

AKROPOLIS MUSEUM 581

A FAMILY AT THE APATURIA?

(PLATES 114–116)

AKROPOLIS MUSEUM 581 (Pl. 114), showing an Athenian family of five offering a pig sacrifice to Athena, ranks among the best-known votive reliefs of the late Archaic period.¹ It is of Parian marble.² Although it is always cited for its exquisite style, scholars hardly ever look at its content.³ Discussions have usually been confined to the possibility that it is one of the earliest archaistic sculptures of the Severe Style, and its dating has ranged from 510 to 480.⁴ The question of archaism, first raised by Dickins in 1912,⁵ was only recently laid to rest.⁶

Let us cast a fresh glance at the unique iconography of the relief. Is it possible to guess the occasion for the dedication? Can it be associated with a public festival? That a family is involved may point to a private event; on the other hand, appearances may be misleading.

The relief was excavated on the Athenian Akropolis by the Archaeological Society in 1883, between the Parthenon and the Museum, along with other fragments of sculptures destroyed during the Persian sack of the Akropolis in 480.⁷ The fragments were used as foundation material for the terracing of the rock east of the Parthenon. Its inclusion in material from the Persian sack excludes the possibility of a date after 480, as has sometimes been suggested.⁸ In 1886, Staïs published an engraving of the relief, which is now the sole

¹ Payne 1936, pp. 48–49, pl. 126:1; W.-H. Schuchhardt in Schrader 1939, no. 424, pp. 304–305, pl. 175; Kraus 1960, p. 113 with note 550; Kontoleon 1970, pp. 16–17, pl. IV; Brouskari 1974, pp. 53–54, pl. 94; Raftopoulou 1978, pp. 75–82, with previous bibliography in note 5; Neumann 1979, pp. 34, 38, pl. 18:a; Floren 1987, pp. 291–292, pl. 26:2; Zagdoun 1989, no. 9, pp. 146–147; Boardman 1991a, fig. 258; Ridgway 1993, p. 465, note 14, fig. 148; Van Straten 1995, R 58, pp. 77, 289, fig. 79.

² I agree with Dickins (1912, no. 581, p. 118) and Pfuhl (1923, p. 132). W.-H. Schuchhardt (in Schrader 1939, no. 424, p. 304) takes it for Pentelic.

³ This paper was presented at the 95th annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in Washington, D.C., on December 28, 1993, under the title, “A Votive Relief of Athena from the Early Years of the Democracy.” I am grateful to William Coulson for inviting me to participate in his session and for encouraging publication. I am particularly indebted to Ronald Stroud and Kevin Clinton for reading drafts of this paper and making valuable suggestions. I have also profited from the help and advice of John Boardman, Charles Hedrick, Petros Kalligas, Charalambos Kritzas, Carol Lawton, David Lewis, John Oakley, Robert Parker, and Tasos Tanoulas. Study in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens was greatly facilitated by Charalambos Kritzas and in the Akropolis Museum by Ismene Trianti. All mistakes are my own.

⁴ The highest dating (510–500 B.C.) is supposed by Harrison (1981, p. 498). The majority of scholars accept a date *ca.* 490.

⁵ Dickins 1912, no. 581, p. 118; Pfuhl 1923, pp. 132–136, fig. 4; Kraus 1960, p. 113; Willers 1975, pp. 55–56; Ridgway 1993, p. 451.

⁶ Harrison 1981, pp. 497–498.

⁷ For the findspot see Mylonas 1883, p. 34; no. 19, p. 42.

⁸ Ridgway 1993, p. 451.

record of the coloring preserved at the time of discovery (Pl. 114:b).⁹ It is also a clear and accurate representation of several details that are less visible in photographs. A fragment preserving Athena's left foot and the sow's snout, not shown in the engraving, was found and attached in 1904 (Pl. 114:c).¹⁰

Athena stands at the left, dressed in a chiton and diagonal himation, and lifts the central fold of her skirt in her left hand, her right hand clutching her himation, little finger extended. She carries no attributes but is identified by means of her Attic helmet with its crest indicated in paint. The disk earrings, row of curls over the forehead, long locks of hair on the breasts, and almond-shaped eyes are reminiscent of several Akropolis korai of the last decade of the 6th century, for example, Akr. Mus. 660.¹¹ The gesture of lifting the central pleat of the skirt can also be compared with, for example, the korai Akr. Mus. 670 and 683, both dating from *ca.* 510.¹² It is no longer thought that Athena is meant to be a statue;¹³ rather, she manifests herself to her worshippers in a divine epiphany.¹⁴ She stands aloof in the foreground, while the family appears to march past her. Her separateness matches the formality of the mortals, who are obviously dressed up and move ceremoniously.

The family approaches from the right, with a sow walking behind the children who lead the group. The adult couple, preserved from the waist down, are on a slightly smaller scale than the goddess. The husband wears a himation, the wife a chiton with a mantle over the shoulders in the manner of the kore Akr. Mus. 671 of 520–510.¹⁵ She raises her hands, perhaps holding up a gift. The protruding kolpos of her chiton has led to speculation that she may be pregnant.¹⁶ This has not been generally accepted¹⁷ and would have been significant only in identifying the donor.

Of particular interest are the three children, not least because their presence is unique in Archaic votive reliefs. They are portrayed as miniature adults, dressed elaborately. The fact that they are all the same height need not indicate that they are triplets, although the two superimposed boys in front may well be twins (Pl. 114:c). But since the ages of the children are usually differentiated in Archaic grave reliefs, the most glaring example being the Brother and Sister stele,¹⁸ they are probably meant to appear to be close in years. A girl wearing a tight-fitting chiton with a kolpos and a diadem stands next to her mother, right hand raised in a gesture of adoration. Closest to the goddess, and before their father, march two boys. Largely hidden by the other, only the profile of the face and the arms and hands of the second

⁹ Staïs 1886, pp. 179–182, pl. 9.

¹⁰ Raftopoulou 1978, p. 80, note 19.

¹¹ E. Langlotz in Schrader 1939, no. 87, pp. 128–129, pl. 95; Richter 1968, no. 114, pp. 72–73, figs. 355–357.

¹² For the gesture see Ridgway 1993, pp. 450–451. Kore Akr. Mus. 670: Langlotz in Schrader 1939, no. 8, pp. 50–53, pls. 14–16; Richter 1968, no. 119, pp. 76–77, figs. 377–380. Kore Akr. Mus. 683: Langlotz in Schrader 1939, no. 9, pp. 52–53, pls. 17–19; Richter 1968, no. 120, pp. 77–78, figs. 381–384.

¹³ So Pfuhl (1923, p. 135), who argued that Athena is archaizing whereas the mortals are Late Archaic.

¹⁴ Payne 1936, p. 49; Schuchhardt in Schrader 1939, pp. 304–305; Kontoleon 1970, pp. 16–17.

¹⁵ Langlotz in Schrader 1939, no. 14, pp. 56–57, pls. 25, 26; Richter 1968, no. 111, pp. 70–71, figs. 341–344.

¹⁶ Lehmann-Hartleben 1926, p. 20.

¹⁷ Exploded by Schuchhardt in Schrader 1939, p. 305; Kraus 1960, p. 113, note 550.

¹⁸ New York, M.M.A. 11.185 + Berlin, Pergamonmuseum A 7 + Athens, N.M. 4518 + 4551: Richter 1954, no. 15, pp. 15–16, pls. xv–xviii; Richter 1961, no. 37, pp. 27–29, figs. 96–109; Neumann 1979, pp. 8, 23, pl. 3a; Karouzou 1981, p. 315, color pl. 1; Floren 1987, p. 288, note 43, pl. 25:3.

boy in the background are outlined. The boy in the foreground has short hair curving slightly over the nape of the neck, a hairstyle common in the last quarter of the 6th century.¹⁹ He wears a himation, of which only the folds falling over the left arm are shown in relief. The stripes on his chest visible in the engraving (Pl. 114:b) are presumably the vestiges of folds painted on his mantle. A himation folded over the arm in a similar manner, also forming linear folds somewhat like stripes, is worn by the scribe Akr. Mus. 629, of ca. 510.²⁰ The boy holds up a phiale in his right hand, half of it hidden behind Athena's skirt. Others have seen this as a votive shield or disk, or as a cake,²¹ but a phiale seems more reasonable in the context of a sacrifice and in view of the boy's gesture, which indicates that he is in the process of pouring a libation.²² The boy in the background raises his right hand too, finger curving out, perhaps in a gesture of adoration.²³ One could speculate on whether the half-hidden phiale suggests that the votaries are marching past Athena and towards the altar.

The only attempt at interpretation of the scene was made by Lehmann-Hartleben in 1926.²⁴ He assumed what is usually thought to be the case with votive reliefs, that it reflects a purely private occasion. Since he believed that the woman was pregnant, he explained the sacrifice as an offering for the well-being of the unborn child and concentrated his efforts on identifying the epithet of Athena, as well as interpreting the significance of the sacrificial animal. In other words, he sought to explain in what capacity Athena is shown as patroness of children and childbirth and why a sow was chosen rather than, say, a ewe or a goat. He reached the conclusion that Athena is shown as Kourotraphos and connected the pig sacrifice with chthonic or, in this case, with fertility cults, because it is often offered to Demeter and Asklepios.

The shortcomings of this interpretation are obvious. Although there is a cult of Kourotraphos on the Akropolis, there is none of *Athena* Kourotraphos, for the Akropolis Kourotraphos is a separate entity.²⁵ Besides, if Athena were a Kourotraphos, we would expect her to interact with the children like the Kourotraphos on the Severe-Style Ikaria relief.²⁶ In addition, sows can be sacrificed to Athena on any number of public festivals: a triple sacrifice of cow, sow, and sheep accompanied by a procession that may be the Panathenaic is shown on an Attic black-figured cup of the mid-6th century in the Niarchos Collection, while a sow sacrifice to Athena by a group of officials appears on a 4th-century

¹⁹ Other examples, dated to ca. 510, are the youth Akr. Mus. 633 (Schuchhardt in Schrader 1939, no. 308, pp. 204–206, pls. 128, 129) and the Fauvel head Louvre Ma 2718 (Hamiaux 1992, no. 84, p. 93. Joined to the scribe Akr. Mus. 629 by Trianti [1994, pp. 84–85, figs. 5, 6]).

²⁰ Schuchhardt in Schrader 1939, no. 309, pp. 207–209, pl. 132; Trianti 1994, pp. 83–86, figs. 1, 6.

²¹ Shield or disk: Lehmann-Hartleben 1926, p. 24. Cake: Payne 1936, p. 49. Flat cakes (ἐλατῆρες) presented at the Apaturia are mentioned in the decrees of the Demotionidai: *IG* II² 1237, A, line 7; *SEG* XL 132; Hedrick 1990, pp. 7, 29; Lambert 1994, T 3, pp. 285–293.

²² Studniczka 1928, p. 207, note 2; Jacobstahl 1933, p. 27, note 5; Schuchhardt in Schrader 1939, pp. 304–305; Boardman 1991a, fig. 258. For figures in Attic vase paintings of the early 5th century pouring a libation in a similar way, see Follmann 1968, pl. 7:4–6; Prange 1989, A 70, pl. 40.

²³ Schuchhardt in Schrader 1939, pp. 304–305. Dickins (1912, p. 118) suggested that the boy in the background held up an offering delineated in paint.

²⁴ Lehmann-Hartleben 1926, pp. 19–28.

²⁵ Hadjisteliou-Price 1978, pp. 104–117.

²⁶ Kontoleon 1970, pp. 1–21, pls. I, V; Boardman 1991b, fig. 53.

relief from the Akropolis (Pl. 115:a).²⁷ Pig sacrifices to Athena in Athens are also attested epigraphically, for example, by the decree of 363/2 regulating the cult practices of the Salaminians, which mentions a pig sacrifice to Athena during the Panathenaia and another to Athena Agelaa.²⁸ A pig is also sacrificed to Athena Hellotis, according to a sacrificial calendar of the Marathonian Tetrapolis of the 4th century.²⁹ It is worth bearing in mind that, in the case of private sacrifices, the choice of animals could be determined by price rather than cultic considerations. In studying the frequency of pigs, sheep, cows, and goats as sacrificial animals shown on reliefs, as opposed to vase paintings or sacrificial calendars, Van Straten observed that pigs are more common in scenes of private worship because they were cheaper than cows, though approximately the same price as sheep.³⁰

The interpretation of the scene can be approached from a different point of view, looking at the overall picture of Athena provided by the surviving reliefs dedicated to her on the Akropolis during the Archaic and Classical periods. Apart from Akr. Mus. 581, is Athena ever shown receiving a family?

The only other example of a family sacrifice to Athena on the Akropolis appears on a 4th-century relief reconstructed from two nonjoining fragments put together by Otto Walter in 1923 (Pl. 115:b).³¹ On the right-hand fragment, Athena stands over an altar with an attendant next to it, while on the left-hand fragment there is a basket-bearer next to the head of a woman, obviously part of a procession offerings gifts to a deity. After close examination of the fragments, I came to the conclusion that they do not belong together. Not only do they vary significantly in the individual measurements of their architectural frames, but they also differ in the degree of weathering, style, and even iconography. For example, the tiles on the roof of the naïskos frame are not spaced evenly in the two fragments. The left-hand fragment is later in date, on a larger scale, and much weathered. It belongs to a series of dedications from the Athenian Asklepieion which show large families, often accompanied by a basket-bearer, bringing gifts to Asklepios and his children.³² Its provenance is unknown, but it may well come from the Asklepieion on the south slope of the Akropolis. The fragment with Athena is in pristine condition and presumably comes from the Akropolis. There is no question of families here: Athena on the Akropolis is altogether a civic deity.

Athena as a city goddess, however, did offer her sanction to Athenian children when they were introduced by their fathers to their own phratry. Long before the reforms of Kleisthenes, children were enrolled into their father's phratry during the public festival of the Apaturia in the autumn month of Pyanopsion. Their enrollment ensured their legitimacy and, before

²⁷ Cup: Simon 1983, pls. 16:2, 17:2; *La cité des images* 1984, fig. 152; Van Straten 1987, p. 159. Relief: Akr. Mus. 3007; Walter 1923, no. 48, pp. 34–35; Mangold 1993, p. 34, pl. 7:2; Van Straten 1995, R 60, pp. 77, 289, fig. 80.

²⁸ Agora I 3244, lines 87–89. *SEG* XL 131; Ferguson 1938, no. 1, pp. 1–76; Sokolowski 1962, no. 19, pp. 49–54; Kadletz 1976, no. 63, p. 121.

²⁹ *IG* II² 1358, lines B 35–36; Sokolowski 1969, no. 20, pp. 46–50; Kadletz 1976, no. 49, p. 121.

³⁰ Van Straten 1987, pp. 159–170. On the value of pigs as sacrificial animals, see Jameson 1988, pp. 98–99.

³¹ Akr. Mus. 3003 + 2413 + 2515: Walter 1923, nos. 39 and 39a, pp. 28–29; Mangold 1993, pp. 31–32, pl. 7:1. Van Straten 1995, R 59, pp. 77, 289.

³² Cf. 4th-century reliefs with family and basket-bearer approaching Asklepios and Hygieia: Berlin, Pergamonmuseum 685: Blümel 1966, no. 100, p. 84, fig. 125; Athens, N.M. 1344: Neumann 1979, pl. 44:a; Athens, N.M. 1333: Neumann 1979, pl. 45:b.

Kleisthenes, their right of citizenship as well.³³ The Apaturia was a three-day celebration involving an animal sacrifice for each child as well as a ritual haircut signifying the child's entry into puberty.³⁴ Libations were poured by the children in honor of Herakles, and there was drinking involved, of which the priest did his share.³⁵ The Apaturia provided a grand occasion for family celebrations and for dressing up. Sacrifices were offered to Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria, as well as to the phratry's special god(s) at the phratry shrines.³⁶

The sources are confusing regarding not only the age and sex of the children presented to the phratries but also the sacrificial victims. Only a summary of the issues involved, according to the present state of the evidence, can be attempted here. Pollux (3.52) names goats and sheep as phratry sacrificial animals, but a pig sacrifice to Zeus Phratrios is also recorded in the decree of the Salaminians of 363/2 mentioned above.³⁷ The introduction of girls in phratries is a point of debate.³⁸ Girls may occasionally have been presented to their father's phratry at birth but were certainly introduced to their husband's phratry upon marriage.³⁹ Boys were registered, not merely introduced: whether this was done on two occasions, shortly after birth and again at puberty, is debated. The evidence provided by the decrees of the Demotionidai in the early 4th century confirms that the boys' enrollment at least at puberty was obligatory.⁴⁰ An obligatory sacrifice occurred on the day named Koureotis, and the victim was called the *koureion*.⁴¹ Scholars' calculations of the age of puberty for boys in Classical Athens vary in result between fourteen and sixteen.⁴² In Plato's *Timaios* (21b) Kritias says that he attended the Apaturia at the age of ten. Girls of a marriageable age may not have been much older than boys entering adolescence.

I suggest that the prominent position of the children, especially the boys, on the Akropolis relief may commemorate a family sacrifice during the Apaturia. If this hypothesis is correct, then the presence of the girl would seem to suggest that she too was introduced to the phratry. We have no evidence for the presence of mothers at the sacrifice, although Xenophon (*Hellenika* 1.7.8) states that the child's relatives also attended. It is not clear, however, whether he means male relations only. Perhaps the mother's presence on the relief symbolizes the unity of the family, although it would be more reasonable to suppose that it would reflect her actual presence in the flesh, particularly if she too was a phratry member. If the relief is connected with the Apaturia, then Athena should be represented as Athena Phratria. Since

³³ On the role of the phratries, see Rhodes 1981, p. 499; Manville 1990, pp. 55–69.

³⁴ Hedrick 1984, pp. 159–178; Hedrick 1990, p. 42, note 108; Lambert 1994, pp. 161–178.

³⁵ Pollux 3.51–53; Hedrick 1984, p. 176; Hedrick 1990, p. 30; Lambert 1994, p. 163.

³⁶ Hedrick 1984, p. 177; Lambert 1994, pp. 207–212.

³⁷ Ferguson 1938, p. 5, line 91; Kadletz 1976, no. 63, p. 202.

³⁸ The arguments against female membership are presented by Gould (1980, pp. 40–42) and Cole (1984, pp. 233–244).

³⁹ At birth: Isaïos 3.73–79; Pollux 8.107. Upon marriage: Isaïos 8.19. That girls, as well as boys, were presented to the phratries is argued by Hedrick (1984, pp. 152, 168–169), Golden (1985, pp. 9–13), Kearns (1989, p. 77), and Lambert (1994, pp. 178–189).

⁴⁰ Hedrick 1984, pp. 172–173; Hedrick 1990, p. 28; Lambert 1994, pp. 162–166. Cf. Pollux 8.107.

⁴¹ Pollux 8.107; Suda, *s.v.* *κουρεῶτις*; Hesychios, *s.v.* *κουρεῶτις*; Cole 1984, pp. 234–235; Hedrick 1984, pp. 170–174; Hedrick 1990, pp. 28–30.

⁴² Hedrick 1984, pp. 172–173; Hedrick 1990, p. 28, note 32. See also Golden 1990, pp. 26–28; Lambert 1994, pp. 167–168.

the relief was dedicated on the Akropolis, her own special domain, it is perhaps natural that Zeus Phratrios is not represented.

If we suppose for a moment that the relief commemorates a sacrifice to Athena Phratria, why is it on the Akropolis? Two possibilities present themselves. Either the relief was dedicated at a phratry enclosure there or there was a state cult of Athena Phratria on the Akropolis. A boundary stone of the Medontidai (Pl. 116:a) was found by Pittakis in the 1850's built into an Ottoman tomb outside the Beulé Gate at the entrance to the Akropolis.⁴³ The stone reads “*ἡὸρο[ς--]ρας Μεδ[ον]-τῖδων*” and is dated after 450. The missing word is not easy to restore; the *horos* indicates some property of the Medontidai.⁴⁴ It has in fact been suggested that the Medontidai had a phratry shrine near the Akropolis entrance;⁴⁵ this is likely, but it is not the only possibility. Blocks of the Erechtheion and the Propylaia are known to have been moved down from the Akropolis during the Ottoman occupation. The most famous instance, recorded by Edward Dodwell, is the south epistyle of the west façade of the Erechtheion, which was inscribed in Turkish and incorporated over a door in a fortification near the Beulé Gate in 1805.⁴⁶ The boundary stone may have moved downhill too. We know of other city shrines of the phratries in the Agora but none other on the Akropolis. Some phratries are known to have had shrines both in the city and in the country.⁴⁷ The Medontidai themselves had a shrine in Keratea.⁴⁸ A second shrine on the Akropolis would have been unusual but perhaps not impossible. It would have entailed a special rank for the Medontidai, which has in fact been suggested by their use of the royal name of Medon,⁴⁹ but all this is purely hypothetical.

The only phratry inscription from the Akropolis is the honorary decree *IG II² 1238* of the 4th century, topped by a relief (Pl. 116:b).⁵⁰ The name of the phratry is lost. The relief is very fragmentary: only the lower part of the honorand at the left and of a goddess on a larger scale at the right remain. The goddess is usually identified with Athena Phratria, which would make her a 4th-century counterpart of Akr. Mus. 581. The findspot has been thought

⁴³ E.M. 10071: *IG I² 871 = IG I³ 1062*. On the findspot: *ΑρχΕφ* 1856–1861, no. 2819; Ritchie 1984, TA 52, pp. 251–256, fig. 37, pl. 48; Hedrick 1984, T 12, pp. 281–282; Hedrick 1991, no. 9B, p. 245; Lambert 1994, T 7, p. 310. On the phratry of the Medontidai, see Hedrick 1984, T 12–15, pp. 281–292; Hedrick 1991, no. 9, p. 245; Lambert 1994, T 7–10, pp. 310–320.

⁴⁴ The restoration [*χώ*]ρας, accepted by Crosby (1941, p. 22), Ritchie (1984, p. 255), Hedrick (1984, p. 282), and Lambert (1994, T 7, p. 310), is rightly rejected by D. M. Lewis in *IG I³ 1062*. Lewis also rejects [*ἀγο*]ρας: the *κυρία ἀγορά* of the tribe Kekropis, for example, held on the Akropolis (*IG II² 1141*, lines 6–7), is a meeting. On the other hand, *ἀγορά* means meeting place in *IG II² 1180*.

⁴⁵ Crosby 1941, p. 22; Ritchie 1984, p. 256; Hedrick 1991, p. 260.

⁴⁶ Paton 1927, p. 553.

⁴⁷ Hedrick 1991, pp. 241–268. For phratry shrines in the Agora, see Lambert 1994, T 12–14, pp. 322–331.

⁴⁸ *IG I² 872 = IG I³ 1383*; Hedrick 1984, T 13, pp. 282–284; Hedrick 1991, no. 9C, p. 245; Lambert 1994, T 8, p. 311.

⁴⁹ Crosby 1941, p. 22: “The name of the phratry, derived as it is from Medon, a king of Athens, would suggest a site not far from the Akropolis.”

⁵⁰ E.M. 7698 + 7739, found in 1840. For the findspot see *ΑρχΕφ* 1853, no. 1459, p. 911. Hedrick 1984, T 20, pp. 305–314; Lawton 1984, no. 104, pp. 284–285; Hedrick 1988, pp. 111–117; Meyer 1989, A 160, p. 310; Lambert 1994, T 16, pp. 335–337; Lawton 1995, no. 102, pl. 54.

to indicate that the decree was set up on the Akropolis to honor an exceptional individual.⁵¹ It may equally have been set up in a shrine of Athena Phratria or a phratry precinct.

It is usually maintained that no phratry shrine existed on the Akropolis.⁵² There are, however, enough indications to suggest that at least Athena Phratria had a state cult there. Her appearance on the record relief *IG II²* 1238 from the Akropolis is virtually certain and remains a strong possibility on the votive relief Akropolis Museum 581. The iconography of these two reliefs cannot easily be explained unless one assumes the presence of Athena Phratria on the Akropolis. A parallel, possibly state, cult of Athena Phratria along with Zeus Phratrios in the Athenian Agora in the 4th century, as attested by their joint altar,⁵³ is no obstacle; other Agora cults tended to have a second location on the Akropolis.⁵⁴ The Akropolis cult would presumably be older than the one in the Agora.

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⁵¹ Hedrick 1988, p. 117; Hedrick 1991, no. 1, p. 248; Lambert 1994, T 16, p. 337.

⁵² Hedrick (1991, pp. 241–268) does not list a single phratry shrine on the Akropolis. See also Robertson 1992, p. 38.

⁵³ *Agora XIV*, pp. 139–140; Camp 1990, p. 77; Hedrick 1991, no. 15, pp. 246–247; Lambert 1994, T 24, pp. 357–358. See also Lambert 1994, pp. 209–210: "It is highly plausible that there was a central cult of these gods at Athens, whether or not the specific remains have been correctly identified."

⁵⁴ The Graces, for example, had a cult near the Propylaia (Pausanias 1.22.8; Palagia 1990, p. 350, note 15) as well as in the Kolonos Agoraios, near the northwest corner of the Agora (*IG II²* 2798; *Agora XIV*, p. 160; Camp 1990, p. 45). Although E. B. Harrison (*LIMC* III, 1986, p. 192, *s.v.* Charis, Charites) argues that both these cults functioned as gate guardians, the cult in the Agora was not significantly near any gate.

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a. Votive relief of Athena. Athens, Akr. Mus. 581.
Photo DAI 69/1599



b. Akr. Mus. 581. Photo after engraving in *ΑρχΕφ* 1886,
pl. 9



c. Akr. Mus. 581, detail of boys. Photo Akropolis Museum



a. Votive relief of Athena. Athens, Akr. Mus. 3007. Photo Akropolis Museum



b. Fragments of votive reliefs: Athens, Akr. Mus. 2413 + 2515 (left) and 3003 (right). Photo DAI 72/3006

OLGA PALAGIA: AKROPOLIS MUSEUM 581. A FAMILY AT THE APATURIA?



a. Horos of the Medontidai. Athens, E.M. 10071 (*IG I² 871* = *IG I³ 1062*). Photo Epigraphical Museum



b. Phratry decree with relief of Athena and honorand. E.M. 7739 + 7698 (*IG II² 1238*). Photo Epigraphical Museum

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