ideas, was the responsibility of the craftsman. Only at this point may the customer indeed have "not boggled at the novelty".⁴³ However, it should be taken into account that due to their inborn curiosity, a general readiness to accept novelties might well have been a common characteristic among all Hellenic people.

Generally, it can be said that the alphabet proved to be an "enormous asset to the progress of the Greek society."⁴⁴ Moreover, the widespread interest in the whole-hearted acceptance of the new activity of writing revealed a community with basically the same attitude. The introduction of the alphabet also illustrates a fundamental feature of this community, one that has been repeatedly emphasized by modern scholars: the analytical mind of the ancient Greeks. The Phoenician script was, of course, syllabary and therefore not an "alphabet." But, as Wade-Gery points out, "none of these other scripts has analyzed the syllable down to its components of vowel and consonant--down to those elements of sound which French linguists call phonèmes and the Greeks called *stoicheia*. The alphabet, the product of this analysis, is

notable for its economy: it can, with its very few signs, render sounds as faithfully as the Phoenician...or the Cypriot script. ...This alphabet is...a beautiful product of the Greek analytic mind: it is in all essentials the alphabet which we use today."⁴⁵

In this respect one may venture to express a view on the vexed question of the date when the alphabet was actually introduced. Whatever other arguments may be adduced, that of the general cultural conditions should perhaps not be overlooked. With these in mind, a date approximately between 800 B.C. and 750 B.C. for the invention of phonetic writing in Greece would seem to make sense. The point is that at around the same time certain basic features which were formative for their particular society had taken place or were on the verge of bursting into bloom.

Meetings, festivals and athletic games, the most characteristic events in ancient Greek society, have been known since around the middle of the eighth century. The date of 776 B.C., for example, is traditionally accepted as the year when the Games were officially founded at Olympia in Elis. Hippias (fl. c. 400 B.C.) used data in the sanctuary to reconstruct a complete list of all the victories in sprint (the original and most important of the athletic contests held there). Did the earliest "data" consist of written names of the victors?

At the same time also the great meetings of the Ionians at Delos must have taken place. Homer, or the poet of the *Odyssey*, here compares Nausicaa with a young palm tree which *Odysseus* had seen by the altar of Apollo at Delos (*Od.* VI, 162). Those meetings, or festivals, must have formed the most natural and effective source of information. Furthermore, the extensive material of their heritage of myths and legends seems to have been ordered and condensed around this time. Of these, the most valuable parts were written down in the great works of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*; the *Iliad* contains nearly 16,000 lines. The image of the hero could now clearly be conceived and could, so to speak, serve as a standard of behaviour. Tradition accredits only one man, Homer - probably from the island of Chios - with this achievement.

Of course, today we have no way of determining how many people were, in fact, involved in this gigantic task. However, several questions arise: what kind of method, for instance, could have been used to "order," to "condense" and to "select" the most valuable parts from such a vast body of material? Could this have been orally conducted? On what principle was the selection of the most valuable parts based? How did the concept of *arete* take shape? Did this particular point gradually develop during the long process of reciting? Could one man alone have mastered such a venture? Although there is uncertainty about

such questions, on one point we can be sure, that this kind of tedious work must have taken up a considerable amount of time, no matter if sorted out orally or written down. Consequently, the actual date of the emergence of the first literary work in the Greek world should be kept only approximately. It was Wade-Gery's firm belief that Homer used writing as aid in his composition, i.e., in order to transfer the poem from his mind onto the writing material. Considering the scope of such a work, a writing system as an aid seems the obvious thing to search after or to invent. From this point of view, Wade-Gery's theory might become quite acceptable, although, unfortunately, not provable.

b) The Colonization Movements

The Euboeans at East and West

These great civilizing events in Greek cultural history - the invention of the alphabet, the creation of the first literary works and the colonization movements to the East as well as to the West - took place at approximately the same time. But unlike the alphabet and the written Epics, colonization was spread over at least two centuries. The colonization of the West coast of Asia Minor probably started immediately after the end of the Bronze Age, but with the opening of a trading post at Al Mina c. 800 B.C., a new era appears to begin.⁴⁶ This seems to coincide approximately with the colonization to the West, i.e. to the south of Italy and to Sicily, which started about the same time. Here, Pithekoussai, modern Ischia, was the earliest settlement dated to some time before 750 B.C.. These events convey the peculiar impression of belonging to some kind of conscious design, almost like logical sequences. In the case of colonization, e.g. for the venturer, when equipped with a writing system and a definition of the gods and their specific powers, as well as with a concept of standards (of Homeric heroes), a voyage across the Ionian Sea into the far West somehow becomes feasible.

The ultimate reason(s) for colonization, i.e. a movement of small or large groups of people - aristocrats and their followers - into foreign territories is still being discussed in contemporary scholarship, although a number of very plausible explanations, such as overpopulation and related factors, have been offered. Ancient authors emphasize competition for land as one of the most fundamental causes for new settlements. Indeed the assumption that all Greek colonial foundations were made purely to ease population or subsistence problems at home dies hard, as maintained by Boardman. But archaeology, geography and common sense combine to suggest that "trade normally preceded the flag and that in the case of some of the earliest colonies trade rather than land was the dominant factor in choosing a site."⁴⁷ Al Mina in North Syria seems to be a striking example. This site is very probably the earliest "trading post" of the Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean, and offers valuable clues on later settlements in the West, especially in regard to the dominant factor of choosing a site. The earliest settlement in the West, Pithekoussai, is a case in point.

i) The Settlement of Pithekoussai (modern Ischia).

From archaeological finds we know that the Euboeans, probably from Eretria, participated in the founding of the trading post at Al Mina c. 800 B.C., perhaps together with islanders from the Cyclades. A few decades later Euboeans (perhaps also with men from the Cyclades)

were again active in the far West of the Mediterranean, namely on the ancient island of Pithekoussai, some time before 750 B.C. The motive for choosing this rocky island for a settlement seems still to divide modern archaeologists and historians. Exploring the background to the period leading up the seventh century and in seeking to establish possible connections and trends, a discussion of the activities of the Euboeans at Al Mina as well as on Pithekoussai should be instructive.

We do not know what the Euboeans brought with them to trade at Al Mina; Boardman thinks that it would hardly have been pottery at this early date, even if the pottery of the eighth century Greece was just as fine or finer than anything made in the Near East. But some trade must have gone on because, however highly we rate the Greeks' flair for business, here they were meeting their equals in this matter. Of more importance seems to have been the supply of metal, i.e. more specifically, the supply of iron and copper, which were in particular demand in Greece. The Euboeans appear to have been the first to tap these new sources of metals for the Greek world. From the Euboeans we hear also of the first hoplite battles with armies of bronze-clad warriors in the so-called "Lelantine War"; and of the city of Chalcis it is said she also had the name of the "brazen town". Although there is evidence of bronze casting at Lefkandi (on the island of Euboea) already by about 900 B.C., increasing prosperity (and Boardman adds also

growing jealousy of less fortunate neighbours) may have caused an increasing demand for metal. We, of course, still cannot be absolutely sure whether the first voyage of those enterprising men from the island of Euboea to North Syria was only in search of metal. But, as Boardman says, "...in effect the new trade route provided...a source of wealth and inspiration to the Greeks..."⁴⁸ Inspiration from their Eastern visits (one could think of probably at first some kind of exploratory coasting), combined with their inborn curiosity and growing prosperity at home, may have indeed been instrumental in the opening of a trading place at Al Mina.

Such reasoning seems to make sense when applied to Ischia; it could, at least, shed some light on the enigmatic settlement on a stony island.

A settlement was founded on the offshore island of Pithekoussai, opposite Naples, shortly before 750 B.C. According to ancient authors, and confirmed by archaeological data, most of the settlers came from Chalcis and Eretria, the two main cities of the island of Euboea.

The Euboeans may have known of and may have learnt from the highly skilled Semitic shipbuilders from North Syria down to Palestine how to improve their own shipbuilding, since the sea voyage from the

island of Euboea to the south of Italy was not only very long, but also involved threading the dangerous straits between Italy and Sicily (amplified by the story of Skylla and Charybdis).

Pottery finds on Pithekoussai from the later eighth century include a sherd with an unusual scene of a shipwreck, which may tell of an incident (or incidents generally) on the voyage to the West. All in all, "the journey must have involved a much greater strain on ships than did the island-hopping runs across the Aegean, and this suggests that the Euboeans at least had learnt from foreign mariners how to improve their own shipbuilding".⁴⁹

If overpopulation or "landhunger" had indeed been the actual motive for the Euboeans to undertake such an enterprise, they could have already stopped and settled comfortably on Sicily, as suggested by several modern scholars. Besides, a reference in the *Odyssey* (IX, 115) seems to resemble the island of Sicily; here *Odysseus* tells about a luxuriant island, close to the Cyclop's place, which could be turned into a fine colony: "...it is by no means a poor country, but capable of yielding any crop in season...and along the shore of the grey sea there are soft water-meadows where the vine would never wither...". This passage suggests also that the *Odyssey* may have been written somewhat later than the *Iliad* and, moreover, that the poet of the *Odyssey* was

familiar with the phenomenon of colonization to the West and may have known of this island. The question arises: why, then, did the Euboeans not settle on this famous island but forced their way through the difficult straits between South Italy and Sicily up to the small, steep and rocky island of Ischia? Land-hunger was obviously not the reason for their long-voyage, and if overpopulation on their own island was a problem, which brought the Euboeans into this area, what could be a more appropriate solution than to settle on this "luxuriant" island?

Considering, however, that the area around this ~~rocky~~ island, in fact most of the area around Naples, i.e. the Campania and specifically the island Elba to the north, was metalliferous, it seems on the whole more logical to assume that the actual reason for settling on this island must have been different from problems of overpopulation at home. Moreover, it seems highly unlikely that these extremely alert people from Euboea (and probably from the Cyclades) should not have heard about Etruria and its metal wealth - and its people; that workshops were founded in Etruria by potters from Pithekoussai should shed some light on this point. Besides, this century had already reached the "full Iron Age", and the most sought-after metal during this time was Iron.

In modern appreciation of the cultural process, namely the Stone Age, the Bronze Age and the Iron Age, the last of these is deemed to be fully manifest in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean by the end of the

tenth century B.C.⁵⁰ Indeed it is claimed that "iron had become fully accepted as a material appropriate for many of the daily needs of life, the blacksmith's craft was established (though not always distinct from that of the bronzesmith), and it remained only to improve the techniques of working iron and to widen its applications to even more types of useful equipment..."⁵¹ This means that during Hesiod's time the new material, iron, had been known to the Greeks for at least one century and, although the iron technology seems to have spread slowly through Greece, it definitely was on its way to occupy a crucial position in society. Snodgrass, in summing up this new age in the Mediterranean, says that, in fact, "...iron was both more important and less important than has generally been suggest. Its introduction was far too complicated a process to have a direct influence on the known events of history; but in the long term, it did have economic, social and even historical effects. For all the baleful reputation of iron, it is hard to believe that some of these were not beneficial."⁵²

I have lingered on this topic (perhaps somewhat longer than necessary), but it appears to correspond, although in an indirect way, to the very core of this particular study, i.e., searching for trends, rather than events. The coming of the Iron Age has been thoroughly discussed in a recent study by experts in the fields of Metallurgy, Anthropology, Archaeology, History of Art, Science and Engineering,

Ancient Technology and Oriental Studies. The whole volume has been dedicated to Cyril Stanley Smith, who pointed out that in the history of technology "many materials have first captured human attention through their aesthetic appeal and were used for artistic/magical/religious purposes long before their function properties were discovered."⁵³

Smith also points out that "metallurgical ingenuity has always been devoted to weapons on one hand and to items of adornment on the other."⁵⁴ Indeed, this is the point: aesthetic appeal or a sense of beauty as a vital element in many of the crucial decisions of ancient societies should perhaps not be overlooked. Of course, such a viewpoint has the tendency to "weaken the materialist (economic determinist) reconstruction of historical processes....," but "it is the social milieu...that is the background of causes of change," or put slightly differently, "...the first origins of all social processes of any importance should be sought in the internal constitution of the social group."⁵⁵ This could be specifically applied to ancient Greek society, as indicated by a preference for poetry over trade.

Returning to the Greeks on Pithekoussai, we may still wonder whether their motive for sailing to the West was overpopulation on Chalcis or Eretria. Eretria it seems, had been founded only around 800 B.C. and it is unlikely that at ~~the~~ date "a surplus of population had

anywhere begun be to significant."⁵⁶ Moreover, Pithekoussai was a rocky island and, thus, not well suited for agriculture. Nevertheless, the well-known passage in Herodotos (IV 153), concerning the foundation of Cyrene from Thera, has been cited by many authorities as the most probable indication of overpopulation and/or related problems as the decisive motive behind new settlements.

References to Ischia by ancient, and until recently by modern authors as well, are not only scanty, but often contradictory. This island is rocky, and the Monte Vico, especially, is steep, and flat, cultivable land is almost totally lacking, although fertile soil has been alleged and even gold mines, an assumption which geologically had been proven impossible.⁵⁷ Strabo claimed that the ancient name for the island Pithekoussai, is derived from the Greek for monkey, *pithekos*.

At that time, there never were, according to several authors, monkeys on the island (however, during the eighth and seventh centuries several blacksmiths must have been there). It is only since 1952 that a site near the modern town of Lacco Ameno has become the object of intensive research, and what is more, "excavation has demonstrated that the town had an importance and prosperity far out of proportion to the brief remarks about it by ancient authors."⁵⁸ Here again, the question which seems to "divide modern archaeologists and historians" arises:

what were the ultimate motives which first led the Greeks to settle on Ischia? Since Ischia was their first colonial venture to the West, "the answer is not merely of local interest but bears on the origins of Greek expansion to the West."⁵⁹

The following report of excavation on this island, i.e., specifically in the Valle San Montano and on the east slope of the acropolis, Monte Vico, but most important on the ridge of Mezzavia across the Valle San Montano, will be analyzed in more detail than may seem necessary. The importance of those first arrivals of the great wave of colonization "which eventually turned Italy and Sicily into 'Greater Greece',"⁶⁰ should justify a detailed report.

As mentioned above, the Euboeans, i.e. men from Chalcis and Eretria, who shortly before 750 B.C. jointly settled on the island of Ischia, had a few decades earlier also participated in the settlement of Al Mina in North Syria. If indeed a "few decades earlier" should be correct, those men in Al Mina must have been the fathers of the settlers on Ischia. And not unlike Al Mina in North Syria, Ischia too, was ideally situated for trade. Here again the same question must be asked: what had the Euboeans to offer, or what was the attraction of the people of central Italy? To begin with, may they have been attracted by the fact that there is an "excellent sheltered inlet by the acropolis of

Mono Vico, as well as a long beach on the opposite?" This kind of arrangement seemed very important to ancient sailors since Mycenaean times.⁶¹ The Monte Vico is steep and surrounded by the sea on three sides, which means easily defensible. The place of the excavation, which concerns us here, i.e., the hill of Mezzavia across the Valle San Montano, has been described by the field director, J. Klein, as a lovely spot, even today, somehow resembling a Greek theater, "...and a colorful tangle of wildflowers among the rocks and terrance walls enhances the natural beauty of the place. The view seems to span time as well as distance: from Cumae, just opposite, the mainland coast stretches north into the haze below the Albanian Hills of Latium; on the west beyond Monte Vico, the Tyrrhenian Sea spreads out to the horizon."⁶²

Having mentioned the Greeks' inborn sense of beauty, one might wonder whether the natural beauty of this place could have been somehow co-determinant in the choice of the island. Interesting is also the fact that the archaeological finds, especially from the first excavation of the necropolis of San Montano (1965), i.e., the earliest settlement, seem to "rule out any thought of the colony as a simple farming community."⁶³ Further excavations across the valley of San Montano, on the ridge of Mezzavia, during the year's 1969-1972, brought to light a number of separate building periods--all in the relatively short span of time between 50 and 75 years--in which the earliest, an apsidal

structure, is partially overlain by a square structure, which in turn borders on one end against a third building of a "megaron" plan. The apsidal structure seems to have been the original place (probably the first living quarter), and was built in the third quarter of the eighth century. It appears that the entire site had been deserted early in the seventh century. Wooden posts, found incorporated in the walls, may suggest, according to the excavators, some kind of measure against the frequent earthquakes, which apparently seem to have shaken the island and "drove away many of the original colonists."⁶⁴ Soon however, it became evident to the excavators that the structures which they had unearthed were not all simply private dwellings. They found large and small chunks of raw iron "bloom," fragments of broken implements and nodules of vitreous slag everywhere in great abundance. Even certain features of the buildings themselves could be explained only as installations for metalworking. It then occurred to the excavators that this particular area of the ancient settlement was "almost exclusively given over to the processing and manufacture of metal objects."⁶⁵

One structure, i.e. structure II, the "megaron" plan with entrance on the short side and a central hearth, has been dubbed by the field director as the "blacksmith's shop." A heavily burned area formed the centre of this structure, which appeared to have been open to the east. The floor yielded countless small fragments of iron and slag and

was covered with "minute spots of reddish rust discolouration -- doubtless from the sparks generated by the smith's hammering."⁶⁶ The somewhat later structure IV had two large whetstones of "imported sandstone" and a mud-brick hearth or oven, which had been recognized as a smith's forge, and two smooth, flat-topped boulders of very hard, bluish stone which were clearly anvils. There is also evidence that other metals as well as iron were worked in this building: snippers of bronze sheets and a wire have been found, as well as several lumps of lead and an unfinished "miscast" bronze fibula. This bronze fibula is indeed of considerable significance because "it demonstrates that fibulas were made at Pithekoussai";⁶⁷ and as Klein maintains, there indeed seems to be ample justification for calling this part of the ancient town "a metal working quarter."⁶⁸ Not only was this part of the island a most suitable place for metalworking, especially the outlying ridge of Mezzavia, but the yield of pottery suggests an equally suitable place for potters and potter-painters. On the basis of a "marked unity of conception and execution" in the pottery output, Klein sees the possibility of a small group of artists in perhaps a single workshop during the second half of the eighth century.⁶⁹

One small sherd (a shoulder fragment) of a Geometric krater has a painted signature in retrograde ("...inos made me"), very probably the first signature extant, and features, under the painted words, something

extremely interesting, and which is "as yet unique on a Geometric vase",⁷⁰ namely, the portrayal of a siren or sphinx (a winged creature) with a frontal - human? - face (fig.1); the height of this sherd measures 17.8 cm. It appears, in fact, that a "local school" of figured pottery painting is gradually emerging from these excavations, which promises to enrich our knowledge of Greek art of the Geometric period. The painted pottery includes, *inter alia*, a warrior's head, a panel of horses and also a pair of goats, a charioteer (crudely drawn) and a small geometric water bird (fig.2). This little water bird is comparable to a sherd of a kantharos found at the Koukounaries Hill on the island of Paros (fig.2a) of approximately the same date. Both water birds are drawn in a space which is framed on both sides with vertical lines; the decoration on the neck and base consists of a number of horizontal lines, both narrow and wide. Such drawing of a figure in an otherwise strictly linear (geometric) decoration already indicates something of a curious, inventive attitude among the early craftsmen.

If there is one striking example, which could do duty for this period of early Greek artistic activities, it would be the archaeological finds of the excavations of early sites, such as the Kerameikos and the Agora at Athens, Pithekoussai, Koukounaries on the island of Paros, Samos, Rhodes, and as well as others. These craftsmen of the eighth century delivered the proof that they, in fact, achieved

things, which still command our unqualified admiration, which is all the more remarkable because they attained these achievements despite their own low social standing and exclusion from any informed intelligentsia.

The signature on a krater, which also features a winged creature with a frontal face, both novelties in vase painting of this early date, speaks a clear language of personal pride, confidence and even joy (a new outlook on life?). In any case, we have here an example of an expression of an idea, which the craftsman would have found difficult or even impossible to communicate. The same spirit may have produced the delicate drawing of a small marsh (water) bird between a mesh of linear design, found on several sites at approximately the same date.

The emergence of figured painted pottery at around the same time, but at different locations, is remarkable. But the emergence of the same drawing of a small water bird in an otherwise strictly geometric design at (approximately) the same time from places separated from each other by a long sea voyage, certainly invites comment.

Although "a parallel can be found for any artistic motif under the sun...", as Boardman points out, a comparison, however, can only profitably be drawn "if a plausible relationship in time and means of transmission can be demonstrated."⁷¹ But how can we trace the very

first pottery painter, who naughtily, for example, put a bird next to mourning women? And why a bird? And why this particular water bird with long legs? Why not a fish? These kinds of questions will probably never be answered.

Since both sites, Pithekoussai as well as Koukounaries, claim the Late Geometric period as the date of the pottery, specifically of the sherd with the small bird, a plausible relation in time - at least for these two sites - seems to be established. But how could a possible means of transmission be demonstrated? We have in fact several points which might be helpful in also reconstructing a possible way of transmission.

According to the excavators on Pithekoussai, the ancient island has been regarded as the headquarter of a far-flung network of Euboean trade, and imports from Corinth, Rhodes, Euboea and Athens have been found. On Koukounaries one category of pottery has been described as imitating faithfully Attic design, such as metopes filled with marsh birds and broken meander hooks.

Although, this provides us with at least some evidence for the presence of pottery from different places on our two sites, we still have no evidence of the manner in which foreign vases might have reached

the island. Moreover, we have still to find the first place on which such drawing of a bird made his appearance among geometric lines, zig-zag bands and meander hooks.

The earliest extant drawing of small birds, which are similar to the Pithekoussai sherd, appears on an Attic krater with a funeral scene, now in the National Museum in Athens (Inv. 990), dated c. 750-735 B.C. The birds drawn in outline can be seen next to the mourning women, underneath the funeral bier and beneath the horses, (fig. 3).

Somewhat later, c. 735-720 B.C. is the Attic Geometric jug from the Tomb of the ivory figurines, now also in the National Museum in Athens (Inv. 771), which shows on a separate lid a row of small birds and, as a special feature, has a small clay figure of a bird as lid knob. The craftsmen in the workshops in the Kerameikos were indeed inventive. Another example from these Athenian workshops is a clay tripod stand (imitated from a bronze cauldron stand?) dated to c. 740 B.C. (fig 4). On this stand the drawing of a bird can be seen in a corner, carefully separated by vertical lines between hatched zig-zag designs. This particular stand is in the Kerameikos Museum in Athens (Inv. 340).

From two islands, Rhodes and Thera, come a krater and an amphora,

both dated roughly towards the early eighth century. The krater from Kamiros on Rhodes, now in the Rhodes Museum (Inv. 14734), shows very small birds on top of large concentric circles. The birds are in fact not more than a small circle with dots for the body and three curved lines for the head and legs, and with a triangle for the tail (fig. 5). These birds show no similarity at all with any of the birds previously mentioned. Could this perhaps be the first (extant) example of an attempt to draw birds on pottery?⁷²

The above examples from early vases demonstrate an ambitious trend among the vase-painters, which seemingly suddenly appeared during the first half of the eighth century B.C.: the inclusion of figures, human as well as animal, in the austere strictly geometric design of their vases. There might be, of course, several isolated instances of attempted figure-drawing, as for instance on the early krater from Kamiros. The (probably) decisive break-through of this new idea, however, might be seen on the large (1.62 m) funeral amphora from the Dipylon workshops, the so-called *prothesis*, now in the National Museum in Athens (Inv. 804) and dated to c. 760 B.C. (fig. 6). Here geometricized human and animal figures (grazing stags?) are - almost inconspicuously - presented in a tightly drawn completely geometric pattern, which covers the entire amphora.

This early amphora has, however, no drawing of a bird and the mourning human figures cannot be identified as man or woman. It is probably one decade after the *prothesis* amphora, and again on an Athenian vessel, namely the funeral krater (fig. 3), that we now can recognize women mourners by tiny brush strokes on either side of their chests, indicating the female breast. It is on this krater that we also find the drawing of birds. This particular krater might very well be the first (extant) example on which a potter-painter introduced his new idea. How this idea reached other places is a question we still have to answer.

The Kerameikos and the Dipylon workshops in Athens must have been places of great inspiration and stimulation, not only for the involved craftsmen but also for visitors. The highly sociable character of the Greeks, which Chester G. Starr emphasizes, might have played not a small role, and not only between members of the upper class, but especially between craftsman and craftsman.

The huge funeral amphorae and kraters were not, of course, exported. And it seems that we do not have much evidence of the Athenians sailing about. It seems more likely that the islanders did the sailing, trading and visiting, for instance to the potters' quarters, the Kerameikos of Athens. During the eighth century the

relevant evidence points to the people from Euboea as being active in the East as well as in the West (cf. Al Mina, Pithekoussai). Moreover, during the seventh century so-called bird-bowls and bird-jugs became especially popular at Al Mina, and also elsewhere; these vessels were very probably produced on Rhodes but also on Samos, Chios and other places.

This may give us some indication of the way in which the new idea in pottery may have travelled around the Aegean. But even if a plausible relation in time and also a possible means of transmission can be adduced there still remains the question why all potter-painters of this particular time not only accepted, but also whole-heartedly applied the same ideas in their work, with many variations. In this connection one may draw attention to a small jar from Iran, now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. This simple open vessel, c. 25 cm high, comes from Tepegiyan near Nehanced and is dated as early as c. 2000-1500 B.C. On a light beige-rose clay ground it features a brownish-coloured drawing of a small bird between panels of cross-hatched bands.

A small bird, sitting between austere triangles, meander hooks and zig-zag bands could - from a modern point of view - produce a somewhat "ethereal" impression, which could hardly be produced by any other animal; as for instance, a fish; or, put slightly differently,

such small delicate drawing of a bird seems to loosen up the rather compact structure of a continuous geometric design. At the same time, a bit of free-hand-drawing may have relaxed the painter from a rather concentrated, precise and tiring work on a geometric vessel (for example, the huge funeral amphorae). Technically as well as artistically, a bird seems an ideal choice. In any case, the impressive amount of pottery finds from different places, all featuring birds, may be the proof that this tiny invention or derivation from the geometric *koine* must have pleased the ancient artists and their buyers.

Knowing about the busy Euboeans, especially about their involvement in the opening of the early trading post at Al Mina, we might also find an answer to the possible inspiration of the unique drawing of a winged creature with frontal (human) face, found on a sherd on the ancient island of Pithekoussai.

It is most likely that this drawing represents a siren ⁷³ but a sphinx could also be the possible idea behind the drawing. ⁷⁴ This would not be surprising, since the Euboeans at Al Mina must have had contact with metal-work from North Syria. Indeed, according to Boardman, "objects may have moved very freely in the Near East, through trade or conquest, and from those that reached or influenced the Greeks it is not necessary to read direct relations between Greece and their

assumed place of origin. Already in the Geometric period of the eighth century we find strange echoes of Caucasian metal work..."⁷⁵ Our particular drawing of a winged creature with frontal face could indeed be the "strange echo" of objects from the East (North Syria, Urartu?), such as small attachments to bronze cauldrons in the form of griffin heads or sirens. Even if bronze cauldrons with sirens or other attachments had reached Greece only during the first half of the seventh century or somewhat earlier, as maintained by Boardman, Euboean activities at Al Mina are attested already by around 800 B.C.⁷⁶

These siren attachments on bronze cauldrons, which reached Greece during the seventh century, were copied and adapted to Greek standards and taste. This is nicely exemplified by a siren attachment from North Syria when compared with the Greek imitation (fig.7):⁷⁷ the round soft features from the East become sharp, clear and even stretched and angular in the Greek version, or as expressed by Boardman, they are "geometricized". Our early example of a representation of such a mythological creature on an eighth century sherd may indeed be only a strange echo of an Eastern object seen or heard about; it is in any case an attempt to introduce something different into pottery painting. Not only does this small sherd provide the probably earliest extant example of the representation of a siren on pottery, but it also gives us another example of the selective process involved when the Greeks adopt

foreign ideas.

Since the archaeological finds on Pithekoussai include, in addition to the rather spectacular local figured vases, also imports from Corinth, Rhodes and Euboea, amphorae from Athens and even products from the people of central Italy, we have here indeed a clear indication that Pithekoussai was a vital part of a thriving commercial network or, as expressed by Buchner, "...it has long been clear that the importance of Pithekoussai in the eighth century depended on its status as the Western headquarters of a far-flung network of Euboean trade. Pithekoussai was a commercial centre: the Mazzola workshops (i.e., on the ridge of Mezzavia) demonstrate that it was an industrial center as well."⁷⁸

These enterprising Euboeans, people with experience of a similar trade settlement to that at Al Mina and not afraid of a long and difficult sea voyage and (certainly at first) harsh living conditions courageously dared a new life in the far West in search of metal, and thus improvement of their trade activities. The archaeological finds on Ischia, especially from an eighth century context, all but settle the question of the motive behind the seemingly controversial Greek settlement of a rocky island.

Not only do these particular archaeological finds on Ischia settle a crucial question, they also offer another glimpse of the activities and inventiveness of those early craftsmen; it is this early inventiveness that formed the basis of the artistic activities during the following centuries. Furthermore, the finds on Pithekoussai provide material evidence for a certain familiarity with the new writing system, i.e., the Greeks, or more specifically, the simple craftsmen at around the second half of the eighth century knew how to apply a relatively recent invention for their own purposes. In addition, the sites on Pithekoussai offer solid proof that the Greeks at this early date knew how to work iron. A discussion of the beginning of iron working should, furthermore, add an objective dimension to the reconstruction of ancient systems. What is, however, more relevant to this particular study, it adds "a tangible reflection of human desires and ways of life."⁷⁹

With increased sea communications, with access to metallic ores, and with improved pottery output, the new settlement on Pithekoussai showed all signs of a progressive society. Although, this earliest settlement of the Greeks in the West conveys an impressive picture of the activities of the craftsmen, it does not provide any information on the upper class, neither of their presence nor of their activities; not even the name of an *oikist* is known. Still it is highly unlikely that the craftsmen had come on their own.

Considering that precisely this eighth century (but also the seventh) is characterized by dynamic intellectual movements (cf. the alphabet, the Epic works, the colonization movements and also the emergence of figured painted pottery), it should then not be surprising if the initial procedure of a new settlement, such as that on Pithekoussai differs from the traditional way of colonization. Recent excavations on the citadel of Koukounaries on the island of Paros, reveal another phenomenon of an ancient settlement: in this case it is not the foundation itself, but the abandonment of it.

ii) The Koukounaries Hill on the island of Paros

The settlement of Koukounaries which prospered around the second half of the eighth century and which had been abandoned peacefully at the end of the century, presents an interesting problem in regard to the motive(s) behind such rather enigmatic desertion of an apparently healthy and wealthy community.

Koukounaries is situated near the SW coast of the bay of Naussa, i.e. the NE part of the island of Paros. The bay is not only a sheltered inlet, but it has numerous well-protected anchorages along the coast. Koukounaries is a rugged hill less than a hundred meter from the coast. Extensive excavations have been carried out on the summit. They brought to light four chronological phases and thick occupation levels. The earliest phase seems to belong to a large Mycenaean building, allegedly a palace. The second period appears to have been a short one, after which the site was abandoned and remained deserted until the early tenth century.

The third level belongs to the PG occupation of this site. Among remains of the walls, apparently belonging to houses, also a curved wall remains, "forming part of an early apsidal structure, and perhaps a temple".⁸⁰ The pottery discovered in this level is very interesting

since it includes, besides vases imported from Athens, also vessels made in Paros; the date has been put to approximately 900 B.C.

The fourth major phase concerns a settlement of the Geometric period. It seems that this settlement flourished (and assumed its final plan) during LG times; and it also appears that the inhabitants built their houses on the remains of the PG and the EG periods, since "some of the old Mycenaean walls, still standing to a considerable height, were incorporated in the new structure".⁸¹ Whether the inhabitants could actually use the old fortification system is not "totally clear", however, it is believed "that at this time most of the walls lay in semi-ruined condition and the strong wall at the south edge of the plateau was reduced to more than half of its original height; the surviving portion might have still been used by the settlers with further reinforcement."⁸²

What else might have been there that could be used by the settlers, is a question which readily comes to mind. The obscure circumstances of the collapse of the Bronze Age and the Mycenaean Greeks in the twelfth century B.C. left mainland Greece and the island culturally in extreme poverty. But since signs of recovery are perceptible in different places, one feels somehow entitled to ask: how many material remains were still around (in "semi ruined condition" or

otherwise) to keep the memory alive? The Mycenaean wall at Koukounaries evidently survived, and so did the Lion Gate of Mycenae; and one spark here and another there could be all that was needed. Indeed, "...this may be a line where we shall one day be able to trace continuity of production through the dark ages".⁸³

The pottery found in this fourth level consists of fragments decorated in the "Parian" manner. Pottery decorated in this particular style has been discovered at the ancient acropolis of Paros and at the Delian sanctuary, situated on a hill of the N of the capital.

The largest and probably most significant structure of this particular settlement is a long rectangular building. It is oriented E-W and measures 13.70 m overall (the width cannot be ascertained because the south wall has not survived). Here fragments of a large amphora with relief representation of two struggling figures have been found. The fragments are dated to around 670/660 B.C., which means that the building was probably in use at that time. This long structure, or this hall as Schilardi has named it, stood in a distinctive position on the terrace and probably "served either as the house of the local leader, or more likely as a temple".⁸⁴ Since this hall has succeeded, i.e. built on top of the earlier large apsidal PG structure and occupied the same distinctive position, it is very likely that this building too could

have served a religious purpose.

Several structures occupied the northern part of the plateau. One in particular is a rectangular building with a massive foundation and the north wall slightly curved. It seems that this part formed a large complex of rooms. In one of the rooms to the N a portable coarseware brazier was found, "standing in situ". Near the NE corner lay a significant group of fragmentary vases: a kantharos with meander hooks and small marsh birds, (fig. 2a) framed in metopes,⁸⁵ hydriai, whose shoulders show standing semi-circles (a motive surviving from the PG tradition) and skyphoi which are also painted in the well-known "Parian" manner: featuring metopes filled with sigmas and dots.⁸⁶ This rectangular building was apparently the house of the "local chieftain". The pottery fragments of this particular house have been dated by Schilardi to around 720 B.C. This dates the settlement to the period before the poet of this island, i.e., prior to Archilochos from whom we have the first written evidence about early life on Paros. Thus the excavation at Koukounaries carries our knowledge of this island forward to a phase which is not documented by literary sources; it might therefore contribute to a line where we shall one day be able to trace continuity of production through the dark ages.

The archaeological finds and the discernible architectural

remains provide us with good evidence to the degree of culture and the standard of living of those people, whose community seemed to have prospered around the second half of the eighth century.

Despite the fact that this community lived on a supposed isolated and rugged hill, we find imported pottery from Athens, which may give us some indication of the way information may have travelled across the Aegean - even to supposedly isolated places. The imported pottery from Athens seems at a certain time to have been replaced by local pottery faithfully imitating Attic designs, such as metopes filled with long-legged water birds. Also great amounts of local pottery, coarse ware as well as fine ware, have been found, decorated in the so-called Parian style, i.e., masses of sigmas, chevrons and dots as principal ornaments; the clay of these vessels seems to have come from local clay beds. This is of special interest, since it has been alleged that Paros has no clay beds and therefore no fabric of her own.⁸⁷ However, according to Schilardi, the largest amount of pottery from the Mycenaean, the Protogeometric and the Geometric periods was produced locally. Moreover, the poet Archilochos, in fact, refers in one of his poems to a "potter" with the name Aischylides (fr. 80 D): Unfortunately the rest of the lines which are preserved do not contain anything that would enable us to reconstruct the possible context in which a potter is named; we must trust the poet and believe that he actually meant a

potter. However, the impressive amount of locally made pottery, together with the words of the poet, should make the production of pottery on the island very plausible, if not indeed a certainty.

The remains of the walls of houses indicate that the occupants built their houses in tiers, i.e., they adapt their building style to the hill. Each of the houses had one or even two rooms and an entrance on one of the narrow sides. The facades were always turned away from the north wind. It has been conjectured that the rooms were flat-roofed and had wooden beams to support the roof. The roofs had schist slabs, covered with reed and were protected with a whitish layer of clay (water proof?). It is interesting to note that this way of protecting house-walls seems to be still in use today on Paros: in the week before Easter the Parians white-wash their houses.

The settlement was abandoned "peacefully" at the end of the eighth century. Interesting is that the so-called temple or hall remained in use for at least three decades after the site had been abandoned. This has been conjectured from the late date of the relief amphora sherd, found in this building. For the actual reason(s) behind such desertion of an apparently healthy and wealthy community, little help comes from the archaeological finds.

-- What can be deduced from the archaeological finds is that no external events, such as earthquakes or droughts, could possibly have caused the abandonment of this settlement, since there is simply no evidence. On the other hand, such enigmatic desertion finds parallels in several contemporary communities, as e.g., at Andros and Donoussa near Naxos, which is also near Paros. But Paros itself, the capital of this island, continued, as Schiardi maintains, its acceleration of prosperity without interruption from the eighth to the seventh century. Why, then, did a community leave a familiar place - and a beautiful place, even today? And where did the people actually go? Down to the capital, the city of Paros? The late date of the relief amphora sherds and the observation that the so-called temple (or hall) had been in use after the settlement was deserted, allows us to assume that either the building was in fact occupied during this time (only one house occupied? by whom? for which purpose?), or the people from the Koukounaries hill moved "down" to the city of Paros; and it seems not to be out of line to consider that the same people, returned occasionally, and, perhaps, visited their former "temple". Even the distance would not be a problem.

It is interesting to note that in approximately 720/700 B.C., the date given as the possible time of the abandonment of this settlement, the colonization of the island of Thasos must also have taken place.

This may, on the one hand, be only coincidental, but, on the other hand, the general character of this period of great changes throws a different light on all incidences. Tradition (Pausanias X 28, 3, s. S.118 and 250) mentions Tellis of Paros, very probably the grandfather of Archilochos, as one of the leading participants in the expedition to Thasos; but also Telesikles, the father of Archilochos, must have been, according to tradition, somehow involved in Paros' new colony. It might not explain the rather mysterious abandonment of a healthy community, but it might also not be totally out of the range as a possibility, if we consider that Tellis or Telesikles might have some men from the Koukounaries settlement on their ships to Thasos.

A few decades later, the poet himself seems to be concerned with the fate of the new colony, cf. fragments 18, 19, 54 and 55 D.⁸⁸ It also appears that he had spent some time on Thasos itself. According to Schilardi, the inhabitants of Koukounaries must have been farmers and shepherds. But, he adds, "there can be no doubt that the Parians were also involved in sea activities, fishing and seafaring".⁸⁹

We have a small fragment of a poem by Archilochos which seems to confirm a profession of fishermen among the Parians. The two preserved lines give the impression of some kind of "summons", but we do not know to whom, nor do we know to what:

J.

*Leave Paros and its figs
quit the life of a fisherman.*⁹⁰

This interesting little fragment might not only provide us with some indication that there were indeed men on Paros who made their living from the sea, but it might also furnish an example of a possible way in which inhabitants of a certain community could have been "enticed" to leave their old familiar surroundings, in order to look for something better, in this specific case, even better than the figs of Paros, which were famous in antiquity.

Several scholars, but especially Boardman, suggest that, together with the Euboeans, also "islander from the Cyclades" joined in the activities of opening a trading post, not only at Al Mina but also on Pithekoussai. In this connection it is interesting to note that a certain type of pottery from Pithekoussai has been traditionally attributed to the Cycladic islands;⁹¹ even pottery from Etruria (for example, from Bismenzio and Vulci) seems to owe something to Cycladic form and decoration. According to Boardman, there seems to be a "fine Cycladic vase of the mid-seventh century at Cumae".⁹² The excavators of Pithekoussai have discussed this situation and concluded that on the basis of a marked unity of conception and execution in the pottery output of Pithekoussai, despite obvious borrowing from the contemporary

painting of other Geometric schools, a small group of artists, perhaps in a single workshop, worked together and might have also founded their own workshop at Etruria. And, Buchner adds, that so long as nothing comparable was known from either Ischia or Cumae, it "was necessary to postulate the arrival of Greek influence in Etruria by some different - and never documented - route or method. This is no longer the case: we can now admit the much simpler possibility that workshops were founded in Etruria by potters from Pithekoussai".⁹³ The potters must of course be men from Euboea - at least in part. Allegedly, there were also men from the Cycladic islands (Naxos, Paros, Melos, Delos or from the Koukounaries Hill) involved at the opening of a trading post at Al Mina, as well as at Pithekoussai. The excavations at Koukounaries brought to light pottery finds from the Protogeometric period and, besides imported vessels from Athens, also vessels made on Paros which could be dated to approximately 900 B.C. Thus around the time of Al Mina and even more so at the time of Pithekoussai, the Parian potters must have been quite experienced in their craft, and, due to their sociable character and a lively traffic across the Aegean, we might not be too wrong in assuming that news at all levels must have travelled fast. Besides, the island of Paros is situated almost in the centre of the Aegean sea, a most convenient location for all seafaring Greeks from the east Mediterranean to the West, or vice versa.

Paros' location may also indicate that Koukounaries was less isolated than modern inference suggests; the pottery imported from Athens is one example, and the departure of an apparently wealthy community without discernible clues either of the possible destination or of the reasons of the abandonment, provides another example, which allows us to assume that information must have been exchanged, and reached even allegedly "remote" places. That the people of Koukounaries in fact left their familiar surroundings, may suggest a somewhat enterprising and curious nature and perhaps even a new outlook on life.

Schilardi has discussed the mysterious departure of this community and concludes that during this particular Archaic period of new social and political orientations "remote settlements were deserted to fulfill the needs of a restless, rapidly changing society".⁹⁴ This seems a most plausible idea. But this specific abandonment of a (wealthy and healthy) settlement provides us with more than a mere idea. Could Koukounaries provide us with the actual evidence that people of this era were indeed restless and curious, and in fact moved from one place to another?

Not only does the abandonment of the settlement at Koukounaries and the foundation and activities on rocky Pithekoussai fit perfectly into the picture of this time, these two sites also allow us to see the

face of Greece more clearly, namely while it was still dawn and the bright day grew. From the early movements of the Euboeans from East to West (and vice versa?) we also can perceive more clearly of the early involvement of the Cycladic element: such central location of an island could obviously not be without consequences. And while it was still dawn in terms of the cultural history of the Greek people, we are able to detect their general disposition, emerging and shaped by three characteristic phenomena: the alphabet, the Epic works and the Colonization Movements.

IV. SELECTED ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL FROM THE AEGEAN OF APPROXIMATELY THE MID-SEVENTH CENTURY B.C.

The values of art are the vital and formal values of the creative imagination itself, and these, ...are not necessarily co-extensive with human values and do not necessarily find their highest expression, as Goethe and Hegel thought, in the image of man. We may, however go so far as to say that the realization of this image in the art of sculpture was one of the decisive stages in the development of a specifically human consciousness.

Herbert Read

General Comments

The most significant and formative events in Greek cultural history have been discussed at some length in the previous chapters. Guided by these events, an attempt was made to elicit characteristic features of the early Greeks which should be considered as the underlying force in all their achievements, no matter how small or seemingly insignificant they may appear; or put slightly differently, the internal structure of a certain social group has been considered as the origin of all social processes of any importance.

Social processes of importance have been specified in the previous chapter, above all the invention of the alphabet, out of which

a clear inclination to poetry could be illustrated. Such early evidence of an inclination to poetry might also be indicative of an extraordinary sense of perceiving form and order (hexameter, geometric pottery decoration). The age-long devotion of the Greeks to myth, collected in the Epic works, as subject-matter for their visual arts, seems to have come as a natural sequence from this early inclination. The Colonization - while discovering how different they were from others - brought to fruition exactly the point which made the Greeks and their achievements so remarkable: their individualism.

Based on the above outline, we may ponder upon the question: if there were indeed a continuous line from their first humble beginnings to their highest achievements, should we not also reasonably expect a general expansion at all levels, including also their own individual personalities. In fact, a new trend towards the monumental in their art is now perceptible, which seems not only to fit into the general picture of expansion, but seems also to have emerged precisely at the 'perfect' time. How this trend is realized in their art will be the content of the following discussion. Since it is sculpture above all in which the Greeks excelled during the next centuries, the emphasis will be on this genre. However, in choosing such an early period as the mid-seventh century, we are on the one hand, in the privileged position of seeing more clearly the first, if seemingly insignificant, indications of the

so-called rise of the individual; but on the other hand, the relatively small amount of available material does impose a certain limit on our research, i.e. only a prescribed number of pieces can be discussed. At the same time, concentration on a limited amount of material should also strengthen our proposition.

The term "monumental" is mainly used in connection with the sculpture of the seventh century, and refers above all to size. However, the term is also used for harmoniously related proportions and controlled volume of a figure in sculpture, relief as well as in vase painting.

The emergence of monumentality in Greek art is a much discussed problem, one that has produced a variety of theories. Of the current theories the two most important can be summarized in short as follows: monumental sculpture appeared suddenly, probably influenced by contact with Egypt, around the middle of the seventh century, or it emerged as a slow development from small clay, bronze or ivory figurines and statuettes in Greece itself.

No agreement has been reached on the exact place of the first appearance of monumental sculpture, and a further complication is presented by the question of the material: do, for instance, huge



limestone statues or large-scale wooden figures in fact belong to Greek sculpture proper?

The fact that the massive Lion Gate of Mycenae was readily accessible - and what else might have been there that could have been used by the settlers, as for instance at Koukounaries - but seems not to have impressed or inspired the craftsmen, may speak for a sudden appearance of monumental sculpture.⁹⁵ Besides, Egyptian monumental sculpture had existed for centuries and the Greek craftsmen may have, if not seen, at least heard about large life-size statuary (long?) before the first creation of Greek monumental statuary: after all, this is the time of Al Mina. Early wooden statues, too, must have featured a size large enough to be carried out of the sanctuary and temporarily be fastened onto a base.⁹⁶ The statue of a (seated?) Athena (?) mentioned in the *Iliad* (VI, 297) must have been large enough to put a beautiful robe on her knees; we have, however, no information on the material whether a wooden statue or just a plain altar of stone(s).

A consideration of a slow development from small figurines and statuettes to the life-size statue ought to provide material which shows at least some intermediate steps, but there is no such material. Even if allowance is made for an unfortunate fate of the discovery or preservation of relevant figures, the small figures are so close in date

to the first life-size statue in marble, the Nikandre of Delos, that theoretically and practically no time-span is left during which a gradually enlarging of the human figure could have been worked out. The limestone statue of the so-called Auxerre goddess, for instance, which is not only contemporary with the first life-size statue in marble, but is stylistically the best preserved example of the Daedalic style, in which allegedly also the Nikandre is executed, measures only 0.65 m. Besides, small idols and small cult figures did in fact exist alongside the life-size statues until deep into the fifth century.

The skillfully carved small ivory figures from Samos and Athens (one kneeling youth and five girls) with a height of 14 and 24 cm and dated to the late eighth or the beginning of the seventh century, fall into the category of decorative or utilitarian objects: the ivory girls, for instance, served as handles. Most of the preserved small figures still show signs of some attachment. Furthermore, to this category of utility belong also the finely carved female figures holding a water basin, the so-called perirrhanteria. More than a dozen seem to be extant, from Samos, Isthmia, Olympia or Rhodes; all are made of marble, some feature the considerable height of almost one meter and all have been dated to the last third of the seventh century.

From an artistic point of view, the fundamental difference

between a skillfully treated practical object and a large free-standing (marble) sculpture is rather obvious. Besides a translation from the small figure into the life-size figure, or enlarging proportions and features, must have presented considerable technical problems. Homann-Wedeking summarized this problem in the following way: "Heute lässt sich sagen, dass vom Augenblick an, in dem Griechenland Plastik in lebensgrossem Format kannte, das Gesetz der Entwicklung von der Grossplastik bestimmt wurde. Es gibt Statuetten, die in ihrem Stilcharakter deutlich verraten, dass es zur ihrer Entstehungszeit monumentale Skulpturen noch nicht gab; und ebenso kennen wir Schöpfungen der Kleinplastik, die schon ihrer Haltung nach gleichzeitige oder ältere Grossplastische Vorbilder voraussetzen."⁹⁷

a) The First Life-Size Statue of a Woman in Marble

The oldest free-standing marble statue of a woman, the so-called Nikandre, found on Delos,⁹⁸ represents our best example regarding monumentality expressed in size as well as in harmoniously related proportions (fig. 8). Since this statue is essentially frontal, and according to most archaeologists "plank-like," controlled volume has of course not reached its potential. Nevertheless, this statue represents our first reference-point to assess advancement in later works.

This statue is not only the oldest - extant - life-size statue of a woman in marble, she is also contemporary with Archilochos: the mid-seventh century, which is also according to several authors, including Snodgrass, the high-tide of individual expression. That the emergence of a first life-size statue in marble, and the emergence of a first Lyric poet should coincide, is remarkable in itself; but that also the place, the central Aegean, should be the same, is exceptional. The convenient location of the two main Cycladic islands, Paros and Naxos, must have fostered an easy flow of information in all directions, especially since Paros seems to have contact with Miletus and according to Archilochos, also with Crete, whereas Naxos seemed to be oriented towards Athens and Corinth. This is, of course, not an explanation of why of all islands it was precisely Paros, on which the meteor in the sky of Greek literature appeared nor why a craftsman precisely on the island of Naxos had the idea to create a first life-size statue in marble. It might, however, suggest that such a crucial point of sea-traffic could, also be a great stimulus for a naturally curious and enterprising people.

The statue of Nikandre, now in the National Museum of Athens, was found in 1878 near the Artemision on the sacred island of Delos. The material is the coarse-grained marble of Naxos. The statue represents a clothed woman; her height is 1.75 m. From the inscription on her

garment we know that she was dedicated to Artemis by a Naxian women, called Nikandre. It is safe to assume that the sculptor, too, was a Naxian. Naxos and the Naxians are frequently mentioned in Archilochos' poetry, and Delos and Naxos are located very close to Paros. The date of this statue is approximately the middle of the seventh century, which makes her contemporary with our poet. She is also the first monumental work in marble, if only on the basis of fortunate circumstances which precisely preserved this statue; after the Nikandre, marble apparently replaced the popular limestone for all major works. Moreover, she very probably represents the first attempt of a life-size statue, and she is also the only whole statue of this size, which provides us with a reliable document from which we are able to work. The only other early whole life-size statue in marble is the *kouros* from Attica (?), now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York which is dated to c. 600 B.C. or later, i.e. (probably) more than a generation after the Nikandre.

Among contemporary archaeological remains of different material and some of considerable size, this female figure in marble indeed stands apart. Boardman in commenting on her size, maintains that one realizes, when comparing this statue with contemporaries, "what the increase in size can add in presence and monumentality".⁹⁹ A detailed analysis of the Nikandre, possibly due to her extremely weathered condition, does not exist.¹⁰⁰ A detailed description and analysis,

however, will enable us to gain a new understanding not only of this first important work in Greek marble sculpture, but also of the period in which it was created.

To begin with, all critics agree on one aspect: her plank-like, even primitive appearance. Her name appears in an inscription which runs vertically up and down in the boustrophedon manner on the left side of her skirt, just below her left hand. It reads: "Nikandre dedicated me to the far-shooter of arrows, the excellent daughter of Deinodikes of Naxos, sister of Deinomedes, wife of Phraxos n(ow)".¹⁰¹ Robertson considers this inscription to be written in verse. The reference to her father as well as to her brother, besides her husband, implies a very distinguished family. It has been suggested that she was probably a priestess.¹⁰² Herodotos (II 56) refers to three priestesses at Dodona, the youngest of which is also called Nikandre. Otherwise, Nikandre is not known in our ancient sources. All standard works agree on approximately the mid-seventh century as date for this sculpture, from c. 660 B.C. to almost 620 B.C.

We have here a work by an unknown artist (craftsman?, stone-mason?, carpenter?) from Naxos. It was probably ordered by a woman, executed in a new (?) material, and in a size which has no precedent in this part of the ancient Greek world. Although there are distinct

differences, the Daedalic style has been accepted as appropriate for this first life-size statue. Thus Robertson, for instance, maintains that the first marble sculpture from the Cyclades "is inseparable from the Daedalic tradition".¹⁰³ Unfortunately, there is no other extant statue of a woman of her size and material, or of her condition (one piece). We therefore do not possess any work with which the Nikandre can be immediately and directly compared.

Before examining the Nikandre in further detail it will be appropriate to consider briefly the Daedalic style. This style seems to have come to the Greek world from the East (Syria and the Neo-Hittite kingdom) via Crete, where it is also best represented. We have, for example, the seated female figures of Prinias and, very probably, the small statue of the Lady of Auxerre (fig. 9). Statues in this style are mostly small and generally belong to the minor arts, although the two contemporary or slightly earlier fragments of a colossal statue from Astritsi¹⁰⁴ and another from Samos¹⁰⁵ seem also to belong to the Daedalic style. Typical features of this style are to be seen especially in the hairstyle with its horizontal waves, the so-called "Etagenperücke" (stepped wig), mostly rendered in four separate, stylized curls or braids, and a strict frontality of the head and body. The small limestone statue of a woman, the so-called Lady of Auxerre, now in the Louvre (3098), seems to be the only free standing complete

statue of a woman extant in this style. She has a height of 65 cm and is preserved in excellent condition. Her date is very probably contemporary with the Nikandre. This statue is taken by scholars as an illustration of the pure Daedalic style. Thus, when comparing the Nikandre on stylistic grounds with other statues in the Daedalic style, we have to resort to this small limestone figure. Although her provenance is unknown, when noticed first, she was in the Museum of Auxerre; but the limestone seems to be Aegean.

Due to her well-preserved condition, this statue of the Lady of Auxerre also shows another characteristic feature of the Daedalic style, namely the wide square shoulder line. On the seated Prusias figures, this wide line is recognizable, although there it is less pronounced; the same can be said of the two nude women in the Gortyn relief.¹⁰⁶ These broad shoulders in the case of the Lady of Auxerre are covered with a short cape. Ridgway sees in this cape (epiblema) an important criterion, which, in her opinion, determines the Daedalic style.¹⁰⁷

(This Daedalic style seems to have flourished best in Crete.)

These capes generally reach half-way down the rather fleshy, muscular upper arms and close just above the high-positioned, well-developed and well-protruding breasts. The narrow waist is hemmed in by a wide belt. A thick mass of hair frames both sides of the cheeks. On

the Auxerre statue it covers the ears, but on the Prinias statues the ears are visible. A long straight garment (skirt?) falls down on the corners, but leaves a low arch for the bare feet. The Auxerre statue shows ten large toes. Her right hand, with very long fingers, is carried flat against her breast. The left arm hangs down at her side, the hand with outstretched fingers touches the garment. The peculiarly wide space between arm and waist is caused by the wide shoulder line and the extremely narrow waist.

When summing up the characteristics of the Daedalic style, a general picture of an over-all fleshy plumpness and an almost obtrusive directness emerges.

Returning to the Nikandre, it could be expected that the marble statue of Delos, cut from such a hard stone as marble, and by an artist not entirely familiar (?) with the material, should manifest the typical Daedalic features mentioned above and in fact even more pronounced. But just the contrary is the case.

The so-called Nikandre represents a female figure, standing upright with her feet close together. Both arms hang alongside her body. The hands lie against her hips, perhaps formerly clenched into fists; this, due to her condition, namely chipped and weathered, cannot

be clearly determined. Both hands have small pierced holes.

From her head, face, neck and hair, it is not possible to detect any distinct features. The general forms, however, are still preserved. A good photograph makes even a fine line of the arch of her right eyebrow visible and the outline of the right eye. A slight elevation in the centre of her face indicates the former position of her nose. A fine oval chin is relatively well preserved. Thick hair frames both sides of her cheeks, ending in four rows of what may be discerned as curls on each side of her shoulder. Her forehead and the top of her head are severely chipped and weathered, though, fortunately, in such a way that the overall impression of a relatively small oval head is still perceptible.

The statue must have toppled over, face down, and broken into at least two parts. This can be deduced from the fractured and chipped parts on the arms and waist. From the left arm the connecting part from elbow to the beginning of the hand is missing; the right arm has been broken but joined together in two places: just below the elbow and above the wrist. A larger piece of marble, partly from the right wrist and the right hand, originally lying against the hip, is chipped off. The fracture across the waist has several broad chipped areas, on the right

side and in the middle; the fractured line on the left side of the waist is relatively narrow. The broken pieces have been restored.

The long straight garment reaches down to her feet, forming a low arch in order to leave the feet visible. Both feet are carved close together; the toes are not discernible (or not intended?). The garment is held together by a belt. From a faintly visible line connecting the upper part of the left arm and the chest it is conceivable that also a short cloak or cape (epiblema) was worn over the long garment.

The breasts seem not to have been carved out separately, although a very slight swelling on the chest, best seen on the original, may indicate something of the sculptor's intention to this effect.

However, the typical eye-catching narrow waist with a wide belt tautly squeezed around, as seen on the Auxerre statue, is missing in this tall marble statue. Instead a belt of appropriate width fits snugly around an almost natural waistline. The connecting line from waist to hip, seen on Daedalic statues as an abrupt bulge under the tight belt, is replaced by a soft flowing line on the Nikandre. In fact, it seems to be precisely this line of the body, running down from the upper arm to the hip, that in large measure accounts for a different impression from the typical Daedalic statues.

Moreover, it is not the almost natural waistline alone, that conveys a different impression, it is above all the slightly elongated upper part of the body. Measured and compared with the corresponding proportions of the limestone statue, the difference amounts to approximately two percent; although a seemingly insignificant difference, it is this slightly longer upper part of the body which almost lends elegance to the figure. The rather sensitive cutting-line on both sides of the waist, in a slightly oblique direction, can best be observed on the statue itself in frontal view and against the light.

Both arms, cut in a rather stiff manner, and hanging alongside the body, touching the sides in a natural way - in contrast to the wide space between arm and waist on the Auxerre statue - do not interfere with the overall balanced proportions. Such a stiff position of the arms display a certain youthful timidity, whether intended or not, which goes well with the overall impression of a (young) woman.

Boardman thinks that the pierced holes in her fists suggest a former position similar to that of the perirrhanteria, holding the tail of a lion;¹⁰⁸ Ridgway, however, thinks that this is improbable since the inscription runs on the side of the garment just below her hand and, consequently, would then be hidden by the tail. She suggests that the

Nikandre once held a wreath¹⁰⁹ (in both hands?). The simple somewhat timid position of her arms does not, in my opinion, allow any interpretation other than the obvious, namely empty hands, (cf. the hand position of later *kouroi*).¹¹⁰

The absence of protruding breasts no doubt also contributes to the impression of a gentle young woman, as well as the non-Daedalic shoulder line. In the case of the Nikandre, her shoulder line is reduced to harmonious proportions in relation to the waistline. The hair, or what is left of it, is presented in typical Daedalic fashion. Due to her size, however, and the relative slender lines, the hairstyle seems of no great stylistic consequence in the overall appearance of her figure.

All standard works as noted above describe the Nikandre statue as "plank-like", calling to mind wooden statues (*xoana*) or ivory carvings; all standard works also assign this statue to the Daedalic style, chiefly on the basis of the hairstyle. In addition, Ridgway also takes the short cape over her shoulders (hardly visible in photographic illustrations, but discernible on the original) as a definite sign of the Daedalic style.¹¹¹ Boardman observes that this (plank-like) statue is nowhere more than 0.17m deep.¹¹² However, this statue has been broken in several places, caused by a fall, very probably forwards, face

down; the coarse quality of the marble and the damaged parts of the face, hair and breasts may be proof of this. The part below the belt in the straight garment seems relatively undamaged and smooth: "protruding" parts such as the nose, hair and breasts are, of course, more vulnerable to damage. A side view of this statue, preferably against the light, reveals a very slight swelling where the sculptor may have intended the breasts.

But all the details and small deviations, which set this early marble statue apart from her contemporaries, cannot be compared with the significance of her size. In terms of size alone, she is indeed monumental compared with the Auxerre Lady. If, in addition, the formula of related proportions and controlled volume is applied, she is as monumental as the small bronze *kouros* of Delphi (0.20 m high), dated to the mid-seventh century. Seen against the huge marble fragments of Samos (fig. 10), however, and the limestone torso of the Astritsi statue (fig. 11), the Nikandre seems to approach proportions comprehensible to the modern mind; or, put slightly differently, to approach a natural, timeless representation of the human figure. She could indeed be just 10 cm taller or just 10 cm shorter, and this in itself could already account for all the difference. As it is, this is an incredibly "perfect size" already at such an early date. It could, perhaps, indicate the ideal size of a young noble woman.

If one reflects, for instance, on the size of the Astritsi statue (the torso alone features a height of more than one meter) or on the marble fragments from Samos (parts of the shoulders and feet) which seem to belong to an even taller statue, dated shortly before or contemporary with the Nikandre, one definitely gains the impression that huge statuary by itself is instrumental in conveying a sense of religious mystery or awe for a higher being, clearly removed from the human sphere. The so-called "goddess" of Astritsi provides an excellent example as does the early "Apollo" statue of Delos: both offer no indication of their identity other than their size. In a different way, this seems also to refer to statues smaller than life-size as, for example, the Auxerre "goddess" or the seated "goddesses" of Prinias.

To date, hardly any authority has as much as suspected that the first life-size statue might represent a goddess, apart from Ridgway's suggestion, but she thinks that the inscription would have been written differently if this statue were indeed intended to represent Artemis. Or Homann-Wedeking, who alternately refers to her as Nikandre and Artemis. But generally, this statue seems to have been perceived and accepted as Nikandre, a woman from Naxos.

Besides the unquestionably greater achievement of a sculptural,

work in such hard material as marble (compared with limestone) the ~~Nik~~andre is not only the first (extant) life-size statue in marble in the Greek world, she is also the first representation of a human being in sculpture: not a goddess, not a hero and not a monster. In fact, she appears to be the first humble answer to previous, contemporary and later attempts in search of an adequate form of the human figure. And we may not be too wrong in assuming that, already at this early date, the realization of the image of the human figure in the art of sculpture may, in fact, foster the development of a specifically human consciousness. In this specific case a spirited and daring craftsman has met with his equal in the customer.

This particular craftsman together with his creation and his patron (or customer), may also suggest that it was not only an intellectual elite that acted as the motor, but that the whole of Greek society became caught up in the fundamental changes which were taking place. Considering, furthermore, the central location of the Cycladic islands, with Delos, the sacred island of Apollo, and its famous festivals of the Ionians in convenient distance, and a population with a highly sociable character, it should not be too difficult to imagine how fast any news must have spread across the sea, from the East Mediterranean to the Tyrrhenian Sea.

Archilochos himself seems to have travelled extensively, if we may draw such a conclusion from place names in his poetry, and so may his poetry. But protests against Archilochos' daring songs seem only to be attested twice: by the Parians themselves, when the poet first introduced his songs (or hymns?) to Dionysos, and by the Spartans. Later, however, the Parians "understood, honoured Dionysos and treasured the wisdom of their native poet."¹¹³

That a considerable amount of huge, i.e. over life-size, statuary emerged after the Nikandre, need not be regarded as contradictory. Although at first glance this particular craftsman and his work may give the impression of an isolated phenomenon, it accords with the general picture of the time: it emphasizes the existence of an apparently subconscious search for the ideal human form, and indicates now its direction, namely life-size format.

Seen against the background of contemporary efforts of the craftsmen, the creator of the Nikandre already demonstrates a fine sense of proportion.¹¹⁴

The absence of noticeable depth, or profile volume, and surface carving on the Nikandre, justifying the term "plank-like", suggests that it is the work of a stone-mason rather than that of a sculptor.

However, whether or not the work was executed by a stonemason or whether a grid was applied, cannot be decided, and must be the subject of speculation. Nor is it decisive in this particular context.

Fortunately, this early statue shows a number of distinct and easily observable deviations from the Daedalic style to which it is traditionally attributed. Guided by these deviations, namely the almost natural waistline, the slightly elongated upper part of the body, the position of the (very probably) empty hands, the harmonious correspondence between shoulder and waistline, the absence of the traditional emphasis on the female breasts and the general slender lines, allow one to conclude that the Nikandre was very probably created by a craftsman who was already consciously applying and judiciously incorporating small variations in order to achieve harmonious results in a completely new size and a new material (a budding sculptor?)

If there is one striking example which responds to our attempt to find in the artistic activities of this period the earliest conscious, individual act of a craftsman, no matter how faint this might be, it is in this early life-size statue in marble.

Here the craftsman applied only the faintest changes, in no way spectacular and not more than a rather precocious or small-scale innovation, but nevertheless an innovation. This is also applicable, as

noted above, to the introduction of tiny figure drawings in the geometric *koine*. It were indeed such first timid steps which proved to be of pioneering quality.

Moreover, these first artistic endeavors do not appear to have been secret experiments, "behind closed doors"; on the contrary, the craftsmen seem to be quite freely subjecting their surroundings to their individual point of view. Athenian pottery, e.g., with its new figure-drawing, has been exported to remote places, was accepted and eagerly imitated. And the Nikandre statue stood in the open near the Artemision on the sacred island of Delos (until 1878!), the famous meeting place of the Ionians.

While pointing out the innovating efforts of the early craftsman, such lengthy description and analysis is not only justified but transcends a purely aesthetic consideration of a statue. Here a comparison with the poetry of the same period becomes relevant, especially since B. Snell based his theory of the rise of the individual to a certain degree on Archilochos' early Lyric poetry. From this particular aspect we might find in the Nikandre the perfect counterpart to Archilochos' poetry. Greater confidence and the freedom of expressing individual ideas had been eventually anticipated also by the craftsmen; and we have indeed splendid examples from the fifth and

fourth century, even from the sixth century. However, the Nikandre represents the lonely, humble but first member of a long line of female marble statues; in fact, she is the missing link from the sixth to the seventh century. And not unlike Archilochos' poetry (cf. Sappho, Alkaios and Anakreon), also in this case, several decades had to pass before the new life-size format was to be fully utilized.

After the Nikandre, advancement in the execution of marble statues, especially statues of women, is illustrated above all in the treatment of the drapery (skirt or dress), i.e. that long unworked piece of marble of the Nikandre. The drapery of later examples is now skillfully worked, in fact transformed into a wealth of narrow and wide folds. One of the earliest examples is probably the so-called Berlin kore, now in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin (Inv. 1800), dated to c. 570-560 B.C., and the "Hera" from Samos (Cheramyas' Hera), now in the Louvre in Paris (Inv. 686), dated to c. 560 B.C. The Hera statue features an intriguing "plissee" not only on the skirt, but also across the *chiton*. The recently discovered marble statue of a woman, the so-called Phrasikleia, now in the National Museum in Athens and dated to c. 550 B.C., represents another example of how the craftsmen extended their interest in details of the garment and its folds, but not yet in the anatomy of the body. It might add some point of interest to mention that Aristion of Paros is attested as the sculptor of the so-called

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Phrasikleia, and that this statue has been praised as "to modern eyes the most beautiful of the *korai*."¹¹⁵

As stated above, a comparable statue of a woman of the size, the material, the condition and the date of the Nikandre is not preserved.

The considerable amount of over life-size, huge or even colossal fragments of marble statuary of approximately the seventh century which is, however, preserved and which, most remarkably, is accumulated precisely on the Cycladic islands, may support our proposition that this particular time (and area?) was marked by a search for the final form of the human body. And since the realization of this ambition, particularly in sculpture, has been considered to be one of the decisive stages in the development of a specifically human consciousness and, moreover, coincides with the new poetry of Archilochos, we may here have a situation which already suggests the rise of the individual, no matter how faint these first signs appear to be.

Among the Cycladic islands, it is on Apollo's sacred island of Delos that we find the greatest amount of monumental marble statuary, but Naxos and Samos and also Thera have sculptural works of approximately this early period. Nothing of this size or date, however, has been found on Paros. On Delos, we have fragments of at least

fifteen statues. All are *kouroi*, and by far the greatest amount are dedications of the Naxians.

From the battered marble pieces, torsos, heads and limbs it is difficult to point out differences or developments and, as Boardman maintains, let alone to date closely. It appears, however, that the type as such was early established: upright stance, usually left leg slightly advanced, arms at the side, hands fisted, but empty. The only "dress" is, especially in the case of the Delos statues, a belt.¹¹⁶ As discussed above it is precisely the *kouros*, who owes so much to Egyptian models; but it is also precisely this *kouros* who clearly demonstrates the difference from the original: while the Egyptian *kouros* puts the left foot forward and keeps all the weight on the right, in Greek works, for instance the New York *kouros*, the weight is evenly distributed as though in the act of walking. And according to Robertson, "it is this concern with life, this central feature of Greek art, which sets off its archaic phase from the oriental arts, to which it owes so much."¹¹⁷

In order to visualize a complete *kouros*, we have to resort to a marble statue from Attica (?), now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Inv. 32.11.1.), fig. 12. This statue is however several decades later than the Nikandre, i.e. dated to c. 600 B.C. or later. But, besides being complete, this statue has also life-size format, namely

1.84 m. Although the impulse for the type may have come from Naxos, it seems here integrated and re-interpreted in an Athenian way: for instance, the belt is missing, instead, this *kouros* wears a neckband, tied in front in a double knot.

The type of *kouros*, however, which usually is considered to be the prototype of the early huge marble statues on Delos and Naxos, is the small bronze statuette from Delphi (Inv. 2527), only 0.20 m high and dated to the mid-seventh century (fig. 13). In proportions, details of limbs and especially the belt on an otherwise nude figure, he exactly matches his badly fragmented marble comrades. Although this small work is said to resemble works from Crete in profile and the wig-like arranged hair, we cannot say where it was actually made.

b) Fragments of Colossal Marble Statuary

The material still to be discussed in this chapter will be arranged according to region and type of work i.e. sculpture, relief work and vase painting. Temple building will not be discussed although great advances occurred during the time from 800 B.C. to 600 B.C. However, this particular point, seems only indirectly relevant to our theme.

i) Delos

Torso Delos A 334, upper body from head to waist, preserved height 0.69 m, is dated to around 630 B.C. or later. This date is the closest we have, when compared with the Nikandre. Although the condition of this badly weathered marble piece left the *kouros* almost completely featureless, a mass of hair, an oval face and round, relatively wide shoulders and a belt are discernible (fig. 14).

Robertson considers this particular belt as a borrowing from the belted dress of the Nikandre; he also compares the technique of this *kouros* with the "primitive" technique of the Nikandre.¹¹⁸

A height of only 0.69 m for the torso alone could perhaps suggest a life-size format for the whole statue. Could the belt and the so-called primitive technique point to the same craftsman? Or did the craftsman of the Nikandre have (already) followers?

Besides this particular torso, which is a few decades younger (?) than the Nikandre, we have no statues of *kouroi* dating from our specifically selected period, the mid-seventh century.

Two gigantic fragments of marble statuary, a torso with traces of

a belt, and thighs, waist to knee, measuring 2 m and 1.20 m respectively, may serve as an impressive example of monumental expression in sculpture (fig. 15). The base alone has a height of 0.70 m and measures 5.10 m by 3.50 m. Both fragments are badly weathered, but according to Robertson, the fragment of the thigh seems to have a finely preserved surface and forms of "a great, if primitive power".¹¹⁹ Information on the exact original measurements of this statue varies in different publications from 7 to 10 m. The date is probably the very late seventh century.

The original location of this huge work was on the north wall of the so-called *oikos* of the Naxians, from where this gigantic Apollo (?) must have towered over the smaller sacred buildings, as well as over the smaller votive statues, for instance, our life-size statue Nikandre. The *oikos*, i.e. house, of the Naxians on Delos, has been dated to the end of the seventh century or later. It should be mentioned in this particular connection, since it conveys another example of monumental expression especially on the part of the Naxians. Excavations have shown that this *oikos* had been built on top of an older foundation which could be dated to around 800 B.C. The later building retained the same measurements except for the width: whereas the older building had a span of 5.20 m, the width of this new building measures 8.40 m.

Furthermore, an exceptional (boulder-like) *kouros* base (A 728) has been found, with a height of 0.58 m, and which is not later than around the end of the seventh century. This base features sculptured heads on each corner, such as a lion, ram, gorgon (fig. 16). The preserved structure of this huge base seems to resemble an original triangular form. This would be an interesting sculptural device and could have been dictated by the gigantic size of the *kouroi*. Ridgway notes that "the *kouroi* stand straight on plinths which fit into their bases at a slant, so that the total figure seems to the viewer about to stride. The Naxian sculptor Euthykartides may have aimed at somewhat the same effect when he set his *kouros* (with a slight twist) on such a triangular base in Delos".¹²⁰

But most remarkably, this base presents us with the earliest, obviously proud, signature of a sculptor: he is not only telling his name, he reports moreover that he is the dedicator too. The inscription reads as follows: "Euthykartides the Naxian made and dedicated me." An independent sculptor? An important man?

We have only one example which indeed resembles the bronze statuette, the *kouros* Delos A 333 (fig. 17). This fragment of the lower body, from the waist to the knee, measures 0.85 m and had an original height of probably 2.80 m. The belt is well preserved. Advanced

anatomical details in the knee (only one knee is preserved) thighs and genitals, and from the side, powerful buttocks are noticeable.

Robertson considers this example to be "the first truly impressive piece of Greek sculpture".¹²¹ The date of this fragment is approximately 600-590 B.C.

Since more than about five decades have passed since the Nikandre, such impressive advances could be expected. However, the very first impressive sculpture which features the two decisive novelties in Greek art, namely size and material, is the Nikandre.

ii) Naxos

Naxian *kouroi* are the earliest preserved, in fact most of the statuary found on Delos consists of Naxian *Kouroi*. They also considerably influenced the production elsewhere. The earliest *kouros* A, found on Thera, dated to around 650 B.C., is thought to be Naxian, but it is so fragmented that little can be said.

On the island itself we find several marble statues of *kouroi* of colossal size, dated to approximately the end of the seventh century or later. Several unfinished statues can still be seen today lying on the marble quarries. One gigantic piece is especially interesting (fig.

18). It measures in this unfinished condition almost 10 m and has been taken by scholars as probably representing Dionysos. Dionysos, however, seems to have been "honoured" among the Greeks only very recently, if at all. As noted in chapter II, Archilochos, from the neighboring island, seems to have offended his fellow Parians with his new song to this god; it is only later, that the Parians understood, honoured Dionysos, and treasured the wisdom of their native poet.

It cannot be denied that the "Cycladic element", especially that of the Naxians, played an important role during this time of monumental expression. An example from the sanctuary of Poseidon at Sounion may confirm this. This is a statue of the so-called Sounion *kouros*, now in the National Museum in Athens Inv. 2720, (fig. 19). This work is dated to the end of the seventh century or later. The statue has a height of 3.05 m. At Sounion, in a pit east of the temple of Poseidon, two more enormous *kouroi* have been found, many fragments and four bases. Moreover, fragments from at least five more statues, ranging from life-size to half life-size, were excavated in a second pit near the temple of Athena. Ridgway believes that "the Sounion statues, more than any other Attic *kouroi*, were set up under strong Naxian influence (perhaps even by emigre Naxian artists)".¹²² These statues, although seemingly Attic in character - there is no belt, but there is also no neckband - are made of Naxian marble, and the quality of the work is "closely

derived from Cycladic pioneers".¹²³

In the previous chapter we could indicate that news must have travelled fast across the Aegean. If this is correct for small innovation in vase painting, it should be even more so in the case of monumental sculpture.

iii) Samos

It is only on the island of Samos where we have works that are almost contemporary with the Nikandre. Two huge marble fragments have been found of part of a shoulder and hair, and feet. They seem to belong to a statue (or two?) of a woman double or more than life-size, dated to the first half of the seventh century, probably shortly before or even contemporary with the Nikandre. The material is also probably Naxian (fig. 10). The preserved piece (hair and shoulder) features a height of 0.42 m, it is now in the Museum of Samos (Inv. I. 95).

It would be highly speculative to draw any conclusions from these huge pieces of marble. What can be said, however, is that from the preserved pieces, especially from the carving technique of the hair, already a considerable depth in profile view is perceptible. They can therefore be considered as an "example of that massiveness of body which

characterizes all later *korai*".¹²⁴ Although the date is probably contemporary with the Nikandre and the material is also very probably identical, the same craftsman can certainly be ruled out. Could we possibly witness here the first representatives of two different schools of sculpture?

Furthermore, also a tenon below the plinth "for fastening onto the base" is visible. This tenon seems to be important, since it would be more appropriate for a wooden statue, "and should therefore represent a survival in stone of earlier practices."¹²⁵

Apparently, the simple stone base, on which a statue can stand, did not exist in Greece before the middle of the seventh century, and not before the creation of monumental sculpture. In a recent paper it has been postulated that the practice of putting a statue on a base, fasten it and sink it into the ground, is not comparable to merely lifting or raising the work to a higher level: the elevation of a statue on a stone base is considered to be an essential criterion of monumentality and seems to establish the axial linkage of the statue with the ground.¹²⁶ The Nikandre also has such a tenon, according to Ridgway, though illustrations usually show her a plinth level.

Though the few earliest extant marble statues represent women,

the emphasis during the following decades seems to be on the male statue, especially on huge and even colossal forms, in spite of the introduction of the life-size format. The question of the possible reason underlying the emergence of monumental and even colossal forms in Greek art is still the crucial point in current discussions. Conclusive arguments for one particular reason have not as yet been advanced.

The tendency to give greater prominence to the human figure in artistic expression, is, however, not only present in the sculptural works of this period; vase painting, for instance, provides us with striking examples of this new subject matter.

c) Vase Painting

The large amphora from Eleusis, now in the Eleusis Museum, (fig. 20), is 1.42 m. high and dated c. 650 B.C. It is a Protoattic grave vase, featuring two story-telling panels. The panel on the neck of the amphora, the neck features a height of 0.45 m, illustrates the blinding of Polyphemus. The three male figures almost fill the entire neck from top to bottom, in fact, the sitting Polyphemus measures almost half a meter. The faces are shown in line-drawing instead of silhouette. This is probably our earliest extant example in vase-painting where plain silhouette gave place to outline drawing, and where the figure have

already volume, especially in the chest.

The same story of the blinding of Polyphemus has been chosen to present on a vase of Argive shape. Only a sherd is preserved, with a height of 0.25 m, which is now in the Argos Museum. Although both vase-paintings have been dated to (around) the same time, the treatment here is rather different. The outline method is used, but within the black line the skin is brown, as in Egyptian wall-paintings. Boardman thinks that the washes on the human body recall island vases.

These two examples are extremely well suited to demonstrate how the craftsmen consistently achieve things which still command our unqualified admiration. With this seemingly small and insignificant adoption of the "line" during the seventh century, "vase-painting points to a growing appreciation of the significance of the face in the human image as a whole."¹²⁷ These examples point also to another tendency in their general art expression, namely to the narrative, i.e. the great interest in story-telling, that marks, according to Robertson, the central feature of Greek art.

Another aspect of vase-painting can be seen on an amphora, also dated to the mid-seventh century. Here, not a new invention is presented, but a great confidence and elegance in execution of the

drawing is demonstrated already at this early date. Our discussion of the finds on Koukounaries and the possible involvement of people from the Cycladic islands at Al Mina and Pithekoussai (and possibly Cumae?) may suggest a long tradition of craftsmen on these islands. The drawing on this amphōra could have indeed grown out of such a long tradition.

This particular amphora is painted in the so-called "Linear-Island" style. Linear-island style refers, generally, to the Cycladic islands. The amphora is dated to approximately 650 B.C. and has a height of 0.59 m; now in the Royal Palace Museum in Stockholm (fig. 21). Several sections of horizontal bands (wide and narrow) are painted around the body, and a traditional geometric pattern is applied to the neck in typical Linear-Island style. Two sections of several vertical lines from the neck to the belly on either side of the handle act as a kind of frame for an intended zone. This zone is filled with the drawing of a single animal; the drawing represents a grazing stag. The grazing stage, an eastern motif, is here used with a confident, elegantly sweeping line and a lovely curve of a long neck. The perfect control of the space and at the same time maintaining harmoniously related proportions of the animal body, indicates great experience. Erika Simon wonders about the painter "who dared to leave out all traditional filling ornaments and fill the space with the animal alone", and she asks, furthermore, "which of the Cycladic islands could be

connected with such a sensitive style".¹²⁸ Several authorities, including L.H. Jeffery, think that this sensitive style, favouring soft, horizontal curved lines, must originate from a Parian workshop. If one recalls the first timid animal drawing of the potter-painter on Pithekoussai and Koukounaries and draws a comparison with the elegance of this sweeping, confident brushstroke, one perceives a picture of steady progress. In a small fragment of Archilochos' poetry, this particular situation seems to be summed up in a nutshell, "...everything people have comes from painstaking work".¹²⁹ Soft, flowing lines and a sensitive surface treatment, especially of marble statuary, in fact, became the trademark of Parian works during the sixth century.

d) Relief Works

A similar trend as seen in vase-painting, namely to give more volume to the once (geometric) triangular chest of the human body, is also emerging in another art branch: in the relief representation of the great *pithoi*, the storage jars.

We have relief amphorae from the beginning of the seventh century from Tenos, Thera and Naxos. These already show efforts of the craftsmen to render the human figure more prominently by "filling the drawing with substance".¹³⁰

The sherds from Koukounaries dated to around 670-660 B.C. feature relief representation of two struggling human figures. A story? An episode from the *Iliad*?

A relief *pithos* from Mykonos, dated to around the mid-seventh century, now in the Mykonos Museum, shows the sack of Troy (fig. 22). The relief work on this *pithos* is done on the neck, which has a height of 0.45 m. The Trojan Horse can be seen with seven small windows, each window with the profile head of a warrior. Six more warriors are carved in low relief, with helmet and shield: a story clearly and convincingly told. These large storage jars have been considered to be the finest Cycladic products of this time.

We have furthermore, an early relief work, not on a clay vessel, but on fine Parian marble, dated to approximately the mid-seventh century. It is a stele, made in low relief, depicting a seated woman; she seems to carry some kind of scepter (?). This grave stele has a height of 1.19 m and is in Paros.

It has been considered that the tradition of relief sculpture in marble must have begun in the Cyclades more or less at the same time as sculpture in the round, and it is "perhaps from the islands that Athens

received the idea of the decorated slab as a grave marker".¹³¹ Paros apparently had the finest marble in antiquity. It was translucent, fine-grained and therefore in great demand. Aristion, the Parian sculptor, who worked about the mid-sixth century in Athens is also the creator of the famous Aristion stele, dated to c. 510 B.C., now in the National Museum in Athens (Inv. 29); Phrasikleia, the "most beautiful of the *korai*" is also a work of Aristion of Paros.

I am very much aware of the modest and restricted nature of the evidence on which this study is based; but, in my opinion, even this rather limited amount of examples of early Greek craftsmanship seems to convey an impressive picture of spirited artistic activities. If there is any merit in my observations, it may lie in the very attempt to trace in this otherwise ill-documented period of Greek art-history exactly those early points of departure of artistic efforts, which prove to be decisive for the further development. Moreover, these early humble works represent our most reliable documents; they offer the visual evidence of trends and ideas within the world of the craftsman, which he otherwise would have found difficult or even impossible to communicate.

CONCLUSION

In spite of the fact that the seventh century B.C. in Greece is hardly documented at all, it has been generally understood as a time of change and new trends.

Archilochos of Paros, the new Lyric poet who emerged during this century - his poetry is our only written document of this time - might be somewhat responsible for this situation, since the new poetry is so different in its subject matter and the poet so colourful. It has even been said that it is the greatest of good luck for us that Archilochos lived when he did and that he was the man that he was. Even if he appears somewhat extravagant (strikingly demonstrated in his newly discovered long poem), and uses coarse and even vulgar expressions in his songs, he represents the perfect example of the post-Homeric man. Having described in the previous pages the movements and the restlessness of the early, curious, enterprising and seafaring Greek people, who at the same time demonstrated amazing abilities of sensitive artistic expressions, there can be no doubt that Archilochos is their true representative. On the other hand, the wide range of experiences, previous to the seventh century, must have touched off a fresh way of thinking among all members of society, not only in the thinking of the poet.

The present study is therefore an attempt to trace possible early indications of such fresh way of thinking, which may constitute the base of a new confidence and individual consciousness, or in other words, may constitute the base of the rise of the individual, as termed by B. Snell in his influential study of "The Discovery of the Mind". Since Snell based his theory mainly on the new Lyric poetry, the present study pays special attention to the early craftsmen in order to inquire to what extent the so-called rise of the individual could have effected also their work. Similar efforts have been made by Snodgrass, Haynes, and Martini. Such early period imposes naturally a certain limit upon the quantity of extant examples, which might be desirable in proving a point.

Fortunately, there are enough relevant examples extant which allow us to illustrate precisely those early, and seemingly insignificant, novelties which proved to be decisive for further development. We have, for instance, preserved examples of the early stage of "loosen up" the austere geometric *koine* in vase painting by the introduction of figure drawing, as well as examples of the next step, namely filling the geometric human figures with substance, in vase painting and also in relief representations. This is followed by an example of the logical consequence: involving the human figure in

action; and during this stage the emergence of a "small" innovation, the line-drawing, especially for the face, can be observed on extant material. Most important, the two great novelties of the mid-seventh century, the life-size and the material (marble), are extant and ingeniously joined in one statue, the so-called Nikandre of Delos, allowing a detailed analysis.

In order to find a frame of reference which would enable us to interpret the efforts of those seventh century craftsmen as being indeed early indications of the rise of the individual, it seems necessary to investigate and to analyse the earliest movements, inclinations, preferences and general attitudes of the Greeks. These background information should then provide us with a relatively solid base from which we are in a position to point out conscious, individual acts in the works of the craftsmen. The mid-seventh century B.C. seems to represent the culmination of such early individual freedom of expression which, moreover, appears to be in accordance with Snell's results obtained from the early Lyric poetry.

NOTES

1. Cf. his epoch-making study, Die Entstehung des Geistes,⁵ (Göttingen, 1980), chap. IV, "Das Erwachen der Persönlichkeit in der frühgriechischen Lyrik". Quotations in this study are from the fourth edition, Göttingen 1975. There is also an English translation by T.G. Rosenmeyer, Discovery of the Mind, Dover New York 1982 (based on the second edition Hamburg 1948).
2. A. Snodgrass, Archaic Greece, London 1980, chap. 5.
3. *Ibid.*, 218; cf. also a similar discussion by Denys Haynes, Greek Art and the Idea of Freedom, London 1981 and W. Martini, "Das Siegelnde Individuum", JdI 98, 1983, 1-13.
4. A. Snodgrass, *op. cit.*, 158.
5. H. Bengtson, Griechische Geschichte ⁴, Munich 1976, 65.
6. B. Snell, *op. cit.*, 81.
7. F. Schachermeyr, Griechische Geschichte, ², Munich 1969, 114-115 ("ein Wunder der Geschichte").
8. "...wie eigentlich ein Kunstwerk der Antike gemacht wurde. Denn eine Bereicherung unseres Wissens von der TEXNH stösst vor in zentrale Aspekte künstlerischer Tätigkeit. Das wussten die Alten, das wissen die Künstler heute. ("...how in fact a work of art had been made in antiquity. Because enrichment of our knowledge of the TEXNH advances into central aspects of artistic activity. This the ancient knew and modern artists also know it today."), H.A. Cahn in H.A. Cahn and Erika Simon (eds.), Tainia. Festschrift für Roland Hampe, Mainz 1980, IX.
9. B. Snell, *op. cit.*, 81.

10. A. Snodgrass, *op.cit.*, 160.
11. F. Jacoby, "The Date of Archilochos", CQ, 35, 1941, 109.
12. Cf. M. Treu, Archilochos, Munich 1959, 47-48, 127.
13. Pindar. Py. II 52 ss.
14. Critias, fr. 44 (II p. 396 Diels Kranz) ap. Aelian var. hist. x 13.
15. Cf. Carl Werner Müller, "Die Archilochoslegende", RhM 128, Heft 2, 1985, 99-151.
16. Dio Chrys. or. 33, 11 s. (I p 300 v Arnim).
17. A. Ohnesorg, "Der dorische Prostylos des Archilocheion auf Paros", AA 1982, Heft 2, 271-290.
18. M.E. Mayo, Honour to Archilochos (The Parian Archilocheion). Diss., New Jersey 1973.
19. A. Snodgrass, *op. cit.*, 170.
20. *Ibid.*, 173.
21. J. Van Sickle, "Archilochus: A New Fragment of an Epode", Classical Journal 71, 1975, 1-15.
22. A. Snodgrass, *op.cit.*, 173.
23. *Ibid.*, 216.

24. Cf. Guy Davenport, "Archilochus, Sappho, Alkman", Berkely and Los Angeles, 1984, 22.
25. R. Merkelbach, "Ein Archilochos Papyrus", Epilog, ZPE 14, 1974, 113.
26. A. Snodgrass, *op.cit.*, 215.
27. L.H. Jeffery, Archaic Greece, London 1978, 26; cf. also J. Boardman, "An inscribed Sherd from Al Mina" Oxford Journal of Archaeology 1, 1982, 365-367.
28. A. Snodgrass, *op.cit.*, 81.
29. *Loc. cit.*
30. L.H. Jeffery, *op.cit.*, 26.
31. A. Snodgrass, *op.cit.*, 82.
32. H. Bengtson, *op.cit.*, 37.
33. A. Snodgrass, *op.cit.*, 82; cf. also *Ibid.* 79: "...a striking proportion of them are in verse."
34. *ibid.*, 82.
35. H.T. Wade-Gery, The Poet of the Iliad, Cambridge 1952, espec, 11-14; cf. also Snodgrass *op.cit.*, 82.
36. L.H. Jeffery, *op.cit.*, 26. Jefferys' work on the Local Scripts of Archaic Greece, London 1961, is still considered the basic

discussion of the origin and the distribution of the Greek alphabet.

37. A. Snodgrass, *op.cit.*, 83. It is interesting to note that the Linear B script on the clay tablets found at Knossos does not contain a single trace of poetry. Those tablets, of course, represent archives and inventories and are, *a priori*, not suitable for poetry. On the other hand, neither does a clay cup nor any clay vessel for water or oil seem especially suitable for inscribing verses.
38. J. Boardman, *Pre-Classical*, Penguin Books, 1978. 74. cf. also Jacques Ellul, *The Technological Society*, Vintage Books, New York, 1964, 27-29. transl. from the French.
39. R.M. Cook, "Origin of Greek Sculpture" *JHS* 87, 1967, 24-32; E.H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion*, rev.ed., London 1962, 114, 120; P. Kranz, "Frühe Griechische Sitzfiguren - Zum Problem der Typenbildung und des orientalischen Einflusses in der frühen griechischen Rundplastik", *AthMitt* 87, 1972, 1-55.
40. M.I. Finley, *Early Greece: The Bronze and Archaic Ages*, London 1970, 146.
41. J. Boardman, *op.cit.*, 74.
42. M.I. Finley, *op.cit.*, 146.
43. Cf. Paul Cartledge's review of Chester G. Starr, *The Economic and Social Growth of Early Greece 800-500 B.C.*, *Phoenix* 33, 1979, 354 ff.
44. A. Snodgrass, *op.cit.*, 82-83.
45. H.T. Wade-Gery, *op.cit.*, 12.

46. While some authorities appear to regard the colonization of the West coast of Asia Minor as the beginning of a movement which continued intermittently down to approximately the middle of the sixth century, others, like Bengtson, distinguish between two separate movements: the colonization of the west coast of Asia Minor and the Great Greek Colonization (the latter from c. the middle of the eighth to the sixth century).
47. J. Boardman, The Greeks Overseas, London 1980, 162.
48. *Ibid.*, 43.
49. L.H. Jeffery, *op.cit.*, 27.
50. Hesiod too, writing about the middle of the eighth century, was aware of an Iron Age, but in his view it came not as an advancement, rather as the culmination of a deteriorating process from an initial Golden Age, followed by Silver and a Bronze Age, before the Iron Age.
51. Cited in: Jane C. Waldbaum, "The first Archaeological Appearance of Iron and the Transition to the Iron Age", in Th.A. Wertime and J.D. Muhly (eds.), The Coming of the Age of Iron, New Haven and London 1980, 90-91.
52. Cited in A. Snodgrass, "Iron and Early Metallurgy in the Mediterranean", in Th.A. Wertime and J.D. Muhly (eds.), in The Coming of the Age of Iron, New Haven and London 1980, 369.
53. Cf. also Jaques Ellul, *op.cit.*, 27-29.
54. A. Snodgrass, "Iron and Early metallurgy in the Mediterranean", *op.cit.*, 335.
55. Cited in Dennis Haskell and Carl Clifford Lamberg-Karlovsky, "An Alternative Sequence for the Development of Metallurgy: Tepe Yahya, Iran," in Th.A. Wertime and J.D. Muhly (eds.), in The

Coming of the Age of Iron, New Haven and London 1980, 263.

56. A. Snodgrass, Archaic Greece, London 1980, 40.
57. J. Klein, "A Greek Metalworking Quarter. Eighth Century Excavations on Ischia", Expedition 14, 1972, 34.
58. *Loc.cit.*,
59. *Ibid.*, 35.
60. *Ibid.*, 39.
61. Cf. the bay at Naussa on the island of Paros.
62. *Ibid.*, 35.
63. *Loc. cit.*,
64. *Ibid.*, 36.
65. *Loc.cit.*
66. *Ibid.*, 37.
67. G. Buchner, "Recent Work at Pithekoussai (Ischia), 1965-71", AR, 1970-71, 66.
68. J. Klein, *op.cit.*, 37.
69. *Ibid.*, 38.

70. *Loc.cit.*
71. J. Boardman, The Greeks Overseas, London 1980, 55.
72. Roland Hampe and Erika Simon, The Birth of Greek Art, New York 1981, 147, pl. 227; cf. Erika Simon's discussion of this krater.
73. A siren is a mythological kind of sea nymph, part bird and part woman, who lured sailors to their death by seductive singing, cf. *Od.* XII.
74. A sphinx is also a mythological monster with the body of a lion and the human face, probably originating in Egypt; it had a later Greek function of averting evil.
75. J. Boardman, *op.cit.*, 64.
76. *Ibid.*, 65.
77. *Ibid.*, 64, cf. pl.41.
78. G. Buchner, *op.cit.*, 67.
79. Cited in Tamara S. Wheeler and Robert Maddin, "Metallurgy and Ancient Man", in Th.A. Wertime and J.D. Muhly (eds.), in The Coming of the Age of Iron, New Haven and London 1980, 125.
80. D.U. Schilardi, "The Decline of the Geometric Settlement of Koukounaries at Paros", in R. Hägg (ed.), The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth Century B.C.: Tradition and Innovation. Proceedings of the Second International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 1-5 June, 1983, Stockholm 1983, 175.
81. *Ibid.*, 177.

82. *Loc. cit.*
83. M. Robertson, A Shorter History of Greek Art, Cambridge 1981, 4.
84. D.U. Schilardi, *op.cit.*, 178.
85. Cf. the marsh or water bird on a sherd found on Ischia.
86. *Loc. cit.*
87. *Ibid.*, 179; cf. O. Rubensohn, AthMitt 42, 1917, 73 ff.
88. Cf. M. Treu, *op.cit.*, 28, 30, 64.
89. D.U. Schilardi, *op.cit.*, 180.
90. Cf. M. Treu, *op. cit.*, 62, fr. 53 D. My own translation from the Greek.
91. J. Klein, *op. cit.*, 38.
92. J. Boardman, The Greeks Overseas, London 1980, 168.
93. G. Buchner, *op. cit.*, 67.
94. D.U. Schilardi, *op. cit.*, 183.
95. R.M. Cook, *op. cit.*, 24.
96. E. Walter-Karydi, "Die Entstehung der Griechischen Statuen-

basis", AntK 1980, Heft 1, 3-12.

97. E. Homann-Wedeking, Das Archaische Griechenland, Baden-Baden 1975, 40.
98. Publications regarding excavations on Delos have been numerous. Cf. BCH, suppl. I, 1973, Études Déliennes, (on the 100th anniversary of French excavations on Delos). A good summary of publications is also listed in CAH8, 792.
99. J. Boardman, Greek Sculpture, New York 1978, 25.
100. The most recent can be seen in M. Robertson, A Shorter History of Greek Art, Cambridge 1981, 10.
101. B.S. Ridgway, The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture, New Jersey 1977, 86.
102. J. Boardman, Greek Sculpture, New York 1978, pl. 71.
103. M. Robertson, *op. cit.*, 9.
104. Cf. C. Davaras, Die Statue aus Astritsi, Ein Beitrag zur dädalischen Kunst auf Kreta und zu den Anfängen der griechischen Plastik, ANTK Beiheft 8, Bern 1972.
105. Cf. B.S. Ridgway, *op. cit.*, 87.
106. J. Boardman, Greek Sculpture, pl. 31.
107. B.S. Ridgway, *op. cit.*, 87.
108. J. Boardman, Greek Sculpture, pl. 71.

109. B.S. Ridgway, *op. cit.*, 87.
110. The pierced hole in hands on marble statuary seems to be an interesting device, often found in Egyptian stone sculpture. Text - without source - to a marble hand (Inv. 13.3449) in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston reads as follows: "In order to avoid drilling out the centre of the hand of a statue, the fist was often depicted as holding an object (walking stick, scepter etc.) and the small boss was left in the centre of the fist."; the date of this sculpture is the 5th Dynasty, c. 2494-2345 B.C.
111. B.S. Ridgway, *op. cit.*, 87.
112. J. Boardman, *op. cit.*, pl. 71.
113. Carl Werner Müller, *op. cit.*, 150.
114. This touches on the much debated question whether the Greek sculptor or craftsman had used a "grid" in the Egyptian way, i.e. 21 1/4 equal squares from the eye line to the soles of the feet, in order to calculate corresponding measurements of the human figure; today it is practically impossible to make any conclusive statement on this point generally, much less specifically in regard to this early statue. Cf. also E. Guralnik, "Kouroi, Canon and Men: A Computer Study of Proportions", in Computer Studies in the Humanities and Verbal Behaviour 4, 1973, 77-80.
115. J. Boardman, Greek Sculpture, 76 pl. 108a.
116. The question, "what are the kouroi?", is still debated among scholars. These statues have been considered to be gifts to Apollo; they even used to be called Apollos, but none is a cult statue, and none is with certainty a representation of a deity; but they are frequently found in sanctuaries of male deities, such as the Apollo sanctuaries on Delos and Delphi.

117. M. Robertson, *op. cit.*, 12.
118. *Ibid.*, 11.
119. *Loc. cit.*
120. B.S. Ridgway, *op. cit.*, 72.
121. M. Robertson, *op. cit.*, 12.
122. B.S. Ridgway, *op. cit.*, 53.
123. M. Robertson, *op. cit.*, 12.
124. B.S. Ridgway, *op. cit.*, 88.
125. *Loc. cit.*
126. E. Walter-Karydi, *op. cit.*, 3 ff. Cf. also Kenneth Clark, Civilisation, New York 1969, 89 "...how a burst of civilisation depends on confidence..".
127. Denys Haynes, Greek Art and the Idea of Freedom, New York 1981, 14f.
128. Roland Hampe and Erika Simon, *op. cit.*, 121.
129. Guy Davenport, *op. cit.*, 39.
130. N.M. Kontoleon, "Das heutige Bild der Archaischen Kunst der Kykladen", Atti del Settimo Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Classica, vol. 1, 1961, 267-272.

131. B.S. Ridgway, *op. cit.*, 164

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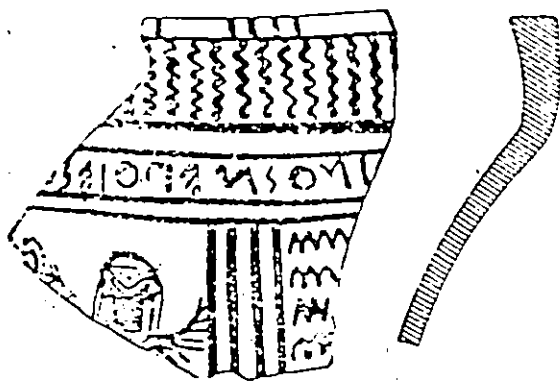


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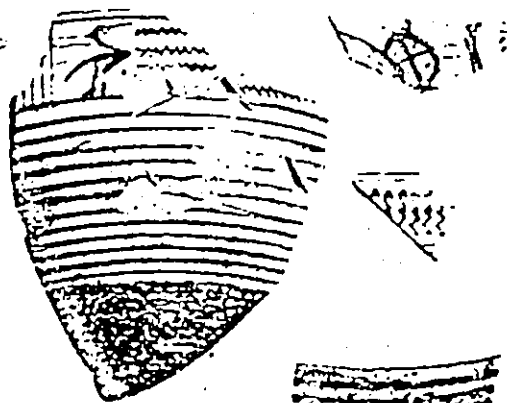


Fig. 2

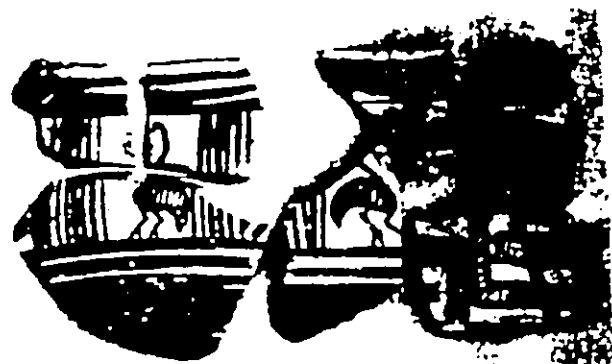


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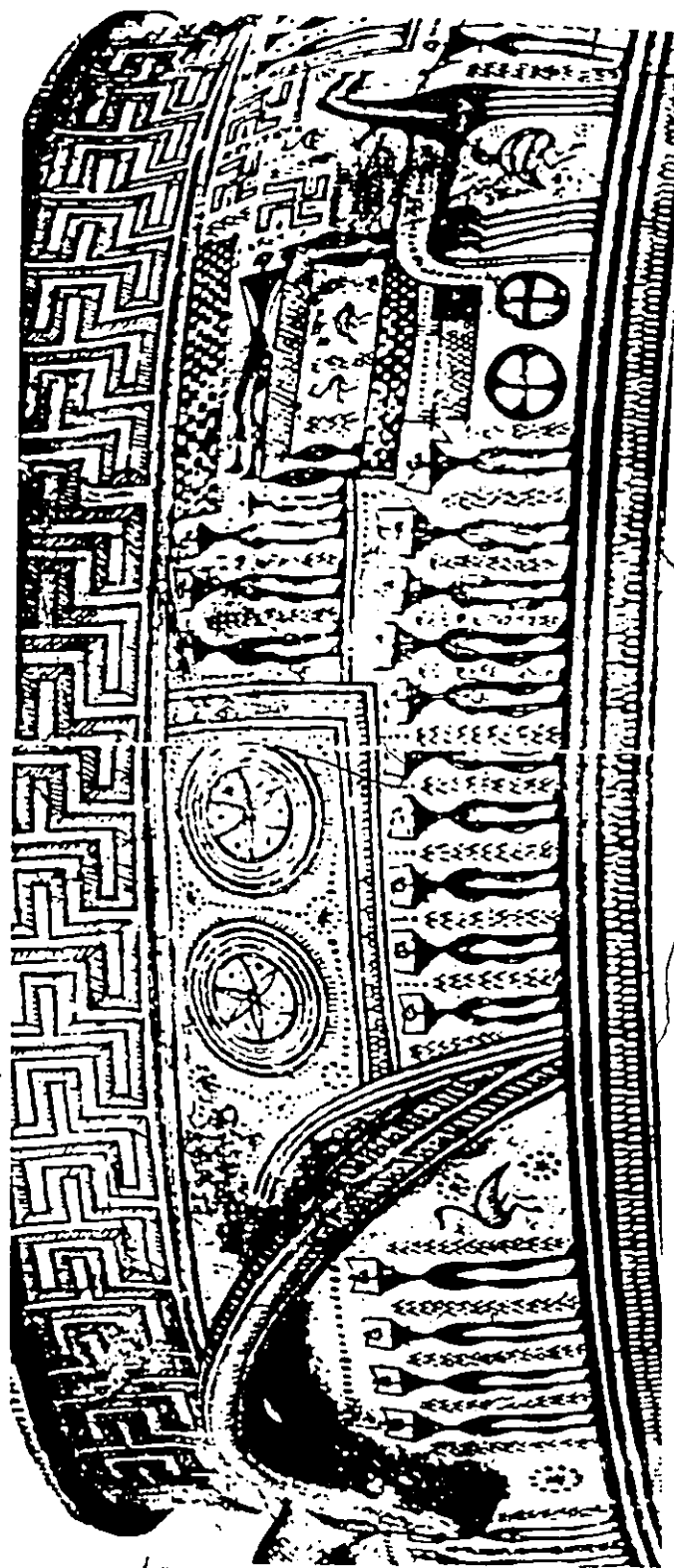


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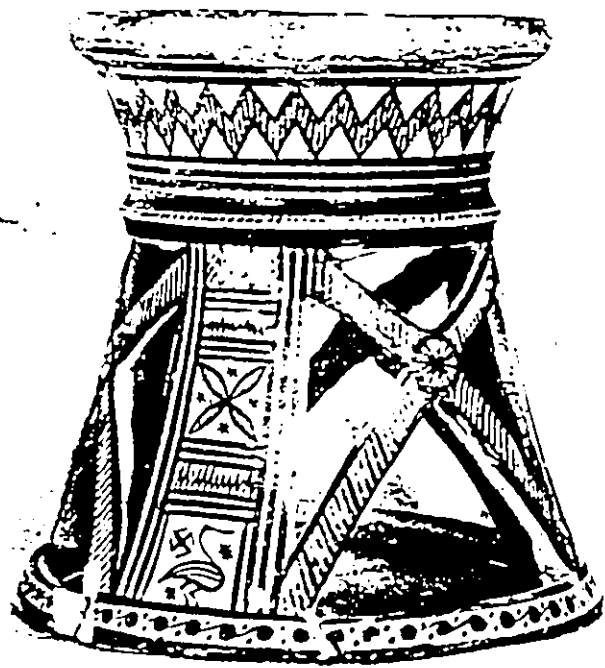


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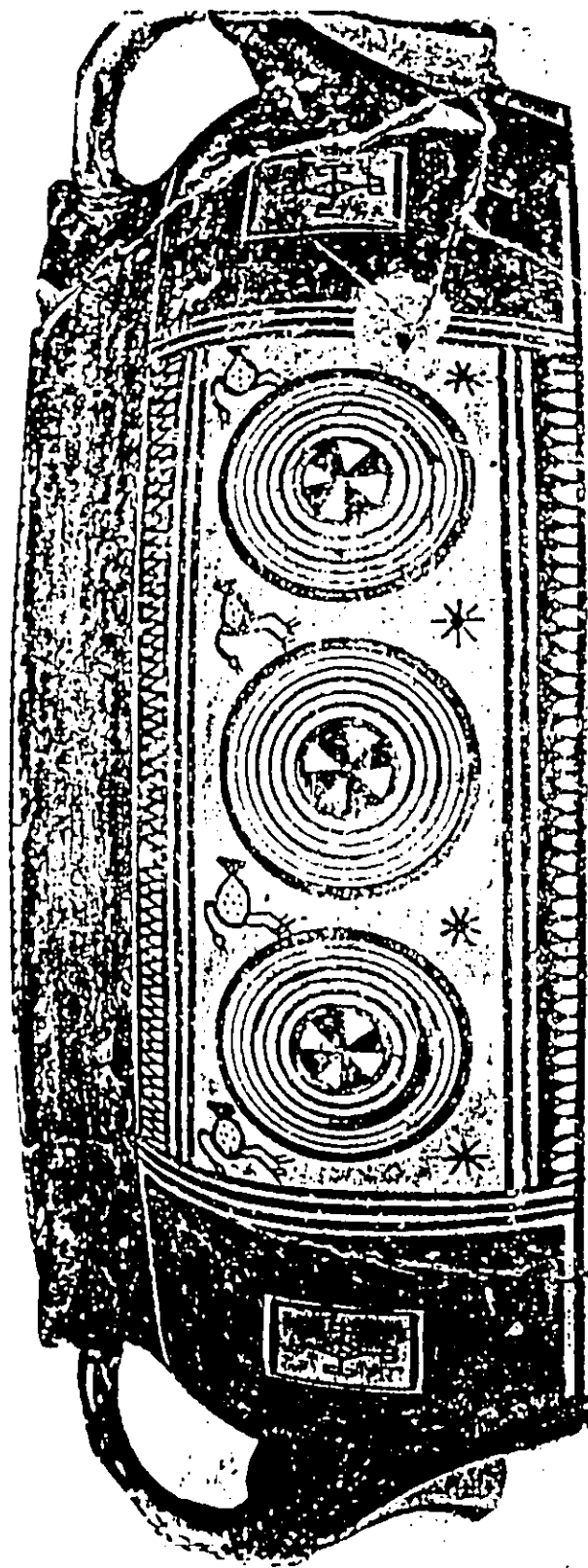


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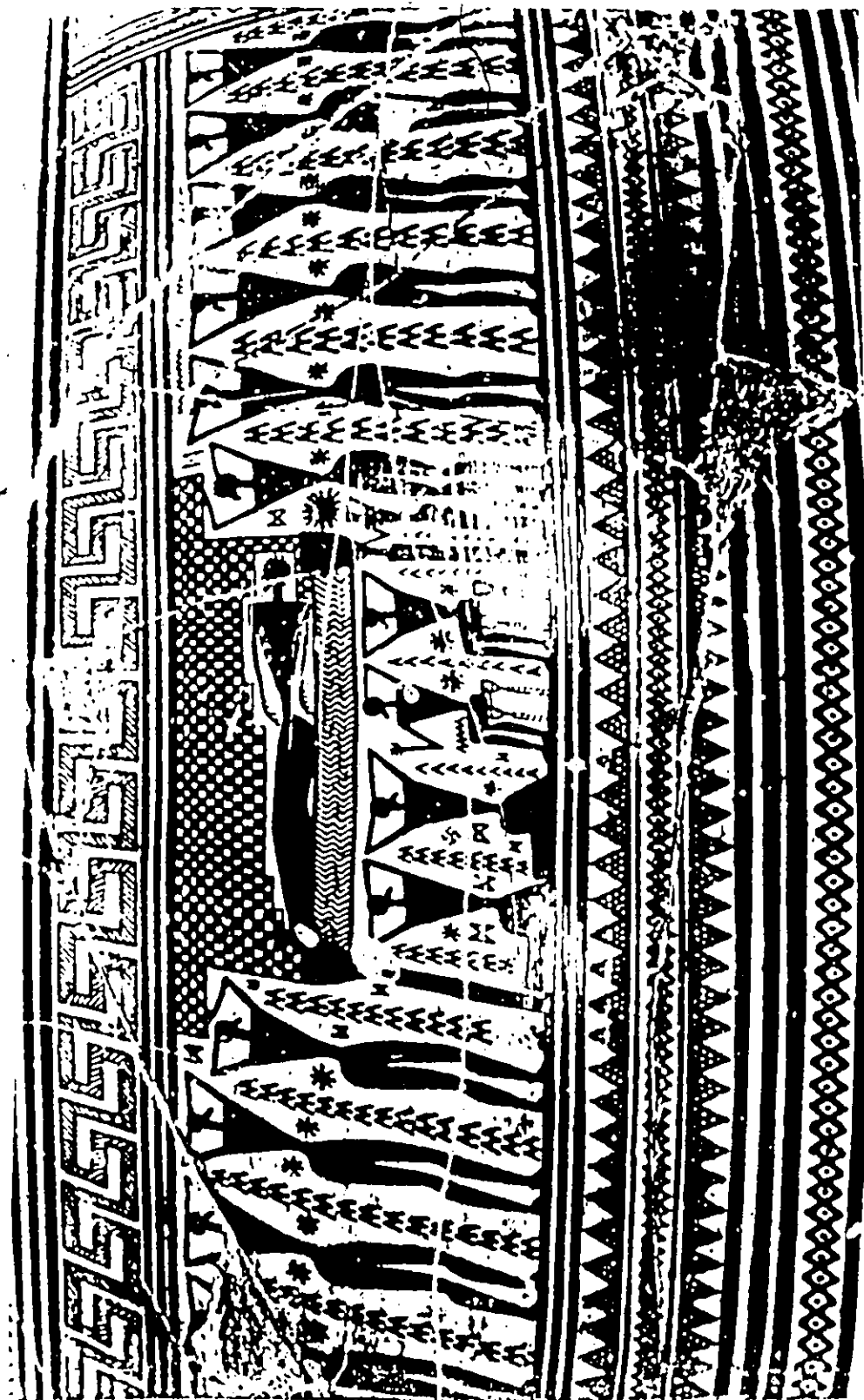


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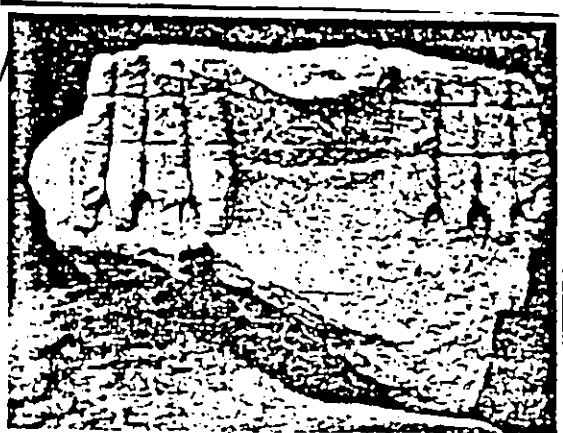


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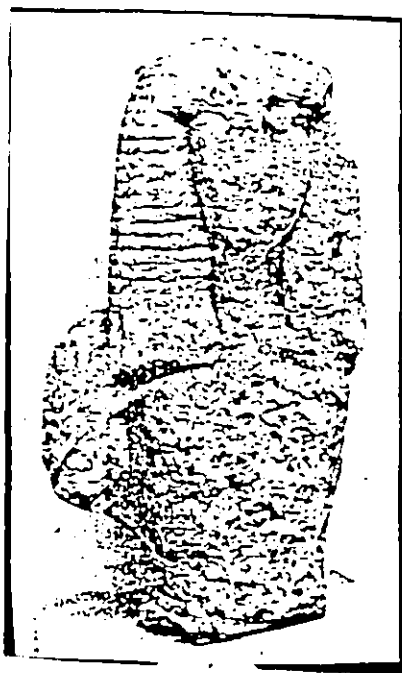


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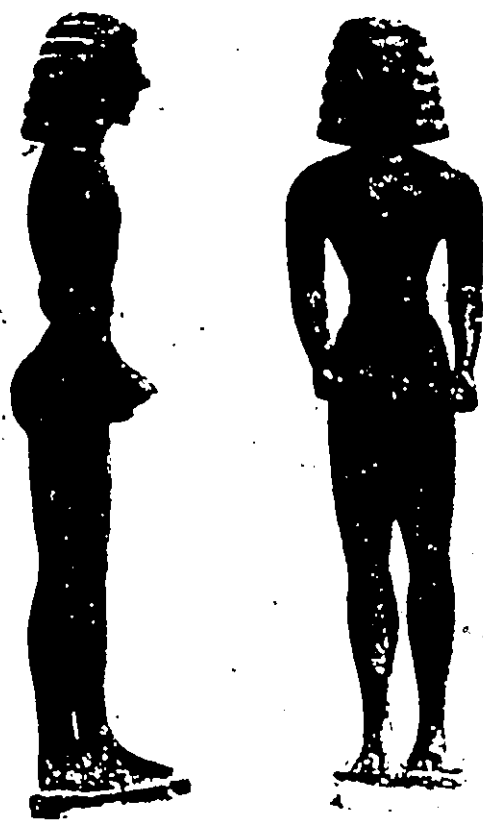


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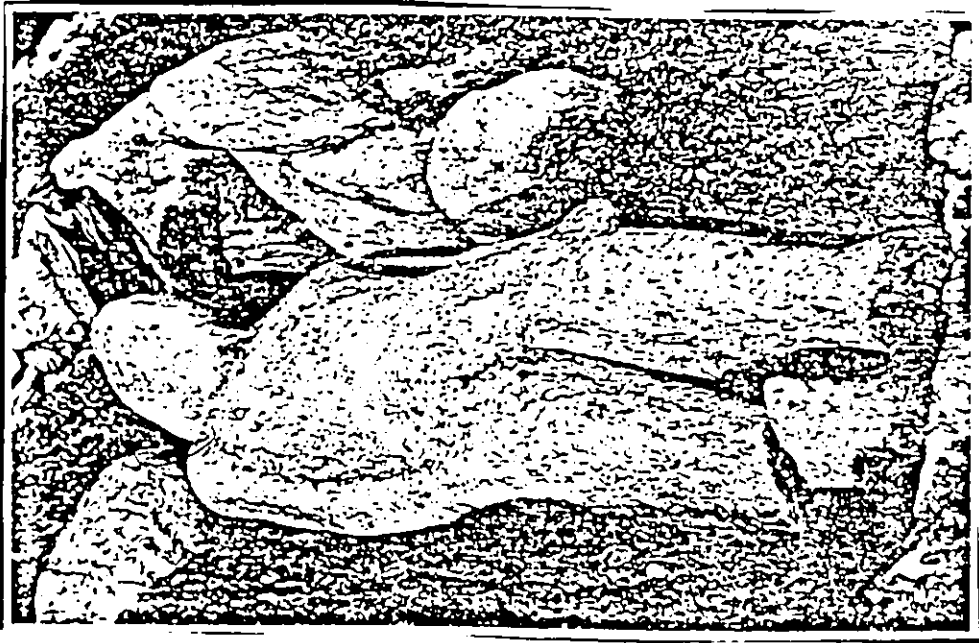


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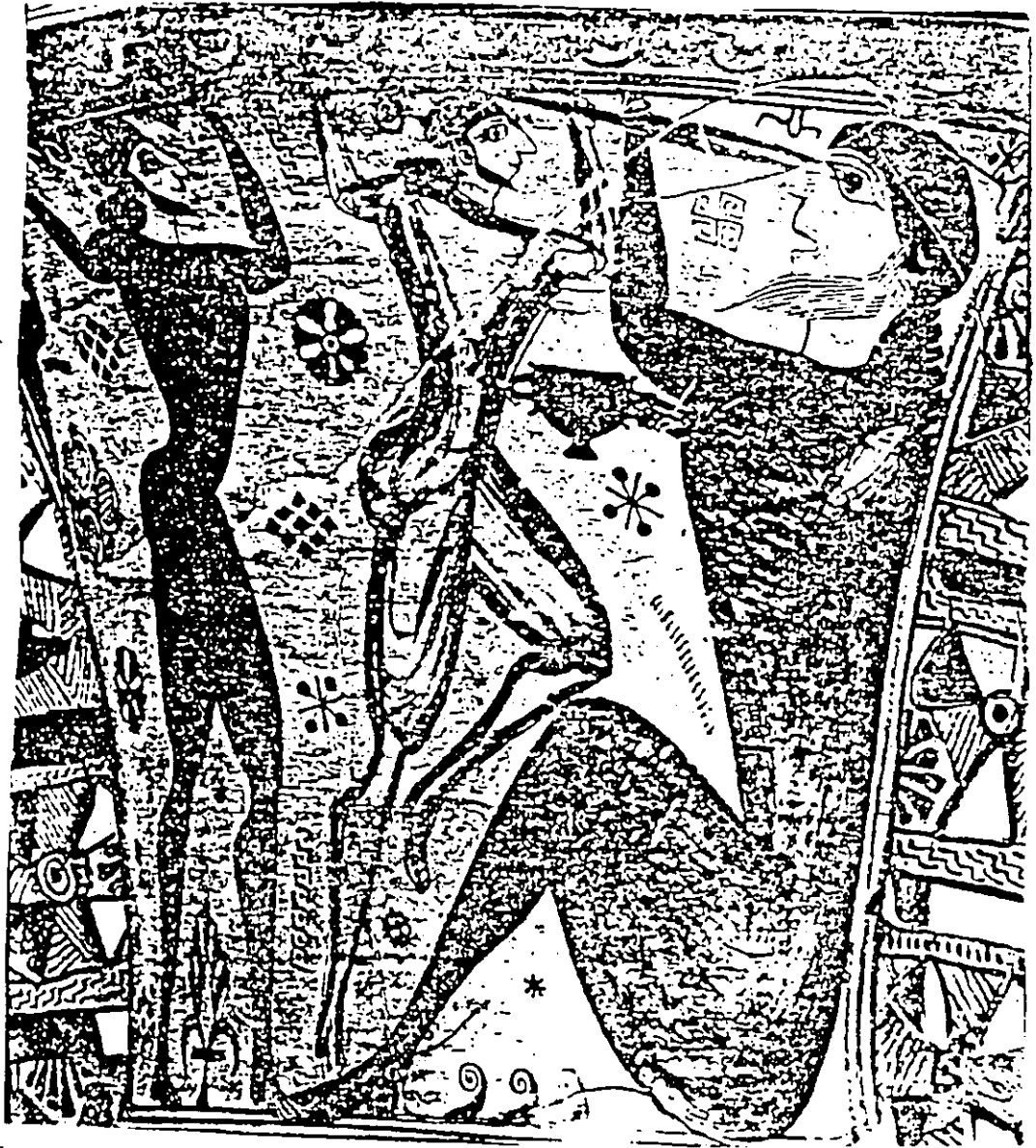


Fig. 20 .



Fig. 21

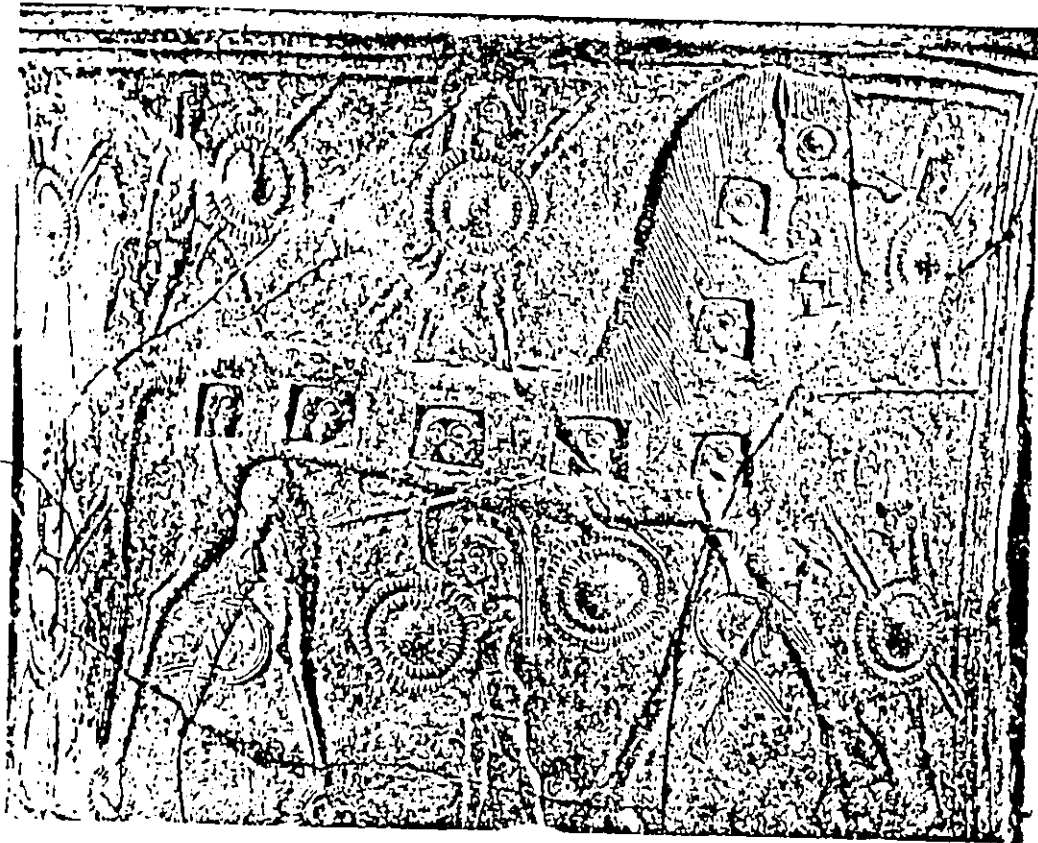


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