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From Architecture to Graves: The Development of Emotion in Ancient Greek Sculpture

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Abstract

This paper will examine the development of emotion in Greek sculpture; beginning with its overall absence in the Late Archaic period and continuing through its inception in the Early Classical period and its zenith during the Hellenistic Age. My chapters will each focus on a different style of sculpture and how emotion developed in each of them. I begin with architectural sculpture, tracing how emotion was first utilized on the Temple of Aphaia in Aegina during the Early Classical period before being used with greater prominence in later centuries, as seen in the works of Skopas and on the Great Altar of Pergamon. From there I discuss emotion in freestanding sculpture, beginning with the Early Classical statue of Prokne and Itys before moving on to examine statues such as Eirene and Ploutos, the Lysippos Herakles, and the Terme Boxer. Finally, I assess emotion’s presence in relief sculpture, focusing primarily on grave reliefs. In this chapter pieces such as Mourning Athena, the Mnesagora and Nikocharis stèle, and the Ilissos stèle are examined. Overall, I argue that emotion is used in sculpture first to differentiate between Greeks and Romans, before later being used to incite a particular reaction in viewers.
Chapter 1: Introduction

Greeks commenced their first forays into sculpture during the Upper Paleolithic Period, working initially with easily obtained materials such as terracotta or wood, before slowly, in places it was most abundant, beginning to use the marble they are so well known for. These earliest pieces consist mostly of the so called Venus figurines; figures which were small enough to be portable and, based on the over exaggerated hips and breasts, seem to have represented some fertility goddess.\(^1\) What is more commonly considered the inception of Greek sculpture, however, is the 7\(^{th}\) century BC,\(^2\) when large freestanding sculpture called \textit{kouroi} and \textit{korai} developed under the influence of Near Eastern and Egyptian art. The Archaic kouroi and korai statues were the beginning of the evolution of historical Greek sculpture. These uniform and largely static statues that characterize both male and female types were primarily used as dedications to deities in sanctuaries and as grave markers. Also during the Archaic period, sculptors slowly began to depict figures from Greek mythology. Well-known stories, such as the Gigantomachy or scenes from the Trojan War were themes found in architectural sculpture.

The Early Classical period witnessed the development of the Severe Style which is characterized by doughy features, thick eye lids, and stern expressions. The Severe style transformed by the mid-5\(^{th}\) c. BC into the High Classical style, resulting in well-known pieces architectural sculpture such as the Parthenon marbles. During the Early and High Classical periods, emotion in architectural sculpture was used to differentiate Greeks and barbarians, a use exemplified in the Temples of Aphaia and Olympia. Emotion is rarer in freestanding sculpture,

\(^1\) Nelson, Sarah M. "Diversity of the Upper Paleolithic "Venus" Figurines and Archeological Mythology." \textit{Shamans, Queens, and Figurines: The Development of Gender Archaeology}. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast, 2015. 49-58.

not developing significantly until the end of the High Classical period with the statue of Prokne and Itys. The emotion present on this statue, like contemporary grave reliefs, seems to have been meant to provoke an emotional response from viewers.

In the fourth century, however, the trend of depicting largely idealized and emotionless figures in sculpture began to change towards depicting individual features and emotions, exemplified in works such as the Tegea Heads and Meleager. This tendency towards individuality in art continues into the Hellenistic period, resulting in more emotionally charged sculptures such as the Suicidal Gaul or the image of Gaia on the Altar of Pergamon. This new style lead to emotion being displayed either through exaggeratedly expressive faces and gestures as evidenced by the Dying Gaul or through hyper-realism such as is viewed on the Seated Boxer. Throughout this period architectural sculpture used emotion to incite a reaction in viewers, for instance pity is evoked when Gaia is looked upon. Freestanding sculpture was used in much the same way, Eirene and Ploutos triggers pathos even as the Suicidal Gaul makes viewers pity him. In striking contrast, the production of stelai depicted with poignant grave reliefs ceases in the Hellenistic period, with the last notable statue, the Ilissos Stele being carved around 330 BC.

For the purpose of this paper I will focus on sculpture ranging from 550 to 100 BC; I have chosen this period because it is during these centuries that sculpture underwent its most significant advancements and the majority of the applicable pieces from those years are originals rather than Roman copies. This is important because, although the Romans were avid fans of Greek sculpture, they often made changes to suit their own tastes. Therefore we must keep in mind potential changes when examining those copies which are pertinent. In addition, by

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4 This tendency is particularly noticeable in works like the Diskobolos, copies of which are almost always slightly different.
looking at sculpture from a broad perspective the developments in emotion can be more easily traced. I will not, however, be discussing changes to sculpture as a whole in a chronological order, instead I will look at how emotion develops chronologically in architectural, freestanding, and relief sculpture, thereby allowing me to discuss overall trends throughout the centuries. Furthermore, changes in the depiction of emotion through sculpture do not all occur at the same moment in history for every type, funerary monuments, for example, showed figures displaying emotion some time before it was seen in freestanding sculpture. By examining these works by type I will try determine why these changes occurred when they did.

I will begin by talking about architectural sculpture as it is in this style, on the Temple of Aphaia in 470 BC, that the first steps towards emotion were made. My third chapter will discuss freestanding sculpture; although there are notable examples throughout the Classical period of statues displaying emotions (e.g. Eirene and Ploutos), it is in the Hellenistic period that this trend truly picks up with the development of Hellenistic Baroque. By looking at the events in history and art leading up to this development, it is possible to determine what factors influenced the emergence of exaggerated emotion in the 2nd century BC. Finally freestanding relief sculpture will be examined, this is particularly important because funerary reliefs often show people mourning that tells us a great deal about how Greeks mourned and felt emotion. Together, these chapters will help me critically evaluate the overall patterns of emotions in Greek Sculpture from the Late Archaic to the Hellenistic period.

**Emotion in Ancient Greece**

When discussing emotion within the context of how ancient cultures viewed it, it is important to keep in mind that the way modern society portrays emotion does not necessarily
correlate to how the ancient viewed them. In what follows, I discuss ancient literary references to emotion to determine how ancient Greeks perceived and defined emotion. I will then use this definition to select the sculptures in this study and therefore attempt to avoid modern bias.

The epics of Homer are filled with depictions of emotion that seem to mirror those found in modern literature; throughout both tales the characters, mortal and immortal alike, routinely display wrath, jealousy, longing and pride. Although the words that specific refer to these emotions are rarely used, the actions of the characters speak for themselves. The entire plot of the Iliad is centered around anger, jealousy, and pride while the Odyssey focuses on lust, wrath, and a longing for home. It is undeniable that characters other than Achilles display emotions throughout the Iliad, it is equally undeniable that it is his emotions that dominate the plot. The proemium of the Iliad begins with “Rage – Goddess sing the rage of Pelus’ son Achilles…” Achilles demonstrates this prevailing emotion through his quarreling with Agamemnon and through his refusals to even consider helping his fellow Greeks unless Agamemnon paid the “full price for his insult”. His anger remains passive, however, until the death of his brother-in-arms Patroclus. Before that point Achilles had simply remained with his men and refused to participate in the war, but Patroclus’ death pushed him over the edge, resulting in swift and savage vengeance for his beloved. In this scene sorrow and wrath mix as Achilles deals with death the only way he knows how, by exacting revenge on Hector.

On the other hand, the hero of Homer’s second epic, Odysseus, is overwhelmed by a completely different emotion, a longing for home. Homer begins the Odyssey by invoking the

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muses, writing “Sing to me of the man, Muse, the man who twists and turns/driven time and again off course”⁹. Instead of being driven by rage, as Achilles is, it is the rage of Poseidon that prevents the fulfillment of Odysseus’ desire to be home. Based on the sheer number of lovers he has throughout his long journey home, it could be argued that the main emotion Odysseus displays is lust. However, not only did he constantly attempt to go home, the reunification scene between Penelope and Odysseus clearly expresses his delight in being home.¹⁰ In all, although Homer rarely used specific words to describe the given emotions, they are clearly depicted through the actions of his protagonists.

Unsurprisingly, it is in tragedy that emotions are most frequently and openly displayed; from the horror and shame of Oedipus when he realizes what he has done to his parents, the terror of Cassandra as she realizes her fate but is unable to prevent it. Throughout many of his works Aristotle implies that tragedy is used as a catharsis, a purging of emotions or perhaps a purification of them.¹¹ But no matter what the catharsis was intended to do it is clear that emotions were involved, meaning that the tragedians intended for emotions to be a significant part of their works. The entire work of Oedipus Rex is centered on shame, as Sophocles builds up to the revelation that Oedipus has killed his father and married his mother. And then finally, when it arrives, it is an extremely poignant scene during which Oedipus is so overcome with shame that he gouges out his own eyes with his mother/wife’s brooches rather than see what he has done.¹² Later, though he feels he deserves to die for his sins, he exiles himself so that his

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⁹ Homer, Robert Fagles, Bernard Knox, and Homer. The Odyssey. Line 1
people will not be tainted by his sins. Had Sophocles not inspired *pathos* in his viewers then his play would not be half as heartbreaking. Instead, every audience member would watch the final scenes with horror, empathizing with Oedipus despite his horrific crimes.

Aeschylus creates a similar situation in his *Oresteia*, as we see the doomed prophetess Casandra describing first the death of Agamemnon at Clytemnestra’s hands and then her own. In this scene, Seth Schein argues, Cassandra is no longer human, for she transcended to a point beyond humanity as she witnessed her own death. Yet I disagree, the emotions Aeschylus shows Cassandra experiencing are intrinsically human: fear of dying, fear of the unknown. The fact that she is seeing her death before it occurs, powerless to stop it is no different than any other time that she saw a horrific event and was unable to intervene. The audience is able empathize with her because her fears are universal. This is the case for all Greek literature, the emotions may range from sorrow to anger to longing to regret, but each and every one of them is something that everyone has experienced and an empathize with.

Clearly it is possible to use literature and poetry to determine how ancient Greeks viewed emotion; but to fully understand why certain emotions were incorporated into literature and sculpture more than others, I turn to the works of Plato and Aristotle. In Plato’s *Timaeus* he names pleasure, distress, confidence, and fear (Plato, 69d), while in *Laws* he speaks of shame, friendly love, and hate, (Plato, 1.647a-d, 649 b-c, 2.653a-c, 3.699c-d) and finally in *Philebus*, anger, longing, mourning, jealousy and envy are mentioned (Plato, 47e). Aristotle spends more time discussing emotions than his teacher, writing on them in the *Nicomachean Ethics* (Aristotle, 2.6, 1106b18-23) and in the *Rhetoric*, and adding pity to those mentioned by Plato as well as

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recognizing the same fear, confidence, desire, anger, pleasure, and distress.\textsuperscript{15} Aristotle goes further than simply categorizing emotions, however, and actually pairs them up, connecting anger with the easing of it, love with hate, confidence with shame, and envy with contempt.\textsuperscript{16} Notably, Aristotle makes it clear that these emotions were directed primarily at human agents, emphasizing that one does not envy, pity, or anger towards inanimate things. He goes on to note that “fear and pity are aroused when we see something we recognize and we fear happening to ourselves.”\textsuperscript{17} From this it can be extrapolated that because the most common reason to include emotion in art was to create a connection between the viewer and the statuary, sculptors would have chosen emotions which could be easily empathized with. Anger, pleasure, grief, fear, all have been felt by all and can be understood by all.

One thing which both Olympia Bobou and Andrew Stewart\textsuperscript{18} bring up in their discussions of emotion in sculpture is the distinction between expressivity and the representation of emotions. There are many figures which can be said to have ‘expressive’ faces, but which do not necessarily show a specific emotion at the same time.\textsuperscript{19} In order to properly assess emotion in sculpture, it is necessary to find a way differentiate between a feeling and an emotion in art. Bobou suggests that we should not look for a distinction between feeling and emotion in Greek art, but such expressive figures as a purposeful blending of both, arguing that the sculptures are meant to represent real people and that real people have complex and difficult to define emotions.\textsuperscript{20} This, however, does not take into consideration sculptures that depict scenes from mythology, after all they are not ‘real people’ in the sense that figures depicted on funerary

\textsuperscript{15} Bobou 2013, 297
\textsuperscript{17} Bobou 2013, 297
\textsuperscript{19} Bobou 2013, pg. 278
\textsuperscript{20} Bobou 2013, pg. 280
monuments may be. This begs the question, are the emotions in mythology ‘real’? Because the mythological characters are shown expressing the same emotions which both Plato and Aristotle laid out, Eirene showing platonic love towards Ploutos or the centaurs displaying rage, for example, I conclude that their emotions are as ‘real’ as those shown by ‘real’ people. Therefore, I propose this change to Bobou’s conclusions; that emotion and expressivity in sculpture are blended because the figures the sculptors portray showing emotions actually have them, be it in real life or in the stories.

Although there are slight differences in how emotion is portrayed and described in literature, there are clear trends which carry across all genres, the most important being that the same emotions are used, namely anger, sorrow, fear, shame, love, and joy. Whether it is in the epic poetry of Homer or the tragedies of Aeschylus and Sophocles, the same realistic emotions are seen in varying grades of prominence, the same emotions which Plato and Aristotle name in their works. It is these emotions which are present in the works of sculptors from the late Archaic to the Hellenistic period. I define emotion here as a feeling such as grief, fear, anger, love, or lust which is evident not only in the facial expression of the sculpture but also in their body language. What also must be taken into consideration is what is meant by ‘realistic emotion’. In this paper, I classify it as emotions which are appropriate to the situation the figure finds him or herself in. For example, the Terme Boxer has the emotional markers of someone who is weary but still fighting, emotions which are realistic based on his status as a middle-aged boxer. The Ilisos Stele also gives evidence to this. The boy slumped at the bottom of the stele is clearly in mourning, a realistic emotion considering his presence on a grave stele and the image of a youthful and vigorous youth next to him.
Depictions of Emotion in Greek Sculpture

Although it could be argued that the barest hints of the forthcoming emotion can be found in the Archaic Smile of the korai and kouroi during the Late Archaic Period, it is not until the early Classical Period that emotion begins to show up with any regularity. This period is characterized by the Severe Style, a style which is easily recognized by the serene expressions and doughy features of the sculpted figures, and is widely used in sculpture, appearing on architectural and freestanding statues as well as reliefs. However, despite the trend towards serene, emotionless expressions, there are examples of the growing interest in displaying emotion in sculpture. This is evidenced in pieces such as Mourning Athena, the Riace Bronzes, and the pedimental sculpture of Aphaia and Olympia.

During the High Classical period, depictions of emotion vanished completely from freestanding sculpture and are seen only in architectural and funerary statues, most notably in the Parthenon reliefs, the Cat Stele and the funerary relief of Mnesagora and Nikocharis. The presence of emotion in these works can be explained by the depictions of barbarians on the Parthenon and the use of grave markers as places of mourning, in each case emotion would be socially acceptable even as the Greeks extolled stoicism after the success of the Persian Wars.

It is not until the Late Classical period that a significant increase in level of emotion and realism in sculpture remerged. Sculptors such as Skopas began to show people realistically, including their emotions. One problem in dealing with this period is that very few original fourth-century pieces remaining and we must rely heavily Roman copies. One must therefore use

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21 Stewart 2008, 581-615
such statues cautiously as evidence for Greek views on emotion in the 4\textsuperscript{th} century.\textsuperscript{23}

Nevertheless, this interest in emotion is exemplified in pieces such as the Maenad, the Tegea Heads, the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, the Lysippos Herakles, and the Ilissos stele.

Emotion continues to be present in sculpture throughout the Hellensitic Period, culminating in the style known as Hellenistic Baroque. This style, similar to that seen in 17\textsuperscript{th} century Italy, is best known for its highly exaggerated emotions rather than the modest realistic ones seen in the Late Classical Period. Rather than simply hinting at what the figures are feeling through body language or facial expressions, their feelings are blatant to the viewer: the weariness of the Terme Boxer, the desperation of the giants on the Great Altar of Pergamon, or the anguish of the Suicidal Gaul.

In the next three chapters I will examine architectural, freestanding, and relief sculpture in order to see how the ways emotion was used in sculpture changed in the wake of the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars. In particular, I will discuss how emotion in sculpture was used after the Persian Wars to differentiate between Greeks and barbarians as well as to elevate reason over emotion, before its role shifted after the Peloponnesian War to provoking an emotional reaction in its viewers.

Chapter 2: Architectural Sculpture

Architectural sculpture, defined by Brunilde Ridgway as “whatever carving was an intrinsic part of each building, so that it could not be removed without physically affecting the structure or without seriously weakening its own aesthetic value and content,” is one of the most expansive styles of sculpture, ranging stylistically from the pedimental sculpture of Doric temples to the molded friezes of Ionic temples. In the Archaic Period, most architectural sculpture comes from Doric temples that can have ornately sculpted pediments and entablatures decorated with simple triglyphs and sculpted or plain metopes. Stone pedimental sculpture appeared, fully developed, somewhere around 580 BC on the Doric Temple of Artemis at Corcyra (modern Corfu). From that point on, many Doric pediments were completely filled with sculpture, with even the hard to fill far right and left corners taken up by animals or figures lounging. This is not the case in Magna Gracia, where sculptors favored metopical sculpture over pedimental. In contrast, Archaic Ionic Temples developed in Ionia, and unlike the Doric temple, they do not have pedimental sculpture. Archaic Ionic architectural sculpture consisted instead of continuous friezes that covered the entablatures both outside and often inside as well. Furthermore, the sima, dado, and columns of temples could all be sculpted as well depending on the preference of the patron. Both Ionic and Doric temples also often had akroteria, statues which were first placed at the apex of a temple roof and then later on the side corners as well.

27 Boardman 1978, 151-152
29 Boardman 1978, 151-152
Akroteria could be either figural, meaning sphinxes, Nikai, gorgons, or other animals, or they could be non-figural, meaning disks or volutes. The sculpture on both Doric and Ionic temples was heavily based on mythology, but the scenes shown are not often easily explained. Archaic Doric pediments frequently featured images of gorgons, monsters, and monster fights, with iconography from local cults or myths accompanying and eventually replacing them. It is on these temples that the first traces of emotion are seen in sculpture.

The earliest extant examples of architecture which display some trace of emotion in their sculpture are found on or around the Mainland and the Peloponnese. The Temple of Aphaia, found on the island of Aegina near Athens, is believed to have been completed somewhere around 470 BC. The Temple of Zeus at Olympia was began on the Peloponnese around that same time, not finishing until 456 BC. Fifteen years later, during the Age of Pericles and reusing the foundations of the temple the Persians had destroyed, the Athenians started work on the Parthenon, finishing in either 433 or 432. From this point onward, largely in the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods, examples of emotion in architectural sculpture begin to be found all over the Mediterranean, particularly in the region of Ionia. The Mausoleum at Halikarnassos, built in 350 BC, and the Great Altar of Pergamon, built in the 2nd century, are two notable examples of this outward spread of architectural sculpture depicting emotions. However, this is not to say that emotion did not continue to be portrayed in Western Greece; the

31 Goldberg 1982, 195
32 Boardman 1978, 152
35 Boardman 1985, 96
36 Pedley 2012, 303
Tegea Heads in particular, found on the Peloponnese and dating to 340 BC, are known for their strong portrayals of emotions.\textsuperscript{38}

These depictions of emotion show up in Aegina around 470 BC, and in Olympia shortly thereafter in 456 BC, around the same time Athenian playwrights were beginning to not simply explore human emotion, but to also represent them.\textsuperscript{39} Actors began to use not only language to express the emotions of their characters, but also body language, using posture and gestures to convey their feelings.\textsuperscript{40} Given that not only were these plays performed at Panhellenic festivals which would have been attended by both Olympians and Aeginians, but also the complete void of emotion in sculpture previously, it seems likely that these changes were connected. This change in viewpoint is seen at Aegina and Olympia, as well as at the Parthenon, may also be connected to the desire to elevate reason and stoicism over emotionality and recklessness which developed in the wake of the Persian Wars. Therefore, in these works, the Greeks are shown as serene, logical figures while the figures who are clearly not Greek are portrayed as passionate, rash barbarians. As evidenced by the Trojan fighters at Aphaia as well as with the centaurs on both the Temple of Zeus and on the Parthenon. As stated above, the philosophers Plato and Aristotle both spent some time discussing emotions in general in the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods, each classifying the specific feelings they believed humans felt,\textsuperscript{41} indicating a change in the belief that Greeks were supposed to be emotionless. This shift occurs at the same time as the resurgence in emotion does, around 350 BC.\textsuperscript{42} From this point forward, as a result of the diffusion of ideas which came with the Hellenistic period, emotion began to appear all over

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{38} Pedley 2012, 310
\item \textsuperscript{39} Stewart, Andrew F. \textit{Classical Greece and the Birth of Western Art}. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2008 (B). 40.
\item \textsuperscript{40} Stewart 2008 (B), 40
\item \textsuperscript{41} Bobou 2013, 297
\item \textsuperscript{42} Adams, John Paul. "Platonic Chronology and Writings." \textit{Platonic Chronology and Writings}. CSUN, 28 May 2009.
\end{itemize}
the Mediterranean, spreading outwards from Athens all the way to the east and Pergamon as seen on the Great Altar, although the tendency remains that non-Greeks display the emotions rather than the Greeks.\textsuperscript{43}

Architectural sculpture is particularly important to look at when discussing the development of emotion in sculpture because it was in this style that some of the earliest representations of emotion are expressed in sculpture though body language and facial expressions, as seen on the Temple of Aphaia in Aegina. This is most likely because, as Bobou argues, emotion was more likely to be present on often frequented monuments where the figures were highly visible,\textsuperscript{44} on account of the fact that emotion was incorporated in order to elicit a reaction.\textsuperscript{45} As temples and altars were religious sites which drew the attention of Greeks from all over the Mediterranean, the architectural sculpture at Panhellenic sites like Olympia and at large poleis like Athens and later Pergamon were more likely to be seen than the tiny temples to local gods found all over the Mediterranean. And yet, even comparatively small temples such as Aphaia or Tegea, or tombs such as the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, were frequently visited, albeit by fewer people, and were therefore decorated in this as manner. Because of this importance of visibility, architectural sculpture was the perfect medium to decorate with figures showing emotion and it is therefore important to discuss it when investigating these trends.

Late Archaic

Although there are a plethora of examples of architectural sculpture from the Classical and Hellenistic periods, there are not many from Archaic temples. This is partly due to centuries

\textsuperscript{43} Bobou 2013, 295
\textsuperscript{44} Bobou 2013, 295
\textsuperscript{45} Bobou 2013, 297
of erosion, the earliest decorations on temples were made out of terracotta or limestone, mediums which do not stand up to the sands of time well. Consequently, although there may have been temples which incorporated emotion into their sculpture, they no longer exist. However, considering that there are no extant examples of emotion in Archaic architectural sculpture, it is more likely that this absence was deliberate rather than by chance. Another possibility is that it was caused by the length of time it took to develop a solution to the problem of how to fit sculpture into the unwieldy shape of pediments. The difficult shape of the triangle resulted in disjointed compositions filled with elements which did not logically go together and sections which have no unity of scale, both of which making it difficult to render the unified scenes which would later be used to depict emotion. This continues even until the 520 BC with the temple of Apollo at Delphi, before eventually the realization is made that if a battle scene is shown, then lunging or falling figures could be used to fill the corners of pediments while still portraying a unified and to scale grouping. Although we do not know exactly when this revelation took place, it was clearly sometime before the creation of the Temple of Aphaia at the start of the Classical period, as the scene depicted by the pedimental sculpture is completely unified and to scale. It is to this temple, and the Early Classical period, that we now turn to in order to examine the emotion which is depicted in its architectural sculpture.

Early Classical

The Archaic and Classical periods are traditionally separated by the Persian Wars, occurring in the early 5th century. Although the distinction between Late Archaic and Early

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46 Boardman 1978,153  
47 Boardman 1978,152  
48 Boardman 1978,152  
49 Boardman 1978,152
Classical art does not line up exactly with these dates, there are changes which can be observed as occurring in sculpture after the wars. Classical sculpture quickly grew more plastic than its Archaic ancestors and, at least at the beginning of the Classical period, emotion began to be evident in the faces and body language of the figures being sculpted. Around this time in about 470 BC the Severe Style developed in Attica, though it soon spread to be prominent throughout all of Greece;\(^{50}\) named for the serious facial expressions, this style put more emphasis on the movement of human figures and the realistic reproduction of their anatomy. The balance between realistic anatomy and the representation of the ideal that the High Classical period is known for did not occur until the second half of the 5\(^{th}\) century.\(^{51}\)

The earliest example of emotion in architectural sculpture appears on the island of Aegina around 470 BC. The island is twenty miles south of Athens and Herodotus tells us of multiple incidents of hostility between the two poleis.\(^{52}\) Other literary sources tell us that the school of bronze castors on Aegina rivaled even Athens'.\(^{53}\) As is so often the case, this rivalry may have pushed the sculptors to find new ways of rendering figures on sculpture, eventually resulting in the emotion seen on the Temple of Aphaia. Stewart proposes a different reason for the difference between the two pediments and the use of emotion in one but not the other. He suggests that the pediments were carved by two different sculptors and that, because of the reconstruction of the eastern pediment after the initial designs were rejected, the eastern sculptor was able to wait until the western pediment was finished and then design his own to lack the shortcomings found on the west.\(^{54}\) Thus, the eastern pediment was more stylistically advanced.

\(^{50}\) Stewart 2008 (A), 596  
\(^{51}\) Pedley 2012, 249  
\(^{54}\) Stewart 1990, 137-138
This Temple is generally dated to around 490 BC, although R.M Cook argues that because figures from Aegina are less technically advanced than a relief from Delphi which indisputably dates to around 490, Aphaia can be no later than 500 BC.\textsuperscript{55} Stewart argues, however, that it dates to 470 BC, since the architectural style dates to between the Athenian Treasury at Delphi and the Temple of Zeus at Olympia\textsuperscript{56}. I choose to use Stewart’s dating here due to the stylistic similarities between the pedimental sculpture at Aphaia and Olympia. The two pediments show scenes from the Trojan War with Athena at center and battle raging around her [Fig. 1]. Stylistically, however, the two pediments seem to have been sculpted by two different workshops: one in the Late Archaic manner (the west pediment) and the other in that of the Severe style (the east pediment).\textsuperscript{57} On the west pediment the battle moves outward from Athena with symmetrical unity, the figures stiff and angular with little movement projected to the viewer. Contrastingly, the action in the east pediment moves inward towards Athena and is filled with figures in constant motion. This style of movement is similar to that which is seen on contemporary vase paintings or in the high relief of treasuries, but the pediment is carved in the round and the skill by which it is done is a testament to progress which has occurred in sculpture.\textsuperscript{58} Stewart argues that the sculptors began to show figures caught in constant motion to keep the attention of the viewer, for otherwise the expressionless faces would make the figures seem static and blank.\textsuperscript{59} Rather than statically staring out at the viewer or looking sideways as seen on the earlier pediment, they all look in different directions and are fully involved in their actions, thereby engaging viewers as well. Furthermore, he argues that the momentary facial

\textsuperscript{56} Stewart 2008 (A), 595-596
\textsuperscript{57} Pedley 2012, 213
\textsuperscript{58} Boardman 1978,157
\textsuperscript{59} Stewart 2008 (A), 602
expressions are rare and that they are generally only found on beasts or figures expressly shown to be barbaric.\textsuperscript{60} That it is believed that these groupings show episodes from the Trojan War gives further evidence towards Stewart’s claim. It is unlikely that, so shortly after the Persian Wars, Greek sculptors would depict a Greek dying by an Eastern hand, therefore it stands to reason that the fallen figures are meant to be Trojan enemies. The pained expressions these warriors wear only prove Bobou and Stewart’s assertions that non-Greeks were more likely to express emotions than Greeks.

The figures on the far right [Fig. 2] and left [Fig. 3] have clearly been struck down and are engrossed in their deaths, their gazes are fixed below and their lips turned down in solemn expressions. With the use of a pregnant pause the sculptor captures the moment just before death, the warriors lying there in pain forced to helplessly await their own deaths, their fear expressed in their downturned lips and hunched postures. The left figure braces his body with his right arm and the figure on the right seems to be frozen in the motion of collapsing to the ground, though without the rest of the sculpture it is impossible to tell. The dying warrior on the right of the west pediment on the other hand, looks positively cheerful in comparison [Fig. 4]. His lips turn up in an Archaic smile and his right leg crosses casually over his left in an almost relaxed pose. If not for position of his right arm, holding the spear or arrow in his chest, he would appear to simply be lounging in the corner of the pediment. Although Bobou does not mention the Temple of Aphaia specifically in her discussion on emotion, she does spend some time on exactly who shows what type of emotions. She specifies that it is the non-Greeks which are most frequently shown angry or in pain and that of those groups, older men often display anger, while younger men pain.\textsuperscript{61} If we look at the sculptural elements on the pediment, this trend is obvious. The men

\textsuperscript{60} Stewart 2008 (A), 602
\textsuperscript{61} Bobou 2013, 293
dying, far from looking angry at their situation, are instead shown to be in pain, one collapses while the other braces himself unsteadily. The poses and facial expressions of these two warriors, especially when compared to the warriors on the west pediment, give evidence to the fact that emotion is beginning to be used in sculpture where before there was nothing. This Development is even more obvious on the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, built a decade later.

Dating to the mid-5th century BC, the Temple of Zeus at Olympia was the first to be dedicated solely to Zeus and, according to Pausanias, was paid for with the spoils won after the destruction of Pisa by the city of Elis. He also claims that the sculpture is the work of the sculptors were Paionios of Mende (the east pediment) and Alkamenes of Lemnos (the west pediment), it is generally believed, however, that this is not true and Classical art historians have taken to calling the sculptor the “Master of Olympia.” Much of what we know of the placement of the sculpture also comes from Pausanias’ writing, who describes the pediments in some detail. We are told that the east pediment shows the preparation for the chariot race between Pelops and Oinomaos, [Fig. 5] while the west shows the battle between the Lapiths and the Centaurs [Fig. 6]. Along the inner porches are sculpted metopes showing the labors of Herakles, all but one of which Pausanias describes. The scene on the east pediment has been read two ways; one is that Pelops was Zeus’ instrument of justice in dispatching the evil Oinomaos and that he had the help of the god Poseidon to do so. The other, and more common way to read it, was that Pelops bribed Oinomaos’ charioteer Myrtilos to sabotage the chariot, thus killing his competition, and then when Myrtilos tried to take the bribe Pelops killed him but not before Myrtilos cursed the line of

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62 The previous temple, built in the 6th century, housed the cult statues of both Hera and Zeus
63 Boardman 1985, 33
65 Boardman 1985, 37
The second reading of the story would explain more fully explain the sculptural elements, specifically, the sculpture called the Seer Iamos [Fig. 7]. The seer, placed next to the personified Alpheios, very clearly shows concern over the proceedings as he watches Pelops and Oinomaos prepare to compete. His hand is raised to his mouth, his head is tilted, and his brow is furrowed, all of which demonstrate his worry. Also interesting to note is that the seer is the only figure which shows this worry, indicating that perhaps he has seen that Oinomaos will die, or even that he has seen the future of the House of Atreus. This interpretation coincides with Stewart’s suggestion that the seer’s presence is to draw attention to the catastrophe which is yet to come and to allow the viewer to feel their horror, serving the same purpose that the chorus does in tragedy, allowing the entire story to be told while simultaneously showing only one scene. The stories about the house of Atreus were well-known, so the combination of the look of horror in Iamos’ face with the chariot scene would have been enough to inform viewers of the events taking place.

The west pediment, showing the battle between the Lapiths and Centaurs, provides an example of the more traditional way emotion was used in sculpture prior to the Hellenistic period, to differentiate the barbarians from Greeks to viewers. Despite the fact that, according to legend, they are being attacked, the Lapiths the pediment seem remarkably calm, with expressions typical of the severe style [Fig. 8], with only one of them reacting in pain. On the right side of the pediment a centaur is seen biting the arm of a struggling Lapith whose pain is shown in his open mouth and raised brows [Fig. 9]. But, according to both Plato and Aristotle,

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67 Hurwit 1987, 13
68 Stewart 1990, 145
pain is not an emotion but instead a reaction to physical stimuli and a trigger of fear or anger.\textsuperscript{69} As stated above, emotion on sculpture was meant to provoke a reaction in ancient audiences, and the presence of this pain and the subsequent fear in the Lapith fighter would have certainly succeeded in doing so. Warriors were not meant to show fear in battle, as it is the opposite of the confidence by which young warriors are typified, and its presence informs the viewer of the level of danger faced by the warrior.\textsuperscript{70} This knowledge of the danger and undeserved fate of the heroes and women rouse pity in the viewer.\textsuperscript{71}

The centaurs, on the other hand, are shown twisting and attacking the Lapith women whom they are trying to rape, sometimes flinching away from the women’s attempts to fight back. Also, in contrast to the closed mouths of the women, the centaur’s mouths are open, displaying anger, pain, or possibly pain [Fig. 10].\textsuperscript{72} But the centaurs were the attackers, and therefore have no right to feel anger or pain. If they had not attacked then they would not be angry, it stands to reason then, that their anger is their own fault for not containing their savage natures.\textsuperscript{73} Bobou argues that their expressions are meant as a warning against unjust anger and a reminder to temper one’s self-control lest they end up like the centaurs.\textsuperscript{74} The serenity and dignity of the Lapiths, contrasted with the unruly expressions of the centaurs, communicates that although the Lapiths have lost the battle, it is the centaurs who were in the wrong. Although they are used differently than is seen on the east pediment, emotion is still very present in that of the west. It is interesting, therefore, that this trend towards showing emotion is sculpture decreases

\textsuperscript{69} Bobou 2013, 300
\textsuperscript{70} Bobou 2013, 300
\textsuperscript{71} Bobou 2013, 300
\textsuperscript{72} Bobou 2013, 300
\textsuperscript{73} Bobou 2013, 300
\textsuperscript{74} Bobou 2013, 300
shortly after, vanishing almost completely throughout the High Classical period and then reappearing near the end.

High Classical

During the High Classical period the growing trend of displaying emotion in the expressions and body languages of both Greek and non-Greeks in architectural sculpture ended abruptly, only to reappear at the very end of the Classical age.\(^{75}\) For the next fifty years, from 450 to 400 BC, emotion continued to be present in architectural sculpture, but it was only the barbarians and non-humans who displayed it and it was in a more idealized fashion than previous depicted.\(^{76}\) This is because in the High Classical period the Greeks prided themselves on keeping a cool head in even the most passionate of scenarios, therefore their the lack of emotions would have been a source of pride for them while they would have looked down on those who could not control their emotions. The undisputed best example of this is the Parthenon, built upon the foundations of a temple which the Persians destroyed during their invasion in 480 BC. It was began about thirty years later in 447, finished in 432, and completely covered in sculpture celebrating the triumph of civilization over barbarism and the recent success of Athens in the defeat of Persia.\(^{77}\) In these sculptures, especially in the metopes, it is the non-humans which display anger and fear while the Greeks look on with placid expressions. Harkening back to the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia is the grouping of centaurs and Lapiths on the south metope of the Parthenon. The centaurs, though more idealized than their previous incarnations, display the same irrational anger that Bobou describes the Olympian centaurs as showing,\(^{78}\) their mouths open in impotent

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\(^{75}\) Pedley 2012, 305
\(^{76}\) Pedley 2012, 249
\(^{77}\) Pedley 2012, 253
\(^{78}\) Bobou 2013, 300
rage and their brows furrowed as they struggle with the Lapiths [Fig. 11]. Once again the message is clear; logical and stoic reactions will win over emotionally charged impulsiveness. This trend of considering intellectual and idealized people to be perfect is the style of the Athenian Empire, but with the end of the Peloponnesian War and the fall of the empire, comes the return to the more naturalistic representation of men and women, complete with realistic emotions.\textsuperscript{79}

Late Classical

In the Late Classical period, as abruptly as it vanished, emotion reappeared in art. This is most notable in the work of the Sculptor Skopas of Paros. Specific evidence of Skopas exists only in literary sources, which report that he was the architect of the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea in the Peloponnese. It is known that he created the freestanding statues found near the temple and believed that he also is responsible for the well-known Tegea Heads which were part of the pediments. Whether Skopas created all the pieces he is attributed to or not, it is clear that the emotional style he worked in, and likely invented, soon grew in popularity, appearing as far away from the Mainland as Halikarnassos and Ephesos and as close as Tegea. Arguably one of the best examples of his work is the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos.\textsuperscript{80}

The mausoleum, ordered by King Maussolos of Persia in the 360’s and not finished until the 340’s, was said by Pliny to be 440 ft. around and 140 ft. tall.\textsuperscript{81} Stylistically, it mixed elements from Egypt, Greece, and the Near-East,\textsuperscript{82} with four sculptors (Skopas, Bryaxis, Leochares, and Timotheos or possibly Praxiteles\textsuperscript{83}) carving the sides of the podium. The iconography was

\textsuperscript{79} Pedley 2012, 305
\textsuperscript{80} Pedley 2012, 303
\textsuperscript{81} Stewart 1990, 180
\textsuperscript{82} Stewart 1990, 180-181
\textsuperscript{83} Waywell, G. B. The Free-standing Sculptures of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus in the British Museum. 79
diverse, ranging from Persians and Greeks fighting, to hunting and sacrificial scenes, to an Amazonomachy. It is extremely likely Skopas would have carved the heads of the Amazonomachy as both Pliny and Vitruvius explicitly say that he did work on it, it is known that he was doing commission work with the other three in Asia at that time, and furthermore, the style matches the rest of his work perfectly [Fig. 12].

The statues have deep set eyes which are emphasized by a protruding brow line, square faces, and flat cheeks, all of which exemplify Skopas’ work.

Even more well-known than the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos are the Tegea Heads which are believed have once been part of the pediment of the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea due to them being found in situ next to the temple. Pausanias tells us that the east pediment showed the hunt for the Calydonian Boar while the west depicted Achilles’ attack against Telephos. And indeed, two of the heads found seem to be of Telephos (wearing a lion’s head cap) [Fig. 13] and Achilles (wearing a helmet) [Fig. 14].

The emotion present on these heads aligns with the pattern of using emotion to elicit a reaction, both the hunt and the battle would have been exciting and tense scenes, resulting in correspondingly strained expressions on statues. The sections of the pediments which survive show strong and energetic figures fighting, presenting scenes filled with, in Stewart’s words, “no mere momentary pathos but an all-pervading intensity of feeling that defines the true hero’s whole ethos and arête.”

The heads in particular convey these stressed emotional moods; with Stewart noting that twisted mouths, flared nostrils, fixed eyes, and a furrowed brow are all used to display negative emotions. He also comments that

84 Stewart 1977, 95.
85 Stewart 1977, 83
86 Boardman 1995, 25
87 Boardman 1995, 25
88 Stewart 1990, 183
these are not necessarily the expressions that are made universally when sad or angry, but instead the artists used these features to express the effect of this anguish.\textsuperscript{89} For example, not everyone cries when upset, but when someone is seen crying it is generally understood that they are distraught. What is also notable about the heads is that one must discern for themselves what emotion is being portrayed purely from the facial expressions. Unlike the other sculptures we have seen thus far, the bodies do not survive and therefore body language is not available to help determine what the figure is supposed to be feeling. And it is very clear that the heads are portraying \emph{pathos}, the most dominant of which being focus or perhaps tension, if that can be classified as an emotion. This is displayed not only through the traditionally skopaic traits, but also through a short, set mouth and neck muscles which strain against the skin of the neck such as is seen on the Malibu Head.\textsuperscript{90} The flared nostrils and open mouth create the impression of panting, adding to the impression of a tense man, waiting for something to occur.\textsuperscript{91}

\textbf{Hellenistic}

The Hellenistic period is well known for its mixture of cultures resulting from the domination of Alexander the Great over all of Greece and much of the east. Beginning in the 4\textsuperscript{th} century, with this mixing of cultures came the unprecedented style of sculpture called Hellenistic Baroque. Unlike many styles which developed in Greece throughout the centuries which could be used on any topic, Hellenistic Baroque was specific to epic heroes, gods, and royalty. Also, this new style heralded the start of complex compositions of statues whereas before statues were

\textsuperscript{89} Stewart 1977, 74
\textsuperscript{91} Stewart 1977, 74
generally just placed in a line. Now, they were put in specific groups in order to create a single, precise reaction. The best examples of this style are from Pergamon and the best of these examples lies in the Great Altar of Pergamon, against which all other Hellenistic Baroque sculpture assessed and dated.

The Great Altar of Pergamon, an altar found in modern Turkey completely covered with a huge baroque styled frieze, dates to the late third and second century and was discovered in 1871 by Carl Humann. It is unknown who the altar was dedicated to, if, in fact, it was dedicated to a god; Stewart poses the theory that it was a dedication to a hero cult, as the word Ara in Latin and the tradition of altars could refer to hero cults or even serve as monuments to mortals as well as to gods. It is hard to guess, as any inscriptions which may have been carved on it do not survive and it is mentioned only once in ancient literature, briefly described by Lucius Ampelius as one of the wonders of the ancient world. Made up of a podium with wings on either side, it is the frieze on the outside of the podium, depicting the Gigantomachy, which is best known. This frieze, completely finished and stylistically unified, depicts the giants as malformed and bestial figures while the Greek gods are completely anthropomorphic. It is thought that was a representation of not just the defeat of the Gauls by the Attalid kingdom, but also of Classical Athens’ defense of civilization against barbarism and thus, having been carved before the rest of the altar and the more elaborately, it was the likely altar’s raison d’être. The frieze was carved almost completely in the round by at least sixteen sculptors, all of which have signed their work.

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94 Smith 1991, 158

95 Smith 1991, 159; raison d’être – meaning the most important reason for someone or something’s existence
and are known to have come from both Athens and Pergamon. It has been suggested by W. H. Schuchhardt that the frieze was made up of the independent styles of around fifteen artists and that there is no overarching style of the entire frieze. Kaehler, on the other hand, has argued that the homogeneous nature of the frieze overrides any importance the individual masters may have had, but in doing so he ignores the distinct stylistic differences found within the work. Each of these unique regional styles says something about the specific regions' view on emotion and therefore where these sculptors come from must be taken into consideration when looking at their work.

As is so frequently the case, it is not the Olympians who are shown displaying strong emotions on the frieze but the giants, displaying rage and fear concerning their eternal and inevitable defeat at the hands of the Greek Pantheon. In this case, however, it is not necessary to use emotion and lack thereof to distinguish between Olympian and barbarian, for each is shown with distinctive iconography making confusion impossible for even the most illiterate strata of society. Interestingly, a gaping mouth seems to no longer indicate rage or pain, as both gods and giants alike are seen thusly. Bobou proposes that the half-open mouth instead is “a marker of expressivity, dynamism, and life-like behavior.” Standing out from this grouping is Gaia, whose wide eyes and frown show her anguish at the death of her children [Fig. 15]. While the rest of the gods are emotionless, Gaia’s innate motherly instincts lead her to mourn the deaths of her children. This in turn inspires pity in viewers, who can sympathize with a mother’s pain.

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97 Smith 1991, 162
98 Boubou 2013, 288
99 Boubou 2013, 289
100 Boubou 2013, 292
On the east side of the frieze, Athena, easily identifiable as the only female warrior goddess, subdues a young giant who looks up in terror or possibly rage [Fig. 16]. This emotion is easily recognized by the same traits which made the emotions found in Skopas’ work so evident, as noted by Stewart. A furrowed brow, flared nostrils, and wide eyes all combine to show stress, these traits, added to the thrust and tilt of the head communicate despair. These same traits are seen on the giant depicted on the north projection of the altar. This giant, having been defeated by the Sea-Gods Nereus and Okeanos, displays the body language which conveys such anguish to the viewer [Fig. 17]. Another section of the east frieze shows Artemis facing off against two giants, of the elder of which has already been killed [Fig. 18]. He lies at her feet with his head between the jaws of Artemis’ hound, eyes widened in death. His age is communicated by his full beard and his attempts to keep fighting, even in death as he grips the head of the hound which slew him. The other giant, shown to be the younger of the two by his beardless face, stands against Artemis bravely but is visibly terrified. Even in profile the deep set of his eyes, the tight clench of his fists, and the part of his mouth make his terror clear. The battle may be forever raging, but the sculptors have made it perfectly clear who the victors would forever be.

Conclusions

Other than the slight decrease throughout the High Classical period, emotion incorporated into architectural sculpture is a trend which developed fairly steadily from the 6th century onwards until it peaked in the Hellenistic period with the creation of Hellenistic Baroque. They are observed on the Temple of Aphaia as being used to engage the viewer where otherwise they may be disinterested by the zombie-like serenity of the Severe style. Another use for them, as

101 Boubou 2013, 289
seen on the Temple of Zeus at Olympia and less so on the Great Altar of Pergamon, is to
distinguish between Greeks and foreigners. Developing largely after the Persian Wars, the
Greeks prided themselves on keeping a cool head in even the most passionate of scenarios,
therefore the lack of emotions would have been a source of pride for them. Contrastingly, Greeks
saw Barbarians as controlled by their emotions and therefore were considered to be less
civilized. In the Late fourth century emotion returns to architectural sculpture after the short
decrease seen in the high Classical period. It seems that this is due to an interest in emotion itself.
Skopas is best known for the style which the Tegea Heads were carved in, a style which
emphasized the emotions felt by the statue. Among other ways, these emotions were
communicated through deep, furrowed brows, parted mouths, and flared nostrils; creating
something akin to character studies. The emotions seen in these sculptures are meant to provoke
reactions in their viewers, be it pity, understanding, or anger.

Chapter 3: Freestanding Sculpture

Freestanding sculpture is probably the most well-known style of ancient Greek sculptural
art. Defined as any statue that is not part of a building or carved in relief, these statues are mostly
of humans, although occasionally animals accompanied them such as the High Archaic Calf
Bearer or the Hellenistic Boy Strangling a Goose. It is believed that this style of art began to be
used in the Archaic period as funerary markers as well as for dedications to sanctuaries and
occasionally to temples. The majority of the earliest statues are generic youths and maidens,
called kouroi and korai respectively, it has been suggested by some scholars that the kouroi
represented Apollo, especially those which wear belts as otherwise kouroi were heroically nude.

103 Boardman 1978, 63
This custom of using statues purely for funerals and dedications changed in the early and high Classical periods when sculpture began to be used as memorials to the success of living athletes and as cult statues of specific gods and goddesses. Consequenly, sculpture began to be more anatomically correct and poses began to look more natural. This tendency is most clearly demonstrated in the well-known statue called the *Diskobolos*. Throughout the late Classical and Hellenistic periods the role of freestanding sculptures changed once more, incorporating the increasingly popular style of portraiture first in an idealized form and then, as the number of Roman patrons increased, becoming hyper-realistic. Portraiture was largely a Roman construct, therefore this upsurge in the style was a direct result of an increased Roman presence in Greece.

These stylistic changes were also outcomes of the increased interest in private art. In the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods there was a significant increase in private art, with anyone from almost any social standing could commission works, from philosophers wanting to immortalize their teachers to armies desiring a statue of their benefactor. This wide variety of patrons resulted in a wide variety of sculptures, as each patron commissioned something different. In order to properly survey the development of emotion in freestanding Greek sculpture, this paper will examine works ranging from 550 BC to around 100 BC. Beginning with a brief discussion of the late Archaic period, a time when emotion in sculpture was virtually absent, before continuing to the early, high, and late Classical periods, and ending with the Hellenistic period and the rise of Hellenistic Baroque and hyper-realism.

The most basic reason for discussing freestanding sculpture is because of their wide variety of uses, ranging from temple dedications in the Late Archaic period to propagandistic

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105 Boardman 1985, 26
106 Boardman 1995,
107 Smith 1991, 11
statues in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods. The more compelling reason to examine freestanding statues, however, is because of the rarity of emotion in early sculptures. Because patrons had complete control over what a commission looked like, it stands to reason that any emotion that did appear on statues was put there purposefully by the sculptor at the instruction of the patron, informing us of contemporary Greek values. The emotionless statues during the High Classical period communicate the importance placed on stoicism and serene intellectualism, while the more emotional Terme Boxer conveys the shift towards wanting to portray reality through art.

Late Archaic

Although, as stated above, there are countless examples of freestanding sculpture that date to the Archaic Period, none have survived which display any sense of emotion. This makes sense in light of the fact that the standard features that characterize the generic kouros and kore include a blank, staring gaze, limited body motions, smooth facial muscles, and the so called ‘Archaic’ smile, all of which leave little room for emotion for be expressed. It could be argued, however, that the Archaic smile is an expression of emotion, especially when compared to the meaning of a smile in modern times, but Boardman claims otherwise, saying,

“The archaic smile may have owed something to the difficulties of carving the transition from mouth to cheek but it was retained not because the expression was recognized as one of good cheer (inappropriate in much funerary art) but because it made the figure look for alive, and it was abandoned once technique and observation combined to render the mouth more acceptable – that is, realistic.”

108 Smith 1991, 11
109 Boardman 1978, 66
Subsequent styles in sculpture support this theory, for as realism grew in popularity the use of the Archaic Smile diminished and by the high Classical period, had vanished altogether. As Boardman suggests, one possible explanation for the lack of emotion is that it would be inappropriate for funerary statues to be displaying good cheer. This does not, however, explain why somber expressions are not used on funerary statues. It can only be concluded that the Greeks specifically chose to not incorporate emotion into Late Archaic, Early and High Classical sculpture. Possibly this is because, until the debut of private art, freestanding sculpture was largely used for dedications which would not be in constant public view and as we have seen, emotion in sculpture was commonly included in order to provoke an emotional reaction in viewers.

**Early Classical**

Similar to what was seen during the late Archaic period, there are no examples of emotion in Early Classical freestanding statues. There are many possible explanations for this surprising devolution of the presence of emotion in freestanding works. The simplest being that the patrons during this period simply did not want to see emotion in the works they patronized, after all the hallmark of the Early Classical period was idealism, and the ideal Greek male was emotionless. Another possibility is that because the Severe style was characterized by emotionless and serene figures, there was simply no place for emotion. True there are a few examples of emotion present in architectural sculpture during this period such as is seen on the Parthenon metopes, but these examples only occur in depictions of non-Greeks, a subject completely absent from freestanding sculpture. What is interesting to note is that, in the late High Classical Period, emotion reappears as suddenly as it vanished.

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High Classical

It is not until the end of the High Classical period that emotion is present once more in freestanding sculpture. Alkamenes’ Prokne and Itys (Fig. 19), dating somewhere around 440-410 BC, is typically described as showing Prokne, holding the knife behind her back, as Itys huddles into her skirts, unknowing of his fate.\textsuperscript{111} It has also been suggested that Prokne is actually holding a blade to her son’s throat at this moment and he is pressing into her skirts in an attempt to escape it, looking imploringly up at his mother at the same time.\textsuperscript{112} Still another interpretation, as Pausanias tells us, is that this scene shows Prokne, her mind already made up, swooping in for the kill, her son unaware. This statue is a particularly good example of emotion used to incite a reaction in the viewers, because it is based on a story which would have been quite well-known. Any Greek who was told who the figures were (it may have been hard to tell due to the differences between the statue and the scene in Sophocles’ \textit{Tereus}\textsuperscript{113}) would have immediately understood what was going on and sympathized with the boy at his mother’s feet. Yet even if someone did not know the events of the story, the sight of a young boy cowering at his mother’s feet would have invoked pathos in anyone.

Late Classical

It is not until the late Classical period, dating from around 400 BC until the death of Alexander the Great and the dawn of the Hellenistic period in 331 BC, that emotions begin to really become prevalent in freestanding sculpture. The end of the Peloponnesian War in 404 BC

\textsuperscript{111} Barringer, Judith. "Alkamenes' Prokne and Itys In Context." 2005. 165
\textsuperscript{112} Barringer 2005, 165-166
\textsuperscript{113} Barringer 2005, 167
marked the beginning of the late Classical Period; during which the Corinthian War, the rise of the Macedonian Empire, and the end of the Peloponnesian League occurred.\textsuperscript{114} In the artistic world the changes are even more pronounced, where before it was rare to find a statue displaying even the slightest semblance of emotion, in the 4\textsuperscript{th} century it became a fairly common trend.

The statue group of Eirene and Ploutos [Fig. 20] provides an example of a less commonly seen emotion, familial love. The statue shows Eirene holding a baby Ploutos, the two figures gazing lovingly at each other. This love is indicated in the tilt of the heads of Eirene and Ploutos. The extant version is a Roman copy, but it is quite likely that the original would have incorporated the same familial love between the two. For contemporary writings called Eirene “child-nurturer” and specifically noted that Ploutos is her son.\textsuperscript{115} A further, more subtle, indicator of Eirene’s maternal nature are her long hair and Doric styled peplos, both of which are characteristic of Demeter, the other ‘child-nurturer, as seen on the Parthenon frieze.\textsuperscript{116} It is possible that emotion is so evident on this statue because it was meant to be seen. The sculptural group was commissioned in the 370s in recognition of the resumed power and wealth of Athens, and was placed in the Agora for all to see.\textsuperscript{117} The political message is powerful, a city is formidable when wealth and peace work together, just as they did fifty years ago during the Golden Age.\textsuperscript{118}

As discussed in Chapter 2, the sculptor Skopas was particularly well-known for introducing emotion into his art, using deep-set eyes, flared nostrils, and furrowed brows to communicate tense emotions.\textsuperscript{119} The majority of his works served as decoration for the buildings

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{115} Stewart 1990, 173-174
\bibitem{116} Stewart 1990, 174
\bibitem{117} Stewart 1990, 173
\bibitem{118} Stewart 1990, 174
\bibitem{119} Stewart 1977, 74
\end{thebibliography}
he helped design, but he also has also been credited with several freestanding works such as the Maenad [Fig. 21], although there is no definitive proof that the Maenad was created by Skopas, it has certain features which indicate that it was created in the Skopaic tradition. It has been argued that the deep-set eyes, neck thick, and wide forehead are indicators that it was made by Skopas, but Ridgway counters with the idea that the Tegea Heads have not been confirmed as being made by Skopas and therefore cannot be used to determine Skopaic style. Nevertheless, the statuette displays the same trends towards emotion as are seen in the work of Skopas. The Maenad, also called the Dresden Maenad, the Dancing Maenad, and the Raging Maenad, dates to 360 BC and is shown in the process of dancing, her head tilted to the sky and body twisted. Much of her face has eroded away, but her eyes are wide and the position of her body, mid-dance, are indicators of exuberance. She survives only in the form of a statuette which is thought to have been made in the Hellenistic Period. Therefore, much of our information comes from the writings of Kallistratos, we are told by that the realism of the new product was astounding, he writes “The statue of a Maenad, wrought from Parian marble, has been transformed into a real Maenad…when we saw her face we stood speechless.” The statue may be weathered now, but from Kallistratos’ description, it once inspired awe. Now this could be simply because she was so beautiful, but from his description it seems more likely that it is because she looked so realistic, like a real Maenad, and Maenads are particularly known for being highly emotional and energetic. He body seems to writhe, her body twists one way and her head the other, her hair tumbling down her back in riotous curls. Stewart writes “And in her we meet the god [Dionysus], for as any Greek would instantly recognize, she manifests all the symptoms of Dionysiac


121 Stewart 1990, 19
possession (*enthusiamos*): roused bare-handed to blood-lust (*sparagmos*), fighting for freedom of the body (*ekstasis*), and no longer in command of her senses (*ekphron*).\(^{122}\) The Maenad is clearly crazed, but that does not make her emotions any less real, in fact the level of realism in this statue is striking. The Maenad is not idealized in any way, instead, the gritty truth of following Dionysus is starkly shown, prompting pity in viewers.

Another well-known example of emotion seen in freestanding sculpture, is the Lysippos Herakles, also called the Farnese Herakles [Fig. 22]. This statue only survives in copies, but it is thought to date to the late 4th century and have been sculpted by Lysippos in his middle years.\(^{123}\) Multiple copies survive and, as Pollitt suggests, there may have been more than one ‘original copy,’ as Pliny tells us that Lysippos sculpted as many as 1500 works, a number which seems implausible until you consider that he had a workshop and that replicas could be made once he sculpted something once.\(^{124}\) It shows a weary Herakles, leaning on a wall, over which hangs his lion skin. The piece is notable in that instead of showing Herakles in the midst of one of his labors (such as in seen on the Temple of Zeus at Olympia) or in the midst of battle, Lysippos captures him in a moment of exhaustion. This weariness is conveyed through the slump of his shoulders, the contrapposto position, the not insignificant weight of his body leaning on the neighboring wall, and the tilt of his head. His face also communicates this weariness through wide eyes, a parted mouth, tightly corded tendons in the neck, and flared nostrils, traits similar to those seen on the Tegea Heads.\(^{125}\) This contrast between his muscular body and his weary expression serve to heighten the poignancy.\(^{126}\) Furthermore, to bring the point home, in the hand

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122 Stewart 1990, 184
126 Pollitt 1986, 51
behind his back, Herakles is seen holding the Apples of Hesperides, the eleventh labor. If he were to be depicted fighting the Nemean Lion, the first labor, then this weariness may seem out of context, but by showing the apples, Lysippos is showing viewers that Herakles is so close to being done and just wants to rest. Pollitt raises the idea that Herakles was a symbol of the Greek psyche; throughout the Archaic period, when Greek culture was comparatively young, he was seen as an energetic and brash fighter, during the Classical period, with the interest in self-control comes a more subdued Herakles who helps the gods, and during the Hellenistic period he is tired, simply wanting an end to the labors, indicating that perhaps Greece is similarly weary.\textsuperscript{127}

\textit{The Hellenistic}

The Hellenistic period, beginning with the death of Alexander the Great, was a time of communication between cultures around the Mediterranean the likes of which had never before been seen. Alexander conquered Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, Greece, Bactria, Persia, and parts of India before his death on June 10, 323 BC.\textsuperscript{128} This mix of cultures lead to the development of a markedly different attitude towards art and culture, which in turn resulted in a completely new, Hellenistic \textit{Zeitgeist}.\textsuperscript{129}

The Terme Boxer [Fig. 23], more commonly known as the Seated Boxer, is a bronze original that depicts an old and tired, but still fighting, boxer. There has been much debate about when to date it to, the tilt of his head is characteristic of the 3\textsuperscript{rd} to 2\textsuperscript{nd} centuries, but his torso is similar to that of the Belvedere Torso by Apollonios, which would date him to the 1\textsuperscript{st} century.\textsuperscript{130}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[127] Pollitt 1986, 51
\item[129] Pollitt 1986, 1
\item[130] Pollitt 1986, 146-7
\end{footnotes}
In the end we can only estimate that he was made sometime between the 2nd and 1st centuries BC.\textsuperscript{131} The context of the statue is similarly unknown, but it has been suggested that he may be part of a mythological group or that possibly he is a votive statue of an athlete.\textsuperscript{132} The piece is categorized as ‘genre realism’, meaning that while the piece is clearly of a boxer, there are no individual characteristics that could be used to identify him as a specific living person.\textsuperscript{133} In strong contrast to previous athletes that were immortalized in marble, the Terme Boxer does not show its viewers the idealized glory of athleticism, but the realistic and often painful side of it. The Boxer is shown as a middle aged man with a cauliflower ear, broken nose, broken teeth, and numerous scars covering his body.\textsuperscript{134} This impression is added to by his deep set eyes and beard. Furthermore, although the pose of the Boxer looks to the modern eye like a fighter resting between matches, our sources tell us that the only reason an ancient boxer would be taking a break was if he had been defeated.\textsuperscript{135} Stewart interprets the statue’s expression as grumpy and pained, positing that perhaps he is meant to represent Amykos, the insolent barbarian who was defeated in a boxing match by Polydeukes.\textsuperscript{136} Yet to me, the boxer looks less arrogant and more weary, and impression added to by the numerous old wounds which cover his body, as well as his slumped shoulders, overlapping hands, tilted head, and slightly furrowed brow. Pollitt too interprets the statue thusly, calling him a “nobly battered figure” and comparing him to the Lysippos Herakles.\textsuperscript{137} This interest in depicting the gritty reality of the world is a new trend, one which we will see increasing alongside emotion.

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{131} Pollitt 1986, 147  \\
\textsuperscript{132} Pollitt 1986, 147  \\
\textsuperscript{133} Smith 1991, 54-55.  \\
\textsuperscript{134} Smith 1991, 54-55.  \\
\textsuperscript{136} Stewart 1990, 225  \\
\textsuperscript{137} Pollitt 1986, 146
\end{flushright}
The Pergamene Gauls, a statue group that is traditionally said to have been erected by Attalos I of Pergamon somewhere between 230 and 220 BC in commemoration of his defeat of the Galatians and Seleucids, is made up of two over life-sized statue groups, the first depicts realistic scenes from the war, while the other, a smaller set, shows mythological and historical battles. The statues which survive today are copies, but based on literary sources it is thought that they are mostly faithful to the originals. The best known of the group is the Ludovisi Gaul which is also called the Suicidal Gaul or the Gaul and His Wife [Fig. 24]. This statue brings to life the noble choice of a Gaul who chooses to kill himself and his wife rather than be imprisoned, capturing the most poignant moment as the husband, having already slain his wife, kills himself as he stares upwards. His expression is anguished, his mouth parted, eyebrows raised, and nostrils flared [Fig. 25]; the wife, on the other hand, is boneless in death - her facial muscles are lax, her eyes blank and staring. These traits as well as the husband’s grip on her arm and her slack position give evidence to the idea that she is already dead although there is no evident wound. Even beyond his facial expression, the husband’s pose is evocative, it has been interpreted by some as a final, defiant stare towards an equestrian warrior above him, but I interpret it as his inability to even look at his dead wife as he plunges his sword into his own throat. The idea that the artist chose to freeze the scene at this one moment is significant; someone, be it the artist or patron, wanted to immortalize this single moment of tormented determination.

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138 Smith 1991, 99-100
139 Pollitt 1987, 86
141 Pollitt 1986, 87
The Dying Gaul [Fig. 26], also called the Dying (Capitoline) Trumpeter, also depicts a clear emotions, but rather than determination, it radiates torment. The statue shows a man slumped to the ground, dying from a wound in his thigh, bracing his body with his right arm, shoulders and head slumped, mouth downturned, and brow furrowed. Viewers are moved to empathy, as his anguish is communicated through his taut muscles and twisted torso.\(^\text{142}\) His face is similarly taut, the muscles are sculpted in exaggerated detail, highlighting the pain visible on his face[Fig. 27].\(^\text{143}\) This is a man suffering a very painful death, a man that any viewer would be able to sympathize with, regardless of his status as the enemy.

Conclusions

Unlike architectural sculpture, Greek sculptors of freestanding works did not use emotion to single out the ‘barbarians’ There is no contrast between angry centaurs and serene Greeks as is seen on the Parthenon or Temple of Aphaia. This is partly because those kinds of large sculptural groupings did not exist in freestanding sculpture until well into the Hellenistic period, therefore there was no need to contrast the serene Greeks with a barbaric enemy. Instead, emotion took on a different role in freestanding sculptural works, adding a layer of realism as is seen on the Gaul groups or Boxer statue. These emotions shown are not the happy-go-lucky ones that may have been more popular with idealized works, but the darker, grittier ones which no one likes to admit to feeling. This transformation can be seen as a reflection of the emotions the Greeks were feeling at the time. While before Greek citizens lived their whole lives within a small polis where one’s mentality was similar to everyone else’s, with the domination of Greece by the Macedonian empire came a loss of individuality and the knowledge that there were bigger fish in

\(^{142}\) Pollitt 1986, 86
\(^{143}\) Pollitt 1986, 86
the pond. While many took advantage of the changes and went out to find their fortunes in other countries, others were made terrified and insecure by the changes. No longer were the Greeks able to wear rose-colored glasses and tell themselves that they were the most powerful, reality told them differently every day. These tumultuous emotions and knowledge of the truth is what led to the appearance of emotion in Greek freestanding sculpture in the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods.

Chapter 4: Relief Sculpture

Relief sculpture, a style of sculpture primarily used in funerary monument, votive plaques and on buildings, is defined by Boardman as “sculpture with figures virtually in the round, or lightly foreshortened against their background and overlapping, yet with their main features brought into the forward plane.” For the purposes of this chapter, I will be discussing reliefs found purely on funerary monuments such as grave stelai and tombs. Because the Greeks placed so much value on the idealization of life and the accomplishments one achieved throughout that life, they believed death to be the polar opposite, seeing it as either the epitome of gloom and lifelessness or as an existence far beyond the natural world. As a result, Greek tomb sculpture has two roles: a grave marker (sema) and a memorial (mnema). The images shown on the tombs reflect these roles, showing ferocious animals to dissuade tomb raiders and showing idealized images to immortalize the arête among mortals. At the same time, there develops a sense of melancholy in the works, the arête of the deceased will be remembered but he or she is still dead and forced to dwell in the underworld.

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144 Pollitt 1986, 1
145 Pollitt 1986, 1
146 Boardman 1985, 66
147 Stewart 1990, 49
The first grave markers date to the Geometric period, appearing originally as simple slabs of stone with lacking any decoration aside from inscriptions. Decoration was slowly added to the markers, first in the form of stylized plants and animals before slowly adding in increasingly realistic human figures as the centuries passed. When these decorated stelai first appeared, they were tall and thin, with space for only a single figure on each. This had changed by the Late Archaic period, when stelai became wider and their shapes began to be determined by whether a seated figure or a large group were carved on them. There was a ban on gravestones in the beginning of the 5th century which lasted until around 430 BC, but this did not stop the production of stelai elsewhere in Greece. From this point on human figures are almost always present on the stelai, usually representing real-life humans, although there are the occasional depictions of gods. In particular, there was a growing trend in Ionia to show women of varying ages in poses that ranged from matrons sitting down to lovely young women standing. Other than the period during the Persian Wars and directly thereafter, many of the surviving stelai from the High and Late Classical periods come from Athens, where they were generally set up in family plots or peribolos tombs. In addition to stelai, family tombs decorated with life sized reliefs were also common features in these plots; characterized by poignant, if generic, scenes of farewell, these tombs vanished along with the majority of the stelai after the reforms of Demetrios of Phaleron. I will begin by discussing the gradual shift from using kouroi as grave markers to stelai in the Late Archaic period before moving on to examine the emergence of

149 Boardman 1978, 163
150 Boardman 1985, 68
151 Boardman 1985, 68
153 Smith 1991, 187-188
emotion on stelai and tombs throughout the Early, High, and Late Classical periods and well as the Early Hellenistic period.

Likely because they were primarily used as funerary markers, the relief stelai on tombs seem to have been a logical choice to have emotion depicted on them. Images of mourning family members were common, as were tender scenes between mother and child, all pointing to the that Greeks used these markers to mourn their loved ones, the images representing their grief that the deceased is no longer with them. This definitive presence of emotion tells us that showing feelings was not always taboo, that there were times that it was appropriate and even expected for citizens to display their emotions in public or private settings. This notion is highlighted by the ritual wailing and gnashing of teeth, a custom that tragedies such as Sophocles’ Antigone show us to be traditional mourning practices.\(^\text{154}\) Emotions are so prevalent in funerary relief stelai that to fully understand the trends in emotion, the whole of funerary sculpture should be analyzed, from the point when these trends first appeared in the Early Classical period to their disappearance at the end of the 4\(^{\text{th}}\) BC. Because extant Attic examples of grave markers are the most diverse and continuous, the majority of the works I discuss will come from that region.

One aspect which Bobou discusses with regards to emotion in grave reliefs is the distinction between the expressivity of emotions and the realistic representation of them stating that funerary reliefs display emotions because they are essentially portraits of real people and real people have emotions.\(^\text{155}\) This distinction ties in with the definition of realistic emotions as situationally appropriate expressions. In the scenarios seen on grave reliefs real people would


\(^{155}\) Bobou 2013, 280.
feel emotion: real children want to play with their siblings (Stele of Mnesagora and Nikocharis), and real people mourn the deaths of their companions (Cat Stele). None of the grave stelai have any mythological indicators, therefore it is possible that they are representations of real people, and real people have feelings.

Late Archaic

Long before intricately carved stelai were used to mark graves and after the crudely carved slabs were discarded, kouroi had the job of marking the graves of the deceased. Instead of attempting to portray the dead, these kouroi anthropomorphized the energy and vigor that the loved one had possessed while alive. Kouroi, which are intended as grave markers, are unusual in that they could vary slightly in age, although they were never older than what could be considered a “young-mature” male and it was not a common occurrence.¹⁵⁶ Patrons and sculptors in the Archaic period continue the trend seen in architectural and freestanding sculpture by creating emotionless reliefs, although unlike kouroi and korai which represent the glory of life, figures on stelai are shown as part of the everyday polis life, acting as warriors and politicians (kouroi) or young brides-to be and dutiful matrons (korai).¹⁵⁷ Since one of the main functions of grave markers is to comfort the living and because ordinary scenes from daily life are depicted on them, it is a reasonable medium in which emotion could slowly develop, leading to both melancholy and sometimes touching scenes. The first datable example of this, however, does not appear until the Early Classical period with the relief known as Mourning Athena [Fig. 28].

Early Classical

¹⁵⁶ Boardman 1978, 22
The relief that most clearly demonstrates the shift towards the depiction of emotion on stelai is believed to have been sculpted in 470 BC, the so-called Mourning Athena.\textsuperscript{158} This piece is actually a votive relief rather than a grave marker, meant as a dedication to the gods and therefore used differently from grave markers. The relief, found on the Acropolis, shows Athena standing in her armor before what many believe to be an inscribed stele. This interpretation of the stone slab explains the numerous indicators viewers have that she is mourning; she leans heavily on a spear and stares down at the stone slab, her head is slumped down onto the top of the spear, her mouth is tilted down at the corners, and she rests her right hand on her hip. The sense of distraction is subtle, but the general downcast nature of her pose and expression, as well as the differences from the typically majestic iconography of Athena indicate that she is in mourning. Stewart Arthur Fairbanks disagrees with this theory, arguing that the style of slab seen in the relief is rarely used for inscriptions and that her expression is one of “gracious goodwill” rather than mourning. He interprets the slab as the representation of the Palaestra, something which Athena had presided over before.\textsuperscript{159} While I agree that it is possible that the slab before which Athena stands in the relief may possibly represent something other than an inscribed stele, I do not agree with the conclusion he makes regarding her emotions. If one simply looks at the statue of the Bronze Athena dating to just a few decades later, it is clear what the Greeks displayed when wishing to convey gentle benevolence: an outstretched hand, calm expression, and gentle tilt to the head.\textsuperscript{160} The Athena seen on the Mourning Athena relief is completely different, her posture is that of an introspective woman who is lost in thought\textsuperscript{161}. Her entire body

\textsuperscript{158} Pedley 2012, 238
\textsuperscript{160} Stewart 1990, 179
\textsuperscript{161} Stewart 1990, 48
weight is leaning on that spear; one foot is raised and her arm holds her back as she leans forward, even her head is sagging against the spear. This is not the pose of a gracious goddess but of a distracted and isolated woman, leading me to conclude that while the stele in front of her may not be inscribed with the names of the dead, it is something which has sent her into deep contemplation.

High Classical

Sometime in the Early Classical period, just as the production of stelai was starting to increase, their production suddenly and stopped in Attica. There are no recorded explanations of this sudden stop, although is assumed that a ban was placed on elaborate grave markers under the democracy. But whatever the reason, this meant that there were no new sculpted Attic funerary monuments from the beginning of the 5th century until around 430 BC. When they did reappear, around the time of the Peloponnesian Wars, there was an increased interest in making the tombs worthy of those who had died for the Athenian Empire.

The Stele of Mnesagora and Nikocharis [Fig. 29], believed to have been carved around 420 BC, was found in Attica and named for the inscription carved above, shows a young girl and her brother playing. The girl, presumably Mnesagora, hands her brother a bird and he reaches up eagerly for it. The inscription suggests one of two things, that the two children died together in some sort of accident or that they died at different times and their parents joined the two tombs together. The figures in the sculpture itself, Mnesagora and Nikocharis, are a study in contrasts. Mnesagora stands in the contrapposto position and has a calm, relaxed expression.
while her little brother is eagerly reaching up for the bird while balancing on the balls of his feet, his gaze fixed on his prize.\footnote{Cohen, Ada, and Jeremy B. Rutter. "Staging Childhood: Birds and Sexuality." Introduction. \textit{Constructions of Childhood in Ancient Greece and Italy}. Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2007. 17.} It is conceivable that this difference in the expression of emotions is a result of the differing ages between Mnesagora and Nikocharis. Mnesagora is clearly almost an adult, if not one already. The hair and clothing of Mnesagora are those of an adult woman, furthermore, her attentions towards Nikocharis are obviously those of a caregiver. Nikocharis, on the other hand, is equally obviously a child. The sculpture having carved him in the nude with an abundance of baby fat as well as short, chubby little arms. This difference in ages can easily be transferred over to the sibling’s emotions. As an adult, Mnesagora would have been expected to control her emotions and portray the perfect, dutiful daughter at all times. Alternatively, as a toddler it would have been perfectly understandable for Nikocharis to display his thoughts and feelings openly. His eagerness to play is evidenced by his upturned face and outstretched arms, his joy clear in both facial expression and body language. Thus, the sculptor introduced a more realistic use of emotion into his relief.

The relief found on the stone known as the ‘Cat Stele’ [Fig. 30], dating to 430 BC\footnote{Pedley, 2012, 280}, continues this pattern of displaying realistic emotions on grave stones rather than the exaggerated ones seen in freestanding sculpture. Ridgway tells us that there are different theories regarding the interpretation of the piece: some scholars believe that the boy is alive and protecting his pet bird from the menace of the cat, others believe that the boy is dead and invisible to his servant who is mourning, the cat representing the grave stone and the bird his soul.\footnote{Ridgway, Brunilde Sismondo. \textit{Fifth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture}. Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1981. 146.} The first
explanation would make sense if not for the expression seen on the younger boy’s face, his devastation is plain in the deep-set eyes, frown, and slumped shoulders. This is not the facial expression one would expect to see on a boy watching his companion protect a bird, nor is it by looking at his expression that the other explanation is confirmed. The scene is showing a boy mourning his friend, or as Ridgway suggests, a servant grieving the loss of his master.\textsuperscript{170} As noted, the emotions shown on this relief are genuine, showing the honest grief one feels when confronting the loss of a loved one. Neither emotion is exaggerated, there is no dramatic wailing and gnashing of teeth, just the private pain of a young boy. However, while the sorrow shown is quiet, it is no less poignant for being so.

Late Classical

The practice of creating highly elaborate tombs and funerary stelai increases in the Late Classical period, with sculptors continuing the trend of showing genuine sorrow on the faces and in the body language of the sculpted figures.

In a manner similar to that seen on the Cat Stele, the Ilissos stele [Fig. 31], carved in 330 BC,\textsuperscript{171} displays emotions that are appropriate to the scene depicted, and, scholars are similarly undecided on what exactly is happening in the scene. The stele shows a dead youth, heroically nude, an even younger boy at his feet, and what is presumed to be the deceased’s father. Some art historians believe that the young boy is sleeping at the youth’s feet,\textsuperscript{172} while others see interpret his slumped over pose as an indication of his devastation at the youth’s death.\textsuperscript{173}

\textsuperscript{170} Ridgeway, 1981, 146
\textsuperscript{171} Boardman 1995, 125
\textsuperscript{172} Boardman 1995, 116
\textsuperscript{173} Stewart 1990, 93
Stewart notes that although the youth is almost completely isolated by his placement in the composition, distant expression, and heroic nudity, the rest of the figures are just as obviously grieving their loss. As mentioned, the boy has his head buried in his arms, an instinctive and universal sign of distress.\textsuperscript{174} Even the dog is shown resting his head mournfully on his paws.\textsuperscript{175} More subtle than either of those, however, is the grief of the father. As seen in plays such as Euripides’ Hippolytos, one of the greatest tragedies for the Greeks was the death of a son before the father. It is with this in mind that we should interpret the figure of the father. He is shown not only looking upset but also confused, as if he does not understand how his son came to die before him. His puzzlement is suggested by the way his head rests between his thumb and forefinger,\textsuperscript{176} while his grief is indicated by his slight hunch, furrowed brow, and parted lips.\textsuperscript{177} Just as Bobou argues, grief is a completely natural reaction to death, and because every person reacts to death differently, the individualized reactions of the quartet creates the guise of portraiture, each reaction a realistic portrayal of emotion.

\textbf{Hellenistic}

As mentioned above, the use of grand funerary monuments continued until, as Cicero tells us in his \textit{De Legibus}, the pro-Macedonian politician Demetrios of Phaelron passed a series of funerary legislations which forbade tombstones to be anything other than tables, basins, or three-cubit columns.\textsuperscript{178} What is unknown, however, is why sculptors did not resume making stelai after the fall of Demetrios in 307 BC. The funerary monuments that were created in Asia Minor and Aegean Greece during the 3\textsuperscript{rd} century were drastically different, much smaller than

\begin{footnotes}
\item[174] Stewart 1990, 93
\item[175] Stewart 1990, 93
\item[176] Stewart 1990, 93
\item[177] Bobou 2013, 280
\item[178] Smith 1991, 187-188
\end{footnotes}
previous stelai. This difference in style is not necessarily a reaction to the events in Athens, because it takes place in the east, it is possible that what appears to be a change is actually is a regional stylistic difference. However, the difference is worth noting because of the absence of emotion in these ‘new’ grave markers. These eastern stelai were commonly carved out of a single piece of rock and any reliefs that were included took up a much smaller part of the entire work than in the Late Classical period. The iconography also changed drastically. Before this shift, reliefs had a strong emphasis on family, showing interactions of all kinds between family members: mothers held their children, fathers shook hands with sons, and parents mourned their children. In the 3rd century this changed, no longer was displaying the sorrow an important part of the reliefs, instead the figures stand statically in groups of three, any interaction seen in earlier pieces completely missing. This lack of interest in depicting emotion in funerary reliefs is particularly striking as it is the complete opposite of what occurs in architectural and freestanding sculpture. Both of those styles showed similar patterns in the trends of emotion throughout the centuries, culminating in a significant increase in the presence of emotion during the Hellenistic period. It is unclear why family scenes, and consequently emotion, vanished from art in the Hellenistic period. It does not seem likely that a decrease in the importance of family was the cause because poignant scenes of familial love are present in freestanding and architectural sculpture. Perhaps it stems from a desire to keep emotional displays of sorrow private rather than exposing it to the populace in the traditional Greek manner. This explanation is reasonable if one considers the shift from the importance of the polis to that of the individual which occurred after the Peloponnesian War.

179 Smith 1991, 188
180 Smith 1991, 188
Conclusions

The patterns seen in relief sculpture are very different from those in either architectural or freestanding sculpture. While there are several examples of reliefs depicting sorrow (Ilissos Stele) or innocent joy (Mnesagora and Nikocharis) during the High Classical period, there are an increasingly small number in the Late Classical period and then no examples in the Hellenistic era. When emotion is present, it is found within scenes showing families interacting with each other or loved ones mourning the deceased, moments during which one would expect joy or sorrow to manifest naturally. Bobou argues that this is because these scenes hold shades of portraiture, that because the people depicted are real, their emotions are as well. In the 3rd century, however, just as emotion vanishes from funerary reliefs, so too do scenes of family, indicating that there is a connection between the two disappearances. Assuming that the family moments disappeared first, this might imply that emotions were private and used purely for the familial sphere, once that sphere vanished, so too did the emotions.

181 Bobou 2013, 280
182 Smith 1991, 188
Overall Conclusions

When discussing broad stylistic changes in art it is important that the medium which is changing be examined closely in order to determine why the change occurred. Such is the case with the inception of emotion in sculpture during the Early Classical period. Prior to this point any emotion found in ancient Greek art was found only on vase paintings such as is seen on the 480 BC Sack of Troy Hydria [Fig. 32]. So when emotion appears a decade later on the Temple of Aphaia at Aegina, it has little precedent, and it is worth looking at all forms of ancient Greek sculpture in order to pick out not only how the Greeks came to use emotion, but also what patterns occurred in order to cause the subsequent fluctuations in these uses.

In the wake of the Persian Wars, many of the Greeks, especially the Athenians, viewed the defeat of the Persians to be a sign that cool heads and logic were superior to the rashness they associated with their eastern enemy. Consequently, emotion began to emerge in sculpture in order to differentiate between the Greeks and their enemies, with images of humans and gods prevailing over amazons, centaurs, and giants becoming quite popular along with scenes from the Trojan War. As discussed in Chapter Two, sculptors of architectural sculpture used open mouths and flared nostrils to depict rage in the barbarians while the Greeks are shown with the serene expressions characteristic of the severe style. This contrast is indicative of the Greek’s pride in the poise and control which – they believe – helped them win the Persian Wars. This

183 Bobou 2013, 275
juxtaposition of serenity and chaos also highlights the other use Greek sculptors had for emotion in the Early Classical period: the celebration of the triumph of reason over emotion. Architectural sculpture was the main medium by which this kind of propagandistic use of emotion was used, with the Temple of Aphaia at Aegina, the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, and the Parthenon at Athens being classic examples. On each temple, humans and gods are portrayed, their expressions emotionless, battling non-Greeks, all of which are seen expressing anger or pain. That a stoic Athena is a frequent image is just another allusion to the supremacy of logic. Interestingly enough, however, neither freestanding sculpture nor grave reliefs are used in this manner. It is immediately obvious why freestanding sculpture would not be; in order to paint a picture about the glory of Greek culture in comparison with that of Persia, at least two sculptures would need to be placed in apposition to one another, and other than in rare cases such as the Tyrannicides or the Riace Bronzes, it is not until the Late Classical Period that freestanding sculptural groups become popular. Why emotion is not applied in this manner in grave reliefs until the late 5th c. B.C. is a little more obscure. Given the degree of talent seen on the stelai which do survive, sculptors would certainly have been capable of the same contrast as occurs in architectural sculpture. Instead, a different pattern of creating images of pathos emerges in grave reliefs, one that architectural and freestanding sculpture would come to follow in the following decades.

The desire to provoke an emotional reaction in viewers, which arguably was the goal of some Greek sculpture, originated in tragedy. This began with grave reliefs; sometimes the images would be a portrait of loved ones such as is seen with Mnesagora and Nikocharles, but more commonly it was a generic scene that could be empathized with by anyone. Similarly, the Ilissos Stele shows a generic scene of a father mourning his son’s death. Any father who has lost
a son would have been able to see that stele and be moved by the obvious emotion within.

Architectural and freestanding sculpture eventually came to be used in the same way, that is, to stir empathy in the viewer, but it is not until the 4th century that it is commonly seen.

With the end of the Peloponnesian War came the rise of the individual. Before, during the period after the Persian Wars, sculpture was very civic-minded as evidenced by the focus on comparing Greek and Persian culture and proving Greece’s superiority. Now, patrons, and therefore sculptors, began to be interested in exposing the emotions of the individual in order to provoke a reaction. Freestanding sculpture provoking empathy from viewers appeared in the 4th century like Eirene and Ploutos, and later the Hellenistic Suicidal Gaul. Skopas was a true master of creating pathos in the viewer in the realms of 4th-century freestanding and architectural sculpture, and this trend culminates in the Baroque figures on the Great Altar of Pergamon. Viewers can pity and empathize both with the mourning mother Gaia and with the suffering of the defeated giants, while at the same time glorying in the victory of the immortal gods.

Although in previous centuries tragedians used the same emotions in order to affect catharsis in viewers, it is not until the mid-4th century that they are specifically named and categorized by Plato and Aristotle. It is by these definitions that we classify the emotions apparent in Greek sculpture and it is by these definitions that we differentiate between emotions and feelings.
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Figure 3

Figure 4
Figure 7

Figure 8
Figure 9

Figure 10
Figure 13

Figure 14
Figure 17

Figure 18
Figure 21

Figure 22
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Figure 32