

# A ROMAN ATHENA FROM THE PNYX AND THE AGORA IN ATHENS

## ABSTRACT

Two fragments of marble sculpture, one found in late fill on the Pnyx and the other in the Athenian Agora, join to form part of a large helmeted head, probably from a Roman statue of Athena. Unusual, wavelike curls escaping from beneath the helmet suggest a date in the mid-1st century A.D. The Pnyx/Agora statue may have been commissioned in Athens during a period of renewed interest in the Panathenaic festival by Athenians who saw the promotion of their city's religious traditions as a way of enhancing their own status and that of their city.

Between 1931 and 1937, the American School of Classical Studies excavations at the Pnyx in Athens turned up some 31 sculpture fragments, including many figurines, a small group of unfinished marble pieces, and what was termed by the excavators a limestone “study piece.”<sup>1</sup> Almost all the items, ranging in date from Classical to Roman, were discovered in fills.<sup>2</sup> Just one fragmentary statuette, part of an unfinished, draped male figure, emerged from a more precisely dated area, Pnyx III, ca. 340 B.C.<sup>3</sup> But Rotroff and Camp have shown how extensive the intrusions of Roman material were in this area too, so it may not be possible to assign even this piece a late-4th-century date.<sup>4</sup> In addition to an assortment of unrelated fragments, some marble votive pinakes from the Zeus Hypsistos sanctuary—a Roman development of the 1st century A.D., when the Pnyx no longer functioned as a site for civic meetings—were recovered.<sup>5</sup> The

1. Davidson and Thompson 1943, pp. 35–40 (unfinished pieces: pp. 35–37, nos. 3, 6, 11; “study piece”: p. 40, no. 12). All sculptural finds from the American School's Pnyx excavations reside in the storerooms of the Stoa of Attalos in the Athenian Agora.

I would like to thank John McK. Camp and Evelyn Harrison for allowing me to study and publish these fragments; Olga Palagia for examining

them; Julia Shear for discussing Panathenaic issues with me; the anonymous *Hesperia* reviewers for comments, corrections, and improvements; Tarek Elemam and Nikolaos Manias at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens for technical support; and finally, the staff of the Blegen Library at the American School.

2. Pnyx S 26, first identified as the neck of a sea horse, is actually a now-

headless griffin protome probably from a 4th-century cauldron grave monument (Davidson and Thompson 1943, p. 35).

3. Davidson and Thompson 1943, p. 35; Camp 1996, p. 41; Rotroff and Camp 1996, pp. 274–275.

4. Rotroff and Camp 1996, p. 270; Rotroff 1996.

5. Zeus Hypsistos: Forsén 1993, 1996.

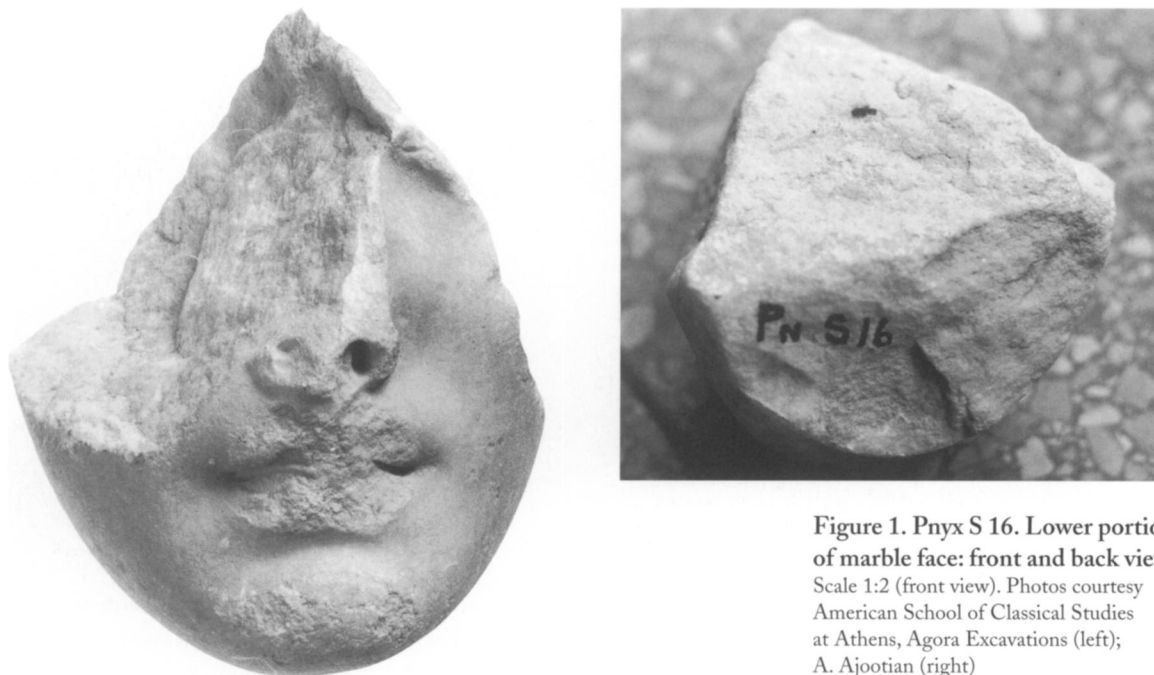


Figure 1. Pnyx S 16. Lower portion of marble face: front and back views. Scale 1:2 (front view). Photos courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations (left); A. Ajootian (right)

plaques, with body parts in relief, filled niches in the bedrock wall of the Zeus Hypsistos precinct. These votives represent the only secure evidence for sculpture installed on the Pnyx.<sup>6</sup>

The fragment catalogued as Pnyx S 16 (Fig. 1), the lower portion of a large face made of Pentelic marble, is by far the most impressive sculpture in the Pnyx assemblage excavated by the American School.<sup>7</sup> The careful workmanship and impressive scale of this work distinguish it from other pieces discovered on the Pnyx. Even in its damaged state, it demanded more attention. This article documents my efforts to determine its identity, date, and ancient context. According to R. L. Scranton, it was found south of the Pnyx in destruction fill over the White Poros Wall, with sherds dating as late as the 5th century A.D.<sup>8</sup>

With a maximum preserved height of 0.175 m, the fragment retains the chin, mouth, part of the nose, portions of the cheeks, and the left tear duct. On the sculpture's right side, the lower cheek extends back to just below the right ear, but less of the figure's right cheek survives. There are traces of an iron attachment or dowel on the broken back surface

6. The best-known sculptural finds from the vicinity of the Pnyx are the unfinished Lenormant Athena, a small replica of the Pheidias Athena Parthenos (Athens NM 128: Kaltsas 2002, p. 106, no. 190), and an over-life-size unfinished head of the Athena Medici type (Athens NM 3718: Kaltsas 2002, p. 111, no. 200). One of the most venerable Athena images in this area, a possible record relief dated to the 4th century B.C., was discovered as spolia in

the church of Ayios Demetrios Lombardiadis, located in the saddle between the Pnyx and the Hill of the Muses. It depicts a seated Demos, and Athena being crowned by Herakles, all three named by inscription (Kron 1979, pl. 7). Kron associated this relief with the Nymph sanctuary near the Observatory, but it, like many other record reliefs, may have originally been set up on the Acropolis (C. Lawton, pers. comm.). For Hadrianic sculptured

pediments found between the Pnyx and the Hill of the Muses, see Börker 1976; Calligas 1996, p. 5, n. 25.

7. Davidson and Thompson 1943, p. 35, no. 1. I thank Olga Palagia for her comments on the marble.

8. Pnyx notebook VI, p. 1193: "in Trench P, center of square K 21, 90 m SE of Trench D Tower, in the destruction fill of the poros wall, with numerous marble fragments and sherds to 5th A.D."



**Figure 2. Agora S 418. Fragment of marble head with helmet: front and top views.** Scale 1:2. Photos courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations

(Fig. 1, right). The chin, its surface abraded, extends back to where it joined the neck. The lips are mostly broken away; a thin drilled channel between them indicates that they parted slightly. Except for remnants of the nostrils, the nose is missing. Despite the damage, the sensitive modeling of the soft flesh around the broad chin, small mouth, and nose is evident.

Although there were no joining fragments among the Pnyx finds, my wider search in the Agora storerooms was more successful. The Pnyx piece joins Agora fragment S 418 (Fig. 2) along the broken tear duct of the figure's left eye, producing a large helmeted head (Fig. 3).<sup>9</sup> Agora S 418 was discovered in 1907–1908 during Greek excavations of the Agora near the New Bouleuterion, and was left on the site along with other marbles. Thompson recorded the surface find in 1934. Broken all around, Agora S 418 measures 0.21 m high. It preserves the left side of the statue's forehead, a portion of the head extending to the crown, and about three-quarters of the figure's left eye. The two pieces reunited measure 0.27 m from the crown of the head to the chin and 0.185 m from the forehead to the chin. Using a rough ratio of 1 to 7 for the proportion of head to body yields a restored height for the statue of at least 1.89 m.

The visor of the Attic helmet forms a point directed down over the center of the forehead, with an upper rim jutting out about a centimeter from the head, and an angular front edge ca. 1.5 cm high. Wisps of hair escaping from the coiffure confined beneath the headgear are carved in low relief on top of the helmet band on each side of its central point. On the statue's left brow, two well-preserved curls, expressed as uniform, stylized waves with lightly drilled centers, curve back toward each other. An incised line bisecting the curls summarily articulates texture and mass. On the right side of the figure's head these details have been damaged, leaving

9. Ajootian 1999. I have not found any other joins or additional fragments that clearly pertain to this piece, although aegis fragments Agora S 780 and S 2047 from two large Roman statues of Athena are appropriate in scale.



**Figure 3. Pnyx S 16/Agora S 418. Fragmentary marble head with helmet.** Scale 1:2. Photo courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations

only their outlines. The mass of longer locks emerging from the left side of the figure's helmet is mostly broken away; this area is completely missing on the right side of the head.

There are cuttings on the helmet for many attachments. About a centimeter above the helmet band, unevenly spaced and aligned, are seven small drilled holes, some containing the remnants of lead pins.<sup>10</sup> At the top of the crown, on axis with the center of the brow, is a very shallow rectangular cutting.<sup>11</sup> Ca. 0.06 m behind it, at the broken back edge of the fragment, are the remains of a larger drilled hole with a restored diameter of 0.035 m, ca. 0.048 m deep. The surface of the helmet was finished with a rasp, in contrast with the smoothly polished texture of the face. A deep yellow-gold deposit or coating can be seen over much of the helmet's surface. It covers the shallow cutting, and is especially heavy on one section of the top of the helmet band. Microscopic analysis indicated that this deposit, containing iron ore, might be paint or an undercoating.<sup>12</sup>

The surviving eyebrow is crisply defined as a thin, arching line. A fold of flesh below overshadows the left eye itself. The sharply articulated upper lid overlaps the lower, and the remains of the tear duct can be seen. The crisp treatment of the brow and eye contrasts with the soft modeling of the cheek and the flesh around the mouth.

10. The holes measure ca. 0.008 m deep and 0.002 m wide.

11. The cutting measures ca. 0.001 m deep, 0.05 m long on the left side, and 0.04 m long on the right, ca. 0.041 m wide at the front, tapering to ca. 0.03 m at the back.

12. I thank Amandina Anastassiades, chief conservator at the Athenian Agora, Victoria Brown, Claudia Chermello, and Kim C. Cobb for their careful physical analysis of Agora S 418.

## DATE AND IDENTIFICATION

What personage did this statue represent—human or divinity, female or male? Attributes that might identify the subject are limited to the helmet, with cuttings for a possible crest and added wreath or other decoration; what is left of the coiffure; and the carving style. Based on the helmet, the wisps of hair escaping from beneath it, and the expressively modeled lower face, the most obvious solution may be the correct one: this is all that remains of a large statue of a deity, probably female, very likely Athena. The appearance of the brow and eyelid, as well as general similarities between this piece and other Roman works, suggest that it too is probably Roman. There are few features, however, that might suggest a more precise date. The pattern of opposing curls in relief on the helmet may provide some clues, although Roman helmeted heads embellished with similar short locks are rare. The variety of modeling effects—the sharply articulated eye and the sensitive treatment of the fleshy cheek, mouth, and chin—might also point to a general Roman date.

A few comments on the process of evaluating newly discovered fragmentary sculpture, Greek or Roman, are in order. The traditional approach aims to identify and date a work and place it within its artistic and cultural context by identifying comparanda—pieces that display similar details, style, or overall treatment of the surface and features, and whose context is known. Furthermore, this approach often presumes an opposition between “original” and “copy.” If the work is Roman, then it is assumed to be a copy of something, according to the conventional line of thought; and only when the unknown piece has been linked to a known sculptural “type” can the quest to elucidate it be considered complete. The absence of convincing parallels for a given fragment thus impedes the critical process. In such cases, it is necessary to adopt a nuanced approach that will yield an identity and an approximate date.

The issues are still more problematic, as Hallett has pointed out, when the model itself can be shown to be Roman, since the study of the later material has traditionally been a quest for Greek originals.<sup>13</sup> *Kopienkritik* as a means of recovering lost (Greek) prototypes is now under review by scholars who have important questions to ask about Roman sculpture, the reception of Roman “copies” by their owners (and by viewers generally), and about the meaning of Roman statuary in specific contemporary contexts.<sup>14</sup> In addition, critics have reevaluated the copying process.<sup>15</sup>

Hallett has recently discussed Roman sculpture in the context of Classical models, styles, and themes.<sup>16</sup> He observes that one important aspect of Roman sculpture in Roman contexts was its deliberate “antiquity,” that is, its calculated reflection of antique Greek styles, which marked an important aspect of its reception by owners and viewers.<sup>17</sup> The need to classify ancient sculpture, however, continues to be an imperative of critical studies. The same issue of the *Journal of Roman Archaeology* containing Hallett’s article on the theoretical implications of critical methods also presented Arguissola’s new checklist of the “copies” reproducing Myron’s Discobolus.<sup>18</sup> Both the recent scrutiny of theoretical assumptions underlying the study of Greek and Roman sculpture and the traditional methodology of *Kopienkritik* are essential to the study of ancient sculpture.

13. Hallett 2005.

14. Fullerton 1990, 1998, 2000; Gazda 1995, 2002; Hallett 1995, 2005; Perry 2005.

15. See the essays in Gazda 2002, as well as Perry 2005 and Hallett 2005.

16. Hallett 2005.

17. Hallett 2005, p. 435.

18. Arguissola 2005.



**Figure 4. Herculaneum Pallas.**  
Naples, Museo Archeologico  
Nazionale 6007. Photo Alinari/  
Art Resource, New York



**Figure 5. Agora S 1064. Fragmentary archaic marble head of Athena: front and side views.** Scale 2:5. Photos courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations

With the limitations and challenges of the comparative method in mind, I turn to the first task, a search for helmeted heads of Athena embellished with short forehead locks. As mentioned above, this feature is difficult to find. A large “archaistic” marble statue of Athena, the so-called Herculaneum Pallas found in the Villa dei Papiri at Herculaneum, is an exception (Fig. 4).<sup>19</sup> Short locks curl up over the edges of the helmet, the central point of which projects up and out, instead of down, as on the Pnyx/Agora head. The figure strides vigorously in a martial pose. The drapery and coiffure refer to various periods and styles, with Archaic features predominating. Once thought to be carved from Italian Carrara marble, the statue has now been shown to be of Pentelic marble, and thus possibly produced in Athens.<sup>20</sup> A fragmentary marble head of Athena found on the north slope of the Acropolis (Fig. 5) has been associated with the Herculaneum statue.<sup>21</sup> Nonjoining drapery fragments from an archaistic statue discovered on the Acropolis itself may belong with this head;<sup>22</sup> I refer here to this head and the drapery fragments together as the “Athens Athena.” Furthermore, it has been suggested that the Herculaneum Pallas might be a copy of the Athens Athena, or vice versa.<sup>23</sup>

19. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 6007: *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 973, no. 171, s.v. Athena (P. Demargne); Brouskari 1986; Pozzi 1989, p. 134, no. 185; Zagdoun 1989, p. 224, nos. 5–8; p. 227, no. 30; p. 243, no. 287; Fullerton 1990, pp. 46–49, 69, no. 1; Ridgway

2002, pp. 144–145; Mattusch 2005, pp. 147–151, figs. 4.8, 4.9, 4.10, 4.11; Mattusch 2007.

20. Mattusch 2005, p. 148.

21. Agora S 1064: *Agora* XI, pp. 73–75, no. 124, pl. 26.

22. Ridgway (2002, p. 144) observes,

however, that a third statue may be involved.

23. Brouskari 1986, p. 80; Fullerton 1989, pp. 66–67; Ridgway 2002, pp. 144–145; Mattusch 2005, pp. 147–151.

The dates assigned to the Athens Athena have ranged from the 5th century B.C. to the Roman period.<sup>24</sup> On the basis of the combination of many different chronological styles and details, Mark Fullerton has dated the archaistic Athens Athena to the second half of the 1st century B.C.<sup>25</sup> The Herculaneum Pallas, then, would be a later copy, commissioned by the Roman owner of the villa.<sup>26</sup> Carol Mattusch, however, recently and convincingly proposed a different scenario: both statues date to the 1st century A.D., and the Herculaneum Pallas is a copy of the Athens Athena, possibly produced using casts.<sup>27</sup> The possible motivation for constructing a 1st-century Roman “original,” namely the Athens Athena, is discussed below.

The Athens Athena and the Herculaneum Pallas share with the Pnyx/Agora head the very unusual detail of short locks curling up over the front of the helmet. Stylistically, however, the curls of the Herculaneum Pallas and the Athens Athena do not match those of the Pnyx/Agora fragment. The hairdos of the former works echo the “unfurling snail curls” of Late Archaic or Early Classical sculpture, with deep, incised lines emphasizing their tight coils, especially on the Athens example.<sup>28</sup> Thus, the Pnyx/Agora head is clearly not a copy of the archaistic Herculaneum Pallas, but it may be close to it in date, or may even reflect a similar workshop approach—in this case, the creation of a distinctive coiffure for Athena.

Indeed, a careful look at the Pnyx/Agora piece and the two archaistic statues reveals other affinities. Associated loosely by the distinctive helmet treatment, they are clearly different in style, yet share some subtle details of modeling. The lips of all three works part slightly, with a narrow relief line between them. Furthermore, it is possible to see how the groove undercutting the lower lip of the Athens Athena emphasized its fullness, as well as the rounded contour of the chin, in a manner that recalls the treatment of the Pnyx/Agora face. Even in the archaistic works, where less flexible modeling of the face complemented the interpretation of Archaic pose and drapery folds, the sculptors’ contemporary approach shows through. Thus, while overarching stylistic choices dictated the archaizing features of the Herculaneum and Athens statues and the Pnyx/Agora fragment, underlying conventions of modeling may reveal the work of roughly contemporary artists.

As for the style of the Pnyx/Agora head’s small forehead curls, the feature that distinguishes it from the Herculaneum Pallas and Athens Athena, similar features appear in imperial portraiture, not *Idealplastik*. The comparanda, however, are set in a different context—spit curls on the brow and sides of a mortal woman’s face, rather than resting atop the edge of a goddess’s helmet. Indeed, using portraits to date other genres of

24. Ridgway 2002, pp. 144–145.

25. Fullerton 1989, pp. 66–67.

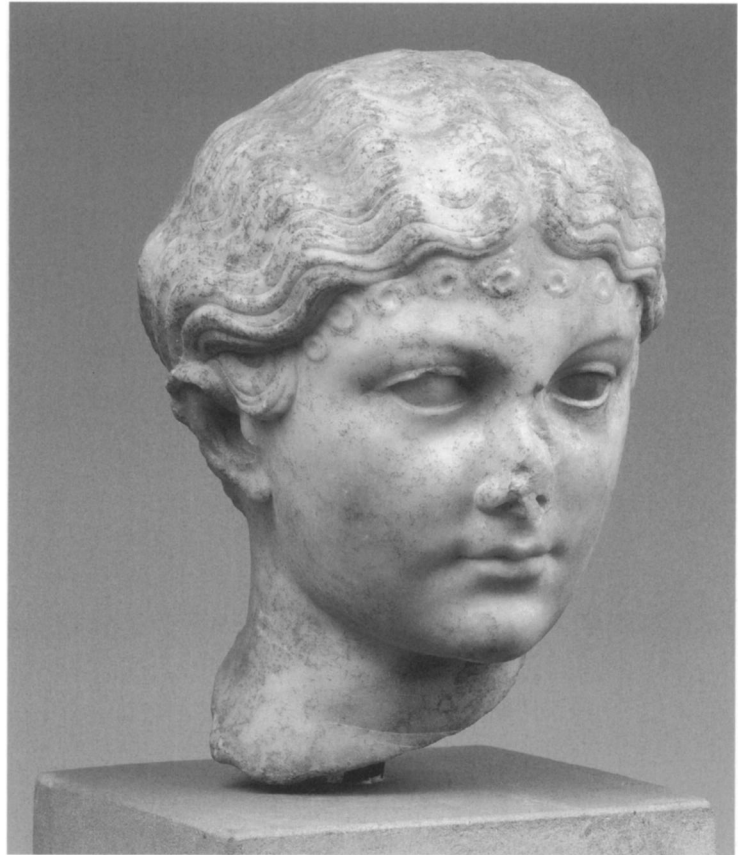
26. Fullerton 1989, p. 67.

27. Mattusch 2005, p. 149; see also Ridgway 2002, p. 145, for a summary of the possible relationships between the Athens Athena and the Herculaneum Pallas.

28. Fullerton 1989, p. 60. Differences can be noted between the Athens Athena and Herculaneum Pallas: the Athens work displays more piecing, there are cuttings for the left cheek guard(?) and left earring, and (assuming the drapery fragments indeed belong) the Medusa head, now lost, was added

to a setting for it in the aegis. There are differences also in the modeling. The Herculaneum Pallas’s curls have a more plastic quality; they are not as deeply carved along the strands, nor are they as tightly wound, and they have more deeply drilled centers.





**Figure 6. Portrait head of a Julio-Claudian imperial princess, perhaps Drusilla. New York, Hispanic Society of America D203. Photo courtesy Hispanic Society of America, New York**

statuary is risky, since many sculptural styles were produced at the same time, as noted above.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, the most convincing parallels to this detail of coiffure appear in portraits from the first half of the 1st century A.D., especially on images of Caligula's sisters: Drusilla, Julia Livilla, and Agrippina Minor (Figs. 6–8).<sup>30</sup>

Caligula's sisters represented prospects for the future of his family line, and images of the three as a group were promoted early in his reign.<sup>31</sup> The period during which Drusilla and Julia Livilla were honored and their portraits displayed was brief.<sup>32</sup> Drusilla, the first Roman woman divinized by order of the Roman Senate, was probably represented by portraits between A.D. 37 and 41, when her brother died and her cult was abandoned (Fig. 6).<sup>33</sup> Julia Livilla outlived Caligula and two periods of imperial disfavor. Her portraits could have been displayed for some time after his death, but were probably in vogue ca. A.D. 37–39 (Fig. 7).<sup>34</sup> The career of Agrippina Minor, wife of Claudius and mother of Nero, endured for another 20 years until her death in A.D. 59, but most of her portraits in dynastic groups are probably Claudian.<sup>35</sup>

Portraits of all three women were distinguished by little locks forming a fringe along the hairline, occasionally with opposing curls directly below the central part in a symmetrical pattern similar to that preserved on the Pnyx/Agora head. The official image of Agrippina Minor had more time to develop than those of her shorter-lived sisters. The coiffure of the earlier portraits is distinguished by crisp waves and small curls fringing the

29. See also Hallett 1995, p. 126.

30. Wood 1995; Rose 1997, pp. 68–70, nos. 20–22.

31. Wood 1995, pp. 458–459. In unusual provincial coin reverses, the sisters appeared together as personifications, either as full-length figures or busts: Wood 1995, pp. 458, 461–463. On the iconography of Julio-Claudian imperial women, see Boschung 2002, pp. 190–192.

32. Wood 1995, p. 464.

33. Wood 1995, p. 465; Rose 1997, p. 68, no. 20.

34. Rose 1997, p. 23; Wood 1999, pp. 214, 238; Pollini 2005, pp. 115–116.

35. Rose 1997, pp. 69–70, no. 22.

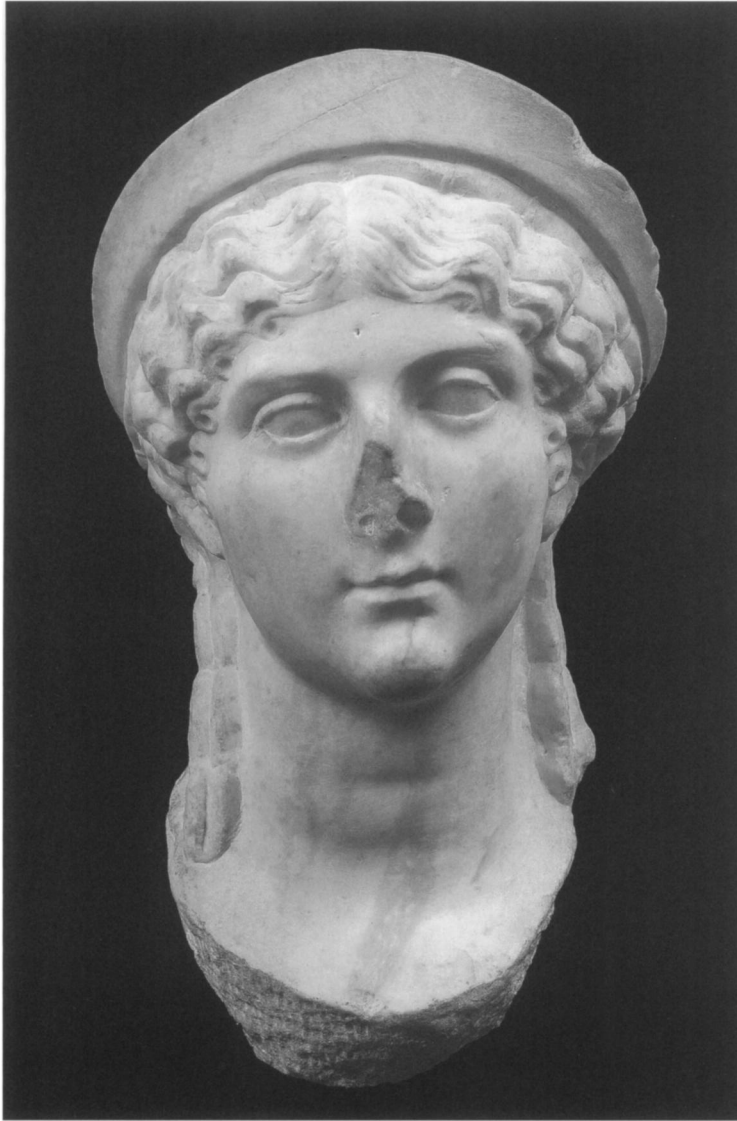


Figure 7. Julia Livilla. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, SK 1802. Photo Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, New York

brow, and clustering in front of the ears. In the more developed hairdo, tiers of curls replaced the waves. A veiled portrait of Agrippina Minor may have been part of a Claudian family statue group set up in the Metroon at Olympia (Fig. 8).<sup>36</sup> The left side of its plinth bears the inscribed name of the sculptor, Dionysios Apolloniou Athenaios.<sup>37</sup> This portrait was produced by an Athenian artist at about the same time as the Herculaneum Pallas and the Athens Athena, and perhaps the Agora/Pnyx fragments.<sup>38</sup> The sketchy lines distinguishing individual strands of the small curls over Agrippina's brow can be compared with those of the Pnyx/Agora head and the Athens Athena.

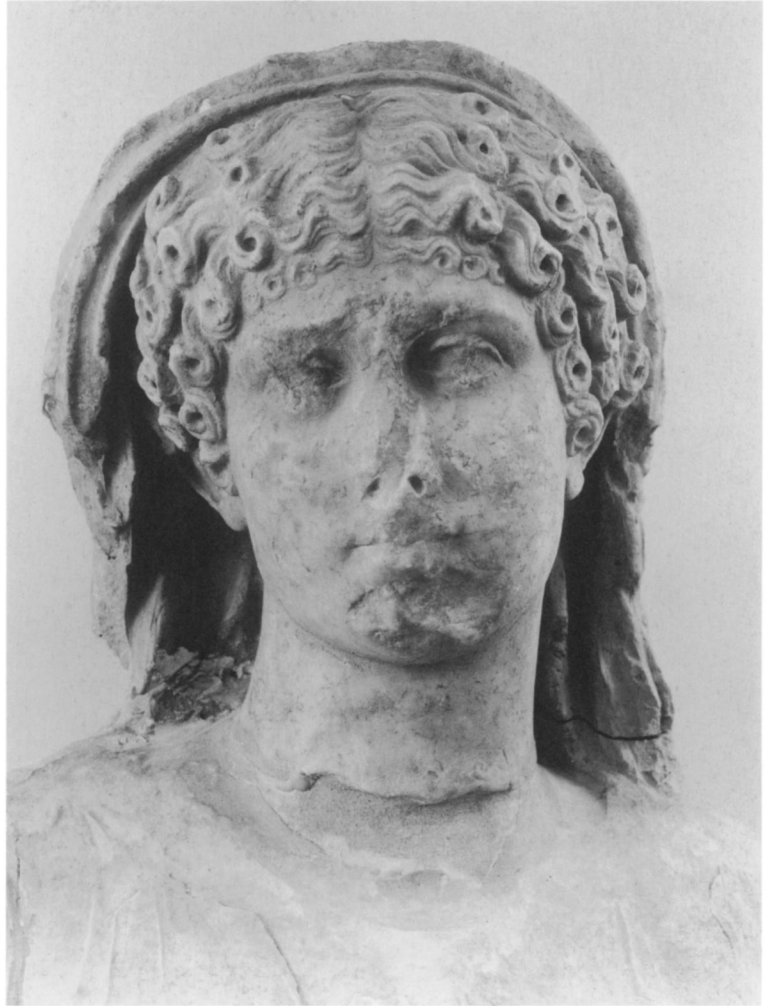
36. Olympia Museum L 143: Hitzl 1991, pp. 43–46, no. 3; Boschung 2002, p. 101, no. 33.5; on the group at Olympia, see Hitzl 1991; Rose 1997, pp. 146–149, no. 80; and Boschung

2002, pp. 100–105. But Rose (1997, p. 148) suggests that this statue would have been part of a group of priestesses.

37. *Künstlerlexikon der Antike* 1,

2001, p. 179, s.v. Dionysios (K. Hitzl).

38. Claudius's plinth is inscribed "Philathenaios": Boschung 2002, p. 100, no. 33.2.



**Figure 8. Veiled portrait of Agrippina Minor, Metroon, Olympia Museum L 143.** Photo G. Hellner, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, D-DAI-ATH-1970/552

Images of Drusilla and Julia Livilla are hard to distinguish, given the emphasis on their filial relationship.<sup>39</sup> Both were shown with long, softly waved locks drawn back from a central parting, tucked behind the ears, braided, and gathered in a bun at the nape. A distinctive row of pin curls in low relief frames the temples and sides of their faces. Portraits of Drusilla usually have these curls running from ear to ear (Fig. 6). Heads that Brian Rose now associates with Julia Livilla consistently display 10 small curls along the brow and sides of the face, with a longer lock curving in front of the ear (e.g., Fig. 7).<sup>40</sup>

39. Portraits of the sisters share a similar hairstyle, but physiognomic details distinguish them; see Wood 1995, pp. 465–466; 1999, pp. 190–192.

40. The heads identified by Rose (1997, p. 69) as portraits of Julia Livilla were previously associated with Antonia Augusta, daughter of Mark Antony and Octavia (Augustus's niece), who maintained an influential presence

through the beginning of her grandson Caligula's reign (Polaschek 1973; Erhart 1978). But Rose (1997, p. 69) observed that a coiffure with curls framing the face is corroborated for Antonia Augusta by only one coin image, from Alexandria, A.D. 42/43. He suggested that portrait heads displaying the 10 pin curls and a longer lock curving in front of the ear probably

represent Julia Livilla, based on the presence of this portrait type in two Julio-Claudian statue groups. There are at least seven heads of the so-called Leptis-Malta type, including Agora S 220 (Fig. 9); Wood 1999, pp. 190–191, no. 36. Cf. Boschung 2002, pp. 63–64, on this type, which he associates with Livilla, daughter of Drusus Maior and Antonia Minor.



**Figure 9. Agora S 220. Marble portrait of Julia Livilla: front and side views.** Scale 2:5. Photos courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations

At least one portrait of Julia Livilla has been found in Athens, where it was probably sculpted (Fig. 9).<sup>41</sup> It preserves the pin curls, a longer wave before the ear, and perhaps the remains of a veil or other attribute. This statue was probably produced and set up somewhere in Athens within a brief window during the late 30s A.D. Although the surfaces of its forehead curls are abraded, they resemble those of the Pnyx/Agora work: stylized spit curls in low relief, and roughly the same size. Based on the admittedly slim evidence of the surviving coiffure, this statue may be an Early Imperial work of about the mid-1st century A.D., roughly contemporary with portraits of Drusilla, Livilla, and Agrippina, and reflecting the ornamental hairstyle of the archaistic helmeted Herculaneum Pallas and Athens Athena sculptures. Moreover, other 1st-century A.D. portraits, like the posthumous portrait of Tiberius that forms part of an Imperial statue group (ca. A.D. 41) found at Caere (Fig. 10),<sup>42</sup> display a combination of sharp, linear eyebrows and lids with soft modeling of the cheeks and the flesh around the mouth that recalls the Pnyx/Agora head.

In sum, the Pnyx/Agora head's affinities with the Herculaneum Pallas and Athens Athena suggest that it too belonged to a statue of this goddess, though it is not a replica of either one. But it was a large and decorative statue. Cuttings for many added elements, some probably in metal, suggest an impressive monument. In its fragmentary condition, however, this work does not clearly conform to a recognizable sculptural type, but may have been produced, like the archaistic Herculaneum Pallas, the Athens Athena, and the imperial portraits with which it shares some details, around the middle of the 1st century A.D. This is about as far as the traditional comparative methodology employed to establish the date and identity of ancient sculpture can be pressed. The next matter to consider is whether a 1st-century A.D. context indicates a possible setting and function for the Pnyx/Agora sculpture.

41. Agora S 220: *Agora I*, p. 24, no. 12, pl. 8. Found in a marble pile south of the Agora. For statue bases in Athens bearing dedications to Drusilla and Agrippina II(?), see Schmalz 2009, pp. 111–115, 121, 153–156, nos. 141, 142, 144, 150, 192.

42. Rose 1997, p. 85.



Figure 10. Portrait of Tiberius, from Caere. Museo Gregoriano Profano, Vatican Museums 9961. Photo Alinari/Art Resource, New York

## THE PNYX/AGORA HEAD AND THE PANATHENAIA

If, as proposed above, the Pnyx/Agora sculpture was created in the 1st century A.D., like the *Herculaneum Pallas* (and probably the *Athens Athena*), then it would have preceded the wave of large- and small-scale copies of various Classical *Athena* types, including numerous replicas of the *Athena Parthenos*, that were produced in the following century.<sup>43</sup> Unfinished works like the famous *Lenormant Athena*, a miniature *Parthenos*, and an over-life-size head of the *Athena Medici* type, as well as many statuettes, attest to extensive local production of *Athena*'s image in Hadrianic and Antonine times.<sup>44</sup>

One reason for the 2nd-century Athenian proliferation of the goddess's image in statuettes, reliefs, and large marble statues may have to do with possible repairs to the *Athena Parthenos* in her temple. At that time Athenian sculptors would have had unusual freedom to study the monumental chryselephantine image itself.<sup>45</sup> In addition, stoas and other buildings constructed in the Agora throughout the 2nd century served to monumentalize and highlight the Panathenaic Way; they witness urban development specifically connected with the Classical religious heritage of Athens.<sup>46</sup> But this formalization of Athens' sacred landscape had already begun in the 1st century, as we shall see.

Ridgway speculated that the *Herculaneum Pallas* at the *Villa dei Papiri* could have been produced in Athens as a special commission for a Roman customer.<sup>47</sup> Similar in pose, style, and drapery to the Panathenaic *Athena* flanked by columns on Athenian prize amphoras from the Archaic and Classical periods, the *Herculaneum* statue was found in the entrance of the villa's "tablinum" between columns *in antis*. This space served as the transitional passage from a small, square, interior peristyle room filled with family portraits to a much larger one outside.<sup>48</sup> If the large marble *Athena* originally stood between columns at *Herculaneum*, albeit in a domestic context, it may have been intended as a three-dimensional version of the small, painted Panathenaic *Athenas* standing between columns on the old prize amphoras, a reference to Classical Athens, the city's goddess, and a venerable aspect of civic identity, the Panathenaic festival.<sup>49</sup>

In support of this conjecture, an inscribed statue base found on the Athenian Acropolis may provide a concrete link between the *Herculaneum*

43. But see Karanastassis 1987, p. 388, on Early Imperial statues of *Athena* in Athens; see also Nick 2002, p. 187.

44. On replicas of the *Athena Parthenos*, see Leipen 1971 and Lapatin 1996, 2001.

45. Ridgway 1981, pp. 162–163.

46. Shear 2002, pp. 916–933.

47. Ridgway 2002, p. 144.

48. Neudecker 1998, pp. 90–91; Mattusch 2005, p. 147.

49. Romano and Warden 1994; Mattusch 2007, p. 160. Small, two-dimensional painted or sculpted forms might also have provided a model for the three-dimensional works (Fullerton 1989, p. 66). For the appearance of the Panathenaic amphora on a variety of Hellenistic painted and sculpted objects, see Valavanis 2001. For an example of a later quotation of the Panathenaic *Athena* motif, see the relief image on a fragmentary marble krater now in

Rome at the Museo Nazionale di Terme, 72257–72260 (four joining fragments): Grassinger 1991, pp. 198–200, no. 39, figs. 42–44, pls. 113–116; Spence 2001, pp. 342–347. On one side, a veiled *Aeneas* approaches a statue of *Athena* standing on a base. In pose and arrangement of the drapery, she resembles in miniature the large three-dimensional versions. Grassinger (1991, p. 200) has dated the krater to the second half of the 1st century B.C.

Pallas sculpture and Athens.<sup>50</sup> Dedicated by the demos, it probably supported honorific portraits of two distinguished Romans: L. Calpurnius Piso Pontifex, son of L. Calpurnius Piso, considered by some to be the owner of the Villa dei Papiri; and the former's cousin, M. Crassus Frugi. Pontifex was consul in A.D. 15 and died in A.D. 32.<sup>51</sup> The statue base has been dated early in the 1st century A.D. and was set up to acknowledge the consul's *eunoias*, although the precise occasion is unknown. This man, a patron of poets and a mathematician, and possibly the governor of Macedonia, was honored by several other cities in the empire.<sup>52</sup> The presence of this monument on the Acropolis suggests that members of Piso's family could have commissioned the Pallas in Athens for the Villa at Herculaneum, possibly inspired by contemporary artistic and cultural developments in Roman Achaia's ideological capital, including revived interest in the Panathenaia.

Although information on Panathenaic activity in 1st-century Athens is not abundant, it is possible to piece together evidence for the sacred festival and games during that time. By mid-century, the Panathenaic festival was the focus of *eusebeia*, ambitious construction projects intended to preserve ancestral traditions and apparently supported by private local benefactions.<sup>53</sup> Renovations to the festival's infrastructure, especially the route through the Agora to the Acropolis, included a new limestone paving for the upper Panathenaic Way, and the installation of a monumental marble staircase approaching the Propylaia of the Acropolis, both projects dated ca. A.D. 40–41.<sup>54</sup>

An alternative, easier route for the sacred procession to the Acropolis was created west of the Temple of Demeter and Kore in the Eleusinion precinct at the north foot of the Acropolis.<sup>55</sup> Tiberius Claudius Novius, an influential Athenian hoplite general and *epimelete* who held many public offices in the city and earned Roman citizenship under Claudius, probably funded, and perhaps initiated, some of these projects himself.<sup>56</sup> The euergetism of prominent local citizens supporting religious institutions undoubtedly served to advance their own careers, but it also influenced the nature of public developments in Roman Athens.<sup>57</sup> At the very end of Caligula's reign, the venerable Panathenaic contests were appropriated for Sebasteia, games honoring the emperor, and they continued to be staged for Claudius. Novius himself was the first *agonothetes* of the Panathenaia Sebasta.<sup>58</sup> The construction projects appear to be linked with three Panathenaic festivals staged early in Claudius's reign.<sup>59</sup>

50. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 4163: Syme 1960, p. 19; Fullerton 1989, p. 67; Mattusch 2005, pp. 20–24; Schmalz 2009, pp. 191–192, no. 246.

51. The demos honored an earlier pair from the same family with another statue group on the Acropolis; see *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 4162 and Syme 1960, p. 19.

52. Sarikakis 1981, p. 313; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 289.

53. Shear 1981, p. 367; Shear 2002,

pp. 633–637, 909–912; Schmalz 1994, p. 134; Grijalvo 2005, pp. 260–261. For inscriptions commemorating Panathenaic victories in the 1st century A.D., see *Iscr. Cos* EV 218, pp. 228–229, vol. 1; Schmalz 2009, pp. 76–77, 79, 152–153, 158–159, nos. 96, 101, 190, 195.

54. Schmalz 1994, p. 141.

55. Schmalz 1994, p. 141; Shear 2002, p. 912.

56. Kapetanopoulos 1970; Geagan

1979; Spawforth 1997, pp. 188–191; Shear 2002, p. 636; Schmalz 2009, pp. 51–52, 54, 85–88, 115–116, 152–156, 193–194, nos. 60, 65, 107, 145, 190, 191, 249.

57. Grijalvo 2005, pp. 259–260.

58. Geagan 1979, pp. 281–282; Schmalz 1994, p. 135.

59. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 3270: Schmalz 1994, p. 135; 2009, pp. 115–116, no. 145.

Another development involving Athena, possibly of early Claudian date, was the construction of the so-called Agoranomion near the Tower of the Winds, east of the Roman Agora.<sup>60</sup> Hermogenes, son of Hermogenes of Gargettos, dedicated it to Athena Archegetis and the Theoi Sebastoi.<sup>61</sup> Whatever its original form and purpose, the Agoranomion was an ambitious civic enhancement reinforcing the Augustan dedication of the Roman Agora to Athena Archegetis. By the 1st century A.D., this epithet designating Athena as city founder, or first leader, may have been equated with the ancient title of Athena Polias.<sup>62</sup>

The priesthood of Athena Polias itself was maintained by women throughout the 1st century A.D.<sup>63</sup> Inscriptions preserve the names of at least seven priestesses who achieved this prestigious role through matrilineal inheritance.<sup>64</sup> One of the best attested is Junia Megiste, daughter of Zenon of Sounion. The span of her career is illuminated by inscriptions on eight statue bases honoring various officials during her tenure as priestess.<sup>65</sup> She appears to have been active for at least 15 years, ca. A.D. 37–52, about the time when the Pnyx/Agora statue may have been carved. Her priestly service and the activity of T. Claudius Novius, benefactor of the Panathenaic festival, overlapped.<sup>66</sup> It is clear, then, that during the 1st century A.D., the Panathenaia was promoted by private citizens and imperial administrators alike. This general interest in the ancient festival and its divine focus provides a fitting context for the production of large statues of Athena such as that represented by the Pnyx/Agora head. Thus, the historical evidence corroborates the mid-1st-century date for the head that was obtained by the comparative method.

One distinctive feature of the Pnyx/Agora head is the uneven row of drilled holes; the hole over the outer edge of the figure's left eye is placed noticeably lower than the others (Fig. 2, left). Either it was not necessary for the fasteners to be arranged in a straight line, or the shape of the attribute itself dictated the pattern of drill holes. Perhaps the surviving lead pins secured an olive wreath in gold or gilded bronze. Obverses on the city's Classical tetradrachms (ca. 450–404 B.C.) show Athena with olive leaves projecting vertically from the front of her helmet (Fig. 11).<sup>67</sup> A similar bust of Athena, her helmet adorned with upright olive leaves, appears on the side of a red-ground lekythos (ca. 470 B.C.) in Kiel.<sup>68</sup> Obverses on coins of "wreath silver" type, with Athena's head framed by an olive wreath, appeared in the 470s and 460s.<sup>69</sup> On red-figure squat lekythoi (ca. 440s B.C.)

60. Travlos, *Athens*, p. 37; Hoff 1994.

61. *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 3138: Hoff 1994, pp. 104–109; Schmalz 1994, p. 154; 2009, pp. 89–90, no. 108.

62. Kroll (1982, p. 69) discusses evidence for the connection of Athena Archegetis with Panathenaic Athena by the 2nd century B.C.; see also Hoff (1994, pp. 108–109) and Weber (1994, p. 267), who associated the promotion of Athena Polias/Archegetis in 1st-century A.D. Athens with the *aedes Minervae* on the Aventine in Rome,

a meeting place for craftsmen and artists in the 1st century A.D. (Richardson 1992, pp. 254–255).

63. Possibly into the 4th century A.D.; see Lewis 1955, p. 12.

64. Lewis 1955, pp. 7–12, nos. 14–18.

65. Ca. A.D. 37–41 (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 3266); A.D. 41–52 (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 3283, 3536, 3537, 4175, 4176); ca. A.D. 40/41 or 44–51 (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 4242); ca. 51/52 (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 3535): Lewis 1955, p. 12, no. 15; Oliver 1966; *PAJ* 9, p. 482, no. 536925; Schmalz 2009, pp. 121, 152, 194–197, nos. 150, 190, 250, 251.

66. *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 3535 (ca. A.D. 51/52): the boule and demos praised Novius's largesse and accomplishments during Junia Megiste's tenure as priestess of Athena; Schmalz 2009, pp. 152–153, no. 190.

67. *Agora* XXVI, p. 17, no. 8f, pl. 1:8f ( $\Delta$  222); originally, the number of upright leaves represented the denomination of the coin.

68. Kiel, Kunsthalle B 530: Schauburg 1974, p. 149, figs. 1, 2.

69. Starr 1970, pp. 8–63, pls. I–XXI; *Agora* XXVI, p. 5.



**Figure 11. Agora Δ 222. Tetradrachm, ca. 450–404 B.C., obverse and reverse.** Scale 2:1. Photos courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations



**Figure 12. Agora ΠΘ 143. Bronze coin, ca. mid-20s–19 B.C., obverse and reverse.** Scale 2:1. Photos courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations



“loosely connected” with the Achilles Painter, Athena busts were paired with olive sprigs.<sup>70</sup> And Athena’s shield device on a series of Classical Panathenaic amphoras, ca. 450 B.C. to the end of the century, is an olive wreath.<sup>71</sup> Moreover, actual olive wreaths, in addition to valuable Panathenaic amphoras, were awarded to victorious athletes at the local games. The first prize for victors in the kithara contests was a golden olive wreath.<sup>72</sup> If the missing attribute adorning the brow of the Pnyx/Agora head were an olive wreath, it would then allude to the traditional iconography of Athena, as well as to Panathenaic competitions past and present.

In the first half of the 1st century A.D., the focus on the Panathenaic festival, an emblem of old Athens appropriated by its Roman rulers, was set against the background of the Athenians’ everyday experience. The city did not mint coins at all during the 1st century A.D.; it continued to use increasingly worn coinage produced in the previous century.<sup>73</sup> The head of Athena, often a Parthenos type, was a common and familiar obverse image; reverses featured the warlike Athena surrounded by an olive wreath (Fig. 12).<sup>74</sup> While this enforced continuity revealed the limitations of Athenian vitality and autonomy in the 1st century, it sustained a traditional image of Athena and of the city itself.

The Pnyx/Agora head represents a moment and a function that cannot be fully recovered. But the statue appears to have been produced in Athens at a time when there was fresh interest in the Periclean traditions of the Panathenaia, and in Athena herself; this renewed interest was demonstrated in improvements to the sacred landscape, especially the Panathenaic Way. The Athena represented by the Pnyx/Agora head, as well the archaistic Athens Athena, may well have contributed to the re-creation of old Athens in Roman Athens.<sup>75</sup> Perhaps the Pnyx/Agora Athena was commissioned by private Athenians who saw the promotion of Athens’ venerable religious heritage as a means of increasing their own status and that of their city.

70. Oakley 1997, pp. 165–166, nos. L 26–L 34.

71. Bentz 1998, p. 152, no. 5.179, pl. 81; p. 154, no. 5.192, pl. 85; p. 159, no. 5.247, pl. 98.

72. Blech 1982, pp. 257–259; Kyle 1996, p. 118.

73. *Agora* XXVI, p. 91.

74. *Agora* XXVI, p. 106, no. 149b, pl. 14:149b (ΠΘ 143).

75. Compare the situation in the South Forum at ancient Corinth, where several Roman statues of Hermes, displaying a variety of sculptural styles, may all have been standing at the same time. The diversity of styles may have been read by viewers as a way of authenticating the Roman landscape (Ajootian 2003, p. 209).

## REFERENCES

- Agora* = *The Athenian Agora: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, Princeton
- I = E. B. Harrison, *Portrait Sculptures*, 1953.
- XI = E. B. Harrison, *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture*, 1965.
- XXVI = J. H. Kroll, *The Greek Coins*, 1993.
- Ajootian, A. 1999. "Athena Medici in Athens," in *Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Amsterdam, July 12–17, 1998*, ed. R. Doctor and E. M. Moorman, Amsterdam, pp. 54–55 (abstract).
- . 2003. "Hermes-Omphalos Apollo at Corinth," *AM* 118, pp. 197–210.
- Arguissola, A. 2005. "Roman Copies of Myron's Discobolus," *JRA* 18, pp. 317–335.
- Bentz, M. 1998. *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, Basel.
- Blech, M. 1982. *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen*, Berlin.
- Börker, C. 1976. "Zwei vergessene Giebel in Athen," *AA* 1976, pp. 264–278.
- Boschung, D. 2002. *Gens Augusta: Untersuchungen zu Aufstellung, Wirkung, und Bedeutung der Statuengruppen des julisch-claudischen Kaiserhauses*, Mainz.
- Brouskari, M. 1986. "Ἡ Αθηνά του τύπου Herculaneum στην Ακρόπολη," in *Archaische und klassische griechische Plastik*, ed. H. Kyrieleis, Berlin, pp. 77–83.
- Calligas, P. G. 1996. "Archaeological Research on the Athenian Pnyx," in Forsén and Stanton 1996, pp. 1–5.
- Camp, J. McK. 1996. "The Form of Pnyx III," in Forsén and Stanton 1996, pp. 41–46.
- Davidson, G. B., and D. B. Thompson. 1943. *Small Objects from the Pnyx* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 7), Princeton.
- Erhart, K. P. 1978. "A Portrait of Antonia Minor in the Fogg Art Museum and Its Iconographical Tradition," *AJA* 82, pp. 193–212.
- Forsén, B. 1993. "The Sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos and the Assembly Place on the Pnyx," *Hesperia* 62, pp. 507–521.
- . 1996. "The Sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos and the Date and Construction of Pnyx III," in Forsén and Stanton 1996, pp. 47–55.
- Forsén, B., and G. Stanton, eds. 1996. *The Pnyx in the History of Athens. Proceedings of an International Colloquium Organized by the Finnish Institute at Athens, 7–9 October, 1994*, Helsinki.
- Fullerton, M. 1989. "The Date of the Herculaneum Pallas Type," *AA* 1989, pp. 57–67.
- . 1990. *The Archaistic Style in Roman Statuary* (*Mnemosyne* Suppl. 110), Leiden.
- . 1998. "Description vs. Prescription: A Semantics of Sculptural Style," in *Στέφανος: Studies in Honor of Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway* (University Museum Monograph 100), ed. M. C. Sturgeon and K. J. Hartswick, Philadelphia, pp. 69–77.
- . 2000. "Statuary Types and Some Perils of Positivism," *JRA* 13, pp. 510–514.
- Gazda, E. K. 1995. "Roman Sculpture and the Ethos of Emulation," *HSCP* 97, pp. 121–148.
- , ed. 2002. *The Ancient Art of Emulation: Studies in Artistic Originality and Tradition from the Present to Classical Antiquity*, Ann Arbor.
- Geagan, D. J. 1979. "Tiberius Claudius Novius, the Hoplite Generalship and the *Epimeleteia* of the Free City of Athens," *AJP* 100, pp. 279–287.
- Grassinger, D. 1991. *Römische Marmorkratere*, Mainz.
- Grijalvo, E. M. 2005. "Elites and Religious Change in Roman Athens," *Numen* 52, pp. 255–282.
- Hallett, C. H. 1995. "Kopienkritik and the Works of Polykleitos," in *Polykleitos, the Doryphoros, and Tradition* (Wisconsin Studies in Classics), ed. W. G. Moon and B. H. Fowler, Madison, pp. 121–160.
- . 2005. "Emulation versus Replication: Redefining Roman Copying," *JRA* 18, pp. 419–435.
- Hitzl, K. 1991. *Die kaiserzeitliche Statuenausstattung des Metroon* (*Olforsch* 19), Berlin.
- Hoff, M. 1994. "The So-Called Agoranomion in Julio-Claudian Athens," *AA* 1994, pp. 93–117.
- Iscr. Cos* = M. Segre, *Iscrizioni di Cos* (Monografie della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente 6), Rome 1993.
- Kaltsas, N. 2002. *Sculpture in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens*, Los Angeles.
- Kapetanopoulos, E. 1970. "Some Observations on 'Roman Athens,'" *Historia* 19, pp. 561–564.
- Karanastassis, P. 1987. "Untersuchungen zur kaiserzeitlichen Plastik in Griechenland II: Kopien, Varianten, und Umbildungen nach Athenatypen des 5. Jhs. Chr.," *AM* 102, pp. 323–428.
- Kroll, J. H. 1982. "The Ancient Image of Athena Polias," in *Studies in Athenian Architecture, Sculpture, and Topography Presented to Homer A. Thompson* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 20), Princeton, pp. 64–76.
- Kron, U. 1979. "Demos, Pnyx, und Nymphenhügel: Zu Demosdarstellungen und zum ältesten Kultort des Demos in Athen," *AM* 94, pp. 49–75.
- Kyle, D. G. 1996. "Gifts and Glory: Panathenaic and Other Greek Athletic Prizes," in *Worshipping Athena: Panathenaia and Parthenon* (Wisconsin Studies in Classics), ed. J. Neils, Madison, pp. 106–136.
- Lapatin, K. D. S. 1996. "The Ancient Reception of Pheidias' Athena Parthenos: The Visual Evidence in Context," in *The Reception of Classical Texts and Images. The January Conference Held at the Open University, Milton Keynes, U.K., 3–4th January 1996*, ed. L. Hardwick and S. Ireland, Milton Keynes, pp. 1–21.
- . 2001. *Chryselephantine Statuary in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, Oxford.
- Leipen, N. 1971. *Athena Parthenos*, Toronto.

- Lewis, D. M. 1955. "Notes on Attic Inscriptions," *BSA* 50, pp. 1–36.
- Mattusch, C. C. 2005. *The Villa dei Papyri at Herculaneum: Life and Afterlife of a Sculpture Collection*, Los Angeles.
- . 2007. "Athens and Herculaneum: The Case of the Panathenaic Athenas," in *The Panathenaic Games. Proceedings of an International Conference Held at the University of Athens, May 11–12, 2004*, ed. O. Palagia and A. Choremi-Spetsieri, Oxford, pp. 159–164.
- Neudecker, R. 1998. "The Roman Villa as a Locus of Art Collections," in *The Roman Villa: Villa Urbana*, ed. A. Fraser, Philadelphia, pp. 77–91.
- Nick, G. 2002. *Die Athena Parthenos: Studien zum griechischen Kultbild und seiner Rezeption*, Mainz.
- Oakley, J. H. 1997. *The Achilles Painter*, Mainz.
- Oliver, J. H. 1966. "Lollia Paulina, Memmius, and Caligula," *Hesperia* 35, pp. 150–153.
- PAA = J. S. Traill, *Persons of Ancient Athens*, Toronto 1994–.
- Perry, E. 2005. *The Aesthetics of Emulation in the Visual Arts of Ancient Rome*, Cambridge.
- Polaschek, K. 1973. *Studien zur Ikonographie der Antonia Minor (StArch 15)*, Rome.
- Pollini, J. 2005. "The Armstrong and Nuffer Heads and the Portraiture of Julius Caesar, Livia, and Antonia Minor," in *Terra Marique: Studies in Art History and Marine Archaeology in Honor of Anna Marguerite McCann*, ed. J. Pollini, Oxford, pp. 88–122.
- Pozzi, E. 1989. *Le collezioni dei Musei Nazionali di Napoli 2*, Rome.
- Richardson, L., Jr. 1992. *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Baltimore.
- Ridgway, B. S. 1981. *Fifth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture*, Princeton.
- . 2002. *Hellenistic Sculpture 3: The Styles of ca. 100–31 B.C.* (Wisconsin Studies in Classics), Madison.
- Romano, D. G., and P. G. Warden. 1994. "The Course of Glory: Greek Art in a Roman Context at the Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum," *Art History* 17, pp. 228–254.
- Rose, C. B. 1997. *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture in the Julio-Claudian Period*, Cambridge.
- Rotroff, S. I. 1996. "Pnyx III: Pottery and Stratigraphy," in Forsén and Stanton 1996, pp. 35–40.
- Rotroff, S. I., and J. McK. Camp. 1996. "The Date of the Third Period of the Pnyx," *Hesperia* 65, pp. 263–294.
- Sarikakis, T. C. 1981. "L. Calpurnius Piso: A Disputed Governor of Macedonia," in *Ancient Macedonian Studies in Honor of Charles F. Edson*, ed. H. J. Dell, Thessaloniki, pp. 307–314.
- Schauenburg, K. 1974. "Athenabüsten des Bowdoinmalers," *AA* 1974, pp. 149–157.
- Schmalz, G. 1994. "Public Building and Civic Identity in Augustan and Julio-Claudian Athens" (diss. Univ. of Michigan).
- . 2009. *Augustan and Julio-Claudian Athens: A New Epigraphy and Prosopography (Mnemosyne Suppl. 302)*, Leiden.
- Shear, J. L. 2002. "Polis and Panathenaia: The Development of Athena's Festival" (diss. Univ. of Pennsylvania).
- Shear, T. L., Jr. 1981. "Athens: From City-State to Provincial Town," *Hesperia* 50, pp. 356–377.
- Spawforth, A. J. S. 1997. "The Early Reception of the Imperial Cult in Athens," in *The Romanization of Athens. Proceedings of an International Conference Held at Lincoln, Nebraska (April 1996)* (Oxbow Monograph 94), ed. M. C. Hoff and S. I. Rotroff, Oxford, pp. 183–201.
- Spence, S. 2001. "Pallas/Athena in and out of the *Aeneid*," in *Athena in the Classical World*, ed. S. Deacy and A. Villing, Leiden, pp. 331–347.
- Starr, C. G. 1970. *Athenian Coinage, 480–449 B.C.*, Oxford.
- Syme, R. 1960. "Piso Frugi and Crassus Frugi," *JRS* 50, pp. 12–20.
- Valavanis, P. 2001. "Panathenäische Amphoren auf Monumenten spät-klassischer, hellenistischer, und römischer Zeit," in *Panathenaika. Symposion zu den panathenäischen Preisamphoren, Rauischholzhausen, 25.11–29.11.1998*, ed. M. Bentz and N. Eschbach, Mainz, pp. 161–173.
- Weber, T. 1994. "Athena Archegetis und die Minerva auf dem Aventin," *AA* 1994, pp. 261–270.
- Wood, S. 1995. "Diva Drusilla Panthea and the Sisters of Caligula," *AJA* 99, pp. 457–482.
- . 1999. *Imperial Women: A Study in Public Images, 40 B.C.–A.D. 68* (Mnemosyne Suppl. 194), Leiden.
- Zagdoun, M.-A. 1989. *La sculpture archaïsante dans l'art hellénistique et dans l'art romain du Haut-Empire (BÉFAR 269)*, Paris.

## Aileen Ajootian

UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI

DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS

COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS

P.O. BOX 1848

OXFORD, MISSISSIPPI 38677-1848

ajootian@olemiss.edu