3

Early archaic Korinth: design and style

I *continue with the* aryballos of Figures 1. 1 *and now* 3.1. *The* first half of this chapter consists of sources juxtaposed with comments and leading to an interpretation of the Boston aryballos in the context of visual lifeworlds of ideologies centred upon corporeal form. In the second half Korinthian ceramic style is considered more widely.

Part 1 An interpretive dialogue through a Korinthian aryballos

Men in a scene: structure and parataxis

Upon this aryballos two figures, armed and male, appear with a horse-man and an artifact with birds. Males are the dominant human figure form painted upon pots of this time. Of 360 human or part-human figures illustrated on the other pots only six are definitely female, apart from the sphinxes. Three are named goddesses upon the *famous* Chigi Olpe (Villa Giulia *22679;* Amyx 1988: 32); the *others* are identified as female by the presence of breasts. One is a modelled figure applied to an oinochoe from Aetos (Robertson 1948: No. 1026,); the other two are dressed in long checked robes, and one of these carries weapons. The sphinxes, apart from three males with beards, have no sexual features.

I will propose that gender is a significant focus of imagery and its lifeworld. As the social aspect of relations between the sexes, gender refers to socially constructed notions of sexual difference, which may or may not make reference to biological difference. Above all gender is to be understood as a *relationship* between masculine, feminine and other sexual roles in society (Haraway 1991). An illustration of the pitfalls to be avoided in the interpretation of this Korinthian imagery is in order here. I have been strict in avoiding contemporary and ethnocentric recognition of sex. Thus I have not counted long robes and long hair as indicators, on their own, of female sex. Consider the usual interpretation of the scene upon an aryballos in the Louvre (CA 617; Amyx 1988: 23) - the 'rape' or 'abduction' of Helen (Johansen 1923: 143-4, after Blinkenberg 1898) (Fig. 3.2). A robed figure at the centre of the main frieze is considered to be Helen, because of robe, hair (?), and the desire to make sense via mythological attribution. The face, of the figure has lost some coloured slip, but close examination reveals the same line *of incision* used upon *the* other male figures to indicate a beard. A bearded Helen may be acceptable, but I suggest that the figure should be accepted as male. Consider also the passage of Xenophanes (West 3, quoted on p. 1-43} which criticises the aristocracy of Kolophon

Figure 3.1 Aryballos Boston 95.12 (Fig. 1.1). Detail: main frieze.

for their rich robes, long hair and perfume. This all invalidates the mythological attribution; another sense to the scene will become clear as I pursue this interpretive dialogue.

This aryballos of Figures 1.1 and 3.1 is of earlier date. The variety of types of human figure decreases as three-quarters of all later figures are either fighting armoured soldiers (hoplites), riders, or sphinxes (these amounting to about one quarter upon earlier pots). There is discard and invention of new figure types too: there are only seventeen types of figure (out of forty-six in all) which are found in both earlier and later scenes.

Here the centaur is not so much fighting the swordsman as standing in antithesis: the postures mirror each other. In spite of all the discussion of mythical subject matter for bibliography see Amyx 1988: 23) it is not really feasible to describe the whole scene as a particular narrative, other than in the most general sense of an illustration of a conflict by a tripod with attendant birds of prey and a mobile naked swordsman. The geometric devices give some clues as to the structure of the scene. The antithetical pair of centaur and warrior is surrounded by ten of the fourteen ornaments. One hook on each side of the staff for the human elements opposed; a double hook for the double-bodied monster; his split marked by the lozenge bar between the front pair of legs. The other swordsman has a hook above, as does the artifact (of human origin?). The birds of prey have their spiralled swastikas. Hence connections are suggested between the human elements (hooks), in contrast to the antithesis of man and monster; the birds have a separate association.

Many scenes on earlier pots are as fluid and indeterminate in their references, antitheses, juxtapositions and sequences of figures, animals and other devices. The majority are *paratactic* sequences, that is without clear connection between the component elements of human figure, animal, floral or geometric devices. I do not define parataxis in an absolute way. The term is used here *comparatively* to mark scenes which have fewer syntactic or narrative links than others. To define parataxis as the absolute absence of syntax brings the problem of having to assert the thoughts and perceptions of contemporary potters and viewers now dead, to assert that they perceived no connection within scenes. Of course what appears as *absolute*

Figure 3.2 The mark of gender? A frieze from an aryballos in the Louvre (CA 617} claimed to show the abduction of Helen. The figured frieze upon an aryballos in Oxford (Ashmolean 505/G 146), said to be from Thebes; the long-haired figure in checked robe in the centre of the scene has been thought to be Athena.

parataxis to an archaeologist now, may have appeared as fully syntactic and narrative then.

Consider Figure 3.3. The parataxis poses questions. In contrast, more scenes involving people on later pots *are immediately* comprehensible *or* thematic, as a battle between soldiers, hunt, race or procession (Table 2.3, p. 52). Nearly three-quarters (forty-seven out of sixty-five) of my immediate reactions to the later figured friezes were of recognition of narrative or syntactic themes. There are also clear examples of illustration of myth (for example, Bellerophon and the Chimaira (Boston 95.10; Amyx 1988: 37; Fig. 2.4)).

There is a contrast, often invoked in interpretation, between non-sense and sense or meaning, between design simply decorative and design pregnant with (mythological) meaning. Much classical iconology has searched for mythological and other meanings behind figured representations, relegating imagery which does not carry such meaning to an order of the decorative. I will consider this distinction again below, but here comment that the indeterminate itself may also *mean.* Fluidity and indeterminacy may tie a scene to a collective assemblage (posing questions of reference and connection). Parataxis, as I have thus defined it here, prevents the

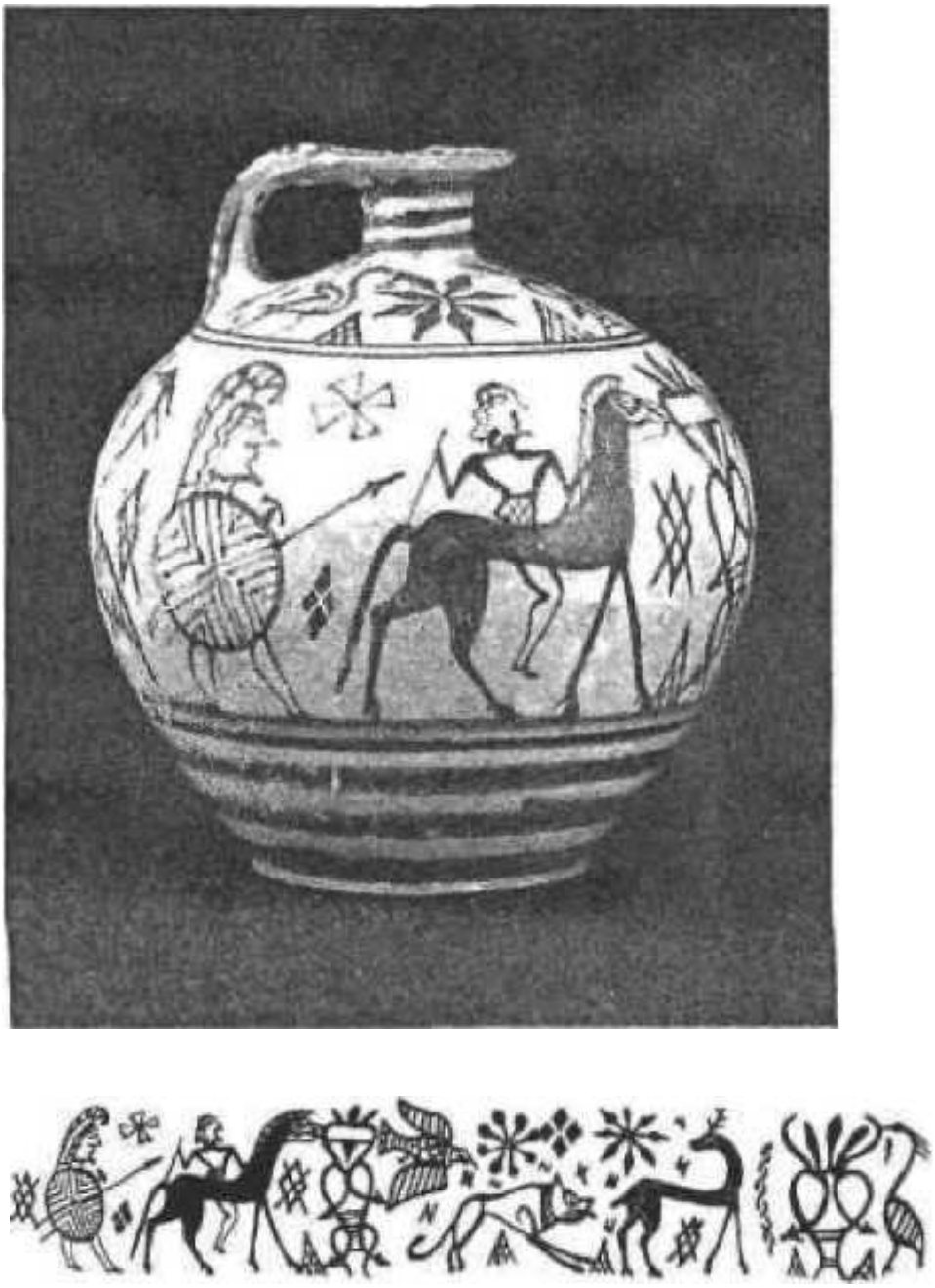


Figure *3.3* Parataxis and clues to an assemblage: an aryballos in the British Museum (1869.12-15.1). 1 propose that, in contrast to other more 'narrative' or thematic scenes (for example the battle scenes found upon various pots, Table 2.3), this is a scene marked by parataxis. The use of geometric and floral designs breaks any strong syntactic or narrative links between the juxtaposed elements. Left is the collocation or sequence of floral, bird, soldier, rider, bird, dog/lion, deer. Progression from human to the animal *via* the bird is suggested, as perhaps are bird-flower connections (the two birds occur with the two floral elements in the main frieze, as in the shoulder frieze).

picture from falling under a rule or relation of signification and a subject. Centaur and warrior: birds and artifact: nudity and swordsman. These can be recognised; but there is much more which need not simply signify a 'subject'. I will explore this idea.

Tripods and cauldrons, stands and bowls, through heads and flora

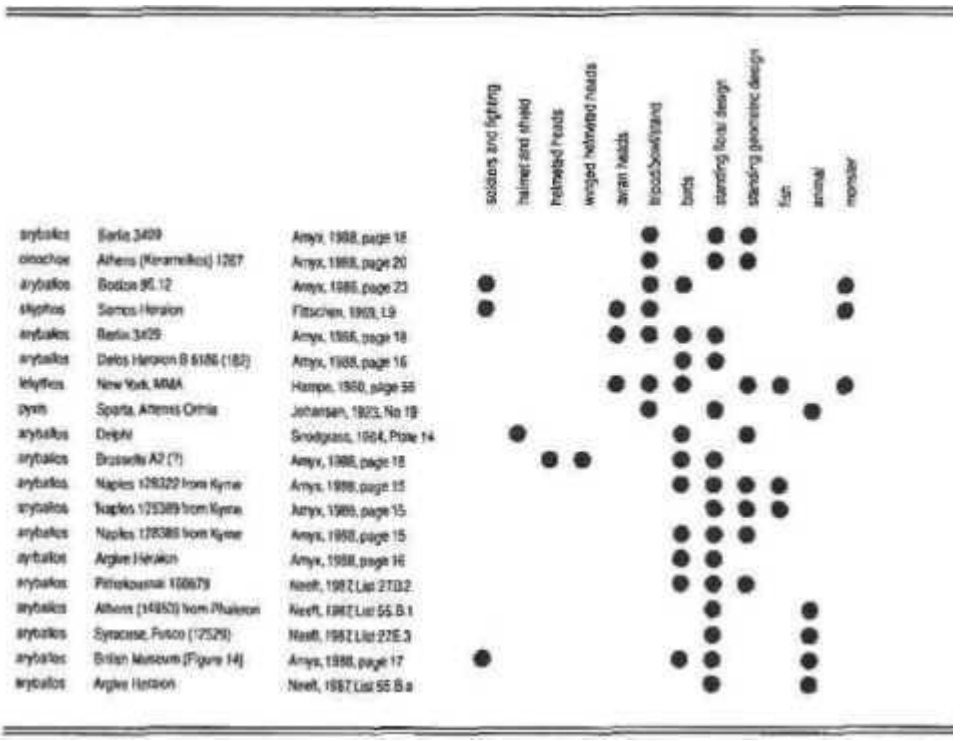
The object in front of the centaur and behind the swordsman is a stand, ceramic most probably, for a *lebes* or *dittos,* bowls for mixing wine, and appropriate to the (aristocratic) symposion, drinking party. Amyx (1988: 19, after Cook 1972: 48) thinks that a bowl is seated upon the stand and is pictured from above. Such artifacts have been found; there is a stand and *dinos* in my sample, from Aetos (Robertson 1948, Nos. 225, 804). A series in Attika have elaborate floral and bird attachments to the rim (Hampe 1960: Figs. 30-2, Pis. 6 and 7). A Kretan example with figured painting was found in the cemetery at Arkades (illustrated by Hampe 1969, Pis. 13, 14, 15) and there is one from Gortyn *(ibid:* PI. 18). They are analogous to the bronze cauldrons and bowls set upon tripods or conical stands. These have a known lineage reaching back to Mycenaean times (Benton 1935; Coldstream 1977: 334p8, Hampe and Simon 1981: lllf; Herrmann 1966; Maass 1978, 1981; Rolley 1977; Schweitzer 1971: Chapter 7). The variety with conical stands were eastern-derived. They sometimes had griffon, siren, or animal attachments, often protomes, on the rims, or large annular handles (Bouzek 1967; Herrmann 1979; Muscarella 1992; also, for Italy, Strom 1971: 154, 157). Many have been found dedicated in the sanctuaries of Olympia and Delphi, and also on Ithaka. An inscription upon an example from Delphi *confirms* they were prizes in the *games (Rolley* 1977: No. 267) - *an* aristocratic reference again.

Six earlier pots show tripods or bowl-stands; Table 3.1 lists all the occurrences, with associations. Apart from the swords, weaponry and armour of soldiers, and the bridles of horses (recall Pindar's reference to Korinthian horse bits: *Olympian* 13), these are the only artifacts depicted in the figured scenes of Korinthian pottery. They are thus marked out as special. Their dedication in sanctuaries and their award as *prizes at the games* also mark them *out* as special artifacts. The Greek and *generic* term for them is *agalmata* - artifacts with value fit for a hero or god, mediating mortality and divinity (Gernet *1981).*

The seated birds upon this aryballos do not appear to be attachments to the *dinos,* but rather live birds of prey resting upon the artifact. Other pots do show bird or avian protome attachments. Of seven sorts of tripods or stands, five are associated in some way with birds (Table 3.1).

On a pyxis from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta (Johansen 1923, No. 19, PI. 24.3; Fig. 3.4) an object in an animal scene appears to be a stand, but instead of pot and protomes there emerge two plant-like growths (see Robertson *1948: 48-9).* Three of these stands are associated with 'exotic' (that is, eastern-derived) floral ornament. Free-standing in the friezes, the latter are very stylised (lotus, palmette and tree-like derivations) and contribute to paratactic sequences, that is, again, sequences of (juxtaposed) items which seem to have little syntactic or narrative connection (see Figure 3.6 for all free-standing floral designs in the sample). Of the

Table 3.1. *Tripods, stands, heads and the floral: some associations in afield of the special found in earlier friezes. Listed are nineteen scenes and the different elements they contain.*



eight examples of flora in the sample which do not occur on their own, five are associated with birds (Table 3.1).

Benton (1953: 331) makes the analogy between bird protome friezes and griffon or avian protomes upon cauldrons or bowls. Avian heads or protomes appear in line of repetition on six pots (like birds lined on many earlier and contemporary 'sub-geometric' vessels (Neeft 1975)). On the shoulder of another aryballos from Pithekoussai (Lacco Ameno 168268; Neeft 1987; 33.A. 1) freely drawn designs look like bird protomes crossed with triangular stands (Fig. 3.4: compare with the protomes upon the two pots from Naples, also illustrated, and the tripod stands there and in Figure 3.5). The floral ornaments on an aryballos in the British Museum (1969.12-15.l; Fig. 3.3) again almost look like stands.

The similarity between protome, stand and (free-standing) floral is not simply a general impression. They have graphical schemata in common: (outlined) triangle (filled and crossed) and ('S') curve (turned out or in) (Figure 3.5 to be compared with Figure 3.6). The common schemata may be argued to be a function of force of visual habit, of graphical convention adapted to represent different things, and therefore implying nothing more *than formal* association. On mis formal association of schemata Gombrich refers to the 'psychological fact that designers will rather modify an existing motif than invent one from scratch' (Gombrich 1979: 210). The

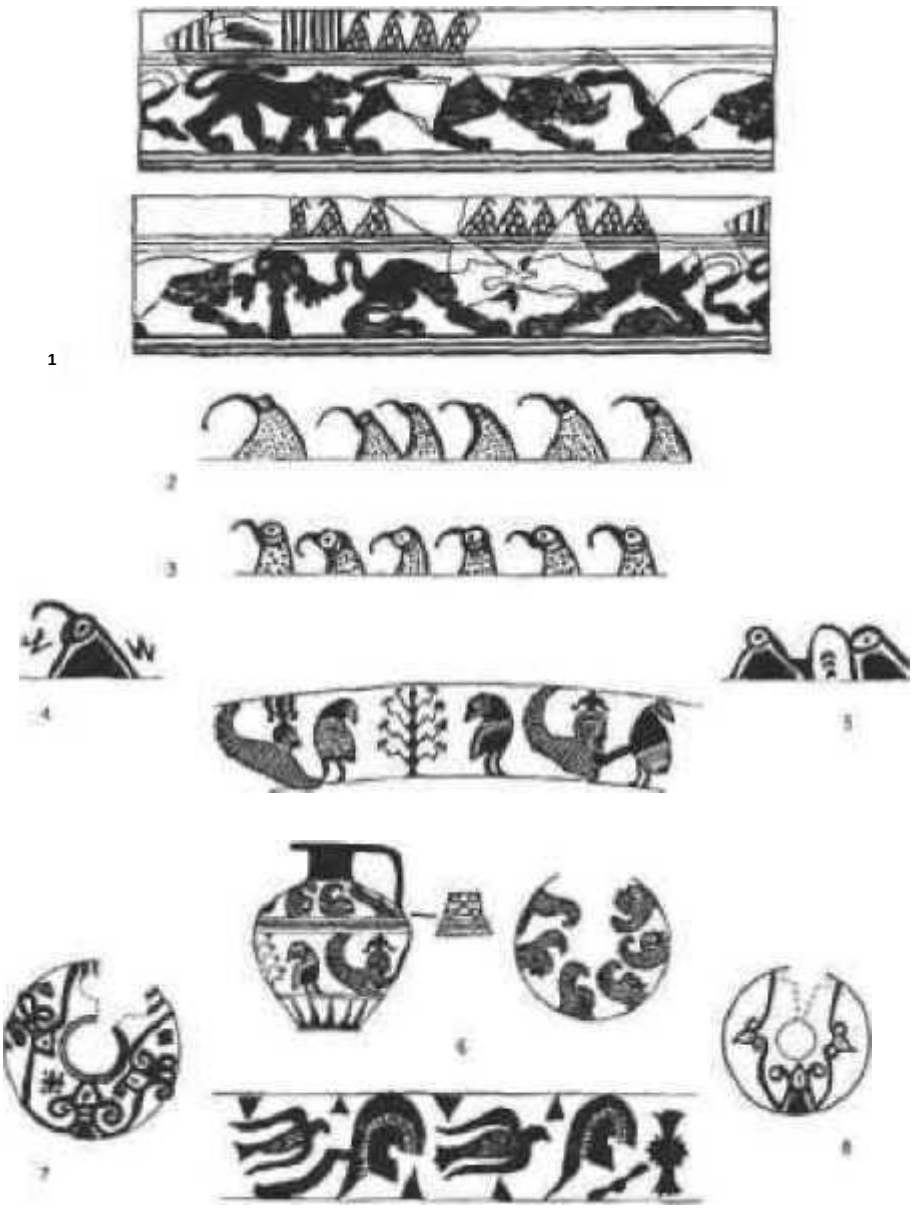


Figure 3.4 From conical stands through birds, heads and flora:
1 a pyxis from the Sanctuary of Artemis at Sparta;
2 a frieze upon an aryballos in Naples (128296), from the Kyme cemetery;
3 a frieze upon an aryballos in Munich (Antikensammlung 6561), said to be from Italy;
4 design from an aryballos in Naples, from the Kyme cemetery;
5 design from an aryballos in Lacco Ameno (168268), from a grave at Pithekoussai (573.3);
6 an aryballos in Brussels (Cinquantenaire A2);
7 the shoulder of an aryballos in Lacco Ameno (167572), from a grave at Pithekoussai (359.4);
8 the shoulder of an aryballos in Lacco Ameno (168561), from a grave at Pithekoussai (654.3);
9 a frieze upon an aryballos in Delphi (6582), from a grave at the sanctuary.

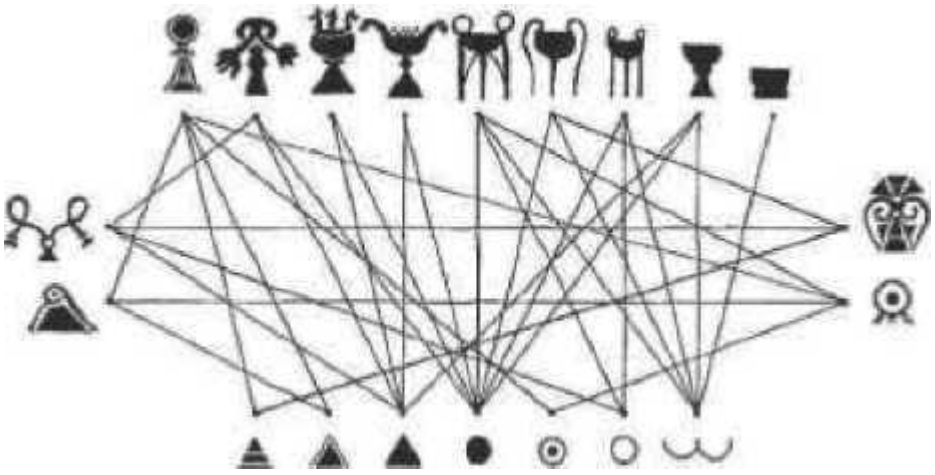


Figure 3.5 Tripods and cauldrons, stands, bowls and constituent graphical components or schemata. Here are shown the tripods and stands with cauldrons and bowls. Below are other designs which are graphically related. All are based upon inclined line and circle or curve; see also Figure 3.

similarity between these designs would accordingly be incidental, simply the way pot-painters learned how to draw. I hope to push the association and consider whether there is a semantic connection too.

An aryballos, probably earlier {Delphi 6582; Fig. 3.4), shows crested helmets and other objects which Snodgrass interprets as shields (Snodgrass 1964: PI. 14). These are the only other artifacts detached from people on earlier Korinthian vessels in the sample. They too are associated with flying birds (of prey).

Helmets, heads, protomes. An aryballos in Brussels (A2; Amyx 1988: 18; Figure 3.4) provides another variation. On the shoulder is a line of winged male human protomes. Beneath is a scene of a tree-like floral flanked by three birds, two in contact with winged and helmeted protomes, crests growing from helmeted heads.

1 argue that this all comprises a line or vector of connection or affiliation as follows - the tripod/stand *agalma,* special object, gift to the gods, prize in the games, convivial bowl from which may be taken wine for the (lord's) cup - bird heads (protome attachments) - birds - floral decoration - helmet heads growing crests and spread wings -. That these stands and weaponry are the only artifacts depicted, that the floral is adapted from eastern motifs (Johansen 1923: 115-28), that these are a radical break with geometric design (further details p. 160), that these are elaborated and manipulated with cauldrons and bowls growing avian heads, lotus palmette standing like tripods, that they are juxtaposed with animal creatures, people and birds marks them as different, extra-ordinary or special, I argue. That the graphical basis of tripods and free-standing floral designs is the same confirms this connection of things conceived special.

Compare also the experience, as in Geometric design (Figure 2.1), of an environment of ceramic surface which repels attention, providing only an accent of detail such as a bird (as upon the bird-cups of late Geometric and after, with a surface such

Figure 3.6 *Standing* floral designs and *constituent or related graphical components. To the* right are all the types of free-standing floral designs occurring in *the* sample. To the left are the geometric forms (frequently found) which are the basis of the floral: triangle (crossed, outlined and apex extended stem-like), 'S' curve and petal shape. Between is a column of rarely occurring composite forms which indicate [he process of graphical composition of the floral to be elaboration of inclined line and circle or curve. The rows of floral designs are not meant as a definitive classification; there are many interconnections. The first group are developments from floral design with triangle petals and outside stems. The second row is of variations of stemmed triangles until the last on the right when the triangle is discarded. The third is of free-floating line-stems. The fourth group is of triple-petal and stemmed forms. There are then outlined triangle bases with dotted tops, stacked and stemmed. The bottom two designs are petalled bases with out-turned lines.

as this aryballos which invites scrutiny, poses questions. Earlier I claimed that the (graphical) fluidity and indeterminacy (of parataxis) tie a scene to a *collective* assemblage, posing questions of reference and connection. This is an order of the *affective*-assumption, movement, action upon, inclination, disposition. An ordinary world is not 'depicted'.

Gernet (1981) has drawn upon a seminal distinction made by Mauss (1954) between the *gift* and the *commodity*. The commodity is an artifact abstracted or alienated from its conditions of production such that it may signify something else which is external to it: money is of this order of commodities, of course. The gift, however, is inalienable; the artifact implicates its conditions of production and the people who made it; the artifact takes on the attributes of people. The gift is a *total social phenomenon.* Gernet contrasts the external value of a commodity, belonging

with abstract exchangeability, with the intrinsic value of the symbolic artifact, at once the expression and guarantor of value. The inalienable artifact is *agalma,* charged with meaning, affective.

Gernet (1981: 145) proposes the distinction is appropriate to the shift to a monetary economy, with economic value eclipsing the older complex artifact. Mention may also be made here of Laum's older thesis (1924) of the sacred and cultic origins of currency - monetary forms emerging from being embedded in culture and social relations. Gernet outlines *agalmata* as religious, aristocratic and agonistic symbols, offerings, gifts and prizes, listing cups, tripods, cauldrons, weapons and horses. Media of aristocratic intercourse, these are never to be 'traded', but 'acquired' *(as ktemata)* through war, raiding, contest and hospitality-institutions of an archaic transfer of goods. *Agalmata* are aristocratic wealth, their possession implicating social power and authority, and may be, Gernet argues, associated with concepts of religious awe *(aidos), teras and pelor,* things extraordinary, mysterious, frightening, even monstrous.

The observed associations: these are not ordinary things, but a special assemblage *of agalmata,* weaponry, heads, birds, the floral and transformation, with connections beyond. Visual play or tropes; the risk of free-hand painting; and the variety and surprise of juxtaposed people, soldiers, animals, birds, the exotic: these are some creative elements of this earlier Korinthian design. They are no longer as apparent in later scenes. There are two later pots which carry depictions of tripod-stands and bowls/cauldrons: Taranto 4173 (Amyx 1988: 38; Fig. 3.19) and another aryballos from Syracuse, *(ibid.:* 44; Fig. 3.34). Both are in race scenes (presumably as prizes, symbols of contest). The only other artifact is a net in a hare hunt (depicted upon an aryballos from Nola and in the British Museum, 1856.12.26.199; Amyx 1988: 24). The character of the floral also changes, and it is to this that I now turn,

Flowers and garlands

I have mentioned how tripods and cauldrons, stands and mixing bowls, standing floral designs and bird protomes have a common graphical basis. The oblique line or inclination, the curve *('S',* and tending to spiral or circle), and petal form are the basis of floral forms (and more). Operations performed upon these to generate different designs include combination, rotation, inversion and reflection: consider the different designs in Figures 3.5, 3.6, 3.9 to 3.12.

Korinthian Geometric design, as defined by Coldstream (Coldstream 1968: Chapter 3), used parallel linearity, 90°, 60° and 45° rotation (perpendiculars and diagonals, as in the meander, lozenge, cross forms, zig-zag and triangle). Snakes and wavy lines were not elaborated, and flow around a pot. 'Thapsos' graphics of the later eighth century (see also Neeft 1981: esp. Fig. 2.2) added particularly running spirals, but did not break with the linear and horizontal flow. Geometric angularity continues, but inclination (breaking with the tendency to parallel, perpendicular and 45° slope; asymptotic, tending to a limit or tangent), curve (freed from linear flow around a vessel), and petal form mark a character of the new graphics and the change from Geometric. This is illustrated and further explained in Figures 3.8 to 3.13.

Figure 3.7 A Korinthian cup from the sanctuary of Aphaia on Aegina.

Flowers are significant. Of 232 different designs (animals, people, monsters, artifacts, excluding simple lines or bands), half can be interpreted as floral or vegetal in some way (Figs. 3.5 to 3.12). Such floral or vegetal designs appear in 1,453 out of 3,293 friezes in the sample: 44 per cent of all friezes make some reference to the floral in this way. A floral theme dominates 8 per cent of all earlier, 14 per cent of later *friezes* (that is, these friezes consist entirely of floral elements). There *are* no floral antecedents in Korinthian Geometric design.

The aryballos itself may be painted as a flower. Petals are painted around the shoulder of earlier aryballoi, as are triangles. *Viewed* from above, this makes a flower of the aryballos, with the mouth as centre of a blossom (Fig. 3.14). There are 118 such petalled shoulders, 289 with triangles: 53 per cent of earlier pots are floral in this way. The proportion drops to 21 per cent of later pots. Many mouthplates of aryballoi are also decorated in floral fashion, with concentric petals and spikes. Plates are also decorated as flowers (from Perachora: Dunbabin *et al.* 1962: Nos. 738, 739, 741; from Aetos: Robertson 1948: Nos. 1062, 1065; Fig. 3.14).

The character of the floral changes in later designs. I have just mentioned the decline in the proportion of floral shoulders. I should also note though the marked rise in 'spiked' bases. With triangle points rising from the foot of a pot the whole aryballos becomes the blossom centre or fruit, the base forming the flower centre when the pot is viewed from below. Other major changes include a shift in preference from free-standing floral designs as major frieze elements to linked garlands and rosette forms in friezes and as minor ornament.

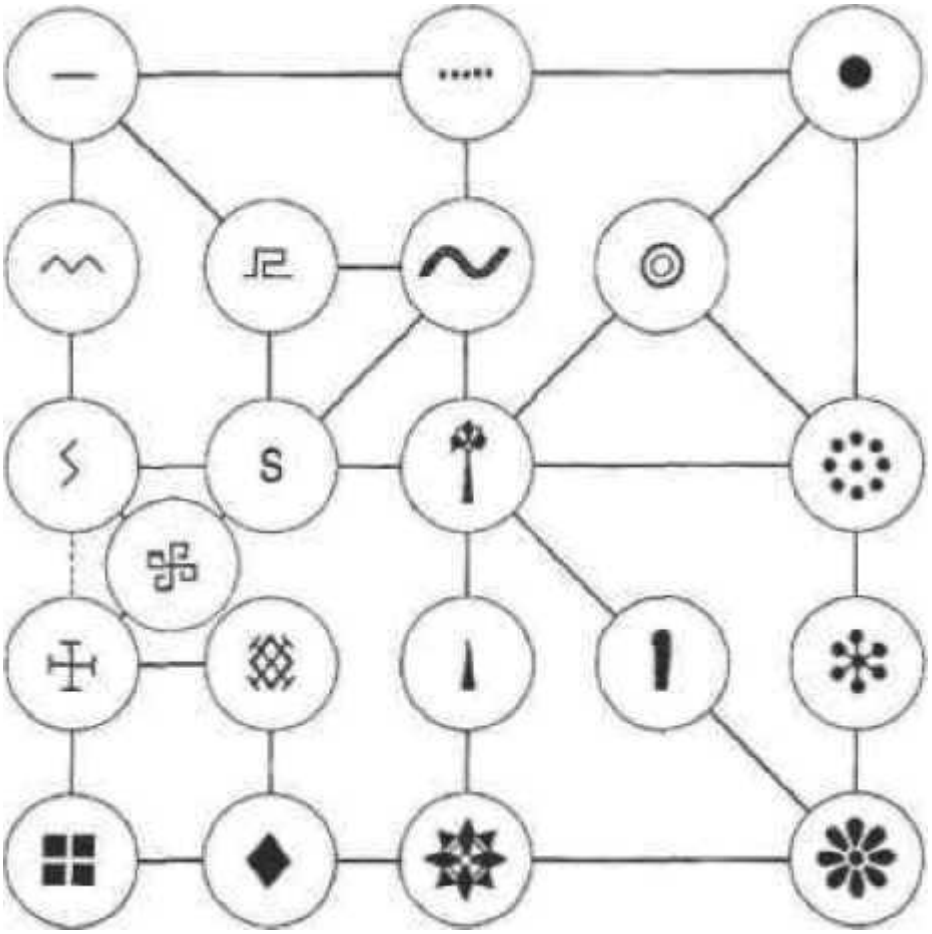
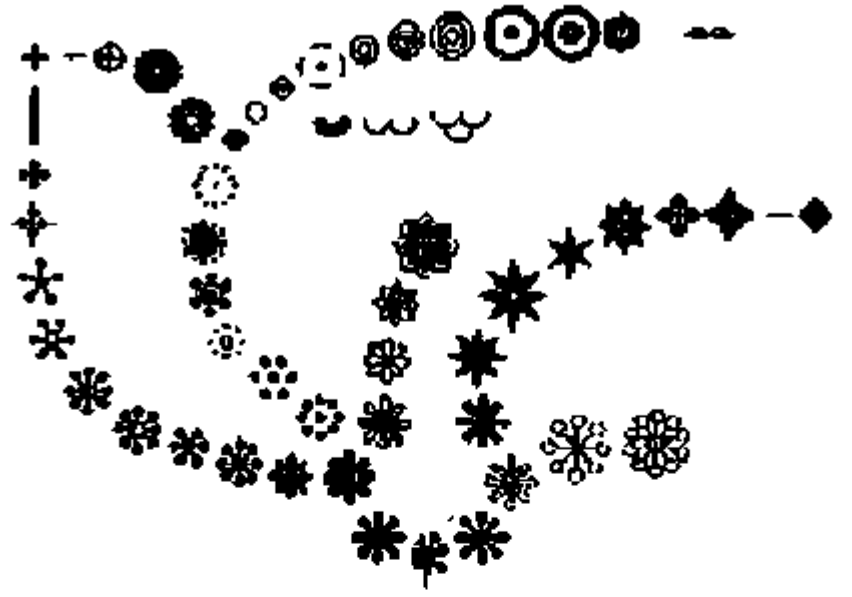


Figure 3. 8 Suggested relationships between the groups of non-figurative designs. Here are shown the basic groups of non- figurative forms (indicated by a single representative) and how they may be linked via transformations and elaborations (such as deviation, division, repetition and addition). For example, the horizontal line (top left) may be altered acording to 90 degree angularity in to a *zig-zag* or meander, may be split into a line of dots. Separate dots may be combined into dot rosettes, and are associated with circle forms, in which they sometimes appear (top right and below). The dots of a rosette may be joined by lines; rosettes may be made with petal forms (moving to bottom right).

These vectors of graphical design are the subject of Figure 1.9-1,12 which contain all the non-figurative designs encountered upon Korinthian ceramics. The principle in constructing these figures is *thus one* of seriation - constructing series on the basis of minimum difference between adjacent forms. Figure 3.13 suggests a simple graphical logic to the design transformations. Forms which may be described as floral (to the right here in this Figure) can be derived from inclined line and curve or circle. Geometric forms (to the left) are based upon parallel linearity and 90°, 60° and 45° rotation.

Of course, other pathways through the geometric and floral may be found, but they would need to be related to another design analytic, another way of understanding Korinthian design.

1 have already traced some links within the paratactic sequences of earlier friezes, from tripods through birds, flowers and heads. The basic graphical elements of oblique inclination, curve and petal are manipulated to form a variety of 'free-standing' designs (that is they appear used as people and animal creatures) (Fig. 3.6).



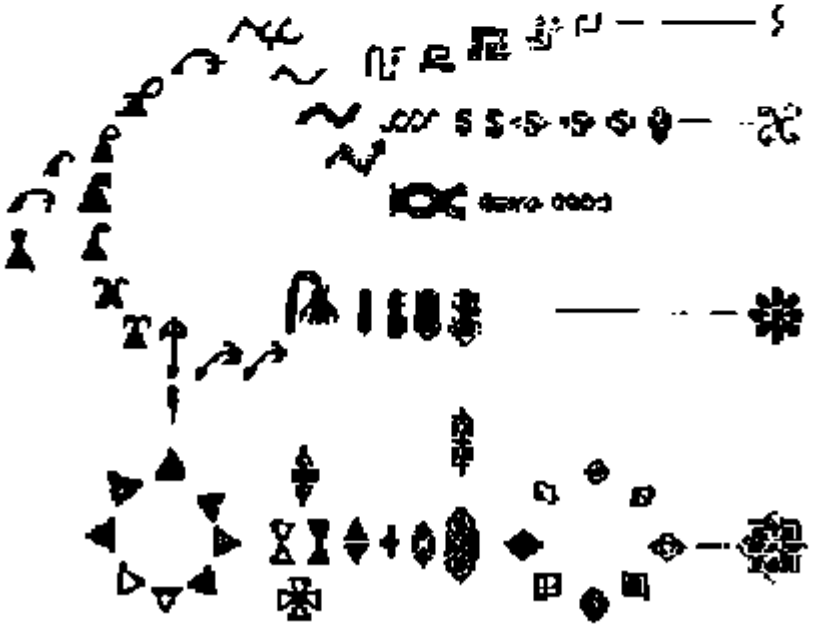


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Figure 3.12 Elaborated floral designs (garlands) of the later pots. Here are illustrated variations upon lotus and palmette, joined by lines or stems into 'garlands'. The graphical basis of all forms remains the curve and inclined line, combined in the petal form.

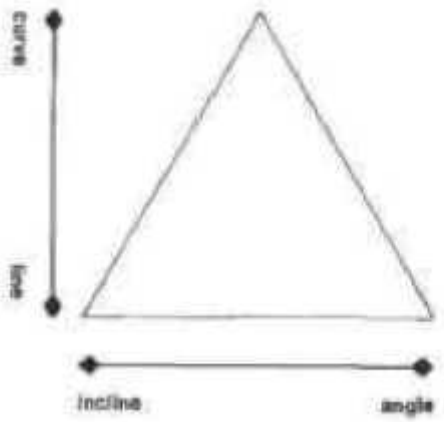


Figure 3.13 Analytic of the composition of the geometric and the floral. From the geometric to the floral, angularity (90°, 60° and 45°) deviates into inclination, and the line into the curve. The difference (between line/incline and curve/angle) is between the graph of an equation such as $x = y$ and the asymptotic curve generated by $x = 1/y$ as y increases and x approaches 0.

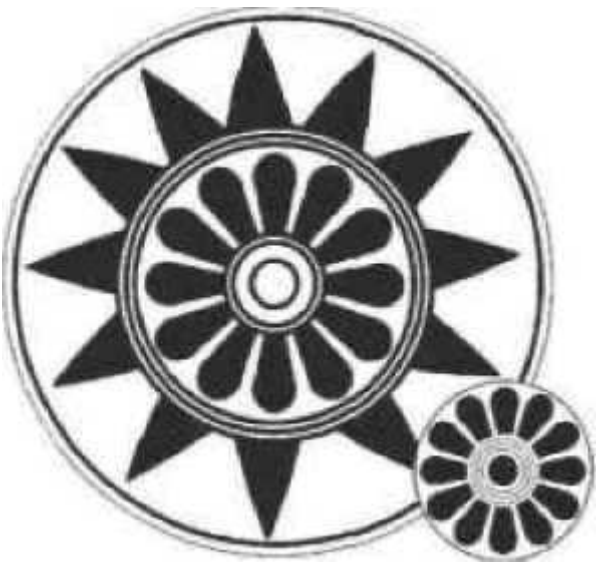


Figure 3.14 The aryballos as flower (smaller item in the figure) - aryballos 168021 in the museum in Lacco Ameno, from Pithekoussai grave 509, viewed from above. The plate as flower (larger item) - design from the surface of a plate found at Aetos.

The articulation of these floral designs is mainly through juxtaposition with other designs in the friezes (parataxis). In later friezes regular forms of petal and triangle (lotus and palmette) and wavy line (stem) are articulated and elaborated into floral garlands (Fig. 3.12; Johansen 1923:115f for further descriptive analysis). Later floral decoration thus appears less generative of immediate association through paratactic juxtaposition. Garlanded floral decoration is rarely associated in the same frieze with

animate or inanimate figures, though there is still the contrast between garlands and other friezes upon the same pot.

The dot rosette appears as a regular minor element in 259 later friezes (12 per cent of all friezes, 55 per cent of friezes with animals and people); dot rosette and dot flower variants account for 53 per cent of all minor or 'filling' ornament, a form of decoration which accounts for only 7 per cent of earlier design. I will return to this contrast between earlier and later design.

The association of aryballoi and floral decoration may seem a reasonable one, given aryballoi as probable perfume containers. This does not, however, explain the particulars of floral design: why should flowers transform into other things, why floral garlands and dot rosettes? And why the associations within a vocabulary of figurative design? I will need to consider these questions before returning to flowers and perfume.

Found on a third-century BC potsherd:

δεῦρύ μ' ἐκ Κρήτος ἐπὶ τόνδε ναῦον
ἄγνον, ὄππαι τοι χάριεν μὲν ἄλσος
μαλίαν, βῶμοι δὲ τεθυμιάμε-
νοι λιβανώτωι,
ἐν δ' ὕδωρ ψῦχρον κελάδει δι' ὔσδων
μαλίνων, βρόδοισι δὲ παῖς ὁ χῶρος
ἐσκίαστ', αἰθυσσομένων δὲ φύλλων
κῶμα κατέρρει,
ἐν δὲ λείμων ἱππόβοτος τέθαλεν
ἠρίνοισιν ἄνθεσιν, αἱ δ' ἄηται
μέλλιχα πνέοισιν . . .
ἔνθα δὴ σὺ στέμματ' Ἔλοισα Κύπρι
χρυσίαισιν ἐν κυλίκεσσιν ἄβρως
ὀμμεμείχμενον θαλίαισι νέκταρ
οἰνοχόαισον

Come here to me from Crete to this holy shrine,
with its apple grove for your delight
and altars smoking with incense.
A cool stream sounds through the apple
boughs; the whole place is shaded
beneath roses; and from shimmering leaves
takes hold enchanted sleep.
Horses graze in the meadow with
spring flowers blossoming, the gentle breezes
blowing...
here Cypris, taking up the garlands, graciously *(habros)*,
pour nectar for our wine into golden cups, nectar mingled with
our festivities
Sappho: Lobel and Page 2

Flowers and the vegetal appear infrequently in Homeric epic and early lyric metaphor and simile. Life is as the leaves of a tree *(Iliad* 6.146f); Mimnermos writes of the flowers of youth (West 1.4), a development of an Homeric formula - *hebes anthos* (for example *Iliad* 13.484; see also below on the soldier hero). The association is made also by Sappho (Lobel and Page 98). Solon has flowers of despair in social disorder *(West* 4.35). Flowers appear *as a complement to amorous* relationships (Archilochos, West 30 and 31; Alkman: 58; Sappho, Lobel and Page 96). In the *Iliad* (14.346f) the earth flowers as complement to the amorous fertility of Zeus and Hera in shimmering golden cloud. Sappho connects the Divine Muses, flowers and immortality, which are contrasted with death, loss and decay (Lobel and Page 55).

The fragments remaining of Sappho are the richest of early lyric in their references to the floral. Her poetic world is one of a refined aristocratic high-culture of religious cult-organisation, perhaps that of Aphrodite (Frankel 1975:175,182, 187). Flowers and perfumes are part of the accoutrement of the girls of this environment. Associations are made between flowers, love lyric and *perfume* (Lobel and Page 94) and between flowers, adornment and divinity (Lobel and Page 81b). (See also Burnett 1983: Pts. 3.1,32). Consider the imagery of the fragment quoted above (Lobel and Page *2).* The association of divinity, erotic fertility, flowers, perfume, horses, divine food and wine drinking is one which will recur.

In two more fragments (Lobel and Page 105a and 105c) Sappho uses again the image of an apple orchard:

οἷον τὸ γλυκύμαλον ἐρεύθεται ἄκρωι ἐπ' ὔσδωι,
ἄκρον ἐπ' ἀροτάτωι, λελάθοντο δὲ μαλοδρόπηες,
οὐ μάν ἐκλελάθοντ', ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐδύαντ' ἐπίκεσθαι.

οἷαν τὰν ὐάκινθον ἐν ὤρεσι ποίμενες ἄνδρες
πόσσι καταστείβοισι, χάμαι δέ τε πόρφυρον ἄνθος

Like the sweet apple turning red on the branch top, on the
top of the topmost branch, and *the* gatherers did not notice it,
rather, they did notice, but could not reach up to take it.

like the hyacinth in the hills which the shepherd people
step on, trampling into the ground the flower in its purple bloom
Sappho: Lobel and Page 105a and 105b
translation (Lattimore 1960: 42)

Here a contrast is made between the beauty of an exceptional individual and orchard workers below, analogous to a hyacinth trampled by shepherds in the hills. Sappho's (divine) world of flowers, perfumes and beauty is far removed from that of agricultural labour such as described by Hesiod.

Two scenes in the *Odyssey* confirm and extend this contrast. Sappho's pastoral evocation is close to the delights which Hermes finds on Ogygia, the island of nymph Kalypso (5.55f). Scented wood, flowered meadows, springs, *vines, birds* surround her cave (not a built structure). (Note too that birds are the only creatures, apart from

horses, mentioned in the fragments of Sappho.) Natural (as opposed to man-made) beauty abounds. As divinity, Hermes eats and drinks fragrant ambrosia and nectar (5.93f), not the fruits of agriculture. The island is far from the home of Odysseus where await his legal wife, son and household. Kalypso's cave is a most startling description of floral idyll as her divine erotic charms keep Odysseus with her, though against his will, for seven years. According to Lilja (1972: 172-8) the erotic significance of flowers is generally clear in early Greek poetry.

Having left Ilion, Odysseus and his men came to the country of the Lotus-eaters *{Odyssey* 9.82f). Feeding on this strange and unique *anthinon eidar* (flowering food) (9.84), people do not want to return home. The contrast is drawn between the Lotus-eaters, and men, *siton edontes* (eaters of bread) (9.89), who know the way home (9.97).

Koch-Harnack (1989) has examined the contexts of lotus blossoms on Attic red and black figure vases. There are associations with lions and contests; the thunderbolt of Zeus appears in lotus form; their occurrence between animals and birds, in fights and erotic scenes suggests a multivalency centred upon might *{ibid.:* 62) and the erotic. An apotropaic function is also proposed *(ibid.:* 90).

So, in early Greek lyric poetry the following themes are associated with the floral: youth, perfume, beauty and the erotic, cult and divinity, power, wine, refinement and a world more than that of ordinary life, a contrast to labour and agriculture, bread and marriage.

The floral in Korinthian painting is a new deviation from a Geometric graphic into an expressive linearity of curve and inclination. There are associations too between flowers, birds and special objects.

Birds and lions, to sphinxes

Birds of prey appear upon this aryballos in Boston with a separate spiralled ornament and next to the *agalma,* stand and bowl. I have described the associations which run through birds, heads, floral ornament and artifacts upon earlier friezes. I turn now to ask more general questions of the birds.

Potters painted various kinds of bird. As well as flying and perched birds of prey (as on the Boston aryballos), there are short-legged birds with and without tails, cocks, water birds (long-legged, heron-like and crouching, curved-neck, swan-like) and owls, as well as protomes. The variety of types decreases between earlier and later; there are no herons or cocks in later friezes, and very few standing water birds, short-legged birds and protomes; most are swan-like water birds.

Birds are significant in this Korinthian imagery simply in terms of their numbers. Nearly half of all animate creatures on earlier friezes are birds. Of these, most (70 per cent) are water birds standing upright and repeated in rows, the linear fashion of Geometric, flowing around mainly drinking cups. Most other birds are next to floral or geometric designs; a few are next to people and artifacts, *as* I have already described. I have argued that reference is here made to an order which is out of the ordinary. Birds later come to crouch next to lions and sphinxes (people too); they are

Figure 3.15 Dogs hunting a bird, Design from an *aryballos in Syracuse* (13756) and *from* the Fusco cemetery, grave 378.

chased by dogs, while direct association and confrontation with other creatures is avoided.

When birds are chased by dogs *in* later scenes, they crouch quite *static,* in contrast to hares which run with the hounds; this suggests that perhaps the juxtaposition is valued above a more realistic depiction. With dogs and hares, birds are the only creatures TO appear beneath racing horses. So birds go with dogs. Dogs, horses and birds are also the only candidates for domesticated animals in this imagery (see discussion p. 75). Dogs appear with hardly any other creature. They do not occur in association with people in earlier scenes and in only thirty-nine later hare hunts. Yet there are more than 2,400 dogs painted in the sample - nearly 60 per cent of all creatures; and dogs are the main domesticate. Birds do appear with people, and in this way they mediate between people and the dog, which does not belong with the men, domesticated though it may have been and however often it may have accompanied the hunter.

Birds occur mainly with lions and sphinxes (and people) in later friezes. What is to be made of this association? Of course sphinxes are composite bird, lion and person. But there is more.

Consider the devices painted upon hoplite shields (Table 3.2). If the designs upon the shields of painted hoplites are considered to indicate something of the soldier behind, then the bird, particularly the flying bird of prey, is the mirror *of the* hoplite infantryman. Table 3.2 also indicates that this *significatory* function of shields does not apply to earlier imagery. Birds go with the soldier. Of the different kinds of bird, birds of prey are also the type which appear with people in later scenes.

With birds, lions are an important creature simply in terms of the number that are painted. There are as many lions as people in earlier scenes, and they are the majority (apart from dogs) upon later pots. Yet there are few occasions when lions and people appear next to each other - only fourteen times in the whole pottery sample, out of 546 encounters between lions and other creatures. Lions and people do not go together in this way.

In the later imagery lions confront animals, appear with boars, bulls and goats, and are pictured with other lions. Of 257 lions, ninety-two are directly confronting another animal face-to-face. Of these, forty-three are boars and bulls, wild and violent animals, fitting opponents for lions. Boars and bulls also oppose each other. Lions are painted roaring, sometimes leaping and attacking; there are thirteen scenes of a lion attacking another animal or person. This order of violence and confrontation is one which connects with the violent and masculine world of the soldier depicted upon the pots.

Table 3.2. *Shield devices*

	earlier	later
bird of prey		22
bull's head	1	1
swan		5
lion's head		4
gorgon head		2
griffon head		2
cockerel		2
owl		1
cross and birds of prey		1
flying griffon		I
boar		I
boar's head		1
ram's head		I
hare		1
spiral		1
cross	*	
circles	1	
animal?	1	
floral	1	
Total	5	57

A link between lions and people is clear in the bodily form of the sphinx. And lions appear following sphinxes, rather than opposing them. The connection also occurs through a presence of birds, sphinxes and winged creatures in scenes with lions. It can be expressed like this: when, in a frieze which features lions, there is a human element present (soldier, person, or monstrous human), there is a 91 per cent chance that there will be a bird or winged creature next to the lion, or next but one (Tables 3.3 and 3.4). This association of lions, birds and people is not present at all in earlier scenes.

As I have written, many of the winged creatures next to lions are sphinxes, mixtures of lion, bird and human. They are the most numerous monster seen on later pots: eighty out of 116 monstrous creatures. Of these eighty, sixty-six are confronting another sphinx face-to-face. This direct confrontation often occurs over a geometric device or bird, hare or hoplite. So it might be said that the sphinxes are not so much confronting each other as focusing upon something between them. The intervening geometric element takes us back to the earlier association noted between birds and floral and geometric ornament; sphinxes are of an avian order. Indeed, just as sphinxes here do not interact with other creatures, so too most earlier birds appear only with other birds in rows. Sphinxes face over birds and hares. I have noted the association of birds, dogs and hares: is there something of the dog in the sphinx? Dogs too hardly interact with other animals.

Sphinxes confronting over something may be said to form a parenthesis. Scenes upon later pots involving lions often have a similar structure of opposition and parenthesis:

Table 3.3. *Birds and winged creatures near lions (in scenes with a human element)*

number of birds	occasions
0 bird	5
1 bird	1b
2 birds	23
3 birds	ID
4 birds	2

Table 3.4. *Birds and winged creatures next to lions (no human element present)*

number of birds	occasions
0 birds	166
1 bird	9
2 birds	5
3 birds	0
•*i* birds	1

Figure 3.16 Confronting sphinxes from an olpe in Frankfurt (Museum **fur** Vor- und Fruhgeschichte

This structure accounts for nearly half (42 per cent) of later scenes containing lions.

Birds and avian forms may be described as mediating and mixing various fields, themes or meanings: they may be both domestic and associated with wild animals; connected with floral and geometric forms (artifacts out of the ordinary); coming between people and domestic dogs; between people and lions (two orders of violent aggression). Sphinxes mix the lion, bird and person. If the similarity of lions and soldiers breeds contagion, birds overcome it. This may be summarised in Figure 3.18.

Table 3.5: *The structure of friezes containing* lions

Lion scene structure	occasions
→ ← LION A_1 LION	31
→ ← LION A_1 A_2 LION	3
→ ← ← ← LION A_1 LION BIRD/SPHINX/SIREN	10
→ ← → ← ← LION A_2 A_2 LION BIRD	3
→ ← LION A_1 BIRD/SPHINX LION	3
→ ← LION A_1 A_2 BIRD LION	1
→ ← → → ← ← LION A_2 SIREN LION LION A_2 BIRD LION	1

'A' indicates animal; arrows the direction faced by the creature.

Figure 3.17 A scene containing lions upon a conical oinochoe from Perachora in the National Museum, Athens.

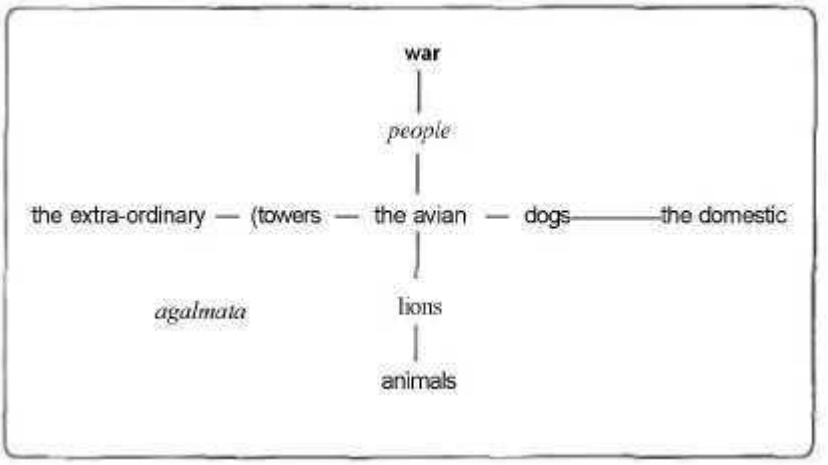


Figure 3.18 The space of the sphinx.

ὄρνιθες τίνες οἶδ' Ὠκεάνω γᾶς ἀπὺ περράτων
ἦλθον πανέλοπες ποικιλόδερροι τανυσίπτεροι;

what are these birds that have come from Ocean's stream, from the ends of the earth,
these wild duck, dappled necked, wide-winged?
Alkaios Lobel and Page 345

The general works of Thompson (1936) and Pollard (1977) make it clear that, for the Greeks, there was a complex set of images and references surrounding the avian. Birds variously were conceived as having magical powers and medicinal value; deities took the form of birds, and human metamorphosis too was often into bird-form. They were kept as pets, and given as gifts between lovers (Pollard 1977: 139-40). Of course, birds were also the subject of divination. Even (pseudo-) Aristotle's treatment of birds was predominantly mythographic *(Historia Animalium:* esp. book 10).

More *particularly* relevant to my inquiry, because concerned *with* near-contemporary texts and sources, are Schnapp-Gourbeillon's study of animals in Homer (1981), and Vermeule's Aspects of *Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry (1979).* Birds in Homer are not classed with animals, are not so much 'animals' as of another order, 'other', never integrated into the world of men (Schnapp-Gourbeillon 1981: 178, 190). The epiphanies of gods occur not as animals, but exclusively as birds. Their otherness and association with divinity makes of birds a sign of the beyond. The appearance of a bird is never without significance; their song and flight is sign of or from divinity, requiring interpretation, the ambiguity and mystery a function of the distance between men and the gods *(ibid.:* 178f).

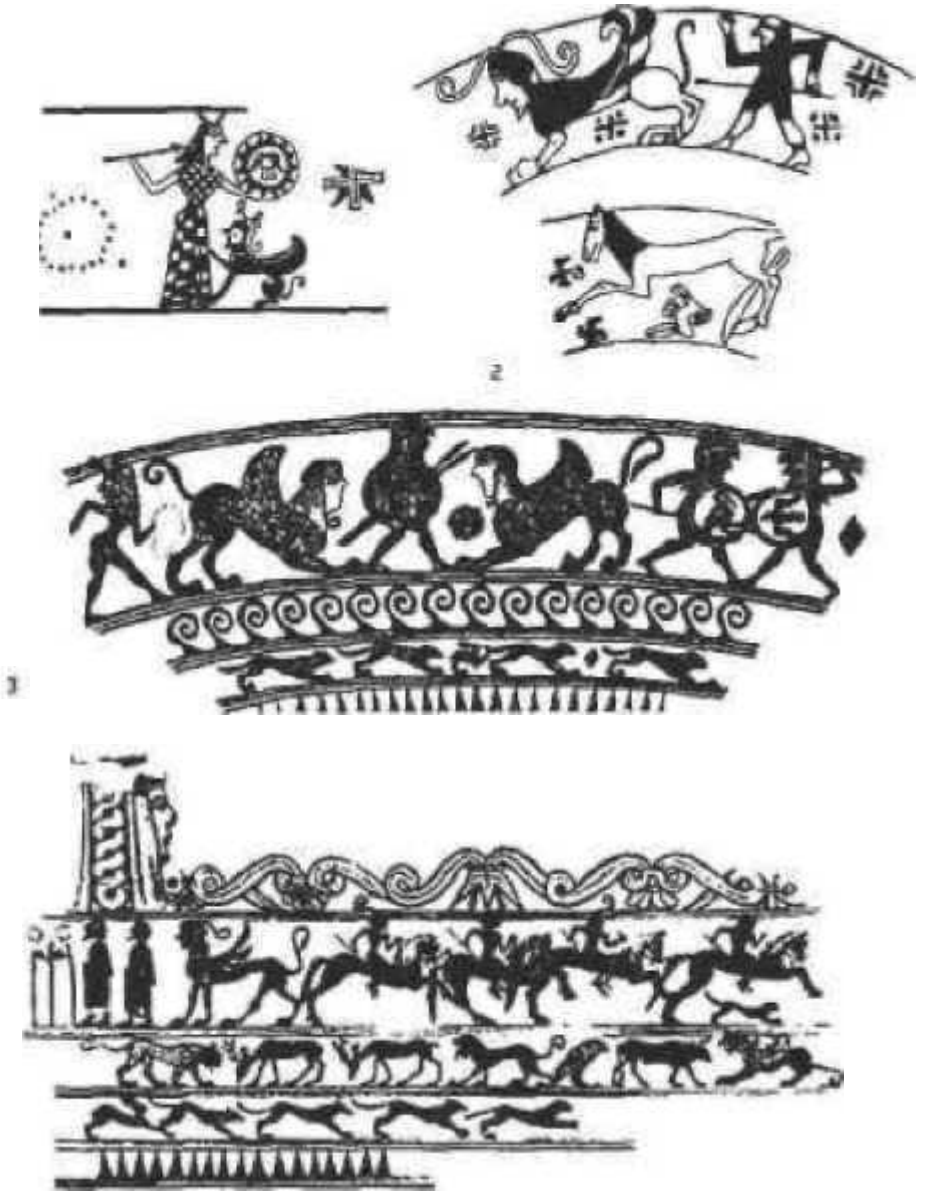


Figure 3.19 Sphinxes and people: four scenes. Sphinxes rarely interact with people upon Korinthian pots, but here are four examples:
1 a detail of A frieze upon a cup from Samoa (see also Figure 3.27);
2 an aryballos in and from Syracuse, Fusco cemetery;
3 a cup (Perachora 67 3);
4 aryballos (Taranto 4l73).
Associations are clearly and consistently with violence and soldiery, the hunting of lion, and with arbitration (of a horse race here; note also the judgement of the goddesses by Alexander upon the Chigi Olpe. Perachora 673 appears to be either a hunt or a herding of sphinxes, a taming of wild sphinxes -an ambiguity of the wild and the domestic? Upon the Chigi Olpe a double sphinx conies in the midst of a scene of male activities: hunting and arbitration or judgement, and the procession, display or racing of horses.

ὁ δέ θ' αἵματι γαῖαν ἐρεύθων
πύθεται, οἰωνοὶ δὲ περὶ πλέες ἦε γύναικες

he rots away staining the earth with his blood
and there are more birds swarming around him than women.
Iliad 11.394-5

Dogs do hunt with men and are therefore, with the horse, associated with the heroic hunter (Schnapp-Gourbeillon 1981: 164); but for the most part dogs are below the level of the human, and to compare someone to a dog is an insult. Though domesticated, dogs eat dead heroes *(ibid.;* 168). Birds too eat the dead, cleansing carrion: 'on you the dogs and the vultures shall feed and foully rip you' *(Iliad* 22.335-6; the *Iliad* opens with such a scene, 1.4-5; see also 24.409f). This disequilibrium between domestication and feeding upon men places dogs, like birds, between order and disorder (Schnapp-Gourbeillon 1981: 168-9). Vermeule connects this cleansing function, eating, with burial and sacrifice. 'The gods oversee both sacrifice and burial, which are both acknowledgements of order and responsibility' (Vermeule 1979: 109). Burial and sacrifice are ways of avoiding pollution, as is the scavenging of dogs and birds. So in keeping order in this way, birds and dogs are allies of the gods.

οἱ δ' ἐπὶ γαίῃ
κίατο, πύπεσσιν πολὺ φίλτεροι ἢ ἀλόχοισιν.

they lay on the earth, much more beloved of vultures than those with whom they shared their beds.
Iliad 11. 161-2

A further metaphor is of eating and sex. The dead hero in Homer is like a female 'loved' by attentive animals, dogs and birds (Vermeule 1979: 235, n. 24); and so too, when the city falls, will the hero's wife and children be in the same position. Birds and dogs go with eating, sex and death.

More generally it can *be noted that culinary codes* have been *a favourite topic of* structuralist analysis of ancient myth, interpreted as basic principles of cultural organisation (see for example Detienne 1977; Detienne and Vernant 1989; Mason 1987; Vidal-Naquet 1981b).

Vernant (1991b: 123-5) adds further connections to dogs, birds, eating, sex and death: barking, horses, snakes and the female Gorgo, Vermeule completes her assemblage with the sphinx: 'a waiting sphinx, a dog-bird or lion-bird of a kind, had been involved in such deaths since late Mycenaean times' (Vermeule 1979: 105). The sphinx was described as *kuon* (dog) (Sophokles, *Oidipous Tyrannos* 391; Aiskhylos fr236 N2). In Hesiod the Sphinx's half-brother is Kerberos the dog *(Theogony* 311). Sphinxes do appear in late Mycenaean funerary scenes and were used as grave-markers in the sixth century (Vermeule 1979:68-9). Less secure an association is the identification of the sphinx with *keres,* Homeric death daimones (in Aiskhylos the Sphinx is called *harpaxandra Ker,* (Ker, ravisher of men): *Seven against Thebes 777).*

From the end of the sixth century, sphinxes are shown carrying off young men (for example Boardman 1968: Chapter 7, esp. 68). As Vermeule picturesquely describes the sphinx: 'she combines the clawed body of a man-eater with the wings of a raptor and a face made for love, and clumsy man who prides himself on his intelligence is likely to end up eaten in her cave, a bordello full of bones, and a cavernous passage to otherplaces' (Vermeule 1979: 171).

λυσιμελεῖ τε πόσωι, τακεπώτερα
δ' ὔπνω καὶ σανάτω ποτιδέρκεται·

and with limb-loosening desire she has a look
more dissolvant than sleep or death
Alkman Davies 3.61-2

Vernant (1991c) has elaborated upon this association in Greek literature of death and the female, an exchange between *eros* and *thanatos* which dates back beyond Hesiod, who had woman and death created together. 'In its fearful aspect, as a power of terror expressing the unspeakable and unthinkable - that which is radically 'other' - death is a feminine figure who takes on its horror' *(ibid.:* 95), as Gorgo or Ker. But death may also appear as beautiful woman, sweetly deceitful, as sphinx or siren or harpy, albeit *with* the claws of a wild beast. In this connection, and with reference also to floral pastoral idyll, I mention Vernant's observations *(ibid.:* 107) of the parallels between Kalypso's island and that of the Sirens. A flowering meadow encircles the island of the Sirens *(Odyssey* 12.158) who sing to seduce and destroy passers-by on rocky reefs. Kalypso too sings seductive songs in her pastoral idyll *(Odyssey* 1.56-7; 5.61), offering Odysseus escape from death (5.136, 209 and elsewhere), while he longs to die (1.59).

Faces, heads, and the look of the panther

Lions may not appear with people very often, but theirs is a similar aggressive environment. And simply in terms of numbers, lions are a significant character or design feature.

δὴ τότε μιν τρὶς τόσσον ἔλεν μένος, ὥς τε λέοντα,

then the rage tripled took hold of him, as of a lion.
Iliad 5.136
(see also Tyrtaios West 13)

In terms of animal metaphor and simile, the lion is the most important creature of *the Iliad.* The animal incarnates, displays and signifies the qualities and values of the hero: *menos* and *alke* (Schnapp-Gourbeillon 1981: 40f). The lion is like the hero, indifferent, autonomous, provocative. Solitary hunter, the lion is opposed to domestic animals and those who tend them, shepherds and peasants. The lion consumes *krea,* the word used for meat obtained after sacrifice *(ibid.:* 56); this consumption implies the act of sacrifice *(ibid.:* 151). And it is the mark of prosperity and the hero to eat meat. So the lion enjoys the same food and the same pleasures of the hunt as the

hero. The lion is both adversary and equal of the hero. As the hero is distinct from the mass of society, so the lion is opposed to domestic and other animals; as the hero is opposed to his enemy, so the lion is opposed to the society and world of the peasant *{ibid.:* 57). Schnapp-Gourbeillon describes the lion as 'sauvage socialise' *{ibid.:* 63).

Heroes are not like the herd of ordinary people, they are part of a world beyond, or rather liminal characters, often in contact with divinity *(ibid.:* 197; see also Nagy 1979). So too, for Hesiod at least *{Theogony 327-[3]2),* lions were creatures of myth; lions were no longer to be seen wandering the mountains of Greece. They were exotic creatures of eastern sculpture and painting (Payne (1931: 68f) identifies the schema behind the Korinthian lion as Hittite, later Assyrian).

Animals, as those upon the shoulder of the Boston aryballos with which I began, are drawn in profile, and so they run, step, graze or leap in lines which flow around the pots. Interruptions to the linear flow come with change of direction and with floral and geometric devices which provide punctuation. Both of these may attract attention, but the friezes keep to a world of their own: the animals and people follow or look at each other, or act upon one another, punctuated by lozenges and flowers.

However, the lion looks *OUT from* the friezes. The *only animal drawn* full-face the lion. There are thirty-six big cats which look out from the friezes (an eighth of all lions and felines). They are conventionally called panthers: frontal felines are labelled *pardalis* on an Attic cup in Boston (61.103; Amyx 1988: 663 for discussion). Some frontal felines in this sample are spotted (for example a lekythos from Perachora; Amyx 1988: 30). The only other confrontation with a face is through the heads modelled upon the top of four aryballoi (Taranto 4173; *ibid.:* 38; the Macmillian aryballos in the British Museum, *ibid.:* 31; Berlin Pergamonmuseum 3773, *ibid.:* 32; Louvre CA 931, *ibid.:* 38), gorgon-heads painted upon a shield and below an aryballos handle (the Macmillan aryballos again), and a small female figure modelled upon the outside of an oinochoe (from Aetos; Robertson 1948: No. 1026). What is the significance of these faces?

The meeting of eyes is a recognition of the other, of their similarity (the gaze returned), and their difference (separation is the condition of a returned gaze). A panther looks at the viewer of an aryballos. It is different, not a person, but through the returned gaze, it is similar. So I argue that the look of the panther draws the viewer into the scene, effects an association or identification of the viewer and the frieze, by means of the panther. In however small a way, we too are like and different to the panther or lion and its animal world, like and unlike the analogous world of the hero. The gaze returned mirror-like is also a confirmation of the self of the viewer, a self defined in terms of the world looking back (Lacan 1977 on the 'mirror-phase'). And if we might wish to belong with that world, then the eyes are those of desire, another experience of the returned gaze.

As I have described, there are images of the violent world of the hoplite, particularly in some later friezes. The returned gaze of the opponent is an experience of close battle. I will later delve into the experience of soldiery and hoplite warfare, but here mention that phalanxes joined in combat involve a particular perception of individual and group. The hoplite has to be one of a formation phalanx, moving and fighting

with fellow hoplites. Individual urges and actions of the hoplite are dominated and transformed by the needs of the phalanx to keep together and push forward; the individual becomes one of the group. Anonymous within helmet and armour, the hoplite in phalanx achieves human and direct contact with the enemy through the eyes; the moment of individual contact is that of the returned gaze of the enemy over the top of shields locked with fellow hoplites.

A late eighth-century grave in Argos, excavated in 1971, contained a bronze helmet with two extra eyes embossed on the forehead (Deilaki 1973: 97-9, Pl. 95e).

Korinthian potters painted the Korinthian helmet (Figure 2.7). A new invention for hoplite warfare (Snodgrass 1964: 20-8), it gave all-round protection at the expense of hearing and visibility, not so necessary in the phalanx as in open and one-to-one free combat. The Korinthian helmet focuses battle experience even more upon the gaze, eyes cut out from sheet metal, the only mark of the person. The only mark, that is, apart from shield devices and heroic actions performed. I have already marked an animal significance of shield devices; and actions performed return us to the world of the individual hero.

'Eyes meet, and the soldier is confronted with the seducer who has tempted him so long. The enemy surfaces as a momentary apparition of the soldier's own mirror image', Theweleit writes in his discussion of the psychology of the warrior male in inter-war Germany (1989: 195). The returned gaze is also erotic. Vermeule connects the world of violence and sexuality in Homer (1979: l0lf; Vernant 1991c: 99f)- Girard has also presented an analysis of violence and desire in Greek literature. Violence may be rooted in a rivalry based upon opponents sharing a desire for something (Girard 1977: 145). An association between sexuality and violence also exists through their respective dual characters and through notions of exchange and sacrifice. Violence is both terrifying and seductive *(ibid.:* 151). When purified through ritual, violence expends itself upon a victim whose death provokes no reprisals, no bloodfeud. It is as in the ritual violence of sacrifice, an exchange (of a slaughtered victim) to achieve order (between mortality and divinity). Such good violence is contained and ordered; distinctions between self and other, differences within and between social groups are established and maintained. This is generative violence, directed against an other who may be a scapegoat, a surrogate victim, expelled in a return to differentiated harmony. Bad impure violence is that which results from a crisis of distinctions, as in fraternal enmity; it is a sacrificial crisis, when purity is ignored or not possible *(ibid.:* 43, 51). The dangers of sexuality are incest and seduction which confuse the distinctions and order of (legal) sexual association, involving impurity and mixture. Marriage, in contrast, is a legal exchange of women which serves the reproduction of social order.

The lions facing us may well be panthers, as I wrote above. Detienne (1979: 38f) has noted that panthers were later thought to be animals which hunt with cunning and through their scent or perfume which attracts their prey. Deceit and seduction are related. Perfumes and spices are of the order of the gods, belonging with sacrifice and so heat. As aphrodisiacs, perfumes arouse and heat the seduced, their sexuality and excess threatening the order of marriage *(ibid.".* 60f, 127f).

Figure 3.20 Design from en aryballos found **in Sellada cemetery, Thera (A419).**

Here then is an assemblage which moves from faciality through panthers, violence, seduction, marriage, social order and disorder, and recognition of what the viewer may be and become. What, now, of those other faces, gorgon heads?

Grimacing, human yet inhuman, the gorgoneion is a mixture, revealing the alterity *of human and* animal. *It* was associated with marginal states such *as* death, sleep, exertion, drinking and music {Frontisi-Ducroux 1984). Vernant (1991b), following literary references, associates gorgoneia, martial themes, horses, the brilliant gaze, death, infernal sounds, worlds beyond; Gorgo was also, of course, female. Disquieting mixture and disorder, 'the face of Gorgo is the Other, your double. It is the Strange . . . both less and more than yourself... It represents in its grimace the terrifying horror of a radical otherness with which you yourself will be identified as you are turned to stone' *(ibid.:* 138).

With the gorgoneion, mask of death, Vernant *(ibid.:* 130-1) connects *Praxidikai* goddesses who appear only as heads, and who guarantee oaths and execute vengeance by incarnating fright and the terrible.

Deleuze and Guattari (1988: 168f) have made an interesting distinction between the head and the face. The head, not necessarily a face, is connected to the body, is coded by the body in that *it* completes the organism. In contrast, a face is when a head ceases to be part of an organic body; the face 'removes the head from the stratum of the organism, human or animal, and connects it to other strata, such as signification and subjectifcation' *(ibid.:,* 172). Faces, or rather the process of facialisation, do away with corporeal coordinates to replace them with a system of plane and holes - the face and expression. 'The face is not universal' *{ibid.;* 176), but depends on an *abstract* system or 'machine' of screen and holes, and which signifies, goes with the idea of a subject to and behind the face, and forms a different medium of expression. In contrast, the head belongs with the body, corporeality and animality. This contrast between animal head and abstract face makes it possible for Deleuze and Guattari to write 'the inhuman in the human: that is what the face is from the start' *(ibid.:* 171). The face provides an overarching layer of identity or expression, and in so doing makes reference beyond that which is the human or animal.

I noted an association which made reference to heads and helmets with *agalmata,* birds and flowers. Strangeness and the special were suggested as connotations.

Korshak (1987) has collected and examined examples of frontal faces in archaic Attic vase painting. The subjects who gaze out from the vases are satyrs, gorgons, komasts and symposiasts, fighters defeated or dying, athletes, centaurs. All are male, female examples only occur later. Masculinity is hereby related with sexuality and animality (the satyrs), death, the body and lifestyle, through faciality. Korshak associates satyrs, gorgons and symposiasts via masks (in drama), Dionysos as patron of drama and wine, and she makes a further association between masks and helmets. In summary, these all represent 'the coming together of opposites in frontality', that is occasions 'when governance of the self is relinquished and nature takes hold' *{ibid.;* 23-4). Vernant and Frontisi-Ducroux (1983) have also noted connections between masks, the gorgoneion, Dionysos, drink and states of otherness', adding also references to virgin huntress Artemis and the animal world.

In sum, these faces extend the assemblage I am following. The face and gaze met break the order of human and animal, mediating and pointing beyond to identity, death and desire, states of 'otherness'. Looking at the panther draws in animality, violence and warfare. And in hoplite warfare are associated the face, the helmet, the individual in the group, an armoured individual overcoded by the phalanx-group and the system of heavy armour.

Monsters: identity, integrity, violence, dismemberment

Monsters, such as the centaur upon this aryballos, are a distinctive, though, in terms of numbers, an infrequently encountered type of creature: there is slightly better than a one in twenty chance of encountering a monster in a pottery frieze.

Including sphinxes, there are the types of monster shown in Table 3.6.

Sphinxes, griffons, lion men, centaurs and variants: monsters are formed by the incongruous assembly of animal, bird and human body parts, heads and limbs or wings. Monsters are amalgams. I point out again the association and importance of the human, feline and avian in the constitution of monsters: even when sphinxes are excluded, almost alt monsters make reference to the avian or to the feline. Centaurs are the exception.

Discussion of monsters in Korinthian painting will follow, but first let me remark mat this is a very particular kind of monstrosity. Monsters, belonging to the realm of horror, may be defined by their form, actions, and position *vis-a-vis* human normality and understanding. With respect to their form, monsters may be exaggerations, distortions, amalgams, be formless or look normal. They may threaten, take action against people, be friendly or indifferent. Carrol (1990) has stressed particularly the narrative structures into which monsters are incorporated. Monsters may fit normality, be counterpart or analogy, belong in the gaps or at the edge, or be utterly other/unknown or unknowable. These Korinthian amalgams appear closely related to interstitial creatures (neither one thing nor another). Monster forms which do not appear include, for example, alter egos (looking the same), formless threats, exaggerations (giants) and freaky distortions.

In the mixing-up of different parts, the monsters deny difference. And on this basis the monsters are equivalent, many variations on sphinx, siren, griffon, centaur,

Figure 3.21 Soldiers, heads and the gaze: an olpe in Hamburg (1968.49) and an aryballos in Boston (95.11), The heads of the man and the lion upon the olpe are detached from bodies and are united in juxtaposition here through faciality, a field which I have described as separate from the body and to do with signification and ultimately identity. The lion's face is like the man's face (beard and mane are drawn in the same way); lion is as man. The scene upon this aryballos encapsulates so much of the cultural assemblage that is Korinthian ceramic *imagery.* Armoured integral hoplite faces monsters, the disjointed unities of lion and man and bird. The soldier's shield gives his identity as bird. The lion or panther behind is with him, backing him up (it does not roar at him), and, through the gaze, the viewer is with the hoplite. So the man is both with and against lion, while his eagle identity mediates. And it is armour, shield and violence which allow him to face and be at the same time a lion-man, or eagle-man. The mediating role of the bird is very prominent and clear, The avian, in its associations, forms and placing, is that which comes between and effects transition. Transitions are between human and animal violence (the hero has to be bird to become like the lion), and also, as in the presence of the monsters, between an armoured and protected interior identity, and a fluid and animal otherness which threatens, which may thus be described as contagious. Ultimately the avian communicates between that which can be controlled and held in and [hat which cannot. Through violence and the avian the soldier hero approaches another and strange realm.

Table 3.6.*Monsters*

with human features	Animal forms
male protome	winged horse
winged protome	griffon (eagle-lion)
winged male, clothed	griffon protome
lion headed male	griffon-bird (griffon head, bird body)
animal bodied male	goat-bird
lion with extra male human head	lion-bird (bird body)
bird with human head, sex indeterminate	winged lion
bird with male human head	chimaira (lion-goat-snake)
sphinx, sex indeterminate	
male sphinx	
double bodied sphinx	
horse-man (centaur)	
winged centaur	

chimaira; animal, bird and person. The mixture of different parts can be taken to deny the apparent stable differences between animal and human forms.

Empedokles, thinking and writing in the early fifth century, conceived the prehistory of bodily and organic form in three phases (Kirk, Raven and Schofield 1983: 302-5). At first animals and plants were in pieces, then the parts were joined anyhow, and only in the final phase emerged the whole and 'natural' forms of animals, birds and plants. Canetti (1962: 432-3) also works with such a mythical and primitive age of fluidity and transformation, as opposed to emergent fixity. Deleuze and Guattari (1988) propose a distinction between the molecular and the molar {comparable with Canetti's distinction between pack, and mass or crowd). The form of the *molecular* is multiplicity; it is constantly becoming something else through non-genetic or non-structural transformation, affinity, contagion and infection, flowing beyond boundaries. In contrast, the *molar is* a stability of identities and forms, and involves relations of conjugality and reproductive filiation. Korinthian monsters are of the molecular, forming a (heterogeneous) assemblage - lion, bird, person, monster. Monsters, in their Korinthian variety, are different from the animals which appear clearly speciated, posed and identifiable, painted in lines.

With these distinctions (pack and crowd; molecular and molar) Canetti and Deleuze and Guattari are concerned with relationships between the individual and the group, which includes the relationship between animal identity and species or pack. For Deleuze and Guattari, 'every animal is fundamentally a band, a pack' (1988: 239). By this they mean that animals may be classified according to characteristics extracted by natural history and science, but they remain more and something else; animality is an order which cannot be wholly subsumed beneath signifying labels.

Biers has noted that Korinthian plastic vases in the form of animals and monsters (Amyx 1988: 512p33;Ducat 1963; Payne 1931: 170-80) were made by combining and recombining wheelmade body parts, handmade accoutrements, moulded head

and painted decoration. He uses Amyx's phrase of 'inventive hybridisation' (1988: 66 0 to describe this process of assembling ready made parts (Biers 1994: 509).

I have had cause already to refer to Girard's contention (1977: 51) that violence can result from a crisis of distinction (his context is that of late archaic and classical Greek literature). A disordered loss of difference is intimately related *to* violence, because order and peace depend on difference: equilibrium may lead to violence in an attempt to establish a preponderance of one over another, whether it is good over evil, the hero and his enemy, or a boundary between pure and impure. As Theweleit puts it, mentioning a German military saying that war will break out when men and women become so alike that you can hardly tell them apart: *'war* accompanies the disappearance of the signifier' (Theweleit 1989: 51), a state of becoming-animal', according to the conception of animality just described.

Upon this aryballos of Figures 1.1 and 3.1 the clothed warrior opposes a centaur and its denial of integral human *form,* but the centaur is part human. Horses too are, with only ten exceptions (out of ninety-four), always shown bridled and ridden or harnessed to chariots, associated with men. The centaur has something of the swordsman: both hold the staff, and the brandished staffs or weapons mirror each other. There is an ambiguity or dialectical tension in the antithesis; I have remarked already that the surrounding ornament seems to confirm this dialectic of opposition and similarity. Behind the pair is a ceramic stand, *agalma,* prize, symbol of the *agon.* If equivalence and equilibrium can lead to violence (the mobile swordsman behind), then justice may appropriately be imbalance, winners and losers, the outcome of this conflict, the *artifact* standing to one side - prize for the winner?

Mediation and contest: the two later scenes which feature stands, *dinoi* and kraters (Taranto 4173; Amyx 1988: 38) and from the Athenaion, Syracuse *(ibid.:* 44) are both races. Horses on one and chariots on another race towards robed figures. Are these figures judges? On one a sphinx stands in attendance. Of the ten unarmed and long robed figures in the sample, six can be interpreted as being in a position of mediation. Of these, two on earlier pots hold what may be interpreted as wreaths. The 'abduction of Helen' (Louvre CA 617; *ibid.'.* 23; Fig. 3.2), mentioned earlier, can thus be interpreted as two (racing?) riders and two swordsmen (rather than Castor, Pollux, Theseus and Perithoos) separated by an arbitrator or judge, hands upraised (the figure of 'Helen'}. A similar argument may be made about the scene upon the aryballos in Oxford also illustrated in Figure 3.

Between monsters and people are protomes or severed heads without bodies. Play *on* the connection *or* separation of head and body is brought to *maximum* visibility in the aryballoi (later) which have modelled human and lion heads on aryballos bodies. Instead of monstrous bodies, the lion and people heads are attached to ceramic bodies. Some of the ceramic and metal dinoi and cauldron stands grow protomes too, of avian creatures (reference again to the assemblage of human, lion, bird, monster). Mention may be made again of plastic pots in the form of creatures.

An analogy or association is implied between pots and bodies. This is already familiar to us in the way parts of pots are described - foot, shoulder, mouth etc. And here these Korinthian pots are treated in the same way. Some Geometric pots are

Figure 3.22 An aryballos with sculpted lion head from Kameiros cemetery, Rhodes.

furnished with raised *mastoi* (breasts) (DuBois 1988: 47f), and plastic vases elsewhere suggest the vase as body:

> Aux mains des potiers, le vase est comme un corps qu'ils faconnent. Notre vocabulaire decrit metaphoriquement l'anatomie du vase, parlant de son col, de sa panse, de son epaule, de son pied, ou de sa levre. Du meme en grec Ancienne parle-t-on de la tete d'un vase, de son visage *(proiopan)i* de ses oreilles pour les anses. Le vase a une bouche *(stoma),* un venire *(gaster),* parfois un nombril *(omphalos).* Tel Promethee, fabriquant les premiers hommes avec de la glaise, les potiers ont joue de ces metaphores.
> (Bron and Lissarague 1984: 8; see also Lissarague 1990: 56-7),

Hesiod *{Works and Days* 60f; *Theogony* 572) has Hephaistos, divine artisan, create Pandora, the first woman, out of earth and water. And, like a pot, she is decorated and filled with qualities given by the gods. Homer also implies *(Iliad* 7,99) that men are formed of water and earth. Du Bois (1988) has made much of Hesiod's account of the creation of Pandora in her study of the metaphors surrounding woman in Greek iconography and literature before Plato. She suggests a metaphorical series, woman-earth-vase/container-body, in her argument that an archaic set of images of woman as fertile, self-productive and self-sufficient was altered to become less of an ideological threat to masculinity *(ibid.:* 46f, 57f 132f). I am not so happy with the cultural context of the Greek from earliest times to Plato adopted by DuBois: it is too wide. And the analogy between pot and body seems to involve more than just the female - here, for example, there are lions and avian forms. But whether the gendered

interpretation of DuBois is accepted or not, I think it can be accepted that there is an association or play upon the analogy between ceramic and bodily form. And reference is also made to productive activity and manufacture as transformation: earth transformed into (clay) body, oil and scented flora into perfume, fruit of the vine into *wine for mixing bowl.* I will return *to this connection.*

Violence, experiences of the soldier, the animal and the body

Violence and confrontation, perhaps arbitration through conflict, is a theme of the aryballos I have been considering. Violence and competition are a significant part of the imagery, as I have indicated. 155 out of 238 human figures (65 per cent) are armed or fighting. Most of the animals are characteristically aggressive and male; lions, boars, bulls, goats, rams. Animals are hunted (twelve scenes), lions roar and attack (58 per cent of lions roar; there are thirteen scenes of a lion attacking or pulling down another creature). Goats butt each other, and boars, bulls and goats stand in opposition to lions and each other. (See below on the apparent exceptions: birds, deer and dogs). Out of 184 human figures in thirty-two scenes upon twenty-seven later pots, 102 (55 per cent) are hoplites, heavily armed with helmet, shield, spear(s), and sometimes sword and body armour. All except one are fighting or dying.

Hoplite reform? The hoplite scenes have been examined to see if they show a change of warfare suspected at this time (some time in the first half of the seventh century) (for example, Salmon 1977). War is supposed to have become more open, with a shift from aristocratic heroes fighting singly, to formations of citizens of the new polis fighting together in phalanx. This change of fighting mode is also supposed by some to be related to a change in weaponry - the development of a hoplite package of heavy body armour, helmet, distinctive large two-handled shield and stabbing spear. The supposition stems from a passage in Aristotle about the replacement of cavalry by hoplites leading to a widening of the constitution *{Politics* 4.1297b: 16-29). This is backed by comparing Geometric battle scenes with those on later pots, contrasting battle scenes in Homer with those in later literature, and speculating on the use of weaponry found after 750.

Much of the literature has debated the character of the supposed hoplite reform, and its relation with the tyrannies and social changes of the seventh century (some discussion for Korinth appears in Chapter Two). After a brief review I will side *with* i hose students of ancient war who consider less the politics and tactics and more the experiences of soldiering.

Lorimer (1947) examined particularly the poetry of Archilochos and Tyrtaios for evidence of a change to massed phalanxes based on the new armour and shield. Snodgrass, after his work on early armour and weaponry (1964), argued for *a* gradual change to new tactics (1965), accepting a hoplite reform, but not that this had great political consequences. For Van Wees (1994: esp. 148) these military developments were the consequence rather than the cause of political change. In contrast, I have mentioned how Andrewes (1956) explicitly associated hoplites with the political changes of tyranny (tyrants representing the interests of a non-aristocratic hoplite

'class'), a position basically followed by Salmon (1977). He has considered the emergence of the hoplite phalanx as the catalyst for political revolution: 'it turned political revolutionaries, with deeply felt grievances but little opportunity to satisfy their demands, into actual revolutionaries by giving them new military strength. The introduction of massed tactics was the catalyst in an already explosive situation' *(ibid.:* 95). Cartledge too weighed the evidence for and against a sudden change to hoplite warfare in favour of the former on the grounds that the shield is suitable only for formation fighting and could not be used in another way, as implied by Snodgrass (Cartledge 1977:20). Both Salmon and Cartledge suggest a context of discontent for the supposed military and political changes, but Cartledge, after Snodgrass, plays down the threat of hoplites to the aristocracy *(ibid.:* 23; Snodgrass 1965: 114). The weaponry required considerable wealth; hoplites were not a poor or a middle class, though they may have defused the assumed contradiction between *arete,* the values of aristocracy, and the more recent voices *of dike* in the polis (Cartledge 1977: 23j Morris 1987: 198).

In contrast, Detienne (1968) and Vernant (1962) have associated the emergence of hoplite warfare with the *mentalites* of the polis. For them, the hoplite phalanx and citizen body were the same; the hoplite phalanx was the emergence into warfare of the new order of the polis.

Bowden (1993) reads warfare in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as images of the hoplite warfare of the polis, and not an individualistic heroic duelling. Such a radically different line has been taken by Latacz (1977) and Pritchett (1985) and followed by Morris (1987: 196-201). They argue that there was no hoplite reform at all, and that there was no emergence of phalanx fighting; all early Greek warfare was fought by infantry formations. 'There is no evidence whatsoever to support the theory that there was a hoplite reform' *(ibid,:* 198); 'a technical progress in arms is not synonymous with a new battle formation, and mass fighting cannot be invoked as constituting a change in social relationships' (Pritchett 1985: 44). The main points are as follows. It is argued that Homer's accounts of battles are of infantry formations, with poetic attention focused upon the *promachoi,* the front rank of noblest and best-equipped soldiers. Ritualised duels, such as might be inferred in Homer, were possible and present in all ancient warfare, and are not inconsistent with formations of infantry. Chariots in Homer were either not part of the described battle, or were an effect introduced by Homer where horses would have been used by aristocrats moving to and around the battlefield (Greenhalgh 1973: 84-95 for depictions of mounted infantry). Ahlberg's conclusions about tactics (1971: 49-54), after her study of battle scenes upon late Geometric pots, are inconclusive. However, this argument against the existence of the reform overlooks and does not explain the important questions of the apparently different *motivations* for fighting before and after the proposed reform, and also the use of *uniform* equipment for soldiers from the seventh century,

There is confusion over this politics of warfare (Van Wees 1994 for a compromise)} but some things are clear. There were undoubted changes in weaponry from 750 - armour, the helmet and significantly the two-handled *aspis* known as the

hoplite shield. It seems a reasonable point that the design of shield and helmet are particularly suited to fighting in phalanx. The helmet would not allow easy hearing and visibility, important in some kinds of open fighting. The heavy shield held close to the body by virtue of centre strap and rim grip was not very manoeuvrable, more suited to pushing and static defence than deflecting varied blows and weapons; it also guarded unnecessary space to the left of the soldier, unless there was a fellow hoplite there. These remarks take me to another aspect of warfare,

Cultures of **war** in **epic and lyric, and the** *euklees thanatos* Ceramic imagery has already led to reflection upon eyes, helmets and the identity of the soldier in a phalanx formation. I suggest a redirection of interest from tactics and their relationship to weapon forms and class politics to archaic expressions of the *experiences* of fighting and associated lifestyles. Consider first epic and lyric portrayals of the cultures of war.

Warfare is a significant theme of Homeric epic, of course, and of much early lyric. But the evidence therein of a marked change from aristocratic duels to citizens in formation is ambiguous and inconclusive. Two passages of Homer *(Iliad* 13.128-34, also 16.215-7) describe massed clashes of heavy infantry, shields locked, spears stabbing. They are the basis of the striking evocation by Tyrtaios of confrontation with the enemy in what seems to be a hoplite fight (references to shield, spear, helmet and discipline):

> καὶ πόδα πὰρ ποδὶ θεὶς καὶ ἐπ' ἀσπίδος ἀσπίδ' ἐρείσας,
> ἐν δὲ λόφον τε λόφωι καὶ κυνέην κυνέηι
> καὶ στέρνον στέρνωι πεπλημένος ἀνδρὶ μαχέσθω . . .
>
> let him fight toe to toe and shield against shield hard-driven
> crest against crest and helmet on helmet, chest against chest.
> Tyrtaios West 11.31-3

Here the possible difference between heroic duel and infantry formation is not what matters.

The battles of Homer are dominated by the figure of the hero, and I have already had something to say about him; I will expand with an account of his conceptual world. The Homeric hero is a complex and subtle figure, and I have no wish or need to be controversial in interpretation, providing only further dimensions of the assemblage I am sketching with some synoptic remarks taken particularly from a reading of Homer with Adkins (1960, 1972), Frankel (1975), Nagy (1979) and Vernant (1991a).

The subject of epic is the deeds of men and gods *(Odyssey* 1.338). In the *Iliad* the plain of Troy is no countryside or place, but a space or setting for the doings of men and gods. Physical features are lacking, except when needed as props, as are the seasons absent. There are no limits of time and space upon the action; nothing mechanical or casual happens; the focus is upon the unusual, and all seems sup-

pressed except for persons, personal effects and personalised powers. The masses are in the background (for example, *Iliad* 17.370-5); the hero shines forth:

ἐνθ' αὖ Τυδεΐδῃ Διομήδεϊ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη
δῶκε μένος καὶ θάρσος, ἵν' ἔκδηλος μετὰ πᾶσιν
Ἀργείοισι γένοιτο ἰδὲ κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἄροιτο·
δαῖε οἱ ἐκ κόρυθός τε καὶ ἀσπίδος ἀκάματον πῦρ,
ἀστέρ' ὀπωρινῷ ἐναλίγκιον, ὅς τε μάλιστα
λαμπρὸν ταμφαίνῃσι λελουμένος Ὠκεανοῖο·

There to Tydeus' son Diomedes Pallas Athena
granted strength *(menos)* and daring *(tharsos),* that he might be conspicuous
among all the Argives and win the glory of valour *(kleos).*
She made weariless fire blaze from his shield and helmet
like that star of the waning summer who beyond all stars
rises bathed in the ocean stream to glitter in brilliance *(lampros).*
{Iliad 5.1-6, 136-8; see also, for example, 11.172f and 11.547f)

Here is romantic admiration of the awe-inspiring individual, the leader like a lion before sheep, champion apart from the others. The hero is an *agathos,* head of his autonomous household or *oikos.* Associated are *arete* (position, wealth, excellence and the privilege of leisure) and *time* (honour, compensation and wealth owing to position, and the possessions owned). A primary motivation of the *agathos* is to acquire and to hold onto *time, or philoi,* those things and persons, dear and cherished, upon which the *agathos* depended.

Γλαῦκε, τίη δή νῶϊ τετιμήμεσθα μάλιστα
ἕδρῃ τε κρέασίν τε ἰδὲ πλείοις δεπάεσσιν
ἐν Λυκίῃ, πάντες δὲ θεοὺς ὡς εἰσορόωσι,
καὶ τέμενος νεμόμεσθα μέγα Ξάνθοιο παρ' ὄχθας,
καλὸν φυταλιῆς καὶ ἀρούρης πυροφόροιο;
τῷ νῦν χρὴ Λυκίοισι μέτα πρώτοισιν ἐόντας
ἑστάμεν ἠδὲ μάχης καυστείρης ἀντιβολῆσαι,
ὄφρα τις ὧδ' εἴπῃ Λυκίων πύκα θωρηκτάων·
οὐ μὰν ἀκλεῖς Λυκίην κάτα κοιρανέουσιν
ἡμέτεροι βασιλῆες, ἔδουσί τε πίονα μῆλα
οἶνόν τ' ἐξαίτον μελιηδέα· ἀλλ' ἄρα καὶ ἴς
ἐσθλή, ἐπεὶ Λυκίοισι μέτα πρώτοισι μάχονται·

Glaukos, why is it you and I are honoured before others with
pride of place, the choice meats and the filled wine-cups
of Lykia, and all men look upon us as if we were immortals?
Therefore it is our duty in the forefront of the Lykians
to take our stand, and bear our part of the blazing of battle,
so that a man of the close-armoured Lykians may say of us:
'Indeed, these are no ignoble *(akleos)* men who are lords of Lykia,

> these kings of ours .. . since indeed there is strength
> of valour in them, since they fight in the forefront of the Lykians'
> *{Iliad 12.310-21)*

The god-like *agathos* owed his position and its accoutrement to prowess in battle and this meant that success mattered - action not intention: good intentions matter not to the dead soldier. The compensation for the risk of the front line was *kudos,* success and its glory, the prestige and authority of the victor, and *kleos,* fame. This makes the culture of the hero a public one of shame and results, not inward intention and guilt. The Homeric conception of man is one where man and action are identical, and there are no hidden depths to the person; the hero is what others say of him. With no boundaries between feeling and corporeal existence and action, 'he does not confront an outside world with a different inner selfhood, but is interpenetrated by the whole, just as he on his part by his action and indeed by his suffering penetrates the whole event. . . Even what a man does to others is part of himself (Frankel 1975: 80,85).

There is clearly an enjoyment of physical pleasures in the hero - food, wine, sex, sleep and festivity, even melancholy *{Hind* 13.636-9; *Odyssey4.* 102-3). But in such an external selfhood the meaning of the act, indeed existence, lies in death and its confrontation. When fame and existence depend upon being talked about (and having deeds done sung in poetry), real death is silence, obscurity and amnesia. So the hero risks his life in the front ranks; 'life for him has no other horizon than death in combat … In a beautiful death, excellence no longer has to be measured indefinitely against others and keep proving itself in confrontation; it is realised at one stroke and forever in the exploit that puts an end to the life of the hero' (Vernant 199 Id: 85). And the heroes in Homer do not have lingering deaths.

Vernant (1991a) establishes links between excellence achieved, a beautiful death and imperishable glory through the song which remembers and celebrates the death, in a sort of collective memory. The beautiful death is also an escape from the death associated with ageing. Old age, evil and death are contrasted by Mimnermos with love and pleasure, the 'flowers of youth' (West 1) (mentioned above in discussion of flowers see p. 89). Ageing only brings decay, a loss of the *kratos* or power that allows the hero to dominate an opponent, misery and an ignoble death. So at the moment of *euklees thanatos,* glorious death, the hero guarantees his immortal and heroic youth. *The hebes anthos,* flower of youth, is not so much a chronological age, but an attribute *of* the glorious death; the hero's youth, *hebe, goes with his aristeia,* and an heroic death is always youthful.

> αἰσχρὸν γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο, μετὰ προμάχοισι πεσόντα
> κεῖσθαι πρόσθε νέων ἄνδρα παλαιότερον,
> ἤδη λευκὸν ἔχοντα κάρη πολιόν τε γένειον,
> θυμὸν ἀποπνείοντ' ἄλκιμον ἐν κονίηι,
> αἱματόεντ' αἰδοῖα φίλαις ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντα –
> αἰσχρὰ τά γ' ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ νεμεσητὸν ἰδεῖν,

καὶ χρὼς γυμνωθέντα· νέοισι δὲ πάντ' ἐπέοικ' ἐν,
ὄφρ' ἐρατῆς ἥβης ἀγλαὸν ἄνθος ἔχηι,
ἀνδράσι μὲν θηητὸς ἰδεῖν, ἐρατὸς δὲ γυναιξὶ
ζωὸς ἐών, καλὸς δ' ἐν προμάχοισι πεσών.

it is disgraceful this, an older man falling
in the front line while the young hold back,
his head already white, grizzled beard,
gasping out his valiant breath in the dust,
his bloodied genitals in hand -
this is shameful *{aischra)* to the eyes, scandalous to see,
his skin stripped bare. But for the young man,
still in the lovely flower of youth *{hebes anthos),* it is all brilliant,
alive he draws men's eyes and women's hearts,
beautiful felled in the front line.
Tyrtaios West 10.21-30
(see also *Iliad* 22.71-6)

Here Tyrtaios and Homer both describe the awful and, for Tyrtaios, disgraceful *{aischra)* death of an old man; yet this would have been glorious and beautiful for a young man. There is an aesthetics to the death of the hero (Vernant 1991a; Loraux 1975, 1986; Dawson 1966, on the poem of Tyrtaios).

The beautiful death, as well as being contrasted with that of the old man, is marred by various things (Vernant 1991a: 67f). *Aikia* (disgrace) - dirt, disfigurement, dismemberment, the dogs, birds and fish, worms and rot which spoil the corpse, deprive it of its wholeness, integrity, beauty. These all threaten the proper securing of the beautiful death, the purifying funeral pyre which sends the *hebes anthos* off to eternity, retaining *the* corpse's unity and beauty, and the burial mound raised in his memory.

The lyric elegy of Kallinos and Tyrtaios moulds the old epic vocabulary and world with expression of the experiences of soldiery and with a new outlook of admonition, instruction and exhortation to fight as the heroes did of old. The call is for men to fight bravely. The emphasis on the glory and honour of war and death, in contrast to shame and the misery of disrespect, on the appearance of male performance in war in the light of opinion, is Homeric. But Tyrtaios (West 10, 11 and 12) and Kallinos (West 1) also are the first to articulate a new aspect to the ethic of *arete:* excellence lying in courage in the service of the country, city and whole community,an appeal absent from Homer (see Jaeger 1966; Murray 1993: 134-5; Greenhalgh 1972, on Homer and patriotism).

οὐ γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γίνεται ἐν πολέμωι
εἰ μὴ τετλαίη μὲν ὁρῶν φόνον αἱματόεντα,
καὶ δηίων ὀρέγοιτ' ἐγγύθεν ἱστάμενος.
ἦδ' ἀρετή, τόδ' ἄεθλον ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἄριστον
κάλλιστόν τε φέρειν γίνεται ἀνδρὶ νέωι.

ξυνὸν δ' ἐσθλὸν τοῦτο πόληί τε παντί τε δήμωι,
ὅστις ἀνὴρ διαβὰς ἐν προμάχοισι μένηι
νωλεμέως, αἰσχρῆς δὲ φυγῆς ἐπὶ πάγχυ λάθηται,
ψυχὴν καὶ θυμὸν τλήμονα παρθέμενος,
θαρσύνηι δ' ἔπεσιν τὸν πλησίον ἄνδρα παρεστώς·
. . .
αὐτὸς δ' ἐν προμάχοισι πεσὼν φίλον ὥλεσε θυμὸν,
ἄστυ τε καὶ λαοὺς καὶ πατέρ' εὐκλείσας,
πολλὰ διὰ στέρνοια καὶ ἀσπίδος ὀμφαλοέσσης
καὶ διὰ θώρηκος πρόσθεν ἐληλάμενος.
τὸν δ' ὀλοφύρονται μὲν ὁμῶς νέοι ἠδὲ γέροντες,
ἀργαλέωι δὲ πόθωι πᾶσα κέκηδε πόλις

No man is of high standing in war
if he cannot stand the sight of bloodlet gore,
set blows at the enemy and stand close.
This is the highest good *(ante),* here is the noblest prize for men,
the finest for a young man lo win.
And this is a common good for his city and all the people -
when a man plants his feet and stands in the front rank
relentlessly, all thought of shameful *(aischre)* flight altogether forgotten,
his spirt and bold heart laid on the line,
and with encouraging words stands by the man next to him …
And he lose* his own dear life, falling in the from rank,
so bringing glory *(kleos)* 10 his city, his people and his father,
with many wounds in his chest, wounded through his bossed shield
and driven through his breastplate at the front as well.
Such a man is mourned alike by the young and the elders,
and all his city is troubled at the keen loss.
(Tyrtaios. West 12. 10-19 and 23-28)

In contrast, the lyric of Archilochos presents a frank realism before an ideal and exaggerated sense of epic honour. He is happy to throw away his shield to save his life -a usual sign of cowardice (dropping a heavy shield facilitates escape) (West 5); and the idea of posthumous glory is not in accordance with his experience:

οὔτις αἰδοῖος μετ' ἀστῶν οὐδὲ περίφημος θανὼν
γίνεται· χάριν δὲ μᾶλλον τοῦ ζοοῦ διώκομεν
οἱ ζοοί, κάκιστα δ' αἰεὶ τῶι θανόντι γίνεται.

No one in this city, once he has died, is honoured and respected. Rather we living cultivate the favour of the living. It's the dead who always get the worst of things.
(West 133; see also West 11)

As Frankel puts it; 'the fairy, dream of epic is done with. For Archilochos' self-control is no longer a means of winning an imaginary final victory over all enemies; it could

Figure 3.23 A fight upon an aryballos from Perachora and in the National Museum, Athens.

only lend stability and power to resist and moderate excessive fluctuations of sentiment' (Frankel 1975: 143). Archilochos was a mercenary, living and surviving through fighting; this may account for him repeatedly asserting the reality of the present and experience. Fighting was simply part of what Archilochos did.

Grand scenes of war: who is that man?

In contrast to the warriors here upon the Boston aryballos (Figure 3.1), hoplites are anonymous within helmet, armour, and behind shield. The swordsman's dynamic upon this aryballos is in his angled limbs. The hoplite's shield and spear are the focus of his energy. Earlier scenes of conflict and battle, as well as scenes more generally, pose more questions in the range of juxtapositions they present (Table 2.3), in the range of situations of violence and aggression. Scenes of battle which contain hoplites and no other pictorial elements occur only upon later pots; eight hoplites in earlier and 108 in later scenes. These friezes focus upon violence and weaponry, particularly shields, and upon the group: there are only nine friezes of hoplite fighting (the hoplite appears in an average group therefore of twelve). Only the birds lined up in the old Geometric manner, *and* bird protomes (human protomes *on* one *pot:* aryballos Thera 419; Neeft 1987: 34.1), appear in groups with no other design element.

Only the hoplite shields mark difference, but one of bird and animal devices (Table 3.2). The hoplite looks like another and another. And they appear in groups, tangled up in the fight - the hoplite battle is one of the few occasions when the pot painters overlap figures (other times are the lion attacking or bringing down an animal, and horse or chariot races: an association is here established). Consider also Payne's observation of the contrast between Attic and Korinthian miniature painting (1933, manuscript translation: 6). The Attic scene may focus interest upon a single point or figure in a wide and otherwise empty field of vision: a star performer in an empty stage (Payne refers to Beazley's discussion of the Phrynos cup in the British Museum: Beazley 1928: Pl. 1.1-2 and 4). In contrast, the Korinthian miniaturist fills the scene with detail and complication, multiplying, not reducing the elements of the design so that 'the surface seems almost to move before one's eyes, like an ant's nest

disturbed' (Payne 1933, manuscript translation: 6): all is mixed in the movement and unity of the whole,

In the tangle of fighting formation the armoured soldier's helmeted head has a closer pictorial connection to the head of his fellow hoplite than it does to his own torso or (greaved) calf: consider the depiction upon the Macmillan aryballos (Amyx 1988: 31; Fig. 3.24), with its line of helmets and crests, blazoned shields, and then legs below. I argue that this is a real and functional connection too. In the phalanx formation, bodies unite in the 'body of men' and their integration fears disruption and break-up. (Consider also the poem by Tyrtaios (West 11) quoted above, expressing the proximity of helmet and helmet, chest and chest, shield and shield, spear and spear.)

The hoplites appear anonymous. What identity does the hoplite have? And what identity in the group or phalanx, when helmet relates to helmet, and shield to shield, rather than to the soldier beneath and behind? In contrast to the rows of protomes and monsters of dismemberment and incongruous assembly, the physique of the heavy infantryman is held together and defended by the talismans of his identity- the weaponry. The hoplite's armour and shield hold him together, but he does face violence and risks death, risks bloody wounding, dismemberment and monstrous chaos. So the formation and the equipment forms new, centred bodies, and provides identity (on arms and the group in another scene of war upon a later Korinthian alabastron see Henderson 1994: 88).

What more of the identity of the soldier? Pamela Vaughn (1991) has drawn attention to the difficulty of identification after hoplite battle: facial injury across shield top was common, and bodies were bloated from being left after battle, cooked in cuirass, disfigured by the heat of Greek summer sun upon bronze armour.

Experiences of soldiering and techniques ofthe **body**

In short, anyone who paid attention to the poetry of Sparta. . . and examined the marching rhythms they used when going against the enemy to pipe accompaniment, would decide that Terpander and Pindar were quite right to associate valour with music. The former says of Sparta

> ἔνθ' αἰχμά τε νέων θάλλει καὶ Μοῦσα λίγεια
> καὶ Δίκα εὐρυάγυια, καλῶν ἐπιτάρροθος ἔργων.

Figure 3.24 Soldiers together. A pyxis in the British Museum (1865.7-20.7). Three figures face an archer. Their identity has been suggested as a multi-bodied monstrous Geryon 1921, page 144, and others *after* him), facing archer Herakles. I suggest that there are three soldiers overlapped in formation, facing the representative of a different violence, the archer. The formation and hoplite equipment form anew centred body and provide an identity when risking death. The Macmillan aryballos in the British Museum (Amyx, 1988, page 31; photograph and permission courtesy of the British Museum).

round hoplite shield - the old man in Tyrtaios. War was not about drawn out, cowardly 'terrorism ' or guerilla tactics at *a* distance. Risk was heightened and blood proliferated, at least in the front ranks. (Alternative experiences of war and battle are neatly summarised in Keegan 1993.) So what more was hoplite battle about? I have already discussed the aesthetics of heroic death. There was an aesthetics to the art of hoplite war.

There is the display of armour, crests and shields. Vernant (1982) has written of the ceremonial and ritualised character of early hoplite warfare (see also Connor 1988). War is not simply functional behaviour; but let me stay with experience and the body. The fighting formation moved rhythmically. Pipers accompanied phalanxes: this is known from illustration upon Korinthian pots (the Chigi Olpe, Villa Giulia 22679, Amyx 1988: 32) and an aryballos from Perachora (Figure 3.23). Henderson has commented (Henderson 1994: 109-10) on the splicing of war and dance in his reading of a Tyrrhenian neck amphora of the early-mid sixth century (see also Poursat 1968 and Spivey 1988).

The Korinthian helmet had particular effect upon the look and experience of its wearer. I have already discussed eyes and the gaze of the enemy. Consider also the body armour, again so evident in these illustrations. Muscled bronze torsos harden the hoplite against the spilling of blood and intestines, but follow the contours of the human body (however idealised). A widespread convention of Greek art is furthered when the hoplites appear naked apart from their armour and weapons. Other figures too are drawn naked. Why is this, if not because war and violence are a function of the *body of these men, its* aesthetic and politics?

Fighting in formation in this warfare required discipline, rhythmic movement, trained manipulation of weaponry - the cultivation of distinctive *techniques of the body. This* term is part of a realisation that the human form and its relationship with notions of the self is not, by virtue of its biology, a social constant (Foucault 1975, 1976; Martin, Gutman and Hutton 1988). Different social practices and ideologies constitute the body in different ways, and experiences of the body are a primary dimension of people's relationship with the social. Posture, dress, training, discipline, economies of pleasure and pain all help constitute distinctive experiential lifeworlds (meaning the social world as experienced and perceived) (for comparative source material: Crary and Kwinter 1992; Feher, Naddaff and Tazi 1989).

These techniques of the body and the bodily lifeworld of archaic violence are clear also in early lyric poetry. There is much reference to discipline and posture.

> ὦ νέοι, ἀλλὰ μάχεσθε παρ' ἀλλήλοισι μένοντες·
>
> You, young men, keep together, hold the line.
>
> Tyrtaios (West 1992) 10.15, translation (West 1993)
>
> ἀλλ', Ἡρακλῆος γὰρ ἀνικήτου γένος ἐστέ,
> θαρσεῖτ'· οὔπω Ζεὺς αἰγίδα λοξὸν ἔχει·

The hoplite stands upright and straight in the line. Contrast the death of a monster. Herakles shoots three-bodied Geryones in the head with an arrow:

ἐμίαινε δ'ἄρ' αἵματι πορφυρέωι
θώρακά τε καὶ βροτόεντα μέλεα
ἀπέκλινε δ' ἀρ' αὐχένα Γαρυόνας
ἐπικάρσιον, ὡς ὅκα μάκων
ἅτε καταισχύνοισ' ἀπαλλὸν δέμας
αἶψ' ἀπὸ φύλλα βαλοῖσα ν(

it stained with darkening blood
his cuirass and gory limbs.
Geryones bent his neck to one side
just as a poppy spoiling its delicate structure
suddenly lets drop its petals.
Steisichoros Davies S15ii. 12-17

An image from Archilochos is another reference to neck, appearance and bearing:

. . . χαίτην ἀπ' ὤμων ἐγκυτὶ κεκαρμένος

.. . hair cut short, off the shoulder.
Archilochos West 217

Consider now early Greek sculpture: stone *kouroi* (and other figurines) (Richter 1970; Stewart 1990: 109-13, 122-6). These were dedications to divinities and are found associated with graves. The kouroi are all in stiff poses. Why? It is clear that they are the desired appearance of the ideal male. And they are naked. But there is no experiment with bodily form. This is not 'natural', not a function of normal artistic development'. I argue that this artistic conservatism (Snodgrass 1980a: 185) is a social requirement: contrast the radical experimentation of figures upon Korinthian pottery. There was no desire to sculpt *animated* naked males. They are made upright and hard, representing the valuation of a posture belonging with new and expressive techniques of the self and body. Simonides, has the *agathos,* the man of *arete* (virtue):

. . . χερσίν τε καὶ ποσὶ καὶ νόῳ
τετράγωνον ἄνευ ψόγου τετυμένον

hand and foot alike, and in understanding cut foursquare, fashioned without flaw.
Page 542.1-3

Tetragonon (foursquare) is reference to *tetractys,* a Pythagorean term of excellence and justice, root of harmony and *arete* (Frankel 1975: *276-7,* 308). *Tetragonon* may also be connected to technique of manufacture. The method of sculpting kouroi is clear - separate views were sketched on the four faces of a block of stone prior to taking it down to the final form.

The relationship of kouroi to aristocratic ideologies has been well covered. Stewart associates kouroi, expensive artistic commissions) with the aristocracy and its ideals (Stewart 1986; Zinserling 1975). As grave-markers they are monuments *to* aristocratic virtue *{kalokagathia)* in the flower of youth *(hebes anthos)*. Hurwitt puts it like this 'The kouros and kore forms were perpetuating symbols of the physical prowess, moral authority, goodness and beauty that aristocrats (naturally) considered innately aristocratic' (Hurwitt 1985:198-9). What should be emphasised is the novelty of the *expression* of this ideal.

An aside here on another eastern, Egyptian, connection is appropriate. A few kouroi are to the same proportions as the Egyptian canon of proportions (Guralnick 1978; also Diodoros Siculus 1.98.5-9) The posture clearly owes something to Egyptian sculpture, even if the proportions do not match precisely (generally on this relationship: Hurwitt 1985: 190-9).

Further connections can be made between the anatomical detailing of kouroi and bronze armour (Kenfield 1973). Courbin noted a similar muscle schematic on the bronze cuirass found in the famous eighth-century warrior's grave at Argos as on an Argive statue signed by Polymedes at Delphi (Courbin 1957: 353, Fig. 36). Kunze's study of archaic greaves at Olympia (1991) shows clearly their artistic credentials; they are not simply functional items. The detailing of the knee joint is common to both greaves and kouroi (Snodgrass 1991).

Pois and bodies

Discipline, posture, aesthetics of war, hard and ordered physique involved working practices of sculpture and battle, and ideologies of *arete*. But what more have the pots to do with the body? The aryballoi, which carry the main elements of the figured decoration, were most probably containers for perfumed oil, anointment for the body. Most of the finds we have come from cemetery deposits (see Chapter 5), laid down with the body of the dead. And I have already mentioned the connection between ceramic form and the body, through transformation of earth and water. I have focused on the appearance of people in the figured paintings in an attempt to make sense of this scene upon an aryballos in a museum in Boston. But people are in a minority upon the pots. Let me return to more general impressions.

The scenes break down as shown in Figure 3.26.

The pie chart of Figure 3.26 covers a total of 1,219 figured friezes. There are a further 2,074 friezes decorated with flowers and geometric designs which ail appear upon 1,225 pots; I have already pointed *out the very* frequent occurrence *of the* floral. Another 726 pots are decorated only with lines and one other type of ornament. In practical terms this means that there *is only one* chance in thirty-eight of coming across a scene containing a person. The general pictorial 'assemblage' is of ceramic surface linearly covered and ordered, with ornamental deviation from parallel, perpendicular and triangular angularity, and also animals around pots, animals which are not to do with agriculture and the domestic economy so much as an other and wilder, even aggressive and violent field. These mingle and interact with other creatures, including people and monsters. The taciturn linearity of Korinthian

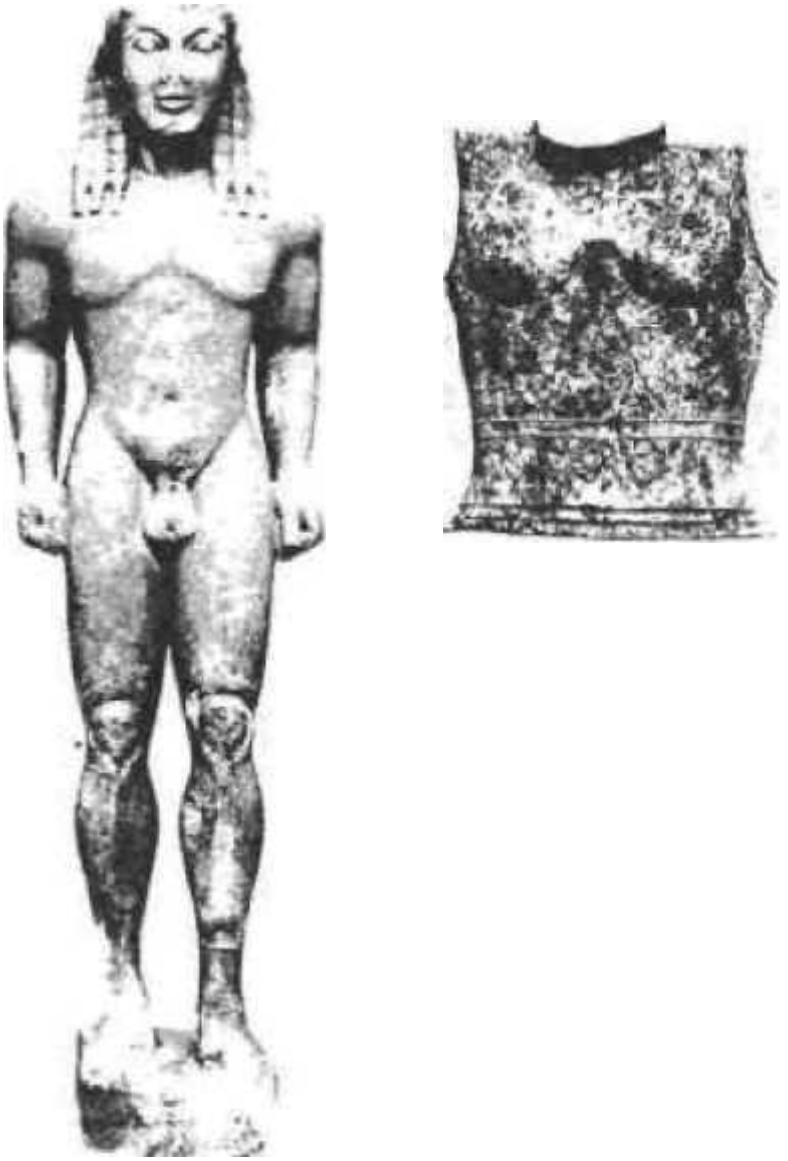


Figure 3.25 An archaic stone *kouros* in Delphi, one of a pair (Kleobis/Biton) signed by Polymedes of Argos, and a cuirass from a grave found at Argos. Note the similar rendering of the torso.

Geometric (Fig. 2.11) is opened into 'ornament' and the representation of the form of animate creatures. The animals are recognised through their bodily form, and the way this is conveyed in painting. I have already mentioned the play with body parts in creating monsters. 'Ornament', linear order, and the forms bodies take: there is nothing else, only a very few artifacts. So this Korinthian design is indeed in large part

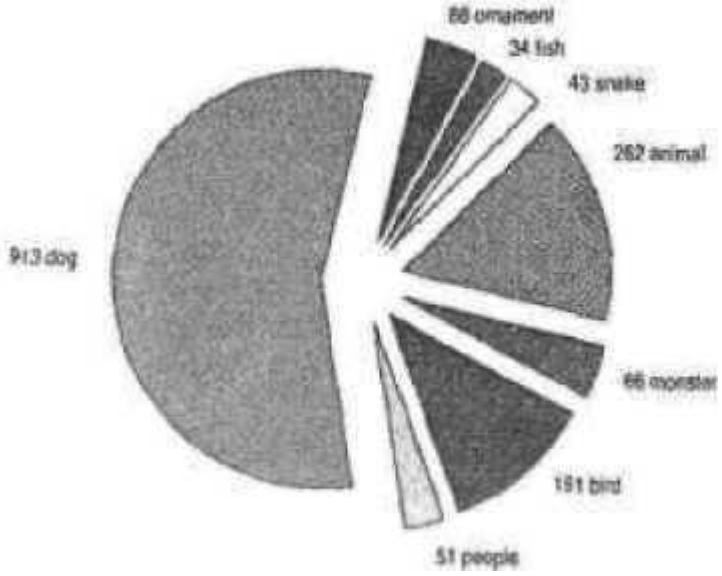


Figure 3.26 The different components of Korinihian figured friezes of the seventh century BC. Values refer to the number of friezes in which a particular figurative component occurs.

about bodily form. Here reference may be made to Schnapp's general remarks (1988) about the character of Greek art and its overriding concern with the body.

Animals such as those on the shoulder of this aryballos (Fig. 1.1} *appear on the* pots in great numbers and the soldier may conceive of himself as *a* lion, or one of the other wild creatures pictured on the pots (lions, boars, bulls, rams and stags comprise 90 per cent of animals shown on later pots). I have indicated already in considering the eyes of the panther that association between the animal and the person may occur through the viewer. There are thirty-eight friezes where people mix with animals. The juxtaposition of the two friezes upon this aryballos may suggest some analogy between animal and human worlds. There are, however, only nine cases *of such* a juxtaposition of a scene with men next to one with animals (dogs excluded, see p. 000). The main connection between worlds of people and animals is that both take bodily form.

Benson (1995) has argued that flowers act as metaphorical links in some figured scenes: 'the floral ornaments, in effect, function as would the word 'like' in a literary context' *(ibid.:* 163). His point is that major free-standing floral ornaments seem to occur in positions which point to connections between different elements of the designs upon the pot, basically mediating worlds of animals and men.

Creatures **and men,** *sauvages socialises*

πάντα δὲ γιγνόμενος περιήσεται, ὅσα ἐπὶ γαῖαν
ἕρπετὰ γίγνονται καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ θεσπιδαὴς πύρ·

> And he will make trial of you by becoming everything - all the creatures
> that move on the earth, taking the form of water and fire kindled by god,
> Odyssey 4.417-8

When held by the gods on Pharos, away in far-off Egypt, Menelaos discovered how he may escape home from Proteus, the ever-truthful Old Man of the Sea, who knows all the depths of the ocean *{Odyssey* 4.365f). But to get Proteos to speak to him, Menelaos had to be disguised as a seal and then hold onto the immortal and suffer his transformations through animality and matter:

> ἀλλ᾽ ἦ τοι πρώτιστα λέων γένετ᾽ ἠϋγένειος,
> αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα δράκων καὶ πάρδαλις ἠδὲ μέγας σῦς.
> γίγνετο δ᾽ ὑγρὸν ὕδωρ καὶ δένδρεον ὑψιπέτηλον.
>
> … First he turned into a great bearded lion,
> and then to a serpent, then to a leopard *(pardalis)* then to a great boar,
> and he turned into fluid water, to a tree with towering branches.
> *Odyssey* 4.456-8 Translation Lattimore

This experience of the 'form of all creatures that come forth and move on the earth' is one of fluidity and transformation as bodies change; it is a strange experience of the beyond, a divinity in Egypt. The transformation is also one that involves scent and divine perfume, for to resist the foul smell of the seal skins, Eidothea, divine daughter of Proteus, placed perfumed ambrosia, food of the gods, in each man's nostrils *(Odyssey* 4.441-446).

There is, *de facto,* the association of animal, human, avian and monstrous form made by Korinthian pot painters: it is their subject matter. However, animals and lions are of another order. Upon later pots there are scenes containing both animals and humans; however, lions, boars, bulls, goats and rams, those masculine and aggressive creatures, very rarely interact with humans. Those animal friezes which appear upon the same pots as friezes containing people are almost all domestic dogs. The dogs run and express a vital animal energy, but this is domesticated, without threat. So let it be said that animals are like, and unlike humans (the swordsman and centaur in dialectical tension upon this aryballos in Boston). Lions rage and fight like the hero, but animals are animated, complex, varied, changeable and unpredictable. This is especially true of those wild and dangerous animals which figure on the pots. Opposed to order and domestication, they area threat to societal man of culture.

Considering the appearance of animal metaphor in Homer, Schnapp-Gourbeillon concludes (1981: 194f) that Homeric animals are not representatives of an all-powerful Nature, but are part of a cosmogony which contrasts human society with an other world of the gods. The contrast is between that which is under human control and that which is not, and animals come between. Animal analogy revolves around society: to be understandable, animals must be related to social behaviour. In discussing the animal fables of Archilochos, Frankel argues (1975: 146) that animal natures need to be typed for simile to work. Animals *in themselves* are strange, nonsensical and irrational *(ibid.:* 200). So for a man to become an animal permits an

encounter with that world beyond, of divinity (Menelaos as a sea! suffering animality). To become an animal is to reject society, its norms and collectivity, and to become solitary, in intermediary spaces belonging to otherness.

The relationships I am exploring are thus as follows: between men and gods; animals as metaphorical reflections and strange wildness; between social behaviour and a world of savagery; heroic models and the monstrous; between epic and myth.

Bellerophon appears riding upon *winged* horse Pegasos and attacking the *chimaira* in a scene upon a Korinthian pot (Boston 95.10; Amyx 1988:37; Fig. 2.4). The myth of the hero has cult associations with Korinth: among other things Pegasos was found drinking from Korinth's fountain of Peirene (Pindar *Olympian* 13.63-87). Homer describes the monster, lion-fronted and snake behind, a goat in the middle:

ἡ δ' ἄρ' ἦην θειον γένος, οὐδ' ἀνθρώπων

it was a thing of immortal make, not of the world of men.
Iliad 6.180

The creature belonged to the world of divinity.

I mentioned above (p. 104), in connection with monsters, the distinction made by Deleuze and Guattari between the molar and the molecular. *The* molecular is that which is not overlain by a dimension of signification: it is not possible to say that it *is* or *signifies* something, because the molecular is fluid and cannot be pinned down (except by a Menelaos who has become animal himself), because it is a multiplicity which is strange, always becoming something else. The molar is that which is stable, controlled and coded. So there are two ways to be like an animal. One is to imitate that animal entity which has been defined by its form, endowed with characteristics and assigned *as a* subject; to *identify* with it. The other *way* is to become an animal, to enter into a relationship with that other side of animality (which is part of us too, as human-animals), the realm of the molecular; it is to become savage (no orders of signs and definitions), so that it is difficult to say where animal ends and person begins; it is to encounter the monstrous, that which cannot be held still. Deleuze and Guattari (1988: 232f) thoroughly consider this distinction and give many examples of becoming animal. Some are familiar through popular literature and culture: Ahab encounters the monster Moby Dick with an irresistible desire to become whale, consummated in his death attached to the white whale's back.

Deleuze and Guattari (1988: 240-1) specify three types of animal: pets, those with personal and sentimental relationships with the human ('my' cat); then those animals with characteristics or attributes, species, classified, domesticated, tamed, understood animals. *Finally* there are demonic animals *which* go beyond singular definition, animals which are a multiplicity. The relationship with the distinctions made in Homer is, I think, clear.

The bodily form of animals and men is a subject of Korinthian drawing, but they are treated somewhat differently. There are thirty-five different types of person (from riders to robed figures), of which a good proportion are recognisable as hoplites (42 percent); of the types remaining there is an average of four examples of each. There

are 556 lions, boars, bulls, goats and rams drawn in twenty-one different poses: an average of twenty-seven cases of each animal pose. And the difference in the variability of people and animals is even greater than this indicates. Although many men are hoplites, and I have classified the rest into thirty-four categories, in fact hardly one figure is drawn like another - postures and activities differ. And whereas I have characterised the hoplite as anonymous within helmet and armour, and behind shield, they form varied battle scenes, with winners and losers, some chasing others fleeing over the dead. Other men are animated in various ways, hunting, racing, standing with others. So people are different from animals according to the way they are drawn, according to the things they do as well as the way they look, In contrast to people, six poses account for 502 animals (90 per cent of those species listed above): lions standing and roaring, 'panthers' facing, boars standing, bulls and goats 'grazing' (head more or less down}. More than 2,400dogs run around the pots. They may differ by number of legs shown and some are more care fully and skilfully drawn than others, but they are all remarkably similar.

Payne (1933 manuscript translation: 21f) made an elegant and sharp observation of the character of this Korinthian drawing of animals. They were drawn according to a system of principles (schemes of drawing or formulae) which embody a contrast between an *analytic* articulation of the structure or form of an animal, and *a synthetic* overlying curvilinear rhythm. Pans of an animal - head, haunches, legs, back, tail - are articulated, to a greater or lesser degree, under a characteristic contour curve. And indeed most animals have a distinct curved rhythm, even with the different abilities, interests and purposes of pot painters. So the animals do not appear in many poses, and they are very frequently overridden by the discipline of a particular graphic curve (Fig. 3.30). This does not apply to the men on the pots.

Nor were the painters obliged to draw their animals in this way. The drawing of people, indeed the whole emergence of this new style of decorating pots, breaking with the Geometric, shows that they were willing to take risks and experiment. The awkward angles of arms and outsize heads of the aryballos in Boston are distinct, different and individual. (This is one origin of the possibility of distinguishing different painters.) The painter was trying out ways of depicting people. The different poses and forms of monsters are further evidence of the willingness to elaborate and differentiate. And the painters could produce leaping goats, and accomplished scenes of lions leaping upon animals. But they hardly experimented with animal form; the wild animals are brought into a regulated code. This is particularly evident on later larger vessels. The animal friezes stylise and de-animate their animals, place them under a code, lined up in formal sequence. This is clear from Figure 3.27 which shows an olpe, technically classified as slightly later transitional protokorinthian.

Why is it that men do different things, interact and overlap in contest and aggression, or fight and die in armour? Why do animals appear in only a limited number of poses, stylised, with only formal indications of interaction (two animals facing)? I suggest that the answer to these two questions is the same. It is to do with how we may think of our bodies, animality, human and animal, and the animal within the human.

Figure 3.27 Stylised animals. Friezes from a later Korinthian oinochoe in the Louvre.

Lissarague (1988) has focused upon **the** figure of the satyr in later Attic iconography, a hybrid creature between men and animals. He reveals *a clever* play around anatomy, comportment, gesture and techniques of the body in various fields where men and animals come together - in sacrifice, the hunt and in the domestic sphere.

> En representant les satyres, les peintures cherchent a explorer loutes les formes de comportements et de gestualites qui definissent L'Homme et l'opposent a l'animal. Le satyre voit en lui meme a'affaiblir, parfois s'abolir, la frontiere entre human et animal.
> *{ibid.:* 336}

This iconographic play is about boundaries between men and animals and their transgression.

This hybridity finds a different exploration in Korinthian iconography. Animals are brought TO order in their stylisation upon Korinthian pots, I suggest, because their contagious otherness threatens. Violence and war are of an experience where the animal erupts into the human; Diomedes is as a lion in *the fight.* The soldier in the fight leaves order and security behind (the ceramic stand as arbitrated order, here on this aryballos in Figures 1.1 and 3. 1)to risk the otherness of death {the otherness of the man-animal centaur). Violence, with its associated techniques of the body and material culture such as armour, allows the soldier to find identity with his bestial interior while avoiding being devoured by it. The animal interior threatens, so men upon the pots do not usually appear with the lions. And the lions are anyway de-animated, controlled through their stylisation.

I might say that the death risked through violence does not oppose life. The figures on the pots are animated precisely through violence. Carter (1 972: 38-9) has argued that an interest in depicting narrative and action lay behind orientalising Greek borrowing of eastern design. Payne remarks on this Boston aryballos: 'movement is, as usual, the inspiration of the story' (1933 manuscript translation: 11). In all, death is opposed to the consciousness of life, and this is of culture, involving lifestyle (all the activity of the painted men), and is a negation of the animal

War animates the dead within him. The fighting man is both hunter and hunted (scenes of animal hunts, animal attacks on people, soldiers fight among wild animals), finding the identity of his self in hunting and fighting the 'other'. That animal otherness is the opposite of its representation upon the pots: it is changeability and resistance to order and stylisation, qualities of unpredictability and deep powers

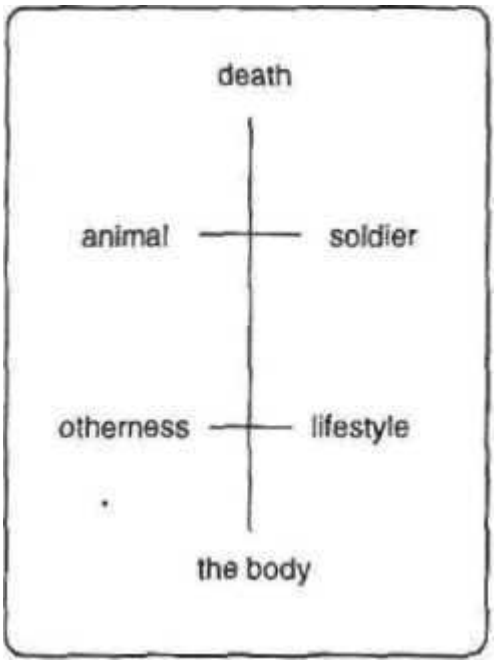


Figure 3.28 Death, otherness and lifestyle.

which lack definition. The animal interior of the soldier threatens to blow him apart or tear him to pieces - chaos of dismembered monster, and the dogs and birds which feed upon the corpse unattended by cultural propriety. His armour holds him together, and when one with the group, that threat is staunched; its integrity opposes the multiplicity and break-up that is the animal within.

Apart from the coursing hounds, the only other creature to appear in soldier lines is the bird: flocks of water birds, rows of heads. And the avian appears prominently upon the hoplite shields as talisman of identity. I have already shown how the bird seems to take a mediatory position, and forms an assemblage with the lion and the human. It would seem that somehow the bird allows the soldier to come to terms with that danger represented by the lion and the animal. At least the bird mediates.

War machines In an interpretation of popular German military literature of the 1920s and after, Theweleit (1987, 1989) has provided fascinating insights into the psychology of a soldier 'society', the *Mannerbund* of the *Freikorps*. With **their** militarism, male comradery and heroic youth, this **militaristic** grouping was part of the political and intellectual culture of the inter-war period, out of which indeed emerged fascism. I have already drawn on his work, and will now clarify and elaborate.

A major contention is that war is not only a restricted field of political authority and physical domination; war is a function of the body. The body is the site of the political ethos of militarism. Theweleit is concerned with the social psychology of male

sovereignty and its world which elevates the experience of violence and war, hardship and discipline. The centrality of the body is apparent in techniques of the self which define and are practised by the soldier - bodily drills, group drills and regimes, countenance (those eyes and the helmet), keeping *one's* bearing and expression correct and upright, training, self-control.

A primary motivation is towards bodily and social unity. This will to wholeness arises because of the perceived threat of its opposite: those wild and disorderly powers which break down barriers, setting off floods and waves of lower and sordid elements; there is fear of dissolution, commingling with these base elements, fear of engulfment. For the member of the German *Freikorps* in the 1920s, this was the threat of engulfment by communism and bolshevism, the lower classes, and their women. This will to wholeness is a fear of the *molecular,* and is a will to power. It is a compulsion to put down that other which threatens his unity and integrity, to oppress those elements in the body of another, or the body in his own self, bringing to order. The relationship with bodies is one of violence and hierarchy, not commingling with the base and dirty, but establishing the preponderance of self over the other, of man over the animal (within).

So the soldier *male's commitment to unity and the* whole arises out of his own fear of splitting. 'Think in terms of the whole = don't forget that you are subordinate = don't forget that without us you would have no head, nothing above you. Think in terms of the whole = without us you would die = without us you would lack divinity (masculinity) and would be animals' (Theweleit 1989: 102). And the soldier is split if and when those 'lower', suppressed and animal elements demand independence.

Unity is the phalanx, those dangerous elements of the body damned and subdued by the machine-like physique of the soldier, his self displaced into armour and weaponry. Homer has *krateron menos,* the 'conquering energy' of the hero, put on like armour *{Iliad* 17.742-6; see also Vernant 1991a: 63 on the shining *{lampros)* armour of the hero). In Tyrtaios consider the imagery whereby the *arete* of the soldier hero is achieved through weaponry and death (West 12, quoted above, p. 113). Archilochos identifies the staples of life with his weaponry:

> ἐν δορὶ μεν μοι μᾶζα μεμαγμένη, ἐν δορὶ δ' οἶνος
> Ἰσμαρικός· πίνω δ' ἐν δορὶ κεκλιμένος
> By spear is kneaded the bread I eat, by spear my Ismaric
> wine is won, which I drink, leaning upon (*keklimenos*) my spear.
> Archilochos West 2 Translation Lattimore

And *keklimenos* is the word which would be used to refer to reclining upon a dining couch *in* new eastern style.

Homer's conception of man is a complex mediation of the *molecular* and *malar* (introduced above). There are no words for the soul or indeed body of a living man, who was, as related above, a unity of energies, organs and actions (Frankel 1975: 76f following Bohme 1929). It was only in death that *psyche,* soul, became separated from *soma,* corpse.

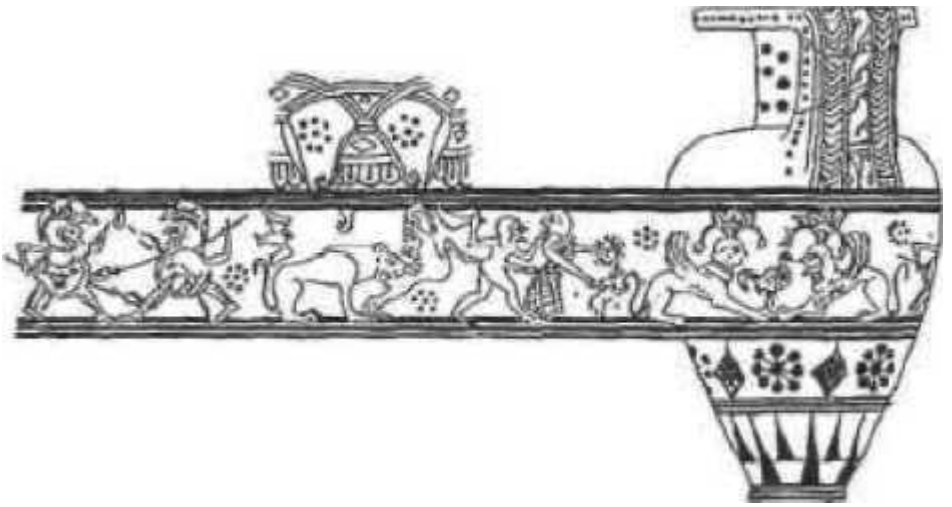


Figure 3.29 Warriors, wonwrn, irons rera, bird^ and floutn: an «ryt)ii!os in Brindiii, Fear of th«e thrssTt-ninti 4ml dirty huve rlcnurn's leads to n stiffening: coturol, armour, hard hrortlc. And, of cnurK. more: niftcniiig and hardnew ate supposed confirmation of manhood, Hert a phallic and inked m«\ (hard bodj bared) assaulis wiihn weapon one ofihe few likely female figures. Shea drewed unchecked flowing rubtf (soft), hoMt i wreath pi flowers (?) end pars a hare. Trie hurt? touchw * spliiwt, one of a pair who nil on either side of abitd, Ore sphinx » bearded. Floral dt^ric" Stw* from ih«Y beads. So from ihe female ixrtrtd Iheoihemni *vf* rnmiUosity, *mix* of imimat lion, rnimi and humnn, thr dubious traualliy *of* the. sphinxc:, the floral and ihe avian. TTie hart was later * gift between kivct* (Schnapp 1984), hunted also by dogs. Behind the phfillic msn a lion jump* upon a goal, »nd rwchcplitw b»d» a dm I. M. etem«n« of the assc.-nbUgc I hove bwn describing are here: armoured hoplite fi^tt - drill {the hoplites minor each other,« kproper) - violence ond the animal - violent sexuality agaitH t)e female - harJ body, wft clolhei -amdrontgift -and anawticialioLaftheflMal) mwatioMyiMnbiKaaassexuttity.ttveavian.

> So long as the body is alive, it is seen as a system of organs and limbs animated by their individual impulses; it is a locus for the meeting, and occasional conflict, of impulses or competing forces. At death, when the body is deserted by these, it acquires its formal unity, and becomes *soma*. (Vernant 1991a: 62).

The fear of the hero is *of aikia*, disgrace done to the corpse, dirt and disgrace spoiling its wholeness, and preventing the death being beautiful. The images quoted above of the old man's death bring in another element: his death was disgraceful, because of his old age and because it was not masculine - the reference to the wound to the genitals (and to be eaten by dogs and birds *(ibid.:* 68). There is fear too of not receiving proper burial, which preserves the beautiful death, and provides, in the funeral mound raised , a mark which is stable and unchanging - *empedos* (meaning 'intact' or 'immutable') *(ibid.;* 69, citing *Iliad* 17.432-5). So unity is *a* protection from that death represented by dismemberment, splitting, decay, decomposition, being the food of birds and dogs. Unity is that which is preserved by the *kalos thanatos*, the beautiful death. Perpetual unity comes with the funeral pyre and the mound raised for all to see.

In questioning the application of modern concepts of war and violence to the

ancient city state, Shipley (1993) has outlined the embeddedness of warfare, unquestioned by contemporary writers. There was no autonomous concept of war. In citing Garlan's argument for the 'omnipresence of war' (1989: 12-13) he comments that 'war was a fact of life: and though peace was different, it was not considered the norm, nor was war seen as an aberration' *(ibid.*: 18).

'People told us that the war was over. That made us laugh. We ourselves are the war. Its flame burns strongly in us. It envelops our whole being' (quoted in Theweleit 1987: x). Fear of that otherness is also fascination, and the struggle to retain hard control is a never-ending one. Battle and actually fighting is a supplement (in Derrida's sense too: Deleuze and Guattari 1988: 417). The warrior caste lives in permanent war. Why fight? For *kleos,* or for city, or for *dike,* justice? It does not really matter. The motivations are easily transferred.

μάχης δὲ τῆς σῆς, ὥστε διψέων πιεῖν

I would as soon light with you as drink when I'm thirsty.
Archilochos West 125

War is just something that you do; it is even a necessity. Mercenaries appear almost with the beginning of the polis, it would seem, and in numbers. Herodotos (2.152) has 'brazen men' in Egypt in the seventh century (see, for example, the account by Murray (1993: 223f)). Of course, Archilochos was a mercenary. They travelled: there is, for example the famous graffiti scratched by some Greek mercenaries on the left leg of a colossal statue of Rameses II at Abu Simbel, 700 miles up the Nile. They were on an expedition in 591 BC (Austin and Vidal-Naquet 1977: 209). The mercenaries did not need the state. War does not need battles; it is more a war-machine.

Heads and bodies, helmets, armour, spears and stabbing; human, avian, animal and monstrous; torn, mixed, stylised. The major focus of Korinthian iconography comes to be bodily form; and the body, in my argument, is a primary site for the aesthetic ethos of violence and war. Animals are stylised under a graphic order. Linear, geometric and floral painting or decoration binds the 'body' of the pot in an aesthetic order (see the comments of DuBois on Geometric Attic pottery, 1988: 133-5). This, I argue, is emphasised also in the use of all available ceramic surface (bases may be decorated too, some with figures: consider a fine bridled horse-head on the conical lekythos from Aetos, Amyx 1988: 36). And emphasised also in miniaturism, where often complication is heightened in a display of painterly dexterity and risk such that the surface effect is one of textured movement, like an ant's nest disturbed, as Payne put it.

So these soldiers and violent battle scenes are not best understood as the depiction or reflection of a hoplite 'reform'. To consider them as somehow documentary source for *a* political and military history in this way gives little insight into the scenes. The term 'hoplite reform' is out of place here, though the issues raised of the interconnection of military, social and political change are pertinent. The pots are not about something else. I am instead trying to give an interpretation of the pots

through their acts of making and painting. The potters were creating and responding 10 a demand, experimenting (less so later perhaps) for people who might want to use pots, to have a visual environment which made reference to those themes I have been following. This is anew *expressive* aesthetic.

Nagy (1979: esp. page 151-61; see also Vernant 1969) has interpreted Hesiod's myth of the five generations of humankind *(Works and Days* 109-201) as representing, in the men of gold, silver, bronze and the demi-gods (those generations preceding the present), the dual character of the heroic ancestor. Particularly interesting is the characterisation of the darker side of the heroic, the men of bronze: *chalkeion,* and made of ash *(ek melian) (Works and Days* 144-5) just as the warrior's spear. Hard and violent, they ate no grain *(Works and Days* 146-7) and died by their own hands. Nagy compares this violent and destructive masculinity with that of the warrior associations such as the *Mannerbund,* and those figures of myth the Spartoi and Phlegyai who combine categories of mortality, immortality and the heroic fighter {see also Vian 1968).

Vernant (1991c: 100} draws attention to the description in the *Iliad(22.*373-4) of Hektor's dead body, stripped of armour. It was *malakoteros amphaphaasthai(softerto* handle) - *malakos* (soft or limp) refers to the feminine or the effeminate. Vernant relates the image to that series of terms, already discussed (see pp. 132-3), which associate combat to the death with the erotic embrace. In Homer *meignumi,* sexual union, also means joining in battle.

1 will turn now to a consideration of gender and sexuality, long overdue.

Violence and sex, animals and the absence of woman

Of more than 4,104 animal and human figures in the sample only nine are drawn as being of female sex: six are women because named or according to physical characteristics; there are two lionesses, a dog-bitch and a sow. Some deer without antlers are of indeterminate sex and age; birds appear in different species, but again of indeterminate sex. There are also the sphinxes and bird people, again of indeterminate sex when not male.

Of the women, I have already introduced one, attacked by phallic male (Fig. 3.29). Three others are named as goddesses and are subject to the judgement of Alexander (upon the Chigi Olpe, Amyx 1988: 32). This scene is below the handle of the jug, the most inconspicuous position, and the myth represents female divinity beneath the gaze and subject to the human male. Another modelled female figure appears again beneath the handle of a jug, an angular oinochoe from Aetos (Robertson 1948: No. 1026). She is dressed in a checked and geometrically decorated robe, as is the whole pot decorated: it does not carry any figured scenes. So there are no associations to be made other than female and ceramic form; she is separate and bound to the pot surface by her form and decoration. A final woman is in checked robe and carries a shield and spear (Figs. 3.19 and 3.31). Thus the women are marginal, clothed in long robes, attacked or subject to men, while another stands armed.

Of the animals, the females identified by physical characteristics are treated as males in that I detect no distinction in their associations. Then there are those

animals and creatures which may be female, or are of indeterminate sex. The deer are timid creatures, as are most of the birds, apart from the birds of prey. I have also marked out the birds as of a mediatory character, according to their associations. Later Attic iconography has them as gifts between lovers, like hares, the panther, wreaths and flowers and domestic animals (Schnapp 1984). The sphinxes and bird-people (sirens) are monsters.

So, the female takes these shapes: absent, marginal, goddesses, indeterminate, bodies beneath robes, timid, subject to man, armed, freak and associated with the avian.

There is no anatomical reference to sexual reproduction, other than breasts, the teats of those four animals and the phallic male. However, apart from creatures together in an animal line, a feature of the linear frieze, animals are frequently paired. Sphinxes mostly occur in balanced pairs (seventy-two of the eighty-eight); griffons and lions too. I have remarked upon this common feature of lions and sphinxes already (the link soldier-avian-lion). Of course soldiers are also arranged in fighting pairs. In the light of those connections observed earlier (the imagery in Homer associating death, violence and sex; the gaze of desire between soldier and lover), is it going too far to see an analogy between the pairing of violence and (absent) sexual pairing?

Apart from being violent, these pairings often involve an intervening element, such as a geometric device or bird, as with sphinxes. These are sometimes called heraldic pairs. So too upon this Boston aryballos. The intervening device distances and further stylises. Sexual union is hardly present here. If sexual reproduction involves pairing, it also involves joining and mixing. The monsters are, as I have argued, a principle of the mixture of different parts. Other mixing occurs in the only overlap of figures- hoplites in battle and the lions which leap upon animals and men -violence again.

A function of sexual union is reproduction. The only reference to reproduction is the fertility of repetition - the lines of birds, protomes, the soldiers and the coursing hounds. We return here to the principle of the group I discussed earlier (see p. 124). These are not groups propagated by sexual filiation; they are to do with affinity and proximity (the overlap). The scenes which show only animals might also be included in this category of repetition. They too operate through the simple principle of placing one animal next to another; they do not interact.

1 might have said that stylisation of animals denies them a vital and, by implication, a sexual energy. But I do not think that this is the case. Some of the hounds do run around the pots with energy; some of the drawing is undoubtedly very vital. Inciting Payne on analytic and synthetic principles behind the drawing of animals (see p. 127), I would claim that the dynamic comes from the quality of the line, a graphical schema. These tiny silhouette dogs are hardly 'naturalistic' in the sense of imitating or tracing the anatomical form and characteristics of a domestic dog or hunting hound. But some are 'realistic' in expressing the dog as it bounds along. This is that contrast I described above between being like a dog, and carefully depicting its appearance, and entering into a relationship with what the dog becomes, here as it

runs. After all, the curved line so often encountered has nothing intrinsically to do with a dog, has no affiliation with it.

So, the figured scenes on pots such as this one represent a world of imagery which excludes or presents in a very particular way the possibility of the female, and while sexual reproduction is absent, mere are references to the group and to an animal and vital energy.

> to fall to work upon the paunch, to hurl belly against belly,
> thighs to thighs.
> Archilochos West 119

But what then of sexuality? The soldier male is not celibate. Homer and Tyrtaios both give descriptions of the mingling of battle, man against man. Archilochos transfers the imagery to sex. Here is a symbolic exchange of *eros* and *thanatos*.

This exchange is very apparent in Sappho's lyrics. She uses the metaphor of love as war in a series of allusions to Homeric epic (Marry 1979; Rissman 1983), adapting narrative structures, epic imagery and Homeric language. This is particularly evident in fragments Lobel and Page 1, 16, 31, 105a and b. In one (Lobel and Page 16) Anactoria's gait and sparkle is likened to the splendour of Lydian troops - *lampros* (shining bright) is used by Homer for armour and heavenly bodies. The fragment Lobel and Page 31 is, according to Rissman, based upon the same lover-as-warrior system of metaphor as the encounter of Odysseus and Nausicaa in Book 6 of the Odyssey which it closely parallels. For Marry, this use of heroic language and imagery is ironic, a deliberate exposure of the code of Homeric chivalry. I will return to the contestation of ideologies, particularly in Chapter Six.

In his interpretive reading of the literature of the German *Freikorps*, Theweleit (1987, 1989) has challenged the idea that fascism and militarist authoritarianism are primarily to do with authority, that of the leader or commander, and with the desire for a leader. Also rejected is the explanation of the culture of military might as a terrorism to maintain authority. Nor is the military *Mannerbund* about repressed homosexuality. It is clear that the soldier group and its wider culture are doing what they want to do, and find war, violence, repression, those techniques of the self already mentioned, fusion with the group of fellow soldiers, attractive and rewarding. In answer to the question of the energy which drives all this, the desire, Theweleit answers that it is to do with women.

Women, in the stories and literature that Theweleit has studied, are of three kinds. They are either absent; or are 'white nurses' - upper-class German women, chaste, *bodiless*, (dead); *or* are 'red *women'* - threatening, violent, deceiving *enemies of the* soldier male (Theweleit 1987). There is a profound hatred of women, their bodies and sexuality. Women are repudiated. But this is not a variation on Freud's oedipal triangle wherein is found the son's fear of heterosexual desire leading to punishment by the father, accompanied by repressed homosexual desire for father and authority. The repudiation of women is a fear of what they are taken to represent - holes, swamps, pits of muck that engulf and swallow, spitting, screaming, 'red' women in the tide of communism. Theweleit presents a long series of images and metaphors found in *Freikorps* literature involving waves, tides, effluent, emissions, floods of annihilation. This is a fear of fragmentation, no longer being self and one of the men, a commingling and fluidity, a fear of 'otherness'.

The threat is both internal and external. The soldier's own body is also a mass of blood and viscera, disorganised impulses and desires, an 'other', liquid and female body within. So the military male embraces that opposite which allows him to make

sense of his identity: a hard metallised body and the soldier group. This militarism is thus an extreme case of sexism, the polarisation of gender.

And here too is the place of the animal. In being strange and bestial, of another order, the animal is feminine and monstrous. Both are multiple and fluid. But typed, tied to signifying order, the animal is tamed and can be integrated into the masculine. The only place and time when a man can risk the animal within him, that dangerous and contagious otherness within, *menos* or *furor,* is in war. Thus a key term in understanding the relationship of men and animals in this cultural order is that of the feminine.

Women may be needed for the simple physical reproduction of men. But the war-machine with its risk, violence and these structures of polarisation, with its awareness and control of 'molecular' forces within, is its own mode of reproduction of masculine identity. The productive force of that which is here gendered feminine is absorbed and channelled, in being a foil or opposite to that for which the masculine stands.

There is an implied correspondence between the feminine and bestiality, the animal within. For Deleuze and Guattari 'the man of war is inseparable from the Amazons' in a triad of soldier, animal, woman. 'The man of war, by virtue of his furor and celerity, was swept up in irresistible becomings-animals', that is, he risks that bestiality within. "These are becomings that have as their necessary condition the becoming-woman of the warrior, or his alliance with the girl, his contagion with her' (Deleuze and Guattari 1988: 278); that is, the bestiality of war has affinity here with the feminine; so war brings forth the warrior-woman.

Hesiod's misogyny is well-known *(Theogony* 590f). The condemnation of feminine character by Semonides is notorious. In an interpretation of classical Greek marriage and sexuality DuBois (1979, 1984) has traced a metaphorical sequence from the animal to the female *via* centaurs (creatures doubly male) and amazons - mythical figures, 'masculine' and negating marriage. She makes a general summary comment: 'a response to women's imagined vulnerability, their killing-cure, is a return to the self-sufficiency of the Golden Age, a time before marriage, before women' (DuBois 197 9: 46). Naerebout (1987) has sketched the separated fields of men and women in epic, the economic dependence of women upon men and the ideological buttressing of the dominance and subordinance through ideas of honour and shame.

For Theweleit, the culture of the militaristic male is not, as in the familiar literary and movie genre, simply something innocent males (boys) go through in becoming adult (men). The cultural complex he uncovers reaches far beyond the lifeworld of the soldier, so that militarism is hardly an adequate label, And, of course, his subject includes the rise of the appeal of fascism, which can in no way wholly, or at times at all, be explained as a rite of passage. For some, at times many, war is a chosen experience, and a romanticisation of its supposed spiritual and character-building nature is to be avoided.

It is for these reasons that I have some difficulty in fully accepting Vidal-Naquet's interpretation (1981a, 1981c) of the *ephebeia* in archaic and classical Greece. He

Figure 3.31 Gender, ambiguity and violence: a cup from the Heraion, Samos. One of (he very few women occun upon this skyphos from the Samian Heraion. She is armed carrying a shield u+iicii may show a stylised floral device, and is attended by an importuning male sphinx with vegetal headdress. This coupling of violent mid monstrous gender is detached from the rest of the Frieze by geometric ornament. The female is here ambiguously violent and under appeal from masculinity turned monstrous. The male can risk the female only as monstrous bird-lion-person. Elsewhere are the animal, its violence, the special artifact and a creature doubly mate, the centaur (a third set of genitala are depicted upon one thigh). Here then, in this special world of *agalma,* animal and monster, the male risks violence. In a triad of soldier, animal and woman, which alt belong with the war-machine, the bestiality of *violence* his affinity with the *molecular* and feminine. War brings forth the warrior-woman.

explains the institutions and characteristics of the young citizen male *(ephebe)* as a threshold to adulthood *(cf..* also Jeanmaire 1939). In contrast to the adult hoplite, married and ready to fight, armed, standing in phalanx, upon a plain of a summer's day, adolescent *ephebai* were associated, individual and naked, with wild mountain spaces, tricks and foraging of the winter night. Vidal-Naquet has the deception, disorder and irrationality of the *ephebeia* as the reversals often encountered in rites of passage, an identification strengthened by the association of *ephebai* with frontiers and marginal areas, like the transitional states of a rite of passage. But this contrast between pre-hoplite and hoplite also accords with the interpretation I have been following of the molar and molecular warrior, armour and phalanx as to feminine bestiality within, with all attendant problems of defining where one begins and the other ends. The later institution of the *ephebeia* could be explained as a ritual taming which, like armour and phalanx, brings masculine identity to order. Rather than relate these military and cultural institutions to a general anthropological category (rite of passage), they might better be seen as part of social strategies of power around a radical division of gender.

Masculinity and the domestic

Many of the painted animals are wild creatures. Dogs and horses are the main representatives of domestic animals upon the pots (more than 2,400 dogs and ten unaccompanied horses; more than ninety other horses are associated with riders and chariots). Dogs accompany the hunt, horses also war, and they race in the contests of those who can afford them. Horses are beyond the wealth of the small-holder. Nor, when unriddcn, do they interact with any other animal apart from people and a *bird.* I have already mentioned how birds and dogs are painted beneath racing horses, and dogs do not appear with men.

Dogs are frequently drawn in scenes chasing birds, which are another possible domesticate. Cockerels are certainly a domesticated species; they only appear with floral and geometric ornament, people and a monstrous winged human in earlier friezes, with a lion *and* a bull later. Most *of the* earlier birds are long-legged *water* birds, of the sort that appear on pots of Geometric style. Many of those that I have

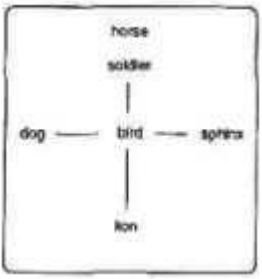


Figure 3.32 The space of the domestic animal.

classed as short-legged birds with short beak and tail could be taken for birds of prey; but the point stands that I made earlier - earlier birds hardly interact with anything other than people, other birds and ornamental designs such as flowers and rosettes. Most (63 per cent) of the later birds are those that I have described as swans, that is long-necked water birds. These are drawn seated or crouching, and might be tired earlier long-legged birds. They may be domesticated geese, in which case there is a switch of emphasis from wild to domesticated water birds from earlier to later friezes. These are the birds (more than eighty-four of them) which are chased by the dogs.

So, there is a distinct group of domesticated animals which, in their associations) are either kept separate, such as dogs, or confirm the themes outlined, horses, or act in a mediatory role, birds.

The domestic, the world of agriculture, the *oikos* (household), food and nutrition, sexual reproduction are conspicuously mediated and transformed, or missing, or detached from the world peopled by men. But these relationships cannot be reduced to a simple antinomy between culture and nature, or between domestication and the wild, for, as indicated, there are the following features of which account needs to be taken.

Wild animals are painted in great numbers, but in stylised 'tamed' poses.
Domesticated dogs do not appear in the same friezes with men, as might be expected.
The hoplite's shield shows him as bird, sometimes wild and sometimes domesticated, where the reference seems to be a link with the (wild) feline.
Birds are also the link between domesticated dogs and men.
There are monstrous mixed creatures, neither domesticated nor wild.
Earlier scenes make some play upon the connection and transformation between artifact, bird, head and flower.
All these scenes occur often amidst a flowering but stylised and overcoded 'nature'.

I have also argued the importance of gender relations: the feminine is a key term in understanding the relationships between creatures and men upon the pots.

A contrast used by Schnapp-Gourbeillon in her interpretation of animal simile in Homer was introduced earlier, (see p. 122) and is relevant again here: between

controlled social terms and uncontrolled otherness or the divine. The soldier-hero oscillates between the two, controlling through the practices and characteristics of his male society, while having contact with bestiality and divinity in violence.

Vidal-Naquet, as just discussed, has contrasted the order of the phalanx composed of married and fighting citizens, with the marginal world of the *ephebe* which is more to do with deception, cunning and disorder. This is embodied in the contrast between spear and net. A prime example of the cunning warrior is Odysseus, described *as polymetis, a* man of many wiles, quick trickster *(Iliad* 3.205-24 for example). He *too travelled out and around* strange *places* at the edge, beyond human society, loved by divine nymphs, outwitting a witch who turned men to animals, Kirke, and a monster cyclops from a cosmogonic era before men.

Odysseus was *poiymetis,* a man of *metis.* Detienne and Vernant (1978) have provided a detailed elaboration of the concept of *metis,* the intelligence of cunning. They distinguish between two orders of reality: that which is intelligible and is the object of prepositional knowledge taking the form 'know that'; the other is sensible and is the object of multiple, unstable, oblique opinion. The contrast is between an order of being and one of becoming. *Metis* is a practical wisdom which oscillates between the two worlds; instead of contemplating unchanging essences it is involved in practical existence (Detienne and Vernant 1978: 44). Legitimate or physical power, *imperium or potestas,* may be asserted and used in achieving *an outcome. Metis* is a means of achieving what is desired by manipulating hostile forces which are too powerful to be controlled. Detienne and Vernant outline a semantic field of connections which runs through Greek literature. *Metis:* that which involves movement, multiplicity and ambiguity - metamorphosis and monstrosity - discovery of ways out, of that which is hidden - bonds, nets and traps - seizing the moment of opportunity - the world of (he hunter, fisher, weaver, merchant. Further associations are with riddles, die oblique, curved and circular, rather than the direct and straight tine. Some fascinating and pertinent details are that *metis* is the an of the charioteer in seizing the moment (Pindar *Isthmian* 2,22; Detienne and Vernant 1978: 16, 202f); that birds in navigating earth, water and air *an of metis {ibid.:* 217); as is the sphinx, whose questions *are poikila,* shifty and ambiguous words (Sophokles *Oidipous Tyranny* 130; Detienne and Vernant 1978:303-4). *Metis* is another aspect of that realm I am sketching as the molecular.

Violence and the stare

Clastres (1977) provided a classic challenge to the evolutionary notion that the state (society with distinct and permanent organs of power) is somehow at a higher or later stage than segmentary societies. His thesis is that the state may be warded off or prevented from emerging by various social mechanisms. So a chief may have no institutional power base other than his prestige, being constantly in a position of having to account for his power. Clastres (1980a, 19SOb) argues that war is one of the mechanisms that prevent the emergence of the state. The warrior chief has to display his prowess over and again, fighting in the front ranks, necessarily solitary in risking life for prestige, but ultimately a death beyond power. War also keeps groups

segmented and dissociated in the violent and competitive lifestyles of its warrior leaders.

Deleuze and Guattari (1988: 12, 35 If) reach further in setting the war-machine outside and against the state. They define four types of violence *(ibid.:* 447-8):

struggle - blow-by-blow personal violence;
crime- a violence of illegality, directed against rights, prohibitions and property;
state policing or lawful violence -incorporated or structural violence (which does not have to be physical); and
war - violence not overcoded by the state.

'The state has often been defined by a "monopoly of violence", but this leads back to another definition that describes the State as a "state of Law". State overcoding is precisely this structural violence that defines the law, "police" violence and not the violence of war' *(ibid.:* 448). The violence of war is not overcoded, but exists as a separable experience and culture.

In *A Thousand Plateaus* (1988) Deleuze and Guattari are often working with abstract and generic semantic fields, almost ideal types. Their contrast between the war-machine and the state is between multiplicity and the arborescent structures of the state; between *nomos* or custom, and law; between heterogeneity and the definition and reproduction of social forms and powers; between the pragmatics of the soldier risking death with the group, and the affiliated foundations of the 'state'. The state, in contrast with the war-machine, goes with notions of a republic of minds, a court of reason, public culture, man as legislator and subject, internal definition and differentiation. This allows them to write that the State is perpetual *(ibid.:* 360) as a potential vector of organisation and experience.

However, their universal philosophy of history does come to ground in the experiences of violence, warfare and animality I have been describing. It is better to think of warfare *and the* state, of a societal (state) taming of the violence of war, bringing war within its sphere. This involves the control of animal otherness through armour and die phalanx, the lifestyles of hero and mercenary, and animals overcoded and tamed, their otherness controlled. There are different forms of group appropriate to the war-machine and not the state, in particular, the warrior band, as opposed to legal and reproduced affiliations. There is a contrast of types of association: the (animal or molecular) affinity between soldiers is contrasted with the realm of affiliation of kinship and marriage.

So I argue that my interpretation of Korinthian can be extended to include gender through relationships between:

masculine	feminine
present	absent
war	the domestic
affinity	reproduction
warrior band	family

These themes are at the heart of the war-machine.

The lord, his enemies and sovereign identity

> The easiest way to get soldiers is to remove women from public life.
> (Theweleit 1987: 349)

In the separation of those things drawn from those not, and in the assemblage of forms and associations, a masculine sphere is distinguished from feminine. There are further directions suggested towards a contrast between the affinity of the male warrior band and the family reproductive unit. I therefore wish now to explore further the experiences which belong with this masculine culture, and as appear within this ceramic field.

I begin with the idea of risk of the self (in violence, war and confrontation with monstrosity, but I also make reminder of the workmanship of risk with which I *started in Chapter* Two).

Consider a reading of Hegel's dialectic between the master and slave (Hegel 1966: 229-40) (a philosophical anthropology, if you like). The identity of the lord or hero is established in the striving for recognition, and to improve himself over another through his qualities. In this men are opposed to each other and to any other. This, of course, tends to violence. It also means that risking life is *a* means *to* gain *identity. To deny* an attachment to mere life (the households family, nutrition, reproduction), to a particularself, their life, is the attempt to reconstruct an identity for themself which is in-itself, separate, of another order, the heroic, the divine. This is the logic of the beautiful death, discussed previously (see pp. 111-12). A hierarchical order is implied between those who risk their life, accepting death, and lower people who are attached to mere life.

Because it is risked willingly, life is subordinated to the *lifestyle* of the fighting lord. This is what was meant earlier when I wrote that the death risked in violence does not oppose life. Death is opposed to the consciousness of life, and this is lifestyle, a negation of the animal, and of lower-culture. Lifestyle is the culture of risk and violence. But also it is style itself, which implies *a pure consumption* of goods, beyond the mundane, an expenditure serving no purpose other than style and culture. This is what I term an expressive aesthetic. Producing goods for the lord, a world of work: this is the existence of the lower class.

When death is the force of life (through violence and risk), death and the erotic are juxtaposed. The erotic is not reproductive, but is a world of pleasures and seductions opposed to legality and ordered marriage bonds. In desiring the risk of war, the lord assents to life to the point of death (see Scully 1990: 121,124 on Achilles, mortality and death). This is an affirmation of the *value* of loss and excess. It is intimately related to the notion of the gift.

Gift-giving is a non-productive expenditure which breaks ties between the giver and the world of things (the work and production of the slave), and establishes instead a relation between persons, gift-giver and receiver. The social covenant created with those who receive the gift breaks *a* link *with* the lower culture *of* production. The goods destined for consumption by the lord are detached from the world of work (relations between people and things) and are instead of a lifestyle beyond. This is a sacred space of the hero confronting death and divinity.

The life of the lord is one of living pleasure (oiled with perfume, drinking from the cup), a pure consumption of goods produced by subordinate classes. Lifestyle: special gifts, wine, contest, perfume. The affirmation of expenditure means war becomes luxury and festival (nodding crests, shield devices, pipers). Violence is excess (the cost of the weaponry, horses, time and risk; a new and exotic visual order of style); the domestic (absent) is sufficiency. The risk is about limits and transgression: assenting to life to the point of death asks questions of the line between life and death. And the lifestyle and risk imply an aesthetic even unto the beautiful death. I have written too of a concern with the limits of the body, animal and human, Violence is also transgression of the law which is against murder because vengeance and blood feud result. But transgression asserts the identity of a self which refuses prohibition and survives, and this reward is accessible only to those of wealth who may fight the risk and display their sovereignty. This is not mere physical power, but a sacred space of risk and the aesthetic of lifestyle.

I have shifted from Hegel to Bataille and Mauss, ideas of the gift and interpretations of the economic 'irrationalities' of apparently purposeless excess and expenditure (Bataille 1977, 1985b; Mauss 1954). I have presented this elaboration of sovereignty to clarify some of the associations I have been sketching: the place of a symbolics of violence, war and display. Masculine sovereignty of this sort is an expressive dramaturgy, repudiating the everyday. I have also here tried to establish the roots of this cultural complex in a process which establishes the identity of a masculine self through the subordination of a lower culture and class. I have shown how this is identified with the feminine.

The relations with the painted imagery are clear. Ceramic design, I contend, is of this logic. I add that Korinthian potters broke sharply with Geometric design, and continued to *transgress* the Geometric canon, still represented in the pots decorated simply and linearly. I have described graphical schemata of parallel linearity and angularity which *deviate* into curve and inclination. Some figured pottery is a clear *excess* of surface detail in comparison with the Geometric, the point made by Payne. I argue that these are not contrivances or coincidences of verbal description.

Ceramic imagery and a cultural constitution of masculinity leads to the question of the possible structure of aristocratic social groups in archaic Greece. In Chapter Two an argument was presented for flexible aristocratic associations centred on the *oikos.* Some would characterise society at this time as a warrior chiefdom {Drews 1983; Ferguson 1991). The key point is an argument for a minimal or non-existent state and a lack of institutionalised structures of authority:

> Political power at this time was achieved, not inherited. In anthropological terms, *basileis* (kings) are 'big men', leaders whose position depends on their ability to attract and keep followers through personal talent, feasting, and gift giving.
> (Antonaccio 1993a: 64)

This clearly doubts an early date for hereditary legitimation of authority, though the importance to power of familial ties in early literatures can hardly be contested.

1

3

Figure 5.33 The hunt and the fight. Scenes from three stryballoi.
1 From Nola in the British Museum.
2 From Syracuse (13839; Fusco, grave 366).
3 From the cemetery at Lechaion (Korinth CP-2096).

The question of such social reconstruction, as with the issue of hoplite reform and its relation to political change, hinges on chronology: whether, for example, inherited authority was a recent invention or had long been a fundamental feature of dark age society; whether hoplite warfare was a cause or consequence of social revolution. The interpretation being developed here need only accept that ideologies of sovereignty were being contested.

The clear (but arguably superficial) similarities between competitive, prestige-based warrior chiefdoms and the sort of social relationships described and inferred in Homer has led to ethnographic analogy between parts of eighth- and ninth-century

Greece and the Waigal valley in contemporary Nuristan (Murray 1993: 73; Whitley 1991b: 192-3; after Jones 1974). Though no longer able to kill Muslims in warrior raids, the men of Nuristan nonetheless seek and achieve rank through competitive feasting, displays of wealth, and special objects of status, even tripods, bowls and cups. Van Wees (1994: 1, 8) compares Homeric warfare to battles in the big-men societies of the New Guinea highlands. Qviller (1981), again in analogy with Melanesian big-men societies, has provided a social model of competitive gift-exchange and consumption, coupled with population rise from 900, leading to social collapse (for difficulties and comment see Morgan 1990: 94-5, 191, 195f; Morris 1987: 203-4; Whitley 1991a). Big-men society may sometimes be connected to 'prestige-goods' economies. This latter concept has had tremendous influence in prehistoric and protohistoric archaeology (beginning with Frankenstein and Rowlands 1978 and Friedman and Rowlands 1978, both after the model of Friedman 1975; see Rowlands, Larsen and Kristiansen 1987 for further examples and bibliography). While what I have written so far about sovereignty and this conception of masculinity could certainly be related to the dynamics of prestige-goods economies and big-men societies, here I wish simply to refer to ideas about the contested character of early Greek aristocracy.

Donlan (1980) has presented the aristocratic ideal in early Greek literature as a defensive standard, that is an ethos and set of values responding to shifts (he calls them 'transvaluations') and challenges with cultural change. One was from an ideal of the warrior hero to a coded life-style (Donlan 1980: 52-63). There was a shift in attention to an aesthetics of lifestyle, those things considered proper

> Dress, ornamentation, hair style, the cultivation of the skills of hunting and riding and athletics, playing a gentlemans' musical instrument, the ability to compose spontaneously at drinking parties, knowing when to be moderate in drink and speech and (equally important) when to carouse and speak intemperately, had all become, by the beginning of the sixth century BC, integral to the aristocratic pattern of behaviour.
> *(ibid.:* 62)

Dining and the *symposion* became a basic social experience at the heart of aristocratic power (Bremmer 1990; Murray 1982, 1983, 1990; Starr 1992: 134-5, 139-46), the argument goes. Lifestyle, centred upon the culture of a group of men expressing their identity through ritualised and high-cultural social events, became a fundamental feature of the working of aristocratic power. Donlan notes a shift though from the Homeric picture of heroic feasting, glorious acts of war, warrior graves, public funerals and posthumous cult, to a (masculine) world removed of private aristocratic luxury and entertainment, the generation of style and its emulation, and the exclusion of reproductive and civic womanhood.

> ἔγω δὲ φίλημμ' ἀβροσύναν, τοῦτο καί μοι
> τὸ λάμπρον ἔρος τώπελίω καὶ τὸ κάλον λέλογχε.

I love luxury *(habrosune);* and love has obtained for me
this beauty and brilliance *{lampron)* of the sun.
Sappho: Lobel and Page 58.

Kurke (1991, 1992, 1993) has shown most persuasively how the new symbolic economies of praise and fame *(kleos* and *kudos),* earned in contest, and the poetics of luxurious living *{habrosune)* were far from unproblematic ideological solutions *to* the breakdown in the technologies of aristocratic power. In this general economy of the new state, civic usefulness opposed the glory of individual excess and transgression beyond (mortal) limits. Not everyone embraced eastern style and luxurious living as did Sappho:

ἁβροσύνας δέ μαθόντες ἀνωφελέας παρὰ Λυδῶν,
ὅφρα τυραννίης ἦσαν ἀνευ στυγερῆς,
ἤιεσαν εἰς ἀγορὴν παναλουργια φάρε' ἔχοντες,
οὐ μείους ὥσπερ χείλιοι ὡς ἔπίπαν,
αὐχαλέοι, χαίτῃσιν ἀγαλλόμεν εὐπρεπέεσσιν,
ἀσκητοῖς ὀδμὴν χρίμασι δευόμενοι.

Having learned useless luxuries *(habrosunai)* from the Lydians ,,. they would go into the place of assembly wearing robes of all purple-a thousand of them, no less - boastful, glorying in their well-dressed long hair, drenched *with* the perfume of *elaborate* scents.
Xenophanes West 3

Speed, the games and a band of men

Other experiences or events depicted in Korinthian iconography are races or processions, *gathered* in Table 3.7.

Robed figures frequently appear in these scenes; their identification as possible arbitrators or judges of contest seems clear. Mention should be made again of the stands, tripods and bowls - possible prizes. There are also, in three scenes, associations with winged monsters, and birds in another three - avian otherness, which I have found to play a role of mediation. The juxtaposition with soldier and lion hunt makes that connection with violence that I have explored. Many of the racing horses and chariots overlap, and I have identified overlap with the masculine affinity of the warriorband. Finally there is, in the judgement of Alexander upon the Chigi Olpe, an appropriate reference to divinity and the subordination of the feminine beneath masculine assessment. So here again is a variation upon the assemblage I have been outlining: contest and assessment can be added as part of this conceptual space of masculine sovereignty.

There is also clear depiction of the *speed of the* race in four of the scenes: the figures are stretched in dynamic running pose. The hounds and hares which race round 875 of the 1,219 figured friezes (72 per cent) are another and major reference to running and speed. I have commented on the poses which express well an (animal) vitality. Expressed in this way, speed and energy are to be added to the range of themes seen in the figured scenes. The races and hounds are an example too of groups' repeated

Table 3.7.*Races and horse processions*

vessel	reference	scene
	Amyx 1988: 23	two riders: robed figure: two soldiers
Oxford 504	Johansen **1923:** No. 1	two riders and winged centaur: robed figures and wreath soldier: bird
Taranto 4173	Amyx LOSS: 38	four riders: two robed figures: tripod: sphinx
Bonn 1669	Amyx 1988: 32	procession (?) three chariots: piper: four men
BM 1889.4-18.1	Amyx 1988; 31	seven riders: bird and man beneath
Berlin 3773	Amyx 1988:32	five four-horse chariots: dog, hare and birds beneath
Johansen 1923 **No. 54**	**Amyx** 1968:44	four four-horse chariots: tripod **and** bowls: robed figure
Villa Giulia 22679/97	**Amyx 1988: 32**	procession (?) four riders with extra horses: four-horse chariot with leader: sphinx: lion **hunt:** judgement of Alexander

Figure 3.34 Speed and the games. An aryballos from the Athenaion at Syracuse.

figures: there is reference to the group, of racing men, of dogs gathered for the hunt.

So this vector takes us further as follows: - groups gathered - the race - the hunt - speed - contest and prizes (tripods, and the hares and birds for the dogs).

The expression of speed takes me to another aspect of aristocratic lifestyle: the gatherings in inter-city sanctuaries for contest and glory sought, and for the display of speed and strength of athletic prowess, skills of horsemanship. I have made mention of the clever devious logic *of metis,* appropriate to the charioteer.

Pindar gives expression to the aristocratic ethos of lineage and glory won in victory at the games, albeit glory which accrues also to the home city of the victor. (See Kurke (1991) on the contradictions of this symbolic economy.)

The games were a cosmopolitan gathering of *agathoi,* a nexus of group, birth and identity (having the right to compete, belonging to the *agathoi,* representing the polis). The idea of group and belonging expressed here is that of selection, of the arbitrated order of winners and losers, an *agonistic* ethos of contest in the divine space of the sanctuary. This space, especially of the big sanctuaries of Olympia and Delphi, is beyond that of the poleis, often in conflict. In Chapter Two I referenced opinion (after De Polignac) about the marginal or interstitial place of sanctuaries (also Morgan *1990: 223f).* Their relation with divinity and the 'other' world of the gods provides the edges, marginal spaces or other world according to which the identity of group or community is established. The (sacred) games help define a community of those who are able to take part. This is not a commingling of any and everyone, but an order arbitrated and beyond, in association with divinity. Kurke (1993) has described the emergence of the character of the hero-athlete, returning from the aristocratic games to civic canonisation in the late sixth and early fifth centuries, as another aristocratic bid for renewed talismanic authority in the polis of citizens, part of the development of a symbolic economy of *kudos.*

Davies (1981: 88-131) has made an analogous interpretation of the increase of chariot racing in the same period (later than that under study here) - an aristocracy looking for new ways to seize the political stage through deeds hailed heroic and through attendant charisma. The games sort out winners and losers. Part of aristocratic lifestyle beyond the city state, the games came to form a circuit of festival events, the *periodos* (Morgan 1990: 39, 212-23). The gatherings can be associated with the aristocratic institution of *xenia,* ritualised friendship (Herman 1987; Morgan 1990: 20, 218-20)- a class association without the state.

Snodgrass (1980a: 57) and Morgan (1990: esp. 203-5, 217) both stress that patronage of the early sanctuaries was not so much a state as an individual matter. The sanctuaries were a focus of inter-state aristocratic 'community. I do not wish to push the analogy too far, but can make reference here to Theweleit's elucidation (1989: esp. 77f) of nation and the warrior male of the *Freikorps.* At the centre of the warrior male's conception of nationality are sex and character; nationality is of the body. The nation is the soldier male. For these groups of soldiers, 'the nation has nothing to do with questions of national borders, forms of government, or so-called nationality. The concept refers to a quite specific form of male community.. . . The *nation is a community* of soldiers' (Theweleit 1989: 79-81). *Theweleit* relates the

nation group to ideas of unity and the identity of the soldier self. The soldier's unity is established through techniques of the self and the armouring of a hard body against the threat of splitting, disruption, the intestinal disorder within, The threat is overcome through a domination of those baser elements which are identified also with the lower-cultured mass and disorder of the feminine. The constructed, machinised whole which is the man's body is never sufficient unto itself: 'it always requires larger external totalities, compressed formations of existing reality within which *he can* remain dominant' *(ibid.:* 103). So the unity of the nation group is within the masculine self, as the battle for the nation resembles men's own battle to become men. "The army, high-culture, race, nation: all of these appear to function as a second, tightly armoured body enveloping his own body armour. They are extensions of himself *(ibid.:* 84). Unity is opposed to a simple equality of members, or the commingling of mass, is a state in which higher and lower elements are combined in violence to form a structure of domination, fusing baser, inferior and internal elements with those above. It is rooted in a series of relationships, further dimensions of this discourse of masculine sovereignty:

armour	internal and intestinal disorder
unity	decomposition
soldier formation	mass
nation	equality
intensity of will	effeminacy
victory emptiness	of anonymity
life-style	death
masculinity	femininity.

Unity is achieved through the relationship, the domination of one over the other, masculinity over femininity.

Theweleit also notes that the nation has a capacity for reproduction: the nation grows. But this is not the reproduction of heterosexuality; warrior procreation excludes femininity. The joining of masculinity and masculinity is a fertility which is productive of the future. He makes further connections between masculine procreation and fertilisation, war and creativity, in discussing Junger: although birth has become related to the masculine and detached from the feminine, it still requires a body - the body of the earth, Mother Earth. Nation, of course, makes reference to Fatherland, the earth and land. Junger:

> Something is in the process of becoming, something bound to the elemental, a level of life that is deeper and closer to chaos; not yet law, but containing new laws within itself. What is being born is the essence of nationalism, a new relation to the elemental, to Mother Earth, whose soil has been blasted away in the rekindled fires of material battles and fertilised by streams of blood, (quoted by Theweleit (1989: 88))

A striking image; an apposite comparison may be made, I suggest, between this asexual becoming of blood and earth and Hesiod's cosmogony before the creation of

woman, Pandora. Consider also the Spartoi - warriors springing from the teeth of the dragon of Ares, sown in the earth (Vian 1968: 59f).

In a book which considers constitutions of subjectivity and personage and social conceptions of the body in ancient Greece, Halperin (1990) has explored what may be termed this erotic field of association and connection. He has argued that friendship, as articulated for example in Homer's account of Achilles and Patroklos, was part of the colonisation of a larger share of public discourse, of cultural space, for the play of male subjectivity *{ibid.: 85).* Male fellowship was established beyond society: 'friendship helps to structure - and, possibly, to privatise-the social space; it takes shape in the world that lies beyond the horizon of the domestic sphere, and it requires for its expression a military or political staging-ground' *(ibid.:* 77).

In widening the discussion to include observations already made, it can be claimed that fertility and productivity lie not in female reproductive sexuality and the world of work but in the warrior band and in action, in violence, styles of living, expression.

It has already been noted that the human bodily form is animated through violent action in the imagery of not just this Korinthian pottery, but also Attic Geometric (Carter 1 972). *Animate energy* in Korinthian painting is that of violence, the clash of opponents, and the speed of racing figures, horses, chariots, dogs and birds. Here, upon the Boston aryballos with which I began, the paired and opposing figures of man and centaur are backed by a naked swordsman at speed. Is that a thunderbolt held by the man, it is disputed; is the man therefore Zeus? The identification, in spite of all the discussion (for bibliography see p. 12), would fit, given the assemblage I have been plotting. Zeus, as god, is representative of the divinity of encounter with the other, of the realm of arbitration, group and contest (the ceramic bowl and stand, convivial container), of the experience of violence clashing - speed and explosion of the thunderbolt. There too is the animated physique and speed of the runner.

Vermeule remarks on the character of war in Homer: 'there is an almost baroque magnificence in the physical ruin of Homer's heroes . . . death is made more marvellous by the poet's ingenious methods of puncturing the shell of flesh or smashing the protective white bones' (Vermeule 1979: 96-7). There are many vignettes of spear and weapon thrusts through a human anatomy held in a rich epic vocabulary. Blood, brain and intestines flow freely. The scenes 'offer, in a richer variety of action and more subtle orchestration than any comparable poetry in the world, devices for placing in front of us in unforgettable style the fragility of the human casement and the animal nature of human ambition and weakness' *{ibid.:* 99).

The experience of war expressed in the literature of the German *Freikorps* is one of speed and explosions, the surge of the charge, contact with the 'other' through the penetration of the weapon.

> The man longs for the moment when his body armour will explode, strengthening his rigid body-ego; but a body such as his cannot atomise, as does the mass, by allowing itself to be penetrated, fragmented, and thus destroyed. His body atomises only if he himself erupts outward. He desires to

> move beyond himself, bullet-like, towards an object that he penetrates. But he also desires to survive.
> (Theweleit 1989: 179)

Here is that combination of opposites that is the soldier male: hard armour and muscle, drilled, damming the threat within of the flood of disruptive energy and intestinal mush. The only release from the dam is the act, the rush of killing or dying, penetration or explosion; hot blood is the only thing permitted to flow *{ibid.:* 185).

Further to the distinction I have introduced between the world of household and work, and that of war and violence, the lifestyle of the soldier, Deleuze and Guattari (1988: 395f) write of the difference between tools and weapons. Weapons have a privileged relation with projection; the projectile is primarily weapon: 'anything that throws or is thrown is fundamentally a weapon, and propulsion is its essential moment. The weapon is ballistic'. The tool is more introceptive or introjective, preparing 'a matter from a distance, in order to bring it to a state of equilibrium or to appropriate it for a form of interiority'. Another and key difference is the relation of tool and weapon to speed. With Virilio (1986), it can be said that weapons and speed go together, and the projective character of weapons is the result. Deleuze and Guattari qualify the distinction with argument that the tool is more to do with displacement and gravity in a world of work: 'work is a motor cause that meets resistances, operates upon the exterior, is consumed and spent in its effect, and must be renewed from one moment to the next' (1988: 397). In contrast, that of the weapon and weapons handling is a field of 'free action', also

> a motor cause, but one that has no resistance to overcome, operates only upon the mobile body itself, is not consumed in its effect, and continues from one moment to the next. Whatever its measure or degree, speed is relative in the first case, absolute in the second.

There are some important points here with wide reference and I will quote further.

> In work, what counts is the point of application of a resultant force exerted by the weight of a body considered as 'one' (gravity), and the relative displacement of this point of application. In free action, what counts is the way in which the elements of a free body escape gravitation to occupy absolutely a nonpunctuated space.
> *(ibid.: 397)*

The point I take is that understanding a tool or weapon requires relating it to the assemblage of which it forms a part, here specified in terms of productive work and free action. Of course, a weapon assumes a world of production for its existence, but its specificity lies elsewhere, in an assemblage which for Deleuze and Guattari includes force considered in itself, no longer tied to anything but number, movement, space and time, and when speed in the abstract accompanies displacement. Here then is a relation between the experience of speed, weapons and violence. And further details are added to the distinctions between domestic society and the war machine.

Reference may be made back to the conception of the artifact introduced earlier in this thesis, founded in a philosophy of internal relations; and using this idea of assemblage (non-identity). The self-evidence of a category of artifact, such as spear or axe, is refused. The tool or weapon is here constituted not by an abstract definition of (a particular) tool or weapon, but by their origins in particular practices or *projects.* There is no 'society' or 'culture' put upon the material *artifact;* the *artifact* always already delegates actions, representing the material 'output' of the interpretive decisions of those who desired, made and used the artifact. There is no hierarchical separation of technology and society, or the material and social, as the artifact is found in the practices within which it is constituted, used, consumed, experienced.

The only artifacts to appear in Korinthian painting, apart from clothing are, to repeat: weapons, with and without men to use them; armour; shields; tripods, bowls and stands *(agalmata);* horse bridles; chariots. There is also a net and a cart. Associations of this artifactual world are with violence and war, bloodletting, and the speed of the race. Gernet presents also the field of reference of *agalmata:* religious *awe* or *aidos (1981; 121), encapsulating wealth,* the gift, luxury, sacred power, even mystery and portent *(ibid.:* 141). Tripods, shields and their devices, and rich textiles maybe of this order. And also horses themselves *(ibid.:* 115; Schnapp-Gourbeillon 1981: 169-73). There was a cult of Athena's golden bit at Korinth (Gernet 1981: 131). Detienne and Vernant (1978: Chapter 7) detail an elaborate set of associations of the horse in myth, conceived as a creature of chthonic powers:

> In Greek thought the Gorgon symbolised one essential aspect of the horse. Many features of its behaviour - such as its highly strung nature, its neighing, its sudden movements of panic, its mettlesome disposition, its unpredictability, the foam at its mouth and sweat on its flank - reveal the horse to be a mysterious and disquieting beast, a daemonic force. In religious thought there are striking affinities . . . between the frenzied horse, the Gorgon, and the man who is possessed.
> *(ibid.:* 191)

Again the references to the world of masculine sovereignty are intensified.

Lifestyle and an aesthetics of the body

> πλεκτοὺς δ' ἀμφιτιθεῖ στεφάνους,
> ἄλλος δ' εὐώδες μύρον ἐν φιάλῃι παρατείνει·
> κρητὴρ δ' ἕστηκεν μεστὸς εὐφροσύνης·
> ἄλλος δ' οἶνος ἑτοῖμος, ὃς οὔποτέ φησι προδώσειν,
> μείλιχος ἐν κεράμοις, ἄνθεος ὀζόμενος·
> ἐν δὲ μέσοις ἁγνὴν ὀδμὴν λιβανωτὸς ἵησιν, . . .
> βωμὸς δ' ἄνθεσιν ἀν τὸ μέσον πάντῃι πεπύκασται

> **One** puts our garlands on,
> **another passes fragrant myrrh** on a **dish.**

The mixing bowl is set up3 full of cheer,
and still more wine stands ready (they say it will not give out)j
soft wine, in earthen jars, with the scent of blossom.
In the middle of all, frankincense gives out its holy fragrance .. .
The altar, in the centre, is thickly garlanded with flowers.
Xenophanes West Bl

ἕρπει γὰρ ἄντα τῶ σιδάρω τὸ καλῶς κιθαρίσδην

counterbalanced against the iron of the spear is sweet lyre-playing.
Alkman Davies 41

Korinthian ceramic design comes to be part of a discourse of masculine sovereignty defined in relationship with a world of the everyday. I have traced an assemblage of reference and connection around animal and bodily form (stylised and animated), violence and contest, speed and energy, the floral, and geometric and figurative schemata. Connection can also be seen with the sort of juxtapositions made here by Xenophanes and Alkman: flowers, perfume and the symposion; weaponry and the music of association. A primary theme is that of lifestyle: experiences and meanings centred upon the sovereignty and identity of a warrior lord, an heroic *agathos,* expressing himself in an aesthetic field, but an aesthetic of expression which goes beyond restriction to a narrow class grouping.

There is a complex of overlapping relationships between masculine and feminine; war and the *oikos;* excess and nutrition; otherness, divinity and the domestic; death and everyday anonymity; the warrior group and sexual reproduction; risk and transgression of law and convention; social and personal identity and the loss of self; integral creatures and monsters; integration (structured formation) and dismemberment; animals as reflections and strange unknowable animals; sovereignty and subordination. Mediating elements are violence, conflict and confrontation, and the graphical body or form (of people, of animals, of monsters, of flowers). Birds too seem to occur in a mode of mediation.

The imagery assumes a concept of lifestyle separate from work and production, just as the *arete* of the *agathos* presupposes the time of leisure (Adkins 1972: esp. 32-3). Lifestyle is a sphere of (high) culture and freedom of action separate from the toiling masses.

Korinthian potters made a distinctive and quite rapid shift to design which works with these values and forms, the building blocks of a particular lifestyle. The imagery is, as I have attempted to show, focused upon a subtle and complicated *aesthetics of bodily form.* A question follows: what is the significance of this visualisation of connections between lifestyle and an expressive aesthetic of the body? I have already introduced the general argument of Donlan, Murray, Kurke and others that aristocratic politics made a shift into a (contested) *ideology* of lifestyle, indeed were based upon the organisational power of the male group gathering for feasting and entertainment in the symposion. More particularly I have drawn upon the work of Bataille (esp. 1985a) who related the rise of militarism and fascism in the 1920s and 1930s to

his concepts of sovereignty, transgression and a repudiation of the everyday. Bloch too has provided (1991: *passim)* commentary upon the ideological focus of fascism in a world of myth removed from the everyday. For Benjamin (1979) fascism was the transformation of politics into an aesthetics of expression; expression was a key for Bataille also in *the* understanding *of fascism.* I *have* indicated at length how Theweleit (1987, 1989) analyses the militarist *Freikorps* of post-war Germany as mobilising a political and aesthetic ethos centred upon the body and upon gender. The purpose of setting these interpretations of militarism next to my encounter with archaic Korinth is not to imply analogy or that Korinthian design is the articulation of a proto-fascism. I wish rather to show how this complex of expression around images and evaluations of the body, gender and lifestyle is a pervasive and often powerful ideological field with which we live still today. However, before I can elaborate upon and provide further support for this thesis I will halt the flow and draw together observations made so far of the aryballos from Boston.

Aryballos Boston 95.12: a summary interpretation

In a violent but balanced encounter the man meets and faces the monstrous double of man-animal. The *agalma* of stand and bowl mark the environment as special, exotic, removed from the everyday and pertaining to a marginal space of religious awe and the power or value of male association. So too do references to the floral. As prize perhaps, the *agalma* refers to arbitration and judgement and to the emergence of winners and losers, the dominant and subordinate. Birds, through their associations, mark the exotic and mediate forces of mortality and divinity, wild and domestic, molar and molecular. The mobile naked swordsman adds another connotation of the body and the energy or speed of violence. Above, in the shoulder frieze, is a violent and separated world of the animal, but brought to stylised order. This is all far from a lower culture of labour in the fields, and is the sphere of action of a lord defining a (gendered) self through risk and an expressive order of violence.

The old formulae of parallel linearity and predictable angularity are present in the frieze layout; referenced too in the black upon pale ground slip painting are the security and certainty of traditional ceramic manufacture. But these serve essentially to highlight the shift to a comparative excess of detail in scrutinised miniaturism and massive deviation into curve (vegetal, animal, energised) and inclination (the 'decorative' devices), all in a workmanship of risk. This forms a counterpoint with the visualised themes.

Part 2 Korinthian ceramic style: eighth through seventh centuries BC

Animal an and the decorative: is there a case to answer?

1 have presented a series of associations running through the design of Korinthian pottery, focused through one particular aryballos with figured painting. But, as has been indicated, many (later) pots have scenes containing only animals; so many are *simply* coursing hounds. Many other *pots are sub-geometric, with little* figurative imagery. Taken on their own, these do not seem to make sense in the same way as the more complex designs. A conventional judgement is that they are 'simply decorative'

(Whitley 1991b: 196-7 is a recent example). The related question is how much of Korinthian design is covered by the visual ideology of masculine sovereignty: is it only applicable to a few fine pieces? Am I guilty of overinterpretation?

The concept of decoration or the decorative is central to this issue. I have elsewhere presented a general critique and argued for the careful qualification of this term (Shanks 1996a: 41-3). Here I will recap and expand with some statistics taken from the Korinthian pottery (full treatment may be found in my dissertation, Shanks 1992e: 145-7 and Appendix Two).

The decorative is a term rooted in a concern with meaning. So, to call, for example, a line of painted animals decorative (as in Figure 3.27) may be understood in the following ways.

The design has been borrowed from, is an imitation or adaptation of a source whose (original) meaning has been lost.

The painted design is of purely aesthetic significance, having no functional, or other meaning. The term ornamental may be considered appropriate here, with the scene considered to be a supplement to form. The ornamental artifact may be one whose surface finish or appearance is elaborated beyond simple functional requirements.

The design is a sort of visual cliche, a stock or formulaic scene whose origins are to be found in convention or tradition.

This concept can be argued to be misleading or redundant on the following grounds.

First, any surface could be described as decorative. Everything has a surface or outside; and every surface has a finish of some sort. Finishes may vary, some may be described as more or less elaborated; the potter-painter may choose to invest more or less time and interest towards the end of the production process. But finish is not supplemental; it is the dimension which supplies form. The term decorative may be used for an artifact which displays more concern with elaboration and labour investment in the final stages of production. But a simple textured surface could equally be described as decorative. The initial choice of material, such as fine Korinthian earthenware, may well imply (or *intend)* a certain finish; the process of production (black figure firing, for example) also. A process of production is not often an accidental amalgam of separable activities: black figure surface and painting requires a set of practices from clay extraction to brush manufacture. In this way the finish is *internally related* to production. So I argue that the term 'decorative' has no specific field of reference, because everything can be described as decorative or decorated. The decorative is simply the appearance of the form of an artifact.

The aesthetic is a field which cannot be separated from production and function. This is the corollary of the first point. It is inappropriate therefore to have a concept of the decorative referring to a special field of aesthetic finish, in contrast to the communication of a substantive meaning. The aesthetic is not well conceived as an abstracted and separate field of activity (as in Art, 'beauty' or 'taste'). The aesthetic is

that which pertains to perception; it is an adjectival concept, not substantive.

Nothing could ever be described as purely decorative. In the idea of the decorative iconic meaning is subordinated to form and tradition. But can there ever be a limit case of a purely decorative or formal surface empty of meaning? I would argue that there cannot, because a graphic or design always implies at least *the* conditions of its production. The decorative must always be the outcome of a set of relations of (artistic) production, and these can never be without meaning, purely 'technical' or functional. A pair of miniature sphinxes upon a Korinthian aryballos implies the fine brush and slip, the manufacture of both, the acquisition of the skills necessary to paint them, the knowledge of firing process, the belief that such a design will enhance the surface and help the sale of the pot, and much more. All this can hardly be called meaningless or gestural.

Invoking the decorative does not explain why certain stock scenes were chosen rather than others, nor why they came to be conventional or traditional in the first place. An argument such as that of Carter (1972) that certain eastern conventions were adapted to answer a desire to depict action and narrative does not explain that desire.

So-called decorative pots need to be considered in context, in their relationship with more complex designs, because they share a mode of production and many design features. This point *is* given added force by acceptance of the previous point that a design always implies its mode of production.

The category of the decorative is rooted in a particular ideology and metanarrative of design and making. It characteristically involves radical division between labour and reason:

decorative	meaningful
formulaic	purposive
tradition	beauty
craft	art
application	decision
ornament	form
artisan	artist

The humble artisan is eclipsed by the genius of the creative individual - a hierarchy very particular to the west (Lucie-Smith 1981). This set of oppositions is pan of the root of the capitalist division of labour into management, reason and decision over labour, operations and execution of tasks (the classic exposition is Braverman 1974). It is ideologically related to class interests. This is not the place to pursue this line of critique (further comment can be found throughout Shanks 1996a; consider also the implications of Vickers and Gill's argument (1994) about ideologies of art in relation to Greek ceramics). Here I point out merely that the discourse to which this distinction belongs allows two routes to understanding the decorative: through an abstract aesthetics of beauty and form, appreciating how *some* decorative devices are better or more 'beautiful' than others; or through tracing the 'life of forms', the creation, use and transmission of graphical conventions, devices, schemata. Both

tend to problematic idealism (argument over the nature and appreciation of beauty') and/or a detachment of design from production and its social origins. In this context I do not hold with the latter.

Statistically the argument that Korinthian scenes are simply decorative does not hold.

If the animal frieze were to be described as decorative, choice of motifs could be said to be governed by an 'aesthetic' interest, rather than one concerned with iconic meaning. Certain animals would be chosen not because of what they were but because of how they looked, how they added to the surface finish perhaps. But given the linear character of the figured scenes and the stylised nature of the animals, I suggest that it would be very difficult to argue that a bull next to a lion looks better than a ram next to a goat: they belong to a *similar* aesthetic standard or taste. The animals are stylistically interchangeable. *A pattern* of animals (alternating or repeated groups, for example) may be described as decorative, and I will consider this option in a moment. Another variation of the idea of the decorative would be if the friezes were constructed on the basis of a *random* selection of animal figures (all animals being equivalent in their absence of meaning); a decorative animal frieze could be one which revealed a random selection of animal figures. This may be extended to cover the human figures too, which rarely can be identified as characters from myth. So, the idea of the decorative may imply that, given a graphic convention of linear friezes, the figure types have an equal chance of selection. This is not statistically valid for the sample of Korinthian pots I have been studying. Korinthian design is not decorative in the sense of painting which makes no reference to subject matter.

The relative numbers of animals and humans in the later scenes (Figure 3.35) make it clear that there is in no way an equal chance that the main types of animal will be painted. In later friezes, for example, there is A clear preference for lions, and not for rams. I claim that it is not feasible to argue that the lion was more aesthetic or decorative.

Let us assume instead the relative numbers of creatures. According to an idea of the decorative as random selection, the pattern of encounters between them might then be expected to be according to overall proportions. On the basis of the probabilities of a particular animal occurring (according to observed numbers) were calculated expected interactions between different types of animal. Chi squared was calculated to test for difference between observed and expected interactions. All the chi squared values are significant at 0.01, that for birds at 0,1: the null hypothesis of no difference between observed encounters and those expected if random is rejected (Shanks 1992a: Appendix 2, Table 5.6). Later figured friezes cannot be called decorative in this sense. This test was not possible for earlier friezes because of the sample size.

A sense of the decorative may mean that the *combinations* of animals appearing in scenes show no bias or skew. (A combination is a set containing *r* items from a larger group of n items. Different orders of the same r items are not counted separately.) Given basic figure classes of animals, monsters, birds, people and dogs, there are thirty-one possible combinations of figures in later friezes (account not being taken of

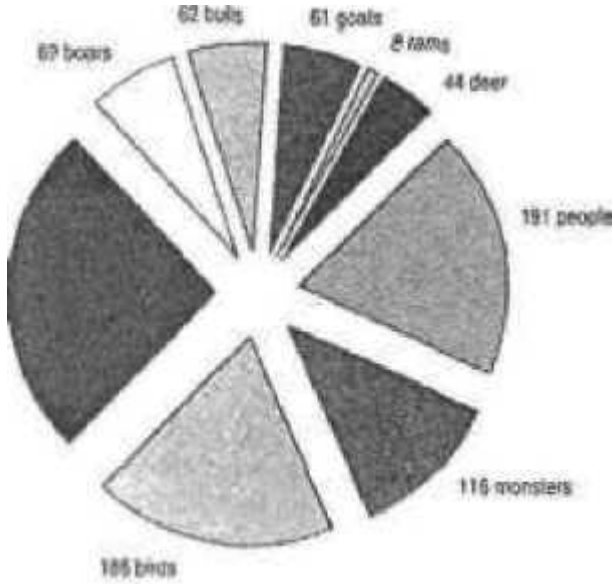


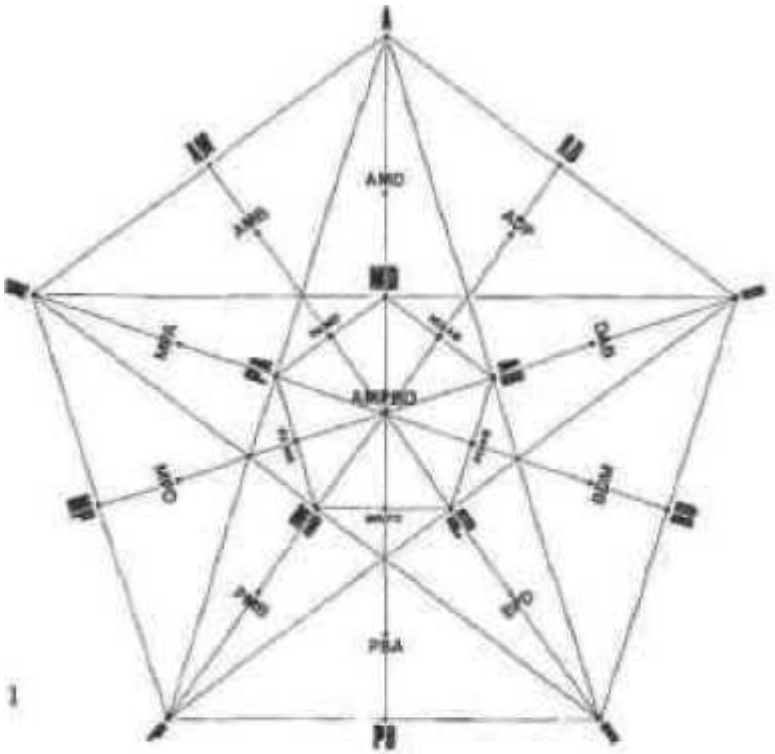
Figure 3.35 The numbers of animals and people appearing in the later Korinthian painted ceramic

a figure type occurring twice). Each frieze combination might therefore be expected to have little more than a three per cent chance of being painted: there would then be thirty-three or thirty-four of each frieze (according to the total number of friezes in the sample). This is nothing like that observed. It is very clear that the combinations of figures which appear in later friezes cannot be explained by this concept of the decorative, a choice of figures which makes no reference to what they depict. The discrepancy between the types of frieze that might be expected and those actually observed is summarised in Figure 3.36.

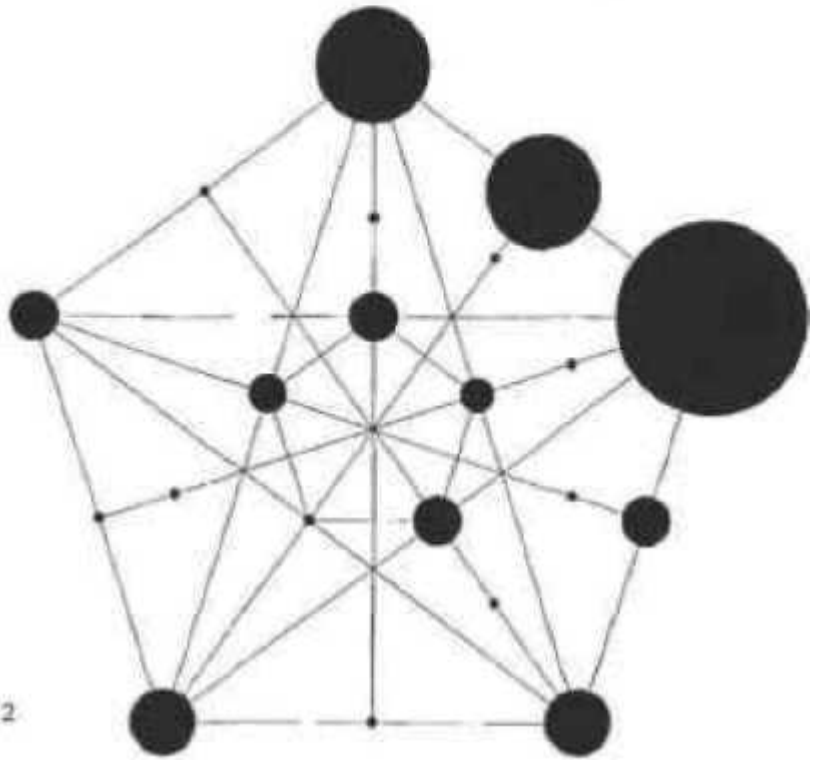
There is even more discrepancy between observed and expected types of earlier frieze. A quantitative analysis such as that just presented for later friezes is not useful given the smaller number of friezes. But there occur only thirty different kinds of figure combinations out *of a* possible 127 combinations (of birds, monsters, animals, floral/ornament, fish, people and dogs). Many likely combinations (given the observed numbers of particular creatures) hardly occur at all, such as birds and animals, (only two cases in 174 friezes, given 267 birds and 149 animals).

So there is a clearly skewed choice of certain types of animal and combinations. Now the decorative may also be held to refer *to patterns* of animals such as alternating figures chosen with reference to the aesthetic (pattern) rather than meaning. But even here the clearly skewed choice is significant *a fortiori.*

So, using the concept of the decorative is not a good way to approach the relationship of figurative to sub-geometric design, more complex to less complex painting.



1



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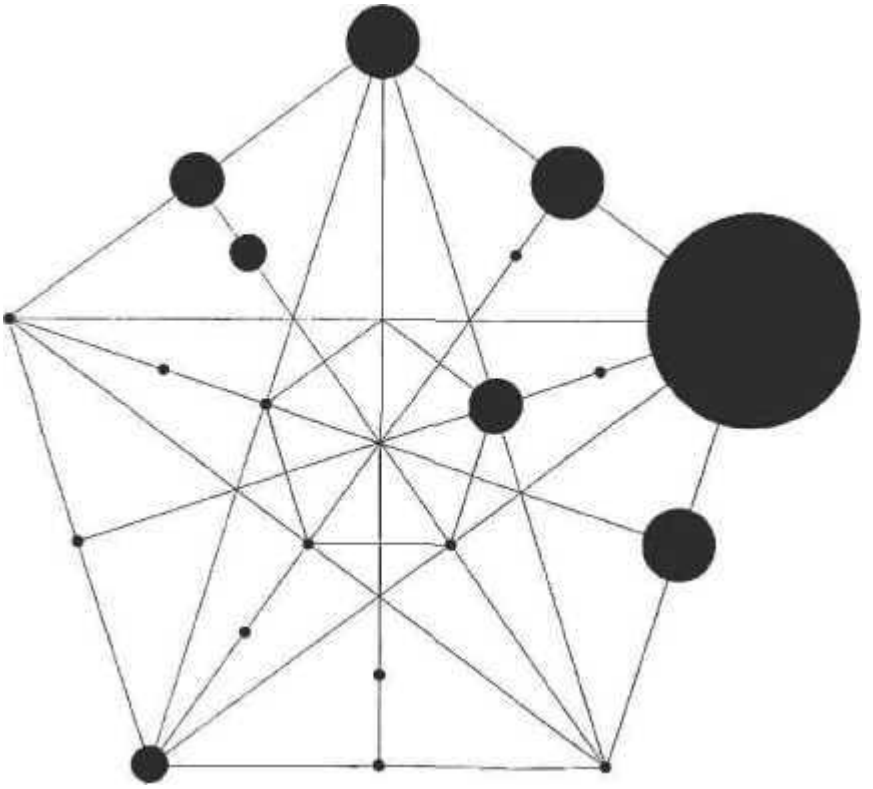

1 –
10 –
20 –
50 –
100 –
500 –
Key

Figure 3.36 Figure combinations in later friezes.
1 possible figure combinations of
A animals
M monsters
P people
B birds
D dogs
2 expected frequencies
3 observed frequencies.

A short note on anthropologies of art

So, how is the Korinthian 'sub-geometric' design to be understood? It is on the basis of critique of such concepts of the decorative that Tilley and I have argued for a de-centring of the individual, and a conception of art and style as social production.

> To de-centre the individual is to view artistic production as a social and material rather than an individual and psychological process, and to explain the work of art with reference to its location and reception in society, to the institutional sites of its production and consumption . . . Viewing the artist as a cultural *producer* rather than cultural *creator* requires that artistic production, rather than being conceived as a form of practice radically different from other cultural practices, deriving from a unique creative impulse, should be regarded as being in principle a form of production no different from others . . . Art is primarily an historical rather than an aesthetic form. (Shanks and Tilley 1992: 147-8J.

To consider art as social production breaks with those problematical oppositions between decoration and meaning, artisan and artist, ornament and form, and indeed style and function. The separation of design into figurative (carrying (iconic) meaning) and sub-geometric is to be abandoned. To consider the decoration of a pot is to consider the *practices* which produced the pot. There is no *necessary* hierarchy or division of practices in the production of the pot. So the surface finishing of a pot should be set in context of the whole design (decoration is not supplemental adornment). There is no necessary division between the painting of figurative and abstract design, myth and decoration, surface and form. These categories are not oppositions but are a *continuous* field of possibility within the making of a pot. There are structures of meaning which are beyond the potter-painter and their aesthetic encounter with beauty and style, structures which are the medium and outcome of their potting and painting. Beyond the individual: it may be better to think less of intentional individual potter-painters than social or cultural *machines* producing Korinthian pottery - machine-like assemblages of practices, values, meanings, tastes, kilns, potters, traders, ships. , . such as I have been exploring. This supplies further context to the argument presented in Chapter One.

Let me now widen this argument, which has anyway been implicit in the interpretation presented so far. Support may be found for this position, I contend, in a series of Marxian-derived writings on an and cultural production (for example Bennett 1979; Eagleton 1976; Macherey 1978; Wolff 1981, 1984). Anthropologies of art summarised by Layton (1991) and by the authors gathered by Coote and Shelton (1992) also indicate the complexity of social mediation involved in understanding artifact design. Visual art can be thought as a 'focus' for cultural activity, and rather than aim to indicate the function or meanings expressed by an artifact (the latter I have termed the fallacy of representation), it is better to consider how it works fora particular society, tracing the 'life of signs in society' (Geertz 1983: 109). Morphy's rich interpretations of Yolngu art (for example 1992) trace a series of connections

running through myth, place, design and making, time (the ancestors), an aesthetic of spiritual shininess, and ritual, with meanings changing in different contexts and connections reorientated around analogy and metaphor. I read this as an example of the heterogeneity of cultural assemblage.

Of course a sub-geometric aryballos with a linear painted surface is different from that figured aryballos with which I began. The question is how to interpret the painting of the sub-geometric, given the proposed shift *to a* conception of art as production. Where do the linear aryballoi fit into the Korinthian machine?

Pattern and order, texture and accent

From a survey of the anthropological literature Tilley and I suggested (1992:150-5) that much art in small-scale societies is less about representing particular aspects of the social world than it is to do with principles of order and how order should be. As Forge puts it:

> In an art system such as Abelam flat painting, elements, in this case graphic elements modified by colour, carry the meaning. The meaning is not that a painting or carving is a picture *of* anything in the natural or spirit world, rather it is *about* the relationship between things.
> (Forge 1973:189)

Some studies, notably those of Adams (1973), Hodder among the Mesakin Nuba (1982: *125-84),* Vastokas and north-west coast Indians *(1978),* and Fernandez (1966) lend support to the proposition that there is a link (involving transformation) between principles of order in art and principles of the social order, worked through social relations. I also argue that a key dimension is balance of power. Art and style may be ideological, that is taking a particular position with regard to a conflict of social interests. Artifacts may be focal points for the translation of interests. Or, if the principles upon which society relies (principles which mediate social practices and help define social reality) incorporate contradiction, these contradictions may be displaced or encountered through a graphical or stylistic medium (consider Berger *et al. 1972).*

So this shift to a conception of art as practice, the challenge to absolute definitions for terms such as abstract and figurative, form and ornament, decorative and iconic, may involve attention to order (and disorder). Non-figurative 'decoration' or figurative work such as an animal frieze, the sub-geometric, is much more interpretable in this context. A field of order and disorder: focus is particularly upon textured patterns, and, taken with more complex figurative painting, there are continuities and discontinuities, accents of detail set off by a smoothing of ceramic surface, a function of the geometric and floral patterns. This is not arbitrary, but a mediation of wider social principles. The patterns and textures of lines of stylised animals, floral garlands, chequerboard strips may be considered to help establish ambience, atmosphere, aura, impression, an interplay of deflection and attraction of inspection, the organisation of area (see Gombrich (1979) on graphical pattern and order).

Innovation, variability and change

Let me approach the textures and patterns from another direction. In Chapter Two the scale of production of Korinthian pottery was considered as part of investigation of the generation of style and stylistic change. The questions are of commissioning and creativity: where do the designs come from? Were some sections of society commissioning new designs which advertised a graphic and corporeal ideology; were the designs more of an invention of the potters themselves? These two issues (of the place of the earlier Geometric canon and of the generation of style) are of course related in Korinthian pottery. Both are to do with the relation between tradition and change (including the category of risk which I introduced), and the nature of innovation and creativity. The designs changed. To what end?

As has long been acknowledged by the use of the term sub-geometric, the issue of decorative order is about creativity and experiment in the context of older (Geometric) conventions. But the argument fora conception of style as social production also draws in wider contexts. Interpretation is taken back to the material environment of archaic Korinth and beyond, new perfume jars in the potters' workshops, lifeworlds of polis, mobility, war and dedication, questions of the consumption and deposition of these wares. This introduces the following chapters.

I will now consider some details of innovation and variability in ceramic design as a prelude to some general comment.

Korinthian late Geometric pottery had a limited graphical vocabulary: in Coldstream's definitive account (1968: 99-100, 102-4) can be counted eighteen different design elements (lozenges, triangles and the like). There are forty design elements in Neeft's more detailed listing of late Geometric Thapsos pottery (1981). In my sample of Korinthian pottery from the late eighth century and after there are 232 different floral and geometric designs, and 104 figure types (Figs. 3.6 and 3.9-3.12), The potters of Korinth dramatically increased the graphical variety displayed upon their pots within a generation of 700 BC.

The variability does not remain constant. Later pots in the sample are less varied than earlier in terms of the number of designs which appear upon them: the number decreases from 172 to 113, a drop of 34 per cent. Standardised scores (division by number of friezes) indicate that the decrease is even larger than these figures suggest: the drop is from 0.13 to 0.06, down by more than half (54 per cent). A decrease in the variety of pots produced is also displayed when the number of unique earlier and later aryballoi is compared. (Unique is here defined as a pot which has a geometric or floral design or combination of designs which appears upon no other pot in the sample.) Of earlier pots 33 per cent are unique; of later 24 per cent.

Neeft (1987) found it possible to classify over 925 later aryballoi into forty-eight groups on the basis of gross decorative features, and most of these classes are variations of dog frieze, dot rosettes and linear banding, Many earlier pots are also strongly linear, with the surface below the shoulder covered with fine horizontal and parallel lines, but there is variation around this 'type' with the many different designs upon the shoulder. Over half of earlier aryballoi are of this sort, with lines and one or two geometric or floral devices upon the shoulder.

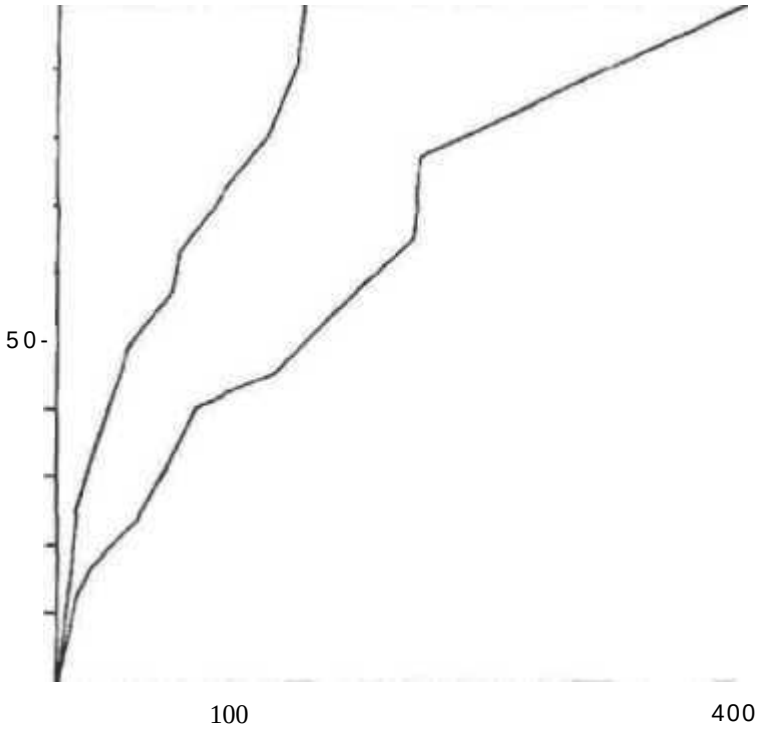

Figure 3. 37 Cumulative graph: the number of times a graphical element is used - comparison between earlier and later friezes.

Compare the number of times a particular graphical design is used in earlier and later friezes. The cumulative graph (Figure 3.37) clearly shows a change, with more designs used less often upon earlier pots.

There is another change - in the number of designs {geometric, floral, animals and people) which appear in each of the friezes (running dogs and repeated geometric or floral designs excluded). Most friezes (59 percent) of the later pots have three or four elements to them; there is less modality in the earlier friezes: more variety in the number of elements appearing in a frieze (this is clearly shown in Figure 3.

Geometric and floral design are used differently by the potters with time. One in eight of earlier friezes has a geometric or floral design, compared with three in one hundred later. One in three of later friezes has geometric or floral design in a minor position ('filling ornament'), more than a threefold rise from the earlier pots. (The significant strength of this change of use and relationship between major and minor positioning is indicated by scores of 0.3 for phi-squared and 0.9 for Yule's Q (Shanks 1992a: Appendix 2, Table 3.1)).

Proportionately fewer designs appear repeated to form a frieze or in a panel upon

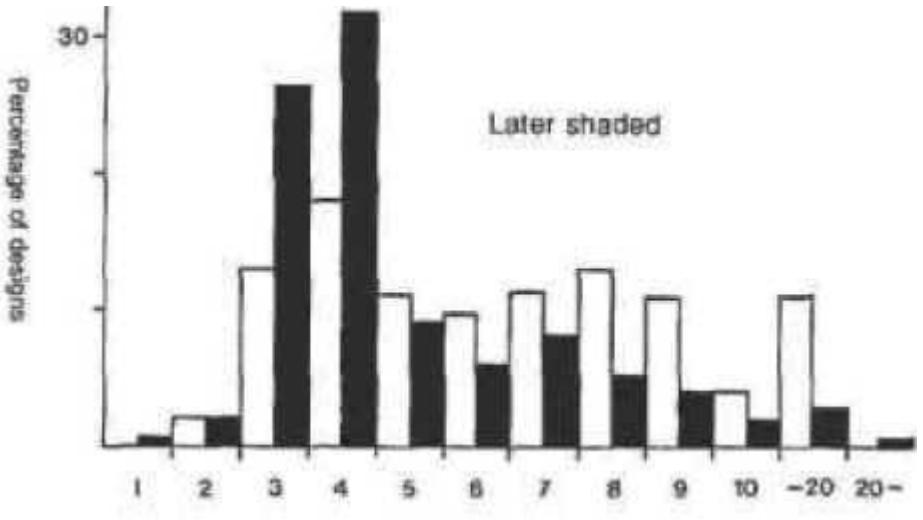

Figure 3.38 The number of designs per friezes; earlier and later compared.

later pots: drops of more than 40 and 75 per cent respectively. With respect to the occurrence of geometric and floral ornament with people and animals, there is a marked rising preference for animal friezes with or without geometric or floral designs in a minor position (70 per cent of later friezes are like this, 24 per cent of earlier).

There are also clear changes in the type of designs used. Triangles, many in friezes around the shoulders of aryballoi, drop out of use by later potters (from 17 down to 1 per cent of friezes), while the use of check and dot rosettes to form textured friezes and as minor ornament shows a 2.5- and 7-fold rise. Lozenge forms come to be used less and take a minor position. Petal forms still appear in friezes around later pot shoulders, but less so (from 9 per cent to 4 per cent of all friezes). Vegetal triangles (with linear hooked apices) continue to be a frequent feature, repeated as friezes, or as major or minor ornament.

There is considerable variety in the types of early figured pots: forty types of surface design (use of linear banding, floral and geometric design, counting also different combinations of basic frieze elements) for 153 pots {standardised: 0.26). Animal friezes clearly dominate later figured pots, and there is much less variety: forty-six types (as above) for 757 pots (standardised: 0.06: drop of 77 per cent). The variety of frieze type also drops from thirty combinations (as defined above) of animal, monster, birds, people, dogs, snakes and abstract elements (standardised: 0.17) to twenty (standardised; 0.02: drop of 88 per cent). The character of figured frieze and pot changes markedly; there are only eleven out of thirty-nine frieze types

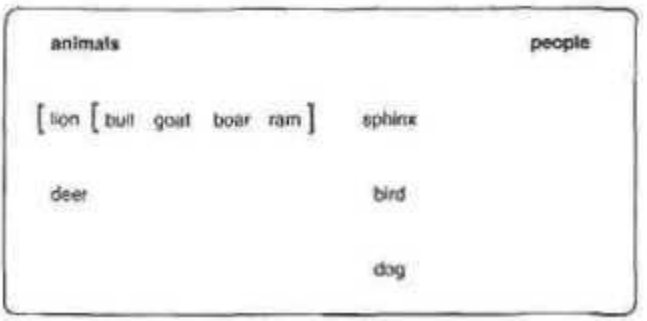

Figure 3.39 Animal classification. Violent animals interact among themselves, but rarely with people. Birds and monster forms (mixing lion, bird and person) mediate. Deer occur on their own, as do (domestic) dogs which may chase birds. The sphinx is, in its associations and character, dog-bird.

which occur both on earlier and later pots; there are only nine types of pot out of sixty-seven found in both earlier and later times.

Many earlier pots are decorated in a way which recalls the subjects of Korinthian Geometric design: bird friezes, and with non-representational designs (different from Geometric designs but still non-representational). I have noted the predominance of linear surface with decorated shoulder. But there is great variety, and the friezes have more elements combined in more complex ways than later. This may be termed a period of experiment upon the Geometric and new ideas of the design of ceramic surface, but this does not catch the detail.

Animals, including dogs, appear in 1,019 of 1,045 *(98* per cent) later figured scenes. I have shown how these friezes can in no way be called a random mix. And in the associations and connections I followed arising from the aryballos in Boston, I noted significances to do with masculine identity, violence and the domestic. I will refine some of those points.

Consider again the interactions between the main types of animal. The main ways that animals *interact in a way* which is *not expected* from *the* overall proportions *of* animals are:

people are separate and do not mix much with animals
birds occur with sphinxes
lions are with boars, bulls and goats more than expected
deer occur with deer more than expected
boars oppose boars.

These patterns of interaction are not so clear upon earlier pots, though there is a series of friezes which show deer on their own. So, to end, the classification of animals in Figure 3.39 is suggested to apply particularly to later friezes.

An overview of Korinthian ceramic design

The Geometric tradition

A parallel linearity *and striation:* a stratified or horizontally sectioned surface.
90°, 45° and 60° rotation or angularity.
Horizontal flow around the pot.

Lines providing dimensions (length across the pot and number in parallel).

A metric scheme (the distances between the lines).
Multiple brushes reproducing designs.
A workmanship of certainty.
Fine and uniform slipped surface.
Surface as texture, repelling attention, all background.
Only slight accents of detail: panels and creatures, a bird, a snake's head.
A tight and restricted graphical vocabulary,
Symmetry.
Repetition.

The Geometric is a ceramic surface which can be described as a space of *qualities.*

Abstract decoration with a line subordinate to texture.
Geometric articulation.

The new order

Tradition combined with innovation:
- an open or *smooth* (contrast striated) space is opened in (geometric) texture - space for the friezes;
- a workmanship of risk in free-hand painting and incision of figures;
- allied with a retained workmanship of certainty.

New pot shapes, particularly the aryballos, miniature and for perfume.

A new graphic line:
- the curve - fluid roundness in contrast to geometric ideal of the circle;
- inclination (in contrast to 90°, 45° and 60° angularity);
- petal form (a combination of both of the preceding).

An enlarged graphic vocabulary:
- NEW designs irrupting within a geometric field;
- diversity augmented through variation and agglomeration of graphic forms.

The painted forms *approximate* to an idea (of a creature or flower), in contrast to *reproducing,* for example, a lozenge net, or parallel lines.
The friezes have little or no background.
The miniature friezes may request close-range attention.

The figured friezes are a special world, in contrast with the domestic:

- referenced are lifestyle and masculine sovereign identity, a culture of violence and contest;
- a significant theme is that of fixity and stylisation in contrast with fluidity and heterogeneity or 'otherness';
- this is worked out in **relation** to body form (of people, flowers and animals), and action or inaction (battle, coursing hounds or stylised lions, for example);
- different species play differing roles in this scheme - significant is the mediatory role of birds.

Developed is a space of the *affective:* movement, actions upon another, experiences of speed and violence, inclination, charged with meanings.
This involves an aesthetics of the body and corporeal form.
The drawing in friezes may not so much provide dimension and sketch the contours of a pot, but follow a point (a visual ideology).
Korinthian design uses figurative decoration and a line at times 'free' or abstract (freed from fixed shapes and explorative).

There is a general appeal to the person, self and identity:
- visual imagery articulated through the looking of the viewer;
- an aesthetics of the body (imagery and perfume);
- a visual ideology of lifestyle and masculine identity.

Characteristics of the earlier changes

Greater graphical variety.
Graphical variety occurs alongside pot bodies decorated with parallel (Geometric) linearity.
Greater variety of scene structure, pot design and types of figure.
Continued use of panels and repeated designs, as in Geometric.

Frequent use of parataxis: *juxtaposition* which poses questions *of connection to* the viewer (articulation through looking), and which ties the scene not to **a** singular meaning but to a collective assemblage.
Play on figuration, transformation and association: artifacts, birds and the floral.
There are backward references with the appearance of birds and snakes.
Geometric and floral designs are used in major positions in figure friezes - free-standing floral designs particularly.
Triangle and petal shoulder friezes suggest the pot as flower.

Later changes (mid seventh century)

Less variability in types of pot and figure scene, people and monster types and poses, bird types and in geometric and floral design.

More figured friezes.
Dog friezes with rosettes upon linear aryballoi predominate.
Stylised animals predominate.

Less use of parataxis; more scenes have clearly recognisable subjects.

Increased use of geometric and especially floral designs (rosettes) in minor positions (filling ornament).

There is continued and prominent use of linear (or banded) surface texture.

Check and rosette friezes - textures - increase.

Floral forms are articulated into garlands separated from figure friezes.

These display intricate and complicated interweaving an interplay of curve, petal and texture - the new and old graphic.

Garlands appear around the shoulders of pots.

Ideology and creativity The scenes of animals, birds, people and exotic ornament were a distinct contrast with the preceding and contemporary geometrically covered pot surface. New pot shapes, the aryballos particularly, were (re) introduced by potters. With a celebration of a workmanship of risk within controlled limits of conventional linear banding, the potters painted free-hand silhouette and outlined figures. Incision and polychromy both added another element to this display of dexterity and regulated precision. In figured earlier designs, potters played on old subject matter, transforming Geometric water birds, retaining wavy-line snakes, but expanding with elaboration, and introducing rich exotic flora. New themes of violence, soldiering, the animal and avian worlds, monsters and strangeness, symbols of the special, are juxtaposed in parataxis in the open linear field. The logical connections and lines of connotation between the themes conform with what becomes clearer later. It is a loose and hazy flow around a special world which is antinomial to marriage, reproduction and the domestic. There is some play with transforming designs: standing tripods through protomes, standing florals through cabled garlands. The introduction of incision is play on figuration.

The variety of figures on earlier pots is greater than that seen later, and, even with the predominantly linear sub-geometric aryballoi, there are few coherent classes of decoration, other than a general one of linear surface with decorated shoulder. There is clearly an explicit conception, size and look of the aryballos - 'the way it should be'. This conception, or prototype, is provided with slight variations of decoration, producing uniqueness in conformity with the generic aryballos. The figured pots, such as the aryballos from Boston already discussed, are at the extreme of such a scale.

I emphasise the workmanship of risk allied to an iconography which in its juxtaposed elements sets up questions and sparks off lines of association, rather than providing clear ideological messages (the ideological field is clearly one under construction). This means that the risk, ambiguity and elaboration of form and figure are more of an affirmation of the potter's creative self. This could be connected with the great variation upon the modality of earlier designs.

Risk in mode of production and execution, convention transgressed; risk and transgression too in the ideological associations traced to the lifestyle of the hero. The analogy or ideological system may well have appealed to potters themselves, to those who were to take the potters abroad from Korinth, and to those who acquired them

as gifts to gods or for the dead (consciously or unconsciously) and to which I will come soon. I argue that the connection between the figured scenes, technique and ideology is a significant one, but it cannot be claimed that the style was anything more than a *marginal* play with figured scenes: there are too few pots with figured decoration. Nor do the (relatively inexpensive) pots represent a powerful ideological argument for an ethical order of aristocratic masculinity. The imagery is often restrained, ambiguous, 'open' to interpretation. The pots figured according to risk and transgression communicate a few potters (perhaps with 'commissioning' others) experimenting with an expressive field of 'individual' identity and aspiration to a sovereign masculinity defined through the body and its corporeality. This ambiguity and interpretability suggests a *contested* ideological field, or one of certain themes such as action, gender, personal space, transgression, identity and sovereignty, undergoing negotiation and definition.

Nor does a model of emulation work easily, whereby Korinthian pots would be produced for an aspiring class or social group, imitating some visual precedent associated with *a* higher class. Apart from the lack of precedents, there is a clear *emergence* of the visual ideology, its clarification after experiment in its earlier stages: the imagery does not *arrive* ready-made. I also have argued that the *imagery* coordinates with its *ceramic* medium, quick to produce and therefore cheap. The techniques of production and surface decoration are an interplay of the fixed and stylised and the fluid and heterogeneous, risk and security, temporalities of tradition and innovation.

The popularity and predominance of sub-geometric is the continuity of a certain taste from the Geometric. The highly regulated design is of an artifact done in *style, chat* is an evident intention achieved with evident success. It implies the continuity *of* standards of (technical) practice, ways of producing the ceramic, whereby the manner has an aesthetic importance of its own, independent of what is made or how it is consumed. Its qualities are of competence, assurance and security (Pye 1980: 71). With the continuity of design from plain and linear to elaborately figured, there is flexibility in an openness to interpretation while offered is an option of acquiring an expression of an emergent visual ideology.

Most later pots are still linearly decorated, but *there* is not the variability around decorative models as there is on earlier aryballoi. The continuity of design represented by the sub-geometric or linear pots with their textured surfaces and few accents of detail (inviting close scrutiny) communicates security. The co-existence and implied comparison with figured pots makes the later linear vessel doubly secure - it resists the change, variety, heterogeneity. That many later friezes work with a restricted graphical vocabulary, again as in the Geometric canon, further reinforces this. The linearity continues the backward and conventional reference, aryballoi in accordance with traditional manner of finish and decoration, but many pots make a brief and restrained reference to the hunt and domestication through coursing hounds, and to the exotic in the floral designs. In the figured scenes structure is much clearer, as is communication of the ideological components of violence, excess and the mediation of the animal in a world of aristocratic masculinity. The scenes set fewer overt

questions. Exotic flora are contained within controlled shoulder garlands. Animals are marshalled and regulated; there is less use of incongruous juxtaposition. Both earlier and later pots display an excess over the linear Geometric. The earlier pots may look closer to Geometric, but later figured scenes are more regulated and formulaic.

Against a background of conservative pottery design, the figured painting was an experiment with a risked potter's hand in an ideological field of aristocratic lifestyle and value. It is very unlikely that this was the 'culture' of the potter, yet a ceramic and iconographic medium was adapted to express it. I suggest that the potter's own class background is perhaps retained in the earlier play on themes and design which questions and opens space rather than expresses with ease and clarity: consider the figurative play with birds, heads, helmets, flowers and tripods. This is the mark of the potter's creativity. But the ideology of the decisive hand and risk of creative self and integrity in the fine miniature brush work and incision can be interpreted as within the bounds of the depicted conceptual world. So too is the general interplay of stylisation and experiment with variety and heterogeneity.

The creativity of these Korinthian pots is their heterogeneity. With a new graphic line and imagery they are an irruption of an affective and smooth space, in contrast with a continuation of the striated or stratified texture and canon of the Geometric. The small perfume jars displaying this miniature figuration intimate a field of the personal, point to a political aesthetics of the body, appeal somewhat to notions of self and identity, This is the potential of the new material environment: decorated surfaces which do not repel attention, but provide a different ambience in a different way, and even attract attention to pose and answer questions. The later textures, stylised animals scenes, security of the Geometric and realm of clear signification {scenes with recognisable themes), are a taming of the heterogeneity and creative exploration.

Geometric tradition cannot be disassociated from the changes at the end of the eighth century: there is an essential interplay of continuity and transgression. The term protokorinthian is accordingly inappropriate. Furthermore the vectors of association that I have traced in the 'cultural assemblage' that is Korinthian design, the social and ideological contexts mean that it makes no sense to term these pots protokorinthian, as if somehow they escape to prefigure what is to come. This terminology belongs to an entirely different conception of style, one which finds development, the ripening of artistic styles, and then their fading. The term is useful perhaps only as a label, convenient in conventional discourse, for pots produced from late eighth to seventh centuries in Korinth, and even here it is unsatisfactory because it has to be prefixed with sub-geometric to encompass the continuity of geometric design which is an essential component of what the potters were doing in Korinth.

Many pieces of the collage presented in this chapter have pointed away from Korinth to imaginary and real worlds beyond - mobility and travel, sanctuaries and cemeteries, consumption and deposition. These are the topics in the life-cycle of Korinthian design taken up in the next two chapters.