

Three Attic Sculpture Workshops of the Early Fourth Century B.C.

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SEVERAL WELL-DEFINED GROUPS, reflecting the trends in major art, have begun to emerge from the mass of Attic artisan sculpture.¹ Although much remains to be done, certain anonymous sculptors can already be identified with sufficient precision to allow us to trace the approximate lines of their development and to encourage the hope that it may eventually be possible to establish their inter-relationships within workshops. The following notes attempt to identify three such groups.²

¹ For a preliminary account see *SAA* (*infra* n.2), where many of the attributions are already presented, but without any commentary, discussion or chronology; here they are revised, and there are some additions.

² The present study could not have been undertaken without the help and encouragement in varying directions of many colleagues and friends. Our especial thanks are due to Mrs Athena Kaloyéropoulou, for photographs taken, for the better understanding of precise aspects and for a great number of penetrating observations and suggestions; and to D. von Bothmer, who not only allowed the use of his rich collection of photographs and made accessible an important unpublished paper of his own on Attic gravestones in America, but who was always ready to place his unmatched knowledge at our disposal. Special recognition is also due to E. Beaton, A. Frantz, W. M. Calder III, V. Kallipolitis and H. A. Thompson. Other acknowledgements will be found in the appropriate places.

ABBREVIATIONS: **Adam**: Sheila Adam, *The Technique of Greek Sculpture in the Archaic and Classical Periods* (London 1966); no. of fig., always illustrating a detail, is quoted. **Blümel**: first no.: C. Blümel, *Katalog der griechischen Skulpturen des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin 1928); second no.: *idem*, *Die klassischen griechischen Skulpturen der Staatlichen Museen* (Berlin 1964). **BrBr**: H. Brunn and F. Bruckmann, *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Skulptur* (Munich 1888–1947). **Collignon**: M. Collignon, *Les statues funéraires dans l'art grec* (Paris 1911). **Conze**: A. Conze, *Attische Grabreliefs* (Berlin 1893–1922); no. in brackets indicates a linear drawing. **Diepolder**: H. Diepolder, *Die attischen Grabstelen* (Berlin 1931). **Dohrn**: T. Dohrn, *Attische Plastik vom Tode des Phidias bis zum Wirken der grossen Meister des iv. Jh. v.Chr.* (Krefeld 1957). **EA**: P. Arndt et al., *Photographische Einzelaufnahmen antiker Skulpturen* (Munich 1893–1940). **Hausmann**: U. Hausmann, *Griechische Weihreliefs* (Berlin 1960). **Karouzou**: S. Karouzou, *National Archaeological Museum, Collection of Sculpture* (Athens 1968). **Kjellberg**: E. Kjellberg, *Studien zu den attischen Reliefs des v. Jh. v.Chr.* (Uppsala 1926). **Lullies-Hirmer**: R. Lullies and M. Hirmer, *Griechische Plastik von den Anfängen bis zum Ausgang des Hellenismus* (Munich 1956). **Richter**: G. M. A. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek Sculptures in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1954). *SAA*: J. Frel, *Les sculpteurs attiques anonymes 430–300* (Prague 1969). **Süsserott**: H. K. Süsserott, *Griechische Plastik*

PLATES

9 2,3; 10

THE DEXILEOS WORKSHOP

The grave monument of the young Athenian fallen in battle against Corinth, and hence dated 394/3 B.C., provides a good starting point (no.3, *infra*). The subject, as always in Greek art, is standardized. The originality of the Dexileos sculptor springs from his presentation. The clash of the triumphant rider and the hopelessly defeated hoplite is an extract from a battle scene involving many other figures. The official public gravestone of the same year (no.39, *infra*)³ provides the best comparison for the Dexileos stele, although the former is much less pretentious in execution and belongs to a completely different artistic trend. It is the work of a miniaturist *par excellence*, and the scene which it presents preserves a narrative quality. The Dexileos master, on the contrary, has stressed the dramatic nature of a duel in the midst of a larger battle and has reduced it to a theatrical pose. The exaggerated gestures of his figures overpower the action. He presents a tableau. The same is true of the details. The torsion of the body of the defeated hoplite, whose knee overlaps the frame, has a baroque quality, as does the circus-like dressage of the horse. The artificially blown *chlamys* emphasizes the triumph of the rider.

In spite of his grandiloquence, the sculptor is a master in every respect. He handles composition with virtuosity, using the complicated play of overlapping lines and volumes, accompanied by a harmonious contrast between the empty spaces of the slab and a kind of *horror vacui*. His equally perfect treatment of the human and equine bodies and of drapery in any attitude culminates in audacious foreshortenings. In contrast to his overemphasis in the general presentation, his sensitivity to plastic values is strictly disciplined. The delicately wrought nuances are scarcely perceptible within the bounds of the greater surfaces and are echoed by details drawn with fine precision: e.g. the contours of lips and eyelids. It is unnecessary to insist on the excellence of his technique. His treatment of drapery folds and the anatomical articulation of the bodies, such as the arch of the rib-cage and the *crista iliaca* and its prolongation, remind one to some extent of bronze-work, as does the fine incision in the horse's

des 4. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. (Frankfurt/M. 1938). **Svoronos**: J. N. Svoronos, *Das Athener Nationalmuseum I-III* (Athens 1908-1937). **Walter**: O. Walter, *Beschreibung der Reliefs in Kleinen Akropolismuseum in Athen* (Vienna 1923).

³ Athens 2744, Süsserott 2.2, Dohrn 11a; *infra* no.39.

mane, on his neck, and in the hair. This man used the drill with great virtuosity, leaving its traces patterned in deep grooves, especially to be seen in the folds of the garment around the rider's waist and in all the spaces where the legs of the horse and the arms of the defeated man cross. Even though the original surface of the monument has been ruined by long exposure in the Kerameikos, it is clear that the sculptor delighted in polishing the nude parts of his figures, creating a stronger contrast to the drapery, the hair and the horse than is usual in Attic art.

Another piece obviously from the same hand is a fragmentary grave stele (no.2) in the Metropolitan Museum: the Daughter of 9 1
-omenes. The veiled woman's head, which alone remains, presents the same facial proportions as the victorious Dexileos. The identical 9 2,3
treatment of the surface (here better preserved, although discreetly cleaned), the same approach to the modelling, an analogous taste for clearly designed borders, all are evident. Both pieces exhibit the same clear-cut line above the upper eyelid and the same shape of lid. (Unfortunately the photographs do not show plainly the distinctive design of the caruncle of Dexileos' eye; on the original it is exactly like that of the woman.) Even a glance at the reproduction, however, makes it unnecessary to insist on the identity of the lips and similarity of chin. The woman's ear and that of the fallen warrior are treated alike; matching also is the technical procedure: discreet traces of the drill, and combined use of claw chisel and larger flat chisel for the background of the stelai.

The ruined state of a third monument, the stele of Phrasikleia in Athens (no.1), makes difficult a definite attribution to the same hand. The most tangible evidence for such an attribution is that Phrasikleia has the same rings of Venus which appear on the neck of the Daughter of -omenes. Similarities in general proportions, composition, treatment of the drapery, what remains of the surface and also the framework of the stele itself, suggest the possibility that this is a third work by the same sculptor, who was active in the first decade of the fourth century.

The chronological relation of the three pieces is hard to establish. It seems possible, if one takes into account the whole development of the workshop, that the Phrasikleia stele belongs to the earlier phase of the master, dating from the very first years of the fourth century. The Metropolitan Museum fragment could, perhaps, be placed

between the two other monuments, but closer in time to the Dexileos stele.

THE DEXILEOS SCULPTOR

1. Stele: Phrasikleia; Athens 831; Conze 289 (fig.), 67; Diepolder 19.
- 9 1 2. Fragment of a stele: Daughter of -omenes; New York, Metropolitan Museum 30.11.1; Richter 70.63; O. M. von Stackelberg, *Die Gräber der Hellenen* (Berlin 1837) 36; Conze 568.116, BrBr 582; MMS 3 (1930/31) 149ff figs. 1–8, 10–11.
3. Stele: Dexileos; Athens, Kerameikos; Conze 1158 (298), BrBr 938, 9 2,3; 10 *RömMitt* 47 (1932) 19.1, Dohrn 12, *AJA* 63 (1959) pl.52.5, Lullies-Hirmer 191; R. Carpenter, *Greek Sculpture* (Chicago 1960) 22 (head of Dexileos), Adam 37 ab.

The preceding characterization of the Dexileos sculptor stresses his mannered style. At the same time his art is not without a real emotional appeal, more impressive in a fragment than in the eponymous
9 1 panel: the longer one contemplates the serene melancholy of the Daughter of -omenes, the stronger is the impact of her charm. So might Kalypso have looked, after Odysseus left.

THE DEXILEOS HORSE

Dexileos' mount is one of a very special breed; his stable-mates appear on several other monuments, some clearly deriving from the same sculptural workshop and others produced under its influence. It is a horse clearly no longer of the Parthenon blood-stock. He is less 'humanized', and his proportions are new; he is longer-legged, more robust, at the same time more skittish and sensitive. The mane is flowing, the eye large; the lines about his face, wrinkles at the base of his neck, and arch of skin between flank and underbelly, the linear patterns of vein, sinew and tendon in the leg are showing. There are clear indications of the fringes of hair over his hooves and fetlocks. Characteristic of these horses are their mannered, wavy tails.

- 11 1 4. Base, found in the Academy; Athens 3708; AA 1931, 217–22 Abb. 1–3; *JHS* 51 (1931) 187.4, *AJA* 63 (1959) pl.52.6–7.

The front face and both sides of the base have the same subject in relief: a victorious horseman triumphing over a fallen warrior. Not only are all three horses of the Dexileos type, but the front of the base presents an exact replica of the whole Dexileos stele. A fairly close imitation of details is a common phenomenon in ancient art, but here

is an instance of real reproduction, both of general conception and of small details such as the disposition of the drapery, the flare of the horses' tails, etc. There are, to be sure, some differences. The horse of the base is presented in one plane, not turning his head. The fallen warrior is clothed, and the disposition of his arms is different. In addition, both figures are here still more compressed within the whole composition. Nevertheless, the affinity is so close that we may consider it a true copy, realized, without doubt, in the same workshop as the Dexileos stele. The two sides of the base are of the same inspiration. It may be that in the lost work of the Dexileos sculptor would be found exact prototypes of these as well. One detail is worth noting. The reverse of the base was picked at the very end of the work. This is proved by the fact that at the left side the horse's tail extends beyond the panel and even beyond the definitive frame. We shall consider this piece again: it is by the Phainarete sculptor, whom it therefore brings into the same workshop.

5. Panel, probably a facing for the base: Aphrodite and her quadriga, just emerged from the sea; formerly in Castello Giussù, Vico Equense, sold to a dealer some twenty years ago; P. Mingazzini and F. Pfister, *Surrentum* (Florence 1946) pl.36.127.⁴ 11 2

The surface, especially of the goddess' breast, has been reworked, probably in Roman times when the piece was imported to Italy from Greece. Judging from a photograph, it seems that incision, and perhaps also the modelling, was done over upon the same occasion. The type of horse is exactly that of Dexileos. The relief, rather low, is of the same character, and the photograph suggests that the piece may belong to the same sculptor.

6. Fragment of relief: *biga* and the hand of a charioteer; Florence, Uffizi; G. A. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi, Le sculture I* (Rome 1958) 12; EA 372.

Here, again, are the Dexileos horses, this time in higher relief; they closely resemble those of the preceding work, with perhaps better modelling.

Three other reliefs, imported to Italy in antiquity by Roman collectors, are indisputably of Attic origin, and their horses are of the Dexileos stable.

⁴ We thank Professor A. de Franciscis, who kindly provided information concerning this relief (present whereabouts unknown), and Dr H. Sichtermann, who provided the photograph.

7. Votive relief: the hero horsemen; Vatican, Sala degli Originali (Chiaramonti 186); W. Amelung, *Die Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums I* (Berlin 1903) pl.46.

8. Relief: a horseman; said by some to be from Pompeii and by others, from Sicily; Vatican Library; BrBr 729 right (the surface has been reworked, probably in antiquity); Pentelic marble.

15 2 9. Fragment of a base: one horseman; Rome, San Lorenzo fuori le Mura; photograph, German Archaeological Institute in Rome R 150/2 714.⁵

The next and last monument is in a pitiful state, but the horses remain recognizable:

10. Votive relief: two Dioscuri; Bologna, Museo Civico; RA 18 (1921) 151, SAA 172 pl.15.

The inscription to the Dioscuri is posterior to the relief, if not completely modern. The whole surface has been reworked, probably in antiquity. Practically all details have been reincised. Still, not only the horses but also both Dioscuri correspond to the general schema of Dexileos.

It is noteworthy that in all these reliefs, both the horses and certain aspects of the drapery, types of faces, etc. connect them with Dexileos. In all likelihood most of these reliefs originate from the same workshop. No.4 must have been carved immediately after Dexileos. Nos. 5 and 6 are close to it in time; the others may be somewhat later.

SOME NON-DEXILEAN HORSES

Examples of horses by two other sculptors from the first half of the fourth century help to clarify further the breed which appears in the Dexileos stable:

THE SCULPTOR OF THE TWO BASES

11. Base; Acropolis 4072; Walter 404.

12. Base; Athens 1464; Svoronos 67; the reverse, with its interesting relief in a ruinous state, has never been reproduced.

THE GROUP OF 373/2 B.C.

13. Record relief, dated 373/2; Acropolis 1349; BCH 20 (1896) 550.1, JOAI 32 (1940) 7.3, SAA pl.16.

⁵ We owe the photograph to Dr H. Sichtermann.

14. Votive relief: victorious horse crowned by Nike; Acropolis 4688, Conze 17 (10.2) and Athens 2970, Svoronos 195; both together: Walter 244.

Yet another example of a different type of horse is seen in the works of the Dion sculptor (nos. 37, 39, 40 *infra*; *cf.* also nos. o-s n.14, and nos. b-c n.11).

We may now return to the Dexileos workshop.

THE PHAINARETE SCULPTOR

- | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| 15. Fragment of a stele: Sostrate; Athens 1015; Conze 514 (113). ⁶ | 12 1 |
| 16. Grave stele: Phainarete; Athens 724; Conze 104.49, Diepolder 17. | 13 |
| 17. Fragment of a stele: Abdešmun; Athens 986; Conze 1307 (271). | |
| 18. Base: Athens 3708; no.4 <i>supra</i> , <i>q.v.</i> | 11 1 |
| 19. Grave stele: Pausimache; Athens, second ephoria; unpublished. ⁷ | |

The list follows the chronological order. The attribution of nos. 15, 16, 17 and 19 is proposed on the basis of the facial identity of the protagonists, their proportions and disposition, and the masklike treatment of the faces, which are separated by a clear line from the coiffure; the backgrounds of the plaques are worked in similar techniques. Exactly the same face appears on the riders of no.18 (especially in the principal scene). This base provides the link with the Dexileos atelier, but the connection can also be traced in such technical details as frames and drapery and in the spirit of the work, although it is much less theatrical; this is perhaps only because the sculptor does not possess the same facility of expression. Nevertheless, he reveals a penchant for mannerism, manifest especially in his treatment of the hands, which are intended to be sophisticated, but which are mostly maladroit, and in the composition of the accidental garlands of clothing swathing the waists of the sitting women of nos. 16 and 19.

The quality varies. No.15, in somewhat high relief, is fairly good. No.16 (Phainarete), sometimes overestimated, is *gauche*: see, for example, the poor articulation of the hands of the seated figure, the affected treatment of drapery and wooden right forearm. Even in the fragmentary state it is evident that the content of the scene was fairly shallow; one may well wonder what precisely the situation depicted was meant to signify. No.19 (Pausimache) is the only stele of

⁶ This piece has been made accessible thanks to the generosity of Dr V. Kallipolitis.

⁷ The monument will be published by A. Kaloyéropoulou, who has kindly allowed a mention here.

this series to have been preserved complete, thus furnishing us with an example of a pretentious composition in which one feels something misunderstood behind the good modelling. The relation between the two figures, the seated lady and standing servant, is over-emphasized, rather exterior and not convincing. At the same time the sculptor's craftsmanship is, in Pausimache, perhaps at its best; it is a pity that the surface of both faces is so ruined. Here the figures are crowded together, much more than in Phainarete. Abdešmun (no.17), which originally bore a bilingual inscription, is too fragmentary for further comment, but it contained an interesting landscape-like element: a palm tree was indicated in the background, alluding probably to the Greek appellation of the deceased: [Phoini]x. The attribution is affirmed by the identity of marble, frame and tool-marks with those
 13 of Phainarete (no.16).

The chronological sequence of the list can be established thus:
 11 1 Phainarete (no.16) is closest to the base no.18 (4), which must be from
 the end of the 390's since it imitates closely the Dexileos stele. Sostrate
 12 1 (no.15) can be compared in the treatment of the drapery falling
 9 1 behind her face to Phrasikleia (no.1) and to the Daughter of -omenes
 (no.2), and should consequently be placed somewhere in the middle
 of the 390's. The most affected, Pausimache (no.19), is surely the latest
 of the preserved works in the 380's (?). The sculptor's efforts at drama-
 tization evoke again the style of the principal artist and of the epony-
 mous sculpture of the Dexileos workshop.

One more fragmentary stele, in several pieces, is closely related to the work of the Phainarete sculptor:

20. Three fragments: veiled head of sitting mistress in profile: nurse's arm holding babe (she overlaps the right pilaster): toes of a sandaled right foot emerging from columnar folds of drapery over it, the left leg bent; Paris, Musée Rodin 15; SAA 179 pl. 12, 13.

The mistress looks as if she could be a sister of the women of the Phainarete sculptor, but the treatment of the drapery on the last fragment is too deep for what we know of our sculptor.

THE THALION GROUP

Two grave stelai are manifestly in the manner of the Phainarete sculptor. The first is more simplified, the second, even rustic; the figures of both, however, exhibit the same mannered gesture of the

fingers. No.21 is surely contemporary with Phainarete (no.16); no.22 may be some years later. In spite of the differences, the attribution to one hand may be considered.

21. Stele: Phainippe; New York, Metropolitan Museum 53.11.7; *BMMA* 16 12 2 (Feb. 1958) 191 left, *Listy filologické* 87 (1965) (3) pl.iii, *SAA* pl.14.

22. Stele: Thalion (fragmentary); Salamis 1; *ArchEph* 1961, *Chron.* pl.αα.

A BOEOTIAN (?) IMITATOR OF THE PHAINARETE SCULPTOR

23. Stele: Glykylla; British Museum 2231; *JHS* 14 (1894) pl.11.1, Dohrn pl.18.

The composition, the style and the work are manifestly inspired by the Phainarete sculptor (*i.e.* by the eponymous monument), but the technical workmanship and the marble are different. The latter and the findspot (said to be from Thebes) may suggest a Boeotian origin.⁸

THE MEGISTO GROUP

24. Stele: Megisto and Eratoxenos; formerly Paris, art market, now Houston (Texas), private collection.⁹

25. Stele: nurse holding a babe, seated mistress with an open box; British Museum 2232; *JHS* 14 (1894) pl.11.2.

Both reliefs are most probably by the same hand; of course, further direct study of no.24 is indispensable to establish the attribution. The drapery and the arms imitate the Phainarete sculptor and, to some extent, so do the heads (*cf.* the nurse on no.25). On the other hand, the head of Megisto looks like a direct imitation of no.2 *supra*, the masterpiece by the Dexileos sculptor; Phrasikleia (no.1) is comparable too. 9 1

Another sculptor directly related to the Dexileos master represents a reduced and simplified version of his taste for the dramatic tableau. The hand which produced these pieces specialized in tomb monuments of warriors. A distinctive exterior mark of his men is a helmet in the shape of a *pilos*.

THE ARISTANDROS SCULPTOR

26. Lekythos: two warriors shaking hands; Athens 3734; *ArchEph* 1939-41, *Chron.* 9.12.

⁸ G. Lippold, *Gnomon* 10 (1934) 188, attributed Glykylla to the same hand as Phainarete (no.16 *supra*); the Boeotian origin was most recently maintained by C. Karouzos, in *Χαριστήριον εἰς Ἀ. Κ. Ὀρλάνδον* III (Athens 1966) 260 n.6; *MJb* 20 (1969) 30 n.6.

⁹ We owe the information about this piece to the kindness of A. Oliver jr.

27. Stele: Mika, Amphidemos; Athens 891; Conze 158.49.
 28. Stele: Aristandros; Athens 3730; *ArchEph* 1939/41, *Chron.* 14.20.
 15 1 29. Stele:¹⁰ Stratokles; 1969 Paris art market, sold at Hotel Drouot, 15 Dec. 1969 (formerly Château du Dréneuc, Loire-Inf., Coll. Vicomte du Dresnay); P. Perdrizet, *Antiquités grecques de la coll. du vte. du Dresnay* (1918) pl.4, *Cat. de vente*, Drouot 15/12/69, no.134 fig.
 14 1 30. Stele: two warriors; New York, Metropolitan Museum 40.11.23; Richter 82.66b, Dohrn 13.
 31. Stele: Lisas from Tegea; Athens; Conze 1148 (244), *BCH* 4 (1880) pl.7.
 14 2 32. Lekythos: youth and seated warrior; Leyden; Conze 627 (117), Kjellberg 35.

Nos. 30 and 32 have already been grouped (*SAA* nos. 130, 131), and D. von Bothmer saw that 29, 30 and 32 belong together. For the connection of these pieces with the Dexileos sculptor, two details may be emphasized: the treatment of the drapery over the belt, and, in the hand holding the shield, the thumb laid across the fingers. In Aristandros (no.28) the general appearance of the head is so markedly characterized that one is reminded of the contemporary activity of the famous portrait-maker, Demetrios of Alopeke. Stratokles (no.29) and the following stele (no.30) seem to correspond in date with Dexileos. Lisas (no.31) is an extract from stele no.30 with some modifications. The Leyden lekythos (no.32) may be somewhat later. The Athens example (no.26) appears to be from the early 390's, while Mika and Amphidemos (no.27) is slightly later. Both lekythoi (nos. 26 and 32) are of the same shape, and their figured subjects are placed in sunken panels (which do not, however, have distinct side margins). At the same time, as on the stelai, the feet of the figures penetrate into the lower borders of their panels. The relief is very flat, especially at the end of the series. Figure contours are defined by a wide, incised strip, sometimes irregular, more pronounced on the right sides of the contours; here, more than anywhere else, is demonstrated the fact that almost all Greek sculptors held the chisel in the right hand and the mallet in the left.

The quality of the work is not outstanding, and there is a progressive degeneration in the series. The figures resemble puppets. Their limbs are angular, schematic, without articulation. The transparency of the drapery is an empty schema; the attitudes do not correspond

¹⁰ We owe our knowledge of this stele to D. von Bothmer, who also made available a photograph.

to the realities of human anatomy. In spite of all this, the sculptor is able to produce an appealing effect; it may be that the very low level of his work renders him more human in the same dramatic situations in which his master, the Dexileos sculptor, remains under the spell of his own rhetorical skill. In the humbler reliefs lurks some genuine emotion: war is hard (nos. 29 and 30), human sympathy is stressed (nos. 26 and 27); and, with special emphasis at the end of the series (no.32), the bare realities of a battle are expressed simply and with candour.

The *pilos*-like shape of the helmets and the peculiar treatment of the drapery at the waists of the figures have been cited as specific features of the Aristandros sculptor. Another man whose reliefs contain the same elements, but whose work is completely different, has no connection whatsoever with the Dexileos workshop. He may, however, be from the same period.

THE SOSIAS SCULPTOR¹¹

33. Stele: Sosias, Kephisodoros; Berlin K 29; Blümel 25 and 38, Dohrn 8b (detail) 14a (*ibid.*, p.128, no.39, bibl.)

34. Lekythos: Chaireas, Eukoline, Onesimos; Munich 209; Conze 380 (92), *MJb* 4 (1909) 8.3, Dohrn pl.14b.

35. Lekythos; Athens 815; Conze 378 (93), Kjellberg 44–46.

It is perhaps not necessary to recall that this sculptor is working under the impact of that *chef-d'œuvre*, the Hegeso stele: the priest on his eponymous piece is taken from the pattern of Hegeso's servant. The level of the Sosias sculptor appears to be superior to that of the Aristandros. The difference, mainly technical, affects the treatment of

¹¹ Four more monuments were attributed to the Sosias sculptor in *SAA* nos. 19ff:

SAA 19, stele: Lisas from Tegea; *cf. supra* no.31.

SAA 22, lekythos (b) belongs to the Athenokles group:

(a) stele: Athenokles; Athens, Agora I 3845; *AJA* 40 (1936) 197.13; *AA* 1936, 105.4; B. D. Meritt, *Inscriptions from the Athenian Agora* (Princeton 1966) 34.

(b) lekythos; Athens, *ex Theseion*; *Deltion* 11 (1927/28) *Parart.* 49.7–8; the shape is close to the lekythoi nos. 26 and 32, *supra*.

(c) fr. of a votive relief; Athens, third ephoria; *Deltion* 24 (1969) *Chron.* pl.46γ.

SAA 23, 24—these two reliefs—(e), (f)—are by the Meixias sculptor (before 400):

(d) stele: Erasippos, Meixias, Louvre Ma 3063; Diepolder 2.2; *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art, Musée du Louvre* III (Paris 1938) 210.

(e) fr. of an amphiglyphon; Acropolis 3649; Walter 319.

(f) two fragments of a record relief; Acropolis 2717, 2549; Walter 4.

anatomy, drapery and attitudes. The figures of the Sosias sculptor present, after all, a rather quiet and static appearance. In contrast to the dramatic verve which characterizes the artisans of the Dexileos circle, he belongs to a somewhat cold, classical tradition.

Three other monuments are from the same year as Dexileos and are inscribed with precisely the same date. The year 394/3 was especially favored by the gods, from an archaeological point of view. (a) The fine crown of the state grave for the riders fallen at Corinth, where the name of Dexileos also appears, but which is, unfortunately, without any figured relief.¹² (b) The modest state grave relief for the warriors fallen in Boeotia and at Corinth (no.39 *infra*). (c) And finally, the decree honoring Dionysios of Syracuse (no.44 *infra*). The two latter monuments belong to a very special trend of Attic art which may be called miniaturist; it was probably inspired by the famous sculptor Kallimachos. The trend is completely opposed to the intentional monumentality of the Dexileos sculptor. For illustrative purposes, the two minor sculptors responsible for these two monuments (nos. 39 and 44) may be listed as follows:

THE SCULPTOR OF DION

36. Votive relief: banquet; Athens 1501; Svoronos 83, Hausmann 30.15; *AthMitt* 80 (1965) 7.2.¹³

37. Amphiglyphon from Phaleron: side showing Rape of Basile;¹⁴ Athens

¹² Athens 754; Conze 1157, 1529.317; Dohrn p.77.

¹³ A replica of the seated women on this relief is Louvre Ma 2725, *Listy Filologicke* 87 (1965) pl. iv.1; *Eirene* 5 (1966) 4 c1, after which our artisan was formerly named "le sculpteur de la petite dame Rayet" (donation Rayet, acquired in Athens before 1830). But the workmanship cannot be ancient: the surface is without patina. Compared with no.36, the execution is rather dry, the folds are schematized, the heel of the left foot appears mysteriously in the drapery (the same detail on no.36 is damaged); the legs of the seat are asymmetrical, one is shorter, and they differ in the height of the relief. On the right, the original edge of the slab is partly preserved; there was no second figure and the whole representation is rather strange (*cf. Listy Filologicke* 90 [1967] 14.vii; SAA p.17 no.49).

¹⁴ The reverse is by the Xenokrateia sculptor, described SAA 58ff (*cf. also n.22 infra*). He may be identical with the Stesikleia sculptor (nos.54–57 *infra*) but some doubts exist. The revised list is as follows:

(a) record relief of the decree for Proxenides of Knidos (*ca.* 412); Acropolis 2996 and four fragments in the Epigraphical Museum (these Svoronos 206.1); Walter 11.

(b) votive relief to Athena; Acropolis 2432; Walter 47.

(c) amphiglyphon from Phaleron, the "reverse" (more recent than no.37); Athens 1783; Svoronos 28, *ArchEph* 1937 pt. 1 189 n.1, *RömMitt* 47 (1932) 13.3 (details), Hausmann 38.18.

(d) votive relief of Xenokrateia; Athens 2756; Svoronos 181, 182; *ArchEph* 1909 pl.8, 1937 pt.1 102.1; Hausmann 64.33, *AJA* 69 (1965) pl.74.7.

1783; Svoronos 28, 182, *ArchEph* 1937 pt.1, 117.93, Süsserott 14.4 (detail). *AJA* 63 (1959) pl.57.37–38 (details), Lullies-Hirmer 186, Hausmann 39.19, *Eirene* 5 (1966) 7–8 c4 (details), Karouzou 27.¹⁵

38. Stele: Mika, Dion; Athens 765; Conze 157.47, *Antike Kunst* 7 (1964) 5.4, *Eirene* 5 (1966) 5–6 c5 (details).

39. Official grave relief of 394/3; Athens 2744; *AthMitt* 35 (1910) pl.11.2, Süsserott 2.2, Dohrn 11a, *Eirene* 5 (1966) 7 c7 (detail).

40.1. Votive relief: rider; Acropolis 3360; Walter 249, *Eirene* 5 (1966) 7 c8.

40.2. Votive relief: banquet; Piraeus 208; *AthMitt* 80 (1965) pl.8.1, *Eirene* 5 (1966) 7 c8, *SAA* 48 pl.4.

(e) fr. of a votive relief; Acropolis 2537; Walter 293.

(f) statuette of Kore; Athens 176; *AthMitt* 17 (1869) pl. v, *JOAI* 16 (1913) 151.67, *AthMitt* 82 (1967) 85, 86; Karouzou 26.

Cf. also the group of 400/399:

(g) votive relief; Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 197, *Billedtavler* pl.15; *ActaA* 3 (1932) 231.1; *BrBr* 675; *RömMitt* 47 (1932) 13.1 (detail); Dohrn 22c, 24a.

(h) record relief of 400/399; Athens, Epigraphical Museum II 643; Svoronos 203, *RömMitt* 47 (1932) 12.2.

An old-fashioned associate of this group is the 'Keramos' sculptor (*SAA* nos.69ff):

(i) votive relief; Athens 1460; Svoronos 77.

(j) votive relief to Asklepios; Athens 1388; Svoronos 53, *ArchEph* 1924, 116.15; Hausmann 67.37.

(k) votive relief to Keramos; British Museum 633; *JOAI* 26 (1930) 85.49, *ActaA* 3 (1932) 247.17, Süsserott 13.2.

(l) votive relief: sacrifice of Iphigenia; Brauron 92 α , β , γ ; *Ergon* for 1958, 33.35; *BCH* 83 (1959) pl.31, *AJA* 63 (1959) pl.73.2.

(m) votive relief; Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 233 a, *Tillaeg til Billedtavler* pl.4; *BrBr* 680a; G. Lippold, *Antike Skulpturen der Glyptotek Ny Carlsberg* (1924) 14; *idem*, in *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson I* (St Louis 1951) pl.67.

(n) fr. of a votive relief: banquet; Athens 2862; Svoronos 177, *AthMitt* 80 (1965) pl.7.1.

It has already been noted that no. k is inspired by the 'Dreifigurenreliefs'; the Sacrifice of Iphigenia no. l is closely connected with votive relief no. g.

Two other groups are close to the sculptor of Dion:

THE SCULPTOR OF APOBATES

(o) base; Acropolis 1326; S. Casson, *Catalogue 2* (Cambridge 1921) 227; *BCH* 7 (1883) pl.17, *ArchEph* 1910, 225.1.

(p) base; Athens, Agora S 399; *Hesperia* 4 (1935) 380.8; *AA* (1961), 229.4; connected with the preceding by T. Leslie Shear.

(q) base: tripod and quadriga; Athens 2784; Svoronos 115.

THE SCULPTOR FROM OROPOS

(r) fr. of a votive relief; Athens 1391; Svoronos 56, *ArchEph* 1910, pl.11.

(s) votive relief; Berlin K 80; Blümel 69 and 121.

¹⁵ The fragmentary amphiglyphon in Vienna (887) (*JOAI* 24 [1929] 116–17.109, 110) does not belong here. Another amphiglyphon may be perhaps noted (considered formerly as funerary, but it is surely votive): British Museum 2233; *JHS* 22 (1902) pl. 1.1, *ActaA* 3 (1932) 237.7, Dohrn 24b; the reverse is ruined.

The activity of this "little master" is to be placed between 410 and 385. Several other reliefs are close to the style of the sculptor of Dion:

THE THEANO GROUP

41. Votive relief to Asklepios; Piraeus 405; Hausmann 59.28, Dohrn 1b, *Eirene* 5 (1966) 6 c3 (details).

42. Votive reliefs: Artemis and sheep; Brauron 349; *Ergon* for 1959, 17.18; *BCH* 84 (1960) 667.8.

43. Stele: Ktesilos, Theano; Athens 3472; Diepolder 22, Süsserott 14.1, Lullies-Hirmer 192-193, Dohrn 19a, *Eirene* 5 (1966) 5 c5.

Nos. 41 and 42 are by the same hand and *ca.* 400. No.43 is close; at first glance it produces a strong impression which does not stand up to a more detailed examination. There is a contradiction between the monumental intention and a rather miniaturist work. It must be an ambitious imitation of a masterwork, but the composition is misunderstood, and it is difficult to interpret the scene. Theano is probably intended to be the dead person. The stance of the man is gauche. The stele is probably to be dated later in the first decade of the fourth century.

THE SCULPTOR FOR DIONYSIOS

This workman is a miniaturist, close to the Dion sculptor.

44. Record relief, dated 394/3 (decree for Dionysios); Athens, Epigraphical Museum; Svoronos 204 right, Süsserott 2.1.

45. Small pediment of a funerary monument; Zurich; Collignon 109.56, *AthMitt* 48 (1923) 21.1, *RömMitt* 47 (1932) 12.1; K. Schefold, *Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst* (Basel 1960) 308.246.

46. Record relief, Acropolis 2663; Walter 10.

THE CLASSICIZING SEQUENCE

In the grave plot of Dexileos there was discovered another sculpture which can be connected to a second monument by the same hand. The workmanship, of excellent quality, is manifestly related to the classic tradition, but some softness tempers the grandeur of the style. The date is probably after 380.

THE SCULPTOR OF THE SIREN-MUSICIAN

47. Siren, from the Dexileos plot; Athens 774; BrBr 549 right, Collignon 217.138, 218.139, Adam 4a (detail). Recently Miss F. Athussaki succeeded in identifying in the Kerameikos the webbed feet of this siren.

48. Head from a statue of a woman (one would like to call her Aphrodite); Agora S 955; *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 350.4.

If the quality of the classicism of these two monuments is moving and most delicate, the following items, of excellent workmanship, tend to be colder and more distant in frozen precision. They are close to the preceding pieces without being by the same hand:

THE SCULPTOR OF PHEIDYLLA (*in random order*)

49. Bearded head from a stele; New York, art market.¹⁶

12 3; 17

50. Stele: Pheidylla; Athens, third ephoria; *Archaeology* 18 (1965) 288, 16 *Deltion* 21 (1966) *Chron.* pl.86α; SAA 198 pl.17.

The inscription is on a *rasura*; the puncture for the earring worn by the mistress is also secondary. This sculptor took measures to protect the potentially fragile points of the stele; he left small reinforcing blocks of marble on the rear corners between the projection of the capital and the sides of the slab, and another behind the *sakkos* of the servant.¹⁷

51. Frontal feminine head from a stele; Padua, University; *Charites Langlotz* pl.12; the surface has been completely reworked; nevertheless, the attribution is quite convincing.

The identity of the sculptor is determined by the unique shape of the eyelids and brows, by the separation of the facial mask from the coiffure, by the fissure of the lips with clear drill marks at the corners, by the rather bronze-like modelling (the surface is still harder and more polished than in the work of the Dexileos sculptor), and by the treatment of the strands of the hair. C. Anti¹⁸ has compared no.51 to the grave stele of Melitte, which was clearly inspired by the Eirene

¹⁶ D. von Bothmer drew our attention to this monument; our thanks are due to Mr M. Komor for allowing the study of the fragment and for the photographs; preserved height 29cm, preserved width 18.5cm.

¹⁷ Most of these observations were made together with A. Kaloyéropoulou, who is preparing to publish the monument.

¹⁸ *Charites, Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft, E. Langlotz gewidmet* (Bonn 1957) p.100; Melite: Athens 720; Conze 803.150, EA 655 (head), Collignon 157.89, Diepolder 35.1, *Antike Kunst* 7 (1964) pl.5.2, Adam 8b.

of Kephisodotos. M. Collignon¹⁹ has already observed the affinity between the head of this sculpture and that of the siren, no.47 *supra*. Kephisodotos' Eirene with the infant Ploutos appears as the symbol on Panathenaic amphorai dated by the archon Kallimedes (360/59)²⁰ and cannot be much anterior to that date. Nevertheless, the activity of the Pheidylla sculptor should be placed in the later 370's. The
17 bearded man (no.49) could still be compared in some ways to the head of Zeus on the record relief decorating the top of the treaty between Athens and Kerkyra, dated 376/4.²¹

To digress: the way to understanding is paved with errors. At first
17 glance one would be tempted to compare the bearded man (no.49)
19 with the head of Aristoteles on a funerary stele of which it is reminiscent in a simplified way. The similarity is misleading. The simplification here is an indication of higher antiquity, and the form of the eye-sockets, upon closer examination, is different.

THE ARISTOTELES SCULPTOR

- 18 52. Fragment of a stele: girl bearing a box; Athens 1859; Conze 1178a fig., Dohrn 16a.²²
- 19 53. Stele: Sostrate, Aristoteles; Louvre Ma 760; Conze 193 (54), *Eirene* 5 (1966) 2 H4 (the point of Aristoteles' nose is restored).²³

¹⁹ *Op.cit.* (*supra* n.2) 219.

²⁰ Cf. P. Themelis, *AAA* 2 (1969) 410ff.

²¹ Athens 1467; *BCH* 2 (1878) pl.12, Svoronos 103, BrBr 533 right, *RömMitt* 47 (1932) 20.2, Diepolder p.36.9, Süsserott 3.2.

Several other bearded heads on the grave monuments may be also compared to our no.49, e.g.,

Stele; Athens 2894 (carved from an already used slab—a record relief?—the reverse is slightly raised toward the central surface; the upper molding runs also on both lateral surfaces; the height of the relief is determined by the previous disposition: that is why the right shoulder and the arm of the youth, and the globular body of the aryballos held by the bearded man, are flat); *Deltion* 10 (1926) pl.3, Diepolder 25.

The eponymous piece by the Leon sculptor:

(a) stele: Leon, Leontis; Athens 3378; Diepolder p.34.8, N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz, *Studien zum Ilissos-Relief* (Munich 1950) 14–16; now completed by S. Triandis with a fragment from Piraeus (Conze 1299.270): *AAA* 2 (1969) 78.3.

(b) fragment of a stele: Aristonike, Androkleides; Leipzig, University; *Leipziger Winckelmannsblatt* 1906, I.1; *SAA* 208 pl.21.

(c) siren (akroterion of a stele); Louvre Ma 3563; *SAA* 206 pl.20.

²² *SAA* nos. 58, 59, 60, 61: our nos. 52, 54, 55, 56, attributed there to the Xenokrateia sculptor (see n.14 *supra*). Our nos. 54–57 (Stesikleia sculptor) are close to him.

²³ *Eirene* 5 (1966) 94ff. Aristoteles was attributed to the Ampharete sculptor, ca. 400 B.C. (cf. also *SAA* nos. 6ff).

The precise identity of the head is determined by the shape of the eyes, the form of the woman's hand, and the pattern of her drapery. Over-precision in chronology is always dangerous, but one would like to place no.52 at the very end of the fifth century, Aristoteles in the first years of the fourth. Diepolder²⁴ took another stele, our no.54, for a possible later work of the sculptor of no.52. The stylistic affinity is, as a matter of fact, very close, but the hand is different, more melancholy and perhaps closer in some respects to the classic tradition. The sculptor is also less expert in the foreshortening of the three-quarter views. He may be identical with the Xenokrateia sculptor (n.14 *supra*).

THE STESIKLEA SCULPTOR

54. Fragmentary stele; Athens 1714; Conze 321.79.

55. Fragmentary stele: Stesikleia; Athens, British School; *JHS* 17 (1897) pl.4.1.

56. Fragment of a stele; Piraeus; Conze 472.112.

57. Record relief of 403/2; Acropolis 1333; BrBr 475a, *RömMitt* 47 (1932) 13.2; J. Kirchner, *Imagines inscriptionum atticarum* (Berlin 1935) 19.40.

Returning to the classicizing sequence, the work of a third master of different temperament partly overlaps the activity of the Pheidylla sculptor, but extends until at least 360.

THE POLYXENE SCULPTOR

58. Stele: little servant and mistress; New York, Metropolitan Museum 21 1; 23 1 36.11.1; Richter 80.65, *AJA* 40 (1936) 302f.1–2, *SAA* 80 pl.18, 19.

(a) stele: Ampharete; Athens, Kerameikos; *AthMitt* 59 (1934), pl.5 Beil. 3, *Eirene* 5 (1966) 1–2 H1 (details).

(b) stele: Hagetor; Piraeus 13; Kjellberg 22, 32, Diepolder 35.2, *Eirene* 5 (1966) 1 H2 (details).

(c) funerary statue of an ephebos; Piraeus 340; *Die Antike* 14 (1938) 11, 18–20; Lullies-Hirmer 190, *Eirene* 5 (1966) 1 H3 (details).

The Tynnias sculptor (close to the Ampharete sculptor, but later, ca. 380):

(d) stele: Tynnias; Athens 902; Conze 617.118, Diepolder 29, Dohrn 26a, *Eirene* 5 (1966) 2–3 14 (details); *Anz* (1967) 31.2 (head); the right hand is retouched.

(e) votive relief to Dionysos Lenaios; Paris, Musée Rodin 1; *AA* 1967 I, 30.1; *Rodin collectionneur* (Paris 1967–68) 106.34.

A lekythos (f) was incorrectly attributed to the Ampharete sculptor (*SAA* no.9); it is to be grouped with another one (g) probably by the same hand:

(f) lekythos: Piraeus; *BCH* 64 (1963) 699.17–18; *Deltion* 18 (1963) pt. B1, pl.55.3–4; *Eirene* 5 (1966) 3 H6.

(g) lekythos: Athens; *Deltion* 6 (1920–21) *Parart.* 120.26.

²⁴ *Op.cit.* (*supra* n.2) 26.

- 24 59. Stele: bearded warrior, horse, bearded man; Moscow, Museum of Fine Arts; W. Fröhner, *Coll. Tyszkiewicz* (Munich 1892) pl.46; Diepolder 32.
- 21 2 60. Head of a servant with *sakkos*, from a stele: Zurich, Coll. C. L. Morley: M. Del Chiaro, *Greek Art in Private Collections of Southern California*² (Santa Barbara 1966) 18.²⁵
- 20 61. Stele: Polyxene; Athens 723; Conze 284 (66), Diepolder 40, *Antike* 23 2,3 *Kunst* 7 (1964) pl.5.3, Karouzou 32a.

The strong affinity with the preceding man resides especially in the identity of the proportions of the figures, e.g. in the facial forms. One might be misled into claiming a single identity for the two sculptors,²⁶ were it not that they differ both in technical details and in their treatment of the modelling. The Polyxene sculptor shows more the temperament of a man who works purely in marble; he is even rather summary, especially at the end of his career. His sense of plasticity finds an expression appropriate to the nature of the marble; this tendency is perceptible in the figures and even more in faces, but it also appears in his rendering of drapery. Although sometimes cursory, it produces a rich impression. The strength of the sculptor is his sensitivity to the use of space. In contrast to the usual presentation of scenes on funerary reliefs, where figures are often arranged on a single level, he places them on several planes with indisputable success. Something of this kind has already been timidly initiated in the eponymous piece by the Pheidylla sculptor, but it cannot bear comparison with even the early stages of our Polyxene sculptor. He has a unique sensitivity for composition as such and a taste for sophisticated disposition of single figures.

This tendency can be traced from the very early piece (New York 21 1; 23 1 no.58), a relatively tall, narrow stele peopled by two unequal figures—small servant, tall mistress—perfectly balanced in composition. Both overlapping the side frames, the two figures face one another, but their bodies at the same time half-turn toward the viewer. The small servant has turned the lower part of her body outward, and her right leg makes a surprising movement even further to her right; her upper torso is nearly in profile. The mistress faces her in a still more complicated attitude; her legs are crossed and the whole body leans

²⁵ We owe both our information about the fragment and the photograph to the kindness of M. Del Chiaro.

²⁶ Cf. SAA nos. 197ff, where Pheidylla (here no.50) is attributed to the same hand as Polyxene.



1 THE DAUGHTER OF -OMENES (NO.2)

(Photograph courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art; Fletcher Fund, 1930)



2, 3 DEXILEOS (NO.3), DETAILS

(Photographs courtesy A. Frantz)

PLATE 10 FREL-KINGSLEY



DEXILEOS (NO.3)

(Photograph courtesy A. Frantz)



1 BASE FROM THE ACADEMY (NOS. 4, 18)
(After *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1930)



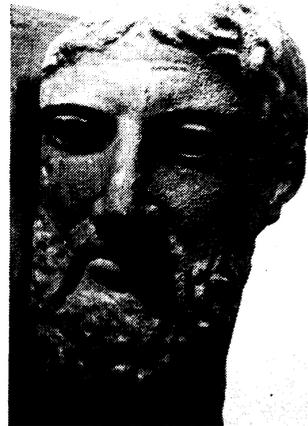
2 AFRODITE EX GIUSSI (NO.5)
(Photograph courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome)

PLATE 12 FREL-KINGSLEY



1 SOSRATE (NO.15)

(Photograph courtesy National Museum, Athens)



2 PHAINIPPE (NO.21), DETAIL

(Photograph courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art; Fletcher Fund, 1953)

3 BEARDED HEAD (NO.49)

(Photograph courtesy M. Komor)



PHAINARETE (NO.16), DETAIL

(Photograph courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens)

PLATE 14 FREL-KINGSLEY



1 WARRIORS (NO.30), DETAIL

(Photograph courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art; Fletcher Fund, 1940)

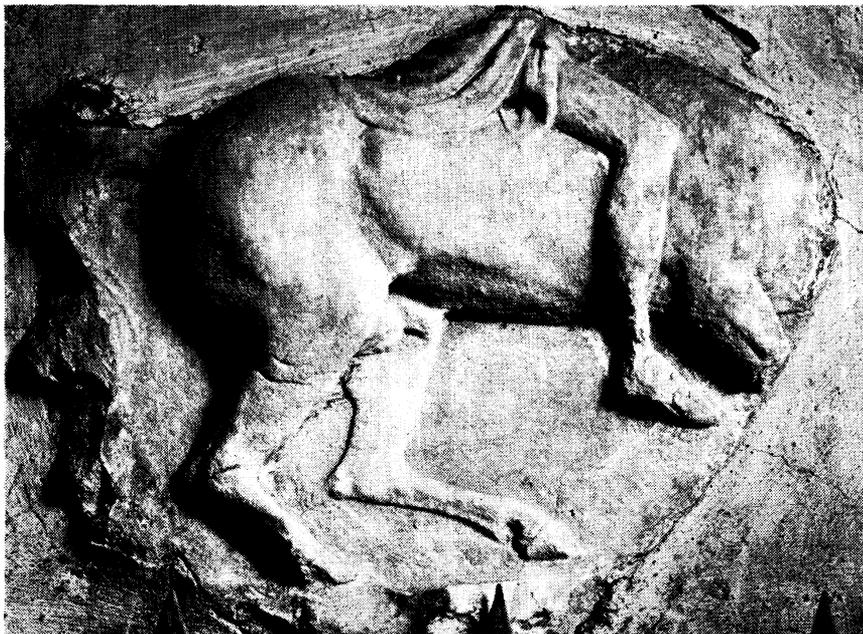


2 LEKYTHOS, LEYDEN (NO.32), DETAIL

(Photograph courtesy D. von Bothmer)



1 STRATOKLES (NO.29), DETAIL
(Photograph courtesy D. von Bothmer)



2 FRAGMENT, SAN LORENZO (NO.9)
(Photograph courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome)

PLATE 16 FREL-KINGSLEY



PHEIDYLLA (NO.50), DETAIL

(Photograph courtesy A. Kaloyéropoulou)



BEARDED HEAD (NO.49)

(Photograph courtesy M. Komor)

PLATE 18 FREL-KINGSLEY



FRAGMENTARY STELE (NO.52)

(Photograph courtesy A. Kaloyéropoulou)



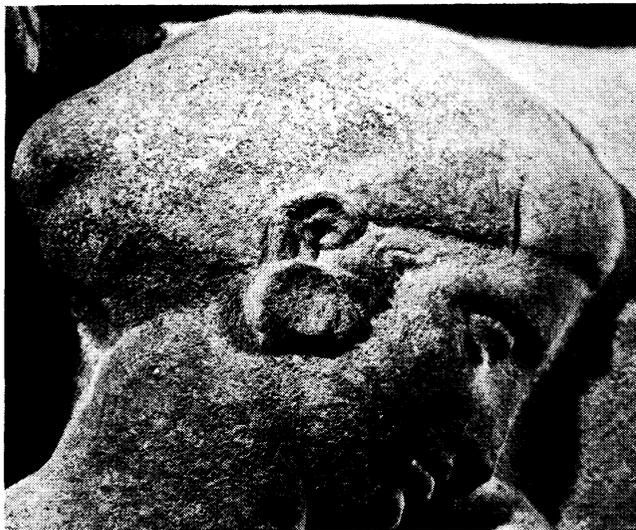
ARISTOTELES (NO.53)

(Photograph courtesy Musée du Louvre)

PLATE 20 FREL-KINGSLEY



1 POLYXENE (NO.61), DETAIL



2 SERVANT OF POLYXENE (NO.61), DETAIL

(Photographs courtesy A. Kaloyéropoulou)



1 STELE IN NEW YORK (NO.58), DETAIL

(Photograph courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art; Fletcher Fund, 1938)



2 HEAD OF A SERVANT (NO.60)

(Photograph courtesy M. Del Chiaro)

PLATE 22 FREL-KINGSLEY



FRAGMENTARY STELE IN ATHENS (NO.64)

(Photograph courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens)



1



2

1 STELE IN NEW YORK (NO.58), DETAIL

(Photograph courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art; Fletcher Fund, 1938)

2 CHILD OF POLYXENE (NO.61), DETAIL

(Photograph courtesy A. Kaloyéropoulou)



3 POLYXENE (NO.61), DETAIL

(Photograph courtesy A. Kaloyéropoulou)

PLATE 24 FREL-KINGSLEY



STELE IN MOSCOW (NO.59)

(Photograph courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow)

backward, so that one must presume a support on her left side. In effect, her whole figure reminds one closely of the cult statue of the Leaning Aphrodite created by Alkamenes in the late fifth century.²⁷ This display of counterpoint is rendered more subtle by the sophisticated drapery and by the finesse of anatomical detail: beautiful faces, fine hands and feet. On closer inspection one is no longer deceived, the workmanship is cursory, even poor: e.g. the fall of the girl's peplos between her legs, the forearms and hands. Still, the monument is a good example of an infusion of a completely new spirit into the tradition of the fifth century. The stele cannot be earlier than the sculptured decoration of the Asklepios temple in Epidauros.

The attribution of the following monument, no.59, is provisional, 24
needing further study. Here, again, the two human protagonists fill space in a subtle way: even the horse seems to emerge from the depths of the stele. The execution is a strange mixture of subtlety and, occasionally, an almost mocking negligence in technique. The subtlety appears in the gestures, the inclination of heads, the expressions and the differentiation in drapery (the *chlamys* of the dead warrior contrasts with the mantle of his servant or relative), while the negligence is seen at its worst in the framing pair of arms, and the in legs of all three figures.

The Polyxene stele, which cannot be earlier than 360, represents 20
the summit of subtlety and negligence. The composition is of a virtuosity not to be found before or after in Attic funerary sculpture. The discreet servant in profile in the background seems to be set far back in the relatively flat relief, in spite of the fact that she is the tallest of the three. The voluminous body of the sitting Polyxene comes forward from the stele, as though she were sculptured in the round, and she turns obliquely to dominate the panel (note the perspective of the footstool legs). Her child, surprisingly turned 23 2
toward the spectator, completes the diagonal of the three heads and stresses in the other direction the spatiality of the tableau with the line of her pointing arm. By the same gesture, the frame of the stele is completely broken; the lateral pilasters are here only to display better the audacity of the composition. Some details are especially nice: the drapery of the woman's mantle on the cushion, the unexpected slipping of her foot from the front of the footstool, or the

²⁷ Cf. A. Delivorrias, "Die Kultstatue der Aphrodite von Daphni," *Antike Plastik* 8 (1968) 19ff.

coquettish ribbon in her hair.²⁸ But the workmanship is at its nadir: 23 3 e.g., the curious confusion of the servant's right leg and the third leg of the seat. The foot is in front of the leg of the seat, the knee behind. The faces are vigorous, if sketchy, with their full, pouting lips, of which the corners are nonexistent, marked merely by the drill. The impressionistic eyelids are brutally cut along the top of the upper lid; so also are the lines of Venus for all three. The farther eye of the seated Polyxene is empty, as is that of the little servant on the New York stele (no.58), who is a sister of Polyxene's plump child. The hands are so cursory as to be deformed, without losing their expressiveness. The servant's face (with a distorted ear) has already been prefigured 21 2 in the Zurich head (no.60), which, however, is more carefully carved.

One would be tempted to separate the planning of the project and its execution, but they are inseparable. One can only say of our sculptor, he was a great artist, perhaps the most creative of all the marble workers, a negligent genius, a man possessed by an idea but uninterested in its execution. His approach is rather contrary to the good usage of his colleagues, and it is the more surprising because his roots are so firmly established in the pure classical tradition, as we have noted already for his two fellows. Was he merely reacting to the overprecision and over-correctness of the Pheidylla sculptor?

THE MNESARETE GROUP

A PRECURSOR

62. Stele: Mynno; Berlin K23; Blümel 33 and 24, Conze 38.17.

THE PHYLONOE SCULPTOR

63. Stele; Athens 726; Conze 69.31, Diepolder 26, Süsserott 16.1, Dohrn 9a, Lullies-Hirmer 196-97, Adam 60-61.

22 64. Stele (fragmentary): torso of a seated woman; Athens: Conze 595 (without ill.), SAA 257 pl.27.

65. Stele: servant holding a baby, young mother sitting; Quebec, Université Laval (ex. coll. Kouchakji and Diniakopoulos).²⁹

66. Stele: Phylonoe; Athens 3790; Prins de Jong, *Griekse Grafreliefs* (Bussen 1946) 89.

67. Head of a young woman (servant?) from a stele; Athens 2582.

²⁸ We owe this observation (as well as many others) to A. Kaloyéropoulou.

²⁹ To be published by J. Des Gagniers; we owe our information to H. Giroux.

68. Stele; New York, Metropolitan Museum 07.286.109; Richter 76.62, Conze 575 (117).³⁰

69. Stele (fragmentary): seated mistress and lower part of servant; Athens, storeroom 1034; Conze 105 (38). (The workmanship here looks more cursory than on the preceding one.)

THE EPONYMOUS PIECE

70. Stele: Mnesarete; Munich 491; *Mjb* 4 (1909) pl.1, Diepolder 27, Süsserott 18.1, Dohrn 7b, Adam 30c.

Some attributions in this group have been made previously. Nos. 63 and 66 were attributed to the same hand by N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz; 63, 66 and 67 by S. Karouzou. H. Giroux saw the close affinity between 63 and 65; G. Richter compared 68 and 69. In *SAA*,³¹ 62 is given as a precursor of 63, 66 and 67, which are followed by 70 (naturally, by another hand); 64, 68 and 69 are attributed to another sculptor.

The identity of the sculptor is established by several elements. The faces manifestly belong to the same family. They are noble but lack classical emphasis; they share a familiar intimacy but do not radiate gaiety. The drapery folds are relatively sober and, in spite of an appearance of dryness, they are expressive of the bodies they cover. Particularly noteworthy is the extremely delicate rendering of the light material drawn across the protruding breasts; this detail confirms the attribution of 68 and 69, in which the drapery is otherwise richer and more free. The seated poses and the gestures are more sophisticated; especially delicate is the rendering of the half-turned left foot, discernible even in the ruined state of preservation. At the same time one may notice that the linear design of the earlier pieces is transformed into a more rounded treatment of the bodies; the touching atmosphere is transposed into a pleasant sensuality. Note still another element: the two folded panels of the mantle, one hanging at the front of the seat, one over the middle, prolonging the folds. (These are missing on 69, where the lady sits facing the opposite direction.) Mynno (no.62) may be a school-piece of the same man at his very beginning. Mnesarete (no.70), which uses the identical schema, surely is not: the masterpiece is of such spiritual intensity that it transcends

³⁰ This line drawing is the only evidence we have of the head, since lost.

³¹ Nos. 191ff, 255ff.

not only the other pieces here, but most other contemporaneous productions as well. Although its workmanship is very fine, it does not surpass the current high standards of normal good production. The relative chronology of the Phylonoe sculptor appears in the foregoing, but the place of the fragmentary head (no.67), sculptured in full round, is more difficult to determine exactly. The 370's seem an appropriate date for the whole group; Mynno may be more than one full decade earlier, close to 390.

In the differing trends of the production of grave stelai, this group may represent the purest Attic spirit. Classical tradition is here renewed on an intimate scale. Deep feelings are expressed with maximum discretion, the form itself maintaining a complete objectivity. Toward the end, a more pleasant and appealing note is touched, but even this richer elegance remains without any affectation.

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (*Frel*)

SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE (*Mrs Kingsley*)

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