The Problem with Dexileos: Heroic and Other Nudities in Greek Art

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Abstract

A study of the well-known Dexileos stele, set above a cenotaph or heroon built for a young horseman killed in the Corinthian War in 394/3 B.C.E., leads to an examination of the meaning and function of nudity in archaic and classical Greek art. Dexileos' clothing and his fallen enemy's nakedness defy traditional expectations and so undermine the notion of "heroic nudity," a familiar but flawed explanation for the naked state of ideal males in Greek art. Rather than dispense with the concept of heroic nudity completely, we should recognize that it is just one among a number of different nudities in Greek art with a number of different roles, some of them contradictory. These include a nudity of differentiation, a nudity of youth, "democratic nudity," a nudity of status or class, and a nudity of vulnerability and defeat (pathetic nudity). As in the art of other ancient cultures, nudity is a costume whose significance is determined by context and subject rather than by abstract principle.*

DEXILEOS AND HIS STELE

In its broad outlines, the story is well known. On a day in early summer, 394 B.C.E., on a coastal plain where the Nemea River flows into the Corinthian Gulf, the Spartans and their allies met a combined force of Boeotians and their allies (Athenians, Argives, Euboeans, and Corinthians), turned the Athenian flank, and routed them all by nightfall. Fought in the second campaign season of the Corinthian War (395–386), the Battle of the Nemea River was at the time the largest battle that had ever been fought between Greeks, with some 20,000 hoplites on each side.[1] The Spartan alliance is said to have suffered 1,100 dead (the Spartans themselves only eight), while the opposing coalition lost 2,800.[2] It is impossible to know how many of those 2,800 were Athenians, but among their number was, very likely, a 20-year-old horseman from the tribe of Akamantis named Dexileos.[3]

Months later, after the campaign season ended and winter fell upon Athens, Dexileos' ashes and charred bones were deposited in a cypress wood box with the remains of the other casualties from his tribe. This and nine other coffins (one for each Athenian tribe) lay in state for three days and were then conveyed by cart and buried at public expense in a mass grave (or polyandreion) in the Demosion Sema, the state burial ground that lined both sides of the long, wide road leading from the Dipylon Gate to the Academy (one of the city's three great gymnasia) in what was then Athens' most beautiful suburb (fig. 1). All this was done according to what Thucydides calls the *patrios nomos*, the "ancestral custom."[4] Uncustomarily, there were two monuments commemorating the casualties of the battle at the Nemea in the state cemetery, apparently made in the same workshop, inscribed by the same hand, and presumably set up in the same precinct, at the same time, in 394/3. One was a memorial exclusively to the horsemen who had died at the Nemea and, a little later that summer, at Koroneia in Boeotia. This monument was undoubtedly set up by

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[1] Salmon 1984, 352. According to Xenophon (*Hell.* 4.2.9–23), the Spartans and their allies had 13,500 hoplites, 700 horsemen, and 700 archers and slingers; the opposing coalition had 24,000 hoplites and 1,550 horsemen. According to Diodoros Siculus (14.83), the Spartan forces numbered 23,000 foot soldiers and 500 cavalry.

[2] Diod. Sic. 14.83; Xen. *Hell.* 4.3.1. The Spartan victory was, however, only technical; they did not win or pursue a clear strategic advantage.

[3] Dexileos came from Thorikos, one of the three *trittyes* that made up the tribe of Akamantis; see also Martin 1886, 416; Bugh 1988, 136. Rhodes and Osborne (2003, 42) believe that Dexileos fell not in the big battle of the Nemea (which they date to the end of 395/4 B.C.E.) but later (at the beginning of 394/3), in a skirmish near Corinth; see also Camp 2001, 137. But see Aucello 1964, 31–6.

[4] Thuc. 2.34. See also Clairmont (1983, 11 n. 16), who suggests the ceremony was probably held in Pyanopsion (October/November). The Academy Road was almost 1,500 m long and in places well over 30 m wide. See also Clairmont (1983, 12–15) and Stupperich (1994, 93, 100 n. 3) for the problem of dating the origin of the *patrios nomos* (Clairmont favors a Kimonian date, Stupperich a Kleisthenic). A date ca. 470–460 B.C.E. seems the consensus today (see Frangeskou 1999).

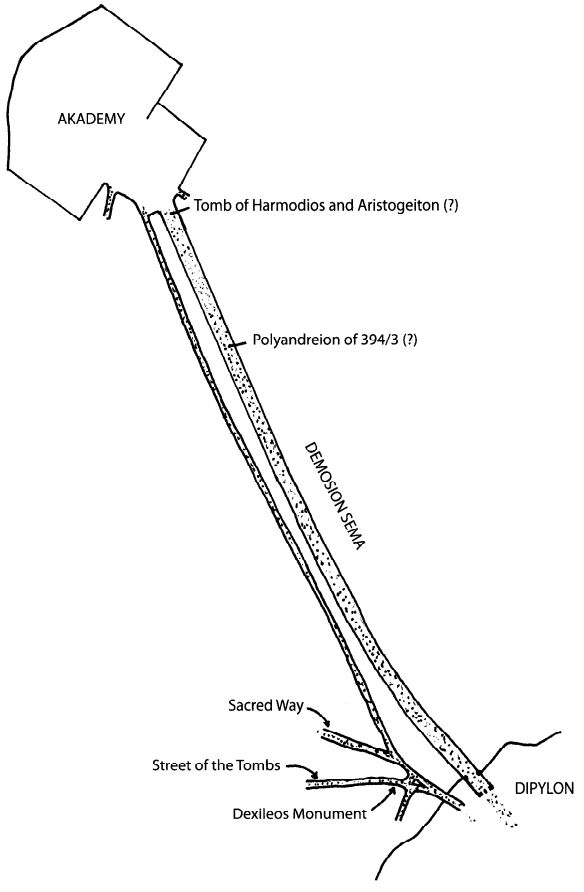

Fig. 1. Plan, Demosion Sema, Athens (after Clairmont 1983, fig. 5).

the hippeis themselves in an act of self-promotion (as well as political self-defense).[5] The part that survives is an elaborate lotus-and-palmette anthemion, or floral crowning ornament, 2.24 m wide, with a plain band inscribed with the names of the fallen horsemen; Dexileos' name is listed among the 11 who died "at Corinth" (figs. 2, 3).[6] Below the anthemion, we can be confident, was a relief showing mounted Athenians battling their foes.

But this memorial was not the precinct's official tombstone. The state monument that marked the grave of all those who died at Corinth and Koroneia, hippeis and hoplites alike, stood close by. This was the tomb of "those who fell near Corinth" that Pausanias noted as he walked through the Kerameikos.[7] And it was there, some scholars optimistically believe, that Lysias delivered his *Epitaphios,* a conventional, decorous funeral oration glorifying the Athenian dead and putting them in the same heroic company as those who had, once upon a time, repulsed the invasion of the Amazons, aided in the burial of the Seven against Thebes, defended the suppliant Herakleidae, and, more recently, defeated the Persians. In fact, all we can say about the date of the *Epitaphios* is that it was written sometime during or just after the Corinthian War. It is not even clear whether Lysias, a noncitizen, would have been allowed to give the speech himself.[8] Still, the polyandreion and state funeral of 394/3 B.C.E. would have been a good place and time to deliver something like it, and to tell the relatives of the dead and the citizens of the city for which they had died that:

> their memory will never grow old, and their glory is envied by all men. Those who are mourned as mortal in their nature are praised as immortals for their excellent virtue. They are granted a state funeral, and contests of strength, wisdom, and wealth are held in their honor, because those who have died in war are worthy of the same honors as the immortals.[9]

All that is left of the funerary monument itself is part of a battle relief showing an unidentified horseman and a hoplite attacking a fallen foe (at least one more horse and rider were originally shown on the left, though just the tail of the horse survives), with a fragmentary inscription that originally listed all the dead by tribe (fig. 4).[10] The quality of the relief is fine, but the iconography is boilerplate: the poses of the figures

[5] Infra n. 21.

[6] Athens NM 754; Tod 1948, no. 104; Clairmont 1983, 212–14, no. 68b; Bugh 1988, 13–37; Spence 1993, 219; Boardman 1995, 115, fig. 121; Kaltsas 2002, 158–59, no. 312; Rhodes and Osborne 2003, 40–3, no. 7a. The inscription is complete, so apparently the losses suffered by the Athenian cavalry at the Nemea—and in the entire campaign season of 394 B.C.E. (a 12th horseman is listed as having fallen at Koroneia)—were not particularly severe. See Rhodes and Osborne (2003, 42), who argue that the inscription "probably lists all the cavalrymen killed that year [394]." There is evidence that service in the hippeis was much safer than service as a hoplite (Spence 1993, 219–21).

[7] Paus. 1.29.11. Pausanias omits any mention of Koroneia.

[8] Clairmont (1983, 210) believes that Lysias himself gave the speech at the public burial of 394, right beside the monuments. Loraux (1986, 91) dates the speech only generally to the years of the Corinthian War, and suggests Lysias might have written it for another to deliver. Connor (1966, 9–10) and Dover (1968, 193), like most scholars today, accept the authenticity of the oration, and Todd (2000, 25–7), assuming (as others do) that the metic Lysias was prohibited from delivering the oration himself, suggests he wrote it as a rhetorical exercise. Thucydides (2.34) does not specifically say that an Athenian citizen must give the funeral oration, only that the orator must be a man noted for his wisdom and reputation.

[9] *Epitaphios* 79–80.

[10] Athens NM 2744; Boardman 1995, 115, fig. 121; Ridgway 1997, 20 n. 1; Kaltsas 2002, 159, no. 313. Bugh (1988, 139–40) believes the standing hoplite is defending the fallen one, not attacking him, but the hoplite appears to have grabbed the hair of the fallen soldier with his lost right hand, and the latter seems to be trying to push the former away with his right arm (see Clairmont 1983, 209–12, no. 68a).

Fig. 2. Anthemion from hippeis monument, 394/3 B.C.E. (National Museum, Athens, inv. no. 754).

are as conventional as the rhetoric of the *Epitaphios*. Moreover, the very anonymity of these stock figures reinforces the civic community of the dead who were listed below, undifferentiated in their service to the state and in their sacrifice. The inscription was, again, apparently carved by the same hand that inscribed the anthemion monument standing nearby (see fig. 2),[11] and Dexileos' name would have appeared here, too. That is, Dexileos was commemorated twice in the Demosion Sema: first, as a member of the Athenian military as a whole (his identity subsumed under a broad civic ethos, his bones mingled with those of his fellows); second, as a member of a more restricted elite, the hippeis.[12]

But there was one other location in the Kerameikos where his name would have been read in 394/3, and there he was commemorated in yet another way: as an individual and as a hero.[13] Dexileos' family was wealthy, and it built an imposing cenotaph for him on a choice and conspicuous corner plot in the Kerameikos, not far from where the Street of the Tombs (leading to the Peiraeus) branches off from the Sacred Way (figs. 1, 5). In plan, the monument is wedge-shaped. Its base consists of two heavy breccia walls, four courses high, meeting at a right angle, that serve as retaining walls for the earth filled in

Fig. 3. Detail of anthemion from hippeis monument, with name of Dexileos inscribed (National Museum, Athens, inv. no. 754).

[11] Clairmont 1983, 214.
[12] Clairmont 1983, 221.
[13] Loraux 1986, 31.

Fig. 4. Relief from polyandreion memorial, 394/3 B.C.E. (National Museum, Athens, inv. no. 2744).

behind them. Above is a structure in the form of a quadrant, four courses high, with a crowning course. And rising above that, at the center of the 90° arc, is a high relief representing Dexileos on horseback defeating a fallen foe (fig. 6).[14] Again, this monument was not a tomb—at least not until Dexileos' brother and sister were buried there a few decades later, commemorated by two tall stelae set atop the north wall.[15] At some point, two musical sirens, playing their lyre and pipes in a perpetual "unearthly threnody," were installed here as well.[16] It must be emphasized that the Dexileos stele itself, facing in the direction of the Demosion Sema, was set some 4 m back from the street corner and 5 m above street level; no stairway led up to the precinct and no doorway pierced the quadrant wall. The designer of the monument thus physically but poignantly distanced the relief from the viewer,[17] denying easy access to Dexileos' looming but isolated image and to the four-line inscription on the face of the concave block just below it:

> Dexileos, son of Lysanias, of Thorikos.
> He was born in the archonship of Teisandros [414/3 B.C.E.];
> He died in that of Euboulides [394/3 B.C.E.],
> at Corinth, one of the five horsemen.

Though removed from the viewer walking below along the Street of the Tombs, the inscription, when its large letters were filled with dark red paint, would have been easily readable. It is in any case unique among Attic epitaphs in its biographical detail (and that is saying something, since there are more than 10,000 Attic grave markers extant). The last line emphatically but enigmatically distinguishes Dexileos as one of five hippeis. This cannot mean that he was one of just five horsemen who fought at the Battle of the Nemea River because Xenophon tells us there were at least 600 Athenian cavalrymen there.[18] Nor can it mean that he was one of only five horsemen who died in that battle because the inscription on the anthemion (see fig. 2) says there were 11. Perhaps it means he was one of five horsemen who engaged in some extraordinary exploit during the battle, so renowned it needed no further explanation, or who died in some skirmish after the main battle. More likely, it means that Dexileos was one of a small band of brothers—an elite squadron within the cavalry—with special respon-

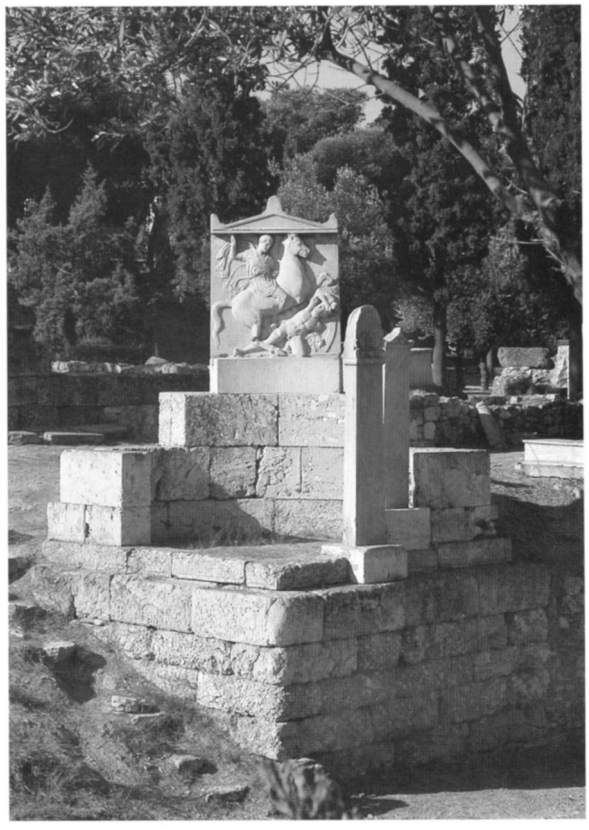

Fig. 5. Dexileos monument, Kerameikos, 394/3 B.C.E. (courtesy H.R. Goette).

[14] Athens, Kerameikos P 1130. For recent descriptions and discussions, see Osborne 1998, 13–16; Geominy 2004, 260–61; Hallett 2005, 10–12, 17–18.

[15] Dexileos' father, Lysanias, was buried behind the Dexileos stele; for the architecture and layout of the precinct, see Ensoli 1987, 157–89.

[16] Ensoli 1987, 291–309; Ridgway 1997, 6; Kaltsas 2002, 181, no. 358, dated ca. 370 B.C.E.

[17] Ridgway 1997, 7.

[18] Xen. *Hell* 4.2.17.

sibilities.[19] For Dexileos to hold such a position at the tender age of 20, to be not just a horseman but a Rider, was a mark of high distinction; it set him apart from his fellow hippeis, just as the design of his cenotaph removed his image from the viewer, emphasizing his heroic isolation.

His age is, in fact, the other emphasis of the inscription. The author is at pains to give Dexileos' birthdate (414/3), as well as the year of his death (394/3), not only to make clear his youthful distinction but also to indicate that he was too young to have had anything to do with the antidemocratic actions of the Athenian cavalry 10 years earlier, when a band of oligarchs known as the Thirty Tyrants seized power in Athens and launched a reign of terror against their democratic opponents. The bitterness toward the Thirty Tyrants and their collaborators—and these included the aristocratic horsey set—endured long after the restoration of the democracy in 403.[20] Anyone standing before the cenotaph and its inscription could deduce (if he had a good memory or an archon list handy) that Dexileos was just 10 years old in 404 and so could not have been complicit in the tyranny of the Thirty or in the disgrace of the hippeis.[21] If the Dexileos stele is an oration of praise, depicting his heroism, the inscription below it is a legal defense, asserting his innocence.

As supporting evidence, Dexileos' family submitted to the ground of the precinct five red-figure oinochoai purchased from a nearby potter's shop.[22] Four of these pots show undistinguished scenes of Dionysiac carousing, chariotry, dancing youths and maidens, and a celebratory parade (or *komos*) with musicians, torchbearers, and horses—the kind of activities (perhaps associated with the Anthesteria festival) Dexileos would never again enjoy. The fifth vase is no masterpiece, but it is noteworthy for its representation of a representation: the Tyrannicides group by Kritios and Nesiotes, two bronze statues set up in the Athenian Agora in 477/6 B.C.E. to commemorate the young Harmodios and his older lover Aristogeiton, who conspired (unsuccessfully) to kill the tyrant of Athens, and who murdered Hipparkhos, the tyrant's brother, in 514 (fig. 7).[23] Though the assassination was

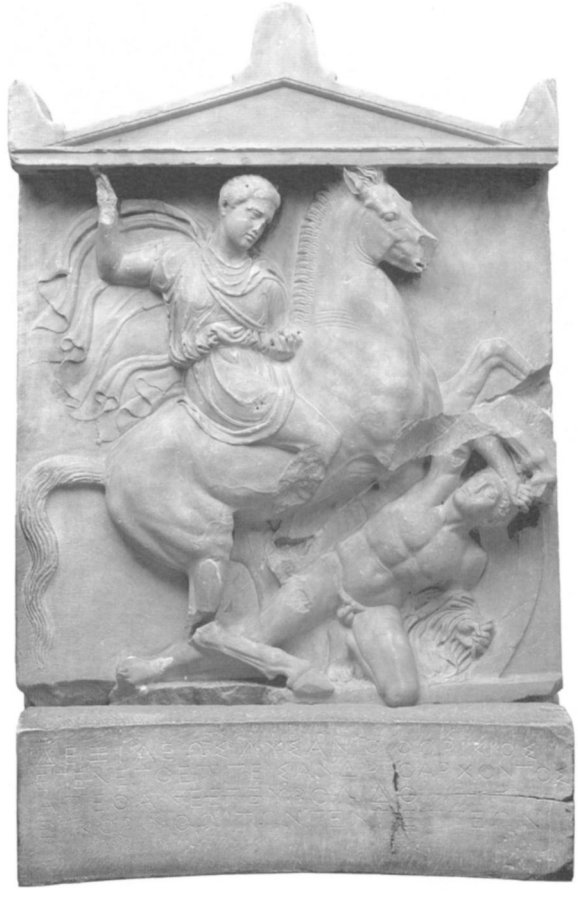

Fig. 6. Dexileos stele and inscription (Kerameikos Museum, Athens, inv. no. P 1130; courtesy H.R. Goette).

the result of a personal vendetta rather than a political revolution, though Harmodios and Aristogeiton were promptly executed for their crime, and though the tyranny (harsher now) endured four more years, once it fell, Harmodios and Aristogeiton became heroes of the new democracy. They made Athens a city of equal laws, repeated a number of popular drinking songs, inventively.[24] They became the objects of a hero cult, and they were buried at the end of the Demosion Sema near the entrance to the Academy (itself a shrine to the hero Akademos), not far from where

[19] Tod (1948, 20–1) cites Xenophon's recommendation that cavalry should have special squadrons consisting of four or five of the best horsemen whose task it would be to take the enemy by surprise (*Hipparchus* 8.23–5); see also Bugh 1988, 137–38; Rhodes and Osborne 2003, 40–3, no. 7b.

[20] Lysias himself expresses that resentment in several orations (e.g., nos. 13, 26, 31) (Todd 2000, 27; cf. *Ath. pol.* 38.2).

[21] Bugh 1988, 124–29, 137–39 (citing an unpublished paper by Colin Edmondson); see also Camp 2001, 137–38. In the same spirit, the anthemion monument to the fallen horsemen of Corinth and Koroneia should be understood as part of a program to rehabilitate the hippeis and publicize their service to the democracy (Spence 1993, 219).

[22] Stylistically these vases should date ca. or just after 400 B.C.E. (see Vermeule 1970; Ajootian 1998, 8); but see also Robertson 1975, 420–21.

[23] As Ober (2003, 226) and others have suggested, there is a resurgence of Tyrannicide iconography on vases ca. 400 B.C.E., reflecting increased public reverence for the pair after 403.

[24] Diehl 1949–1952, 893–96.

Fig. 7. Fragments of Attic red-figure oinochoe from Dexileos precinct, ca. 400 B.C.E. (© Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; H.L. Pierce Fund 98.936).

the monuments to the casualties of the Battle of the Nemea River would later be built (see fig. 1).[25] The image of the Tyrannicides deposited in the Dexileos precinct was clearly intended to equate his sacrifice with that of the equally youthful Harmodios. Both were presented as defenders of Athens against tyranny—in Dexileos' case, this was the tyranny of the Spartans—and so Dexileos was assimilated to Harmodios. It is a coincidence that Dexileos was born exactly 100 years after the Tyrannicides killed Hipparkhos, but this private dedication helped give the already extraordinary cenotaph the character of a heroon.[26] It asserted the importance of Dexileos' early death, like Harmodios', for the sake of the polis. And it suggests that in the Classical period, the heroic sacrifice of Athenian war dead was considered not so much a military act undertaken for the sake of personal *kleos* (fame) but a political act in public defense of the democracy.[27]

The unavoidable paradox, however, is that the cenotaph was an aristocratic monument; it was commissioned by an elite family that desired to single out the *kleos* of its favorite son and so defy the communal anonymity promulgated by the democracy in such reliefs as the one that marked the polyandreion of 394/3 (see fig. 4). Ober has argued, in fact, that the Dexileos monument exists "in the field of tension created by the powerful democratic ideology and a powerful elite impulse to dissent from that ideology," that it was intentionally designed to be "amphibolic" and so was meant to be read differently by different viewers.[28]

The paradox may be unavoidable, but it is unremarkable. Aristocrats have been known to act aristocratically even in democracies. Most of the time in democratic Athens, elites navigated the ship of state, even if lower-class oarsmen propelled it. The powerful democratic ideology of such works as the polyandreion relief (see fig. 4) is extremely limited; it is hoplites and hippeis who dominate the public sculpture of classical Athens, not *thetes*, who are, with rare exceptions, excluded from it.[29] Still, whatever the dissonance be-

[25] Paus. 1.29.15.

[26] Ensoli 1987.

[27] Vermeule 1970, 105–6; Clairmont 1983, 14; Neer 2002, 176–77. Clairmont also suggests that in the fifth century, the polemarch was in charge of sacrifices to both the Tyrannicides and the war dead, and that the tomb of Harmodios and Aristogeiton was near the entrance to the Academy, which was both a gymnasium and a field for military training.

[28] Ober 2003, 244. I accept the ambiguity of an expensive, ostentatious (and inherently aristocratic) monument supposedly built to the memory of a defender of the democracy—one who was associated with Harmodios besides. But Ober's (2003, 242) suggestion that the nude figure beneath Dexileos' horse was read as a fallen Harmodios (that the aristocratic Dexileos is, therefore, shown in the act of overthrowing the Athenian democracy) is harder to accept, and makes the relief not just amphibolic but a muddle. We must ask whether the early fourth-century democracy would have permitted such a subversive message to be displayed so prominently along the Street of the Tombs, especially when the hippeis were trying hard in other ways to ingratiate themselves to the demos (e.g., by dedicating the anthemion monument, thereby publicizing their sacrifice to the state). Moreover, as Ober (2003, 220, 236) twice defines it, the canonical "Harmodios blow" has the youth cock his sword-arm behind his head, not in front of it, as the fallen foe on the Dexileos relief does—a small but telling detail that makes one heed Ober's (2003, 236) own warning that "there is some danger of finding a tyrannicide lurking behind every raised right arm" in classical art. The nude figure's arm is here caught simply in a logically defensive, and not a politically or iconographically allusive, pose. In addition, if figures even properly posed like a true Tyrannicide invariably serve as a metaphor for the democracy, it is hard to explain the Harmodios-like Amazon on the Niobid Painter's volute-krater in Palermo (ca. 460 B.C.E.) (see Shefton 1960, fig. 2). This enemy of Greeks and especially Athenians—this prototypical Other—cannot have been taken to stand for Athenian democracy. The "Harmodios pose" or "Harmodios blow" is in any case older than the Tyrannicides of Kritios and Nesiotes; e.g., it appears in the figure of Telamon on Euphronios' volute-krater in Arezzo (though perhaps Antenor's original group, dated by some to the late sixth century, posed Harmodios the same way and influenced the painter) (Shefton 1960, 173).

[29] See Raaflaub (1996, esp. 154–59) for "the discrepancies between the ideology and the reality of democratic equality" in Athens. The paradox of the Dexileos stele is remarkable only to those who insist on a complete coincidence of theory or principle and practice. It is still noteworthy how rarely *thetes* appear in Athenian state art, the best example being the so-called Lenormant relief (Acropolis Museum 1339, ca. 400 B.C.E.), showing a trireme (possibly the Paralos) in action;

tween the aristocracy to which Dexileos belonged and the democracy for which he died, his individual heroism—his stature apart from and above other horsemen (not to mention the masses)—is surely the point of the stele (see fig. 6).

Nearly square (1.4 m high), the very high relief shows a mounted Dexileos rearing over a fallen foe caught beneath the body and between the legs of his stallion, which seems to skid on its back hooves. The action is at the least implausible; it is difficult to see how Dexileos, leaning back astride his horse, turning his torso frontally, could actually spear someone caught so completely beneath his mount. But the composition is skillful, based on the parallel diagonals of horse and warrior and the intersecting diagonals of Dexileos and his spear. The spear was added separately in bronze (as we can tell from dowel holes drilled into the marble), as were the reins and bridle, Dexileos' helmet (or petasos or wreath), and the sword belt of the fallen enemy.[30] The relief was enlivened not only by gleaming metal additions but also by paint. A vivid blue no doubt covered the background, setting off the figures and imitating the sky against which the relief would have been seen, and bright colors (reds, yellows, browns) picked out the details of armor and dress. It is even possible that his short tunic, or *chitoniskos*, when fully and distinctively painted, would have identified him as a member of the elite force of five riders referred to in the inscription.[31]

Funerary reliefs showing battles are very rare in the Attic corpus. Usually the subjects are drawn from the everyday life of the family—from the private realm—and it is sometimes hard to tell which figure represents the deceased. Here, there is no question which figure is the much-lamented Dexileos; the anthemion inscription tells us he was a horseman (see fig. 2), the cenotaph inscription tells us he was a horseman (see fig. 6), and so the horseman he must be. This is, then, wish fulfillment in Pentelic marble: Dexileos is shown as the victor, meting out the death he in fact suffered. Although the relief may be unusual in its subject and ahistorical in its content (it ignores the death that was the raison d'être for the cenotaph it adorned, and the identity of the victim—Spartan, Peloponnesian ally, or generic foe—is unclear), its iconography is deeply rooted in fifth-century art.[32]

What has been called the Dexileos Motif—the image of a rearing horseman trampling a fallen foe beneath—is, in fact, much older than the Dexileos stele itself; it is at least as old as the Early Classical period. It is found, for example, in the main scene of a vase in New York by the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs, ca. 460 B.C.E. (fig. 8), in which a mounted Amazon brings her lance down upon a nude Greek covering himself with his shield. Since the Amazonomachy on this vase was likely inspired by the panel or wall paintings of such renowned Early Classical artists as Mikon (who, we know, painted famous Amazonomachies in the Stoa Poikile and Theseion in the 470s and 460s B.C.E.), most Athenians would have been as familiar with the image on a grand scale as the chorus of old men in Aristophanes' Lysistrata: "Just consider the Amazons," they say, "whom Mikon painted fighting on horseback against men."[33] The motif was found again, several times, on the west metopes of the Parthenon, where yet another Amazonomachy was depicted (fig. 9). These sculptures are so badly damaged that they are mostly indecipherable today, but there is enough left to indicate that the basic motif of a rider on a rearing horse trampling a fallen foe was repeated at least four times (on metopes 3, 5, 9, and 13).[34] All the clothed riders, incidentally, are Amazons, and all the nude victims are by definition Greek heroes, a point to which we shall return. On some of these metopes and on a few others (such as West 1), the cloaks of the Amazons fly almost horizontally behind them, enhancing the sense of speed and violence; this kind of flamboyant wind-blown drapery is surely the source of Dexileos' great curling cloak (it even has some of the same "omega folds" as the Amazon's cloak in West 1).[35] At any rate, the Dexileos Motif seems to have had its origin in Early and High Classical representations of Amazonomachies, and it is worth noting again that in his *Epitaphios*, Lysias ranks the heroism of those who

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see Brouskari 1974, 176–77, fig. 379. The art of the Athenian democracy is overwhelmingly an art of the higher classes, not of the poorer citizenry.

[30] Ensoli (1987, 204–7) reconstructs Dexileos with a Boeotian helmet, like the one worn by the horseman in the polyandreion relief (see fig. 4). Other reliefs with similar scenes show the horseman wearing a petasos (cf. figs. 18, 19).

[31] For the use of bronze additions and paint, see Ensoli 1987, 200–20; Ridgway 1997, 3. I thank Marion True for the suggestion that his painted costume might have further distinguished Dexileos.

[32] In his discussion of the polyandreion relief (see fig. 4), Osborne (1998, 13–15) asserts that it and, by extension, the Dexileos relief are unhistorical in another way: "cavalry and infantry did not meet head on in battle." But Spence (1993, 112–17) cites many cases in which they did. See infra n. 60.

[33] Ar. *Lys.* 678–79.

[34] Cf. Stähler (1992, 88, 93–4), who compares the Dexileos stele to the iconography of the Parthenon west metopes, and Schwab (2005, 179–80), who compares West 13 to the scene on the krater by the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs (see fig. 8). A similar composition is found in some of the south metopes, such as South 28, where a magnificent rearing Centaur rises over a fallen Lapith (Boardman 1985, fig. 91.7).

[35] Ridgway 1981, 25, 96.

Fig. 8. Volute krater by Painter of Woolly Satyrs, ca. 470–460 B.C.E. (courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund 1907, 07.286.84).

fell in the Corinthian War with those who repelled the Amazon invasion of Attica.[36]

The stylistic genealogy of the Dexileos stele has in other ways been easy to trace in fifth-century art. The horse is a close paraphrase of horses depicted in the Parthenon frieze; many animals on the west, north, and south friezes rear almost as high as Dexileos' nearly standing mount (cf. West frieze II.2). Dexileos' face resembles the inexpressive faces of the Parthenon horsemen (though his eyes are more deeply set).[37] Emotional neutrality is, of course, standard in High Classical art, but while the neutral expressions of the Parthenon youths lend them a certain introspective quality (they are participants in a sacred procession), the blank expression of Dexileos, caught in the midst of battle, makes him seem cold and strangely detached. Just as the relief in its original context, set high above at the back of the cenotaph, distanced itself from the spectator, so Dexileos himself—isolated from his comrades, mechanically killing his desperate foe—seems removed from his own action.

As for his victim, the contorted, diagonal posture —particularly the folds at his waist and the sharply foreshortened, bent left leg—has a close parallel in a kneeling, bound youth on the east frieze of the Hephaisteion, probably carved ca. 430 B.C.E.[38] Around the turn of the fourth century, the Dexileos Motif appears again on the south frieze of the Temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai, where another mounted Amazon looms over a fallen Greek.[39] And the curling, fluttering drapery we see behind Dexileos' head—cloth that seems thick and graceful and heavy and light at the same time—is the late fifth-century sculptor's stock-in-trade, familiar from the friezes that decorated the Temple of Athena Nike on the Acropolis and the Bassai temple, where cloaks similarly billow in great curves.[40]

[36] Cf. Ridgway 1997, 6.
[37] Cf. Robertson 1975, 369; Stewart 1990, 172.
[38] Boardman 1985, fig. 114.2.
[39] Boardman 1995, figs. 5.1, 5.3.
[40] Boardman 1985, fig. 128. The Dexileos Motif had a future as well as a past. The reliefs on three sides of a stele base in Athens (NM 3708) seem dependent upon the Dexileos stele (see figs. 18, 19); twice, horsemen rear over clothed warriors, once over a naked one; see also Kaltsas 2002, 171, no. 337. The central figures in the west pediment of the Temple of

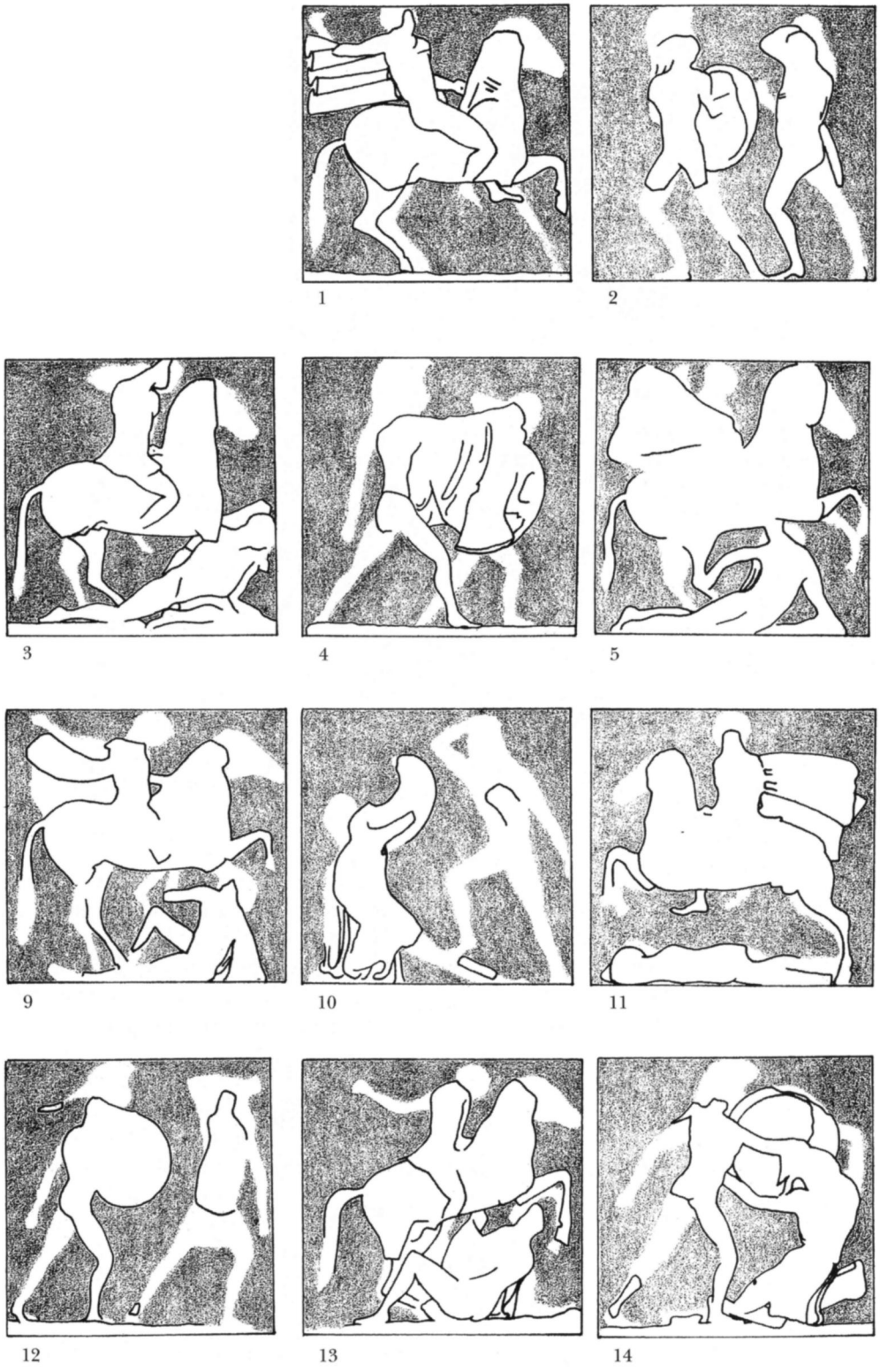

Fig. 9. Parthenon west metopes, 440s B.C.E. (after Boardman and Finn 1985, 233; courtesy J. Boardman).

Asklepios at Epidauros (a mounted Amazon and fallen Greek) represent a variation, as do scenes on the Mausoleion frieze (British Museum 1847.4–24.11) and on a stele from Yalnizdam in the Ankara Museum (see Boardman 1995, figs. 10.1, 10.2; Ridgway 1997, 3–4, pls. 2a–d; Cook 2005, pl. 13, no. 12).

The most commonly cited antecedent for the Dexileos stele, however, is an unusually large Athenian marble relief that was taken to Rome in antiquity and that is now in the Villa Albani (fig. 10). The relief (which stylistically owes much to Parthenon sculptures) is usually thought to have originally decorated a polyandreion set up along Academy Road in the 420s B.C.E. It shows an anonymous dismounted horseman (his pose is Harmodios-like) preparing to finish off a fallen nude foe (he is a version of the Lapith in Parthenon South metope 4) in a mountainous landscape with a waterfall that has been oddly recut to become the horse's tail.[41] The position of the horse (a descendant of horses on the Parthenon frieze), the rider's billowing drapery, and the posture of the victim all seem to predict the Dexileos stele, even though the horseman here has leapt off his mount and the direction of the attack is the other way.

A better model is an unfortunately very fragmentary relief in Berlin said to have been found at Khalandri, north of Athens (fig. 11). This relief, carved ca. 420 or 410, shows small parts of a horseman, horse, and fallen hoplite, but the composition cannot have differed much from that of the Dexileos stele.[42] To find such a combat on a private funerary relief is, again, extremely unusual, but the Khalandri relief is also remarkable for its (fragmentary) epitaph, which reads:

> and my country (knows) how many enemies I have destroyed [——] witnesses to how many trophies of my excellence [arete] I have set up. [——] [——]YLOS OF PHLYA.

We do not know who this mighty, immodest horseman was, how he died, how old he was, or where he was buried. If he died in battle, his remains, like Dexileos', would have been interred in the state cemetery with other members of his tribe,[43] and the Khalandri relief, like Dexileos' stele, would have marked a cenotaph. But what has happened artistically is clear: this relief adopts the iconography of publicly financed monuments such as the Albani and other polyandreion reliefs (see figs. 4, 10), with their anonymous warriors acting communally on behalf of the state, and converts it into the imagery of a (once) clearly identified individual shown acting alone for his own glory, speaking through his own epitaph. In the conventional rhetoric of both the funerary oration (sponsored by the state) and the polyandreion (built by the state), the individual recedes far behind the polis, obscured by what Hölscher calls an "ethos of anonymity."[44] Here, the individual proclaims his name and arete and so eclipses the state. The family of [—]ylos of Phlya, in short, has in this relief reclaimed its right to the kind of impressive, heroic burial that, beginning ca. 500 B.C.E. (with Kleisthenes' democratic reforms) and then for most of the fifth century, had been denied to private Athenians and that had become the domain of the polis.[45] This is what the Dexileos monument and its stele would do again 15 or 20 years later. The wealthy family of the young horseman expropriated the imagery of the state, and in the cenotaph it built asserted the priority of the (aristocratic) individual over the (democratic) community.[46]

But if the style and ideology of the Dexileos stele are firmly grounded in the late fifth century, in one important respect something has always seemed odd about it: Dexileos, the hero, has his clothes on, and his victim, presumably the antihero, does not. This is not,

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[41] For the Albani relief (Villa Albani 985, discovered on the Esquiline Hill in 1764), see Lullies and Hirmer 1960, 81–2, figs. 179–81; Ridgway 1981, 144–45; Bol 1989, 246–51, no. 80; Stähler 1992, 94–5; Rolley 1999, 161. Clairmont (1970, 43) once suggested that the relief belonged to the polyandreion at which Perikles delivered his famous funeral oration at the end of the first year of the Peloponnesian War. He later suggested that the Albani relief (ca. 2.28 m wide) belonged to the same hippeis monument as the anthemion (see fig. 2), which is nearly as wide, and so dated it to 394/3 (Clairmont 1983, 213; 1993, 2.131). Bol (1989, 250), however, questions the usual interpretation of the relief as a state funerary monument. Ober (2003, 237–38) follows Clairmont here, and notes that "the metamorphosis of Harmodius into an Athenian cavalryman introduces an interesting wrinkle, in light of the strongly aristocratic associations of the Athenian cavalry . . . the monument's citation of tyrannicide iconography sought to associate potentially suspect elite cavalrymen with the defense of democracy." Note, however, that the arm of the hippeus on the Albani relief is cocked behind his head, while the arm of the fallen foe on the Dexileos stele is set defensively in front of his head; they cannot both be Harmodios poses, as Ober (2003, following Shefton 1960) argues; see supra n. 28.

[42] Berlin, Staatliche Museen 742; Clairmont 1970, 100–2, no. 28; Hölscher 1973, 102 n. 529; Ensoli 1987, 193, 263–64, fig. 37; Clairmont (1983, 213) suggests that the Khalandri relief and the Dexileos stele are so similar because they are both replicas of another, lost relief from a state monument.

[43] Phlya was one the *trittyes* of the tribe Kekropis.

[44] Hölscher 1973, 106–7.

[45] Imposing private memorials and gravestones rapidly decrease in Athens ca. 500, perhaps as a result of antiluxury legislation mentioned by Cicero (*Leg.* 2.64–5). They begin a resurgence ca. 430–425, undoubtedly in the aftermath of the plague and the first great casualties of the Peloponnesian War (see Clairmont 1970, 43; 1983, 19; Stupperich 1994, 93); but see also Morris 1992, 128–34.

[46] Clairmont 1983, 221: "[The Dexileos stele] indicates an important stage of the development in the heroization of private persons in Attica. The condition per se wich [sic] made heroization possible was death for the community in war. But the notion that Dexileos, in the eyes of his family, has become a hero is only possible in the fourth century with the powerful growth of individualism." See also Morris 1992, 143–44; Loraux 1986, 3.

Fig. 10. Villa Albani relief, partial plaster cast (Akademisches Kunstmuseum, Bonn; courtesy H.R. Goette).

we reflexively think, what we should be seeing. The relief seriously defies expectations that three centuries of Greek art had firmly established and, in Ridgway's words, reverses "traditional visual messages."[47] It is, in short, a violation of the principle of heroic nudity.

HEROIC AND OTHER NUDITIES

The origin and role of nudity in Greek art and life are old and vexing issues that, fortunately, have been examined in detail elsewhere.[48] But the problem is surely more of an artistic than a social one. In real life, male nudity was mostly restricted to the bedroom and symposium in the private sphere, and to the stadium, gymnasium, and palaestra in the public sphere.[49] Athletic nudity is problematic enough, and not even the Greeks could explain it or its origins satisfactorily.[50] But even though the Greek gaze regularly beheld naked youths and men engaged in exercise and competition, Greek males (it is generally agreed) did not walk around town naked, they did not ride horses naked,

Fig. 11. Khalandri relief, ca. 420–410 B.C.E. (Staatliche Museen, Berlin, inv. no. 742; courtesy H.R. Goette).

[47] Ridgway 1997, 7; cf. Ridgway 1981, 13: "Heroic quality is suggested by nakedness, especially in battle contexts where armor is unrealistically limited to token elements."

[48] Himmelmann 1985, 1990; Bonfante 1989, 1990; Stewart 1997, 24–42; Ferrari 2002, 114–15, 117. I use "nude" and "naked" interchangeably. Female nudity is not explored here, but it should be noted that even that topic is more complex than is often thought. Female nudes on vases from the Archaic and Classical periods, e.g., are routinely considered to be hetairai, or slaves, but by the end of the fifth century, perfectly respectable brides are sometimes represented as naked bathers (see Sutton 1990).

[49] Cf. Stewart (1997, 26–7), who adds the bath house as another locale for public nudity. In addition, there were in Athens Panathenaic competitions (the Pyrrhic dance, the *euandria,* "male beauty contest") in which men publicly performed in the nude (see Kyle 1992, 94–6).

[50] Mouratidis 1985; McDonnell 1991; Miller 2004, 11–14.

and they certainly did not go into battle naked. In most public contexts, clothing was not optional, and in combat nakedness was suicidal.

Still, the Greeks regarded male nudity as a characteristic of their culture. Herodotus and Thucydides famously cite the practice as one way Greeks are different from (and implicitly superior to) barbarians—that is, Easterners—for whom (Herodotus thought) male nakedness was a sign of degradation or shame.[51] And the long, full, and continuous sequence of naked males—from eighth-century bronzes and Geometric vase paintings to seventh- and sixth-century Archaic kouroi to such iconic classical works as the Kritios Boy, a few nearly exhibitionist youths on the Parthenon frieze, and the Doryphoros of Polykleitos (a programmatic piece intended to represent bodily perfection)—is generally thought to establish or reveal male nudity as the Hellenic norm, the condition in which youths and men are displayed unless there are compelling reasons to depict them otherwise. In short, nudity has been considered the "archetypal state" or even (in Stewart's apt phrase) the "default setting" for the Greek male.[52] In this there seems a tacit acknowledgment that the male nude is so common in Greek art as to be unremarkable. It is almost as if the Greek male figure, like H.G. Wells' invisible man, would need to put on a suit (or at least a himation) to be noticed. It would then be the clothed, not the nude, male that needed explanation.

But it is still the male nude that we think of when we think of Greek art, and we have thought so for two and a half centuries at least. Ever since Winckelmann, we have been taught that Greek male nudity is ideal and idealizing, the very essence of beauty; nudity was simply the way male beauty was depicted.[53] More recently, we have been instructed aphoristically that nudity itself is a form of dress, and that it is the ideal costume of gods and heroes above all.[54] Whether nudity in Greek art is either idealizing or heroic is, as we shall see, in dispute. But nudity that is truly heroizing should, nonetheless, be distinguished from nudity that is merely idealizing; all heroes may be idealized, but not all idealized figures (e.g., athletes) are heroes. Still, the line between the heroic and the ideal can be hard to draw, simply because what is ideal is by definition more than, or super, human.[55] The basic principle of heroic nudity in Greek art can in any case be stated almost syllogistically: gods and heroes are regularly shown nude, and mortals who wish to be ranked among heroes and those who are in fact heroized (e.g., warriors who have fallen in battle) should be nude, too. Therefore, nude males (particularly those engaged in or about to enter combat) are heroic.[56] Implicitly, then, there are two kinds of heroic nudity. There is, first, the kind that mythological heroes such as Herakles or Theseus "wear" because they really are mythological heroes—nudity is their attribute. There is, second, the kind of nudity mortals wear to mimic specific heroes or claim generalized heroic status. In either case, nudity is thought heroic because it reveals the ideal, youthful, powerful hard body as the source of beauty and arete, which heroes possess. And it is heroic because to enter

[51] Hdt. 1.10.3; Thuc. 1.6; Bonfante 1989, 546. The meaning of male nudity in Mesopotamian art is more complex than Herodotus knew (see Bahrani 1993) (e.g., there was religious nudity). Offering bearers such as those on the famous alabaster vase from Protoliterate Warka (Uruk) approach a goddess in the nude as a sign of their modesty and devotion, and men or priests in libation scenes are regularly shown nude as well (Aruz and Wallenfels 2003, 24, fig. 9, 74–5, cat. nos. 33, 34). As Bahrani (1993, 16–17) states, "at no time were the Mesopotamians ashamed of the undressed body." Even in Egypt, nudity (common for images of children) was "not necessarily a shameful state" (Goelet 1993, 29).

[52] Stewart 1990, 106; 1997, 40. Nudity in Geometric art presents special problems. Himmelmann (1990, 33) argues that the nudity of Geometric figures is more apparent than real; given the conventions of the style, they are to be considered dressed. Osborne (1997, 507) asserts that since "the clothed man is unknown to eighth-century artists . . . it is inappropriate to ascribe any particular value to the unclothing of any particular male in geometric art." In respect to vase painting and ivory figurines such as the well-known and naked "Dipylon Goddess," Osborne oversimplifies: if Geometric males are (despite Himmelmann) nude, so are many Geometric women, who are often identified as such not by clothing (they can be just as unclothed as Osborne's males) but by breasts added to the sides of their triangular torsos (e.g., in the works of the Hirschfeld Painter; cf. Boardman 1998, fig. 47). The Geometric figure is not as gendered as Osborne suggests; it is primarily a formula or ideogram for "human being" that is male or female depending on attributes (sword, penis, breasts) or context (driving a chariot). Osborne's (1997, 508) sweeping assertion that no male in Geometric art is clothed is incorrect. A few late eighth-century charioteers wear long robes, and some may be shown wearing cuirasses or tunics (see Benson 1970, 46, 89, 105–7; Beazley 1986, pls. 2.4, 3.1; Langdon 1993, 51, 62).

[53] For Winckelmann's conception of the nude and ideal beauty, see Potts (1994, esp. 155–73); Himmelmann 1990, 1–4.

[54] Berger 1972, 54; Bonfante 1989, 1990; cf. Clark 1956, 187–90.

[55] Himmelmann 1990. Nudity, per se, does not idealize anyone; it merely reveals a physique that is already idealized.

[56] Spivey 1996, 113. Himmelmann (1990) is the strongest modern advocate of the notion of "ideal" or "heroic" nudity; Hölscher (1993) is perhaps its most powerful critic; see also Hölscher 1973, 43–4, 66, 86. Ferrari (2002, 114, 117) believes the nudity of warriors justifies the label "heroic." Hallett (2005, 14, 18) prefers to speak of a heroic costume (nudity plus helmet and shield) rather than heroic nudity, but nudity

competition or combat fully exposed and thus completely vulnerable (or almost completely vulnerable, since many otherwise nude warriors are equipped with shields, helmets, and cloaks that, by flying off their bodies, only emphasize their nakedness) is to display a special kind of energy and transcendent fearlessness; success depends on one's physical powers and arete rather than on external factors such as weapons or armor.[57] That is why, it is thought, so many heroes in classical art are nude: Lapiths fighting Centaurs on the Parthenon south metopes (fig. 12) or on the Bassai frieze; or Athenians fighting Amazons on the shield of the Athena Parthenos or on the Parthenon's west metopes (see fig. 9) or, again, on the Bassai frieze or on red-figure vases such as Aison's squat lekythos in Naples or Polygnotos' amphora in Jerusalem;[58] or Athenians fighting Persians on the Chicago Painter's oinochoe in Boston (fig. 13) or on the Nike temple south frieze (fig. 14); and so on. In contrast, Amazons and Persians—figures of Oriental Otherness—are shown clothed, sometimes luxuriously so.

But if those who aspire to heroic status are regularly nude in classical Athenian art, why is Dexileos, the hero of his own cenotaph and a hero of the democracy, clothed, and his victim nude? If Dexileos, having died for his polis in war, is "worthy of the same honors as the immortals," according to Lysias, why is he not nude like an immortal or hero? Is not the relief heroizing the wrong man? The principle of heroic nudity cannot account for this stele. And yet, an almost Pavlovian acceptance of the principle as a law has led some scholars either to misidentify Dexileos as the defeated naked figure[59] or to suggest that the nudity of the victim heroizes the clothed Dexileos "by association."[60]

There are other explanations for the apparent reversal of the Dexileos relief. One is that there is no such thing as heroic nudity at all, a strong argument to which we shall return. A more moderate position is that the principle of heroic nudity was not as pervasive

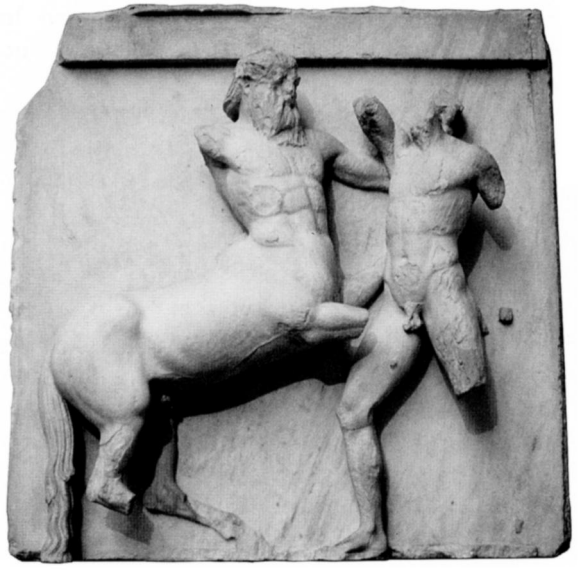

Fig. 12. Parthenon South metope 32, 440s B.C.E. (British Museum, London).

or authoritative as is often assumed, that there was, in fact, a wide variety of nudities in Greek art, with different (and sometimes contradictory) connotations, and that because its nudity is of another, nonheroic sort, the Dexileos stele does not represent a defiance of traditional expectations after all. In fact, there is in Greek art and literature a current that runs strongly against any principle of heroic nudity. In the *Iliad*, for example, Greek heroes spend a great deal of their time trying to strip the armor off their fallen foes while trying to keep their own on. In Homer, the naked body is a defeated, lifeless, even degraded body, while armor actually transforms heroes such as Hector and Achilles, fitting their bodies like a second skin, filling them with strength and the power of Ares, lifting them up as if on wings. In certain passages, by putting on their armor, Homeric heroes almost seem to be putting on their heroism: when at the beginning of *Iliad*

remains essential to the outfit. Cohen (1993, 42–3) has made a case for heroic female nudity in representations of Kassandra (e.g., on the Kleophrades Painter's Ilioupersis hydria in Naples).

[57] Cf. Ridgway 1981, 90. This kind of heroism may be implicit even when warriors wearing helmets and cuirasses and carrying shields are stark naked below the waist, or whose penises are exposed through their clothes. There is little tactical sense in protecting the head and torso but not the genitals, yet examples of this variety of heroic costume abound (e.g., Achilles fighting Penthesilea on Exekias' neck amphora in London [Boardman 1974, fig. 98]).

[58] Aison: Boardman 1989, fig. 293. Polygnotos: Boardman 2001, fig. 206.

[59] Bugh (1988, 92 n. 38) apparently misreads both the Dexileos and the Albani reliefs, stating that it is the horsemen on the works who are nude.

[60] Spivey 1996, 120. Presumably Spivey means that the nudity of the fallen foe makes Dexileos' victory seem even greater and his arete even more exalted than that of a man who, because he is nude, should himself be equated with a hero. Cf. Hallett (2005, 17), who suggests that the nudity of the victim identifies him both as a Greek and as a noble foe, a worthy opponent. It is difficult to believe that an Athenian sculptor or Dexileos' family would be so sympathetic to a Spartan in 394/3—their son had just been killed by one. But perhaps the scene, which at some level is heroic, is beyond history; the fallen warrior may be a kind of generic, ideal foe, and his nudity thus acceptable.

Fig. 13. Attic red-figure oinochoe by Chicago Painter, ca. 450 B.C.E. (© Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Francis Bartlett Donation of 1912, 13.196).

19, Thetis tells Achilles to put on his fabulous armor, she calls it his *alke*, his "courage" or "war strength."[61] While it is true that Priam and, in a later imitation, Tyrtaios contrast the ugliness and shame of an old, dead, naked corpse with the beauty and honor of a dead body still in the bloom of youth, Hector specifically rejects the idea of approaching Achilles without his armor, fearing he would be killed "naked as if he were a woman."[62] And the Greek language itself suggests a modesty that undercuts the idea of exhibitionist heroic nudity; *aidoia*, the word for "private parts," means "shameful things."[63]

Now, there is nothing shameful about Archaic kouroi set over the graves of dead warriors. Kroisos, for example, and Aristodikos (fig. 15) are embodiments of a *thanatos kalos,* a "beautiful death," that present nude, idealized, and "youthened" bodies for the viewer to mourn and admire, private parts and all.[64] But if nudity truly conferred heroic status upon the dead, then it is odd that most warriors carved in relief on Archaic gravestones are shown wearing their armor.[65] The well-known stele set over the grave of Aristion in rural Attica ca. 510 B.C.E., for example, shows him as a bearded hoplite in full regalia—wearing greaves, chiton, corselet, and helmet.[66] In short, dead warriors—those who, according to Lysias, deserve the same honors as the immortals—can be shown either armed and bearded (and thus mature) in relief, or nude and beardless (and thus youthful) in the round, suggesting that there was greater latitude in the Archaic representation of the heroic male than has often been assumed. And this is to say nothing of the many nonfunerary or votive Archaic sculptures depicting warriors in full armor (e.g., the bronze warrior from Dodona) or youths in full dress (e.g., Acropolis 633) that undermine the notion of nudity as the archetypal condition or ideal costume of youths and men.[67]

It is likely, then, that Greek attitudes toward male nudity in art were partly a function of genre and subject (warriors on Archaic grave stelae are generally clothed, athletes are usually naked).[68] Moreover, such attitudes were probably not the same everywhere in Greece at the same time. This may explain Thucydides' troublesome comment that athletic nudity was adopted by the Greeks "not many years since"—that is, not long before his own day. He may mean that the process was gradual, and that it was only recently that all Greeks, everywhere, had adopted the practice.[69] And such attitudes did not remain constant or

[61] *Il.* 19.36; cf. 17.210–13, 19.367–86; O'Sullivan 1999. Even Homeric athletes (e.g., boxers and wrestlers) wear *zomata* (loincloths) (*Il.* 23.683, 710). And on Phaiakia, Odysseus hurls the diskos still wearing the mantle (*pharos*) over his chiton (*Od.* 8.186). Odysseus threatens to strip Thersites of his clothing and so shame him, but since Thersites was the ugliest Greek at Troy, his nudity would be doubly humiliating (*Il.* 2.258–64).

[62] *Il.* 22.71–3, 123–25; Tyrtaios 11.15–31.

[63] Bonfante 1989, 547–48.

[64] Some kouroi, such as Aristodikos, may have originally worn bronze helmets like the heroically nude warriors on vases and reliefs (cf. fig. 13) (see Schäfer 2003, 583, fig. 18). For the youthening of such kouroi, see Stewart 1997, 63–7, 80.

[65] Cf. Clairmont 1993, introductory volume, 148; Ridgway 1997, 160; Stewart 1997, 26.

[66] Kaltsas 2002, 64, no. 86; 70, no. 100.

[67] Dodona warrior: Stewart 1997, 90, fig. 53; Acropolis 633: Brouskari 1974, 72–3, fig. 136.

[68] E.g., Kaltsas 2002, 53, no. 53; 71, no. 101.

[69] Thuc. 1.6.5; Stewart 1997, 33–4. Plato's Socrates says much the same thing in the *Republic* (5.452c): "it is not very long ago that it seemed shameful and laughable to the Greeks—just as it does now to many of the barbarians—to see men naked."

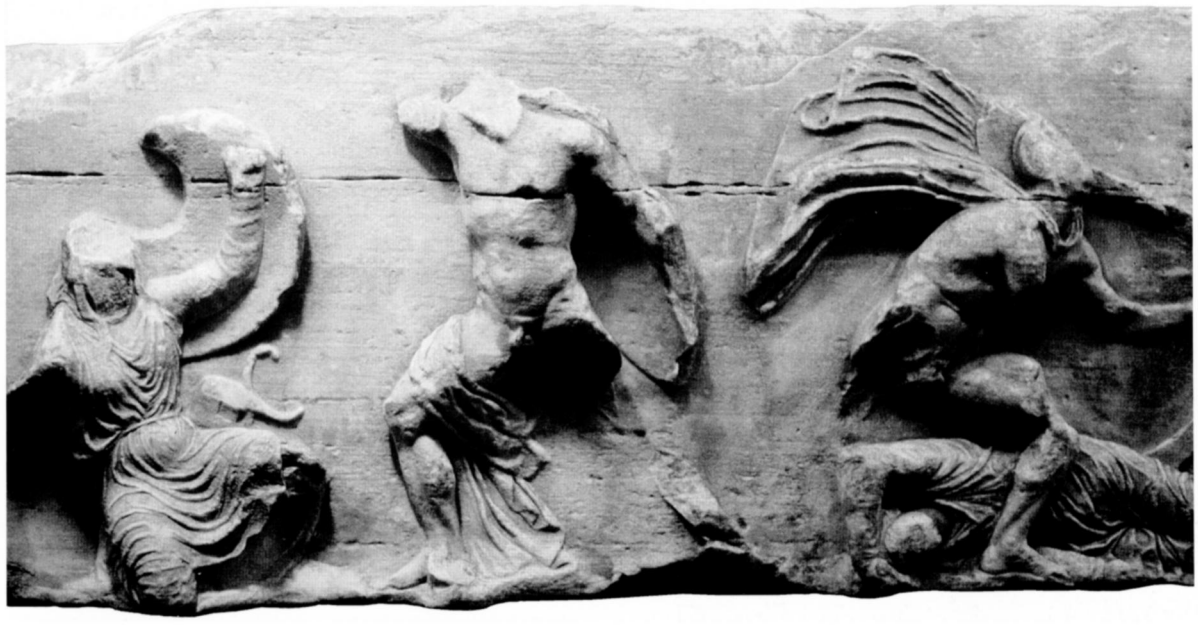

Fig. 14. South frieze (Slab G), Temple of Athena Nike, 420s B.C.E. (British Museum, London).

homogeneous throughout the Archaic and Classical periods. Archaic kouroi may be ideally, and some even heroically, nude, but on Archaic vases, genuine mythological heroes are clothed far more often than they are on those from the Classical period.[70] In the oeuvre of such quintessential Archaic painters as Exekias, clothed or armored heroes are more common than nude ones, and the nude ones tend to be dead or about to die. For example, on Exekias' North Slope krater and his eye-cup in Munich, it is the body of the dead (on the krater it is Patroklos) that is stripped; the warriors fighting Homerically over him are fully armed.[71] And although Exekias regularly conceives of Ajax as elaborately dressed or armed, the great exception is the Ajax on the Boulogne amphora, where his stark nakedness is a sign less of his heroism than of his bare psychological isolation and exposed, suicidal vulnerability, and where his armor is a thing apart.[72] This is, to coin a phrase, pathetic nudity. In Archaic black-figure, Herakles is usually naked when he wrestles the Nemean lion or the Cretan bull (he sometimes hangs his cloak and weapons on a tree behind him so he can fight without restrictions), but he is not always so.[73] And Theseus can be fully or partly clothed when he fights the Minotaur.[74] In Archaic red-figure, too, the nudity of heroes often seems arbitrary rather than paradigmatic. When Herakles fights the Amazons on Euphronios' volute krater in Arezzo, the hero is nude (except for his lionskin); when he fights Antaios on Euphronios' kalyx krater in Paris, he is

[70] It has been variously argued that nudity in the Geometric period can be ceremonial and apotropaic (see Langdon 1993, 149, 196; cf. Mouratidis 1985); that in the Archaic period, it was ritual in origin and religious in character; and that in the Classical period, nudity became a civic practice or costume (see Bonfante 1989, 556). Osborne (1997, 512–15, 523–24) argues that the function of nudity changed over time—e.g., in the eighth and seventh centuries, male nudity was "semiotically innocent," but in the sixth and early fifth centuries, it became sexually charged, with male nudes becoming objects of desire, and in the later fifth century, male nudity became primarily a sign of youth or sexual immaturity.

[71] North slope krater: Beazley 1986, pl. 73; eye-cup in Munich: Beazley 1986, pl. 68.1. One of the otherwise armed warriors on the Munich cup has his genitals exposed (supra n. 57).

[72] Beazley 1986, pl. 70. Hallett (2005, 8–9) also recognizes that nudity in archaic Greek art often expresses vulnerability (he cites the naked giants on the Siphnian Treasury's north frieze). Here, again, there is good Near Eastern precedent (e.g., in Early Dynastic art, nudity can be a sign of death or defeat [Aruz and Wallenfels 2003, 158–59, no. 99]).

[73] Hallett (2005, 17, pl. 8) points out that Herakles can strip like a pankratiast before fighting the lion, emphasizing (following Hölscher 1993) that nudity is less heroic than "agonal" in character. Still, there is no consistency; vase painters, such as the Antimenes Painter and his circle or members of the Leagros Group, can show Herakles fully naked when he fights the bull but fully clothed and armed when he fights the lion or even Antaios (see Boardman 1974, figs. 189, 194, 199).

[74] Cf. Boardman 1974, figs. 66, 116.2; Esposito and de Tommaso 1993, 35, fig. 38.

Fig. 15. Aristodikos kouros, ca. 510–500 B.C.E. (National Museum, Athens, inv. no. 3938).

nude (but so is Antaios); when he fights Geryon on the Leagros cup in Munich, he (like Geryon) is clothed. Theseus is dressed when he fights the naked Minotaur on Apollodoros' cup in Oxford, and on Skythes' cup in the Villa Giulia, Douris' cup in London, and the Kleophrades Painter's London stamnos, it is the hero who is clothed and the villains Skiron and Prokrustes who are as bare as the rocks they cling to—their nudity seems a sign of their primal brutishness. The nudity of Sarpedon on the Euphronios krater (soon to leave New York) is, however, multivalent: it is at the same time a narrative device (the body is naked so it can show its still-bleeding wounds), a nearly Homeric revelation of the noble beauty of a lifeless body still in the bloom of youth (cf. *Il.* 22.71–3), and (in marked contrast to the elaborately detailed costumes of Thanatos and Hypnos) an emblem of the hero's stark vulnerability and death.[75]

Nude heroes in action are more frequent in the fifth century B.C.E. than in the sixth. One reason is that Greek classical artists are far more interested in exploring the human figure's anatomical correctness and plausible existence within three-dimensional space; whatever else it may signify, nudity, revealing twisting forms and foreshortened limbs, is a tool of and the proper field for that exploration. Still, even in classical art, the principle of heroic nudity is so inconsistently applied that it is really no principle at all. It may not be fair to point out that wanton Centaurs are just as nude as heroic Lapiths (see fig. 12)—it is difficult to dress a Centaur—or that the Minotaur is just as naked as Theseus now often is. But while Greeks shown fighting Persians or Amazons are often nude (cf. fig. 13), frequently they are not (as on a krater by the Niobid Painter in Naples, a cup by the Triptolemos Painter in Edinburgh, and a cup by the Painter of the Oxford Brygos in the Ashmolean).[76] Nudity, it turns out, is not a prerequisite for heroes fighting Amazons or Persians (or even for Theseus fighting the Minotaur) after all.[77] It is not a prerequisite for just being a hero, either. If it were, Achilles on the name vase of the Achilles Painter would not be fully armed.[78] It is not even a prerequisite for being a Tyrannicide; a vase in Würzburg painted by the Copenhagen Painter around the time of the installation of Kritios' and Nesiotes' group shows them in their mantles as they slay Hipparkhos.[79] And it is not a prerequisite for warriors on classical tombstones any more than it was in the Archaic period. As Lysias knew, it was their death in battle that heroized fully armed hoplites such as Aristonautes, not nudity.[80]

[75] Boardman 1975, figs. 29 (Arezzo krater), 23 (Paris kalyx krater), 26.2 (Munich cup), 90 (Villa Giulia cup), 118 (Apollodoros' cup), 137 (London stamnos), 22 (Sarpedon krater); for Douris' cup (BM E 48), see *LIMC* 7:927, no. 39.

[76] Painter of the Oxford Brygos: Miller 1997, fig. 111. Triptolemos Painter: Boardman 2001, figs. 303.1, 303.2. Greeks fighting Amazons on the Niobid Painter's Ruvo krater in Naples can be fully armed or nude (or at least naked but for greaves and helmet) (Stewart 1997, 74, fig. 42).

[77] See, e.g., a stamnos by the Copenhagen Painter (ca. 470) (Neils and Oakley 2003, 218, no. 18).

[78] Achilles Painter: Boardman 1989, fig. 109.

[79] Stewart 1997, 69, fig. 39; Neer 2002, 173–74, figs. 84, 85; Ober 2003, 219–21. Even if the image was influenced by Kritios' and Nesiotes' group, the Copenhagen Painter has introduced an element of reality the statues did not have by clothing the assassins.

[80] On the funerary naiskos of Aristonautes, see Kaltsas 2002, 204–5, no. 410. Cf. the partly dressed warrior on a late fifth-century grave stele in Worcester (Vermeule 1981, pl. 63).

Nor is nudity a prerequisite for riding on the Parthenon frieze (fig. 16). The frieze clearly intends to idealize, possibly even heroize, the citizenry of Periklean Athens, but the extent of male nudity on the frieze (as bold as it sometimes is) has often been exaggerated—rather, its nudes have received more than their fair share of attention. In fact, fewer than a dozen horsemen in the long cavalcade are nude (or nearly so, with just a cloak fluttering over their shoulders).[81] The great majority (more than 130) are not; they wear *chitoniskoi*, and a few even wear full armor. It is not likely that the civic heroism of the numerically superior clothed or armored horsemen is inferior to that of the nude ones in the same parade. Nudity is no default setting here, and it has less to do with heroism (or homoeroticism) than with an artistic strategy to distinguish divisions within the procession. On the north and south sides of the frieze, the horsemen ride side-by-side in ranks that would follow one another in reality but that overlap in the relief. On the north side, a nude or partially nude rider prominently placed in the foreground on several occasions signals the beginning of a new rank.[82] Here, nudity is literally a visual aid, a marker intended to help the viewer make sense of a complex composition rendered in very low relief.

The principle of heroic nudity, then, cannot be applied paradigmatically or legalistically to archaic and classical Greek art. But it is not that there is no such thing as heroic nudity or a heroic costume (nude body plus helmet or shield),[83] it is that there are many other kinds of nudity at work. Nudity was not, for example, simply the costume of standard mythological heroes; in Athens (and elsewhere) it was also, S.G. Miller has argued, the "costume of democracy."[84] Clothes, as indicators of wealth and status, may make the man, but they did not make the citizen—nudity did, because the removal of clothes, especially in the gymnasium or stadium, removed obvious class distinctions and any sense of innate superiority (or, for that matter, inferiority) a man might feel. Nudity was the great leveler. Beyond that, staying in shape by training in the *gymnasion*, "the nudity place," was a civic responsibility, since it gave the democratic polis what it needed for its own defense: males physically fit enough to perform their patriotic duty, above all, in war. So what the democratic state needed to see in its art (as well as on its playing fields) were lean, muscular bodies, male nudes that represented the democracy as a community of vigorous equals at the height of their powers. Even nude athletes, then, are democratically heroic, and that is especially true for athletes such as *hoplitodromoi*, who raced nude but wore helmets and carried shields like heroes fighting Persians and Amazons (cf. fig. 13).[85] All this helps explain why Harmodios and Aristogeiton were buried at the end of the Demosion Sema near the entrance to the Academy (see fig. 1), which was not only one of Athens' premier showcases of athletic nudity but also a hero-shrine and a field for military training.[86] And it helps explain why the Tyrannicides were shown nude (and not clothed or armed, as Thucydides implies they were when they attacked Hipparkhos)[87] in their own monument in the heart of the Agora, Athens' civic center. Their costume nudity reveals not only their highly toned, idealized athletic frames but also their willingness to shed all, risk all, and sacrifice all for the polis—their democratic heroism.[88] Heroic, democratic, and athletic nudities intersect.

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[81] Neils (2001, 108) and Ridgway (1981, 82) note that only one figure (W6), a young groom, is completely nude, without even a cloak. Neils lists nine others who wear cloaks that flutter behind their exposed bodies. Stewart (1997, 82) argues that the infrequency of nudes on the frieze focuses our attention on them when they do occur, and that nudity here is a homoerotic "come-on" intended to arouse the (male) spectator. The nudes are the *eromenoi* of a male-dominated demos that, through its gaze, becomes the *erastes*. But in the *eromenos–erastes* relationship, the boy/youth is passive, without initiative, and one wonders whether the designers of the frieze wished to so depict the youth—and the cavalrymen—of Athens. Osborne (1997, 512) focuses on the supposed homoerotic sensuality of figures such as the Riace bronzes, declaring rather than arguing for their "varied sexual attraction." But those statues are bearded and so they are mature men. While they might excite some modern viewers, as Osborne suggests, homosexual desire for them would have defied social norms.

[82] E.g., North XXXIV.89, XLI.113, XLIII.120 (see Ridgway 1981, 82; Neils 2001, 55; Jenkins 2005). It may be telling that when, on the east frieze, real heroes—the Eponymous Ten—are almost certainly represented, they wear himatia that reveal only their upper torsos. For their identity, see Neils 2001, 158–61.

[83] Hallett 2005, 14, 18; supra n. 57.

[84] Miller 2000, esp. 284–87. Of course, males exercised in the nude long before democracy was established at Athens, at least by the mid sixth century (McDonnell 1991). But Miller (2000, 285) argues that athletic nudity was still "an indispensible [*sic*] ingredient in the recipe for democracy" in Athens and elsewhere (e.g., Kroton, whose athletes were fabulously successful, was likely an early democracy); cf. Bonfante 1989, 557.

[85] Hallett (2005, 14–17) argues that the relationship is the reverse: nude but helmeted and shield-bearing heroes are like athletes.

[86] Clairmont 1983, 14, 34, 44–5, fig. 1.

[87] Thuc. 6.56.

[88] Their nudity may also express the homoerotic nature of their relationship, although, according to Steiner (2001, 219–22), such *erastes–eromenos* relationships (characteristic of the aristocratic and even tyrannical elite in earlier generations) were going out of favor, at least publicly, in early fifth-century Athens; cf. Stewart 1997, 73.

Fig. 16. Parthenon, detail of north frieze (Slabs XL–XLII), ca. 430s B.C.E. (British Museum, London).

Heroic and democratic nudities are not, in any case, the most frequent varieties. Nudity is often simply and literally an artistic mark of distinction,[89] an instrument used (when it is used at all) to distinguish one combatant from another, or, as we have seen, different ranks of riders (see fig. 16), or, very often, males of different ages. The boys hunting hares in the lowest zone of the Protocorinthian Chigi vase (ca. 650 B.C.E.), for example, are distinguished by their nudity from the older tunic-wearing youths and fully armed men in the zones above. Two and a half centuries later, nudity distinguishes the beardless youth from the bearded man on the grave stele of Khairedemos and Lykeas, probably brothers from Salamis. The nudity of Khairedemos cannot place him on a higher, more heroic plane than the clothed Lykeas, since both died fighting for Athens (fig. 17).[90] But often, nudity is not used to distinguish anybody from anybody. Dueling Homeric heroes, such as Diomedes and Aeneas on the Tyszkiewicz Painter's krater in Boston, can both be fully armed or, like Achilles and Memnon on Gorgos' cup in the Athenian Agora, can both be nude.[91] On the north and west friezes of the Temple of Athena Nike, where Greeks seem to be fighting other Greeks, there is no consistent distinction between clothed and nude foes: sometimes both combatants are nude.[92] On a votive relief dedicated at Eleusis by a general named Pythodoros, possibly in the 420s B.C.E., where Athenian horsemen charge hoplites over hilly terrain, the only preserved rider is, as usual, dressed, while enemy foot soldiers are both nude and clothed. And on a relief base in Athens (ca. 390), carved on three sides with similar scenes of a mounted horseman and fallen foe (the base may have come from the workshop of the sculptor of the Dexileos stele), on two sides, both horseman and foe are clothed (fig. 18, left), while on the third side, the horseman wears a *chitoniskos* and a muscle cuirass, and the fallen hoplite is nude, stripped of his chlamys (see fig. 18, right). There is no simple or consistent distinction here between victor and victim based on nudity.[93]

So, too, slaves, craftsmen, and laborers can be just as naked as heroes, but their nudity emphasizes the sweaty, muscular nature of their work. On a series of plaques from Penteskouphi, for example, naked men dig for potter's clay or work at the kiln,[94] and on a

[89] Cf. Stewart (1990, 105–6), where male nudity is regarded as a "differentiating device."

[90] For the Chigi vase and its representation of the progression from boyhood to youth to manhood, see Hurwit 2002. I do not understand why Osborne (1998, 199) believes Khairedemos and Lykeas are, despite their differences in dress and facial hair, "equally young" (cf. Osborne 1997, 520). Hallett (2005, 26) also says that the men are "clearly not to be distinguished from each other in age or status," ignoring Lykeas' beard. Clairmont (1983, 70–1) believes this Lykeas was the trierarch by that name who died in 411 (see *IG* 1^3 1191 line 250), and dates the relief to 409 or soon thereafter, following the death of Khairedemos (see *IG* 1^3 1190 line 42; cf. Clairmont 1993, 149). Khairedemos may occupy the front plane of the relief because of his powerful nudity and because of the prohoplite bias that was normal in Athens; still, Lykeas, like Khairedemos, carries a hoplite shield and spear; see also Himmelmann 1990, 63–5.

[91] Tyszkiewicz Painter's krater: Boardman 1975, 186; Gorgos cup: Boardman 1975, fig. 48.1.

[92] Cf. Clairmont 1993, 148; Hallett 2005, 10.

[93] For the Pythodoros relief, see Ridgway 1981, 135; Bugh 1988, 91–3; Stähler 1992, 96–7. For the relief base (Athens NM 3708), see Kaltsas 2002, 171, no. 337; Kosmopoulou 2002, 218–19, cat. no. 47.

[94] Penteskouphi plaques (Berlin F871, F616, F892): Boardman 2001, fig. 173.

black-figure cup made by Nikosthenes, farmers plow and sow in the nude.[95] On the Late Archaic name vase of the Foundry Painter in Berlin, the huge, heroically striding bronze warrior that is being finished and one of the small, low-class *banausoi* (common laborers) who are finishing it are both nude (fig. 19, top), and on the other side of the cup, two of the three workmen are stark naked (the third has hitched up his mantle) (see fig. 19, bottom).[96] This nudity of occupation can easily become a nudity of lower-class status. In a workshop scene on a Leagros Group hydria in Munich, the laborers are nude, while the owner of the shop is dressed;[97] and on the Berlin Foundry Cup, where the workmen are all nude, or nearly so, the two large, elegantly attired men flanking the nude bronze hero are shop owners, customers, or perhaps even a pair of Eponymous Heroes.[98]

Nudity in classical art may most often be a marker of youth, as Osborne argues,[99] but boys and youths are not always nude,[100] and the elder, bearded Tyrannicide Aristogeiton is just as naked as the young, beardless Harmodios. Their nakedness joins them in their heroic, democratic action (and perhaps clued the viewer into their homoerotic relationship), but it does not join them in age. In the case of Centaurs, the Minotaur, and satyrs (all only partly men), nudity marks their monstrosity, their unrestrained lewdness—the exposed tail and often erect phallus of a satyr are the point(s) of it—and their uninhibited appetite, the opposite of heroic arete.[101] There is, in other words, a nudity of the male *Mischwesen*, a de facto nudity of beastliness.

No authoritative or dominating principle of heroic nudity exists. Still, there is no reason to dispense with the idea of it completely, as many have done.[102] It is

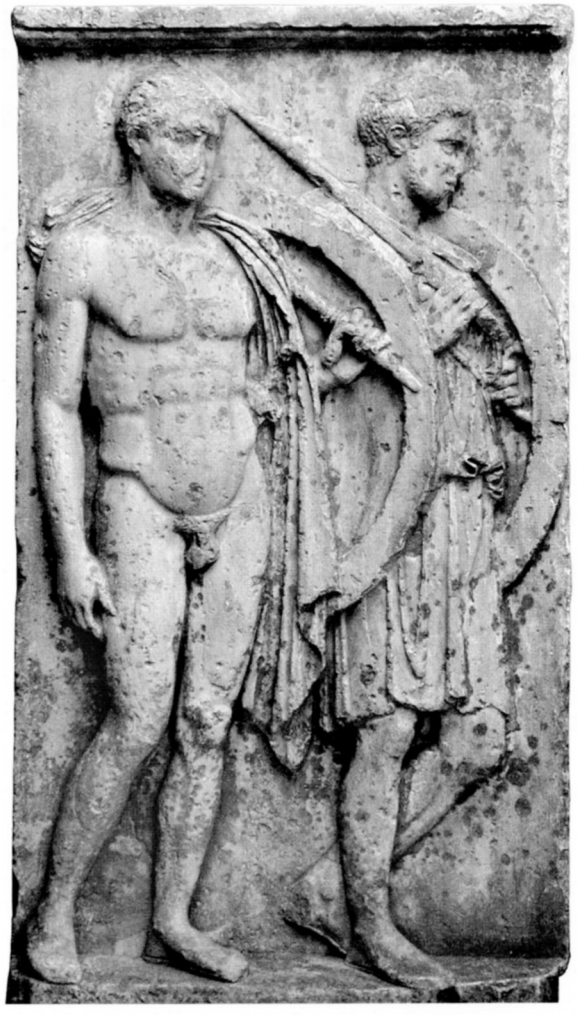

Fig. 17. Relief of Khairedemos and Lykias, from Salamis, ca. 400 B.C.E., Piraeus 385 (courtesy H.R. Goette).

[95] Osborne 1987, 19, fig. 4.

[96] Boardman 2001, fig. 256; cf. Stewart 1997, 26. See also Epiktetos' cup in Copenhagen with a nude young sculptor carving a herm, and the pyxis lid in Paris by the Thaliarchos Painter with a nude young armorer (Boardman 1975, figs. 74, 81).

[97] Munich 1717; Beazley 1986, 78, pl. 87. Nudity is commonly an occupational costume connected to class differences in Egyptian art (see Goelet 1993, 21).

[98] Mattusch 1996, 53.

[99] Osborne 1997.

[100] The boys in Douris' school scenes and in the Copenhagen Painter's scene of mothers and sons are fully draped in their mantles (e.g., Neils and Oakley 2003, 218–20, cat. no. 18; 244–46, cat. no. 44). As for the Parthenon frieze, according to Ridgway (1981, 82), "the draped grooms [and other young males, such as the hydriaphoroi] show that nakedness cannot be taken as a sign of youth."

[101] Cf. Stewart 1990, 106.

[102] Stewart (1990, 79, 93) says the "so-called heroic nudity is nothing of the sort," and calls the youth on the well-known Ilissos stele, dating to ca. 330 B.C.E., "the earliest example of true 'heroic' nudity in extant Greek art"; Clairmont 1993, introductory volume, 137–59, esp. 145: "Thus, there is no such thing in Athenian contexts as 'heroic nudity'"; Hölscher 1973; Ridgway 1997, 164; Osborne 1997, 524: "there is justification neither for claims that in respect to nakedness art merely imitated life nor for claims that nakedness heroizes." Osborne believes instead that classical art limited the representation of nudity "to youthful and 'sexually immature' males." Boardman (2001, 275–76) is skeptical about classical heroic nudity, as is Hallett (2005, 14): "It is not possible, then, to read nudity as consistently 'elevating' or 'heroizing' in early Greek art." I would argue that nudity is inconsistently heroizing. But Hallett (2005, 17) makes the broader point that heroes are not heroic because they are nude, they are nude because heroism is "agonal." That is, the Greeks associated nudity with powerfully built, highly trained athletes and athletic contests (*agones*): heroes are represented in the nude to exploit those associations. But, whatever the agonistic connotations of the nudity that heroes wear, nudity is still essential to their costume.

Fig. 18. Stele base from Athens, ca. 400–390 B.C.E. (National Museum, Athens, inv. no. 3708).

not appreciated often enough that heroic nudity was not even a Greek invention, having been conceived in the Near East long before it appeared in Greece. In Early Dynastic Sumerian and Akkadian art, for example, nudity is virtually a requirement for heroes who, wearing nothing but long hair, a long beard, and a belt, battle or embrace wild beasts and monsters, and even though male gods are generally clothed, when they fight each other, they fight in the nude, as heroes do.[103] Like so much else, the concept may have been transferred from the Near East to Greece (and it may not be coincidental that eight of the earliest kouroi, which, as a type, owe much to Egyptian and Near Eastern models, are belted).[104] In archaic and classical Greek sculpture, when nudity characterizes figures who otherwise embody more-than-mortal size, might, and blessed arete, its heroizing as well as its idealizing power seems confirmed. At least some Archaic kouroi (such as the originally belted Colossos of Delos) represent Apollo. In such cases, nudity is an attribute of this god of youth and male beauty. And some kouroi (such as the over-life-sized Kleobis and Biton from Delphi—nude but for their boots—or the 5 m tall Isches kouros from Samos) are almost certainly heroes.[105] If the suprahuman Doryphoros, the quintessential classical nude, is not a representation of Achilles, as many think, he is at least Achillean, and the very bronze out of which the original was cast, like that of the original Tyrannicides and so many classical freestanding statues, might have recalled the bronze-armed and bronze-hearted heroes of Homeric epic.[106] Even Dionysos, who is usually both clothed and

[103] Bahrani 1993, 15; cf. Amiet 1980, figs. II.3, II.4, II.5, II.1; Aruz and Wallenfels 2003, 48–50, cat. no. 16a, b; 106, cat. no. 58 (top); 195, fig. 58; 217, cat. no. 145; 8.

[104] For belted kouroi, see Ridgway (1993, 72–4), who suggests they represent Apollo; Stewart (1986, 57–9) notes that one of these belted kouroi comes from a cemetery on Thera and so cannot be the god, and believes the belt was "a passing fashion inspired by contact with nearby Crete." Crete introduced the seventh-century Daedalic style—itself inspired by the Near East—to Greek art.

[105] For Kleobis and Biton as the Dioskouroi, see Vatin 1982; Ridgway 1993, 107 (3.38, with further references). For the Isches colossus as hero, see Kyrieleis 1996, 87–101.

[106] For the Doryphoros as Achilles, see Stewart 1997, 88; cf. Ridgway 1981, 202. For the heroic connotations of bronze itself, see Steiner (2001, 220–21) and Stewart (1997, 52–3), who suggest bronze statues would also have evoked Hesiod's bronze race of men (*Works and Days* 140–55). But this, the third generation of men, was fearful and not nearly as noble or admirable as the fourth, the heroes of such sagas as those of

bearded in archaic and earlier classical Greek art, is shaved and stripped in the Parthenon east pediment, transformed through nudity into a powerful, idealized young hero—a reclining Doryphoros.[107] In short, the god has been heroized. Heroic nudity still seems the best explanation for the naked state of departing warriors, such as the young Pandion on the Dinos Painter's bell krater in Syracuse (as an Eponymous Hero, his nudity is heroic by definition); of the Greek fighting a Persian on the Chicago Painter's oinochoe in Boston (see fig. 13); of the Greeks fighting Persians on the Nike temple's south frieze (these are the heroized Marathonomachoi) (see fig. 14);[108] and of the Greeks fighting Amazons on the Late Classical Mausoleion frieze (many are bearded, and so their nudity cannot be a marker of youth).[109] Nonetheless, heroic nudity cannot be universally applied, and more often than we are used to thinking, nudity signifies the opposite of the heroic: helplessness, vulnerability, and defeat. This is the case in Homer, in Exekias' "Suicide of Ajax," in Euphronios' "Death of Sarpedon," and in most representations of victimized women (above all Kassandra). And this is how it is principally used on the Dexileos stele.[110]

Still, the particular juxtaposition of clothed mounted hero and nude fallen victim on the relief may have another more prosaic explanation as well. The roots of the Dexileos Motif, as we have seen, are found in depictions of Amazonomachies in the early and mid fifth century, where it is the elegantly dressed victorious Amazon who rides, and the naked vanquished Greek who falls, heroic even in defeat. But when the Amazonomachy on the New York vase (see fig. 8) was painted (ca. 470–460) and even when the Parthenon west metopes (see fig. 9) were carved (440s), the Athenian cavalry, consisting of 300 horsemen drawn from Athens' wealthiest aristocratic families, was not a significant part of the city's armed forces. It became one only after Perikles reformed the hippeis ca. 440, expanding it to a more democratically based force of 1,000. In other words, the cavalry reform took place after the Parthenon metopes were carved in the 440s but before the Parthenon frieze, which possibly glorifies the new fighting force, was finished (in the 430s).[111]

It is, therefore, no coincidence that scenes of Athenian (as opposed to Amazon or Persian) horsemen defeating their foes are, on the whole, a late fifth-century phenomenon; it was only in the 430s that the cavalry became a major strategic arm of the polis and so more worthy of representation.[112] But when the time came for him to depict that force in action, defeating its foes, the Athenian sculptor utilized the same formula that artists had long used to depict Amazons defeating Greeks, merely substituting Athenian horsemen for Amazons. The cast of characters has changed, but the convention endures: the rider is still clothed and the victim is still nude—nude precisely because he is the victim. The Albani relief is perhaps the earliest extant example of the substitution (see fig. 10), but other, better models are once again found in the Khalandri relief (see fig. 11) and the state relief from the polyandreion of the horsemen and hoplites who fell at the Nemea River and Koroneia in 394 B.C.E. (see fig. 4). Here, too, clothed, mounted, and heroic Athenians trample nude foes, just as clothed Amazons once trampled nude heroic Athenians.

CONCLUSION

The conventional iconography of horseman–hoplite combat and workshop traditions—the Greek artist was

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Thebes and Troy. Osborne (1997, 519) believes the sensuality he finds in earlier male nudes (e.g., the Riace bronzes) is "dissipated" in the Doryphoros; with this statue, he suggests (without explanation), male nudity becomes conventional and normative again, without the sexual charge of sixth- and early fifth-century nudes. But sensuality, I imagine, is in the eyes of the beholder (Riace A seems vicious rather than sensuous), and the differences between the Riace bronzes and the Doryphoros may lie in the differences between bronze originals and marble Roman copy, and between statues probably set originally in a narrative context and a singular piece created (it seems) to illustrate theories of proportion and beauty.

[107] Cf. Himmelmann 1990, 46–7; Hallett 2005, 13. For a different view, see Osborne 1997, 517–19. A beardless (if clothed) Dionysos first appears on vases ca. 470 B.C.E. (see Carpenter 1993). A nude and beardless Dionysos may appear as early as 460–450 in a bronze statuette in Paris (Louvre Br 154) (see Rolley 1986, 159, fig. 141).

[108] For the heroization of those who fell at Marathon, see Paus. 1.32.4.

[109] For the departure of Pandion and other nude heroes, see Matheson 2005, 28–9; for the Nike temple frieze, see Boardman 1985, fig. 127.2; for the Mausoleion frieze, see Cook 2005. Osborne (1997, 528 n. 48) minimizes the importance of the nudity of the bearded heroes on the Mausoleion frieze, believing them to be peculiarities and exceptions to his rule that nudity in Late Classical art exclusively signifies youth. But at least one bearded male nude (the misnamed "Kapaneus") fought Amazons on the shield of the Athena Parthenos—a High Classical precedent (see Boardman 1985, fig. 109.3).

[110] Ridgway 1997, 7. Hallett (2005, 17), again, believes the nudity of the victim denotes his honorable death in battle.

[111] For Perikles' cavalry reform and its possible influence upon the Parthenon frieze, see Bugh 1988, 66–7, 74–8; Pollitt 1997; Hurwit 1999, 233. Korres (1994) has argued that the frieze was a late insertion into the sculptural program of the Parthenon; if so, the link between Perikles' democratizing reform and the frieze would seem even stronger.

[112] Pausanias (1.29.6) saw a relief in the Demosion Sema depicting the horsemen Melanopos and Makartatos fighting the Spartans and Boeotians in the Battle of Tanagra in 457, but there is no evidence for its appearance. Its date, too, is not entirely certain; cf. Clairmont 1983, 31; Stupperich 1994, 101 n. 17.

Fig. 19. Attic red-figure cup by Foundry Painter (name vase), early fifth century B.C.E. (Staatliche Museen, Berlin, inv. no. F 2294; courtesy Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin–Preußischer Kulturbesitz).

trained to depict the victorious rider as clothed no matter who it was, and the fallen foe as naked, no matter who it was—were thus more powerful (if not absolute) determinants of the Dexileos relief than any theory or paradigm of heroic or other nudities that we can construct.[113] Nudity does not mean one thing in archaic and classical Greek art. As in the art of other ancient cultures, it means many things; it is a costume with various roles whose significance is determined by context and subject rather than by abstract principle. There is, in other words, a repertoire of nudities, and it should be no surprise that some of them are irreconcilable. There is athletic nudity in art because there was athletic nudity in life—a "realistic nudity."[114] There is erotic, sympotic, and licentious nudity because men and women really take off their clothes to have sex, because nudity is titillating, and because satyrs are more satyric when their tails and ithyphallism are revealed. But there is also democratic and civic nudity: the uniform of the patriotic citizens and public heroes of the Athenian state, trained to fight and sacrifice themselves for the polis. There is pathetic nudity: the nudity that is the costume of vulnerability, defeat, or death. Given the usual nakedness of *Mischwesen* such as the Minotaur and Centaurs, and brigands such as Skiron and Prokrustes, there may even be a nudity of uncivilized beasts and brutes.[115] There is certainly a nudity of occupation, status, or class, signifying servants, slaves, and workers, emphasizing the nature of their bodily labor and distinguishing them from their betters. There is a broad nudity of differentiation, employed to visually distinguish one figure, or groups of figures, from one another; the nudity of youth is a variety of this.[116] And there is such a thing as idealizing, heroic nudity, too: a nudity that elevates, that removes the figure from the general run of humanity and transposes him to another ontological level.[117]

The boundaries between these categories are often fluid, any given nude might fit more than one category, and the categories sometimes easily converge. A Greek fighting an Amazon or Persian may be nude to distinguish him visually, morally, and ethnically from his lavishly dressed opponent, as well as to heroize him; the Chicago Painter's anonymous warrior fighting the elaborately clothed Oriental (see fig. 13) is not only heroically but also Hellenically nude, and in the ideology of fifth-century Athens, that was virtually the same thing. On the Niobid Painter's krater in Naples, Theseus is nude not only to distinguish him from (and elevate him above) both Amazons and his own armed companions but also to mark him as a youth (he is beardless).[118] The Tyrannicides, objects of a hero cult themselves, are heroically and democratically (if also perhaps homoerotically) nude; and when the naked Theseus poses like either Harmodios or Aristogeiton in sculpture and in vase painting, he is at once heroically and democratically nude, too.[119] So are the Harmodios-like Lapith on Parthenon South metope 32 (see fig. 12) and the Harmodios-like Athenian (Kallimachos?) fighting Persians on the Nike temple south frieze (see fig. 14). Khairedemos' nudity visually distinguishes him from his older, bearded brother (see fig. 17), but his pose and physique must also have invited comparisons with the Achillean Doryphoros; his is at once a nudity of youth and of differentiation, while it is also a heroic nudity in the narrow sense, imitating a specific hero. And the nudity of Dexileos' foe (see fig. 6) is both differentiating and pathetic, with latent associations of nobility conventionally rooted in earlier images where the naked victim was, despite his defeat beneath a mounted Amazon, still a Greek and still a hero (see figs. 8, 9).

The lessons of the Dexileos stele and other fifth- and fourth-century works, then, are that heroic nudity is not the only nudity (or the only heroism) there is—it is an option, not a law—and that the opposition between the naked and the clothed in Greek art is not as clear or stark as is sometimes thought: Dexileos is the hero,

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[113] There are, as always, exceptions, such as the stele base in Athens (see figs. 18, 19) and the Pythodoros relief.

[114] Cf. Hallett 2005, 8.

[115] Theseus is often nude when he fights Skiron and Prokrustes, as on the Theseus Painter's skyphos in Toledo (Boardman 1974, fig. 245) and on Onesimos' cup in Paris (Boardman 1975, fig. 223.2). But there, he has plainly taken off his garments and hung them on convenient trees before engaging his foes; in other words, he is normally clothed, and it is only when he fights that he strips. The natural state of the barbaric Skiron and Prokrustes, in contrast, is nakedness.

[116] For a similar variety of nudities (excluding the heroic), see Hölscher 1993, 526–27.

[117] In his attack on the related concepts of heroic nudity and idealization, Clairmont (1993, 158) insists that "the naked male body in Greek art [is to be considered] an uncorrected mimesis of nature," and seems to argue that even the physique of a statue such as the Doryphoros of Polykleitos exists in nature, that there were real Greeks who looked like that (in this, he echoes Winckelmann, who believed the Greeks were more nobly framed than we). I believe he is mistaken; human devolution cannot have come so far. Besides, the Greeks themselves recognized that no human body could match the perfection of a statue or painting (Isoc. *Evagoras* 75; Xen. *Mem.* 3.10.2).

[118] Naples 2421; see Boardman 2001, fig. 223.

[119] For Steiner (2001, 222), "the politics and erotics of Harmodios and Aristogeiton are potentially at odds," since their sexual relationship, characteristic of aristocratic and tyrannical elites, would have been implicitly frowned upon by the Athenian democracy in the early fifth century. For Theseus adopting the postures of Harmodios and Aristogeiton (and thus for the way history can inform myth), see Woodford 2003, 150–53.

all right, but his nude victim is not without a heroic tinge. Greek art, in fact, resists the kind of easy paradigms and unnuanced polarities that are increasingly invoked to explain it,[120] and male nudity—so essential to and characteristic of Greek representation—is a paradoxical marker of its stubborn complexity.

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[120] Such polarities include not just the antithesis between the nude and the clothed but also between self and other, viewer and viewed, *erastes* and *eromenos*, etc. In this, I agree with O'Sullivan 1999.

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