

# FOUR DOCUMENT RELIEFS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATES 35 and 36)

In memory of  
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ALTHOUGH most Classical Athenian documents with relief were set up on the Akropolis, a number of document reliefs have come from the excavations of the Agora. At least two of them were originally set up there, as their publication formulas attest, while most of the others probably made their way down from the Akropolis to the Agora, where they were later reused as building material.<sup>1</sup> The four reliefs from the Agora considered here, all reused in ancient or modern buildings, give no hint of their original location.<sup>2</sup> All four also lack the inscriptions that must once have belonged to them, but it is argued here that they are to be identified as document reliefs through their physical characteristics and iconography.

<sup>1</sup> One copy of the antityranny law of 337/6 B.C. (Agora I 6524: *SEG XVIII* 12; Meyer 1989, A 97, pl. 30:2) was to have been set up at the entrance to the Areopagos and the Bouleuterion. A copy of an honorary decree for Euphron of Sikyon of 318/7 B.C. (Athens, N.M. 1482: *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 448; Meyer 1989, A 134, pl. 39:1) was to have been set up by the statue of Zeus Soter/Eleutherios and so probably in or near his sanctuary. Each of these inscriptions also stipulated that another copy was to have been set up elsewhere: a copy of the antityranny law in the Ekklesia and a copy of the decree for Euphron on the Akropolis. Other document reliefs from the Agora excavations include five reliefs that are certainly or probably from honorary decrees: Agora I 7121 (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 20 + *SEG XXIX* 86; Meyer 1989, A 39, pl. 9:2); Agora I 657 (Oliver 1935, no. 4, pp. 34–35; Meyer 1989, A 77); Agora I 4514 (Meyer 1989, A 159); Agora I 2165 (Meritt 1968, no. 12, p. 273; Meyer 1989, C 1); Agora I 6422 (*SEG XXI* 478; Meritt 1963, no. 29, pp. 22–23, pl. 5; Meyer 1989, C 4); one interstate agreement: Agora I 5410 (*SEG XVII* 19; Woodhead 1957, no. 87, pp. 231–233, pl. 59; Meyer 1989, A 66); and five reliefs with documents too fragmentary for classification: Agora I 4663 (*SEG XVII* 16; Meritt 1957, no. 53, p. 207, pl. 52; Meyer 1989, A 62); Agora I 4224 a (Meritt 1941, no. 13, pp. 50–52; Meyer 1989, A 124); Agora I 6496 (*SEG XXI* 303; Meritt 1961, no. 184, pp. 289–292, pl. 59; Meyer 1989, A 127); Agora I 329 (Meritt 1934, no. 2, pp. 1–2; Meyer 1989, A 181); and Athens, E.M. 12912 (Schweigert 1938, no. 28, p. 305). Other document reliefs found in the area of the Agora before the excavations began include four which are certainly or probably from honorary decrees: Athens, N.M. 1396 (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 171; Meyer 1989, A 143, pl. 42:2); Athens, E.M. 7303 (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 502; Meyer 1989, A 152, pl. 51:1); Athens, N.M. 2385 (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 599; Meyer 1989, A 156, pl. 49:2); Athens, E.M. 7051 (*IG II v* 73f); and one from a document concerning cult matters: Athens, E.M. 5 (*IG I<sup>3</sup>* 137; Meyer 1989, A 10, pl. 6:2). The document reliefs with inscriptions from the Agora excavations will be published in the author's forthcoming corpus of Attic document reliefs.

<sup>2</sup> I wish to thank T. Leslie Shear, Jr., former Field Director of the Agora Excavations, Homer A. Thompson, former Director of the Agora Excavations, and Evelyn B. Harrison for permission to publish the reliefs. Jan Jordan, Secretary of the excavations, and Craig Mauzy, who took the photographs and shed informative light on the *aphlaston* of 4, provided generous assistance. I am also grateful for helpful discussions with Evelyn B. Harrison, Margaret M. Miles, Olga Palagia, Susan I. Rotroff, and Jere M. Wickens. All photographs are courtesy of the Agora Excavations of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Fragmentary reliefs of this type often pose an initial problem of classification, for there is little to distinguish votive and document reliefs of this period, scale, and level of workmanship if, as in the case of the four reliefs discussed here, the bottoms of the reliefs are not preserved; fully preserved document reliefs have, immediately below, an inscription the same width as the relief, while complete votive reliefs are usually roughly finished along the bottom or have a narrow tenon centered below the relief.<sup>3</sup> Both categories of relief depict many of the same figure types and were probably made in the same workshops.<sup>4</sup> In Athens, Athena appears prominently in both, and roughly comparable numbers of both types of relief depicting Athena are preserved.<sup>5</sup> Document reliefs differ from votive reliefs, however, in one important aspect of their iconography: the specificity with which their subjects correspond to the content of their inscriptions. In contrast with votive reliefs, in which Athena is usually accompanied only by worshippers, document reliefs often depict Athena in the presence of other deities, heroes, and personifications, who represent the parties with which their inscriptions are concerned. In reliefs on honorary decrees, the mortal honorands are often distinguished from the worshippers in votive reliefs by being presented with a crown, by accompanying patron deities, or by dress or attributes referring to the activities for which they were rewarded with the decrees.

All but one of the reliefs presented here have iconographic elements that are not typical of votive reliefs dedicated to Athena and that are most easily explained as references to their lost documents. In reliefs **1** and **3** Athena appears with other deities who probably represent the states, cults, or individuals with which their lost documents were concerned. In relief **3** she also appears to present a crown, which she regularly does in reliefs on Athenian honorary decrees. In relief **4** she holds an *aphlaston* (the curving stern ornament of a ship), not one of her regular attributes, which must refer to naval victory. Only the fragmentary relief **2**, depicting Athena with her usual attributes, perhaps originally in the presence of a worshipper, might be taken for a votive relief, and yet the way it has been worked along the bottom makes it likely that it once accompanied an inscription.

Although Attic document reliefs typically employ a repertoire of standard figure types and compositions, three of the Agora reliefs expand the range of representations of Athena known from reliefs of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.<sup>6</sup> Reliefs **1** and **4** depict Athena as she sometimes appears in vase painting: as Athena Ergane in the presence of artisans and as Athena Nike bearing a symbol of naval victory. Relief **2** depicts Athena in her usual dress, but she grasps the edge of her back mantle, a drapery motif otherwise unknown for Athena in Classical reliefs.

<sup>3</sup> For the form of document reliefs, see Meyer 1989, pp. 26–28; for formal differences between document and votive reliefs, see Lawton 1984, pp. 25–26.

<sup>4</sup> Frel 1969, *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> Athena appears in at least 70 Attic document reliefs: Meyer 1989, A 2, 4–6, 8, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21–24, 26, 27, 31, 33, 34, 36, 38, 40, 44, 48, 51, 53–56, 58, 61, 68, 69, 70, 75, 76, 79, 82, 83, 91–95, 99, 105, 109–115, 120, 121, 124, 125, 129, 130, 132, 134–138, 158, 159, 162, 169, 170; Lawton 1993. She appears in over 50 Attic reliefs from Athenian collections that are certainly or probably votives: Walter 1923, nos. 38–78, pp. 27–48; Svoronos 1903–1937, pls. 37:5, 153:1, 153:2, 155:2, 192:2, 196:10, 212, 223:1 and 2, 227:1, 228:7, 244:3; Mangold 1993, no. 46, p. 69, pl. 3.

<sup>6</sup> For the types of Athena depicted in document reliefs, see Meyer 1989, pp. 161–176.

**1 (S 2495). Relief from a building document (?)**

Pl. 35:a

P.H. 0.32, p.W. 0.37, p.Th. 0.10, H. of relief 0.012 m.

Found June 21, 1972, facedown in layer 5 of room III of the Roman stoa on the southern side of the Panathenaic Way leading from the northwestern corner of the Agora (H 4). Preserves part of right edge and top, otherwise broken all around; back originally rough picked, now worn smooth from reuse. Heads and hands of figures completely chipped away. Relief bordered above by plain taenia and ovolo, together 0.04 m. wide, below by plain taenia 0.03 m. wide. Surface very worn, battered. White, medium-grained marble.

Late 5th century B.C.

Although sadly worn and its figures apparently deliberately defaced, this relief was originally an elegant and even inspired example of this usually rather unprepossessing type of sculpture, which characteristically relies upon formulaic compositions and standard figure types. It depicts Athena and five female figures, Athena watching while the others apparently engage in some phase of a building project. Athena stands at the far left, turned toward the other figures on the right. All that can clearly be distinguished of her dress are the drapery over her left leg and the crest of her Attic helmet, but it is probable that the ridges running from her shoulders and meeting in a V at a lumpy intersection just above her breasts are part of a small collar aegis pinned with a gorgoneion. Although most of her body is cut off by the break at the left, it is clear that she stands with her left foot on a large object, probably a stone. Her left elbow rests on her raised left knee, and her chin rests thoughtfully on her left hand, which is cocked at the wrist, her fingers gracefully turned toward her. Her right hand is slightly extended toward the figure in front of her as though she is about to gesture with it.

The other figures are smaller in scale, but the difference is not great, and the direct and informal communication between one of them and Athena indicates that they are not mere mortals but probably Nymphs, their smaller scale relative to Athena explained by their youth and their lesser status in the hierarchy of Greek deities.<sup>7</sup> All five appear very similar in every respect but their activities. They are dressed in chitons and warmly bundled in himatia, appropriate dress for their usual wild habitat.<sup>8</sup> The figure in consultation with Athena sits on a low block and looks up at the goddess. Her right hand is raised toward Athena in a palm-upward, conversational gesture. Her left hand holds a pick hammer pointed at the ground in front of her feet; she seems to be idly doodling with it while talking to Athena. Behind her and a little to the right is a standing figure who turns slightly toward the left, her right hand stretched high in the air. Her left hand is held at waist level in front of her. She may be taking a measurement, holding a piece of cord at arm's length; the cord would have been added in paint.<sup>9</sup> The two figures next to her are moving a large block at the far right. The first kneels toward the right and with both hands holds the end of a lever that has been inserted between a small fulcrum and the large rectangular block that she and her companion are trying to move. The second figure, behind her and to the right, puts her right hand under the block, which is partly raised off the ground, and her left hand on top to steady or assist in moving it; it is unclear whether the two figures are trying to

<sup>7</sup> For distinctions of scale in Greek relief, see Rauscher 1971.

<sup>8</sup> For the dress of Nymphs, see Edwards 1985, p. 43.

<sup>9</sup> Objects such as spears and crowns, frequently missing in document reliefs, were originally added in paint. For comparable missing details on Attic grave reliefs, see Reuterswärd 1960, pp. 52–54; Schmaltz 1983, pp. 72–73.

lift the block or set it in place. The figure on the far right stands behind and at a slightly higher level than these two, turned in profile view toward the left. Her right foot is raised and rests on something hidden by the figure in front of her, probably another block. She bends forward at the waist and rests her right elbow on her raised knee as she gazes down at something held in her right hand, perhaps a tablet with building specifications or a plan.

Although the plain taenia forming the lower border is typical of votive reliefs, the relief is broken all along the bottom, with a slight projection of broken stone just beneath its border, indicating that the stone continued below the relief. While not conclusive, this evidence nevertheless suggests that the relief was once part of a stele rather than a votive relief with a finished bottom or a narrow tenon below.

The relief appears to date from the early 4th century B.C. The drapery of the Nymphs, particularly the folds bunched around their waists, has the stiffness and straight, sharp folds that in the course of the first quarter of the century replace the light drapery with swinging, rounded folds typical of the late 5th and turn of the century. The overlapping of the figures and their free disposition in space also have parallels in this period.<sup>10</sup> Although reliefs without *antas* are more common in the late 5th century, they continue into the early 4th.<sup>11</sup>

The subject of the relief is very unusual, its depiction of deities actively engaged in mundane labor unparalleled in votive or document reliefs. A 4th-century B.C. votive relief from the Agora dedicated by the cobbler Dionysios to the hero Kallistephanos, in which the dedicator is shown actively engaged in his profession, is similar in its depiction of labor, but its figures are all mortals.<sup>12</sup> A seated Athena is similarly posed and contemplative in a votive relief of the 4th century B.C. from the Akropolis, which unfortunately preserves no other figures, but like Demeter on the east frieze of the Parthenon, she appears to be lost in thought or to gaze into the distance rather than to be engaged with the figures or activity near at hand.<sup>13</sup> In many respects the best parallels for the subject of the relief are in vase painting. The unselfconscious absorption of the figures in their task, which gives the relief something of the character of a genre scene, is close to that of the vases in which Athena Ergane appears in the midst of the creative activity of mortals in potters' or sculptors'

<sup>10</sup> Compare the bunched drapery and overlapping figures in a variety of poses in the relief of *ca.* 375 concerning Athens and Korkyra (Athens, N.M. 1467; *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 97; Meyer 1989, A 51, pl. 16:2) and in the approximately contemporary relief of the Pythaistai in the Museo Barracco in Rome (Guarducci 1978, pp. 194–196, fig. 54).

<sup>11</sup> Compare the relief for the inventory of the Treasurers of Athena and the Other Gods of 398/7 (Athens, N.M. 1479; *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 1392; Meyer 1989, A 36, pl. 11:1); the relief for the document concerning Athens and Eretria of 394/3 (Athens, E.M. 6885; *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 16; Meyer 1989, A 37); the relief for the document of 387/6 concerning Athens and Klazomenai (Athens, E.M. 6917; *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 28; Meyer 1989, A 41); and the relief for the inventory of the Treasurers of Athena of 377/6 (Athens, E.M. 7859; *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 1410; Meyer 1989, A 49, pl. 16:1), as well as the relief from the Museo Barracco in Rome (note 10 above).

<sup>12</sup> Agora I 7396: Camp 1973; H. A. Thompson 1976, pp. 208–209, fig. 107; Camp 1986, pp. 146–147, fig. 126.

<sup>13</sup> Athens, Akr. Mus. 2439 + 2967: Walter 1923, no. 28, p. 21, fig. 28. Demeter on the east frieze of the Parthenon: Brommer 1977, pl. 172. Compare also the bell-krater by the Polydektes Painter in which a similarly posed Athena watches Perseus petrify Polydektes (Bologna 325): *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1069, no. 2; Boardman 1989, fig. 217.

workshops.<sup>14</sup> The apparently supervisory or inspirational role of Athena also brings to mind the skyphos of the late 5th century B.C. by the Penelope Painter in which Athena, exhorting a Giant carrying a huge boulder, directs the mythical construction of the Cyclopean wall of the Akropolis.<sup>15</sup>

Although the subject of the relief is unusually complex and anecdotal for a document relief, it would have been appropriate for a building decree or building accounts, perhaps for the construction of an Athenian fountain house, since the Nymphs are associated above all with water and water sources.<sup>16</sup> Reliefs appear with decrees providing for building or other improvements in sanctuaries, the decree providing for the construction of a foot bridge across the Rheitoi on the Sacred Way to Eleusis being perhaps the best-known example.<sup>17</sup> And while there are no examples of reliefs accompanying building accounts *per se*, reliefs do occur on stelai with other types of accounts, for example, the accounts of the Treasurers of Athena.<sup>18</sup>

## 2 (S 2311). Relief from an honorary decree (?)

Pl. 36:a

P.H. 0.38, p.W. 0.19, Th. 0.125, H. of relief 0.015 m.

Found April 8, 1970, in a modern wall on the northern side of the electric railroad (P 6). Preserves left edge and part of top and rough-picked back; right side and bottom apparently picked for reuse. Relief bordered at left by anta 0.035–0.04 m. wide supporting an entablature 0.045 m. wide. At lower left, traces of taenia 0.035 m. wide below relief. Surface worn, with some flaking, accretions of mortar. White, fine-grained marble.

Mid-4th century B.C.

At the left stands Athena, turned slightly toward the right, with her weight on her left leg, her right leg relaxed. Her shield stands at her left side. She wears a sleeved chiton and peplos with belted overfold, breastplate aegis, shoulder-pinned back mantle, and triple-crested Corinthian helmet. Her raised left hand holds a spear, while her right hand hangs at her side and holds the outer edge of her mantle near the bottom; the end of the backward overfall of the mantle is visible at her right elbow. As she pulls the mantle toward her, it outlines the contour of her right arm with a sweeping curve; the end beneath her grasp bunches out toward the left. From the late 5th century B.C. onward Athena frequently wears the

<sup>14</sup> Compare the Attic red-figured cup by the Euergides Painter (Athens, Akr. Mus. 166) depicting Athena in the workshop of a potter and metalworker: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 92, no. 64; Boardman 1975, fig. 101; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 962, no. 40, pl. 707, *s.v.* Athena Ergane (P. Demargne); the red-figured cup by the Foundry Painter (Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 2650) depicting Athena with a sculptor: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 401, no. 2; Boardman 1975, fig. 264; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 962, no. 42, pl. 707, *s.v.* Athena Ergane (P. Demargne); and the Attic red-figured hydria by the Leningrad Painter (Milan, private collection) depicting Athena with vase painters: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 571, no. 73; *CVA*, Milano, Collezione "H.A." 2 [Italy 51], III I, pl. 1 [2272]:3; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 962, no. 47, pl. 708, *s.v.* Athena Ergane (P. Demargne). Others: Ziomecki 1975.

<sup>15</sup> Paris, Louvre G 372: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1300, no. 4; Hauser 1900, figs. pp. 116, 117; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 962, no. 50, pl. 709, *s.v.* Athena Ergane (P. Demargne); Boardman 1989, fig. 248.

<sup>16</sup> Edwards 1985, pp. 1–15.

<sup>17</sup> Eleusis Museum E 958 (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 79; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 1013, no. 606, pl. 763, *s.v.* Athena [P. Demargne]). Other examples include a decree of 418/7 B.C. providing for fencing various parts of the Athenian sanctuary of Kodros, Neleus, and Basile (Athens, E.M. 10606; *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 84; Meyer 1989, A 7, pl. 6:1); and a decree of the third quarter of the 4th century B.C. concerning the construction of altars in the sanctuary of Ares and Athena Areia at Acharnai (Athens, École française I 6; *SEG* XXI 519; Meyer 1989, A 137, pl. 41:2).

<sup>18</sup> Relief accompanying the accounts of the Treasurers of Athena of 410/9 B.C. (Paris, Louvre MA 831; *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 375); *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 1013, no. 608, pl. 763, *s.v.* Athena (P. Demargne).

shoulder-pinned back mantle, but this is the only depiction of her in relief holding the edge of her mantle. The gesture was popular in the second half of the 4th century B.C. for girls wearing the back mantle on grave and votive reliefs, and these figures probably influenced the sculptor of 2.<sup>19</sup>

Although the carving is not especially shallow, the execution of the relief, eschewing even the normal foreshortening of Athena's shield, is unusually flat, relying for its effect upon strong profile contours. Athena's proportions, with the overfold of her peplos somewhat longer below the belt than above, call for a date in the middle of the 4th century B.C.;<sup>20</sup> she has not yet reached the stage, typical of the last third of the century, in which the belt of the peplos comes just beneath the breasts, resulting in an even longer overfold below it.<sup>21</sup> The drapery is opaque but still has rounded ridge folds with a stiff fold along the outer side of the relaxed right leg and buckling folds falling from the right knee, which are characteristic of the greater emphasis in this period on the weight and behavior of real cloth.<sup>22</sup>

Since the picking on the bottom of the relief is the same as the working of the right side, where the stele was obviously cut for reuse, something must have been cut from the bottom as well: the relief was probably carved over a document inscribed beneath the molding. Document reliefs of the mid-4th century B.C. are found primarily on stelai with honorary decrees; reliefs on stelai recording alliances end just before mid-century. To judge from the proportions of the preserved fragment, over half the relief is missing. If the relief came from an Athenian honorary decree, it is likely to have depicted a small figure representing the honorand in the center, the object of Athena's attention, balanced at the far right by his patron deity or another representative of Athens, such as Demos, crowning the honorand.<sup>23</sup>

### 3 (S 1139). Relief from an honorary decree (?)

Pl. 35:b

P.H. 0.32, p.W. 0.295, Th. 0.135, H. of relief 0.03 m.

<sup>19</sup> For Athena's shoulder-pinned back mantle, see Roccos 1986, pp. 286–288 and for the maidens grasping its edges, Roccos 1986, pp. 399–501, pls. 61–79; Conze 1893, pls. 77:332 and 335, 93:378, 113:471; Conze 1900, pls. 154:851, 157:832 and 877, 165:852, 167:876, 168:881 and 906; 169:875, 176:896, 238:1131; Conze 1906, pl. 264:1235–1238 and 1243; Svoronos 1903–1937, pls. 36:3, 37:1429, 48:1, 248:1, 3, and 4. For an attempt to trace the Athena type with back mantle to a lost statue, see Roccos 1991. Roccos (1986, p. 399; 1991, p. 407) also suggests that an Athena wearing a back mantle was the model for the girls on grave and votive reliefs, but since the motif of grasping the mantle is so rare for Athena and so common among the girls, it seems more likely that in the case of document reliefs the influence runs in the other direction. The mantle-holding motif in the grave reliefs is more likely to have been inspired by the korai of the Erechtheion: Lauter 1976, figs. 2, 5, 6, pls. 5, 17, 24, 28, 42.

<sup>20</sup> Roccos 1986, pp. 509–511.

<sup>21</sup> Compare the Athenas accompanying the decree of 331/0 B.C. honoring Rheboulas (Athens, N.M. 1476; *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 349; Meyer 1989, A 105, pl. 33:2); the decree of 323/2 B.C. honoring Asklepiodoros (Athens, E.M. 2811; *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 367; Meyer 1989, A 125, pl. 35:2); and the decree of 318/7 B.C. honoring Euphron (Athens, N.M. 1482; *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 448; Meyer 1989, A 134, pl. 39:1).

<sup>22</sup> Compare the Athenas from the document of 356/5 B.C. concerning Athens and Neapolis (Athens, N.M. 1480; *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 128; Meyer 1989, A 68, pl. 22:1) and from the decree of 355/4 B.C. honoring Sochares (Athens, E.M. 5415; *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 130 + *SEG XIX* 49; Meyer 1989, A 69, pl. 22:2).

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Athens, N.M. 2952 + 2961 (Meyer 1989, A 95, pl. 30:1); Athens, Akr. Mus. 6787 (Meyer 1989, A 112, pl. 48:1); Athens, N.M. 2946 (Meyer 1989, A 115, pl. 34:2).

Found in 1939 in a Byzantine wall east of the Klepsydra (U 26). Preserves part of top and part of right edge, otherwise broken all around; back rough picked. Two modern clamp holes in bottom, 0.025 m. long and 0.01 m. wide, beginning 0.04 m. and 0.18 m. from right edge, 0.10 m. from front surface. Relief bordered on right by anta 0.03 m. wide supporting entablature 0.045 m. wide with antefixes. Surface worn, chipped, with brown iron stains, accretions of mortar. White, medium-grained marble.

Third quarter 4th century B.C.

On the right stands Athena, preserved from the knees up. She wears a chiton under a peplos with belted overfold and an aegis intermediate in size between the breastplate type of the Athena Parthenos and the collar type popular on Athenas of the late 5th century B.C.; the aegis is apparently fastened with a small, now very battered gorgoneion. She also wears a Corinthian helmet and a shoulder-pinned back mantle. The mantle, which is carved in very low relief, flies out behind her on both sides; the ends of its long backward overfall can be distinguished at about the level of the bottom of Athena's peplos overfold. She turns slightly toward the left, her weight on her right leg, her left leg relaxed. Her right hand, broken at the wrist, is extended toward the left and originally held some object, now broken away. Her left hand rests on the rim of the shield standing upright on the ground beside her. Her head is turned to the left, her gaze directed toward the missing left half of the relief.

Next to Athena on the left is a slightly larger figure, of which only the left arm, its drapery, and the outline of the left side of the head are preserved. The figure, apparently male, is either frontal or turned slightly toward the left; the traces of relief along the left side of the head appear to represent long hair and perhaps part of a beard. The figure's left hand is raised high to hold an object that was originally painted on the background but is no longer preserved. He wears a himation, one end thrown back over his raised left arm. The most likely personage of this description to occur in reliefs of this period, particularly in light of his scale, is Zeus, who usually holds a scepter and who appears much more often with Athena in document reliefs than on votive stelai. He is found with Athena in treaty reliefs of the late 5th century B.C. and first half of the 4th, paired with Hera in order to represent a state or group of states with major cults of Zeus or Hera, and he is probably also depicted with them on the fragmentary relief accompanying an honorary decree of 333/2 B.C. for one Archippos; Archippos was probably a Thasian and Zeus and Hera his patron deities.<sup>24</sup> Like Athena, he appears to direct his attention toward the left, where an honorand may originally have stood. Athena's gaze, in fact, seems to be directed downward toward the left, as though she were looking at a smaller figure. The object in her extended right hand was probably a crown; Zeus may have bestowed another crown with his right hand.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Alliance between Athens and Argos in 417/6 B.C. (Athens, Akr. Mus. 2980 + 2431 + 2981 + E.M. 6588a; *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 86); Meyer 1989, A 8, pl. 3; alliance between Athens and several Peloponnesian states in 362/1 B.C. (Athens, N.M. 1481; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 112); Meyer 1989, A 58, pl. 17:2; alliance between Athens and Korkyra, ca. 375/4 B.C. (note 10 above); honors for Archippos (Athens, E.M. 7237; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 336); Svoronos 1903–1937, pl. 217:3.

<sup>25</sup> Compare the relief with the honors for Asklepiodoros (note 21 above). The object is less likely to have been a phiale, for although Athena often pours libations in vase painting, she rarely does so in votive or document reliefs: Mitropoulou 1975, pp. 91–92. Examples include a votive relief from the Akropolis (Athens, Akr. Mus. 3007; Walter 1923, no. 48, pp. 34–35, fig. 48); a votive relief in the National Museum (Athens, N.M. 197; Svoronos 1903–1937, pl. 244:3); and a relief for an honorary decree, perhaps of Kekropis (Athens, N.M. 2949 + 2960), in which Athena and Kekrops apparently extend phialai: Walter 1915, cols. 90, 92–93, fig. 35; Svoronos 1903–1937, pls. 191:2, 193:5.

Restoration of two more evenly spaced antefixes and a matching anta to the left yields a relief approximately 0.48 m. wide, providing just enough room for the completion of the fragmentary male figure and the addition of a small honorand facing him. Restoration of an approximate height of 0.40 m. produces a relief closely comparable to the relief for a decree of the late 4th century B.C. honoring one Artikleides, which has a very similar architectural frame and depicts two large figures crowning a smaller one.<sup>26</sup>

Athena's high-waisted proportions, with her peplos overfold considerably longer below the belt than above, suggest a date for the relief in the third quarter of the 4th century B.C.<sup>27</sup> Her drapery, with its pinched and bifurcated folds, is also appropriate for that date. The fluttering back mantle recalls the billowing mantles and veils of the late 5th-century B.C. Rich Style, such as those on the Nike Temple Parapet and the relief for the Athenian alliance with Argos of 417/6 B.C.<sup>28</sup> That drapery motif was popular in the third quarter of the 4th century B.C., not only for figures of Athena but also for many of the girls wearing the back mantle on grave monuments.<sup>29</sup> In both type and style the Athena of this relief closely resembles the Athena of the relief on an ephebic dedication of 334/3 B.C.<sup>30</sup>

#### 4 (S 366). Relief from a document concerning a naval victory (?)

Pl. 36:b, c

P.H. 0.335, p.W. 0.235, Th. 0.125, H. of relief 0.0075 m.

Found May 25, 1933, in the wall of a late pit in front of the Tholos (H 11). Preserves part of top, left edge, and rough-picked back, otherwise broken all around. Relief bordered on left by anta 0.03 m. wide supporting entablature 0.135 m. high with pediment and broken half-palmette akroterion. Surface worn, flaked, corroded, with accretions. White, medium-grained marble.

Third quarter 4th century B.C.

On the left stands Athens, turned in profile view toward the right. She wears a peplos, Corinthian helmet, and apparently a shoulder-pinned back mantle, which flutters slightly behind her. In her extended right hand she holds an *aphlaston*, the rounded part at the top possibly once painted with a face (Pl. 36:c).<sup>31</sup> She apparently held another object, perhaps the rim of a shield that was also added in paint and is no longer preserved, in her lowered, slightly extended left hand.<sup>32</sup> Since Athena occupies only half the relief and directs her attention toward the right, there almost certainly would have been another figure on the missing right side of the panel.

<sup>26</sup> Athens, N.M. 1396: *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 171; Meyer 1989, A 143, pl. 42:2.

<sup>27</sup> Roccos 1986, pp. 509–511.

<sup>28</sup> Nike Temple Parapet: Carpenter 1929, pl. VII. Alliance with Argos: Meyer 1989, A 8, pl. 3:1.

<sup>29</sup> See note 19 above.

<sup>30</sup> Athens, E.M. 2802a: *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2970; Meyer 1989, A 99, pl. 31:1. Cf. also Athens, N.M. 1473; Meyer 1989, A 136, pl. 41:1.

<sup>31</sup> For figures holding *aphlasta* in vase painting, see J. D. Beazley in Wade-Gery 1933; Webster 1972, pp. 75–77; Eschbach 1986, pp. 36–37, fig. 19, pl. 10:3, pp. 132–134, figs. 70, 71, pl. 33:1 and 2. Compare especially the similar Athena on a red-figured lekythos by the Brygos Painter: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 25.189.1; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 384, no. 211; Boardman 1975, fig. 249; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 1012, no. 598, pl. 762, *s.v.* Athena (P. Demargne). For a face on an *aphlaston*, see the Nolan amphora by the Nikon Painter (London, British Museum E 299: Wade-Gery 1933, p. 100, fig. 4; Boardman 1975, fig. 366).

<sup>32</sup> Compare the relief for the alliance of ca. 375 B.C. between Athens and Korkyra (note 10 above), in which Athena probably also held a painted shield.



Athena's *aphlaston* and her stiff, profile pose, which gives her a slightly archaistic look, suggest that the figure is intended to represent a statue;<sup>33</sup> *aphlasta* were taken as trophies in naval battles, and statues holding them were dedicated in sanctuaries as thank offerings for naval victories.<sup>34</sup> Figures holding *aphlasta* were relatively popular in vase painting in the years immediately after the Persian Wars, referring generally to the battle of Salamis and the resulting Athenian naval supremacy.<sup>35</sup> Athena holding an *aphlaston* also occurs as a column figure on Panathenaic amphoras of ca. 370–364/3 B.C. and 333/2 B.C., although with no evident historical reference.<sup>36</sup> On votive shields and other minor dedications the figures seem to refer more specifically to the dedicators' participation in naval victories or contests,<sup>37</sup> and a similar reference is probably intended in the Agora relief.

In form and style the relief closely resembles a number of document reliefs of the third quarter of the 4th century B.C., including the securely dated relief for the antityranny law of 337/6,<sup>38</sup> which display the same flat frames under pediments with palmette akroteria, their form and very similar sketchy, low-relief figures probably influenced by contemporary grave stelai.<sup>39</sup> The Agora relief is probably also a document relief, which in this period would usually be found accompanying an honorary decree; the missing figure to whom Athena directs her attention would then be the honorand of the decree, perhaps a victorious trierarch or a victor in a naval competition.

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<sup>33</sup> Compare the fully archaistic figures probably depicting statues on two 4th-century B.C. document reliefs, a decree of 356/5 concerning Athens and Thracian Neapolis, with an archaistic figure of the Parthenos of Neapolis (note 22 above), and a document of unknown content of 321/0 (Agora I 6496: *SEG* XXI 303) depicting an unidentified archaistic figure with a dolphin: *Agora XI*, no. 133, p. 85, pl. 31.

<sup>34</sup> The "akroterion" held by the statue dedicated at Delphi after the battle of Salamis (Herodotos 8.121) was almost certainly an *aphlaston*: Morrison and Williams 1968, pp. 133–134; Casson 1971, p. 86. Several of the golden Nikai of the Parthenon also held "akroteria": D. B. Thompson 1944, pp. 201–205. Some of the figures holding *aphlasta* in vase painting, particularly on the columns on Panathenaic amphoras of the 4th century B.C., were intended to represent statues: Eschbach 1986, pp. 1–4 and *passim*.

<sup>35</sup> Beazley in Wade-Gery 1933, p. 101; Boardman 1975, p. 226.

<sup>36</sup> Eschbach 1986, note 31 above.

<sup>37</sup> Hausmann 1957, pl. 20:1 and 2.

<sup>38</sup> Note 1 above. See also the reliefs of the third quarter of the 4th century B.C. for a decree of Acharnai concerning the cult of Ares and Athena Areia (note 17 above) and an honorary decree from Salamis (Piraeus Museum 4228: Meyer 1989, N 7, pl. 56:2).

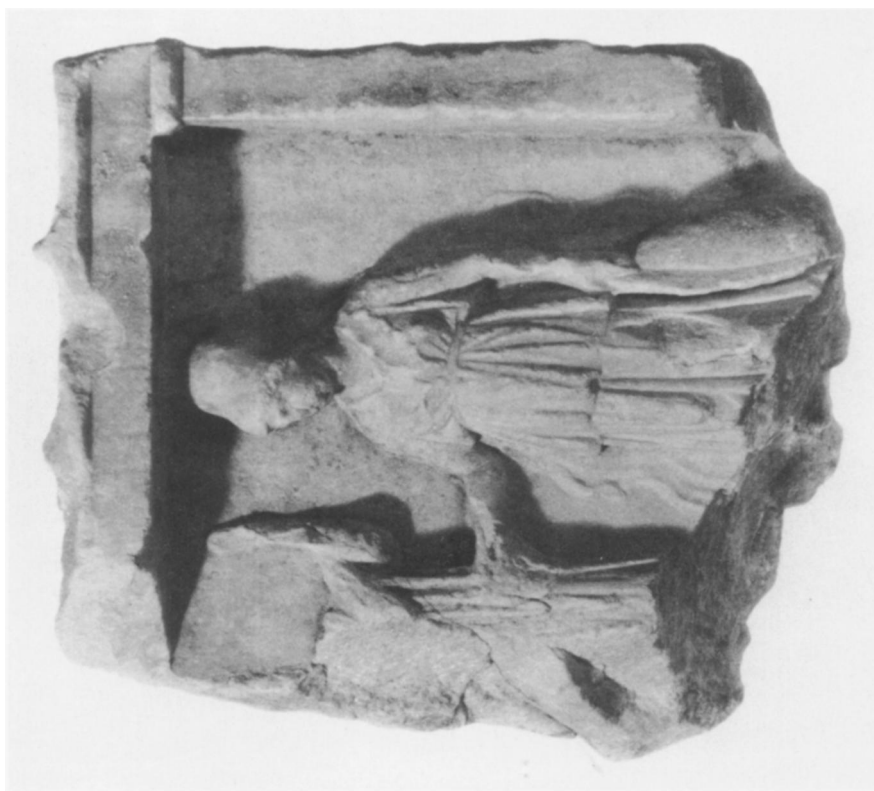
<sup>39</sup> Conze 1893, pls. 87, 91.

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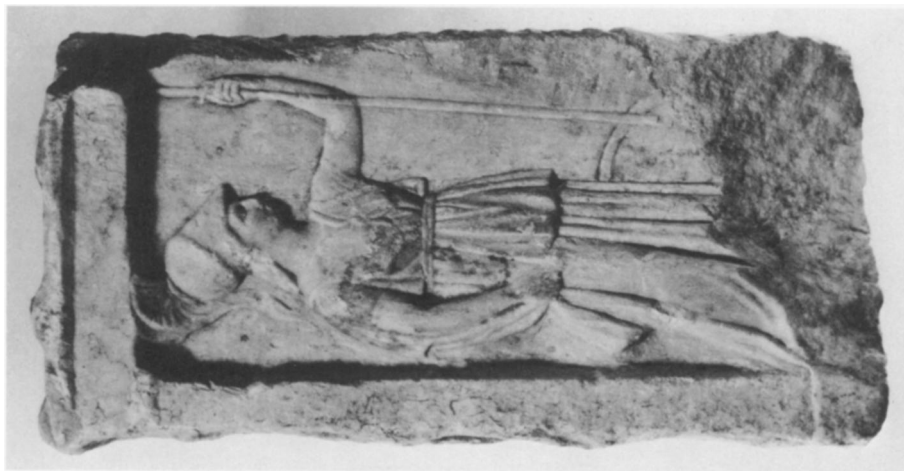
CAROL LAWTON



a. 1 (S 2495)



b. 3 (S 1139)



a. 2 (S 2311)



b. 4 (S 366)



c. 4 (S 366), detail