

A PERSONIFICATION OF DEMOS ON A NEW ATTIC DOCUMENT RELIEF

ABSTRACT

This article presents a previously unpublished document relief discovered during excavations on the north slope of the Acropolis of Athens in 1937. Although fragmentary, this relief contributes to the corpus of 4th-century B.C. document reliefs by providing a well-preserved depiction of what is most likely “Demos,” the personification of the Athenian people, awarding a crown to a mortal man. The iconography of Demos is reviewed and an appendix presents a list and concordance of all extant representations of Demos on Attic document reliefs.

Document reliefs combine figural decoration with the official text of public records such as decrees, laws, treaties, cult regulations, and inventories, and thus represent an important class of evidence for the study of ancient Greek art, history, and politics.¹ Close examination of the iconography and historical context of Attic document reliefs from the Classical and Hellenistic periods has demonstrated how this unique body of securely dated, original Greek sculpture can provide new insights into the relationship of the visual arts and political ideology in ancient Athens. For example, document reliefs have been crucial in our understanding of the use and development of allegorical figures in Athenian public art, in particular the personification of local and foreign places (e.g., Salamis, Messana), abstract qualities such as *Demokratia* (Democracy) and *Eutaxia* (Good Order), and civic institutions such as Demos (the People) and Boule (the Council).²

Most of the known Attic document reliefs were first discovered during the excavations of the Athenian Acropolis in the 19th century.³ Others were found on the south slope, a few in the Agora, and a few elsewhere. While excavations in Athens still have the potential to bring to light future discoveries of document reliefs and their inscriptions, a careful examination of unpublished material from older projects—in a sense, the “excavation” of storerooms—can also provide important new evidence for the study of this genre. It is in this context that I present an Attic document relief recently identified among the sculptural fragments from the excavations on the north slope of the Acropolis conducted by Oscar Broneer

1. The two most thorough and recent studies of the genre are by Meyer (1989) and Lawton (1995a).

2. Hamdorf 1964; Tzachou-Alexandri 1993, 1994; Lawton 1993; 1995a, pp. 55–59; Smith 1997. For these civic personifications, see also *LIMC* III, 1986, pp. 145–147, s.v. Boule (V. Komninos); *LIMC* III, 1986, pp. 372–374, s.v. *Demokratia*, and pp. 375–382, s.v. Demos (O. Tzachou-Alexandri); *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 120, s.v. *Eutaxia* (O. Palagia). A new study of political personifications in Classical and Hellenistic art by Messerschmidt (2003) appeared too late for me to consult for the text of this article, but I have included the relevant data in the appendix. I would like to thank Kristen Seaman for this reference.

3. Lawton 1995a, pp. 1–4.

and the American School of Classical Studies at Athens prior to World War II. As with the examples found elsewhere on the slopes of the citadel, it is most likely that this monument originally stood within a sanctuary on the Acropolis itself and made its way down to the north slope at some later time. Although the fragment does not preserve the text of the document that it crowned, it contributes to the corpus of Attic reliefs by providing a relatively well preserved depiction of a figure who is most likely Demos, the personification of the Athenian people.

THE RELIEF

Relief from an honorary decree depicting Demos(?) crowning an honorand. Athens, Agora Museum Storeroom AS 146. Third to fourth quarter of the 4th century B.C. Figs. 1–3

P.H. 0.378; p.W. 0.218; Th. 0.118; H. of relief 0.015 m.

Found May 28, 1937, built into a “late” (probably Ottoman period) wall within the cleft of the Mycenaean Fountain, near the eastern entrance.⁴ Preserved is the right half and top of the relief. Broken at the bottom and on the left side. The back is roughly finished with a large, pointed chisel. The relief was bordered at right by an anta (0.035 m wide), now mostly chipped away but preserved as a slightly raised edge on the background. The right side of the stone is finished flat with a fine-toothed chisel. Above the relief field is an entablature crowned with antefixes, now worn and chipped. The surface is worn and there is some mineral encrustation and traces of mortar on the background and break surfaces. Fine-grained, white marble with micaceous streaks and light reddish-tan patina (Pentelic).

None of the inscription is preserved, but the subject of the relief indicates that it once decorated an honorary decree. The relief depicts a small male figure being awarded a crown by a larger male figure at right. The honorand, whose entire left side is preserved to approximately knee level, stands in a completely frontal pose, wearing a long himation wrapped around his waist and draped over his left shoulder and arm. His left arm is bent at his waist, and part of his hand is preserved emerging from the himation. His hair is worn short and has the appearance of curls. His beard is also full, but his lower lip is clearly articulated within the mass of facial hair. His eyes are deeply set, even at such a small scale and in this frontal view, and are framed by thick eyelids (Fig. 2).

At right stands a mature male figure at a much larger scale, obviously intended to represent a divinity or personification. This larger figure is completely preserved except for the feet, which are broken at the ankles. The figure stands frontally with his weight on his left leg, and his left hip is correspondingly slightly raised. The right leg is free and the knee is bent inward toward the left leg. The left foot appears to have been mostly frontal, while the outline of the broken right foot reveals that it was in three-quarter view to left with the heel slightly raised. Like the honorand, this larger figure wears a long himation wrapped around his waist and thrown over his left shoulder, while his chest is bare. The himation is folded at the waist and falls diagonally from left to right toward the weight-bearing leg.

4. For the 1937 excavations on the north slope, see Broneer 1938a, 1938b. The entrance to the Mycenaean Fountain was erroneously called at that time the “Aglaureion” or “Cave of Aglauros.” The wall in which the relief was found is partially visible in a photograph taken in 1934 prior to excavation. See Broneer 1939, p. 323, fig. 3.

Figure 1. Athens, Agora Museum AS 146. Relief from an honorary decree. Demos(?) crowning honorand. Third to fourth quarter of the 4th century B.C. Courtesy Agora Excavations, photo C. Mauzy



Figure 2 (left). Athens, Agora Museum AS 146. Detail of head of honorand. Courtesy Agora Excavations, photo C. Mauzy



Figure 3 (right). Athens, Agora Museum AS 146. Detail of head of Demos(?). Courtesy Agora Excavations, photo C. Mauzy



The figure's left arm is bent and is completely covered by the garment, with the hand resting on the hip but held slightly behind the body. His right arm is raised and his hand is extended to hold a crown over the head of the honorand.

The head of the larger figure is shown in three-quarter view to left, glancing in the direction of the mortal being crowned (Fig. 3). His hair is full and covers his ears but does not reach down to the shoulders. The rendering of the hair into two separate masses at front and back suggests that he wore a fillet around his head, once probably picked out with paint. He has a thick, bushy beard, and his lower lip is fully formed within a deep recess between beard and moustache. His eyes are deeply set and framed with overhanging brows, and the eyelids are carefully articulated.

DISCUSSION

On the basis of parallels with other Athenian honorary reliefs, the larger male figure in this relief probably represents Demos, the physical embodiment of the Athenian people and state as well as the representation of the citizen body (the *ekklesia*, or assembly) that enacted the decree recorded in the now missing inscription. In this dual role, Demos appears as one of the most common civic personifications in Athenian document reliefs.⁵ He is consistently represented as a mature male figure, bearded, with medium to long hair frequently bound by a fillet. He wears a long himation over his left shoulder but is otherwise nude to the waist.⁶ He can be shown seated or standing, sometimes carrying or leaning on a staff. His overall appearance is very similar to that of Asklepios and Zeus, and may have even been modeled, to some degree, on representations of those two divinities in freestanding and relief sculpture.⁷ He also recalls some of the standing/leaning "Eponymous Heroes" and marshals on the Parthenon frieze, who themselves evoke the typical elder citizens of Athens. As noted by several scholars, it may have been an important part of the characterization of Demos in the visual arts to resemble, but on a larger scale, the citizens he personifies.⁸

A cult of Demos existed in Athens at least as early as the mid-5th century, and the personified Demos appears as a character in the *Knights* of Aristophanes, performed in 424 B.C.⁹ The earliest-attested depiction of Demos in ancient art, however, is a monumental painting by Parrhasios (last quarter of the 5th century).¹⁰ Later are paintings by Euphranor (mid-

5. For the various and complex meanings of the personified Demos on document reliefs, see Lawton 1995a, pp. 55–56; Smith 1997, pp. 76–78, 174–177.

6. *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 381, s.v. Demos (O. Tzachou-Alexandri); Palagia 1980, pp. 57–59; Tzachou-Alexandri 1994; Lawton 1995a, pp. 56–58; Smith 1997, pp. 174–177.

7. On the similarity of the various

types employed for 4th-century representations of Demos and Asklepios (standing and seated), as well as for Zeus (seated), see Palagia 1980, pp. 58–59.

8. Lawton 1995a, p. 58. See also Kron 1979, pp. 58–59; Meyer 1989, pp. 186–187.

9. A shrine of the Nymphs and Demos is indicated by a rupestrial inscription (*IG* I³ 1065) on the Hill of

the Nymphs, west of the Agora. See Kron 1979, pp. 63–75; *LIMC* III, 1986, pp. 375–376, s.v. Demos (O. Tzachou-Alexandri).

10. Painting of Demos by Parrhasios: Plin. *HN* 35.69; Rumpf 1951, pp. 7–10; Hamdorf 1964, p. 31, no. 255a; Palagia 1980, pp. 59–61, no. B1; *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 379, no. 47, s.v. Demos (O. Tzachou-Alexandri); Smith 1997, p. 237, no. MP3.



Figure 4. Athens, Epigraphical Museum 2791 (*IG II² 160*). Demos and honorand. Mid-4th century B.C. Courtesy Museum

4th century) and Aristolaos (mid- to second half of the 4th century).¹¹ Ancient sources also mention a statue of Demos by Leochares (mid-4th century) in the Piraeus, a resolution authorizing the creation of a colossal group of the Demos of Athens being crowned by the Demois of Byzantion and Perinthos (4th century), and a bronze statue in the Bouleuterion of Athens by Lyson (date uncertain).¹² Since these paintings and sculptures are now lost, their influence on contemporary and later art cannot be accurately determined and must remain a matter for speculation.

The earliest securely identified and preserved depictions of the personified Demos, therefore, are to be found on document reliefs. Three representations of Demos, attested by inscribed labels, help to establish the two main figural types (standing and seated) in which this important personification is portrayed. The earliest is on a fragmentary honorary decree (EM 2791; Fig. 4) of the mid-4th century B.C.¹³ Here Demos is shown as a standing male figure wearing a himation and holding a staff.

11. Painting of Theseus, Demos, and Demokratia by Euphranor: Paus. 1.3.3–4; *Agora* III, p. 27, no. 30; Hamdorf 1964, p. 94, no. 255b, 112, no. 448b; Palagia 1980, pp. 57–60; *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 379, no. 48, s.v. Demos (O. Tzachou-Alexandri); Smith 1997, p. 239, no. MP7.

Painting of Demos by Aristolaos: Plin. *HN* 35.137; *EAA* I, 1958, pp. 648–649, s.v. Aristolaos (F. Magi); Hamdorf 1964, pp. 31–32, no. 255c; Palagia 1980, p. 61, no. B2.

12. Statue of Demos by Leochares: Paus. 1.1.3; Hamdorf 1964, p. 94,

no. 253a; Palagia 1980, p. 61, no. C1; *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 377, no. 8, s.v. Demos (O. Tzachou-Alexandri); Smith 1997, p. 267, no. S7.

Colossal group of the Demois of Athens, Byzantion, and Perinthos: Dem. 18.90; Hamdorf 1964, p. 94, nos. 253b, 256; Palagia 1980, p. 61, no. C2; *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 378, no. 36, s.v. Demos (O. Tzachou-Alexandri); Smith 1997, p. 270, no. S13.

Statue by Lyson: Paus. 1.3.5; *Agora* III, pp. 131–132, no. 402; *EAA* IV, 1961, p. 753, s.v. Lyson (G. Mansuelli); Palagia 1980, pp. 61–62, no. C3. A late

source (*Gnomologium Vaticanum* 339b) mentioning a statue of Demos “without ears” by the 4th-century sculptor Ly-sippos is suspect and should not be confused with this work by Lyson.

13. Athens, Epigraphical Museum 2791. Provenance unknown. *IG II² 160*; Palagia 1980, p. 62, no. D9; *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 381, no. 69, s.v. Demos (O. Tzachou-Alexandri); Meyer 1989, p. 307, no. A146, pl. 40:2; Tzachou-Alexandri 1994, p. 67; Lawton 1995a, p. 133, no. 117, pl. 61; Smith 1997, p. 213, no. DR22.

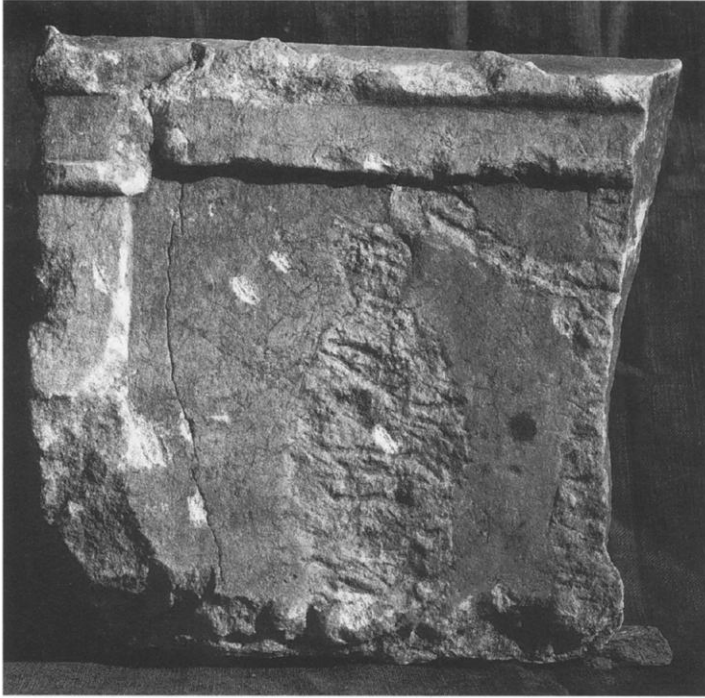


Figure 5. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7272. Demos (of Aixone?) crowns honorand. Second half of the 4th century B.C. Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens; photo H. Wagner, neg. Attika 202



Figure 6. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2407 (*IG II² 4630*). Demos, Athena, and Herakles. Third quarter of the 4th century B.C. Courtesy Museum

Although only the legs and feet of the figure are preserved, the mass of drapery hanging down along his left side (i.e., the “open” side of the garment) suggests that the himation was worn over the left shoulder. He is apparently crowning an honorand standing to left and depicted, as usual, at a much smaller scale. The names of both the mortal ([- -]ΔΡΩΝ) and the personification (ΔΗΜΟΣ) are clearly inscribed on the taenia of the molding beneath the relief.¹⁴ It has been suggested, on the basis of both the space required to restore the first line of the inscription and by comparison with similar reliefs, that another figure, either Athena or Boule, may have been depicted to the left of the honorand.

The second relief (NM 7272; Fig. 5), also on an honorary decree (second half of the 4th century), has been badly damaged by having the figures systematically picked away.¹⁵ Enough is preserved of the outline of the figures, however, to identify the scene as a large divinity or personification reaching up with his left hand to crown a mortal. The identification of the larger figure as Demos is based upon an inscription on the architrave immediately above his head (ΔΗ[ΜΟΣ]). Since the relief was found in modern Trachones, however, it has been suggested that the figure represents the personification of the Demos of a nearby deme, probably Aixone, and not the Demos of Athens itself.¹⁶

The third relief (NM 2407; Fig. 6), from an honorary decree(?) of the third quarter of the 4th century, depicts Demos as a mature, bearded man seated to left, presumably facing an honorand, now missing.¹⁷ His torso is turned in three-quarter view and his left arm is propped up on the back of his chair. He also wears a himation around his waist and over his left shoulder. In back of Demos, to right, are Athena and Herakles. All three figures are identified by inscription on the architrave above the scene ([Δ]ΗΜΟΣ ΑΘΗΝΑ ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ).

Even without inscribed labels, the appearance of Demos can be suggested, with varying degrees of probability, on several other reliefs. The strongest argument can perhaps be made for the representation of Demos on the famous anti-tyranny law of 337/6 B.C. from the Athenian Agora

14. Lawton (1995a, pp. 11–12; 1995b, p. 122) has noted that the profile molding below the scene, a regular feature of document reliefs but rare on votive reliefs, helps to distinguish the two types of monuments even when inscriptions or other identifying characteristics are not preserved.

15. Athens, National Museum 7272. From Trachones (Attica). Meyer 1989, p. 314, no. A182, pl. 52:4; Lawton 1995a, p. 155, no. 176, pl. 91; Smith 1997, pp. 224–225, no. DR38.

16. On the depiction of local Demoi and their similarity to the Demos of Athens, see Smith 1997, pp. 172–179. In addition to Athens, National Mu-

seum 2407, local Demoi may be represented on Eleusis, Museum E958 (*IG* I³ 79; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 1013, no. 606, pl. 763, s.v. Athena [P. Demargne]; *LIMC* III, 1986, pp. 378–379, no. 42, s.v. Demos [O. Tzachou-Alexandri]; Meyer 1989, p. 266, no. A5; Lawton 1995a, pp. 82–83, no. 3, pl. 2; Smith 1997, p. 197, no. DR1) and on a relief in a private collection (St. Lydakís) in Athens (Meyer 1989, p. 299, no. A119, pl. 34:1; Lawton 1995a, p. 145, no. 147, pl. 78; Smith 1997, pp. 230–231, no. DR45).

17. Athens, National Museum 2407. Found near the Church of Ayios Dimitrios Loumbardiáris, between the

Pnyx and the Philopappos Monument. *IG* II² 4630; Kron 1979, pp. 49–63, pl. 7:1–2; Palagia 1980, p. 63, no. E4; *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 379, no. 46, pl. 274, s.v. Demos (O. Tzachou-Alexandri); Meyer 1989, p. 292, no. A94, pl. 28:2; Tzachou-Alexandri 1994, p. 59, fig. 6; Lawton 1995a, p. 139, no. 133, pl. 71; Smith 1997, pp. 216–217, no. DR27. An older interpretation of the seated figure as the hero Akademos (based upon the conjectural reading [AKA-Δ]ΗΜΟΣ) is considered unlikely. See Kron 1979, p. 58, and *LIMC* I, 1982, pp. 434–435, no. 2, s.v. Akademos (U. Kron).



Figure 7. Athens, Agora I 6524 (SEG XII 87). Demos being crowned by Demokratia. 337/6 B.C. Courtesy Agora Excavations

(I 6524; Fig. 7), on which a mature, bearded, and long-haired male figure is seated on a throne.¹⁸ The pose is comparable to but not identical with that of the seated figure on the previously mentioned relief (NM 2407; Fig. 6). On the Agora relief, Demos sits with his legs in profile to left, while his torso and head are turned frontally. His left arm is raised to the back of his chair, apparently to hold a staff, scepter, or spear (once painted). He wears a himation around his waist and over his left shoulder. Beside him is a standing, frontal, long-haired female who wears a sleeved, high-belted chiton and himation, also wrapped around her waist and draped over her left shoulder. With her right hand she reaches out to offer a crown to the seated male figure. While the identification of the seated male as Demos can be supported by comparisons with the type on other document reliefs, the identity of the female figure is based primarily upon the text of the anti-tyranny law itself, where the “demos of the Athenians” and “democracy in Athens” are specifically mentioned together three times (lines 8–9, 13–14, 16–17). It has been suggested that the depiction, or at least the pairing, of Demos and Demokratia on this relief may have been partially inspired by Euphranor’s famous paintings in the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios in the Agora (Paus. 1.3.3–4), where the two personifications may have been juxtaposed for the first time in the visual arts.¹⁹

18. Athens, Agora I 6524. *SEG* XII 87; Meritt 1952, pp. 355–359, no. 5, pls. 89–90; Raubitschek 1962; *Agora* XIV, pp. 61, n. 173, 102, pl. 53:a; Palagia 1980, p. 63, no. E3, fig. 43; *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 373, no. 7,

pl. 271, s.v. Demokratia (O. Tzachou-Alexandri); *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 379, no. 54, pl. 271, s.v. Demos (O. Tzachou-Alexandri); Meyer 1989, p. 293, no. A97, pl. 30:2; Tzachou-Alexandri 1994, pp. 55–56, fig. 1; Lawton 1995a,

pp. 99–100, no. 38, pl. 20; Smith 1997, pp. 227–228, no. DR41.

19. Raubitschek 1962, p. 238; *Agora* XIV, p. 102; Palagia 1980, p. 60; Lawton 1995a, p. 100. Palagia (1980, pp. 58–59) also notes the “indirect ref-



Figure 8. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2952 + 2961. Athena and Demos(?) crown two honorands. Mid-third quarter of the 4th century B.C. Courtesy Museum

Among the preserved standing male types on other document reliefs, the most convincing identifications are those where Demos is paired with other important figures referring to the Athenian state, such as Athena, Boule, or both.²⁰ For example, on NM 2952 + 2961 (Fig. 8) Athena and a large male figure frame the relief on left and right, respectively, and they crown two frontal honorands standing in the center.²¹ The position of this unlabeled male divinity/personification, of whom only the lower legs and right hand holding the crown are preserved, is reminiscent of the labeled Demos on EM 2791 (Fig. 4). A similar pairing of Athena and Demos may be found on two reliefs decorating honorary decrees, both probably found

erence" of Demos on this relief to Pheidonian prototypes such as the figure of Zeus on the east frieze and possibly also the east pediment of the Parthenon.

20. Lawton (1995a, p. 58) suggests that the personification of Boule may have been invented specifically for document reliefs, and would probably not be depicted in this genre without the presence of Demos. Hence Lawton (1995a, pp. 142–143, no. 142, pl. 75) would restore a figure of Demos on the

now missing right side of a fragmentary document relief (Athens, National Museum 1473) of the third quarter of the 4th century preserving the figures of Athena and Boule (labeled BOΛE) in the presence of a mortal honorand. On the other hand, Tzachou-Alexandri (1994, pp. 56–57, figs. 2–3) prefers to restore another mortal figure, noting that the preserved honorand, who faces left toward Athena and Boule, would have his back turned toward any hypo-

thetical Demos awarding him a crown from the right.

21. Athens, National Museum 2952 + 2961 (mid-third quarter of the 4th century). Provenance unknown. Palagia 1980, p. 62, no. D3; *LMC* III, 1986, p. 380, no. 56, pl. 275, s.v. Demos (O. Tzachou-Alexandri); Meyer 1989, p. 292, no. A95, pl. 30:1; Tzachou-Alexandri 1994, p. 67; Lawton 1995a, pp. 136–137, no. 126, pl. 67; Smith 1997, pp. 217–218, no. DR28.



Figure 9. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2946. Athena observes Demos(?) crowning honorand. Third to fourth quarter of the 4th century B.C. Courtesy Museum



Figure 10. Athens, Acropolis Museum 7231. Demos(?) and Athena crown honorand. Second half of the 4th century B.C. Courtesy Museum

Figure 11. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1482 (*IG II² 448*). Athena observes as Demos(?) awards crown to Euphron of Sikyon. 318/7 B.C. Courtesy Museum



on the Acropolis (NM 2946 and AM 7231; Figs. 9, 10).²² In the latter example (AM 7231) the Demos figure has moved to the left side of the relief, while on yet another (NM 1482; Fig. 11), a figure probably to be identified as Demos stands near the center of the composition, directly interacting with the honorand, while Athena observes from behind.²³ A slightly less secure identification of the pair appears on an honorary decree(?) of the mid-third quarter of the 4th century (NM 2986; Fig. 12), with a goddess standing in the central position, a small male figure at right, and Demos at left, in a himation and pose similar to that of the large figure on the north slope relief.²⁴ Variations of the Athena-honorand-Demos scheme

22. Athens, National Museum 2946 (third to fourth quarter of the 4th century). Palagia 1980, p. 63, no. D11; *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 380, no. 60, s.v. Demos (O. Tzachou-Alexandri); Meyer 1989, p. 298, no. A115, pl. 34:2; Tzachou-Alexandri 1994, p. 67; Lawton 1995a, pp. 145–146, no. 149, pl. 79; Smith 1997, pp. 223–224, no. DR36.

Athens, Acropolis Museum 7231 (second half of the 4th century). *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 380, no. 55, s.v. Demos (O. Tzachou-Alexandri); Meyer 1989, p. 304, no. A138, pl. 35:1; Tzachou-Alexandri 1994, p. 67; Lawton 1995a, p. 154, no. 172, pl. 89; Smith 1997, pp. 220–221, no. DR33.

23. Athens, National Museum 1482 (318/7 B.C.). Found in the Late Roman fortifications near the Stoa of Attalos.

IG II² 448; Palagia 1980, p. 62, no. D7; *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 380, no. 58, pl. 275, s.v. Demos (O. Tzachou-Alexandri); Meyer 1989, p. 303, no. A134, pl. 39:1; Tzachou-Alexandri 1994, pp. 66–67, fig. 17; Lawton 1995a, pp. 107–108, no. 54, pl. 28; Smith 1997, pp. 232–233, no. DR48.

24. Athens, National Museum 2986. From Athens. Tzachou-Alexandri 1994, pp. 59–66, figs. 7–16; Lawton 1995a, pp. 135–136, no. 123, pl. 66; Smith 1997, pp. 218–219, no. DR30. The identity of the female figure, who wears a high-belted peplos and a shoulder mantle, is not immediately clear, since her head is missing and she does not have an aegis, shield, or other distinguishing attribute. Lawton considers her to be Hera, with her left arm raised and possibly holding out her veil

in a bridal gesture (*anakalypsis*). The larger male figure would then represent Zeus holding a (once painted) scepter with his raised right arm. Tzachou-Alexandri, however, argues that the pair depicts Athena and Demos, pointing out that the goddess's dress, a high-belted peplos with himation draped down her back and over her right arm, is a characteristic costume of Athena. Moreover, the goddess is not always depicted with an aegis or shield, and her identity could have been made clear in other ways, such as by the presence of a helmet on her (now missing) head. Smith observes that the male figure seems to be slightly shorter than the female, a characterization of inferior status more appropriate for Demos than for Zeus.



Figure 12. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2986. Demos/Zeus(?) and Athena/Hera(?) in presence of honorand. Mid-third quarter of the 4th century. Courtesy Museum



Figure 13. Athens, Epigraphical Museum 2811 + 7180 (*IG II² 367*). Athena holds crown and observes as Boule(?) and Demos(?) crown Asklepiodoros. 323/2 B.C. Courtesy Museum



Figure 14. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2958 (+ EM 7166 = IG II² 417 [?]). Demos(?) crowns honorand (liturgist?) while Eutaxia observes. Fourth quarter of the 4th century. Courtesy Museum

may also include other appropriate personifications, such as Boule (EM 2811 + 7180; Fig. 13) or Eutaxia (NM 2958; Fig. 14).²⁵

The new fragment from the north slope of the Acropolis, therefore, fits into a well-established iconographic tradition in 4th-century Athens. The crowning of an honorand or honorands, depicted as mortal by their small scale compared with the divinity, hero, or personification bestowing the award, is the most common motif in reliefs decorating honorary decrees, especially those awarded by the *boule* and *demos*.²⁶ Although there are no inscribed labels on the preserved sections of the north slope relief, the pose, age, dress, and features of the large, supernaturally sized, male figure crowning the mortal honorand all support his identification as Demos, the personification of the Athenian people and government. The frontal stance of the honorand, along with the tall and narrow proportions of the preserved fragment, makes it likely that at least one other large-scale divinity or personification was once portrayed on the now-missing left half of the relief.

25. Athens, Epigraphical Museum 2811 + 7180 (323/2 B.C.). From the Acropolis. IG II² 367; Palagia 1980, p. 62, no. D6; LIMC III, 1986, p. 146, no. 3, s.v. Boule (V. Komninos); LIMC III, 1986, p. 380, no. 57, pl. 275, s.v. Demos (O. Tzachou-Alexandri); Meyer 1989, pp. 300–301, no. A125, pl. 35:2;

Lawton 1995a, pp. 105–106, no. 49, pl. 26; Smith 1997, pp. 231–232, no. DR47.

Athens, National Museum 2958 (fourth quarter of the 4th century). From the Acropolis. Possibly belonging with Athens, Epigraphical Museum 7166 = IG II² 417(?); Palagia 1980,

p. 62, no. D8, fig. 34; LIMC III, 1986, p. 380, no. 59, pl. 275, s.v. Demos (O. Tzachou-Alexandri); LIMC IV, 1988, p. 120, s.v. Eutaxia (O. Palagia); Meyer 1989, p. 306, no. A142, pl. 42:1; Lawton 1995a, p. 146, no. 150, pl. 79; Smith 1997, pp. 233–234, no. DR49.

26. Lawton 1995a, pp. 30–36.



Figure 15. Eleusis, Museum 5100. Marble statue of Asklepios dedicated by Epikrates, son of Pamphilos, from deme of Leukonoion (*IG II² 4414*). Fourth quarter of the 4th century B.C. Courtesy Museum

The date of the relief can be estimated by comparison with other dated monuments. The most numerous parallels for the dress and pose of Demos on the north slope relief are found in the second half of the 4th century. In large-scale sculpture, for example, a particularly close parallel can be found in the “Eleusis type” of Asklepios, named after a freestanding statue found at Eleusis and dated to the fourth quarter of the 4th century (Fig. 15).²⁷ Like the Demos on the north slope relief, Asklepios stands with his weight on his left leg while his right knee is bent and projects slightly forward. His left arm is completely covered by the himation, and his hand rests on his raised left hip. The triangular overfold of his himation falls diagonally from left to right toward the weight-bearing leg.

While the Asklepios of this type is usually shown leaning on his staff, the right arm of the north slope Demos figure is raised to crown the honorand, resulting in slight differences in the height of the himation on the right side of the body. Similarities between the two male figures also include the ridged folds of their mantles that stretch diagonally from ankle to hip in a manner typical of the third and fourth quarters of the century,

27. Eleusis, Museum 5100; Adam 1966, pp. 102–104, pls. 50–51; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 882, no. 234, pl. 652, s.v. Asklepios (B. Holtzmann). An inscription (*IG II² 4414*) records that the statue was dedicated to Asklepios by Epikrates, son of Pamphilos, from the deme of Leukonoion. For the type, see *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 882–884, nos. 234–260, s.v. Asklepios (B. Holtzmann).

as well as the lines of folds that radiate in all directions from a central point where the hand rests on the hip. The same rendering of folds can be observed, for example, on document reliefs NM 2986 (Fig. 12) and, with a slight variation in pose, NM 2946 (Fig. 9).

Finally, the head and facial features of the north slope figure, with medium-long hair, full beard, and deep-set eyes, can be compared to another Demos figure on document relief NM 1482 (Fig. 11), datable to 318/7 B.C. All of these factors point to a date in the third to fourth quarter of the 4th century for this previously unpublished fragment of a document relief from the north slope of the Acropolis.

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APPENDIX

DEPICTIONS OF DEMOS ON ATTIC DOCUMENT RELIEFS

This appendix presents a list of all definite, probable, and possible depictions of Demos on Attic document reliefs currently known to me. I have organized the material first according to “seated” and “standing” types (Table 1), followed by a few reliefs where a Demos-like figure is not actually preserved, but has been conjectured on the basis of other factors, such as the presence of Boule or Athena (Table 2). It should be noted, however, that some of the identifications and restorations are very speculative and may not be accepted by all or even the majority of scholars. The types have also been organized chronologically. Within any quarter century, priority has been given to those reliefs dated by inscription to a specific year, followed by examples dated by sculptural style alone.

Since each of the reliefs has been described in full elsewhere, I present the material in the form of a concordance, providing references to the museum or collection where the relief currently resides, inscription numbers in *IG*, *SEG*, or *CIG*, the date of the relief, and catalogue numbers in the most recent and thorough studies of Demos, document reliefs, and political personifications in Athenian art.²⁸

The tables make clear that the depiction of Demos on Attic document reliefs is primarily a phenomenon of the second half of the 4th century B.C. Although some scholars have suggested that Demos appears on reliefs as early as the last quarter of the 5th century, the earliest monuments for which there is general agreement about the presence of this important political personification date to the middle of the 4th century or shortly before. The majority of monuments, both those firmly dated by inscription and those dated by sculptural style, belong to the third and fourth quarters of the 4th century. As Lawton has suggested, the increased popularity of Demos and other “democratic” personifications in the visual arts of this period may be a response to a combination of artistic, political, philosophical, and even religious factors as Athenian democracy becomes more specialized, more self-conscious, and more threatened by both internal and external forces.²⁹ In this way, the appearance of Demos on Attic document reliefs reflects a close relationship between public art and political ideology in 4th-century Athens.

28. The studies referred to in Tables 1 and 2 are as follows. Demos: Palagia 1980; Tzachou-Alexandri = *LIMC* III, 1986, s.v. Demos. Document reliefs: Meyer 1989; Lawton 1995a. Political personifications: Tzachou-Alexandri 1994; Smith 1997; Messerschmidt 2003.

29. Lawton 1993, pp. 15–16; 1995a, p. 31.

TABLE 1. DEPICTIONS OF DEMOS(?) ON ATTIC DOCUMENT RELIEFS

<i>Museum and Inscription No.</i>	<i>Date (B.C.)</i>	<i>Palagia</i>	<i>Tzachou-Alexandri</i>	<i>Meyer</i>	<i>Lawton</i>	<i>Smith</i>	<i>Messerschmidt</i>
SEATED DEMOS(?)							
EM 7859 <i>IG II² 1410</i>	376/5	E1 "Demos"	71 Demos	A49 Kekrops	20 probably Erechtheus	—	—
NM 1467 <i>IG II² 97</i>	375/4(?)	E2 "Demos"	53 Demos	A51 Demos	96 Zeus	DR12 Zeus; Demos doubtful	D2 Demos
Agora I 6524 <i>SEG 12.87</i>	337/6	E3 "Demos"	54 Demos	A97 Demos	38 Demos	DR41 probably Demos	D6 Demos
NM 2407 <i>IG II² 4630</i>	3rd quarter 4th cent.	E4 Demos	46 Demos	A94 Demos	133 Demos	DR27 Demos	D4 Demos
EM 2809	2nd half 4th cent.	E5 "Demos"	65 Demos	A144 divinity (Demos)	167 probably Demos	DR34 probably Demos	—
STANDING DEMOS(?)							
Eleusis E958 (5093) <i>IG I³ 79</i>	422/1	—	42 Demos of Eleusis more likely than Triptolemos	A5 Iakchos	3 probably Triptolemos	DR1 possibly Demos of Eleusis	—
Lost. Formerly Piraeus (+ Piraeus 1595 = <i>IG I³ 136</i>)	ca. 432– 411(?) (413/2?)	—	—	A12 man	70 more likely a mortal worshiper or honorand	DR4 possibly Demos	—
Louvre MA 831 <i>IG I³ 375</i>	409/8	D1 Kekrops, Erechtheus, or Demos	43 probably Demos	A16 Demos	8 probably Erechtheus	—	D1 Demos
NM 1479 <i>IG II² 1392</i>	397/6	D2 (similar to D1, above)	44 Demos	A36 Hephaistos(?)	14 probably Erechtheus	—	—
AM 2427 + 2758	1st quarter 4th cent.	—	—	A76 male figure	91 hero	DR11 possibly Demos	—
EM 7024 <i>IG II² 110</i>	363/2	—	(Tzachou- Alexandri 1994, p. 66) Demos	A56 Demos	23 probably Demos or a patron deity	DR16 possibly Demos or patron deity	D3 Demos

TABLE 1—*Continued*

<i>Museum and Inscription No.</i>	<i>Date (B.C.)</i>	<i>Palagia</i>	<i>Tzachou-Alexandri</i>	<i>Meyer</i>	<i>Lawton</i>	<i>Smith</i>	<i>Messerschmidt</i>
EM 2796 <i>IG II</i> ² 167	1st half 4th cent.	D4 “Demos”	70 Demos	A147 divinity	110 divinity/party with which inscription was concerned	DR14 possibly Demos	—
EM 2788	mid-4th cent.	—	—	—	115 hero or possibly Demos	DR21 possibly Demos	—
EM 2791 <i>IG II</i> ² 160	mid-4th cent.	D9 Demos	69 Demos	A146 Demos	117 Demos	DR22 Demos	D13 Demos
NM 1471 <i>IG II</i> ² 212	347/ <u>6</u>	—	—	A88 Apollonios	35 probably honorand Apollonios	D39 possibly Demos	—
NM 2986	mid-3rd quarter 4th cent.	—	(Tzachou- Alexandri 1994, p. 66) Demos	—	123 probably Zeus	DR30 possibly Demos (or Zeus)	—
NM 2952 + 2961	mid-3rd quarter 4th cent.	D3 “Demos”	56 Demos	A95	126 probably Demos	DR28 possibly Demos	D5 Demos
NM 2985 <i>IG II</i> ² 406	3rd quarter 4th cent.	D5 “Demos”	45 Demos	A109 divinity	132 Demos or, more probably, Asklepios	DR29 possibly Demos, probably Asklepios	—
NM 2946	3rd–4th quarter 4th cent.	D11 “Demos”	60 Demos	A115 divinity (Demos? Phyle hero?)	149 probably Demos	DR36 possibly Demos	D8 Demos
Agora AS 146	3rd–4th quarter 4th cent.	—	—	—	—	—	—
EM 7155 <i>IG II</i> ² 347	322/ <u>1</u>	—	(Tzachou- Alexandri 1994, p. 67) Demos	A103 Demos	45 probably Demos	DR43 possibly Demos	D7 Demos
Cambridge Fitzwilliam GR13.1865 <i>CIG</i> 3635	ca. 330	—	—	A81 Demos(?)	“not Attic” (p. 3, n. 13)	DR44 possibly Demos	—

TABLE 1—*Continued*

<i>Museum and Inscription No.</i>	<i>Date (B.C.)</i>	<i>Palagia</i>	<i>Tzachou-Alexandri</i>	<i>Meyer</i>	<i>Lawton</i>	<i>Smith</i>	<i>Messerschmidt</i>
Athens, St. Lydakis Collection	ca. 330– 320	—	—	A119 Demos	147 probably Demos of Acharnai(?)	DR45 possibly Demos of Acharnai(?)	—
Agora I 4224a + 4224b	324/3	—	—	A124 divinity	48 unknown	DR46 possibly Demos	—
EM 2811 + 7180 <i>IG</i> II ² 367	323/2	D6 “Demos”	57 Demos	A125 Demos	49 almost certainly Demos	DR47 probably Demos	D9 Demos
NM 1482 <i>IG</i> II ² 448	318/7	D7 Zeus Soter or Demos	58 Demos more likely than Zeus	A134 Demos	54 probably Demos	DR48 probably Demos	D11 Demos
NM 2958 (+ EM 7166 = <i>IG</i> II ² 417[?])	4th quarter 4th cent.	D8 “Demos” (<i>LIMC</i> III, 1988, p. 120, s.v. Eutaxia) Demos or phyle hero	59 Demos	A142 divinity (Demos? Phyle hero?)	150 more likely Demos than phyle hero	DR49 probably Demos	D12 Demos
NM 2404	2nd half 4th cent.	D10 “Demos”	61 Demos	A162 male divinity	165 female divinity (Kore)	DR35 male, possibly Demos	—
EM 2798	2nd half 4th cent.	—	—	A84 honorand	168 honorand	DR23 possibly Demos	—
AM 7231	2nd half 4th cent.	—	55 Demos	A138 divinity	172 probably Demos	DR33 probably Demos	D10 Demos
NM 7272	2nd half 4th cent.	—	—	A182	176 probably Demos of Aixone(?)	DR38 Demos, perhaps of Aixone(?)	—

AM = Acropolis Museum; EM = Epigraphical Museum; NM = Athens, National Museum. For citations, see n. 28.

TABLE 2. DEMOS NOT PRESERVED, BUT CONJECTURED

<i>Museum No.</i>	<i>Date (B.C.)</i>	<i>Palagia</i>	<i>Tzachou-Alexandri</i>	<i>Meyer</i>	<i>Lawton</i>	<i>Smith</i>	<i>Messerschmidt</i>
NM 1473	3rd quarter 4th cent.	—	(Tzachou-Alexandri 1994, p. 56) mortal	A136	142 almost certainly Demos	DR19 probably Demos	—
AM 6787	3rd quarter 4th cent.	—	—	A112	134 Demos or honorand's patron deity likely	DR26 possibly Demos or patron deity	—
AM 3304	2nd half 4th cent.	—	—	A174	163 Athena or Demos likely	DR32 probably Athena or Demos	—

AM = Acropolis Museum; NM = Athens, National Museum. For citations, see n. 28.

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