

ATHENA FROM A HOUSE ON THE AREOPAGUS

(PLATES 107–112)

EXCAVATIONS in 1970 and 1971 in the Athenian Agora revealed a remarkable collection of sculpture from one of the largest of the late Roman houses on the slopes of the Areopagus.¹ This house, now called House C, was built in the 4th century after Christ with a spacious plan including two peristyle courts, and it was filled with Greek and Roman marble sculptures of exceptional quality.² Two significant works from the house have been

¹ It is a pleasure to acknowledge the cooperation of H. A. Thompson, T. L. Shear, Jr., and J. McK. Camp II of the Agora Excavations and Museum, M. Brouskari of the Akropolis Museum, N. Peppas-Delmouzou of the Epigraphical Museum, and K. Krystalli-Votsi of the National Archaeological Museum in Athens for allowing me to study and photograph the sculptures included here. I am especially grateful to Evelyn B. Harrison for her continuing encouragement and for permission to publish the Agora material, and to the American School of Classical Studies at Athens for its friendly assistance.

Works frequently cited are abbreviated as follows:

- Bieber, *Copies* = M. Bieber, *Ancient Copies: Contributions to the History of Greek and Roman Art*, New York 1977
- Boardman, *GSCP* = J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: The Classical Period*, New York 1985
- Karouzou = S. Karouzou, *National Archaeological Museum: Collection of Sculpture. A Catalogue*, Athens 1968
- Lawton = C. L. Lawton, *Attic Document Reliefs of the Classical and Hellenistic Periods*, diss. Princeton University, 1984
- Leipen = N. Leipen, *Athena Parthenos: A Reconstruction*, Toronto 1971
- Meyer = M. Meyer, *Die griechischen Urkundenreliefs*, AM Beiheft 13, Berlin 1989
- Richter, *SSG*⁴ = G. M. A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, 4th ed., New Haven 1970
- Ridgway, *FCS* = B. S. Ridgway, *Fifth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture*, Princeton 1981
- Robertson = M. Robertson, *A Handbook of Greek Art*, Cambridge 1976
- Roccos, *SPBM* = L. J. Roccos, *The Shoulder-pinned Back Mantle in Greek and Roman Sculpture*, diss. New York University, 1986
- Stewart = A. Stewart, *Greek Sculpture: An Exploration*, New Haven 1990
- Süsserott = H. K. Süsserott, *Griechische Plastik des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Frankfurt am Main 1938
- Walter = O. Walter, *Beschreibung der Reliefs im kleinem Akropolismuseum in Athen*, Athens 1923

Photographic credits:

- AntPl* XI, 1972, pl. 56: Pl. 112:a
- Archivio Fotografico Musei Capitolini: Pl. 112:d
- Athens, Agora Museum: Pls. 107, 108, 109:d, 110:a, 112:b
- Athens, Epigraphical Museum: Pls. 109:b, 111:b
- Athens, National Archaeological Museum: Pls. 109:c, 112:f, g
- DAI Rome: Pl. 109:a (EA 4080)
- New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1944: Pl. 112:c
- O. Walter, *Beschreibung der Reliefs im kleinem Akropolismuseum in Athen*, Athens 1923, no. 43: Pl. 111:a
- Author's photographs: Pls. 110:b, c, 111:c, d, 112:e

² T. L. Shear, Jr., "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1970," *Hesperia* 40, 1971 (pp. 241–279), pp. 274–275, pl. 59:b; *idem*, "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1971," *Hesperia* 42, 1973 (pp. 121–179), pp. 161, 163; J. M. Camp, *The Athenian Agora*, London 1986, p. 205, fig. 177; A. Frantz, *The Athenian Agora*, XXIV, *Late Antiquity: A.D. 267–700*, Princeton 1988, p. 90, pl. 39:e. Frantz (pp. 40–41) distinguishes House C among a group on the Areopagus, Houses A–D; for the later history of the house until its final destruction ca. 580 after Christ, see pp. 84–92. Camp (pp. 202–211) refers to the house as the "Omega

thoughtfully published, a 4th-century votive relief showing the cave of Pan and a Roman head of a Pheidian Nike.³ Most of the sculptures had been carefully placed in wells for safekeeping when the owner abandoned his house in the early 6th century, but neglected in the haste with which he fled was a small statue of Athena (1, Pls. 107, 108).⁴ Found in 1970, it had been decapitated and placed upside down in a doorway for re-use as a threshold by the subsequent Christian owner.

This statue of Athena resembles the Athena Parthenos: both stand stiffly frontal and wear a large aegis as a breastplate over a peplos with belted overfold, or "Attic" peplos.⁵ Athena from the Areopagus house, however, also wears a distinctive mantle, the shoulder-pinned back mantle. This is the mantle worn earlier by another Athena type, the 5th-century "Rheitoi Athena", which appears first on the document relief of 422/1 B.C. for the Rheitoi bridge.⁶ In addition to the small statue of Athena from House C, which seems to be Antonine work, there is a Roman statuette of the same type in the Palazzo Corsini, Florence (2, Pl. 109). This same type of Athena with large aegis, Attic peplos, and shoulder-pinned back mantle occurs also on Attic document and votive reliefs from the third quarter of the 4th century B.C. (3–12, Pls. 109–111). Since no two of these statues and relief representations are exactly alike, they should all be called "reflections" rather than copies of an original. Taken together these reflections seem to stem from an image created *ca.* 340–330 B.C., perhaps originally for the Athenian Agora. The original statue would have been a creation of the Lykourgan era, a classicizing period in the third quarter of the 4th century B.C.⁷ In this paper I will attempt to demonstrate that the type and style could only appear at that time. The study of this 4th-century Athena is important for two reasons: it shows the value of relief representations as evidence for "lost" original sculptures and illustrates the special quality of classicizing in a borderline era. Until it becomes possible to determine the original

House" from its position in the original excavation grid. The house was earlier referred to as "the House of the Sculptures" in H. A. Thompson, *The Athenian Agora, a Guide to the Excavation and Museum*, 3rd ed., Athens 1976, p. 146, fig. 74.

³ All the heads had been chopped off the votive relief, but the Nike head was in excellent condition. Votive relief, Agora I 7154: T. L. Shear, Jr., "A Votive Relief from the Athenian Agora," *OpusRom* 9, 1973, pp. 183–191; Thompson (footnote 2 above), pp. 192–194, fig. 100; *idem*, "Dionysos among the Nymphs in Athens and in Rome," *JWalt* 1977, pp. 73–84; Camp (footnote 2 above), fig. 178; Frantz, *Agora XXIV* (footnote 2 above), p. 90, note 215; Stewart, figs. 581–583. Head of Nike, Agora S 2354: Thompson, p. 199, fig. 103; E. B. Harrison, "Two Pheidian Heads: Nike and Amazon," in *The Eye of Greece: Studies in the Art of Greece*, D. Kurtz and B. Sparkes, edd., Cambridge 1982, pp. 53–88; Boardman, *GSCP*, fig. 105; Camp, fig. 173; Frantz, p. 41, note 161, pl. 40:c. For all the sculptures from House C, which included two statues (Athena and Herakles), two reliefs (Cave of Pan and Artemis hunting), and six heads (Nike, Helios, Antoninus Pius, a bearded man and two Roman women), see Camp, figs. 173–184, and Frantz, *Agora XXIV*, pls. 38–40.

⁴ See pp. 408–410 below for the catalogue of examples of the Areopagus House Athena type.

⁵ Leipen, pp. 27–29; Ridgway, *FCS*, pp. 161–164; Boardman, *GSCP*, pp. 110–113, figs. 97–100; *LIMC* II, *s.v.* Athena, pp. 977–978, nos. 212–233, pls. 729–731 (Demargne); Stewart, fig. 362.

⁶ Rheitoi relief, Eleusis Museum 5093 (43): *IG* I², 81; *IG* I³, 79; G. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, Princeton 1961, p. 193, fig. 69; Lawton, pp. 111–116, no. 6; Boardman, *GSCP*, fig. 178; Roccas, *SPBM*, p. 344, no. 91; *LIMC* II, *s.v.* Athena, p. 1013, no. 606, pl. 763 (Demargne); *LIMC* III, *s.v.* Demos, pp. 378–379, no. 42 (Alexandri-Tzahou); *LIMC* IV, *s.v.* Demeter, p. 881, no. 446 (Beschi); the clearest photograph is that of a cast in *AntP* IV, Berlin 1964, p. 32, figs. 3–6.

⁷ F. W. Mitchel, "Lykourgan Athens: 338–322," *Lectures in Memory of Louise Taft Semple*, Cincinnati 1973, pp. 163–214.

identity of the 4th-century statue, I shall call the type in general the "Areopagus House Athena" after the findspot of the best-preserved reflection (1).

DRESS AND HAIR

The garments worn by the Areopagus House Athena are not uncommon: shoulder-pinned back mantle, peplos with belted overfold, breastplate aegis, and Corinthian helmet. Peplos and back mantle occur in all representations and identify this specific type.

The characteristic mantle may be called the shoulder-pinned back mantle after the method of attaching it to the shoulders.⁸ It is worn by Athena first on the Rheitoi relief and again on several votive and document reliefs, as well as in freestanding versions (Pl. 112:a).⁹ In the third quarter of the 4th century B.C., the cult statue of Apollo Patroos in the Agora (Pl. 112:b) also wears this flowing back mantle.¹⁰ The mantle becomes associated with Apollo more than with Athena throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods. That it is primarily an Attic mantle may be deduced from the many young girls who wear it on Attic funerary and votive monuments; over fifty are known to me.¹¹ The mantle worn by the Areopagus House Athena is of the same size and type as that worn by these 4th-century maidens, for example Silenis in Berlin and the maiden in New York (Pl. 112:e, c).¹² It is

⁸ Bieber, *Copies*, "The Shoulder-Back Mantle," pp. 104–117; Roccas, *SPBM*, pp. 287–288. A similar mantle is worn with a different peplos by the Erechtheion Caryatids and by the statue of Eirene. Caryatids: Bieber, *Copies*, fig. 460; H. Lauter, "Die Koren der Erechtheion," *AntP* XVI, Berlin 1976; Robertson, pl. 115:6; Ridgway, *FCS*, pp. 105–108, figs. 82, 83; Boardman, *GSCP*, fig. 125; Stewart, figs. 431, 432. Eirene, Munich Glyptothek 219: Richter, *SSG*⁴, p. 138, figs. 538 (back view) and 704; A. H. Borbein, "Die griechische Statue des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.," *JdI* 88, 1973 (pp. 43–212), pp. 116–117, figs. 27–30 (with back view); B. Vorneisel-Schlörb, *Glyptothek München, Katalog der Skulpturen*, II, *Klassische Skulpturen des 5. u. 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Munich 1979, pp. 255–273, no. 25; Robertson, pl. 125:a; *LIMC* III, s.v. Eirene, p. 703, no. 8, pl. 541 (Simon); Stewart, figs. 485, 486.

⁹ Rheitoi Athena: L. J. Roccas, "Introducing the Rheitoi Athena," abstract of paper given at the General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, December 1985, *AJA* 90, 1986, p. 208; Roccas, *SPBM*, pp. 295–308 and 344–352, nos. 91–99. Freestanding versions: Athens, Akropolis Museum 1336; Venice, Archaeological Museum 260A; and Rome, Conservatori 39. Reliefs: Eleusis Museum 5093 (43); Athens, Akropolis Museum 2432, 2959, 2996; E.M. 6928; N.M. 2454.

¹⁰ Apollo Patroos, Agora S 2154: H. A. Thompson, "The Apollo Patroos of Euphranor," *Ἀρχ'Εφ* 1953–1954, B' (1958), pp. 30–46; S. Adam, *The Technique of Greek Sculpture*, London 1966, pp. 94–97, pls. 42, 43; H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, XIV, *The Agora of Athens*, Princeton 1972, pp. 136–139, pl. 69; Bieber, *Copies*, p. 108, figs. 484, 485 (Vatican copy); O. Palagia, *Euphranor*, Leiden 1980, pp. 13–20, figs. 6–17; Camp (footnote 2 above), pp. 159–161, fig. 133; B. S. Ridgway, *Roman Copies of Greek Sculpture*, Ann Arbor 1984, p. 66, pl. 72; Roccas, *SPBM*, pp. 16–26 and 105–121, nos. 1–18; *LIMC* II, s.v. Apollon, p. 204, no. 145, pl. 195 (Palagia) and s.v. Apollon/Apollo, p. 376, no. 48 (Simon); Stewart, fig. 512. For Roman Apollos of this general type see L. J. Roccas, "The Barberini Apollo in Munich," abstract of paper given at the General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, December 1982, *AJA* 87, 1983, p. 254; *eadem*, "Apollo Palatinus: The Augustan Apollo on the Sorrento Base," *AJA* 93, 1989, pp. 571–588.

¹¹ Roccas, *SPBM*, pp. 401–501, nos. 127–176; e.g., A. Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, Berlin 1903–1922, nos. 314, 332, 335, 342, 471, 832, 851, 852, 875, 876, 877, 881, 896, 906, 1093, 1131, 1227, 1235, 1236, 1237, 1238, 1241, 1242, 1243, 1679a.

¹² Silenis, Berlin, Staatliche Museen K 40: Conze, *op. cit.*, no. 1679a; H. Diepolder, *Die attischen Grabreliefs des 5. u. 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Berlin 1931, p. 42, pl. 37; C. Blümel, *Die klassisch griechischen Skulpturen der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Berlin 1966, p. 35, fig. 47; Robertson, pl. 123:e; Roccas, *SPBM*, p. 481, no. 156. Maiden in New York, M.M.A. 44.11.2: G. M. A. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek Sculptures*. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Cambridge 1954, pp. 62–64, no. 94, pls. 76, 77; J. Frel, *Les*

folded over once and pinned on both shoulders together with the peplos; it reaches to just below the knees in back. The side edges are represented in curvilinear fold patterns as if the mantle billows or flutters in a slight breeze. Such a billowing mantle occurs more often on moving figures such as Nymphs on votive reliefs.¹³ The contrast of movement in the mantle and lack of it in the figure has parallels in the 4th century, for instance, the archaistic Athena with flowing swallow-tail mantle and static pose on Panathenaic amphoras.¹⁴

Worn by Athena first in the Early Classical period, the peplos with belted overfold is often called the Attic peplos.¹⁵ On the Areopagus House Athena the general verticality of the peplos folds recalls 5th-century figures, and the fold from the bent knee down occurs similarly on the Athena Parthenos. The peplos, however, has obvious 4th-century characteristics. Heavy folds of cloth and long side kolpoi recall the Castra Pretoria Athena, the original of which is generally dated *ca.* 320 (Pl. 112:d).¹⁶ Thick folds under the belt are comparable to those on Sisyphos I from the Daochos monument in Delphi, which is usually dated *ca.* 335.¹⁷ A pronounced central fold on the lower section of the overfold ending in an omega shape occurs also on the peplos of the Castra Pretoria Athena and many of the young maidens on funerary monuments, for example Silenis in Berlin (Pl. 112:e) and Mynnion

sculpteurs attiques anonymes, 430–300, Prague 1969, p. 51, no. 377; R. Kabus-Jahn, *Studien zu Frauenfiguren des vierten Jahrhunderts vor Christus*, Darmstadt 1963, p. 42, no. A64; M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, 2nd ed., Princeton 1961, fig. 209; Roccas, *SPBM*, pp. 498–500, no. 175.

¹³ Nymph relief, Berlin, Staatliche Museen K 83; Blümel, *op. cit.*, pp. 60–61, no. 69, fig. 101; R. Feubel, *Die attischen Nymphenreliefs und ihre Vorbilder*, diss. University of Heidelberg, 1935, pp. 20–23, no. 5; *EAA V*, *s.v.* Ninfe, pp. 502–505, fig. 644 (Sichtermann); Ridgway, *FCS*, p. 210; Boardman, *GSCP*, fig. 176; *LIMC I*, *s.v.* Acheloos, p. 22, no. 166, pl. 36 (Isler). Similar mantles occur on the Charites in late 5th-century reliefs; see *LIMC III*, *s.v.* Charis, Charites, p. 196, nos. 22–24, pls. 152, 153 (Harrison). Fluttering mantles on the standing figures from the relief in Stockholm which reflects the Nemesis base seem unusual in the late 5th century and may be a copyist's additions; Stockholm, N.M. 150: Robertson, pl. 118:c; Boardman, *GSCP*, fig. 123. Mantles on standing figures in the 5th century usually hang in straight zigzag folds, as, e.g., the mantles of Nemesis (Robertson, pl. 118:a; Ridgway, *FCS*, p. 172, figs. 113, 114; Boardman, *GSCP*, fig. 122), the Aphrodite of Frejus (Robertson, pl. 118:b; Ridgway, *FCS*, pp. 198–201, figs. 126, 127; Boardman, *GSCP*, fig. 197; *LIMC II*, *s.v.* Aphrodite, p. 34, no. 225, pl. 25), and the Rheitoi Athena (see footnote 9).

¹⁴ See E. B. Harrison, *The Athenian Agora*, XI, *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture*, Princeton 1965, pp. 52–53. For Athena on a Panathenaic amphora dated 336/5, Munich, Antikensammlungen 7767: *ABV*, p. 417, no. 2; J. D. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-figure*, 2nd ed., Berkeley 1986, pl. 102:4; J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases*, London 1974, fig. 207.

¹⁵ M. Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung*, Berlin 1928, p. 18; Leipen, pp. 27–28; B. S. Ridgway, "The Fashion of the Elgin Kore," *GettyMusJ* 12, 1984 (pp. 29–58), pp. 30–36, 46–50.

¹⁶ Castra Pretoria Athena, Rome, Conservatori inv. 1829: Helbig⁴, II, pp. 510–511, no. 1732 (von Steuben); R. Horn, *Stehende weibliche Gewandstatuen in der hellenistischen Plastik*, Munich 1931, pp. 8–9, pl. 2:2; D. Mustilli, *Il Museo Mussolini*, Rome 1939, pp. 93–95, pls. 54, 55; G. M. A. Richter, "Two Greek Statues," *AJA* 48, 1944 (pp. 229–239), p. 237, fig. 15; Bieber (footnote 12 above), figs. 210–212; G. B. Waywell, "Athena Mattei," *BSA* 66, 1971 (pp. 373–382), p. 378, pl. 72:a; *LIMC II*, *s.v.* Athena/Minerva, pp. 1086–1087, no. 159, pl. 798 (Canciani). Like the Areopagus House Athena type, the Castra Pretoria type appears on a document relief soon after her creation, one honoring Euphron of Sikyon, Athens, N.M. 1482 (323/2 to 318/7): *IG II²*, 448; Süsserott, pl. 9:4; Richter, p. 237, fig. 14; Karouzou, p. 130; R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, III, *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*, Princeton 1957, p. 29, no. 42; Lawton, pp. 224–228, no. 66; *LIMC II*, *s.v.* Athena, p. 1013, no. 613 (Demargne); *LIMC III*, *s.v.* Demos, p. 380, no. 58, pl. 275 (Alexandri-Tzahou); Meyer, p. 303, no. A134, pl. 39:1.

¹⁷ Adam (footnote 10 above), pp. 97–102, pls. 47, 48; B. R. Brown, *Anticlassicism in Greek Sculpture of the Fourth Century B.C.*, New York 1973, pp. 36–37, fig. 51.

and Theophile in Athens (Pl. 112:f, g).¹⁸ The high-belted waistline and proportions are consistent with those from the later 4th century as seen on document reliefs, funerary monuments, and Kerch vases.¹⁹

It is likely that the original statue wore a chiton under the peplos as do the two Roman statues (1, 2). From the mid-5th century on, a chiton was often worn under the peplos, as by some of the maidens in the Parthenon East frieze as well as the Athena Medici.²⁰ Most of the young maidens in 4th-century funerary monuments also wear a chiton under their peplos and back mantle.²¹ Of the partially preserved relief representations of the Areopagus House Athena, only one (9) lacks the chiton.

¹⁸ Silenis: see footnote 12 above. Mynnion, Athens, N.M. Γ.763: Conze (footnote 11 above), no. 896, pl. 226; Karouzou, p. 73; Roccas, *SPBM*, p. 465, no. 138. Theophile, Athens, N.M. Γ.1305: Conze, no. 875, pl. 169; Richter (footnote 16 above), p. 237, fig. 12; Roccas, *SPBM*, p. 491, no. 166. The central omega fold may have appeared also on the Athena Parthenos but with less emphasis; several copies preserve this detail, as, e.g., on the Varvakeion statuette, Athens, N.M. 129: W. H. Schuchhardt, "Athena Parthenos," *AntP* II, Berlin 1963 (pp. 31–53), pp. 31–46, pls. 20–32; Karouzou, pp. 68–69, pl. 31; Richter, *SSG*⁴, figs. 638, 639; Leipen, pp. 3–4, no. 2, figs. 2, 3; Boardman, *GSCP*, fig. 97; *LIMC* II, s.v. Athena, p. 977, no. 220, pl. 729 (Demargne); and s.v. Athena/Minerva, p. 1084, no. 142b (Canciani). See also statuettes in Belgrade, Argos, and Herakleion: Leipen, pp. 4–6, nos. 4, 12, 15, figs. 5, 9, 10; and the statue by Antiochos, Rome, M.N.R. 8622: Helbig⁴, III, pp. 248–249, no. 2328 (Fuchs); Leipen, pp. 6–7, no. 20, fig. 14; Bieber, *Copies*, p. 90, figs. 407, 408; *Museo Nazionale Romano. Le Sculture I, 5. I Marmi Ludovisi*, A. Giuliano, ed., Rome 1983, pp. 172–175, no. 73; *LIMC* II, s.v. Athena/Minerva, p. 1084, no. 142, pl. 795 (Canciani).

¹⁹ Document reliefs: e.g., Athens, N.M. 1476 (331/0): Brown (footnote 17 above), p. 26, fig. 83; Meyer, p. 295, no. A105, pl. 33:2. See also Agora I 6524 (337/6): Thompson and Wycherley (footnote 10 above), p. 61, note 173, pl. 53:a; U. Kron, "Demos, Pnyx und Nymphenhügel. Zu Demos-Darstellungen und zum ältesten Kultort des Demos in Athen," *AM* 94, 1979 (pp. 49–75), p. 59, pl. 8:2; Palagia (footnote 10 above), pp. 60–61, fig. 43; *eadem*, "A Colossal Statue of a Personification from the Agora of Athens," *Hesperia* 51, 1982 (pp. 99–113), p. 109, pl. 36:c; *LIMC* III, s.v. Demokratia, p. 373, no. 7, pl. 271 and s.v. Demos, p. 379, no. 54 (both Alexandri-Tzahou); Meyer, p. 293, no. A97, pl. 30:2. Also see Athens, N.M. 2985 (ca. 330): Meyer, pp. 296–297, no. A109, pl. 32:1. For funerary reliefs, see footnote 11 above. For Kerch vases ca. 340–330 B.C., see K. Schefold, *Untersuchungen zu den kertscher Vasen*, Berlin/Leipzig 1934, pp. 108–114; see especially a lebes gamikos by the Marsyas Painter, Leningrad, Hermitage 15592: *ARV*², p. 1475, no. 1; Schefold, *op. cit.*, pp. 30–32, no. 286, pls. 33, 34; J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Classical Period*, London 1989, fig. 388; and the pelike by the Eleusinian Painter, Leningrad, Hermitage St. 1793: *ARV*², p. 1476, no. 2; Schefold, *op. cit.*, pp. 42–43, no. 369, pl. 32:1–3; Boardman, *op. cit.*, fig. 393. Athena with diagonal aegis on the round altar from the Agora, Athens, N.M. 1731, has proportions similar to those of the Areopagus House Athena and also wears a shoulder-pinned back mantle; see Karouzou, p. 155; Travlos, p. 458, figs. 579, 580; Roccas, *SPBM*, pp. 311–314 and 354–355, no. 101; C. R. Long, *The Twelve Gods of Greece and Rome*, Leiden 1987, pp. 6–7, no. 5, pp. 190–192, figs. 13–16; *LIMC* II, s.v. Athena, p. 998, no. 466 (Demargne); *LIMC* III, s.v. Dodekathēoi, p. 649, no. 5, pls. 508, 509 (Berger-Doer).

²⁰ Parthenon frieze, East III: F. Brommer, *Der Parthenonfries. Katalog und Untersuchung*, Mainz 1977, pl. 168; *idem*, *Die Parthenon-Skulpturen*, Mainz 1979, pl. 100. Athena Medici: Richter, *SSG*⁴, p. 71, fig. 339; A. Linfert, "Athenen des Phidias," *AM* 97, 1982 (pp. 57–77), list of replicas, pp. 76–77; Ridgway, *FCS*, pp. 169–170, fig. 111; *LIMC* II, s.v. Athena, p. 973, no. 172 (Demargne) and s.v. Athena/Minerva, p. 1085, no. 144, pl. 796 (Canciani); Boardman, *GSCP*, fig. 200. For a different identification of the Medici Athena, see E. B. Harrison, "Lemnia and Lemnos: Sidelights on a Pheidias Athena," *Kanon. Festschrift Ernst Berger (AntK Beiheft 15)*, Basel 1988, pp. 101–107.

²¹ E.g., Stratyllis, Athens, N.M. 3691: Ἀρχ'Εφ 1939–1941 (1948), *Χρονικά*, p. 4, fig. 3; Karouzou, p. 121; Roccas, *SPBM*, pp. 424 and 462–463, no. 134; and Eukoline, Athens, Kerameikos 8754: Conze (footnote 11 above), no. 1131; Bieber (footnote 15 above), pl. 5:1; B. Schlörb-Vierneisel, "Eridanos-Nekropole, I. Gräber und Opferstellen hS 1-204," *AM* 81, 1966 (pp. 4–111), pp. 83–84, no. 141, Beil. 63; Frel (footnote 12 above), p. 40, no. 282, pl. 45; Roccas, *SPBM*, pp. 485–486, no. 160.

The large aegis worn as a breastplate appears first on the Athena Parthenos and is thereafter identified with her.²² A few other post-Parthenos Athenas also wear this large aegis, for example the Medici and Hope/Farnese Athenas in the later 5th century.²³ Other statues of Athena reflect the Parthenos type in peplos and aegis, for example, the cult statue of Athena Polias at Priene.²⁴ In the 4th century, however, the small collar aegis and the diagonal aegis are far more common. Holes for attaching the metal snakes appear on the statues 1 and 2. A small Gorgoneion worn as a pin holds the aegis together on the Agora Athena (1) and on some of the reliefs (3, 5, 9). It is likely that the original statue also had the small Gorgoneion.

Although the Attic helmet is worn by the Parthenos and some other 5th-century Athenas such as the Medici and Hope/Farnese Athenas, the Corinthian helmet becomes more popular from the late 5th century on.²⁵ The Castra Pretoria Athena and the Athena Polias of Priene wear the Corinthian helmet. All the representations of the Areopagus House Athena save one (9) wear the Corinthian helmet. No doubt the original also wore this type of helmet.

On the Agora statue (1), Athena's hair hangs down her back in a spreading mass (Pl. 107:b) similar to that on an Early Classical statue of Athena in the Akropolis Museum.²⁶ It is not a common hairstyle in the 4th century, but it does occur on a few other figures such as the Castra Pretoria Athena and a female statue in Venice, as well as some later examples in Athens and Providence.²⁷

²² DarSag I, *s.v.* aegis, pp. 101–104 (Saglio); Leipen, p. 29.

²³ Medici Athena: see footnote 20 above. Hope/Farnese Athena, Naples, M.N. 133: Boardman, *GSCP*, fig. 206; *LIMC* II, *s.v.* Athena/Minerva, p. 1085, no. 148 (Canciani). See also the similar Albani Athena from Tivoli, Rome, Villa Albani 1012: Helbig⁴, IV, pp. 220–221, no. 3243 (Fuchs); *LIMC* II, *s.v.* Athena/Minerva, p. 1085, no. 147, pl. 797 (Canciani).

²⁴ For the statue of Athena Polias at Priene which appears on coins of the city see J. C. Carter, *The Sculptures of the Sanctuary of Athena Polias at Priene*, London 1983, p. 219, note 52; *LIMC* II, *s.v.* Athena, p. 978, no. 231 (Demargne). In a lecture for the Archaeological Institute of America at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, May 6, 1989, J. C. Carter suggested that the cult statue may have been of 4th-century date; the type is similar to the Areopagus House Athena. Nearly contemporary with the original of the Areopagus House Athena and also wearing the large Parthenos-type aegis is the original of the Vescovoli Athena in Leningrad, Hermitage A.166: Kabus-Jahn (footnote 12 above), pp. 88–92; Waywell (footnote 16 above), p. 382; *LIMC* II, *s.v.* Athena/Minerva, p. 1086, no. 156, pl. 798 (Canciani). The type is similar in style and date to the figure of Demokratia on the relief Agora I 6524 (337/6): see footnote 19 above.

²⁵ Helmet: A. M. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour of the Greeks*, Ithaca 1967, pp. 93–94. For Athenas with Corinthian helmet, see Waywell (footnote 16 above), pp. 373–382.

²⁶ Angelito's Athena, Akropolis Museum 140: B. S. Ridgway, *The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture*, Princeton 1970, pp. 29–31, fig. 39; Borbein (footnote 8 above), pp. 122–123, figs. 39–42 (with back view); J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture. The Archaic Period*, London 1978, p. 87, fig. 173; M. Brouskari, *The Acropolis Museum*, Athens 1974, p. 129, fig. 248; R. Tölle-Kastenbein, *Frühklassische Peplosfiguren. Originale*, Mainz 1980, pp. 54–55, no. 9:e, pls. 42, 43 (with back view); *LIMC* II, *s.v.* Athena, p. 972, no. 144, pl. 720 (Demargne). This arrangement of the hair may have occurred also on the Athena Parthenos; a copy of the Parthenos now in Boston has this trapezoidal mass of hair in back, Boston, M.F.A. 1980.196: C. C. Vermeule, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in America*, Malibu 1980, p. 56, no. 29, colorplate 6; Ridgway (footnote 15 above), p. 30, fig. 1; Boardman, *GSCP*, fig. 100; M. Comstock and C. C. Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone and Bronze in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Additions to the Collections of Greek, Etruscan and Roman Art, 1971–1988*, Boston 1988, pp. 29–31, no. 19 (with back view).

²⁷ Castra Pretoria Athena: see footnote 16 above. Female statue, Venice, Museo Archeologico 41-A: R. Kabus-Jahn, "Die Grimanische Figurengruppe in Venedig," *AntP* XI, Berlin 1972, pp. 75–80, no. IX,

On the reflections of the Areopagus House Athena the selective combination of distinctive traditional elements such as peplos, mantle, aegis, and hairstyle indicate a clearcut attempt to fashion a classicizing image with more than one reference to things past.

POSE AND ATTRIBUTES

The extremely frontal pose of the statues 1 and 2 resembles that of 5th-century figures, perhaps intentionally. The stance with the free leg barely off the ground also seems antiquated by the later 4th century, when statues more often have a casual lifelike movement. If the original of the Areopagus House Athena was a cult statue, then she probably stood erect and frontal like the two Roman reflection statues. On the other hand, the 4th-century reliefs all show a more relaxed Athena in varying postures; yet they always retain her characteristic garments: peplos, aegis, and back mantle. Later freestanding reflections of the Parthenos usually keep her erect and frontal pose, e.g., the Parthenos from Pergamon and the Athena Polias from Priene.²⁸ Coins as well as reliefs with representations of cult images often vary the pose and occasionally even the attribute.²⁹ There is no doubt of the common source behind the Piraeus Athena and the Athena Mattei, but although the two statues have the same dress and pose, they have different arm positions and different helmet ornaments.³⁰ An image of a statue in a relief scene is usually not included to represent the statue itself but rather the deity as a participant in the scene; thus mobility of arms, head, and body position is essential.

The table on p. 404 indicates variations in pose and attributes for the 12 reflections of the original of the Areopagus House Athena. Although the two statues stand on the right leg with the left slightly bent, the reliefs vary considerably. The Agora statue (1) and most reliefs indicate one raised arm and one lowered arm. Like other post-Polykleitan Athenas, the Agora statue and some of the reliefs (3, 4) show a chiastic pose with the raised arm

pls. 45–48; G. Traversari, *Sculture del V. e IV. Secolo A.C. del Museo Archeologico di Venezia*, Venice 1973, pp. 77–79, no. 30. Female statue, Athens, Agora S 339: T. L. Shear, "The Sculpture found in 1933," *Hesperia* 4, 1935 (pp. 371–420), pp. 371–374, figs. 1–3; Roccòs, *SPBM*, pp. 375–377 and 397–398, no. 126. Statue of Artemis, Providence, R.I.S.D. 13.1478: B. S. Ridgway, *Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design: Catalogue of the Classical Collection, Sculpture*, Providence 1972, pp. 43–44 and 162–163, no. 15; Vermeule, 1980, *op. cit.*, p. 105, no. 74; *LIMC* II, s.v. Artemis, p. 637, no. 143 (Kahil); Roccòs, *SPBM*, pp. 396–397, no. 125.

²⁸ Athena Parthenos from Pergamon, Berlin, Pergamon Museum 24: Robertson, pl. 105:a; Boardman, *GSCP*, fig. 101; J. J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, Cambridge 1986, pp. 167–168, fig. 171; *LIMC* II, s.v. Athena, p. 978, no. 230, pl. 730 (Demargne). Athena Polias from Priene, London, B.M. (fragments): Carter (footnote 24 above), pp. 210–249, nos. 72–83; *LIMC* II, s.v. Athena, p. 978, no. 231 (Demargne).

²⁹ E.g., coins of Antoninus Pius with APOLLINI AUGUSTO and the citharode Apollo often change the weight leg as well as the shape and size of the kithara; see *BMCRE* IV, no. 511, pl. 11:12; no. 1229, pl. 28:2; no. 1740, pl. 42:5; no. 1756, pl. 42:10. Coins of Priene with Athena Polias vary the image to show her head and right arm in profile; see Carter (footnote 24 above), p. 219. For variations in pose and attributes on images of the Parthenos and other Athenas on coins, see M. Thompson, "Reflections on the Athenian Imperial Coinage," in *Studies in Athenian Architecture, Sculpture and Topography presented to Homer A. Thompson* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 20), Princeton 1982 (pp. 163–171), p. 169.

³⁰ Waywell (footnote 16 above), p. 374, pls. 66–68; Bieber, *Copies*, pp. 33–34, fig. 61; Palagia (footnote 10 above), pp. 21–23, figs. 32, 33 (Piraeus Athena); *LIMC* II, s.v. Athena, pp. 980–981, nos. 254, 255, pl. 734 (Demargne); Stewart, fig. 511.

TABLE. The Areopagus House Athena: Comparison of pose and attributes

	AEGIS	HELMET	CHITON	ATTRIBUTE	WT.LEG	L.ARM	R.ARM
<u>STATUES</u>							
1. Agora S 2337	Parth.	Corin.	Yes	-	Right	Up	Down
2. Florence Corsini	Parth.	Corin.	Yes	Shield?	Right	Down	Up
<u>DOCUMENT RELIEFS</u>							
3. Athens EM 2802a	Parth.	-	Yes	Spear Shield	Left	Down	Up
4. Athens NM 1473	Parth.	Corin.	Yes	Spear	Right	Up	Down
5. Agora S 1139	Parth.	Corin.	Yes	Shield Phiale?	Right	Down	Out
6. Agora S 2311	Parth.	Corin.	Yes	Spear Shield	Left	Up	Down
<u>VOTIVE RELIEFS</u>							
7. Akrop. 4689	Parth.	-	Yes	Shield Spear?	Right	Down	Up
8. Agora S 816	Parth.	-	-	Spear Phiale	Left	Up	Out
9. Akrop. 2969	Parth.	Attic	No	Spear?	-	Out	Up
10. Akrop. 2541	-	-	-	Shield	-	-	-
11. Akrop. 2543+ Akrop. 2623	-	-	-	Shield?	Right	-	-
12. Athens EM 2772+ Akrop. 2497	-	-	-	-	Left	-	-

balanced by the weight leg. The Areopagus House Athena probably held a spear in her raised hand as she does in several reliefs (3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9). A shield may have leaned against her leg as it did with the Parthenos; a resting shield appears in six reliefs (3, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11). The lowered right arm on the Agora statue could have held a phiale as on many cult statues and on two reliefs (5, 7?).³¹ If the Athena in the Agora (1) were an example of Roman

³¹ The phiale is a rather common attribute for cult statues; see B. Eckstein-Wolf, "Zur Darstellung spendender Götter," *MdI* 5, 1952, pp. 39-75; E. Simon, *Opfernde Götter*, Berlin 1953; and J. H. Kroll, "The Ancient Image of Athena Polias," in *Studies in Athenian Architecture, Sculpture and Topography presented to Homer A. Thompson* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 20), Princeton 1982 (pp. 65-76), p. 75 and note 46 for examples of other statues holding phialai.

reversals, then the spear could have been held in the right hand of the original statue as one might expect.³²

STATUES AND RELIEFS

The two statues reflecting the Areopagus House Athena are remarkably similar, agreeing nearly fold for fold from the waist down. On the Agora Athena (1) the drapery folds are rounded in an almost doughy manner, whereas on the Florence statuette (2) the drapery is more coarsely worked, and the fold edges are harsh and stiff. On the Florence statuette the flat central omega fold is more pronounced, and the upper part of the overfold is nearly concealed by the large aegis. Proportions differ slightly on some figures; the Agora Athena (1) seems to be slightly less high-waisted than most. Differences, however, are slight, and all versions fall within the confines of later 4th-century B.C. styles. Although the slightly raised left shoulder on the Agora statue indicates that the left arm was raised, the more symmetrical arrangement on the Florence statuette permits the right arm to be raised instead.

Four of the better preserved reliefs (3, 4, 5, 6) show basically the same figure as the two statues. Although the peplos folds are generalized, the edges of the back mantle are usually shown billowing at the sides. An exception is Agora S 2311 (6), where Athena holds the edge of the mantle with one hand, a motif known from maidens on votive and funerary monuments.³³ Of the eight reliefs that preserve Athena's lower torso, four show her with the weight on the right leg like the statues.

The importance of contemporary relief representations for the re-creation of lost original statues is seldom acknowledged.³⁴ Instead, the creativity of the carvers of relief images is praised, and the obvious practice of copying specific statues is hardly noted. Although statues, even the famous Athena Parthenos, are rarely copied exactly in relief representations, some original works have been identified through similar versions occurring in both freestanding and relief images. Praschniker studied several types of Athenas known from the Akropolis.³⁵ Neumann proposed an original seated Athena reflected in votive reliefs and a Hadrianic copy and discussed a statue of Artemis known also from reliefs and Roman copies.³⁶

³² For Roman reversals with a purpose, see E. Bartman, "*Decor et Duplicatio*: Pendants in Roman Sculptural Display," *AJA* 92, 1988, pp. 211–225. See also C. C. Vermeule, *Greek Sculpture and Roman Taste*, Ann Arbor 1977, pp. 3–5.

³³ Votive relief, Athens, N.M. 1333: U. Hausmann, *Kunst und Heilium*, Potsdam 1948, p. 177, fig. 6; Karouzou, pp. 141–142; *LIMC* II, s.v. Asklepios, p. 873, no. 66, pl. 639 (Holtzmann). Votive relief, Athens, N.M. 1377: Hausmann, p. 167, no. 11; Karouzou, pp. 144–145; *LIMC* II, s.v. Asklepios, p. 881, no. 201, pl. 650 (Holtzmann). Funerary akroterion, Athens, N.M. 744: Conze (footnote 11 above), no. 852, pl. 165; Karouzou, p. 113. Funerary stele, Athens, N.M. 1093: Conze, no. 471.

³⁴ Lawton (pp. 34–44) cites only a few specific statue types that she believes are represented on document reliefs. See also Meyer (pp. 161–176), who classifies Athena types known from document reliefs by attribute (shield, spear) or pose (seated, shield-carrying) rather than by dress. Stewart (p. 193), on the votive relief dedicated by Neoptolemos of Melite (Agora I 7154, footnote 3 above), writes, "... the sculptor is not above quoting well-known statuary types, for his Artemis closely resembles the Piraeus bronze."

³⁵ C. Praschniker, "Die 'angelehnte' Athena," in *Antike Plastik. Festschrift für Walter Amelung*, Berlin 1928, pp. 176–181; *idem*, "Aus dem Depot des Akropolis-Museums, I. Athena-Gestalten," *ÖJh* 37, 1948, Beib. 11–16.

³⁶ G. Neumann, *Probleme des griechischen Weihreliefs*, Tübingen 1979, pp. 61–63. The seated Athena (pl. 36:a, b), which Neumann calls a Hadrianic copy of a late 5th-century original, also appears on votive

ORIGIN

Do the 12 objects catalogued here all refer back to one original, or are any or all simply variations on a theme? The distinctive iconography and consistent style of the 12 examples point to a common original. The Attic peplos with breastplate aegis, the Attic shoulder-pinned back mantle, the Corinthian helmet, and the high-waisted garment are all consistent with other figures from the later 4th century. Attributes and pose are the variable features on the 12 reflections: spear, shield or phiale, hand position, weight leg, and turn of the head. Lacking exact or near replicas of a lost original, we are often faced with a choice of versions. In this case, 10 of the 12 reflections are nearly contemporary with the proposed original, and so style is not a problem here. The qualifying factors of a type are not the pose and attributes held in the hands, although these cannot be entirely discounted. The common factor in identifying a type must be the garment. It is this which clearly recalls images of Athena, whether Parthenos or Areopagus House type.

All the reflections save one come from Athens and most from the Agora. We may imagine that they derive from an original which stood in the Agora from the third quarter of the 4th century B.C. until as late as the 2nd century after Christ when the statue from House C on the Areopagus was created. The Athena Parthenos was copied throughout antiquity, but she held universal appeal as a symbol of Athens and the ideals that the city represented.³⁷ The Areopagus House Athena was popular in two classicizing revival epochs, first in the Lykourgan period of the 4th century B.C. and again in the Antonine period of the 2nd century after Christ. The forthright use of 5th-century motifs for this Athena, the straight and stiff stance with the free leg to the back, the Parthenos peplos and aegis, the mass of hair down the back, reiterates the hallmarks of the Classical style. On the 4th-century "Dancers" from the Akanthos Column in Delphi, Ridgway points to the curious inclusion of classicizing and archaizing features: the patterning of forehead curls, the locks of hair over the shoulders, and the gesture of pulling the drapery to the side.³⁸ According to Pollitt, with the advent of the Lysippan style, ca. 340 B.C., the Classical era had passed its course.³⁹ The purposeful recall of earlier motifs and ideals in this pioneering era indicates

reliefs from the Akropolis (pl. 37:a, b). A statue of Artemis, Vatican inv. 2834 (pl. 41:a) is known also from a votive relief in Brauron (pl. 40:b). The original of the Artemis is usually dated in the third quarter of the 4th century (pose, proportions, and dress type resemble that of the Areopagus House Athena): Bieber, *Copies*, p. 189, figs. 386, 387; *LIMC* II, s.v. Artemis, p. 636, no. 129, pl. 454 (Kahil) and s.v. Artemis/Diana, p. 798, no. 7 (Simon); *LIMC* II, s.v. Artemis, pp. 695–696, no. 974, pl. 518 (Kahil). A dissertation by T. Lygkopoulos, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Plastik des 4. Jhs. v. Chr.*, Bonn 1983, esp. pp. 122–150, explores the relationship between some statue types and grave reliefs.

³⁷ E.g., Leipen, pp. 2–8, nos. 5, 10, 18, 20, 21, 22, and 23 are possibly Hellenistic, but most are Roman.

³⁸ B. S. Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture I: The Styles of ca. 331–200 B.C.*, Madison 1990, p. 26.

³⁹ J. J. Pollitt (*Art and Experience in Classical Greece*, Cambridge 1972, p. 136) points out that the 4th century B.C. has as much in common with the succeeding Hellenistic period as with the previous century. In *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, Cambridge 1986, p. 164, Pollitt refers to the period of inspiration for later neoclassical and Neo-Attic works as ca. 480–340. Brown (footnote 17 above) treats most of the 4th century as a new era and therefore does not include these "classicizing" figures; on p. 85 in note 213, she lists studies of the Hellenistic period which include works from the mid-4th century B.C. Bieber ([footnote 12 above] pp. 7–29) begins with 4th-century works, as does Ridgway (*op. cit.*, pp. 13–107); on p. 59, she claims that in this period "no single style predominates, but a range is apparent, from fully Classical to incipient Hellenistic ... to classicizing and archaistic."

that two styles ran concurrently: pre-Hellenistic innovation and 4th-century classicism. Throughout antiquity, however, the Classical style never fades completely. The classicizing Areopagus House Athena differs from Roman classicizing works because it is stylistically harmonious. Like all classicizing images, older motifs have been incorporated into a contemporary image, but at the same time, stylistic features such as drapery and proportions remain consistent with other 4th-century works.

Although we do not know the original location of either the proposed 4th-century B.C. statue or the 2nd century (after Christ) copy from Areopagus House C, the findspot of the latter suggests that it was more than simply decorative. In the 4th century after Christ, the large and splendid Late Antique structure on the Areopagus probably housed a school of classical philosophy until the owner abandoned it around the time Justinian forbade such teaching in A.D. 529. Its conversion by Christians led to the abuse of the statue of Athena as a door step. As goddess of wisdom, the Agora Athena may originally have been located in the grand peristyle of House C just as a version of the Athena Parthenos was located in the courtyard of the Library at Pergamon.

The evidence outlined above suggests that a new image of Athena was created in the third quarter of the 4th century B.C., the original for the Areopagus House Athena. That 4th-century Athena inspired a great many relief representations within a very short period. A majority of the funerary and votive monuments with young girls resembling the Areopagus House Athena occur at just this time, the third quarter of the 4th century.⁴⁰ Athena and these maidens are clearly related, much as Late Archaic Athenas were to Late Archaic korai.⁴¹ In addition, the original 4th-century Athena is related in style, in date, and in type to the statue of Apollo Patroos by Euphranor.⁴² Both wear the shoulder-pinned back mantle over a peplos, a distinctive dress which revives 5th-century tradition and which may be a visual expression of the ancestral cults so important to Athens in this period.

There are at least two possibilities for the identity of this Athena. Athena *Archegetis*, or "Founder", is attested in the Agora, but specific cult places have not been located.⁴³ As city goddess, Athena could have stood in any open area. Athena *Phratria*, guardian of the

⁴⁰ See Roccas, *SPBM*, pp. 399–501, esp. pp. 409–410, fig. 6. One of the earliest may be ca. 370–360 B.C.: Athens, N.M. 3691, Stratyllis (see footnote 21 above); the latest is perhaps 320–310 B.C.: New York, M.M.A. 44.11.2 (see footnote 12).

⁴¹ E.g., Athena from the west pediment at Aigina, Munich, Glyptothek: G. M. A. Richter, *Korai: Archaic Greek Maidens*, New York 1968, pp. 98–108, pl. 19:a (Athena); Ridgway, *Severe Style* (footnote 26 above), fig. 1; Boardman, 1978 (footnote 26 above), figs. 152–159 (Korai), fig. 206:1 (Athena); *LIMC* II, s.v. Athena, p. 970, no. 128, pl. 718 (Demargne).

⁴² The problem of attributing the original statue to a sculptor is one I cannot address. Euphranor might be a possibility because of general similarities in style and in dress to the Apollo Patroos. On Euphranor, see footnote 10 above; also now, G. Dontas, "Ein verkanntes Meisterwerk im Nationalmuseum von Athen. Der Marmorkopf Γ.177 und Überlegungen zum Stil Euphranors," in *Festschrift für Nikolaus Himmelmann*, Mainz 1989, pp. 143–150.

⁴³ See Thompson and Wycherley, *Agora XIV* (footnote 10 above), pp. 45, 173; and Wycherley, *Agora III* (footnote 16 above), nos. 120 and 622. Athena Archegetis: L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States I*, Oxford 1895, pp. 342 and 394, note 35i; H. Lloyd-Jones, "Artemis and Iphigenia," *JHS* 103, 1983 (pp. 87–102), pp. 92–93. For the possibility that Athena Archegetis = Athena Polias, see Kroll (footnote 31 above), p. 69. According to F. W. Hasluck ("Inscriptions from Cyzicus," *JHS* 23, 1903 [pp. 75–91], pp. 87–88), Apollo at Cyzicus (Aristeides 1.383) was Archegetes; and there are votive reliefs from Cyzicus of Apollo wearing the shoulder-pinned back mantle: Roccas, *SPBM*, pp. 160–162, nos. 44, 52, 58, and 61.

kinship institutions, is known in the Agora from several inscriptions and perhaps had a small temple next to the Temple of Apollo Patroos.⁴⁴ Wherever she once may have stood, the original statue of the Areopagus House Athena was confirmation of Athens' preoccupation with its magnificent heritage.

CATALOGUE

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| <p>1. Athens, Agora S 2337. Pls. 107, 108
Small statue</p> <p>Found in 1970 in a Late Roman house on the Areopagus Hill (House C; Agora grid P 21), southwest corner of peristyle, re-used as door step. Pentelic marble (Shear). H. 1.14; H. of plinth 0.04 m.</p> <p>Athena stands with her weight on the right leg, the left leg bent slightly to the back. Her left arm, broken at the shoulder, is raised, and her right arm, broken just above the elbow, is lowered. Her head was probably held erect and frontally but is broken at the top of the neck. There are drill holes below the aegis for attaching metal snakes. The mantle edges are broken off at both sides, and the back surface is considerably worn.</p> <p>Bibliography: T. L. Shear, Jr., "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1970," <i>Hesperia</i> 40, 1971, pp. 274–275, pl. 59:b; <i>idem</i>, "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1971," <i>Hesperia</i> 42, 1973, pp. 161, 163; H. A. Thompson, <i>The Athenian Agora, a Guide</i>, 3rd ed., Athens 1976, pp. 290–291; Roccas, <i>SPBM</i>, p. 360, no. 107, pl. 50; J. M. Camp, <i>The Athenian Agora</i>, London 1986, pp. 205–208, fig. 177; A. Frantz, <i>The Athenian Agora</i>, XXIV, <i>Late Antiquity: A.D. 267–700</i>, Princeton 1988, p. 90, pl. 39:e.</p> <p>Second century after Christ</p> | <p>2. Florence, Palazzo Corsini al Prato. Pl. 109
Statuette</p> <p>Provenance unknown.
Marble. H. 0.71 m. with base (<i>EA</i>).</p> <p>Athena stands with her weight on the right leg, the left bent slightly to the back. The arms from the elbow were attached separately (now restored); the head has been rejoined at the base of the neck. Both arms are lowered, but the right is slightly extended. There are drill holes on the lower aegis for attaching metal snakes. The side edges of her mantle are indicated as several undulating curved folds.</p> <p>Bibliography: <i>EA</i> 4080 (Aldo Nappi Modena); Roccas, <i>SPBM</i>, p. 361, no. 108, pl. 50.</p> <p>Second century after Christ</p> <p>3. Athens, Epigraphical Museum Pl. 109
2802a. Document relief</p> <p>From Athens.
Pentelic marble. H. 0.57; W. 0.24; Th. 0.12 m.</p> <p>Fragment of left lower section of relief with inscribed fillet below and left anta. Athena stands slightly to the right, with her weight on the left leg and the right sharply to the side. Her right arm is raised against the anta, and her left rests on her shield. The head is broken at the neck.</p> <p>Bibliography: <i>IG</i> II², 2970; J. Svoronos, <i>Das Athener Nationalmuseum</i>, Athens 1908–1937,</p> |
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⁴⁴ Temple of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria: H. A. Thompson, "Buildings on the West Side of the Agora," *Hesperia* 6, 1937 (pp. 1–224), pp. 84–90 and 104–107; from the preserved setting block, Thompson estimates a base *ca.* 1.50 m. wide, large enough for two statues; from inscriptions on an altar, Thompson concludes that the temple was built soon after the mid-4th century, shortly before the Temple of Apollo Patroos. Recently, however, C. W. Hedrick, Jr. has questioned Thompson's identification of the small temple ("The Temple and Cult of Apollo Patroos in Athens," *AJA* 92, 1988 [pp. 185–210], pp. 191–194). See also Wycherley, *Agora III* (footnote 16 above), p. 52, no. 112; Thompson and Wycherley, *Agora XIV* (footnote 10 above), pp. 139–140; Travlos, p. 96 (with Temple of Apollo Patroos) and plan, p. 98, fig. 127. For another altar to Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria found northeast of the Agora, see N. Kyparissis and H. A. Thompson, "A Sanctuary of Zeus and Athena Phratrios Newly Found in Athens," *Hesperia* 7, 1938 (pp. 612–625), p. 616, fig. 4, and now, C. W. Hedrick, Jr., "Phratry Shrines of Attica and Athens," *Hesperia* 60, 1991 (pp. 241–268), pp. 256–259. See also Farnell, *op. cit.*, p. 302 and note 64d, for a cult of Zeus and Athena Phratrios at Cos and a cult of Athena Phratria at Syros, and p. 400, note 40, for a cult of Zeus Patrios and Athena Patria at Anaphe; also H. W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians*, Ithaca 1977, p. 90.

p. 669, no. 448 (1), pl. 221:1; R. Binnebössel, *Studien zu den attischen Urkundenreliefs des 5. u. 4. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1932, no. 58; Süsserott, p. 84, pl. 5:3; F. W. Mitchel, "Derkylos of Hagnous and the Date of *I.G.*, II², 1187," *Hesperia* 33, 1964 (pp. 337–351), pp. 349–351; O. W. Reinmuth, *The Ephebic Inscriptions of the Fourth Century B.C.*, Leiden 1971, pp. 13–15, no. 4; M. A. Zagdoun, *Fouilles de Delphes*, IV, *Monuments Figurés: Sculpture. 6. Reliefs*, Paris 1977, p. 55, fig. 36; U. Kron, "Demos, Pnyx und Nymphenhügel. Zu Demos-Darstellungen und zum ältesten Kultort des Demos in Athen," *AM* 94, 1979, pp. 53–54; Lawton, pp. 201–202, no. 52; Rocco, *SPBM*, p. 356, no. 102, pl. 48; Meyer, p. 273, no. A99, pl. 31:1.

334/3 B.C. (Reinmuth)

4. Athens, National Museum 1473. Pl. 109
Document relief

From Athens (Greek Archaeological Society since 1860).

Pentelic marble. H. 0.37; W. 0.265; Th. 0.13 m.

Fragment of left upper section of relief with anta, inscribed architrave, and flat pediment. From left, "Boule" wears peplos and mantle with triangular overfold and stands with weight on left leg; her right hand is lowered, her left is raised holding the mantle over her head. Next, Athena in Corinthian helmet stands nearly frontal with weight on the right leg, her right hand on her hip, and her left raised holding a spear. She gazes down at the small male figure in himation facing her. The relief is broken below the knees of the three figures.

Bibliography: *EA* 1216 (Löwy); *DarSag* I, 1877, s.v. Boule, pp. 743–744, fig. 872 (drawing); L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* I, Oxford 1895, pp. 351–352; Svoronos (under 3), p. 616, no. 251, pl. 109; Süsserott, p. 64, note 120; O. Palagia, "A Colossal Statue of a Personification from the Agora of Athens," *Hesperia* 51, 1982 (pp. 99–113), p. 109, note 58, pl. 36:d; Lawton, pp. 301–303, no. 115; Rocco, *SPBM*, p. 357, no. 103, pl. 48; Meyer, pp. 303–304, no. A136 (ca. 320), pl. 41:1.

Ca. 330 B.C.

5. Athens, Agora Museum S 1139. Pl. 109
Document relief

Found in 1939 in a Byzantine wall east of the Klepsydra forecourt (Agora grid U 26).

Pentelic marble. H. 0.313; W. 0.283; Th. 0.135 m.

Fragment of right upper section of relief with anta and entablature with roof tiles. At the left, part of a figure of the same scale as Athena has a mantle draped over the raised left arm. At the right, Athena in Corinthian helmet stands slightly to left with her weight on the right leg; her right hand is outstretched, perhaps originally to hold a phiale, and her left rests on her shield. The relief is broken below her knees.

Bibliography: Lawton, pp. 379–380, no. 196; Rocco, *SPBM*, p. 359, no. 106, pl. 49.

Third quarter 4th century B.C.

6. Athens, Agora Museum S 2311. Pl. 110
Document relief

Found in 1970 in an "early modern" wall on the north side of the Agora (grid F 6–7).

Pentelic marble. H. 0.379; W. 0.191; Th. 0.13 m.

Fragment of left upper section of relief with anta and entablature with roof tiles. Athena in Corinthian helmet stands slightly to the right with weight on the left leg and turns her head in profile to right. She holds the mantle edge with her lowered right hand and a spear with her raised left hand. Her shield rests behind her. The relief is broken just below her knees.

Bibliography: Lawton, p. 376, no. 190; Rocco, *SPBM*, p. 358, no. 105, pl. 49.

Third quarter 4th century B.C.

7. Athens, Akropolis Museum 4689. Pl. 110
Votive relief?

From Athens.

Pentelic marble. H. 0.25; W. 0.26; Th. 0.16 m.

Fragment of relief with part of right edge preserved; most of figure of Athena is broken off. Athena stands nearly frontal with her weight on the right leg. Her right arm is outstretched but broken above the elbow. Her shield rests against her left leg, and her mantle is indicated by incised wavy lines.

Bibliography: Walter, no. 20; B. Holtzmann, "Collection de l'École française: IV. Sculptures," *BCH* 96, 1972 (pp. 73–99), p. 74, note 1; Lawton, p. 379, no. 195; Rocco, *SPBM*, p. 362, no. 109, pl. 51.

Third quarter 4th century B.C.

8. Athens, Athora S 816. Votive relief Pl. 110

Found in 1937 in a modern house south of the Stoa of Attalos (Agora grid U 22).

Pentelic marble. H. 0.27; W. 0.207; Th. 0.079 m.

Fragment of left section of relief with anta. Athena stands slightly to right with her weight on the left leg. Her left arm is raised as if to hold a spear, and her right is outstretched holding a phiale over a rectangular altar. The relief is broken at Athena's head and below her knees.

Bibliography: Roccos, *SPBM*, pp. 359–360, no. 106*bis*, pl. 49.

Third quarter 4th century B.C.

9. Athens, Akropolis Museum 2969. Pl. 110
Votive relief

From Athens.

Pentelic marble. H. 0.40; W. 0.27; Th. 0.16 m.

Fragment of left upper section of relief with left anta and architrave. The figure of Athena is broken from the waist down and at the left shoulder. Athena stands nearly frontal with the right arm raised; she wears an Attic helmet, and her mantle is shown in lower relief than the figure.

Bibliography: Walter, no. 64; Roccos, *SPBM*, p. 357, no. 104, pl. 48.

Third quarter 4th century B.C.

10. Athens, Akropolis Museum 2541. Pl. 111
Votive relief

From Athens.

Pentelic marble. H. 0.135; W. 0.155; Th. 0.075 m.

Small fragment of relief with no original edges preserved. Athena stands nearly frontal with her weight

on the right leg. Part of her mantle appears behind the shield resting against her left leg.

Bibliography: Walter, no. 43; Roccos, *SPBM*, p. 362, no. 110, pl. 51.

Third quarter 4th century B.C.

11. Athens, Akropolis Museum Pl. 111
2543 + 2623. Votive relief

From Athens.

Pentelic marble. H. 0.40; W. 0.47; Th. 0.16 m.

Two joining fragments of relief with no original edges preserved. Akr. 2543: at left, Athena stands slightly to right with her weight on the right leg and her shield at her side; the relief is broken above her waist and below her knees. Akr. 2623: a group of worshippers stands before an altar.

Bibliography: Walter, no. 121; Roccos, *SPBM*, p. 363, no. 111, pl. 52.

Third quarter 4th century B.C.

12. Athens, Epigraphical Museum 2772 Pl. 111
and Akropolis Museum 2497.
Votive relief

From Athens.

Pentelic marble. H. 0.30; W. 0.37; Th. 0.10 m.

Two joining fragments of relief with left and lower edges preserved. E.M. 2772: at left, Athena stands slightly to right with her weight on the left leg; her mantle flutters down on both sides, and the relief is broken above the waist. Akr. 2497 (not illustrated): a group of worshippers approaches an altar from the right.

Bibliography: Svoronos (under 3), p. 669, pl. 222:2; Walter, no. 120; Roccos, *SPBM*, p. 363, no. 112, pl. 52.

Third quarter 4th century B.C.

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a. Athens, Agora Museum S 2337 (1)



b. S 2337, back view

LINDA JONES ROCCOS: ATHENA FROM A HOUSE ON THE AREOPAGUS



a. S 2337, right side view



b. S 2337, left side view

LINDA JONES ROCCOS: ATHENA FROM A HOUSE ON THE AREOPAGUS



2. Florence, Palazzo Corsini



3. Athens, E.M. 2802a



4. Athens, N.M. 1473



5. Athens, Agora Museum S 1139



6. Athens, Agora Museum S 2311



7. Athens, Akropolis Museum 4689



9. Athens, Akropolis Museum 2969



8. Athens, Agora Museum S 816



10. Athens, Akropolis Museum 2541



12. Athens, E.M. 2772



11. Athens, Akropolis Museum 2543



11. Athens, Akropolis Museum 2623

PLATE 112



a. Athens, Akropolis
Museum 1336



b. Athens, Agora Museum
S 2154



c. New York, M.M.A.
44.11.2



d. Rome, Conserva-
tori inv. 1829



e. Berlin, S.M. K40



f. Athens, N.M. 763



g. Athens, N.M. 1305

LINDA JONES ROCCOS: ATHENA FROM A HOUSE ON THE AREOPAGUS