

# THE STATUE OF THE DAMASKENOS AT THE AMERICAN SCHOOL AT ATHENS

(PLATES 61-68)

THE life-sized statue<sup>1</sup> or, technically, high relief which is the subject of the present article was acquired by the American School of Classical Studies as early as 1895, and from that year on it has been familiar to all who have known the School. Moreover it was published before the end of 1895.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps because the

<sup>1</sup> The photographs are by Miss Alison Frantz of the Agora Excavations and James McCredie of New York University. The drawings are by Miss Suzanne E. Chapman of the Department of Egyptian Art, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Figs. 1, 2; Pl. 62), and Mrs. Lucy T. Shoe Meritt of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton (originals for Figs. 1, 2). The present article owes most, surely, to these visual presentations. Other kind and learned help has come to us from M. B. Comstock, G. Daux, G. Dickerson, E. B. Harrison, E. L. Smithson, R. S. Stroud, H. A. Thompson, E. Vanderpool, and L. B. Urdahl.

The collaborators have been together in Athens in three recent summers, and they are grateful to the School for the opportunities this study represents, and to its Director, H. S. Robinson, for facilitating the work in every way. The sections on sculpture and the recent find of a base block are the work of C. C. Vermeule; the rest is by S. Dow.

The monument is outdoors and accessible. The visitor to Loring Hall (opposite 54 Souidias Street, the main School building) ascends (outside) stairs to the left, two short flights, then up one further flight to the right. (The Conze editors refer, text and index, to the "Amerikan. Archäol. Institut," but this is an error; nothing with this title ever existed.) In the inventory (unpublished, 1940) of the School's inscriptions, the Damaskenos monument is No. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Bibliography*. The report of the finding and of the associated marbles, also given to the School, is by T. D. Goodell, *A.J.A.*, X, 1895, pp. 469-479 (the monument is the stele mentioned on p. 471); this is discussed *infra*. The first publication followed: T. W. Heermance, pp. 479-484, with a mediocre cut-out photograph, p. 480 (not even a plate). The description of the drapery, head, and several other details shows that he had paid attention to comparative evidence and had observed with care. The Goodell and Heermance articles were reprinted without change, except in page numbers, *Papers of the American School*, VI, 1897, pp. 431-446.

A. Conze's successors published a small and mediocre photograph in *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, IV, 1911-1922, no. 2038, plate 442, text pp. 76-77. The description adds nothing. No dating except "Roman period."

A. Muehsam's dissertation, *Die attischen Grabreliefs in römischer Zeit*, Berlin, 1936, was translated, and plates were added, but no reference whatever was made to the original, as "Attic Grave Reliefs from the Roman Period," *Berytus*, X, 1952, pp. 51-114, pls. VII-XXIV. The date is Hadrianic, determined by letters and drapery (p. 62); some, but sparing, use of the drill (p. 84). There are comments on beardlessness (p. 73), lack of akroteria (p. 97, assumed rather than proved), style of wearing mantle (p. 107, "elegant," "foreign"), style of architecture (p. 91, no decoration), and style of sculpture (combines "individualization with classicistic style to a unity of real harmony"). The same old cut-out photograph is reproduced. A bookish, formal appreciation, not an intimate study of sculpture; but good in its way, and useful as the only work on the subject.

J. Kirchner's publication, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 8470, put the monument among the thousands of its fellows, but otherwise marked no advance.

statue itself came to seem ordinary merely because it was familiar, and because all the published photographs have made it look mediocre, and because in other respects the publication (by T. W. Heermance, the Director of the School) was adequate for its time, no careful study or full publication has been attempted.

We venture to suggest it deserves better. The statue itself is of nice quality, and the subject is an interesting person. The first and main need is photographs and drawings which will do it justice. In our own studies, we have thought it might be useful to include for reference several particulars which would not be expected in the publication of less distinguished Roman grave stelai.

The monument consists of a single figure standing in an aediculum (Pls. 61-62). He wears a chiton or tunic, an ample himation, a signet ring, and sandals. On the fascia above there is a one-line inscription, stating that the monument is of a son of [Se]leukos, of Damacus.

## THE STELE

### MARBLE

The marble, Pentelic, is mostly good; white and sound. In parts, however, there are veins of inferior colored stone, most prominently in the right pilaster (Pl. 61), with extension to the bottom, below the statue's left foot. Here part has actually broken away along the fault. There are flaws also in the left pilaster, in the statue's right arm above the elbow, and, though barely noticeable, in the upper part of the face (Pl. 63).

We have no body of data to cite, but it is our impression that during the later Hellenistic period and after, quarries yielding generally inferior marble were opened on Pentelikon. They may have been cheaper to work. Certainly stelai, inscribed and other, with veins of mica and other flaws, were then accepted which earlier generations would have rejected.

### DAMAGE

Previous students have not diagnosed the kind of damage at the left. In the upper left corner, a heavy blow with a dull pick shattered the surface with the effect of a bullet. Another blow or blows carried away the upper left corner. A blow which finally severed the lower left corner has left a hole clean through. The next step was to have been a series of blows down the side, but after the bullet-like one already mentioned at the top, only four or five desultory light blows were delivered on the front. The stele is now placed so that the back of the left side is partially accessible, and it is possible to detect no fewer than eight fairly deep holes spaced all the way up the back, made by blows intended to split away the left pilaster. It is surprising that they did not succeed.

The nose is missing, broken away by chance or deliberately smashed (Pl. 63). A few lighter blows have also marred the face. The tip of the left thumb is missing, and the ends of various toes (Pl. 64, b) are damaged. The three heavy irons—two for wreaths, one on top (*infra*)—were somehow cut through; their stumps fill the holes. The lower end of the right pilaster broke away in front, presumably at the time of finding, because it was fastened back in place with three (modern) pins and had already been thus repaired when Heermance's photograph was taken. This proves that the breaking away of the corners (and the attack on the left pilaster) took place before the monument was buried; if they had been found, they too would have been attached. From the front at the bottom, near the left foot, a fragment broke away recently, and has been fastened back (Pl. 64, b). A monument executed so carefully should have been painted, but we have been unable to detect any traces of color.<sup>3</sup>

#### PRINCIPAL DIMENSIONS AND BACK

The total height is 1.925 m.; the maximum preserved width (somewhat under the knees) is 0.820 m. For the thickness, the right outer face of the stele, i.e. the outer side of the right pilaster and above, is well preserved, and gives original dimensions: thickness just under the mouldings of the capital, 0.279 m.; thickness at bottom, 0.330 m. Thus there was considerable thickness and marked taper. The left side, i.e. the outer face of the left pilaster, is at present (*infra*) much smaller in dimensions, the thickness just under the capital being *ca.* 0.23 m.

The disparities revealed when the sides are examined, though not obvious to a casual observer, are explained by the back. Apparently the stele did not break out evenly from the living rock, but one half is nearly 0.10 m. thicker than the other half. Indeed as it is now placed, fastened against a wall, the thicker part has been let into the wall for some centimeters. The extreme thickness, from the hand or brow to the thickest part of the back, is very nearly 0.40 m.

So far as we can tell, the back was not much trimmed, but was left about as it broke out. Again, as in the case of the marble, we have proof of poor workmanship and low standards; and again there is Hellenistic precedent. Several large Athenian stelai of *ca.* 100 B.C. have similar, though not so great, inequalities of thickness.

Be this as it may, at some period the back was subjected to heavy traffic. This can be detected clearly in the thinner (left) half. The thicker (right) part of the back seems to have split along a silvery fault. The back edge on both sides is heavily worn. In addition, both top and bottom were thinned down. Thus the right pilaster is only *ca.* 0.26 m. thick at top and bottom, whereas opposite the middle of the statue it is 0.29 m. thick. Quite possibly the stele came from the quarry in this condition.

<sup>3</sup> Like many large marbles, the monument had never been thoroughly cleaned. On the theory that to clean marbles is to learn about them, the collaborators did all that could be done without tools. Much cement was subsequently removed by the Agora expert, S. Spiropoulos.

## BOTTOM, TOP, AND METHOD OF SUPPORT

The bottom was levelled with a point. It can hardly have rested on stone, and its height is so small that it cannot have been leaded into a (very large) socle. The top has a smoothed area along the front, *ca.* 0.03 m. wide. This smooth band turns the corner, is continued a few centimeters, then peters out. Most of the top is level, being treated with the point; toward the back the treatment is rougher. These point-treated areas are in the main *higher* than the smooth band along the front; there is no anathyrosis. It seems impossible that any other block should have been planned to go on top.

These details are important because of an iron, hitherto unexplained, sunk into the top surface. The stump of the iron is still there, filling the hole. It is rectangular and large: 0.022 m. wide, 0.025 m. from front to back. Its position is fairly near (0.055 m.) the front of the stele, and it is about an equal distance from the ends, being slightly to the left of the center (0.393 m. from the right end). A much smaller cutting, narrow and half-oval in section, 0.07 m. behind the other and slightly nearer the center of the stele, is evidently some sort of small pry-hole or hole for a wooden brace. It was not intended to contain metal. The left end of the top surface is of course missing, but the right end and most of the rest are fully preserved. On this whole area of the top there is no other cutting.

Heermance saw that an explanation is needed.<sup>4</sup> He could think only of some block attached above, viz. a cornice with a row of antefixes, or more likely (he thought) a gable, tall and steep on account of the narrowness of the stele. Apparently no subsequent student has had a better notion to offer.

Certainly the crowning decoration of a stele is one of the essential elements of the whole. Until a trustworthy study is made of the stelai of the Empire as such, one can only note that a glance through the plates of A. Muehsam, *Berytus*, X, 1952, pls. 7-24, will show that regularly the elements under a crowning pediment or akroteria are relatively low. In the present instance the two fascias at the top are conspicuously tall. Their height alone suggests strongly that no other crowning member was planned. In keeping with the austerity of the whole, the two tall simple fascias frame the top.

This finding accords with the fact that the top surface can hardly have borne a marble block. A second compelling consideration is that *if* a crowning block had been mounted on the top, it would have been secured by dowels at each end, not by one dowel alone in the middle.

The small pry- or brace-hole we cannot explain, and of it we say no more. There might be a temptation to imagine that the large central iron held some object which did not extend the full width of the stele, but occupied only some of the center and did not need to rest squarely on the top. Until however an actual instance can be

<sup>4</sup> *A. J. A.*, X, 1895, pp. 482-483.

found, this is a desperate imagining, and it is better to conclude that nothing whatever was attached to the top.

A different solution is indicated, and is perhaps within reach. Attention has been drawn to the fact that the lower end of the stele by itself does not indicate any means of support. No base held the great monument upright. Nor is there any cutting for support at one or both sides. Presumably therefore the stele was held in position by a great clamp, of which the surviving iron is one end, at the top. The stele would have been clamped to a wall behind.

What the wall belonged to, we cannot suggest. But for the purpose of holding the stele in position, the surviving iron would be adequate in strength and correctly placed, i.e. about equidistant from the ends, and near enough the front so that the bulk of the mass was held, as it were, within its grip.

Whether other Roman grave monuments can be found to provide similar instances, we do not know. In a different sphere, but presenting essentially the same engineering features, is Kleroterion I<sup>2.5</sup>. Here too the bottom is trimmed only to stand on earth, and there is no sign of support at the base. On the top, at the center near the front, a cutting shows that a single clamp was sunk to hold the block, upright, to a support behind. The clamp cutting extends from the sunken hole back through the back edge of the Kleroterion. The clamp, that is, was entirely sunk into the top of the Kleroterion; it was a short block, and the top was intended to be seen. The stele of the Damaskenos was so tall that the top would not be visible, and the horizontal arm of the iron did not need to be sunk into the top surface.

The present explanation of the iron on top and of the method of support was arrived at only in 1963, and without observing how the monument is now held in place. It is therefore notable that the workmen who set up the monument in its present position used the same device, except that there are two irons, each thinner, one near each side.

#### OTHER DETAILS OF THE STELE: PINS FOR WREATHS

The other two irons, likewise so firmly embedded that it was evidently easier to cut them off than to extract them whole, are round. They are 0.022-0.025 m. in diameter and both are set in the face of the back wall of the aediculum at either side of the head. Such pins are commonly, and no doubt correctly, thought to have been intended for the hanging of wreaths. It is surprising to find them so large, strong enough to support weights hundreds of times heavier than any wreath. Wreath-pins are a regular feature of all large or pretentious grave reliefs of the Roman Imperial period in Athens. Most wreath-pins are smaller; but large ones do occur, e.g. Conze

<sup>5</sup> S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, 1937, pp. 198-202.

1969 (Alexandra).<sup>6</sup> Moreover, in proportion to the size of the whole Damaskenos stele, the present pins do *look* right.

### FASCIAS

The two fascias at the top (Fig. 1; Pls. 61, 62, 64, a, 65, a) are 0.080 m. (the upper) and 0.087 m. (the lower) in height respectively. In front, the upper fascia makes a fairly true right angle with the top. In front, the upper fascia projects 0.005 m. over the lower. At the end(s), so that the stele should not look pinched and meager at the top, the fascias were trimmed to project outward (Pls. 61, 62). The ends of the fascias slant so that the top projects 0.10 m. beyond the bottom. The minimum width of the stele was thus at the base of the lower fascia.

### SIDES

Both sides were trimmed level, and were left with point-marks showing, except for a smoothed band *ca.* 0.015 m. wide along the front. On the left side a very little of the apophyge of the pilaster capital remains, but enough so that a roughness can be detected toward the back. On the right side the capital moulding is returned some 0.20 m., to terminate irregularly in a rough area at the back. Both sides were therefore the same in this: the moulding was discontinued several centimeters before it could reach the back edge. The back edges of the stele simply were not thought of as needing attention. At the bottom, the right side was left rough (i.e. treated with point marks) to a height of *ca.* 0.30 m.

### PILASTERS

The bases of the pilasters consisted of crude apophyges, not returned on the inner or the outer side, above rough (pointed) areas. In contrast, the pilaster capitals (Figs. 1, 2; Pls. 64, a, 65, a) are more elaborate and were treated with more care than most capitals on grave monuments of the Roman period. The elements and their heights, reading upward, are: an apophyge with a low fascia, a low half round (0.012 m.), a cavetto (0.025 m.) with its fascia (0.006 m.) cut back, and a fascia (0.027 m.). The extreme projection is 0.020 m.

The pilasters are deep, and as usual on Athenian monuments, narrow. The left pilaster extends forward 0.11 m. from the back surface at the top, 0.14 m. at the bottom. The front of the left pilaster does not make a right angle with its own outer side, but instead it is bent slightly toward that side, i.e. the angle is larger than 90°. *But* the side itself is distorted inwards toward the figure enough so that the front of the pilaster, though it slopes toward the side, also slopes inward toward the figure!

<sup>6</sup> Muehsam, *Berytus*, X, 1952, pl. 14, 2.

The right pilaster is equally distorted. It too is bent to the right. The front face, except at the top, makes a correct right angle with the side; but because the side is itself askew, the front slopes away from the statue, i.e. to the right. In other words,

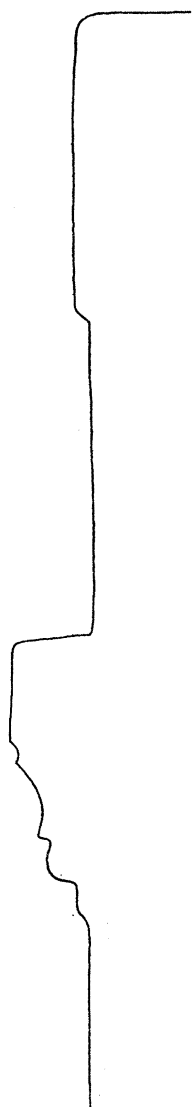


FIG. 1. Profile of Crowning Fascias of the Aediculum and the Pilaster Capital (1:2)



FIG. 2. Profile of Pilaster Capital (1:1)

the front face of each pilaster turns slightly (it is not detected except by a straight-edge) to the spectator's right.

Both pilasters taper not only in forward extension, but also in width. Thus the

right pilaster is 0.085 m. in width just under the moulding, 0.100 m. in width at its base. The left pilaster had similar dimensions, but was slightly wider than 0.085 m. at the top, slightly narrower than 0.100 m. at the bottom. A further peculiarity is that the right pilaster, instead of tapering evenly downward, actually becomes thinner, 0.083 m., at about the level of the statue's (left) shoulder; then it broadens. Indeed the line of the pilaster where it meets the background is not straight but is a perceptible curve.

#### SLOPING SIDES OF FRAME

Enough has now been said to prove that much, perhaps most, of the shaping of the aediculum was done by eye, without exact measurements and carefully drawn lines. Thus the underside of the top slopes downward from the front, so that at the right end the top is 0.016 m. lower where it meets the background than it is at the front edge, i.e. at the bottom of the lower fascia. At the left end, the backward slope is 0.011 m. In any case the top was not intended to be a true horizontal, but rather to slope downward and backward. Moreover the top bends upward, carelessly, at the left end.

So also with the inner sides of the pilasters: instead of projecting straight from the back at a true right angle, they slope from back to front. In other words, the pilasters are much thicker at their backs than at their front surfaces.

The amount of slope, i.e. the increase of thickness of the pilasters, can be measured as 0.012 m. (right pilaster near top) to 0.040 m. (right pilaster near bottom); but the background itself is so far from level that the measurements lack significance.

The surface, finally, on which the figure stands also slopes upward from front to back, as much as 0.020 m.

Plainly all these slopes—top, bottom, and sides—however irregular, are intentional. True right angles, or angles less than right angles, were not wanted. Instead, the whole figure is framed, and was intended to be framed, by planes which are calculated to produce an illusion of greater depth.

#### BACKGROUND

Except at the bottom, the background produces an impression of being level. A long straightedge shows some irregularities in all areas, but they are of only a few millimeters. The background is nowhere polished, but was left with a multitude of fine short chisel-scratches (Pl. 63). On the figure these have been smoothed down; on the front surfaces of pilaster and fascias also they have been largely removed. The background, treated thus, is distinguished subtly from the other surfaces. This is one of the most successful aspects of the statue.



## NEGLIGENCE AND REFINEMENTS

Undoubtedly the monument has many irregularities which workmen of the Parthenon period would never have tolerated. We have therefore to ask, were the irregularities due to carelessness, or were they a deliberate attempt, by means of calculated distortions, to avoid a rigid, box-like stele—to produce “refinements” such as the Parthenon builders themselves first developed?

The evidence is as follows. There are absolute proofs of no interest in outward perfection or of carelessness: the head is joined by ungainly stone to the background—this is not noticed at first, from in front—and the background was never trimmed flat on the left side and neck, but instead a band *ca.* 0.025 m. was left unfinished. The feet and sandals (Pl. 64, b) were well finished, but the rest of the lower part of the monument was not; the workmen just did not bother to finish the right pilaster outside or inside (Pl. 61). Careless or not, irregularities abound. There are virtually no true right angles. The front of the left pilaster lies even with a straightedge; so do the fascias. Other surfaces do not. It is hard to believe that any aesthetic end was served by having the two front surfaces of the pilasters tilt the same way. The block accepted for the statue was poorly quarried and seems to have been a piece, itself flawed, that came out from between flaws, *scil.* the flaws visible on the back and those on the figure's upper face.

Nevertheless the impression from long observation of the monument is strong that although much of the effect was not calculated, but in the main was due to mere negligence, still the whole does not suffer. It has a little the wayward charm of a sketch, whereas mechanical perfection would be displeasing. The slightly unequal pilasters, one of which moreover tapers the wrong way at the top (!), are like the ears, one of which is too high. A truly fine piece of sculpture would not show gross carelessness, but in Greek statues all the way back to the Akropolis *korai*, slight distortion was the secret of an interesting effect. But not all the effects are careless. The sloping sides, top, and bottom, as we have seen, are intentional. The variations in depth of the background are no doubt also the product of conscious effort, behind which there was a history going back to the fourth century B.C. Most notable, perhaps, is the projection given to the top fascias at the ends. Sloping outward and upward, the crowning members balance the long taper of the sides.

## ILLUSIONS OF PERSPECTIVE IN GREEK GRAVE MONUMENTS

Whether or not the other distortions were intentional, clearly the illusionistic sloping sides were no accident. Such a refinement might be expected to have a history, and we append some notes.

The initial general statement should clearly be that as early as the fifth century B.C., right angles were regularly avoided, and angles slightly obtuse were regularly favored. In other words, the sides of the frame were made to slope. Examples in the

Ethnikon Mouseion in Athens may be instanced (by the numbers they now bear). All are careful work except as noted. Thus 715, of *ca.* 450-425 B.C., with a projecting sculptured fascia, is cut back underneath with a definite slope. A generation later, perhaps, the top of 1389 slopes strongly down and back; and the ground slopes up and back. Even when the frame (and relief) are shallow, as in 1680 of *ca.* 400 B.C., all four sides of the frame could be given a marked slope; similarly in 922 of *ca.* 350 B.C. The latter are small. If we look at a major piece, e.g. the grave stele of Hegeso (3624 of *ca.* 400), we find a marked slope all round; again, much later, with Polyxene (723), Xenokratea (233), Sostrate and Nausikrate (822), the frame is treated similarly. At last, in 3927, the slope is almost  $45^\circ$ , i.e. the angle, instead of being  $90^\circ$ , is almost  $135^\circ$ .

Clearly the rule was invented early and was followed in many instances. It was, after all, easier, as well as entirely natural, to make frames that were not cut back uncompromisingly at right angles. But equally clearly there was no unbreakable rule. Some masons preferred the architectural correctness of the right angle. Thus the stelai of Phainareta (724, of *fin. s. V*), also 714, 726 and 3790 (two by the same mason: small slope or none), 2894, and Phrasikleia (831, *post med. s. IV a.*), all have right angles which when tested are close to  $90^\circ$ . The tradition of the Athenian grave monuments is a tradition of independence combined with conservatism.

We lack documentation for the history after 317 B.C., but such observations as we have been able to make of grave monuments in the Roman period confirm the notions set forth above. Most Greek grave reliefs have illusionistic frames; but there continue to be stubborn exceptions. Thus 3669 (= *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7793) of *med s. II p.* is well preserved; its top meets the background in a true right angle, but the ground slopes up toward the back.

## THE INSCRIPTION

### READING AND RESTORATION

The text (Pl. 64, a) consisted of the name only, i.e. of nomen, patronymic, and ethnic, all cut in one line on the lower fascia. If another block had been fastened on above, still it would not have been inscribed. In general grave monuments which have matter additional to the names are of different subjects, sizes, workmanship, and of less dignity. On most Greek monuments of the period, only names are given.<sup>7</sup>

The longest verticals of the letters are 0.042 m. in length. Twelve of the letters, plus 12 interspaces, occupy horizontally 0.443 m. As often with large letters of the Roman period, the last two letters are much reduced in size.

Previous editors have printed:

[— — — Σελ]εύκου Δαμασκηνός

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 55.

Heermance noted, but other editors forgot and our photographs do not show clearly, a slanting stroke clearly visible before the epsilon: part of an alpha, lambda, or delta, **ΛΕΥΚΟΥ**. The context excludes alpha. For delta: **Δεῦκος** is a name known only in Egypt, but **Πολυδεύκης** occurs a half-dozen times in Roman Athens. The objection to it, and to any name as long or longer, is that the nomen is reduced to an improbably brevity, in this instance to 2 or 2½ letters. There are no other names that give **-δεύκον**. For lambda, i.e. among names in **-λευκος**, besides being lengthy, **Ἀρχηλευκός** is a name known only once (Kyzikos). **Ζάλευκος** is a name which seems to have been limited also to one man, its famous holder. More instances are known to justify **Λεῦκος** (see Pape) but none at all in Athens. **Λευκάς** is nonexistent or rare. As it happens, of the few Damascene grave monuments found in Attika (*infra*), one is a small columella with **Λεύκιε | Οὐαλέριε | Αἰνέα | Δαμασκηνέ** (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 8466); but this proves nothing, it merely reminds us that **Λεύκιος** was a common name. The only remaining possibility is **Σέλευκος**. Under the Empire, at least a dozen Athenians bore this name, and three Antiocheis buried in Attika were named for Seleukos (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 8281-8283). For a Damaskenos, citizen of a city long in the Seleucid domain, Seleukos is highly probable, and when the facts *supra* about the other names are taken into account, it becomes a virtual, though not an absolute, certainty.

The spacing can be reckoned with some assurance:

[— <sup>4-4½</sup> — — Σε<sup>?</sup>] **Λεύκου Δαμασκηνός**

The man is otherwise unknown, and the nomen cannot be restored.

#### DAMASKENOI IN ATHENS

In all, only four grave monuments are known, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 8466, 8467, 8469, 8470. All four are dated under the Empire. One is of a woman; two, both of modest size, are columellas. Apart from these, the ethnikon occurs only in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 8468, a woman's columella of *s. I a.*, and not in any other Athenian inscription.

Anything like an ultimate understanding of these data is beyond us; but L. B. Urdahl's researches in Athenian grave monuments have provided a setting. Thus, he informs us, the total number of persons now known from Attic grave monuments of the period of the Roman Empire is 2256, of whom foreigners positively known to be such number 869. But the number definitely from Syria is only 93, of whom all but ten are from Antioch (of Phoenicians there are an additional 50). Thus in the small minority which is constituted by the Syrians in Athens, the Damaskenoi are themselves a small minority. Contrast the largest group from any one city, the 398 Milesians!

Urdahl tells us further that from the name alone (i.e. nomen and patronymic) it is usually impossible to tell whether the bearer is a Greek or not. "Except for the special class of Latin names, recognizable non-Greek names are extremely infrequent

in the Attic grave-inscriptions. Oriental theophoric names, though common in Athens, are Greek in formation, regularly combining  $-\delta\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma$  or  $-\delta\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma$ . They were also, in fact, often borne by native Athenians."

#### STYLE AND DATE OF LETTERING

Muehsam studied letter-forms at some length (pp. 55-65), but she labels the present letters "cursive" (p. 62) and her (Hadrianic) date is not based on them. Kirchner shows no sign of having considered this date; art-historical writing did not interest him. But he had edited more Athenian inscriptions than anyone ever did, and he had published *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum*; he gave the date as *med. s. II p.*

Until an elaborate study is made of Athenian letter-styles, there is little to do but seek examples of similar shapes. The letters are "cursive," or better, lunate: epsilon and sigma. Kappa and upsilon also have non-vertical strokes which are curved. But the most remarkable shape is that of the mu. Along with these shapes go alpha and delta with right hastas prolonged above. Alpha's bar is not broken. There are virtually no serifs on any of the letters.

If lettering had been proved to be similar all over the Greek part of the Empire (which may or may not be the case, no one knows enough of the details), then the first port of call would be the tables contributed by C. B. Welles to C. H. Kraeling, *Gerasa*. Closest is no. 13 on p. 362: "mid-second century A.D." If we turn to works that deal with Athens, the tables of letter-forms in W. Larfeld, *Handbuch*, II, 1902, pp. 488-495 can only give an impression. The impression is that lunate forms occur only rarely in the period A.D. *ca.* 50-120, much more often (but there are some examples within Hadrian's reign) *ca.* 120-*ca.* 210. More useful are actual photographs. Kirchner-Klaffenbach, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum*<sup>2</sup> has too few for this period, but in P. Graindor, *Album d'Inscriptions Attiques* (1924) a certain number of similar forms can be found in A.D. 44 (pl. 16, no. 23), 75-87 (pl. 19, no. 26: mu is the same, alpha quite different), 125 (pl. 36, no. 44: mu different, alpha different at top), and *ca.* 150 (pl. 50, no. 65; the date appears to be correct but should not be earlier). The latter, a dedication, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3801, is not by the same hand, but it is the only inscription in which all the shapes, including the most important, namely the mu, are similar.

The conclusion is that the lettering of the Damaskenos inscription is personal, unusual, mannered. It is self-consciously fancy. Hence, unless the same hand can be identified in a dated inscription, the present inscription cannot be positively dated. It cannot be definitely excluded from any year *med. s. I p.* through *init. s. III p.* On the other hand, the evidence pointedly favors a date *med. s. II p.*, and after 150 rather than before. Study of the sculpture has suggested a date slightly earlier (*infra* pp. 287-297).

## PROVENIENCE AND HISTORY

## PROVENIENCE

The monument was found in autumn 1894, during excavations for foundations for the house of C. Merlin, an "artist and photographer." The site is the northeast corner of Akademia Street and Queen Sophia (formerly Kephissia) Boulevard. The house is still standing. A grand house, its foundations went fairly deep; all the graves, and apparently the Damaskenos monument, were found two or three meters down. The monument was found approximately on the line of the front wall of the house, between the western end of the porch and the southeast corner of the house.

The monument was "found lying on one side." There is nothing to indicate which side, except perhaps that the wear on the left back side may indicate that that side was uppermost. When this wear occurred (whenever it was), the street may not have been as distant as the present Boulevard, but much closer to the present front wall of the house. But alternatively the block may have served as a step or as the pavement of an alley.

Thus qualified, the topographical results of study of the monument are meager. W. Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, 1931, pp. 142-143 and I. N. Travlos, *Πολεοδομική Ἐξέλιξις*, 1960, pp. 95-96, 198-199 should be referred to for the setting as a whole. They attempted no close study of the area, for which indeed materials are lacking.

Two other monuments were found close enough to the Damaskenos stele so that they ought certainly to be mentioned as parts of the same cemetery. The first is Goodell's no. 1. Goodell states<sup>8</sup> that near the western end of the eventual porch of the Merlin house "was a large *cippus* of Hymettus marble, inclined perhaps 40 degrees from the vertical, in such a way that the top, with the inscription, had to be broken to make room for the new house wall—unless, indeed, one was willing to spend considerable labor to dig it out and remove it entire. When I saw it first the fragments were lying near." Publishing it as his no. 1 (p. 474), Goodell states that in fact "the base was never fully excavated." About the reading however he is positive: "all the letters were clearly legible." He prints:

ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ  
ΡΗΞΙΜΑΧΟΣ  
ΕΞΟΙΟΥ

Κλαύδιος  
Ῥησίμαχος  
ἐξ Οἴου

His only comment is that xi would be expected rather than sigma, but "sigma was perfectly clear."

The inscription is not part of the School collection (we searched) and presumably, broken as it was, instead of being given to the School, it was discarded, for we cannot

<sup>8</sup> *A. J. A.*, X, 1895, pp. 470-471.

find any record of it. Kirchner republished it as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7006, with the date *s. II/I a.* Goodell's reading, however, is upheld by instances, though few, of names compounded with *Ῥησι-* and his whole text is to be accepted. Klaudios Rhesimakhos is unknown. His monument proves that citizens, even though given only a Hymettian *cippus*, were buried in this cemetery.

Near the southwest corner of the house was found a great stone sarcophagus. A simple moulding, says Goodell (p. 470), was the sole decoration of the body of the sarcophagus, but one pediment survives; it was given to the School and is now near the Damaskenos stele in the colonnade of Loring Hall. Goodell's fig. 70 (p. 471) is a drawing. Two lions, lips to a central amphora, each with a paw upraised, facing each other; or rather, to judge by the manes, a lion on the left, a lioness on the right. The sarcophagus proves the existence of at least one fairly rich grave-plot near by; it can have been that of the family of Damaskenos.

To the north, i.e. farther from the (ancient and modern) street, were twenty to thirty poor graves (Goodell, p. 469).

#### HISTORY OF THE MONUMENT

From the time it was erected, *med. s. II p.* (?), until the Heruli (A.D. 267) or later, doubtless the monument stood, securely fastened behind to some wall now unknowable. Overthrown, and deprived of its irons, it was early attacked also for building material; but two corners only were detached. Later, in more than one period, cement was applied to its right side. Still later, now half buried, it was subjected to traffic, not wheeled traffic making tracks, and not evenly. But as if by a miracle, and only a little battered, the statue itself survived so well that most of the (fairly minute) tool marks still show.

To the School, C. Merlin gave the Damaskenos monument, the sarcophagus pediment, and the inscriptions published as Goodell's nos. 2, 3, and 4, "together with some smaller fragments." Of the various uninscribed minor objects mentioned by him, none seems to have been given, and among the (few) small inscribed marbles now in the School collection, two or three only are funerary, and their provenience cannot be established.

The Damaskenos monument was set up in January 1895, or rather was leaned against the wall dividing the American School from the British. After World War II the monument was moved to Loring Hall.

#### FURTHER FINDS IN THE AREA OF THE DAMASCENE

During the period August 14 to 23, 1961, the City of Athens was busy repaving Queen Sophia Boulevard from the British Embassy and the Benaki Museum down to Syntagma. On the afternoon of the 23rd, Ronald Stroud and Cornelius Vermeule found and measured a large Pentelic marble block (Pl. 65, b) lying at the

driveway entrance to the Egyptian (then United Arab Republic) Embassy, just opposite the lowest of the flower shops running down along the Palace substructure to Syntagma. Only the right or downhill third of Sophia Boulevard was repaved in this operation. Thus, the block must have lain along the side of the ancient road from the Hadrianic city to Kephissia. The Damascene and the related stelai and inscriptions were found close to this spot, well within the place where the Kephissia Gate pierced the Hadrianic wall.<sup>9</sup>

The block is 0.80 m. in overall width and 0.325 m. in depth. Since the Damascene is 0.80 m. in overall width and 0.30 m. in depth or thickness, we felt the relationship was worth investigating. It now seems possible that this block might well be the bottom of the pedestal on which a monument similar to that of the Damascene stood. The pedestal, therefore, had a cyma recta (0.03 m.) and fillet (0.06 m.) moulding leading to its bottom edge. The underside is partly finished with a rough claw (0.18 m. resting surface) and partly unfinished (the rear third). Despite the similarity of measurements, it seems unlikely that this block supported the Damascene (*supra*, pp. 276-277). The block has disappeared, perhaps removed by the paving contractor for building material.

## THE STELE AS A WORK OF ART

### STYLISTIC DESCRIPTION

The stance of the Damascene is firm and resolute, with head jutting forward and body balanced to suggest a decisive pose. The fact that the final lines from the body to the background are unfinished (drill here and there) gives a strong sense of sculpture and at the same time a feeling that the subject is sunk in the background of the relief. Much of the success of the carving, in terms of the second century after Christ, is achieved by strongly contrasting tools: running drill, heavy chisel and then the delicate chisel which has clawed over most of the surfaces, flesh, himation and sandals. The effect of the uncompleted back of the head is pleasing if not striking. The Damascene has a powerful head and, from the left one, which is visible, even more powerful hands. To Heermance he was not a Greek, but his features are hardly Syrian in the accepted sense. His likeness to Romans of the late Republic may have indicated considerable Roman blood. It will be observed that this likeness results in no small measure from the portraitist's pseudo-Republican style.

Heermance was right about the flatness of the figure when seen in profile. Like

<sup>9</sup> "Stuart's Gate" was farther to the northwest and must have been a watchtower; see Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*,<sup>2</sup> Munich, 1931, Plan I, I-4. Following E. Curtius' location of Hadrian's wall, the find-spot of the Damascene was located just outside Hadrian's wall (*A.J.A.*, X, 1895, p. 473, fig. 13), but subsequent excavation revealed that the ramparts swung around the Ministry of War at the entrance to Akademia Street (Judeich, Plan I). The find-spot of the block of marble discussed here is also in the direction of another group of graves, on the corner of Sophia Boulevard and University Street.

a Byzantine painting, from this angle of the relief head, hands, himation and feet receive all the emphasis (Pl. 65, a). Again the results are very forceful. They are more successful than any blind adherence to the canons of stelai of the fourth century B.C., that is, stelai culminating about 325 B.C. in the large monuments of the Ilissos-Aristonantes period.<sup>10</sup> One reason the Damascene might seem to compare unfavorably with the fourth-century reliefs in Athens and elsewhere is the fact, already discussed (above, p. 274), that the sculptor used a rather inferior block of Pentelic marble. The surface, particularly the bottom half of the block, is marred by imperfections. Weathering and water seepage have not left this part of the stele looking as attractive as the quality of the sculpture could demand.

Heermance writes that the hair was roughed for paint (Pls. 63, 65, a). This may or may not have been the case, since no paint survives and this roughing is thoughtfully sculptural. There is ample evidence that some grave stelai were painted, but it seems clear that others were not. Whether or not the Damascene had, say, yellow or red hair, the peculiar roughing was a *style of representing hair* rather than merely a preparation for other media. Flavian strands or rich Antonine curls could have been equally well embellished with paint. Some of the most colorful portraits surviving from antiquity are coloristic in carving or modelling as well as in painted finish. The words "color" and "baroque" often follow each other in the mind of the historian of art. It seems difficult to imagine the Damascene having flamboyant hair, given his receding hairline, the sober roughing of his hair, and the suggestions of tightly-drawn, wrinkled skin on his face.

#### THE "REPUBLICAN REVIVAL" PORTRAIT

The Damascene, however, belongs to a group of portraits of the late Trajanic, Hadrianic and early Antonine periods which hark back to private portraits of the late Hellenistic and late Republican periods in their direct, almost veristic simplicity. We find the same style used in portraying Greeks of mystic learning, Roman associates of Trajan and Hadrian, and private persons from all over the Empire.<sup>11</sup> The style is a hangover from the Flavian period and is never used for portraits of Trajan, Hadrian or, naturally, the Antonine emperors. Perhaps the leader, or at least the lead-

<sup>10</sup> Stele from the Ilissos river: H. Diepolder, *Die attischen Grabreliefs des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Berlin, 1931, pl. 48. Stele of Aristonantes: Diepolder, pl. 50. One of the grandest of these stelai, the horse-and-groom relief in Athens, National Museum, remains virtually unpublished: N. Kotzias, *Polemon*, IV, 1949, Suppl. pp. 5-6, fig. 1; Richter, *J.R.S.*, XLVIII, 1958, p. 12, pl. III, 8. It should be dated about 330 to 320 B.C. and may have been part of a cenotaph to one of the Greek generals of Alexander the Great. Leosthenes, the mysterious Athenian who had evidently commanded Alexander's mercenaries and who fell leading the Hellenic alliance before Lamia in 323, comes to mind.

<sup>11</sup> See generally, and specifically, G. Daltrop, *Die Stadtrömischen Männlichen Privatbildnisse Trajanischer und Hadrianischer Zeit*, Münster, 1958, figs. 11 (Lateran no. X583), 18 (University of Mississippi), and 19 (Terme, Inv. no. 149).



ing subject, of this style was Hadrian's brother-in-law, Lucius Julius Ursus Servianus (Pl. 67, a).<sup>12</sup> This foolish old man plotted against Hadrian so many times that the Emperor was finally forced to put him to death at the age of ninety-one in A.D. 137.

Men such as Ursus no doubt gazed too often at portraits of Pompey, Cicero and Brutus and dreamed of reviving the Roman Republic. This form of political romanticism in academic surroundings was made all the more unworldly in the security afforded by the *pax romana* of Trajan and his successors. The Damascene was no neo-Republican, no neo-Pompey or Cicero. If he dreamed any political romances, his name and origin suggest he would have dreamed of a revived Seleucid Empire, with Syria as its center. The pro-Roman career of Caius Julius Antiochus Philopappus (see below, p. 291), however, would have been indication enough to him of how little fight there was left in the descendants of Seleucus by the time of Trajan. They were content with Roman honors and the sight of their names linked with that of the emperor. More likely the Damascene was just a resident of Athens whose portraitist worked, perhaps unknowingly, in one of the latest fashions radiating from Rome in the era of Hadrian. The Damascene probably little realized that this pseudo-Republicanism in portraiture was related to intellectual currents flowing in circles to which he hardly could have had access.

#### THE SCULPTORS OF THE STELE AND THEIR WORK ELSEWHERE

So far we have drawn some picture of sculptural styles and techniques involved in the Damascene. At this point it is necessary to state that *two* (or more) sculptors are responsible for the relief. One carved the body and another finished the portrait from the roughed-out block. Other sculptors, or rather stonemason assistants, no doubt carried out the initial separation of aedicula and figure from the original slab of marble. An incised line and moderately fine chiselling form a thin halo around the back of the head to show where the portraitist brought the head down to its present dimensions. One can also see in the chisel marks at the base of the neck where the hand of the portraitist stops and that of the sculptor of drapery, left hand and legs takes over.

Comparisons reveal something more of the personality of each sculptor. The portraitist uses a combination of incisive, linear cutting or chisel strokes to point up his most delicate passages, around the eyes and mouth. He employs the technique, common in Athenian portraits of this period, of leaving very light claw marks all over the

<sup>12</sup> *A.J.A.*, LX, 1956, p. 332; *Einzelaufnahmen*, nos. 3042-3044; M. Wegner, *Die Herrscherbildnisse in antoninischer Zeit*, Berlin, 1939, p. 287; Daltrop, *op. cit.*, p. 129. Studniczka dated the prototype of the Duke of Wellington's bust to A.D. 102; Ursus Servianus was born in 47 and was Consul for the third time in 134. Lateran no. X583 (Daltrop, fig. 11) is considered a replica of the bust of Ursus Servianus formerly at Apsley House in London and now at Stratfield Saye in Hampshire: A. Giuliano, *Catalogo dei ritratti romani del Museo Profano Lateranense*, Vatican City, 1957, p. 49, no. 53, pls. 36 f.

face and neck. This imparts a more lifelike quality to the flesh and is the very antithesis of the high polish to be found in Antonine and later portraits. He either carved the head before the Damascene's death or used a bust of the deceased, one executed in the last years of his life, as model for the funerary monument. The habits of copyism in Roman Athens could have easily produced direct translation of a portrait made from life into the portrait of the stele. The same portraitist, of course, may have carved a bust of the Damascene and then also executed his funerary likeness.

All the technical characteristics of this sculptor's style occur in a head of Socrates found years ago in Athens and now in Boston (Pl. 66).<sup>13</sup> It is slightly smaller than life and may have been part of a herm. The bit of drapery surviving behind the neck, part of a himation, reflects the corresponding part of the mid-fourth century seated statue of Socrates often identified as a work of Lysippos.<sup>14</sup> Socrates's hair, of course, is treated in a mixture of Hellenistic style and incipient Antonine drill technique. Notwithstanding, the faces of Socrates and the Damascene are similar. It is not difficult to suggest that the same artist carved both heads. Socrates was probably created anywhere up to a decade after the commission for the Damascene's monument. In the interval, of course, the portraitist had made strides in the development of his style and its adaptations to the Antonine Baroque.

The head of Socrates was an essay in creating a forceful interpretation of the philosopher based on a portrait executed about seventy-five years after his death. A few years at most before our portraitist carved the likeness of the Damascene he fashioned a bust of an elderly man, found on the northeast slope of the Hill of the Nymphs and now in the Stoa Museum of the Athenian Agora (Pl. 67, b). E. B. Harrison has dated the bust in the latter part of Trajan's reign, and her words about Trajanic naturalism in the Republican tradition apply equally to the Damascene.<sup>15</sup> Her parallels for the Agora bust are drawn mainly from Italy, giving documentation to what we have said about the Roman origins of this Trajanic-Hadrianic revival of Republican verism. The Damascene and the Agora man have the same heavy ears, strong bone structure beneath the eyebrows, heavy eyelids, thinly compressed lips and play of thin lines for wrinkles over taut flesh surfaces. The hair is handled in identical fashion. In profile (Pl. 65, a and Pl. 67, b, right) both heads show a combination of sloping forehead and slightly receding face, giving the subjects a not-unpleasant look of thoughtful determination.

<sup>13</sup> Acc. no. 60.45. H. 0.204 m. M.F.A., *Annual Report for 1960*, p. 38; *The Connoisseur*, March 1961, pp. 68-69; *C.J.*, LVII, 1962, pp. 156-157, fig. 15.

<sup>14</sup> The work attributed to Lysippos by Diogenes Laertius (*Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*, II, 43) was evidently placed in the Pompeion, the Hall of Processions near the Dipylon Gate; M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York, 1955, pp. 46-47.

<sup>15</sup> E. B. Harrison, *The Athenian Agora*, I, *Portrait Sculpture*, Princeton, 1953, pp. 30-31, no. 19, pl. 14; *eadem*, *Ancient Portraits from the Athenian Agora*, Excavations of the Athenian Agora, Picture Book No. 5, Princeton, 1960, no. 12.

The sculptor of the Damascene's body has a personality easily isolated and thus found in one section of one of Athens's most familiar ensembles of architecture and sculpture. His hallmarks are as follows (Pls. 61, 63). He delights in the representation of the small crossfolds between the principal folds of the himation. He handles these with imaginative variation. These folds represent the creases in the garment where it was folded and laid away in a chest. The sculptor uses the running drill to accentuate the big folds of the himation below the chiton showing at the neck and to stress the places where the drapery around the arms rests against the body. No such drilling was used at the feet, indication that the sculptor was in no way seduced by the running drill in the way such devices are exploited by Antonine and Severan sculptors. The feet, however, are cut out from the surrounding marble, and they contrast in their finished qualities with the roughened ground and base of the pillar at the right (Pl. 64, b).

We have seen that the portraitist is an eclectic, reaching back through Flavian naturalism to Late Republican verism to find his schematic model. The sculptor of the Damascene's body is likewise a borrower, for the trick of contrasting heavy and very slight, hardly noticeable folds of drapery is one born in Hellenistic draped portrait statues. For example, one sees this technique admirably in the Hellenistic second-century statue of a ruler in an ample himation, found in the Roman Odeion on the island of Kos. A contemporary likeness of the Seleucid kings Antiochus V (164-162) or Tryphon Diodotus (142-139) has been seen in this statue.<sup>16</sup>

A well-known Athenian monument is the structure, a cenotaph or a tomb, commemorating the family of C. Julius Antiochus Philopappus (mentioned above, p. 289) on Mouseion Hill. The building is dated A.D. 114 to 116.<sup>17</sup> The three reliefs of the central zone of the building are devoted to Philopappus's *processus consularis* in A.D. 100. The central panel, based on the corresponding relief in the Arch of Titus at Rome, was carved by an artist from Rome. The (badly mutilated) small, right-hand panel is the work of a sculptor trained in the Pergamene tradition of forceful action overlain with surface delicacy and technical virtuosity. The left-hand panel, with Philopappus's six lictors preceding the quadriga, was carved (excepting probably the portraits) by the sculptor who finished the body of the Damascene (Pl. 68, a). The heads are too destroyed to allow any conclusions, but every stylistic and technical point applied to the draped form of Damascene fits the corresponding portions of Philopappus's lictors to the finest degree. These lictors, of course, wear the Roman toga rather than the himation.

It would seem that the Damascene sat for his portrait and died before the last decade of Hadrian's reign. These ten years marked the great post-Augustan period

<sup>16</sup> L. Laurenzi, *Clara Rhodos*, V, 2, 1932, pp. 75-80.

<sup>17</sup> M. Santangelo, *Annuario*, III-V, 1941-1943 (1948), pp. 193-256, especially figs. 44-45.

of building in Athens.<sup>18</sup> This is the chief reason why his funerary stele stood within the second-century walls of the city. Unruffled in his countenance by the impending Antonine illusionism, the Damascene belonged to the solid military and material world of Trajan and the strife-torn, irresolute but generally prosperous first decade of Hadrian's rule.<sup>19</sup> He could have died at peace, however, and secure in the knowledge he inhabited a renascent city, for the philhellene Hadrian had already begun to show favor to Athens in the decade before the dedication of the Olympieion. The remains of a sculptor's workshop have been found in the area of the Hadrianic city leading toward the Acropolis, and the Damascene's relief may not have had to travel far from the artists' studio to the spot alongside the ancient road where it was set up.<sup>20</sup>

The scarcity of large grave reliefs of this traditionally Attic type in the Trajanic and early Hadrianic periods is by no means due to accidents of survival. There may have been funerary structures like that of Philopappus, adorned with sculptured reliefs,<sup>21</sup> but the Damascene commissioned a monument which was a hundred times less common than the Attic grave reliefs of the half-century from 400 B.C.<sup>22</sup> A few of these Roman "neo-Attic" reliefs were exported from the Piraeus to the islands and to near-by mainland centers such as Epidauros,<sup>23</sup> but, despite the Roman commercialism of the second century after Christ, the Damascene's monument is as peculiar to Athens as is the funerary structure of Philopappus. The designs of the reliefs so prominent in the monument to Philopappus were influenced by Roman state art of the Flavian or early Trajanic eras, and, in like fashion, the Damascene's portraitist adapted fashions of the long-dead Roman Republic to Attic art. His models also came ultimately from the court art of Rome, where the late Trajanic to Hadrianic revival of Republican art had been born and had expired in the intellectual circles that produced leading sculptural commissions after those of the emperor.

<sup>18</sup> P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, Cairo, 1934, pp. 230-245 etc.; J. Day, *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination*, New York, 1942, pp. 185-198.

<sup>19</sup> See *A.J.A.*, LXI, 1957, pp. 229-231.

<sup>20</sup> The Hadrianic city and its gate led toward the Street of the Tripods where Praxiteles and others had had their studios from the fourth century B.C. onwards. The unfinished copy of the Hellenistic satyr and Hermaphrodite group, found in the recent excavations near the northern wall of the Olympieion precinct and still on the site, was probably started in the second century after Christ. See J. Travlos, *Πρακτικά*, 1949, pp. 25-43, especially pp. 38-40.

<sup>21</sup> Pausanias saw and recorded glimpses of these on his trips in and out of Athens: II, 2, graves, and cenotaph of Euripides; XXIX, 4-9, various graves and cenotaphs on road to the Academy; XXXVI, 3—XXXVII, 5, tombs on the road to Eleusis.

<sup>22</sup> Muehsam, *Berytus*, X, 1952-1953, pp. 62-63, pls. XIV-XVII.

<sup>23</sup> For instance, the grave relief of Timokles at Epidauros; he wears an early Antonine version of Hellenistic armor and stands with his horse and groom; *Berytus*, XIII, 1959, pp. 22-23, no. E 10, pl. XIX, fig. 56. The head of the horse is very "fifth century," as are so many Roman horses from Attica or by Attic sculptors, and the same hand may have carved the relief dedicated to Polydeukion found recently at Brauron (see below, note 34).

## EARLY IMPERIAL FORERUNNERS OF THE DAMASCENE

In many respects the stele of Tryphon son of Eutychos in the British Museum is the perfect early imperial document of transition from the monumental Attic stelai of the fourth century B.C. to the Damascene (Pl. 68, c).<sup>24</sup> The scale of the two stelai is comparable. Tryphon's aediculum, restored on the right side, is a less cumbersome version of that supplied for the Damascene. If the Damascene were, say, a man of commercial affairs, it is much more self-evident that Tryphon chose to be remembered for athletic prowess. Perhaps he died as a young man with very little else than a few athletic successes to his credit. In the tradition of the fourth century B.C., his face is hardly a portrait. In fact, he is so much conceived in the fourth century ideal that many would wish to date the relief in the time of Praxiteles rather than the reign of Tiberius. The head is one of those timeless ciphers that has neither the character of a Praxitelean god nor the interest of a portrait.

Costume, pose, proportions, and even the attributes of a strigil and staff are similar to those of early imperial copies after athletic statues or statues of Hermes from the height of Praxitelean creativity, that is around 340 B.C. The curve of the body and position of the feet suggest Praxitelean copies of the type known as the Hermes Belvedere or the late Hellenistic version of the same original known as the Hermes of Andros.<sup>25</sup> The same crisp dryness of flesh over relaxed muscle and softly-modelled bone-structure, contrasted to a burdensome cloak, that we find in many Julio-Claudian mechanical copies of fourth-century statuary is explicitly expressed here.<sup>26</sup> The deep cutting, length, and weighting of the cloak are particularly a signature of a sculptor accustomed to translating bronze originals into marble replicas. The statue known to modern students, through a misnomer of Pausanias, as the Hermes of Praxiteles had these same marks of copyism, executed on a very skillful level.<sup>27</sup> The Damascene was produced in an Athenian milieu of Roman portraits, Attic sarcophagi, and certain semi-historical monuments such as that to Philopappus. Tryphon

<sup>24</sup> Muehsam, *op. cit.*, p. 59, pl. IX, 2, dated in the reign of Claudius, A.D. 41 to 54; A. H. Smith, British Museum, *Catalogue of Sculpture*, I, London, 1904, p. 310, no. 626. The height is 5 feet, 11 inches. The fourth-century prototypes are collected and illustrated by H. Diepolder, *Die Attischen Grabreliefs des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, pp. 36-39, pl. 31.

<sup>25</sup> The original was a late Praxitelean creation of Hermes as leader of the souls of the dead; G. Lippold, *Handbuch der Archäologie*, III, 1, Munich, 1950, p. 275, pl. 96, no. 4.

<sup>26</sup> As, for instance, in the Louvre "Germanicus," signed by Kleomenes; see R. Carpenter, *A.J.A.*, LVIII, 1954, pp. 10-11, pl. 2.

<sup>27</sup> Carpenter, *op. cit.*, p. 12. The "Hermes" of Praxiteles was really a satyr, for there is a small lead-filled hole for a metal tail 0.18 m. above the base of the spine; this hole, plastered over in modern times, is not to be confused with the old support which pierced the middle of the back. Pausanias of course did not see this tail since the statue stood against the cella wall of the Heraion and between two columns. The date of the copy is indicated by the fact that a statue of Nero's wife Poppaea Sabina stood next to the "Hermes"-satyr; Nero no doubt took the bronze original off to Rome where it perished, not before it had exerted its influence in Campanian painting.

is an equally Athenian expression of his times, for he belongs to an artistic age, which while exploiting the past through copyism could and did create new works of meaning.

#### ATHENIAN ART OF THE SECOND CENTURY AFTER CHRIST

Thanks to the researches of the past two generations, we not only know more about Athenian art of the second century after Christ but we admire this art for what it tried to achieve. The repertory runs from the coldly classical, pedantic, and often boring statues of Antinous on one extreme<sup>28</sup> to Attic mythological and mildly symbolic or merely decorative sarcophagi on another.<sup>29</sup> The portraits of Kosmetai are powerful and original, having no precise counterparts anywhere else in the Greek world or the Latin West. They span the generations from Hadrian to Septimius Severus.<sup>30</sup> From the fact that two of them were found on the Acropolis and one in the Agora, Athens must have produced and exported the superlative cuirassed Hadrians.<sup>31</sup> They are the marble statues with breastplates displaying Athena or Roma-Virtus crowned by Victoriae and standing on the Lupa Romana.<sup>32</sup> Originality within the Greek imperial framework was displayed by Jason of Athens in his armored, female statues of the Iliad and the Odyssey (which he signed) flanking Homer near the Library of Pantainos, works of the decade 130 to 140.<sup>33</sup>

In the classicistic and revivalist circle of the statues and, especially, reliefs commemorating Antinous belongs an amazing document of early Antonine art found near the stoa at Brauron. It is a dedication to Polydeukion, relative and favorite of Herodes Atticus, in the form of a large relief of the "funerary banquet" class. A number of fragments were found, and the two principal pieces, on separate and joining slabs, have been published (Pl. 68, b).<sup>34</sup> Polydeukion is said to be represented reclining on a couch and receiving the offerings accorded in Attic art of the fourth century B.C. to the heroized deceased. Presumably this is a monument of the time when Herodes Atticus set up numerous sculptural tokens of mourning for his prematurely-deceased young companion, in the same way Hadrian had honored Antinous.<sup>35</sup> The contrasts between the Antonine head of Polydeukion, the starkly-

<sup>28</sup> *The Nelson Gallery and Atkins Museum* (Kansas City), Bulletin, III, 2, Oct. 1960, pp. 1-7.

<sup>29</sup> J. M. C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School*, Cambridge, 1934, Chapter III.

<sup>30</sup> P. Graindor, *B.C.H.*, XXXIX, 1915, pp. 241-401.

<sup>31</sup> *Berytus*, XIII, 1959, pp. 55-57; *A.J.A.*, LXI, 1957, pp. 226-228; E. B. Harrison, *Agora*, I, p. 73.

<sup>32</sup> *Berytus*, XIII, 1959, p. 55, no. 185; J. M. C. Toynbee, *Roman Coinage, Essays Presented to Harold Mattingly*, Oxford, 1956, pp. 213-214, note 2.

<sup>33</sup> *Berytus*, XIII, 1959, p. 57, nos. 198, 199; R. E. Wycherley, *Agora*, III, 1957, p. 150, no. 464.

<sup>34</sup> *Εἰκόνες*, 1961, pp. 35-36, fig. 39; *B.C.H.*, LXXXVI, 1962, pp. 679-681, fig. 21.

<sup>35</sup> On Polydeukion and his portraits, see C. Blümel, *Römische Bildnisse*, Berlin, 1933, p. 30; Harrison, *Agora*, I, pp. 37-38, no. 26; *A.J.A.*, LX, 1956, p. 343. One of the standard Athenian, himation-clad busts from which the portrait in the Brauron relief derives was found at Kephissia, with a bust of Herodes Atticus and the arm of Memnon; *A.J.A.*, LXV, 1961, pp. 299-300; *B.C.H.*,

neutral background, and the very Pheidian horse's head are startling. The horse's head is treated in the delicate low relief of a second-class grave stele of about 425 B.C., such as the stele of a galloping rider in the National Museum, Athens.<sup>86</sup> The head of the Polydeukion, however, is a careful replica, a mechanical copy, of the Athenian portrait which we know from the bust in Berlin and its numerous replicas. The portrait, circulated widely in Attica in the time of Herodes Atticus, blends early Antonine pathos with the patently mannered and melancholy features of the youth. In many senses this dedication to Polydeukion is one of the most eclectic monuments of the late Hadrianic or early Antonine periods. Compared to it, the Damascene is an original creation of Attic art which borrows old forms and blends them with Roman naturalism to produce a funerary monument more forcefully direct and demanding of the viewer's attention than any comparable monument from the Latin West in this age. If there is anything unpleasing about the Damascene, it is probably the shock at seeing this frank sculptural expression of the deceased in a city famed for its simple stelai of the fifth century and the sentimental or grand funerary reliefs of the fourth.

Many other examples of diversity and imagination in the Athenian artistic creativity of the second century after Christ could be cited.

As emphasized in terms of style and details of carving, the Damascene finds his place, on the basis of portrait alone, late in the reign of Trajan or in the reign of Hadrian, most likely around A.D. 120. But in many senses the man in his niche is an early manifestation of that type of persistent Atticism which we do not expect to find in Hadrianic art and which we call revivalistic in Late Antiquity or the Byzantine period. The Attic love of frontality, going back to the Erechtheion and Nike Temple friezes, is strong in the presentation of single or multiple-figure relief.<sup>87</sup> The tenets of fourth-century or Hellenistic funerary design are done the necessary courtesies, especially when we consider the number of fourth-century grave stelai in which a single figure stands facing us in directly frontal fashion, with or without the architectural surroundings.<sup>88</sup> The sculptor of the Damascene, however, is interested in

LXXXVI, 1962, p. 683, fig. 27. The presence of a horse's head, as in the relief, gives another example of heroization or identification of Herodes' youths with the Dioskouroi.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Conze, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, II, no. 1161, pl. CCL (stele of Aristokles in the British Museum), or no. 1161A (Athens, National Museum); a similar style occurs in the Roman horsemen reliefs inspired by the Parthenon frieze: see G. M. A. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek Sculptures in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1954, pp. 79-80, under no. 142.

<sup>87</sup> See E. Will, *Le relief culturel gréco-romain*, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 183, Paris, 1955, Chapter IV, pp. 430-431; *Gnomon*, XXIX, 1957, pp. 371-372.

<sup>88</sup> There is usually *some* suggestion of an architectural silhouette, but it can be very minimal. An unpublished stele in the New York market, showing a nude boy holding a bird, while an animal resembling a marten leaps at it, presents the simple pediment with akroteria and with no side columns or pilasters. This stele follows fourth-century models fairly closely, but the child wears his hair in the transitional-style manner of Antinous, and the monument is a work of the Antonine period. The boy's pose is articulated in the Praxitelean convention, but he is fully frontal, much more so

a bold head, certain emphasized folds of drapery and boldly planted feet, all strongly silhouetted in a circumscribed niche.

It is no coincidence that this terminology could be applied to a fourth or fifth century ivory, a so-called Consular diptych for example, and to the mosaics of Justinian and his court in San Vitale at Ravenna. The tendency is always to push the sources of Byzantine style farther back in Graeco-Roman chronology.<sup>39</sup> The second quarter of the second century after Christ is by no means too early to find the notions of classical modelling and volume of form shifting in Attic art to the linear dematerialization of Late Antiquity. And although the man himself claims Damascene antecedents, there is no question of Eastern influences in this stele. The work is purely Attic, on the threshold of transition to Late Antiquity. Just as the last fourth-century Attic stelai were big, bold and deeply carved, so the stele of the Damascene falls near the end of the Athenian imperial tradition with respect to impressive stelai. The commemorative relief of Polydeukion at Brauron is one of the last major Athenian monuments in the old tradition that can be dated roughly on external evidence. There are no other such semi-historical sculptures and no major Attic grave stelai that can be confidently dated after the middle of the second century after Christ.<sup>40</sup>

Athenian prosperity in the second century thus brought a demand for grave stelai rivalling the size of those made before Demetrios of Phaleron curbed sepulchral enthusiasms in the fourth century B.C. In this burst of Trajanic, Hadrianic and early Antonine activity, the stele of Artemidoros in the National Museum is a Hadrianic to early Antonine example as striking as the stele of the Damascene and a very different interpretation of the classic tradition (Pl. 68, d). The landscape follows a Hellenistic decorative manner of piling up elements vertically, without losing sight of the illusionistic qualities of the composition. The deceased, appropriately represented as a hunter, is a dumpy figure arranged in the pose and exuding the classicism of a Meleager from an Attic sarcophagus.<sup>41</sup> The well-known example on the terrace of the Eleusis Museum provides a good parallel.<sup>42</sup> Artemidoros, his landscape, his

than Tryphon. Cf., for form, Conze, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 61, no. 1974, pl. CCCXXVII. The sarcophagi on Paros combine all types of frontality in their reliefs: standing, seated, reclining, and grouped figures (see *I.G.*, XII, 5, nos. 371, 389).

<sup>39</sup> See D. V. Ainalov, *The Hellenistic Origins of Byzantine Art*, edited by C. Mango, New Brunswick (N. J.), 1961, *passim*; *C.W.*, LV, 1962, p. 297.

<sup>40</sup> The monumental right half of the stele of Polydamus in Berlin (Blümel, *op. cit.*, p. 43, no. R 104, pls. 68-69) seems to date about A.D. 235 and is one of the last great Greek grave reliefs of the Roman period; this section of a two-figure relief cannot be traced beyond the Giustiniani collection in Venice.

<sup>41</sup> The stele of Artemidoros was found near the Olympieion: Muehsam, *op. cit.*, p. 99, pl. XVI, 1; S. Papaspiridi, *Guide du Musée National*, Athens, 1927, pp. 224-225, fig. 44; Conze, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 80-85, no. 2051 (note), pl. CCCXLIX.

<sup>42</sup> A. Giuliano, *Annuario*, XXXIII-XXXIV, 1955-1956, pp. 183-205; also the sarcophagus from Patras, in the National Museum: S. Papaspiridi, *op. cit.*, pp. 223-224, no. 1186, pl. XIV; C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophagen-Reliefs*, III, 2, Berlin, 1904, p. 268, pls. LXX-LXXI.



dogs, the boar emerging from a thicket, a dead goat beneath his feet, and other details of the chase are all enframed in the typical architectural shrine of a grave relief of the fourth-century B.C. In a sense, while the Damascene carries on the Hellenistic Attic and East Greek tradition of a single figure enframed in architecture, Artemidoros harks back to the last experiments in monumental stelai of the fourth century B.C. The stele from the Ilissos combined figures of disparate scales with a slight suggestion of rocky landscape, and Aristonantes (along with other warrior-stelai)<sup>43</sup> developed the sense of firm movement from one side to the other of the architectural frame.

Just as the portrait and body of the Damascene find parallels from ateliers working on portrait-busts and monuments such as the cenotaph or tomb of Philopappus, so it is natural to place Artemidoros alongside the best work of Attic sarcophagus-carvers. Tastes in Athens of the age of Hadrian were so diverse that a gifted sculptor and his workshop could not and did not support himself solely on production of stelai like those of the Damascene and Artemidoros. Those sculptors that went wholeheartedly into the service of the Romans could continue to carve imperial portraits or could produce monumental ensembles such as the cuirassed bust of Marcus Aurelius in a tondo in the pediment of the Greater Propylaea at Eleusis.<sup>44</sup>

From the stele of Artemidoros and other examples, it is very evident sculptors of not-inconsiderable imagination were readily available to carve these Hadrianic "Neo-Attic" reliefs. The man from Damascus, or one of his family, ordered an ensemble of lifesize proportions. It was set up on the road from Athens to Kephissia, probably just within the limits of the Hadrianic city. The major part of this grave monument has come down to us, and the Damascene now looks out from the colonnade of Loring Hall over an Athens as building with prosperity as the city of Hadrian over eighteen hundred years ago.

STERLING DOW

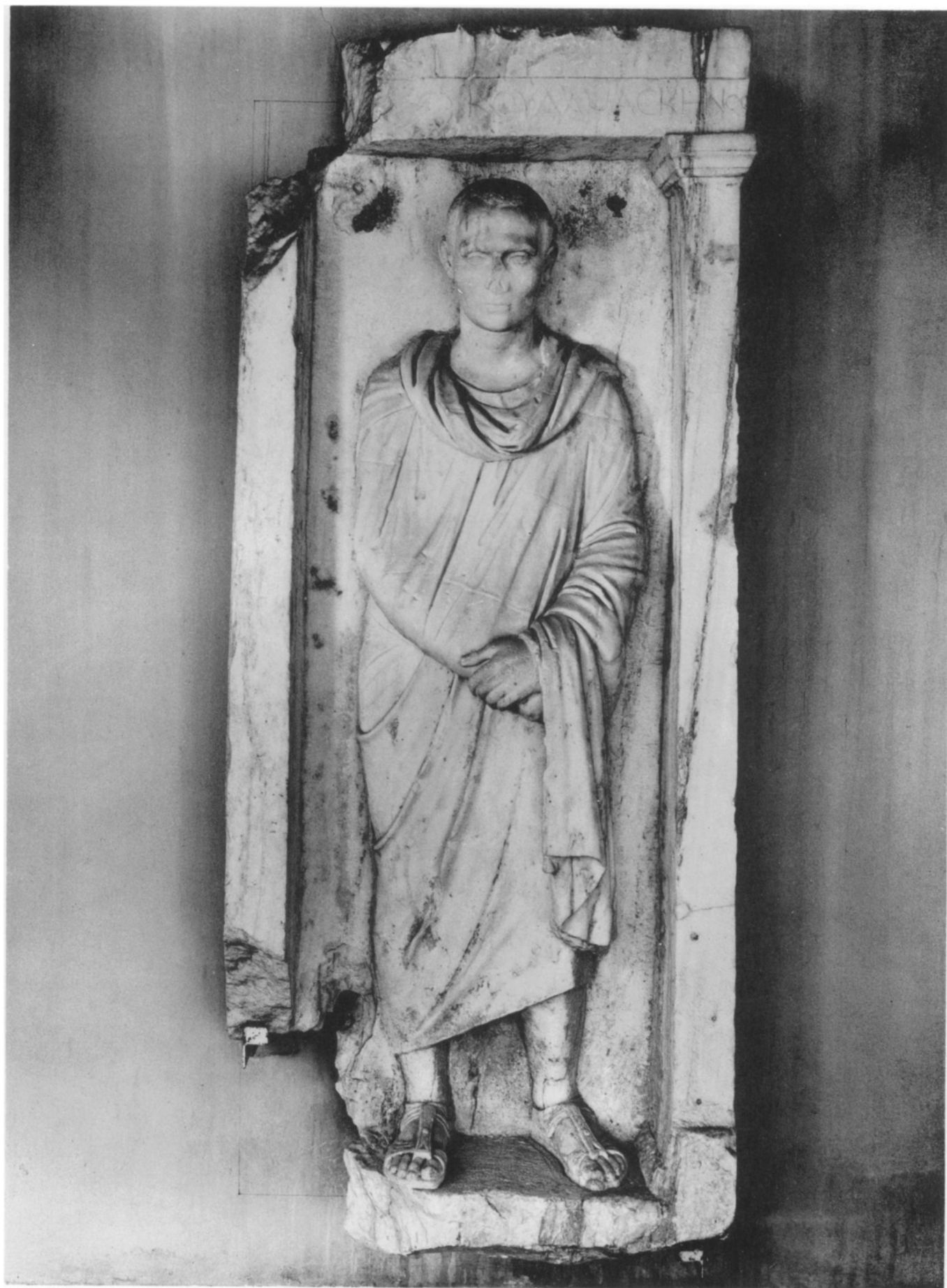
CORNELIUS C. VERMEULE III

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON

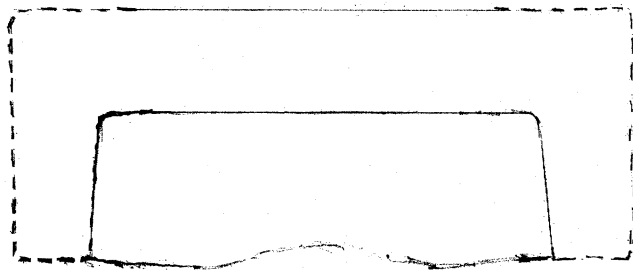
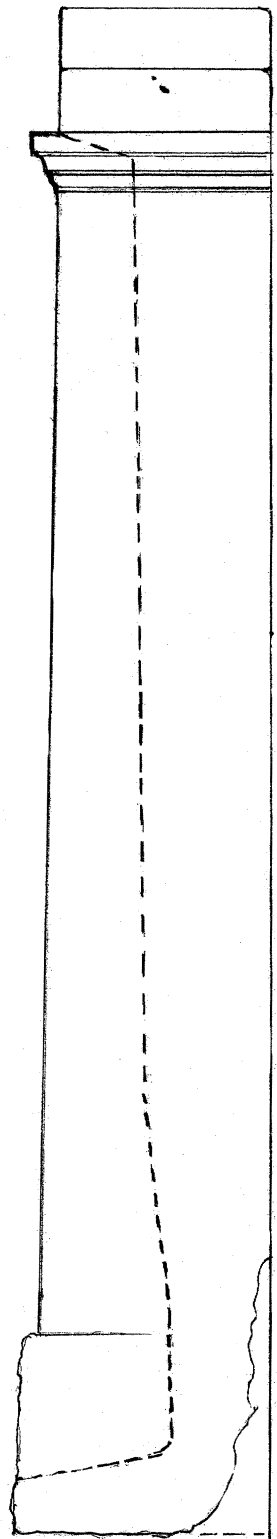
<sup>43</sup> A splendid, although mutilated example is the large stele of a striding warrior with shield on his arm (Silanion), found on Salamis and now deposited in the Tower of the Winds: Conze, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, II, no. 1150, pl. CCXLIV; cf. Conze, III, no. 1301 (a standing warrior in armor, in the National Museum) and *Berytus*, XIII, 1959, p. 13, no. A 8, pl. I, fig. 2 (a striding warrior in the outdoor sculpture storage behind the Hephaisteion).

<sup>44</sup> *Berytus*, XIII, 1959, pp. 29-30, note 24; O. Deubner, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXII, 1937, pp. 73-81, pls. 39-42. A similar, headless monumental architectural tondo of the Hadrianic or Antonine period exists in the garden of the Thebes Museum.



Damaskenos Stele

STERLING DOW AND CORNELIUS C. VERMEULE III:  
THE STATUE OF THE DAMASKENOS AT THE AMERICAN SCHOOL AT ATHENS



Scale  $\frac{1}{10}$

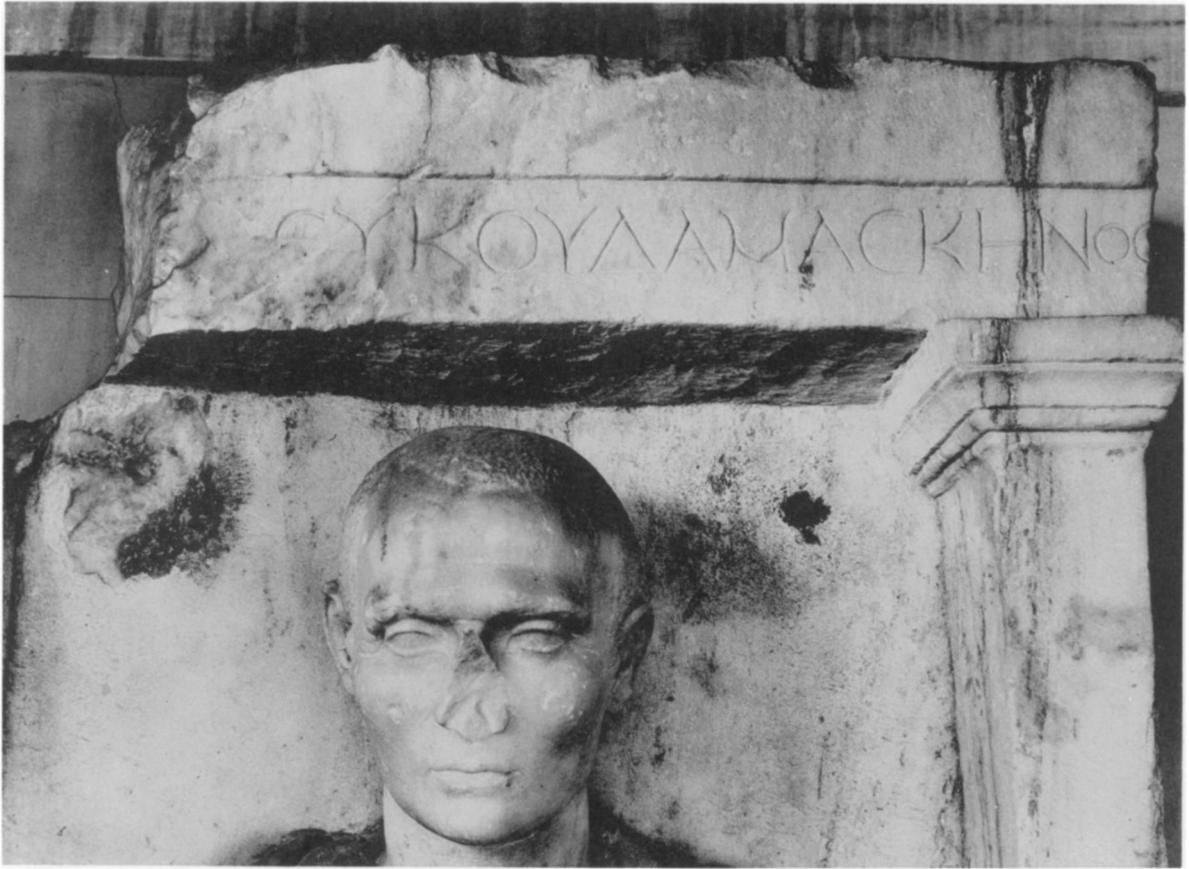
Damaskenos Stele, Drawing of Front and Right Side

STERLING DOW AND CORNELIUS C. VERMEULE III:  
THE STATUE OF THE DAMASKENOS AT THE AMERICAN SCHOOL AT ATHENS



Damaskenos Stele, Detail of Head and Shoulders. Scale *ca.* 4:10

STERLING DOW AND CORNELIUS C. VERMEULE III:  
THE STATUE OF THE DAMASKENOS AT THE AMERICAN SCHOOL AT ATHENS



a. Damaskenos Stele, Detail of Upper Part



b. Damaskenos Stele, Detail of Feet

STERLING DOW AND CORNELIUS C. VERMEULE III:  
THE STATUE OF THE DAMASKENOS AT THE AMERICAN SCHOOL AT ATHENS



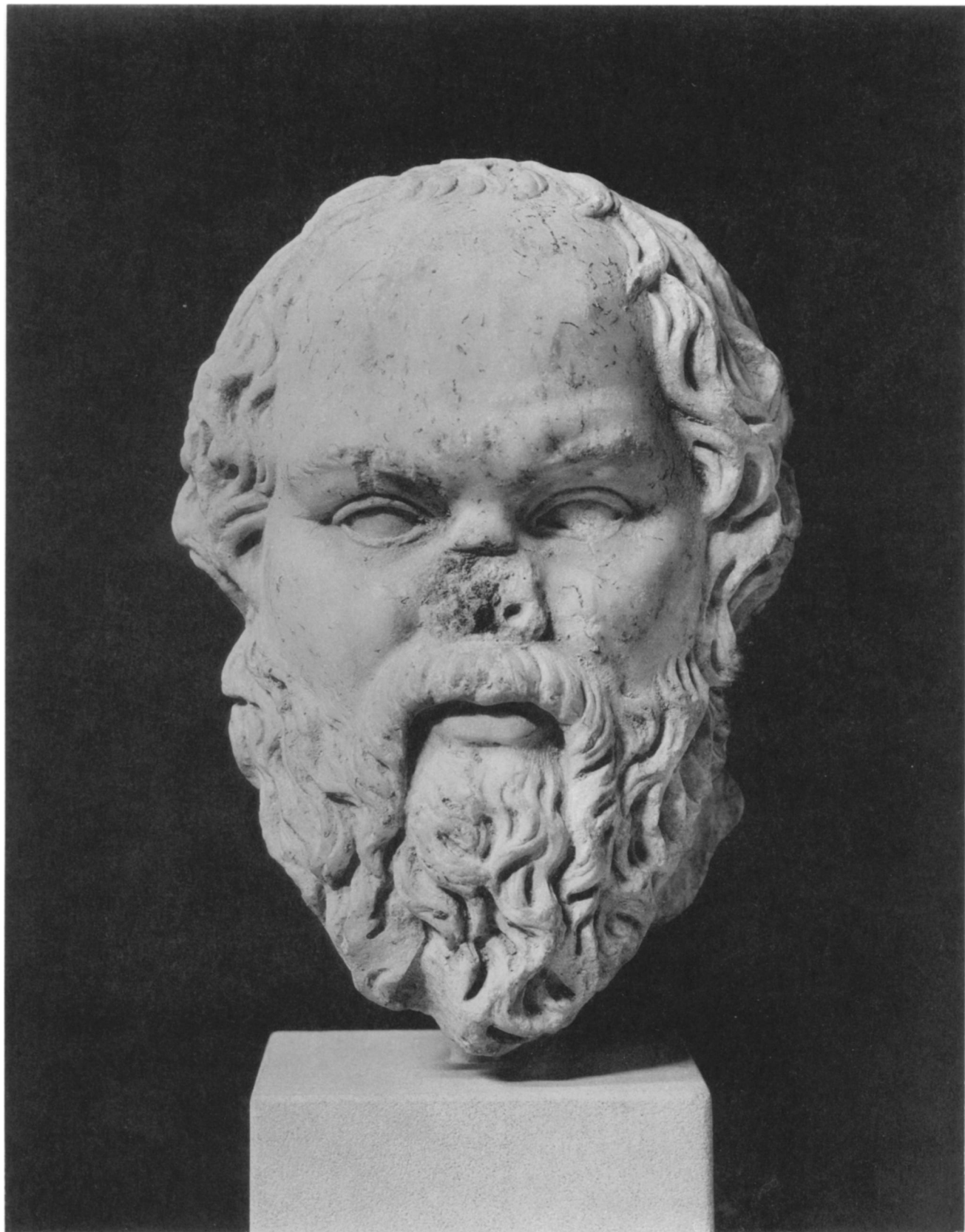


a. Damaskenos Stele from Right Side



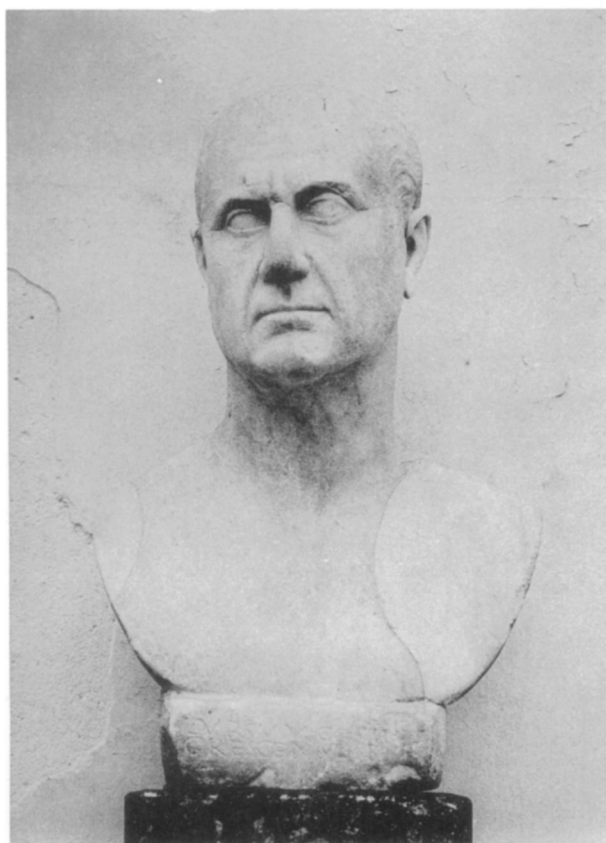
b. Block from a Base, found near site of Damaskenos Stele

STERLING DOW AND CORNELIUS C. VERMEULE III:  
THE STATUE OF THE DAMASKENOS AT THE AMERICAN SCHOOL AT ATHENS

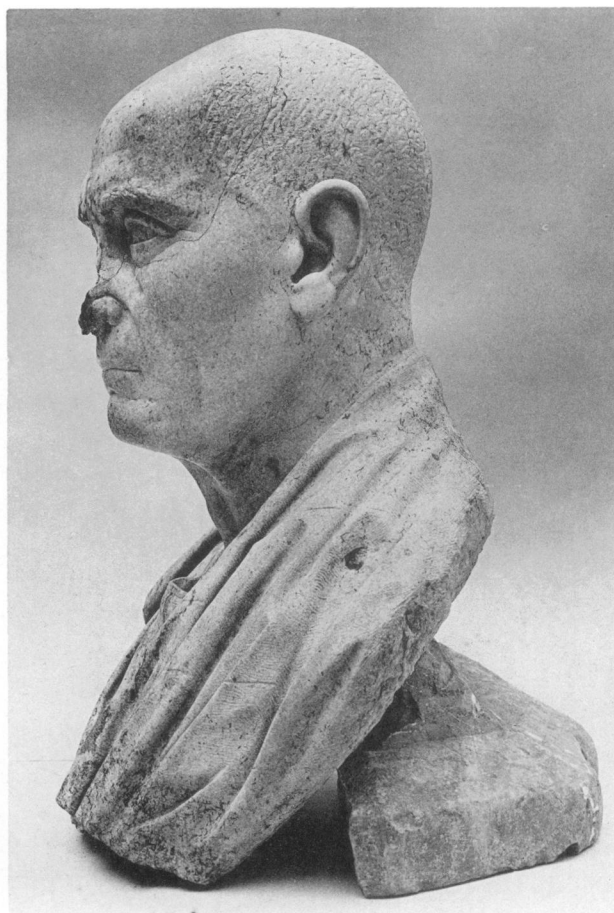
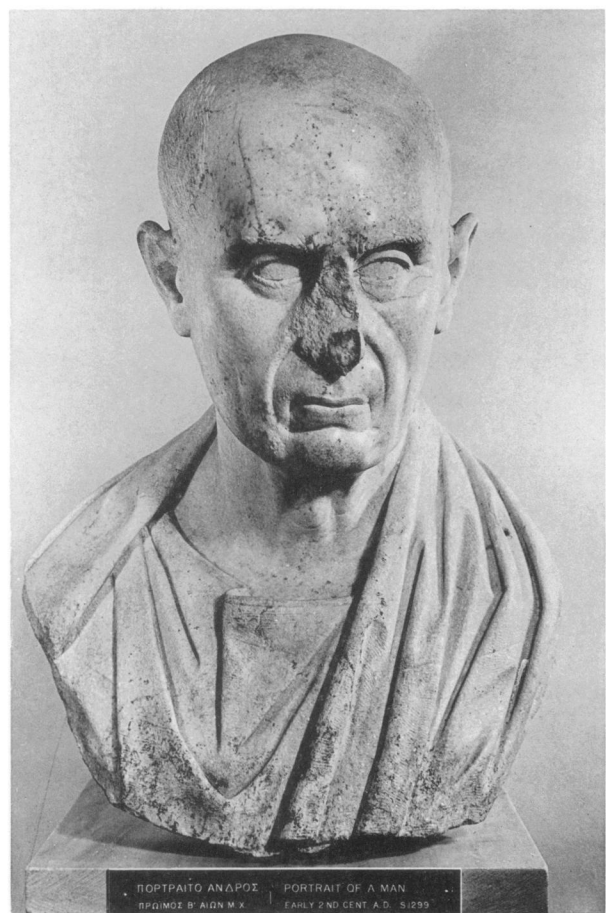


Portrait of Socrates, found in Athens. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

STERLING DOW AND CORNELIUS C. VERMEULE III:  
THE STATUE OF THE DAMASKENOS AT THE AMERICAN SCHOOL AT ATHENS



a. Ursus Servianus. Stratfield Saye House, Collection of the Duke of Wellington



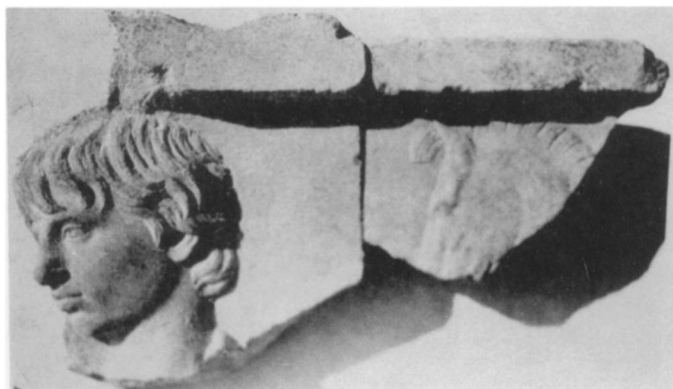
b. Unknown Man. Trajanic Period. Athens, Agora Museum

STERLING DOW AND CORNELIUS C. VERMEULE III:  
THE STATUE OF THE DAMASKENOS AT THE AMERICAN SCHOOL AT ATHENS





a. Procession of Lictors, Monument of Philopappus, Athens



b. Section of Relief Dedicated to Polydeukion. Found at Brauron



c. Stele of Tryphon. Julio-Claudian Period. London, British Museum



d. Stele of Artemidoros. Hadrianic Period. Athens, National Museum