

# NEW SCULPTURE FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA, 1959

(PLATES 81-86)

GOOD and interesting sculpture was unusually plentiful among the finds from the 1959 excavations in the Athenian Agora. Some of the most beautiful pieces are originals from the 5th century B.C., but the new discoveries also have much to tell about artistic activity in Athens during the Roman period. A selection only is presented in this report.<sup>1</sup>

The earliest and perhaps the loveliest piece of all is a head made of Parian marble, a little over life size, which seems to have been broken from its statue in antiquity and re-used, perhaps more than once (Pl. 81, a, b).<sup>2</sup> The surface of the face, though mottled by brown stains, is little weathered, so that its subtlety can still be enjoyed. Flesh and features have been given a very fine abrasive finish with no suggestion of polish, and the natural translucency of the marble lends a gentle glow. The face is carved in large and simple forms but with a beautifully controlled outline and with a very delicate play of surface in the soft areas around the mouth. The goddess, for such she must be, though her name remains a mystery, wears a low stephane which ends on the sides above the ears. Irregular chisel marks on the headdress and coarse carving in the hair behind the ears which contrasts sharply with the softly varied treatment of the front hair suggest that some re-cutting was done in ancient times, probably to remedy damage that was suffered when the head was first broken from its statue. The back hair, now broken away, was apparently twisted into a mass that fell down the back of the neck as in the Artemis of Ariccia.<sup>3</sup> The head shows no marked inclination, but it may be that it was originally meant to be seen in three-quarters view from the proper right, for the upper eyelid overlaps the lower at the outer corner of the right eye but not of the left.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The writer was able to study this sculpture during a visit to Athens in the summer and autumn of 1959 which was made possible by grants from the American Council of Learned Societies and the Council for Research in the Humanities of Columbia University.

<sup>2</sup> Inv. S 2094. Found June 30, 1959 in the core of the Late Roman Fortification (S 17). P.H. 0.28m. The head was probably first carved in one piece with its statue, but after it was broken off, perhaps by accident, a round hole was drilled in the center of the neck for its reattachment. This contained no dowel or rust stains, but the two smaller holes fore and aft of it still held iron dowels. The head is too small to have belonged to the Parian marble statue described below, pp. 373-376.

<sup>3</sup> Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, pls. 756-757. Paribeni, *Museo Nazionale Romano, Sculture del V Secolo*, nos. 108, 109.

<sup>4</sup> On the Laborde Head, from one of the pediments of the Parthenon, there is overlapping in

This must be the work of an Attic sculptor of the first rank from some time between 440 and 420 B.C. The impressionistic softness of the hair would be improbable before the time of the Parthenon frieze, and the expression of the face recalls some faces on the frieze, for example the Artemis of the east frieze. On the other hand, the low forehead and the wide eyes with sharply defined lids show no hint of the approach of fourth-century style. The face is not so plump in outline as typical Parthenon and post-Pheidian Attic female faces such as the Athena Parthenos, the Laborde Head, the Prokne of Alkmanenes and the Erechtheion caryatids, but it is shorter and has proportionately larger features than the "Lemnian Athena." A head in Berlin, which has sometimes been compared with the "Lemnia," though it is a later and warmer creation, resembles the Agora head in eyes and mouth.<sup>5</sup>

Most interesting is the evidence that our head was used as a model by copyists in Roman times. Three tiny pin-prick depressions have been worn into the finished surface in just the positions where a Roman sculptor placed the measuring points on a work that he was copying from a model, two in the forehead hair and one on the chin.<sup>6</sup> It is not surprising that the head was copied, for it is a beautiful example of that quiet "classical" style that was always popular in Roman times for the heads of goddesses and the nobler female personifications. It must be from a sculptor's workshop, therefore, and not from a temple destroyed by the Herulians, that this head came into the Late Roman Fortification. A number of unfinished works were also found in the wall, and remains of marble workshops found just south of the road that bounds the south side of the Agora gave further evidence of the presence of sculptors in this area.<sup>7</sup>

the left eye but not in the right (cf. Becatti, *Problemi Fidiaci*, pl. 7 for the left side and *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art*, III, pl. 161 for the right). This, together with the more careful rendering of the left ear and the hair on the left side suggests that the head was made to be seen in three-quarters view from the proper left, and should therefore probably come from the right half of its pediment. The Agora head does not look like pedimental sculpture, being quite free of pedimental weathering. A diagonal view of the head is by no means unusual for free-standing statues.

<sup>5</sup> Blümel, *Katalog*, K 173.

<sup>6</sup> Compare the points on the unfinished "Eubouleus" head, Pl. 85, c, d. I owe this suggestion to Dorothy B. Thompson, who first noticed the holes.

<sup>7</sup> Besides the unfinished "Eubouleus" (Pl. 85, c, d) and the relief of a man with horses (Pl. 84, c), unfinished works from the wall included several small statuettes: a Hermes, S 2080 (R 16); the feet of an Apollo with a kithara as support, S 2093 (S 17); a Dioskouros, S 2100 (S 17); two running figures of Artemis of the Rospigliosi type, S 2101-2 (S 17); a fragment of a female figure in peplos, S 2103 (S 17); an archaistic kriophoros roughly sketched in poros, S 2107 (S 17); and a female figure, perhaps Aphrodite, very roughly blocked out, S 2108 (S 17). Also from the wall are the shaft of an unfinished portrait herm, head missing, cuttings for herm-arms not yet made, S 2105 (S 17); a poros relief consisting of separate sketches, perhaps for metalwork, one of which shows two Erotes, S 2083 (S 17); and a tripod and snake, evidently a support for a statue of Apollo, about two-thirds life size, of the Lykeios type, S 2127 (R 15). These workshops south of the Agora are doubtless also the source of two unfinished pieces found just north of the

In the cella of the Southeast Temple described above by Homer Thompson (pp. 339-343) the excavator, Mrs. Thompson, found two large fragments of a colossal female statue in Pentelic marble. One piece is from the upper part of the torso and preserves cuttings for the separately attached head and left arm; the other extends from the hips to below the knees. These pieces are so heavy that moving them is difficult. Temporarily they have been set upright in place (Pl. 81, c) until a more sheltered location can be found for them.<sup>8</sup> The great base whose core was found in place in the temple is too large to have been occupied by a single statue, but it would seem that the present statue, the only one not carried off, must have been the largest of those that stood there. Scheme and style recall the so-called Capitoline Demeter, a Roman copy of a late fifth-century work that has been associated with the name of Alkamenes.<sup>9</sup> Of fifth-century originals, the caryatids of the Erechtheion are most similar.<sup>10</sup>

The goddess wears a peplos with an overfall below which appears the strongly arched edge of the kolpos drawn out over the belt. A bit of the kolpos may be seen on our larger fragment near the upper break on the proper right side. The lower part of the dress falls in fine long parallel folds that give the impression of a thin material. In the Agora statue there are more of these than in the Capitoline Demeter,

Eleusinion, the portrait herm (Pl. 86, d, e) and a roughly blocked-out head, S 2043 (T 18) made of the same coarse-grained marble as the "Eubouleus." For the evidence of marble-working south of the road, see above, p. 333.

<sup>8</sup> Inv. S 2070 a (lower torso), P.H. 1.60 m., and b (upper torso), P.H. 1.00 m. Found under Byzantine wall in cella of Southeast Temple (Q 16). Back of both fragments completely broken away. Only bottoms of folds remain on upper portion. Surface of front folds fairly well preserved on lower portion. All surfaces somewhat weathered. Lime adhering and some traces of burning. Just as the fragments seemed to us too heavy to move easily, so they must have seemed to the men of late antiquity who built the lime-slaking pit that was found beside the fragments. Probably the statue had been toppled from its base, breaking with the fall into two fragments, from which the destroyers then chipped away small chunks to feed to the limekiln. Many little bits, edges of folds especially, were found in the surrounding earth. They clearly belong to the statue, but we have not succeeded in joining them to the surviving cores, probably because intervening portions are missing.

<sup>9</sup> Stuart Jones, *Museo Capitolino*, Salone 24, pp. 290-291, pl. 70. Brunn-Bruckmann, 358. Petersen conjectured that the "Demeter" was a copy of the Hera of Alkamenes, the statue which Pausanias saw in a half-ruined temple between the Peiraeus and Athens (*Röm. Mitt.*, IV, 1889, pp. 65 ff.; Pausanias, I, 1, 5). Furtwängler, though doubtful of the identification with Hera, retained the connection with Alkamenes, comparing the head to that of the "Venus Genetrix" in which he saw, probably wrongly, the Aphrodite in the Gardens by Alkamenes (*Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, p. 82). A whole series of statues, generally similar in type but not identical in details, may be attached to the Capitoline Demeter. For a recent summary of opinions and bibliography see G. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi, le Sculture*, p. 42.

<sup>10</sup> Schrader, *Pheidias*, pp. 195-196, discusses the relation of the caryatids to the Capitoline Demeter, which he sees as a middle term between the Prokne of Alkamenes and the caryatids. Dohrn, *Attische Plastik*, p. 67, denies that Prokne and caryatids are creations of the same master.

which is smaller in scale; the finish of the folds is finer and their carving more varied. The Demeter wears a cloak with the ends laid over her shoulders, the rest falling down her back. None of this survives on our statue, which has had the whole back surface, both upper and lower, chipped and split away. No doubt the projecting loops of drapery on the shoulders offered a good chopping-hold to the destroyer's pick, for both shoulders of the Agora statue have disappeared. What remains for us to see on the upper portion of our statue, besides the cutting for the neck, which shows the rhomboid neckline that the Demeter scheme demands, is only the bottoms of the folds below the neck and between the breasts. Here we find the same sweep of the folds toward the side of the supporting leg that we have on the Capitoline figure. The raised left arm of the Demeter explains why the sculptor of our figure chose to carve the left arm separately.

The original size of our statue can be only very roughly estimated, but even so it is clear that it was remarkably big. Measurements of the neck cutting and of the width of the statue at hip level indicate that the figure was about twice the size of the caryatids, that is, somewhere near 4 m. tall.<sup>11</sup>

The size is unusual enough to suggest that a fragment of a right foot with a little of its plinth found in 1954 in a modern house wall in the same area must come from the same statue.<sup>12</sup> Scheme and scale both agree. The foot must have belonged to the weight-leg of a draped female statue, for the folds of the dress break over the instep just as they do in the caryatids.<sup>13</sup>

Two important questions remain unanswered, what divinity our statue represents, and whether it is an original fifth-century cult statue or a very fine Roman copy. The answers depend in part on the history of the temple in which the statue was found. Since Homer Thompson has discovered (above, p. 342) that the columns used for the pronaos of the temple are actually fifth-century Doric columns transported from the unfinished temple of Demeter and Kore at Thorikos, it is at least possible that the statue too was brought from Thorikos. The possibility is somewhat strengthened by the fact that the architectural style of the temple suggests a date around 420 B.C.,<sup>14</sup> whereas the statue could well belong to the immediately following

<sup>11</sup> Neck cutting, distance from point in front to point on left shoulder, *ca.* 0.35 m. (same distance on second caryatid on west side, 0.17 m.). Width of statue just below preserved edge of kolpos on side *ca.* 1.08 m. (average width of maidens measured just below the overfall on the weight-leg side 0.535 m. The length of the overfall varies on the caryatids but the width is fairly constant in this part of the figure, so that small differences in height make virtually no difference in width). I am grateful to Höpfner of the German Institute in Athens for the measurements of the caryatids. Their heights without their plinths and cushions range from 2.004 m. to 2.029 m.

<sup>12</sup> Inv. S 1823, found in area Q 16. Broken off diagonally behind big toe, preserving first three toes, front of sandal sole and a little of the plinth to right and in front of foot.

<sup>13</sup> The lower part of the Capitoline Demeter, being restored, is useless for comparison.

<sup>14</sup> I owe this observation to W. B. Dinsmoor.

decade. This would confirm the identification of the type as Demeter, though it may possibly have represented someone else in its Roman re-use. The workmanship is good enough for a fifth-century original; no careless detail of form or finish betrays the copyist's hand.<sup>15</sup> There is none of the empty, mechanical quality that would naturally result if an original on a smaller scale had been adapted to colossal size. If the statue is a copy, which seems at present the less likely alternative, the original was probably of the same colossal scale. This would explain why we have several adaptations but no exact replicas in the series of statues related to the Capitoline Demeter, which must itself be a reduced copy.

The tower of the Late Roman Fortification which contained the fine Ionic columns described above (pp. 351-356) also yielded a late fifth-century statue of flamboyant beauty (Pl. 82). It had been deliberately smashed into many fragments which were used as packing between the larger stones of the wall, but patient piecing together has recovered the pose and the main lines of movement.<sup>16</sup> The figure, which is well over life size, stands in a swaying pose as if she had just taken a step and paused to look back. Her feet are placed diagonally on the plinth, but the upper torso is turned a little more frontally than the legs, and the head may well have turned still more, the glance following the direction of the trailing foot, so that the total movement

<sup>15</sup> Two technical questions may be raised: (1) is the technique of attaching the head and left arm Roman rather than Greek? and (2) were marble statues of such large size made in the fifth century B.C.? For neither is there conclusive evidence. The head and neck were set into a cutting with approximately vertical walls and a flat bottom that sloped a little forward. The head was evidently held in place by its own weight, for the bottom of the cutting is rough-hammered (not smoothed and picked as for cement) and there is no dowel hole. Similar cuttings are found in Roman statues, but since two other forms, the flat-bottomed cutting with picking for cement and the concave rough cutting with dowel hole, are found both in Roman and in classical Greek works, it may well be that the present form also was known in both periods. The large square mortise for the arm may be found in the southeastern caryatid on the Erechtheion and in the Dionysos from the Choregic Monument of Thrasylos. As for the size, the Nemesis of Rhamnous, though smaller than our figure, proves that cult statues considerably over life size were made in marble in the fifth century, and if we consider the difficulties that must have been overcome in producing such a work as the Poseidon for the west pediment of the Parthenon, we can hardly doubt that a simple draped statue on a still larger scale would have been within the Attic sculptors' powers.

<sup>16</sup> Inv. S 1882. Parian marble. H. 1.83 m. Only the mid section of the torso, from midriff to hips, was preserved in a single large fragment. The rest, in smaller bits, served to fill the chinks between the Ionic column drums and capitals. Since three fragments had been found in earlier investigations of the same tower in 1933 (one appears to the right in the photograph in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 385, fig. 12), it may be that some of the missing chips were lost even earlier, before the start of excavations in our area. The surviving fragments join from plinth to neck, so that there is no doubt about the pose and movement of the statue, but since one fragment which supplies the connection in the region of the thighs is interior only, a gap appears on the surface. This has been filled with cement in order to give the necessary strength. The head, which was carved in one with the torso, is broken off at the neck. Both forearms were attached at the elbows by iron dowels. Front of left shoulder and left breast are entirely lacking.

was held in balance. A gentle wind blows the himation forward in undulating folds over the left thigh. A similar movement occurs in two figures of Aphrodite, one on a votive relief from the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Daphni, and one in a Judgment of Paris engraved and painted on ivory, found in a Scythian grave.<sup>17</sup>

The voluptuous torso in the transparent beltless chiton intensifies the impression that our goddess is in fact Aphrodite. A large Hellenistic statue found in the same tower in 1933 (evidently just above our statue, since fragments of the latter appeared at the same time, see above, note 16) is of a type that has been called both Artemis and Aphrodite but is clearly characterized as Aphrodite in a statuette found in Corinth.<sup>18</sup> Shear conjectured that the Hellenistic statue might come from the Stoa of Attalos and represent Stratonike, the wife of Attalos II, but this seems less likely now that we know more about the rest of the material built into this part of the wall.<sup>19</sup> Perhaps the two Aphrodites are votive statues from a temple, like the two seen by Pausanias in the Temple of Ares.<sup>20</sup> If ceiling beams and coffers found in adjacent parts of the wall came from the Temple of Ares, as W. B. Dinsmoor and M. H. McAllister have suggested,<sup>21</sup> the statues might have the same source. Otherwise, they may more probably have belonged to the mysterious structure from which the Ionic columns came.

The pose of our fifth-century statue is very similar to that of the Hera Borghese, which resembles it also in the way that the himation encircles the hips, "like a great corolla out of which the torso rises," as Paola Zancani-Montuoro says of the Hera. The diagonal placement of our figure on its plinth suggests that Mme. Zancani is right in advocating a diagonal view for the Hera Borghese too.<sup>22</sup> Also related to our statue, though somewhat earlier in style, is the Aphrodite in the Villa Doria Pamphili, a statue which shows its close descent from the Parthenon pediments.<sup>23</sup> The slack

<sup>17</sup> The relief, Athens National Museum, no. 1597, Wide, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1910, p. 46, fig. 5; Svoronos, *Athener Nationalmuseum*, pl. CXXIX; Oikonomos, 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1923, p. 95, fig. 28. The ivory, Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, III, fig. 626. In both Eros appears, flying toward the left shoulder of the goddess on the relief, already perched there on the ivory. Our marble figure seems not to have held an Eros, for there are no traces on the back of the shoulder, and the marble would not have been strong enough to support one perched on the hand.

<sup>18</sup> Johnson, *Corinth*, IX, p. 45, no. 53. There is an Eros on the back of the shoulder. Laurenzi, *Röm. Mitt.*, LIV, 1939, pp. 57 f., argues that the type was originally Rhodian and represented Artemis. Poulsen, on the other hand, in discussing a statuette of the type in Copenhagen, suggests that the Agora statue may be the original (*Catalogue of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek*, p. 227, no. 312a).

<sup>19</sup> *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 387: "Since architectural blocks from this stoa were used in the construction of the wall it is possible that the statue came from the same place."

<sup>20</sup> Pausanias, I, 8, 4.

<sup>21</sup> Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 39-42; McAllister, *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 38-43.

<sup>22</sup> *Bull. Comm.*, LXI, 1933, pp. 25-58, where the Hera Borghese is attributed to Agorakritos.

<sup>23</sup> Brunn-Bruckmann, pls. 538-539; copy from Tralles in Smyrna, Oikonomos, 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1923,

folds between the breasts of the Agora figure recall those on the Doria Pamphili Aphrodite, which derive in turn from the Aphrodite of the east pediment of the Parthenon, but the transparency of the chiton is much more advanced. Yet a stage later than our statue is the Tired Maenad ("la Stanca") of the reliefs in New York and Madrid.<sup>24</sup>

There are close resemblances to the Nike Parapet in the rendering of many details of the drapery. The carving of the lower chiton folds is characterized by very deep-cut narrow furrows and by ridges variously refurrowed with the chisel, the "changing and Protean sharp edges of the stone" which Carpenter remarks in the work of his Nike Parapet 'Master A.'<sup>25</sup> The himation folds are equally fine and varied, but treated as rounded ridges without sharp chisel edges. The ridges that resemble inflated tubes, nicked where they bend, of which Carpenter speaks in comparing his 'Master B' with Paionios<sup>26</sup> are much in evidence. The most striking single motif in the drapery of our statue, the overfall caught up by the breeze and arching over the top of the right breast, appears not in the surviving figures of the Nike Parapet but in the Neo-Attic relief in Florence which is generally believed to be an adaptation of a Parapet slab.<sup>27</sup> Though the lower portion of the figure in which it appears has rightly been criticized as improbable,<sup>28</sup> the upper torso of this Florence Nike is so like our statue as to suggest that this part of the relief has been closely copied from a fifth-century original, probably a lost figure of the Parapet. The same motif recurs later in the akroteria from Epidauros.<sup>29</sup>

If Carpenter is right in dating the Parapet to the Peace of Nikias (421-415 B.C.),<sup>30</sup> our statue probably belongs around 420 B.C. Standing in an unbroken line of

pp. 59 ff. Oikonomos, *op. cit.*, p. 95, identifies the Aphrodite of the relief from Daphni with this type, and Langlotz, *Phidiasprobleme*, p. 89, note 19, accepts the identification. Actually, since the figure of the relief is about midway between the Doria Pamphili Aphrodite and ours, it cannot be identified as either, but it serves to support the name Aphrodite for both types.

<sup>24</sup> Richter, *Catalogue of the Greek Sculptures in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, pls. L-LI, no. 58.

<sup>25</sup> *The Sculpture of the Nike Temple Parapet*, p. 19. On our statue the outer sharp edges are mostly broken away, but the intricacy and variety of the carving can be seen in the furrows, enlivened by subsidiary small ridges.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 35.

<sup>27</sup> Mansuelli, *Le Sculpture*, pp. 41 f., no. 16; Fuchs, *Die Vorbilder der neuattischen Reliefs* (*Jahrb., Ergänzungsheft XX*), pp. 12-17, pl. 2.

<sup>28</sup> Fuchs, *loc. cit.*

<sup>29</sup> J. Crome, *Die Skulpturen des Asklepiostempels von Epidauros*, pls. 7-8.

<sup>30</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 80-82. Since the Parapet is presumably part of the plan for the temple and sanctuary as revised in the 420's (cf. Dinsmoor, *Architecture of Ancient Greece*, p. 185, note 4), there is no proof that work on it was not begun before 421, but since only the most advanced of the work on the frieze of the temple is similar to the general style of the Parapet, Carpenter's date seems about right. The date in the last decade still favored by many German scholars has little to recommend it, since it creates a gap between temple and Parapet which does not appear in the

descent (through the Berlin Aphrodite<sup>31</sup> and the Doria Aphrodite) from the Aphrodite of the Parthenon pediments, it belongs already to the generation of the Hera Borghese, the Rhamnous base, and the Nike Parapet. Its extraordinary richness of movement and detail, comparable to the most flamboyant of the Parapet Nikai and to works of the Meidias Painter, would be overpowering were it not for the rhythmic unity of the pattern which dominates the whole figure. This is a moment of transition rather than of supreme achievement. With 'Master E' of the Parapet, the creator of the Nike adjusting her sandal, and with the "Venus Genetrix," which is so closely related to his work, a new, lighter and more graceful vision takes form.

To try to name the sculptor of our statue would involve making up one's mind about the works and artistic personalities of men whose histories are still vague to us. If one could plot the centers of gravity of the groups of works generally assigned to Agorakritos and to Kallimachos, this piece would come somewhere between them.

Second only to 'Master E' in the exquisite modelling of the female body through thin drapery is 'Master D,' the artist who seems to have been responsible for the southern half of the west end of the Nike Parapet.<sup>32</sup> No whole or even nearly whole figure from his hand has come down to us, but one fragment has long captivated visitors with its quiet loveliness.<sup>33</sup> Now a fragment from the Agora, recently identified though not recently excavated, adds much to our understanding and enjoyment of this figure (Pl. 83, a).<sup>34</sup> The brilliant contrast between chiton and himation which Carpenter praised in describing the upper part of the Nike is even more effective now that we have more of the himation. The Nike leans in an easy pose, with the left leg crossed over the right, against a smooth support whose shape and meaning are still not clear. The ends of her himation fall in a fan-like pattern over its surface. Between the support and the left thigh the folds were protected from the weathering that has so heavily eroded the upper parts of 'Master D's' figures, and the crisp, almost hard finish is beautifully preserved. What remains of the support appears conical

style of the sculpture and makes the Parapet sculptures contemporary with the friezes of the Erechtheion, which belong to a later stage of development.

<sup>31</sup> Blümel, *Katalog*, III, K 5; Brunn-Bruckmann, 537; Becatti, *Problemi Fidiaci*, pl. 100.

<sup>32</sup> Carpenter, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-55; Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XXXIV, 1930, p. 282.

<sup>33</sup> N (Heberdey-Dinsmoor) or 9 (Casson-Carpenter). First published (reversed) in *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1842, unnumbered plate, it was one of three Nike Parapet pieces admired and described by Flaubert in notes from his visit to Athens in 1851 *Œuvres Complètes*, X, *Notes de Voyage* 2, Paris, 1910, p. 115 "Un torse drapé sans tête"). I owe this reference to Irma B. Jaffe.

<sup>34</sup> Inv. S 1759. Catalogued November 1953 from unrecorded marbles (presumably from demolition of modern houses) from the northeast slope of the Areopagus just west of the Panathenaic Way (P-S 22-23). Broken all around, the fragment preserves the left thigh to below the knee and a little of the right, together with part of the support and the drapery falling over it. None of the background survives (pres. th. of fragment ca. 0.115 m.). Thanks are due to Mr. John Meliades, Ephor of the Acropolis, for having the fragment reattached to the Nike and for permitting publication of a photograph.



rather than cylindrical or convex. It seems too regular to represent a natural form such as a rock or a tree-stump. Since the hand of the Nike appears to rest lightly on its top, the weight of her body must be supported rather by the pressure of her hip against the object than by her arm. That would suggest that the object is something heavy and fixed rather than a movable attribute.<sup>35</sup>

The graceful leaning pose of our figure is probably inspired by the late-Pheidian or Alkamenian leaning Aphrodite,<sup>36</sup> which, though it has come down to us only in replicas of poor quality, was popular, as appears from the number of copies, and influential in its own time, as we can see from the charming reflections of it in lesser arts. The figure of Alkestis as a bride on the Eretria Painter's *onos* in Athens<sup>37</sup> is perhaps the earliest of these reflections, resembling the Naples copy of the Aphrodite in the details of the pose. The exquisite heroine with Eros on an impression from the cheek-piece of a helmet is probably not, as Langlotz would have it, earlier than the statue,<sup>38</sup> but inspired by it. On our Nike a corner of the overfold of the himation falls between the knees as on the Alkestis, instead of to the side as in the statue. In spite

<sup>35</sup> Kekule, *Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena Nike*, pl. IV, restored a shield. Heberdey, rejecting this, as well as a suggestion by Otto that the Nike was leaning on an altar (too informal a behavior for any but the god to whom the altar belongs), suggested that the object was a ship's anchor (*Jahreshefte*, XXI-XXII, 1922-1924, p. 68). Carpenter, *op. cit.*, p. 49, mentions the possibility of an altar but without conviction, placing the Nike in his reconstruction as though the object were not an altar. Dinsmoor (*A.J.A.*, XXXIV, 1930, pp. 285-286) does not mention the object, but argues against placing this Nike to the left of Athena, where she presumably ought to be if she were next to the altar (the Nike sacrificing the bull is by 'Master C,' who did the left part of the west side). It is hard to find analogies for the shape which our fragment seems to indicate. The most interesting, and by the same token the most dangerous, suggestion is that it might be one of the upright stones that represented Apollo Agyieus. These are described as being pointed at the top (Schol. Aristophanes, *Vespae*, 875) and appear circular in section on coins of Ambracia (*Brit. Mus. Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks*, pl. 35, 8) but are also described as square (Schol. Aristophanes, *Thesm.*, 489). Studniczka suggested (*Neue Jahrb.*, XVII, 1906, pp. 545 f.) that the conical-seeming stone in front of the Tyrannicides on the well known red-figured oinochoe in Boston (*Röm. Mitt.*, XIX, 1904, pl. VI; Brunnsåker, *Tyrant-Slayers*, pl. 24) is an Apollo Agyieus.

<sup>36</sup> Copies listed by Arndt, Text to Brunn-Bruckmann, pl. 673 right. Schrader, *Pheidias*, pp. 206-210, suggests an identification with the Aphrodite in the Gardens by Alkamenes. Langlotz, *Phidiasprobleme*, p. 89, and Becatti, *Problemi Fidiaci*, pp. 211-212, agree that the statue is probably not the cult statue of the sanctuary at Daphni, but neither would make it the Aphrodite in the Gardens, for which both have other (though perhaps not better) candidates.

<sup>37</sup> Athens, N.M. 1629. *A.R.V.*, p. 726, no. 27. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 561; Beazley and Ashmole, *Greek Sculpture and Painting*, fig. 108.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *Phidiasprobleme*, pp. 85 ff., pl. 30. Additional references, Karouzou, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXIX-LXX, 1954-1955, p. 85, note 56. The folds that run across from one breast to the other are a post-Pheidian development that appears neither on the Parthenon nor in the copies of the leaning statue (excepting the fragment in Boston, Caskey, *Catalogue*, no. 72, which is not really a copy, though so counted by Langlotz). There are also reflections on gravestones, cf. Richter, *Catalogue*, no. 80, where a woman leans against the anta of the stele, and the unpublished stele in Athens mentioned *ibid.*, p. 54 (N.M. 3891), in which she leans on a loutrophoros.

of this variation, the Nike, enriched by our new fragment, greatly helps us in the difficult task of visualizing the original beauty and variety of the himation in the leaning Aphrodite, which has been so coarsened by the copyists as to lose most of its charm.

Some of the characteristic fifth-century blend of sweetness and nobility has been recaptured by a minor artist of a later period in an appealing head of a boy, under life size (Pl. 83, b), found in the Eleusinion area.<sup>39</sup> The features are so true to the late fifth-century type as to suggest that the face is a direct copy from a work of that period. Very similar in style is a head in the Athens National Museum which Paola Zancani-Montuoro has connected with Agorakritos.<sup>40</sup> The two heads are of the same scale, and both appear, from their symmetry and frontality and the square section of their necks, to have been broken from herms. In both the strands of hair are indicated by parallel grooves just as they are in archaistic herms. Both heads wear fillets that rise to a point at the center front. Similar fillets appear on heads of ephebes found at Rhamnous.<sup>41</sup> One of these has a broad face and a wrestler's ear, while another has a babyish face and normal ears.<sup>42</sup> Neither is archaistic or classicizing, but they show an analogy with the Athens heads in the distinction between the sturdier, boxer-wrestler type and the non-combatant athlete. The head from Athens in the National Museum has a broader face than the Agora head; the hair on the crown of the head is cut into short locks, and the right ear is slightly thickened. On our head the hair of the crown is long, the face is a slender oval, and the ears are normal. All this suggests that the Athens heads are also ephebic dedications. Probably they belong to the Roman period, when the prevailing taste for classical art may have led the ephebes to substitute such ideal heads for the semi-portrait heads that were popular earlier and later. Though the faces may have been copied directly from fifth-century works, the hair, at least on the Agora head, was modified or invented to suit the herm form, for the locks on the crown and the nape of the neck are dull and mechanical.

<sup>39</sup> Inv. S 2057. Found in loose late Roman fill north of the retaining wall of the Eleusinion (T 18) together with the unfinished herm (Pl. 86, d, e). P.H. 0.20 m. Broken off at neck. Top hair heavily weathered.

<sup>40</sup> N.M. 468. *Bull. Comm.*, LXI, 1933, p. 55, suppl. pl. C, top.

<sup>41</sup> A chlamys herm of small size with a girlish head surrounded by such a fillet was dedicated by the ephebes of Erechtheis who were victorious in the torch race. Pouilloux dates the inscription on prosopographical grounds around 330 B.C. (*La Forteresse de Rhamnonte*, p. 111, 2 bis, pl. 45). In spite of the girlish head, which led Pouilloux to interpret the figure as female, perhaps a personification of the Tribe, it must actually be male, an ephebe as Hermes.

<sup>42</sup> N.M. 317 and 318, *Rev. Arch.*, XXI, 1913, pp. 273-274; *Δελτ.*, IX, 1924-1925, p. 156, fig. 6 (N.M. 318 only). These two are probably not much later than the complete chlamys herm but they are larger in scale and may be from statues rather than herms, being too large for any of the herms that were found with them. In any case, they must be ephebic dedications.

The torso of an archaistic kouros about half life size (Pl. 84, a, b) was found below the floor of the Southeast Temple.<sup>43</sup> The symmetrical pose with left leg advanced, the long, grooved shoulder-locks like those of herms, and the proportions with broad shoulders, narrow waist and full thighs give the archaistic look. The actual anatomy does not imitate the archaic but merely generalizes classical forms. A small mantle pressed into narrow pleat-like folds was draped across the back and over the forearms. Its ends fell vertically along the thighs so that the mantle served the purpose of the struts used in late archaic marble kouroi to support the hands in front of the thighs.

Archaistic kouroi are much rarer than korai. The type is used for Apollo and less frequently for Dionysos, but apparently does not occur as an anonymous attendant like the basin-bearing korai. Dionysos is, of course, not a kouros in archaic art, and the standard Neo-Attic Dionysos is bearded and draped, but a small statue from the Agora in much the same scheme as our present figure is characterized as Dionysos by the kantharos in his hand.<sup>44</sup> Probably the community of type between Apollo and Dionysos that was established in the fourth century, when both were represented as long-haired youths, is here carried over into the archaistic. No attribute survives to show which god the new torso represents. The existence of a Dionysos in this form from the Agora makes Dionysos rather the more likely.

A more surprising kind of archaistic sculpture is an unfinished relief showing a man with two horses (Pl. 84, c). Like so much of the unfinished sculpture found last season, it was built into the Late Roman Fortification.<sup>45</sup> It seems to have been intended for some architectural use rather than as a simple votive offering; there are projecting borders above and below the relief but no framing on the sides, which are vertical, without taper. Evidently the surviving slab was meant to be part of a continuous frieze of some kind. The relief is exceptionally high for the size of the figures, and details are rendered with unusual precision. Four measuring points, on the mane, buttocks and thigh of the near horse and on the knee of the man, show that the work was being copied from a model. That it belongs to the Roman period can be seen from the technique: the liberal use of the running drill for outlining the figures and detach-

<sup>43</sup> Inv. S 2109. Found July 15, 1959 resting on bedrock below the floor of the Southeast Temple (Q 16). Head broken off. Both arms broken off just above elbows. Both legs broken off just below knees. Cloak broken away except at back and in traces against thighs. Top of left shoulder chipped. Pentelic marble. P.H. 0.565 m.

<sup>44</sup> *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 392, fig. 18.

<sup>45</sup> Inv. S 2079. H. 0.52 m. W. 0.646 m. Total P. Th. 0.12 m. (Th. of background 0.045 m.-0.06 m.). H. of borders: upper *ca.* 0.105 m., lower *ca.* 0.10 m. Pentelic marble. Found June 9, 1959 in core of Late Roman Fortification (R 16). Mended from a number of fragments. Missing: outer surface of borders, near legs of near horse (except for a small non-joining fragment of foreleg), muzzle of near horse, right arm of man and reins of both horses.

ing legs from the background and also the use of very coarse rasping for the preliminary surface.

At the same time, the relief has little in common with ordinary archaistic work of the Roman period. If a small fragment such as the head of the man had been discovered alone, few would have hesitated to attribute it to the sixth century. The front of the torso, which would scarcely have been seen by the ordinary viewer, is carefully modelled, with three transverse divisions of the abdominal muscle above the navel, a feature that is common in kouroi earlier than around 520 B.C., but not in archaistic works. Also, the proportions of the horses are genuinely archaic.<sup>46</sup> The more closely we look at the relief the more likely it seems that the model was an actual archaic relief and not an archaistic creation of the Roman period. But what kind of relief will it have been? It is most unusual in archaic marble reliefs of such small scale to find the depth of relief so great that parts are completely detached from the background. The figures, around 30 cm. high, are just about half the height of those on the frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi.<sup>47</sup> On the other hand, applied metal figures such as those on the great bronze krater from Vix provide a close analogy for the depth of the relief, the careful detailing of the side plane of the human figures, and the elaborate rendering of the bridles of the horses. Furthermore, the type of horse on the krater is much closer to that of our relief than any that we find on archaic Attic marble reliefs. The long manes that fall down to the top of the shoulder are to be seen on all the horses of the krater, and some of them show the bare angle between the back and the last long locks that appears at first glance so strange on our horses. Some also show the tips of the locks turned back, as if caught by a light breeze, a peculiarity of our foreground horse.<sup>48</sup> Most striking is the resemblance in spacing and pose of our two horses to the foreground and second-plane horses of the quadriga teams on the krater. Even without a chariot, they are behaving like chariot horses. Perhaps our relief was meant to represent an Homeric camp scene. The man, wearing light sandals and armed only with a short spear, is not equipped for battle, nor is he dressed as a rider. The chlamys, which shows dull, archaistic folds like that of the kouros above, may have been added by the copyist, and the curious stephane-like headdress is also open to suspicion. Possibly the strong forward lean of the man's body is also due to the copyist, for we find it in other archaistic works.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>46</sup> The horses are longer than high (length from point of shoulder to point of buttock; height from top of croup and withers to the ground), though the relation of the head-length to the individual members is correct. Cf. Markman, *The Horse in Greek Art*, pp. 64-65.

<sup>47</sup> The height of the frieze, including a narrow plinth below the figures, is 0.64 m.

<sup>48</sup> *Monuments Piot*, XLVIII, 1, 1954, pls. 9-13.

<sup>49</sup> This was suggested to me by Otto Brendel. Cf. the well-known archaistic reliefs showing a procession of four gods, Fuchs, *Die Vorbilder der neuattischen Reliefs*, pp. 48-49. Note that there is less of this forward lean in the relief from Delos, *ibid.*, pl. 10, c, than in the other examples.

There is no lack of literary evidence for the admiration that was felt in Roman times for early Greek metalwork. The Neo-Attic marble kraters must have had metal prototypes, and there is nothing inherently improbable in the idea that the prized Peloponnesian bronze of the archaic period would also have been copied in marble. But, though the Vix krater offers the closest parallel for so many characteristics of our figures, the originals can hardly have belonged to a krater, for our horses are twice the size of the Vix figures. Oscar Broneer, in publishing two charming bronze horse heads from Isthmia,<sup>50</sup> observes that a resemblance exists between these heads and the horses of the Vix krater but comments that his horses would be about 25 cm. high if restored, whereas the Vix horses are only 14 cm. high. He suggests, therefore, that they come from a metal relief of some kind. Something similar must have served as a model for our relief.

The date of the Roman version is not easy to fix, since the surface finish, which is normally the most reliable guide, has not yet come into being. The pedantic accuracy of the copy<sup>51</sup> and the great proficiency of the sculptor with the running drill suggest the Hadrianic or Antonine period.

A head of a square-faced youth with short curly hair (Pl. 85, a)<sup>52</sup> is a modified replica of the Meleager attributed to Skopas.<sup>53</sup> The locks of hair around the edge of the face are the same as in the other replicas, and the topknot-like projection of the front hair above the forehead is preserved, but the hair on the crown and the nape goes its own way. It would seem that the copyist pointed off only from the front of his model and omitted the side points that we find on the unfinished "Eubouleus" head.<sup>54</sup> The emotional, "Skopasian" quality is largely lost, as a result of the hard plastic treatment of details such as the eyelids and the locks of hair. The date of the copy may be Claudian or Flavian. Another replica of the Meleager discovered earlier in the Agora<sup>55</sup> is probably of Augustan date (Pl. 85, b). It reproduces the hair more accurately and captures more of the spirit of the better copies, though neither of the Agora heads can count as a first-class replica. A peculiar feature of the new head is its pose, straight on the neck instead of inclined to the proper left as in all the

<sup>50</sup> *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, p. 329, pl. 69.

<sup>51</sup> A votive relief to Demeter and Kore found recently in the Olympieion area (*A.J.A.*, LXIV, 1960, p. 268, pl. 73, fig. 17) combines figures of the goddesses evidently copied from a fifth-century model with a figure of the Hierophantes whose portrait head appears early Antonine in style.

<sup>52</sup> Inv. S 2035. P.H. 0.28 m. Pentelic marble. Found March 13, 1959 in a context of the sixth-seventh centuries after Christ over the Panathenaic Way west of the Late Roman Fortification (S 16). Broken off just below chin. Nose broken; upper lip and chin chipped.

<sup>53</sup> List of replicas in Arias, *Skopas*, pp. 127-131, 12 torsos, of which 4 have the original head, and 17 separate heads. He retains the attribution to Skopas, though it is not supported by any ancient text.

<sup>54</sup> Below, p. 382, Pl. 85, c, d.

<sup>55</sup> Inv. S 1227. P. H. 0.265 m. Found in 1947 in a late Roman wall at the northwest foot of the Areopagus (H 18).

complete statues of the type and the heads that come from statues. This may mean that it belonged to a herm. The earliest known copy of the Meleager, that from the Heroon at Kalydon, dated in the second century B.C., is a bust rather than a complete statue.<sup>56</sup>

Whereas the Meleager head merely adds one more item to a long list of replicas, an unfinished copy of the so-called "Eubouleus" in a remarkably good state of preservation (Pl. 85, c, d)<sup>57</sup> raises some interesting questions about the original from which it was copied. Our bust differs from the other known replicas in the form of its base, a low square pedestal out of which grow flat acanthus leaves supporting the projecting edges of the bust. The leaves have been carved in front, and rough projecting areas of marble left on the sides suggest that leaves were to have been carved there too. All areas have been worked out with flat and round-nosed chisels except the back of the pedestal, the back part of the bust, the hair below the fillet in back, and a mass of marble left at the back of the neck to strengthen it during the work. These areas are rough-picked. Seven measuring points remain on the head. Three of these, two in the forehead hair and one on the chin, served for measuring the face and front hair. In addition, there are two on each side. Perhaps the points in the forehead hair were used with these to make sets of three. In any case, these side points must have been intended to insure accurate copying of the pattern of locks on the side of the head, a refinement which was neglected by the copyist of the Meleager.

Lumps of marble are left projecting beyond the surrounding surfaces in all areas where the drill was to be used. These, like the measuring point of the chin, create an odd impression that has to be thought away before one can take the features at their true value. The extent of the drilling intended corresponds closely to what we find actually executed in the other existing copies, including the fine head from Eleusis in the Athens National Museum which has often been called an original. The mane of hair was to be separated from the sides of the face by long, continuous running-drill channels. The presence of these channels in the famous Eleusis head is the strongest of many indications of its Roman date. Our bust is the tenth known replica of this type, of which two examples have been found in Eleusis, four in Athens, and one in Patras, while there are two more in Italy and one in Paris.<sup>57a</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Dyggve, Poulsen and Rhomaïos, *Das Heroon von Kalydon*, p. 369, VIII, figs. 91-93. Richter, *Three Critical Periods*, fig. 64.

<sup>57</sup> Inv. S 2089. H. 0.615 m. Coarse-grained white (Thasian?) marble. Found July 6, 1959 in the core of the Late Roman Fortification (S 17). Unweathered and virtually intact. Brown stains.

<sup>57a</sup> Eleusis:

1. Athens N.M. 181, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1886, pp. 257 ff., pl. 10. Most recent photo, Richter, *Handbook of Greek Art*, p. 135, fig. 193.

2. Athens N.M. 1839. *Ath. Mitt.*, XVI, 1891, pp. 27 ff., pl. II; 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1911, pl. 3, 3. (A fragment of a third head mentioned together with this is rejected by Lippold, *Kopien und Umbildungen*, p. 257, note 8).

This list is probably not exhaustive. If a work reaches this degree of popularity it is likely that other replicas or fragments exist which have not been caught by the casually drawn net of references. Criticism of the copies has not proceeded so systematically as might be expected, largely because of the widely prevalent notion that Athens N.M. 181 was the original.<sup>58</sup> The other copies are mostly inferior to it both in workmanship and in preservation, and little attention has been paid to them except by their discoverers. With the emergence of the Agora bust, the situation is changed. For the first time we have a replica with all the essential elements of the composition, even the nose, complete, and with its vertical and horizontal axes inexorably fixed by the square moulded pedestal on which it is set. Only the surface colorism, the shimmering flesh and drill-darkened hair, of N.M. 181 are missing. It is as if a hard white spotlight had been suddenly thrown onto an object which we have been accustomed to see only by candlelight. We realize that there is no longer anything Praxitelean about the head. The "something portrait-like" which impressed Philios, the original excavator of N.M. 181,<sup>59</sup> emerges with full force, and the erstwhile melancholy daimon becomes a vigorous human youth. The most striking parallel,

Athens:

3. Acropolis 2394. Pfuhl, *Jahrb.*, XLI, 1926, p. 41, note 1. Described as a fragment but with face preserved.

4. Acropolis unnumbered. Pfuhl, *loc. cit.* Head and hair preserved but face missing. Provenance not recorded.

5. Athens N.M. 2650. 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1911, pl. 3, 4. Found at the Military Hospital south of the Acropolis (Judeich, plan I, F 6).

6. Agora S 2089 (the present bust).

Patras:

7. Patras Museum. Unpublished.

Italy:

8. Mantua. Arndt-Amelung 17. Levi, *Sculture greche e romane del Palazzo Ducale di Mantova*, Rome, 1931, pl. 32.

9. Rome, Capitoline. Jones, *Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*, Stanza dei Filosofi, 1.

Paris:

10. Said to have been found near Pozzuoli. Louvre, Michon, *Catalogue Sommaire*, p. 35, no. 581, photo. Giraudon 2060.

<sup>58</sup> This idea grew out of a resemblance seen between the surface of the face of the "Eubouleus" and that of the Hermes at Olympia. As a result the head not only became Praxitelean, but, though the stone in its walled museum remained unchanged, became gradually transformed in the "museum without walls," its photographic-publication existence, by contamination with the Hermes until it was no longer quite itself. Plaster casts restored the nose and brow from that of the Hermes, photographs were taken always from above and to the left so that the head seemed to gaze downward like the Hermes (Philios was perhaps the last to publish a plain side view with chin up and drill-channels unmasked, Έφ. 'Αρχ., 1886, pl. 10), and finally Rizzo went so far as to tilt the whole bust forward so that the resting-surface was no longer horizontal (*Prassitele*, pp. 105-106, pls. 157-158).

<sup>59</sup> Έφ. 'Αρχ., 1886, p. 264.

as Wilhelm Klein said long ago to unsympathetic ears, is the head of Alexander from Alexandria in the British Museum.<sup>60</sup>

The important points of resemblance between the "Eubouleus" and the London head are the strong turn of the neck, whose powerful forms lend an air of virility in spite of the youthfulness of the face, and the similar arrangement of the mane of hair, without the *anastole* and with the shaggy locks separating over the center of the forehead.<sup>61</sup> Whereas the London head is generally taken as a mid or late Hellenistic creation based on an earlier tradition,<sup>62</sup> the "Eubouleus" appears to be an accurate Roman copy of a work made in the fourth century. No Hellenistic traits are discernible, and the care with which all details of the hair are reproduced betokens respect for the model. This model should be a contemporary portrait of the young Alexander. The head is boyish like the Acropolis head of Alexander, to which it shows some similarity,<sup>63</sup> but with more suggestion of power, a combination of youthful beauty with the strength of beginning manhood.

No other fourth-century Alexander shows such an exuberantly full mass of hair around the face. Even the Hellenistic British Museum head, while retaining the pattern of locks over the forehead, has simplified the hair. The Chatsworth Alexander, on the other hand, which Furtwängler admired for the richness of its locks and tentatively associated with Leochares,<sup>64</sup> seems in fact to be a later, perhaps even Roman, contamination of the "Eubouleus" type with the more usual Lysippean

<sup>60</sup> Klein, *Praxiteles*, p. 430. (The head is frequently pictured: Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*, fig. 745; Bieber, *Proc. Am. Phil. Soc.*, XCIII, 1949, p. 409, fig. 46.) Klein, being himself under the spell of the shimmering surface that led so many of his generation to take the "Eubouleus" as original, did not suggest that it might in fact be an Alexander. He took the Eleusinian interpretation for certain and merely used the resemblance to Alexander portraits to support an attribution to Leochares rather than to Praxiteles. D. B. Thompson, who excavated the Agora head, had the same reaction as Philios in excavating the Eleusis head, that there was a portrait quality about it and that it reminded her of portraits of Alexander (Philios, *op. cit.*, pp. 265-266, had cited the "Alexander-Inopos" in the Louvre and a second head from Delos called either an Alexander or an Apollo). It is to Mrs. Thompson rather than to the earlier scholars that I owe the idea.

<sup>61</sup> Plutarch, *Alexander*, 4, mentions an inclination of the neck to the left as a characteristic of Alexander to be seen in the portraits by Lysippos. Kleiner, *Jahrb.*, LXV-LXVI, 1950-51, p. 215, takes this to mean the turn of the head to the left as we have it in the London head and the "Eubouleus." Bieber, *op. cit.*, p. 391, makes the opposite interpretation, so that the Azara herm would fit the Plutarchan description. Since both directions occur in recognized portraits of Alexander, it would seem that the turn rather than its direction is the important thing.

<sup>62</sup> Gebauer, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXIII-LXIV, 1938-1939, pp. 38-39, suggests end of second or beginning of first century B.C.; Bieber, *op. cit.*, p. 391, suggests the second century B.C.; Kleiner, *Jahrb.*, LXV-LXVI, 1950-1951, p. 214, says late second century B.C.

<sup>63</sup> The Acropolis head is best published by Ashmole, *J.H.S.*, LXXI, 1951, pls. 11-12, pp. 15-16. He takes it to be a fourth-century work (as its workmanship seems to indicate) but admits (p. 15, note 19) that it may be a contemporary replica of a bronze work from which the two surviving Roman copies in Erbach and Berlin are derived. See below, p. 387 and note 73.

<sup>64</sup> *J.H.S.*, XXI, 1901, pp. 212-214.



Alexander. Comparison with other Alexander heads, of whatever date, shows that the *anastole* of the Chatsworth head has been shoved in artificially between the hanging locks of a coiffure like that of the "Eubouleus." The ends of the central pair of locks do not make a proper transition to the sides as they do in all types of which the *anastole* is an integral part. At the same time the curls of the back hair have been lengthened in order to give an Apolline effect. A round fillet like that of the "Eubouleus" separates the mane from the top hair. The full, smooth cheeks are like those of the "Eubouleus," but the eyes are made larger and the whole face shorter in keeping with the later notions of idealization. The head is turned to the right, as in the Azara herm. It would seem that the later artist, wishing to make a highly idealized Alexander, went to the youthful portrait for the effect of richness and beauty but borrowed from the official portrait those features which would make sure that it was recognized as Alexander.

The iconography of Alexander is so complex and has been treated from so many different points of view that anything more than a very superficial treatment of the problems raised by our bust would be out of scale with this report. Still, it is worthwhile to mention the most obvious considerations. The two main questions are (1) what was the original from which the "Eubouleus" type was copied? and (2) why did this type enjoy such popularity in Greece in the second century after Christ? That the original must have been a statue is proven, I think, by the opposing diagonal positions of head and shoulders which our copyist has carefully preserved, even at the cost of some awkwardness in fitting the bust onto its square base. Unfortunately we cannot tell whether the raised strip around the edge of the bust was to have been carved into a shallow semblance of drapery like that of N.M. 181 or whether it is simply a protective surface that would have been smoothed away. Hence we have no very good evidence as to how the original was clothed. The sketchy chiton of N.M. 181 may be a reflection of the actual dress (it is certainly not a true copy) or it may be simply made up for the occasion.

A late Hadrianic or Antonine date for most of the surviving copies is indicated by the free use of the running drill. The popularity of the type was evidently due to its subject rather than to its artistic status as a master-work, for the majority of the copies were not exported and the Agora bust is the only one found in a workshop context. The only other case where we find a comparable multiplication of a portrait in Athens for home use is that of the early Antonine bust identified as Polydeukion, the favorite pupil of Herodes Atticus, who died young and became a kind of second-class Antinous.<sup>65</sup> Among these three, the Antinous, the "Eubouleus" and the Polydeukion, there is a certain community of spirit. Philios felt himself reminded of

<sup>65</sup> List of replicas by Neugebauer, text to Arndt-Bruckmann 1198-1199. For the most recent discussion see Weber, *Olympiabbericht* V, pp. 143-146 and addenda, p. 176.

Antinous by the Eleusis head. Now we see how much of the similarity lies on the surface, belonging to the interpretation of a later age rather than to the original plastic creation. In the unfinished Agora bust, where the artist is only following his model and has not yet begun to form and color the surface to his own desire, the thin veil of melancholy is wholly absent. Nevertheless, since it is the second-century interpretation rather than the original meaning of the work that created the demand for copies, the analogy with Antinous and Polydeukion may give the explanation we are seeking. It seems not at all unlikely that the Antinous cult with its widespread appeal to the religious imagination of the late Greek world brought about a revival of interest in the young Alexander, seen not as the deified Herakles on whom emperors modelled their iconography,<sup>66</sup> but as the doomed young hero, a symbol not for rulers only but for all men. Antinous was frequently worshipped in the guise of young deities of vegetation and mystery religions, Dionysos, Iakchos, Osiris and the Roman agricultural gods. His early death seems to have suggested a kind of identification with these youthful personifications of rebirth and immortality.<sup>67</sup> It is not so far-fetched as it may seem to believe that Alexander, with his permanent hold on the popular imagination, was belatedly received into the same company.<sup>68</sup> Marion Lawrence has recently called attention to a late Roman mosaic in Beirut in which the birth of Alexander is portrayed in a scheme invented for Dionysos and later used for the Nativity of Christ.<sup>69</sup> Such a hero-Alexander would not be out of place in Eleusis, where Antinous also appears,<sup>70</sup> and at the same time might be dedicated in other sanctuaries such as the Athenian Asklepieion or the precinct of Dionysos, from either of which the Acropolis Museum pieces might have come.

Once the demand for such a portrait arose, the logical model would have been the gold and ivory portrait by Leochares in the Philippeion at Olympia, dedicated by Philip after Chaeronea. Not only was this of the right age (Alexander was eighteen at Chaeronea) and a work by a famous sculptor that was still available for copying in Greece,<sup>71</sup> but the visual qualities of the gold and ivory work, the whitely shining

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Bieber, *op. cit.*, p. 425.

<sup>67</sup> Pausanias says that mysteries were celebrated yearly in honor of Antinous in Mantinea, and that the portraits of Antinous that he saw in the gymnasium there were mostly in the type of Dionysos (VIII, 9, 8).

<sup>68</sup> It is hard to say whether any chthonian significance should be attributed to the acanthus leaves on the Agora bust. A relief bust of Polydeukion in the Chalkis Museum, Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 145, figs. 58-59, also rises from a base of acanthus leaves. Perhaps the forthcoming monograph by Jucker on the acanthus bust will shed light on this question.

<sup>69</sup> Maurice H. Chehab, *Mosaiques de Liban (Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth, XV)*, Paris, 1959, pls. XXII, XXV (color); Marion Lawrence, "Three Pagan Themes in Christian Art," *De Artibus Opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, Zurich, 1960, New York, 1961, pp. 323-334.

<sup>70</sup> Kourouniotes, *Guide*, p. 90, fig. 35. Lippold, *Kopien und Umbildungen*, p. 192.

<sup>71</sup> The statues were still in place when Pausanias visited Olympia (V, 20, 10), and Attic

flesh and brilliantly contrasting hair, would have been just those that appealed to the taste of the period and suited the idea of heroization. The first Eleusis copy reproduces the sheen of the flesh and the second had inlaid eyes, which do not prove the influence of gold and ivory but may well go with it.<sup>72</sup> The Agora bust is made of the opaque white Thasian marble which is capable of taking a high polish. A fragment of another head in this material from the Agora (Inv. S 898) had gilded hair, and a similar treatment may have been intended for our piece. The arrangement of the hair in the "Eubouleus" type is eminently suitable for a gold and ivory statue, for the locks overlap the face all around in such a way as to hide the seam between the two materials. With the *anastole* this would have been difficult, since the roots of the hair must be shown. Bronze sculpture, with fine engraving shading into the flesh, was the ideal medium for the *anastole*, and it seems likely, therefore, that we should accept the suggestion of Ashmole that the Erbach head and its Berlin replica, which have it, are copied from a bronze, rather than the idea of Gebauer, who would make them copies of the gold and ivory work.<sup>73</sup> Finally, the running-drill channels that separate the sides of the face from the hair in all the "Eubouleus" heads, though they are a Roman device for outlining the face with shadow, suggest a continuity of the facial contour and a separateness of the hair-mass such as must have existed in the chryselephantine work.

Normally, the first question should be whether the style of the "Eubouleus" Alexander suits that of Leochares, but all arguments about the style of Leochares are necessarily circular, since we have no positively attributed monuments. The technical considerations, therefore, are a safer starting-place. Nevertheless, it can be said with confidence that the style suits the presumed date of the Olympia work and fits well with the group of monuments most often associated with Leochares. The top hair of the Alexander, with long, flatly-waved strands held in place by a hoop-like

sculptors were active in Olympia in the second century. The statue in the Athenian Agora mentioned by Pausanias (I, 9, 4) may also have been a youthful portrait (cf. Ashmole, *op. cit.*, p. 16, note 27), but was presumably of bronze.

<sup>72</sup> Inlaid eyes in marble works are not uncommon in the archaic period but rare in the classical, perhaps because of the more subtle coloring then in vogue. In the Hellenistic age we meet them in the Lykosoura statues by Damophon, who repaired the Zeus at Olympia. A colossal marble female head from an acrolithic statue recently discovered at Pheneos in Arcadia and dated in the second century B.C. has inlaid eyes still in place (*B.C.H.*, LXXXIII, 1959, pp. 625-626, fig. 14). Roman marble copies of Greek statues often have them, but Roman marble portraits generally do not.

<sup>73</sup> Ashmole, *loc. cit.*, above, note 63. Gebauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71. Gebauer bases his conclusion on the stiff, frontal position of the head on the neck, which he says is unusual in a fourth-century work, and which he explains by the material of the original. A more natural conclusion for Gebauer, who believes the Acropolis replica to be Roman like the others, would have been that all three surviving heads come from herms. This raises difficulties, however, if the Acropolis head is really of the fourth century, for we do not expect regular portrait herms in that period. Cf. above, p. 384. On the other hand, use as a herm would explain the peculiar treatment of the hair in the Acropolis and Erbach heads.

round fillet (not a diadem; there are no hanging ends) is like that of the Ganymede in the Vatican, and the relation of this rather flat crown-area to the heavy frame of locks below is very much the same in the two works, though the locks of the Alexander are longer and thicker. A comparison between the right side view of the Ganymede<sup>74</sup> and that of the "Eubouleus" N.M. 181<sup>75</sup> shows how much closer is the similarity between them than that between N.M. 181 and the Capitoline Faun, a comparison formerly used to support the attribution to Praxiteles.<sup>76</sup> The long top hair, which the satyr does not have, may be borrowed from Apollo. It seems quite possible that Leochares, who made at least one Apollo and probably more, liked the Apolline long hair for youthful figures, whether he had to do a Ganymede or an Alexander. Even Alexander's upward gaze, which later develops a different meaning, may originally have been borrowed from the inspired musician Apollo. Such assimilations in the youthful portrait are not equivalent to formal deification; they are a commonplace of fourth-century art, which brings together the divine and human types to a common middle ground (as in the cases of ephebes and Hermes, athletes and Herakles).<sup>77</sup>

The round fillet of the Chatsworth head is taken by Gebauer as a sign of deification,<sup>78</sup> but this need not be so in every case. Like the wreath, it is worn by human priests and worshippers and was no doubt especially appropriate to Apollo as the most priestly of the gods. Like the phiale, it signifies not so much divinity as communion. So it is equally appropriate to poets and satyrs (Capitoline Faun). Copyists often treat it as interchangeable with the wreath. One of two fragments belonging to the "Monosandalos" type (an early classical type representing a boy initiate to the Eleusinian mysteries) found in the Agora substitutes a wreath of myrtle for the fillet,<sup>79</sup> and a replica of the Capitoline Faun in Berlin substitutes a pine wreath.<sup>80</sup> If Alexander was initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries when he visited Athens after Chaeronea, this might explain both the occurrence of two copies at Eleusis and the use of the round fillet, but we have no literary record of his initiation, and we might have expected that among so many replicas from Roman times some at least would have had the Eleusinian wreath of myrtle leaves. For the present it may be enough

<sup>74</sup> Now well shown in *Vatican Katalog*, III, 2, pl. 104, Galleria dei Candelabri, 83. Lippold (Text, p. 216) accepts the head as "wahrscheinlich zugehörig."

<sup>75</sup> *Eφ. 'Αρχ.*, 1886, pl. 10.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Furtwängler, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, pp. 329-330.

<sup>77</sup> This kind of assimilation makes it very difficult to separate portrait from non-portrait in the Herakles heads of the Philip and Alexander coins, and there is even one Apollo head that resembles the Alexander-Herakles (Gaebler, *Die antiken Münzen Nordgriechenlands*, III, pl. XXX, 26) though the coin is of Philip. Kleiner, *op. cit.*, p. 271 suggests that it was first minted under Alexander.

<sup>78</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, LXIII-LXIV, 1938-1939, p. 75: "Die Rundbinde bei Chatsworth bezeichnet die Vergöttlichung."

<sup>79</sup> Inv. S 316. The other, S 6, has the round fillet.

<sup>80</sup> Blümel, *Katalog*, K 221.

to say that there are many possible explanations for the fillet apart from that of deification.

It would be pleasant if we could go beyond broad generalities and use the facial type of the "Eubouleus" Alexander as evidence for the style of Leochares. This is not easy, however, because the special proportions of the face, the long cheeks, nose and chin seem to be Alexander's own rather than the contribution of the artist. We find them in the Azara herm and in the Alexander mosaic, whereas the idealization of later portraits has generally modified them.<sup>81</sup>

That the "Eubouleus" stands, in a sense, midway between Praxiteles and the later Lysippos accords well with the little that we know from literature about the life and works of Leochares, who did much of his work in Athens but later cooperated with Lysippos on the lion-hunt for Krateros at Delphi. It is more difficult to say just how all this affects the Leochares that Ashmole has so persuasively evoked for us out of marble works compared to certain slabs of the Mausoleum frieze.<sup>82</sup> This may depend ultimately on the evaluation of the Acropolis Alexander, which is, as was noted above,<sup>83</sup> a difficult problem. It is enough, for the present, that the Agora bust has given us the unexpected assurance that the "Eubouleus" is in fact a young Alexander. The attribution to Leochares remains an attractive possibility.

An unfinished herm made in the third century after Christ (Pl. 86, d, e) shows that the workshops near the Agora also produced portraits of contemporary Athenians for official dedications.<sup>84</sup> Since there is no inscription we do not know what office the subject held, but the size of the herm and the mediocrity of the portrait recall the portraits of the Kosmetai, the annual directors of the ephebic training, who were regularly honored by such monuments at the end of their year of office.<sup>85</sup> The hair and beard appear to be in the style worn by Caracalla (A.D. 211-217) in the later years of his reign, with close-cropped curly hair and the beard clipped short. Our man is older than Caracalla; he has a receding hairline and a double chin. The hair is so short that no drilling is likely to have been intended. The beard would have been rendered by engraving short strokes into the rough raised surface that the sculptor has left for this purpose.<sup>86</sup> A few such strokes have already been made around the

<sup>81</sup> One must discount the abnormal breadth of the nose in the Agora copy, which is due only to its being unfinished.

<sup>82</sup> *J.H.S.*, LXXI, 1951, pp. 15-19.

<sup>83</sup> Note 73.

<sup>84</sup> Inv. S 2056. Found June 15, 1959 built into a late Roman wall north of the north retaining wall of the Eleusinion (T 18). The youthful head, Pl. 83, b, was found in adjacent loose fill. H. 1.70 m. (H. without tenon at bottom of shaft 1.58 m.). W. of shaft 0.33 m.; Th. 0.26 m. Pentelic marble.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. especially Graindor, *B.C.H.*, XXXIX, 1915, pp. 241-401.

<sup>86</sup> Compare finished portraits of this period from the Agora, S 517 and S 387, *Agora*, I, nos. 37 and 39.

edges of the mustache. The eyebrows have not yet been engraved, and the eyes are still blank. The customary three measuring points are present, two above the forehead and one on the chin. In Roman times, even original portraits must have had full-scale models. The bit of himation that is draped around the neck has been outlined and its folds furrowed with the running drill but the surface has not yet been smoothed down. No traces of rasping appear; that would have been the next step.

Completely finished and beautifully preserved, the portrait bust of a young man of around the middle of the third century after Christ confronts us with an extraordinarily vivid presence (Pl. 86, a, b).<sup>87</sup> Together with the man was found a headless bust which is shown by its drapery to have been female (Pl. 86, c). Marble and surface are so similar that the two seem to have formed a pair. The portrait head of the young man is of truly exceptional quality for Athenian work of this period, so that one suspects that an important person is represented. At the same time the expressive emphasis of the features, the enormous eyes with their sharply engraved outlines, the linear forehead wrinkle and the boldly hatched eyebrows recall Greek work of the period rather than the art of the capital. This must be a local product, but one of the very best.

The portrait of the emperor Gallienus (A.D. 253-268) in Berlin,<sup>88</sup> dating from the early years of his reign, furnishes the best parallel for the hair style of our head. This is intermediate between the very short military cut of the forties and the long hair of the mature Gallienus, so that our bust should be dated in the fifties. The hair forms a unified cap which separates only above the forehead into a fringe of pointed locks. The ends of the hair over the ears are just long enough to be caught and pushed out by the tops of the ears. The beard is as yet very light and does not extend down onto the neck. The eyes look upward to the proper right as in the Gallienus but their expression is more alert, less sorrowful than that of the emperor.

Whereas the date seems firmly fixed by the relationship of the coiffure to that of the youthful Gallienus and the correspondance of the style to Athenian work of the mid-century, the face is curiously reminiscent of certain earlier portraits, Alexander Severus, Julia Mamaea and especially Julia Domna. When we analyze this resemblance we discover that it consists not in similarities of style but in related physiognomies; there is a family resemblance between our portrait and the Severans of Emesa. The strongly arched eyebrows that grow together over the nose, the thin-bridged nose, curved in profile, the big expressive eyes and the mobile mouth all seem to connect our young man with this family or at least to characterize him as a Syrian.

<sup>87</sup> Inv. S 2062. P. H. 0.60 m. Pentelic marble. Found June 17, 1959 under fallen blocks north of the north retaining wall of the Eleusinion (T 18), context of the fourth century after Christ. Complete except for base, which is broken off, and minor chips, as end of nose.

<sup>88</sup> Blümel, *Katalog*, VI, R 114. B.M. Felletti Maj, *Iconographia romana imperiale da Severo Alessandro a M. Aurelio Carino*, pl. 41, figs. 135-136.

We have said that the very high quality of the sculpture would suggest that the subject is someone out of the ordinary. His youth together with the fact that his portrait is coupled with a female bust strengthens the probability that he is not a simple Athenian citizen. One would expect the pair to be members of the imperial family, but there is no family resemblance to Valerian and Gallienus, who were ruling at the time. The similarity in style and coiffure to the young Gallienus serves only to point up the difference in physical type and to underline the oriental character of the features. A real resemblance may be seen, on the other hand, with the portrait on the finest of the much-disputed gold coins of Uranius Antoninus which seem to have been issued in Emesa in the 250's. According to Delbrück's reconstruction,<sup>89</sup> this young man, about whom the historians tell us nothing, issued coins with the titles "imperator" and "Augustus" in A.D. 253 when Valerian was occupied with contending for the rule in Italy and Emesa became the spearhead of opposition to Shapuhr in Syria. When Valerian was confirmed as emperor, Antoninus dropped the imperial titles and issued gold coins with the title Uranius, presumably referring to a local priesthood. The earliest of these gold coins are in a local style with Palmyrene tight curls in hair and beard. Later the coiffure is assimilated to the western imperial fashion and the hair appears straight. It is this westernized group (especially Delbrück's Bb and Bc) that our portrait most resembles.<sup>90</sup>

It is perhaps unlikely that the Athenians in this highly unsettled period, when the threat to their own security lay rather to the north than to the east, would have stuck their necks out to the extent of according any sort of official honors to the Syrian pretender. A pair of busts such as ours, however, would not have been an official dedication. Rather it would have adorned a private house, school or auditorium. The intellectual connections of Athens with Syria were very close. The rhetorician Longinus, who was teaching in Athens at this time, was a nephew of the rhetorician Phronton of Emesa, and his student Porphyry came from Tyre. Longinus left Athens, apparently some time before the Herulians struck in A.D. 267, and cast his fortunes

<sup>89</sup> *Num. Chron.*, 1948, pp. 11-29. His affirmation of the genuineness of the coins is approved by Mattingly in *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, IV, p. 206. S. L. Cesano, *Rivista Numismatica Italiana*, LVII, 1955, pp. 51-69, revives the argument against genuineness, but without detailed refutations of Delbrück's reconstruction. After this article had gone to press, Alfred Bellinger called my attention to a recent article by Henri Seyrig (*Revue Numismatique*, 1958, pp. 51-57) in which he supports the authenticity of the Antoninus coins with arguments that seem conclusive. He answers the objection of Miss Cesano but recommends scepticism as to the details of Delbrück's reconstruction.

<sup>90</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 17, figs. 7 and 8. B. M. Felletti Maj suggests (*Iconographia*, p. 215) that the coin portrait with smooth hair goes back to an earlier sculptural prototype whereas that with curls shows the influence of the Gallienian mode. This would seem to reverse Delbrück's sequence and lead to rather peculiar results, since the city coinage, of which one piece is dated 253, all shows curly hair. The idea that the curly-haired portraits are related to Palmyrene art is supported by the stiffer general style of these portraits.

with Palmyra, where he became Zenobia's counselor and was put to death by Aurelian in 273. It is easy to imagine that during the fifties he or one of his followers in Athens felt sufficient enthusiasm for the young standard-bearer of resistance to Persia and reviver of Syrian claims to glory to want to display his image.

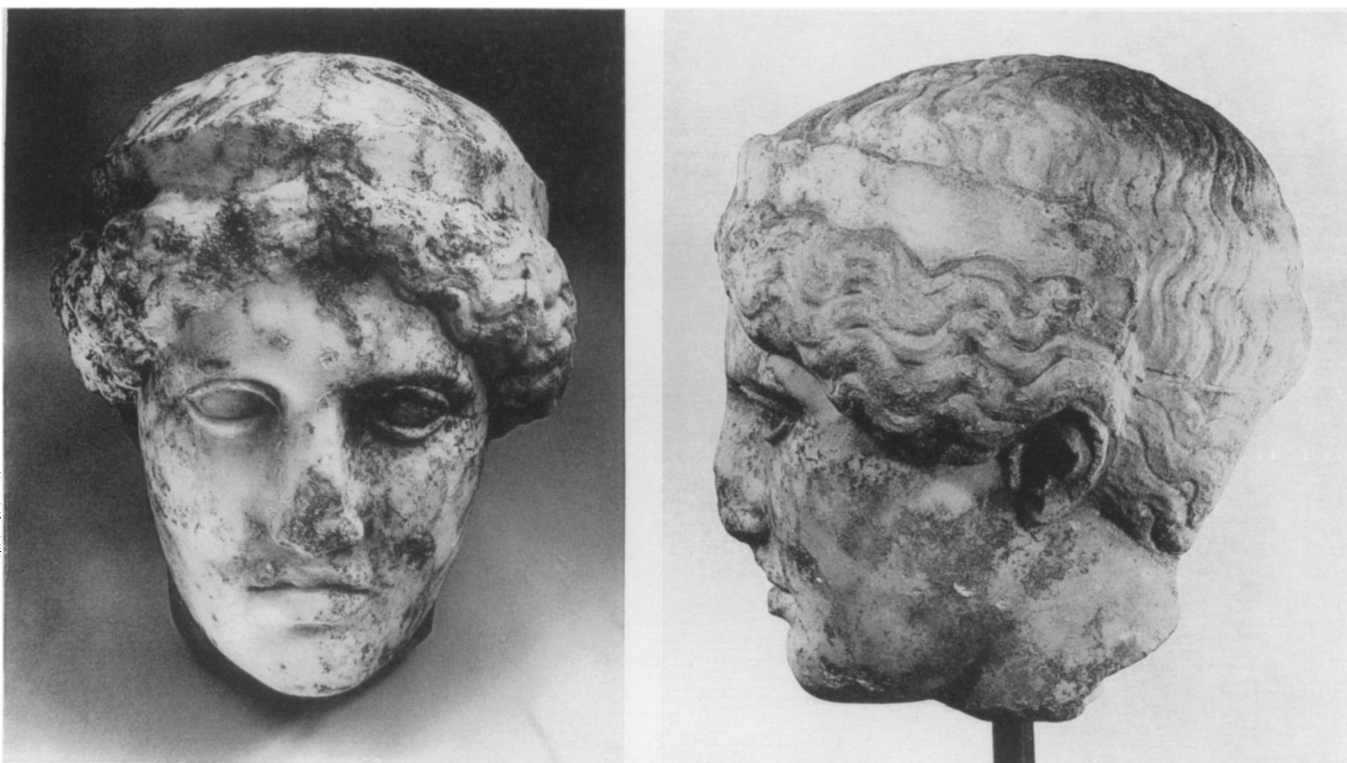
The finding place of the busts gives no real indication of their provenance. It would appear that during the late Roman period someone threw away or allowed to be buried assorted sculptures which had been collected, for whatever purpose, from some building that was destroyed in the Herulian sack. What that building was we cannot say. It is equally possible that our pieces had been set up in a house or lecture hall or that they lay unclaimed, though finished, in the sculptor's workshop, whether because the career of the subject had come to an untimely end<sup>91</sup> or because he who had commissioned the busts had already despaired of the future of Athens and departed.

EVELYN B. HARRISON

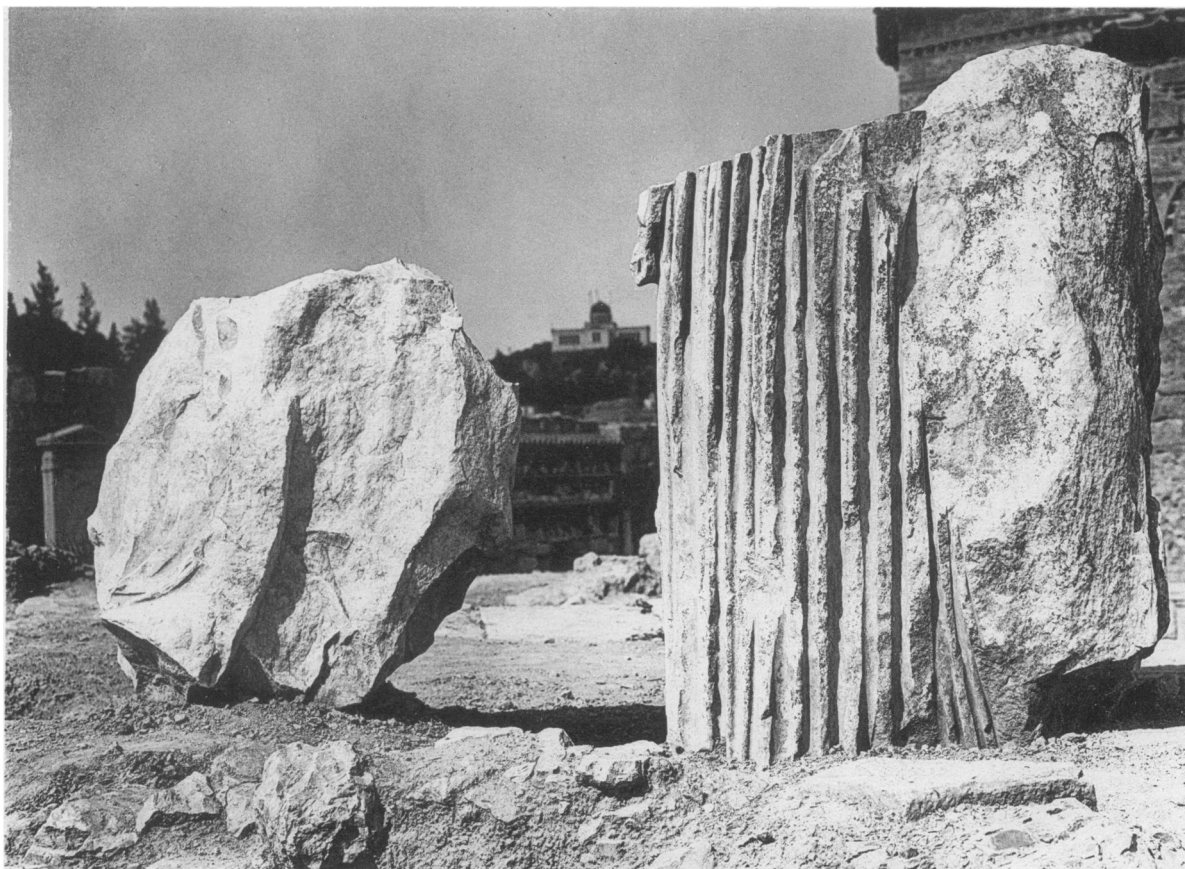
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<sup>91</sup> Cf. Delbrück, *op. cit.*, pp. 28 f.: "What the fate of the young Sulpicius Antonius may have been remains unknown. Vaballât Athenodōrus appeared later in his place as 'dux Romanorum.'"



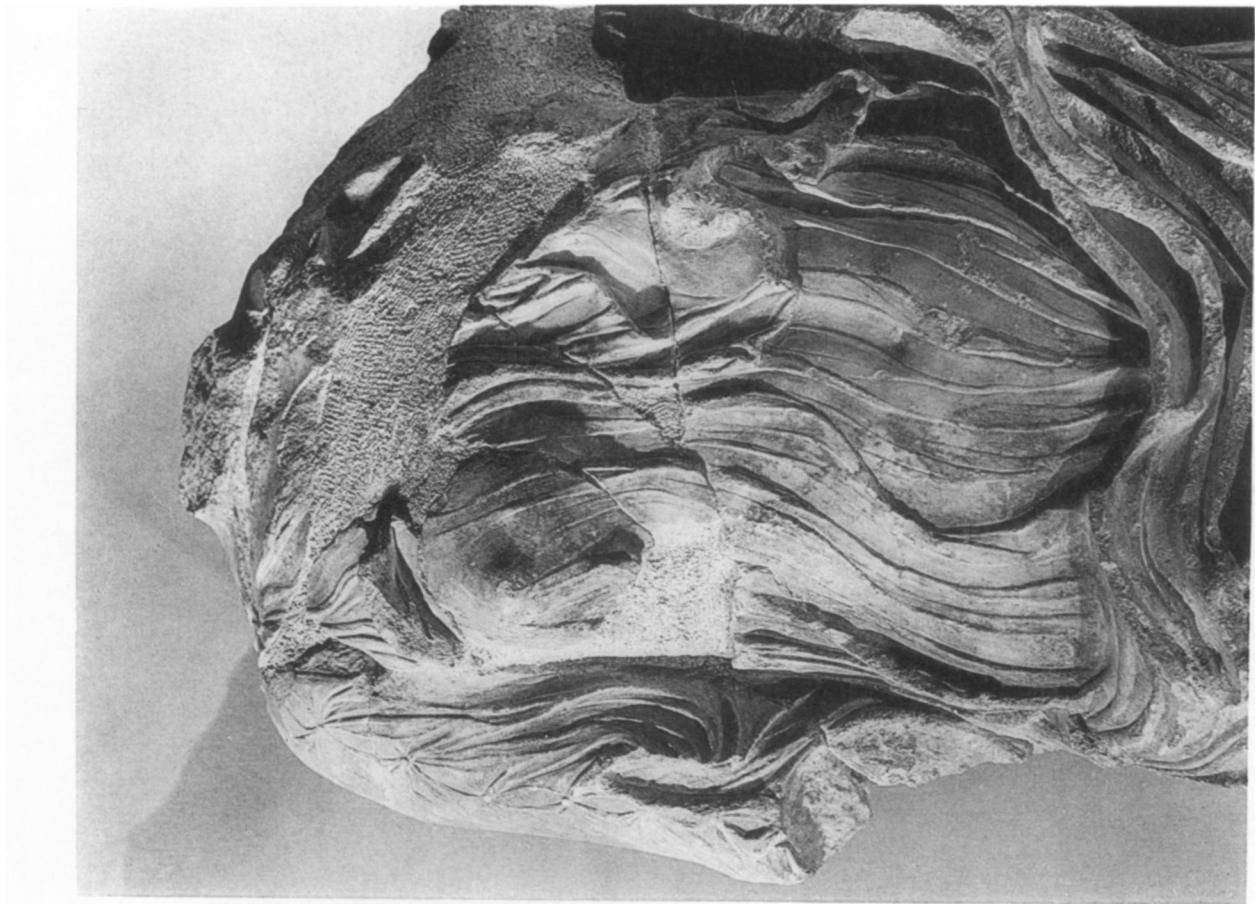


a. and b. Head of a Goddess.



c. Fragments of Colossal Marble Statue in Southeast Temple.

EVELYN B. HARRISON: NEW SCULPTURE FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA, 1959



a. and b. Statue of Aphrodite.

EVELYN B. HARRISON: NEW SCULPTURE FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA, 1959



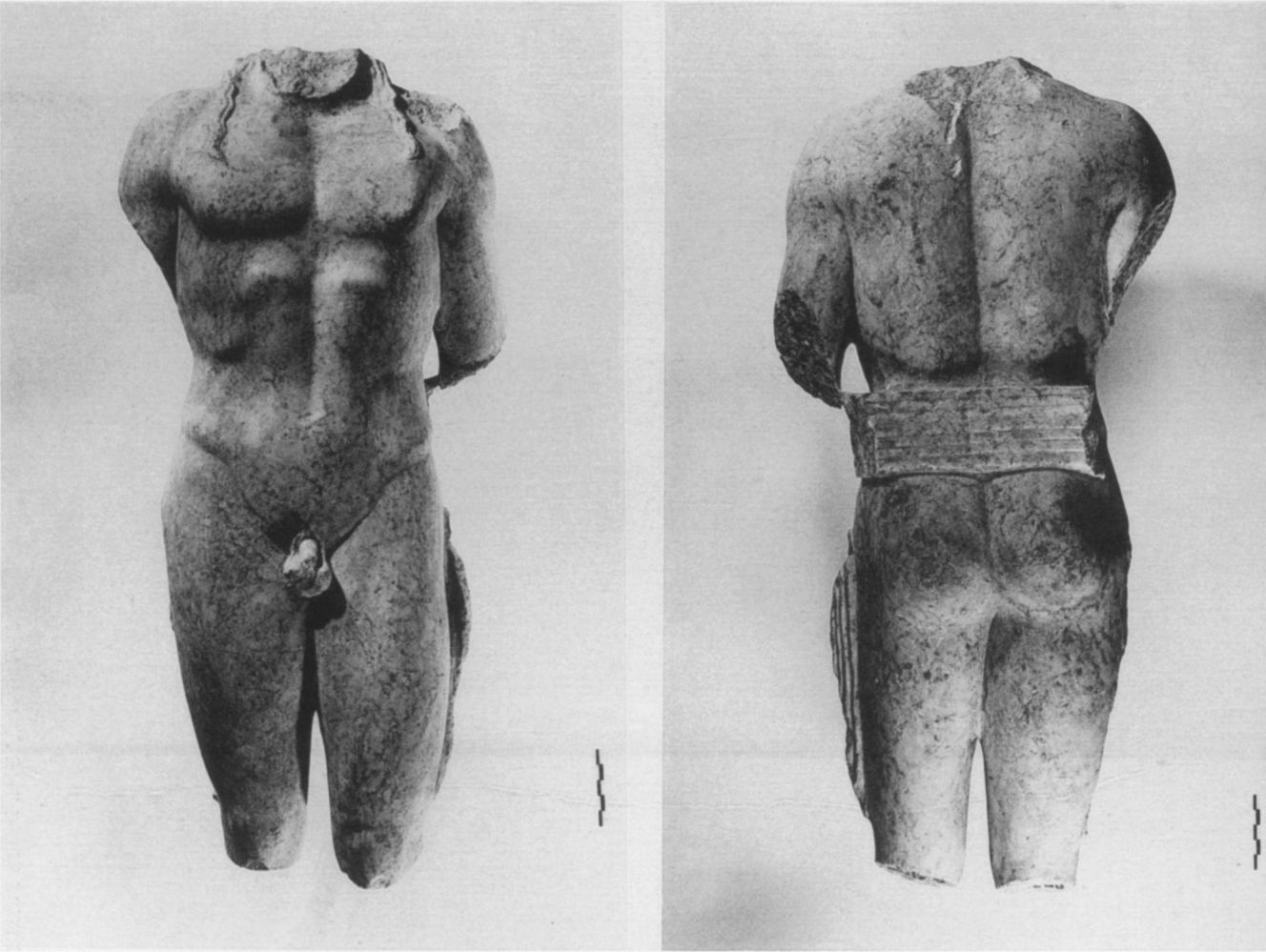
a. Nike N from Nike Parapet with New Fragment Attached.



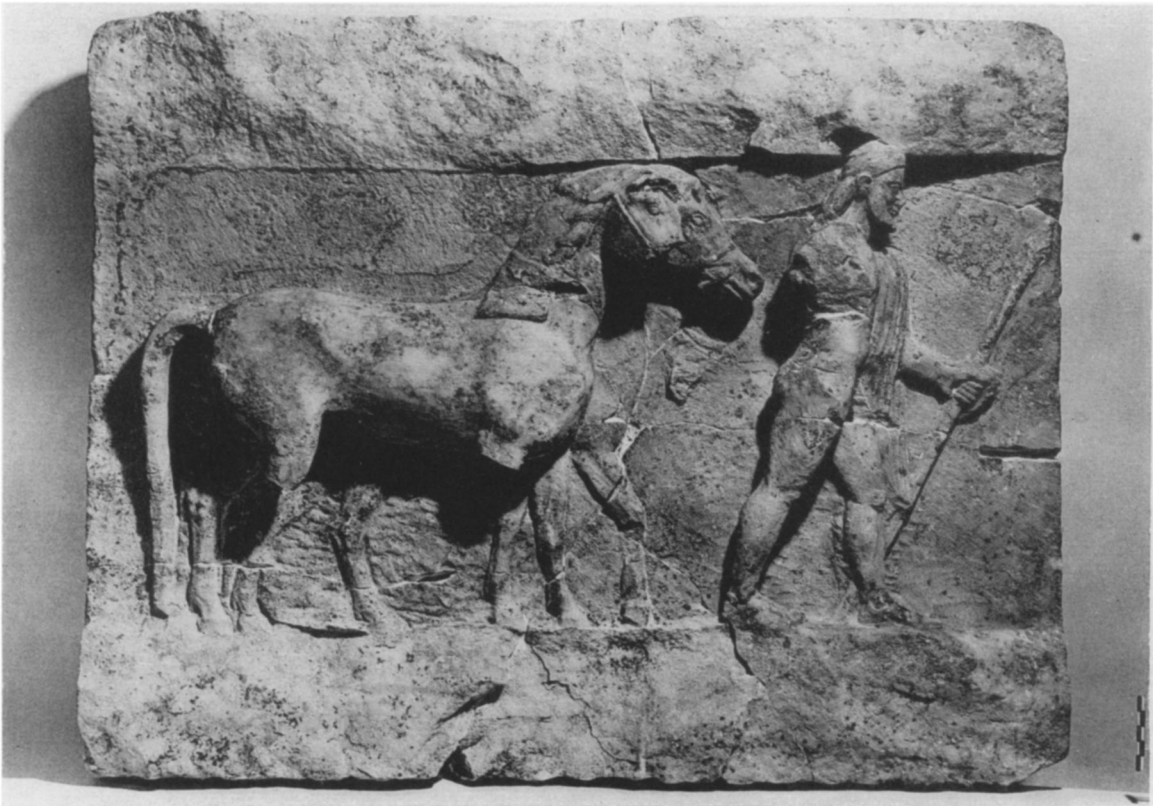
b. Head of a Youth.

EVELYN B. HARRISON: NEW SCULPTURE FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA, 1959





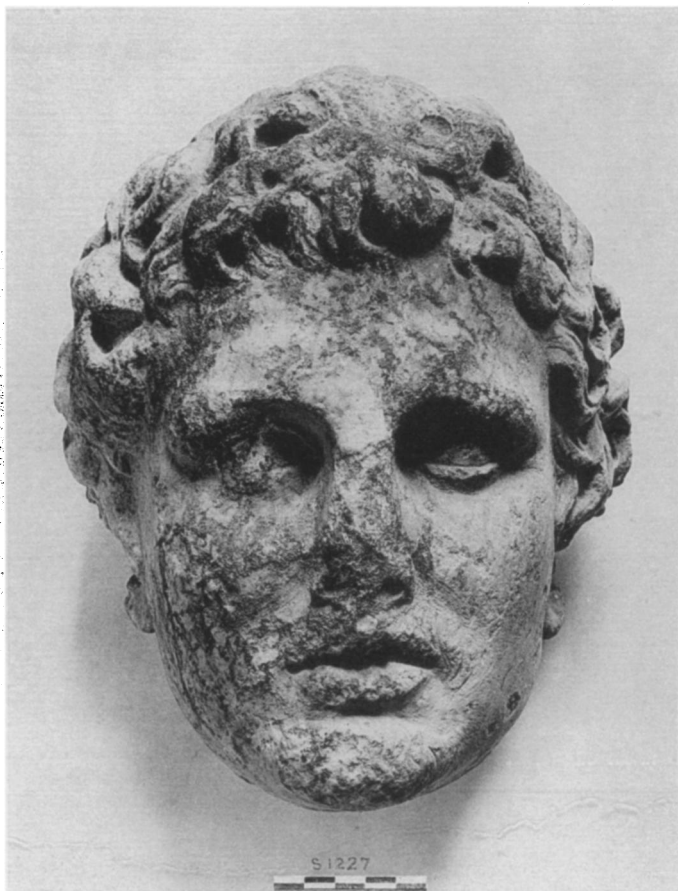
a. and b. Archaistic Kouros.



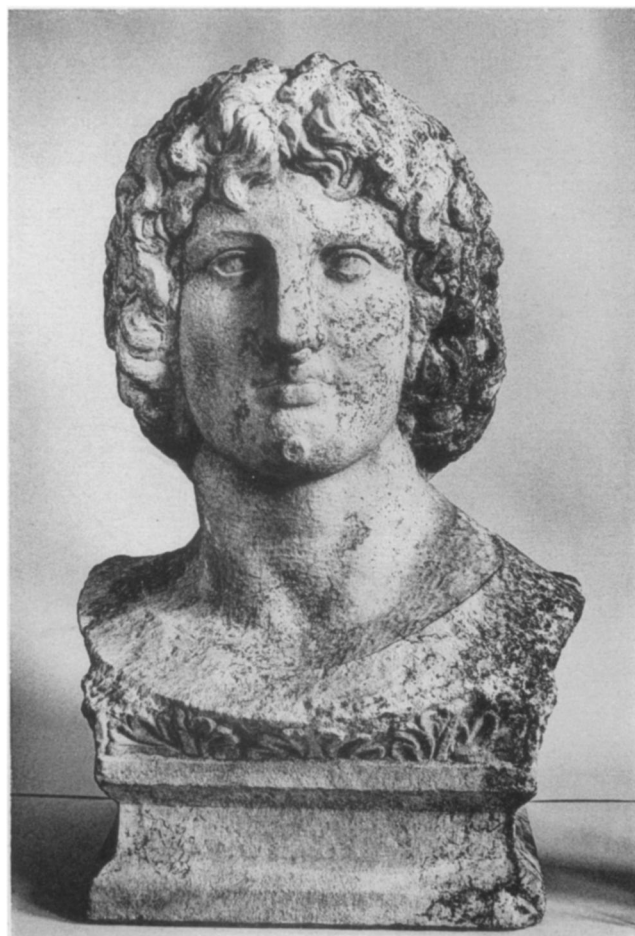
c. Unfinished Copy of an Archaic Relief.



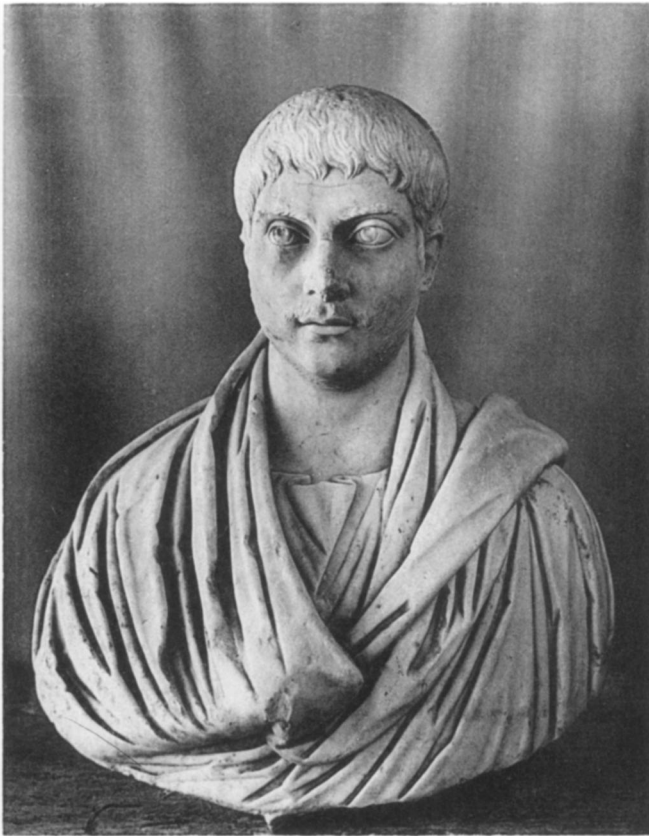
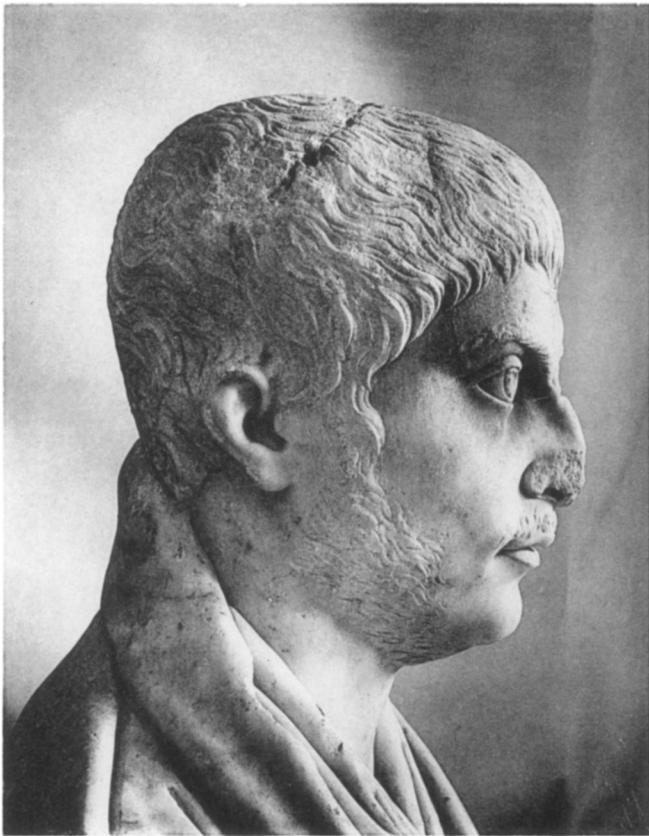
a. Head of Meleager found in 1959.



b. Head of Meleager found in 1947.



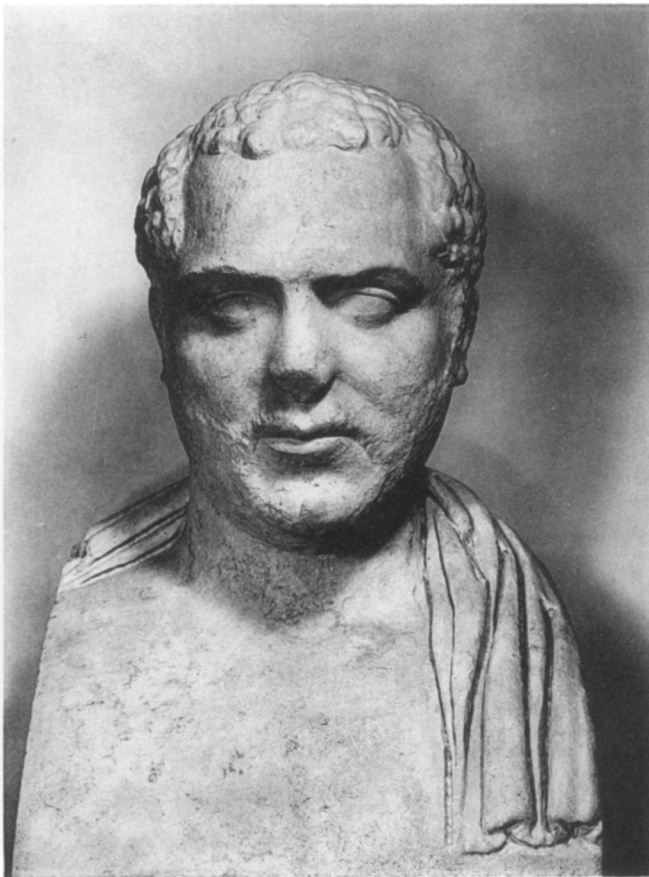
c. and d. Unfinished Bust of "Eubouleus" Type.



a. and b. Portrait Bust of a Young Syrian.



c. Bust of a Woman.



d. and e. Unfinished Portrait Herm.