

# THE ATHENIAN AGORA

RESULTS OF EXCAVATIONS

CONDUCTED BY

THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME XI

## ARCHAIC AND ARCHAISTIC SCULPTURE

BY

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THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

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## PREFACE

This volume continues the catalogue of ancient stone sculpture from the excavations in the Athenian Agora that was begun with *Athenian Agora, I, Portrait Sculpture*. In order to maintain a single series of catalogue numbers for all the pieces of stone sculpture published in the Agora volumes, I have begun the numbers of the present section where those of *Agora, I* left off. It must be recognized, however, that in the long run the excavation inventory numbers (preceded by "S") will remain the most useful for reference, since these numbers are painted on the objects and furnish the key to their history as it is preserved in the records of the excavations. A concordance of inventory and catalogue numbers is therefore provided (p. 177).

The portraits in *Agora, I* formed a group with a logical coherence that made it relatively easy to isolate. With the rest of the large and heterogeneous body of sculpture from the excavations, separation is more difficult. The inventoried pieces now number over 2000. Not all of these, to be sure, are worth publishing, but the uninventoried pieces which prove unexpectedly interesting very nearly balance out the rejects. Since some division of the mass is necessary, and the chronological division, where it can easily be applied, is the most reasonable, this volume begins with the sculpture of the archaic period. In following that with archaistic sculpture I have substituted typology for chronology as the criterion for grouping. That seems to be the best thing to do in cases where a chronological division would separate things that are so alike as to be more illuminating to each other than to their contemporaries of different types, and it is the only thing to do where things of different periods are so alike that it is simply not possible to date them exactly.

The publication of sculpture from an excavation such as ours cannot aim either at the critical good taste and restraint of a fine museum catalogue or at the objective accuracy and completeness with which excavated pottery is normally presented. It has to fall somewhere between. We share with the first the advantage that some objects of real esthetic interest are present and the disadvantage that hardly any of the pieces has a context of discovery that can really serve to fix its date. Stone, being a partly re-usable material, is far less apt than terracotta to lie quietly in the bed of its destruction. It is always jumping out, into higher levels and lower uses. The very extent of such re-use in the ancient, medieval and modern city of Athens has left our material exceptionally battered, and our plates appear distressingly different from those of a museum catalogue. One does not see by a glance at Plate 1 that the fragments shown there belong to a kouros better than the one in New York. One learns it by studying. Hence the verbal presentation cannot be so laconic as one might wish. I have tried, as in the earlier volume, to make each single catalogue description independently intelligible.

At the same time, our material, since it is all undoubtedly genuine and all from Athens, does form a group in the broadest archaeological sense. A great deal can be learned from studying the pieces in connection with each other and with the ancient history of Athens. Sometimes the gain is for the chronology of style; sometimes it is for our understanding of types, their uses and their meaning. In all cases Athens remains in the foreground. If this fascinating and bewildering mass of stones has any shape at all, it is an Attic shape. In the introductory essay preceding each

section of the catalogue I have tried to sketch some of the ways in which the Agora sculpture helps to form or alter our picture of Athenian sculpture and the part it played in Athenian history. Some conclusions can also be drawn here and there for the history of art in the ancient world as a whole, but these, more often than not, are simply corrections of misconceptions. It is too easy when one works from Rome via Roman copies and Roman writers to form notions of what Attic style should have been without taking enough into account what it actually was. Such notions cannot serve unchecked as a basis for evaluating the Athenian contribution to ancient art. The Agora sculpture helps us to understand the everyday background from which the work of the great Athenian sculptors sprang and the working of the tradition which kept their inventions alive for the enjoyment of later ages.

These introductions are only a tentative beginning. If I have carried discussion beyond the bounds proper to a catalogue, it is in the hope of arousing the interest of more competent scholars in some of the problems that touch their various fields. If this happens, more valid conclusions will surely emerge. Especially in epigraphical matters the non-specialist can hardly escape showing naïveté, but to avoid altogether the use of epigraphical evidence in dealing with sculpture would be to falsify the Athenian picture far more than a number of small errors can do,

In one matter in which epigraphists have recently called for greater precision, I have preferred to remain subjective. This is the designation of different kinds of marble. The terms "Pentelic" and "Hymettian" have become so familiar as designations for the white and gray marbles used in large quantities in Athenian architecture of the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods that it does not seem a deception to employ them as descriptive terms for similar marbles used in the sculpture of these same periods. This does not imply that one claims to know from which quarry the marble actually comes. Geologists have said that identical marbles are to be found in both mountains, and the possibility of provenance from one or the other can not be ruled out on the basis of an objective description of a single stone. This question, however, has hardly any importance for the student of Athenian sculpture of any period after the Pentelic quarries were opened on a large scale for the construction of the Older Parthenon in the 480's. There was probably no time after that until late antiquity when either mountain was utterly unproductive. It does make a difference to the student, as it did to the sculptor, whether the marble is white or gray. But simply "white Attic" or "gray Attic" would not distinguish the marbles used in the monuments of the city of Athens from those of south Attica, as we find them in the temples of Thorikos and Sounion. Yet these can be readily distinguished by the eye. If "Pentelic" be taken to mean "marble like that of which the Parthenon is made," it is a better description than any but a very detailed scientific description would be. There is quite enough of the Parthenon to give us a clear idea of the range of grain sizes, degree of foliation, impurities, etc., in white Pentelic marble as well as of the way it weathers and reacts to tools. "Hymettian" may similarly be taken to mean "like the gray marble used for deliberate contrast with white in Athenian architecture of the 4th century and the Hellenistic period." If some of the marble so designated actually comes from the Pentelic quarries, it will not affect any conclusions we may make about the date or authorship of the sculpture.

For the archaic period the situation is somewhat different. There were no Attic marble quarries open on a really large scale. Temples were built of limestone with at the most marble trim. At the same time there was widespread use in small quantities of local marble for sculptured and inscribed monuments. Since we really do not know where all these small sources were, and since the monuments themselves are too small to give an adequate notion of the range of characteristics possible to each, the only solution for the cataloguer seems to be a more detailed description of the marble in each piece. One may say in general that the Attic marble in archaic monuments is usually finer grained and more strongly layered than the classical Pentelic, thus resembling

more the usual Hymettian and the south Attic marbles. It seems highly probable that much of it comes from Hymettos. In the regions close to Pentelikon, on the other hand, Pentelic was surely used in the archaic period. The Attic marble in the archaic sculpture found at Ikaria (Dionysos) differs in no way from the usual Pentelic.

Island marbles of the archaic period are just as hard to separate from one another as Attic. It is almost certain that both Parian and Naxian were used in archaic Attic sculpture, and the middle grades (moderately coarse grain, white color with some gray streaks) from both islands are indistinguishable. The extremely coarse-grained marble used in the early Naxian dedications on Delos and in the New York kouros may safely be described as Naxian, but for the rest it seems better to say simply "island marble" with some indication of its appearance. The very fine pure white Parian known as "lychnites" does not seem to have been available to Attic sculptors before the classical period.

There is another island marble used in Athens which has coarse crystals but differs from Parian and Naxian in not being translucent. Its appearance (at least when worked and weathered) is milk-white, hard and glittering. In Athens it occurs, so far as I have been able to observe, only in works of the Roman period. Since similar marble is to be seen in quantity on the island of Thasos, I have ventured to call this "Thasian." Pausanias saw in the Olympieion in Athens two statues of Hadrian in Thasian marble (I, 18, 6). The same marble occurs in copies of Greek sculpture that have been found in Italy. Italian catalogues sometimes call it simply "marmo greco" and sometimes even "marmo pario" but it is clearly not Parian.

The system for indicating finding-places is the same as that now used in all *Agora* volumes. The letters and numbers in parentheses enable the reader to locate the find-spot of a given piece on the 20-meter grid applied to the general plan of the excavations on Plate 68. A grid location followed by a serial number indicates that the object in question was found in one of the numbered deposits (conveniently and fully explained in *Agora*, V, p. 123).

The study of the sculpture published here has been carried on over the last ten years concurrently with the study of the classical sculpture (originals and copies), which will appear shortly in a separate volume. During this time I have had help from many sources. Periods of study in Athens have been made possible by grants from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation (1954-55), the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society (summer 1957), the Council for Research in the Humanities of Columbia University (summer 1959), the American Council of Learned Societies (autumn 1959) and the Bollingen Foundation (spring and summer 1962). The Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton has given most generous help, a regular membership in the autumn of 1961 and informal hospitality for shorter periods at various times. It is a pleasure to express my thanks to all these sources.

For aid from scholarly colleagues my debt is even greater. Most of all I owe to Homer A. Thompson, whose remarkable simultaneous grasp of concrete details and broad archaeological problems has steered me onto many right paths and off of many wrong ones. My old teachers, William B. Dinsmoor and Margarete Bieber, have been a continuing help and inspiration. If it had been proper to dedicate a work of this kind, I should have liked to offer this book to them.

All members of the *Agora* staff have given freely the benefit of their knowledge. I wish to thank especially Lucy Talcott, Eugene Vanderpool and Poly Demoulini. Among those whom I have consulted on special points, inside and outside the *Agora*, are Christine Alexander, Alfred R. Bellinger, Dietrich von Bothmer, Otto Brendel, Sterling Dow, G. Roger Edwards, C. W. J. Eliot, Werner Fuchs, Lilian H. Jeffery, Mabel Lang, Benjamin D. Meritt, James H. Oliver, Judith Perlzweig, W. Kendrick Pritchett, A. E. Raubitschek, Gisela M. A. Richter, Rebecca Wood Robinson, Erika Simon, Lucy T. Shoe, Dorothy Burr Thompson, John Travlos and Mary White. For all this help, my mistakes are my own.

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The photographs are nearly all the work of Alison Frantz. They speak for themselves and greatly clarify the speech of the objects they represent.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

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# I

## ARCHAIC SCULPTURE

### INTRODUCTION

The archaic sculpture from the Agora gives a representative cross section of Athenian sculpture of the archaic period, though it is neither so abundant nor so well preserved as the groups from the Acropolis and the Kerameikos. Most of it is very fragmentary, yet the works from which the fragments come were often of first quality. Because of the relative excellence and scarcity of archaic Attic sculpture in general, there is more chance than with other types of ancient sculpture of joining together pieces which are now in different collections and even in different countries. For this reason it has seemed worthwhile to describe the archaic pieces in rather more detail than their condition would otherwise appear to warrant.

#### 1. PROVENANCE AND USE

As with most stone sculpture from the Agora, finding-places are of little help in determining the original locations of the monuments to which the archaic fragments once belonged. In general, however, there is a greater likelihood that pieces found on the slopes of the Acropolis belonged to Acropolis dedications and that fragments found in the lower area to the north come from grave monuments.

One fragment of a kore (No. 75) actually joined one of the Acropolis maidens, and it is probable that most other kore fragments also come from the Acropolis. There remains a possibility that some sculpture was dedicated in the Eleusinion in the late archaic period, but none of the archaic fragments from the area seems late enough in style to have been dedicated after the temple was built.<sup>1</sup> Since the Acropolis dedications of the archaic period were destroyed by the Persians and mostly buried on the Acropolis, it is likely that archaic pieces from the Acropolis found in the Agora excavations will be single strays rather than complexes of joining fragments.

In the case of grave monuments the situation is more complicated. It seems clear that pieces of funerary sculpture once re-used in the city walls have come back inside the walls in modern times. The fragments of an early Attic kouros, No. 65, actually belong, in all probability, to the Dipylon kouros, of which the head and right hand were found built into the 4th century Dipylon Gate. The upper part of a stele shaft, No. 103, which was found south of the Church of the Holy Apostles (O 16), has been roughly recut in just the same manner as the famous Gorgon stele from the Themistoklean Wall.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, it is likely that some of the fragments of archaic gravestones originally came from nearer by. In an archaic cemetery that was excavated on the lower slopes of the Areopagus southwest of the Agora (BC 20–22) burials continued down to the

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 68, 73, 76. The temple in the Eleusinion was probably built around 490 B.C., and this appears to have been the first building in the sanctuary. Cf. H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, p. 337; *Agora Guide*<sup>2</sup>, p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, pl. 10.

end of the 6th century B.C.<sup>3</sup> This indicates that the Athenian prohibition against burials within the city of which Servius Sulpicius speaks in a letter to Cicero<sup>4</sup> cannot have existed before around 500 B.C. In this cemetery the ground level of archaic times had been cut away, so that no trace remained of whatever markers the graves may have had.<sup>5</sup> There may very well have been other such 6th century graves to the north of the Agora along the streets that led out of the square on that side. The incorporation of broken archaic gravestones into the Themistoklean city wall in 479 B.C. (Thucydides, I, 93, 2) may have moved out to the line of the later wall some monuments that originally stood inside it. With so much possibility of movement back and forth, it is hard to draw any conclusions from the finding-places of our stelai.

The fragments of architectural sculpture, Nos. 94–97, present a problem more relevant to the Agora itself. The large poros lion's head, No. 94, is very close in style to the great poros lion pediments of the Acropolis and must itself have belonged to a pediment of the same period not very much smaller in scale. The excavated portions of the Agora have yielded no foundations of an archaic building of suitable size. This suggests that the unexcavated north side of the Agora, near which the head was found buried in a 5th century context, may have been the site of archaic as well as classical structures from which bits and pieces have strayed into the excavated portion. At least one important sanctuary, the Leokoreion, is known to have been in this area. Two tasks, the excavation of the north side and the detailed architectural study of the fragments of archaic buildings that have been found in all areas of the excavations, would have to be completed before one could assess fully the importance of the surviving fragments of architectural sculpture. At present one can only point out their stylistic affinities and suggest a possible date for each. When we consider that the smaller archaic buildings of the Acropolis, though much better preserved than our fragments from the Agora, have yet to be successfully sorted out and their sculpture paired with the architecture that belongs to it, we must admit that we may never know the true history of some of our smaller pieces. The chief value of such fragments as the small poros lion-and-bull pediment, No. 95, and the scrap of a man-and-lion group, No. 96, also very probably pedimental, is to suggest a more widespread use of such sculpture in the lower city than one might otherwise have imagined. Until now the small marble lion-and-bull group from the Olympieion area has been the only example known from outside the Acropolis. The head of Herakles, No. 97A, may well come from architectural sculpture of some kind, but we can form no idea of the size or type of building to which it may have belonged.

A number of fragments are not readily classifiable according to use. Single marble lions in the round, such as Nos. 90–91, are known to have been used both as votive offerings and as grave monuments, but since No. 91 is too well preserved to be a stray fragment and since No. 90 was found near the northwest corner of the Agora, both are more likely to have been grave monuments than to have come from the Acropolis. Very small pieces, on the other hand, such as the miniature lion-and-bull group, No. 93, are most likely to have been votive offerings. These are not so numerous in the archaic period as in later times. Before the Attic quarries were opened up on a large scale for the production of architectural marble, small, cheap dedications were rarely made in marble. Some miniature work of fine quality was done, however. The excavations of the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron have yielded some exquisite examples belonging to the late archaic and early classical periods.

A few unfinished pieces suggest that even in the archaic period there were sculptors' workshops near the Agora. These were probably in the industrial district southwest of the square, where the small head, No. 71, was found.<sup>6</sup> The extensive workshop district directly south of the

<sup>3</sup> R. S. Young, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 72–108, 131–133.

<sup>4</sup> *Ad familiares*, IV, 12, 3. Cf. Young, *op.cit.*, pp. 67 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Young, *op.cit.*, p. 80.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Young, *op.cit.*, pp. 135 ff.

Agora seems to have belonged mainly to Roman times. The unfinished kouros head, No. 70, is interesting for the use of the flat chisel in shaping the jawline (though the skull seems to have been shaped entirely with the point, as Blümel suggested archaic sculpture should be). The unfinished group of horses, No. 98, is a puzzle. It seems explainable only as unfinished architectural sculpture, something that one rarely finds.

## 2. CHRONOLOGY

Though the archaic sculptures from the Agora have furnished no real evidence for dating, one cannot attempt to put them into their places without forming some tentative notions about archaic Attic chronology. The kouros fragments, No. 65, by demonstrating the close relationship of the Dipylon kouros to those from Sounion, lead one to question whether this first group of Attic kouroi actually begins before about 600 B.C., since altogether it seems not to have extended over many years. In her most recent work Miss Richter agrees that the Dipylon, New York and Sounion kouroi are approximately contemporary,<sup>7</sup> but she suggests that a gap of about two decades occurred at the beginning of the 6th century, during which "comparatively few distinguished sculptures" were produced in Attica.<sup>8</sup> She infers that the disturbances following the reforms of Solon were unfavorable to the development of art. It seems equally possible, however, that this apparent gap at the beginning of the 6th century was filled in part by the kouroi of the Sounion group. This assumption would remove some difficulties that we encounter when we try to reconcile her dates for sculpture with architectural and epigraphical evidence. The Temple of Artemis at Corfu is dated by Dinsmoor around 580 B.C.,<sup>9</sup> but Miss Richter places it two decades earlier because the male figures have the characteristics of the Sounion group.<sup>10</sup> Also she compares the style of the great poros lioness killing a bull from an Acropolis pediment with the kouroi of her first group, apparently rejecting the combination of this lioness with the other Acropolis lion-and-bull groups of similar scale that has been suggested by Schrader and Dinsmoor.<sup>11</sup> The poros lion's head from the Agora, No. 94, helps to support the conclusion that the lioness does not differ in date from the other lions but is simply the work of a different sculptor. The Agora head has the same stylization of the mane in locks of convex section as the group of two lions and a bull, but the pose of the head, the flat locks of the ruff, and the sharp engraved outline of the face recall the lioness. In this instance, however, the evidence from the Agora serves only to strengthen a case that is already strong. The fact that the lioness was found in the same "poros layer" east and south of the Parthenon as the other lion-and-bull fragments is the clearest indication that all come from the same building, the temple that was destroyed to make way for the Older Parthenon shortly after 490 B.C.<sup>12</sup>

If the linear detail of the lioness group links it to the Sounion group of kouroi, the contemporaneity of lioness and lions suggests a closer proximity of the Sounion group to the Tenea-Volomandra group, with which the "Bluebeard," which flanked the lions, must be contemporary. The handsome Gorgon head, Acropolis 701, is another link between the Sounion

<sup>7</sup> *Kouroi*<sup>2</sup>, p. 30, note 1.

<sup>8</sup> *Kouroi*<sup>2</sup>, p. 59.

<sup>9</sup> *Architecture of Ancient Greece*, p. 73. He declares that the date may be inferred from the style of the sculpture, but one must imagine that he has also considered the relation of the architecture to that of the Heraion at Olympia, which he has dated on other grounds around 590 B.C. (*A.J.A.*, XLIX, 1945, pp. 62-80).

<sup>10</sup> Date: *Handbook of Greek Art*, p. 55; comparison with Sounion Group: *Kouroi*<sup>2</sup>, p. 33, note 20.

<sup>11</sup> *Kouroi*<sup>2</sup>, p. 31; the date 630-620 given in the chronological table, *Handbook*, p. 400, seems too early to fit the statement that the lioness is contemporary with the Sounion group. Possibly there is an error in the printing. The combination of the lioness with the other lions was suggested by Schrader, *Jahrb.*, XLIII, 1928, pp. 80-83, and maintained by Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, LI, 1947, pp. 146-147.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, pp. 408-448. His view that platform and superstructure of the Older Parthenon belong to a single, post-Marathonian design is accepted by W. H. Plommer in a recent review of the architectural problems of the archaic Acropolis, *J.H.S.*, LXXX, 1960, pp. 194-140.

group and the period of the Hekatompedon. Payne dated it in the 2nd quarter of the century, partly because of its close relationship to the acroteria of the Hekatompedon (though it does not seem possible that it belonged to one of them as Dinsmoor once suggested) and partly because of its relationship to the Corinthian series of Gorgons in sculpture and vase-painting.<sup>13</sup> Miss Richter is quite right, on the other hand, in refusing to separate it too far from the New York kouros, to which it shows some striking resemblances.<sup>14</sup>

Another marble work that cannot be much later than the Sounion group is the island marble sphinx in New York crowning a cavetto capital inscribed, "I am the monument of —linos."<sup>15</sup> L. H. Jeffery doubts that the inscription can be earlier than 575 B.C. She can reconcile the inscription with Miss Richter's date for the sculpture only by the desperate compromise of supposing that the sphinx may have "remained in the sculptor's yard for some little time before it was bought and the inscription added."<sup>16</sup> This is not convincing. The variety and close characterization of the figures on archaic Attic grave reliefs (warrior, boxer, discus thrower, two brothers, brother and sister) show that they must have been made specifically for the persons they commemorate. Since these monuments are most often of young people who died untimely, they cannot have been prepared during the lifetime of the deceased. In the New York stele which preserves all its parts,<sup>17</sup> one can see that the sphinx capital and the relief are contemporary and by the same artist.<sup>18</sup> The whole monument must have been commissioned after the death occurred. In the case of the —linos sphinx it would be preferable to yield a bit on the date of the sculpture and admit that a late offshoot of the Sounion group could have been made as late as 575.

Miss Richter's tentative date of ca. 615–590 B.C. for the Sounion group is based, she says, "primarily on the necessity of allowing sufficient time for the successive stages of development from the kouroi of this period to the later ones, some of which are dated by external evidence."<sup>19</sup> The difficulty may be simply that the "Orchomenos-Thera group," for which time has been allowed between the Sounion and Tenea-Volomandra groups, is not truly a group, that is, does not represent a separate period. It is virtually unrepresented in Attica, and both its eponymous kouroi look like backward contemporaries of the succeeding group. Also, in considering how much time is needed to proceed from the style of the Sounion kouroi to that of the Volomandra kouros we must not pretend that Attic sculpture developed in isolation. The beginning of monumental sculpture in Attica must have owed much to the islands (whence the marble also came), and we can see from inscriptions that island sculptors were working in Athens through a large part of the 6th century.<sup>20</sup> The Hekatompedon sculptures seem to show influence both from the Ionian and the Corinthian sides.<sup>21</sup> With such constant outside stimulus, development must

<sup>13</sup> *Archaic Marble Sculpture*, p. 10; *Necrocorinthia*, p. 84, note 2. Payne (p. 11, note 4) and Schuchhardt (in Schrader, pp. 322–323) agree that the fragment of thigh in a striped chiton cannot be united to the torso of Perseus and must belong to the companion acroterion, presumably a Gorgon. This would mean that the Gorgon head 701 which seems to go with the hands and unstriped dress 3798 did not belong to the Hekatompedon. When Dinsmoor (*A.J.A.*, LI, 1947, p. 149, note 173) suggested combining all the striped-dress fragments in one figure, the fragments were not accessible. Subsequent examination showed that Payne was right; they must belong to two figures.

<sup>14</sup> *Kouroi*<sup>2</sup>, p. 31. Cf. below, p. 16.

<sup>15</sup> Richter, *Gravestones*<sup>2</sup>, p. 10, no. 1. Miss Richter rightly emphasizes the closeness to the Sounion group. M. Guarducci in her epigraphical appendix (*ibid.*, p. 155) says simply that there is no *objection* to putting the inscription at the beginning of the 6th century.

<sup>16</sup> *Local Scripts*, p. 71. See also *B.S.A.*, LVII, 1962, p. 146, no. 62.

<sup>17</sup> *Gravestones*<sup>2</sup>, no. 37, pp. 27–29, figs. 96–109.

<sup>18</sup> This is my opinion. Langlotz, in Schrader, p. 31, speaks of two sculptors.

<sup>19</sup> *Kouroi*<sup>2</sup>, p. 38.

<sup>20</sup> E.g. Aristion of Paros, *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 1014; also 986 (a Parian, probably Aristion). Miss Jeffery, *Local Scripts*, p. 73, and *B.S.A.*, LVII, 1962, p. 139, dates *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 1014 ca. 540 B.C. She dates 986 ca. 530? (*ibid.*, p. 121). Also Archermos of Chios, *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 487, Raubitschek, *Dedications*, no. 3, last quarter of 6th century.

<sup>21</sup> The idea of sculptured pediments, their composition, and some of the forms of lions and snakes recall Corfu. The hair of the "Bluebeard" heads is stylized in an Ionian manner (cf. Ephesos column fragments, *British Museum Catalogue of Sculpture*<sup>2</sup>, I, nos. B 90, B 91; Richter, *Archaic Greek Art*, fig. 182).

have been very rapid at times. On the other hand, Attic artists often retained over a long period certain elements of the crystal-clear decorative and structural forms for which they had a special talent. Payne has described particularly well the mixture of "old" and "new" that often resulted.<sup>22</sup>

This question of the relationship of Miss Richter's groups to the absolute chronology of Attic sculpture has seemed worth laboring precisely because her overall scheme still provides the most useful framework that we have for the chronology of archaic sculpture, especially before the late 6th century. Payne's account of the Attic korai in *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis* furnishes a somewhat more detailed sequence for the later 6th and early 5th century than one can derive from the less numerous Attic kouroi. In general, his sequence seems eminently valid, though his absolute dates may again need lowering. The sculptures of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi, made about 525 B.C., remain our best fixed point in all the history of archaic art, but this does not tell us whether Attic sculpture was ahead of, abreast of, or a little behind the island sculpture of this time. Payne has dated the Peplos Kore in the preceding decade (540-530), favoring the latter part. Others, such as Schuchhardt, have placed her as early as 540.<sup>23</sup> In some respects, however, the kore appears to be the contemporary of the goddesses on the east frieze of the Siphnian Treasury (compare the rendering of the crinkly chiton, the shapes of ears and lips, the line of cheeks and chin). It is clear that the Peplos Kore owes much to the inspiration of island artists, though it is the thorough integration of these features into the clear, balanced and self-contained structure of Attic art that makes her the masterpiece that she is. An immediate predecessor of the Siphnian caryatids, something on the order of the beautiful "Anonymous Caryatid," furnished this inspiration. The elaborate hair, the slanting eyes, the folds above the corners of the upper lip in the Peplos Kore all recall the Anonymous Caryatid. That the caryatid herself is earlier than the Peplos Kore and the Siphnian caryatids has been rightly reaffirmed by Miss Richter.<sup>24</sup> One may still ask, however, whether she is really earlier than 540 B.C. The gap between the Nike of Delos, which stands ahead of it in the series, and the caryatid head is, if anything, greater than that between the head and the Siphnian caryatid. On the date of the Nike, Miss Jeffery again offers a helpful indication. The inscribed pillar capital with the names of Mikkiades and Archermos can, in her opinion, "hardly be earlier than the third quarter of the century."<sup>25</sup> Discussing the probability of the traditional connection of capital and Nike, she says, "If the statue could be dated as low as *ca.* 550-540, the balance of the evidence would incline to the connection." If this is so, a date in the 530's would be reasonable for the caryatid head, which seems substantially later than the Nike.

Two considerations, one now invalidated, one of doubtful cogency, have operated in the past to keep these dates high rather than low within the available span. The first was the notion which long prevailed that the caryatid head belonged to the Cnidian Treasury, which on historical as well as architectural grounds should not be later than 540 B.C.<sup>26</sup> It has now been proven that the head does not belong to the Cnidian caryatids, and one can see that the hair, at least, is rendered in a later style than theirs.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>22</sup> In *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis*. One should perhaps re-emphasize the fact that one cannot distinguish works from the Mesogaia as more old-fashioned than those from the city, as Langlotz does in Schrader, pp. 37f., note 34. The same sculptors, e.g. Phaidimos (cf. Jeffery, *Local Scripts*, pp. 72ff; *B.S.A.*, LVII, 1962, nos. 2, 44, 48) worked both in the city and in the country.

<sup>23</sup> *Archaische Plastik der Griechen*, p. 14. Langlotz, in Schrader, p. 47, gives "around 530" but places the kore near 540 in the chronological table, p. 41.

<sup>24</sup> "La date de la tête ex-Cnidienne de Delphes," *B.C.H.*, LXXXII, 1958, pp. 92-106.

<sup>25</sup> *Local Scripts*, p. 294.

<sup>26</sup> It is unlikely to have been dedicated after Knidos fell under Persian rule, *ca.* 540. Dinsmoor, *Architecture of Ancient Greece*, p. 138, dates the treasury 565-555 because of the earliness of its forms and workmanship.

<sup>27</sup> De la Coste Messelière, *B.C.H.*, LXII, 1938, pp. 285ff. and LXXVII, 1953, pp. 354ff.

The second influence for high dating has been the attempt to date the New York brother-and-sister stele before the battle of Pallene, when the Alkmeonidai were expelled from Athens. This depended in turn on the idea that the inscription of the base should be restored with the name of Megakles. This, however, is not the only name that would fit, and its choice depended also on the notion that the early destruction of the monument was due to its being an Alkmeonid grave.<sup>28</sup> In a speech by Isokrates, the son of Alkibiades says that the tyrants hated the Alkmeonidai so much more than the rest of the Athenians that whenever the tyrants came into power they not only destroyed the houses of the Alkmeonidai but dug up their graves.<sup>29</sup> This would imply that only the Alkmeonidai received this treatment, but Thucydides reports it for the "accursed" who were exiled in 507 B.C.,<sup>30</sup> and Aristotle says that seven hundred households were exiled at that time.<sup>31</sup> These can hardly all have been Alkmeonidai, though they must mostly have been members of their party.<sup>32</sup> At a time when feelings ran so high, the smashing of monuments may well have got out of hand, so that any family of the exiled party may have suffered this indignity, even if its bones were not officially thrown out as accursed. It seems likely, then, that the destruction of monuments was fairly widespread, and it may even be that the majority of the archaic gravestones used as rough building stone in the Themistoklean wall had not been broken up by the Persians but by the Athenians themselves.<sup>33</sup> The monuments seem to support this idea. The stele with warrior and chariot in New York and the Boston sphinx capital which surely must belong to it are amazingly fresh, preserving even the fugitive black color.<sup>34</sup> They seem not to have come from the same area as the brother-and-sister stele, and so should belong to a different family. Such a widespread destruction of the monuments of the greatest families may have contributed to the sudden decline of Attic grave monuments around the end of the 6th century.<sup>35</sup> The sumptuary law that officially put an end to them must have come somewhat later.<sup>36</sup>

The date after the battle of Pallene, which she places between 541 and 537, has been suggested by Miss Richter as the time of the breaking up of the brother-and-sister stele, while Dinsmoor<sup>37</sup> and Raubitschek<sup>38</sup> suggested that it was destroyed in 507. If we add Miss White's suggestion of 514 B.C., that makes three possible occasions. Of these, the first is the least likely. The dates given or implied by ancient historians for the battle of Pallene range from 547/6 to 536/5 B.C., but even by a relatively high chronology for sculpture, the stele falls more easily into

<sup>28</sup> Richter, *Gravestones*<sup>2</sup>, p. 27, no. 37 with earlier bibliography, of which cf. especially *Antike Denkmäler*, IV, 1929, p. 40, note 1. Some of the fragments were said to have been re-used to line later graves that contained only black-figured pottery, but since this pottery is not preserved, we have no way of knowing whether it belonged to the 6th or the 5th century. Double-T clamps employed in the re-use suggested to Dinsmoor that these graves were not earlier than the late 6th century (*Studies in the History of Culture*, p. 187).

<sup>29</sup> *De Bigis* (XVI), 26.

<sup>30</sup> I, 126, 12.

<sup>31</sup> *Ath. Pol.*, XX, 3.

<sup>32</sup> As in the case of Perikles later on, political motives would no doubt have inspired the genealogical research needed to reveal those who were "accursed" from the mother's side.

<sup>33</sup> Mary White suggests that a similar destruction may have taken place when the Alkmeonidai and members of their party went into exile following the murder of Hipparchos in 514 B.C.

<sup>34</sup> *Gravestones*<sup>2</sup>, nos. 38, 45. Cf. p. 29, "One cannot but wonder" whether sphinx and capital belong together. Everything indicates that they do. It is unlikely that we shall ever have a clear published account of the provenance of these pieces, but to a certain extent they tell their own story, and so far no one has attempted to contradict it.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. the discussion in Karouzos, *Aristodikos*, pp. 41 ff. The statue of Aristodikos itself proves that the erection of fine grave monuments to Athenians did not cease immediately with the establishment of the Democracy, but there are relatively few such monuments in the later years.

<sup>36</sup> The epigram of Simonides commenting on the epigram of Kleoboulos (Diehl, frag. 48) emphasizes the impermanence of grave monuments in the words: λίθον δὲ καὶ βρότεσι παλάμαι θραύονται. May he not have been impressed by the destruction that had befallen the Attic monuments between his sojourn in Athens under Hipparchos and his return after Marathon?

<sup>37</sup> *Studies in the History of Culture*, p. 187.

<sup>38</sup> *Jahreshefte*, XXXI, 1939, Beiblatt, pp. 66f.

the decade 540–530 than into the span 550–540.<sup>39</sup> When the Alkmeonid connection was first stressed and the date of 540 proposed, it was not known that the family had returned to Athens in the 20's, presumably following the death of Peisistratos in 528/7.<sup>40</sup>

Since the Alkmeonid connection and its possible effect on the date of the stele are equally uncertain, it seems best to omit this consideration from our chronology. It remains true, as Miss Richter pointed out, that the New York monument belongs between the Anonymous and Siphnian caryatids (if we make no allowance for their different places of origin).<sup>41</sup> It also seems possible to place the New York stele somewhat before the Peplos Kore. A fragment of a stele with the head of a youth in New York offers an easy comparison with the head of a boy on the "Megakles" stele. As Miss Richter has said, the fragment is a little later: "The skull is more domed, the inner corner of the eye is marked by an incised line, the lips pass more naturally into the cheeks, and the antitragus of the ear is more prominent."<sup>42</sup> Also there is more movement and subtlety in the groove between the eye and eyebrow and in the surfaces of cheeks and throat. These same subtleties are found in the Peplos Kore. A date around the middle or late 530's for the brother-and-sister stele and in the early 20's for the Peplos Kore would result from these comparisons if we eliminate, for the moment, the Alkmeonidai from the story.

They return to it later, however, for the marble pediment of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, for which they had contracted and which they finished better than the specifications by giving it a marble front, contains both kouroi and korai, and since ancient historians have given it, rightly or wrongly, a date, one cannot leave it out of the discussion. Herodotos (V, 62) dates it between the time when the Alkmeonidai and their party failed at Leipsydriion (about 513) and 510 B.C., when Hippias was driven out. The only disagreement in the ancient authors is on whether the marble front was built before 510, as Herodotos implies, or just after, as Philochoros says.<sup>43</sup> For the chronology of the sculpture, this does not make a very big difference. The difficulty comes from Payne's chronology of Attic sculpture, which placed Antenor's Kore about 530 B.C. Since a distance of about twenty years seemed too great to separate the kore from the pediment sculptures (of which she seems an elder sister, whether or not by the same artist), Payne suggested (but only suggested) that Herodotos might have made an error, which was taken up by other authors, and that the marble pediment in fact belonged around 520 B.C.<sup>44</sup> Jacoby pointed out some of the difficulties of this assumption, but did not suggest a positive solution. Payne's conviction was based on honest and persuasive observations of the sculptural style of the Antenor Kore and her relation to other Attic works.<sup>45</sup> Absolute chronology became

<sup>39</sup> The evidence has been most recently summarized by G. V. Sumner, *C. Q.*, N. S. XI, 1961, pp. 37–48. According to his reckoning, Herodotos placed the battle in 547/6 and the author of the Aristotelian *'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία* in 536/5, but the actual year is more likely to have been 541/0 or 540/39. M. Lang (*A. J. P.*, LXXV, 1954, pp. 59ff.) offers a still lower date, but this has not been generally accepted. Among those who date the stele 540–530 are Schuchhardt, *Archaische Plastik*, p. 15, Karouzos, *Aristodikos*, p. 45. Miss Richter, *Gravestones*<sup>2</sup>, p. 28, proposes 540–535 on stylistic grounds, but this narrow span seems to result directly from her attempt to reconcile the Alkmeonid theory with the style of the sculpture, making the battle as late as possible and the stele as early as possible. L. H. Jeffery, *B. S. A.*, LVII, 1962, p. 147, accepts Miss Richter's date.

<sup>40</sup> In *Antike Denkmäler*, IV, 1929, p. 40, note 1, Miss Richter believed that the choice was between ca. 540 and after 510. The fragment of an archon list discovered in 1936 in the Athenian Agora with the name of Kleisthenes as archon for 525/4 (Meritt, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 59–65) was the first concrete evidence that the Alkmeonidai had returned to Athens under Hippias. For a recent discussion of the list see Eliot and McGregor, *Phoenix*, XIV, 1960, pp. 27–35.

<sup>41</sup> *Gravestones*<sup>1</sup>, p. 69.

<sup>42</sup> *Gravestones*<sup>2</sup>, no. 52, pp. 35f.

<sup>43</sup> Jacoby, *F. G. H.*, III B, 328 (Philochoros), Fr. 115. The commentary on this (III B, Supplement I, pp. 449f.) is perhaps the fullest recent summary of the literary evidence on the whole question.

<sup>44</sup> Pp. 63–65. Miss Richter, *Kouroi*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 129–130, for the first time accepts Payne's suggestion, thus tacitly recognizing the conflict between her chronology and the Herodotean date. Karouzos, *Aristodikos*, pp. 47–48, accepts a date around 520, but does not discuss again the ancient sources.

<sup>45</sup> For an *architectural* argument, Payne relies on Weickert's observation that the forms of the Alkmeonid Temple are earlier than those of the Peisistratid Temple of Athena. Against this one may place the statement of Dinsmoor that his study of the Alkmeonid Temple supports Herodotos (*Architecture of Ancient Greece*, p. 91). He is referring to the distribution of poros and marble, but if he had felt the forms too early for Herodotos' date he would have said so.

a part of it only to the extent that these other works seemed to be dated. Though Payne never argues in detail the date of the Peplos Kore, it seems quite clear that this work formed a sort of keystone in his scheme, and if, as seems likely, his date for the Peplos Kore was affected by the high dates then prevailing for such works as the supposedly Cnidian caryatid head and the supposedly Alkmeonid New York stele, one might easily adjust downward his absolute dates without contradicting any of his basic observations. Such an adjustment would not only ease the problem of the relationship of the Antenor Kore to the Delphi pediment but it would make less startling the developed forms of the inscription on the base to which, in spite of some doubts,<sup>46</sup> the statue probably belongs. So long as doubts remain about the connection of base and statue, this cannot be called an argument, but it is something to be considered.

A date around 520 for Antenor's kore and 513-510 for the pediment would lead to a corresponding lowering of the dates for the majority of the Attic korai. Acropolis 683, of which a fragment was found in the Agora, No. 75, and which was dated by Payne around 520 (mentioned last among those which he lists in "the earlier part of the ripe archaic period"), might thus without dislocation fall into the decade 510-500 in which Raubitschek has already placed her by assigning her to the Lysias-Euarchis base,<sup>47</sup> a date with which other scholars have concurred. A final result would be to place the most developed korai, from Acropolis 674 on, after 500 B.C. Miss Richter, who followed more or less the Payne chronology, observed a scarcity of Attic sculpture in the first two decades of the 5th century. Her suggestion was that "the threat of Persia evidently made it desirable to focus all energies on defense, and artistic talent was diverted from expensive sculptural work to vase-painting."<sup>48</sup> This difficult hypothesis would be unnecessary if it appeared that a number of works formerly attributed to the period 520-500 actually belong to these first years of the 5th century. If they did not, there would be a strange disproportion between the number of statues preserved from this period and the number of inscribed bases, many of which carried statues. Out of 316 Acropolis dedications (not including supports for tripods and bronze bowls, stelai and altars or marble basins), 93 are dated by Raubitschek in the first two decades of the 5th century and 63 "around 500," which seems generally to mean "500 or a bit later" rather than "500 or a bit earlier." This adds up to approximately half the surviving total for the 6th and 5th centuries.<sup>49</sup> Such an abundance of dedications suggests that the production of sculpture in this period must have been quite as vigorous as that of painted vases.

The idea that Athenian money was going primarily for defense at this time is further contradicted by the architectural evidence from the Agora. It seems to have been in the decade

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Payne, p. 31, note 2. Raubitschek, *Dedications*, p. 482, says, "his doubts were unjustified." Langlotz counters some of Payne's objections in Schrader, p. 83, without affirming as certain that the base belongs.

<sup>47</sup> *B.S.A.*, XL, 1939-40, p. 24, no. V. Cf. *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 170.

<sup>48</sup> *Archaic Greek Art*, p. 145; cf. *Kouroi*<sup>2</sup>, p. 127. Karouzos also notes "still water between ebb and flow" (*op.cit.*, p. 24) in the first decade of the 5th century.

<sup>49</sup> *Dedications*. First two decades of the 5th century: column dedications, nos. 11-15, 17-21, 23, 25, 28-30, 33-37, 43-44, 53, 55-56; low bases, nos. 74, 87, 90, 93-95, 97-98, 102-107, 110, 150, 153-156, 158, 171; pillar monuments, type A, nos. 184-185, 204, 208, 210, 212, 214-217, 226-228, 230-231; pillar monuments, type B, bronze statues, nos. 236, 241, 246, 248-249, 251-253, 255-258, 262-263, 266, 268-269, 273-274, 276-281, 284; pillar monuments, type B, marble statues, no. 291; bases for pillars, no. 302; small bases, nos. 308, 311-315.

Around 500: column dedications, nos. 16, 24, 26, 31-32, 49-50, 52, 54, 58; low bases, nos. 71-73, 79-86, 88-89, 91, 99-101, 108, 151-152; pillar monuments, type A, nos. 180, 182, 186, 188-191, 199-203, 206-207, 209, 211, 220-224; pillar monuments, type B, bronze statues, nos. 243, 245, 250, 254, 260-261, 265, 270, 272, 275, 282; pillar monuments, type B, marble statues, no. 293; small bases, nos. 307, 316.

These figures are, of course, indicative in only a very general way. Not every one of these dedications held a piece of sculpture, and many of the dates are somewhat conjectural (all claim to be based on letter forms, but since some preserve very few letters, we must imagine that form and workmanship of the bases also help in the dating). Nevertheless, there is perhaps a better chance that the absolute dating is correct in the case of inscriptions than of sculpture in this period, because there exist some monuments, such as the Hekatompedon inscription of 486/5, which are dated exactly. In sculpture, on the other hand, the *sequence* can be more closely determined. It is, of course, only wishful thinking to imagine that one kind of evidence is less *subjective* than the other.

500–490 that the Great Drain and the Old Bouleuterion were built. The temple in the City Eleusinion was also built around 490 B.C.<sup>50</sup> These dates are supported by the pottery from the excavations; they do not depend only on the forms of the surviving architecture.

If one recalls the turbulent state of Athenian politics in the first decade after the expulsion of the tyrant, it is not surprising that the remodelling of the Agora to suit the needs of the new democracy was postponed until the following decade. An additional factor which favored new construction in the 490's may have been the gradually increasing productivity of the Laurion mines. These had been worked in the 6th century, and an especially rich vein, producing a notable surplus, was struck by 483/2 B.C.<sup>51</sup> As Ardaillon points out, this strike must have been preceded by a period during which better mining techniques were developed and deeper veins opened up.<sup>52</sup> If the reserve was already substantial in the 490's, it could have provided for the walling of the Peiraeus (in the archonship of Themistokles, 493/2) as well as for civic buildings.

It seems probable that another Athenian monument, the treasury at Delphi, was built at this time. Pausanias (X, 11, 5) said that it was dedicated from the spoils of Marathon, and the excavators of Delphi have accepted his statement. Other scholars have maintained that it was a thank-offering to Delphi for the part the oracle had played in the expulsion of the tyrants. The date is given as 490–480 by the supporters of the first theory and 507–500 by the proponents of the second. Both Dinsmoor, the strongest advocate of the earlier date, and the French archaeologists, who have consistently upheld Pausanias, have said in so many words that the architectural forms of the building do not prove the case either way.<sup>53</sup> Dinsmoor formed his impressions from the lack of structural unity between the Treasury and the inscribed Marathon trophy base, which was laid against its foundations after they were set in place, and from the use in the base of double-gamma and double-T clamps in contrast to the swallowtail clamps used in the Treasury. He also felt that the use of Parian marble would have been anachronistic in an Athenian building in the years after 490, when the Pentelic quarries were being opened up on a large scale for the Older Parthenon. Subsequently, he endeavored to “prove” the earlier date by comparison of the painted ornament on the walls of the cella of the Treasury with similar ornaments on vases, for which he showed statistically a great predominance in the decade 510–500 over the decades before and after.<sup>54</sup>

The earlier date has also been widely favored by non-French archaeologists whose main interest was in sculpture.<sup>55</sup> Langlotz, however, who had laid the groundwork for the earlier dating by comparison with vase-painting,<sup>56</sup> subsequently admitted that he was no longer so sure that the metopes of the Treasury should be dated around 500: “seitdem mir durch Beazleys Forschungen klar geworden ist, daß der “Leagrosstil” von einer manieristischen Malergruppe (z. B. Myson) auch noch im Anfang des 5. Jhs. weitergeführt wird.” He admits the existence in the early 5th century of “a trend which might almost be called archaistic.”<sup>57</sup> In his earlier work,

<sup>50</sup> H. A. Thompson, *Agora Guide*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 21, 49, 52.

<sup>51</sup> Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, XXII, 7.

<sup>52</sup> Ardaillon, *Les Mines du Laurion dans l'antiquité*, Paris, 1897, p. 136. “Si nous croyons que ces progrès décisifs de l'exploitation datent du temps des Pisistratides, c'est qu' à notre avis il faut attribuer au commencement du Ve siècle la découverte des grands gisements du troisième contact, et que, par conséquent, il convient de placer avant cette date les travaux qui, sans doute, préparèrent la découverte.”

<sup>53</sup> Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, L, 1946, p. 88, “The architectural details of the Treasury are thoroughly compatible also with the earlier date, though of course they do not establish it.” Also, *Studies in the History of Culture*, p. 188, “The internal architectural evidence, because of the scarcity of comparative material of this period, is fairly non-committal.” De la Coste Messelière, *Delphes*, IV<sup>4</sup>, p. 265, “J'admets, par scrupule, que ni l'architecture ni la céramique ne nous contraignent absolument de nous prononcer en faveur de l'une ou l'autre date.” One architectural detail, however, does support the later date; the profiles of the hawkbeak mouldings fit a date close to 490 (Shoe, *Profiles of Greek Mouldings*, 1936, p. 107).

<sup>54</sup> “The Athenian Treasury as Dated by its Ornament,” *A.J.A.*, L, 1946, pp. 86–121. His arguments are countered by De la Coste Messelière in *B.C.H.*, LXXVII, 1953, pp. 179–182.

<sup>55</sup> For their names, see *A.J.A.*, 1946, L., p. 87, note 2.

<sup>56</sup> *Zeitbestimmung*, pp. 69ff.

<sup>57</sup> Schrader, p. 40, note 44.

Langlotz did not object to making the marble pediment of the Alkmeonid Temple virtually contemporary with the metopes of the Athenian treasury,<sup>58</sup> but to anyone who examines the two monuments together for any length of time this must seem a difficult thing to accept. Whether one looks at the horses, the male nudes, the drapery, or such details as eyes and ears, the sculptures of the Treasury show a marked advance over those of the marble pediments and acroteria.<sup>59</sup> The detailed French publication of the sculptures of the Treasury shows many of these details and argues, of course, for the post-Marathonian date.<sup>60</sup> The sculptures as such, however, cannot be clearly placed before or after 490 B.C. Rather, they seem to belong somewhere around that date, in the vicinity of the Polos Kore and definitely before the Euthydikos Kore and the Blond Boy.<sup>61</sup> It is, of course, impossible to decide the exact number of years represented by this "definitely before," especially since the sculptures of the Treasury do conserve more of the decorative quality ("manneristic" or "archaistic" or whatever one wants to call it) of archaic Attic and island works than the Euthydikos Kore and the Blond Boy, whose sobriety suggests Peloponnesian influence. This means that the Treasury cannot be ranged in an absolute series with these works, and might, if other arguments demanded it, be closer to them in historical time than it belongs in morphological sequence. We can say only that the sculpture, in view of the general chronological picture, does argue against a date before 500 but does not prove a date after Marathon. The general reluctance of scholars to suggest a date in the 490's may be due not so much to a conviction that it would conflict with the stylistic evidence as to a feeling that it would be a cowardly compromise between the two strongly held views.<sup>62</sup> It is generally recognized that Pausanias makes mistakes, and we have a clear example of an erroneous deduction of just the kind that he must have made if he was in fact wrong about the Athenian Treasury. The dedicatory inscription of the Athenian Stoa states that the building was offered from the spoils of war but does not name the occasion. From a dedication that he saw in the stoa, Pausanias concluded that this was a battle in 429 B.C. This has never caused any serious trouble, because both architecture and letter forms are patently so much earlier than 429 that no one has even thought of believing Pausanias.<sup>63</sup> In the case of the Athenian Treasury, there is no such chronological gap between the style of the building and the style of the dedication from which Pausanias drew his conclusion (the Marathon trophy base set against the south foundations of the Treasury), but there is again the fact that no inscription on the building itself gives the date of its dedication, and Pausanias was obliged to look to a secondary monument for his information. Dinsmoor argues that if the Treasury had been a dedication from the spoils of Marathon there would have been an inscription on the building itself, as there was on the Cnidian Treasury and on the Athenian Stoa. This seems valid, especially when we look at the enormous and prominently situated letters of the inscription on the Stoa, which dates also from the time of the Persian Wars.

If the Treasury was not a dedication from the spoils of Marathon, we have to ask, like Pausanias, what the occasion can have been. This has been in the past a principal reason for

<sup>58</sup> *Zeitbestimmung*, p. 79, "In dem Jahrzehnt, in dem die Metopen des Athenerschatzhauses gearbeitet wurden, müssen auch die Giebelskulpturen des Apollotempels in Delphi entstanden sein."

<sup>59</sup> The Nike acroterion, alone of these sculptures, preserves eyes and ears (good details in Karouzos, *Aristodikos*, pl. 15 a-b). Her hair and drapery, however, are sufficiently similar to those of the marble korai from the pediment to show that she was made at the same time. Both eyes and ears are clearly more advanced than those of Antenor's kore but still fully archaic. The ears of many of the figures on the Treasury metopes already have the broad 5th century shape.

<sup>60</sup> De la Coste Messelière, *Delphes*, IV<sup>4</sup>, 1957.

<sup>61</sup> It has often been emphasized that the Blond Boy and the Kritios Boy were not part of the "Persian debris" and so might possibly have been made after 480. This seems unlikely, nevertheless, especially in view of the freshness of their surfaces. It should be recalled in this connection that the change from kouros pose to weight-leg free-leg stance is attested before 480 by the Leagros base in the Athenian Agora (cf. photo *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 357, fig. 14; for the date see *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, p. 98).

<sup>62</sup> Cf. De la Coste Messelière, *Delphes*, IV<sup>4</sup>, p. 259, note 2.

<sup>63</sup> Amandry, *Delphes*, II, *La colonne des Naxiens et le portique des Athéniens*, p. 119; Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, L, 1946, p. 86.

choosing the date 507–500 B.C. A thank-offering for the expulsion of the tyrants is not, however, the only possibility; it is not even a very good one, for it seems to have been agreed already in the 5th century that the Alkmeonidai had done handsomely by Apollo when they gave him a marble-fronted temple.<sup>64</sup> Whether this debt was paid before or after the oracle did its part is immaterial; the account was square. In speculating about the Cnidian Treasury Pausanias offers two possibilities: spoils of war or a demonstration of prosperity (ἐπίδειξις εὐδαιμονίας). As an example of the latter he must have been thinking about the Siphnian Treasury, whose story was known to him from Herodotos. This ornate building was not a tithe of spoils of war, but built from a tithe of the revenue of the gold and silver mines which had brought about the prosperity of the Siphnians, intended to house future offerings, at a time when it appeared that Siphnos could expect a continued prosperity and continued good relations with the god.

When we recall that the Agora and Prytaneion of the Siphnians were refurbished at the same time their Delphic treasury was being built,<sup>65</sup> it seems altogether plausible that the Athenians should have been building a Treasury in the late 490's when they were redoing their Agora. Instead of imagining the Athenians of this period as going into a phase of austerity and scraping together their pennies for defense, we should rather picture them as just beginning to ride a rising wave of prosperity made possible by the establishment of a stable government and the general improvement of trade and industrial techniques.<sup>66</sup> The victory at Marathon confirmed in dramatic fashion Athens' own sense of her potentiality for greatness.<sup>67</sup> It cannot, on the other hand, have provided enough *loot* to pay for such an expensive project as the Older Parthenon,<sup>68</sup> which seems to have been initiated not long after the battle, a building all in marble and comparable in size to the Periclean Parthenon. This again points to a general state of εὐδαιμονία which can hardly have come about overnight. Dinsmoor's words, "impatient of the poor appearance and tyrannical associations of their chief temples,"<sup>69</sup> probably describe very accurately the feelings of the Athenians when they began the Older Parthenon.

One piece from the Agora, the head of Herakles, No. 97A, bears a relation, however enigmatic, to the sculptures of the Athenian Treasury. The head is virtually without context, and it must be admitted that, so far as style is concerned, it is a ἀπαξ λεγόμενον. The type and general impression are similar to those of the Herakles in the stag metope of the Athenian Treasury though certain details are quite different. In the Agora head, the manneristic elements in the face seem exaggerated, while the lion skin is natural rather than decorative. This suggests that the Agora head is later than the Athenian Treasury. It has, indeed, been called an archaistic work,<sup>70</sup> but it is separated from all ordinary archaistic sculpture by its undiluted vitality and the sure execution of its forms. If it is a copy rather than an original of the late archaic period, its success may be due to the fact that the style which it copies is already itself in a certain sense archaizing. The Herakles of the Delphi metope, with the decorative emphasis of the muscles in the torso, appears at first glance more archaic than many other nudes from the same building.

<sup>64</sup> Pindar, *Pythian* VII. Cf. De la Coste Messelière, *Delphes*, IV<sup>4</sup>, p. 260.

<sup>65</sup> Herodotos, III, 57.

<sup>66</sup> Besides the silver mines, the flourishing pottery industry which Miss Richter mentions (cf. above, note 48) will have been one element in this prosperity, though R. M. Cook has pointed out that production of painted vases in Athens was never great enough to be a major factor in the economy (*Jahrb.*, LXXIV, 1959, pp. 114–123).

<sup>67</sup> This confirmation would have been perfectly symbolized by the Marathon trophy base set against the foundations of the new treasury.

<sup>68</sup> The Persians got away with all but seven ships, and since they also got away with the prisoners from Eretria, it seems likely that they escaped with whatever plunder they had gathered on their way across the Aegean. Though Plutarch (*Aristeides*, V, 5) pictures gold and silver strewn over the battlefield at Marathon, his story has the flavor of one that has improved in the telling. Most of this treasure must have consisted of the contents of the tents and of the personal ornaments and weapons of the dead Persians. The expensive "Marathon monuments" in Athens and Delphi belong to a later age.

<sup>69</sup> *Architecture of Ancient Greece*, p. 149.

<sup>70</sup> W.-H. Schuchhardt, *Gnomon*, 1958, p. 485, is, so far as I know, the only one who has said in print that the head must be archaistic, but the question has occurred to several scholars. See below, pp. 38–40.

One can only conclude that here the sculptor has retained the archaic manner for a special purpose. This becomes even clearer, at a later date, in such a work as the head from a herm, No. 156, which combines an archaic smile with an early classical coiffure and early classical carving of the eyes. It was probably made after 480 B.C. A pelike by the Pan Painter in the Louvre (Pl. 65, a) shows a group of three herms which in all probability reflect the Eion herms of 476/5 and which have archaic smiles of just this sort.<sup>71</sup> The works of the Pan Painter themselves illustrate for us better than the few fragments of surviving sculpture the spirit of this style. The old-fashioned forms, known to be old-fashioned, are regarded with a kind of amused affection, and the contrast between the rigid forms and the life that they contain is inspiring rather than frustrating to the artist.<sup>72</sup> This sub-archaic phase cannot have lasted very long. It was directly perpetuated only in the Attic herms, which set the pattern for herms throughout the Greek world, but works of this style that were made after the Persian destruction probably had, by the mere fact of their survival, a greater influence on archaistic sculpture of a later period than most genuinely archaic works.

## TENTATIVE OUTLINE OF CHRONOLOGY

ATTIC	NON-ATTIC
600–580 Sounion, Dipylon (including <i>Agora fragments</i> , No. 65) and New York kouroi	Naxian Apollo on Delos Thasos Ram-bearer
590–580 Kerameikos kouros	Olympia Hera head
ca. 580	Kleobis and Biton Corfu pediment
580–575 Acropolis Gorgon, New York “—linos” sphinx, Moscato kouros	Copenhagen “Naxian” kouros
ca. 570 Berlin kore	Naxian sphinx at Delphi
570–550 Spata sphinx Hekatompedon pediments <i>Agora poros lion’s head</i> , No. 94 Hydra pediment, Olive tree pediment Gorgon stele, Diskophoros stele Calf bearer, Volomandra kouros	“Naxian” or “Samian” korai from the Acropolis Hera of Cheramytes Geneleos group Tenea kouros
ca. 550 Rampin rider Introduction pediment Boxer stele Kerameikos sphinx	
550–540 New York stele of youth (with <i>Agora hand</i> , No. 99) Lamptrai capital	Nike of Archermos Cnidian caryatids
ca. 540 Lyons kore	
540–530 Munich kouros Brother-and-sister stele Anavyssos kouros	Anonymous caryatid

<sup>71</sup> J. de la Genière, *R.E.A.*, LXII, 1960, pp. 249–253.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Beazley, “The painter loves herms: the stock of stone, sensitised at the top into a monstrously vivid humanity—that is such a blend of contrasts as he delights in” (*Pan-maler*, English text, p. 4).

## ATTIC

## NON-ATTIC

- 530-525 Peplos kore  
New York stele fragment with head of youth  
New York-Boston stele  
*Agora Man-and-lion fragment*, No. 96  
*Agora Man-and-dog stele*, No. 104
- ca. 520 Peiraeus kouros  
Antenor's kore  
Peisistratid Temple of Athena, pediments and sima
- 520-510 Stele of Aristion
- 513-510 Alkmeonid Temple marble pediment and acroteria
- 510-500 Acropolis kore 683
- 500-490 Acropolis kore 674  
*Agora kore head*, No. 73  
Aristodikos  
Polos kore  
Athenian Treasury  
*Agora small poros lion pediment*, No. 95
- 490-480 *Leagros base in the Agora*  
Euthydikos kore  
Blond boy  
Kritios boy
- 480-470 Tyrannicides (476)  
Kimonian herms  
*Agora herm head*, No. 156
- Siphnian Treasury (ca. 525)
- Eretria pediment
- Aegina West Pediment
- Aegina East Pediment
- Delphi Charioteer (474?)

## CATALOGUE

65. Fragments of the Dipylon Kouros (?), ca. 600-590 B.C. Pls. 1-2, 62, a.

Four pieces. Number for general reference S 287.

A. Pls. 1-2. S 530 + S 1677. Part of left forearm and hand. Mended from two joining fragments: (1) wrist, broken just below wrist-bone and about halfway to elbow, found in 1935 in a marble pile in the center of the square (M-O, 11-12). (2) clenched little and third fingers and adjacent part of the hand with a little of the marble from the thigh adhering. A bit of the middle finger is present as a ridge adhering to the third. Found in 1953 in the demolition of a modern house just south of the southwest corner of the square (I-J 15). Coarse-grained island marble,

possibly Naxian, white with gray streaks, some of which are wide and blurry while others show as thin lines of peppery dark flecks. Surface only slightly weathered, with yellowish gray patina. A few brown stains on inside of arm, 1. Mortar adhering to all surfaces of hand fragment, 2. Both fragments somewhat chipped and battered.

Total L. of joined fragments 0.32 m., Max. P. W. of arm 0.099 m.

B. Pl. 1. S 287. Part of back and advanced left leg. Mended from two joining fragments, both preserving surface from back and proper left side but not extending to front or right side: (1) small of back and part of left flank, preserving central portion of back from lowest rib to below hip-girdle. Found in

1933 in a modern wall north of the west part of the Middle Stoa (J 12). (2) part of left thigh and buttock, preserving some of the line of division between the buttocks. Found in 1951 in a marble pile in front of the Tholos (I 11). Marble, weathering and patina as A. Dark brown stains on the surface of the flank. Surfaces of both fragments somewhat chipped and scratched.

L. of joined fragments 0.555 m., D. of torso fragment at small of back 0.20 m., W. of torso fragment 0.29 m.

C. Pls. 1–2. S 1739. Right knee and back of thigh. Broken just below patella and above lower bulges of vasti. Both breaks slant up to the back. Found in 1953 in a marble pile in front of the Stoa of Zeus (I 6). Marble as A and B. Surface iron-gray and tends to flake in places, apparently as a result of long exposure in modern times, but ancient weathering appears to have been light, since marks of the finishing tool remain clearly visible. Edges of patella and vasti battered.

H. 0.35 m., W. 0.195 m., D. 0.215 m.

D. Pl. 1. S 1908. Fragment from back of left shoulder. Split off in approximately vertical plane. Found in 1955 in the same marble pile east of the Tholos which earlier yielded the hip fragment B 2. Marble, weathering and patina as A and B. Traces of mortar adhering to all surfaces.

Max. P. Dim. 0.244 m.

*Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 290–304, pls. 81–84. Richter, *Kouroi*<sup>2</sup>, no. 7, p. 47, figs. 54–59, 68. Scheffold, *Antike Kunst*, IV, 1961, pp. 76–78, pl. 32, 5. Karouzos, *Aristodikos*, pp. 59f., no. A 1 a. Jeffery, *B.S.A.*, LVII, 1962, p. 123, no. 2.

See also pp. 1, 3, 12, 28.

The four pieces, found as six separate fragments, are part of an early Attic kouros of superlative workmanship and considerably over life size. Though they came to light in different places over a period of twenty-two years, there can be scarcely any doubt that they all belong to one statue. All are made of the same marble and all show the unmistakable characteristics of the Attic kouros of the Sounion group.<sup>1</sup> A, B, and D are identical not only in the kind of marble but also in weathering and surface color. The different weathering and color of C are typical “marble pile” phenomena and do not represent the condition of the stone when it was first unearthed in modern times. They suggest that this piece may have been uncovered earlier than the others, perhaps in the German excavations on the west side of the Agora in

1896–1897 or in the Greek excavations there in 1907 to 1908.

That the fragments are all of the same scale is apparent when one places them in approximately the relative positions they would have had in the statue (Pl. 62, a). It can also be seen from a comparison of measurements of individual parts with corresponding measurements of the best preserved kouros from Sounion.<sup>2</sup> This suggests a scale between three-quarters and four-fifths that of the Sounion statue. Neither the relative placement of the fragments nor the size of the kouros as a whole can be recovered exactly, however, for the sculptors of these earliest kouros altered their proportions considerably from statue to statue.

There is a very strong probability that the Agora pieces were once parts of the Dipylon kouros, hitherto represented only by the beautiful head discovered in 1916 in the north tower of the Dipylon (Pl. 62, a, c) and the right hand excavated in the same region in 1929 (Pl. 62, d).<sup>3</sup> The two hands provide the closest link. They are of the same scale, with some measurements equal and others differing by no more than five millimeters and they show identical stylization of the forms. The marble of the Agora fragments is so like that of the Dipylon head and hand that one feels it must have come from the same quarry, and the quality of carving and finish are so similar that the pieces must all be from the same workshop. Thus it becomes easier to identify the Agora and Dipylon kouros than to separate them, but the identification cannot be taken as proved so long as no joining fragment exists. In two places we are tantalizingly close. The leg fragment, C, breaks off only a few inches short of where the Dipylon hand would have rested, and the inner edge of the shoulder fragment, D, is not far away from the neck.

Buschor suggested that the Dipylon head was originally built into the Themistoklean wall and re-used in the later gate.<sup>4</sup> The Agora pieces likewise must have had more than one re-use. Those of which the exact provenance is recorded came from modern walls, and it is likely that those found in the marble piles also derive from modern houses demolished in the course of the excavations. They may all have come ultimately from the Themistoklean wall and have been unearthed in modern times by builders

<sup>2</sup> See *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 294–295 for a comparison of measurements of the Agora fragments with those of the Dipylon and Sounion kouros.

<sup>3</sup> Richter, *Kouroi*<sup>2</sup>, no. 6 (with earlier bibliography). Miss Richter, *op.cit.*, p. 47, prefers to leave open the question whether the Agora fragments belonged to the Dipylon kouros. She gives them a different number. Karouzos, *loc.cit.*, calls the connection uncertain but makes the Agora kouros no. A 1 a, the Dipylon kouros being no. A 1. Scheffold, *Antike Kunst*, IV, 1961, pp. 76–78, tentatively accepts the attribution.

<sup>4</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, LII, 1927, p. 209.

<sup>1</sup> Richter, *Kouroi*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 30–58. The fullest discussion of the Attic group is by Richter, *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, V, pp. 20–56, the text of which is repeated in German in the text to Brunn-Bruckmann, pls. 751–755.

who came down on a stretch of the city walls and carried off the material for use elsewhere.

The kouros stood with his left leg advanced and his two hands clenched against his thighs. The bit of the left shoulder, D, is all that survives of the upper part of the body. Its contour is smoothly rounded, and on it is cut a neat groove which shows a distinct center-line near the lower edge of the fragment but becomes shallower and less definite as it curves up over the top of the shoulder. It ends about 6 cm. short of the broken right edge of the fragment. This is the hindmost of three grooves that mark the divisions of the deltoid muscle in all Attic kouroi of the Sounion Group.<sup>5</sup> The space intervening between the end of the groove and the break on our piece suggests that there was a broader expanse of shoulder uncovered by the back hair in our kouros than in the New York and Sounion kouroi, and this would fit the attribution to the Dipylon kouros, who had his hair confined by a ribbon at the nape of the neck instead of spreading out fan-wise over the shoulders (Pl. 62, a).

The missing elbow region on our kouros must have been similar to that of the New York kouros. The forearm shows a sharp, straight ridge defining the course of the ulna, as on the New York kouros, and there is no trace of the lateral grooves that continue the ridge around the elbow in the Sounion kouroi. The lower end of the ulna is represented as a knob with a ridge around it on the side toward the thumb. The break passes through the lower part of this ridge, but the end of it is partially preserved on the hand fragment.

The hand is clenched, with the ends of the fingers resting against the thigh. Above the end of the little finger a narrow strip of marble joins the hand and wrist to the thigh for a distance of about 0.11 m., above which the arm is cut free of the body. Above the connecting strip the front and back planes of the arm meet at an obtuse angle. The traces of the drill holes by which the arm was separated from the body have not been entirely removed. They suggest a rather small drill. The inner outline of the little finger is carved with the chisel into the flat side of the fist and a polygon of marble with bevelled edges is left adhering in the center. The little finger appears to have four joints, two against the thigh and two cut free.<sup>6</sup> The divisions between the fingers were marked

out with the pointed chisel and the fingers shaped with the flat chisel. The facets left by the latter have not been smoothed away. On the Dipylon hand the point-marks remain visible in the valleys between the fingers as they do on ours but the chisel-facets have been largely obliterated. Thus the two hands differ slightly in degree of finish though they are identical in style.

The Agora hand adds no details not already known to us from the Dipylon hand. The torso fragment, B, has the following features which are common to all the Attic members of the Sounion Group: (1) the presence of a girdle-like ridge above the hips, (2) a broad, curved groove marking the depression over the great trochanter, and (3) a long groove running down the outside of the thigh. In addition it shows details of modelling that are present in the Sounion kouroi but not in the smaller statue in New York (Pl. 62, b). Two grooves flanking the spinal furrow indicate the erector spini muscles, and the remains of a diagonal groove at the upper edge of the fragment show that this statue had also the schematic indication of ribs that decorates the backs of the Sounion kouroi.

The knee, C, has simple massive forms that recall those of the Sounion statue. The bulge of the vasti muscles over the kneecap is almost symmetrical. As in the Sounion statue, the profile view shows a distinct bulging overhang of the vasti over the kneecap in the center; this is much less apparent in the New York kouros. Above the bulges are curved depressions, less definite in outline than those of the New York kouros but deeper than those of the Sounion statue. The sharp division between the vasti was doubtless continued upward in a forked groove as in the two Sounion kouroi. Below the vasti are great flat facets cut back to either side of the kneecap. That toward the inside is flatter and intersects the adjacent planes more abruptly than does that on the outside. The patella tapers more from top to bottom than on the Sounion statue, less than on the kouros in New York. The back of the leg above the knee is rounded and perfectly plain. On the outside of the leg are three grooves, precisely as in the Sounion kouroi: a long one near the back that runs the length of the thigh (the upper end of the corresponding groove in the left leg is preserved on fragment B), a shorter one that continues upward the angle between the knee

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pl. 82, e.

<sup>6</sup> Alternatively, one may say that the last joint is very long and is divided by a fold. Actually, the very beautiful but not quite natural shape of these clenched hands in the Sounion group, with their extra angle between the back of the hand and the thigh, may result from the sculptor's providing a joint to go with each one of the folds that are formed on the inside of the fingers of the clenched hand in nature. One might imagine that this form was invented by the Attic artists of this group, since it has not appeared in other kouroi known up to now, but a beautiful kneeling youth in ivory

from Samos recently published by Buschor (*Altsamische Standbilder*, IV, 1960, pp. 62-64, figs. 238-248; Ohly, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXXIV, 1959, Beil. 90-91) has the hands formed in just the same way. The Samian youth also had inlaid discs in the lobes of the ears, which suggests that the circular patterns in the ears of the Attic kouroi may actually represent earrings. The ivory figure has the narrow, belted waist of the early Delian kouroi; Buschor mentions especially the Naxian colossus. We may thus imagine some of the details as well as the general idea of the Attic kouroi of the Sounion Group as being borrowed from the islands.

and the *vastus externus*, and a still shorter one between the two. The New York kouros has only the long groove.

These fragments shed an unexpected light on the Dipylon kouros, for if they do not belong to him they must be from a statue so similar that it could only be called a twin. It now appears that the Dipylon kouros had much more in common with the kouroi from Sounion than was formerly supposed. The close connection of the Dipylon and New York kouroi has been generally recognized; the New York kouros has most often been taken either as a later work of the Dipylon master or a work of one of his pupils.<sup>7</sup> The fact that the Sounion kouroi show details of anatomy that are lacking in the New York kouros was once used to support the idea that those from Sounion were later, being farther advanced along the road to naturalism. The Agora fragments show that some, at least, of these details, the grooves for the erector spini muscles, the herringbone pattern of the ribs and the additional grooves in the side of the leg, were already present in the Dipylon kouros. They were omitted from the New York kouros not because the artist was unfamiliar with them but because of the smaller size of the statue. Though no fragment has been found from the front of the torso of the Dipylon kouros, we can easily imagine that it too was more elaborately treated than that of the one in New York. The case for regarding the Dipylon, New York and Sounion kouroi all as products of a single workshop is strengthened, and it no longer seems possible to assume a very great interval of time between them.

What exactly we mean by "workshop" in this period is difficult to say, but the term suggests itself here because we seem to have closely related works which betray at least two hands, to one of which we can probably attribute the two Sounion kouroi, to the other the Dipylon and New York kouroi. As to the actual succession, it still seems easiest to regard the Sounion statue as contemporary with or slightly earlier than the Dipylon kouros, the New York kouros as slightly later. Schefold has recently made the suggestion that the New York kouros is not a later but an earlier work of the Dipylon master.<sup>8</sup> He believes that in the Sounion kouroi the "high archaic" qualities of solidity and stability that make a truly monumental art are realized for the first time. The New York kouros, with its slighter forms, graceful surface detail and more delicate poise, he regards as still linked to the early archaic conception of form. The Dipylon kouros, to which he tentatively attributes the Agora fragments, still comes between. This bold suggestion, in spite of a certain formal appeal, presents practical difficulties. For example, the New

York kouros is closer to the Gorgon head, *Aeropolis* 701,<sup>9</sup> than is the Dipylon kouros in such details as the shape and placement of the ear, the relation of the fillet to the ear, the height of the forehead, and the profile line from the forehead to the top of the head.<sup>10</sup> Also the setting of the corner of the eye well within the line of the side plane of the face of the New York kouros points the way which is followed in the Gorgon head. In all these respects, the Dipylon head is closer to the Sounion statue than to the Gorgon. No one, I think, would go so far as to suggest that the Gorgon head is earlier than the kouroi. As Payne has shown, it is already clearly a 6th century Gorgon and obviously of a later type than the Gorgons of the *Nessos* amphora.<sup>11</sup>

Also, the massive rendering of the *vasti* above the knee, in which the *Agora* fragment C and so presumably the Dipylon kouros is a middle term between the Sounion and New York kouroi, seems an early rather than an advanced feature. It stems from the conception of the thigh as a solid form separate from rather than continuous with the leg as a whole. This conception is already present in Proto-Attic vase-painting from the time of the *Eleusis* amphora of the *Polyphemos* Painter<sup>12</sup> and is particularly striking on the *Kynosarges* amphora.<sup>13</sup> In black-figure the division is less emphasized. This does not mean that we should therefore date the Sounion kouroi to the time of the *Kynosarges* amphora. Reasons have been given above for dating the whole Sounion group later, not earlier, than Miss Richter has done.<sup>14</sup> It seems necessary to recognize that whereas the various branches of art all go through more or less the same phases, they do not all proceed at the same rate. The "sense of the colossal" is present in griffin cauldrons before it appears in vase-painting and in sculpture earlier than in architecture. Hence it would seem that sculpture must always be dated primarily on the basis of its relationship to other sculpture and only secondarily on the basis of parallels with other arts such as vase-painting.

66. Hip section of a Kouros, ca. 550-540 B.C. Pl. 3.

S 1440. Found in 1950 in a marble pile west of the north end of the *Stoa of Attalos* (P 7-8). Broken at waist and just below buttocks. Preserves back of

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the side views in Schrader, pl. 184.

<sup>10</sup> These elements, which affect the structure and proportions of the head as a whole, seem more significant than the arrangement of beads in the hair, for which Schefold compares Gorgon and Dipylon kouros (especially since the similarity here consists only in the absence of a grid).

<sup>11</sup> Cf. above, pp. 3-4 and note 13.

<sup>12</sup> Mylonas, *Πρωτοαττικὸς Ἀμφορεύς*, pls. 1, 5, 7, 12.

<sup>13</sup> *B.S.A.*, XXXV, 1934-5, pl. 56, b.

<sup>14</sup> See above, pp. 3-5.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 297-299. For the contrary opinion of Schefold, see below.

<sup>8</sup> *Op.cit.*

fragment between the two main breaks except that the projecting part of the buttocks is considerably battered. Some of left flank preserved, almost none of right. Lower edge of abdomen preserved on proper left side. Of the genitals only the outline remains. Island marble, probably Parian, white with fairly coarse grain. Entire fragment considerably weathered, no really fresh surface remaining anywhere. Light tan patina. A few "root-marks" and a good deal of mortar, probably late Roman.

P.H. 0.285 m., W. at waist 0.245 m., Max. W. 0.345 m.

H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 59, pl. 30, b and c.

See also p. 18.

The proportions of the figure were probably relatively slender. The dimensions are just a little less than comparable measurements of the kouros from Melos in the Athens National Museum,<sup>15</sup> whose height is 2.14 m., so that our kouros may have been around two meters in height, i.e. somewhat over life size. The junction of the back and side planes of the torso as it appears in section at the top of the fragment is still quite rectangular. The front plane seems to have been gently rounded. The modelling in general, so far as one can tell, is of a simple rounded sort, without strong emphasis on the individual forms.

The lower boundary of the abdomen is slightly curved in outline and the slope of the sides is not steep. Within this boundary the preserved surface is plain. There is no indication of the pubic hair. The bulge of the external oblique over the iliac crest is mildly but definitely indicated by a gentle swelling separated by a marked depression from the convex surface of the abdomen. The projection of the buttocks is moderate. Beneath the left one a fold of flesh separates the buttock from the thigh. The right side is not preserved so far down. The vertical groove separating the buttocks ends in a fork at the top. This is simply sketched with the chisel. There is no modelled depression over the great trochanter, but a slight interruption of the general convexity can be felt in this area on the right side (the left side is too battered for certainty).

The breaks on the sides indicate that the arms were attached to the body for some distance above the hands. The apex of the attachment seems to be just about at the height of the top of the groove between the buttocks. The hands seem to have been placed well forward on the thighs.

Within the framework of the kouros scheme this piece offers the greatest possible contrast to No. 65. There the sculptor's intense interest in each separate form and element of the pattern and the loving care

with which he executed the smallest detail enable us to derive some pleasure from even the most mutilated of fragments. Here the individual parts have been deliberately de-emphasized in favor of the whole, and, since we no longer have the whole, the fragment is unimpressive. With its torso still rectangular in cross section and its hands attached to the thighs for a considerable distance, our kouros seems not later than the Melos Group, which Miss Richter places approximately between 555 and 540 B.C.<sup>16</sup> The generalized modelling also fits this group better than either the preceding or the following ones. Our kouros in his original state had probably not such long, fluid lines as the Melos kouros, however. The more definite offset of the buttocks from the thigh below and the forward position of the hands, which implies a slight bend of the elbows, would give more interruption to the flow of contour. The effect may have been more like that of the Munich kouros, an early example of the succeeding period. Though generalized modelling is characteristic of the Melos Group as a whole, the permanent Attic preference for clarity would have prevented Athenian sculptors from producing anything really comparable to the Melos kouros. The finish of our kouros was not meticulous; so much may be guessed from the sketchy chisel grooves at the top of the buttocks and the point-marks remaining in the hollow between the legs below.

There is nothing to suggest whether this kouros was a tomb statue or a dedication, and, if the latter, whether it stood on the Acropolis or actually in the Agora or its vicinity. The numerical probability is that it was a tomb statue.<sup>17</sup> The piece has certainly been re-used, perhaps more than once, in late walls, and it may have been carried some distance for this purpose.

67. Fragment of Left Lower Leg of Kouros (?), 3rd Quarter of 6th Century B.C. Pl. 3.

S 1587. Found in 1952 in a marble pile in the southwest corner of the Odeion (L 11-12). Fragment of left shin from just above ankle-bones about halfway to knee. Circumference preserved only at bottom, in a strip 5 cm. high above which entire back part broken away. Island marble, probably Parian, white with fairly coarse grain. Surface smooth, with little or no

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 90-95. Though some of the latest members of the group may possibly be a little later than 540, the dates 555-540 are probably valid for the greater part of the Melos group. The beautiful kouros head in Istanbul, now joined to a Samian torso (Eckstein, *Antike Plastik*, I, pp. 47-57, pls. 45-54), seems earlier than the pseudo-Cnidian caryatid.

<sup>17</sup> For a list of archaic tomb statues, see Karouzos, *Aristodikos*, pp. 59ff.

<sup>15</sup> Richter, *Kouroi*<sup>2</sup>, no. 86.

sign of ancient weathering, but somewhat chipped and battered.

H. of frag. 0.205 m.

The anatomy is modelled in broad clear planes with emphasis on the planes as defining the solid forms rather than on the grooves and ridges as parts of a linear pattern. The planes tend to be flat, but their meeting lines are rounded over and all the grooves are broad and shallow. There is no sharp edge down the front of the shin, though one can see that two planes meet there. On the outside of the leg there is a straight groove along the shin and a depression behind the ankle-bone. The ridge above the ankle-bone is flattened and so is that above the heel in back. On the inside there is a heavier diagonal groove along the shin, disappearing over the ankle-bone (one cannot tell whether it was meant to end behind the bone, as it should, or in front of it as it does in an early grave relief from the Themistoklean Wall),<sup>18</sup> and a shallower depression behind the bone. The swelling of the calf-muscle, of which only a little is preserved on our fragment, is set off by a broad concave area below.

The fragment seems to have belonged to an undraped male figure, hence most probably a kouros. The scale seems to be about that of the Melos kouros.<sup>19</sup> One naturally asks whether this piece could be from the same statue as No. 66. The scale and marble do not rule out the possibility, but the degree of weathering is so different that we should have to imagine that the fragments were separated from each other at a very early date. Furthermore, the carving and finish of the leg fragment are so much more precise and geometrical than those of No. 66 that it is hard to imagine that the sculptor was the same.

The finish of the surface is comparable to that of the man-and-dog stele, No. 104, probably to be dated ca. 530–525 B.C. The anatomical conventions that our fragment displays are in use from the time of the Tenea-Volomandra Group on.<sup>20</sup> An earlier date is ruled out by the fact that, though the ankle-bones themselves are not preserved, the outer one seems to have been set lower and farther back than the inner one.<sup>21</sup>

68. Back of Head of Large Male Statue, 2nd Half of 6th Century B.C. (?) Pl. 4.

S 815. Found in 1937 among marbles deriving from demolished modern houses in the area of the Eleu-

sinion (S-T 20). The back part of a large head split off through both ears with the break slanting toward the back of the neck. Fine-grained white marble resembling Pentelic. Surface weathered, worn and battered.

P.H. 0.43 m., P.W. 0.295 m. (This is the width across the head at the widest point above the ears).

The head must have been about one and one-half times life size. The hair was long, with wavy side locks slanting forward from behind each ear. These are carved with the chisel in coarse vertical strands, and probably hung down over the shoulders in front. The hair on the top of the head is smooth, without carved detail of any kind. That hanging down the back of the neck is decorated with parallel down-curved waves rendered by a series of curved grooves about 2.5 cm. apart carved with the pointed chisel. The lower termination of the hair-mass is not preserved, but the strongly dipping waves would suggest either a short mass or one confined in some way at its lower end.

The shape of the head, though curved everywhere, gives a rectangular impression. The back is flattish; the top seems to have been fairly well domed, to judge from what is left of the profile, but this is not really enough to give the full effect. The surface finish of the hair appears to have been rather rough, consisting of point-work lightly smoothed over. The preserved inner parts of the ear show a careful rubbed finish, however, and the face must have been similarly treated.

The ear is the only element by which one could even hope to date the fragment, and that is not well preserved. It is carved in more than one plane. One can get an idea of the structure of the upper part from what is preserved of the right ear and of the lower part from the left. The outline of the ear is a simple curve, not drawn in above the lobe. One cannot tell whether or not the antitragus was shown. The inner end of the helix and the upper part of the tragus curl inward together in a symmetrical fashion. The symmetrically incurved tragus and helix occur as late as the Acropolis kore 670, dated around 520 B.C. by both Payne<sup>22</sup> and Langlotz,<sup>23</sup> but possibly a little later in actual fact. The ear of our fragment looks earlier than that of the kore, however. The Munich kouros, dated between 540 and 530 B.C.,<sup>24</sup> has a rather similar ear.

The large size, the use of Attic marble, and the simple, rough treatment of the hair all make this piece unusual. Though I have included it with the kouros, we have no real evidence that it belonged to one. Perhaps it comes from a big draped and bearded

<sup>18</sup> Richter, *Gravestones*<sup>2</sup>, figs. 83–84.

<sup>19</sup> Richter, *Kouros*<sup>2</sup>, no. 86. H. 2.14 m.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.

<sup>21</sup> The malleoli are level in the Orchomenos-Thera Group, cf. *ibid.*, p. 63.

<sup>22</sup> P. 35.

<sup>23</sup> Schrader, p. 51.

<sup>24</sup> Richter, *Kouros*<sup>2</sup>, p. 115, lists the Munich kouros with the "early examples" of the Anavyssos-Ptoon 12 Group, dated by her ca. 540–515.

statue in some such scheme as the colossal Dionysos in the quarry at Naxos.<sup>25</sup> The large size of the statue would have made it desirable to use local marble, and the more solid format would have made the Attic marble safer than it would have been for a kouros of comparable scale. Possibly the statue was seated. A large archaic seated statue from Ikaria in Attica is made of local marble.<sup>26</sup> Though our head comes from the Eleusinian area, it seems too early in style to have derived from the sanctuary (cf. above p. 1 note 1).

**69. Fragment of Kouros, Late 6th or Beginning of 5th Century B.C.** Pl. 3.

S 1890. Found in 1953 in a marble pile in the Library of Pantainos (R 14). Buttocks and part of back of thighs. Preserves none of front surface except in the groove between the legs. Island marble, white with grayish streaks, fairly coarse grain. Whole surface flaked and battered.

P.H. 0.42 m., W. 0.355 m., Th. 0.24 m.

The level position of the hips and the fact that the left leg was slightly advanced show that the statue was in the kouros scheme. The straight up and down line of the hips at the side suggests that the kouros belonged to the latest group, and the modelling of the buttocks with a broad depression at the side supports this. In the broken surface of the front of the fragment is a round hole 0.008 m. in diameter filled with lead, which must have served for the attachment of the genitals. None of the attachment-surface is preserved, but the groove between the legs runs up so high that it looks as if the whole of the genitals was made separately and not the penis alone.

The large scale of the piece suggests that it may have been of good quality, and it is perhaps more likely to have been made before than after 500 B.C. Its value in its present state, unless other, better preserved fragments of it appear elsewhere, can be no more than statistical.

**70. Unfinished Head of a Small Kouros, Last Quarter of 6th Century B.C.** Pl. 4.

S 30. Found in 1931 in late level on the west side of the Agora (I-J, 9-10). Broken off at neck. Front of face split away. Very much battered, especially on proper left side. Parian marble of relatively fine grain.

P.H. 0.14 m., H. chin to crown 0.12 m.

See also p. 3.

<sup>25</sup> Blümel, *Greek Sculptors at Work*, pp. 14, 16, figs. 2-4.

<sup>26</sup> N. M. 3897 (torso), 3073 (hand with kantharos), 3074 (feet). *A.J.A.*, V, 1889, pp. 464-467; *Ath. Mitt.*, XLI, 1916, pl. 11.

The coiffure, with a short mass of hair on the nape of the neck, shows that the head was male. Its strict symmetry and full plastic form suggest that it belonged to a kouros. The finished head would no doubt have had curls over the forehead and on the nape of the neck like the Attic head in the Louvre which is assigned by Miss Richter to the Anavyssos-Ptoon 12 Group.<sup>27</sup> The unfinished work offers no evidence for close dating. The hairdress would fit any date between 540 and 480, but the rather pointed dome of the skull suggests a date later than the Munich and Anavyssos kouros, while the top of the head, less rounded than that of Aristodikos,<sup>28</sup> looks earlier than 500.

The hair has been carefully shaped with strokes of a small, pointed chisel. Just below the hairline in back is a straight groove that might be the edge of a saw cut. The ears have not been fully formed as yet, but the place of the right ear is marked by a lightly picked plane surface. It appears that the ears were meant to show between the front and back hair. Face and neck have been blocked out with the chisel. Sharp facets still show beneath the chin. The outer corner of the eye is marked by a raised area between two grooves. The head is interesting because it shows the flat chisel used instead of the point for the flesh areas at a fairly early stage of the work.<sup>29</sup>

**71. Head from a Small Archaic Male (?) Statuette, 6th or Early 5th Century B.C.** Pl. 4.

S 1185. Found in 1939 in early classical fill with late Roman disturbances in the Street of the Marble Workers near its westward bend (B 18). Head broken off at neck. Island marble, probably Parian, white with fairly coarse grain. Surface somewhat worn. Forehead battered.

H. 0.057 m., H. chin to crown 0.050 m.

See also p. 2.

This little head, found in the marble-working district southwest of the Agora,<sup>30</sup> is probably unfinished, though it is possible that it was meant to be left in a sketchy state of carving and supplemented with paint. The hair seems to have been long, hanging down the back of the neck, but there is no clear line

<sup>27</sup> Richter, *Kouroi*<sup>2</sup>, no. 142.

<sup>28</sup> Karouzos, *Aristodikos*, pls. 9-10; Richter, *op. cit.*, fig. 489. Karouzos dates Aristodikos around 500 B.C. We have suggested the decade 500-490 (see above, p. 13).

<sup>29</sup> Contrast Blümel, *Greek Sculptors at Work*, pp. 20-36. Though Blümel's distinction between early work, in which the punch predominated, and later work, in which the chisel was more extensively used, is generally valid, it seems clear that the chisel was more important in archaic sculpture in the round than he would have us believe.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. R. S. Young, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 135 ff.

of division between the neck and the hair. The forehead is battered away. The features are merely sketched with the chisel, the lips, nose and chin being shown as projections, the eyes as indentations. The head gives the impression of being intended as male, though one cannot be sure. The projection of the hair above the forehead (accentuated by the breaking away of the surface of the forehead) suggests front curls.

The majority of the archaic male statuettes preserved are kouroi, and it seems likely that this head was intended for one.

**72. Neck and Hair of Kore (?), 1st Half of 6th Century B.C.**  
Pl. 6.

S 1958. Found in 1949 in the Stoa of Attalos (Q-R, 7-13). Island marble, coarser-grained than that of the Dipylon kouros. Color basically white. Surface weathered and battered. Traces of mortar on all sides. No fresh breaks.

P.H. 0.125 m., W. 0.23 m., Depth 0.16 m.

The fragment preserves the neck and back hair at neck level of a figure of about life size or a little under (depending on the proportions; the head was about life-sized). The neck, of which only the front appears, is broad and flat, rather than columnar. The sterno-mastoid muscles are rendered as broad, very slight swellings bounded by faintly concave areas. The flat appearance of the neck is enhanced by the fact that the side locks do not fan in toward the center but diverge slightly. The side hair is divided into three wavy tresses on each side, which must have hung down over the shoulders in front. The lines between the locks and between the hair and the neck are sharply chisel-cut, with no point marks visible. None of the surface of these locks is preserved; we do not know how they were stylized. The back hair joins the side locks as a single mass, with no triangle of separation above the shoulders. The hair-mass may have been simply intersected by the planes of the shoulders, as it is, for example, in the early kore Acropolis 593.<sup>31</sup> The back hair has horizontal waves dipping a little toward the center back. They seem to have been blocked out with the point and rubbed smooth. Point marks show in the hollows. The lower end of the back hair is not preserved.

The piece has very little depth front to back. Its oblong section, closed hair-mass, flat neck and sloping throat all suggest that it is from a draped female statue of flattish section rather than from a kouros.

<sup>31</sup> Payne, pl. 12; Schrader, pl. 2. This treatment of the hair as a single mass occurs as late as the Athena of Endoios, Payne, pl. 116; Schrader, pl. 85.

A statuette such as Acropolis 589 (dated around 570 by Langlotz)<sup>32</sup> offers an analogy on a smaller scale. The sloping throat recalls the "Naxian" kore from the Acropolis, no. 677,<sup>33</sup> though even there the neck has more depth. The coarse marble of our piece also recalls that of the "Naxian" kore, but in ours the grains are not quite so large.

**73. Head of Kore, ca. 500-490 B.C.** Pls. 5-6.

S 1071. Found in 1938 in a late Roman deposit (4th century after Christ) in the shaft of a brick-lined water system south of the Eleusinion (U 22: 1). Face and proper right side of head. Broken off at neck; back and part of left side split off. Nose broken off and left eye and eyebrow battered. Island marble, probably Parian, white with medium coarse grain. Surface granular; perhaps this is due more to acids in the ground than to ancient weathering.

H. 0.235 m., H. chin to crown 0.22 m., W. ca. 0.165 m.

T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 235-236, fig. 34; *Arch. Anz.*, 1938, cols. 550-551, col. 560, fig. 10; Thompson, *Agora Guide*<sup>2</sup>, p. 157.

See also pp. 1 note 1, 13.

This is the head of a life-sized kore wearing a stephane over her long hair. She has disk earrings carved in the marble. Her front hair, cut short to form bangs, frames the face with wavy parallel strands that end in two rows of small snail shell curls. Long, flat side locks carved with wavy parallel strands slant forward from behind the ears and must have fallen over the shoulders in front. The long back hair falls in ribbon-like crimped locks.

The stephane bends only slightly over the ear. The forehead hair projects below the stephane in a sort of ledge, on top of which the strands are not carved. Above the stephane the strands are indicated only in a narrow strip in front, behind which a narrow plain band like a ribbon crosses the front of the head; all the surface above this is merely stippled. There are three drilled holes above the stephane, presumably for the attachment of ornaments, but somewhat puzzling since they are not symmetrically placed. It is possible that the whole stephane was added in metal. If so, this would explain why, unlike those of other korai, it has no plastic thickness in the marble and why there is an uncarved strip of hair below it.

The modelling of the face is smooth and solid, without the obvious division into parts that charac-

<sup>32</sup> Schrader, p. 43.

<sup>33</sup> Payne, pl. 19; Schrader, pl. 34; Buschor, *Altamische Standbilder*, II, figs. 80-83. Cf. also P. Amandry, *Delphes*, II, *La colonne des Naxiens et le portique des Athéniens*, pp. 29-30 for a summary of the discussions on the origin of this kore.

terizes the earlier Ionicizing korai.<sup>34</sup> The eyebrows are highly arched and the upper lid has the same high curve. The eyeballs are prominent. The canthus at the inner corner of the eye is strongly marked; it continues downward the line of the upper lid and makes an angle with that of the lower. The cheekbones are not prominent. The mouth has only a slight smile. The corners come nearly to a point, not sufficiently imbedded in the cheek to produce a fold of flesh at the side. The chin is moderately heavy but not especially wide in proportion to the rest of the face. The ears are small and simply modelled.

The simplicity of the forms and the organic unity of the head show that this head belongs near, probably after, the turn of the century. Of the extant Acropolis korai, no. 685<sup>35</sup> is probably the closest to it in stage of development, though 685 is on a somewhat smaller scale and was perhaps originally the inferior work. Our head has something of the largeness of conception that one feels in the Polos Kore, no. 696.<sup>36</sup> The faint smile, the almost straight stephane, and the small, simply carved ears with big earrings all find parallels in 685. The forehead hair of our kore reminds us of some of the earlier heads from the temple at Aegina.<sup>37</sup> Bangs are not so usual for girls as for men, but they occur sporadically in almost all periods. The parallel wavy strands ending in tiny curls next to the forehead appear in a crude form in the Acropolis kore no. 673,<sup>38</sup> but in the fine regular carving of its strands our head is closer to such male heads as that of Theseus from the Eretria pediment<sup>39</sup> or the head of the draped youth, Acropolis 633.<sup>40</sup> A peculiarity of our head is that the lower row of curls decorates the offset of the bangs from the forehead plane and the second row is carved in the plane of the hanging strands, at a distinct angle to the first. This interest in decorating the under edge of the locks suggests that the kore was meant to be looked at from below. The plain stippled top of the head would also suit a high position.

Though the finding-place of this fragment is nearer to the Eleusinion than to the Acropolis, the deposit from which it came contained a part of an inscription that must have been set up on the Acropolis.<sup>41</sup> Hence it seems rather more likely that the head also came downhill for burial than that it crawled up from the Eleusinion.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Payne, p. 27.

<sup>35</sup> Payne, pls. 72-74; Schrader, pls. 70-71.

<sup>36</sup> Payne, pls. 82-83; Schrader, pl. 29.

<sup>37</sup> Furtwängler, *Aegina*, p. 260, figs. 217-220.

<sup>38</sup> Payne, pls. 62-64; Schrader, pls. 74-75; Karouzos, *Aristodikos*, pl. 14.

<sup>39</sup> *Antike Denkmäler*, III, pls. 27-28; Lullies and Hirmer, *Greek Sculpture*, pls. 62-64.

<sup>40</sup> Payne, pl. 102; Schrader, pls. 128-129, p. 206, figs. 202-203.

<sup>41</sup> Inv. I 5828. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, pp. 231-233, no. 5.

74. Fragment of Right Upper Arm of Kore with Diagonal Himation, Last Quarter of 6th Century B.C. Pl. 7.

S 205. Found in 1932, before excavation, in a modern building on the west side of the Agora. Lower part of upper arm broken off about on line of intersection with the drapery of the torso front and back. Preserves part of socket for attachment of forearm. Island marble, probably Parian, white with medium coarse grain. Surface little weathered. Pale buff patina.

Max. dim. of fragment 0.222 m., inside diam. of socket 0.065 m., depth of socket 0.045 m.

See also p. 22.

The fragment comes from a good-sized kore, perhaps a little over life size. The himation was buttoned along the right shoulder and upper arm with small round buttons set 5-6 cm. apart, of which three are preserved on our fragment. From each button a set of crinkly folds radiates to front and back. All the lines are V-shaped chisel grooves and the areas between the lines mostly are left in the plane from which the grooves were cut. The work is broad and vigorous, with no awkwardness either of drawing or of carving. The flat areas have been finished partly with the chisel, used with very great delicacy and precision, and partly with a dragged instrument (rasp or small toothed chisel).

The upper arm was held close to the body. The forearm, attached by means of a tenon set into the socket on our fragment, stretched forward horizontally, doubtless holding an offering. (The arm socket was cut with a medium-sized drill, of which traces remain on the side walls, and finished with the point.)

The fragment gives the impression that the kore to which it belonged was one of the better as well as larger members of its type. The date is probably not earlier than 520 B.C. Since the finding-place of the fragment gives no suggestion as to its provenance, the Acropolis remains the most likely place.

75. Fragment of Back of Acropolis Kore 683, *ca.* 510-500 B.C. Pl. 7.

S 1131. Fragment preserving right half of buttocks. Joins and has been reattached to the kore, now in the Acropolis Museum. Found in 1939 in a Turkish deposit overlying the Panathenaic Way (S-T, 23-26). Fine-grained white Attic marble. Surface somewhat worn, both in breaks and worked surfaces. Traces of red color (washed down from the hair) much paler on the fragment than on the adjoining part of the kore.

H. of frag. 0.088 m., W. 0.11 m.

*Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 169-171, pl. 65.

See also pp. 1, 8.

76. Fragment from Legs of Small Kore, Last Quarter of 6th Century B.C. Pl. 7.

S 2026. Found in 1959 in late fill in the Eleusinion area (U 21). Mended from two fragments. Broken off just below the knees and above ankles. Lifted dress broken away at proper left side. Parian marble. Battered and covered with brownish stains. Not heavily weathered.

P.H. 0.17 m.

The fragment comes from a small archaic kore of good workmanship. She stood in the usual pose with left leg advanced and the skirt of her chiton held up in her left hand. The right shin is modelled through the drapery as a rather sharp ridge. The radiating folds of the chiton are rendered on the front of the statuette by offset edges formed by bevelling away slightly the surface above each fold. On the back only one radiating fold remains, rendered as a very low ridge.

77. Fragment of Left Arm of Kore, ca. 520–480 B.C. Pl. 8.

S 2106. Found in 1959 in a marble pile west of the Panathenaic Way (Q 18). Arm apparently made to be attached separately. Smooth joint-surface at left, broken above and below. Parian marble, medium coarse grain. Battered but not much weathered.

P.H. 0.115 m.

Part of left forearm from elbow to wrist of a kore from one-third to one-half life size. The arm was lowered but held out somewhat to the side, perhaps grasping the skirt of the chiton. Her chiton sleeve falls to the middle of the forearm. In front it hangs in zigzag folds between the arm and the body; in back two curved folds with delicately raised edges suggest fullness. The workmanship is sure but not especially careful. Abrasive marks show on the drapery; the flesh is apparently smoothed. The zigzag folds in the front of the sleeve occur in Acropolis korai of various dates, but the broad spread of the folds on this piece, the absence of crinkled texture in the back, and the casual carving suggest that this is a late example.

78. Fragment of Hanging Tip of Himation, perhaps from a Kore, Late 6th or Early 5th Century B.C. Pl. 8.

S 1785. Found in November 1953 among un-catalogued marbles. Broken above, lower tip broken away. Broken off at back (originally attached by a narrow strip only). Island marble, possibly Parian, white with coarse grain.

P.H. 0.20 m., P. Th. 0.045 m.

The piece seems to come from the proper left side of a kore. The front of the fragment shows zigzag folds carefully worked, the edges of the garment undercut with the help of a small drill. The mass was undercut at the left with a larger drill. The back is plain. The workmanship is excellent and the scale of the figure seems to have been large (life size or over). The marble is coarser grained than that used for No. 74.

79. Fragment of Hanging Tip of Himation of a Kore, Late 6th or Early 5th Century B.C. Pl. 8.

S 1483. Found in 1951 in a marble pile on the east side of the Agora (N–P, 7–12). Broken above and below and split off on the right side from the body, to which it seems to have been attached for its whole length. Island marble, probably Parian, white with fairly coarse grains. Surface moderately weathered. Traces of brown incrustation on both worked and broken surfaces.

P.H. 0.145 m., Max. W. 0.061 m.

The fragment seems most easily interpreted as part of the lower back end of the himation that hung against the body below the right arm. The carving of the drapery is soft and thick-edged rather than crisp, a little perfunctory in comparison with the drapery of such korai as Acropolis 674. The kore will have been larger than statuette size.

80. Fragment of Thigh of a Kore (?), Last Quarter of 6th Century B.C. Pl. 8.

S 1957. Found in 1956 in a marble pile to the east of the Odeion (N–O, 10–11). Appears to be from the outside of the right thigh. Island marble, white with rather coarse grain. Battered. Some weathering on presumed back of figure, uncertain whether ancient or not. Front surface fresh.

P.H. 0.18 m.

The tapering form implies a limb, and the dipping edge of an himation at the top of the fragment suggests thigh rather than calf. The himation in the part that is preserved shows two broad shallow furrows but no actual folds. The chiton below forms sharply pleated flat folds that converge upward in front, downward in back. The chiton of the kore Acropolis 685 shows similar flat folds over the leg below the edge of the himation on the proper left side.<sup>42</sup> No. 685

<sup>42</sup> Schrader, pl. 70.

is dated between 500 and 480 B.C., but our fragment, to judge from its flat folds and crisp workmanship, should be earlier.

81. Part of Right Foot of Kore, ca. 520–510 B.C. Pl. 8.

S 1931. Found in 1956 in the demolition of a modern house south of the market square (M 16). From instep to start of toes. Preserves bottom of plinth under foot but none of its edges. Island marble, probably Parian, white with fairly coarse grain. Much battered, but ancient weathering seems to have been light. Traces of mortar and brownish patina.

P.H. 0.115 m., W. of foot at widest point (base of toes) 0.09 m.

The foot rests on a plinth 0.035 m. high and wears a sandal with sole 0.01 m. thick. The sole appears below the little toe, but was not carved separately below the inside of the foot, perhaps not below the outside either, behind the toes. The strap which crosses the toes is plastically rendered, divided longitudinally into three ridges. The narrow strap that runs from between the big and second toes over the cross-strap and up the instep is shown as a single thong, at the upper end of which is a small drilled hole 0.01 m. deep for the attachment of a metal ornament. Above it the thong probably forked to join the side-straps. There is no trace on our fragment of the side-straps themselves, which are plastically indicated on the sandals of the Acropolis kore no. 682.<sup>43</sup> They may have been indicated here in paint only, in which case we have the reverse of the situation in the fragment of a gravestone, No. 104, where the side-straps are carved and the toe-straps left for paint. No trace of color remains.

The foot itself is slender with a high instep, strikingly similar in scale and design to that of Acropolis 682. The distance from the crossing of the toe-straps to the drilled hole in the instep (0.075 m.) is identical on the two. The upper part of our foot is perhaps a little heavier than that of 682. Our kore must have been of the same size (682 is 1.82 m. tall, somewhat over life size for a Greek girl, though her slenderness makes the horizontal dimensions about life-sized) and of about the same period as the Acropolis maiden. Payne's assignment of 682 to his first group of ripe archaic korai still seems convincing,<sup>44</sup> though the absolute date should probably be lowered to 520–510 B.C.<sup>45</sup>

Our piece seems more casual in treatment than 682. The modelling and finish are competent but not

exquisite. The sinkings between the toes at their base still show the angular quality of the chisel-work by which they were cut and the striations of the rather coarse abrasive used for smoothing them. The flesh of the top of the foot is cut in along the edges of the thong to give more salience to the latter. The under surface of the plinth is dressed with fine, regular point-work.

82. Fragment of Bearded Male Head, Last Quarter of 6th Century B.C. Pl. 9.

S 1997. Found in 1957 in an early 5th century pit on the north slope of the Areopagus (Q 20: 1). Fragment from lower part of face, preserving mouth and bearded chin. White Attic marble, rather fine-grained, with traces of white mica. Broken all around. Point of chin chipped away. Mouth battered. Green and brown stains, which have soaked into worked and broken surfaces alike.

P.H. 0.12 m., W. of mouth 0.052 m.

Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, p. 154, pl. 43, a.

The mouth is turned up in an archaic smile, the lips almost but not quite converging to a single point at each corner. The mustache is flat and delicately carved, raised only slightly above the plane of the face and without indication of hairs on the surface. The points swing jauntily outward instead of drooping down. The beard is carved in parallel wavy strands, perhaps a little more carefully on the proper right side than on the proper left, and its under side is smoothed with coarse abrasive.

The fragment has all the crispness and vitality of the best archaic work. The mouth looks more developed than in works dated in the thirties or twenties of the 6th century but less so than in works belonging after 500 B.C. The stylization of the beard is similar to that in the stele of Aristion, generally dated after 510 but possibly somewhat earlier.<sup>46</sup>

The pit in which the fragment was found, perhaps an abortive well, dates from some time after the Persian destruction, and it is quite possible that the statue was broken up at that time. The high quality of the piece suggests that it is from a statue rather than a herm, but there is no evidence for the type of statue.

83. Fragment of Draped Seated (?) Figure, Last Quarter of 6th Century B.C. Pl. 9.

<sup>43</sup> Schrader, pls. 56–57.

<sup>44</sup> Pp. 27–28.

<sup>45</sup> See above, p. 8.

<sup>46</sup> Richter, *Gravestones*<sup>2</sup>, no. 67, figs. 155–158; Conze, I, no. 2, pl. 2, 1; Lullies and Hirmer, *Greek Sculpture*, pl. 68; Karouzou, *Aristodikos*, pp. 49–50, D 9.

S 23. Found in 1931 in a modern house on the west side of the Agora (I 10). A thin fragment split off in a flat plane and broken all around. Fine-grained white Attic marble, probably Pentelic, with a considerable amount of white mica. Little weathered, somewhat battered. Brown stains and mortar.

Max. dim. of fragment 0.251 m., P. Th. 0.055 m.

The fragment may perhaps be explained as the side of the left knee of a draped seated figure in the scheme of Acropolis 618,<sup>47</sup> holding up the skirt of her chiton with the left hand. It may have been life-sized or somewhat smaller. A little of the convex upper surface of the thigh is preserved and a tiny bit of the front surface of the shin just below the knee. This appears in Plate 9 just above the offset in the left edge of the fragment about halfway up. The fact that the surface turns nearly 90° here demonstrates that the piece must be from the side of a seated figure and not, for example, from the front of a standing kore. The part of the chiton that falls free below the hand forms a fan of stacked folds with a broad pleat in the center. The part that is drawn taut across the legs shows curved ridge-folds of very slight elevation. In spite of the rather inferior marble the execution and finish are extremely careful.

The statue was probably female. Langlotz conjectures that Acropolis 618 was an Athena. The provenance of our fragment gives no indication of what the statue may have represented or where it may have stood.

84. Seated Statuette, Late 6th or Early 5th Century B.C. Pl. 9.

S 1207. Found in 1946 built into a modern wall near the southwest corner of the Agora (H-I, 12-13). Broken off at waist. Lower part and throne preserved. Fine-grained white Attic marble, probably Pentelic. Surface worn and battered; most corners and edges battered off.

P.H. 0.157 m., W. of throne 0.115 m., Depth of throne at top 0.09 m.

The figure sits symmetrically on a throne represented as a plain block, without arms or back, above a low base (now chipped off all around) which is extended at the front to make a footrest. The feet, of which the front parts are missing, are placed side by side, backed against the throne, so that the line of the legs in profile slants in from knees to ankles. The space between the feet and below the hem of the chiton has been roughly hollowed out with a small

point. The chiton has a broad box pleat down the center between the legs and subsidiary folds curving down over the shins to either side. Curved edges of a garment hanging down over the chiton on either side and shorter stubby ends above these doubtless belong to an himation that was worn symmetrically over the shoulders. The whole upper surface of the knees and thighs is destroyed, so that it is not possible to tell whether the hands rested on the knees or whether anything was held in the lap. In view of the compactness of the statuette as a whole it seems most likely that the hands did rest on the lap rather than being held up away from the body.

The folds are very flatly rendered and the body is not modelled through the drapery. The sides and back of the figure, to judge from the little that is left of them, were quite flat. The date of the piece is hard to judge. The curved folds to either side of the central pleat suggest the latter part of the 6th century or the beginning of the 5th.

Presumably the statuette is votive and represents a goddess, but probably not the Mother of the Gods, since the lion that she regularly holds in her lap in archaic Ionian examples should have left some trace. Possibly it is Demeter, whose seated statues in later times are not unlike those of Cybele.

85. Fragment of Left Foot and Drapery of Striding Female Figure, ca. 490-475 B.C. Pl. 10.

S 138. Found in 1931 in a marble pile on the west side of the Agora (H-K, 8-11). Preserves left ankle and foot with lower edge of dress over and behind the foot on both sides. Some of bottom and proper right edge of plinth preserved, but proper left edge broken away. Island marble, probably Parian, white with rather coarse grain. Noticeable weathering on the side with zigzag folds (outside of ankle), less on the other side. Buff patina on breaks and worked surfaces alike.

P.H. 0.185 m., W. 0.235 m., P.Th. 0.117 m., H. of plinth 0.04 m.

See also p. 26.

The scale of the figure, to judge from the foot, was life-sized or only a little under. The left foot is advanced so that the drapery of the skirt falls together behind it to form a thin wall of material (0.03 m. to 0.07 m. in thickness on the surviving fragment). The underside of the plinth as now preserved, very roughly picked, slopes so that when the piece rests flat on it the ankle and the drapery-wall lean outward to the figure's left at a considerable angle to the vertical. The front part of the foot was made separately and attached. The joint-surface, not quite vertical, and dressed with a small point, is preserved toward the proper right but broken away toward the left. The

<sup>47</sup> Payne, pl. 117, 1; Schrader, pp. 111-112, no. 61, pls. 86-87.

large cutting, approximately 0.03 m. square in section and about 0.06 m. deep, was made by drilling four holes at the corners and breaking out the marble between. No trace of lead or iron remains in the hole.

On the proper left side of the fragment the dress forms a set of vertical stacked folds which rise as if to a central pleat. The first of these folds falls over the ankle-bone, which is modelled through it. On the other side are two curved stretch-folds behind the foot, and the heel as well as the ankle-bone is modelled through the drapery. The hem of the dress falls along the plinth here in a foldless wavy line. This hem-line is below where one would imagine the bottom of the heel to be. Apparently the heel was raised a little off the ground. The folds of the dress are broad and simple. A soft, thick quality is given to the cloth by making the edge of each fold a rounded ridge accentuated by a groove behind it. The broad style of carving and the incipient naturalism of the drapery suggest a date at the very end of the archaic period. A fragment of drapery from a flying Nike, Acropolis 3512, dated by Langlotz around 480 B.C., gives a very close approximation.<sup>48</sup>

The more complicated pattern and heavier weathering on the proper left side suggest that this was the main view of the figure, though it is hard to determine how much of the weathering is ancient, and the fragment forms a very small fraction of the whole design. The striding pose would suit a fighting Athena, though there would doubtless be other possibilities. If the left side was taken as the principal view, it might be because it presented the outside of the shield, with its decorative blazon, to the spectator. Such a view seems improbable for a pedimental piece, however. It is more likely that our fragment comes from a votive monument.<sup>49</sup> An unpublished fragment from the Kerameikos seems to have belonged to a similar figure.<sup>50</sup>

86. Lower Part of Female Statuette, Late Archaic Period. Pl. 10.

S 1351. Found in 1948 in the area south of the east part of the market square and west of the Panathenaic Way (N-T, 19-23). No context recorded. Island marble, probably Parian, white with rather coarse grain. Battered and has splotches of brown incrustation, but not heavily weathered.

P.H. 0.085 m., H. of plinth 0.025-0.03 m., P.W. 0.13 m., D. 0.09 m.

<sup>48</sup> Schrader, p. 124, no. 78, figs. 84 a-b.

<sup>49</sup> For a free-standing armed Athena Promachos in marble cf. the fragments from Marmaria in Delphi, dated by Marcadé around 495 B.C. (*B.C.H.*, LXXIX, 1955, pp. 379-406).

<sup>50</sup> Kerameikos Inv. P 270 (I owe the reference to Judith Perlzweig).

The miniature figure stands with her feet set at right angles to one another and rather far apart, so that the skirt appears stretched between them. The left foot points forward, the right one to the side. The hem of the dress rises over the insteps of the feet but falls to the plinth between the feet and all along the back. Over the outside of the left foot it is pulled up high, baring the ankle-bone and the heel. It looks as if the skirt must have been held up here by the left hand. A single engraved line representing a stretch-fold curves up between the ankles toward this side. The skirt curves inward between the ankles, and the inner ankle-bone of the right foot is modelled through it. The back surface is covered with wavy folds rendered by shallow grooves of a round-ended chisel divided by sharp V-shaped furrows. This same stylization is used in large-scale korai to suggest the crinkle-folds of a thin chiton.<sup>51</sup> The outer ankle-bone of the right foot is the only part of the figure modelled through the wavy folds.

The plinth is higher at the back than at the front, and projects a minimum of 0.025 m. behind the figure. From the one surviving corner (right rear) it appears to have been trapezoidal in shape, widening toward the front. The underside is finished with rather heavy point-work.

The stance of the figure is not the usual one for korai. It has more suggestion of action, though it is still rather a stance than a stride. One thinks of Athena, but an Athena in battle dress has no hand free to lift her skirt. A helmeted Athena appears in kore pose on a late archaic votive relief from the Acropolis.<sup>52</sup> Perhaps our statuette was a variant. Its date might be anywhere in the last quarter of the 6th century or the first two decades of the 5th. Its use was most probably votive.

87. Torso of Female Statuette in Chiton, Last Quarter of the 6th Century B.C. Pl. 10.

S 994. Found in 1938 in a modern wall south of the Agora (O 19). From neck to below waist. Broken above and below. Arms, now missing, were made separately. Fine-grained white Attic marble, probably Pentelic. Split in two vertically and mended. Tan patina. Surface weathered, worn and battered.

P.H. 0.14 m., P.W. 0.08 m., P. Depth 0.065 m.  
See also p. 145.

The statuette represents a female figure, apparently in a rather stiff frontal pose, wearing a thin chiton which is girded at the waist and pulled out to form a *kolpos* over the belt. The *kolpos* hangs low on both

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Acropolis 670. Payne, pl. 65; Schrader, pls. 14-15. See also below, No. 115.

<sup>52</sup> Acropolis 581. Payne, pl. 126; Schrader, pl. 175.

sides but is caught up in the center, where a bit of the smooth surface of the skirt below is visible. The surface of the upper part of the chiton is covered with wavy channels cut with a round-ended chisel. The body is schematic and rectangular in section. The back is flat and unworked. The breasts are high and far apart. Their surface is mostly battered off. No indication of strands of hair remains, but they too may have been battered away.

The arrangements for the attachment of the missing parts seem disproportionately large and complicated in view of the simplicity and small size of the torso. In each shoulder is a big rectangular cutting like a slot for a herm-arm, each about 2–2.5 cm. in width and depth with a height of 3 cm. or more (the tops of the cuttings are not preserved). The cuttings were made, like that in No. 85, by drilling four holes and cutting out the marble between them. It is hard to imagine what the arms were like that went into these formidable sockets. No iron or lead remains from their fastening. At the bottom of the present fragment is a vertical cutting formed by two parallel drill holes penetrating 4.5 cm. and 4 cm. from the present broken lower surface. From the flat back of the figure a hole was drilled into this cutting and lead poured in. This survives as a sort of irregularly cylindrical lead pin. It looks as though an iron dowel had been inserted from below and a hole drilled and lead poured from the back through the dowel, pinning it in place.<sup>53</sup> The rusting of the iron dowel would explain why the piece split in two. There are, however, no actual remains of iron rust in the hole.

The complicated piecing and the unworked back suggest that the fragment was part of some larger complex rather than a simple free-standing statuette, but it is not easy to guess what this was. If the piece was applied to a background, it must have been after the upper and lower parts were pieced together, since this piecing was leaded from the back.

The crinkled chiton with the *kolpos* pulled up in the center occurs on a little figure associated with the pediments of the Siphnian Treasury in Delphi<sup>54</sup> as well as on the Zeus from the east pediment of that building.<sup>55</sup> It also appears beneath the symmetrical mantle on the Acropolis kore no. 687, dated by Langlotz around 490 B.C., but reminiscent of earlier korai in the formation of the face.<sup>56</sup> This offers a fairly wide date-range for our piece, but the earlier parallels seem closer to it than the later one.

<sup>53</sup> Dinsmoor suggests pinning from the back through a wide iron bar as the method used in fastening the head of Eurystheus in the boar metope of the Hephaisteion (*Hesperia*, Suppl. V, p. 118). See below, p. 145.

<sup>54</sup> *Delphes*, IV<sup>2</sup>, p. 182, fig. 68.

<sup>55</sup> *Delphes*, IV<sup>1</sup>, pls. 16–17; De la Coste Messelière and Miré, *Delphes*, pl. 91; Ridgway, *A.J.A.*, LXIX, 1965, p. 3, pl. 1.

<sup>56</sup> Schrader, no. 19, p. 59, pl. 28; Payne, pl. 92, 1.

88. Fragment of an Abduction Group (?), ca. 490 to 480 B.C. Pl. 11.

S 1984. Found in 1957 in a pit of the 3rd quarter of the 5th century B.C. on the north slope of the Areopagus (M 17:7). Island marble, probably Parian, white with rather coarse grain. Surface little weathered, showing the original tool-marks clearly, but with specks of black deposit.

P.H. 0.205 m., P.W. 0.30 m., estimated W. of female figure at hips ca. 0.18 m., est. depth 0.13 m.

The fragment seems to be from a group between one-half and two-thirds life size. A female figure of kore type, dressed in a crinkly chiton and a small himation worn symmetrically with the points hanging down over both shoulders in front, is grasped around the top of the thighs by a male figure of which only the nude upper left arm remains, pressed against the back of the kore. The chiton, rippled with deep furrows and narrow ridges, is visible in front between the two points of the himation and on the proper left side between its front and back edges. On the proper right side in front there is only one zigzag fold of the himation preserved on our fragment and the surface beside it is pressed in and interrupted by something which is now broken away. The line of junction forms an obtuse angle which would fit the shape of a shoulder and neck, and above this the line, though less clear, shows a projection which might be either a chin, if the man's head was turned toward the kore, or short hair if his head was turned outward.<sup>57</sup>

The himation in back hangs down vertically on the left side forming a border of zigzag folds, while its lower edge is pushed strongly to the left by the thrust of the male arm. The hanging folds on the left side project about 4 cm. beyond the narrow strip of chiton that shows between the edges. The corresponding projection of the front edge is broken away. The unbroken vertical hang of all the drapery on this side suggests that the girl's left arm was flung out horizontally in a gesture of appeal or protest, with the drapery falling straight down from it. The side-swept lower edge of the himation in back appears turned up on the proper right side and then disappears under a rounded fold to appear a little farther left. The edge then goes into a rippling zigzag as the folds sweep down and cover the male arm. Originally a painted border must have made its course clear, but no traces of pattern remain.

The careful treatment of the back of the figure suggests that the fragment comes from a free-standing votive group, such as the Theseus and Prokrustes

<sup>57</sup> As in the Theseus and Antiope group from Eretria, *Antike Denkmäler*, III, pls. 27–28; Lullies and Hirmer, *Greek Sculpture*, pls. 62–64.

group found on the Acropolis,<sup>58</sup> rather than from a pediment. The subject cannot be identified: Peleus and Thetis, Boreas and Oreithyia or Theseus and Helen might be possibilities. The first subject is the more popular in archaic Attic vase-painting, but the other two have a specifically Athenian connection. Boreas and Oreithyia are very popular in the vase-painting of the early classical period.<sup>59</sup> It is hard to find a parallel in archaic art for the way in which our hero grasps the girl below the buttocks instead of around the waist, but this is in fact a more practical and natural way to pick up a small person. Probably he has not yet lifted her off the ground, for this would make a tall and unstable group; he may be just leaning over to pick her up.

The group may have been destroyed in the Persian sack of 480 B.C. This would explain its unweathered condition, for it must have been almost new at that time. The archaic convention for the chiton places it before 480, but the individual and carefully observed line drawing of the displaced himation-folds in back heralds the early classical. The surface seems not unlike that of the Euthydikos kore.<sup>60</sup> The stocky proportions and rather bulging muscles of the male arm would also fit such a date.

89. Fragment of a Bird, Late Archaic Period. Pl. 11.

S 1990. Found in 1957 in modern fill west of the Panathenaic Way (Q 20). Lower part of body, from attachment of wings to start of tail, broken above and below. Island marble, probably Parian, white with rather coarse grain. Surface unweathered, though somewhat battered. Light brown stains. Traces of original red color under the root of the tail.

P.H. 0.292 m.

A large bird, of unidentifiable species but probably one of the birds of prey (if it is a real bird and not a siren or griffin-bird), stands with the right leg slightly advanced, the body erect and the tail lowered. The left wing, apparently carved separately in marble, must have been raised. It seems to have been attached with cement in a broad shallow cutting, part of which survives near the top of the fragment. A narrower, deeper cutting which extends inward from this above may have held a marble tenon cut on the wing to strengthen the attachment. The corresponding area on the other side is broken away so that one cannot tell whether or not the right wing was similarly

attached. It must have been thought of as raised, whether or not it was actually shown. The treatment of the legs suggests that the bird was meant to be seen from the proper left side only. On the left side the two legs are carved as if in relief with marble left adhering between them. On the proper right side of the figure the outline of the right leg is hardly even suggested. This side is also more roughly finished than the other, with traces of the original point and chisel work showing beneath the smoothing.

The coarse Parian marble, the simple modelling and the finish with coarse abrasive suggest that the piece is archaic. A late archaic date would fit the uncrisp quality of the carving and the freshness of the surface, which suggests Persian destruction. The use, reconstruction and meaning of this curious piece seem lost beyond hope of recovery. Sculptured owls were dedicated to Athena on the Acropolis, but all those that we have show the wings folded.<sup>61</sup> In Roman times a marble eagle was dedicated to Demeter and Kore in the Eleusinion.<sup>62</sup> The present piece was found not far to the west of the Eleusinion.

90. Fragment of a Lion, 3rd Quarter of 6th Century B.C. Pl. 12.

S 1740. Found in 1953 in a marble pile in front of the Stoa of Zeus (I 6). Fragment preserving left side of head, the break running through inner corner of right ear, outer part of right eye, and right edge of mouth. Broken off at back of head and through neck at lower edge of ruff. Island marble, white with rather coarse grain. Weathered gray in the marble pile. Very much battered. Features of the face preserved only in their deepest recesses.

P.H. 0.40 m., P.W. 0.33 m., P. Depth *ca.* 0.215 m. H. of face 0.30 m., Estimated W. of face *ca.* 0.22 m.

See also pp. 2, 29.

The lion, which was probably sitting rather than walking, was apparently facing straight ahead of him and his head was raised, so that the locks of the ruff are visible below the chin. The locks of the mane hang down vertically. The ruff stands up above the forehead but droops on the sides. The ears, now entirely missing except for the inside corners of the hollows, stood up against the ruff. The locks in front of the ears which we often find in archaic lions are missing; only a low, sharp ridge separates the hollow of the ear from the forehead.

The whole face seems narrow in proportion to its height, as in the seated lion from Perachora in

<sup>58</sup> Payne, pp. 43-44, pls. 105-106; Schrader, no. 410, pls. 155-157.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. the mythological indices in Beazley, *A.R.V.*<sup>2</sup> and *A.B.V.*

<sup>60</sup> Acropolis 686. Payne, pls. 84-88; Schrader, pls. 45-49.

<sup>61</sup> Payne, pl. 131; Schrader, pp. 267-269, figs. 301-305.

<sup>62</sup> *Inv. I 5436. Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 208, fig. 6.

Boston,<sup>63</sup> and the eyes, ears and mouth appear to be set at a slight angle, so that the whole right side of the face is a little forward of the left. The ridge down the middle of the tongue is off-center toward the proper right. All this would suggest that the head was meant to be seen from the proper left. The figure may have come from a grave or votive monument so situated that it was viewed mainly in profile. The marble pile in which the head was found also contained the knee of the kouros, No. 65, which must have been from a grave monument in the Dipylon cemetery.

The battered condition and hoary color give the lion a venerable look, but precise dating is difficult. The inside of the mouth is treated similarly to that of the poros lion, No. 94, but the mane-locks recall the lions of Cybele in the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi.<sup>64</sup> Unlovely as it is in its present state, the fragment is interesting as representing an Attic marble lion earlier and somewhat larger than the Acropolis-Kerameikos series (of which the Agora has also yielded one example, No. 91) and in a different pose. The head looking straight forward is to be seen on the lion from Knidos in Berlin which Willemsen dates around the turn of the century.<sup>65</sup> The careful plastic rendering and thorough finish of the locks of our piece suggest that it is earlier. The large scale,<sup>66</sup> the use of island marble of good quality, and the careful workmanship of our piece imply that it comes from a monument of some importance.

**91. Lion from Grave or Votive Monument, Last Quarter of 6th Century B.C.** Pl. 12.

S 1577. Found in 1952 in the wall of a modern cess-pool south of the Church of the Holy Apostles (O 16). Head and forepart of body. Mended from many fragments (11 preserving outside surface, a few small interior pieces). Numerous gaps on the surface between the fragments (now filled in with plaster). Island marble, probably Parian, white with medium coarse grain. Surface shows little ancient weathering

<sup>63</sup> Caskey, *Catalogue*, no. 10, pp. 15-18; Brunn-Bruckmann, pl. 641.

<sup>64</sup> *Delphes*, IV<sup>1</sup>, pls. 13-14; IV<sup>2</sup>, Hors-texte 6.

<sup>65</sup> F. Willemsen, *Olympische Forschungen*, IV, pl. 3.

<sup>66</sup> The crouching lion in the Kerameikos of the type of our No. 91 has a face 0.225 m. high from top of forehead to under chin, as against 0.30 m. for our present lion. The fragment of a seated marble grave lion discovered by Noack in the Themistoklean Wall (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXXII, 1907, p. 542, pl. 24, 2) seems to have been larger, about the size of the Boston lion (see above, note 63) and was in the same pose, with the head turned to confront the spectator. The treatment of the mane-locks suggests that it is earlier than our lion. Ours must belong to the tradition of these seated lions but with modifications, the head not turned and the mane-locks rounded in the Ionian manner.

but some parts much rubbed and battered, especially the face and adjacent areas. Corrosion along the top of the neck may be due to cesspool acids.

P.H. 0.39 m., P.L. 0.625 m., P.W. 0.295 m.

See also above (90) and pp. 2, 28, 35, 48.

The lion, headed left, was crouched low on its forelegs with the hindquarters raised and its head turned to confront the spectator. The proper left side was thus the principal view, but the figure was meant to be visible from all around, for the locks of the mane are very carefully executed on the back as well as on the front. In size, pose and workmanship our lion corresponds to one found in the Kerameikos<sup>67</sup> and three from the Acropolis.<sup>68</sup> Two of the Acropolis lions are symmetrical counterparts of one another and the third (preserved only in a fragment from the back part of the torso) shows identical stylizations and might belong to the same monument if there were four of the figures serving as acroteria. Schrader suggested that the Kerameikos lion was from the same workshop, but served as a grave monument. It differs somewhat in details from the Acropolis lions. Ours, which is identical with neither but closer to the Acropolis lions, may likewise have been a grave monument.

A ruff of flame-shaped locks frames the face in a scalloped outline with a point over the forehead and one below each cheek. The ruff continued across in front of the ears, now almost entirely missing, and both ruff and ears seem to have lain flat against the head, as in the Kerameikos lion, instead of standing up as they do in the Acropolis lions. The locks of the mane are shorter and more numerous than on the other pieces, forming a dense scale-like pattern over the whole neck and shoulders. In shape they resemble those on the back of the neck of Acropolis 3832. The mane ends in a point on the back, as in the Kerameikos lion, instead of continuing in a strip down the spine as on those from the Acropolis, but it continues under the body between and behind the front legs. The locks are finished with the point and flat chisel only, whereas the short-haired portions of the body are very carefully smoothed.

The face is poorly preserved. The eyes were small, less bulging and less deeply set than in the poros lion, No. 95, but of the same general shape. The area below the right eye shows vigorous modelling, that below the left less so. There seem to have been inverted chevron wrinkles on the nose as in the other lions of this type. The mouth is almost entirely destroyed. As in the others it was wide open.

<sup>67</sup> Kübler, *Arch. Anz.*, 1933, cols. 287-288, fig. 20; Karo, *An Attic Cemetery*, pl. 17.

<sup>68</sup> Acropolis 3832 + 3833. Payne, p. 50, pl. 133, 1 and 2; Schrader, no. 383, pls. 167-168. Acropolis unnumbered. Schrader, no. 382, pl. 166. Acropolis 3834 (hindquarters only). Schrader, no. 384, fig. 308.

The body is strongly modelled, with considerable attention to the anatomy, which on the side toward the spectator shows a complicated relief of mounds, ridges and hollows. On the other side of the figure the anatomy was flatter and simpler.

The closely knit group of Attic marble lions to which our piece belongs is very different in style from the finest Attic lion creation of the late 6th century, the magnificent heads from the sima of the Peisistratid Temple of Athena. Specific features which distinguish these statue lions from the sima lions and from the earlier Attic lions of the Acropolis poros pediments (see also below, No. 94) are the cusplike points of the ruff on forehead and cheeks and the decorative fluting of the lower lip (not preserved in our example). The fluted lip is almost a constant feature of 5th century Greek lions, and its use in this archaic group makes the group seem more progressive in type than the sima lion, but the relation between the two is probably analogous to the relation between the very elaborate korai and the Athena from the pediment of the same temple. As Payne<sup>69</sup> has said, the statue lions seem more in the Ionic vein, with less powerful handling of the larger forms and more interest in surface decoration. Knowing only two of the Acropolis lions and none of the others, he suggested that they might be products of a Cycladic workshop, since two very similar lions were found in Delos.<sup>70</sup> Schuchhardt argued for the Attic character of the Acropolis lions,<sup>71</sup> and Llewellyn Brown has included the Delos lions also as Attic works.<sup>72</sup> Since there are now five examples from Athens, the probability is strong that these, at least, were locally produced.

The absolute dates that have been suggested differ widely. Schuchhardt compared the ruff of Acropolis 3832 to the mane of the Rampin rider's horse and, not wishing to separate them too widely, dated the lion around 540. Kübler placed the Kerameikos lion little later than a rider statue which he dated around 530 B.C.<sup>73</sup> Willemsen, on the other hand, dates the Acropolis lions to the last years of the 6th century.<sup>74</sup> A date in the last quarter of the century does, indeed, seem more likely. Ruff-locks stylized like the mane of the Rampin horse occur on the Agora lion fragment No. 90 which seems earlier than the present lion but also related to the lions of the north frieze of

the Siphnian Treasury.<sup>75</sup> On the Treasury and on No. 90 the locks are all individually smoothed, with no traces of raw point-work remaining. Our present lion and its Acropolis cousins show a more perfunctory treatment. No. 90 also seems earlier than Acropolis 3832 because of the more schematic carving of its teeth and tongue. On the other hand, the small lion-and-bull pediment in New York and Athens looks a little later than our lions in the flatter, less differentiated treatment of the mane, while it is generally similar to them in spirit and in the outline of the face. Miss Richter dates the pediment around 500 B.C.<sup>76</sup> This is no doubt approximately correct, though it might easily belong to the following decade. If any distinction of date is to be made within our group of lions, it may be that the Kerameikos lion is a little later than the Acropolis lions, the Agora lion about contemporary with them.

92. Head of Lion or Lioness, 500–450 B.C. (?). Pl. 13.

S 1942. Found in 1956 in late Roman (probably 5th or 6th century) fill above the floor of a Roman house on the northeast slope of the Hill of the Nymphs (B 16). Head split off at back behind the ears and at the side through the left ear, preserving some of the throat below. Island marble, probably Parian, white with gray streaks and moderately coarse grain. Heavy ancient weathering on top of head and on exposed parts of face, fresh surface surviving only under lower jaw and inside mouth. Front parts of both jaws broken away.

P.H. 0.20 m., P.D. 0.135 m., W. of face 0.125 m., H. of face 0.165 m.

The animal was seen in left profile with the head turned to face the spectator. The line of the back of the neck implies a standing rather than a sitting or crouching position. The defensive attitude, which recalls that of the Capitoline she-wolf, and the absence of a clearly defined mane give the impression that the figure was a lioness rather than a male lion, but since lionesses sometimes appear with luxuriant manes in Greek art one cannot be sure that a lion would not appear without one. The head is remarkably square and all its forms very simple. The ruff around the face is suggested only by a slight raising of the surface, which does not continue under the chin. There are no carved locks of ruff or mane. The eyes are round and placed vertically in the head. The inner corner shows a modelled depression between the upper lid and the nose. The ears seem to have

<sup>69</sup> Pp. 50f.

<sup>70</sup> A 4103 and A 4104. Still unpublished, these are mentioned in Kontoleon, *Ὁθηγός τῆς Δήλου*, Athens, 1950, p. 149; Schrader, p. 272; Willemsen, *Olympische Forschungen*, IV, pp. 37–38; Llewellyn Brown, *The Etruscan Lion*, Oxford, 1960, p. 93.

<sup>71</sup> Schrader, p. 272.

<sup>72</sup> *Op.cit.*, p. 93.

<sup>73</sup> *Op.cit.*, col. 287.

<sup>74</sup> *Op.cit.*, pp. 37–38.

<sup>75</sup> *Delphes*, IV<sup>1</sup>, pls. 13–14; IV<sup>2</sup>, Hors-texte 6; Lullies and Hirmer, *Greek Sculpture*, pls. 46, 48.

<sup>76</sup> *Catalogue*, p. 5, no. 7, pl. 10, a–c.

been very small. The jaws are as broad as the cheeks, and the side planes of the face are flat and vertical. The lips at the sides are fluted. The mouth is open, but not wide, and marks of the drill by which the opening was cut remain visible. The drill was also used to separate the teeth. The tongue is not carved separately from the teeth in the back part of the mouth, but the tip may have been shown in front hanging out over the lower jaw.

The very simple forms and the heavy weathering suggest that the piece was made for a high, exposed position, possibly as an acroterion. The head has been split off at the back in such a way that it gives the impression of having been broken from a relief, but there is nothing in the modelling of the preserved surfaces to prove that this was the case, and the head seems fully conceived in the round.

The total absence of decorative detail in the mane of this lion makes it unique among those discovered in the Agora. Such simplicity suits best the late archaic or the early classical period. The eyes are too advanced for early archaic work, and the broad lower jaw gives the face a square dog-like outline that is closer to classical lion faces,<sup>77</sup> especially the gutter spouts of 5th century temples, than to the more cat-like masks of most archaic lions. The lip with the broad, simple flutings resembles those of late archaic and 5th century lions. The use of the drill to separate the teeth is paralleled in the *sima* lions of the Temple of Ares.<sup>78</sup> The treatment of the mane as a simple mass recalls the rendering of human hair in the metopes of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia and those of the Hephaisteion, but the head is of quite a different type from the Olympia *sima* lions, and may well be earlier. A similar coarse-grained island marble occurs in the Agora in a series of *sima* and *geison* blocks from a building still unidentified but belonging to the late archaic period.<sup>79</sup>

**93. Fragment of Miniature Lion-and-Bull Group, Late Archaic or Early Classical Period. Pl. 13.**

S 1477. Found in 1951 in a late Byzantine or Turkish wall east of the Altar of Ares (M 8). Fragment preserving front part of bull from back of head to middle of body with forepaws of lion grasping both shoulders. Parian marble, pure white with medium grain. Tan patina on front and bottom of fragment (including some broken and battered surfaces); back

shows only very light patina. Top break fresher than others. Greater part of bull's head missing and all projecting parts battered.

P.L. 0.138 m., P.H. 0.085 m., Th. 0.075 m.

See also p. 2.

The forequarters of the bull are pushed down onto the ground, with his forelegs bent back under him. His head, lowered, but not bent under, was turned a little to his right, causing wrinkles in the right side of the neck. The right shoulder forms a raised plane which is outlined both before and behind. The whole left side of the body is modelled without linear details and was evidently regarded as the back of the figure. The finish of the surface is careful, not polished but rubbed smooth with abrasive, coarser on the back than on the front. Both the lion's forelegs were stretched out in front of him, one paw on each of the bull's shoulders. The right paw is higher up and farther back than the left, so that his head and forequarters must have been turned somewhat toward the spectator, just as the bull's head was turned below.

Possibly the group consisted of only the one lion and the bull. Pedimental groups containing two lions symmetrically placed over a bull often show the off paw high up on the bull's back so that it is visible from in front, as we have it in the poros group, No. 95. Here, although the front is modelled in more detail than the back, the work seems to have been conceived in three dimensions. The turn of the bull's neck, the diagonal position of the lion and the placement of the lion's paws all contribute to this effect. It is possible that the back part of the lion's body was made in a separate piece; the bull's neck is well finished all around and shows no traces of the difficulty of working in a tight space.

The piece gives no clue to its original use. It is curious that there is no plinth beneath the figures and the underside is dressed as smooth and flat as the face of an architectural block. If the group was made to be a votive offering, the most probable use for so small a piece, there is no place on which to inscribe the dedication. Still, the three-dimensional quality and the rendering, which is more natural than decorative, make it seem more likely that the piece was a votive than that it formed part of the decoration of an altar, throne or the like. The subject is popular in the 6th century, both for pedimental groups<sup>80</sup> and for the decoration of vases, but it is unusual to find it in the round on a small scale. There is a fragment of a larger group, in limestone, of crude archaic style in the museum at Skimatari in Boeotia which preserves the neck and shoulders of a bull and the forelegs of a lion

<sup>77</sup> See the fine collection of late archaic and classical lion heads assembled by F. Willeson in his study of the lion-spouts of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (*Olympische Forschungen*, IV, 1959).

<sup>78</sup> *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 35, fig. 13.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, p. 351.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. below, Nos. 94 and 95.

as here.<sup>81</sup> This was probably a grave monument. A marble group in the Athens National Museum has generally been called a grave monument except by Willemsen, who dates it in the 3rd century B.C.<sup>82</sup> The use of the lion-and-bull group for grave monuments as well as for buildings suggests that, like the sphinx and the single lion, it had acquired a general apotropaic meaning which may have made it also suitable for votives. It seems to have had a special connection with Athena, but may have been acceptable to other divinities too.<sup>83</sup>

The free composition of our little marble group and the individual drawing of the neck-wrinkles suggest a late archaic or early classical date. The weak and awkward delineation of the bull's right shoulder seems due to carelessness or lack of interest rather than to earliness. The left shoulder, modelled in a general way without linear boundaries, is more convincing.

**94. Head of Large Poros Lion from a Pediment, ca. 570-550 B.C. Pl. 14.**

S 1222. Found in 1946 in a deposit of the 5th century B.C. about 1.60 m. west of the southwest corner of the Peribolos of the Twelve Gods (K 6). Head broken off from the body, which extended to the left. Yellow poros. Face much battered. Missing are the nose and upper jaw, left eye and all but inner corner of right eye, ends of locks on top and proper left side of head. Back surface and underside of jaw worn.

P.H. 0.565 m., P.W. 0.61 m., W. of face at widest point 0.40 m., Th. 0.50 m.

H.A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 207, pls. 43, 4 and 45, 1; XX, 1951, p. 60, note 3; *Agora Guide*<sup>2</sup>, p. 191.

See also pp. 2, 3, 12, 28, 29, 37.

Now robbed of its fierceness by the loss of eyes and jaws, this big poros head must once have been a worthy part of an imposing composition. The lion's body was made to be seen in right profile and the head, turned to confront the spectator, was held high enough to give a downward slant to the locks of the mane behind the right ear. The mouth is wide open.

<sup>81</sup> Deonna, *Rev. Arch.*, XI, 1908, I, pp. 193f., fig. 3. Its provenance is not stated. The majority of the stones in this museum are from grave monuments in the vicinity of Tanagra, and the group is big enough to have served as a grave monument.

<sup>82</sup> Athens, N.M. 2707 (Kastriotis 2707, with earlier literature). The group is said to have been found in Athens in 1837 and was formerly housed among the antiquities in the Theseion. Willemsen, *Olympische Forschungen*, IV, pp. 69f., pl. 69.

<sup>83</sup> See below, p. 35, note 116.

The face is framed by a ruff of flattish locks standing out in the same plane on all sides, which lends a formal, decorative quality. The locks of the mane proper have convex surfaces, and both mane and ruff locks are decorated with V-shaped grooves. On the top and proper left side of the head the locks are not modelled, but a plain curved surface takes their place. The back of the piece as we now have it is neither carved in the round nor adhering to a background but cut off smooth (though not absolutely in a single plane) and somewhat hollowed out with a chisel in the central portion.

The one preserved ear, though battered, appears to have its full height. The inside of the ear is carefully smoothed; the locks of the ruff continue across in front of the ear. A sharply cut groove with scalloped outline separates the locks from the face, the surfaces of which are finished very smooth. The surviving corner of the right eye shows a strongly arched upper contour and a slightly dipping lower one. The surface of the eyeball was relatively flat. A small arc of an incised circle, apparently made with a cutting compass, is all that remains of the inner drawing of the eye. A tiny bit of finished surface remains in the hollow between the nose and upper lid, and its position suggests that the eye was set deep within a sharp-edged lid.

The wide-open mouth is deeply hollowed and the front parts of both jaws are broken away. The tongue is wide and very thick, narrowing toward the front. Its top surface slopes down to either side. The teeth are broad and flat, the gums marked off from them by a deep angular groove of scalloped outline. The overlap of the lip outside the corner of the mouth is smooth without flutings.

There are no certain traces of paint, but a rusty color which may possibly represent a deteriorated red can be seen in several places: on the mane-locks (apparently all over the locks and not only in the grooves), on the sides of the tongue, and on the gums.

The absence of modelling on the back and top of the head shows that the piece was made to be seen against a background in a high position, and its large scale makes the pediment of a good-sized building the only possible place. There are striking correspondences in style with the great lion-and-bull groups of the Acropolis.<sup>84</sup> The treatment of the mane-locks links our head with the torso of the left-hand lion in the group of two lions tearing a bull.<sup>85</sup> This lion has

<sup>84</sup> H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 207, says, "Close similarity in material and workmanship associate him with the Acropolis pediment breed, yet he cannot be connected with any of the Acropolis lions that are sufficiently well preserved to permit comparison of scale and style."

<sup>85</sup> Heberdey, *Altattische Porosskulptur*, pp. 90-91, figs. 70-71, VIII F; Wiegand, *Porosarchitektur der Akropolis zu Athen*, pp. 214-215, fig. 231; Buschor, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLVII, 1922, p. 100, IV; Schrader, *Jahrb.*, XLIII, 1928, p. 84.

rounded locks, not flat like those of the great lioness from the opposite pediment nor so crisply carved as those of the very fragmentary big lion that seems to have been her companion.<sup>86</sup> The surface of each lock is decorated with two or three rather coarse V-shaped grooves. The average width of the locks is about 7 cm. The big mane-locks of which only the beginnings are preserved to the left of the face of the Agora lion are precisely like this, both in size and in technique. The flatter short locks that frame the face are similar to the belly-locks on a lioness fragment that is assigned to the right-hand figure of the same group.<sup>87</sup> The eye of our lion seems to have been similar in size and in carving to the eye of the bull in this group. As compared with the lioness and her bull from the opposite pediment the grooved outline of the iris is less heavily engraved. The use of the cutting compass to outline the iris is common to both Hekatompedon pediments. Like the Hekatompedon sculptures, our lion's head shows no traces of the claw chisel, even on the unmodelled portions (contrast the later small poros group, No. 95).

The pose of the head which our fragment shows is of some interest for the reconstruction of the Acropolis lions. The Agora head, which corresponds perfectly with the more advanced of the two groups in the carving of mane-locks and eyes, at the same time has a frontal face like the great lioness. Like the lioness,

Reconstructions of the group: Wiegand, p. 215, fig. 230 b; Heberdey, p. 99, fig. 83; Buschor, *Größenverhältnisse attischer Porosgiebel*, fig. 3; Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*<sup>3</sup>, fig. 377. The combination of this, the more advanced of the lion-groups, as a pedimental center with Herakles and Triton and the triple-bodied "Bluebeard" as corner figure was suggested by Schuchhardt, *Ath. Mitt.*, LX-LXI, 1935-6, pp. 87-90 and reaffirmed by Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, LI, 1947, pp. 145-147. The last drawn reconstruction was that published by Schuchhardt, *op.cit.*, plate opposite p. 87, who attributed these sculptures to a hexastyle peripteral temple on the site (and foundations) of the later Peisistratid Temple of Athena. Dinsmoor argued that they must have belonged to a temple in antis, narrower than the Peisistratid Temple. He calls this temple the Hekatompedon and places it on the site of the Parthenon. I shall use the word "Hekatompedon" to refer to this ancestor of the Parthenon.

<sup>86</sup> Lioness: Heberdey, pp. 77-83, figs. 54-63, VII; Wiegand, pp. 217-227, figs. 233-239. Lion: Heberdey, pp. 110-113, IX, H-N; Wiegand, p. 217 and fig. 232. Schrader (*Jahrb.*, XLIII, 1928, pp. 80-83, Beilage 3, fig. 3) was the first to suggest that the lion and lioness belonged together in a single pediment. Schuchhardt, however, though he took the further step of placing the lion-groups between the scaly-tailed monsters, refused to admit the lioness as a contemporary of the other sculptures. He was thus obliged to restore a second lion symmetrical to the first. Schrader's (and Dinsmoor's) combination, showing the lion without prey waiting for the lioness to complete the kill, gives a group which is truer to nature though less symmetrical as a composition than the two lions of the opposite pediment. Dinsmoor does not print a drawn reconstruction of this pediment.

<sup>87</sup> Heberdey, p. 94, fig. 77, VIII N.

he held his head rather high, as the slant of the mane-locks shows. Heberdey restored the heads of the Acropolis lions as low, though not actually biting into the bull.<sup>88</sup> A more erect pose, similar to that of the Agora lion, would give a more satisfactory filling to the pedimental triangle. At the same time it would convey more forcefully the hieratic quality of the powerful symbolic group.<sup>89</sup>

Since the heads of the Hekatompedon lions are missing, and since the Agora head is so close in style to the Acropolis pieces, several attempts have been made to connect them. The scale of the Agora head, however, seems a little too small. Watzinger measured 0.30 m. as the half-width of the face of the great lioness, VII, assuming that the total width would have been 0.60 m.<sup>90</sup> The total length of the lioness group is 3.12 m.,<sup>91</sup> so that the face-width goes into it

<sup>88</sup> P. 97 and fig. 83.

<sup>89</sup> Buschor, who believed that the lioness belonged to a different period from the group of two lions with a bull, restored the latter in such a way as to accentuate the differences. By filling the corners with small, stretched-out lions and differentiating the heads of the central lions, one profile, one biting, he created a pediment filled from corner to corner with fierce movement and with a frieze-like continuity. His composition seems to belong rather to the world of Mycenaean minor arts than to archaic monumental sculpture. Even Heberdey hybridized his reconstruction by giving his lions a greatly magnified version of the lion-heads of the Peisistratid Temple sima. The Agora head, by giving us for the first time a lion head contemporary with the lion-and-bull group and by the same master, permits a truer restoration, and one which lessens rather than accentuates the differences between the two Acropolis pediments. The differences are scarcely greater than those that exist between the two masters of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi.

Restorations have differed as to whether the lioness in the right-hand half of the pediment should be restored in strict symmetry with the lion or whether the position of their heads should be varied. Symmetry seems preferable, for several reasons, though there are apparently not enough fragments surviving to give clear internal evidence for the pose of her head. The broken mass beside the lioness' right paw that has tempted Watzinger and Buschor to picture her as biting into the bull could equally well be some of the apron-like mass of long locks on her chest. The end of such a lock is preserved for the lion on the other side in a small fragment which shows to the right of the lock a stream of blood flowing down from the lion's claw (Heberdey, figs. 67-68, p. 97). This lock, though clearly identifiable as one, is ignored in Buschor's reconstruction (unless he makes it the tip of the lion's nose) and misused in the restoration published by Miss Richter (see above, note 85), where it becomes part of the lion's muzzle.

Another argument for symmetry in the lions may be found in the position of the bull, prostrate on the ground instead of half-collapsed as we normally find it in vase-painting and sometimes in sculpture (cf. No. 95). In the New York-Olympieion pediment (Richter, *Catalogue*, no. 7, p. 5, pl. 10 a-c) the bull lies flat as here and the two lions echo each other almost exactly.

<sup>90</sup> Wiegand, p. 219.

<sup>91</sup> Heberdey, p. 77.

just a little more than five times.<sup>92</sup> The lions of the opposite pediment (VIII) are smaller: Heberdey estimated the total length of the group at 5.50 m. (a little under 2.75 m. per lion).<sup>93</sup> Their walking pose will have made them a little longer in proportion to their bodily size than the recumbent lioness, but we should probably not subtract more than about 25 cm. on this account, so that we should expect the faces to be around 0.50 m. wide. The face of the Agora head is only 0.40 m. wide.

Besides being a third smaller than the head of the great lioness, the Agora head differs from it in being unmodelled on the back. The side of the head behind the ears is a smooth surface, whereas on the lioness it is richly decorated with carved and painted locks. The hollowed back surface of the Agora head may be due to the wish to lighten the upper part of the sculpture at the center of the pediment so that its weight would not cause the high tympanon blocks to tip forward. The flat-arch construction of the Hekatompedon tympana and the fact that the lioness slab was clamped at the top to a backer show that this problem worried the archaic architects.<sup>94</sup> Hollowing to reduce weight was resorted to in the raking geisa of the Hekatompedon, but the workmanship there appears rather more careful than in our head.<sup>95</sup>

If the head does not come from the Acropolis (and apart from the Hekatompedon there is no building there of suitable size), it becomes another tantalizing intimation of unknown structures of impressive quality in 6th century Athens. No foundations have been excavated in the Agora with which the head might be connected, but the unexcavated area to the north of the railroad may still hold some surprises. A fragment of poros column drum is mentioned by H. A. Thompson as possibly to be connected with the lion.<sup>96</sup> Its top diameter (0.74 m.) is about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the top diameter of the Hekatompedon columns, which Dinsmoor reckons around 3 Doric feet (0.98 m.).<sup>97</sup> Without knowing the composition to which the lion

belonged, we cannot fix the size of the pediment, but everything about the head suggests that it came from a symmetrical pair like those of the Acropolis. Buschor's attempt to restore the big Acropolis lion IX alone in a small pediment was labelled by himself "ungünstig".<sup>98</sup> It seems, therefore, that we should look for a large structure and one important enough to employ the same artist as the great show temple of Athena.

The circumstances of finding of the head suggest that this building was destroyed by the Persians in 480 B.C.<sup>99</sup> The piece seems to have lain in the ground with its back exposed to be walked on, just as the Leagros base near by, robbed of its statue, was walked over and worn, in the time between the Persian destruction and the reconstruction of the Peribolos of the Twelve Gods late in the 5th century.<sup>100</sup> A direct connection of the lion's head with the Altar of the Twelve Gods seems out of the question, however, both because the head demands a lofty setting and because the altar, founded by the Younger Peisistratos in 522/1,<sup>101</sup> is too late for the style of the lion. Though we know very little about the north side of the Agora in the archaic period, the sanctuary most often mentioned in this part of the city is the Leokoreion.<sup>102</sup> We know that it existed in the archaic period because Hipparchos was murdered near it in 514 B.C. If it contained a temple destroyed by the Persians this must have been rebuilt, for the sanctuary remained a familiar landmark in classical times.

Until we know more, however, of the architectural history of this part of the ancient city, the lion's head is most interesting for its relationship to the Acropolis pediments.

95. Fragments of Poros Relief from a Small Pediment: Lion and Bull, ca. 500–490 B.C. (?). Pls. 15–16.

S 1972. Found in 1956 in the walls of a Byzantine vaulted cistern that overlay monument bases on the west side of the Panathenaic Way (O 11:1). Five pieces, mended from 10 fragments, comprising: A, 4 joining fragments, the head and forepaws of a lion seizing the hindquarters of a bull, P.H. 0.79 m.; B, a non-joining bit of the lion's mane, Max. Pres. Dim. 0.213 m.; C, part of the lion's body, P.H. ca. 0.30 m.; D, 3 joining fragments with the trailing tail of an animal, P.H. 0.40 m.; and E, a fragment showing a heavy curved form, not easily identifiable, P.H.

<sup>92</sup> *Größenverhältnisse*, p. 15.

<sup>93</sup> This is suggested by H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 207.

<sup>100</sup> M. Crosby, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, pp. 94–95.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 99–100; R.E. Wycherley, *Agora*, III, *Testimonia*, no. 368, p. 120.

<sup>102</sup> Wycherley, *op.cit.*, pp. 108–113.

<sup>92</sup> An informal survey of archaic lions in painting and relief suggests that the length of the lion from stem to stern (i.e., not counting projections of tail or legs) is rarely much over five times the maximum width of the face. Cybele's lion in the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi, which impresses one as small-faced, has a face 10 cm. wide to a total length of 54 cm. In human figures, the very big statues tend to have heads somewhat smaller in proportion to the bodies (cf. *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 299–300) but it is doubtful whether this applies to lions. On the colossal rock-cut lion of Keos the head is apparently about one-fifth the length of the body ('Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1898, p. 292, pl. 14.1. Length of lion given as 6 m., length of mouth 1.00 m., circumference of head 3.70 m.).

<sup>93</sup> P. 98.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, LI, 1947, pp. 146–147.

<sup>95</sup> Wiegand, p. 24, fig. 26.

<sup>96</sup> *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 207, note 21.

<sup>97</sup> *A.J.A.*, LI, 1947, pp. 144–145.

0.295 m. Soft white poros, the surface and breaks worn and eaten in many places by acids from a modern cesspool which overlay the southwest corner of the Byzantine structure. Traces of brilliant blue on the bull's body, but no other colors preserved.

Estimated center H. of tympanon 0.80 m. or a little more. Max. Th. 0.275 (at left wrist of lion on A). Max. P.D. of relief 0.10 m.

H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, pp. 153 to 154, pl. 43, c.

See also pp. 2, 13, 28, 30, 32.

This fiercely vigorous small lion, sinking his teeth into the victim's back, must have belonged to a pedimental group of two lions symmetrically attacking a single bull. As in the great Hekatompedon groups on the Acropolis, the figures were carved in high relief on the blocks of the tympanon, which had a central joint cutting through the body of the bull and separating the two lions. Joint-surface with anathyrosis, the border dressed with a toothed chisel, the inside (now eroded) presumably with a point, is preserved in places on the left edge of A, the best part being that beside the lion's right forepaw. The horizontal resting surface of the tympanon survives on A in an eroded state, in better condition on D and E. All the identifiable fragments seem to belong to the right half of the pediment. Since only one joint-surface, the central one, is preserved, we cannot say how many tympanon blocks are represented in our fragments, but it is probably more than one. The sloping top surface of the tympanon, on which the raking cornice will have rested, is preserved for a distance of 0.145 m. behind the lion's neck. The locks of his mane project a little above this surface. Because the fragment with the lion's head and the next fragment below it (with the right paw and the bull's back) join for only a short distance and the breaks are much worn, the angle of pedimental slope that can be measured on the fragments as mended may not be absolutely accurate. The lion's eyes are level in the present mending, however, which suggests that it is approximately correct. The slope of the pediment measures approximately 1:4½ (center height 0.80 m. estimated width of one-half of pediment 3.66 m.). This is considerably lower than the slopes of pediments in the smaller archaic buildings on the Acropolis,<sup>103</sup> but the archaic temple of Aphaia at Aegina and the small pediment sometimes attributed to the early temple of Dionysos in Athens seem to have had still lower slopes (Aegina 11° or about 1:5, Dionysos 1:5½).<sup>104</sup>

For the composition of the group we must rely mainly on Fragment A. The forequarters of the bull,

which must have appeared beneath a second lion on the missing slab to the left, were evidently pushed down flat, but his hind-legs had not yet fully collapsed. The slanting outline of the underside of the body is preserved. The lion's left forepaw, with toes spread, grips the flank, while his right paw appears in front view above the spine. The lower part of the bull's left haunch, emerging below the left paw of the lion, shows careful modelling. The lower part of the left leg, now entirely broken off, seems to have been cut free of the background for some distance. Only a slight roughness in the carving of the background suggests its passage. At the lower edge of the slab on A is a rough, projecting band that is missing on the other fragments. It may have been intended to suggest rocky ground under the bull. It would also have served the practical purpose of giving greater stability to the tympanon. The left rear foot of the bull must have been carved in relief against this projection, the surface of which is largely broken away.

The trailing tail, D, does not preserve any characteristic modelling to identify it as bovine or leonine, but attempts to attach it to the bull proved unsuccessful from two points of view. First, the tail starts too low down to meet the bull's body at the proper place, and second, since there is no trace of the lion's rear feet on the fragments with the tail, their insertion directly behind the bull would result in an impossibly long lion. The tail must belong to the lion, then, and its low position indicates that the lion's rear quarters were crouched rather low. Though the lions in Attic black-figured lion-and-bull groups generally wave their tails in the air, the lions on the stairway of the Tripylon at Persepolis trail their tails on the ground as ours does.<sup>105</sup>

The torso fragment, C, an eroded mass that looks at first sight completely amorphous but preserves the modelling of two ribs, does not join anywhere and can be only approximately placed as the result of the pose deduced from A and D. The floating fragment with mane-locks, B, perhaps fits best as part of the lion's shaggy neck-mane that overlaps the bull's rump. At the lower right-hand corner of the fragment something emerges from under the locks that might be the crook of the lion's foreleg.

The heavy curved form on E looks too smooth and undifferentiated to belong to one of the lion's legs, and the thickness of the background at the right edge of the fragment (0.13 m.) is much less than that below the lion's tail on D (ca. 0.17 m.). It may be that E belongs not to the lion but to one of a pair of snakes filling the corners of the pediment. Since casual representations in vase-paintings of small buildings sometimes show a pair of snakes in the

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, LI, 1947, p. 145, note 162.

<sup>104</sup> Aegina, Furtwängler, *Aegina*, p. 150; Old Temple of Dionysos, Heberdey, p. 75.

<sup>105</sup> Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, Baltimore, 1955, pls. 178-179. The tip of the tail turns up here; in ours it seems to have lain flat.

pediment,<sup>106</sup> we need not hesitate to restore them here. The background thicknesses would then be compatible on adjacent fragments and the head of the snake would help to fill the empty space above the lion's tail.

The biting pose of the lion and the half-collapsed position of the bull in our pediment are usual in vase-paintings, as is the direction in which our bull is headed.<sup>107</sup> The marble lion pediment of the Peisistratid Temple of Athena used this pose but with the direction reversed.<sup>108</sup> The big poros group from the Hekatompedon, with the bull pressed down flat on the ground, also turned the bull in the other direction.<sup>109</sup>

Our lion seems to combine the fierce naturalism of Attic architectural lions, including the sima heads of the Peisistratid Temple,<sup>110</sup> with some of the decorative qualities of marble lions such as No. 91. The shape of the face (with very narrow muzzle and broad cheeks and without the cusp over the center of the forehead) recalls the sima lion, as do the folded ears and the deep setting of the eyes, which intensifies their fierce glare. The flame-shaped locks of rounded section and the fluted lip follow the tradition of the marble lions. The shape and alignment of the eyes would fit a date after 500 B.C. Instead of slanting like the lion's eyes of the Siphnian frieze, the Peisistratid Temple sima and the Alkmeonid Temple pediment, the eyes of our lion are set horizontally. This begins with the marble lions but is here carried further. A date between 500 and 490 would be more probable for our pediment than one in the preceding decade, since there seems to have been more building in Athens at this time.<sup>111</sup> A still later date is not ruled out, but the lion's mane would begin to seem rather old-fashioned by 480.

The late context in which the lion pediment was found and the absence of clear evidence for the size of the building to which it belonged make it hard to guess at the building's identity. The upper part of the Byzantine chamber in which it was re-used had been destroyed without record before the lower part was excavated, and even its date and presumed form depend on analogy with other structures rather than

on internal evidence.<sup>112</sup> In the same structure were found fragments of one or more horizontal geisa<sup>113</sup> from an archaic Doric building, but their scale seems too large and their style too early for the lion. As in the geison of the Hekatompedon, the cut-back in the face of the corona forms a right angle instead of an acute angle.<sup>114</sup> No trace of the toothed chisel is found on the geison fragments, though there are many such on the lion pediment, both in the joint-surfaces and on the background of the relief. Found with these were also many pieces of poros, a few with bits of roughly worked surface and many with no worked surface remaining, which may belong either with the pediment or the cornice, as well as pieces which cannot have belonged to either.

The quantity of bright blue paint preserved on the bull makes it look as if the fragment had been buried early. The easiest assumption would be that the pediment, once buried somewhere not far from the southeast corner of the Agora (whether inside or outside the square) was discovered by accident in Byzantine times, exhumed and broken up to be used for rough building stone.<sup>115</sup> Some time around the 11th century is suggested for this event by the resemblance of the chamber to a near-by vaulted chamber dated by coins to that period.

We do not know enough as yet about the specific meaning to 6th century Athenians of the lion-and-bull group to deduce from the theme of the sculpture what kind of building it should have decorated. Though there is some reason to think that in later times the group was felt to have a special connection with Athena,<sup>116</sup> the provenance of the Olympieion pediment<sup>117</sup> suggests that the subject was also used on buildings of the lower city not connected with Athena, for we know of no sanctuary of hers in that area. Even in the oriental countries from which the Greeks borrowed this age-old theme and their manner of representing it, its interpretation is far from

<sup>112</sup> I owe this information to the excavator, Eugene Vanderpool.

<sup>113</sup> Inv. A 2706.

<sup>114</sup> Wiegand, pp. 13-19.

<sup>115</sup> Excavations in this area have revealed evidence that parts of the Late Roman Fortification just south of the Stoa of Attalos were cut into in Byzantine times and the stone re-used in near-by buildings, but there are no traces of the characteristic mortar of the Late Roman Fortification on our pieces.

<sup>116</sup> A Hellenistic relief from Pergamon shows an archaistic statue of Athena next to a group of a single lion attacking a bull (*Pergamon*, VII, 2, no. 343, suppl. pl. 37). Schober, *Die Kunst von Pergamon*, Vienna, 1951, p. 49, believes that the relief represents the cult statue of the Athena cult established in Pergamon in the 3rd century B.C. From the sanctuary of Athena at Vouni in Cyprus, thought to have been founded by the Athenians after 449 B.C., come two bronze votive reliefs with the lion-and-bull theme (*Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, III, pl. 42, nos. 150-151).

<sup>117</sup> Richter, *Catalogue*, p. 5, no. 7, pl. 10 a-c.

<sup>106</sup> Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, fig. 286; *B.S.A.*, XXXVI, 1935-6, pl. 22 a (both examples are fountain houses).

<sup>107</sup> Some typical examples: Buschor, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLVII, 1922, pls. 12-14. The subject occurs on Acropolis vases: Graef-Langlotz, nos. 466 h, pl. 22; 645 a, pl. 38; 2691, pl. 113 (stag). Among the finest examples is the krater by Exekias from the north slope of the Acropolis: *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 483, fig. 8; XXV, 1956, pl. 50; imitation from Pharsalos, *ibid.*, pl. 51.

<sup>108</sup> Schrader, pp. 377-387, reconstruction p. 385, fig. 496.

<sup>109</sup> See above, p. 32, note 86.

<sup>110</sup> Schrader, pls. 180-181; Payne, pl. 132.

<sup>111</sup> See above, p. 9.

certain and may well have varied from place to place.<sup>118</sup> Mysterious as the subject remains, however, the number and magnitude of the examples that have survived leave no doubt of its importance in archaic Athens. If we had only the marble pediments from which to judge (the stiff and apparently rather tame Peisistratid Temple group, the elegantly posed battles of the Alkmeonid Temple at Delphi, and the statically balanced small Olympieion pediment), we might conclude that by the last quarter of the 6th century the old theme had lost its intensity, at least in the major arts. The poros pieces from the Agora show that this was by no means the case. Though the power of the dominating beasts was never again so overwhelmingly conveyed as in the Hekatompedon, the fierceness of the struggle is as vividly shown here as in the contemporary coins of Akanthos.

96. Fragment of Pedimental Relief, Herakles and Lion (?), ca. 530–520 B.C. Pl. 17.

S 1449. Found in 1950 in a marble pile in front of the Odeion (L–M 9). Split off flat at back. Preserves top of man's head and part of lion's paw resting on it. Grayish white Attic marble, very fine-grained, with marked foliation parallel to relief plane. Battered, but little weathered (eroded condition of some break-surfaces is probably due to action of acids in the ground in which the fragment was buried). Considerable remains of red paint on the stippled surface of the hair.

Max. P. Dim. 0.235 m., P. Th. 0.08 m.

Thompson, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 59–60, pl. 30, d and e.

See also pp. 2, 13.

The fragment shows the domed top of a man's head with short hair rendered by stippling with a fine point. At the edge of the hair on the right-hand side of the fragment are snail shell curls with raised centers which seem to have been modelled entirely with the point except for the edge next the skin, which was more crisply cut with a flat chisel. There were three rows of curls at the right edge of the fragment, but they must have diminished toward the left to two rows. Below the hair a very little smoothed flesh is preserved. The relation of front to side planes suggests that the piece is broken from a relief rather than from a work in the round.

<sup>118</sup> R. D. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories in the British Museum*, London, 1957, pp. 72–73. It is surely wrong, however, to ignore the oriental ancestry of the group altogether and to interpret the Athenian bull-slaying as if it were the spontaneous product of Athenian local feelings, as T.P. Howe does in her explanation of the Acropolis pediments (*A.J.A.*, LIX, 1955, pp. 296–300).

The man's head is gripped by a large lion's paw, with the points of the claw embedded in the scalp. The outermost toe was cut separately and attached with a small bronze pin fastened with cement. The next toe is fully modelled and preserved to its full width. Only a part of the third is preserved at its end, but part of the line of division between third and fourth can be seen. Probably the fourth toe was mostly hidden by the others and not modelled in full. Since none of the background survives, we do not know the original total depth of the relief. The part of the paw that is preserved shows exquisite workmanship. The surface is finished with abrasive in long parallel strokes following the direction of the toes. The claw proper is crisply carved in sunken relief, and the puckered skin at its base is rendered with neat engraved lines. The small remnant of the man's skin likewise shows a very careful finish and we may imagine his features executed with the same precision as the lion's claw.

H. A. Thompson suggested that the bit of flesh that survives below the hair belongs to the back of the neck and that the lion is attacking the man from behind.<sup>119</sup> It is difficult, however, to reconcile the line of the presumed neck with the line of the top of the head. Either the man's cranium is too low, or his hair is cut unnaturally short behind. A more reasonable head-shape is possible if we turn the picture around, so that the man faces right, the preserved flesh and curls becoming his forehead and forehead hair, and the lion attacking from the front instead of from the back. For three rows of curls over the forehead and only two in back one may compare the kouros Aristodikos, who has similarly stippled hair.<sup>120</sup>

Viewed in this way, the head and paw correspond closely in their relative positions to those on vase-paintings showing Herakles' fight with the Nemean lion.<sup>121</sup> Herakles kneeling grapples the lion about the neck or ribs, his head pressed against its shoulder, the lion's head pushed down beneath his chest. With its left hind foot, the lion reaches up and catches Herakles on top of the head.<sup>122</sup> If our fragment belonged to a group in this scheme, Herakles' profile may have been carved against the lion's body in lower relief than was used for the rest of the representation. This would explain why there are traces of a line of junction extending down from the hairline along the fore-

<sup>119</sup> *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 59.

<sup>120</sup> Karouzos, *Aristodikos*, pls. 9–10; Richter, *Kouroi*<sup>2</sup>, no. 165, figs. 489, 492–493. Aristodikos is, of course, later than our piece. A kouros head in Boston (Richter, no. 143, figs. 413–414) has similar hair but with the rough portion claw-chiselled instead of picked with the point.

<sup>121</sup> Miss Barbara Philippaki first suggested this to me.

<sup>122</sup> Llewellyn Brown, *The Etruscan Lion*, Oxford, 1960, p. 140, calls this scheme "Herakles as panoratiast." The upright scheme corresponds to upright wrestling, ὀρθή πάλη.

head at a depth of only 0.033 m. behind the side plane of the face.

The marble used for our piece is quite similar to that of the man-and-dog stele, No. 104, dated around 530–525 B.C., and the combination of stippled hair and snail shell curls can be found from around this time to about 500 B.C. The curls with raised centers are like those of Antenor's kore.<sup>123</sup> The quality of the stippling on our piece looks relatively early, as does the carving of the lion's claw. The hatching of the skin along the base of the claw is found in the Hekatompedon lions,<sup>124</sup> but this detail is already omitted in the simpler Peisistratid lions.<sup>125</sup> We may hazard a date around 530–520 for our group.

The head of Herakles appears to have been about life size, and a mythological subject on this scale is most likely to have decorated a pediment. Depending on the arrangement of details, this group might be made to fit the left-hand corner of a large pediment or to occupy the greater part of a small one. Hence it does not offer very definite limits for the size of the building from which it comes. Any size from about 0.80 m. of clear height up would be possible for the pediment.<sup>126</sup> Thompson's suggestion that the large poros lion's head, No. 94, might come from the rear gable of the same structure was based on the idea that our man-and-lion group was a small part of a large composition, a gigantomachy,<sup>127</sup> but it seems unlikely that our group can be as early as the poros lion, which is stylistically contemporary with the Hekatompedon gables and therefore to be dated before the middle of the century. Marble pediments must be unusual in Athens at this early date, and it seems doubtful whether the gray Attic marble of which our piece was made would have been available in large enough pieces for a big pediment unless the sculptures were made separately from their background.<sup>128</sup> The Peisistratid Temple of Athena, built

ca. 525–515 B.C., has the earliest Attic marble pediments carved entirely separately from the background.

The scheme in which Herakles wrestles the lion on the ground instead of from a standing position attains its greatest popularity in the last quarter of the 6th century,<sup>129</sup> but this scheme already appears on a black-figured oinochoe in Leningrad signed by Taleides as potter, which must belong in the third quarter.<sup>130</sup> Possibly this horizontal scheme was first evolved for a pedimental composition on the analogy of earlier pedimental groups showing Herakles wrestling with Triton. The upright composition is used for metopes in the 5th century (Athenian Treasury and Hephaisteion). It is doubtful whether our particular fragment can be earlier than the Taleides oinochoe; perhaps both are inspired from a common source.

97 A. Head of Herakles in Lion Skin, Late Archaic or Copy of a Late Archaic Work. Pl. 18.

S 1295. Found in 1947 in loose fill of the 3rd century after Christ west of the Street of the Marble Workers southwest of the Agora (C 17). Broken off at neck. End of nose and chin chipped. Pick-marks on forehead and edge of lion skin by nose. Top of head lightly weathered, face very fresh, especially on the proper right side. Very light pinkish buff patina and a few root-marks.

P.H. 0.147 m., W. 0.106 m., Depth ca. 0.13 m., H. of face 0.10 m.

H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 174 to 175, pls. 49, 50; R. S. Young, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 142, note 19; Schefold, *Orient, Hellas, und Rom*, pl. 5, 4; De la Coste Messelière, *Delphes*, IV<sup>4</sup>, p. 200, note 6; W.-H. Schuchhardt, *Gnomon*, 1958, p. 485; C. Karouzos, *Aristodikos*, p. 51, E 11, p. 52. Thompson, *Agora Guide*<sup>2</sup>, p. 157.

See also pp. 2, 11, 12, 40, 65.

and references there given. Our fragment has no trace of a worked back surface, nor has it any trace of background remaining.

<sup>129</sup> The two schemes are distinguished by Luce, *A.J.A.*, XX, 1916, p. 441 and examples listed *ibid.*, Appendix I. A supplementary list is now available in Brommer, *Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 85–92. In sculpture this scheme occurs, so far as I know, only on a base from Lamptrai, Athens N.M. 42, *Ath. Mitt.*, XII, 1887, pl. 3, LXVI, 1941, pl. 63, which appears to belong around 500, and on the Roman sarcophagus mentioned above, note 126. Terracotta plaques from the Acropolis and the Agora (D. B. Thompson, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 285–287, figs. 1–2) show a unique scheme that does not appear on vases.

<sup>130</sup> *A.B.V.*, p. 176, 1; Hoppin, *Handbook of Greek Black-Figured Vases*, Paris, 1924, p. 342. I owe to Dietrich von Bothmer the information that this is the earliest example.

<sup>123</sup> Payne, pl. 53.

<sup>124</sup> Schrader, p. 387, fig. 499.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 381, fig. 481.

<sup>126</sup> The width of the building would then depend on the slope and the height of the raking geison. 7 m. would be an appropriate minimum. A sarcophagus relief in Rome, re-used in a Renaissance tomb in Santa Maria sopra Minerva, has a Herakles and lion scheme which seems to copy faithfully an early classical rendering of the horizontal scheme, differing from the archaic examples only in the modelling and in the beardlessness of Herakles. For this, the height of the picture field is given as 0.81 m. and its length about 2.12 m., which should be about the length our group would take up in a pedimental field (Von Salis, *112 Winkelmannsprogramm*, 1956, fig. 8).

<sup>127</sup> *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 60.

<sup>128</sup> On the other hand, the marble lions and leopards from the Acropolis which have been attributed to various structures but none later than the first half of the 6th century were carved in gray Attic marble and attached to a background of other material. Cf. Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, LI, 1947, pp. 149 ff.

Herakles wears the lion's skin with the lion's head set on his own like a helmet. His face is archaic in type, decorative in design and in the rendering of details but at the same time giving an impression of intense vitality. His curly hair and beard are stylized as round beads, carefully arranged in rows on the proper right side of the beard, more casually assembled elsewhere. The separation between the hair and beard is provided by the upcurved lower jaw of the lion's skin on each side, the position of which seems chosen to suggest the location of the ears beneath the hair. All the main lines of the face turn upward. The eyebrows shoot up steeply from the bridge of the nose, and the wide eyes below them are slanted too. The mouth turns up in a strong archaic smile, with a U-shaped rather than a V-shaped closing line to the lips. The narrow, neat mustache curves upward to the corners of the mouth and then bends sharply down past them. Below the lower lip is a tongue-shaped tuft of beard, which is smooth-surfaced, with only a faint hatching around the edge to suggest the hairs. The cheeks are prominent. The flesh surfaces are very carefully smoothed.

The lion's skin, by contrast, is carved in a sketchy rather than a decorative fashion. The shallow wrinkles of the muzzle and the closed eyes are rendered with an impressionistic irregularity. The surface shows in places the marks of a coarse abrasive or rasp but is nowhere finished smooth. The quality of the limp skin hanging down in back is conveyed with considerable realism. The lion's ears are now battered but seem never to have been very carefully modelled.

Herakles' head seems to have turned sharply toward his left shoulder, and the skin, falling down his back, leaves the right side of his neck bare. At the back of the head on the proper left side is an irregular boss with a broad channel cut in its surface. Two drilled holes, about 0.01 m. deep and 0.007 m. in diameter, one in the boss itself and one in front of it, must have served to attach here some part of the figure that was carved separately. H. A. Thompson makes the plausible suggestion that this was the hero's club, being swung behind his head with the right hand in preparation for bringing it down on the enemy.<sup>131</sup> One can see that the head was turned to the left both from the start of the projection of the shoulder, preserved high up on the proper left side of the neck, and from the remains of drill channels on the under side of the beard on this side, showing that the shoulder was so close here that the working space was awkward. Given this turn of the head on the shoulders, the sculptor would not have had to strain the natural pose very far in order to bring the club to rest against the left side of the head, where it could be supported by dowelling to the larger mass.

Thompson suggests that our Herakles belonged to the decoration of a building. The type of action, suitable to be seen against a background, is right for architectural sculpture and so is the one-sided design and finish of the head. Not only is the back of the head less carefully finished than the front, but the proper right side of the beard and of the lion skin are more carefully drawn, as if they and not the left side were meant to be seen. The lion's head seen from above is unsymmetrical: the right ear is set farther back than the left and the distance between the two ears is much less than it should be. At the back of the head below the irregular boss the lion skin forms a ridge and shows unsmoothed point-marks, as though this portion had been hard for the sculptor to reach. This would seem to show, as Thompson suggests, that the figure had been carved from the same stone as its background. The two drill holes, however, could not have been made while the head remained so attached. It looks, therefore, as if there had been two stages in the history of the piece, even though there are no traces of a joint-surface or dowel hole in the neck as we now have it. Perhaps, instead of the head's breaking off, the whole figure split or threatened to split from its background and was reattached. The head of a cock (?), No. 97 B, also has an attachment hole that may well not have been original.

Before asking what building the Herakles was made to decorate we ought to ask its date. On this, two opinions have been expressed in print: that it was made near the end of the 6th century B.C.,<sup>132</sup> and that it is an archaistic creation.<sup>133</sup> Unfortunately, neither of these views can be supported by a fully convincing parallel, and it may be that a general lack of conviction about its date has been responsible for the little mention the head has had in the more than a decade since it was published.

Thompson suggested a date in the late 6th century for our Herakles because of its resemblance to the head of Herakles in the stag-metope of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi.<sup>134</sup> This was based on the early dating of the Treasury, which is more probably to be placed between 500 and 490 B.C.<sup>135</sup> Whatever the relationship between the two heads may be, it remains true that the Delphi Herakles offers more specific points of similarity with our head than any other piece of sculpture in existence. First, the broad-faced type is the same. Second, the curly hair of head and beard is rendered by round beads. The eyebrows swing up in the same way from the bridge of the nose, the cheek bones are salient in both, and both have the same kind of narrow mustache with long ends bent down past the corners of the mouth, whose lips

<sup>132</sup> Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

<sup>133</sup> Schuchhardt, *Gnomon*, 1958, p. 485.

<sup>134</sup> *Delphes*, IV<sup>4</sup>, no. 19, pp. 117 ff., pls. 50-57.

<sup>135</sup> See above, pp. 9-11.

<sup>131</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 174.

curve upward in a strong archaic smile. It is clear that the same conception of Herakles underlies both works.

The strongest difference is to be found in the eyes. Attic works of the late archaic period generally emphasize the plastic projection of the eyeball, and the eyelids are so carved as to imply clearly the existence of the eyeball beneath them. This is very much true of the heads on the Athenian Treasury metopes, whether the lower edge of the upper lid is actually carved, as in the stag metope, or indicated in paint only, as in some of the others. The fold which separates the upper eyelid from the flesh of the eyebrow is indicated, and the upper lid is lowered far enough over the eyeball to present a wide outer surface to the view. Thus the upper and lower lids differ very much from one another in form; they no longer appear as a simple rim framing the eye. In earlier archaic heads, in which the lids often do form such a frame, the space between the edge of the upper lid and the eyebrow is a continuous trough-like groove, with no separation of the lid proper from the flesh below the eyebrow. The eyes of our Herakles do not belong to either type. The lids, upper and lower, form a narrow rim around the eye, but the flesh under the eyebrow is separated from the upper lid by a sharp crease that continues out beyond the corner of the eye, curving slightly upward at the end. The groove bounding the lower eyelid also continues out, so that the upper and lower lids appear to join in a single ridge that prolongs the outer corner in an effect like that of Egyptian painted eyes. At the inner corner of the eye the canthus is suggested but not definitely expressed by the chisel. Above the outer part of the eye the ridge of the eyebrows is bevelled back, reducing the salience of the eyebrows in their outer portion and giving this part a convex rather than concave profile. This conformation is not usual in archaic sculpture; the closest parallel among the sculptures from the Agora is in the fragment, No. 216, which is shown by its corkscrew curls to belong to an archaistic work of some sort, possibly a beardless herm.

The mouth of the Agora head differs from that of the Delphi Herakles in that the line of the meeting of the lips forms a simple curve without the suggestion of a point at the center. The shape of the lips in profile, on the other hand, is very similar. I do not know of an archaistic work that has a mouth like our Herakles. It is merely a simple version of the archaic mouth.

The lion skin, though it cannot be directly compared with the metope, where the lion's head disappears behind Herakles' back, is the third discrepant feature. Its carving seems too slack and sketchy to consort with the emphatically decorative style of the head, and one is prompted to ask whether it is archaic at all.

A last point which may raise a question is the marble. The Herakles head is of Pentelic marble,

which was being quarried extensively for architectural use in the 480's but which we do not find used for *high* relief before the metopes of the Parthenon, carved in the 440's. We do not know, of course, whether the Older Parthenon was meant to have sculptured metopes and, if so, of what material they would have been made. It was surely economic reasons, especially the great size of the pieces needed, that forced the Parthenon sculptors to use Pentelic for high relief in spite of the fact that it splits more easily than Parian.<sup>136</sup> We may imagine, therefore, that Pentelic might have been used for high relief at any time when it became a practical necessity. This, then, is a dubious point, but one that needs to be mentioned among possible indications of a post-archaic date.

The only archaistic parallel that has been suggested for our head as a whole is, however, wholly unsatisfactory. Schuchhardt compares it with the Herakles of a relief in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.<sup>137</sup> Actually, the broad shape of the face is the only thing the two works have in common. The hair of the New York Herakles is carved in wavy strands ending in two rows of snail shell curls and the beard in two tiers of wavy strands ending each in a small row of curls. These look like archaistic conventions and have no particular connection with Herakles. The eyes, too, heavy-lidded, as Miss Richter says, are utterly unlike those of our head. On the other hand, the beaded hair and beard and the wide round eyes in the Agora head reflect a genuine stereotype of Herakles that was very common in late archaic Attic art. The round beads represent the tightly curly hair that distinguishes the strong man from other heroes. The Herakles on an amphora by the Kleophrades Painter in New York has the round curls plastically indicated, and his round, rolling eye is differentiated from the narrower eye of Apollo.<sup>138</sup> Other vases too show a round-eyed Herakles among almond-eyed companions,<sup>139</sup> and Pfuhl speaks of the "bull's eye" that is typical of Herakles as a man

<sup>136</sup> The only slightly earlier Hephaisteion metopes were carved in island marble which permitted the figures to be more thoroughly disengaged from their background than they could safely have been with Pentelic. Cf. especially the Theseus from the Sinis metope, *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 66-68.

<sup>137</sup> Richter, *Catalogue*, no. 24, p. 19, pl. 23.

<sup>138</sup> Richter and Hall, *Red-Figured Athenian Vases*, no. 13, pls. 14-15. Miss Richter comments on the differentiation of the eyes, *ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>139</sup> Beazley, *Der Kleophrades-Maler*, pls. 11-12, 30,1 and 7, 32,1 (another round-eyed Herakles on a fragment, *ibid.*, pl. 30,4); Beazley, *Der Pan-Maler*, pls. 7-10 (the Egyptian priests here somewhat round-eyed from fright, but still not so round-eyed as Herakles); Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 401 (Panaitios Painter), fig. 418 (Sosias Painter), fig. 424 (Brygos), fig. 471 (Pistoxenos Painter; even the school-boy Herakles has the curly hair and round eye).

quick to anger.<sup>140</sup> Possibly this rendering reflects some work of major art, either sculpture or monumental painting, that set the pattern for the minor arts.<sup>141</sup> Its great popularity in vase-painting seems to fall between 500 and 470. The Herakles on the Antaios krater of Euphronios<sup>142</sup> does not yet have it and the Herakles of the Niobid krater has it no longer.<sup>143</sup> The smile and the up-swung eyebrows go with the stereotyped countenance. The face of Herakles is on the way to becoming a mask of Herakles.

This mask-like quality is already present to a considerable extent in the Herakles of the Athenian Treasury. There, however, the round-eyed effect is achieved by the exceptional plastic roundness of the eyeball. If our head was made at a time when sculpture no longer made such projecting eyeballs, the narrow lids might be explained as a device chosen to give the round-eyed effect. The contrast between the strongly patterned face of the hero and the sketchy, naturalistic lion skin is itself an exaggeration of something that we occasionally find in this late archaic period, for example on the Geras Painter's pelike in the Louvre depicting Herakles and Geras.<sup>144</sup>

To sum up: the *type* of our Herakles conforms in all respects to a conception of the hero that was current in Attic art in the early 5th century. It cannot, therefore, be labelled an archaistic invention. The execution and finish are sufficiently careful for a 5th century date, and there are no specific elements of technique that betray Roman workmanship. Hence we cannot exclude the possibility that the head actually belongs to the period whose works it most resembles. On the other hand, there are features, especially the formation of the eyes and the treatment of the lion's skin, which suggest that a sculptor of a later time was reproducing the effects of this period by slightly different means. We do not, at the moment, have any close enough parallel to know when such a reproduction could have been made.

There is not much hope that our problem will be solved from the architectural side, for the finding-place of the head gives little or no clue to its ultimate origin. The post-Herulian loose fill in the industrial district southwest of the Agora has yielded a number of rolling stones, e.g. the torso of Athena, S 1232, attributed to the east pediment of the Hephaisteion, and the head of a girl, S 1246, formerly attributed to

the Nike Parapet but probably to be assigned to the Temple of Ares. These, as well as the heterogeneous cache of sculpture found north of the Eleusinion,<sup>145</sup> indicate that the late Athenians were in the habit of collecting pieces of ancient sculpture that had been damaged and discarded in earlier times. What their purpose in doing this was we do not know, but the fact must serve as a warning against laying too much stress on finding-places.

Granting all this, one still ought to mention that Herakles was probably found in Melite.<sup>146</sup> The sanctuary of Herakles in Melite (whose site is still unidentified) was apparently an old one, and had a cult statue by Ageladas.<sup>147</sup> It would be easy to imagine a place there for a Herakles in archaic style whether as an original or as a replacement but so long as we know nothing of the size or form of the temple it is idle to speculate further.

**97 B.** Head of a Cock, 500–480 B.C. (?) Pl. 18.

S 1260. Found in 1947 in early mediaeval fill east of the Street of the Marble Workers southwest of the Agora (C–D, 17–18). Head and neck with rough joint surface cutting diagonally through neck and drilled attachment hole. Beak, crest and lower front edge of fragment chipped away. Pentelic marble. Light weathering, pinkish buff patina and root-marks.

P.H. 0.10 m.

H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 174 to 175, pl. 50, 2–3.

See also p. 38.

The head is very unsymmetrical and was certainly meant to be seen primarily from the proper left side. When the attachment surface at the back is applied against a vertical surface the head projects in three-quarters view facing left. All the forms are more carefully carved and occupy more space on the proper left side than on the right. The expansion of the side toward the spectator at the expense of the other side is like the treatment given the lion mask in the Herakles head, No. 97 A, which Thompson has associated with the present fragment. There is a rough suggestion of feathers in the uneven surface of the neck with occasional engraved strokes. The eyes, both of which are carved, are small engraved circles with straight strokes attached to suggest the corners. The wattles are very long and curve in toward one another. The space between them is hollowed out by means of several joining channels cut by a small drill.

<sup>145</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, p. 378, note 39 and p. 390, note 87.

<sup>146</sup> For the probable location of this area in the deme of Melite, see R. S. Young, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 140–143.

<sup>147</sup> Schol. Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 501. Cf. Judeich, *Topographie*, pp. 396–397.

<sup>140</sup> *Op.cit.*, p. 486.

<sup>141</sup> The group with Herakles and Apollo fighting over the tripod set up by the Phocians at Delphi (Pausanias, X, 13, 7) celebrating their victory over the Thessalians "shortly before" Xerxes' invasion of Greece is probably too late to have been this prototype, but it may well have used the same type of angry Herakles.

<sup>142</sup> Pfuhl, *op.cit.*, fig. 392.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 492; Webster, *Der Niobidenmaler*, pl. 3 a.

<sup>144</sup> *A.R.V.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 286, no. 16; *Studies Presented to David M. Robinson*, II, pl. 37, d–e.

The general similarities of workmanship and design between this and the Herakles head are so great that Thompson's association of the two as parts of a single monument remains convincing even though their exact relationship is uncertain. The suggestion that the creature may be a Stymphalian bird is hard to reconcile with either the artistic or the literary tradition concerning the Stymphalian birds. All the surviving representations, from the 8th century B.C. down to Roman times, show them as long-necked waterfowl of one kind or another, and that is what their habitat would imply.<sup>148</sup> Pausanias describes some fierce Arabian birds with a crane-like appearance, resembling ibises with straight beaks, as possible descendants of the Stymphalian birds.<sup>149</sup> Except for the unusual length of the wattles there is nothing about our fragment to distinguish it from an ordinary rooster. Cocks belong rather to civilized life than to adventures in the wild, and since they are frequently seen in the hands of people, this creature seems rather more likely to have been a subsidiary than a protagonist in the Herakles scene, if indeed it does not come from a separate composition on the same building.

Like the lion's skin of the Herakles head, the cock's head is done in a sketchy style which gives a natural effect rather than attempting to exploit the decorative possibilities of the theme. If the bird's head were found alone, there would be nothing in it to suggest an archaic date.

98. Unfinished Fragment with Two Horses, Latter Part of 6th Century B.C. (?) Pl. 17.

S 1467. Found in 1950 during weeding in bottom of cutting for Temple of Ares (K 8). Bodies of two horses carved in one piece, the near horse somewhat behind the other. Coarse-grained white island marble. Surface weathered and battered. Preserves rough-picked back surface. Broken left, right and below. Partially broken above. Heads, legs and tails of horses missing.

P.L. 0.52 m., P.H. 0.295 m., Depth 0.225 m., L. of body of near horse 0.39 m.

See also p. 3.

Two horses, shown in left profile, are treated as if they were in high relief, but there is no background. The present flat, rough-picked back surface seems to be original and not the result of cutting away a previously existing background, for a large drill channel below the right foreleg of the far horse looks as if it

had been cut in from the back rather than from the front. The surface at the back is flat, though still rough-picked, and the horses move outward diagonally from its plane so that the hindquarters of the off horse would have been in fairly low relief, his forequarters in high.

The near horse had both forelegs off the ground, the upper part of the right one carved in relief against the body of the other horse. The left foreleg was apparently raised still higher. The far horse seems to have had the left forefoot on the ground, the right raised. The left hind leg of the near horse was advanced, as was apparently the right hind leg of the far horse.

Above the backs of the horses is what looks like an outstretched human arm which is not yet fully disengaged from the marble. The person to whom it belonged may have been a charioteer shown diagonally behind the horses, as in the east frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi,<sup>150</sup> or a person standing on the ground behind them.

It must have been intended that the finished group would be attached to a background. The relief seems too high in proportion to the size of the figures for a metope or frieze. Perhaps it was meant for a small pediment. The reason for its being left unfinished is not apparent. The degree of finish is very uneven. The flank of the near horse seems to have been finished almost smooth, while its chest and the areas above, below and between the horses still show very rough point-work. There are also raw traces of a heavy drill that was used to undercut and separate the forelegs of the horses and to separate the chest of the near horse from the shoulder of the other.

The placement, proportions and attitudes of the horses are strongly reminiscent of those in the two four-horse chariot groups in the east frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, though here we have only two horses instead of four. It therefore seems likely that our horses belonged to a chariot group and were made in the latter part of the 6th century B.C., but there is not enough detail present to support a close dating.

99. Fragment from an Attic Gravestone, Hand with Staff, Middle of 6th Century B.C. Pl. 19.

S 1751. Found in 1953 in a marble pile behind the north end of the Stoa of Attalos (R 7). Fragment from the right edge of a stele showing in relief part of a hand grasping a staff. Fine-grained, pale gray Attic marble with thin bands of darker gray. Preserves side surface and some of original back. Broken at left and above. Border chipped away except for a bit beside the knuckles of the little and third fingers. Slightly weathered. No traces of color.

<sup>150</sup> *Delphes*, IV<sup>1</sup>, pls. 11-12; De la Coste Messelière and Miré, *Delphes*, figs. 78-79.

<sup>148</sup> Brommer, *Herakles*, pp. 25-27, fig. 7, pls. 3, 18, 19; *Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 157-158. Altogether this seems to be one of the least popular in art of all Herakles' adventures.

<sup>149</sup> VIII, 22, 4-6.

P.H. 0.102 m., P.W. 0.085 m., Th. at edge 0.093 m., Max. P. Th. (at base of thumb) 0.101 m.

*Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, pp. 25–26, A, 29–30, pl. 7, b; Richter, *Gravestones*<sup>2</sup>, no. 33, fig. 93.

See also pp. 12, 45.

The fragment shows two fingers and a part of a third, grasping a cylindrical staff. To the left appears part of the high mound at the base of the thumb. The little finger is not differentiated from the others in thickness or in length, and there is no indication of the joints or nails. Perhaps the fingernails were meant to be curled out of sight around the shaft. The side of the shaft is carefully smoothed, while the back is dressed with the drove.

Identity of marble, thickness and workmanship proves that our fragment comes from a stele of which the lower part is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.<sup>151</sup> It shows a nude youth in profile against a red ground, holding a staff or spear. Our piece does not join, for the New York stele is broken off considerably below the wrist of the upraised left arm, but the alignments of edge, staff and arm fix its position approximately. In the quiet simplicity of the design and in the combination of full forms, especially in the thighs, with taut outlines, this youth is comparable to those on early vases by the Amasis Painter.<sup>152</sup> The sculptor's lack of interest in details, shown by the ambiguous treatment of the fingers grasping the staff, may be seen again in the feet, where the toenails are not separately indicated.

The New York stele has been tentatively linked with a poros base, likewise in the Metropolitan Museum and said to have been found together with the stele, which bears an epigram to Chairedemos and the signature of the sculptor Phaidimos. The finding-place, however, which must have been somewhere near the Agora, makes it likely that both pieces were found in a context of re-use and so need not belong together. The Chairedemos inscription, carved *boustrophedon*, is thought to be the earliest of three signatures of Phaidimos that have been preserved. It is dated by Miss Jeffery *ca.* 560–550.<sup>153</sup> The kore base from Vourva, with which only the feet of the kore have survived, should be later.<sup>154</sup> Miss Richter compares the thick knobby joints of the toes and the slender phalanges of the kore with those of the New

York stele.<sup>155</sup> The feet are not so similar, however, as to prove that the sculptor was the same. The toenails of the kore have sharply engraved angular outlines and there is a sort of old-fashioned neatness and precision about them that is quite unlike the softer feeling of the New York work. If the two were by the same man, the youth should be later than the kore, but since the inscriptions preclude this, it seems best to dissociate Phaidimos and Chairedemos from our youth.

Miss Richter suggests a date somewhat before 550 B.C. because of the resemblance of the youth to kouroi of the Tenea-Volomandra Group.<sup>156</sup> Schuchhardt brings it down to 540–530, but without objecting to a date of around 540 for the brother-and-sister stele.<sup>157</sup> Though absolute chronology remains somewhat conjectural, I feel no doubt that our stele is the earlier of the two, both in technique and in sculptural style. On the other hand, it is unlikely that it was crowned with a cavetto capital and sphinx, as Miss Richter implies in her history of the architectural development of Attic stelai, for it seems too thin safely to have supported such a finial. Probably some form of flat capital decorated with double volutes supporting a palmette was already in use by the middle of the century, and the date of our stele may well be about 550 or only shortly after. A fragment published by Conze as being in the National Museum in Athens but not now locatable comes from the lower part of a flat capital with a pair of double volutes above a band of tongue pattern.<sup>158</sup> Its recorded thickness, 0.085 m., which is too slight to have supported a sphinx, seems to be about right for our stele and the material is the same, gray Attic ("Hymettian") marble. A connection cannot be established, however, unless the fragment can be found again, its dimensions checked and its workmanship compared with that of the New York stele. No. 100, a fragment of a strikingly similar capital found in the same general area as the hand fragment, seems to have been too wide and thick to belong to the same monument.

100. Fragment of an Attic Gravestone, Volute Finial, 2nd Quarter or Middle of 6th Century B.C. Pl. 19.

S 1498. Found in 1950 in the Stoa of Attalos area (Q 8) among marbles left by the 19th century excavators. Fragment from lower right-hand corner. Fine-grained gray Attic marble banded with darker gray, the plane of banding being approximately

<sup>151</sup> Richter, *Catalogue*, no. 13; *Gravestones*<sup>2</sup>, no. 33, fig. 95.

<sup>152</sup> E.g. two amphoras in New York: Beazley, *A.B.V.*, p. 150, nos. 2 (S. Karouzou, *The Amasis Painter*, Oxford, 1956, pl. 1) and 3 (Von Bothmer, *B.M.M.A.*, XV, 1956–1957, Number 7, p. 171, above).

<sup>153</sup> Jeffery, *Local Scripts*, p. 72, no. 20; *B.S.A.*, LVII, 1962, p. 118 [2]; Richter, *Catalogue*, pp. 10–11; *Gravestones*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 156–158 (Guarducci).

<sup>154</sup> Athens, N.M. 81. Eichler, *Jahreshefte*, XVI, 1913, pp. 86ff.; Richter, *Gravestones*<sup>2</sup>, figs. 94, 200; Jeffery, *Local Scripts*, pp. 72–73, no. 23; *B.S.A.*, LVII, 1962, p. 137, no. 44.

<sup>155</sup> *Gravestones*<sup>2</sup>, p. 24.

<sup>156</sup> *Loc.cit.*

<sup>157</sup> *Gnomon*, 1958, p. 484.

<sup>158</sup> Conze, I, no. 28. Cf. *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, pp. 35–36; Richter, *Gravestones*<sup>2</sup>, p. 31, no. 44.

vertical and slanting somewhat back to the right from the face of the stone. The piece is broken at the back along this plane, also above, at the left and on the right side above the leaf band. Traces of reddish mortar adhere to all surfaces.

P.H. 0.165 m., P.W. 0.26 m., P.Th. 0.075 m.

*Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, p. 26, B, pl. 8, a and b; Richter, *Gravestones*<sup>2</sup>, no. 42, fig. 123.

See also pp. 42, 44.

The fragment, from a finial with incised and painted decoration on a flat surface, preserves a band of leaves along the bottom and the remains of a volute above at the right. Of the colors only the red has survived, the presence of the others being marked only by a slightly raised surface where the paint has protected the marble from weathering. On the analogy of other examples we may imagine that the incised lines were filled with black, or possibly red. Some filling would be necessary, since the incisions often fall between uncolored areas or strips. Alternate leaves, beginning with the outside one, were painted red. The others may have been black, blue or green. The lower parts of the leaves are marked off by an incised line into a band 0.015 m. wide. In this the lines of the reserved borders of the leaves are continued downward as vertical incised strokes, while the reserved centers seem to have been continued down without incised outlines. Since no trace of red remains in this band, we do not know how it was colored. Perhaps there was a simple alternation with the colors of the leaves above. Over the leaves was a horizontal red band 0.011 m. wide bordered by reserved lines and incisions. Above this the surface between the volutes seems to have been painted in one solid color (probably blue or black). There may have been an inverted palmette in the lost area above the fragment. The spiral of the volute is reserved and its eye red. The outward curve of the side of the finial near the top of the leaf-band would doubtless have continued only to the level of the red band, which would have been cut off vertically below the spring of the volute.

The side surface is not smoothed but dressed with the drove in carefully horizontal strokes. It preserves part of the incised outline of one leaf, of approximately the same width as those on the front. No trace of color remains on the side but the differences in the surface show that the side leaves were painted. If we restore two leaves on the side, the thickness of the finial at the bottom will have been *ca.* 0.102 m. This seems just adequate to accommodate the cutting for a dowel or tenon which is partially preserved in the underside, beginning 0.035 m. from the front face and 0.113 m. from the right edge. Since only its front wall remains, its exact dimensions are unknown, but it must have been at least 0.07 m. deep and 0.12 m.

long. Its thickness at the base is not likely to have been much less than 0.03 m. and it seems to be centered roughly on the fourth leaf from the right. The underside of the finial has anathyrosis (chisel border, point-work inside). The closest parallel to this piece is a lost fragment published by Conze as being in the Athens National Museum.<sup>159</sup> Like ours it comes from the lower right corner of a finial, and it showed a similar band of leaves surmounted by a volute that must have been part of a pair of double volutes of lyre shape. Its thickness is given as only 0.085 m. at the bottom of the fragment and 0.07 m. at the top, which seems too thin safely to have supported a sphinx. More probably it carried a palmette. Our fragment, though thicker, could also be more attractively restored with a palmette than with a sphinx, for its flat surface provides no projection below, such as the hawkbeak furnishes on the brother-and-sister stele, to balance the projection of the abacus above.<sup>160</sup>

101. Lower Part of Stele of Theron, 3rd Quarter of 6th Century B.C. Pl. 20.

I 2056. Broken off above. Back, sides and bottom preserved. From a stele originally found in March, 1819 by Fauvel in excavations near the modern Glyphada. Fauvel's house, in the area of the ancient Agora, was destroyed during the Greek War of Independence. The surviving fragment was refound October 31, 1934 in the demolition of a modern house in the central part of the Agora (N 12). Fine-grained white Attic marble with a few darker streaks. Traces of mortar and whitewash on the face. Right side of face worn, enough to obliterate first two letters of inscription but not incised lines of borders. Bottom preserved except for chips off lower front corner and along front edge adjacent to right side.

P.H. 1.465 m., W. at base 0.485 m., Th. at base (left side) 0.15 m., (right side) 0.14 m. The stele tapers, the width diminishing 0.036 m. per meter of height, the thickness 0.019 m. The left side is about 0.01 m. thicker than the right all the way up. Letter height 0.028 m.

The original stele was first described by Fauvel in an unpublished letter of April 11, 1819. The text of the pertinent passage is quoted by C. W. J. Eliot, *Coastal Demes of Attika*, p. 11, who identifies the letter as follows: "This letter is among the papers of Fauvel in La Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. It is numbered Vol. II (= mss. franç. 22871), folio 28." The finial and inscription were published in drawings by L. Vulliamy, *Examples of Ornamental Sculpture in*

<sup>159</sup> Conze, no. 28. See above, No. 99.

<sup>160</sup> Miss Richter, *Gravestones*<sup>2</sup>, p. 30, believes that it carried a sphinx.

*Architecture, Drawn from the Originals in Greece, Asia Minor and Italy in the Years 1818ff.*, London, 1824–1826, pl. 20, 4. Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, I, p. 11, no. 23, cites “2. edition. London s.a.” and quotes a description: “Very beautiful white marble. It is a very unusual example: it is not sculptured; the surface is flat, and the forms are shown by sunk lines, and by the two colors with which it is painted. The shaft is in a separate piece of marble; it is about 12 ft. high and 1 ft. 8 in. wide at the base. The head is let into the shaft with a tenon, which is run with lead. On the shaft, about midway of the height, is a word in ancient Greek letters.” The editions of Vulliamy which I have been able to consult consist only of the set of plates, with a date of issue printed on each plate, the latest being 1826. Twenty plates, including as plate 2 that on which the Theron stele appears, were republished by Batsford, London, 1907, with introduction and notes by R. Phéné Spiers under the title: *Examples of Classic Ornament from Greece and Rome drawn from the Originals by Lewis Vulliamy*. Spiers does not mention and apparently does not use the Vulliamy description quoted by Conze. Stackelberg, *Gräber der Hellenen*, pl. VI, 2–5 (whence Conze, I, pl. XIV, 1) shows the whole stele, but it is not certain whether Stackelberg actually saw the stele or only took his information from Vulliamy. His placement of the inscription corresponds rather to Vulliamy’s words quoted by Conze than to the actual stone (see below), but Stackelberg speaks of the colors as if he had seen them. Kinnard, in Stuart and Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*, IV, Supplement, pp. 13f., also shows the capital and inscription and gives dimensions which may be derived from Vulliamy, if he had access to the description quoted above. He reproduces the shape and spacing of the letters less accurately than Vulliamy, but he shows the lower width of the capital as equal to that of the shaft, instead of projecting beyond, as it does in Stackelberg’s drawing. Apart from Vulliamy’s details, the only picture of the stele which is certainly based on autopsy is the view of it in the background of pl. 19 in L. Dupré, *Voyage à Athènes et à Constantinople*, Paris, 1825 (whence our Pl. 20; *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, pl. 9 a–b; Richter, *The Archaic Gravestones of Attica*, fig. 149), showing Fauvel at home among his antiquities. This shows the capital flush with the sides of the shaft. It does not show the inscription, but does show the engraved borders.

The inscription was published (as lost) in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 994.

The Agora fragment was first published by G. M. A. Richter, *Archaic Attic Gravestones*, 1944, p. 94, figs. 89, 90. Subsequently Harrison, *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, p. 27, C, pl. 9, d; Richter, *The Archaic Gravestones of Attica*, 1961, no. 60 B, figs. 150, 209 and the inscription in the epigraphical appendix by M. Guar-

ducci, *ibid.*, p. 169 and by L. H. Jeffery, *B.S.A.*, LVII, 1962, p. 135, no. 38. The matter of the identification is further discussed by Eliot, *op. cit.*, pp. 22–23.

See also pp. 46, 49.

The stele was unsculptured, its front face dressed smooth except for a border stripe down each side marked off by two deeply engraved lines. The strip between the lines is carefully smoothed and shows faint traces of red paint. The border outside the strip on each side retains marks of the drove. The strips and the borders outside them taper as the stele does. The sides of the shaft are carefully smoothed and the back dressed with the drove. At the bottom the line for setting the stele into its base is marked by a narrow stripe of red paint that runs all the way around the stele, 0.085 m. from the bottom of the stone. Below this, the surface is more roughly dressed, with the drove on the front and sides, with the claw chisel on the back.

The name [Θέ]πος, inscribed retrograde, appears from 0.41 m. to 0.46 m. above the bottom of the stele. The last four letters are quite clear; of the third clear traces survive, part of the curve of the rho and a bit of the vertical stroke (cf. the drawing, Pl. 20).<sup>161</sup> Either the inscription was somewhat off-center toward the left or, more probably, the letter-cutter started with a very wide spacing and reduced it in the latter part of the name.

The stele was originally crowned with a separately carved finial of unusual design, a palmette rising not from a pair of volutes but from a pair of drooping leaves tied together with a band. The form is confirmed by the independent testimony of Vulliamy and Dupré. It is probably a survival of the somewhat similar design that occurs in oriental ivories and Greek orientализing pottery.<sup>162</sup> The pattern seems to have been outlined with engraved lines as on No. 100 and painted in red and blue. The statements of Vulliamy and Kinnard that the shaft was twelve feet high and that the inscription was about halfway up the shaft are irreconcilable. The second was entirely wrong (the name is only 1½' from the bottom), probably because

<sup>161</sup> Eugene Vanderpool kindly consented to check the existence of these traces for me, and he agrees that they are parts of an original rho. The letter is placed somewhat lower on the stone than one would expect, which may be the reason why Miss Guarducci did not find the traces convincing in the photograph. She doubts the existence of the rho and does not feel certain that the Agora fragment is in fact the stele of Theron that was in Fauvel’s collection. Miss Richter, however, believes it likely that the Agora fragment is part of the Fauvel stele.

<sup>162</sup> Cf. J. W. and G. M. Crowfoot, *Early Ivories from Samaria*, London, 1938, pls. 18–20; *Clara Rhodos*, VI–VII, p. 79, fig. 88. These ornaments, representing a palm-tree with drooping fronds, lack the horizontal tie of the Theron stele, but this is also lacking in the volute-trees of this earlier period.

neither architect noted the exact location of the inscription at the time when he made his drawing. Stackelberg's drawing shows the same error. Fauvel, in his letter which mentions finding the stele, speaks of it as twelve feet high without saying whether that height includes the finial. One would prefer to think that it does, for otherwise the ensemble would be taller than the New York brother-and-sister stele including its sphinx capital, and Theron's stele is both narrower and thinner at the base than the one in New York.<sup>163</sup>

No trace of painted decoration on the shaft apart from the border stripes is shown or mentioned by the early authorities. Miss Richter suggests that there was originally a picture of the deceased above the inscription.<sup>164</sup> On the surviving fragment the period of re-use (probably as a step) has removed any traces of paint that might have existed, except in the sunken border stripes.

The inscription suggests a date in the third quarter of the 6th century; the letter forms should not be earlier, the retrograde writing not later. The evidence of the technique agrees. The claw chisel is used, but only at the bottom where its marks would not show. The separately carved finial continues the earlier tradition. The great height of the monument suggests that it may belong to the same period as the unusually tall monuments with volute-sphinx capitals.

**102.** Fragment of Attic Gravestone, Middle of 6th Century B.C. Pl. 21.

S 2042. Found in 1959 in late fill in the area of the Eleusinion (T 18). Island marble, probably Parian. Moderately coarse grain. Part of back and right side preserved. All edges battered. Strong traces of red color on background. Surface little weathered.

P.H. 0.195 m., P.W. 0.245 m., P.Th. 0.094 m.

The fragment, from the lower right side of a stele of moderate thickness, shows the outline of a bare lower shin and upper instep against a concave red ground. This was probably the left foot, the one usually advanced in such archaic reliefs. The surface of the leg is smooth. Its front edge is offset from the background by a sharp bevel. The background was deeply curved, and doubtless came out to a thin sharp border, as in the Gorgon and Diskophoros stelai from the Themistoklean Wall.<sup>165</sup> The side of the stele was smoothed and the back dressed with the dove, as in the New York stele, see above, No. 99. There are no

<sup>163</sup> Miss Richter gives the height of the brother-and-sister monument as 4.234 m. including the base (*Catalogue*, p. 12, *Gravestones*<sup>2</sup>, p. 27).

<sup>164</sup> *Gravestones*<sup>2</sup>, p. 44.

<sup>165</sup> *Gravestones*<sup>2</sup>, nos. 27 and 25.

marks of the claw chisel unless the striations of the background were made by dragging such a tool over the surface. The fragment must come from a grave monument of good quality made around the middle of the 6th century B.C.

**103.** Fragment of an Attic Gravestone, Head of Man and Top of Shaft, 3rd Quarter of 6th Century B.C. Pl. 20.

S 1736. Found in 1952 at a high level (presumably modern) south of the Church of the Holy Apostles (O 16). Top part of a shaft. Broken below. Top and sides original. Back original but somewhat worn from use as a threshold block. The whole front surface except for a band 0.045 m. wide at the top and the concave background of the relief below has been roughly picked away. White Attic marble, weathered and cracked. Brown stains and mortar on front, reddish brown patina on left side. On the top, anathyrosis and a dowel cutting 0.09 m. x 0.035 m. and 0.055 m. deep, approximately centered, for attachment of a finial.

P.H. 1.045 m., W. at top 0.352 m., at bottom 0.40 m. Th. at top 0.127 m., P.Th. at bottom 0.117 m.

*Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, p. 27, D, pl. 10, b-c; Richter, *Gravestones*<sup>2</sup>, no. 50, fig. 135.

See also p. 1.

The fragment preserves the upper part of a shaft on which the deceased was represented in relief, facing right. The break at the bottom of the stone runs just below his head. Above the main panel was a space about 0.76 m. high, whose use or decoration we cannot ascertain, for most of its surface has been picked away, leaving only a little strip of original surface along the top edge that shows no traces of any kind. The surface of the man's head has also been picked away, but the outline of it can be made out against the concave background, which retains its original surface and even a little original red color. The outline suggests that the man was bearded. His hair appears to have been cut off low on the nape of his neck. The stele must have been built into a wall face up and all the projecting part picked away to provide a horizontal bed for the stone above. The taper of the stele in thickness made it necessary to remove also most of the surface of the top panel. The careful reworking corresponds to the treatment of archaic gravestones found in the Themistoklean city walls, especially the famous Gorgon stele.<sup>166</sup> Ours may have been first found in the city walls and later re-used for other purposes. The pivot and post holes on the back indicate that part of the stele served in modern times

<sup>166</sup> *Gravestones*<sup>2</sup>, no. 27, figs. 83-85.

as the threshold for a double door. The lowest part must already have been broken away by that time.

The tall top panel is peculiar. Only two other examples preserve a top panel to its full height, and on both it is much lower: 0.48 m. high on the so-called Noack fragment<sup>167</sup> and 0.432–0.443 m. high on the New York brother-and-sister stele.<sup>168</sup> In neither case do we know how it was decorated. An inscription running vertically might have taken up the space on our stele, as on a stele from Boeotia in Boston,<sup>169</sup> but our piece seems otherwise more like the regular Attic stelai which have the inscription on the base. The effect of height and slenderness which the tall top panel must have given would make our stele comparable to the stele of Theron, No. 101, which was terminated by an attached palmette. Though our stele would be thick enough to support a cavetto-sphinx capital, it is not heavy enough for one with double volute and sphinx like those in New York and Boston.<sup>170</sup> The dim outline of the man's face does not permit close dating, but the profile is not unlike that of the boy on the brother-and-sister stele, and Miss Richter compares the shape of the skull, remarking that it is less domed than in later works.<sup>171</sup> According to present notions, the separately attached finial precludes a date later than around 525, though it must be recalled that we have not one single finial preserved that certainly belongs to an Attic relief stele of the last quarter of the century. All those that we have come from painted or engraved examples or stelai whose decoration is unknown. The smooth finish of back and sides, however, is also in favor of an earlier date for the Agora fragment.

**104. Fragment of Archaic Gravestone, Man and Dog,**  
ca. 530–525 B.C. Pl. 21.

S 1276 a. Found in 1947 in the curbing of a Turkish cesspool at the southwest corner of the market square (I 12). From the lower left part of a stele. Fine-grained white Attic marble with thin gray bands (banding approximately vertical on sides of shaft, slanting back slightly from left to right). Broken at top, right side and below. Back and bottom surfaces deeply eroded by cesspool acids, but the slab probably has nearly its original thickness. In the back, about 0.25 m. from the left edge, are remains of deep holes made to help in breaking up the stone for re-use.

P.H. 0.34 m., P.W. 0.305 m., P.Th. (total) 0.22 m., P.Th. below feet 0.204 m., P.Th. of edge beside legs 0.18 m.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 29, fig. 89.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 37, fig. 99. I am indebted to Brian Cook for measuring the height of the top panel.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 28, fig. 81.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 37, figs. 96–104 and 38, figs. 110–111.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35.

H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, pp. 373 to 377; *Agora Guide*<sup>2</sup>, p. 192; K. Friis Johansen, *The Attic Grave-Reliefs of the Classical Period*, p. 110; *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, pp. 28, E, and 42, pl. 11, e–f; Himmelmann-Wildschutz, *Studien zum Ilissosrelief*, p. 41, note 106; Richter, *Gravestones*<sup>2</sup>, no. 49, fig. 131 and text figure on p. 35.

See also pp. 13, 18, 23, 37, 47, 48, 49, 78.

The fragment shows the feet of a man wearing light sandals. A heavy curling object behind him seems to be the tail of a dog. The relief is relatively high, and the fronts of the legs are deeply offset from the background. The man's flesh is polished; the background and the dog's tail have a mat finish. The straps of the sandal that pass behind the heel and join the sole at the sides are delicately carved in low relief, but the front strap which passed between the toes and its forked joining to the side straps were left to be shown in paint only. There are traces of red color on the carved straps.

Along the edge of the stele there was a flat painted border whose pattern can still be made out (Pl. 21). On a strip about 0.035 m. wide reserved in the color of the stone is traced a battlement maeander formed by opposing rectangles outlined in red and with the center line of the maeander painted in some color that has now disappeared. No trace of color remains on the background between the legs, and this is perhaps an indication that the field was painted blue or black rather than red, though red is the more usual color for backgrounds on archaic stelai.

This is the finest fragment of an archaic gravestone that has come to light in the Agora, notable both for its subject matter and for its artistic excellence. Its interpretation as part of a man-and-dog relief is owed to H. A. Thompson, who sees in it the forerunner of a series of non-Attic examples belonging to the early 5th century: the stele from Orchomenos by Alxenor of Naxos, the Borgia stele in Naples, and the stele of Anaxandros from Apollonia on the Black Sea.<sup>172</sup> Like the men on these later man-and-dog stelai, ours was dressed neither as a warrior nor as an athlete. The light sandals, similar in design to those worn by women, would be unsuitable for rough ground or vigorous exercise.<sup>173</sup> The footgear of our figure thus supports the idea that the curved object behind him is in fact the tail of a dog and not some inanimate piece of equipment, such as a hockey stick. Probably we should picture the man as wearing a short himati-

<sup>172</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, pp. 373–377.

<sup>173</sup> Cf. Acropolis kore 682; Schrader, pls. 56, 57. Similar sandals are worn by Lyseas, who appears on his painted gravestone (Conze, I, pl. 1; Richter, *Gravestones*<sup>2</sup>, no. 70, figs. 159–160) wearing a long himation and carrying a kantharos and a bunch of twigs, dressed for a feast or a ceremony.

on. He may have carried a staff in his hand but will not have leaned on it as in the later examples, for his feet are in the walking stance (like a kouros in relief) that is usual on 6th century stelai. If the holes in the back of the stone mark its half-width, as Thompson suggested, there will have been room in front of the man for a dog leaping up with his forepaws against the edge of the stele, as on the relief from Apollonia.<sup>174</sup> The size and position of the tail suggest a somewhat larger dog than those on the later stelai. The surface to the right of the man's left shin must belong to the leg of the dog rather than to the background, though no modelling is preserved.

It would seem that the man-and-dog theme is earlier in painting than in sculpture, for the Amasis Painter in his earlier works shows Herakles' dog accompanying the hero to Olympos.<sup>175</sup> So far, our stele is the earliest gravestone of this type known. That it was not alone in the archaic period is shown by the fragment in island marble, No. 105, with part of a dog's head and a man's hand. The difference in marble precludes the attribution of the fragment to the present stele, and it may be somewhat later in date.<sup>176</sup>

The rendering of the feet on our stele, as Thompson has shown, suggests a date around 530 B.C. Kouros of the Anavyssos-Ptoon 12 Group<sup>177</sup> offer good parallels in the round as does the New York chariot stele in relief.<sup>178</sup> The spirit of the work is different, however. In contrast to the full-blown roundness of forms of the Anavyssos kouros and the New York stele, the hard, clear modelling of the legs on our stele recalls the style of the Peisistratid pediments.<sup>179</sup> Similarly, the plain maeander of the border contrasts with the gay guilloche of the chariot stele.

To judge from the unusual thickness of our stele and its probable breadth, it must have been crowned by the most elaborate form of finial used on Attic stelai, a cut-out double volute of lyre shape supporting a crouching sphinx. Two such capitals are known to us: the nearly complete one in Boston, with its sphinx preserved,<sup>180</sup> and a fragment in the Athens National Museum.<sup>181</sup> The Boston capital is 0.192 m.

thick at its base. The Athenian example has only its upper part preserved, but is 0.185 m. thick in the upper volutes.

105. Fragment of Man-and-Dog Relief: Dog's Head, Last Quarter of 6th Century B.C. Pl. 21.

S 1276 bis. Found in 1951 in a marble pile near the southwest corner of the Agora (I 11). Fragment of relief broken away from the background, preserving dog's head from ear to muzzle and thumb of man's left hand. White island marble of rather coarse grain. Battered and lightly weathered.

P.L. 0.175 m., Max. P.Th. 0.06 m.

H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 108 to 109, pl. 28, b; mentioned *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, p. 43, note 64; Richter, *Gravestones*<sup>2</sup>, no 69, fig. 168.

See also above (104).

This fragment was recognized by H. A. Thompson as belonging to a grave relief of the type of the stele of Alxenor<sup>182</sup> but of the 6th century. It cannot come from the same stele as the man-and-dog fragment, No. 104, as Thompson suggested, however, for the present fragment is of coarse-grained island marble while the other is of fine-grained Attic. Thus we have evidence for at least two grave monuments of this type in archaic Athens. The scale is approximately life size. The dog's head was turned up, as one can see from the bend at the back of the neck, and probably he was jumping up on his hind legs in order to reach his master's hand, which held him under the chin. The master doubtless faced right (for the opposite direction is extremely rare in archaic Attic grave reliefs)<sup>183</sup> and leaned over, like the men on the Alxenor and Borgia stelai, but extended his left instead of his right hand to the dog.<sup>184</sup> On the later stelai the dog turns his head backward to take a morsel from the master's right hand. Judging from the relative sizes of the dog's head and the man's hand, this was a larger dog than those in the early classical stelai. The dog whose tail is preserved on No. 104 also seems to have been large.

<sup>174</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, pl. 52, 1 (right).

<sup>175</sup> Karouzou, *The Amasis Painter*, pp. 6, 9-10.

<sup>176</sup> Cf. Richter, *Gravestones*<sup>2</sup>, p. 48, no. 69.

<sup>177</sup> Acropolis 596, belonging to the kouros Acropolis 665 (Richter, *Kouros*<sup>2</sup>, no. 137, fig. 436) and Athens N.M. 12 (*Kouros*<sup>2</sup>, no. 145, fig. 437).

<sup>178</sup> Richter, *Gravestones*<sup>2</sup>, figs. 177, 179; *Catalogue*, pl. 19.

<sup>179</sup> Payne, p. 53, pls. 36-37; Schrader, pls. 185-197.

<sup>180</sup> Richter, *Gravestones*<sup>2</sup>, no. 38, figs. 110-114. It is by now generally agreed, though published proof is lacking, that the Boston capital belongs to the same monument as the New York chariot stele.

<sup>181</sup> *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, pl. 11, c-d; Richter, *Gravestones*<sup>2</sup>, no. 41, fig. 124. Since the fragment comes from Athens (Kerameikos), there is a possibility that it is actually the capital of the man-and-dog stele, but the possibility remains tenuous.

<sup>182</sup> Cf. Thompson, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, pl. 52, 1.

<sup>183</sup> In the 5th century, however, we sometimes find persons headed left on gravestones (cf. the youth and dog in Rhetymno, *J.H.S.*, LVII, 1937, pl. 4, where the dog also heads left).

<sup>184</sup> For the conjectured approximate position of the dog see the stele in Sofia, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, pl. 52, 1. If the man, instead of holding a stick in his left hand had extended the hand backward toward the dog, the position of hand and muzzle in our fragment would result. Such a composition would fit into a tall stele. If we admit the possibility of a broad stele such as the mother-and-child stele from Anavyssos (Richter, *Gravestones*<sup>2</sup>, no. 59), we might conceivably have a seated figure facing left (as on the potter relief, Acropolis 1332) and extending his left hand to the dog.

The dog's head is sensitively modelled, with complicated ups and downs of the surface to distinguish the bony ridges of the skull from the soft flesh parts. The ears were laid back; part of the deeply carved hollow of the right ear survives at the lower edge of our fragment. The eye is mostly battered away but it seems to have been similar to those of the hound Acropolis 143,<sup>185</sup> small and deeply set, with the lid shown simply as the edge of the surrounding flesh. The eye of the lion, No. 91, is carved in much the same way. Animals are not easy to date, but compared to Acropolis 143 our dog seems a little later in style. Schuchhardt and Payne compare the style of the Acropolis dog to that of the gigantomachy pediment of the Peisistratid Temple of Athena.<sup>186</sup> The long spatulate thumb of the man on our fragment with its thin second joint is shaped like that of the youth on an engraved and painted stele in the Louvre which is dated in the last quarter of the 6th century.<sup>187</sup> The stele to which the present fragment belonged was probably ten to twenty years later than No. 104, which remains the earliest example of the theme known to us in Attic sculpture.

**106. Fragment of a Palmette Finial Carved on Both Sides, Latter Part of 6th Century B.C. Pl. 21.**

S 1386. Found in 1949 in cleaning the Stoa of Atallos (Q-R, 7-13). From the right side of the palmette, preserving parts of six leaves and volute on front, seven leaves and volute on back. Edge preserved only at the ends of four leaves. White Attic marble of medium grain. Weathered on upper edge of leaves. Battered. Traces of mortar.

P.H. 0.41 m., P.Th. at bottom 0.115 m., at top 0.093 m.

Richter, *Gravestones*<sup>2</sup>, no. 56, figs. 142-143.

The fragment comes from a finial that was decorated in the same way on both faces, though the outlines of the pattern on the two faces do not exactly coincide. Since the upper edges of the leaves slope down from Face A (Pl. 21, right) to Face B (Pl. 21, left), it seems likely that A, the taller face, was the front. A similar

slope may be seen on the stele of Antiphanes.<sup>188</sup> The design seems to have been an eleven-leaved palmette springing from a pair of volutes. There are not enough leaves left to prove that there were originally eleven rather than nine, but two things suggest it: 1) the diminution in thickness from bottom to top determines an approximate horizontal line, assuming that the piece was cut with reasonable accuracy (very accurate cutting is not to be expected in archaic work), and this horizontal demands eleven leaves; 2) the alignment of the edges of three leaves on a single tangent which appears on our fragment gives an awkwardly triangular outline if these leaves are restored adjacent to the center, as they must have been if there were only nine leaves. The palmette was not a very graceful one in any case, for the majority of the dividing lines between the leaves are straight, with real curves appearing only in the lowest two leaves on each side. The volutes seem to have been relatively large, so that it is easier to restore a pair of single volutes than lyre-shaped double volutes. The leaves are separated by sharply incised lines and surrounded by a flat border, the inner surface of each being sunk about 1 mm. below its border. The borders are smooth; the sunken surfaces are more irregular and dressed with rather coarse abrasive. The channel of the volute, in so far as it is preserved, is slightly concave and dressed very smooth. Doubtless the volute and the borders of the leaves were left in the color of the marble, while the rough inner surfaces of the leaves were painted in alternating colors. The separating lines would have been picked out in black or red.

The size of the finial is suitable for a grave stele with the usual top width of around 35-40 cm. The maximum width of the palmette, which in the single volute capitals generally exceeds the top width of the shaft, would measure about 48 cm. if there were eleven leaves and 44 cm. if there were only nine.

Stele crowns carved on both sides are unusual in Attica, though some Ionian gravestones have figures as well as finials carved on front and back<sup>189</sup>. A single-volute and palmette capital in the Athens National Museum<sup>190</sup>, for which no provenance is recorded, though it was already in Athens when Sybel made his catalogue in 1881, is the only example known to me which might be Attic, and even this is doubtful. It is made of island marble and is described as being of Cycladic

<sup>185</sup> Schrader, no. 377, pls. 169-170; Payne, p. 51, pl. 131, 3.

<sup>186</sup> Schuchhardt, in Schrader, p. 263, attributes Acropolis 143 to the same master as the gigantomachy pediment and the sima lion of the Peisistratid Temple. He suggests the end of the decade 520-510 as the latest possible date. Payne, p. 51, also leaves it uncertain whether the dog is contemporary with the gigantomachy or a later work in the same style.

<sup>187</sup> Richter, *Gravestones*<sup>2</sup>, no. 57, fig. 139; Charbonneaux, *Mon. Piot*, XXXVII, 1940, pp. 46ff. Miss Richter argues for a date around 520-510 B.C. as against Charbonneaux' date in the Leagros period.

<sup>188</sup> Richter, *Gravestones*<sup>2</sup>, no. 54, fig. 137. Miss Richter dates the stele of Antiphanes 530-520 B.C. and suggests a similar date for our fragment. L. H. Jeffery, *B.S.A.*, LVII, 1962, p. 131 supports a date near the end of the century for Antiphanes.

<sup>189</sup> Cf. Bakalakis, 'Ελληνικά Ἀμφογγυφά, Thessalonica, 1946, pp. 45-50.

<sup>190</sup> N.M. 796. Bakalakis, *op.cit.*, p. 50, no. 7. Sybel 2244. Conze, I, no. 27, pl. 14, 5.

type, though it lacks the precision and complexity of the best Cycladic finials. A fragment of a 5th century split palmette from the Agora, S 1756, is carved on both sides but with a clear differentiation of front and back. There is a strong possibility that this latter does not come from a grave stele at all, but from some architectural decoration, such as the pediment-shaped cheek-piece of an altar. Such a use seems likely also for a small palmette, A 1250, which is carved on one side only but has the petals painted on the other. This last was tentatively connected by H. A. Thompson with the man-and-dog stele, No. 104, but it is too small to have belonged to a gravestone. Though the National Museum finial was made separately and attached, its size and casual workmanship make it almost certain that it belonged to a gravestone rather than to any architectural complex. Bakalakis, who has made a special study of two-sided reliefs, concluded that the shaft to which this finial belonged must also have been carved on two sides.<sup>191</sup> There are no fragments of two-sided reliefs in the Agora to which our present finial might be attributed, but possibly a painted shaft, finished on the back, might carry such a crown. One must ask whether this piece could possibly be a part of the lost crown of Theron's stele (No. 101), but if those who described the latter were at all accurate in their descriptions our fragment does not fit. It is a little too thick for the shaft of Theron's stele unless there was a moulding at the top of the shaft as on the New York brother-and-sister stele to give a thicker base for the finial. No such moulding is mentioned or shown in the drawings. Also there is no mention of Theron's finial being carved on both sides, and the fact that the back of Theron's shaft has drove-work rather than a smooth finish suggests that it was not. Lastly, "decorated with sunk lines" does not really describe the carving of our capital.

The date of the piece is not easy to fix. While the apparent general outline, the single-arc core of the palmette, and the carving on two sides link it to the National Museum palmette, the material and technique are altogether different. Instead of the soft outlines and concave petals of the 5th century palmette we have stiff, flat leaves with offset flat borders and sharply engraved dividing lines. The edges of the

palmette seem to have been cut with the drove; no traces of the toothed chisel remain visible. Since the marble is white Attic, differing in no way from the usual Pentelic, it seems unlikely that the finial is the product of a non-Attic workshop. Probably it belongs to the latter part of the 6th century, when Attic grave monuments of substantial size were still being made.

107. Fragment of Head of Youth, Late 6th Century  
B.C. Pl. 21.

S 2118. Found in 1959 in loose modern fill in the Eleusinion area (V 20). Proper left side of head. Broken off below chin and through inner corner of right eye. Whole surface battered and flaky. Traces of mortar. White Attic marble of rather fine grain.

P.H. 0.105 m., P.Th. of Frag. 0.055 m.

Lively and expressive in spite of its poor condition, the little head gives the impression of being from a relief, even though no contact with the background is preserved. The front hair frames the face in a smooth arch; the back hair forms a torus at the nape of the neck. Individual strands or curls are not indicated; the whole surface of the hair is stippled. The eyes are large and almond-shaped; their lids seem not to have been plastically indicated. The corners of the mouth turn up in a very decided smile and are marked by transverse folds. The ear was visible between the front and back hair but only traces of the front part of the hair remain. Possibly the head was not entirely finished, but the simple rendering of eyes and hair was probably intended. Compare the so-called Fauvel head in the Louvre,<sup>192</sup> the flute-player on the relief Acropolis 702,<sup>193</sup> and, for the hair, a fragment Acropolis 306<sup>194</sup> and the head of the child on a recently discovered grave relief from Anavyssos in the Athens National Museum.<sup>195</sup> If our fragment comes from a relief, its small scale and high projection would better fit an architectural or a votive relief than a gravestone, but it is possible that it is from a work in the round.

<sup>192</sup> Langlotz, *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen*, pl. 63.

<sup>193</sup> Payne, pl. 128, 3; Schrader, no. 430, pl. 178.

<sup>194</sup> Schrader, no. 326, p. 247, fig. 275.

<sup>195</sup> Richter, *Gravestones*<sup>2</sup>, no. 59, figs. 151-153.

<sup>191</sup> *Op.cit.*, p. 40.

## II

# ARCHAISTIC SCULPTURE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1. DEFINITION OF TERMS

So far as the sculpture from the Agora is concerned, the much-discussed terminological distinctions between archaizing and archaistic are not particularly relevant. The adjective "archaizing" was first chosen to cover a wide range of works which incorporate features that are either inspired by the archaic or intended to suggest it, but do not have among themselves a consistency that would enable them to be grouped as a style. The word "archaistic" was thus kept free to serve as the title of a style properly speaking, for which attempts have been made from time to time to define the morphological character and the chronological limits.<sup>1</sup> These efforts have not been entirely successful; the term "archaistic style" as strictly defined appears to be a bed of Procrustes into which relatively little will fit without violence.

Moreover, the term "archaizing" is awkward in English because it has no equivalent noun. "Archaism," which should go with "archaistic," is actually the best designation that we have for a single archaizing feature in art, just as in philology it may designate the single archaic word or expression in a more modern context. That the works of widely differing dates and uses with varying admixtures of archaizing elements greatly outnumber those that scholars such as Becatti have accepted as properly archaistic is well illustrated by the finds from the Agora itself. It would therefore seem rather perverse to reserve the natural and manageable term "archaistic" for the smaller body of material. I prefer to use it here in its broad dictionary meaning; "of the nature of an archaism; using archaisms; also would-be archaic; pretending to be archaic,"<sup>2</sup> while using "archaize" as the equivalent verb; "to make appear archaic or antique; to use archaisms." By grouping together as "archaistic" all the works which might be called either archaizing or archaistic we can form a better idea of the range of possible relationships of later art in Athens to the archaic.

Among the works from the Agora these seem to extend all the way from outright copying of an archaic work, which is probably the origin of the relief of a man with two horses (No. 127), to the conventional Neo-Attic archaistic such as the fragments of a procession of four gods (No. 129). Two very large classes which most often have archaistic features, the herms and the Hekataia, are treated in separate chapters.

<sup>1</sup> For the most recent definitions see the articles "Arcaistico (stile)" and "Arcaizzante (stile)" by G. Becatti in *Enciclopedia dell' arte antica* (with references to the author's previous writings on the subject). For an earlier definition, see H. Bulle, *Archaisierende griechische Rundplastik*, p. 1. Bulle and Becatti agree in emphasizing the importance of the linear element in the structure of "archaistic" works, but Becatti is stricter in his definition and limits "archaistic" work to a narrower span of time than Bulle. C. M. Havelock, *A.J.A.*, LXVIII, 1964, pp. 49-58, though she subscribes to Becatti's opinions on chronology, does not attempt to carry over into English his distinction between archaistic and archaizing.

<sup>2</sup> *Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language*, 2nd ed., s.v.

## 2. ARCHAISTIC DRESS

The discussion of archaistic draped types may be easier if we outline first the kinds of dresses that were worn.<sup>3</sup> They are not always perfectly logical and consistent, but the different combinations of basic garments do show something about the history and interrelations of types.

a. IONIC (SMALL DIAGONAL) HIMATION<sup>4</sup> AND LINEN CHITON.

This is the standard dress of archaic korai, and it is early revived in archaistic works, but it is by no means the most frequent or important archaistic dress. In reliefs it is uncommon, being introduced only when there is a special need for variety,<sup>5</sup> or when a statue is being represented.<sup>5a</sup> We find it in archaistic korai both in the original form, with the mantle fastened along the whole of the upper arm, and in a modified form, fastened on the shoulder only, so that the chiton sleeve emerges from under it.<sup>6</sup> The earliest dated example of the latter in sculpture is on the idol from a pediment of the Argive Heraion, so of the late 5th century.<sup>7</sup> The Palladion from the east pediment of the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros is apparently treated in the same way.<sup>8</sup> A fighting Athena, the Herculaneum Pallas (Pl. 63, d), of which we have a replica of the head (No. 124) also wears this Ionic himation fastened on the shoulder only. The Athena type seems to be late Hellenistic and it is possible that our fragment is from the original.<sup>9</sup>

The Ionic mantle still fastened in the archaic way may be seen on a basin-bearer from the Acropolis<sup>10</sup> and an archaistic kore from Stamata.<sup>11</sup> The Acropolis figure was dated by Langlotz around 490 B.C. and included by Payne among the archaic marble korai, but its heavy weathering shows that it is post-Persian, and since a close parallel for the crinkle folds of the chiton (pairs of shallow furrows divided by grooves) can be found on an early Roman replica of the Munich Tyche in Pergamon (Pl. 63, a),<sup>12</sup> it is possible that it is a work of the Roman period closely copying a kore of the stage of the Euthydikos kore.<sup>13</sup> Even the locks of hair with grooves delineating parallel wavy strands are generally similar to those of the Euthydikos kore but betray their later date by their resemblance to the shoulder-locks of archaistic herms. The kore from Stamata, on the other hand, is probably a 4th century work.

When the lower part of the figure is not preserved, the Ionic himation cannot be distinguished from the more common long diagonal mantle with overfall. None of the Agora korai with the diagonal mantle is well enough preserved to show clearly what kind it was. The sadly battered fragment Number 111 is most similar in style to a fragment from the Acropolis called by Langlotz "archaistic, 5th century"<sup>14</sup> and to a basin-bearer from Laurion which Schmidt thought was the earliest of such korai.<sup>15</sup> All three are characterized by thin, stiff flat folds. Since the

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> The term "Ionic himation" for the small himation worn diagonally by archaic korai is used with quotation marks by Beazley, *Antike Kunst*, IV, 1961, p. 51 and note 8 (he takes the term from Langlotz). The term is correct inasmuch as the diagonal himation was worn by Ionian korai before it appeared in Attica.

<sup>5</sup> See below, p. 59.

<sup>5a</sup> The figure on an Athenian decree relief of 356/5 B.C. (see below, note 17) appears to be wearing the diagonal mantle.

<sup>6</sup> This begins to appear rather frequently in the red-figured vases of the latest archaic period (ca. 490-470 B.C.), but we do not find it in any of the archaic Acropolis maidens.

<sup>7</sup> Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, I, p. 149, fig. 76; Eichler, *Jahreshefte*, XIX-XX, 1919, pp. 30f., G, fig. 23; Bulle, p. 12, no. 13, pl. 2. This figure is probably to be interpreted as a Palladion; it resembles the Epidauros idol which is clearly marked as a Palladion by its aegis. A second idol from the Heraion (Eichler, *op.cit.*, p. 32, fig. 24) has the old xoanon form and probably represents another goddess, such as Artemis.

<sup>8</sup> Crome, *Die Skulpturen des Asklepiostempels von Epidauros*, p. 46, no. 35, pl. 39.

<sup>9</sup> See below, p. 75.

<sup>10</sup> Acropolis 628. Payne, pl. 96, 4; Langlotz in Schrader, p. 76, no. 36, fig. 41.

<sup>11</sup> Athens, N.M. 307. Bulle, p. 12, no. 14, pl. 2; *A.J.A.*, V, 1889, pl. 12.

<sup>12</sup> *Neue deutsche Ausgrabungen*, p. 149, fig. 18.

<sup>13</sup> For a copy of a kore, cf. Paribeni, *Sculture greche*, no. 76.

<sup>14</sup> In Schrader, pp. 144-145, no. 138, figs. 110-111.

<sup>15</sup> N.M. 74. Schmidt, p. 50, pl. 22.

Acropolis piece has a more interesting pattern of folds than the Laurion kore, it may possibly be a little earlier. The Laurion kore may be wearing a long mantle with overfall; the Acropolis piece seems to have the short Ionic himation; the Agora piece is uncertain. Though there is no absolute evidence for dating, it appears that these pieces should be somewhat earlier than the kore from Stamata. This has a casually carved overall pattern of narrow folds on the front and a marked flare to the silhouette. The back of the Stamata kore is like some fragments from the Acropolis which are more coarsely carved than the one mentioned above and which also have more flare.<sup>16</sup> The Agora fragment has the back hair in a bunch of spiral tresses. This treatment might have been inspired by the Erechtheion caryatids. The shoulder locks of the idol from the Argive Heraion are also treated as spiral tresses. It seems possible that our earlier archaistic korai date from the first half of the 4th century and the kore from Stamata from the second half. One may compare the Laurion kore and her relatives with their stiff outlines to the Athena on the Panathenaic amphora of 363/2 B.C.<sup>17</sup> (she also has, in one example, her back hair in a bunch of tresses like the Agora fragment). The Stamata kore has the curved flare of the Athenas on the amphoras of the second half of the century. These comparisons refer to style only, of course. The Panathenaic Athena wears not the Ionic himation but the peplos.

*Chiton.* The fragment with the feet and chiton hem of a kore (No. 112) illustrates a feature in archaistic works which distinguishes many of them from archaic and is not likely to have existed before the second half of the 4th century. This is the combination of plastic folds (here surviving in the center fold) with the ripples that represent crinkles in the chiton. By this device the crinkles no longer suggest tiny folds in a very thin material such as they are meant to represent in archaic works but resemble rather the texturing of a heavy material such as we find for the first time on one of the figures from a column base of the 4th century Artemision at Ephesos. This being so, it is not only possible to run this crinkled texture across the surfaces of larger folds but also to terminate the lower edge with a smooth border resembling that which archaic korai often have at the neck. Our kore shows such a border. With the hem border in the chitons of archaistic korai we often find also a smooth border on the edge of the chiton sleeve, as on the fragment of a rather crude small kore of late Hellenistic or Roman date (No. 114). The perirrhantion kore at Eleusis belonging to the late 4th or early 3rd century B.C. is the earliest securely dated example of the hem border.<sup>18</sup>

#### b. PEPIOS GIRDED OVER LONG OVERFALL.

This is a classical, not an archaic dress, which makes its first appearance in Athens around 480 with the little Athena of Euenor.<sup>19</sup> It is proper to Athena and Artemis as maiden divinities and is worn by the Athena Parthenos of Pheidias. Our earliest surely dated example of it in its archaistic form occurs in the fighting Athena on a red-figured oinochoe from the Agora dated around 410 B.C. (Pl. 63, b).<sup>20</sup> A swallowtail treatment of the overfall and a heavy central fold with zigzags running all the way up it (a painterly illogicality that we shall not meet in sculpture) are the main archaizing features. The scarf-like mantle draped symmetrically over the shoulders does not yet form the swallowtails that characterize it on the 4th century Panathenaic amphoras, but the fact that it is worn at all must be counted as an archaism.

<sup>16</sup> Langlotz in Schrader, p. 146, no. 139, figs. 112, 113 and no. 141, fig. 114.

<sup>17</sup> Schmidt, pl. 7. Similarly stiff is the archaistic figure labelled "Parthenos" in a decree relief of 356/5 B.C. concerning Athens and Neapolis, though this figure is shown on a very small scale and meant to represent a statue (N.M. 1480. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 128; *Einzelabnahmen*, 1213).

<sup>18</sup> See below, p. 56.

<sup>19</sup> Acropolis 140. Langlotz in Schrader, pp. 48-49, no. 5, pls. 9-11; Raubitschek, *B.S.A.*, XL, 1939-40, pp. 31-36.

<sup>20</sup> R. Green, *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, pp. 82-94, pl. 31, 15.

The peplos is naturally the appropriate garment for the Athena of the Panathenaia, and the archaistic fighting Athenas who make their appearance on the Panathenaic amphoras in the 4th century are dressed just like the Athena of our Agora oinochoe. The archaistic Athena on the coins of Ptolemy Soter also wears the peplos and swallowtail mantle.<sup>21</sup> The coins of Antigonos Gonatas vary the scheme by giving Athena the long himation with overfall fastened on one shoulder, but the swallowtail mantle is the same.<sup>22</sup>

An over-girt peplos regularly occurs on the triple Hekataia which seem to reflect the Hekate of Alkamenos.<sup>23</sup> With very few exceptions the peplos in these Hekataia is archaistic, though the faces are always classical. The conclusion of most scholars that the original was archaistic seems to be correct.<sup>24</sup> Since the Agora oinochoe shows an archaistic peplos around 410 B.C., there is nothing inherently shocking in the idea that the Hekate created a decade or so earlier was similarly dressed. The three-bodied Hekate is of necessity an architectural construction, an idol, rather than a naturalistic figure.<sup>25</sup> The archaistic peplos figure in its simplest form is a favorite way of representing idols in late 5th and early 4th century art. One may compare the statue to which a Lapith woman is fleeing on the Bassae frieze (late 5th century)<sup>26</sup> and the statue in the background of the group of divinities and worshippers on the votive relief of Xenokrateia (beginning of 4th century).<sup>27</sup> The peplos used for idols is often closed on the side, so that the whole has the simple symmetry of early xoana, even when it uses the classical long overfall. The large Hekataion from the Agora (No. 134) and the majority of the smaller examples have the closed peplos. The Hekataion in the British School at Athens<sup>28</sup> and three pieces from the Agora (Nos. 139, 146 and 148) show the zigzag of the open peplos marked on the side.

The majority of Hekataia show a thin chiton under the himation, appearing on the upper arms as crinkled sleeves and sometimes at the hem in the small triangle made by the open central fold. This is missing in the larger versions which appear to be closer reflections of the original, as it is generally missing in Greek peplos figures of the 5th century.<sup>29</sup> The idols in the Bassae and Xenokrateia reliefs do not have it, but it appears on terracotta idols of the 4th century and Hellenistic period, figures which D. B. Thompson has interpreted as representations of votive statues, archaized to show clearly that they are statues.<sup>30</sup> In so adding the under-chiton, the archaistic peplos figures, including the Hekate statuettes, are being unconsciously modernized to the 4th century fashion. Once it becomes the rule to show the chiton under the peplos for contemporary dress, the same is done for archaistic works. We may note as a parallel case the adaptation of the dress of the Mother of the Gods to the 4th century form.<sup>31</sup> In the most careful copies and presumably in the original she wore a chiton with overfall, but in the general run of small votives this is converted into a chiton *under* a high-girt peplos. The peplos in the 4th century is clearly treated as an overgarment and the archaistic peplos becomes virtually

<sup>21</sup> Cf. A. Brett, *The American Numismatic Society, Museum Notes*, IV, 1950, pl. 11, 5-6; Lacroix, *Les reproductions de statues sur les monnaies grecques*, pl. 8, 5.

<sup>22</sup> Brett, *op.cit.*, pl. 12, 14; Lacroix, *op.cit.*, pl. 8, 8; Kraus, *Hekate*, pl. 2, 2.

<sup>23</sup> See below, pp. 87ff., Nos. 134-149. An example from Samos with diagonal mantle (Kraus, *Hekate*, pl. 23, 1) is an unusual variant. There is another in the Salonike Museum (no. 228).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. especially Kraus, *Hekate*, pp. 95ff., 113ff., with discussion of earlier literature.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. especially Schmidt, p. 49.

<sup>26</sup> B. M. slab 524. Kenner, *Der Fries des Tempels von Bassae-Phigaleia*, Vienna, 1946, pl. 5.

<sup>27</sup> Athens, N. M. 2756. Svoronos, pl. 181; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4548; Hausmann, *Griechische Weihreliefs*, p. 64, fig. 33.

<sup>28</sup> Schmidt, pl. 24, 1,3; Kraus, *Hekate*, pl. 3,2.

<sup>29</sup> J. Fink and H. Weber, *Beiträge zur Trachtgeschichte Griechenlands*, Würzburg-Aumühle, 1938, p. 122, note 29, p. 143.

The authors believe that a chiton was always worn under the woollen peplos but that 5th century artists did not show it.

<sup>30</sup> *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, p. 134.

<sup>31</sup> The majority of the statuettes and reliefs of the Mother of the Gods from the Agora excavations wear the chiton under the peplos, but those which do not have it imitate 5th century forms more closely and so are probably closer reflections of the original cult statue.

interchangeable with the commonest of all archaistic dresses, the long mantle with overfall, fastened on one shoulder. In the groups of dancing divinities, Nymphs, Graces, Seasons and the like, archaistic peplos figures are freely mingled with other types of mantle figures.

The idols which are used as supports for statues of female divinities (especially Aphrodite and Artemis) are certainly meant to represent statues. Sometimes these wear the peplos (as in a statuette of Roman date from the Agora);<sup>32</sup> sometimes, as in the Artemis from Larnaka,<sup>33</sup> the diagonal long mantle with overfall is substituted.

Besides the over-girt peplos with long overfall, other classical peplos forms are sometimes archaized. These, however, seem to be late and sporadic examples that do not generate any real type tradition. No. 114 apparently wore a peplos with overfall not belted and a mantle symmetrically fastened on the shoulders and hanging down the back. Here a thin chiton with archaistic crinkle-folds is worn under the peplos. The rather gauche little Tyche statuettes, Nos. 119, 120, are not fully archaistic, but the folds of the ungirt peplos are forced into a rigidly symmetrical pattern that approximates the archaistic scheme.

#### C. LONG MANTLE WITH OVERFALL, FASTENED ON ONE SHOULDER.<sup>34</sup>

This is a garment of about the same size as the peplos and is, of course, always worn with a chiton underneath. Like the peplos with long overfall, it appears in the early classical period, but is a less frequent costume than the peplos, being reserved, apparently, for divinities and ceremonial occasions. Sometimes it is girded, in which case it differs from the peplos only in being fastened on one shoulder instead of two.<sup>35</sup> Ungirded, it is a ceremonial dress for musicians, especially worn by Apollo as lyre-player.<sup>36</sup> An archaistic version of it belonging to the 5th or early 4th century has not, so far as I know, come to light. In the 4th century it is the dress worn in the very long frieze of archaistic dancing girls from a structure in the sanctuary at Samothrace which is dated by the excavators around 340 B.C.<sup>37</sup> The ceremonial character of their costume is further emphasized by the poloi which they wear on their heads. For symmetry's sake, the mantle is fastened on the left shoulders of figures moving right and on the right shoulders of figures moving left. The skirt is treated as closed; the zigzags on the side are missing. For the sake of variety, alternate dancers have the shawl-like mantle with swallowtail ends that the Panathenaic Athena wears with her peplos. The mantle with overfall is archaized to look as much as possible like an archaic Ionic mantle, so that it has here, as often in archaistic work, the diagonal ruffle at the top in spite of the fact that the top is logically a fold and not an edge. The musicians in the procession wear the same dress as the dancers.

The same dress is worn also by the Athena on the coins of Antigonos Gonatas (from 277 B.C.).<sup>38</sup> The long diagonal mantle is substituted here for the peplos on Ptolemaic and other similar

<sup>32</sup> S 443. *I.L.N.*, June 2, 1934, p. 863, fig. 9.

<sup>33</sup> Bieber, *Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, fig. 41.

<sup>34</sup> The basic garment is, as Bieber points out (*Griechische Kleidung*, p. 72) the same as the peplos: "die Chlaina des Mannes genau dem ebenfalls aus homerischen Zeiten stammenden Peplos gleicht." It is tempting to adopt the word chlaina for the long diagonal mantle, but since it generally implies a very warm garment and one worn by men, it is perhaps not appropriate to cover all the archaistic uses. The term "Ionicizing Peplos" which has sometimes been used is no more satisfactory. It is true that the archaistic version often imitates the superficial pattern of the Ionic himation, but such a term ignores the real existence of this dress in the classical period as an outer garment for divinities and ceremonial occasions.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. the "Persephone" from Corinth, Johnson, *Corinth*, IX, pp. 14-15; Paribeni, *Boll. d'arte*, XL, 1955, pp. 97-102. Erika Simon suggests that this form is a bride's dress (*A.J.A.*, LXVII, 1963, p. 58).

<sup>36</sup> Cf. the Apollo on a neck-amphora in Würzburg (manner of the Niobid Painter), Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung*, pl. 38, 2; *A.R.V.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 611, no. 32; the Apollo on an early classical relief from Thasos, *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art*, III, p. 148, A, Brunn-Bruckmann 61; and the Apollo on a late 5th or early 4th century relief in Sparta, Hausmann, *op.cit.*, fig. 35.

<sup>37</sup> *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 16f., pls. 8-10; Lehmann, *Samothrace, Guide*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 58-59, fig. 31. Mrs. Havelock, *A.J.A.*, LXVIII, 1964, p. 50, attempts to date the frieze to the 2nd century B.C. but without in any way taking into account its architectural connection. The repetitiveness of the frieze, which she finds "incredible. . . within a classical period" is convincingly explained by Lehmann in terms which are applicable to the late 4th century and not to the 2nd. See below p. 64.

<sup>38</sup> See above, note 22.

coins, and we may easily imagine that the die-cutter was inspired by some relief to this variation. The tiptoe stance of the Athena on these coins must be borrowed, consciously or unconsciously, from dancing figures (even the most affected 4th century Panathenaic Athenas do not have it).<sup>39</sup> It seems unlikely that the die-cutters of these Hellenistic coins copied very closely any particular Athena statue; they are more likely just to have followed whatever archaistic model was at hand. The dancer's spiral movement of the Athena on a coin of Pyrrhus<sup>40</sup> is highly inappropriate for a Promachos, though it makes a superb design. The frontal Palladion on a relief from Pergamon has been taken to represent the Hellenistic cult statue of that goddess.<sup>41</sup> It is dressed in the long diagonal mantle with overfall, but the coin of Pergamon with a frontal Palladion seems to show the closed peplos with narrow, xoanon-style skirt.<sup>42</sup> It is unlikely that either the coin or the relief gives a literal copy of the statue.

If the Four Gods base on the Acropolis (Pl. 64, a-d) is really to be dated before the middle of the 4th century, then the Athena on this will be an earlier example of the long diagonal mantle than the coins or the Samothracian dancers, but such an early date for the base presents several difficulties.<sup>43</sup> The archaistic figure with an oinochoe on a base from Epidauros<sup>44</sup> is dressed like the Samothracians with long diagonal and swallowtail mantles, but treated in a more precious style, recalling the Panathenaic amphoras of the 30's. Here again the skirt appears closed, but there is a long extra point in front of the figure that must be the back point of the overfall. Such spiky, insubstantial points of drapery are a favorite affectation of the Panathenaics.<sup>45</sup>

The closed skirt appears side by side with the open mantle on some archaistic reliefs where the artist wishes to vary the motif by having a figure lift a fold of her skirt as archaic maidens do the chiton. A relatively plastic and naturalistic version occurs on a Rhodian relief of Hermes and three Nymphs dated to around 70 B.C.<sup>46</sup> The folds are pulled all the way across from the advanced leg to the hand behind the figure so that the archaistic central fold disappears. The procession of Four Gods (Pl. 64, e), of which the example in Delos, perhaps the earliest preserved,<sup>47</sup> is about contemporary with the Rhodian relief, has a more formally archaized version in which the central fold remains undisturbed by the lifting of the skirt. This motif is used for the Artemis; the Athena has the open mantle. The last of three maidens on a Neo-Attic krater in Athens<sup>48</sup> repeats the scheme of the Artemis. Her neighbor has the open mantle and the leader the open peplos. Here the artist is simply trying for variety.

Like its classical form, the archaistic diagonal mantle is not limited to women (though the lyre-playing Apollo appears rather in an archaized version of his 4th century costume). The Dionysos from Chalandri, the best preserved representative of a well-known Neo-Attic type, wears it.<sup>49</sup> Occasionally we find what appears to be a long diagonal mantle without overfall. One of the three dancing figures on the Hekate-herm, No. 152, wears the archaistic version

<sup>39</sup> An old idea that the tiptoe stance comes from imitation of mid 7th century walking figures (Schmidt, p. 21) is highly improbable since otherwise 7th century traits do not appear in archaistic art.

<sup>40</sup> Brett, *op.cit.*, pl. 11, 12.

<sup>41</sup> *Pergamon*, VII, 2, pp. 270ff., Beiblatt 37.

<sup>42</sup> *British Museum, Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Mysia*, by Warwick Wroth, London, 1892, pl. 23, 3 (between 310 and 283 B.C.).

<sup>43</sup> See below pp. 60-61, 67, 82-83.

<sup>44</sup> Athens, N.M. 1425. Svoronos, pl. 68; Schmidt, pl. 16, 2. This, too, is down-dated by Mrs. Havelock to the 2nd century, *op.cit.*, p. 49, but see below, p. 85 note 115.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Becatti, *Rend. Pontif. Accad.*, XVII, 1940-41, p. 92, fig. 4 (340/339 B.C.), p. 93, fig. 5 (336/335) and p. 94, fig. 6 (328/327).

<sup>46</sup> From Kameiros. The lower right part in Oxford, *J.H.S.*, XLIX, 1929, pl. 14 (below); *A.J.A.*, LXVIII, 1964, pl. 18, fig. 4. The upper left in the Rhodes Museum, *Boll. d'arte*, XXX, 1936, p. 443 and fig. 8; Fuchs, p. 49, c. The upper right part, in the Rhodes Museum, which furnishes the join, is still unpublished.

<sup>47</sup> See below, p. 83.

<sup>48</sup> Karouzos, *Δελπίον*, X, 1926, pl. 2, pp. 99-101, figs. 3-5.

<sup>49</sup> Athens N.M. 3727. Fuchs, p. 52, pl. 9a; *Δελπίον*, XIII, 1930-31, *Παράρτημα*, p. 15, figs. 1-2.

without overfall while the other two have it with. On the Grimani Hekataion in Venice, we see that this mantle is not pinned but draped over the left shoulder, so that it is strictly speaking a variety of the draped mantle, as it is also on the Pourtalès-Gorgier relief (see below, p. 59), but the mantle on the Agora Hekataion looks as though it might be pinned.

When the long diagonal mantle is worn by statues in the round, it is sometimes treated in the same decorative way as in the reliefs and sometimes in a more realistic way as a heavy overgarment. At Eleusis there are remains of at least six korai, all of which were probably perirhanteria. One, which is more or less dated by its inscription to the late 4th or 3rd century, has a rather realistic heavy diagonal mantle which was girded.<sup>50</sup> A fragment of a pendant to this figure preserves only the legs. The girded diagonal mantle may belong to the Eleusinian ceremonies. In the classical period we find it in a statue which probably represented Persephone.<sup>51</sup> The cistophoroi of the Inner Propylaea at Eleusis wore the mantle fastened on one shoulder and girded high with cross-straps.<sup>52</sup> One of the figures on the pinax of Ninnion, a dancer with a kernos on her head, wears her mantle girded.<sup>53</sup>

The other basin-bearers from Eleusis have the ungirded diagonal mantle whose effect is more similar to the Ionic himation of the standard kore type, and the folds are treated in a decorative, archaistic fashion. Probably all these mantles were long. A fragment with feet together and a long mantle, open on the proper right side, is so similar in style to the most published of these korai<sup>54</sup> that it seems to belong to the same statue. Other archaistic basin-bearers besides those in Eleusis have the long diagonal instead of the short Ionic mantle,<sup>55</sup> as do archaistic figures of Artemis, Tyche and the like in the stiff scheme of the basin-bearers. We cannot tell with a fragment such as No. 111 whether it had the short or the long mantle.

The long diagonal mantle, not girded, is frequently worn by Isis in Roman statues and statuettes, most often in archaistic form.<sup>56</sup> Occasionally we find a worshipper wearing the dress in non-archaistic form.<sup>57</sup> As there are so many connections between the Eleusinian mysteries and the mysteries of Isis practised in Greece and Rome, it may be that this dress is borrowed by Isis from Eleusis. On the other hand, it is evident that archaistic style seemed appropriate to Isis because of the generally felt resemblance between archaic Greek and Egyptian art.<sup>58</sup> The common knotted and fringed Isis dress on Greek grave reliefs of the Roman period is generally rendered in a style which, though not genuinely archaistic, shows some archaistic features such as the heavy central fold and symmetrically disposed loop-folds over the legs.

The caryatids from Tralles have a realistically heavy mantle, folded more nearly double, so that it could be called *diplox*, and recall in a general way the sobriety of early classical figures.<sup>59</sup> Other figures from Asia Minor show a more florid version. The mid-Hellenistic dancers from Pergamon<sup>60</sup> and the Roman figures from the theater at Miletos<sup>61</sup> have a long mantle which looks to be copied from an actual garment draped in emulation of the archaistic scheme, with the folds symmetrically bunched. The little loop of drapery that emerges above the diagonal roll on the

<sup>50</sup> Kourouniotes, *Guide*, p. 93, fig. 38; Brunn-Bruckmann 563; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2795.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. above, p. 54, note 35.

<sup>52</sup> The scheme is preserved on the fragment in Cambridge (Hörmann, *Die Inneren Propyläen von Eleusis*, Berlin, 1932, pl. 51) and the kanephoroi in the Villa Albani which imitate the cistophoroi (*ibid.*, pp. 70–71, figs. 52–55). Hörmann's reconstruction (pls. 28, 34) erroneously accepts the plaster restoration of the Eleusis piece, which makes one side of the dress the mirror of the other and deprives the mantle of any point of support.

<sup>53</sup> 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1901, pl. 1.

<sup>54</sup> Mylonas, *Eleusis*, fig. 77; Bulle, pl. 2, 18.

<sup>55</sup> E.g. Schmidt, pl. 23, British Museum 152 (Elgin Coll., from Athens?).

<sup>56</sup> See especially the examples collected by Heidenreich, *Arch. Anz.*, 1935, cols. 668–701.

<sup>57</sup> See the grave relief of Babullia Varilla, Daremberg-Saglio, III A, s.v. Isis, fig. 4104.

<sup>58</sup> Strabo, XVII, 1, 28 (806), describes the reliefs on the walls of Egyptian temples as similar to Etruscan and archaic Greek.

<sup>59</sup> Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung*, pl. 23, 2; Schede, *Meisterwerke der türkischen Museen*, pl. 28; *Mon. Piot*, X, 1903, pls. 2–3.

<sup>60</sup> *Altortümer von Pergamon*, VII, 1, pp. 63ff., nos. 43, 44, Beiblatt 8; Bulle, pp. 21f., no. 42a, pl. 5.

<sup>61</sup> *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art*, III, pl. 249 B; Bulle, p. 21, no. 42, pl. 5.

side where it passes below the breast suggests that the material has been pulled up here to make a pattern of folds symmetrical to that formed by the projection of the covered breast. The general effect is plastically very lively, verging on the cluttered but more interesting than the linear affectations of much Attic work. One gets the impression from these Asia Minor figures that the garment being shown is a real dancer's costume. The same scheme appears in a statue found in Sardis in 1955,<sup>62</sup> which is closest to the less well preserved of the two Pergamene dancers. Hanfmann suggests a date in the late 1st century B.C. or the first half of the 1st century after Christ, but since the Pergamene works explain as archaistic the formal qualities that he took to be late, it seems possible that it might belong as early as the late 2nd century. Like the Pergamon and Miletos figures, this one probably belonged to a decorative or architectural context, and the fact that she was found near the theater is suggestive. The fastening of the mantle on the left instead of the more usual right shoulder strengthens the impression that she was one of a pair.

In comparison with these, the fragments of an archaistic kore, No. 113, seem decorative and artificial. This kore, so far as it is preserved, resembles in scheme an archaistic kore in the Museo Barracco<sup>63</sup> and an archaistic Athena type (preserved in three replicas)<sup>64</sup> which is either copied from the kore or vice versa. We may deduce that these types are of Attic origin, or at least imitate Attic style. They are like translations into the round of the figures of the archaistic reliefs.

In the Roman development, which the Athenian finds do not show, there is a merging of these strains. In the group of statues of Isis, Tyche and others collected by R. Heidenreich<sup>65</sup> one can see how the lively Hellenistic style of the Pergamene dancers (precariously linked by him to the name of Boupalos) became hardened and stiffened in Roman examples, and was sometimes made linear and decorative in the manner of Attic works.

The Artemis of Pompeii, whose mantle is folded nearly double in front and fastened on both shoulders, combines some of the richness of Asiatic works with the Attic decorative stiffness.<sup>66</sup> Her archaistic face (prominent cleft chin, plump cheeks and slight smile) and the crinkled texture of her chiton recall the maidens from Tralles, while the ornamental flat folds show Neo-Attic influence, but the restlessness of surface and details is Roman. Most likely the type was created in Italy, where Asia Minor and Neo-Attic strains mingled.

The plump archaistic face of the Minerva of Poitiers<sup>67</sup> suggests that she too is influenced by Asia Minor or Rhodian types, though the type as we have it may again have been created in Italy. Her long girded mantle may be interpreted as a closed peplos which has been unfastened on one shoulder. The diagonal upper edge thus recalls the Palladia with Ionic himation, while the narrow closed skirt simulates early idols. The style of this figure gives no support to Bulle's suggestion that it imitates the Attic 5th century Palladion of Nikias.

The archaistic face of the Munich Tyche shows the influence of these Hellenistic creations, but the Tyche is probably a Neo-Attic creation, since the Agora has yielded a fragment (No. 115) of an exceptionally careful replica.

<sup>62</sup> Hanfmann, *Anatolia*, IV, 1959, pp. 60–63, pl. 11. Hanfmann speaks of the statue as classicizing rather than archaizing but in this he is thinking mainly of the formal plastic and linear structure rather than of the structure and meaning of the dress itself.

<sup>63</sup> Bulle, p. 17, no. 32, pl. 4; Helbig, *Collection Barracco*, pl. 32.

<sup>64</sup> 1) Siena, Chigi Collection. Petersen, *Röm. Mitt.*, VIII, 1893, pp. 350–351, no. 14.

2) Munich, Museum antiker Kleinkunst. Bulle, p. 17, no. 34, pl. 4.

3) Richmond, Virginia. Virginia Museum of Fine Arts. Unpublished.

<sup>65</sup> *Arch. Anz.*, 1935, cols. 668–701.

<sup>66</sup> Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*<sup>3</sup>, figs. 518–520; Brunn-Bruckmann, pl. 356; Lippold, *Plastik*, p. 387, pl. 134,4.

<sup>67</sup> *Mon. Piot*, IX, 1902, pl. 4; Bulle, pl. 5, no. 35.

## d. ARCHAISTIC WRAPPED MANTLE.

The wrapped mantle (himation) is by far the most usual outer garment both for men and women in the art of the 4th century, and it is archaized simply by giving a zigzag treatment to the free edges in a variety of contemporary drapings. The draped male figure on the tripod base, No. 128, recurs on the Four Gods base (Pl. 64, c) and on a round base formerly in the Torlonia Collection. Only the latter preserves the shoulders. The figure of a referee on a Panathenaic amphora of 403/2 B.C. shows an unarchaized version of the same draping, with the right arm and shoulder free, the left completely enveloped in the mantle, the wrapped hand resting against the hip.<sup>68</sup> Very similar, except that the left hand is lowered, is the arrangement of the mantle in the archaistic male statue in Eleusis.<sup>69</sup> Since there is no chiton under the mantle, it seems unlikely that this figure represents Dionysos. It is more likely to be a citizen who held some priestly office in the mysteries. The absence of the chiton under the himation is also against the identification of the figure on our tripod base as Dionysos.

The Hephaistos on the Four Gods base (Pl. 64, a) has the himation simply draped with the end over the left shoulder and the mantle brought around under the right arm and draped over the left. Though closer to the usual archaic draping, this does not make so effective an archaistic pattern in relief as the more enveloping draping of the Zeus. The second and third nymphs on the Kallimachos relief are similarly treated.<sup>70</sup> In the round, the same scheme is used to good effect on the Munich Tyche, of which our fragment, No. 115, is from a replica.

Female dancers wrapped in mantles who use their cloaks as part of the dance are familiar in 4th century reliefs and terracottas and continue popular in the Hellenistic period. The relief types of the Horai and the Aglaurids as non-archaized mantle dancers which were often copied in Neo-Attic art were created in the 4th century.<sup>71</sup> Reliefs which combine archaistic versions of dancers in the wrapped himation with dancers in archaistic peplos or diagonal mantle may also begin in the 4th century. The prototype of the relief of Pan and three Nymphs dancing around an altar has been referred to the second half of the 4th century by Fuchs, to the second half of the 3rd by Becatti and Mrs. Havelock.<sup>72</sup> Two of the Nymphs have wrapped mantles, one the long diagonal mantle. The fragment, No. 130, comes from the right-hand Nymph in a relief of this type, who is draped in just the same way as the male mantle figure of our tripod base. The Agora fragment is not really datable. Almost any time in the Hellenistic period would be possible for this modest workmanship.

Both of the mantle Nymphs on the Pan relief are lightly wrapped, with heads uncovered, but the fully wrapped mantle dancer with head and both arms covered is used to represent Winter in the archaistic procession of Dionysos and the Four Seasons.<sup>73</sup> Here only the trailing ends can be archaized. Much the same treatment is given to the mantle of Dionysos: though this is short and does not cover the head, it is wrapped around the body and arms like that of Winter. The similar patterns in the leading and end figures pull the group together and make this relief much more of a unity than, for example, the procession of Four Gods (Pl. 64, e). There is good reason

<sup>68</sup> Süsserott, *Griechische Plastik des 4. Jhdts.*, pl. 1, 3.

<sup>69</sup> *Einzelstudien*, pl. 1299; Bulle, p. 26, no. 49, pl. 7.

<sup>70</sup> Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*<sup>3</sup>, fig. 636; Brunn-Bruckmann, pl. 654, left.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Fuchs, pp. 63ff.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 27ff.; Schmidt, pp. 30ff., pls. 14-16. Schmidt had suggested 1st quarter of 4th. Fuchs suggests a date around the middle and not after 330. Becatti, *Critica d'arte*, VI, 1941, pp. 37ff., suggested that the prototype was a painting of the 2nd half of the 3rd century, and Mrs. Havelock, *A.J.A.*, LXVIII, 1964, pp. 51-55, argues for the same date. She is doubtless right in referring all the extant copies to a later date, but it seems doubtful whether the compositional arguments she uses really preclude a late 4th or early 3rd century date for the original. The idea of a circular grouping is not wholly absent even from Polygnotan painting and is transferred to relief with a single ground-line in Slab IV of the east frieze of the Hephaisteion. Whirling figures already exist on Kerch vases. Would it really take 100 years for the implications of the innovations of Lysippos to come to fruition in painting and relief?

<sup>73</sup> Fuchs, pp. 51ff., pl. 11 b; Schmidt, pp. 26ff., pl. 18; Havelock, *op.cit.*, p. 55, pl. 22, figs. 18, 19 (the last mislabelled).

to believe that the Dionysos was actually created for this relief, though it depends also to some extent on the archaistic Hermes.

The variations of dress are particularly interesting in the relief of Dionysos and the Four Seasons. The work is eclectic, but not simply for the sake of variety; the different garbs contribute to the meaning of the whole. This year begins with spring, and the Dionysos who ushers it in is a traveller, like the returning Dionysos of the Athenian Anthesteria. Spring is a cool season, compounded of flowers and uncertain weather, and the Hora of Spring wears a long diagonal mantle. Summer is dressed as lightly as possible, in a thin chiton with only a shawl over her shoulders. Autumn is still relatively warm, and the Hora is more lightly dressed than Spring, with the short Ionic himation instead of the long one. It swings open as she dances along. This is almost the only instance of this garment in an archaistic relief, and its rarity shows how little the archaistic artists really cared about reproducing genuinely archaic forms.

It has been said that one of the three Nymphs following Dionysos in the Pourtalès-Gorgier relief is modelled on the Autumn of the Seasons relief.<sup>74</sup> The bold (for archaistic works) idea of turning the open side of the mantle toward the spectator may indeed be borrowed from this source, but the mantle itself has been lengthened (without overfall, like that on the Hekateherm, No. 152) so that the figure is no less warmly draped than her peers. The mantle without overfall gives long straight lines to the figure which recall the Herculaneum Pallas (Pl. 63, d) and Hellenistic figures of the latter part of the 2nd century.<sup>75</sup> That suggests that the adaptation of the Autumn to the Nymph took place in this period. The original figure of Autumn, with the marked division between the upper and lower parts of the figure, gives a totally different effect, and should be earlier. Fuchs has argued against placing the original of the relief before 160 B.C. because of the spiral torsion of the figure of Summer, which he finds was especially popular "after the decline of the Hellenistic baroque." A very similar spiral torsion is to be seen, however, in the Athena on the coin of Pyrrhus from the third decade of the 3rd century B.C.,<sup>76</sup> and the flying mantle of the Athena also recalls the flying mantle tails of Dionysos and Winter. These features could hardly have found their way into the die-cutter's repertory unless they had been very popular at the time, for they have no intrinsic appropriateness to an archaistic Athena. It would seem, therefore, that a 3rd century date is possible for the original of the relief. Mrs. Havelock would place the Dionysos with the Four Seasons in the earlier Hellenistic phase, the Pourtalès-Gorgier series after 150 B.C.<sup>76a</sup> This seems essentially correct.

#### e. CHLAMYS.

The chlamys, though it lends itself beautifully to all kinds of classical effects, is not easy to archaize. The artist of our tripod base, No. 128, though he archaized the nude body of Theseus, chose to render his chlamys in a blatantly naturalistic form, replete with Hellenistic press-folds. The archaistic Hermes on one of the series of red-figured oinochoai in the Agora (Pl. 63, c) dated around 410 B.C. seems not to have had his chlamys pinned on.<sup>77</sup> It was merely draped like a scarf over his far shoulder. The ends are not preserved. This Hermes is recognized as archaistic by his wedge-shaped beard and his hair style: krobylos and long shoulder locks. This is the regular hair style for the archaistic Hermes in reliefs (though not for herms) and it is also used by the archaistic Dionysos. One suspects that it is inspired by the lost bronze Hermes Agoraios, described by Lucian as ἀρχαῖος τὴν ἀνάδειον τῆς κόμης.<sup>78</sup> It is perhaps worth noting that the

<sup>74</sup> Schmidt, p. 26; Havelock, *op.cit.*, pp. 55-56.

<sup>75</sup> See below, p. 74.

<sup>76</sup> See above, note 22.

<sup>76a</sup> *Op.cit.*, pp. 55-56.

<sup>77</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, pl. 30, no. 10.

<sup>78</sup> *Jupiter Tragoedus*, 33. Cf. Wycherley, *Agora*, III, p. 103, no. 299.

archaistic Hermes kriophoros on an altar in Athens, probably from the Roman Agora,<sup>79</sup> has the same coiffure and wears his chlamys similarly draped over one shoulder. Here again there may be influence from the Hermes Agoraios (who was not a kriophoros, however, to judge from Lucian). The same draping of the chlamys occurs on the man leading two horses, No. 127, where it may well be a copyist's addition.

The Hermes on the late archaic relief from the Prytaneion at Thasos wears a chlamys that envelops his body in smooth folds.<sup>80</sup> In an archaistic relief, probably of Hellenistic date, from Pantikapaion, a north Ionian artist has archaized this garb by turning Hermes around and letting his chlamys fly open so that the two points swing fore and aft of his body.<sup>81</sup> Points are characteristic of the chlamys, as they are dear to the hearts of archaistic sculptors, and it is a surprise to find that the commonest Neo-Attic Hermes does not have them. The Hermes of the Four Gods procession (No. 129 and Pl. 64, e) wears a chlamys that is so ungainly and out of keeping with the decorative spirit of archaistic art that it must be based on a prototype in which the draping of the chlamys was dictated by other considerations. The chlamys is worn pushed up onto the left shoulder so that it leaves the left arm and side free, falling into two panels down front and back. A triangle of folds covers the left shoulder.<sup>82</sup> As Paribeni pointed out in publishing a non-archaistic statue from Cyrene that presumably comes from the Fountain and Sanctuary of the Nymphs, this draping of the chlamys seems to be especially characteristic of Hermes as Leader of the Nymphs. It is worn this way on Attic Nymph reliefs dated roughly to the late 4th century, but the closest parallel for our archaistic version is the Cyrene statue itself. Here the points of the chlamys do not hang down, as they do on many of the reliefs, but are disguised in the folded-over edges so that the outline is more like that of a Macedonian chlamys, which did not have points.<sup>83</sup> Paribeni suggests that the original of the Cyrene statue was an Attic Hermes of the "high 4th century" but leaves it in doubt whether it was a statue or a relief. The heavy simple treatment of the chlamys, reminiscent in its stiffness of the two chlamys figures from the Daochos base at Delphi,<sup>84</sup> would be more suitable to a work in the round and would suggest a date not earlier than around 340 B.C. The simple, non-archaizing Attic Nymph reliefs of the late 4th century which Paribeni cites do not have such stiff forms, though the draping of the chlamys is the same.<sup>85</sup> This suggests not only that the Cyrene statue is inspired by a prototype in the round belonging to the latter part of the 4th century but also that the Hermes of the procession of Four Gods is an archaized version of such a figure. Support for the idea that our Hermes type was created as a Leader of the Nymphs comes from a late Hellenistic relief in Rhodes (of which one fragment is in Oxford) where he appears in this capacity.<sup>86</sup> The archaistic type will have been formed by giving zigzag edges to the chlamys of the Nymphagetes and substituting for his classical head the archaistic Hermes head-type which we saw on the Agora oinochoe and which may have been borrowed from the Hermes Agoraios. Whether this was done in the late 4th century or some time during the Hellenistic period is hard to say because it is hard to know whether the Nymphs on the Rhodian relief copy the original for which the Hermes was created. It is quite likely that they do not. In the triads of Nymphs and Graces in archaistic reliefs, variations were so easily created by mixing the archaistic dancer

<sup>79</sup> See below, p. 82, note 96.

<sup>80</sup> Brunn-Bruckmann 61; *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art*, III, p. 149.

<sup>81</sup> *M. A. A. R.*, III, 1919, pl. 73, 2.

<sup>82</sup> See below, p. 83. List of replicas of the type, Fuchs, pp. 48-49.

<sup>83</sup> E. Paribeni, *Cyrene*, no. 363, p. 129, pl. 163. The effect is very close to that of a statue of Hermes from the Villa of Hadrian which Bieber illustrates as an example of the Macedonian chlamys (*Entwicklungsgeschichte der griechischen Tracht*, pl. 32, 2), but on the Cyrene Hermes one can see a corner turned in near the bottom edge.

<sup>84</sup> *Delphes*, IV<sup>1</sup>, pl. 66.

<sup>85</sup> Berlin 711, Blümel, *Katalog*, III, K 88, p. 63, pl. 75. Athens N.M. 1443, Svoronos, pl. 73.

<sup>86</sup> See above, p. 55, note 46.

types that we do not have a classical Neo-Attic series of types for these as we do for divinities. So it seems possible that the Hermes may have been created at any time between the second half of the 4th century and the early 1st (a date of around 70 B.C. is suggested for the Rhodian relief by its inscription). The one thing that seems reasonably sure is that it was not created in the first half of the 4th century to serve as a lone figure on one side of the four-sided Acropolis base.<sup>87</sup> So yet another argument is added against the early date often proposed for this monument.

#### f. SMALL DRAPED MANTLE.

The classical ("Thessalian") chlamys forms swallowtail points as it flies out behind the figure of a warrior on a fragment of archaistic battle frieze in Geneva.<sup>88</sup> On another battle fragment in Athens, very similar in style, the flying points belong to a small draped mantle like that of the Panathenaic Athena.<sup>89</sup> This small mantle (should one call it an unpinned chlamys or a small himation?)<sup>90</sup> is an archaistic favorite. By its addition, even nude figures can be made instantly recognizable as archaistic. The Apollo of the procession of Four Gods (Pl. 64, e) is a good example in relief, with the symmetrical draping over both arms which is its commonest form. This mantle is familiar from the archaic period proper, and late archaic vase-painters often use it in a highly mannered and decorative way, with a single point hanging down at each end, but the symmetrical swallowtail points do not appear before the end of the 5th century. Their invention seems securely bracketed between the Agora red-figured oinochoe of around 410 B.C. (Pl. 63, b), where the Athena has an archaistic peplos with swallowtail overfall but no swallowtail ends to her mantle,<sup>91</sup> and 363/2 B.C., when the swallowtail mantle first appears on the Panathenaic amphoras.<sup>92</sup> It is easy to imagine that the symmetrical swallowtail treatment of the ends of the mantle came about first through assimilation to the symmetrically pointed peplos overfalls of such Athena figures, whether in vasepainting or in some other medium. By the second half of the 4th century it had become a hallmark of the archaistic manner in general.<sup>93</sup>

The archaistic kouros, No. 109, representing Dionysos or Apollo, shows the use of the small mantle for works in the round. Here besides adding a decorative note and signalling the archaistic quality of the work, the mantle served as a support for the arms. The plank-like straight line of the garment across the back of the figure is very unusual, however. Even the Athens battle relief, where the flying ends are as stiff as fish-tails, is not so wooden as this.

### 3. THE MOTIVES FOR ARCHAIZING

From the foregoing it would seem that the first archaistic dresses to appear had the specific purpose of designating their wearers as statues. The Ionic himation and thin chiton, a copy of an authentic archaic dress, appears in the late 5th and early 4th century as the costume of the Palladion in the pediments of the Argive Heraion and Epidauros. Less than a century earlier, on the Kleophrades Painter's great Iliupersis hydria, this dress was worn by a living Trojan woman while the Palladion was dressed in the simple foldless peplos of a still earlier phase of

<sup>87</sup> See below, pp. 82-83.

<sup>88</sup> *Einzelaufnahmen*, pl. 1893.

<sup>89</sup> Built into the wall of the Little Metropolitan Church, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXI, 1906, p. 329, fig. 2, *Beilage* to pp. 306-307, fig. 17.

<sup>90</sup> Hermes has it on the Corinth puteal, where it must be, as in the battle scenes, a chlamys (*J.H.S.*, VI, 1885, pl. 56). The Athena of the coin of Pyrrhus, above, note 40, also seems to be wearing her mantle as a chlamys. On the other hand, it is often worn as if it were a lighter and more dressy garment.

<sup>91</sup> See above, p. 52, note 20.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Schmidt, pl. 7, 1.

<sup>93</sup> It is even added to figures that scarcely need additional clothing, as in some copies of the Dionysos of Chalandri, Fuchs, pl. 9, b, and in the alternate members of the Samothracian frieze, see above, note 37. Here its purpose is purely formal.

archaic art.<sup>94</sup> Both representations are in their way archaisms, and it might be argued (indeed it has been) that neither has anything to do with archaistic art. The difference is that the Kleophrades Painter's Palladion does not stand at the head of a continuing tradition, whereas the other one does.

The delicate and decorative linear patterns of late archaic art were entirely congenial to the taste and style of the late 5th century. In both these periods a predominance of line was just being challenged by a newly emergent sense of plastic form.<sup>95</sup> The exquisite linear patterns of the maenads of Kallimachos are as unreal in their way as the conventions of late archaic korai. It was natural that artists of the late 5th century, when they wanted to represent something venerable, chose the archaic form that was at once most flamboyant and most intelligible to them. It was natural also that when the linear style of the late 5th century became classical for the decorative art of subsequent periods, its preferred manner of archaizing became the classical archaistic.

In the archaizing peplos figures that were created about the same time (indisputable documents are the Athena on the Agora oinochoe (Pl. 63, b)<sup>96</sup> and the idols on the Bassae frieze<sup>97</sup> and on the votive relief of Xenokrateia;<sup>98</sup> more important and not much less certain is the Hekate of Alkamenes) a classical Attic dress is expressed in linear patterns borrowed from the late archaic conventions. This is not the foldless peplos of the old xoana. It is the dress of the Parthenos fixed up to look like a Palladion. Because the peplos belted over the overfall is a classical dress, we can see more clearly in these figures than in the korai with diagonal mantle the close relationship between late 5th century and archaistic style.

One of the commonest of all archaistic conventions is the heavy central fold, often combined in frontal figures with heavy folds that frame the legs to either side. The central fold exists in archaic sculpture, where it may be used to give a vertical axis to a stationary figure or to indicate by its displacement the motion of a figure in action. The axial fold gathers all the fullness of the skirt to the center of the figure so that the contours of the legs are clear and unimpeded. Heavy side folds, which would serve to obscure these outlines and which tend to make the figure unifacial rather than quadrifacial, have no place in the archaic scheme.<sup>99</sup> In the late 5th century, on the other hand, it is usual to model the legs through the drapery in such a way that the heavy folds are pushed both between the legs and to the sides. In the usual peplos figures with weight-leg free-leg stance only the free leg emerges from the drapery in this way, but the "Venus Genetrix" in her long thin chiton<sup>100</sup> and the "Amazon of Kresilas"<sup>101</sup> in her short chiton have both central fold and side folds clearly marked. In the Amazon the catenaries over the thighs that link the central to the side folds are so regular in their pattern as to recall archaistic sculpture.

A comparison with such figures is enough to convince one that the Hekataion in the British School in Athens<sup>102</sup> and our No. 134 are fairly accurate reflections of the late 5th century creation of Alkamenes. One has only to introduce the axial symmetry of the idols into the classical

<sup>94</sup> Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 378; *A.R.V.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 189, no. 74; Beazley, *Kleophradesmaler*, pl. 27.

<sup>95</sup> The view that would place the beginning of archaistic style in the Hellenistic period instead of in the late 5th century because of the conflict between line and plastic form that it betrays is as mistaken as that which would make the Nike from the Stoa of Zeus Hellenistic for the same reason.

<sup>96</sup> Above, p. 52, note 20.

<sup>97</sup> Above, p. 53, note 26.

<sup>98</sup> Above, p. 53, note 27.

<sup>99</sup> The only exception is in seated statues, where the legs are in fact carved in relief against the throne, e.g. the Aiakes statue in Samos, Buschor, *Altsamische Standbilder*, figs. 141-143.

<sup>100</sup> See W. Fuchs, *Festschrift Schweitzer*, Stuttgart, 1954, pp. 206-221.

<sup>101</sup> Vagn Poulsen, *Die Amazone des Kresilas, Opus Nobile*, Heft 1, Bremen, 1957, with bibliography. Whether or not the Amazon is by Kresilas, she seems certainly to be an Attic work later than the Capitoline type.

<sup>102</sup> Kraus, *Hekate*, pl. 3, 2; Schmidt, pl. 24, 1,3. See below, pp. 87-88, 98-99.

scheme of the Amazon to achieve the skirt pattern of the British School Hekate. The symmetry of the idols was necessary to Hekate because of her triple form, first because the three-bodied figure could not be made naturalistic without seeming ridiculous and second because the right side of one figure had to meet gracefully with the left side of the next. The Agora example shows how the side-folds operated to produce a harmonious join. The overfall of the peplos was given a uniform treatment of parallel pleats stepped down from a central fold, just as it is on the idols. This is reminiscent of the parallel folds of the Ionic mantle with their stepped edges. It is scarcely necessary to decide, however, whether Alkamenes was trying to make his Hekate look archaic or merely monumental and decorative. The important thing is that he created a conspicuous work of art containing forms that were used over and over again in what we call archaistic art.

Since the little Athena on the Agora oinochoe is so close in date to the Hekate we cannot really argue which goddess first wore the archaistic peplos. Though we know nothing whatever about the appearance of the Palladion of Nikias, it must have been about contemporary with the Hekate and it may very well have been made in the workshop of Alkamenes.<sup>103</sup> Therefore, there would be nothing out of the way in assuming that it was the first Athena to wear an archaistic peplos and that the Agora oinochoe in some way reflects it. The central fold that is so strongly marked in the red-figured Athena seems likely to have been inspired by a statue. On the other hand, the flying ends of the overfall with their swallowtail outlines, which probably inspired in turn the swallowtail ends of the small mantle that became such a hallmark of archaistic style, belong to the world of two-dimensional art. Since the Agora Athena does not yet have the swallowtail mantle, it seems quite possible that the latter is an invention of the 4th century Panathenaics.

The question still remains open whether there is any continuous tradition of archaistic korai that might have run straight down from the archaic period, as the tradition of herms certainly did. We can say only that there is no positive evidence in favor of it, since there is no single example securely dated to the 5th century. A diligent search for the origins and history of perirrhanteria in the form of a kore with a basin in front might give helpful indications, but here the Agora has nothing to contribute. The common archaic forms of perirrhanteria are different. If human supporters are present, they take the form of caryatids. Also, the custom of dedicating korai as such on the Acropolis seems to have died out soon after the Persian Wars. The surviving perirrhanterion korai are most numerous at Eleusis, but these do not seem to be the earliest, for they are all apparently Hellenistic or Roman, whereas the one from Laurion fits better into the 4th century than into any later period. The kore from Stamata was not a perirrhanterion, apparently, and there is no clue to her use, but she too seems to belong to the 4th century. Since archaistic terracotta figurines of maidens were dedicated in the 4th century and D. B. Thompson believes that they represented statues of worshippers,<sup>104</sup> it may be that the archaistic form was used also in large-scale votives when the idea of the votive as a statue was stronger than the idea of it as a person. This would clearly be appropriate for perirrhanteria but it may have been extended to other kinds of offerings. Some of these korai, apparently, imitated the old scheme with chiton and Ionic himation, but far more numerous were those which wore the long mantle with overfall, a festival dress which could be worn in cult ceremonies by the votaries themselves.

<sup>103</sup> Alkamenes was the leading Athenian sculptor in the period of Nikias' ascendancy and the commission for the Palladion is likely to have been given to him. Since work was not completed on the Nike bastion before the Peace of Nikias (421-415) when the parapet was put in place, it seems unlikely that the Hekate was actually made before this period, though the original plan may have been to make a Hekate as soon as the Propylaea were finished. W. B. Dinsmoor suggests that the Hekate might have been in place as early as 424. Before that, work on the Nike Temple would have made its placement impractical.

<sup>104</sup> See above, p. 53, note 30.

This dress is shown with varying degrees of realism, but its commonest form is the most artificial, that which simulates the archaic Ionic himation by adding a ruffle along the top fold. The Samothracian frieze of lyre-players and dancers belonging to the third quarter of the 4th century shows that the archaistic form of this dress was fully developed by that time.<sup>105</sup> Later, in Hellenistic Asia Minor, one gets a realistic representation that suggests that dancers actually wore the dress draped in imitation of the archaistic design.

The element of "religious conservatism" that is sometimes invoked to explain archaistic sculpture is thus seen to be a fairly complex thing. As in all periods, the participants in cult assimilate themselves to the divinity by wearing garb which otherwise belongs only to the gods.<sup>106</sup> After the archaistic manner begins to be used to carry the suggestion of venerability in the case of statues, it can also be used on occasion to add solemnity to the representation of ceremonies and votaries. This occurs especially when the architectural use of the representation calls for something more abstract and decorative than the ordinary realistic representation of the time. So we get the Samothracian dancers used as a repetitive pattern in an architectural frieze at a time when narrative representation was being supplanted in such friezes by symbolic ornament,<sup>107</sup> and we find archaistic statues of maidens used as basin-bearers and caryatids.

The beginning of archaistic votive reliefs is hard to fix but it seems likely that there were few if any before the middle of the 4th century and that they increased in popularity around the last quarter. Besides the spate of archaistic Athenas on coins that begins with coins of Alexander in 326 and 325,<sup>108</sup> we find an archaistic figure on a decree relief also at this time. The fragment of an Athenian decree in the Agora dated to the year 321/0 B.C. (No. 133) preserves the lower part of a profile female figure in archaistic dress (long mantle or peplos) confronted by a dolphin. Since only the head of the decree survives and its contents are not known, we cannot identify the female figure, but she is presumably a goddess, most probably conceived as a statue.<sup>109</sup>

Nymphs and other dancing divinities, Graces and Seasons especially, are the most frequently archaized in votive reliefs. One can think of at least two reasons: first, that there is something in common between their ceremonious dances and the orderly choruses of mortal worshippers,<sup>110</sup> so that archaistic conventions used for the one might easily be carried over into the representation of the other, and second that an old-fashioned flavor seems appropriate to them as popular and rustic divinities.<sup>111</sup> The archaistic nymph relief on its pillar (compare our fragment, No. 132) becomes the sign of a sanctuary in the Hellenistic reliefs just as do archaistic statues.

In general, the study of archaistic sculpture from the point of view of the dress shows that content plays a much greater role relatively to form than the artificiality of these works would lead one to suspect. Whether divinities or their worshippers are being represented (and these two categories cover most of the range of subject matter of archaistic sculpture), the purpose of the archaism is not to revive an art for which some kind of esthetic nostalgia is felt but to emphasize the venerability and permanence of existing institutions. This is true whether the purpose is political, as in the early Hellenistic coins, or religious, as in the Samothracian frieze, the Nymph reliefs and the Eleusinian dedications.

A minor and later manifestation is that illustrated by our tripod base, which seems to show personages from myth in archaistic form. We may tentatively place in this category also the

<sup>105</sup> See above, p. 54, note 37.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. especially V. Müller, *Der Polos*, pp. 81 ff.; Kraus, *Hekate*, p. 152, note 643.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. Lehmann, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 18.

<sup>108</sup> See A. Brett, *Am. Num. Museum Notes*, IV, 1950, p. 59.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. the Neapolis decree (N.M. 1480. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 128), above, note 17.

<sup>110</sup> The wild, solo-dancing maenads are never archaized, though they often appear in Neo-Attic art together with an archaistic Dionysos.

<sup>111</sup> This was no doubt also a factor in the continuing popularity of archaistic herms, see below, pp. 108 ff.

mysterious archaistic battle reliefs. Two things may have contributed to make our tripod base archaistic. First, we can see that one such base, much earlier than ours, contained a religious rather than a narrative subject, referred, that is, to the victory in the festival rather than to the subject of the winning composition. The Dionysos and two Nikai on the base in the Athens National Museum, though they are not archaized, are the kind of figures that often were so treated and may well have been so on lost choregic bases of the Hellenistic period. Second, there may have existed in the theater itself some tendency to use archaizing elements in productions whose subject matter concerned mythical times, just as one now sees Helen and Clytaemnestra on the stage dressed as snake goddesses (with appropriate adjustments) or the Cyclops drinking out of a proto-geometric skyphos. A direct connection of archaistic elements with the decor of Hellenistic and Roman theaters is implied by the use of archaistic caryatids and decorative figures, as at Tralles, Miletos, and possibly Sardis. A Melpomene with mask from Thyateira, in dress a clumsy descendant of the Pergamene figures, may have been a caryatid in the theater.<sup>112</sup>

There is one archaistic representation of a mythological scene that is probably not to be connected with the theater or poetry. This is the struggle of Herakles and Apollo for the Delphic tripod, from which the Apollo type was subsequently borrowed for the procession of Four Gods (Pl. 64, e).<sup>113</sup> Since the Delos replica of the Four Gods relief is to be dated early in the 1st century B.C., the tripod relief must have been created a little earlier. Very probably it was inspired by the late archaic group of statues which Pausanias saw at Delphi.<sup>114</sup> It cannot be said to have copied it, for all its forms are suited to relief rather than to sculpture in the round, but it may well have stood for it as an emblem of Delphi just as the archaistic Athena stood for Athena Polias and Athens.

The relief of a man with two horses (No. 127) seems to belong to the relatively rare class of actual copies of archaic works. It is possible that it, too, is intended to represent a story, whether the prototype had such a meaning or whether it was added, along with a few modifications of the original figures. In the case of this relief we have to imagine, I think, that the popularity in Roman times of archaic Greek metalwork had created a demand for a marble copy, so that here we really have a work that owes its existence to admiration for archaic art as such, but the very rareness of the phenomenon and the general lack of resemblance between this relief and most archaistic art helps to prove that this was not the usual motive for archaizing.

Another thing that this piece demonstrates is that Athenian sculptors of the Roman period when they set out to copy an archaic work could do a very good job of it. Since they worked by measurement from the prototype and since they were extremely skillful marble-workers, they could reproduce perfectly well the proportions and structure of the archaic works provided they thought it worthwhile to try to do so. Hence, when we find a work with any strong admixture of later features we can safely assume that this is intentional, not involuntary, and that the work cannot be assumed to copy an archaic original. This skill of Athenian sculptors of the Roman period in duplicating archaic works, though it helps to rid us of the illusion that various hybrid products can be called copies of archaic originals, also makes some fragments very difficult to classify. There are suggestions, though they cannot be proven, that some archaic pedimental sculpture survived in Athens. The Herakles head, No. 97A, if it is not actually archaic, and the fragments of a figure in cuirass and chiton, No. 125, are possibly to be explained as repairs or replacements for such pediments re-erected in later times.

The most unusual of all the seemingly archaistic works in the Agora is the unfinished small group of Bellerophon carrying the dead Chimera (No. 126). The hairdress of Bellerophon is

<sup>112</sup> *Arch. Anz.*, 1935, col. 693, fig. 12.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. Fuchs, pp. 126-127.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. Pausanias, X, 13, 7.

archaic, and his face and the lion's face look early classical, but the rest of the group does not appear so early. Here again, as in the relief of a man with two horses, the original was possibly not Attic but Peloponnesian. Here, however, it seems impossible that the Roman work was an exact copy of its prototype. Since no other group remotely resembling this exists either in regular or in archaistic sculpture, both the nature of the prototype and the relation of our statuette to it remain a mystery.

#### 4. SUMMARY

The contributions of the Agora excavations to our knowledge of archaistic sculpture may be summed up as follows:

1) The large number of Hekataia and the total absence of really non-archaistic examples among them fully support the theory that the Hekate of Alkamenos was archaistic.

2) Archaistic figures of Athena and Hermes on red-figured oinochoai dated around 410 B.C. (Pl. 63, b, c) give independent proof that the beginning of a continuous archaistic tradition lies in the late 5th century, and a comparison of this Athena with the first archaistic Athena on a Panathenaic amphora some forty years later shows how the development went.

3) Fragments of archaistic korai for the most part simply add themselves to the numbers already known from Eleusis, the Acropolis and some outlying places in Attica. It is Eleusis, rather than any of the other sites, that provides what little evidence there is for the use and dating of such figures, and the development remains conjectural. There is one positive addition from the Agora in the fragments of a kore, No. 113, with elegant flaring drapery resembling that of the Barracco kore and the Chigi-Munich Athena. Being like them, but bigger and better, she suggests an Attic origin for these types. A fragment of a carefully worked replica of the Munich Tyche, No. 115, raises the possibility that this also is a Neo-Attic creation.

4) The complete absence of the more physically lush and naturalistically draped archaistic maidens that we know from Hellenistic Asia Minor helps to confirm the suspicion that a broad distinction between Asianism and Atticism may be drawn here, the Asiatic works being plastically richer, the Attic more dry and linear. Also there seem to be no examples of the restlessly florid archaistic creations, harder and more artificial than the Asia Minor Hellenistic but more elaborate than the Attic, that are so abundantly represented in Roman Italy. These were evidently not created in Greece. More pictorial than graphic, they are really a part of Roman art and not a continuation of Greek.

5) An archaistic kouros, No. 109, adds one good example to this rather rare class.

6) Part of the head of a replica of the Herculaneum Pallas, No. 124, confirms the Attic origin of this type. Since the carving of the head could well belong to the late 2nd century B.C., a date which is also suitable for the general structure of the figure as we know it from the Naples statue, there is a good chance that our piece is from the original of the type. The finding-place of our fragment high up on the north slope of the Acropolis indicates that the work was an Acropolis dedication. This disposes once and for all of the notion that the Herculaneum Pallas was created for Roman patrons who could be fooled into thinking that they possessed an archaic original.

7) On the other side of the picture, the relief of a man and two horses, No. 127, shows that sculptors in Roman Athens could copy archaic forms very closely if they wished to. That they so rarely did so is one of the strongest indications that there was relatively little appreciation of archaic art for its own sake, even in Roman times.

8) In the tripod base, No. 128, we have a good and, for the Agora, well preserved example of early Neo-Attic art. The excavations give no external evidence for the date, but it seems generally agreed on. Since the principal figure is not a god but a hero (almost certainly Theseus instead of Herakles), it is likely that the figures on the base are characters in the choral com-

position for which the tripod was won. Comparison of the figures on the tripod base with those on the Four Gods base on the Acropolis (Pl. 64, a-d) shows that the Acropolis base is later than ours. An Augustan date for the Four Gods base is supported by the recurrence of a similarly delicate style on an altar, probably from the Roman Agora, whose archaistic lotus-and-palmette crowning is like that of the stage-front of the Odeion of Agrippa.

9) Part of an archaistic figure on a decree dated to the year 321/0 B.C., No. 133, is valuable as an exactly dated example of relief technique in archaistic work of the late 4th century B.C. In spite of its strict profile composition and delicate linear pattern, it shows considerable variation in the projection of the folds, indicating that the strong three-dimensional feeling characteristic of this period is not absent from archaistic art. A similar three-dimensional feeling in the archaistic figure on the enigmatic "base" from Epidauros supports a date in the late 4th century for that work.

## CATALOGUE

108. Archaistic Statuette, Dionysos, 2nd Century B.C. (?)  
Pl. 22.

S 308. Found in 1933, apparently in the building fill of the Middle Stoa (J 13). Head, which was dowelled on, missing. Iron dowel remains in neck. Legs broken off at knees. Fine-grained white marble, probably Pentelic. Surface fresh. Neck stained with rust from dowel. Original red color on mantle.

P.H. 0.123 m.

T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 393 and fig. 18.  
Cf. *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, p. 379.

See also below (109) and p. 68.

The small statuette represents a nude youth in kouros pose (torso frontal, left leg slightly advanced). A long stiff tress falls over each shoulder in front, and the long back hair, apparently fastened together at the nape of the neck, falls down the back in a spreading bunch of curls. A small mantle passes across the middle of the back and is draped symmetrically over the arms, the ends falling down along the thighs. The right hand holds a kantharos, the left something partially broken away which is hard to identify. Shear has suggested that it may be the hindquarters of an animal.

The carving is soft with blurry edges, though the torso shows considerable detail for so small a piece. The back is much less careful than the front. The exaggerated pectoral muscles and the narrow waist carry out the archaistic impression created by the pose and the hair, but the drapery is naturalistic rather than patterned. The statuette was found in the building fill of the Middle Stoa. If it is not an intrusion, it should be not later than the middle of the 2nd century. The context, however, was not absolutely closed. The kantharos marks the figure as Dionysiac, and the long hair generally belongs to the god himself

rather than to his followers, but the more usual archaistic types follow the archaic in showing the god bearded and fully clothed.

109. Archaistic Kouros, Dionysos (?), 1st century B.C. (?)  
Pl. 22.

S 2109. Found in 1959 resting on bedrock below the floor of the Southeast Temple (Q 16). Head broken off. Both arms broken off just above elbows. Both legs broken off just below knees. Cloak broken away except at back and in traces against thighs. Top of left shoulder chipped. Pentelic marble. Surface unweathered but with brown stains and root-marks.

P.H. 0.565 m., W. of shoulders 0.257 m., W. of waist 0.154 m., H. sternal notch to navel 0.195 m.

*Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, p. 379, pl. 84, a-b. Thompson, *Agora Guide*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 124-125.

See also pp. 61, 66, 80.

A youthful figure stands in kouros pose, with body and arms symmetrical and the left leg somewhat advanced. A small mantle, pressed into narrow, pleat-like folds, passes across the small of the back and was looped over the now missing forearms so that the ends fell vertically along the thighs. On the analogy of the little statuette, No. 108, in a similar scheme we may guess that the hands held attributes. A single wavy lock of hair, with grooved strands, falls over each shoulder in front. The back hair may have been long and bound up or it may have been cut short. The shape of the break at the back of the neck is suggestive of a short hair-mass, but there are no positive traces of this.

The broad shoulders, narrow waist and short, full thighs give an archaic look to the proportions. The front of the torso is modelled with some care, not in

genuinely archaic forms but with an emphasis on the thorax that recalls some early classical figures. One feels that the kouros has taken a deep breath. The pectoral muscles project strongly and the lower boundary of the thorax is very prominent. The attachment of the ribs below the sternal notch is marked. The absence of pubic hair emphasizes the youth of the figure. The narrow knees and short thighs recall the proportions of late archaic kouroi such as the Strangford Apollo. The back of the figure, though finished smooth, is more summarily modelled, and one might not guess from the back alone, were it not for the strange stiff drapery, that the figure is archaistic. The upper back has normal classical forms; the buttocks are squarish and without detailed modelling. The surface of the statue is finished smooth, almost polished, but the modelling is not uniform in quality; it becomes wobbly wherever the working space is awkward. The separation of the legs is not worked down to a sharp line, and there are rough point-marks between the legs.

The statue was used as packing below the now missing marble floor of the Southeast Temple, which was built in the early Roman period (perhaps the time of Augustus). This would be a *terminus ante quem*, but the actual manufacture of the piece might be earlier still, perhaps before the Sullan destruction of 86 B.C. Though its hard style would seem, according to our present notions, to be Roman rather than Hellenistic, one of the archaistic herms found in 1959 in the Piraeus in a warehouse that seems to have been burned in 86 B.C. has a style as hard and slick as that of our kouros.<sup>1</sup> That the type existed still earlier is suggested by the statuette, No. 108, which was found in a context probably of the first half of the 2nd century B.C.<sup>2</sup> Since the statuette holds a kantharos in the right hand, it must represent Dionysos or one of his followers, and the similarity of types suggests the same identification for our figure. The youthful long-haired Dionysos has no archaic prototype, and most archaistic representations of the god show him bearded and draped. The kouros type must have been borrowed from Apollo, on the analogy of the 4th century types of youthful long-haired Dionysos that are so similar to contemporary Apollos. This being so, we ought not to exclude the possibility that our statuette represents Apollo, for the small mantle is an appropriate garment for him also.

In general, archaistic kouroi are rarer than korai, which lends a special interest to our piece. The flat-pleated drapery whose plank-like lines make no concession to the curves of the body is without prototype in archaic sculpture in the round. It must be a translation from the conventions of archaistic reliefs.

110. Unfinished Statuette of Kriophoros (?), Roman Period. Pl. 22.

S 2107. Found in 1959 in the Late Roman Fortification southeast of the Agora (S 17). Battered, with head and right arm of man and hindquarters of animal missing. Soft yellowish white poros.

P.H. 0.42 m.

*Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, p. 370, note 7.

From an irregularly shaped chunk of poros, with no finished surfaces except for a small, flat rough-picked area at the bottom, the sculptor has begun to carve a nude male figure standing with feet together and carrying an animal on his shoulders. The figure has been blocked out from the front only, as if in relief, but it seems obvious from the irregular shape of the stone that it was intended to be made into a statuette. The work has been done with a narrow flat chisel, working mostly horizontally, with ridges left between the cuts. The frontal position of the figure with feet close together suggests that the statue was to have been an archaistic Hermes Kriophoros.<sup>3</sup> The head of the ram appears over the right shoulder of Hermes, who holds his right arm bent and grasps the forefeet of the animal with his right hand. Probably the left hand held the hind-feet in a symmetrical position.

About style and date nothing can be said except that the piece is probably Roman. The work looks unskillful, and it may be that the whole was a practice piece. Fragments of broken architectural blocks from demolished buildings would offer a cheap material to practice on. The rough-picked area at the bottom probably comes from a previous use of the stone, for it is clearly not perpendicular to the axis of the figure. An unfinished copy of an archaic relief, No. 127, found also in the Late Roman Fortification not far from the finding-place of the present piece, suggests that there existed near by a sculptor's workshop that made archaistic sculpture in the Roman period.

111. Fragment of Torso of Kore, Archaistic, 1st Half of 4th Century B.C. (?). Pl. 23.

S 2119. Found in 1959 in modern fill in the Eleusinion area (V 20). Upper torso, broken off at waist. Head and arms missing. Front split off and missing. Pentelic marble. Generally battered, with traces of mortar and whitewash.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the example in Wilton House, *A.J.A.*, LX, 1956, pl. 105, fig. 6, p. 347 and a similar example in Corinth, Johnson, *Corinth*, IX, no. 21, pp. 28-29, *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 69, fig. 10.

<sup>1</sup> Vanderpool, *A.J.A.*, LXIV, 1960, pl. 71, fig. 13.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 67.

P.H. 0.37 m.

See also pp. 51, 56, 70.

The kore wears a diagonal himation fastened on the right shoulder and passing under the left arm. The upper edge has a ruffle of stiff, flat pleats. Below this in the back appear flat vertical folds to either side of a broad central fold. The chiton is rendered by close-set wavy grooves. There seem to have been buttons on the left shoulder from which the grooves radiated. Two long locks of hair fell on each shoulder in front. The back hair forms a spreading cluster of long spiral curls which resembles the back hair of the Erechtheion caryatids except for being flatter and more schematic.

This maiden, which was about life size, resembles in style one in the Athens National Museum from Laurion<sup>4</sup> and a fragment from the Acropolis.<sup>5</sup> They have in common the thin, flat rendering of the folds and the stiff little pleats of the ruffle. The Laurion kore was a basin-bearer, from a perirrhanterion, and it seems possible that ours served the same function. That would help to explain the splitting off of the front, which might have followed when the basin was broken away. Such perirrhanteria have been found at Eleusis.<sup>6</sup> Ours might have belonged either to the Eleusinian or to the Acropolis. The date is uncertain. The Eleusis statues, one of which is epigraphically dated to the late 4th or early 3rd century B.C.,<sup>7</sup> are freer and more vigorous in design as well as rougher in surface. Though the dating of these perirrhanterion korai is generally very insecure because they represent a traditional form with a long history and very little originality, a date in the first half of the 4th century seems most probable for this piece and its relatives from Laurion and the Acropolis.<sup>8</sup>

**112. Fragment of Skirt, Feet and Plinth of Archaistic Kore, Hellenistic or Roman (?). Pl. 23.**

S 1187. Found in 1939 in a wall trench west of the Panathenaic Way on the slope below the Acropolis-Areopagus saddle (Q 23). Fragment comprising the greater part of the plinth (broken away in front,

<sup>4</sup> N.M. 74. Schmidt, pl. 22.

<sup>5</sup> Langlotz in Schrader, pp. 144-145, no. 138, figs. 110-111.

<sup>6</sup> Bulle, p. 13, pl. 2, 18; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, fig. 77; Kourouniotes, *Guide*, p. 93, fig. 38; Brunn-Bruckmann 563.

<sup>7</sup> Brunn-Bruckmann, 563; Kourouniotes, *loc.cit.* It bears a dedication, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2795, of the Athenian people to the Eleusinian goddesses. The style of the inscription might be late 4th or early 3rd century B.C. A second base carries a precisely similar dedication, showing that the korai formed a pair. It has been suggested that these perirrhanteria stood at the entrances of the Telesterion (cf. Mylonas, *Eleusis*, p. 202).

<sup>8</sup> See above, p. 52.

together with parts of the feet that projected from under the dress, and at the back on the proper right side). The original width of the plinth is preserved. The hem of the dress is preserved in short stretches on front, both sides and back. White Attic marble. Moderately weathered, with light tan patina on worked and broken surfaces but heavier on worked surfaces above top of plinth, implying that some of it was acquired in place.

P.H. 0.132 m., H. of plinth 0.045 m.-0.052 m., W. of plinth 0.17 m.

See also pp. 52, 83.

The kore, probably about two-thirds life size, stood with her feet together. She wore a thin chiton with wavy folds (broad channels separated by sharp V-shaped grooves) ending in a flat band at the hem. There is a thick plastic fold in the center over the feet, and the chiton and the plinth below it extend beyond the feet to the proper left side, suggesting that her left hand held out her skirt to that side. A rise in hem-level from front to side suggests that there was a fold here too, though it is broken away. In back, the hem dips to the level of the plinth. The feet were on sandals with soles about 1.5 cm. thick. The edges of the plinth are dressed rather roughly with the flat chisel, the resting surface with the point.

The figure almost certainly comes from the Acropolis, having been found high up the slope in a deposit which contained inscribed fragments of an Acropolis dedication with the signature of Kritios and Nesiotes.<sup>9</sup> The treatment of the skirt, with a smooth band at the bottom below the ripples, shows that the piece is archaistic. Archaic maidens often have the smooth band at the neckline, but few have ripple-folds in the skirt at all and none has them ending in a smooth band at the hem.<sup>10</sup> This, together with the thick fold in the center of the skirt, shows that here the ripples are thought of as representing the texture of the cloth rather than actual folds. This way of thinking would fit a date in the 4th century or later but hardly earlier.<sup>11</sup> When all the Acropolis

<sup>9</sup> A. E. Raubitschek, *Dedications*, p. 418, 161 a. Another piece of the same dedication was found in surface fill on the north slope of the Acropolis, and Raubitschek suggests that both pieces may have fallen down in recent times. The Acropolis piece was found in Persian debris, according to Raubitschek, and should be one of the earliest of the Kritios-Nesiotes signatures.

<sup>10</sup> Ripple-folds in the skirt occur only in figures with the skirt falling straight as in the Peplos Kore, Acropolis 679, and the divinities on the east frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi. Maidens who gather their skirts to the center or to one side dispense with ripple-folds in the lower part of the chiton in order to avoid the confusion of two systems of folds.

<sup>11</sup> The Athena of the Four Gods base on the Acropolis (Pl. 64, b; Fuchs, p. 45, note 2 with bibliography; add C. Mitchell, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, LXI, 1953, pp. 80 ff., figs. 4-6 and C. Mitchell Havelock, *A.J.A.*, LXVIII,

fragments are available for study it may be possible to link this with one of them and so acquire a better notion of its date. The fact that the feet seem to have been together, instead of the left foot being advanced, may suggest that the figure was a basin-bearer.<sup>12</sup>

**113. Fragments of Archaistic Kore, Hellenistic Period (?).** Pl. 23.

S 2115. Found in 1959 in wall of late Roman gymnasium in front of South Stoa II (N 15). Pentelic marble. Surface weathered, with mortar and dark brown deposit. Two non-joining fragments: A. Front of right shoulder and right breast with some of right side. P.H. 0.40 m. B. Fragment from between breasts, with a little of left breast. P.H. 0.216 m.

See also below (114) and pp. 57, 66.

The fragments are from a kore of about life size. She wears a diagonal himation fastened on the right shoulder over a thin chiton. The ruffle along the upper edge of the himation is treated in a lively three-dimensional fashion with a wavy zigzag edge. Small incised folds over the right breast give the impression that the material of the himation is thin. Below the breast it clings to the body in shallow, round-edged folds, while on the side it falls in free folds, deeper and undercut from the front. These have angular chisel-cut edges. The front part of the garment is lightly rasped. The fold just below the outermost shoulder-lock was a two-edged pleat (the lower edge of the garment preserved) from which the hem must have fallen in a zigzag to either side. The chiton above the himation ruffle on B is carved in crisp ripples not inferior in quality to those of genuinely archaic work. The shoulder-locks are chisel-cut, with free and richly varied strands. There is no drill work.

The whole has a boldness and swing which differs both from the flat style of earlier works like No. 111 and the academic treatment of much Roman archaistic. Its strong curves and flaring folds recall the type represented in a kore in the Museo Barracco<sup>13</sup> and three Athenas with the same scheme: in the

1964, pp. 47-48) has the two heavy central folds in the lower part of her chiton, which is decorated all over with wavy grooves. This base has generally been dated in the 4th century on the basis of its mouldings, or to the 2nd century B.C. by others who disregard the mouldings, but an Augustan date seems preferable. See above, pp. 61, 67, below, pp. 82-83.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Schmidt, p. 50: "Die gleichstehenden Füße finden sich bei weiblichen Figuren, die ein Weihwasserbecken tragen — die starre Haltung ist durch die tektonische Eigenschaft der Figuren bedingt." There are, however, perirrhanter korai with one foot advanced. Both types occur at Eleusis.

<sup>13</sup> Bulle, pl. 4, 32.

Chigi Collection in Siena,<sup>14</sup> in Munich<sup>15</sup> and in Richmond, Virginia.<sup>16</sup> These are like translations into the round of the elegant figures of Neo-Attic reliefs. The Agora kore was bigger and probably also earlier. Its chisel-work seems surer and sharper than that of the tripod base, No. 128, which shows similar treatment of the zigzags and similar incised folds where the drapery is drawn tight across the body (legs of female figure). If the tripod base belongs to the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 1st century B.C., the kore may belong earlier in the 2nd. The weathering of the fragments suggests that the kore was an outdoor monument.

**114. Fragment of Archaistic Kore, Early Roman (?).** Pl. 25.

S 1040. Found in 1938 in wall of Turkish well west of the Panathenaic Way south of the Agora (R 17). Proper right side of kore from below breast to mid thigh. Right hand broken off. Pentelic marble. Battered and slightly weathered. Mortar on broken surface.

P.H. 0.37 m.

See also pp. 52, 54, 83.

The fragment is from a kore a little over half life size wearing a peplos with overfall over a crinkly chiton. She seems also to have had a small mantle hanging down the back. The chiton, of which only the sleeve appears, has crinkle-folds formed by pairs of shallow wavy grooves separated by narrow V-shaped grooves, the same stylization used in No. 115 but here much less carefully executed. Tape-like flat strips border the edge of the sleeve as well as the shoulder seam. The edges of the over-garments form a plethora of zigzags on the side of the figure. Besides the normal four edges of the peplos and its overfall, there is an extra zigzag that must be the edge of the back mantle. The back of the figure is merely blocked out and smoothed over without detail. The lower front edge of the peplos is drawn forward as if grasped by the right hand. The whole complicated scheme of drapery must be derived from some more careful work of which this is only a third-hand reflection. Probably this was a votive figure, a Tyche, Hekate or Artemis. A date in the late Hellenistic or early Roman period would best suit its unemphatic style and wobbly workmanship. The stiff outward flare of the overfall in front, which contrasts with the elegant curved flare of such works as No. 113, may be seen in fragments from the Acropolis as well as in many small Hekate figures.

<sup>14</sup> Petersen, *Röm. Mitt.*, VIII, 1893, pp. 350-351, no. 14.

<sup>15</sup> Bulle, pl. 4, 34.

<sup>16</sup> Unpublished.

115. Fragment from Back of Archaistic Tyche, Early Roman Period (?). Pl. 24.

S 375. Two joining fragments comprising the center back part of the torso and the back of the right shoulder. Split off from the front in an approximately vertical plane. In front, traces of the deep-cut folds between body and hanging drapery on the proper left side. The larger fragment found in a marble pile in the area P-R, 12-15 southeast of the market square, the smaller among uncatalogued marbles from the area T-U, 21-23 farther south and east of the Panathenaic Way. Pentelic marble. Not heavily weathered, but battered, with brown stains and traces of wall mortar.

P.H. 0.335 m., P.Th. 0.12 m., Approx. W. of body at waist 0.20 m.

See also below (116) and pp. 25 note 51, 57, 58, 66, 70, 83.

The kore was somewhat under life size. She wore a thin chiton with schematic ripple-folds under an himation whose upper edge, marked by a ruffle above two round-edged folds, slopes up across the back from under the right arm. On the right side the himation clings to the body and the folds curve around. At the center back are vertical folds, flat, with offset edges. The surface of these folds is roughened with vertical striations, probably from a dragged claw chisel.

The hair hangs down the back in a flat mass, broadening downward and with its lower edge squared off. The strands were rendered by fine wavy grooves symmetrically opposed at the center. Most of the surface of the hair is worn away so that only traces of the grooves remain. The shape of this mass is one of the indications that the fragment, in spite of its careful workmanship, is archaistic rather than archaic. Acropolis maidens before the Persian Wars have the hair-mass narrowed slightly at the lower end, but archaistic maidens regularly show the present form.<sup>17</sup>

The fragment belongs to a careful replica of the Munich Tyche.<sup>18</sup> The pattern of the folds of the himation and the stylization of the ripple-folds in the chiton, with a pair of broad grooves cut with the bull-nosed chisel flanked by narrow V-shaped grooves, recur on a replica of the Munich Tyche recently found in Pergamon (Pl. 63, a).<sup>19</sup> The latter is thought to be early Roman in date. The flat folds of

<sup>17</sup> Perhaps the standard archaistic trapezoidal form is derived from Athena figures, such as the Athena of Euenor from the Acropolis (Schrader, no. 5, pls. 9-11; Raubitschek, *B.S.A.*, XL, 1939-40, pp. 33-36) where the hair probably was tied at the nape of the neck and spread as it emerged from under the helmet.

<sup>18</sup> Bulle, p. 26, no. 50, pl. 7.

<sup>19</sup> See above, p. 51.

the himation with their thin straight edges recall early archaistic korai tentatively dated to the 4th century,<sup>20</sup> but similar folds are to be seen on the Charites on a Neo-Attic krater from Athens in the National Museum, dated by Karouzos and Fuchs to the early Augustan period.<sup>21</sup> The archaistic face of the Munich replica suggests that the type was not created before the Hellenistic period. The fine execution of the present copy suggests that the prototype may have been Athenian, perhaps early Neo-Attic.

116. Fragment of Neck and Hair of Archaistic Kore, Roman Period. Pl. 24.

S 60. Found in 1931 in uncertain context on the west side of the Agora (I 9). A wedge-shaped fragment comprising back part of neck and back hair with a little of shoulder-locks to either side of neck. Pentelic marble. Stained but little weathered.

P.H. 0.15 m., Diam. of neck 0.08 m.

The fragment comes from a kore under life size with hair arranged like that of the Munich Tyche.<sup>22</sup> She has a narrow diadem, twisted shoulder-locks and a stiff mass of hair in back. The locks, three on each side, are twisted in alternating directions. Deeper cuts between sets of three strands accentuate the twisted effect. The thick mass of back hair is decorated on its surface with wavy parallel strands patterned symmetrically to a center axis. In the triangle of separation between the front and back hair on the proper right side the edge of a garment, probably mantle, may be seen. The surface of the neck is hard and smooth, the hair crisply carved. There is no use of the drill in the spirals of the shoulder-locks. In spite of the similarity of type, this cannot be part of the same statue as No. 115, since the size of the hair-mass is incompatible. The present fragment also lacks the narrow ribbon that crosses the back hair on the Pergamon copy.

117. Fragment of Neck of Archaistic Kore, Roman Period. Pl. 24.

S 2135. Catalogued in 1959 from unrecorded marbles from the area (N-Q, 12-14) near the south-east corner of the Agora. Pentelic marble. Broken all around. Black spots and marble-pile weathering. Ancient weathering was probably light.

Max. P. Dim. 0.203 m.

<sup>20</sup> See above, p. 69.

<sup>21</sup> Karouzos, *Δελτίον*, X, 1926, pl. 2, pp. 99-101, figs. 3-5; Fuchs, p. 177.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. the Pergamon replica (Pl. 63, a), above, p. 51, note 12.

From the proper right side of the neck and right shoulder of a kore about life size. The three wavy shoulder-locks are vertically grooved like the hair of herms and in just the same hard style. A set of five ripply grooves cut into a flat surface just outside the locks may belong to chiton or himation. The neck is round and smooth. This appears to be the hardest and most perfunctory piece of archaistic sculpture in the Agora.

**118. Fragment of Archaistic Female Statuette, Roman Period.** Pl. 23.

S 2045. Found in 1959 among surface marbles at southwest corner of Eleusinion (T 21). Broken off below breasts. Head (missing) was attached separately. Outer surface of right upper arm split away by rusting of iron dowel with which the right lower arm seems to have been fastened. Object held in left arm also broken away. Fine-grained white marble, probably Pentelic. Surface battered. Splotchy brown stains, some of which were caused by the rusted dowel.

P.H. 0.13 m.

If the object originally held against the upper arm was a cornucopia, the statuette probably represented Tyche. She wears a rippled chiton with a smooth border at the neck and over it a diagonal himation with a top ruffle falling in vertical parallel folds. Below the ruffle in front the himation falls in fine, close-set straight folds. A crude running-drill channel separating the body and dress from the object held by the left arm suggests that the work is Roman. The head was to be fastened on to the neck with a round dowel. It may never have been attached, for there is no trace of iron rust in the hole, whereas the dowel for the right lower arm is still partly in place. The back seems not to have been carefully finished. The mass of the back hair widened downward, as usually in archaistic korai. There is no trace of long side curls.

**119. Statuette of Tyche, 2nd or 3rd Century after Christ.** Pl. 25.

S 871. Found in 1937 in a late Roman deposit on the lower north slope of the Areopagus (M 18). Intact, except for right forearm, which was dowelled on, and a chip off the lower back edge. Plinth has irregular picked bottom, evidently for setting into a socket, but no dowel hole is preserved. Pentelic marble.

H. 0.265 m.

Mentioned by Riemann, *Kerameikos*, II, p. 133.

See also p. 54.

A female figure stands holding a large cornucopia in the left hand, while the right arm was bent at the elbow with forearm extended. The cornucopia contains grapes, a pomegranate, a round fruit and a pyramidal object (cake?). The goddess has wavy hair parted in the center, long shoulder-locks hatched to represent twisted strands, and a mass of long hair hanging down the back. Over a thin chiton with short buttoned sleeves she wears a peplos with overfall and a small draped himation. The feet are shod. The pose retains a suggestion of weight-leg and free-leg but the heavy central fold in the lower part of the peplos and the symmetrical treatment of the overfall give an axial symmetry that makes the piece look archaistic. This is even more striking in the replica, No. 120, where the folds over the weight-leg are omitted. In keeping with this, the himation is so little emphasized that it is hard to see how it is draped. One end hangs over the right elbow, and the rolled mantle passes diagonally across the back to disappear under the cornucopia on the left shoulder. Whether any of the drapery hanging down the back consists of mantle rather than of the overfall of the peplos, the artist has not made clear, either on this statuette or on its replica. The face is a clumsy version of the standard classicizing Roman ideal face. The hand is much too big. The awkward proportions suggest that the piece is fairly late, Antonine or 3rd century.

A fragment of a similar figure carrying a torch instead of a cornucopia, so presumably Artemis, comes from the Kerameikos (Riemann, *loc. cit.*).

**120. Fragment of a Statuette of Tyche, 2nd or 3rd Century after Christ.** Pl. 25.

S 770. Catalogued in 1936 from marble in the Stoa of Attalos (P-R, 7-13). Head and lower legs broken off. Somewhat battered. Right forearm missing; was dowelled on. Fine-grained Parian or large-grained Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.15 m.

See also above (119) and p. 54.

This is as nearly an exact replica of the preceding as one is likely to find in small marble sculpture. Scale, pose and proportions are exactly the same. The only differences are in marble and workmanship, both superior in this fragment to those of the whole statuette, and in some of the minor folds. On workmanship alone one might feel inclined to date this piece earlier than the other but the sameness of proportions (compare the identical large, clumsy hands) shows that the two must be of the same date. Both are doubtless the products of a workshop in the vicinity of the Agora.

**121. Fragment of Miniature Archaistic Kore. Pl. 25.**

S 1684. Found in 1953 on surface in the area of the Middle Stoa (H-O, 12-13). Broken off at waist. Head and left forearm broken off. Right elbow and hand chipped. Battered. Parian or Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.077 m.

Part of a small statuette in conventional kore scheme with thin, sleeved chiton and diagonal himation fastened on the right shoulder. Against her breast she held some object (fruit?) which is now broken away. She has a single long shoulder-lock on each side, and the back hair hung down in a mass that seems to have been rounded (now chipped away). The back is only sketched, though its surfaces are smoothed. Crinkles of the sleeves and the ruffle of the himation are suggested by lightly engraved lines. Rather soft, sketchy work, possibly late Hellenistic. The figure resembles the small "Spes" figures that serve as supports to statuettes of Artemis or Aphrodite,<sup>23</sup> but there is no indication on the surviving fragment of attachment to another figure.

**122. Fragment of Archaistic Statuette, Support (?). Pl. 25.**

S 83. Found in 1931 in late filling in the Great Drain in front of the Metroon (I 10). From hip to above ankles. Broken above and below. Worn and battered. Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.23 m.

A small figure dressed like the archaistic Hekate figures in peplos with overfall stands symmetrically, holding the edge of the overfall between the thumb and forefinger of the right hand. The left hand is not preserved. The figure must be a support for a larger statuette. Heavy drapery which cannot be her own falls down her right side and back. Zigzag folds on the proper left side probably also belong to this pendant drapery rather than to the support figure. Such archaistic korai are fairly common as supports for statues of Aphrodite or Artemis.<sup>24</sup> The work may be either Hellenistic or Roman.

**123. Small Torso of a Girl in Chiton, 5th or 4th Century B.C. Pl. 25.**

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Agora S 443, *Illustrated London News*, June 2, 1934, p. 863, fig. 9; Artemis in Vienna from Larnaka, Bieber, *Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, fig. 41. For independent terracotta votive figures in similar form, see D. B. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 133-135, pl. 27.

<sup>24</sup> See above, note 23.

S 215. Found in 1932 in a cistern filling on the lower north slope of the Areopagus (H 16:3, cf. H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 330-345 and D. B. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 108 to 109, where the filling is said to be mostly before 300 B.C. but with an intrusion of the 2nd century B.C.). Broken off at hips. Head and arms broken off. Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.085 m.

A young girl stands in a symmetrical pose, dressed in a thin chiton with buttoned sleeves. The borders along the shoulders are marked by double engraved lines. The folds of the chiton are shown as parallel ridges. A line of break along the proper right side of the body and a broken lump in front near the lower edge of the fragment suggest that the right hand grasped the drapery in front of the body as on some archaic chiton-maidens. Though the dress seems archaic, the free modelling of the stomach and especially the fact that the navel is indicated as if through transparent cloth imply a date not earlier than the late 5th century. From its context the piece should probably not be later than the 4th century B.C. It must have been a small votive of some kind, analogous in its simplicity and conservatism to terracotta figurines.

**124. Fragment of Head of Athena, Type of Herculaneum Pallas. Pl. 26.**

S 1064. Found in 1938 in fill of the 2nd or 3rd century after Christ on the north slope of the Acropolis (T 24). Broken off at neck; top and back of head missing. Pentelic marble, with streaks of green mica. Heavy weathering, apparently ancient; original very smooth surface survives only in a few small patches: on proper left side of neck next to helmet and on right jaw below earring.

P.H. 0.244 m. W. across cheeks above earrings 0.133 m.

See also pp. 51, 66.

Athena wears an Attic helmet. Her front hair escapes in ringlets to frame the face, and the back hair flows out in loosely wavy strands from under the neck-piece. Very large disc earrings overlap the rim of the helmet. The left earring was carved separately and attached (cutting 0.018 m. × 0.008 m. × 0.019 m. deep). The surface around the attachment-hole is scored to hold cement. The left cheek-piece of the helmet (apparently shown as raised) was also attached, by means of a cutting 0.022 m. × 0.008 m. and more than 0.03 m. deep, in the bottom of which are traces of a whitish substance, probably cement.

A two-strand necklace of round beads lies close around the throat, the strands separated a little in front to show the flesh between. The head is turned strongly toward the left shoulder so that the necklace touches the rim of the helmet on the left side.

The fragment is from a replica of the Herculaneum Pallas (Pl. 63, d), an archaistic statue which has been variously described as a true copy of an Attic work of around 450<sup>25</sup> and as an early Roman pastiche.<sup>26</sup> The findingplace of our fragment and its ancient weathering speak strongly for its having belonged to a dedication on the Athenian Acropolis. This refutes Becatti's contention that the type was invented by Neo-Attic artists expressly for the Roman clientele who might have been deluded into thinking that they possessed an archaic original.<sup>27</sup> Our piece is important not only because it establishes this fact but also because it suggests that the original may have possessed rather more charm than the Naples copy would indicate. The face and hair of the latter have evidently suffered from cleaning, so that the features have lost their freshness and the hair its precision.

Bulle suggested a date around 450 B.C. for the original of the type, commenting that while the head in general resembles that of the Athena Parthenos, the features of the face and the design of the front hair recall the Kassel Apollo. The features of the Agora fragment, however, in no way recall the early classical. The resemblance to copies of the Parthenos may be seen not only in the full-cheeked outline of the face, but also in the short mouth and wide-open eyes. The front hair is carved, like the back, in crisp chisel-cut strands without the use of the drill even for the centers of the curls. The planes of face and neck have something of the emptiness of Roman classicizing work, but the chisel-work of details such as eyelids and hair is more free and casual. The best parallel that I can find for this is the head of Athena by Euboulides, a classicizing Attic sculptor of about the third quarter of the 2nd century B.C.<sup>28</sup> The Euboulides Athena is not archaistic but imitates some high-classical work.<sup>29</sup> A Nike found with the Athena is typically late Hellenistic in proportions and drapery.<sup>30</sup> It would be interesting to know whether the body of the Euboulides Athena had Hellenistic qualities. The drapery of our archaistic Athena does seem, in a curious way, to reflect the taste of the second half of the 2nd century B.C.

<sup>25</sup> Bulle, pp. 6f.

<sup>26</sup> Schmidt, pp. 59f.; Becatti, *Critica d'arte*, 1941, p. 47.

<sup>27</sup> *Loc.cit.*

<sup>28</sup> Bieber, *op.cit.*, fig. 669; Brunn-Bruckmann, pl. 48, Dickins, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, fig. 44.

<sup>29</sup> Lippold, *Plastik*, p. 366, calls the head a free replica of the Athena of Velletri. The eyelids seem to imitate bronze work, differing from those of our head in being undercut.

<sup>30</sup> Dickins, *op.cit.*, fig. 43; Brunn-Bruckmann pl. 49.

Bulle said that the upper garment showed no feature that did not occur in the archaic period, while he saw in the full sleeves with short overfall an early classical feature.<sup>31</sup> He thus felt that there was nothing in the dress to contradict his idea that the statue copied an original of around 450 B.C. in which the archaic outer dress had been retained for tradition's sake. A direct comparison with archaic and early classical originals, however, shows fundamental differences. Bulle compares the "Nike of Kallimachos"<sup>32</sup> and the Athena from the west pediment at Aegina, but in each of these the small Ionic himation is fastened along the right upper arm and falls in long points outside the contour of the body, making a break in the silhouette. This is the regular archaic scheme. When it is adapted to the tighter architecture of the early classical, as in the little bronze statuette of a fighting Athena dedicated by Meleso,<sup>33</sup> the contour is simplified and the points adhere to the body as in our statue. The difference here is that in the early classical statuette, though the archaic diagonal mantle is still worn, the whole has the rectangular structure of a peplos figure. The symmetrically hanging aegis and the broad folds falling to approximately the same level below the breasts give the horizontals of the composition a clear predominance over the diagonals. The effect is very similar to that of the Athena fighting a giant in a metope of the early classical Temple E at Selinus though the Selinus Athena is wearing an ungirdled peplos rather than an Ionic himation over her thin chiton.<sup>34</sup>

The Herculaneum Athena simplifies the contours as do the early classical figures but avoids the rectangular division. The diagonal edges are so sloped as to interrupt very little the long run of vertical lines fanning from the narrow top to the wide base. This is Hellenistic, not classical, structure.<sup>35</sup> If one were to ask where the hidden girdle of the chiton is set, he would have to imagine it close under the breasts. We seem, then, to have a late Hellenistic archaistic Athena created in Athens by a classicizing artist.<sup>36</sup> The head is not only classical; it is a conscious reflection of the Parthenos, just as are the heads of Athena

<sup>31</sup> The latter is true. Cf. the Selinus metope, below, note 34.

<sup>32</sup> Payne, pl. 120, 1-2; Schrader, pl. 91; Raubitschek, *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pp. 53-56.

<sup>33</sup> Athens, N.M. 6447. De Ridder, *Bronzes de l'acropole*, no. 796; H. G. Niemeyer, *Promachos*, Waldsassen, Bayern, 1960, fig. 13.

<sup>34</sup> Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*<sup>3</sup>, fig. 413; G. de Miré, *Sicile grecque*, Paris, 1955, pl. 159; Kähler, *Metopenbild*, pl. 54.

<sup>35</sup> Cf., for an extreme example, the statue in Frankfurt, Horn, *Gewandstatuen*, pl. 35, 1-3, dated by Horn to the late 2nd century.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Fuchs, p. 158: "Das Durchsetztsein von klassizistischen und archaischen Zügen ist typisch für die späthellenistische Kunst Athens."

on the Hellenistic coins of Athens. The mantle is the short Ionic himation, not the peplos or the long mantle with overfall that form the usual dress of archaistic Athenas.<sup>37</sup> This dress may have been chosen here for its simplicity as well as for its faithfulness to an early type, since it lacks side zigzags and the double hemline at the bottom. The authentic early classical treatment of the sleeves suggests that an early classical bronze may have inspired the artist, though the position of the trailing foot and the treatment of the folds beside it show late 5th century influence.

It seems more likely than not that the Agora fragment comes from the original itself. If it was a dedication on the Acropolis, that fact, rather than any intrinsic artistic merit, will have got it into the Neo-Attic repertory.<sup>38</sup> One cannot prove that our piece was made in the 2nd century rather than, say, the time of Augustus, and it might be simply a second copy, but since the closest parallel that we have for the carving of our head belongs to a period which fits the style of the statue, the most obvious conclusion seems the best: that we have a bit of the original. That our piece was more carefully made than the Herculaneum copy is suggested by the holes for attached marble cheek-pieces on the helmet. On the Herculaneum Athena the cheek-pieces are omitted.

The dullness of this type is directly due to its Atticism. Its creator, like too many modern admirers of the archaic, seems to have appreciated the negative virtue of simplicity more than the positive quality of liveliness. It seems to have been left to Asiatic (in which we may include Rhodian) artists to produce an archaistic face which exploited the plastic richness of the archaic face. The caryatids from Tralles<sup>39</sup> and the Palladion from the Homeric groups (by Rhodian artists) from Sperlonga<sup>40</sup> are good Hellenistic examples. The Artemis from Pompeii<sup>41</sup> seems also to belong to this more florid tradition.

### 125. Fragments of Male Figure in Cuirass and Chiton, Archaistic. Pl. 27.

A. S 1650. Found in 1952 in a Byzantine wall near the Church of the Holy Apostles (P 15). Left shoulder

<sup>37</sup> See above, p. 53.

<sup>38</sup> Fuchs has demonstrated the Attic origin of the types used for Neo-Attic reliefs and has shown that not only the *opera nobilia* but the ordinary dedications also were used as models (cf. especially p. 143).

<sup>39</sup> Schede, *Meisterwerke der türkischen Museen zu Constantinopel*, pl. 28; *Mon. Piot*, X, 1903, pls. 2-3; Schmidt, *op.cit.*, p. 65.

<sup>40</sup> G. Iacopi, *I ritrovamenti dell'antro cosiddetto "di Tiberio" a Sperlonga, Orme di Roma*, IX, 1958, fig. 11; MacKendrick, *The Mute Stones Speak*, fig. 7. 3.

<sup>41</sup> Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*<sup>3</sup>, figs. 518-520; Brunn-Bruckmann, pl. 356; Lippold, *Plastik*, p. 387, pl. 134, 4. See above, p. 57.

and arm to a little below the elbow, with a bit of the adjacent part of the torso. Broken all around. Pentelic marble, slightly weathered. Brown stains and root marks.

P.H. 0.305 m., P.Th. 0.185 m., L. from top of shoulder to point of elbow 0.305 m.

See also p. 65.

The fragment is from the left side of a figure wearing a metal cuirass over a chiton, the sleeve of which hangs out over the upper arm in pleat-like folds. A cloak passes over the top of the shoulder and hangs down diagonally in front and back. The arm is bent, with the forearm extended forward horizontally. To judge from the length of the upper arm, the scale of the figure was slightly under life size, though this part is so heavy in its proportions that the horizontal dimensions come out about life size. The fragment B, from the lower part of a figure similarly dressed, is so like the arm fragment in marble and in workmanship that they may well be parts of the same figure, though there is no join between them and the scale of B appears at first glance to be somewhat smaller than that of A. If the two are not parts of one figure, they must at least belong to figures from a single complex.

B. S 565. Found in 1935 in modern fill near the southeast corner of the Agora (O 14). From waist to above knees. Broken above and below. Pentelic marble with streaks of white mica. Slightly weathered. Brown stains. Traces of mortar and one spot of hard brownish cement resembling the kind used in Greek cisterns.<sup>42</sup>

P.H. 0.445 m., W. across hips 0.268 m.

This fragment preserves the lower edge of a cuirass, which is shaped to follow the lines of the body, rising over the hips and dipping low in front to protect the abdomen. The chiton is shown as smooth over the hips and buttocks. Below, it falls in flat parallel folds to an uneven hem-line, shorter on the sides and longer in front and back. In front the chiton must have reached nearly to the knees, though the longest parts in front and back are broken away. A narrow but strongly projecting mass of drapery hangs down the center front. At the back the lower part of the chiton seems to have been attached by a narrow strip to something else which is now broken away. The back part of the buttocks and skirt are rather roughly worked and suggest that this part was difficult to get at or in any case not meant to be seen. The front view also seems secondary. The interest of the chiton-folds is concentrated on the sides and they tend to die out toward the center front.

<sup>42</sup> I owe this observation to H. A. Thompson.

The figure has a curious stance, with the left leg slightly advanced and the torso seemingly bent a little forward from the hips. The right hip appears to be a little higher than the left and has a stronger curve, as if more of the weight had rested on this leg. One has the impression that the figure is not standing squarely on its feet. This, together with the attachment at the back and the fact that the front appears to have joined or been hidden by something, suggests that the figure did not stand alone but was part of a larger context. The stance would suit a charioteer, but it is hard to see why a charioteer should be attached to anything behind.

The piece is as hard to date as it is to explain. The vertical pleats of the chiton over the upper arm occur in some of the metopes of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi,<sup>43</sup> and in the Peleus and Thetis of a red-figured kylix signed by Peithinos.<sup>44</sup> The lower part of the chiton, however, with its swallowtail profile and the rounded edges of the zigzag folds at the hem (Pl. 27) seems most closely related to the work of the mannerist painters of the decade 480–470 B.C.<sup>45</sup> The way in which the folds die out at the top may be paralleled both in late archaic and in early classical works (the “Nike of Kallimachos”<sup>46</sup> and the Herakles of the Cerberus metope at Olympia<sup>47</sup>). The metal cuirass with the lower edge curving down in front occurs on a torso of a warrior from the Acropolis dated around 470 B.C.<sup>48</sup> It is hard, however, to find a parallel in the late archaic period for the workmanship of these pieces. The lack of definition in the edges of the folds and the generally rough finish would be surprising in early 5th century carving, and the himation especially, with its thickly plastic folds, seems out of place in the early period. At the same time the proportions of the figure and the drawing of the chiton seem authentically late archaic, without the preciousness of 4th century or later archaistic work. Conceivably we have here a replacement of an earlier figure or group of figures analogous to the replacement figures in the corners of the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>43</sup> *Delphes*, IV<sup>4</sup>, pls. 27, 32, 72; De la Coste Messelière, *Delphes*, pl. 130. Cf. Langlotz, *Zeitbestimmung*, p. 73. On the date of the Treasury, see above, pp. 9–11.

<sup>44</sup> Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 417; *A.R.V.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 115, no. 2.

<sup>45</sup> The vertically pleated sleeves occur also in this period. Langlotz, *op.cit.*, p. 108, cites a pelike in the Louvre now assigned to the Siren Painter (Louvre G 229, *C.V.A.*, III I c, pl. 45, 5–7 and 46, 2; *A.R.V.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 289, no. 3) on which both Athena and Herakles have such sleeves.

<sup>46</sup> Acropolis 690. Payne, pl. 120; Schrader, pls. 91–92. The connection of the statue with the inscribed column was suggested by Raubitschek, *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pp. 53–56.

<sup>47</sup> Rodenwaldt, *Olympia*, pl. 80; *Olympia*, III, pl. 43.

<sup>48</sup> Schrader, no. 307, pls. 130–131.

<sup>49</sup> *Olympia*, III, pls. 33–34; Schrader, *Pheidias*, figs. 95–97, 109, 118. The reconstruction has been variously dated: cf.

A group of late archaic architectural members, simae and Doric geisa, was found built into the Late Roman Fortification near where our fragments were found. These seem to have been re-used in some structure of early Roman times.<sup>50</sup> It is conceivable that our sculptures are early Roman replacements for damaged pedimental sculpture belonging to this unknown building.

**126.** Fragment of Unfinished Statuette, Bellerophon and the Dead Chimera, Roman Period. Pl. 28.

S 932. Found in 1937 in dumped filling of the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. in a well on the south end of Kolonos Agoraios (B 13:2). Broken off at waist of man; hindquarters of animal broken off. Both elbows of man broken away. Forehead hair of man and nose of lion chipped. About half of goat head missing. Large-grained island marble, probably Parian rather than Thasian.

P.H. ca. 0.175 m.

See also p. 65.

A nude youth carries on his shoulders a limp animal that appears from the front view to be a long-necked lion. His right hand, raised behind his head, holds the animal's neck while its head hangs down over his right shoulder in front. His left hand apparently holds both forepaws of the animal on his left shoulder. Its body hangs down his back. In the back view there appears, surprisingly, a second neck. It is thicker than the legs and thinner than the lion neck. Though part of the head is broken away, one can make out the mouth and beard of a goat. Above these appears the point of a drooping ear. A crescent-shaped ridge suggests that the horns were carved in relief against the back of the neck. The hero must be Bellerophon lifting the dead Chimera.

The statuette, probably of Roman date, is unfinished. Most of the surfaces show unsmoothed flat-chisel work and there is a great deal of raw drill work in the crevices. The group is, so far as I know, unique. We have neither a literary reference to Bellerophon's being required to bring back the spoils of the Chimera nor any other representation of him doing so.<sup>51</sup> The

Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, pp. 399f. Cf. now *Olympia Bericht*, VII, pp. 3, 15. The 4th century date seems established by these recent finds.

<sup>50</sup> Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, p. 351.

<sup>51</sup> For a recent general discussion of Bellerophon and a list of representations, see F. Brommer, *Marburger Winckelmann-Programm*, 1952/4. For a list of examples prior to the 4th century B.C., see T. J. Dunbabin in *Studies Presented to David M. Robinson*, II, pp. 1183–1184. Dunbabin also discusses, *ibid.*, 1181–1182, the possibility of a version of the story in which Herakles rather than Bellerophon kills the Chimera.

hero carrying his dead victim is not a standard type in Greek art. Animals being carried are normally live animals brought for sacrifice. Herakles carries (in a great variety of positions) the Erymanthian boar, which he usually brings back alive,<sup>52</sup> but we do not find him carrying the Nemean lion, though the dead lion is shown in the Olympia metope which represents this labor. The dead Chimera is not a subject likely to appeal to artists for its decorative qualities, as the live monster so obviously did.

It seems unlikely that the artist of our small late statuette was himself responsible for so daring an invention. If we assume that our piece is a straight copy of an early work, then the archaic hair style of the hero, with snailshell forehead curls and long back hair, and his early classical face with low forehead and heavy features would suggest an original of around 490 to 470 B.C. The lion's head is square and simple, like that in the Olympia metope. On the other hand, the crude realism in the limply stretched body of the dead animal, with the hair on the flanks impressionistically indicated by a few rough strokes, might suggest a much later period. It is hard to say whether this is simply the result of very free copying on the part of the statuette maker or whether it means that the composition as a whole is a pastiche. The stance of the hero, if we had the whole figure, might help to decide. As it is, the evidence is insufficient, but there are indications that we may have to do with a reflection of a genuine sculptural creation. For all its small size and crude workmanship, the piece makes sense as sculpture. The motion of the head and arms of the hero and the sense of the weight which he is lifting are quite convincing. Only the abnormally long neck of the lion head shows an awkwardness in the design and suggests that one view, the back three-quarters from the proper right, was not meant to be seen. Small mythological groups made up in Roman times as translations into stone of compositions borrowed from painting do not have such three-dimensional quality.<sup>53</sup> If the back view from the proper right was not meant to be seen, we must nevertheless imagine that the back from the proper left was somehow visible, for it is only from the back that one sees the goat's head.

In the original, Pegasos may also have been present, standing by the side of Bellerophon. In general, Bellerophon has no specific attribute apart

from Pegasos, who serves to identify him. Such paratactic man-and-horse groups occur in early 5th century sculpture.<sup>54</sup> The original of our group, whatever its date, may well have been in bronze. Perhaps it was dedicated in Corinth, in the sanctuary of Bellerophon which Pausanias mentions.<sup>55</sup> Its size may have been anywhere between the size of our statuette and full life size. All this, however, is speculation of the most tenuous sort. The only thing that is certain is the existence of the Agora marble, which by its uniqueness at once stimulates curiosity and thwarts understanding.

127. Unfinished Relief, Man Leading Two Horses, Roman Period, Copy of Archaic Relief (?). Pl. 29.

S 2079. Found in 1959 in core of Late Roman Fortification (R 16). Mended from a number of fragments (the relief was found crushed under a heavy stone base). Missing: outer surface of borders, near legs of near horse (except for a small non-joining fragment of foreleg), muzzle of near horse, right arm of man and reins of both horses. Tip of man's nose, part of man's left thigh, forelocks of horses and area above eye of near horse chipped. Back of stone rough-picked. Pentelic marble. Little weathered. Brown stains and mortar.

H. 0.52 m., W. 0.646 m., Total P. Th. 0.12 m.; Th. of background 0.045 m. (bottom) to 0.06 m. (top); Th. of borders not preserved; H. of borders: upper *ca.* 0.105 m., lower *ca.* 0.10 m.

*Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, pp. 379-381, pl. 84, c; Thompson, *Agora Guide*<sup>2</sup>, p. 197; Gjødesen, *A.J.A.*, LXVII, 1963, pp. 346-348, pl. 79, figs. 50-51.

See also pp. 50, 60, 65, 66, 68, 80.

A man strides to the right, leading two bridled horses, apparently by lead-reins held in the now missing right hand. With his left hand he grasps a short spear. He is bearded, and long hair hangs down his back. On his head he wears a kind of diadem or perhaps a cap with upturned brim. Since the top of his head is intersected by the upper border, the outline is not clear. A chlamys hangs over his left shoulder, hiding the upper arm, with the forearm emerging between its ends. On his feet are sandals. Both torso and legs are in full profile, though the right shoulder was drawn back. The relief is so high that problems of foreshortening do not present themselves except in the case of the chlamys over the far shoulder. Here the artist has distorted a little in order to make the garment fully visible.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Brommer, *Herakles*, pp. 18-19, 83-85, pls. 12-14. The boar in an archaic relief in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, Richter, *Catalogue*, no. 24, appears to be dead, but this is a very unusual rendering.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. especially the table-leg groups discussed by Lehmann-Hartleben, *Röm. Mitt.*, XXXVIII-XXXIX, 1923-1924, pp. 264-280. For small copies of sculptural groups, cf. the Niobe and Artemis from Inatos in Iraklion, Marinatos, *'Apχ. 'Ep.*, 1934-1935, pp. 1-17.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. the horses and captive women by Ageladas in the Tarentine dedication at Delphi, Pausanias, X, 10, 6.

<sup>55</sup> Pausanias, II, 2, 4.

The face is carved in archaic style. The eyes protrude; the lips project and curve up at the corners; the beard is wedge-shaped. The large nose must originally have had a sharp point. The big ears overlap the head-gear. The front of the torso likewise has archaic forms, with three transverse divisions of the abdominal muscle above the navel. The pubic hair is rendered as a raised triangle.<sup>56</sup> The legs are strongly articulated, with heavy thighs and calves and small, sharp knees (the left knee still obscured by a measuring-point). The ankle-bones are indicated. The sandals have X-straps under the ankles like those of the man-and-dog relief, No. 104, and the toe-straps are also carved in relief. The chlamys forms numerous parallel folds of equal width, the ends simply rounded, without swallowtails or zigzags.

The horses are comparatively slender but short-legged, a little longer than high, with tails that nearly touch the ground. The tail of the background horse appears between his hindmost leg and that of the foreground horse. These are κολλιτριχες ἵπποι with long, floppy manes that cover their necks. The forelocks were undercut with the drill and their edges have been chipped away. The ears stand up against the forelocks. The mass of the mane is rendered as a smooth raised plane that is cut off square at the top of the shoulder. Along its front edge is carved a row of curved ends of locks that turn backward as if blown by the wind.<sup>57</sup> The row of locks stops at the point where the reins cross the back. Perhaps the detail of the mane was to be engraved later. The faces of the horses are carved in detail, the eyes and eyelids rendered with unusual precision for work on so small a scale. The upper lid is differentiated from the lower. The nostrils are drilled. The strong projection of the eyes and the area above them and the lively relief of the facial muscles makes the heads look rather classical than archaic, though no detail occurs which was unknown to late archaic artists. The bridles, too, are rendered in detail. The cheek-strap of the foreground horse is decorated with four little bosses. The bit of the other horse has cross-pieces to the ends of which straps are attached.

The relief is unfinished. It was being copied from a model of some kind, since four measuring-points, raised mounds with little holes in their centers, are still present: on the mane, buttock and thigh of the foreground horse and on the left knee of the man. All the figured parts of the relief have been worked out in detail with the chisel but have not been rasped or smoothed over except for a little very coarse rasping on the neck and poll of the foreground horse and on the inside of the legs that are cut free. In places,

especially the face and body of the foreground horse, the chisel-work is so fine that it appears finished in all but the harshest lights. The areas near the background are generally in a rougher state. Apparently the background itself was to have been smoothed last. Crude running-drill channels outline the figures in places: the back of the man from head to knee, the inside of the foreground horse's tail, and the back of its neck from withers to poll. The man's leg from knee to ground has been cut free with the same drill applied from both front and back until the wall broke through. In other places a rough mass of marble has been left next to the outline of the figures; around the left leg of the man and the lower part of the spear, also along the back of the background horse and the outside of the tail of the foreground horse. This probably means that the drill was to be used for these outlines (for the rough marble left in the areas to be drilled, compare the "Eubouleus" head from the Agora).<sup>58</sup> Most of the background has been roughly cut away with the flat chisel, but point-marks remain in inaccessible areas: between the hind legs of the horses and between the head of the background horse and the strut that supported the man's right hand.

The borders above and below are not quite uniform in height and their horizontal surfaces seem to have been still rough. Top and sides of the slab are roughly finished with the flat chisel and not perfectly straight. The back and lower edge are rough-picked.

The measuring points, the running-drill channels and the use of heavy rasping for a preliminary surface confirm the Roman date of the relief, but it seems rather to be a copy of an archaic work than an archaistic invention.<sup>59</sup> The measuring-points do not in themselves prove that the work is a copy, for the sculptor might be pointing from a clay or plaster model which he had made himself, but the relief has little in common with the ordinary archaistic works of the Roman period. If the head of the man had been found alone, almost anyone would have unhesitatingly pronounced it archaic. In general the archaic features of the relief are not the kind of things that an archaistic sculptor would have bothered to make correct. He would hardly have counted the divisions in the *rectus abdominis* of the man, and it is doubtful whether he would have made the proportions of the horses fit so exactly Markman's description of late

<sup>56</sup> *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, pp. 382-389, pl. 85, c-d.

<sup>59</sup> Easiest to contrast are perhaps the archaistic battle friezes of which three examples have survived: 1) Conservatori, Mustilli, *Museo Mussolini*, Sala III, 7, pl. 36, no. 150; 2) Geneva, *Einzelaufnahmen*, 1893; 3) Athens, built into the Little Metropolitan church, P. Steiner, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXI, 1906, p. 329, fig. 2. All these have extreme swallowtail drapery, an exaggerated forward lean, and thin, knobby physiques, but neither their faces nor their anatomy truly imitate the archaic.

<sup>56</sup> On this detail, see Karouzos, *Aristodikos*, pp. 72ff.

<sup>57</sup> The same curious but highly decorative rendering occurs on a Tyrrhenian amphora in Berlin (*A.B.V.*, p. 97, no. 22; Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 207).

archaic horse proportions, being a little longer than high, though the relation of the head-length to individual members is approximately correct.<sup>60</sup>

The purposeful march of man and horses reminds one of the procession of warriors and chariots around the neck of the magnificent 6th century bronze krater from Vix.<sup>61</sup> There are in fact so many points of resemblance as to suggest that the model for our relief was not an archaic work in marble but a relief of appliqué figures like those of the krater.<sup>62</sup> This would explain the absence of any attempt (except in the case of the chlamys) to twist side elements into the front plane. It would also explain the careful detail of elements in the side plane, such as the man's face and the front of his torso, which would normally be neglected in a marble relief of this size. The fact that the bridles of the horses and the straps of the man's sandals are carved in crisp relief suggests a metal prototype. In marble such details are often not modelled at all but simply indicated in paint. M. Gjødesen has made the interesting suggestion that our relief may be an enlarged copy of the στρωτιωτικά carved in ivory, gold and cedarwood on the Chest of Kypselos, but the ivory figures from Delphi, which should give us a fair idea of the relief technique of the chest, are much less three-dimensional than the man and horses of our relief. The bronze figures of the Vix krater are a much closer parallel.

The type of our horses is very much like that shown on the krater. The long manes that fall down to the top of the shoulder are to be seen on all the horses of the krater, and some of them show the bare angle between the back and the last long locks that appears at first glance so strange on our horses. Some also show the tips of the locks turned back, though not in so schematic a pattern as here. The tails of the horses are of similar shape and length.

Most striking is the resemblance in spacing and pose of our two horses to the foreground and second-plane horses of the quadriga teams on the krater. The angles of the heads and the poses of the legs are so similar that one suspects our two horses may actually have been excerpted from a team of four. If this is true of the horses, perhaps the man also has been tampered with. The chlamys with its dull folds displayed in the front plane might well be a copyist's invention. The strong forward inclination of the man's body is also a feature of Roman archaistic work and

may be due to the copyist.<sup>63</sup> The stephane-like headdress, which is so hard to match in archaic male figures, may be another addition.

For the scene as it has come down to us, whether this represents the original composition or an adaptation, the closest parallel is probably the bearded Troilos with his two horses on the Middle Corinthian bottle by Timonidas.<sup>64</sup> Could Troilos be represented with a spear? In the Timonidas picture he carries a long staff. Gjødesen considers the possibility without deciding definitely for it.<sup>65</sup> It may be that what we have is simply an epic camp scene, a soldier leading two horses, either to water or to hitch them up for battle. He is not himself ready for battle, though he carries a spear. The light sandals are not worn in the field. It appears that the plaque was intended to form part of a continuous frieze, and the key to the interpretation of the scene may have been found on another slab.

The date of our relief is not easy to fix, since its surface finish, normally the most reliable guide, does not yet exist. The 2nd century after Christ, in the Hadrianic or Antonine period, seems most likely, to judge from the pedantic accuracy of the copy and the great proficiency of the sculptor with the running drill. To undercut a leg by this method must be a fairly dangerous procedure, but our sculptor seems perfectly confident of his ability to do it successfully.

## 128. Sculptured Tripod Base, Early Neo-Attic. Pl. 30.

S 370. Found in 1933 set into the floor of a room in the Civic Offices (I 12). Pentelic marble of poor grade with mica streaks and large calcite crystals. Entire top broken away, about to level of chests of figures. One edge mostly chipped away. Traces of lime deposit ending at line of floor 0.09 m. above bottom of stone. 0.115–0.14 m. from the bottom on each edge is a slot 0.015 m. deep. In one of these (between the draped male and the libation-pourer) was a trace of bronze.

H. 1.09 m., W. of faces 0.65 m. to 0.66 m., W. of fillets between faces 0.045–0.055 m.

T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 387–393, figs. 15–17; C. Mitchell, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, LXI, 1953, pp. 73–84, figs. 1–3; C. Mitchell Havelock, *A.J.A.*, LXVIII, 1964, pp. 47–51, pl. 18, figs. 6–8; W. Fuchs, *Die Vorbilder der neuattischen Reliefs*, pp. 46, 128 note 61, 166 no. 8, 168, 171.

See also pp. 58, 59, 66, 70, 83.

The three sides of the base are slightly concave and the faces meet in roughly worked fillets. Adjacent to each fillet and under the feet of the figures the

<sup>60</sup> S. Markman, *The Horse in Greek Art*, pp. 64–65.

<sup>61</sup> *Mon. Piot*, XLVIII, 1, 1954, pls. 9–13. For a recent discussion see M. Gjødesen, *A.J.A.*, LXVII, 1963, pp. 335–350.

<sup>62</sup> Since our horses are about twice the size of those on the krater, we must imagine either that the original did not belong to a krater or that our copy is an enlargement. Gjødesen, *op.cit.*, p. 346, favors the latter possibility. He plausibly refers to the handle-decoration of a krater or lid two horse-heads from Isthmia (*ibid.*, p. 343) whose scale is about twice that of the horses in the Vix frieze.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, p. 380, note 49.

<sup>64</sup> Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 174.

<sup>65</sup> *Op.cit.*, pp. 347–348.

background is roughly finished with the claw chisel, whereas elsewhere it is generally smoothed. The rough edges and the slots in them suggest that the legs of the bronze tripod came down and covered the edges, the feet of the tripod resting on the moulded plinth on which we must imagine that the stone stood. An analogy for sculptured figures between the legs of a tripod is to be found in Hellenistic stone tripods where the legs of the tripod are carved in relief out of the same stone as archaistic female figures which emerge in relief from concave surfaces between the legs.<sup>66</sup>

Other surviving bases for Athenian choregic tripods have a similar shape to ours, but in these the feet of the tripod must have rested above the tall rectangular block, since mouldings are preserved at the bottom which would have impeded them. One, a sculptured base in the Athens National Museum, has generally been dated from the style of its figures to the 4th century B.C.<sup>67</sup> Another is unsculptured, with an inscription that places it near the end of the 1st century after Christ.<sup>68</sup> An inscribed crowning block for a base of this shape dated to 175/4 B.C. (archonship of Sonikos) has on its top three cuttings for the feet of the tripod and a circular cutting in the center for a column to help support the basin of the tripod. This was a bigger tripod than ours can have carried (the centers of the cuttings for feet are ca. 0.875 m. apart).<sup>69</sup> No complete list of these concave triangular bases has been compiled,<sup>70</sup> but it is clear that the type had a long history, whether or not we accept the 4th century date of the National Museum piece.

The last shows Dionysos and two Nikai in non-archaistic types. Dionysos is the principal figure; the Nikai turn toward him. On our base all the figures are archaistic in style, though only two have archaistic

<sup>66</sup> Cf. especially a stone tripod in Rhodes, Maiuri, *Clara Rhodos*, II, pp. 12-15, figs. 2-5, and one from Thymbra in the Troad (in the Calvert Collection), Preuner, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIX, 1924, pp. 148-150, pl. 15; Karouzos, *Δελτιον*, X, 1926, pp. 94-95, fig. 2. The Rhodian piece is called a "Hekataion" by Maiuri, but Kraus (*Hekate*, p. 110, note 584) rightly says that it should be called a perirrhantieron rather than a Hekataion.

<sup>67</sup> N.M. 1463. Svoronos, pp. 154ff., pl. 29; Süsserott, *Griechische Plastik*, p. 115, pl. 19, 1 and 3 (dated by Süsserott to the 50's of the 4th century). Since we do not have other examples dated to this period, the stylistic date is less convincing than an epigraphical date would be.

<sup>68</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3114 (archonship of Lucius Flavius Flammus). This now stands in front of the Stoa of Attalos.

<sup>69</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3088. Πρακτικά, 1931, p. 35, fig. 13. D. M. Lewis suggests (*B.S.A.*, L, 1955, p. 24) that a piece in the Epigraphical Museum, E. M. 3126, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3058, is from a companion piece.

<sup>70</sup> A base on the triglyph wall above the Sacred Spring at Corinth has been dated by its moulding to the early years of the Roman colony (L. T. Shoe, "The Roman Ionic Base in Corinth," *Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann*, 1964, pp. 302-309).

drapery. The main figure, toward whom the others turn, is a young man with club and chlamys. He stands with his weight on his right foot, his left leg advanced, his body leaning forward. His thin club is propped against a thin, knobby rock. The upper end of the club, which disappears under the chlamys that falls from his left shoulder, must have been held in his left hand.

The archaistic treatment of the body consists in an exaggerated articulation of limbs and torso: small knees, small waist, swelling calves, thighs and buttocks, and deep thorax. (The effect of the last is probably intensified by a partial turn of the shoulders from profile into front view). The superficial anatomy is generalized much as it is in the archaistic Kouros No. 109 (contrast the relief No. 127). The feet are flabby and unfunctional.

The chlamys is not archaized in any way. The broad folds suggest weight and the envelopment of the club by the cloth implies depth. The press-folds lend a realistic sense of texture. C. Mitchell has suggested a formal reason for not archaizing the garment,<sup>71</sup> but it may well be that the meaning was a more important reason. The chlamys could not be archaized because it was an attribute that had to be recognizable. Together with the very thin club, it identifies our hero as not Herakles (the name which Shear gave him) but Theseus. Bacchylides gives Theseus a "woolly Thessalian chlamys"<sup>72</sup> and it appears over and over again in classical vase-paintings of the deeds of Theseus as well as on the metopes of the Hephaisteion. The thin club is his weapon especially in the capture of the Marathonian bull.<sup>73</sup> The club of Herakles is more massive.

The fully draped figure who confronts Theseus stands with his weight on his left foot, his right foot advanced. His pose is more erect than that of Theseus. His himation completely covers his left hand, which rests on his hip. From other examples of the same Neo-Attic type we can tell that the right arm was free and stretched forward to hold a scepter, whose lower end is also preserved on our base. The type recurs on a circular base from the Torlonia Collection, now in the Villa Albani,<sup>74</sup> as well as on the Four Gods base from the Acropolis (Pl. 64, a-d). On the Torlonia base, where the scepter is preserved, it is certain that the figure is Zeus. On the Acropolis base also the attribute appears to be a scepter, and the combination of figures is best interpreted as connected with the birth of Athena: Zeus, Athena,

<sup>71</sup> *Op.cit.*, p. 79.

<sup>72</sup> Dithyramb 18 (Snell), lines 53-54: *καὶ οὐλίον Θεσσαλῶν χλαμύδ'.*

<sup>73</sup> For the bull adventure, cf. especially B. B. Shefton, *A.J.A.*, LX, 1956, pp. 159-163, and U. Hausmann, *Hellemistische Reliefbecher*, pp. 69-99.

<sup>74</sup> Fuchs, p. 46. Photo *M.A.A.R.*, III, 1919, pl. 72, 2.

Hephaistos, and Hermes.<sup>75</sup> On our base the draped male may be a king rather than a god, in which case the attribute may still be a scepter. If, on the other hand, he is a divinity, Poseidon or Dionysos would be more likely than Zeus to be grouped with Theseus, and the staff may have ended as a trident or thyrsus.

If the Acropolis base was really made in the 4th century B.C., as has often been proposed,<sup>76</sup> we should have to agree with Fuchs that the Agora figure is copied from the Zeus of the base. That the influence went the other way is suggested by the greater internal logic of the pose in the Agora figure. All the figures on the Acropolis base show an exaggerated outcurve of the haunches. This is not mere archaistic mannerism but an imitation of other figures where it is justified by the pose. In the Samothracian frieze of dancers the girls throw their legs far back in the movement of the dance.<sup>77</sup> The Acropolis Athena has their hip-line though her feet are closer together. On the Agora base the Theseus and the "king" thrust out the hip of the weight-leg. The Acropolis Zeus and Hephaistos show the same back line though they have neither the classical weight-leg, free-leg stance nor the lively movement of dance or procession. They are frozen in a curious tiptoe balance that is neither stance nor stride.

The third figure on the Agora base is actually in a dancing pose. Her right hand holds a phiale in the position for pouring a libation and her left hand is raised as if it held an oinochoe. She wears a peplos with overfall, high-girt and treated in archaistic fashion with central fold and swallowtail edges. As C. Mitchell has pointed out, the folds in the overfall have a patterned symmetry which does not accord with the symmetry of the body.<sup>78</sup> A loop of drapery which seems not to be either veil or peplos falls down the back. If this could be interpreted, it should give a clue to the identity of the figure.

Shear called her a maenad, but the libation-pouring is not characteristic of maenads.<sup>79</sup> If all three figures belong to the Theseus story, we might imagine her as Medea and the king as Aigeus. Brian Shefton has shown that Medea often appears with libation-bowl and oinochoe in vase-paintings representing Theseus' struggle with the Marathonian bull, a scene at which Aigeus is usually also present.<sup>80</sup> The club, as we have seen, was Theseus' weapon in this contest. The other possible interpretations of the group, Theseus with Poseidon and Amphitrite or Theseus

with Ariadne and Dionysos, would not explain the club. It may be that the cloth that hangs down the back of the female figure is part of an oriental jacket such as Medea wears over her shoulders with sleeves hanging loose on the well-known Peliad relief,<sup>81</sup> but the form does not strictly correspond to any known version of this. Whatever the interpretation of the scene, the presence of the hero with the club suggests that we have a reference to the content of a choral composition, presumably a dithyramb, sung by the tribe that won the tripod.<sup>82</sup>

Fuchs has proposed a date in the early Neo-Attic period, late 2nd or early 1st century B.C.<sup>83</sup> This accords with the conclusion of Mrs. Havelock, who prefers to call the base Hellenistic rather than Roman.<sup>84</sup> The relatively bold relief and the free carving of the figures and the open collision between plastic form and flat pattern which she has discussed support a date before the Augustan period.

If these conclusions are correct, it may be that the tripod was destroyed in Sulla's sack of Athens in 86 B.C. and the robbed base later removed to the Agora, though there is no archaeological proof. The building in which it was found seems to belong to the 2nd century after Christ<sup>85</sup> and the base was apparently still in place there at the time of the Herulian destruction of A.D. 267.

Though the Agora base seems to be earlier than the Four Gods base of the Acropolis and the circular Torlonia base, its figures are not necessarily the originals of their types. One could easily imagine a similar group in which the three figures, with only a minor change of attributes, could represent Herakles, Nike and Zeus or Herakles, Hebe and Zeus.

## 129. Fragments of Neo-Attic Relief, Procession of Four Gods. Pl. 29.

Two non-joining fragments, one of which joins an Acropolis fragment. Back preserved, a smooth-rubbed picked surface, flat and even. Pentelic marble. Both pieces heavily weathered all over and battered. All pieces are now in the Acropolis Museum.

Th. of background 0.10 m., D. of relief 0.035 m. to 0.04 m. A. S 1726. Hermes. Found in 1953 in marble pile on south side of the Agora (K-Q, 14-17). Broken

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Götze, *Röm. Mitt.*, LIII, 1938, pl. 38; Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 60ff., pl. 17.

<sup>82</sup> On dithyrambs in the late period, cf. A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, Oxford, 1953, pp. 74-75.

<sup>83</sup> P. 46.

<sup>84</sup> *A.J.A.*, LXVIII, 1964, p. 47.

<sup>85</sup> As a possible parallel for material damaged in the Sullan Sack, and re-used in the 2nd century, H. A. Thompson has drawn my attention to frieze blocks of South Stoa II built into the Hadrianic aqueduct.

<sup>75</sup> Fuchs, *loc. cit.*

<sup>76</sup> See above, pp. 55, 61, 67; below, pp. 82-83.

<sup>77</sup> *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pls. 8-10; Lehmann, *Samothrace, Guide*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 58-59, fig. 31.

<sup>78</sup> *Op.cit.*, p. 78.

<sup>79</sup> I owe this observation to Dr. Erika Simon, who also suggested the identification as Medea.

<sup>80</sup> *A.J.A.*, LX, 1956, pp. 159-163.

all around except back. Preserves head and shoulders of figure. P.H. 0.20 m., P.W. 0.215 m. B. S 245. Artemis. Found in 1933 in demolition of a modern house in the central part of the Agora (I 12). Preserves upper torso of figure from neck to hips. Head missing. Joins the fragment with Apollo in the Acropolis Museum (Walter, *Die Reliefs im kleinen Akropolis-museum*, no. 109). P.H. 0.31 m., P.W. 0.23 m.

Fuchs, *Die Vorbilder der neuattischen Reliefs*, pp. 48, a, 166, pl. 10 a-b.

See also pp. 50, 60.

These fragments belonged to a relief showing a procession of four gods: Hermes, Athena, Apollo and Artemis, which belongs to the oft-repeated Neo-Attic types recognized by Hauser.<sup>86</sup> Werner Fuchs, in his study of the Neo-Attic reliefs and their prototypes, which goes farther than Hauser in analyzing and dating the various copies and their existing or hypothetical originals, suggested that the Agora-Acropolis relief might be the original from which the other examples were copied.<sup>87</sup> He concluded, probably rightly, that the procession was an eclectic composition of around 100 B.C. Of the types used, he found the originals of Athena and Hermes in the Four Gods base on the Athenian Acropolis,<sup>88</sup> of the Apollo in the archaistic relief showing the fight for the Delphic tripod.<sup>89</sup> The Artemis he took to be simply an adaptation of the Athena.

The perfect coordination of the Apollo and Herakles in the tripod relief, especially apparent in a good copy like the one in Copenhagen,<sup>90</sup> suggests that this is indeed the source of the Apollo in the Four Gods relief and not the other way around. The Four Gods base is a more difficult question. It was dated by Ada von Netoliczka,<sup>91</sup> Eduard Schmidt<sup>92</sup> and Lucy Shoe<sup>93</sup> in the first half of the 4th century B.C. The strongest point in favor of this early date is the cyma reversa

of the base moulding, which Miss Shoe places around 370 B.C. Not only is the profile appropriate to this date, but the plastic subtlety of carving in the leaves is very hard to match at any later period. The same high quality in the sculpture was, according to Schmidt, the best reason for the general agreement prevailing when he wrote that the base was "a Greek original."

Schmidt also analyzed the reliefs in some detail, and Fuchs, in advocating a date of 380-370 B.C., suggests that this analysis is still valid. It is not entirely so, as we shall see. Becatti, in his attempt to deny that there was any "archaistic" relief in his strict sense of the term before the Hellenistic period, moves the Four Gods base down into the 2nd century B.C. and Christine Mitchell Havelock supports this dating.<sup>94</sup> Fuchs rightly objects that the linear precision of the work is totally unlike the free, coarse carving of early Neo-Attic works. He might well have added that we do not have examples from the 2nd century of close imitation of classical mouldings, and that the normal late Hellenistic mouldings are radically different.

Dickins felt no certainty about the dating of the base (he wrote before von Netoliczka), but he seems to have felt that its finesse was not an early feature: "At the same time the exaggerated delicacy of the figures on this basis seems to go farther than the Corinthian wellhead, and a 4th century date is only conjectural."<sup>95</sup> Exaggerated delicacy in Athens is rather an Augustan than a 4th century quality.<sup>96</sup> The Athenas of the 4th century Panathenaics are exaggerated but they are not delicate. "Präzision" and "Eleganz" are the words with which Fuchs characterizes the Neo-Attic style of the Augustan period.<sup>97</sup> To this period he rightly assigns the relief in the wall of the Senatorial Palace in Rome which is a replica of

<sup>86</sup> F. Hauser, *Die neu-attischen Reliefs*, Types 1-4.

<sup>87</sup> Pp. 48-49. This is also the most recent list of replicas.

<sup>88</sup> Fuchs, p. 45, note 2 with bibliography. Add C. Mitchell, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, LXI, 1953, pp. 80ff., figs. 4-6, and C. Mitchell Havelock, *A.J.A.*, LXVIII, 1964, pp. 47-48, pl. 19, figs. 9-12.

<sup>89</sup> Fuchs, p. 48. Previously recognized by Schmidt, p. 23.

<sup>90</sup> Arndt, *Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg*, pl. 20 A: *Billedtavler*, pl. 3, no. 36.

<sup>91</sup> *Jahreshefte*, XVII, 1914, pp. 128ff.

<sup>92</sup> Pp. 18ff.

<sup>93</sup> *Profiles of Greek Mouldings*, Cambridge, Mass., 1936, pp. 89, 156, 157, 182. Miss Shoe kindly consented to re-examine the base with me in the summer of 1961, and she still strongly favors the 4th century date. She would in no case admit a date in the 2nd century B.C., and while admitting the theoretical possibility of an Augustan copy of a classical moulding, she knows of no example which is so true to the form and style of the classical originals. The argument from the mouldings thus remains unanswered, but we must weigh it against the various arguments having to do with the sculpture itself that make a 4th century date difficult.

<sup>94</sup> Becatti, *Critica d'arte*, VI, 1941, pp. 32ff.; Havelock, *A.J.A.*, LXVIII, 1964, pp. 47-48.

<sup>95</sup> *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, I, p. 143.

<sup>96</sup> The altar (?) in the Athens National Museum with an archaistic Hermes Kriophoros shows this exaggerated delicacy (N.M. 54, Svoronos, pl. 23) though its design is not so crisp as that of the Four Gods base. An Augustan date for the Hermes altar is suggested by the very close similarity of its crowning moulding to that of the stage of the Odeion of Agrippa in the Agora (*Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pl. 47 a). Some-what similar archaistic mouldings have also been found in Corinth (Broneer, *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 570, fig. 15, from a Roman shop in the South Stoa, and *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, pp. 65-66, fig. 9, re-used in one of the West Shops). The provenance of the Hermes altar (built into a house on Mouseion Street near the Tower of the Winds) suggests that it comes from the Roman Agora. The reliefs and the crowning moulding (now broken away on the right side) decorated three sides. The fourth, left rough, preserves part of an anathyrosis, showing that the altar was cut from a re-used architectural block.

<sup>97</sup> P. 178.

the Athena type of the Acropolis base.<sup>98</sup> This Athena is extremely close to the one on the Acropolis, being only less good but not of a different kind. It has the exaggerated delicacy of the Athenian work; only the exceptionally fine feeling for the ornamental quality of line is lacking. Whenever we date the Acropolis base, we must accept the fact that its sculptor was no ordinary practitioner.

Our tripod base, No. 128, appears to be earlier than the Four Gods base, rather than vice versa, since the poses of the figures are less artificial.<sup>99</sup> Not strong enough to be called an argument but still a suggestion that the Acropolis base is not the original of all the types it represents is the fact that we have no replica of its Hephaistos. Fuchs suggested as an explanation that this side might have been hidden from view in the Neo-Attic period.<sup>100</sup> If we take the Hephaistos to be a late invention, however, the other figures being borrowed from earlier contexts, this assumption would not be necessary.

Two rather more concrete arguments against an early 4th century date for the base concern the chiton of Athena and the chlamys of Hermes. Athena's chiton, like that of the kore fragment No. 112, has larger folds which demonstrate that the fine ripples on the surface are thought of as representing, not folds, as always in archaic art, but a crinkled texture of the cloth. This texture is very common in early Hellenistic sculpture, and the earliest example that I know of in the 4th century is a fragment from the new temple of Artemis at Ephesos.<sup>101</sup> It is very unlikely that archaistic sculptors would begin to reinterpret the archaic ripple-folds as texture before the rendering of texture was introduced into contemporary sculpture.

On the manner of carving the ripples in Athena's chiton, Schmidt draws an erroneous conclusion. Observing that the same technique is used as in archaic works, he declares that this can be explained only by unbroken tradition, and by this argument he dates in the 4th century not only the Four Gods base but also an archaistic kore in the British Museum and the original of the Munich Tyche.<sup>102</sup> But the "regular alternation of sharply drawn wavy lines and trough-shaped grooves" is not to be found on works like the Laurion kore which seem certainly to belong to the classical period, whereas it occurs in exactly the same form as on the Four Gods base, pairs of trough-shaped grooves separated by sharply incised lines, on a copy of the Munich Tyche discovered in Pergamon and probably belonging to the early Roman period

(Pl. 63, a).<sup>103</sup> The tool with which the shallow grooves were made, the bull-nosed chisel, seems actually to have been very little used between the archaic period and Roman times, when it was widely employed, not only for archaistic work but for the preliminary and rough work for which earlier sculptors had used the claw chisel and the point.<sup>104</sup> Hence a revival rather than a survival of the archaic technique seems quite plausible. The *pairs* of grooves, especially popular in archaistic work, occur only rarely in the archaic period. In the Agora we have them in a very shallow, coarse form on the kore No. 114 and in a much more careful version on No. 115. It is likely that both pieces belong to the latest Hellenistic or the Roman period.

The chlamys of Hermes is even more telling, for it is of the form worn especially by Hermes as leader of the Nymphs in the late 4th century and this type of archaistic Hermes probably appeared first in Nymph reliefs,<sup>105</sup> whence it was borrowed for the procession of Four Gods as well as for the Athenian Four Gods base.

If the Four Gods base is out of place among the more freely carved works of the early Neo-Attic period, it may be that our fragments of the Four Gods relief are also somewhat later. Especially the Artemis shows through its weathering a more delicate drawing of the parallel folds of the overfall than one sees in the Delos relief, assigned to the beginning of the 1st century B.C.<sup>106</sup> Granting the inferior quality and local style of the Delian relief, one may still contrast the style of our tripod base, No. 128. But if the Agora-Acropolis fragments are later than the Delos relief, they cannot represent the original creation of the procession as Fuchs suggested. It is not even certain that the relief stood on the Acropolis, for during the 19th century objects found near by were often taken up to the Acropolis for safe-keeping. The heavy weathering might have been acquired in modern times if the relief was found early by chance and stayed outdoors for some time before the pieces were dispersed (excavated marble weathers very much faster than that which has never been buried). The evenness of the weathering, without smooth spots or lines of corrosion, rather suggests modern weathering. In any case, the original was probably on the Acropolis. The combination of divinities strikes a Delian note: Hermes the patron of businessmen,

<sup>103</sup> *Neue deutsche Ausgrabungen*, p. 149, fig. 18.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Casson, *The Technique of Early Greek Sculpture*, pp. 192-194. Blümel, *Griechische Bildhauerarbeit*, pp. 7, 22. Casson suggests that the gouge was also used for grooves in archaic Attic work but was essentially a woodworker's tool rather than a stonemason's. The bull-nosed chisel was certainly used in some examples, which he cites, and probably in many others where the tool-marks have been obliterated.

<sup>105</sup> See above, pp. 60-61.

<sup>106</sup> Fuchs, p. 49, b, pl. 10 c.

<sup>98</sup> P. 177, no. 3; Schmidt, pl. 8, 3.

<sup>99</sup> See above, p. 81.

<sup>100</sup> Pp. 45-46.

<sup>101</sup> British Museum no. 1872 8-3 52.

<sup>102</sup> Pp. 20-21.

Athena of the Athenians who presided over Delos during a large part of the 2nd century B.C., and Apollo and Artemis, the gods of the island. Since we can hardly imagine that the small, rather sketchy Delos relief is the original, it seems likely that the original was a dedication on the Acropolis by some Athenian who had made money on Delos.

**130. Fragment of Relief of Pan and Three Nymphs.**  
Pl. 31.

S 811. Found in 1936 in a modern house in the area of the Eleusinion (S-T 20). Fragment from lower right corner. Broken at top and left. Back rough-picked; bottom and right side dressed with claw chisel except for a flat-chiselled band along front edge of bottom. Pentelic marble. Somewhat weathered.

P.H. 0.145 m., P.W. 0.18 m., Th. 0.09 m., H. of plinth 0.025 m.

Fuchs, *Die Vorbilder der neuattischen Reliefs*, p. 28, B 4 b.

See also p. 58.

The fragment comes from a votive relief representing Pan and three Nymphs dancing around an altar.<sup>107</sup> It preserves the lower part of the figure of the right-hand Nymph, who moves left with her left foot advanced. She stands on a plinth, but there is no frame at the side of the relief. The irregular mass representing rocky landscape extends to the edge. On top of the rocks near the upper break something seems to have been broken away. Perhaps this was a head of Acheloos, such as appears on a relief from Stobi in Belgrade<sup>108</sup> which seems closest in scheme of the known replicas to the Agora fragment.

The chisel-work seems sharp and competent, though casual. The surfaces are not smoothed. The left leg is modelled so that it emerges sharply, as if in relief against the rest of the drapery. The ankle-bone of the left foot is clearly shown. The crinkles of the chiton are rendered by close-set parallel wavy incised lines, and an engraved line marks off a smooth border at the hem.<sup>109</sup> The piece is probably Hellenistic, but it does not seem possible to date it more closely. It looks earlier than the Stobi relief, which Fuchs dates in the early 1st century B.C.

**131. Fragment of Circular Pedestal (?) with Archaistic Dancing Figure, Hellenistic (?).**  
Pl. 31.

<sup>107</sup> Most recent general discussion and list of replicas in Fuchs, pp. 27-33. Analysis and discussion of date by Christine Mitchell Havelock, *A.J.A.*, LXVIII, 1964, pp. 51-55.

<sup>108</sup> M. Grbić, *Choix de plastiques grecques et romaines au Musée National de Beograd*, pl. 19.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. above, p. 69.

S 451. Found in 1934 in a marble pile on the west side of the Agora (F 10-11). Some top surface preserved, with rough-picked cuttings stepped down in three levels and remains of a large dowel or tenon hole. Otherwise broken all around. Surface surrounding the relief figure smoothed off with scratchy abrasive, the rest dressed with toothed chisel. Hymettian marble.

P.H. 0.235 m., W. 0.21 m., Th. 0.10 m.

What seems to have been a cylindrical neck below flares out to a wider cylinder 0.165 m. high and with an estimated diameter of about 0.27 m. On the surface of the upper cylinder is carved in very low relief an archaistic dancing figure, who must have formed part of a row of dancing Nymphs or Graces. Her head and legs are in profile toward the left. She wears a high-girt peplos with swallowtail overfall and under it a chiton. The upper torso and overfall appear in full front view, and the central fold remains central down through the skirt, though both knees appear in profile and the folds over the front leg appear swept back by her motion. The two hands hold up the tips of the overfall.

There is a high polos on top of the head, and there seems to be a long curl hanging down the back of the left shoulder. The polos does not tell us whether the figure is a Nymph or a Grace.<sup>110</sup> Not only the identity of the dancer but the use of the object is uncertain. It appears to be a pedestal of some kind. The general style and the use of Hymettian marble would fit a Hellenistic date.

The figure is not so rigidly archaized as the Nymphs in the Apollo relief, Athens N.M. 1966,<sup>111</sup> where they are turned frontally, but more so than on the little round altar N.M. 1789,<sup>112</sup> where the motion of the skirts is naturalistic and the central fold is not shown.

**132. Fragment of Relief Showing Nymph Relief on Pillar, Hellenistic (?).**  
Pl. 31.

S 1527. Found in 1951 in marble pile north of Temple of Ares (J-K, 7). Rough-picked back preserved. Otherwise broken all around. Pentelic marble. Battered. Mortar adhering.

P.H. 0.34 m., P.W. 0.30 m., Th. 0.17 m. Th. of background ca. 0.13 m.

See also p. 64.

Against a smooth background the fragment preserves the upper part of a pillar with flaring top which supports a votive relief. Of this there survive part of the lower projecting frame, the lower part, from thighs down, of a female figure in profile to the left, and the advanced right foot of a second one ap-

<sup>110</sup> Cf. below, p. 105.

<sup>111</sup> Svoronos, pl. 136.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 132.

parently in the same pose. The stiff, quasi-symmetrical walking pose and the concentration of heavy folds between and behind the legs give the impression that the relief represented is meant to be archaistic in style, though no zigzags or swallowtails actually appear. Folds against the background in front of the figure might belong to a mantle held out by the right hand. Though the second figure is not centered over the pillar, it looks as if there were originally three, the first, with her mantle in front, taking a little more space than the others. A very similar procession in reverse appears on a fragment in the Terme depicting an archaistic Nymph relief next to a tripod. Here the first Nymph holds out a staff instead of a mantle in front of her, but the spacing is very similar.<sup>113</sup>

In our relief, as in the Terme fragment, the votive relief on its pillar must have served to suggest that the locale of the main scene was a sanctuary. It is perhaps not very significant whether we call the three maidens Nymphs or Charites, but the ubiquitousness of Nymphs makes them the more likely possibility.

The front surface of the pillar is set diagonally to the background, so that it projects 0.027 m. on the right and only 0.01 m. on the left. This is presumably meant to convey an effect of perspective in the larger picture, though the plaque was shown in straight front view. The background of the main relief, the surface of the pillar and the background of the small relief all show rather coarse striations of a vertically dragged claw chisel. The rather coarse free style and the doughy folds of the Nymph's dress would suit a late Hellenistic date, but a Roman one is not excluded.

**133. Fragment of Decree Relief, 321/0 B.C. Pl. 31.**

I 6496. Found April 8, 1952 in the wall of a mediaeval house above the east end of South Stoa II (O 15). Preserves smoothed right edge and rough-picked back. Otherwise broken all around. Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.205 m., P.W. 0.19 m., Th. 0.07 m., H. of letters 0.005 m.

B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, pp. 289-292, no. 184, pl. 59.

See also pp. 64, 67.

A taenia separates the sculptured panel above from the inscription below. Of the relief there survive the head of a dolphin (his back was up, his snout down) and to the right a female figure facing left, with the right foot advanced. The flat-footed stance emulates an archaic statue and the dress is archaistic in style. Narrow parallel vertical folds cover both legs but the folds between the legs are gathered together to form a projecting central bundle of folds and the hem-line seems to have risen here as

<sup>113</sup> Schmidt, p. 62, note 19, pl. 19, 3.

is usual with archaistic central folds. The garment, either a peplos or a long diagonal himation (no chiton shows beneath) was open on the left side and forms an elegant train of zigzags behind the figure. The pointed outline of the feet echoes the curve of the train. The carving is delicate but free. The folds are not all in one plane but their projection varies between the legs as well as over them.

This exactly dated fragment is a useful example of late 4th century archaistic carving. It shows the same elegant curved and pointed silhouette as do the Panathenaic Athenas of the second half of the 4th century.<sup>114</sup> At the same time, it is distinguished from later archaistic reliefs by the variety of the carving and the absence of flatness in the surfaces of the drapery. The three-dimensional feeling which is so strong in the major sculpture of the late 4th century makes itself known even in such minor and artificial works as this.<sup>115</sup>

A relief on an Athenian decree of 356/5 B.C. concerning Neapolis shows the (non-archaistic) Athena of Athens greeting a statue in archaistic form labelled "Parthenos." This figure is stiff and simple in outline and lacks the suggestion of motion in our figure, which, though not actually striding, might more likely be restored as an Athena Promachos than as a xoanon. Since the contents of the decree which the figure headed are still a mystery, however, and since the meaning of the dolphin is not known, we cannot guess whom the figure represents. We can only state that the archaistic style is in all probability used here because the figure is meant to be a statue representing a goddess of some city involved in the decree.

<sup>114</sup> Kraus, *Hekate*, p. 124, suggests from a comparison of the Athenas of the Panathenaic amphoras of 336/5 and 320/19 that the highest point of mannerism was passed in the third quarter of the century and that the contours lose their tension and the folds their sharp points even by 320/19. The degree of mannerism of the amphora of 336/5, however, considerably surpasses anything that we might hope to find in sculpture, and it may be that the variation between the amphora of 336/5 and that of 320/19 is purely a matter of vase-painting. In any case, our decree relief of 321/0 shows a more delicate and mannered archaism than the relief of Pan and the Nymphs dancing around an altar which Kraus (*loc.cit.*) cites as an example of this loss of tension.

<sup>115</sup> A similar three-dimensional feeling in the Epidauros relief (above, p. 55, note 44) makes that work markedly different in feeling from the Acropolis Four Gods base although the pointed delicacy of the contours is similar. The central fold stands out strongly and the leg next the background retreats. The trailing foot is not in profile in the plane of the relief but is turned so that the heel retreats toward the background and the toes come forward. The shawl that falls from the left shoulder is a substantial mass around which the left hand curls. A date not far from that of our decree relief would suit the non-archaistic figures of the Epidauros relief as well as the archaistic one. C. M. Havelock, *A.J.A.*, LXVIII, 1964, p. 49, does not take account of this quality when she removes the Epidauros base from the 4th century.

### III

## HEKATAIA

### INTRODUCTION

It has generally been recognized that the representation of Hekate in triple form is an Attic invention. Pausanias specifically names the Athenian sculptor Alkamenes as the first to portray the goddess in this way,<sup>1</sup> and the triple Hekataia known from Attica have consistently outnumbered those from other sites. The finds from the Agora maintain this proportion. Though the Hekataia here are by no means so numerous as the statues and statuettes of the Mother of the Gods, they form a large enough group to give a fair idea of the local range of types and to indicate an extensive use of these triple images.

Twenty-two Hekataia or fragments of Hekataia have been catalogued from the excavations. Of these, seventeen belonged to simple triple-bodied figures, all more or less archaistic, of the most familiar Attic type. There are two examples of the Hekate herm with Charites dancing around it and one triangular draped herm without dancers which must be a Hekate although the heads are not preserved. There is also a head fragment, relatively large and well-preserved, that must be from a Hekate herm, probably of the sort with dancers. Finally, there is a poros Hekataion with attributes of the more terrifying sort (of these only the snake is preserved) that are usual with a group identified by Petersen as non-Attic. Even this, however, is partially archaistic.

Since there is little evidence from the Agora for the cult of Hekate as such, it seems best to treat the Hekataia in the present section as a special case of archaistic art in Attica. Some light is thrown on them by what we have learned about archaistic art in general and vice versa. The literary evidence for the cult and meaning of Hekate in Attica from the 5th century B.C. to Roman times has been so recently summed up and discussed by Kraus that it seems pointless to recapitulate it here. On the other hand, his dating of the surviving Attic examples is in many cases too high, and if we can suggest a more accurate dating, it may ultimately be useful even for the religious questions involved.<sup>2</sup>

Most of the Agora examples were considered by Kraus when he prepared his study. Since he also treated in his catalogue and discussion all of the more important Agora pieces, the picture is not radically changed by the present publication.<sup>3</sup> It should be noted, however, that the

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, II, 30, 2. Kraus, pp. 84-112, gives the most recent and thorough treatment of the problems connected with the Hekate of Alkamenes and the triple form of the goddess. He concludes that the original impulse for the triple form comes from the chthonic nature of Hekate and her function, arising from this chthonic nature, as protectress of *τρίοδοι*.

<sup>2</sup> For example, Kraus says, p. 156, note 652, that he would like to assume Attic influence along with Carian in the establishment of the cult of Hekate on Kos, because we find there triple Hekataia of the Attic type. This might be a persuasive argument if any of these Hekataia were as early as the 4th century B.C., a date which he assigns to one of them, but it is less so when we realize that none of these is likely to be earlier than the 1st century B.C.

<sup>3</sup> Our Nos. 134, 136, 146, 147, 149, 152, 153 are published by Kraus. In addition he mentions seeing ten other examples in the Agora. He leaves nos. A5 to A14 in his catalogue (p. 173) open for these ten pieces but he does not give their inventory numbers nor describe them. Dr. Kraus kindly informs me that the pieces to which he refers are our Nos. 142 (S 162), 135 (S 328), 150 (S 392), 141 (S 401), 140 (S 1141), 139 (S 1697), 143 (S 1891), 144 (S 1893), 148 (S 1897), 145 (S 1899).

bottom of the barrel has been more thoroughly scraped in the case of the Agora than of other Greek sites. All recognizable examples, however poorly preserved, have been catalogued. Hence the number of Agora examples forms a higher proportion of Kraus' total than of the total actually in existence.

For the chronology of Hekataia, whether typological or stylistic, the Agora has no direct evidence to offer. All our examples were found in post-Herulian or later contexts. If we disagree with Kraus' dating of some examples, it is not that our criteria are less subjective than his but only that some of our basic assumptions are different. This difference comes not so much from observation of the Hekataia themselves as from the consideration of the Agora sculpture in general. The principal difficulty for the dating of the Hekataia, as for all minor Attic votive sculpture, is that the technical execution does not differ radically between the 4th century B.C. and the Roman period. Whereas small reliefs and statuettes made in Roman times sometimes betray their date by blatantly polished surfaces, heavy rasping or emphatic use of the running drill, they by no means always do. In the case of a conservative type in which the main forms are based on a classical model, such as the Hekate or the Mother of the Gods, we are thus thrown back on modifications of the type according to the taste of various periods, a fairly subtle problem. One cannot make a series of small marble sculptures as one can of, say, pots of a certain shape, because they do not develop of themselves within a closed tradition but merely reflect, in a highly erratic way, developments that have taken place in major sculpture.

It is necessary to consider, however, just as in the case of pots or any other kind of object, what the statistical probabilities are for production and survival in the periods concerned. The material from the Agora indicates that a great deal more small marble sculpture survives from the Roman period than from any earlier time. So far as survival is concerned, marble occupies a place intermediate between pottery and bronze. Though it cannot be melted down, the broken or discarded marble object can always be re-used to make another smaller object until one reaches the limits of usefulness at the scale of marble finger pestles and such. It is only after major disasters such as the Persian occupation, Sulla's sack, or the incursion of the Herulians that we find marble sculpture discarded in quantity, that is, definitely discarded by being buried in fill or thrown into wells. So it is the unusual chance that preserves for us in an area such as the Agora (sanctuaries are another story) the small marble work of the 4th or 3rd centuries B.C. Still, there are enough chance survivals of this kind to prove that such works existed. A fragment of a naiskos image of the Mother of the Gods dedicated by Kriton and buried in the foundations of the Hellenistic Metroon can be dated by its inscription to the late 4th or 3rd century.<sup>4</sup> It is so similar to other, uninscribed examples of less respectable context that one can safely assume that some of these are also early, but the general pattern warns us that more of them are late.

Kraus singled out from the Agora Hekataia one, the big fragment No. 134, as an early 4th century work and another, No. 136, which he related to others in the Athens National Museum, as belonging to the latter part of the 4th century. A third, No. 146, he felt could be 4th century except for the fact that it is not like any of the others to which he has given a 4th century date. The basis of Kraus' scheme was his dating of the Hekataion in the British School at Athens to the late 5th century.<sup>5</sup> Schmidt had rightly called attention to the 5th century style of this piece and claimed it as our best candidate for an accurate reflection of the original by Alkamenes.<sup>6</sup> Besides the 5th century pattern of folds, with its suggestion of transparency, in the upper part of the peplos, the British School Hekataion is distinguished from the ordinary run of Hekataia by the belt at the natural waistline and the absence of the chiton under the peplos. Since these

<sup>4</sup> I 2669, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 204.

<sup>5</sup> Pp. 97-99.

<sup>6</sup> Pp. 48-49.

are 5th century features, it was natural to inquire whether the piece might be a 5th century original. The workmanship was good enough to persuade Schmidt that this was the case. He therefore concluded that soon after Alkamenes created his Hekate for the Acropolis, statuettes were made in a very similar form, and that the type became gradually modified, especially by changing fashions in dress, into the common high-girt variety with underchiton. Kraus accepted this premise. Keeping the 5th century date for the British School piece, he placed the largest Agora example, with a natural waistline and no underchiton but with a more schematic pattern of folds, in the first half of the 4th century. Next came a group of unpretentious Hekataia with only moderately high girding but with the underchiton present.<sup>7</sup> These were followed by pieces of similar style but with the girdle definitely high.<sup>8</sup>

Two things cause us to doubt the validity of this scheme. First is the fact that in another class, the Mother of the Gods, where our material is more abundant than with the Hekataia, the only examples in which the scheme of the dress approximates the 5th century form are clearly of Roman workmanship.<sup>9</sup> A reasonable deduction would be that the Roman period, the "age of copying," is the time when we should expect to find the closest reflections of the classical prototypes. If with this doubt in mind we look again at the Hekataion in the British School we see that its workmanship is by no means of that exquisite quality which we often find in late 5th century votive reliefs and which one cannot confuse with the product of any other period. Whereas the drapery in the front plane, especially in the upper torso, is delicately carved in an authentic 5th century pattern and could not be distinguished from 5th century work if that were all we had of it, the sides of the figures are coarser and the arms are not fully formed, so that if we look at the outsides of the arms where the two figures join, they appear heavy and shapeless. There are coarse rasp or abrasive marks on the backs of the arms of the figures, and elsewhere the surface of the arms looks as if it had been hastily smoothed, over inadequate chisel-work. In this matter of the junction of the figures, the big Agora Hekataion is much more accomplished, though its general surface is harder and less classical in appearance. One has the impression that the more authentic effect produced by the British School piece is due to the same cause that produced the discrepancy between front and sides; it was copied from a model, probably a two-dimensional one. When we compare the front and side views of the statuette from Eleusis that copies Figure U from the west pediment of the Parthenon, we are struck by a similar discrepancy.<sup>10</sup> One of the figures on the British School Hekataion shows traces of the perfunctory zigzag on the side fold that suggests the open peplos. This seems to be a classicizing feature that occurs sporadically in the Agora examples (Nos. 139, 146, 148) but not on the big Agora Hekataion. The latter resembles the British School example in its relatively large size and in the fact that the attributes held by the hands were made separately, probably in metal, and attached by means of holes drilled in the hands. Both the large size and the drill holes for attached attributes recur in other examples which are certainly Roman.<sup>11</sup>

The second difficulty concerns the group which Kraus places next as belonging mostly to the 4th century. Its members are in fact linked together by a similarity of scheme and style. It is helpful to have the group isolated, and Kraus does succeed in proving that no chronological significance can be attached to the various combinations of attributes according to which

<sup>7</sup> Kraus, p. 121, nos. 2-4.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 121-122, nos. 5-8.

<sup>9</sup> See below, p. 97 note 66.

<sup>10</sup> Athens N. M. 201 + Eleusis unnumbered. The joined fragments published by John Travlos in an article on the Treasury of Eleusis and its pediment, *Δελφικόν*, XVI, 1960, *Χρον.* pp. 55-60, pl. 44α.

<sup>11</sup> Kraus estimates the original height of our No. 134 at ca. 0.75 m., that of the British School Hekataion as 15-20 cm. less. The Leiden Hekataion (Kraus, p. 178, no. A 40) is 0.76 m. high, and the Hekataion in Cambridge (Kraus, p. 175, no. A 27) has drill holes in all the hands (it is 0.47 m. high). Cf. Kraus, p. 123.

Petersen separated his types, since all sorts of combinations occur within this group.<sup>12</sup> Both the 4th century dating and the designation of this group as typological successors of the two big Hekataia, however, are unconvincing. The only resemblance to the latter lies in the comparatively low position of the girdle on some examples. All have the chiton under the peplos, and all are of somewhat smaller size. The attributes are carved in the marble. What unites these pieces among themselves is a certain stiffness of pattern and a tendency to show minor folds as rectilinear, more or less parallel hatchings, not only in the chiton sleeves but also in a group of little cross-folds at the sides of the skirt above the knees. The relatively low girding on some examples increases the effect of stiffness because it leaves room between girdle and breasts for flat vertical folds whose form is not subservient to the roundness of the breasts. On some figures a stiff mechanical form is also given to the neck folds, which become a set of parallel crescents filling the triangular upper part of the central fold. The quality that unites these Hekataia should probably be called a manner rather than a style, since it belongs entirely to the realm of such small third-class works and has no real counterpart in major sculpture.

The best preserved example of this group, though Kraus puts it on the fringes, is the Hekataion in Leningrad, probably from Greece.<sup>13</sup> Here we see the hands holding the edges of the overfall, and the little groups of radiating folds at the sides of the legs are present as in Kraus' group. Particularly close in form to the Leningrad example is one of the Hekataia in Kos.<sup>14</sup> The two Athens pieces which Kraus puts first in the group show a particularly crude, schematic rendering of these groups of folds, and it is hard to accept Kraus' idea that these two Hekataia are actually earlier than those where the folds appear more natural. This alone makes it seem doubtful whether a chronological series based on gradual raising of the waistline can be valid for these figures.

The two examples from the Agora which are related to this group both have a very high waistline. The first of these, No. 135, was not mentioned by Kraus as part of the group. It is one of the ten Agora examples which he lumped together as "post-classical." The lower part is not preserved, but the hatched chiton-sleeves, the crescent-folds below the neck, and the straight pleats of the overfall connect it with the group. The workmanship is better than on the Kos example, the forms are surer and the proportions more attractive. The high bust with short curved folds drawn sharply in to the girdle contrasts effectively with the converging straight lines of the long overfall. It is impossible not to feel in comparing these two that the Koan example and its Athens cousins represent a degeneration of the scheme of the Agora piece rather than that the latter developed from them. The second Agora Hekataion related to the group is No. 136. In this, the sleeves of the chiton are treated in a less mechanical fashion but the other features are similar. Kraus included this piece in his group as a late member (since the high girding would not permit it to be early). He suggests that the angularity of the subsidiary folds was replaced in the late 4th century by more graceful curvilinear forms.<sup>15</sup>

The Kos example in itself fosters the suspicion that these works are not of the 4th century. A cursory glance through the rich store of material in the Kos Museum shows clearly that the vast majority of the pieces there belong to the Hellenistic and Roman periods. But the thing which comes closest to *proving* the late date of these Hekataia is a feature which Kraus does not even discuss, though he mentions its existence. This is the enframement of the legs by looped folds which cross the ankles from the side fold to the central fold. Sometimes these are supplemented by another pair of loops above the knees, as in our Nos. 136, 137, and 140. Since

<sup>12</sup> Kraus, pp. 126-127.

<sup>13</sup> Kraus, p. 125, no. 12, pl. 7, 1; Waldhauer, *Ermitage*, III, no. 258, pl. 17.

<sup>14</sup> Kraus, p. 121, no. 4; Laurenzi, *Annuario*, N.S. XVII-XVIII, 1955-1956, p. 130, no. 158.

<sup>15</sup> Kraus, p. 124.

Kraus makes nothing of this scheme, which his present group shares with many admittedly Roman Hekataia, it would appear that he takes it for an archaistic feature that was present from the beginning.<sup>16</sup> A glance at the ancestry of the motif suggests that this was not the case.

It is a familiar feature in archaistic works of Roman times such as the Juno Sospita in the Vatican<sup>17</sup> and the Apollo in the Villa Borghese,<sup>18</sup> and its origin can be clearly traced through Asia Minor archaistic works of the late Hellenistic period to the peculiar structure of non-archaizing mid-Hellenistic female statues. In these last the weight of the statue often seems to be carried by heavy vertical folds between and to either side of the legs, while the fall of drapery over the legs themselves is broken by the projection of the feet into complicated patterns, often with loops crossing the ankles. We have a vigorous original use of this structure in the magnificent "Tragoedia" from Pergamon,<sup>19</sup> a more mannered version in other female figures from Pergamon and Erythrae.<sup>20</sup> In these statues, though the weight-leg free-leg stance is maintained and sometimes even exaggerated, there is a quasi-symmetry in the lower drapery that makes it very easy to transfer these patterns to the archaistic scheme.

A statue from Sardis in archaistic dress is a good example because the complexity of folds and texture in the lower drapery is readily comparable with the elaborate non-archaizing Hellenistic works from which it is derived, while the main pattern of folds has become simplified into the symmetrical archaistic scheme on which our Hekataia depend.<sup>21</sup> Particularly noticeable here are the single loops over the thighs. Since the hem of the mantle is higher than the peplos hem of the Hekataia, the loops over the ankles are formed in the chiton rather than in the himation, but this does not interrupt the overall design. Though the figure stands in the kore pose with left foot advanced rather than with the feet together, the lower drapery is so symmetrical that it can easily be compared with that of an archaistic statue from Aulis in which the feet are symmetrically placed.<sup>22</sup> The Aulis statue was found re-used in a late Roman bath overlying the cella of the Temple of Artemis and was interpreted by Threpsiades as Hekate, doubtless because of its resemblance to the figures of our Hekataia. The goddess wears an open peplos with overfall, girt very high, over a thin chiton. Though the stance is symmetrical, the feet are not together, and a heavy bundle of chiton-folds falling to the ground between them serves to stabilize the statue as it does in the figure from Sardis. Threpsiades called the figure latest Hellenistic. It seems in any case considerably later than the Sardis statue and may well be early Roman. The loop-folds have been stiffened and simplified and their resemblance to those of our Hekataia is more obvious. The Aulis figure with its exaggerated slenderness offers a parallel to the Hekate in the Metternich relief from Aegina.<sup>23</sup> The relief also shows the feet separated by the central chiton folds. An Augustan date would be plausible for both.<sup>24</sup>

Typologically earlier than the Aulis statue is a Hekataion from Cyrene whose Hellenistic forms have not been Atticized into a decorative pattern.<sup>25</sup> The loops above the ankles are still

<sup>16</sup> He does not mention the fact that it is missing in the archaistic figure labelled "Parthenos" on an Athenian decree concerning Neapolis, N.M. 1480, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 128 (other bibliography Kraus p. 124, note 582). Though the surface is, as Kraus says, in poor condition, the skirt is sufficiently preserved to make it certain that the surface of the legs is smooth and there are no folds except the vertical central fold and the side fold. The community of style which Kraus feels between this modest but well-dated archaistic figure and his group of Hekataia consists only in the stiffness which they share.

<sup>17</sup> Lippold, *Die Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums*, III<sup>1</sup>, p. 142, no. 552, pl. 37; Bulle, pl. 7, fig. 52.

<sup>18</sup> Brunn-Bruckmann, pl. 657; Bulle, p. 23, pl. 6, fig. 44.

<sup>19</sup> *Pergamon*, VII, pl. 14; Horn, *Gewandstatuen*, pl. 18, 2.

<sup>20</sup> From Pergamon: *Pergamon*, VII, pl. 21; Horn, *op.cit.*, pl. 21, 2. From Erythrai; Bieber, *Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, fig. 521; Kramer, *Röm. Mitt.*, XXXVIII-XXXIX, 1923-24, pl. 7.

<sup>21</sup> Hanfmann, *Anatolia*, IV, 1959, pl. 11. Cf. above, p. 57.

<sup>22</sup> *Ἐπίγον*, 1958, p. 56, figs. 58-59.

<sup>23</sup> Kraus, pp. 112, 158, pl. 21, 2.

<sup>24</sup> Slender archaistic Diana figures appear on Roman coins assigned by Alföldi to 43 B.C. (*A.J.A.*, LXIV, 1960, pp. 137-144, pls. 31-34).

<sup>25</sup> Paribeni, *Cirene*, p. 75, no. 173, pl. 101.

complex, and the edge of the peplos is so high that the hem of the chiton shows all the way across. The dependence on naturalistic Hellenistic draped types is made obvious by the press-folds. The lower part of the figure is broad and the stance is solid, with the feet separated and the central fold falling to the ground between. There is a sharp division at the high belt, and the narrow bust contrasts with the spreading hips. The heads are small, the faces round. Paribeni felt that, though the type was Hellenistic, the coarse workmanship of the Cyrene piece should be Roman. In Athens one finds that no Roman workmanship is coarser than the worst that was produced around 100 B.C.<sup>26</sup> In any case, it is around that time that the *type* of the Cyrene figure belongs.

By contrast the Hekataion from the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron looks simple and early.<sup>27</sup> Kraus dated it "late Hellenistic," but it has more of the 3rd century quality of simple naturalness than any of the Hekataia that we have discussed so far. The high girdle does not cut the figure into two contrasting sections. The straight-hanging folds of the overfall continue the line of the upper body. The skirt is broad, and the loop-folds in it are not set off sharply from a smooth surface. On one side of the figure they are given a natural motivation by the left hand which lifts the skirt to the side. The interior folds on the other side repeat these in outline for the sake of symmetry but are less emphatically modelled. These patterns are analogous to those in the skirt of the dancer ("lychnophoros") from Pergamon in Berlin.<sup>28</sup> As the loops over the thighs of the Sardis figure and ultimately of the caryatids from the theater at Miletos may be derived from the motif of the Pergamene dancer, so those of later Hekataia may be derived from the motif represented in the Brauron Hekataion. A terracotta relief figure in Boston from Aspendos, not certainly identified as Hekate but related in type, lifts the skirt in much the same way as the Brauron Hekate.<sup>29</sup> It is probably to be dated in the 2nd century B.C. and looks later than the Brauronian piece, with more restless contrast. It may be that when the finds from the excavation of the sanctuary at Brauron have been more thoroughly studied the date when it went out of use may provide a terminus ante quem for the offerings. At present late Hellenistic material is so sparse there as to suggest that the sanctuary was no longer in use at that time. A late Hellenistic statue from Thespiiai in the Thebes Museum shows a treatment of the folds between the breasts which could be the forerunner of the treatment peculiar to the Kraus group of Hekataia. The central area is defined by folds which give it the shape of a raised plaque, and small cross-folds within the area suggest the origin of the lunate cross-folds of the Hekatai.<sup>30</sup>

There is some community of style between our Nos. 135 and 136 and the archaistic Charis on our Hekate herm No. 153. The stiffly pleated overfall with fine folds of uniform width, the acute inverted V of the lower edge of the overfall and the sharply offset upper part of the central fold with its stack of crescents are common to all three. This may help in dating, since the Hekate herm with dancers offers a little more evidence than the other pieces. It is made of island marble and carved in a doughy manner that is common to Rhodian and Attic small sculpture in the late 2nd and early 1st centuries B.C. Kraus has quite properly compared it to the Rhodian Nymph relief in Oxford, dated around 70 B.C.<sup>31</sup> Not only the heaviness of the folds but the smoothing away of minor folds over the bodies and thighs of the dancers on our Hekataion can be matched on the last Nymph of the Oxford relief. What we have in the Agora piece is the Attic imitation of the latest stage of the Rhodian-Alexandrian sfumato. Because it surpasses the Oxford relief

<sup>26</sup> Cf. the female herm, below, No. 218.

<sup>27</sup> Πρακτικά, 1945-48, p. 88, fig. 6; *B.C.H.*, LXXIII, 1949, p. 527, fig. 10; Kraus, p. 175 (the statuette is at Brauron, not in the Athens National Museum as Kraus says).

<sup>28</sup> See above, p. 56 note 60.

<sup>29</sup> Vermeule, *C. J.*, LVII, 1961-62, pp. 151-153, figs. 9-10. Vermeule suggests a date ca. 250-150 B.C.

<sup>30</sup> *B.C.H.*, XLVI, 1922, p. 240, no. 46, pl. XV; Karouzos, *Τὸ Μουσείο τῆς Θήβας*, p. 49, no. 163.

<sup>31</sup> P. 143. See above, p. 55 note 46.

in doughiness, Kraus suggests that it must be later. It need not be much so, however, since works of this sort have been found in Sullan destruction deposits in Athens.<sup>32</sup> The crisp Neo-Attic style was coming along at the same time and we do not know for how long the two overlapped. Such an overlapping would explain the difference of texture in Nos. 135 and 136, whose basic forms are similar. The one is of island marble, the other of Pentelic. Both probably belong to the 1st century B.C.

Our other Hekate herm with Charites, No. 152, certainly gives the impression of being earlier than No. 153. Kraus calls it a weak successor of the Grimani Hekataion in Venice, which he places in the 3rd century B.C.<sup>33</sup> The tall slender figures and very simple drapery of our piece might fit the second half of the 2nd century B.C. The flatness of the style may have been somewhat exaggerated by wear. In any case, this Hekataion has none of the "Rhodian" thick-edged quality of the other piece and at the same time shows no specifically Roman connections. The long diagonal himation without overfall is not common in archaistic sculpture but it occurs on the Pourtalès-Gorgier relief of Dionysos and three archaistic maidens, which must itself be a creation of the 2nd century B.C.<sup>34</sup>

It would surely be overoptimistic to think that we could find even approximate dates for all our Hekataia, but it seems safe to say that the group designated by Kraus as simple 4th century Hekataia falls in between the elegant careful pieces that we have assigned to the 1st century B.C. and the heavy figures characteristic of the 2nd century after Christ. The inscribed Hekataion from Epidauros dedicated by Fabullus should belong at the earliest to the late 1st century, more probably to the 2nd.<sup>35</sup> The big Hekataion in Leiden, which has slenderer figures but heavy drapery and big arms and hands, has faces which should not be earlier than the Flavian period.<sup>36</sup> The pieces of Kraus' first group with their choppy hatchings and general lack of plasticity would fit the mid 1st century after Christ, when the pictorial element tended to predominate over the plastic in Roman art as a whole. To say that this is actually their date would be to overestimate the possibility of dating small provincial handcraft by main currents in Roman art, but it is at least a place where they would fit. It is hard to use the coiffure of the Leningrad Hekataion for dating since it cannot quite be taken literally, but high-fronted coiffures also occur in the terracottas of Diphilos.<sup>37</sup> The relatively low girding which prompted Kraus to date this group to the 4th century could well be due to a classicizing tendency to approximate the scheme of the dress to a 5th century type. The same tendency must be responsible for our No. 146, which also adds the zigzag edge of the open peplos on the side. This piece was puzzling to Kraus,<sup>38</sup> since the low girding and the workmanship (rather free, shallow carving, with close-set folds) related it to his "4th century" group, but the piece had otherwise no formal relation to them. In the Roman period we do not expect consistent development along a single line, and such eclectic variations are not surprising.

An interesting though unattractive variation on the archaistic Hekataion is our No. 149, which distinguishes between weight-leg and free-leg though it retains the central fold and the pleated overfall. The absence of the underchiton is a classicizing element, though the girdle is high, following the Hellenistic type. The heavy graceless workmanship and stubby proportions

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 5, fig. 5.

<sup>33</sup> P. 138. Grimani Hekataion, *ibid.*, p. 130, no. 15, pl. 9, 1-3; *Einzelstudien*, 2559.

<sup>34</sup> See above, p. 59.

<sup>35</sup> Kraus, pp. 155, 169, pl. 23, 2.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 155, 178, pls. 19 and 21, 1; Brants, *Description of the Ancient Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the Museum of Archaeology of Leiden*, I, no. 2, pl. 2; Lippold, *Plastik*, pl. 67, 1.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Burr, *Terracottas from Myrina in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Vienna, 1934, pp. 11-12, figs. 5 and 7. This seems to be a classicistic reflection of the late 4th-early 3rd century coiffure that occurs, for example, in the Themis of Chairestratos from Rhamnous.

<sup>38</sup> P. 126, no. 13.

suggest a date in the 2nd century after Christ. Perhaps the most interesting thing about this piece is the fact that its break with archaistic symmetry is so tentative and ineffectual. It seems more likely to result from a contamination with the Hekataia of Petersen's second group,<sup>39</sup> as represented, for example, by a terracotta relief disk from the Agora dated to the 3rd century after Christ,<sup>40</sup> than to be an indication that the Hekate of Alkamenes was not archaistic. The complete absence in Athens among so many Hekataia of an example of the Spithöver type<sup>41</sup> (with non-archaistic peplos figures but with the attributes of the Attic group) seems to dispose effectively of the notion that this may be the original Alkamenes type.

Kraus noted the wide spacing of the figures on our No. 149 and other obviously late examples, and suggested that in general the earliest Hekataia had the figures close together, with a slender column between, and that the column gradually fattened and the spacing grew.<sup>42</sup> He recognized, however, that some Roman examples, such as the Leiden Hekataion, retained the close spacing and thin column. An interesting example is the relief representation of a Hekataion on the side of the rocky throne of a large Cybele statuette in Corinth (Pl. 64, f).<sup>43</sup> The figure is definitely a Hekataion, not just Hekate, for the top of the column rises above the three poloi. It is of the spreading polos-like shape that goes with the closely spaced Hekataia like the Leningrad and Leiden examples, not the stubby truncated cone that goes with the wide spacing. It looks, in fact, very much like our top of an unfinished Hekataion, No. 150. The frontal figure, however, resembles those on the Hekataion of Fabullus (which has the thick column), and the style of the Cybele appears Hadrianic or Antonine. The closest spacing that we find at all is on our No. 134 and the British School Hekataion. The idea that the original Hekate of the Acropolis had the same close spacing is supported by the representation of a Hekataion on the Athenian New Style coin with the names of Tryphon and Polycharmos, dated by Margaret Thompson to 91/0 B.C.<sup>44</sup>

The big British School and Agora Hekataia are so different from the ordinary run it is hard to fix their dates within the Roman period. The most striking feature of the Agora Hekataion is the hard, schematic treatment of the folds over the legs in a series of looped ridges evenly spaced. It differs in this from the British School piece, which, as Kraus recognized, approximates more closely a possible 5th century pattern. We have two original classical figures which are very similar in their upper portions to these two Hekataia: the idol on the Bassae frieze<sup>45</sup> and the one on the votive relief of Xenokrateia.<sup>46</sup> The first has the evenly pleated overfall, the second the broad belt at the natural waistline. Neither, however, helps with the lower part of the figure. On the Bassae frieze the skirt consists simply of parallel vertical folds; on Xenokrateia's relief it is hidden behind the other figures. But on the British School Hekataion the catenary folds over the legs are no more artificial than the folds on the Amazon of Kresilas,<sup>47</sup> and one can imagine, though one cannot be sure, that they are a reasonably good reflection of the original by Alkamenes. Those on the Agora piece are so different and so characteristic that it seems worth looking for a parallel that might be contemporary with the making of the statuette.

<sup>39</sup> *Archäologisch-Epigraphische Mitteilungen*, IV, 1880, pls. 6-7; V, 1881, pp. 70-73; Kraus, p. 159, note 664.

<sup>40</sup> T 9697. *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, p. 367, pl. 80 e; Grandjouan, *Agora*, VI, p. 83, no. 1113, pl. 92. In form and attributes this is a fairly close parallel to the two reliefs in Bucharest figured by Petersen, *loc.cit.*, above, note 39. Our terracotta relief differs in details, showing poloi on the heads of the goddesses and the crescent moon in the field, but the general aspect, including the non-archaistic dress, is the same. It is interesting that the Hekate type of Petersen's second group, in spite of being represented in terracotta in Athens, has so little influence on the Athenian marble Hekataia.

<sup>41</sup> Kraus, pp. 97, 113, pl. 20, 1; Blümel, *Katalog*, Berlin, IV, p. 97, K 174, pl. 65.

<sup>42</sup> Kraus, pp. 126, 154, 155.

<sup>43</sup> Johnson, *Corinth*, IX, pp. 47-48, no. 55.

<sup>44</sup> Thompson, *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens*, New York, 1961, pl. 142, no. 1268. Cf. Schmidt, p. 49.

<sup>45</sup> B.M. 524. Kenner, *Der Fries des Tempels von Bassae-Phigaleia*, pl. 5.

<sup>46</sup> N.M. 2756. Svoronos, pl. 181. See above, p. 53 note 27.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Poulsen, *Die Amazone des Kresilas*.

Something very similar is to be found on a terracotta statuette of Aphrodite by Menophilos in the British Museum.<sup>48</sup> Though the pose of this figurine is not archaistic, the curious pattern of her peplos-like garment is surely inspired by archaistic works. There is a series of hard parallel looped ridges across the upper torso and similar though less emphatic loops all the way down the legs. The central fold and the stance with ankles close together so that the figure has a narrow tapering stem strengthen the archaistic effect. The date of Menophilos, around the time of Augustus, would fit the smooth hard elegance of our Hekate. Since this is the period in which coroplasts began extensive copying of classical statue types, it is reasonable to suppose that the makers of small marble figures in traditional forms such as the Hekataia would also occasionally produce something more than usually like a copy of the cult statue on which the whole series loosely depended.

The British School piece, with its more skillful reproduction of 5th century carving, is likely to be later than the Agora one, but we do not know enough about the potentialities of Athenian sculptors in the 1st century after Christ to be sure of this. In the 2nd century, the statuettes from Eleusis which copy figures from the West Pediment of the Parthenon show a surprising amount of variation in style, all the way from close imitation of the Parthenon manner to coarse generalization.<sup>49</sup> It is unlikely that the British School Hekataion is so late as the 2nd century, since it is close to the Agora example in general format.

The few chronological conjectures that we have been able to make about the more distinctive of our Hekataia scarcely form a basis for dating the less characteristic residue. The most that they do is to suggest a strong probability that nearly all of these pieces are Roman and that we must reckon with the possibility of contemporary production in somewhat differing styles, the variations being mainly due to different ways and degrees of classicizing the form set by Hellenistic tradition. The best preserved of our pieces, No. 147, has the column narrowing to the top and simply cut off without a moulding, as in Nos. 148 and 149, but it is slenderer than in either of these. The figures have normal proportions and the dress is simpler than usual though the basic garments are the same, chiton and high-girt peplos with long overfall. The framing folds at the sides of the legs are not joined to the central fold by loops across the ankles, but the ends of the folds fall parallel. The sharp inverted V and stepped edge of the overfall are also abandoned. We seem to have a Hekataion which adapts itself to classicizing taste by omitting the specifically Hellenistic decorative conventions which still remain the basis for the general type, but without adding such awkward reminiscences of the non-archaizing classical peplos figure as we find in No. 149. The Hekataion in Vienna, which has a classical peplos-figure perched on the shoulder, also omits the loop-folds over the ankles of the Hekate.<sup>50</sup> Here the faces are clearly classicizing. In our Hekate they are too small for the emphasis on the features that constitutes classicism in a face. The soft generalized treatment which is imposed by the use of abrasive over free carving on a small scale gives the faces a Hellenistic look, and it is not surprising that Kraus suggested a date in the late 2nd century B.C.,<sup>51</sup> but it would be very surprising indeed if a piece actually made before the Sullan destruction should turn up in mint condition in a post-Herulian well filling. A curious feature in the simplification of this Hekataion is the omission of the poloi.

Of our remaining examples four have the framing loops and all appear Roman rather than Hellenistic. Nos. 137 and 138 are probably of the 1st century after Christ, No. 139 of the late 1st or early 2nd, since its proportions are like those of the Leiden Hekataion. A sort of lozenge-shaped

<sup>48</sup> Burr, *op.cit.*, p. 14, fig. 9.

<sup>49</sup> I. Travlos, *Δελτιόν*, XVI, 1960, Χρον., pp. 55-60.

<sup>50</sup> Kraus, p. 181, A 56, pl. 17.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 173.

silhouette produced by a stiffly flaring overfall which is rather long in proportion to the legs and with the feet drawn close together in the center so that the folds framing the sides of the legs slope inward seems characteristic of the 2nd century (though we cannot tell whether it started before 100). The pleats of the overfall are generally broad and flat. The Leiden Hekataion and our No. 139 with a rather tall lozenge are perhaps earlier than the very squat examples, such as the Hekataion from Athens in Berlin.<sup>52</sup> A relief from the Olympieion with classicizing figures of the Eleusinian goddesses and the figure of a Hierophant in early Antonine portrait style shows that the ideal for classicizing figures was very stocky in that period.<sup>53</sup>

Our No. 140 has something of the lozenge-shaped silhouette (the feet, strangely, have disappeared completely, but the outline of the legs shows that if they were there they would be close together). The folds, however, are not flat; they are coarse, rounded ridges. Probably the date is again early 2nd century. Though the folds themselves are not broad, there are as few steps to the lower edge of the overfall as if they were.

No. 145 has the looped folds, but since only the base is preserved, one cannot tell whether it should be 1st or 2nd century.

Nos. 141 and 142 omit the loop-folds, the former being of sketchy workmanship, the latter very small. It is hard to tell whether these should be 1st or 2nd century. The very sketchy and badly battered No. 143 may be 2nd century, since it resembles the Berlin Hekataion in not having a stepped edge to the overfall. No. 148 has such a thick bulbous column that it is probably 2nd century. The workmanship may originally have been better than that of No. 149.

Though there is so much conjectural in the dating of all our Hekataia, the fact that they all seem to be Late Hellenistic or Roman is of some importance for the general question of their use. Kraus has listed the Hekataia found in sanctuaries, and the inscribed Hekataion of Fabullus from Epidauros offers a good example of the way in which they were used as votive offerings. Hekate herms have been found in buildings (as that in the House of the Poseidoniasts at Delos),<sup>54</sup> and there can be little doubt that some of the small triple-bodied Hekataia from the Agora were set up in private houses, though none was found in context.

In the Kerameikos a sanctuary of Hekate was discovered, with a niche in which was a poros base with a cutting for the insertion of a large Hekataion.<sup>55</sup> The date of the sanctuary is 2nd–3rd centuries after Christ. The form of the cutting would fit either a three-bodied Hekate or a Hekate herm, with or without Charites, but the dimensions are bigger than those of any example that we have preserved from Athens.

A sanctuary near the Agora, if it was, as Thompson has suggested, a Hekataion, more probably had a small Hekate herm or three-bodied Hekate on a high pillar.<sup>56</sup> The sanctuary is to the south of the southeast corner of the square, where a street leads off to the east from the Panathenaic Way below the Eleusinion. Four blocks with square cuttings in their tops surround a central block with a circular cutting. The four with square cuttings held posts which carried a railing protecting the object in the center. The central cutting was *ca.* 0.39 m. in diameter and 0.16 m. deep. This seems at first glance too large for any of the Hekataia that have been found in the Agora, but when we look at the representation of a Hekate herm in the so-called Ikarios relief<sup>57</sup> we see that it is set on a high round column and is much smaller in proportion to the height and thickness of the column than one might have imagined. On the relief

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 175, A 26; Bulle, p. 20, no. 98, pl. 5.

<sup>53</sup> Vanderpool, *A.J.A.*, LXIV, 1960, pl. 73, fig. 17.

<sup>54</sup> *Délos*, VI, p. 35, fig. 28.

<sup>55</sup> Brückner, *Friedhof am Eridanos*, p. 45, figs. 19–20. Dimensions of the cutting: Max. W. 0.385 m., Depth front to back 0.34 m.

<sup>56</sup> *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 95–96, pls. 14–15.

<sup>57</sup> *Jahrb.*, LXI–LXII, 1946–47, p. 76, note 1 (bibliography), pl. 24; *Jahreshefte*, XXIV, 1929, Beiblatt, col. 41, no. 11, cols. 53–54, fig. 28.

one actually gets the impression that the upper portion of the column supporting the Hekataion is rising out of the basin of a perirrhanterion, but Watzinger is surely right in taking the perirrhanterion to be in front of the Hekataion. The great depth and the circular form of the cutting in the Agora sanctuary imply a tall column, and since we see that in the Ikarios relief the Hekate herm is quite small in proportion to the column on which it stands, it seems quite possible that one of our Agora Hekataia could have belonged to this sanctuary, but there is no way of telling which one. None shows enough heavy outdoor weathering to prove that it had such a position.

It is clear that our stone Hekataia do not help much to visualize the Hekataia that Aristophanes mentions as being everywhere in front of Athenian private houses in his day.<sup>58</sup> Because this reference is in the *Wasps*, performed in 422 B.C., ten years after building was stopped on the Propylaea, Kraus concludes that the Hekate of Alkamenes might have preceded the very widespread custom of setting up Hekataia in front of private houses.<sup>59</sup> It is clear from a fragment of Aeschylus which hails Hekate as standing in front of the royal palace that the idea of Hekate as protector of the entrance of the house existed in Athens in the time of Aeschylus,<sup>60</sup> but since it is a palace that is mentioned, we cannot tell how widespread the custom was at that time. The Aeschylean Hekate must have been imagined as single-bodied, since it antedates the Hekate of Alkamenes. Kraus leaves it open whether those mentioned by Aristophanes were single or triple, but says that since we have so many small triple Hekataia we cannot imagine that they were all used at crossroads and hence some of them must have belonged to houses.<sup>61</sup>

When we see that no surviving example can with certainty be dated even as early as the 4th century and that the earliest example, that from Brauron, was dedicated in a sanctuary, it seems likely that the domestic Hekataia of the classical period were not made in stone at all. We do not have any examples in terracotta that can be certainly identified as Hekatai, either by triple form or by any other unambiguous attribute. It would seem, therefore, that either these figures were in wood and have all perished or that they were terracotta figures not easily distinguishable to our eyes from those of other goddesses.

The functions of the domestic Hekataia and of the herms seem to have been closely related in the 5th century.<sup>62</sup> A votive relief from the Athenian Asklepieion in the Athens National Museum,<sup>63</sup> probably to be dated in the latter part of the 4th century, suggests that this relationship still held at that time and that Hekate could still be represented in single form. The relief is in two parts, one of which represents in very high relief a small temple in which Epione, Asklepios and Hygieia await a procession of worshippers who are represented in lower relief within the conventional framework of a votive relief. On the side of the relief adjacent to the worshippers a bearded ithyphallic herm is represented in low relief. On that next to the divinities Hekate, in single-bodied non-archaistic form but with her usual polos, long tresses and two torches, is represented. One has the impression that the herm is the Propylaios of the sanctuary and the Hekate the Prothyraia of the temple.<sup>64</sup>

From the study of the Agora Hekataia in connection with other Attic examples we thus learn less than one might have hoped about the actual form of classical Hekataia. No stone example

<sup>58</sup> *Wasps*, 804. Cf. Kraus, pp. 92, 105.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105.

<sup>60</sup> Nauck, Aeschylus, frag. 388. Cf. Kraus, p. 86.

<sup>61</sup> P. 106.

<sup>62</sup> See below, p. 113.

<sup>63</sup> Athens N.M. 1377. Svoronos, pl. 48; Rodenwaldt, *Das Relief bei den Griechen*, fig. 91. Full bibliography in Hausmann, *Kunst und Heiligtum*, p. 167, no. 11.

<sup>64</sup> Lullies, *Typen*, p. 52, suggests that the Hermes is the Hermes Propylaios of the Acropolis, the Hekate the Epipyrgidia. This is possible, in view of the close topographical relation of the Athenian Asklepieion to the entrance to the Acropolis, but the more intimate interpretation of these clearly subsidiary figures as belonging to the Asklepieion itself seems more natural.

that we have can be dated earlier than the Hellenistic period, and we have found good reason to place in the 1st centuries B.C. and after Christ the group of Attic triple-bodied Hekataia which Kraus believed to belong to the 4th century B.C. The two large, carefully made Hekataia, one in the Agora and one in the British School, which have been considered the earliest of all because they are closest to 5th century style and are free from Hellenistic motives, probably belong to the early Roman period. It may therefore be said that there is no proof that an archaistic Hekate existed before the Hellenistic period. That is true, and yet the likelihood that the Hekate of Alkamenes was in fact archaistic is stronger than ever before, since the excavations have brought new proof of a taste for archaistic figures in the late 5th century,<sup>65</sup> and since the correspondences between the Agora and the British School Hekataia, differing as they do from the common run of Hekataia, are such as to suggest that those features which the two have in common are reflections of the 5th century original.

The general faithfulness of the Attic marble Hekataion to the triple-bodied archaistic form is re-emphasized by the Agora examples, in which the influence of the non-archaistic type is extremely rare. We may attribute to this influence the differentiation of weight-leg and free-leg in one otherwise archaistic marble piece. The poros example, which shows non-Attic influence in attributes and general aspect, is nevertheless archaistic in dress. A reverence for old Attic tradition analogous to that which caused the return to popularity of the archaistic herm in the late Hellenistic and Roman periods may have inspired the makers of Attic Hekataia to remain true to the type that reflected the one revered image of the goddess that survived from the great age of Athens.<sup>66</sup>

As Kraus has already commented, it does not seem that any particular significance can be attached to the variations and combinations of attributes on which Petersen set up his complicated classification.<sup>67</sup> A tabulation of the types represented in the Agora examples merely bears this out.

I. All three alike.

A. touching overfall with both hands: No. 140.

B. torch in one hand, other touching overfall: No. 147.

II. Two figures alike.

G. Two touching overfall with both hands, one overfall with one, other before breast: No. 144 (?).

Varieties not listed by Petersen.

1) Two touching overfall with both hands; the third with phiale in one hand, touching overfall with other: No. 146.

2) Two with torch in one hand, touching overfall with other; the third with one hand before the breast, touching overfall with the other: No. 142.

<sup>65</sup> See above, p. 53.

<sup>66</sup> R. V. Nicholls, in publishing a Hekataion of Roman date in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, *Archaeological Reports for 1961-62*, p. 47, says that the Hekataion shown on an Athenian New Style coin (Thompson, *New Style Silver Coinage of Athens*, no. 1268, pl. 142) has features of the classicizing type, stephanai and short torches, and suggests that, "It seems wiser to regard both types as developing organically and not as being copies in any true sense, whilst leaving quite open the question of the appearance of Alkamenes' original group. The equally common Attic statuettes of the Mother of the Gods may serve as a warning; these clearly do not derive from Pheidias' cult statue (known mainly from Roman copies), but from a fourth-century variant of it." Actually, the parallel of the Mother of the Gods argues, as we have seen, for accepting the archaistic Hekate as the original form. Also, the Hekataion on the coin shows the pointed overfall, the belted waist, and the narrow skirt of the archaistic type, and it is scarcely possible to prove that the blobs on the tops of the heads represent stephanai rather than low poloi (compare the Hekataion carved in relief on the rock seat of the Cybele from Corinth, Pl. 64, f).

<sup>67</sup> See above, p. 89, note 12.

- 3) Two with torch in one hand, touching overfall with other, the third with torch in one hand, phiale in other: No. 137.
- 4) Two with phiale in one hand and the other before the breast; the third with torch in one hand, touching overfall with other: No. 141 (in this the two figures with similar attributes are mirror-images rather than duplicates).

III. All three figures different, but one hand of all three holds same attribute.

- 1) All three right hands touching overfall; left hands torch, overfall, phiale (?): No. 149.

IV. Only two figures have any attribute in common.

- R. One touching overfall with both hands, one with one (other hand before breast); third figure has torch and phiale: No. 138.

Our remaining examples are too poorly preserved for certain identification of types:

No. 136. I A or II E-G

148. II or III

135. probably III J

143. III or IV

139. only one figure preserved.

From the above it appears that Petersen's sampling was not large enough to give representative statistics for the types, since he had considered group II relatively uncommon. The combinations of attributes seem to have been chosen almost at random from the acceptable stock, much as the makers of terracottas varied their combinations of moulds.

## CATALOGUE

**134.** Fragment of Hekataion, Early 1st Century after Christ (?). Pl. 32.

S 1277. Found in 1947 in a Byzantine pit near the west end of the Middle Stoa (H-K, 12-13). Most of one figure and proper left side of a second preserved in a flake split off with flat break at back, tapering off to a narrow point at the bottom, where a little rough-picked undersurface survives. Plinth was 0.045 m. high. Heads broken off at base of neck and this region much battered. In the left hand of the figure to the left are two shallow drill holes (1.5 cm. or less, 6 mm. diam.), in the right hand of the other, one hole (same diam., 0.023 m. deep). In the opposite side of the latter figure a hole only 3 cm. below the belt (same diam. as others, 0.02 m. deep). Pentelic marble with much white mica. Tan patina.

P.H. 0.61 m., P.W. 0.22 m., P.Th. 0.102 m.

Kraus, *Hekate*, p. 120, no. 1, pp. 122-123.

See also pp. 53, 62, 86 note 3, 87, 88 note 11, 93, 103, 105.

This fine Hekataion, the largest known from Athens, is most similar to one in the British School at Athens which Schmidt took to be the closest surviving reflection of the Hekate of Alkamenes on the

Athenian Acropolis.<sup>1</sup> The Agora piece, less well preserved, was originally somewhat larger and more carefully executed than the other.<sup>2</sup> The figures stand in symmetrical poses with their feet together. They wear the peplos-form chiton with long overfall, girt at the waistline with a wide flat belt. There is no underchiton; the arms are bare to the shoulders. The folds of the upper portion, curving softly inward to the belt, are formed as narrow ridges with wide spaces between. The V-folds that presumably existed at the neck are no longer visible; otherwise the folds correspond roughly in number and disposition with those of the British School version. The skirt has a heavy central fold bordered by a narrow subsidiary fold on each side and looped cross-folds, again formed as narrow ridges against wide flat spaces, all the way down. The knees are modelled through the drapery with the aid of semicircular secondary folds. The sides are outlined by heavy framing folds that curve in at the base to define the ankles. This arrangement of the skirt differs from that of the British School Hekate in the broad central fold and the more schematic form of the looped folds across the legs.

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 48-49, pl. 24, figs. 1, 3; Kraus, pp. 97ff., pl. 3.2.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 87-88.

The pattern of the shoulder locks, though obscured by battering, can still be made out. These are not archaistic corkscrews but flat wavy tresses with separately engraved strands, apparently three on each shoulder, one on the front and two on the sides. The British School piece has similar tresses on the fronts of the shoulders. The Agora replica, with its large size and good workmanship, reinforces Schmidt's opinion that the British School type, girded with a broad belt at the natural waistline, is a close reflection of the monumental original. Our statuette, like the other, had the attributes held by the hands attached separately. Schmidt concluded from the representation of the Acropolis Hekate on a coin of Athens that these were short torches held out at an angle from the body. Kraus doubted that short torches could be so attached to the British School Hekataion and reasonably concluded that these holes in the hands held light metal attributes such as phialai, oinochoai and the like. On our Hekataion, however, there is a hole on the side of one of the figures which may have served to attach a long torch.

Kraus, following Schmidt, dated the British School Hekataion to the late 5th century. Ours, which is related but not so close to the 5th century in style, he placed in the early 4th. We have discussed above the reasons for doubting that these pieces belong to the classical period.<sup>3</sup> The Agora Hekataion is probably to be dated around the time of Augustus. The British School one may be contemporary or somewhat later. Their Roman date in no way diminishes their value as reflections of the work of Alkamenes. Rather, the existence of these two big Hekataia which are so different from the general run and at the same time so like each other supports the presumption that a classical prototype existed.

It must still be left uncertain what attributes the original held and exactly how the skirt was treated. The manner in which the vertical and parallel side-folds in the Agora Hekataion effect the junction between two figures is very reasonable, and we can easily believe that some such solution was adopted by the original. That the central fold was emphasized as a stabilizing vertical element is also likely in itself, and we have in the archaistic Athena of the red-figured oinochoe dated around 410 B.C. (Pl. 63, b) a good example of an emphasized central fold in archaistic art of the late 5th century.<sup>4</sup>

Whether the folds over the legs were treated as catenaries and how much they were schematized is less certain. The hard, uniform grooves of the present piece find their best parallel in a terracotta of the early 1st century A.D.,<sup>5</sup> but catenaries are used

between central and side folds in the short chiton of the Amazon of Kresilas,<sup>6</sup> and it may be that Alkamenes found a way to use them in the long skirt of the Hekate. The idol on which a figure of Eros leans in the handle plaque of a bronze hydria in New York dated by Miss Richter to the second half of the 4th century B.C. has parallel curved cross-folds in the skirt.<sup>7</sup>

No evidence has been found to indicate where a Hekataion such as the present one was used. A crossroads sanctuary of Roman times outside the southeast corner of the Agora has been very tentatively interpreted by Thompson as a sanctuary of Hekate, but this piece was not found near enough to suggest a connection.<sup>8</sup>

135. Fragment of Hekataion, 1st Century B.C. (?)  
Pl. 33.

S 928. Found in 1933 in late Roman or Byzantine fill on the site of the Temple of Ares (K 8). Preserves three figures from necks to hips. Heads missing. Battered. Island marble.

P.H. 0.105 m., Max. P. Th. 0.09 m.

See also pp. 86 note 3, 89, 91, 92, 98, 100.

Three figures of patterned archaistic type dressed in high-girt closed peplos, with broad central fold beginning above the belt, and underchiton with hatchings to suggest sleeve-crinkles. The attributes of the three figures differ. One holds a long torch (vertically ribbed as a bundle of fasces) in her left arm, the right arm lowered. The next has her right arm bent with the hand held against the breast (probably it held a fruit), the left arm lowered. The last has both arms lowered. The forearms which did not hold attributes appear to have been cut free of the body and are broken off. Probably these hands held the edges of the overfall. Long shoulder-locks with diagonal hatching hang one in front of each shoulder and one behind the shoulder on each side.

The workmanship is careful, though hard and stiff. The main elements of the drapery are all reduced to parallel lines: hatchings of chiton-sleeves, lunate cross-folds below neck, pleats of overfall. The edges between incisions are thick and rounded. The hatched sleeves, lunate neck-folds and stiff flaring overfall with narrow pleats relate this Hekataion to a group isolated by Kraus and dated to the 4th century B.C.<sup>9</sup> He did not include this piece in his group,

<sup>6</sup> I.e. the Berlin-Lansdowne-Sciarras type. Cf. Poulsen, *Die Amazone des Kresilas*.

<sup>7</sup> *Handbook of the Greek Collection*, p. 110, pl. 90; *A.J.A.*, L, 1946, pp. 361 ff., pl. 23.

<sup>8</sup> See above, p. 95, note 56.

<sup>9</sup> See above, pp. 88-89.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 88, 93-94.

<sup>4</sup> R. Green, *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, pp. 82-94, pl. 31, 15. See above, p. 52.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 94, note 48.

possibly because its late Hellenistic character is readily apparent in the thick-edged carving of the island marble. If we recognize, however, that his group is actually latest Hellenistic and early Roman in date, the present piece takes its place as one of the better early examples.

**136.** Fragment of Hekataion, 1st Century B.C. or Early 1st Century after Christ. Pl. 33.

S 1886. Catalogued in 1955 from uninventoried marbles from the area Q-S, 17-20 west of the Panathenaic Way south of the Agora. Broken off at top. Two figures preserved to shoulder height. The third entirely split away. Plinth 0.03 m. high, its edges battered away. Bottom roughly chisel-smoothed, with a drilled hole 0.025 m. deep and 0.007 m. in diam. Beneath the left-hand one of the two preserved figures two horizontal drilled holes in the edge of the plinth (0.005 m. in diam., P. depth ca. 0.015 m.). Pentelic marble. Battered, weathered and stained.

P.H. 0.26 m., Max. P. Th. 0.14 m.

Kraus, *Hekate*, p. 122, no. 8, p. 124, pl. 6, 1.

See also below (138) and pp. 86 note 3, 87, 89, 91, 92, 98, 102.

The figures wear peplos and underchiton. Here the sleeves of the chiton are more literally rendered than in Nos. 135 and 147, showing the scalloping of the buttoned edges. Again the broad central fold begins in the upper part and is decorated with lunate cross-folds just below the neck. The thin, straight pleats of the overfall form a stepped edge. The hands of both figures are at the sides as if grasping the dress. A single curved fold crosses the thigh from the hand to the central fold on each side and small folds radiate from the hands below. A second pair of looped folds crosses the ankles. There are heavy framing side-folds. The whole design is stiff and simple but with carefully rendered details. The execution is probably of the early Roman period.

The small radiating folds at the sides of the legs link this piece with a group of Hekataia which Kraus dated in the 4th century. Since his early date depends especially on the relatively low girding of some of the pieces, this high-girt Hekate is placed by him in the late 4th. All these criteria seem erroneous, however. The symmetrical oval framing of the legs by the side-folds is found in large-scale archaistic sculpture only in the Late Hellenistic and Roman periods, and it seems unlikely that this group of small Hekataia could be earlier.<sup>10</sup>

**137.** Hekataion, 1st Century after Christ (?). Pl. 33.

<sup>10</sup> See above, pp. 89-91.

S 1976. Found in 1957 in context of 4th century after Christ or later at floor level of a room in the Roman bath at the northwest foot of the Areopagus (E 17). Broken off diagonally at top, heads missing. Bottom cut flat with claw-chisel. No dowel. Battered and with mortar adhering. Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.158 m., Max. P. Th. 0.082 m.

See also below (138) and pp. 89, 94, 98, 101.

A small example with all three figures in the symmetrical archaistic stance. All held long torches in the left hand; one held a phiale in the right and the other two touched the edge of the overfall. There is a flat background strip between each two figures. The peplos is girt very high and the upper part of the body is narrow. The sleeves of the underchiton are rendered by coarse horizontal hatching across the upper arms. The heavy central fold of the peplos stands out as a ridge from which the figure slopes back to either side, so that the cross section of the whole thing becomes roughly triangular. Feet are not preserved. If they were shown, they projected together at center front and are now broken off.

The workmanship is coarse, but the horizontal hatching of the sleeves and the stiff overfall with narrow pleats relate this piece to the two preceding.

**138.** Fragment of Hekataion, 1st Century after Christ (?). Pl. 34.

S 2125. Found in 1960 in cleaning beside the Late Roman Fortification in the Eleusinion area (T 20). Fragment from neck to knees, broken above and below. Battered. A depression picked away between figures B and C. Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.12 m.

See also pp. 94, 98.

The figures wear the usual archaistic peplos over a chiton, the sleeves of which are rendered by parallel hatchings. The peplos is girt rather high, the overfall stiffly pleated, the central fold bordered with secondary folds. Loops of drapery cross the legs above the knees. The lower part was presumably like Nos. 136 and 137. Figure A grasps the skirt with both hands. B has the right hand holding the skirt, the left before the breast. C has a phiale (?) in the right hand, a long torch in the left.

The hatched sleeves and the loop-folds in the skirt link this with other examples that we have dated in the early Roman period. The workmanship was fairly good.

**139.** Fragment of Hekataion, 1st Century after Christ (?). Pl. 34.

S 1697. Found in 1953 in marble pile over Middle Stoa (K-N, 12-13). Fragment preserves greater part of one figure (head and right shoulder missing) with a little background to each side of her. Neighboring figures were separated from her by smooth areas. The angle of these suggests that the plinth was polygonal rather than circular in outline. H. of plinth 0.03 m. or more. No hole in bottom. Edge of plinth mostly gone. Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.325 m., P.Th. 0.17 m., H. of figure floor to girdle 0.25 m.

See also pp. 53, 86 note 3, 88, 94, 95, 98, 103, 104.

The surviving figure held a long torch in the left hand; the right hand was apparently held closed at the side, without attribute. The feet are separated and the hem of the chiton falls to the plinth between them. The overgarment is marked as an open peplos by a zigzag line engraved on the surface of the heavy side-fold on the proper right side of the figure. (On the other side the stem of the torch occupies the position of the framing fold.) The hem of the under-chiton, rendered with closely spaced parallel vertical strokes, shows below the peplos. The broad central fold of the peplos runs all the way down. The overfall is uniformly pleated in broad pleats with stepped edges. The curved folds across the legs alternate rather than meeting to form continuous loops. This and the side zigzags vary the symmetrical archaistic scheme in the direction of a classical peplos figure. The work is hard, relatively careful, with smoothed surfaces. Though the figure is still slender, the greater length of the overfall in proportion to the length of the legs and the broader pleats relate it to the 2nd century type, such as the Hekataion of Fabullus from Epidauros.<sup>11</sup> The workmanship here, however, is crisp and careful. The feet, being still separated by drapery which falls between them, give a broader base to the figure, relating it to earlier works like the Metternich relief<sup>12</sup> and the big statue from Aulis.<sup>13</sup> Our Hekataion probably still belongs to the 1st century after Christ.

#### 140. Hekataion, 1st-2nd Century after Christ.

Pl. 34.

S 1141. Found in 1939 in late Roman fill in the industrial district southwest of the Agora (C-D 16). Heads missing; top cut horizontally at neck level with joint-surface chiselled flat and picked to hold cement. Iron dowel in center. Bottom rough-picked, with rectangular dowel hole (0.04 m. × 0.015 m.

and 0.035 m. deep). No plinth, merely a rough band about 0.025 m. wide below the hems of the dresses all around. Pentelic marble. Somewhat weathered, stained and battered.

H. 0.317 m., Max. W. 0.16 m.

See also pp. 86 note 3, 89, 95, 97.

The three figures are virtually identical, all standing symmetrically and holding the tips of the overfall with both hands. The arms of the figures touch except on one side, but narrow channels separate the skirts. Curiously, there are no feet. The dress differs from the preceding examples in that the broad central fold is subdivided and the neck-folds of the peplos are V-shaped rather than crescent. The lower edge of the overfall is roughly stepped as is also the central pleat at the lower edge of the skirt. No traces of shoulder-locks survive. The work is generally coarse and heavy. The stocky proportions relate it to 2nd century figures,<sup>14</sup> but the style of execution has no parallels in any of our other Hekataia.

#### 141. Hekataion, 1st Century after Christ (?).

Pl. 34.

S 401. Found in 1933 in modern fill in front of the north wing of the Stoa of Zeus (I 5). All figures much battered; no heads surviving. A little top surface of the column and possibly a little bottom surface preserved. No dowel preserved. No projecting plinth. Pentelic marble.

H. 0.25 m., Max. P. Th. 0.10 m., H. of figures *ca.* 0.23 m.

See also pp. 86 note 3, 95, 98.

The three figures stand against a column which seems to have been round at the top. They touch one another at the sides. They wore flat poloi and had long shoulder-locks. They stand symmetrically, wearing the conventional high-girt archaistic peplos with broad center-fold. The arms are bare to the shoulders. As in No. 137, the center folds project and the cross section of the whole is roughly triangular. One figure carries a long torch in the left hand and touched the overfall with the right. The other two hold roundish attributes, probably phialai, with their adjacent hands while the arms next the torch-bearer are bent and held against the breast. The workmanship is sketchy with wobbly surfaces, Roman of the poorer sort.

These figures look like a very degenerate offshoot of Kraus' first group of Hekataia, which we have tentatively dated to the 1st century B.C. and the first half of the 1st century after Christ.<sup>15</sup> The bare arms

<sup>11</sup> Kraus, pl. 23, 2. See above, p. 92.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 21, 2. See above, p. 90.

<sup>13</sup> *Ἐργον*, 1958, p. 56, figs. 58-59. See above, p. 90.

<sup>14</sup> See above, p. 92.

<sup>15</sup> See above, pp. 88-92.

show the influence of classicizing types, but this sculptor may simply have made them that way because it was less work.

**142.** Hekataion, 1st or 2nd Century after Christ.

Pl. 35.

S 162. Found in 1932 on surface on west side of Agora (G 14). Top with heads broken off. No plinth; the lower part is cut as a kind of tenon, triangular in plan. Pentelic marble. Battered.

P.H. 0.12 m., Max. P. Th. 0.06 m.

See also pp. 86 note 3, 95, 97.

The figures have the usual high-girt scheme with heavy center- and side-folds, crudely executed in accordance with the small size of the piece. The usual shoulder-locks. One figure has right hand over her breast, left hand lowered touching overfall. The other two have right hand touching overfall, left hand apparently holding a long torch. There are no feet; the skirts are cut off straight at the bottom.

This little Hekataion is too much simplified to be readily compared with datable examples, but the proportions suggest a late 1st or 2nd century date.<sup>16</sup>

**143.** Fragment of Hekataion, 2nd Century after Christ (?).

Pl. 35.

S 1891. Catalogued in 1955 from uninventoried marbles from the area T-U, 21-23 south of the Agora and east of the Panathenaic Way. Top with heads and bottom with legs broken off. Pentelic marble. Battered.

P.H. 0.145 m., Max. P. Th. 0.08 m.

See also pp. 86 note 3, 95, 98.

The three figures wear the usual high-girt peplos over a chiton with buttoned sleeves. As usual the central fold is prominent and the scheme is archaistic but it is not carefully enough executed to be decorative. One figure has her left arm bent at the elbow with the hand held in front of the breast. Her other arm hangs at the side with the fingers spread open against a raised surface (an attribute or simply part of the overfall of her dress?). The figure to her left apparently held long torches in both hands (certainly in the left). The third may have held a torch in the left hand only or she may have held none. No surface of the column against which they stand appears between the figures, but it must have been visible at the top between the heads, for the necks are widely separated.

<sup>16</sup> See above, p. 92.

**144.** Fragment of Hekataion, 2nd Century after Christ (?).

Pl. 35.

S 1893. Catalogued in 1955 from uninventoried marbles, section unknown. From waists to knees, broken above and below. Pentelic marble. Battered.

P.H. 0.16 m., Max. P. Th. 0.092 m.

See also pp. 86 note 3, 97.

Three figures in high-girt peploi with the usual heavy center fold. One held her left hand over her breast and touched her drapery with the right. The two others seem to have had both arms lowered; one certainly had her left hand empty. Parallel folds in the overfall show the scheme is archaistic. Average summary Roman work.

**145.** Fragment of Hekataion, 1st-2nd Centuries after Christ.

Pl. 35.

S 1899. Catalogued in 1955 from uninventoried marbles from the area N-R, 7-13 on the east side of the Agora. Comprises base and lower parts of figures broken off above feet. Edges of base chipped. Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.12 m., Max. diam. of base 0.095 m.

See also pp. 86 note 3, 95.

The three figures stand on a reel-shaped base. They wore archaistic peplos with heavy central fold and underchiton, of which the hem appears in front as a little triangle above the feet. Looped folds across the ankles and framing side-folds as in No. 136. Heavy work with rounded edges. A few rasp-marks on front center fold.

**146.** Fragment of Hekataion, 1st Century after Christ.

Pl. 35.

S 1892. Catalogued in 1955 from uninventoried marbles from the west and central parts of the Agora (G-M, 9-14). Heads and lower legs of all three figures broken off. Pentelic marble. Weathered, chipped and battered all around.

P.H. 0.198 m., Max. P. Th. 0.121 m.

Kraus, *Hekate*, p. 126, no. 13.

See also pp. 53, 86 note 3, 87, 88, 92, 97, 104.

The arms and skirts of the three figures touch at the sides, no bare columnar surface appearing between them. All stand symmetrically with both arms lowered. One carries a disk-like object, presumably a phiale, in her right hand. The others carry no attributes; probably they are touching the edges of the overfalls. They wear peplos and underchiton, the

sleeves of the latter reaching to the elbows with free diagonal strokes to suggest folds radiating from buttons. The peplos has a wide central fold that begins in the upper part. The girding is somewhat lower than usual, though not at waist level, and the kolpos dips low on the sides to hide the belt as in classical peplos figures. The long overfall has the usual archaistic stepped edge. Zigzags on the proper right sides of the figures indicate an open peplos (cf. No. 139 above). The workmanship is casual rather than poor.

Kraus treated this in his 4th century chapter because of the low girding and because the workmanship did not give him a specifically Roman impression, but admitted that its style has nothing in common with his 4th century examples. Probably it belongs in the 1st century after Christ, being in fact contemporary with the later members of Kraus' group but more consciously classicizing than they. For the low girding we may compare our No. 134 and the Hekataion in the British School at Athens,<sup>17</sup> for the zigzag of the open peplos our No. 139 and perhaps also the British School piece.

147. Hekataion on Base, 1st-2nd Centuries after Christ. Pl. 36.

S 852. Found in 1937 in a late Roman well (4th century after Christ, with Herulian debris) on the north slope of the Areopagus (J 18:2). Complete with base, lacking only the head of one of the figures, which appears to have been cemented on, since the top of the neck and the surface of the column behind are cut smooth. Chips missing from corners and edges of base and from left hand and top of torch of one of the figures. The plinth was fastened into the base by a cement which broke into fragments and was removed. This was analyzed by Marie Farnsworth and Ivor Simmons as a combination of beeswax, lime and lead oxide. Pentelic marble. Whole surface very fresh and dead-white except for one or two stains from the well.

H. 0.397 m., H. of figures 0.24-0.25 m.; Base: H. 0.095 m., W. 0.19 m., Th. 0.175 m.

T. L. Shear, *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, pp. 181 f., fig. 8; Farnsworth and Simmons, *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, pp. 121-122; Kraus, *Hekate*, p. 173, A4; Thompson, *Agora Guide*<sup>2</sup>, p. 181.

See also pp. 86 note 3, 94, 97, 100.

The three figures are backed against a tapering column which ends in a smooth flat surface above their heads. They are practically identical, each holding in her left arm a torch as tall as herself. One

holds her right hand closed against the thigh, while the other two pluck the hem of the overfall with thumb and forefinger. All wear high-girt closed peploi with underchitons whose sleeves, decorated with wavy incisions suggesting crinkly folds, are a little above the elbow. The peplos is treated in a simplified archaistic style, with a broad central fold that begins in the upper part and with heavy side-folds framing the skirt. The subsidiary folds of the skirt run parallel to these instead of curving across. The hems of overfall and skirt are not stepped except at the central fold. The small shod feet project together at the center. The plinth, roughly circular, does not extend beyond the toes of the figures.

The coiffure is as in No. 151, with central part, full hair over the ears and long side-locks, here straight and hatched to suggest twisted strands. There are no poloi. The faces are summary. The whole surface is treated in a soft manner common in late Hellenistic work but also to be found in small works of the Roman period. The white color of the stone and the absence of any inscription suggest that though the carving of the piece was finished, it may never have been painted and dedicated. Perhaps it awaited the replacement of the missing head, which may have been damaged by accident after the rest was finished.

Unfinished portrait heads of the Antonine period have been found in Herulian debris,<sup>18</sup> and it is perfectly possible that our piece dates from as early as the 2nd or perhaps even the 1st century after Christ, but it is highly unlikely that we should find it in such fresh condition in a post-Herulian deposit if it had been made, as Kraus suggests, in the late 2nd century B.C. The small faces are not affected by the classicism of the Roman period and so retain more resemblance to Hellenistic work than would be the case with something bigger. The simplification of the archaistic pattern in the drapery, however, may well be due to such classicism.

The base has a taenia and ovolo at the bottom. The lead cement by which the Hekate was fastened into her base has not been noted elsewhere but is of a very practical kind, malleable when heated and absolutely unyielding when it has cooled.<sup>19</sup>

148. Hekataion, 2nd Century after Christ (?) Pl. 37.

S 1897. Catalogued in 1955 from uninventoried marbles from the area L-P, 10-12 in the central part of the Agora. Full height preserved but much battered and in a crumbly, granular condition, perhaps from burning. Part of two figures and shaft between them split away. No heads survive. Plinth, 0.025 m. high,

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *Agora*, I, nos. 30, 35, 36.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Farnsworth and Simmons, *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, pp. 121-122.

<sup>17</sup> See above, p. 98, note 1.

chipped all around. Top of column flat. Bottom rough-picked; no dowel hole. Pentelic marble.

H. 0.248 m., Max. P. Th. 0.121 m.

See also pp. 53, 86 note 3, 88, 94, 95, 98.

The figures are farther apart than usual, with a great deal of the column showing between. The column itself is thick and rather bulbous, narrowing sharply to the top. The figures have the usual symmetrical archaistic pose and dress. Judging from a faint trace on the column, they seem to have worn high poloi. An engraved zigzag on the heavy side-fold on the proper right side of each figure implies, as in Nos. 139 and 146, that the peplos was open on this side. The girding is moderately high. The underchiton shows at the sleeves but not at the hem. One figure, only partly preserved, seems to have held two long torches. The best preserved figure has both hands lowered, the right holding an oblong object, the left perhaps touching the dress. The third figure did not carry torches. The right arm was lowered; the left is missing. The work is fairly good for the small size.

149. Hekataion, 2nd-3rd Centuries after Christ.

Pl. 37.

S 878. Found in 1937 in dumped filling of 5th century after Christ in a well at the south end of Kolonos Agoraios (B 14:1). Plinth with feet broken away. All heads split off. Generally battered. Column ends above in rough surface that projects *ca.* 5-7 mm. above a smooth edge strip *ca.* 5 mm. wide. Very coarse-grained marble, possibly a grayish Thasian or Naxian or a poor Parian.

P.H. 0.305 m., Max. P. Th. 0.133 m. Approx. original H. of figures 0.24-0.25 m.

Kraus, *Hekate*, pp. 157f., 174, pl. 22.

See also pp. 86 note 3, 92, 93, 94, 95, 98.

The figures, with free background between them, stand against a column of rather lumpy shape. They are in somewhat lower relief than usual and the hands are carved against the background instead of against the figures. They wear the high-girt peplos without underchiton. Though the broad central fold suggests a symmetrical stance, weight-leg and free-leg are in fact distinguished, and the overfall dips lower on the side of the free-leg. Framing side-folds in the skirt are present in all three figures, but not strongly emphasized. One figure holds a long torch in her left hand and touches her skirt with her right. Her weight is on the right leg. The figure to her left touches the skirt with both hands and has her weight on the right leg. The other touches her skirt with the right hand and holds the left hand to the side, perhaps holding an attribute that is now broken away.

Her weight is on the left leg. The folds of the upper part of the peplos and those over the thighs in all the figures are free rather than patterned.

A further variation is the absence of shoulder-locks. Short ends hanging beside the neck might be either locks or ends of a veil. The rounded outline of the heads suggests that they wore no poloi, but this is not certain. The work is heavy and graceless in spite of unusual care in some details. Interesting for its variations on the standard types, it can scarcely be earlier than the 2nd century after Christ and may be as late as the 3rd.

150. Heads of Three-Bodied Hekataion, Unfinished.

Pl. 36.

S 992. Found in 1933 in fill of Great Drain (I 11). Preserves top of Hekataion, the break passing through neck, chin and nose of the three figures respectively. Top flat, no cuttings. Unfinished, chisel-work not smoothed over. Surface chipped but not weathered. Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.089 m., Max. P. Th. 0.08 m., H. of heads without polos *ca.* 0.033 m.

See also pp. 86 note 3, 93, 105.

The three heads are similar except that one had a higher polos than the others. She carried a long torch in the left hand and its twisted flame appears in relief beside the head. The stem of the torch slants a little outward. The upper part of the column itself flares outward like a polos. It may well be that there was going to be a moulding at the top in the finished version.

The face-type and coiffure are the same as in No. 151. The consistency of these heads suggests that they may have some value for the reconstruction of the original.

151. Heads from Hekate Herm, 1st Century after Christ (?).

Pl. 37.

S 989. Found in 1933 in a late Roman context near the southeast corner of the Agora (Q 14-15). Worked separately, with attachment-hole (8-9 mm. diam., 3 cm. deep) in bottom. Joint-surface battered or broken away. Noses and chins of faces battered off and chips gone from edge of polos. Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.102 m., Diam. of top 0.04 m., H. of heads chin to top of hair 0.061 m.

See also above (150) and pp. 103, 105.

The heads, which have a mask-like flatness and share a common polos, seem too closely joined to have belonged to a triple-bodied statuette. More likely they

crowned a three-sided herm like No. 154. A simple Hekate herm from the House of the Poseidoniasts in Delos shows such mask-like faces under a single polos.<sup>20</sup> Our heads, however, are the largest in scale of the Hekate heads in the Agora and probably give the best notion of the sweetness and dignity of the original Alkamenes creation. The hair is parted in the center and drawn back to the sides in full wavy masses that cover the ears. From under these emerge long tresses which fall down the sides of the neck. In the original, as is suggested by No. 134, these side tresses will have been richer. The forehead is broad, the eyebrows low-arched. The small, deep-set eyes with overhanging upper lids cannot be an accurate reflection of the 5th century original. The full oval of the face, however, is characteristic of works attributed to Alkamenes, though it is here exaggerated by the mask-like treatment of the faces, which virtually eliminates the side planes. The faces of No. 150, which come from a triple statuette and have more depth, are still very round.

Our piece probably belongs to the Roman period. Whereas the Delian example shows the doughy carving typical of the early 1st century B.C. and more typically Hellenistic facial features, ours is more delicate and more classical in spirit. Since we have no Hekate herms dated so early as the 4th century, it seems most likely that this classicism is Roman. The delicate features suggest that it belongs to the 1st rather than to the 2nd century after Christ.

152. Hekate Herm with Charites, 2nd Century B.C. (?).  
Pl. 38.

S 862. Found in 1937 in a late Roman well on the north slope of the Areopagus (L 19:1). Broken off at top above heads of Charites, which are also battered away. Bottom rough-picked, with no attachment holes. Plinth 0.025 m. high, its edges broken all around. Surface granular and stained black from the well. Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.36 m., Max. P. Th. 0.193 m.

Kraus, *Hekate*, p. 130, no. 17, p. 138, pl. 10, 1-2.  
See also pp. 55, 59, 86 note 3, 92.

The three Charites with hands joined dance around a triangular prism, which must have been a Hekate herm of triangular section, like No. 154 in form, but without the drapery. Each stands against an edge of the prism. They are tall and slender and wear archaic costumes that are rendered with some care, thin chitons and long diagonal mantles, each a little different from the others. One has her mantle fastened on the left shoulder and passing under the

right armpit, the diagonal edge decorated with a ruffle rendered as parallel vertical pleats. There is no overfall. The open edges of the mantle form zigzags against the background beside her left leg. A wide central fold marks the vertical axis of the figure. The next figure wore her mantle with an overfall and fastened on the right shoulder. The zigzag ends trail behind her fully displayed. The skirt has two sets of central folds instead of one, and the thin chiton appears below the hem of the mantle. The third figure again had the mantle fastened on the right shoulder. The short overfall seems to have dipped to a point in the center as well as on the sides. The skirt has one central pleat.

All the figures have shoulder-locks. Edges which appear to belong to a veil fall against the background behind the shoulders. Possibly the Charites wore poloi and veils like those on Hekate herms in Vienna<sup>21</sup> and Venice.<sup>22</sup> Though the majority of our surviving Hekataia must belong to the Roman period, this piece with its slender figures and flat rendering of the archaic forms appears to date rather from the Hellenistic period. Kraus regards it as a more lifeless and therefore considerably later successor of the Grimani Hekataion in Venice, which he assigns to the 3rd century B.C. The very slender figures and the long straight lines of the garments might fit the second half of the 2nd century B.C.,<sup>23</sup> though we have no exact parallel for the workmanship.

153. Hekate Herm with Charites, 1st Century B.C. (?).  
Pl. 38.

S 1145. Found in 1939 in Byzantine context west of the Panathenaic Way between the Agora and the Acropolis (S 20). Herm-heads broken off at necks. Heads and hands of Charites chipped away. Also chips gone from edges of drapery and plinth. Bottom rough-picked, with a very rough square dowel hole 0.025 × 0.03 m. and 0.015 m. deep. Plinth did not project beyond feet and drapery. Its edge rough-picked. Parian marble.

P.H. 0.33 m., Max. W. 0.142 m.

Kraus, *Hekate*, p. 143, no. 32, pl. 13, 1-3.  
See also pp. 86 note 3, 91, 92.

The three Charites dance around a three-sided herm shaft. On one face only are the sides and arms of the herm indicated in relief. Shoulder-locks are indicated on all three sides, and the heads must have been closely joined like those of No. 151.

The dancers wear poloi that reach to just above the shoulders of the herms and they too have long

<sup>21</sup> Kraus, pls. 7, 2; 8, 1-2.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 9, 1-3.

<sup>23</sup> See above, p. 74 note 35.

<sup>20</sup> *Délos*, VI, p. 35, fig. 28.

shoulder-locks. One figure is draped exactly like the usual Hekate figures with archaistic peplos and under-chiton but has also a shawl laid symmetrically over her shoulders. She stands frontally but on tiptoe with her feet apart. The two other figures turn their heads toward this one, which makes space for the herm-arms behind their heads. They have normal chitons and himatia without archaistic patterns; only the exaggerated slenderness of the figures and their pointed breasts show archaistic mannerism. Both are in dancing steps, the one with feet crossed, the other moving left. The different arrangements of their himatia accord with the different motion. Archaistic dancing figures are common in the Attic Nymph reliefs,<sup>24</sup> but in this case the dress of the one archaistic figure seems borrowed from Hekate herself, so that the Charites are not only associated with her as neighbors but in some degree assimilated to her, just as she is assimilated to Hermes.

The modelling is soft and thick-edged so that the detail appears clumsy although the larger design is graceful. This surface is especially common with large-grained island marble in the late Hellenistic period. The best parallels are perhaps to be found in the 1st century B.C., and the relation of this piece to other Hekataia makes this date seem probable.<sup>25</sup>

154. Shaft of Triangular Draped Herm, Late Hellenistic or Roman. Pl. 39.

S 579. Found in 1935 in Late Roman destruction fill over the Southwest Fountain House (H 15). Broken below. Neck has broken surface but retains iron dowel for the attachment of the missing heads. Rust stains around the dowel. In the edge of each shoulder a small drilled hole *ca.* 0.003 m. in diameter and *ca.* 0.012 m. deep for attachment of herm-arms. Parian marble of moderately coarse grain. Little weathered, edges battered.

P.H. 0.28 m., W. of faces 0.115 m.–0.125 m. at bottom, 0.12 m.–0.115 m. at top.

See also p. 105.

This draped herm has the form of a triangular prism. The edges are rounded as if covered by drapery except at the top of the shoulders where a narrow strip is smoothed for the attachment of the separately cut herm-arms. Since no joint-surface is preserved at the neck, it is not certain whether the attachment of the heads was original or a repair. There are traces on the shoulders of long locks which were cut free

<sup>24</sup> E.g., N.M. 1966, Svoronos, pl. 136; Hausmann, *Griechische Wehrhelms*, p. 98, fig. 59; and a relief in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, Richter, *Catalogue*, pl. 105, no. 143.

<sup>25</sup> See above, pp. 91–92.

from the neck. All three sides of the shaft are completely draped in a long, flat garment like a peplos without overfall that gives the effect of being suspended from the shoulders. The folds are stiff and simple, like an exaggeration of early classical forms; they are not archaistic. The border of the cloth is marked by an engraved line at the top. The folds are more numerous and more carefully carved on one of the three faces, which must have been the front. This face is about 0.5 cm. wider than the other two.

The treatment of the drapery on our example as a simple cloth without either girding or overfall is unusual. The girdled type is represented in a Hekataion from Pergamon.<sup>26</sup> Here the girdle, running close under the breasts, encircles the whole shaft and separates the top part, which is given a more or less plastic treatment, with some indication of the projection of the breasts, from the lower part in which the drapery clings to the flat faces of the shaft. The drapery, like the girdle, continues around the edges of the shaft.

A Hekataion in Kos illustrates the second type, in which the garment is treated like an ungirt peplos with overfall.<sup>27</sup> Here it is all flat, from shoulder to hem, with no suggestion of the projection of the breasts. The bevelled edge of the shaft separates the garment of one face from that of the next. A three-headed Hekate herm from Athens in Berlin<sup>28</sup> seems to be a schematization of the type with breasts plastically indicated, while the three female figures of a four-sided Athenian herm formerly in the Theseion have the flat ungirt peplos with overfall (the fourth head is male).<sup>29</sup> The drapery of ours, which is all flat but with no overfall, resembles in its V-shaped folds the drapery below the girdle on the Pergamene example.

Kraus and Lullies have observed that the majority of plain Hekate herms (without the dancing Charites) belong to the Roman period.<sup>30</sup> One in the establishment of the Poseidoniasts at Delos (the life of the building extended from after 110 B.C. to 69 B.C.) is the earliest well-dated example.<sup>31</sup> This has no drapery; the shaft is plain. A similar example from Pella should be Hellenistic.<sup>32</sup> It may be that the plain type is earlier than the draped. An up-to-date list of these simple Hekate herms without dancers is not available, but the occurrence of only one example in the Agora bears out what was already suggested by

<sup>26</sup> Pergamon, VII, 1, p. 57, no. 36.

<sup>27</sup> Laurenzi, *Annuario*, n.s. XVII–XVIII, 1955–56, p. 130, no. 157.

<sup>28</sup> Berlin, *Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen*, p. 74, no. 170. Found in Athens in the Odeion of Herodes Atticus.

<sup>29</sup> Lebas – Waddington, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure, Monuments figurés*, Paris, 1888, pl. 32, 1–2. Lullies, *Typen*, pp. 69–70.

<sup>30</sup> Kraus, p. 153. Lullies, *Typen*, pp. 55–56.

<sup>31</sup> *Délos*, VI, p. 35, fig. 28.

<sup>32</sup> Unpublished. In museum at Pella.

Petersen's early and partial survey,<sup>33</sup> that they are widely distributed but nowhere so numerous as either the three-bodied Hekataia or the Hekate herms with Charites. The drapery on these herms is not archaistic but resembles that used on single female herms. It is possible that this form of Hekataion developed under the influence of the Aphrodite herm. Our example appears to be of Roman workmanship.

155. Poros Hekataion, 2nd-3rd Centuries after Christ.  
Pl. 39.

S 1943. Found in 1957 in digging trench for water main in the area southwest of the Agora (F 17). Context not determined. Mended from a number of fragments. One non-joining fragment preserves a hand. Heads of two figures missing, also part of plinth, parts of hands of two figures, head and feet of one dog, and various other chips. Red color on hair of figures and on body of less well preserved dog. Soft creamy poros. Surface unweathered.

H. 0.165 m., H. of figures 0.12 m.

This is not one of the classical Attic Hekataia but a complicated late version which borrows some elements from them and some from the type assigned by Petersen to the West and Asia Minor.<sup>34</sup> The three figures of Hekate stand on a reel-shaped plinth with their backs against a cylindrical column that ends in a flat top above their heads. A taenia borders the upper edge. In the spaces between the figures are two seated dogs and a rectangular altar. The better preserved dog sits primly looking down; the other seems to have lifted his nose against the goddess' skirt. Both wear collars. The altar has a garland on the side; something like a grille rests on top.

The goddesses wear an archaistic dress derived from that of the regular Hekate. The pleated overfall and the skirt with heavy center and framing folds are the same except that the whole lower body is thin and stiff, giving an Egyptianizing effect which is carried further in the upper parts of the figures, with their attributes held out stiffly to either side with bent arms. The garment above the high girdle is

treated as a thin chiton, again rather Egyptianizing with its many parallel folds.

One figure holds a long, thin torch in either hand. Her chiton is shown as sleeveless (probably because the torches would have interrupted the lines of the folds) and the torch stems take the place of the side-folds of her skirt. A long twisted lock falls vertically in front of her right shoulder. A second had both forearms raised with attributes now missing. Her shoulder-locks were apparently like those of the torch-bearer, but her chiton covered the upper arms. The third, best preserved figure holds a vigorously coiling snake in her left hand. Her face is round, with puffy cheeks, rather like a Gorgoneion, as though she were meant to be frighteningly ugly, and her hair resembles a wig, with coarse grooved strands, the ends resting on the shoulders.

The snake as an attribute belongs to the non-Attic Hekataia, the long torches to the Attic. The raised hands of the other figure doubtless also contained attributes of the non-Attic sort, such as dagger or whip. The symmetrical stance and archaistic dress come from the Attic type. (The non-Attic usually has the classical peplos and free stance.) The dog appears in both types but the altars belong to the non-Attic variety.

The Egyptianizing element, if that is what it is, is very unusual in Hekataia, and ours is, so far as I know, the only example found in Attica. "Gnostic" amulets show a figure identified as Isis-Hekate. An example in the Newell Collection shows the goddess with a torch in one hand and a whip in the other.<sup>35</sup> Her dress is like those of our figures, narrow peplos with overfall and central fold, with the folds of the upper part drawn in shawl-like lines over the shoulders. It may be that our poros Hekataion is inspired by works in another medium, such as terracotta, which were more open to contamination than the very conservative marble Hekataia. It is interesting to note that the only example found in the Agora of the non-Attic Hekate in her conventional form is on a terracotta plaque.<sup>36</sup> It is hard to date our poros Hekataion when we have no parallels for it. The harsh linear technique in the soft material gives an effect very like that of Late Roman terracottas. A 3rd century date seems likely.

<sup>33</sup> *Archäologisch-Epigraphische Mitteilungen*, V, 1881, pp. 24-26, V a-n.

<sup>34</sup> See above, p. 93, note 39.

<sup>35</sup> Bonner, *Studies in Magic Amulets*, pl. 7, no. 156.

<sup>36</sup> *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, pl. 80, e; Grandjovan, *Agora*, VI, pl. 32, no. 1113. See above, p. 93, note 40.

# IV

## HERMS

### INTRODUCTION

The numerous fragments of herms from the Agora excavations are, like the Hekataia, most easily grouped under archaistic art, since a great many of them are archaistic in form. Also as with the Hekataia, the majority of them are probably late. There are two important differences, however. Herms have a direct and intimate connection with the history of the Agora itself, and we have one herm-head (No. 156) among our fragments that actually belongs to the great period of Athenian herms. This makes it worthwhile to consider the general historical problem in more detail than we did with the Hekataia.

#### 1. THE HERMS OF THE AGORA, LOCATION AND MEANING

The herms of the Agora and the historical and topographical questions connected with them have always been a subject of lively controversy, and recently several things have happened to sharpen our interest in them. At the same time, anything which is said about them now will necessarily have a tentative character, since full clarification can come only, if at all, with the excavation of the north side of the Agora and its northwest approach. The existence of the Stoa of the Herms as a real building and its location in the place often called simply "the Herms" has now been confirmed by inscriptions, whereas formerly it was only a reasonable conjecture based on the combination of passages in various ancient authors. Two Hellenistic decrees of the Hippeis honoring Hipparchs and Phylarchs have been found, one of which specifies that a copy is to be set up "in the Stoa of the Herms" ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῶν Ἑρμῶν while the other prescribes its setting up "near the Herms," πρὸς τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς. The inscriptions were found re-used in an unidentified structure of early Roman date on the east side of the modern Theseion Street, i.e. just north of the Panathenaic Way and a little outside the northwest corner of the Agora.<sup>1</sup>

The finding-place of these inscriptions accords well enough with the ancient references to suggest that they had not been moved very far from their original location. A quotation from the 4th century comic poet Mnesimachos names the Herms as a place frequented by the Phylarchs: "Go to the Agora, to the Herms, the place frequented by the Phylarchs, and to their handsome pupils, whom Pheidon trains in mounting and dismounting."<sup>2</sup> The famous Bryaxis base, a dedication of Phylarchs, was found just north of the Stoa of Zeus.<sup>3</sup> We know from other

<sup>1</sup> J. Threpsiades and E. Vanderpool, *Δελτίον*, XVIII, 1963, pp. 99-114. Cf. Thompson, *Agora Guide*<sup>2</sup>, p. 65. A second decree containing the phrase πρὸς τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς was found in a late wall over the Pompeion (C. Habicht, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXXVI, 1961, pp. 127ff.), and πρὸς τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς is restored in still another by Habicht, *ibid.*, p. 140. A base with a dedication of the Hipparchs and Phylarchs was found re-used in a monument in the northern part of the Agora, and Thompson suggests that it stood near the Herms (*Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 49-51).

<sup>2</sup> Wycherley, *Agora*, III, no. 303; Athenaeus, IX, 402f.

<sup>3</sup> The base appears *in situ* on the plan, Wycherley, *op.cit.*, pl. III. The inscription, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3130; the reliefs, Svoronos, pls. 26-27.

references that the Herms were on the Panathenaic Way. One Demetrios, when he served as Hipparch, was said to have set up a reviewing stand for his mistress at the Panathenaia "by the Herms and higher than the Herms."<sup>4</sup> We understand the advantage of this place as a viewing-point when we read Xenophon's recommendation that cavalry taking part in the festival procession ought to start from the Herms and ride in a circuit around the Agora, doing honor to all the gods who have sanctuaries or statues in the Agora, and, when they get back to the Herms, to gallop by tribes from there as far as the Eleusinion.<sup>5</sup> This places the Herms on the periphery of the Agora, and suggests that they were at the northwest corner, from which the cavalry could have a good gallop in full view of the spectators assembled in the Agora, passing diagonally across the Agora and on up to the Eleusinion. A location near the northwest corner is confirmed by references which associate the Herms and the Stoa of the Herms with the Royal Stoa and the Poikile. Harpokration quotes "Menekles or Kallikrates" as saying that the so-called Herms are "from the Poikile and the Stoa Basileios."<sup>6</sup> Two late writers, Tzetzes and a scholiast to Demosthenes, explain that there were "three stoas at Athens, the Stoa Basileios, the Stoa of the Herms, and the Stoa Peisianakteios" (Poikile).<sup>7</sup>

Whether the Royal Stoa was identical with the Stoa of Zeus<sup>8</sup> or whether it was a separate building to the north,<sup>9</sup> it seems clear that the Stoa of the Herms was on the north side of the Panathenaic Way. The Royal Stoa, on the right hand as one entered the Agora, was certainly on the south. The plans of the Agora that have been published hitherto range the Stoa of the Herms with the Poikile in a straight line along the north side of the Agora. R. E. Wycherley has suggested, however, that the Poikile should be nearer to the west end of the north side, because the Herms are described as "from," not "between" the Royal Stoa and the Poikile, and also because it would simplify the route of Pausanias.<sup>10</sup> Approaching the Poikile on his way back from his excursion to the Hephaisteion and Aphrodite Ourania, Pausanias comes to the statue of Hermes Agoraios and mentions a gate near by.<sup>11</sup> He then enters the Poikile and only after leaving it does he mention the Altar of Eleos.<sup>12</sup> If the Poikile was at the west end of the north side, this would be a straightforward route; if not, it would involve backtracking. We may imagine a gate at the entrance of a north-south street that has been identified in excavations north of the Agora and seems to have opened into the north side of the Panathenaic Way at the northwest corner of the Agora.<sup>13</sup> Hermes Agoraios may have stood in front of the west end of the Poikile.

The fact that Pausanias does not speak of the Stoa of the Herms has puzzled modern topographers. The only herms he mentions as worth seeing are in the Gymnasium of Ptolemy.<sup>14</sup> This led Wycherley to suggest that perhaps the "Stoa" was only a modest shelter over an important group of herms, and not a real building.<sup>15</sup> The finding of the new inscriptions suggests an answer to this puzzle. If decrees set up in the Stoa of the Herms in the 3rd century B.C. were being discarded in the early Roman period, it may well be that the building in which they stood

<sup>4</sup> Athenaeus, IV, 167f; Wycherley, 302.

<sup>5</sup> *Hipparchichus*, III, 2; Wycherley, 203.

<sup>6</sup> Harpokration, s.v. Ἑρμῶν; Wycherley, 305.

<sup>7</sup> Tzetzes, *Scholion in Hermogenem* (Cramer, *Anecdota Graeca*, IV, 31); Wycherley, 313. Schol. Demosthenes, XX (*Leptines*), 112; Wycherley, 10.

<sup>8</sup> For a summary and recent bibliography of this question see E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 289f., note 1 as well as Thompson, *Agora Guide*, p. 63.

<sup>9</sup> J. Travlos, *Πολεοδομική Ἐξέλιξις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, p. 64, suggests that the question cannot be definitely solved until the area north of the present excavations is dug.

<sup>10</sup> *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, II, 1959, pp. 39-40.

<sup>11</sup> I, 15, 1. Wycherley, 80.

<sup>12</sup> I, 17, 1. Wycherley, 177.

<sup>13</sup> Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 295-297.

<sup>14</sup> I, 17, 2. Wycherley, 458.

<sup>15</sup> *Agora*, III, p. 104. *Op.cit.*, above, note 10, p. 40.

had been damaged or demolished and the site used for new construction. If something like this actually happened, if the Stoa of the Herms was damaged in Sulla's attack on Athens in 86 B.C. and not rebuilt in the Augustan remodelling of the Agora, it may be that the herms of greatest historical interest were actually transferred to the Gymnasium of Ptolemy, where they could have the shelter of a colonnade and yet be accessible to visitors<sup>15a</sup>. Some important herms which had stood as independent monuments may have been moved independently to various locations. A stepped base of poros in the northeast part of the Agora has mason's marks which indicate that it was transferred in the early Roman period. H. A. Thompson has suggested that it was the base for a large herm.<sup>16</sup>

Harpokration, in the same entry quoted above and possibly still quoting Menekles-Kallikrates, says that the place called "The Herms" was given this name because many herms were dedicated there, both by private citizens and by magistrates. One has the impression that some of these dedications were inside the Stoa of the Herms and others outside it. Since the herm seems to be in origin an outdoor monument, we may imagine that the custom of dedicating herms in this area began before the stoa was built. We have, however, no clear evidence for the date of the stoa. Aeschines tells how Kimon and his fellow generals who defeated the Persians at Eion on the river Strymon in 476 B.C. asked the Demos for a reward and were given what seemed a great honor in those days, the right to "set up three stone herms in the Stoa of the Herms," but were not allowed to inscribe their names.<sup>17</sup> (This modest anonymity is contrasted with the honors asked in the 4th century for public benefactors.) Demosthenes had said earlier, referring to the same argument (Aeschines seems to have taken it over from Leptines), that his opponent had an argument ready to hand, that in the old days men who had done great service "were satisfied when they got an epigram on the Herms."<sup>18</sup>

If Aeschines is to be taken literally, then the Stoa of the Herms must be the oldest of the stoas in the Agora, for the Poikile, the next oldest, seems not to have been built before around 460 B.C.<sup>19</sup> It seems unlikely, on the face of it, that the Stoa of the Herms could be so early (we should have to imagine it built between 479 and 476). But Aeschines himself shows us that we must not take his topographical chronology literally, for in the same speech he pictures Miltiades asking the Demos to have his name inscribed in the Marathon painting in the Poikile, a building which was actually put up at least twenty, more likely thirty years after his death.<sup>20</sup> As evidence that there *was* a Stoa of the Herms, Harpokration cites the speech of Antiphon against Nikokles, which was made not long before 425 B.C.<sup>21</sup> Since we can no longer doubt that such a building existed in the 3rd century B.C., we may provisionally accept this indication that it was already extant in the 2nd half of the 5th. Its actual date is something that excavation may eventually settle. This will not, however, necessarily solve the question of the three Eion herms and the date and manner of their first dedication. Many varieties of scepticism have been applied to the tradition concerning them, and the literature on them has become too rich and too much involved with that of other monuments for us to do justice to it here.<sup>22</sup> That there existed a group of three herms which constituted a single dedication and which commemorated the

<sup>15a</sup> Thompson (*A.J.A.*, LXIX, 1965, p. 177) now identifies the complex of stoas on the south side of the Agora as the Gymnasium of Ptolemy. If this is so, the herms may have stood in the Middle Stoa.

<sup>16</sup> *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 102, pl. 24, c. One might also mention in this connection the re-use of an early herm-base as the base for a statue of Claudius as Apollo Patroos (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3274, found at Panaghia Pyrgiotissa in 1871). The block has fine stippled faces with smoothed margins. The cutting in its original top measures 0.925 × 0.24 m.

<sup>17</sup> Aeschines, III (*Ktesiphon*), 183-185. Wycherley, 301. The story is also told in Plutarch, *Kimon*, 7, 3-5. Wycherley, 309. For the most recent extensive treatment and bibliography of earlier discussions see Jacoby, *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, pp. 185-211.

<sup>18</sup> Demosthenes, XX (*Leptines*), 112. Wycherley, 304.

<sup>19</sup> Thompson, *Agora Guide*<sup>2</sup>, p. 64.

<sup>20</sup> Aeschines, III (*Ktesiphon*), 186. Wycherley, 49. The discrepancy is pointed out by Wade-Gery, *J.H.S.*, LIII, 1933, p. 75.

<sup>21</sup> Wycherley, 305.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Meritt, *Aegean and Near East*, p. 273, note 16.

victory of Eion, whether alone or among others, has been generally accepted. The more radical criticism of the tradition has suggested that the dedication was made many years after the battle and that only one of the epigrams cited by Aeschines belonged to it, the others being erroneously associated by the orators.<sup>23</sup> Jacoby, on the other hand, argued persuasively for the integrity of the group of three epigrams and the early date of the herms.<sup>24</sup> Color is lent to this more reasonable and conservative view by the archaeological evidence for herms in the years shortly after the Persian Wars.

A pelike by the Pan Painter (Pl. 65, a), dated by its style around 470 B.C., shows a group of three herms being approached by a maiden with offering basket and a youth with a hydria.<sup>25</sup> J. de la Genière in publishing the vase suggests that they represent the Eion herms. She points out that the grouping of three herms is rare in Attic vase-painting and must have a specific local meaning. The Pan Painter, especially, uses herms as elements for the setting of an action: the rustic herm for the mountain pasture,<sup>26</sup> the roadside herm for the trip from the seashore to town (with the fresh-caught fish being hurried to market),<sup>27</sup> the gymnasium herm for the schoolboys' sacrifice at the courtyard altar.<sup>28</sup> Seeing the impressive group of three herms filling one whole side of the pelike, we think at once of the Agora and the "Kimonian herms," and it seems very likely that this is just what the painter intended us to do. We know of no reason inherent in the nature of herms why three of them should be grouped together. In the case of the Eion herms the most reasonable explanation is that there were three generals and each of them paid for one herm.<sup>29</sup> Perhaps the easiest interpretation of our present fragmentary evidence is that these three herms were set up as an independent monument not long after 476/5 in honor of the victory at Eion and that when the Stoa of the Herms was built in this area some time later the three herms were moved into it.

The Louvre pelike provides a welcome link between these historical herms and the one early herm-head surviving in the Agora. The central herm on the pelike, which the painter shows frontally, has an archaic smile and a hat-like arch of curls just like those of our No. 156. In our head, the carving of the eyes, which is already early classical, contrasts with the archaic smile of the mouth. The coiffure, with braids wound around the head, is also early classical, but begins a little before 480.<sup>30</sup> The Pan Painter shows us that the archaic smile was still in fashion for herms in the 70's. Even without his testimony it seemed likely that our herm was later rather than earlier than 480 B.C., but his charming picture draws the evidence together and permits us to use the Agora stone as a model when we try to imagine the historical herms. The possibility that our head actually comes from one of them is tenuous but not wholly absent.

The Eion herms raise two questions concerning the herms of the Agora in general. Why was this particular location chosen for their dedication, and why were herms considered an appropriate dedication to commemorate a victory? It is not likely that the first herm at the north-west corner of the Agora was a boundary stone, for we have the Kleisthenic boundary stone of the southwest corner and it is not a herm.<sup>31</sup> In general, the idea of the herm as a boundary stone, though it has good support from other parts of the ancient world, is not well documented

<sup>23</sup> Wade-Gery, *J.H.S.*, LIII, 1933, pp. 82-95.

<sup>24</sup> *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, pp. 185-211.

<sup>25</sup> J. de la Genière, *R.E.A.*, LXII, 1960, pp. 249-253.

<sup>26</sup> Beazley, *Der Pan-maler*, pls. 2, 4; *A.R.V.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 550, no. 1. Lullies accepts this figure as a herm (*Typen*, p. 29, no. 46).

<sup>27</sup> *C.V.A.*, Wien, 2, III I, 76; *Pan-maler*, pl. 23, 1-2; *A.R.V.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 555, no. 88.

<sup>28</sup> *Pan-maler*, pl. 30, 1; *A.R.V.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 551, no. 15.

<sup>29</sup> This is Jacoby's suggestion (*Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, pp. 202f.).

<sup>30</sup> See below, pp. 142-143.

<sup>31</sup> This one was found in place. Two others, no longer *in situ*, but dating from the same period, were found in late contexts. Wycherley, 713 with bibliography. Thompson, *Agora Guide*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 57f.

for classical Athens.<sup>32</sup> Very many Attic boundary stones survive, of public, private and sacred places, and none has the form of a herm.

A second suggestion that has been made is that the Herms were dedications to Hermes Agoraios.<sup>33</sup> Since Pausanias saw the statue of Hermes Agoraios near the west end of the Poikile and since the Herms were adjacent to the Poikile on that side, it appears that the two were neighbors. They seem, however, to have been different in character. Hermes Agoraios did not have the traditional square form of the apotropaic herm, protector of roads and entrances, but was a fully anthropomorphic figure.<sup>34</sup> In Lucian's *Juppiter Tragoedus*, Hermagoras (Lucian's name for Hermes Agoraios) says that the bronzeworkers covered his chest and back with pitch, making a ridiculous corselet round his body to take the impression of the bronze.<sup>35</sup> This would not fit a herm. In general, the herm form does not seem to be characteristic for Hermes Agoraios. Pausanias says that the Hermes Agoraios in Sparta was carrying the child Dionysos.<sup>36</sup> Since he does not describe the images in Sikyon<sup>37</sup> and Thebes,<sup>38</sup> we can probably assume that they likewise were anthropomorphic. Only in Pharai in Achaëa does Pausanias tell us of a bearded Hermes Agoraios in square form, and there Hermes had the distinction of being more human than the other gods near by, who were nothing but square stones called by the names of gods.<sup>39</sup>

It is impossible to say much about the meaning of the Athenian Hermes Agoraios so long as we do not know the date of the archonship of Kebris, when the cult was instituted. We know only that it was some time between 587 and 481 B.C., and there are open years both under the Tyranny and under the Democracy, before and after Marathon.<sup>40</sup> Since the archonship of Kebris was certainly before Salamis, and since we cannot imagine that a bronze statue such as Lucian describes would have escaped being carried off by the Persians, who carried off the statues of the Tyrannicides and the dedication of Leagros,<sup>41</sup> it seems clear that the classical Hermes Agoraios must have been a replacement set up after 480. The description of his coiffure, ἀρχαῖος τὴν ἀνάδεσιν τῆς κόμης, indicates that it was not long after this date, and this quick restoration suggests that like the Tyrannicides the original was a monument of the Democracy rather than of the Tyranny. The fact that the first organized monumental treatment of the Agora took place under the Democracy<sup>42</sup> would also favor this notion.

The tradition of square herms, on the other hand, goes back to the time of Hipparchos. The first Attic herms attested in literature are those which he is said to have set up as halfway markers on the roads between the City and the demes. In the pseudo-Platonic dialogue, *Hipparchos*, these are described as having a verse written on the left-hand side which said that the herm was half-way between the City and such-and-such a deme, while on the right side one

<sup>32</sup> Nilsson, *Gnomon*, XXI, 1949, p. 258, remarks that herms are very rarely mentioned as boundary markers in the descriptions of boundaries that have come down to us, and that when they are, they are mentioned as any landmarks or natural object might be. Boundary stones are sacred to Zeus Horios, not to Hermes.

<sup>33</sup> A. von Domaszewski, *Die Hermen der Agora zu Athen*, p. 7.

<sup>34</sup> For a general discussion of Hermes Agoraios in Greek cities, see R. Martin, *Recherches sur l' agora grecque*, pp. 191-194. Norman Brown, *Hermes the Thief*, p. 108, says, "The characteristic form in which Hermes was represented as god of the Agora was the herm, which was an Athenian invention," but he does not document the statement. Since he recognizes that the Hermes Agoraios of Athens was a statue (p. 109) and discounts the Hermes Agoraios of Pharai (p. 109, note 12) as an oracular Hermes who probably got the name Agoraios at a late date, it is hard to see the basis for his statement. Jacoby suggests, *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, p. 194, note 132, that the Hermes Agoraios set up by the archon Kebris may have been one of the "herms dedicated by officials" mentioned by Menekles-Kallikrates, but in *F.G.H.*, III B, no. 328, 31, commentary, he speaks of the Hermes Agoraios as a statue. Actually our source does not say that he was set up by Kebris but only in his archonship.

<sup>35</sup> *Juppiter Tragoedus*, 33. Cf. Wycherley, pp. 102-103.

<sup>36</sup> III, 11, 11.

<sup>37</sup> II, 9, 8.

<sup>38</sup> IX, 17, 2.

<sup>39</sup> VII, 22, 2 and 4.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Wycherley, pp. 102-103; Cadoux, *J.H.S.*, LXVIII, 1948, p. 119; Jacoby, *F.G.H.*, III B, no. 328, 31, commentary.

<sup>41</sup> See above, p. 10 note 61, p. 33.

<sup>42</sup> See above, pp. 8-9.

read, "This is a memorial of Hipparchos," followed by a moralizing maxim, the whole inscription forming an elegiac couplet.<sup>43</sup> Part of an Hipparchan herm has actually survived, though it does not correspond exactly to the description in the dialogue. The left side of the shaft is missing, and the *right* side carries the hexameter ἐν μέσοι κεφαλῆς τε καὶ ἄστεος ἀγλαὸς ἡερμῆς. The head, which seems to have been attached separately, is entirely lost.<sup>44</sup> These road-marking herms, like the Altar of the Twelve Gods in the Agora which served as the zero milestone for measuring distances out of Athens, must have been part of the Attic road system set up by the Tyrants as well as being dedications and objects of cult.<sup>45</sup> The Altar of the Twelve Gods was founded by Peisistratos, the son of Hippias, in the year of his archonship (522/1 B.C.), but Thucydides says that the Athenians later enlarged the altar and hid the inscription.<sup>46</sup> This does not mean, however, that the dedications of the Tyrants were destroyed or the cults founded by them discontinued. The altar of Pythian Apollo which was also dedicated by the younger Peisistratos in memory of his archonship retained its inscription in the time of Thucydides, though the historian describes the letters as "indistinct."<sup>47</sup> It is clear from the *Hipparchos* that some at least of the Hipparchan herms were still to be seen in the Attic countryside in the time of Socrates and presumably still in the 4th century, when the dialogue was written.

There has been no great difficulty in understanding why Hipparchos chose herms for his road markers, though it has been debated whether or not he was the inventor of the typical Attic herm form. Theories of the ultimate origin of the god Hermes are various, but the etymology which links him with ἕρμα, the word for the heaps of stones that mark the way for travelers, has found fairly general acceptance.<sup>48</sup> His role as the protector of travelers is already established in the *Iliad*. Nilsson convincingly relates the Hermes who protects wayfarers to the Hermes who protects the city and the houses of men, so familiar to us from classical Athenian history. "Er schützt die Wegfahrer gegen die Gefahren, die ihnen begegnen, nicht nur gegen böse Menschen und wilde Tiere, sondern auch gegen Spukgestalten, die sich auf den Wegen herumtreiben. Denselben Schutz brauchen die Strassen der Stadt und die Wohnungen der Menschen, deshalb werden Hermen überall vor den Türen und Heiligtümern aufgestellt, was aus Athen besonders bekannt ist. Hermes wird προπύλαιος usw. genannt."<sup>49</sup>

City gates also fall under the protection of Hermes Propylaios. In 395/4 B.C. the nine archons, when they began to rebuild the walls of the Peiraeus, dedicated a herm by the Asty Gate which was known as Ἐρμῆς πρὸς τῇ πυλίδι.<sup>50</sup> At Messene Pausanias saw a herm at the city gates which he says was of Attic type.<sup>51</sup> In the case of Hekate and of Apollo Agyieus, who share with Hermes the protection of the streets and entrance ways of 5th century Athens, the function of protecting city gates is very old, at least in their homeland of Asia Minor.<sup>52</sup> It seems more likely than not that in the case of the Attic herm also this function goes back to the archaic period. The square

<sup>43</sup> [Plato], *Hipparchos*, 228 D – 229 A.

<sup>44</sup> *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 837; Kirchner, *Imagines*<sup>2</sup>, pl. 5, no. 11; Jeffery, *Local Scripts*, pp. 75, 78, no. 35; most complete publication by Dow and Kirchner, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXII, 1937, pp. 1–3, pl. 1. Originally published by Fourmont, it was lost and rediscovered in the museum in Koropi, where it now resides. Since 1937 it has been broken into three pieces and the top piece lost. Dow and Kirchner observed traces of an anathyrosis on the top, indicating that the head was made separately.

<sup>45</sup> For a general discussion, see J. F. Crome, "Hipparcheioi Hermai," *Ath. Mitt.*, LX–LXI, 1935–36, pp. 300–313.

<sup>46</sup> Thucydides, VI, 54, 7. For the history of the altar, see M. Crosby, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, pp. 82–103; H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 47–82; and R. E. Wycherley, *C. Q.*, N.S. IV, 1954, pp. 143–150.

<sup>47</sup> For their present condition, see Kirchner, *Imagines*<sup>2</sup>, pl. 5, no. 12.

<sup>48</sup> Nilsson, *Geschichte*, I<sup>2</sup>, pp. 503–505; Eitrem, *R.E.*, s.v. Hermes; Chittenden, *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 95.

<sup>49</sup> *Geschichte*, I<sup>2</sup>, pp. 507–508.

<sup>50</sup> Jacoby, *F.G.H.*, III B, 328, 40. Jacoby shows that the date, wrongly given by Judeich and others as 493/2 (the original walling of the Peiraeus in the archonship of Themistokles), must be 395/4 (the beginning of the rebuilding under Konon) because the quotation is from the 5th book of Philochoros. The epigram reads:

Ἄρξάμενοι πρῶτοι τεχνίλειν οἶδ' ἀνέθηκον  
βουλῆς καὶ δήμου δόγμασι πειθόμενοι.

<sup>51</sup> IV, 33, 3.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Kraus, *Hekate*, pp. 11–13.

shaft has analogies in the Apollo and Hekate stones of Asia Minor, and the apotropaic power of the phallos is used in early Italy for the protection of city gates.<sup>53</sup> When Hipparchos set up herms on all the main roads out of Athens, it would have been natural to set them up also at the principal gates. In pre-Persian Athens the most important gate of all lay at the northwest corner of the Agora. If John Travlos is right in locating this gate just inside the forking of the roads here, the Herms and the Stoa of the Herms may fall just outside the original place of the gate.<sup>54</sup> The nucleus of the herm dedications here, then, may have been a Hermes Propylaios established before the gate in the time of the Peisistratids.

Since the archaic city wall was destroyed by the Persians and since the Themistoklean Wall was built farther out,<sup>55</sup> this did not remain the site of a city gate in classical times. If the tradition of dedicating herms here was a survival from the time when this was the entrance to the city as well as to the Agora, we must imagine that it took firm root in the early years of the Democracy and that the appropriateness of a herm as a monument of achievement was fully established by the time when Kimon and his fellow generals proposed their Eion monument. If the epigrams on the Hipparchan herms are correctly reported to us in the dialogue, Hipparchos himself took the step of calling a herm dedication a "memorial" (μνημα) of himself. The younger Peisistratos, who held the archonship in 522/1, was able to designate his altars, certainly that of Pythian Apollo and presumably also the Altar of the Twelve Gods, as "memorials" of his archonship. If there was a Peisistratid herm at the meeting of the roads outside the main gate, it was probably designated as a memorial of some member of the family, perhaps even of Hippias himself. After the expulsion of the tyrants the Athenians may have chosen rather to eclipse this memorial of the tyrants by similar monuments of their own achievements than to abolish the cult of Hermes at the gate, a point always in need of divine protection.

Meritt has suggested that the much-discussed fragments of a base bearing two epigrams commemorating the Persian Wars come from a herm monument.<sup>56</sup> This can be neither proved nor disproved by what survives of the stone itself.<sup>57</sup> The use of the demonstrative in the epigrams

<sup>53</sup> Cf. G. Lugli, *La tecnica edilizia romana*, Rome, 1957, pp. 96–98.

<sup>54</sup> *Op.cit.*, above, note 9, pp. 40–42.

<sup>55</sup> Thucydides, I, 93, 2.

<sup>56</sup> Agora I 303 and *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 763 (now transferred to the Agora Museum). Meritt, *Aegean and Near East*, pp. 268–280. Add to his bibliography *S.E.G.*, XIV, 1957, p. 11, no. 18; XVI, p. 6, no. 22; XIX, p. 9, no. 38; Amandry, *Θεοπία, Festschrift für W. H. Schwuchardt*, Baden-Baden, 1960, pp. 1–8; Pritchett, *Marathon*, University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology, 4, pp. 160–168; Peek, *Hermes*, LXXXVIII, 1960, pp. 494–498; Meritt, *A.J.P.*, LXXXIII, 1962, pp. 294–298. Before Meritt, the connection of the epigram with the Herms was suggested by L. Weber (*Philologus*, LXXVI, 1920, pp. 65–66), who regarded the surviving fragment (the Agora piece being then unknown) as part of a continuous base that carried three herms, and by Wilhelm, who revived the suggestion after the discovery of the Agora fragment but made the mistake of taking the inscribed stone as part of the shaft of the herm, up-ending it and taking the bottom as the side face (*Anz. Ak. Wien. Ph.-Hist. Kl.*, LXXI, 1934, no. 10, pp. 89ff.).

<sup>57</sup> Only the front part of the base is preserved, and the right-hand fragment shows the remains of a cutting of which the front left-hand corner survives, directly behind the rho in the first line of the epigram. The front edge of the cutting is 0.17 m. back from the front edge of the block. Meritt estimates the distance from the left edge of the base to the start of the cutting at ca. 0.85 m. and the whole width of the base at ca. 1.25 m. (assuming that the block was little wider than the inscription). This small, off-center socket cannot have held the only object on the base. Meritt restores two herms, symmetrically placed. Actually, the base could accommodate two herms with shaft about 0.22 m. × 0.18 m., i.e. of about the same size as our No. 156, but we have no precedent for multiple herms on a single base. We do not know how the Eion herms were set up, and the Pan Painter pelike, above, p. 111, does not preserve the bases of the three herms depicted. A. E. Raubitschek suggested that the cutting was made after the block was in place, to carry a secondary stele, which he associated with the second epigram (*A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pp. 53–59). Since the latter appears to have been added after the block was in place (cf. Pritchett, *op.cit.*, pp. 162–163), this suggestion is appealing. Since the inscribed block is broader and lower in its proportions than an ordinary herm or stele base, it may be that a second block rested on it as on a step. In this case the cutting for a secondary stone (stele or herm) would have been set into the lower step, as a herm or stele shaft has been set into the lower step of the big, square base, possibly for a herm, mentioned above, p. 110 and note 16, and by Meritt, *op.cit.*, p. 275, note 22. Amandry, *op. cit.*, p. 8, note 18, suggests that the cutting may be simply for a dowel fastening an upper member to the base. This would be an unusually large dowel, but it must be confessed that so long as we have only one side of the cutting, there are many possibilities. Taken by itself, the broad low form of the block suggests rather a base for a bronze statue or group than either a herm or stele base, but this leaves the demonstrative in the epigrams unexplained. Peek suggests that a third epigram previously published by him was part of the same monument, but he does not discuss its physical form.

seems to call for further identification of the persons honored, and for this reason a stele or a herm seems more likely than a statue, but a stele containing a list of names might well in this period have much the same proportions as a herm.<sup>58</sup> Since there has been so much disagreement about the reconstruction and interpretation of this most important monument, it cannot be taken as a cornerstone in the history of the Herms, but if it was among them we cannot afford to ignore it. The most that we can do now is to make a few observations beginning with the protasis, "if it was a herm monument."

If it was, it furnishes a parallel and perhaps, depending on its date, a precedent, for the Eion herms.<sup>58a</sup> It is unlikely, if the monument was a herm (or herms), that it was sepulchral and carried a casualty list. It must, like the Eion herms, have honored those who fought rather than only those who died.<sup>59</sup> Since the poems make clear that they refer to major engagements, neither a herm nor a stele would give space for the *names* of all the men who fought. They must have been designated by the place or places in which they fought (nowhere named in the epigrams) or, less probably, by the names of their leaders.

It has generally been agreed that the second of the two poems on the base refers to the battle of Marathon. The first poem can be restored either to fit Marathon or to fit both land and naval engagements of the second Persian War. There have been various explanations of the fact that the second poem was engraved after the first, the block having been designed to carry only one epigram. These involve differences in the relative dates of composition of the poems and in the absolute date of the monument. Three possibilities have been suggested: 1) The base itself was carved before 480 B.C. Both poems are contemporary and refer to Marathon. The monument was destroyed by the Persians and not renewed.<sup>60</sup> 2) The base was carved after 480 as a restoration of an earlier monument, and both poems refer to Marathon but the second on the base is the original poem, whereas the first was composed after 480. Popular sentiment forced the inclusion of the old poem, although its reference to saving Athens from burning by the Persians had seemed inappropriate to the authors of the restored monument.<sup>61</sup> 3) The base was carved after 480. Both poems were composed after 480, but the first refers to the second Persian War and the second, referring to Marathon, was added by Kimon. The reference to the burning of the city is a deliberate slap at Themistokles.<sup>62</sup>

None of these excludes the possibility that the monument carried a herm. We may note, however, that in cases 1) and 2) the location which was later called the Herms would be especially appropriate, being just outside the gates at the time when the monument with the words αἰχμὴν στήσαν πρόσθε πυλῶν was set up. In case 3) this point of reference would be lacking, but the use of the monument for negative propaganda would be less shocking in a dedication of such as a herm than on a sepulchral monument.

A fourth possibility would combine elements of 2) and 3): The base was carved after 480 and the first poem with its Panhellenic outlook referred to the battles of the second Persian War, but the monument replaced a Marathon monument which had been destroyed by the Persians. Public sentiment (whether or not embodied in the person of Kimon) forced the inclusion of Marathon in the list of battles and the re-engraving of the original epigram.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Cf. *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 928, casualty list of 465/4 and 464/3, which seems to have been a pillar-like stele inscribed on all four sides.

<sup>58a</sup> Peek, *op.cit.*, p. 498, suggests that it may have been contemporary with them.

<sup>59</sup> Jacoby, *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, pp. 171-174, argues from the wording of the poems that they are not epitaphs.

<sup>60</sup> Jacoby, *op.cit.*; Oliver, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 486.

<sup>61</sup> Meritt, *op.cit.*

<sup>62</sup> Amandry, *op.cit.* The later addition of the Marathon epigram by Kimon was previously suggested by Hiller von Gaertringen, *Gnomon*, 1936, pp. 293-294. This possibility is mentioned by Pritchett, *op.cit.*, p. 162.

<sup>63</sup> This view would accept the argument, which seemed valid to Meritt though not to Jacoby, that before 480 the Athenians would not have looked upon Marathon as a battle to save "all Greece" from slavery. There is no doubt that in after times Marathon was regarded in this light, but we do not find the idea expressed in Herodotos' account of the battle, and the one

Yet another theory, that of Peek, does not allow for a difference in the dates of the poems nor explain the second as an afterthought. He would have the whole monument made after 480 and including three epigrams in all, the two on the stone in question and a third partly preserved on a separate fragment that must have belonged to a different block. The first epigram would celebrate all the land and sea battles of the Persian Wars, the second, of course, Marathon. The third would celebrate Plataea and Salamis. He does not treat the Marathon epigram as in any sense a restoration of a destroyed monument.<sup>63a</sup>

The curious and inescapable fact that the Eion dedication took the form of herms is certainly best explained if we imagine a precedent which involved a victory. Marathon, being a defensive struggle in which the enemy was repelled from the home soil and the city was saved, was more appropriately symbolized by the protective Attic herm than such a far-flung expedition as that of the Strymon. It is chiefly due to the need for such a precedent that the connection of the "Marathon base" with the Herms has been made repeatedly even though the restorations have differed.

The truth about the Herms probably lies somewhere between Weber's "Siegesallee," of which Jacoby was rightly scornful,<sup>64</sup> and Jacoby's own contention that the Eion herms were the only ones that constituted a victory monument.<sup>65</sup> It may well be, however, that this use of herms did not survive the age of Kimon. The feeling that there was a danger of such monuments becoming personal monuments of the generals may have made them unpopular. Jacoby has explained the difficulties in the Eion poem by transposing the first and third epigrams and athetizing the last two lines of the latter:

οὕτως οὐδὲν ἀεικὲς Ἀθηναίοισι καλεῖσθαι  
κοσμηταῖς πολέμου τ' ἀμφὶ καὶ ἡνωρέης.

He attributes both the transposition and the added couplet to the orator who first used the poem for a moralizing purpose. "It drove home the moral which he wished to draw from the poem which did not give even the names of the generals, because it openly and clearly heaped all glory on 'the Athenians' who had a right to be called κοσμηταὶ μάχης on account of what they had achieved at different times and under different leadership."<sup>66</sup> Wycherley has sounded a warning:

In considering such speculations one should bear in mind that the monuments stood in a central, conspicuous and much-frequented place; whether the verses were accessible in literary works or not, the Herms were certainly familiar objects to Aischines and his hearers. Aischines by recognized oratorical license can make free with historical events,

epigram which implies something of the kind is generally recognized to be later (Diehl, *Anth. Lyr.*, Simonides, 88 a). This question, subjective as it may seem, is probably more important for deciding the date of the epigram than the condition of the stone or the forms of the letters. It has been usual to say that the Agora fragment is "remarkably fresh," but this is only relative. It has certainly not had the centuries of hard weathering that the Tyrannicides base shows, but neither has it the freshness of the archaic inscriptions found in the Persian debris on the Acropolis. Since we do not know whether the monument stood in a protected or an exposed place nor how long it stood, we can draw no definite conclusion. Letter forms, like style in sculpture, do not serve to date a monument definitely before or after 480. In general, the styles of these technical arts, which flourish in peace time and show rapid development only while they are flourishing, rarely ever serve to determine whether a given monument was made shortly before or shortly after a time of military crisis, whereas the crisis and its resolution do bring about profound and rapid changes in a people's way of thinking.

There is still no general agreement as to whether the 4th century inscription which Meritt suggests is a copy of the first epigram is actually one. Amandry and Peek accepted the fact, though not the details of Meritt's restoration. Generally the idea has been received with scepticism, but the pros and cons deserve to be argued in more detail than they have been. Especially important is it to explain the use of the 4th century piece (which looks like part of an orthostate from a big statue base).

<sup>63a</sup> *Op.cit.*, p. 498.

<sup>64</sup> *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, pp. 170, 176, 193, 203ff.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 170, 203-204, 209.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 200.

but one doubts whether he could take more than slight liberties with monuments which were at hand and known to all.<sup>67</sup>

Ought we not to consider the possibility that the transposition and the additions were made not in an orator's notebook but on the stones themselves? We know that the Athenians transposed the couplets of the epigram on the Boeotians and Chalcidians when they restored that monument in the mid 5th century.<sup>68</sup> In the case of the three herms the transposition could be effected simply by moving the herms into a different order, and the added couplet could be engraved on the one which now came last. The same feeling that Aischines expresses, "that the inscription should seem to be of the Demos and not of the generals," may have prompted the change.

If the dedication of victory herms at the northwest corner of the Agora was a short-lived practice, the dedication of herms for other purposes must have continued, for there is no reason to doubt the statement that there were many herms here, dedicated both by officials and by private persons. We may imagine that during the 5th century only dedications of officials in the name of their office were allowed, and that later this honor was gradually extended to private persons. We have no surviving example of either of these classes that can be attached to this location, but the dedication of herms by officials is a perfectly credible thing. The nine archons as noted above dedicated a herm in the Peiraeus in 395/4 B.C. at the Asty Gate to commemorate the beginning of the rebuilding of the walls.<sup>69</sup> Their epigram, ending with: βουλῆς καὶ δήμου δόγμασι πειθόμενοι, with its, to us, comical echoes of the Thermopylae epitaph, ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι, shows that no compunction was felt in this period about extending to prosaic civil achievement the heroic language of the Persian Wars. Even more exaggerated is the imitation of a Kimonian epigram in an early 4th century (376/5 B.C.) inscription honoring two benefactors of the Tribe Kekropis:<sup>70</sup>

Ἐξ οὗ Κέκροπα λαὸς Ἀθηναίων ὀνομάζ[ει]  
καὶ χάραν Παλλὰς τήνδ' ἔκτισε δήμῳ Ἀ[θηναίων]  
οὐδὲς Σωσιβίο καὶ Πύρρο μείζονα θνήτ[ων]  
φυλὴν Κεκροπιδῶν ἔργῳ ἔδρασε ἀγαθὰ

The feeling that civic service was the prime εὐεργεσία for an Athenian citizen would have been reason enough to have herms dedicated by magistrates alongside the old war memorials.

## 2. THE HERM OF ANDOKIDES AND TRIBAL HERMS

A famous herm whose nature and location are not entirely clear to us was the so-called "Herm of Andokides," which "alone of all the herms in Athens" escaped mutilation in 415 B.C.<sup>71</sup> It was near the house of Andokides and by the Phorbanteion and the orator's story was that the Hermokopidai left it alone because Euphiletos had told them that Andokides would take care of it. This has become involved in discussions of the Herms of the Agora because Andokides in speaking of it says "which you all see," and this has been taken to mean that it was visible from the Stoa Basileios where the trial was taking place. This herm was dedicated by the Tribe Aigeis, which suggested to Domaszewski that each of the ten tribes had a herm in the Agora. From the Mnesimachos reference (above, p. 108) he concluded that the cavalry of each tribe lined itself up

<sup>67</sup> *Agora*, III, p. 104.

<sup>68</sup> *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 394. Raubitschek, *Dedications*, no. 168; *S.E.G.*, XV, no. 32.

<sup>69</sup> See above, p. 13, note 50.

<sup>70</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1141; Pritchett, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 263, no. 67. This imitates *Anth. Lyr.* (Diehl), Simonides, 103.

<sup>71</sup> Andokides, I (*De Mysteriis*), 62. For other references to this herm and the house of Andokides, see Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 353, note 3.

by the herm of that tribe, and he also tried to associate the "tribal herms" with the "gates" through which citizens entered by tribes to cast their votes in an ostracism. The mutilation of the herms was horrifying to the Athenians, he said, because it destroyed "the symbols of the political life of the Athenian Demos and its *herrliche Siegeskraft*."<sup>72</sup> Apparently he took the "tribal herms" to represent the political life and the Kimonian herms the *Siegeskraft*. Few if any have accepted his whole reconstruction, but the notion of tribal herms has persisted, so that it seems worthwhile to inquire more particularly what the herm of Aigeis was and where it stood.

A base found in the Agora bears a cutting of the right size for a herm, and the inscription says, "Antiochis was victorious as prytanizing tribe in the archonship of Demostratos" (393/2 B.C.).<sup>73</sup> To judge from other similar inscriptions, this was a dedication of the prytaneis of Antiochis who had been honored for their superior service to the Demos. It would appear that in the late 5th and 4th centuries the prytaneis of only one tribe were given this honor each year, so that it represented a kind of prize in a contest for service.<sup>74</sup> The dedication of the victorious prytaneis was not always the same. Sometimes it was a statue;<sup>75</sup> sometimes it was a stele crowned with a relief;<sup>76</sup> and sometimes the cutting on the base looks as if it were made to hold a herm.<sup>77</sup> Nor do these dedications seem to have been all set up in the same place. Their finding-places are not centered around the Agora as are those of the later prytany decrees which were set up in the Prytanikon.<sup>78</sup> One belonging to the 1st half of the 4th century which was dedicated by the Prytaneis of Leontis bears the name of the hero Leos in the dative, indicating that it is a dedication to him.<sup>79</sup> This suggests that, like the decrees of the tribes, these early prytany dedications may have been set up in the sanctuaries of the Eponymous Heroes.<sup>80</sup> A base for a dedication of the prytaneis of Aigeis for 341/0 has on its sides decrees of the tribe in honor of special groups of the prytaneis.<sup>81</sup> It seems possible that such a prytany dedication might

<sup>72</sup> *Die Hermen der Agora zu Athen*, pp. 9–12, 20. His conclusions are accepted by Crome, *Ath. Mitt.*, LX–LXI, 1935–36, p. 308.

<sup>73</sup> Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, pp. 36–37, no. 44.

<sup>74</sup> This is plainly expressed in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1142: *ἔτι ἔκρινεν αὐτὸς ἡ Βολὴ νικᾶν τὰς ἄλλας φυλάς ὡς ἄριστα πρυτανεύσαντας*. On these dedications in general cf. Raubitschek, *Dedications*, p. 191 and references there cited.

<sup>75</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1742 (Leontis).

<sup>76</sup> Walter, *Beschreibung der Reliefs im kleinen Akropolismuseum in Athen*, p. 98, no. 55; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1743 (Kekropis).

<sup>77</sup> *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, pp. 36–37, no. 44. Also *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1745 (Oineis, 360/59 B.C., cutting in top 0.94 × 0.29 m.), 1751 (Pandionis, second half of 4th c., cutting 0.295 × 0.23 m.), 2370 (Pandionis, cutting 0.35 × 0.28 m. The similarity of this last stone to other prytany dedications suggests that it is one, though the heading is not preserved). Koumanoudes, *R.E.G.*, LXXIII, 1960, pp. 88–99 (Pandionis, cutting 0.26 × 0.20 m.).

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, *Prytaneis*, 1937, p. 1; Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 472–475.

<sup>79</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1742.

<sup>80</sup> D. M. Lewis, *B.S.A.*, L, 1955, p. 22, gives a list of find-spots of inscriptions "set up certainly or probably in the hieron of Pandion." He includes in this list prytany dedications as well as decrees and choregic inscriptions. Out of 18 inscriptions listed, all but five are from the Acropolis. Of the five, three are of unknown provenance, one mentioned as in a private house in Athens and one *ad Gigantes* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2370, cf. above, note 77). The base published by Koumanoudes (*R.E.G.*, LXXIII, 1960, pp. 88–99) was also found on the Acropolis. Decrees and dedications of Kekropis and Erechtheis likewise come mostly from the Acropolis, where the sanctuaries of these heroes were. The statue base with a dedication of Leontis to Leos (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1742) was also found on the Acropolis, which seems to indicate that he had a cult there as well as in Hagnous (cf. *R.E.*, s.v. Leos, col. 2059). There may not have been a hard and fast rule about the location of tribal dedications. If the Hero was buried in an accessible place and one generally frequented by the whole Athenian people, this became the center for the tribe. Otherwise the tribe used a place which satisfied these requirements and had some connection with the Hero. The sanctuary of Leos in Hagnous was neither in the city nor in a deme belonging to Leontis. The Hippothontion, on the other hand, was in Eleusis, which did belong to Hippothontis, and two decrees of Hippothontis, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1149 and 1153, were found in Eleusis. A decree of Aiantis, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 94, no. 15 (Agora I 3625) specifies that it is to be set up in the Eurysakeion (cf. Wycherley, *Agora*, III, pp. 92–93). The Eurysakeion was also a center for the Salaminians and Wycherley suggests (*op.cit.*, p. 91) that the Aianteion in the Agora mentioned in various decrees of the Salaminians was associated with the Eurysakeion on Kolonos Agoraios. Three decrees of Antiochis were found in the sanctuary of Herakles at Kynosarges, *S.E.G.*, III, p. 26, nos. 115, 116, 117; Karouzos, *Δελτιόν*, VIII, 1923, pp. 85–99, nos. 1, 2 and 4. The last specifies the Hieron of Antiochos as the place of its setting up. Karouzos concludes that it was in the temenos of Herakles rather than being an independent sanctuary. All three decrees belong to the 4th century B.C. The prytany dedication of Antiochis mentioned above was not found in the churches Ilissos area but in the Church of Panagia Vlassarou in the area of the Agora. It should be noted, however, that stones used in have often wandered far from their original sites.

<sup>81</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1749.

be referred to loosely as a dedication of the tribe. If the custom of prytany dedications had begun by 415, the herm of Aigeis may have been one. If not, it may be regarded as a forerunner in the sense that it was the same kind of offering that later served as one variety of prytany dedication.<sup>82</sup> The earliest extant prytany dedication (408/7 B.C.), made on the Acropolis by Erechtheis, seems to have been a dedication to Athena.<sup>83</sup> Pritchett suggests that others besides the Eponymous Hero and Athena may also have been the recipients of such dedications.<sup>84</sup> If we knew more about Phorbas in Athens, we might even find a reason why the herm dedicated by Aigeis should have been dedicated directly to him. A vase by the Kodros Painter shows Phorbas with Theseus, Aigeus, Medea and Aithra.<sup>85</sup>

So far as I know, no decree of Aigeis has been found which mentions where it is to be set up, and we have only two early prytany dedications of Aigeis. The one mentioned above is from near the Little Metropolitan and the other (apparently lost) was seen "in loco monasterii Cyriani appendice."<sup>86</sup> These do not serve to fix the location of the sanctuary of Aigeus. Pausanias says that there was a Heroon of Aigeus in Athens, but he does not say where it was.<sup>87</sup> Lolling conjectured that it was a small structure represented by a rock cutting just below the south face of the Nike Bastion, where Aigeus leaped to his death.<sup>88</sup> It is unlikely that this spot served as a center for decrees and dedications of the Tribe Aigeis, for none has been found near by, though the succession of late fortifications in this area has tended to keep the majority of the ancient marbles close to home. It is likely either that the Heroon of Aigeus was elsewhere or that the tribe had the Theseion for its center as Aiantis did the Eurysakeion and Antiochis the sanctuary of Herakles in Kynosarges.<sup>89</sup> If the Acropolis spot was not the Heroon mentioned by Pausanias, then the Heroon of Aigeus may actually have been adjacent to the Theseion.

Andokides describes the herm of Aigeis as "by the Phorbanteion" and "by my ancestral house."<sup>90</sup> Judeich says that one might expect the Phorbanteion to be near the Theseion, but that it cannot have been so, because the herm of Aigeis must have stood in the city Trittys of that tribe.<sup>91</sup> But since we have seen that the activities of each tribe center around the sanctuary of its Eponymous Hero, this argument does not seem valid. The sanctuaries of the Heroes were rarely in the demes of their tribes.<sup>92</sup> A location near the Theseion would put the house of Andokides in

<sup>82</sup>H. R. Immerwahr, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 341-343, no. 1, publishes a dedication of Pandionis which has simply the form Πανδίωνις ἀνέθηκε without further explanation. He mentions the herm of Andokides (*ibid.*, note 20) as a possible parallel.

<sup>83</sup>*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 398. Raubitschek, *Dedications*, p. 188, no. 167.

<sup>84</sup>*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 232, note 15.

<sup>85</sup>*A.R.V.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 1268, no. 1; *C.V.A.*, Bologna, I, pls. 19-22. For literature on Phorbas see Jacoby, *F.G.H.*, III B, Supplement, 334 (Istros), F 31, pp. 645-647. He suggests that the hero of the Athenian Phorbanteion was originally the son of Poseidon who fought against Erechtheus but that he became drawn into the sphere of Theseus. Cf. p. 646: "We cannot really distinguish two different figures." He states that the Phorbanteion was "not near the Theseion but on the market," but this may not be a valid distinction. See below, note 97a. It is as the comrade in arms of Theseus that Phorbas appears in 5th century vase-paintings.

<sup>86</sup>I.e. Kaisariani. It was copied by Fourmont and does not seem to have been seen by any subsequent editor. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1747.

<sup>87</sup>*I.*, 22, 5. Cf. Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 216.

<sup>88</sup>*Ath. Mitt.*, XI, 1886, pp. 322f.

<sup>89</sup>See above, note 80.

<sup>90</sup>*I.*, 62. Cf. the commentary on this passage in A. Makkink, *Andokides eerste Rede*, Amsterdam and Paris, 1932, pp. 179-181, and D. MacDowell, *Andokides' On the Mysteries*, Oxford, 1962, p. 103.

<sup>91</sup>*Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 353. Makkink, *op.cit.*, p. 180, points out that no ancient testimony places it in the territory of Aigeis, and MacDowell, p. 103, considers it more likely to have been in Pandionis. See below.

<sup>92</sup>So far as the locations of the sanctuaries of heroes inside the city of Athens are known, it would seem that they are located in places which might actually have had prehistoric graves. The heroa of the earliest kings (Kekrops, Erechtheus, Pandion) were on the Acropolis. Others tend to be to the north, in the area of the later Agora (Eurysakeion, possibly Theseion). An altar dedicated to Akamas together with Hermes and Zeus Herkeios was found at the Dipylon (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4933). Although the Kleisthenic tribes were artificial political creations, they seem to have retained the desire to attach themselves to some spot of earth which had an authentic ancient history. If they no longer worshipped their personal ancestors, they still cherished their collective autochthony. This means that the sanctuaries of several tribes might be in one deme. Within the city of Athens, where the demes themselves were more or less artificial, there would have been no particular feeling of inappropriateness in this situation.

the deme of Kydathenaion, to which his family belonged.<sup>93</sup> Since he was from one of the oldest Athenian families and since he stresses the antiquity of his father's house, referring to it as a symbol of the family and its service to the city,<sup>94</sup> it seems very likely that the family had lived in the same place since the time of Kleisthenes (whether or not the house had been burned in 480 and rebuilt).

The other reference that we have to the house of Andokides also involves the law courts and the sculptors' quarter of Athens. In Plutarch's *De Genio Socratis* is a story that Socrates, starting to walk up to the "Symbolon and the house of Andokides," was warned by his Sign and turned off "through the chest-makers" while some of his brash young companions went straight on in defiance of the Sign and were run down by a herd of muddy pigs as they were passing through "the hermoglyphs beside the lawcourts."<sup>95</sup> A marble-working section that goes back to the classical period was found in the industrial district southwest of the Agora and near it a large poros building dating from the 5th century B.C. which might have been a law court. It was therefore suggested by R. S. Young that his "Street of the Marble-Workers" in this southwest area might be the street of the hermoglyphs and the poros building the law courts concerned.<sup>96</sup>

Since this suggestion was made, however, other and better candidates for law courts have been discovered in the Agora. The plural τὰ δικαστήρια would suit the 5th century complex on the east side, in one room of which six dicast's ballots were found.<sup>97</sup> If we imagine that the house of Andokides was southeast of the Agora and near the Theseion,<sup>97a</sup> Socrates' intended route may have led up by the east side of this complex. When he received the warning from his Sign he may have turned off to the east. This involves postulating more than one marble-working section in classical Athens, but that is in itself not unlikely.<sup>98</sup>

Whether or not these topographical conjectures are true, it seems clear that the Herm of Andokides was not one of "The Herms" but is to be classed among the sanctuary herms. Thucydides speaks of the herms in Athens that were mutilated in 415 B.C. as καὶ ἐν ἰδίοις προθύροις καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς.<sup>99</sup> If we are right in assuming that some of the dedications of victorious prytaneis were herms set up in sanctuaries of the heroes, it appears that "official" and "sacred" herms were not sharply distinguished. The dedications by the prytaneis will have followed a custom already established by individuals who dedicated herms in sanctuaries.

### 3. HERMS DEDICATED BY INDIVIDUALS

A fair number of herm dedications by individuals are preserved from the first half of the 5th century. Those which stood alone in the countryside will have constituted cult spots in themselves, like the Hipparchan herms and the later crossroads Hekataia. Others seem to have been dedications to Hermes in an area generally sacred to the god himself, and still others were set up in the sanctuaries of other gods and heroes, probably most often as Hermes Propylaios.

The herm from Chaidari set up by the grandsons of Kalliteles to replace one established earlier by Kalliteles himself is an example of the first type.<sup>100</sup> The original herm may have belonged to the archaic period. The replacement was set up around the middle of the 5th century

<sup>93</sup> Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, p. 61, no. 828. Cf. MacDowell, *op.cit.*, p. 103.

<sup>94</sup> Andokides, I, 146-147.

<sup>95</sup> Plutarch, *De Genio Socratis*, 10 (580 d-f). Cf. Wycherley, *Agora*, III, pp. 203-204, no. 682.

<sup>96</sup> *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 139 (Young), 185 (Crosby). Cf. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 168, note 21.

<sup>97</sup> Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 58-61; XXIX, 1960, p. 363, note 52; *Agora Guide*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 205f.

<sup>97a</sup> If we accept Thompson's recent suggestion that the Theseion was located in the south part of the Agora, the heroon proper (*sekos*) being the rectangular enclosure formerly identified as the Heliaia and the open part of the sanctuary covering most of the area of the later South Square (*A.J.A.*, LXIX, 1965, p. 177), the Phorbanteion and the house of Andokides may have been quite close to the southeast corner of the Agora and the herm may even, conceivably, have been visible from the Royal Stoa.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. above, general introduction.

<sup>99</sup> VI, 27, 1.

<sup>100</sup> *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 834; E.M. 10426. Wilhelm, *Jahreshefte*, II, 1899, p. 229, fig. 129.

B.C. The herm of Leokrates the son of Stroibos, found in Markopoulo, probably also belonged to this class. The expanded version of its epigram which appears in the Anthology as a work of Simonides links it with the Academy, but Wilhelm rightly doubts that the Markopoulo herm has wandered all the way from the Academy. He points out that the addition was made by someone who did not properly understand the original epigram.<sup>101</sup> It seems possible, however, that Leokrates dedicated more than one herm. Since he was a famous general in the age of Kimon, he may well have had something to do with victory herms. The use of εὐεργεσίην in the addition to the poem suggests that the later poet also had "The Herms" in mind.<sup>102</sup> He may have known of a tradition now lost to us that Leokrates was honored by a herm (anonymous) in the Agora and also dedicated herms in his own name in the Academy and elsewhere.

An early classical base from the Peiraeus with a dedication to Hermes must also have held a herm. This was dedicated by Python of Abdera and the herm was made by the Parian sculptor Euphron.<sup>103</sup> The Peiraeus seems to have been rich in Hermes cults, and though we do not have a specific epithet for the Hermes here honored, the finding of a herm-head of Roman workmanship near to the finding-place of the base suggests that this was an area sacred to Hermes. Python dedicates as a traveler "having visited many cities."

In the Amphiarraion at Oropos was found a herm of the latest archaic or early classical period signed by Strombichos as sculptor.<sup>104</sup> The dedication is not preserved; presumably it was carved on the base as in the case of Python's herm. In the latter the sculptor's signature forms part of the epigram, as in two archaic grave monuments by Phaidimos.<sup>105</sup> In the Amphiarraion herm the sculptor's signature is separate from the dedication as the signature of Aristokles is separated from the sepulchral inscription on the stele of Aristion.<sup>106</sup> Since we do not have any other dedications so early from the Amphiarraion, it may be that this was an independent herm which was later brought into the sanctuary. It was found in the theater.

A base from the Eleusinion found in the Agora excavations probably held a herm dedicated in the *prothyron* of the sanctuary. The letters on the base date it to the middle of the 5th century B.C. and the cutting in its top is of just the right size and depth for a herm. The epigram reads:

[A]ρρητὸ τελετῆς πρόπολος σῆς, πότνια Διοῖ,  
καὶ θυγατρὸς προθύρο κόσμον ἀγαλμα τόδε  
ἔστησεν στεφανῶ Λυσιστράτη οὐδὲ παρόντων  
φείδεται ἀλλὰ θεοῖς ἀφθονος ἐξ δύναιμιν.

W. K. Pritchett, who first published the inscription, suggested that we read στεφανῶ "two crowns," and interpret the stone as a base for a pillar that supported two honorary crowns awarded to the priestess and dedicated by her to the goddesses.<sup>107</sup> M. Guarducci felt, reasonably,

<sup>101</sup> *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 821. Wilhelm, *op.cit.*, pp. 228 ff., fig. 128; Dow and Kirchner, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXII, 1937, p. 3. The expanded epigram, Diehl, *Anth. Lyr.*, Simonides, 101 b.

<sup>102</sup> The phrase ἀντ' εὐεργεσίης occurs in the Eion epigrams and also in an epigram beginning ἀντ' εὐεργεσίης Ἀγαμέμνονα δῆσαν Ἀχαιοί quoted by Harpokration (*s.v.* Ἐρμαί) as being on one of The Herms.

<sup>103</sup> Karouzos, *B.C.H.*, LXX, 1946, pp. 263-270. The base, *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 826; is now in the Peiraeus Museum. Cf. L. H. Jeffery, *Local Scripts*, pp. 365, 370, no. 29. Dimensions of the base are: L. 0.56 m., W. 0.475 m., H. 0.455 m. The cutting measures 0.95 m. × ca. 0.265 m. and 0.045 m. deep. For a discussion of Euphron and his other works, see Raubitschek, *Dedications*, pp. 500f. Karouzos, *op.cit.*, tentatively attributes to Euphron the head of a herm of Curtius' Type D (Pl. 66, e) found near by, but the latter appears to be rather a good Neo-Attic copy than a mid 5th century work of a Parian sculptor. See below pp. 153-154.

<sup>104</sup> *I.G.*, VII, 3500. Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1889, p. 1.

<sup>105</sup> Richter, *Gravestones*<sup>2</sup>, p. 157, figs 200, 202.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 67.

<sup>107</sup> Agora I 5484. *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 97-101, no. 18. Subsequent bibliography in *S.E.G.*, X, no. 321. Add Wycherley, *Agora*, III, p. 82, no. 226. The base has generally been dated a little before 450 B.C. Wycherley says, "Although cut in letters of the mid 5th century, it is possible that the inscription is archaistic." In weathering and workmanship, however, the base resembles others of the mid 5th century. Raubitschek compares the lettering to that on the monument of Mikythé made by Euphron of Paros (*Dedications*, p. 322). The base was found near the southwest corner of the Eleusinion, where an entrance to the sanctuary existed certainly from the 4th century B.C. and probably from much earlier.

that in such a case the actual crowns should have reposed safely within the temple and not in the *prothyron*. She suggested that the pillar carried a representation of the crowns in relief.<sup>108</sup> P. Maass, however, seems to have disposed of the problem of the crowns. He has found reason to believe that *στειφανώ* is the title of a priestess of Demeter.<sup>109</sup> This seems to give a plausible reading for our dedication, since the word comes just before the name of the priestess. We may thus interpret the *ἄγαλμα* as a herm. This word is used in the dedications of the Leokrates and Python herms as well as in the Roman epigram on the Pergamon copy of a herm by Alkamenes.<sup>110</sup> A herm would be a very appropriate dedication for a *prothyron*.

#### 4. THE HERMES PROPYLAIOS OF THE ACROPOLIS

The most discussed of all the herms *ἐν προθύροις* is the one which Pausanias saw together with the Charites at the entrance to the Acropolis. Pausanias says in fairly plain language that both the Hermes "which they call Propylaios" and the Charites were said to be by Sokrates the son of Sophroniskos.<sup>111</sup> The Charites have been identified with reasonable certainty as the original of a relief that survives in a number of Neo-Attic copies.<sup>112</sup> Since the style of these Charites clearly places them around 480–470 B.C., it has been assumed that Pausanias or his informant mistook an elder Sokrates, a sculptor, for the philosopher (an easy enough mistake since the latter was supposed to have been a sculptor).

The general popularity of herms in Athens between 480 and 450 B.C. makes it plausible that there was an early classical Hermes Propylaios on the Acropolis. Since the Acropolis was at once sanctuary and citadel, the Hermes before its gates partook of the nature both of the protector of city gates and the protector of the sanctuary. We may wonder, though we can do no more, whether there was not also a Hermes Propylaios here in the time of the Peisistratids. In any case, there are fragments of late archaic herm dedications from the Acropolis.<sup>113</sup> Whatever was there in the archaic period will have been destroyed by the Persians, and it seems unlikely that in the time when famous herms were being dedicated and when vase-painters celebrated the herm as never before or after, the Acropolis should have been without its herm. Everything, then, encourages us to take Pausanias' word that there was a herm at the entrance to the Acropolis made by the sculptor of the early classical Charites.<sup>113a</sup>

Since the Charites were not scrapped when the new Propylaia were built, there is no reason to think that the Hermes was. In modern times, however, there has grown up a strong tradition that the Hermes called Propylaios which Pausanias saw was really by Alkamenes. This is because a bearded herm of Roman date with archaistic curls and a benign classical face (Pl. 66, c) was found in Pergamon bearing the inscription:

Εἰδήσεις Ἀλκαμένεος περικαλλές ἄγαλμα  
Ἑρμᾶν τὸν πρὸ πυλῶν εἶσατο Περγάμιος

<sup>108</sup> *Annuario*, N.S., III-V, 1941–1943, pp. 133f.

<sup>109</sup> *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 72.

<sup>110</sup> See below.

<sup>111</sup> Pausanias, I, 22, 8.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. Fuchs, pp. 59–63. Add to his list of replicas a fragment in Kos, Laurenzi, *Annuario*, N.S., XVII–XVIII, 1955–1956, p. 147, no. 218. Fuchs comments, p. 59, that single figures of the group do not become part of the Neo-Attic repertory, partly because the composition is so closely knit and partly, he suggests, because the work was popular not so much for its esthetic appeal as for its attribution to the philosopher.

<sup>113</sup> Raubitschek, *Dedications*, p. 325, no. 302; possibly also *ibid.*, p. 316, no. 295. Also a fragment of shaft with hair, Acropolis 170 (Schrader, pp. 336f., no. 461; the head, Acropolis 642, included by Schrader under the same number, does not certainly belong). The head, Acropolis 3694, Schrader, p. 248, no. 327, may also be from a herm.

<sup>113a</sup> See also below, p. 135.

Below are the words Γνωθι σαυτόν.<sup>114</sup> Conze suggested that a herm which called itself "the Hermes before the gates" must be the Propylaios *par excellence*, the one seen by Pausanias at the entrance to the Acropolis.<sup>115</sup>

This involved either repunctuating Pausanias so that the authorship of Sokrates extended only to the Charites and did not cover the Hermes, or assuming that the Alkamenes herm was uninscribed and Pausanias mistook its authorship. This last seems rather unlikely. Not all herms had sculptor's signatures, but since two Roman herms incorporate the name of Alkamenes into their epigrams, it is natural to think that Alkamenes also did this himself. We have seen that the Euphron herm offers a 5th century precedent. There can be no doubt that Alkamenes made a herm or herms which were famous enough to get into the literary tradition (since the tradition of epigrams, whether or not they actually become engraved on stones, is essentially a literary tradition).<sup>116</sup> The problem is rather like that of the Leokrates epigram, except that here no piece of the original survives. The second Roman herm with an Alkamenes epigram is of a different type from the first and has a different poem in a different meter:

Οὐκ εἰμι τέχνα τοῦ τυχόντος ἀλλὰ μου  
μορφὰν ἔτευξεν ἦν σκοπῆς Ἀλκαμένης

This was found in Ephesos in the gymnasium of Vedius, built around the middle of the 2nd century after Christ.<sup>117</sup> Both herms represent proper types which recur in accurate copies. Now that a fragment of a copy of the Pergamon type has been found in the Agora (No. 162), it appears likely that the originals of both stood in Athens, for the Ephesos type is copied in the bearded herm-heads (Pl. 66, f) of the Panathenaic Stadium built by Herodes Atticus.<sup>118</sup> The way out which would consist in making both types offshoots of one original does not seem open.<sup>119</sup> If the two types can be attributed to a single sculptor so far as their style is concerned, then there is a chance that both epigrams are telling the truth. If they cannot, we have to face the possibility that neither is.<sup>120</sup>

It seems equally uncertain that the original of the Pergamon type was in the Athenian Propylaea. The expression "Propylaios" is so generally used that it does not really seem correct

<sup>114</sup> *Pergamon*, VII, 1, pp. 48 ff., no. 27. Rather full bibliography in Curtius, *Zeus und Hermes*, pp. 68 ff., note 1. Add: Blümel, *Katalog*, IV, p. 8, K 133, pl. 16; Praschniker, *Jahreshefte*, XXIX, 1935, pp. 23 ff.; V. H. Poulsen, *From the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek*, III, pp. 77 ff.; Paribeni, *Sculture greche*, pp. 40 f.; Richter, *Catalogue*, pp. 35 f.; Bousquet, *B.C.H.*, LXXX, 1956, pp. 567 ff.; T. Dohrn, *Attische Plastik*, pp. 50 ff., 69 f.

<sup>115</sup> *Sitzungsberichte d. Berl. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1904, p. 70.

<sup>116</sup> Though neither of the Alkamenes epigrams has come down to us in a literary source, a herm epigram that names Skopas as artist has survived only in literature (*Anthol. Gr.* XVI, 192), Overbeck, *Die antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Griechen*, Leipzig, 1868, no. 1161. This shows an interesting similarity in thought and meter to the Ephesos Alkamenes epigram quoted below, for it runs:

ὦ λῶστε, μὴ νόμιζε τῶν πολλῶν ἓνα  
Ἑρμῶν θεοφρεῖν εἰμι γὰρ τέχνα Σκόπα.

The two poems would seem to be related via the literary rather than the monumental tradition. One wonders whether the Σκόπα of our present poem influenced the σκοπῆς of the one from Ephesos. It seems likely, then, that the tradition of Alkamenes epigrams on surviving Roman herms is due to the fact that an epigram incorporating the name of Alkamenes got into the collection from which the writers of Roman herm epigrams drew their inspiration. If this poem had been on the Acropolis herm, Pausanias could hardly have missed it. The λέγουσι with which he qualifies his attribution to Sokrates the son of Sophroniskos does not necessarily imply that the Hermes and Charites were unsigned. One or both may have been signed "Sokrates" and Pausanias have been told that this Sokrates was the philosopher, the son of Sophroniskos.

<sup>117</sup> Praschniker, *Jahreshefte*, XXIX, 1935, pp. 23–31. *S.E.G.*, IV, no. 538 (cf. Bousquet, *B.C.H.*, LXXX, 1956, p. 568, note 1).

<sup>118</sup> Cf. Graindor, *Hérode Atticus*, pp. 181–183; Neugebauer, *Die Antike*, X, 1934, pp. 100–102; Bieber, *Jahrb.*, XXXII, 1917, p. 83.

<sup>119</sup> Poulsen (*op.cit.*, above, note 114) considered the two types as offshoots of a single masterpiece. Dohrn (*op.cit.*, above, note 114), accepting this idea, suggested that the Ephesos type belonged to an eastern copyists' tradition with a preference for rounded forms and the Pergamene to a Roman-influenced Western tradition with a liking for façade-like effect. Such subtle speculations fall to the ground when we find that both types were copied in Athens itself.

<sup>120</sup> Praschniker, *op. cit.*, p. 31, points out that neither the copyists nor the patrons who commissioned these Asia Minor herms were in a position to check up on the attribution to Alkamenes.

to speak of a Propylaios *par excellence*. It is an epithet for any divine guardian of gates and doors,<sup>121</sup> and the distinction between gate and door is not sharply drawn. In Aristophanes' *Wasps* the young man Bdelykleon invokes Apollo as γείτον Ἀγνιεύ, τοῦμοῦ προθύρου προπύλαιε.<sup>122</sup> Here Propylaios is the doorkeeper of a private house. A Roman herm found in Epidauros refers to itself as σοφὸν θεὸν ἐν προπυλαίοις,<sup>123</sup> but it is of a late hybrid type that could not possibly be referred to the Athenian Propylaea. The fact that Alkamenes made the statue of Hekate which stood on the Nike bastion<sup>124</sup> would make it easy to believe that he made a Hermes for the Mnesikleian Propylaea if we had any evidence that he did, but it must be admitted that we do not.<sup>125</sup> The Pergamon epigram tells us that the herm is a copy of a Hermes Propylaios by Alkamenes, but it does not tell us whether the original stood on the Acropolis, before the city gates, before a gymnasium or sanctuary or before a private house.

The antiquarian knowledge displayed by the writers of these late herm epigrams is intriguing but hard to evaluate. In the expanded Leokrates poem were references to the Academy and possibly to the Herms of the Agora, and we could not tell whether this represented some genuine tradition about Leokrates or a simple lumping together of references appropriate to herms.<sup>126</sup> On the Pergamon herm, the addition of a moralizing phrase suggests that the writer was aware of the tradition of the Hipparchan herms, but it is hard to say whether the maxim γνῶσι σαυτὸν implies any historical connection between herms and the famous Delphic maxims. Bousquet has suggested that it does, that the maxims at Delphi were actually written on herms and that this was an Alkmeonid dedication which Hipparchos imitated, but all such inferences are tenuous at best.<sup>127</sup> In the epigram of the Epidauros herm there is a deliberate summing-up of the possible uses of herms, in Agoras, in stadia and in propylaea.

##### 5. EPHEBES, THE GYMNASIUM AND THE ORIGIN OF THE PORTRAIT HERM

Even the difficult problem of the portrait herm and its meaning was faced by the Roman epigrammatist. On the portrait herm of the Kosmetes Heliodoros, belonging to the time of Trajan,<sup>128</sup> are inscribed the following verses:

Σχῆμα τόδ' Ἑρμείου καὶ εἰκόνας Ἥλιοδώρου  
κεστροφόροι ξυνῶ τῶδ' ἀνέθεντο τύπω,  
τοῦ μὲν ἔπει θεὸς ἔστι, καὶ εὖαδε παισὶν ἐφήβοις,  
τοῦ δ' ὅτι κοσμητῶν ἔξοχον εἶλε κλέος.

<sup>121</sup> See Roscher, *s.v.* "Propylaios." For Christ as a Propylaios, see W. Deonna, *Rev. Arch.*, XXII, 1925, pp. 66 ff.

<sup>122</sup> *Vespae*, 875.

<sup>123</sup> Athens, N.M. 295. Stais, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1891, p. 58. Found in the Roman bath, building K. *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, 515. 3rd century after Christ.

οὐχ οὕτως ἀγορήσιν ἐνὶ σταδίοισι τε χαίρω  
ὅσον ἐφ' ἡμερτῆι τῆιδε γέγηθα βάσει·  
Δὴ γάρ Ἀθηναῖός με σοφὸν θεὸν ἐν προπυλαίοις  
ἀρητῆρ γεγῶως εἴσατο Πραξαγόρας.

<sup>124</sup> See above, pp. 63, 86.

<sup>125</sup> It has often been said that Hermes Propylaios and the Hekate of the Acropolis are linked in the accounts of the Treasurers of the Other Gods for 429/8 B.C. (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 310. Cf. Kraus, *Hekate*, p. 85), but this seems an unlikely interpretation. Wesley Thompson has pointed out to me that the phrase "Hermes and Artemis" in lines 192-193 seems to be a separate entry from the "Hekate" in line 194, since the inscriber of this stone, who did not mind dividing "Artemis," has nevertheless left a space and begun "Hekate" on the next line. He believes that there is no real evidence to connect these deities with the Acropolis.

<sup>126</sup> Above, p. 121.

<sup>127</sup> *B.C.H.*, LXXX, 1956, pp. 565-579. Bousquet assumes that the Hermes Propylaios of the Acropolis was by Alkamenes (unsigned) and that it carried the maxim γνῶσι σαυτὸν which led to the ascription of the herm to Sokrates. If this is the case, then the Charites also would have been uninscribed and their sculptor unknown.

<sup>128</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2021. Graindor, *B.C.H.*, XXXIX, 1915, pp. 292 ff., no. 2. On the date see *Agora*, I, p. 31, note 6. For comments on the epigram see Marcadé, *B.C.H.*, LXXVII, 1953, p. 525; Jucker, *Vom Verhältnis der Römer zur bildenden Kunst der Griechen*, p. 38, note 2 (with several misprints in the text).

The portrait herm is at once Hermes and Heliodoros, the former worshipped as a god who has been good to the ephebes, the latter honored as an excellent Kosmetes. We cannot trace in detail the line of descent that leads from the bearded ithyphallic Hermes herm of classical times to the honorary portrait herm of the Roman period, but from the material that is left to us it looks as though the ephebic tradition, or, to put it more broadly, the tradition of the gymnasium, constituted one of the strongest links. When the learned or pseudo-learned owners of villas in Herculaneum and Pompeii filled their atria and peristyles with portrait herms of famous philosophers, poets and rulers and even with heads from famous statues, such as the Doryphoros, made into the shape of herm-busts, they were not simply using a convenient form of pedestal. There was a definite feeling that the herm was appropriate to places with an intellectual or educational atmosphere. We find Cicero ordering herms for his villa at Tusculum, because he wants particularly *ornamenta γυμνασιώδη*.<sup>129</sup> He is especially delighted with a *Hermathena*, which he acquires for his "Academy," because "Hermes belongs to all gymnasia and Minerva particularly to this one."<sup>130</sup>

The representation in herm form of other divinities than Hermes seems to have begun as early as the 4th century, but it apparently started with those for whom the form had some special appropriateness, for Aphrodite and Pan because of the connection of the herm with fertility,<sup>131</sup> or for Apollo Agyieus and Hekate because of their tradition as aniconic gate protectors.<sup>132</sup> The *Hermeracles*, of which Cicero bought more than one,<sup>133</sup> was a logical combination for gymnasia, since Herakles vied with Hermes in importance for the gymnasium, but the *Hermathena* is an odd combination, of which we have no surviving examples in Athens and only one in Rome.<sup>134</sup> It was probably a Neo-Attic creation especially for the benefit of people like Cicero.

Just as the combination of Hermes with other deities in a herm goes back to natural roots in the classical period, so does the representation of a person honored in the guise of Hermes. A series of ephebic dedications from Rhamnous seems to illustrate the beginning of the change. The one which is completely preserved is a dedication of the ephebes of Erechtheis who were victorious in a torch race (probably at the Nemeseia). Pouilloux dates it around 330 B.C. A round base carries a herm of which only the lowest part is rectangular. The upper part consists of a youthful figure in chiton and chlamys carved fully in the round. The hem of the garment masks the transition.<sup>135</sup> The dedication is certainly a herm, as two Roman monuments prove. The late herm of Praxagoras from Epidauros mentioned above is a chlamys herm of this kind, but long archaistic curls on the shoulders and a square mass of wavy hair in back show that the head was an archaistic bearded herm-head of the traditional type. The two forms of herm are even more abruptly combined in a double herm of which fragments have been found in the Agora (No. 205). One face is a rectangular post herm of the usual sort with rectangular arms and archaistic shoulder-locks. The other is a chlamys herm like those from Rhamnous. The heads are missing.

The Rhamnous herm seems to have its head. (If the head now attached to it does not belong, it must nevertheless come from a monument of the same type.)<sup>136</sup> It is a youthful head (so

<sup>129</sup> *Ad Atticum*, I, 6, 2. Cf. Jucker, *op.cit.*, pp. 37-45.

<sup>130</sup> *Ad Atticum*, I, 4, 3.

<sup>131</sup> See below, p. 138.

<sup>132</sup> See above, p. 113.

<sup>133</sup> *Ad Atticum*, I, 10, 3.

<sup>134</sup> Brunn-Bruckmann, pl. 330. It is uncertain whether Cicero's *Hermathena* was of this kind (a draped Athena torso on a square shaft, all carved in marble) or one of the herms with Pentelic shafts and bronze heads which he mentions (*Ad Atticum*, I, 8, 2).

<sup>135</sup> N.M. 313. Pouilloux, *La Forteresse de Rhamnonte*, p. 111, 2 bis, pl. 45; 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1891, p. 57, pl. 7.

<sup>136</sup> Pouilloux informs me by letter that he felt on examining the piece that the head did not originally belong to the herm. Since, however, it is of the right size and this herm is considerably smaller than any of the other chlamys herms, it seems more likely than not that it belongs. The girlish look need not bother us. Recent finds from Brauron have shown how hard it is to distinguish girls' from boys' heads in this period. Some heads published as those of Arktoi have subsequently been joined to male bodies.

much so as to seem girlish), and it wears a diadem which rises to a point in the center.<sup>137</sup> In the same place were found three more chlamys herms, all somewhat larger and rougher than this one,<sup>138</sup> and two heads, both a little too large for any of these herms.<sup>139</sup> The heads have fillets, one like that of the head on the Erechtheis herm, the other with a knot in front. The latter has a square face and a swollen ear; the other has a round, babyish face and normal ears. These must represent ephebes, and the similar fillet on the head of the chlamys herm of Erechtheis shows that that too is meant to be an ephebe (or, as Cicero might have said, a "Hermephebe"). Both the large size and the bare back of the neck on the larger of these two heads make it seem unlikely that it comes from a chlamys herm. It might be from a marble statue, but the easiest explanation for the disappearance of everything below the neck is that this was a herm-head on a rectangular shaft which made a readily re-usable block.

A youthful head in the style of the late 4th or 3rd century B.C. appears on a rectangular herm from the Peiraeus which bears an inscription made in the 3rd century after Christ, honoring the Orgeones of the goddess Belela.<sup>140</sup> The head has a boxer's ear and must be meant to represent an ephebe. This seems clearly to be a re-used herm. The young boxer's head has no appropriateness to Belela, and its style is not Roman but close to that of the Rhamnous heads.

The heads of these late 4th century and Hellenistic ephebe herms are not portraits in the strict sense because they are not fully individualized, but neither are they simply heads of the youthful Hermes, for they are differentiated in type according to the category of the dedication. The line between ideal head and portrait is equally hard to draw in some of the contemporary coins of Alexander with the head of Herakles.<sup>141</sup> We would seem to have in the ephebic herms the first steps toward the herm-portrait just as we have in the Herakles coins the first steps toward the portrait of a ruler in the guise of the divinity. A double line of connection probably caused the ephebic dedications to take the herm form, first the patronage of Hermes over both the athletic and the military life of the ephebes,<sup>142</sup> and second the fact that many of the ephebic honors were tribal and showed a parallelism with the earlier prytany honors.

Prytany dedications of the type which sometimes seem to have been herms are replaced in the late 4th century by stelai set up in the Prytanikon, and it is only under the Roman Empire that prytany lists are again carved on herms.<sup>143</sup> By this time they are generally portrait herms, but two late examples from the Agora have prytany lists on an archaistic herm of the old type (Nos. 195-196).<sup>144</sup> This may be an antiquarian reference to the classical custom, and it rather strengthens the possibility that the prytany dedications of the 4th century, when they took the form of herms, had bearded heads of the traditional type. The inscribed herm of Archestrata with its grooved shoulder-locks and square back hair<sup>145</sup> shows that private dedications in the 4th century might still have this form. So far as prytany herms are concerned, there was probably no transition between the old-style herm and the portrait herm. The long gap during which stelai took the place of dedications more than covered the period in which the portrait herm developed and became established.

<sup>137</sup> On these diadems, see below, p. 161.

<sup>138</sup> N.M. 314-316. 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1891, pp. 56-57.

<sup>139</sup> N.M. 317-318. *Rev. Arch.*, XXI, 1919, pp. 273-275, figs. 3, 4; Δελτίον, IX, 1924-25, p. 156, fig. 6 (N.M. 318 only).

<sup>140</sup> N.M. 1629. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2361. The inscription published from photographs of a squeeze, the head unpublished. Inscription dated to archonship of Claudius Phokas Marathonios (210/211 or 211/212 A.D., according to Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 32).

<sup>141</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, p. 388, note 77; Kleiner, *Jahrb.*, LXV-LXVI, 1950-1951, p. 217; Bellinger, *Essays on the Coinage of Alexander the Great (Numismatic Studies, No. 11)*, New York, 1963, pp. 13-21.

<sup>142</sup> Hermes Enagonios presides over athletic contests, while the dedication *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2873, 95/4 B.C. of the generals to Hermes Hegemonios suggests that he presided over military leadership or the safe conduct of expeditions.

<sup>143</sup> Koshler, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, Part II, Fasc. II, p. 353.

<sup>144</sup> Both belonging to the Severan period. Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 32, gives more precise dates.

<sup>145</sup> Peek, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVII, 1942, pp. 51 f., no. 79. The reading Ἡρῆη is not certain, but it is hard to find a satisfactory substitute. The shaft is not broken below. The rough-picked bottom is preserved.

In the epehebic sphere the beardless athlete head on the rectangular shaft seems to have become the favorite Hellenistic form. The 2nd century herms found in the gymnasium of Delos are of this type. An inventory of the gymnasium for the year 156/5 mentions 41 stone herms, which indicates that many more herms were dedicated than the surviving material shows.<sup>146</sup> Some beardless herms continued to be made in the Roman period. Three examples from the Agora, one small, No. 209, and two miniature, Nos. 207–208, are of Roman workmanship. We have neither context nor inscriptions to show for what these herms were used. The miniatures may have belonged to private houses, but the reference to the gymnasium is still present in the thickened ears.

Though the beardless type continued in use, there seems to have been a return to popularity of the archaistic bearded herm around 100 B.C., at about the same time when the production of Neo-Attic art was beginning to flourish. A small herm from the Pompeion in Athens dedicated in 95/4 B.C. by a gymnasiarch of the epehebes in Delos has an archaistic head.<sup>147</sup> A bearded herm in the House of the Herm in Delos gave that establishment its modern name (a beardless herm was also found there).<sup>148</sup> Two archaistic herms, looking fresh as if they had been recently made, were included in the cache of sculpture found in the Peiraeus in 1959. According to the most probable theory this sculpture was buried in 86 B.C.<sup>149</sup> Two heads from the Agora (Nos. 163 and 164) are similar to the Peiraeus heads in general style.

Marcadé has discussed whether the Delian beardless heads should be called portraits. He concludes that they should not, though they look, and are meant to look, like young athletes. He suggests, as we have done with the Rhamnous herms, that the assimilation of the god to his worshippers is a first step toward the identification implied in the portrait herm.<sup>150</sup> But since we see that more than 200 years passed without the next step being taken, it would appear that some special impetus was needed. Lullies had suggested that the out-and-out portrait herm developed on Roman soil and that the earliest examples were Roman family portraits.<sup>151</sup> He reasoned that the head without the body was familiar to the Romans from the *imagines* and that the herm shaft seemed appropriate because of the strong phallic element in the Roman idea of the *genius*. Marcadé was naturally sceptical of this, preferring to think that the development took place on Greek soil where the tradition of the herm was strongest.<sup>152</sup>

A bit of epigraphical evidence from Athens suggests that Marcadé is right, but that in this, as in the practice of using ideal statue types for portraits, Roman patrons, with their taste for simple addition of symbols, were the catalysts. Raubitschek has shown that a base from the Athenian Eleusinion (Agora I 5485) carried a portrait herm of the Epicurean philosopher Phaidros dedicated to the two goddesses by his Roman pupil Appius Saufeius, a friend of Cicero.<sup>153</sup> This must be one of the earliest true portrait herms from Athens, and it is considerably earlier than Lullies' Roman family herms. Since Cicero's letters suggest that the Neo-Attic workshops were busy producing herms of various kinds for the villas of Roman patrons, it may

<sup>146</sup> Inventory, *B.C.H.*, LIV, 1930, p. 98, line 147. Heads, *ibid.*, pp. 131–146, pls. 4–7. Bases which have been found refer to winners in the torch race (*B.C.H.*, XV, 1891, pp. 250–251, dated to the period before 166 B.C.).

<sup>147</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2990. *Ath. Mitt.*, LVI, 1931, pp. 20–23, fig. 11, Beilage 8.

<sup>148</sup> *B.C.H.*, LXXVII, 1953, pp. 500–512.

<sup>149</sup> *A.J.A.*, LXIV, 1960, pl. 71, figs. 13–14; *B.C.H.*, LXXXIV, 1960, p. 654, figs. 9–10. For a summary of the current, still very tentative state of opinion, see M. Paraskevaides, *Allertum*, VII, 1961, pp. 131–137. If the date of 86 B.C. for the fire in which the warehouse was destroyed is correct, there is a strong possibility that the whole cache consists of loot from Delos taken by the Athenians in 88 B.C.

<sup>150</sup> *B.C.H.*, LXXVII, 1953, pp. 516–527. See especially p. 523, "Il est bien tentant de rapprocher, à trois siècles de distance, les hermès-portraits des cosmètes athéniens, par exemple, et les pseudo-portraits du gymnase de Délos." "Trois siècles" would be inclusive reckoning, since the Kosmetai portraits begin in the time of Trajan.

<sup>151</sup> *Würzburger Jahrbücher*, IV, 1949–1950, pp. 130–139.

<sup>152</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 525.

<sup>153</sup> "Phaidros and his Roman Pupils," *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 96–103.

be that the local use of portrait herms was a kind of by-product. We have seen Cicero welcoming the *Hermathena* because the herm was appropriate to gymnasia in general and Minerva especially to his "Academy." It would doubtless appeal to the Romans who had studied philosophy in Athens to commission portraits of their teachers in a form which itself savored of the gymnasium. The head of a bearded philosopher replacing the bearded Hermes on a herm was really no more incongruous than the portrait head of an Italian business man on the nude idealized body of a statuary type of Hermes, a combination that was being made in Delos at this time.<sup>154</sup> One can easily imagine a rich man ordering two herm portraits of his teacher, one to set up in his own villa in Italy and another to dedicate in Athens. If the herm was γυμνασιώδης, it was also by long custom appropriate for dedication in sanctuaries. In the 5th century, indeed, the distinction would have been meaningless, for the old gymnasia were all sanctuaries before they were gymnasia. The herm of Phaidros may have stood in the *prothyron* of the Eleusinion along with the 5th century herm of Lysistrate.<sup>155</sup>

A small group of heads wearing the same pointed diadem as the ephebic herm heads from Rhamnous shows ideal features without the pseudo-portrait qualities of the Rhamnous and Delos herm-heads. At the same time, the carving of the locks of hair on these heads is clearly influenced by the archaistic herm. One of these comes from the Agora (No. 206); another (Pl. 67, c), in the Athens National Museum, was found in Athens but the exact spot is unrecorded.<sup>156</sup> These two are similar in size, marble, and workmanship but different in type. A third (Pl. 67, b), found at Olynthos, is of the same type as the Agora head but somewhat larger and carved in a different style.<sup>157</sup> Though it cannot be *proven* that any of the three comes from a herm, it is probable that all do. The head in the Athens National Museum has the characteristic square section to the back of the neck, and Kavvadias in publishing it suggested that it was from a herm. He compared the two heads from Rhamnous, which have similar diadems but belong stylistically to the late 4th or 3rd century.<sup>158</sup> The Olynthos and Agora heads must be reflections of a common type, since it is very hard to imagine circumstances under which one of them would have been copied directly from the other. Both suggest a prototype belonging to the late 5th century, but the Olynthos head has early 4th century qualities in the modelling of brow, nose and eyes which the Agora head lacks. Both the Agora and the National Museum heads must be either 5th century originals or Neo-Attic copies.

The Olynthos head was published by Robinson as a head of Artemis but is now labelled Apollo in the Salonike Museum. It was found in the court of a house which did not yield any other sculpture, and there is no way of knowing where in the city it was originally set up.<sup>159</sup> The type is close enough to the Apollo heads on the coins of the Chalcidic League to justify the assumption that the original was an Apollo type.<sup>160</sup> The hair is long on top of the head and hangs in loose strands over the forehead and temples, so that it is neither athletic short hair nor long enough to bind up.

<sup>154</sup> It has been suggested that the statue of Ofellius carried a caduceus (Picard, *R.E.G.*, LXIV, 1951, p. 512, note), and it seems likely that the "pseudo-athlete" (Michalowski, *Délos*, XIII, pls. 14-19) is really a pseudo-Hermes, since the chlamys would be appropriate to Hermes. The transformation of the Hermes herm into a philosopher portrait was reversed in the Renaissance, when bearded Hermes herms were inscribed "Plato" (cf. Museo Capitolino, Sala delle Colombe, 107; Conservatori, Giardino, 102; Huelsen, *Röm. Mitt.*, XVI, 1901, p. 196, no. 123).

<sup>155</sup> The dedication of the Phaidros herm to the Eleusinian goddesses would suggest that Roman patrons were not so insensitive as Marcadé implies to the sacred character of the herm.

<sup>156</sup> N.M. 468. Kavvadias, p. 276; Zancani-Montuoro, *Bull. Com.*, LXI, 1933, Suppl. pl. C facing p. 54.

<sup>157</sup> *Olynthus*, II, pp. 74-78, figs. 195-196. Exhibited in the Salonike Museum.

<sup>158</sup> N.M. 317-318. Above, p. 126, note 139.

<sup>159</sup> The house was unusually large, and Robinson suggested that though people probably lived there, it was a public mill where grain was brought to be ground. Since no fragments which can be related to the head were found there, it was probably brought to the spot as a fragment during or shortly after the period of looting.

<sup>160</sup> Cf. *Olynthus*, IX, pl. 3, nos. 4-8; pl. 11, nos. 74-77 (75 a enlarged on pl. 18); pl. 15, nos. 114-118 a.

If the type of the Olynthos and Agora heads is ultimately based on an Apollo, it is likely that the type of the National Museum head reflects a conception of Herakles. The short hair, the boxer's ears and the broad face correspond to the boxer-Herakles ideal. Only the bunches of curls in front of the ears seem related to the long-haired type. The pattern of these bunches of curls as well as of the forehead locks shows a general similarity to those of bearded herm-heads.<sup>161</sup>

Red-figured vases of the late 5th century show boys with haircuts corresponding roughly to both of these types.<sup>162</sup> So there are three elements that may be involved in the creation of these heads: the ephebe type of the late 5th century, the ideas of Apollo and Herakles, and the engraved hair of archaistic herms. In the preliminary publication of the Agora head I suggested that this combination might have taken place in the Neo-Attic period.<sup>163</sup> The Olynthos head shows that it was much earlier. Whatever the context of use of the latter may have been, it has all the qualities of a herm-head. It seems most likely that a herm of this type had already been evolved in the late 5th century. This makes it hard to be positive about the date of the Athens heads. It still seems probable that they are Neo-Attic rather than 5th century originals, but if so, their originals were not radically different from the copies. They may have been the first forerunners of the Rhamnous herms, perhaps among the earliest beardless herms dedicated in Athens. In Attic vase-painting of the 5th century we find pictures of herms assimilated to their worshippers, a little boy herm approached by a child on a Choes miniature jug,<sup>164</sup> a white-haired herm approached by an old man on a column-krater in Bologna.<sup>165</sup> It is possible that there were herm dedications in the late 5th century by boys who won in the torch race or other contests for which the tribe received a prize, and that the real beginning of the ephebe herm tradition goes back to that time. The absence of relevant inscriptions, however, makes this wholly conjectural.

## 6. TYPES OF BEARDED HERM HEADS

For the artistic history of the bearded herm, the most valuable piece found in the Agora is surely the early herm head, No. 156. The early classical carving of the eyes and the general scheme of the coiffure show that the archaic smile and the hat-like arch of curls over the forehead are archaizing features. The smile seems to have disappeared from sculpture in general at the time when free movement of figures made it no longer needed for giving the impression of life. For the herm, the expression of the face was the only means available to give this impression, and so it is natural that the smile survived there until it was so thoroughly out of fashion in other sculpture as to look strange even in a herm. Then it disappears, and the faces of herms, like the faces of all other archaistic sculpture of the classical period,<sup>166</sup> are not archaized.

The forehead curls are a different matter. They form a sort of cornice which protects the face from rain. It would seem possible, therefore, that there was a continuous tradition of archaistic forehead hair from the time of the Kimonian herms down to the period of Alkamenes. Meanwhile, herms were certainly also created without these locks, though all probably tended to have a rich treatment of the forehead hair. The long back hair and the shoulder-locks were likewise features essentially appropriate to the herm, since they formed an attractive transition from the head to the shaft. Our head, with the back hair bound up, lacks this transition, and an

<sup>161</sup> Cf. *Zeus und Hermes*, p. 5, fig. 4.

<sup>162</sup> Cf. the second and third boys on one side of a red-figured amphora of the late 5th century from the Agora, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pl. 74.

<sup>163</sup> *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, p. 378.

<sup>164</sup> *Rev. arch.*, XXV, 1927, pl. 4, 9-10; Deubner, *Attische Feste*, pl. 13, 1-2.

<sup>165</sup> *C.V.A.*, Bologna, 1, III Ic, pl. 27; *A.R.V.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 537, no. 12. It is perhaps best to interpret the assimilation here as the product of the painter's fancy, but Marcadé, *B.C.H.*, LXXVI, 1952, pp. 617-618, pleads for an actual white-haired herm.

<sup>166</sup> Cf. above, p. 75.

awkward solution was used which seems not to have been repeated. Most of the herms in vase-paintings of the early classical period show the long back hair, though the black-haired herm on the Bologna krater with two herms has short, shaggy hair.

Well-attested herm material from the Parthenon period is not plentiful enough to show whether the short-haired type took over wholly during this period, so that the creations of Alkamenes and his contemporaries would count as archaistic innovations, or whether there was a steady production of long-haired herms with snail shell forehead curls leading down from the Kimonian period. Even though we cannot be sure that either of the two herm types epigraphically claimed for Alkamenes was actually created by him, the fact that they both have archaistic hair is a fairly good indication that his herm was of that kind. The copyists' tradition suggests an archaistic form both for his Hermes and for his Hekate,<sup>167</sup> and these two probabilities strengthen each other.

Exact dating of these classical archaistic herms on the basis of their style alone is not easy. The hair will not serve as a criterion, and the form of details such as eyes and ears is not very consistently reported by the copyists. The Pergamon type has generally been accepted as suiting the time of Alkamenes' greatest activity, from the thirties to around 410 B.C. The Ephesos type has been regarded as earlier because some copies show strong features, heavily rimmed eyes and forward-swept beard, which are reminiscent of early classical works.<sup>168</sup> Though the copies vary (the Stadion herms from Athens lack the severe qualities), the strongest copies are probably the best, and the prototype might well belong to the time of the Parthenon. The Pergamon type, then, would not represent a beginning or even a revival of the archaistic manner in herms but a modification of it. Particularly admirable in this type are the small motives which break the regularity of the archaistic pattern: the loose locks that interrupt and soften the crown of corkscrew curls at the sides and the twisted locks in the beard (which enable us to identify our fragment, No. 162, as a copy of this type). The question then arises whether our No. 174, which has a more rigid design than the Pergamon type, with strongly projecting corkscrew curls and a beard brushed forward like that of the Ephesos herm and the Zeus from Artemision, may be a true copy of another 5th century herm earlier than the Pergamon type. The large size, plastic strength and careful detail of this piece suggest that it may be a copy of an important original type. On the other hand, these details might have been borrowed by the Roman hermoglyph from a bronze statue and adapted to the herm. Hermes Agoraios, for example, may well have had such corkscrew curls with conical centers.<sup>169</sup>

This leads to the general question of the prototypes of the various classical herm types isolated by Curtius in his thought-provoking study *Zeus und Hermes*. It seems clear that these types became established specifically as herm types, since they are used for herms of all sizes, the largest copied in the same way in which masterpieces are generally copied, the small and miniature freely composed. Types C and D are represented by fragments of large copies in the Agora,<sup>170</sup> A, C and D by miniatures.<sup>171</sup> This merely confirms what already seemed clear from the replicas of these types found previously on Attic soil, that they are Attic in origin.

A and D are short-haired types, B and C long-haired. None has specifically archaistic features. A (Pl. 66, a) and D show resemblances to heads of Zeus and other gods of related iconography,

<sup>167</sup> Cf. above, pp. 53, 122 ff.

<sup>168</sup> Schmidt, pp. 45-47, suggested that it was the Hermes Propylaios of Sokrates. Waldhauer, *Ermitage*, I, p. 69, suggests the decade 470-460. Curtius, *Zeus und Hermes*, pp. 70-71, and following him Poulsen, *From the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek*, III, p. 77, argue that the head could not be pre-Pheidian.

<sup>169</sup> Cf. the bronze head from Olympia in the Athens National Museum, *Olympia*, IV, pl. I.

<sup>170</sup> C: Nos. 181-182, D: No. 178.

<sup>171</sup> A: No. 177, C: No. 183, D: No. 179.

B and C to Dionysos. Yet Curtius is probably right in calling them all Hermes herms.<sup>172</sup> In the case of Type D the identification is virtually assured by the fine Peiraeus copy (Pl. 66, e) which was found in the same place as the inscribed base with the dedication of Python of Abdera to Hermes. In the case of types B and C the identification as Hermes is made possible by a generally similar long-haired herm (Pl. 66, d) found near Brussa with the inscription Ἄρτεμιδώρος Ἄρτεμιδώρου τοῦ Ἑρμοφίλου γενόμενος γραμματεὺς δήμου τὸν Ἑρμῆν τῷ δήμῳ.<sup>172a</sup> This is welcome not only for naming the type as Hermes but also as furnishing an example of a bearded Hermes herm dedicated by a magistrate in Roman times. It seems quite possible that our No. 181, a herm of type C which was found in the porch of the Metroon, was a civic dedication of some kind.

Besides these groups of much-copied types of which the originals seem to be lost, Curtius identified two herm-heads in Copenhagen, both of the short-haired variety, as originals from which Roman herms had been copied.<sup>173</sup> The Copenhagen herms, acquired from Count Tyszkiewicz, were said to come from the Acropolis, but it is thought more likely that they come from the Peiraeus, a provenance which is favored by their good state of preservation and the similarity of the incrustation on some of them to that on the Type D herm mentioned above.<sup>174</sup> Frederic Poulsen and following him Vagn Poulsen decided that the Copenhagen heads as well as the Roman heads which Curtius took to be copies of them were not earlier than 100 B.C.<sup>175</sup> The evidence from the Agora supports this.

The first Copenhagen head (Pl. 66, b) shows striking analogies, especially in the profile view, with our head No. 163, which, however, is of a completely different type. The similarity consists in the forms of brow, nose, mouth and eyes and in the quality of carving in the locks of the beard. The Copenhagen head is not archaizing except for the grooved treatment of the locks which is usual to herm heads. The Agora head is of the kind that I have chosen to call "Alkamenoid," related to the Pergamon Alkamenes herm in the forehead curls, broad beard and classical face, but without the subtleties and subsidiary motifs that mark the latter as a true type. Our head is in turn sufficiently similar to the two Alkamenoid herms found in the Peiraeus in 1959<sup>176</sup> to suggest a date around 100 B.C. for all these works. That the first Copenhagen head is a simplification of the somewhat larger version represented in the herm in the Villa Albani rather than that the latter is an expansion of the former, as Curtius assumed, is supported by the fragment of beard from the Agora, No. 176, which seems to have exactly the same pattern of locks as the Villa Albani herm. This fragment shows crisp hard workmanship, and may be later than the Copenhagen head, but it should be noted that one of the 1959 Peiraeus herms also has crisp carving and drill holes. Curtius is probably right, on the other hand, in assuming that the

<sup>172</sup> He sums them up, *op.cit.*, pp. 75-78, in terms of a *development* of the ideal of Hermes. This rather abstract reconstruction ignores the many varieties of use of herms in classical Athens.

<sup>172a</sup> *Arch. Anz.*, 1905, pp. 55-56. It is said to have been found at Kemal Paşa near Brussa and is in the Istanbul Museum, Inv. 2812.

<sup>173</sup> (1) Arndt, *La Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg*, pl. 13; Curtius, pp. 1-7; Poulsen, *Catalogue*, no. 514. (2) Arndt, pl. 15; Curtius, pp. 7-14; Poulsen, no. 241. Curtius, accepting the Athenian rather than the Peiraeus provenance, suggests that these heads might come from some of the herms of the Agora (p. 14).

<sup>174</sup> Cf. Arndt, text to *La Glyptothèque*, pls. 11-15. According to him, two of the heads (Inv. nos. 429 and 430) were said to come from the Acropolis, but more probably came from the Peiraeus. Poulsen, *Catalogue*, p. 43, no. 25, says that Inv. nos. 429, 445, 446, 447 were found together in Athens. On p. 42 he makes no statement about the reported provenance of Inv. no. 430 but says that its marble and technique are different from those of the others, which are of Greek marble and workmanship, and that this is "an ordinary Roman copy." This implies, without actually saying so, that the head comes from Italy. There is no reason in its style, however, to call it non-Attic. Cf. the beard with our Agora fragment, No. 189. For inlaid eyes, cf. the two herms of the 1959 Peiraeus find, above, note 149. On the face of it, Arndt's statement seems more believable, that 429 and 430, which more or less copy the late archaic scheme, were presented by the dealer as coming from the Acropolis (because he hoped they might be taken as archaic). The report of their having come from the Peiraeus seems likely for all, even if they were dug up and/or sold at different times.

<sup>175</sup> *Catalogue*, pp. 119, 184, 360; *From the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek*, II, p. 101.

<sup>176</sup> Above, p. 127, note 149.

Villa Albani herm has modified the side hair of the original, uncovering the ears and adding long shoulder locks.

The second Copenhagen herm is analogous to our No. 161 in that the treatment of the hair suggests the decade 480–470, while the form of the eyes belongs to the Parthenon period or later.<sup>177</sup> In these heads we must see an attempt to give an effect reminiscent of the Age of Kimon without giving up the sort of benevolent classical face that had become usual for herms. Another Copenhagen head, the Hermes with the pointed hat, copies the late archaic beard and suggests the heavy-rimmed eyes of the Kimonian period, but carves the cheeks with a realistic sag belonging to sculpture of a later time, so that the total effect is rather incongruous.<sup>178</sup> Altogether, in the group of five Tyszkiewicz heads, no two have the same type or even the style of the same workshop. It seems likely that they represent actual separate dedications made in the Peiraeus in the latest Hellenistic and early Roman periods and were found at various times by illicit or chance excavations. They were not made, as the big copies often were, to serve as pendants to one another in some decorative context. They must have been created one by one to order but always derived from some earlier type or copying details from some other example. They might be described as “original but not very.”

There is good reason to think that herm dedications in the 4th century followed much the same pattern. The distinction between the age of original creation and the age of copying can scarcely have been so valid for herms as for cult statues. In the case of small and miniature herm-heads we often find a freedom of workmanship which makes it virtually impossible to distinguish between classical and Roman work. Finds in the Industrial District southwest of the Agora prove that miniature marble herms were being made in the 4th century B.C. (Nos. 201–202). We cannot, therefore, exclude the possibility that some of our miniature heads belong to this period, but it seems clear also from such a piece as No. 171 that some of them are Roman. The dating of these must therefore be left open, with the proviso that more of them are probably Roman than pre-Roman.

The important non-archaizing herm types are puzzling in more than one way. They combine a Pheidian breadth of conception and a mid 5th century treatment of the hair with single forms (the triangular forehead in A, B and C, the shape of the eyes in D) that seem to belong to the end of the 5th century. Also, they suggest by their qualities other divinities than Hermes: Zeus in the shorter-haired types, Dionysos in the long-haired. Finally they have qualities that suggest derivation from bronze originals. Lullies has shown that it is not possible to call the Zeus-like or Dionysos-like herms herms of Zeus or Dionysos.<sup>179</sup> The solution would seem to lie rather in the sort of assimilation that we have already noted in the later ephebe herms.

Vase-paintings offer a number of examples of herms in Dionysiac surroundings which are marked by the *kerykeion* on the shaft as Hermes but which have ivy wreaths or other attributes of Dionysos.<sup>180</sup> This suggests that types such as Curtius' B and C which resemble most closely statuary types of the grandfatherly Dionysos may have been first created as herms for theaters or other Dionysos sanctuaries.

For the Zeus-like types, A and D, another possibility suggests itself. We have guessed that the prytany herms (or speaking more broadly, the non-ephebic tribal dedications) probably had bearded heads; but we have no direct evidence for what these heads looked like. Curtius was content to point out the formal lines of connection between Zeus types and Hermes herms without really asking how the same types could be appropriate for both. Perhaps the whole

<sup>177</sup> Poulsen, *Catalogue*, p. 184.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 25, inv. no. 429; Arndt, pl. 12. Cf. the wrinkles in the brow of a Delian herm, Marcadé, *B.C.H.*, LXXVII, 1953, p. 523, fig. 23.

<sup>179</sup> *Typen*, pp. 51–54.

<sup>180</sup> Cf. Lullies, *loc.cit.*

story is not simply "Zeus and Hermes" but "Zeus, Heroes and Herms." It is odd, when we reflect on it, that some of the most accessible and often looked at statues of classical Athens, the bronze Eponymous Heroes who stood in the Agora from the end of the 5th century on,<sup>181</sup> have never been identified in copies. This may be because their types are not readily distinguishable from those of the kingly gods. Some of the heads of Heroes on the Parthenon frieze could easily double for Zeus or Poseidon (compare on the one hand the Dresden Zeus and on the other the Poseidon of the frieze itself).<sup>182</sup> The early classical Heroes at Delphi<sup>183</sup> no doubt cast their spell over the lesser artist of the later statues, and it is easy to imagine that these in turn influenced the bearded heads of the herms dedicated by the Tribes to these Heroes. Curtius' Type A, most often referred to as a possible Zeus, is also very similar in type to the head of the so-called Capaneus on the shield of Athena Parthenos.<sup>184</sup> The only important difference between the two is the development of the forehead to the triangular shape that heralds in Type A the approach of the 4th century. Whoever "Capaneus" may actually be, it is certain that he is not a god but a hero. It is my own belief that he is Erechtheus.<sup>185</sup>

In the Neo-Attic period and probably even in the 4th century all these types were being copied freely without sharp distinctions or conscious reference to the original use of the type. One would not like to think that, for example, every herm dedicated by Erechtheis looked like every other, but only that a few of the tribal herms may have taken on the semblance of the heroes and that two or three famous ones got into the general herm repertory. Once they were familiar as herms, all these types would have been recognized as Hermes. It is surely over subtle to try to identify from the expressions on the faces of herms different divinities or aspects of Hermes. Particularly doubtful is the recurrent suggestion that this or that sad-faced bearded herm is Hermes the Conductor of Souls.<sup>186</sup> Whatever may be the reason, the beardless youthful herm is much more frequently shown on gravestones (mostly Hellenistic and Roman) than the bearded herm. When we recall that Thanatos and Hypnos are even more youthful and no more melancholy in appearance, this does not seem strange.

By far the most popular type of bearded herm was that with the archaistic forehead curls. This appears from any random sampling and is borne out by the finds from the Agora. Within the general mass can be distinguished the large-scale herms which constitute true types, such as the two "Alkamenes" types from Ephesos and Pergamon, and the numerous generally similar herms in all sizes from very large to miniature, which seem to be more or less freely put together from the basic elements of corkscrew forehead curls, semi-formalized beards and long wavy back hair and shoulder-locks. Since the principal types are distinguished by the subsidiary motives, such as the twisted locks in the beard of the Pergamon type (Pl. 66 c), it is not possible

<sup>181</sup> For the literature, see Wycherley, *Agora*, III, pp. 85-90. A base inscribed "Pandion" was found in Rome, *Bull. Com.*, XVI, p. 488. H. Walter seems to be on the right track when he compares the "North heroes" of the Parthenon frieze with the bearded Berlin and Giacomini heads and suggests that they are derived from two of the Athenian statues (*Ath. Mitt.*, LXXI, 1956, pp. 175-177), but it may never be possible to be sure of single identifications, because the Athenian statues may themselves have included early qualities borrowed from the Delphic statues (the Munich head looks to the innocent eye earlier than the Giacomini) and Roman copyists may have effected a similar contamination.

<sup>182</sup> Cf. especially east frieze figures 45 and 46. I believe that a good case can be made out for identifying figures 43-46 respectively as Kekrops, Pandion, Erechtheus and Aigeus, that is, the four heroes who were the original early kings of Athens and whose myths belonged to the Acropolis. These appear together to the north of the divinities, the other six to the south in a looser grouping. It should be noted that the northern group of divinities comprises those with the closest connections with the Acropolis: Athena and Hephaistos, Poseidon, Apollo and Artemis. Aphrodite and Eros may be here because of their north slope sanctuary.

<sup>183</sup> Pausanias, X, 10, 1-2.

<sup>184</sup> Cf. especially the Chicago copy, *Jahrb.*, LXXI, 1956, p. 7, figs. 4-5.

<sup>185</sup> Stavropoulos ('Η Ἀσπίς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Παρθένου, Athens, 1950, pp. 67-75) suggested identifying him as Erechtheus, but this has been generally rejected because it violates mythical chronology. I believe, however, that the heroes at the top of the shield were the heroes of the Acropolis, defending it as heroes, just as Theseus fought at Marathon.

<sup>186</sup> Cf. Arndt, Text to *Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg*, p. 19; Poulsen, *Catalogue*, p. 44. On Hermes Psychopompos in the 5th century, see now S. Karouzou, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXXVI, 1961, pp. 91-106.

with these as with Type D to identify small and miniature herms, where these motives have been abbreviated out of the total scheme, with one or the other of the major types. The epigram of the Ephesos herm says openly that one needs to look carefully to distinguish the true creation of Alkamenes from the general run of archaistic herms which are τέχνα τοῦ τυχόντος.<sup>187</sup>

Whether or not the dedicator of the Ephesos herm is right in his attribution, he is certainly right in drawing the distinction between the true types which are copied exactly and the run-of-the-mill products. Two heads from the Agora (Nos. 163 and 164) illustrate the methods by which the latter were composed. The forehead hair on both herms consists of three rows of corkscrew curls which are longer on the sides than in the center. This is the basic scheme on which the two "Alkamenes" types form their variations. In the Pergamon type the curls over the center of the forehead project to form a substantial cornice but on the sides the stiff rolls are loosened into locks of varying shape that soften the contours of the mass. In the Ephesos type, on the other hand, the central curls are shortened so that they do not form corkscrews at all but snail shell curls resting against the forehead immediately below the fillet. Toward the sides they lengthen gradually but never become real corkscrews. In the two heads from the Agora, as in most others of their kind, all the locks are corkscrews but those on the sides sag a little to give a slight softening of the contours. The larger of our two heads (No. 164) has the center locks a little shorter than they are on the other; that is the only real difference between them. A comparison of the beards of the two Agora heads shows that the sculptors were neither closely copying a revered type nor inventing new patterns. The scheme of locks in the upper row on the proper left sides of the two heads is exactly the same; on the proper right sides it is completely different. Doubtless if one searched long enough among herms of this sort one would find parallels for these patterns too, but to seek very far for them would be to go to more trouble than the sculptors did when they fashioned these herms. Clearly they took what was near at hand, whether it happened to be an older herm that they used as a model or simply a pattern that they had learned as one learns a handwriting. It is interesting also to note that no sharp distinction was drawn between the archaistic types, which we can call Alkamenoid from their vague ancient and modern associations with Alkamenes, and the non-archaizing 5th century types. So we find very similar patterns in the beard of our herm, No. 163, and a herm in Copenhagen of the Zeus-like sort (Pl. 66, b) which is like ours a little under life size and seems to show the same style.<sup>188</sup> We have said that there was a great upswing in popularity of the archaistic herm around 100 B.C.<sup>189</sup> This seems to be part of the Neo-Attic phenomenon, and the combination of pious copying and free mixing of elements that we get in these herms is something that is very familiar from Neo-Attic art in general. Just as we experienced difficulty in distinguishing the archaistic inventions of Neo-Attic artists from archaistic creations of the 4th century, so it is hard to be sure that all our archaistic herms are Neo-Attic. We can say only that the majority of those that have come down to us probably were.

## 7. HERMS AS SUPPORTS IN SCULPTURE

It does not appear that the archaistic herm when used as a support or attribute was specifically associated in the minds of the ancients with Alkamenes or even specifically identified as Hermes Propylaios. Just as the archaistic kore or kouros was felt to be an appropriate form for representing a statue as distinguished from a living being,<sup>190</sup> so the archaistic herm provided the

<sup>187</sup> See above, p. 123, note 117.

<sup>188</sup> Poulsen, *Catalogue*, no. 514 (with bibliography); Curtius, *Zeus und Hermes*, pp. 2, 4, figs. 1, 3.

<sup>189</sup> Above, p. 127.

<sup>190</sup> See above, pp. 53, 61-63.

best contrast to a living figure for which it served as attribute. It only confuses the interpretation of the works in which these herms appear if one tries to see in each of them a direct reference to the Propylaios of Alkamenes. The Agora has furnished one notable illustration of this fact. Loeschke had suggested that Kephisodotos respectfully "quoted" the work of his master Alkamenes by using an archaistic bearded herm as a support in his group of Hermes carrying the child Dionysos.<sup>191</sup> Subsequently Klein argued convincingly against attributing to the elder Kephisodotos the post-Praxitelean group in which the herm-support was used,<sup>192</sup> but the notion of a link between Kephisodotos and Alkamenes via the bearded herm was so strong that when our No. 210, a fragment of a different group, appeared in the Agora excavations, Rizzo hailed it as the true copy of the Kephisodotos group.<sup>193</sup> But if we examine the Agora group without reference to discipular piety, ancient or modern, we discover that it is no more Kephisodotean than Klein's group, for the child's figure is draped in a style derived from the Hermes group of Praxiteles and quite different from the draping of the child Ploutos by Kephisodotos. So there is no direct connection between our support herm and Alkamenes. Also it would seem that there is no one-to-one correspondence between the archaistic type and Hermes Propylaios. The support on which Hermes rests the child on his journey should be a roadside herm, and if there were any direct reference in the herm (which there probably was not) it should be rather to the archaic Hipparchan herms than to Hermes of the Gateway.

On the Neo-Attic Lanckoronski relief (Pl. 65, c-d), now in Richmond, Virginia,<sup>194</sup> we have a herm shown in a different type which must from its context stand for Hermes Propylaios of the Acropolis. Athena stands with the owl in her hand and her shield leaning against a herm. This herm does not have corkscrew archaistic curls; his hair is bound up around his head like that of the Kritios boy. This is an authentic early classical coiffure, and it is curious that no one has suggested that the herm on the Lanckoronski relief is an actual reflection of the Propylaios seen by Pausanias.<sup>195</sup> This may be simply because those who have treated the relief have believed too firmly that the Acropolis Hermes was by Alkamenes. If we cannot claim the Lanckoronski herm as an authentic picture of the Propylaios of the Acropolis, we can at least affirm that the hat-like arch of snail shell curls was not regarded in early Roman times as an indispensable feature of Hermes Propylaios.

Since the Hermes group of Kephisodotos is again an unknown quantity, we cannot say for certain who was the first to use a herm for a support in sculpture. A terracotta relief from Olynthos, so belonging to the first half of the 4th century, shows a youthful Hermes with a ram beside a bearded herm, but he is not leaning on it.<sup>196</sup> We may compare the combination of youthful Hermes and bearded herm on the coins of Ainos.<sup>197</sup> On the other hand, there is also from Olynthos a series of terracotta figurines and plastic vases which show Eros leaning beside a herm. Even here the herm is rather an attribute than a support but the leaning pose already suggests this use of the herm.<sup>198</sup>

If Kephisodotos did not use a herm for a support, it may be that Praxiteles was the first. The little herm beside the leg of the Eros of Parion is our earliest sure example in major sculpture of

<sup>191</sup> *Jahrb.*, XIX, 1904, p. 24, note 2.

<sup>192</sup> *Jahreshefte*, XIV, 1911, pp. 98-111.

<sup>193</sup> *Praxiteles*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>194</sup> Schrader, *Jahreshefte*, XVI, 1913, pp. 1-32; *Pheidias*, pp. 90-97, figs. 76-77; Fuchs, p. 173, no. 23. Considered by Schrader as a 5th century Attic original, the relief is now correctly classed by Fuchs as an eclectic Neo-Attic creation.

<sup>195</sup> I, 22, 8.

<sup>196</sup> *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 47, no. 374.

<sup>197</sup> Münzer and Strack, *Die antiken Münzen Nordgriechenlands*, II, pls. 4, 5.

<sup>198</sup> *Olynthus*, IV, pl. 39, nos. 372, 373, 373 a; VII, pl. 34, nos. 265-271. Though Robinson calls the herm a herm of Aphrodite, the figure is indistinct, and one example (VII, pl. 34, no. 271) seems to show a phallos. It is probably a Hermes herm.

the herm used as support and attribute,<sup>199</sup> but the Sisyphos II, from the Daochos dedication at Delphi, who actually leans on a herm in a Praxitelean curved pose, is not very much later.<sup>200</sup> The idea of leaning on a significant object is already present in an Attic gravestone of the end of the 5th century B.C. in which the dead woman leans on a loutrophoros in the pose of the leaning Aphrodite.<sup>201</sup> The earliest example in vase-painting of the motive of leaning on a herm is on a Kerch lidded bowl of around the middle of the 4th century where a female figure holding a wreath in a wedding scene leans on a herm which must be the herm of the groom's house.<sup>202</sup> Because the leaning motive is so common in the iconography of Aphrodite and Eros and in wedding scenes, it may be that figures were shown leaning on herms in such scenes before the herm was used as a support for Hermes himself.<sup>203</sup> This is all conjecture, but in general it appears that herms used as supports indicate setting or serve as attributes. The idea of the divinity resting on his own archaic image does not seem to be primary.

This is not to suggest that in real life people leaned on herms and statues, but that the leaning motive in art is taken in a symbolic rather than in a realistic sense. In the Daochos group at Delphi the young man who leans on a herm has been tentatively identified as Sisyphos II, the youngest of the group and a person who has no notable achievements to his credit.<sup>204</sup> Perhaps the herm marks him as still an ephebe, leaning on the herm of the gymnasium.

The Agora has yielded one example (No. 213) of a beardless herm of ephebe type used as a support for a statue, but none of the statue itself is preserved, and the signs of attachment are so light that we must imagine that the statue stood on its own feet rather than leaning on the herm. At most a hand holding a light attribute may have rested on the mantle draped over its head. This support belongs, like our other examples, to the Roman period, but seems from its style to be earlier than the others, probably of the 1st century after Christ. It may have belonged to a portrait statue rather than to a divinity. Portrait statues in Hermes types are fairly frequent in the early Roman period, and a beardless gymnasium herm might be an appropriate adjunct to an "orator" statue. Several Roman gravestones from Athens show the deceased resting his hand on a herm in the same way.<sup>205</sup>

## 8. APOLLO HERMS

The youthful herm head with archaistic corkscrew curls is represented by fewer examples in the Agora than either the bearded archaistic Hermes or the youthful ephebe Hermes of 4th century type, but there is one certain example (No. 215) and two probable ones. These herms seem to represent Apollo, though we have, so far as I know, no epigraphical proof. With this kind of head we sometimes find that the face as well as the hair is archaistic. That appears most clearly in a head in the Athens National Museum, which has a mouth simulating the archaic smile.<sup>206</sup> In most of these beardless archaistic heads the outer portion of the eyebrow arch is not

<sup>199</sup> Rizzo, *Praxiteles*, pl. 93. This figure is similar to the Eros of the Olynthos terracottas in that Eros does not actually lean on the herm. It seems clear from the coin picture, however, that one of the herm-arms served as a strut to support the marble leg. On the other side the statue was further supported by the hanging drapery.

<sup>200</sup> *Delphes*, IV, pl. 67; Marcadé, *B.C.H.*, LXXVII, 1953, p. 503, fig. 8.

<sup>201</sup> N.M. 3891. Cf. Richter, *Catalogue*, p. 54; Harrison, *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, p. 377, note 38.

<sup>202</sup> Schefold, *Kertscher Vasen*, Berlin-Wilmersdorf, 1930, pl. 14 a; Lullies, *Typen*, p. 64.

<sup>203</sup> Cf. the mirror reliefs, Lullies, *Typen*, p. 15, nos. 1-3. No. 1 should probably be dated in the 4th century.

<sup>204</sup> Will, *B.C.H.*, LXII, 1938, pp. 299-300. Sjöqvist, *Opuscula Atheniensia*, I, 1953, pp. 95-96, argues that he is Telemachos.

<sup>205</sup> Conze, IV, pl. 439, no. 2017; p. 71, nos. 2014-2015. A beardless herm also appears linked in this way with the figure of a hero-physician on a relief of the Roman period from the Athenian Asklepieion (N.M. 1353, Svoronos, pl. 46; Hausmann, *Kunst und Heilium*, p. 83, p. 180, no. 168). The hero is unidentifiable, in the opinion of Hausmann. In any case, the relief appears influenced by a statuary type, for the draping of the mantle over the herm's head and the way in which the hand, but not the weight of the figure, rests on it correspond to our support. Like the identity of the hero, the meaning of the herm here is uncertain. Conze, IV, p. 72, no. 2021 rejects the interpretation as a hero and calls it a grave relief of an ephebe.

<sup>206</sup> N.M. 65. *Einzelstudien*, 1201-1202.

sharply ridged but rounded off, which adds somehow to the look of youthfulness. Thanks to this feature even fragments such as our Nos. 216 and 217 can be identified as belonging to these beardless heads rather than to bearded Hermes herms.

The simple fact that these heads are more fully archaistic than the bearded herms and that Apollo is the one male divinity whose standard archaic type is beardless makes it natural to regard them as Apollo. There are other indications too. The herm form seems to come more easily to divinities who were worshipped also in aniconic form than to those who were not.<sup>207</sup> Apollo Agyieus was such a divinity, and he shared with Hermes the protection of the gates and streets of the city. In Roman Athens he is equated with Apollo Alexikakos and Apollo Prostateorios. As protector of ways and warder-off of evil he would be a natural companion of Hermes in stadia and the running tracks of gymnasia.<sup>208</sup> The series of double herms in the Panathenaic Stadion built by Herodes Atticus pairs the Ephesos type of bearded "Alkamenes" herm (Pl. 66, f) with a non-archaistic beardless long-haired head that in this context can only be Apollo.<sup>209</sup> It is inconceivable that in a classical type the long-haired youthful head should represent Hermes, and Dionysos has no place on the running track.

In the *xystus* of the Baths of Caracalla were found two herm heads, one of which was a fine bearded head of the Alkamenoid type, the other a beardless head with corkscrew curls.<sup>210</sup> It is natural to assume that once again we have Hermes and Apollo, both this time in archaistic form. It has also been suggested that the beardless head is a youthful Hermes (see below notes 214 and 220). The occasional appearance of an archaistic youthful herm of this sort on east Greek gravestones of the Hellenistic period might seem to favor this identification but it should be noted that Herakles herms also appear on these gravestones,<sup>211</sup> so that Apollo might well do so.

The beardless head with corkscrew curls is sometimes a simple counterpart of the Alkamenoid scheme and sometimes it has a more elaborate form, with hanging corkscrew curls in front of the ears. There are several variants of this scheme, which seems to be derived from a combination of the corkscrew scheme of forehead curls with an early classical coiffure in which the front hair is pulled up over the diadem and falls down in front of the ears. Caroline Galt has compared a head in Copenhagen of this archaistic sort with an early classical head in the Terme and a statuette in Mount Holyoke.<sup>212</sup> The Copenhagen head, which does not appear to be from a herm, has the *krobylos* in back and the hanging side hair does not form corkscrews, but when the type is adapted to the herm form, the back hair is made long and straight and the side locks become corkscrews. This type with the hanging corkscrews is sometimes used in Roman art as a female head,<sup>213</sup> though at other times it is certainly male. It has been said that this type does not occur in Greece, and V. Poulsen suggested that it was based on an early classical original from Magna Graecia.<sup>214</sup> Schweitzer makes a similar suggestion.<sup>215</sup> It should be noted,

<sup>207</sup> Cf. below, p. 138. It is noticeable that in Arcadia, where there are more aniconic representations of gods than elsewhere in Greece, there are also more different divinities in herm form. Cf. Nilsson, *Geschichte*, I<sup>2</sup>, pp. 206-207, and references there cited.

<sup>208</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4850, 4852, 4995. Cf. Nilsson, *Geschichte*, I<sup>2</sup>, p. 544. For dedications to Apollo in connection with athletic contests, see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3002 (by a gymnasiarch) and 3006 (by a winner in the torch race at the Hephaisteia).

<sup>209</sup> Bieber, *Jahrb.*, XXXII, 1917, p. 84, fig. 52.

<sup>210</sup> *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1912, p. 314, figs. 4-5 and p. 316, figs. 6-7.

<sup>211</sup> Pfuhl, *Jahrb.*, XX, 1905, p. 77, nos. 5-6 (archaistic hair), pp. 78f.

<sup>212</sup> *A.J.A.*, XXXIII, 1929, pp. 41-52.

<sup>213</sup> Cf. Schweitzer, *Antiken in ostpreussischem Privatbesitz*, pp. 173-174. I am not sure how much real evidence there is that this type when combined with a bearded head in a double herm represents Ariadne. The identification of bearded herm-heads as Dionysos instead of Hermes is less sure than is often implied (see above, pp. 130-132). Paribeni, *Sculture greche*, p. 42 (nos. 64-65) identifies a double herm of this kind as the old and the young Dionysos, in spite of the fact that he has compared the bearded head to the Ephesos Alkamenes Hermes type and the beardless to the Apollo Phileios. In Cyrene there is a pair of herms from the area of the Temple of Hermes, one bearded, of the Alkamenoid sort, and one beardless, with identical forehead curls. Here Paribeni calls them the old and the young Hermes (*Cirene*, pl. 165, nos. 363, 369).

<sup>214</sup> *Der strenge Stil* (*Acta Archaeologica*, VIII, 1937), p. 142.

<sup>215</sup> *Op.cit.*, p. 173.

however, that hanging corkscrew curls are inserted in a bearded herm head in Delos which is otherwise a replica of the bronze herm from Mahdia,<sup>216</sup> and it may well be that beardless heads with such curls will eventually be found in Greece. All those from the Agora are of the simple type, however.

Though the looping of the hair over the diadem belongs to early classical Apollo types and may well be borrowed from them, the hanging corkscrew curls also occur as an Egyptianizing feature in Hellenistic and Roman heads of Isis,<sup>217</sup> and it may even be that the Isis type had a formal influence on these herm heads.

The fragment, No. 216, has a different elaboration, which seems directly based on the early classical Apollo type. Instead of a round diadem encircling the head, there are braids wrapped around above the curls. This is the coiffure of the Omphalos Apollo in an archaistic form. The head represented by this fragment was larger as well as more elaborate than the other two, and it is quite possible that it did not belong to a herm at all but to a statue of Apollo in the form of an archaistic kouros. We have mentioned above the possibility that our No. 109 might be an Apollo rather than a Dionysos.<sup>218</sup> Though there is nothing to indicate a connection between our present head and No. 109, it might well have belonged to a similar figure. Roman reliefs from Miletos representing the Apollo Phileios of Kanachos show him as a kouros with two or three rows of snail shell or corkscrew curls over the forehead.<sup>219</sup> Our fragment cannot be from a copy of this type, for this had long back hair instead of braids, but its coiffure is clearly suitable for an Apollo.<sup>220</sup>

#### 9. FEMALE HERMS, APHRODITE AND ARTEMIS

Among the divinities who early usurp the herm form is Aphrodite. Pausanias mentions an image of Aphrodite Ourania (in Athens in the precinct of Aphrodite in the Gardens) which had the square herm form.<sup>221</sup> Lullies suggests that the use of the square herm for Aphrodite Ourania was inspired by the *aschera*, the aniconic post which was erected by the altars of Astarte.<sup>222</sup> That the female herm seemed to the Greeks of the 4th century B.C. to be something oriental is suggested by the picture of a female herm standing on the altar whereon sits the personification of Asia on the Dareios vase in Naples.<sup>223</sup> It is also true that Hermes was early associated with Aphrodite as a promoter of fertility. In the Samian Heraion there was a Hermes in the Temple of Aphrodite as well as a separate Hermes in a temple alongside.<sup>224</sup> The two were appropriate companions for the goddess of marriage. In houses at Olynthos belonging to the first half of the 4th century were found five pairs of little lead herms on common bases.<sup>225</sup> One is male, bearded and ithyphallic, the other female and draped. Robinson interprets some as Priapos and Aphrodite, the others as Hermes and Aphrodite. This is because of a difference in the coiffures of the male heads, but since all these little household amulets must have served the same purpose of protecting the life and luck of the family, it seems most likely that all are Hermes and Aphrodite.

<sup>216</sup> Marcadé, *B.C.H.*, LXXVII, 1953, p. 506, fig. 10.

<sup>217</sup> Cf. Bieber, *Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, figs. 328–333. In Cyrene there is a double herm of Zeus Ammon and Isis or Libya supporting a ram (Paribeni, *Cyrene*, pl. 181, no. 416).

<sup>218</sup> P. 68.

<sup>219</sup> *Charites* (*Festschrift Langlotz*, Bonn, 1957), pls. 7, 1 and 8, 2.

<sup>220</sup> Schweitzer, *op.cit.*, p. 173, has suggested that the archaistic beardless type also represents Hermes. For Athens this seems less likely than the identification with Apollo. The Barracco Kriophoros (Helbig, *Collection Barracco*, pls. 31, 31a), which has an archaistic beardless head with snail shell curls, might be taken as evidence in favor of Hermes, but it should be noted that the hair of the Kriophoros, unlike that of our herm heads, is short.

<sup>221</sup> I, 19, 2.

<sup>222</sup> *Typen*, p. 55.

<sup>223</sup> Furtwängler-Reichhold, pl. 88; Lullies, *Typen*, p. 55.

<sup>224</sup> Buschor, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXXII, 1957, pp. 77–86. Though the treasury record which mentions Hermes and Aphrodite belongs to the middle of the 4th century B.C., Buschor believes that their temples go back to the archaic period.

<sup>225</sup> *Olynthus*, X, pp. 6–14, pls. 2–3, nos. 3–7. Cf. D. B. Thompson, *Troy, Supplementary Monograph*, 3, p. 145.

A female herm wearing a polos appears on a fragment of a relief in the Lateran.<sup>226</sup> A female figure in a transparent peplos leans against it. Both herm and figure could well represent Aphrodite, though no proof is preserved.

The one single female herm (No. 218) from the Agora (for the triple Hekate herms see above, Nos. 151–154) has been thought to represent Aphrodite. Its finding-place was, to be sure, not far from the sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania, but the remarkable contents of the well in which it was found, bones of over a hundred new-born infants and more than eighty-five dogs, suggest a birth goddess or chthonian divinity rather than Aphrodite. Since we have examples in the Peloponnese of Artemis in herm form<sup>227</sup> and since Hekate can also be identified with Artemis, it seems likely that the Agora example is not Aphrodite but Artemis. The topographical implications of this well and its contents have not been fully explored, however.

#### 10. THE HERMS OF THE ODEION OF AGRIPPA

It is not possible to decide what divinities were represented by the herms used in the stage front of the Odeion of Agrippa.<sup>228</sup> Here we have herms used in a decorative work made under Roman patronage and the range of types may have been as wide as for Cicero's Academy. Since Thompson calculates that there was space for 17 herms<sup>229</sup> and since we know that there were at least two of one type, but not definitely that there were more of any one, there may have been as many as eight or nine types altogether. The surviving duplicates are two female heads of a classical type (Nos. 219–220) which appears elsewhere in Roman decorative art as the head of a sphinx. There is one male head (No. 221) whose face is wholly destroyed but which has short hair bound by a fillet. The pattern of the hair appears to be Polykleitan. A face from a head which had the top carved separately (No. 222) was explained by Thompson as from the same type. The heads are all of Pentelic marble. Two fragments of shafts of light green Karystos marble are preserved, as well as a fragment of the intervening slab out of the same material.

If there were only two types of herms present, one male and one female, the reasonable guess would be that the male heads represented Hermes and the female Aphrodite, but actually there seem to have been more than two. The fragment of a face, No. 222, does not belong to the 5th century athletic type of the burnt herm head, No. 221, but has a smiling face of Hellenistic-Roman type in which there seems to be a touch of the archaistic. It seems to have worn the fillet very low on the forehead, which would suit one of the followers of Dionysos. Besides this third type of head, which is probably (though not certainly) male, there is a fragment of a herm shaft, of Pentelic marble, covered to the bottom with archaistic drapery in a flat and delicate style (No. 225). This must have been from a female herm, but not from one of those with classical heads.

It would seem, then, that the front of this Roman *logeion* presented not just two types of herms but a variety of types, analogous to the mixture of Amazons and satyrs (perhaps with other types too) on the sculptured pillars from the theater at Ephesos which Eichler attributes to the *logeion* of the Roman period.<sup>230</sup> The inspiration for the use of herms rather than caryatids probably came from the rows of herms with different types of heads that had been made since

<sup>226</sup> *Einzelstudien* 2226; Arndt and Lippold in the text date it to the late 4th or 3rd century; Lullies (*Typen*, p. 55) dates it to the end of the 4th. The type of the figure, however, belongs to the early 4th century and the form of the relief slab might be Roman. It seems possible, therefore, that this is a Neo-Attic work.

<sup>227</sup> \*Epyov, 1962, p. 129, fig. 155. See below, p. 168.

<sup>228</sup> Nos. 219–225.

<sup>229</sup> *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 68.

<sup>230</sup> *Jahreshefte*, XLIII, 1956–1958, pp. 7–18.

the time of Cicero for the decoration of Roman villas. The herms were more easily adapted than caryatids to the smaller than life size needed to fit the low platform of the Roman stage. The precedent for using herms as architectural supports had perhaps already been set by the use of herms as table legs, which becomes popular in the Roman period (cf. below, No. 227). The theater at Ephesos, which used pillars with statues below the *logeion*, was a Roman remodelling of the Hellenistic theater and kept the high stage. A feeling that herms were especially appropriate to an Athenian building may also have contributed to their use here. Later on in Roman art we find rows of herms used as railing posts, the most striking example being the balustrade shown in the picture of the Rostra on the Arch of Constantine.<sup>231</sup>

### 11. HELLENISTIC TYPES, HERAKLES AND HERMAPHRODITE

In comparison with the number of herms of the traditional old Attic type, the number of herms representing various divinities in the Hellenistic form with the figure fully modelled down to the hips and a strongly tapering shaft below is very small.<sup>232</sup> Those that are represented in the Agora are all of the size of small statuettes and find their closest parallels in Asia Minor, Alexandria, or the mediating islands, Kos and Rhodes. We have three Herakles herms (Nos. 228–230) and one Hermaphrodite (No. 231) of this sort. It seems clear that when they used large herms for architectural decoration and outdoor monuments the Athenians preferred the traditionally Attic rectangular shaft. The strength of Attic tradition against Hellenistic invention in the matter of herms is comparable to what we have noticed already in archaistic reliefs and statues.<sup>233</sup> The more exuberant inventions of Asia Minor are taken up enthusiastically by the Romans but only sparingly by the Athenians.

It should be mentioned that the apparently rectangular shafts of Attic herms do in fact taper downward slightly in the Roman period, whereas until the 4th century they were still like stelai, with a slight upward taper both in width and thickness. In neither case is the taper strong enough to affect the monument esthetically. The purpose of the upward taper is stability; that of the downward taper may be to give a little more protection from weathering. In Roman times, perhaps in compensation for the loss of stability in the shaft itself, a new method of fastening it into its base is used. Instead of simply setting the whole end of the shaft into the base, a tenon was cut on the end so that the shaft overlapped the edge of the cutting in the base. An unfinished portrait herm from the Agora<sup>234</sup> illustrates the tenon, and the Phaidros base<sup>235</sup> the appearance of a base in which such a tenon was used.

### 12. HERMS IN RELIEF AND GRAFFITO

Representations of herms as part of the background in votive reliefs are relatively rare, but the Agora has yielded one fragmentary example (No. 233). On this 4th century relief we seem to have the entrance of a sanctuary with the herm standing guard and the worshippers filing past. It is interesting for the diagonal position of the herm, which gives an effect of perspective. The type of the herm seems to be one of those without shoulder locks and long back hair but with the hair full around the face. The details, however, are not preserved.

<sup>231</sup> L'Orange and Von Gerkan, *Der spätantike Bildschmuck des Konstantinbogens*, p. 82, note 3, with references to other examples.

<sup>232</sup> For this type in general, see Lullies, *Typen*, pp. 74–78. Lullies is probably right, p. 82, in suggesting that the strong downward taper in herm-shafts which first appeared in the Hellenistic period was due to the effort to make an esthetically satisfying junction of body and shaft in mantle herms.

<sup>233</sup> See above, p. 66.

<sup>234</sup> *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, pl. 86, d.

<sup>235</sup> *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pl. 3, lower left.

Frontal figures of herms which occur singly range all the way from carvings in relief to mere graffiti, and it would appear that their purpose also ranges all the way from intentionally apotropaic to mere doodling. So we have on the one hand the little relief herm carved on the door of Shop III of the Stoa of Attalos (No. 234) and on the other several herms among the haphazard collection of sundials, human profiles, bulls, etc. scratched on the columns of the Roman Southeast Building.<sup>236</sup> The first must surely be a Propylaios. He may also refer to Hermes as the god of commerce. In the second case we can only assume that because the herm was a familiar apotropaic sign and because it was easy to draw, it became a natural thing to draw when one felt like scribbling.

The herm on a grave monument must be both apotropaic and a sign of Hermes Chthonios. Since the Thessalian painted stelai of the Hellenistic period generally show a herm outside the picture panel,<sup>237</sup> but once at least have it included in the picture,<sup>238</sup> it would seem that the herm included as part of the grave relief has the same meaning as the isolated herm. Similarly we find on one Attic grave relief of the Roman period the deceased resting his hand on the head of a siren, which would ordinarily be a separate adjunct of the monument.<sup>239</sup>

On East Greek gravestones the Herakles herm and the beardless herm with archaistic hair also appear.<sup>240</sup> In general, Herakles and Apollo are rather warders-off of evil than chthonian divinities, and it would seem that the protective idea is primary here. In Athens we do not find the Herakles herms on gravestones, but beardless herms with long (perhaps archaistic) hair do occur (cf. No. 237). All these herms on gravestones belong to the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and since there is a gap in Attic grave stelai between the 4th century and the early Roman period, this use of herms must be attributed to outside influence.

Several relief and graffito herms from the Agora are not carved on buildings but on loose pieces of marble, sometimes fragments of worked stone such as the tile fragment (No. 240) or the fragment of revetment (No. 241) and sometimes on a rough piece of marble such as Nos. 238 and 242. No. 241 was found together with several pieces of unfinished sculpture, and it seems clear that it comes from a sculptor's workshop. One can readily believe that sketching a herm in relief was a common exercise for beginners. At first, relief and graffito herms may have been made in the workshop as a charm to prevent the work from going wrong. A black-glaze sherd found in the workshop of Pheidias in Olympia has a fascinating graffito representing a herm together with a grotesque figure that does not correspond to any regular mythological type. This has been interpreted as one of the demons who spoil the sculptors' work being repelled by the protective herm.<sup>241</sup> If sculptors were in the habit of sketching herms for this apotropaic purpose, a herm would come to seem a natural thing on which to try one's hand with the chisel. Odd bits of marble in a marble-working shop would serve for this purpose as potsherds did for writing. The fact that there is so much material from sculptors' workshops among the finds from the Agora probably explains why several of these relief and graffito herms have been found here.

In the Late Hellenistic or Roman fragment (No. 242) with a comic sketch of two bearded herms, a non-ithyphallic one on top and an ithyphallic one below who seems to be cheerfully carrying the other one on his head, we seem to have some of the same spirit of amused affection with which the Pan Painter treated herms in the days of Kimon. The very crudeness of this sketch and the naïveté of its humor serve to show how much the Attic herm had remained a part of everyday Athenian life.

<sup>236</sup> H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, p. 345 and fig. 5.

<sup>237</sup> Cf. A. S. Arvanitopoulos, *Γραφικά Στήλαι Δημητριάδος-Παγασών*, Athens, 1928, pls. 1, 5, 6, 9.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 10. Pl. 7 shows what appears to be a herm of Priapos.

<sup>239</sup> Conze, IV, pl. 450, no. 2053. On another, *ibid.*, pl. 450, no. 2054, the siren is carved in low relief on the anta of the stele.

<sup>240</sup> Cf. Pfuhl, *Jahrb.*, XX, 1905, pp. 77, 78f.

<sup>241</sup> This will be published by W. Schiering.

## CATALOGUE

## 156. Head from a Herm, ca. 480–470 B.C. Pl. 40.

S 211. Found in 1932 in the cellar of a modern house in the vicinity of the Tholos (G–H 12). Head and neck cut separately for attachment to a shaft. A bit of bottom joint surface (dressed smooth) preserved below neck in front. The attachment, by means of a large square dowel hole, ca.  $4.5 \times 4.5$  cm. and 5 cm. deep, roughly cut with drill and point, was leaded from the back, where there are traces of a pour-channel (made with a 1 cm. drill) sloping slightly

down to the top of the dowel cutting. Sides and back of the cutting are broken away, so that only the front of the neck remains, but originally the whole lower joint-surface must have been horizontal. Back of head, forehead curls and lower beard broken away. Of the mouth only the right corner preserved (the position of the left marked by a dent). Nose broken, with traces of ancient repair: the broken surface rubbed flat and then roughened with a few point-strokes to hold cement. A hole 6 mm. in diameter and 2 cm. deep for dowel to attach new piece. Remains of whitish substance, probably cement, on walls of hole.

Island marble. White with moderately coarse grain. Tan patina. The whole head much battered and worn.

P.H. 0.29 m., H. crown to junction of beard and throat 0.24 m., P.W. 0.175 m. (at hair above ears), P. Depth ca. 0.18 m.

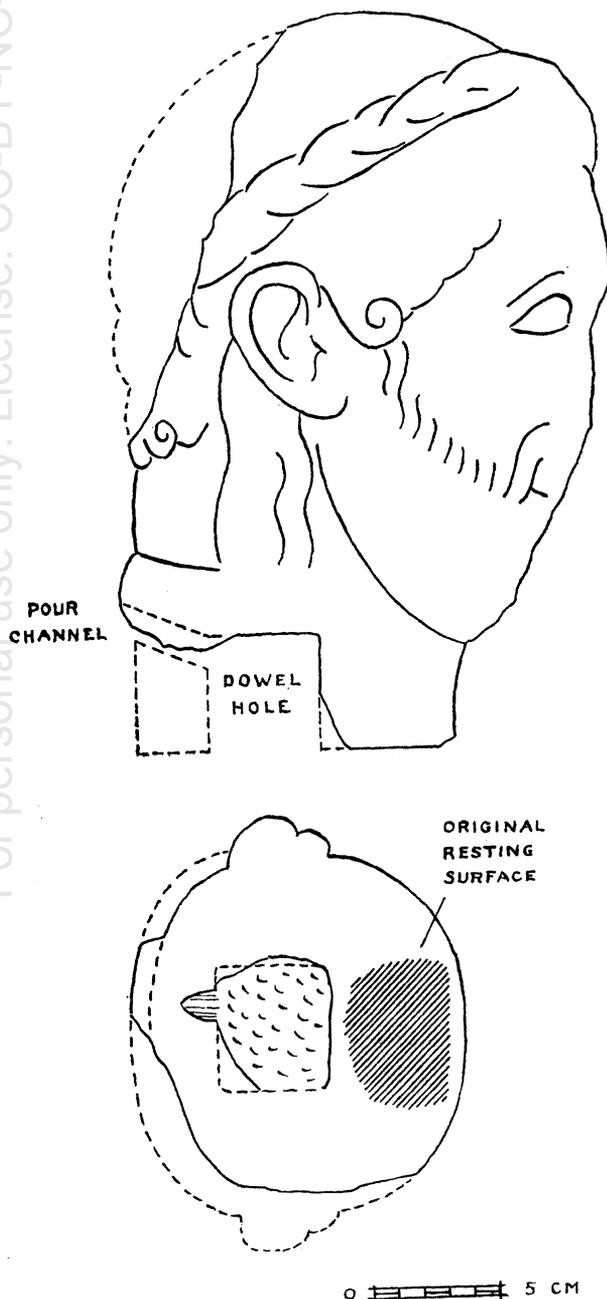
T.L. Shear, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 514ff., figs. 1–2; Vagn Poulsen, *From the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek*, II, p. 100 and fig. 24; Thompson, *Agora Guide*<sup>2</sup>, p. 157.

See also pp. 108, 111, 129, 145, 152.

The rectangular symmetrical structure of the head, the hat-like arch of curls over the forehead, the inorganic treatment of the back of the neck, and the attachment to a lower member by a dowel and pour-channel show that the head comes from a herm rather than from a statue. The long back hair is bound up in braids around the head and the short front hair falls in curls over the forehead. Wavy strands emerge from under the braids and end in little curls which probably formed two rows. The little strands on the nape of the neck formed a single row of similar small curls. Long wavy side-locks hung down behind the ears, separating the front of the neck from the back part, which is not modelled as neck but curves around in a convex surface wider than the neck would have been. This is terminated below by a kind of astragal.

The beard is broad, its straight sides continuous with the side planes of the cheeks, its surface decorated with parallel wavy strands like those of the hair. A thin mustache drooped low over the deep-set corners of the mouth, which curved upward in a distinct archaic smile. The eyes, by contrast, have heavy framing lids in the early classical manner, continuous at the outer corners. The ears have the 5th century shape, broad at the top and short. The hollow is unusually large. The unnatural backward slant at which the ear is set, perhaps in order to make it fit better behind the front hair, is a dislocation that may be found also in later herms.

The coiffure, a well-known early classical style with slight modifications to fit the architecture of the



herm, fixes the date around 480 or shortly after. The Blond Boy from the Acropolis is one of the earliest examples of braids wound around the head. Its coiffure differs from that of our head in having the braids hidden by the bangs instead of passing over them. Except for the side-locks, the coiffure of our herm is that of the bronze "Zeus" from Artemision and of the "Omphalos Apollo," though these are later and represent the hair itself in a more realistic manner. Hermes appears with his hair in this style on a red-figured krater from the Acropolis that Beazley calls a late work of the Berlin Painter.<sup>1</sup> The side-locks are needed on our herm to separate the front of the neck from the back part, which is not organically treated. The flat mass of long back hair that is usual in archaic and archaistic herms covers over and makes easy the transition from the head to the rectangular shaft. The curious treatment in the present head looks like an experimental solution and not an altogether successful one. It may never have been repeated. In the course of the 5th century, short-haired herms appeared, with the back of the neck modelled, but they never ousted the long-haired variety. Though the arrangement of the hair is early classical, the rendering of strands and curls in our head preserves the archaic stylization. The projecting arch of curls over the forehead is an archaic feature that has been retained because of its usefulness. The curls form a cornice which protects the face from rain. A similar arch of curls is depicted on herms shown frontally by the Pan Painter which are very like our herm in spirit.<sup>2</sup>

The retention of the archaic smile within the simplified early classical structure of the face gives an extraordinary impression of alertness and vitality to this head, in spite of the mutilations that it has suffered. The central herm on the Pan Painter's pelike in the Louvre (Pl. 65, a) has such a smile. Early classical statuary, with its developed rendering of bodily form and movement, no longer needs the smile to give it the quality of life, but the inherent contrast of the herm is still heightened by it. Better than any other extant example, the Agora herm illustrates the reasons for the survival of archaic features in this kind of monument. It preserves for us the direct line of tradition from the Hipparchan herms and their cousins down to the classical archaistic types that have been transmitted to us in so many copies and variations.

<sup>1</sup> Beazley, *Berliner Maler*, pl. 32, no. 84. The youthful Hermes on the coins of Ainos in the 470's wears braids under his hat (Seltman, *Masterpieces of Greek Coinage*, Oxford, 1949, figs. 12 a, 16 a).

<sup>2</sup> Especially the Naples krater, Beazley, *Pan-Maler*, pl. 30; *A.R.V.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 551, no. 15 and the central herm on the Louvre pelike with a group of three herms (Pl. 65, a; see above, p. 111).

Its closest contemporary among surviving herm-heads is probably the handsome fragment from the south slope of the Acropolis (Pl. 65, b). This, though it has been called a Dionysos, is probably also a Hermes herm.<sup>3</sup> Marble, modelling of eyes, and surface qualities are generally similar to those of our piece. The expression is milder, however, and the architecture less rigid. The variety in the personality of herms that one finds in vase-paintings of the time is shown to have been present in the herms themselves.

The Agora head is linked to the Hipparchan herm from the road to Kephale, of which only fragments of the shaft now survive in Koropi, by the fact that the head was cut separately from the shaft. Dow and Kirchner, who published the Hipparchan herm when part of the upper end of the shaft was still preserved, expressed some surprise at what appeared to be an anathyrosis on the top surface.<sup>4</sup> Though the dowel was not preserved there, the undoubted presence in the Agora head of a dowel hole and pour-channel of the kind that was used for fastening an upper member flush with a lower member suggests that such piecing was not abnormal. A fragment from the Acropolis with part of the shaft and long back hair of a herm has a pour-channel bored through the hair, suggesting that the head was attached by a tenon set into a mortise in the shaft.<sup>5</sup> Some marble could be saved by cutting the head and shaft separately. The side view of the little herm from Siphnos shows how far the face projects beyond the front plane of the shaft in a 6th century herm.<sup>6</sup> In the case of the Hipparchan herms, when so many were made at once, the total saving would have been well worth the extra trouble of piecing, and this may have influenced Athenian practice thereafter. It is even possible that Attic marble was used for the shafts and the more expensive island marble only for the heads. In later herms, made all of Attic marble, the shaft is made so much thicker that the waste of marble in a one-piece herm is negligible.

The nose of our herm was broken and repaired in antiquity. This fact was not known when Shear published the head in 1933, but when the modern mortar that encrusted the broken surface had been fully cleared away in 1954 it became apparent. This

<sup>3</sup> N.M. 96. Wrede, *Ath. Mitt.*, LIII, 1928, p. 78, Beilage 22,3 to 23,1. It is said by Kavvadias (*Γλυπτικά*, p. 113) to have been found in 1876 in excavations on the south slope of the Acropolis. Excavations in that year were in the area within the Serpentje and west of the Theater of Dionysos, comprising the area of the Asklepieion and the area south of the Nike bastion (cf. *Πρακτικά*, 1877, pp. 14ff.). Wrede called it a mask of Dionysos, but the piece shows an irregular break at the back and no sign of a worked back surface such as it should have had if it had been a mask.

<sup>4</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, LXII, 1937, pp. 1-3. See above, p. 113, note 44.

<sup>5</sup> Acropolis 170. Schrader, pp. 336f., no. 461.

<sup>6</sup> Lullies, *Typen*, pl. 2, 2.

damage and repair is an additional argument for dating the herm after 480. Shear had suggested a pre-Persian date, but since the damage done by the Persians in 480 was so extensive that minor repairs were hardly worthwhile, it seems likely that our herm was first set up after that time. Damages to herms must have been very common in antiquity, and one does not need to postulate an historic occasion for every mutilation, but our head, if it was made in the 470's, was very probably standing in or near the Agora in 415 B.C. when the faces of most of the herms were chopped.<sup>7</sup> There is thus a good chance that the mutilation of this head was no accident.

The years just after Salamis were a great time for herms in the Agora. Kimon's victory over the Persians at Eion in 476/5 B.C. was commemorated by three herms, and it has been conjectured that herms also commemorated earlier battles of the Persian Wars.<sup>8</sup> One cannot help asking whether the Agora head can have belonged to one of the famous herms. The Pan Painter's three herms, which Juliette de la Genière has plausibly connected with the Kimonian herms, are quite similar in style. Artistically our head is certainly good enough to have belonged to a victory monument, but the size seems a little small. In any case, it furnishes the best help we have for visualizing these important monuments. In the presence of this head we begin to understand how even a modest dedication of conventional form such as a herm could have in itself an expressive power worthy to commemorate such proud deeds.

**157.** Small Head from a Herm (?), Late Archaic Period. Pl. 41.

S 730. Found in 1936 in late fill on the south side of the Agora (M 15). Broken at neck (dowel indicates that head was attached but joint-surface not preserved). Dowel hole in bottom consists of two joining drill holes of 6–7 mm. diam., its preserved depth 0.025 m. Nose and end of beard broken off; back of skull chipped away. All edges worn, as if head had been much rolled about.

White marble, Pentelic or fine-grained island (texture suggests the latter).

H. 0.125 m., W. 0.081 m.

The little bearded head is sufficiently symmetrical and rectangular in structure to have belonged to a herm, but it is by no means certain that it did. It is included here because of a general resemblance to No. 156, which surely is from a herm. The back hair was either short or bound up, leaving the back of the

neck uncovered. The details of the back hair were probably not made explicit. The hair over the forehead ended in little round curls, of which we see only the scalloped outline against the forehead. The low forehead is broad and flat, sloping a little inward at the top. The eyes are large, almond-shaped and projecting, with heavy lids. The separation of lids and eyeballs is little more than an incision. The area between eyebrows and eyes is simply concave. The beard on the sides extends up under the hair in front of the ears. It was carved in wavy strands, now visible only on the proper right side. The ends of the mustache hang vertically, perhaps ending in little inward curls. The corners of the mouth are slightly upturned. The effect of the head is archaic, and the carving of details such as the eyes is simple enough to belong to the 6th century, but the small size of the work would naturally make for a more archaic aspect, especially in the eyes, and the piece may well belong between 500 and 480. Such a small-sized herm, if the head is from a herm, might be dedicated either in a private house or in a sanctuary.

**158.** Fragment of a Herm, Probably a Repair Piece. Pl. 41.

S 159. Found in 1932 in late context on the west side of the Agora (J 9). A separately cut piece comprising front of neck and lower part of face with beard. Broken off: tip of beard, lower part of neck, some of joint-surfaces front and back adjacent to dowel hole. Pentelic marble. Moderate weathering. Rough pick-marks on proper right side of beard and neck and on lower part of back joint-surface must date from destruction of monument.

P.H. 0.155 m., P.W. 0.12 m., P.Th. ca. 0.11 m., W. of face at start of beard 0.100 m.

This was a repair piece, evidently for a small herm. The lower part of a face with archaic smile (corners of mouth disappearing under mustache), wedge-shaped beard, and thin, drooping mustache is carved in a separate piece of stone together with the front of the neck and parts of the long side-locks. Front and back joint-surfaces intersected at the top; the lower edge of the fragment is broken off. The front joint-surface, dressed smooth, is concave, the line of junction passing through the lower parts of the cheeks and between the nose and the mustache. One wonders why the junction of flesh and beard was not taken as the joint-line. The awkwardness of the piecing proves that we are dealing with a repair rather than with something that was pieced to begin with. The back joint-surface is convex, dressed with a claw chisel at the top and a fine point lower down. It cuts through the locks at the temples, through the hollows of the

<sup>7</sup> Thucydides, VI, 27, 1. See above, pp. 117–118.

<sup>8</sup> See above, pp. 110–117.

ears, and through the long locks on the sides of the neck.

A broad vertical dowel hole (W. ca. 0.03 m., Th. ca. 0.02 m., P. Depth a little over 0.03 m.) served to fasten this piece to the upper part of the head. A small round (diam. 0.006 m.) drill hole that cuts into the back wall of the big dowel hole from the front may belong to the fastening of the upper face to the lower, whether by a small pin or simply by poured lead.

The modelling is simple and shallow, with all edges blurred and with heavy abrasive striations all over the beard and neck. Of the preserved surfaces, only that of the cheeks is carefully smoothed. The beard is rendered by horizontal grooves and ridges that curve down to the center front. The mustache is clearly defined only on its inner edge; on the outside it is marked only by the interruption of the grooves of the beard. The beard is finished fairly smooth underneath. The neck is modelled, with sterno-mastoids shown. No detail is visible in the remnants of forehead hair. The long lock on the side of the neck has crude scorings to represent the wavy strands.

The workmanship cannot be dated, for the blurry quality does not belong to a style but seems rather to be due to the wish to approximate unobtrusively the general appearance of the piece that was being repaired. The smile and the sharp-pointed wedge-beard give an archaistic appearance, but this might mean either that the original herm was archaistic or that it was a work like No. 156, an early classical piece that retained some archaic characteristics. The head of Zeus from the early classical terracotta group of Zeus and Ganymede at Olympia has the beard similarly treated in broad grooves and ridges. The heavy rectangular dowel and the small hole piercing it occur in the archaic statuette, No. 87. One does not know how long this method of piecing went on, but I know of no Roman examples. The evidence that this fragment gives for adding part of the face separately in a repaired herm should be considered in cases where a herm-like face or a part of one shows a joint-surface at the back. The fragment in Boston which Wrede took to be from a mask of Dionysos might well belong to such a herm.<sup>9</sup>

#### 159. Small Bearded Head.

Pl. 42.

S 218. Found in 1932 in a Byzantine well south of the Agora (I 16:3). Broken off at neck, the break so worn that it would never join. Tip of nose, forehead hair, edges of beard broken off. Pentelic marble.

<sup>9</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, LIII, 1928, Beilage 25, 1-2; Caskey, *Catalogue*, no. 15. The front curls seem to have been damaged and repaired also, for there is a picked surface above the forehead made to hold cement.

Surface in general somewhat chipped and rubbed. Beige patina but no sign of heavy weathering.

P.H. 0.145 m., P.W. 0.092 m., P.Th. 0.105 m., W. of face at start of beard 0.068 m.

T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 516-519, figs. 3-4; Poulsen, *From the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek*, II, 1938, p. 100, note 3.

The hair is long and bound up in braids. These appear in a herringbone pattern across the back of the head and were presumably wound round the head but they are concealed on the sides by the brushed-back locks of the forehead hair and the center front is broken away. There are no wisps of hair on the nape of the neck. The top hair radiates from the crown in slightly waving strands. The beard starts rather low on the proper right side, leaving a smooth space in front of the ear. On the other side it is normal. The long beard is rendered with overlapping locks curved at the ends. The ends of the mustache are long and thin. The general pattern is similar to that of herm beards but the archaistic engraving of the strands is lacking.

The forehead is low, bulging slightly above the eyebrows. The bridge of the nose seems to have been narrow. The eyes are almond-shaped with a slight droop toward the outer corners. The lids form a continuous ridge around the outer corners of the eyes. The cheeks are wide and bulge a little. The mouth is definitely open, with a faintly unpleasant expression which is caused by the fact that the space between the lips is not a mere channel of shadow but a smooth curved band suggesting teeth. The lower lip is wide. The ears in their present state look very crude and generalized. The underside of the beard shows three unsmoothed heavy drill channels by which it was separated from the neck.

Shear dated the type to the 2nd quarter of the 5th century B.C. but left it undecided whether it was an original or a Roman copy. Poulsen considered it a copy. The crude appearance of the ears and the awkward look of the radiating strands on the proper right side of the head would suggest that it is a copy, but it is unusually faithful to 5th century style. Note especially the eyes and mouth. One may contrast it with such a head as No. 161, where it is precisely the eyes and mouth that betray a later origin. It may be questioned whether the present head is actually from a herm to begin with. It might be rather the head of Zeus from a small pediment or high relief which was broken off and retouched in Roman times, quite possibly with the idea of using it as a herm head. The proper right side, which now seems the more crude, may originally have been the better finished, since it seems to have faced out. The drill channels under the beard are not driven in symmetrically from either side to form a herringbone pattern as is usual in herm

heads but are cut in diagonally from the proper right. They show abrasive scratches in the bottoms of the channels. These would have had no purpose in the original work (if the underside were to be smoothed one would first have chiselled away the ridges between the channels) but they might well be the result of cleaning the head for re-use. Because the right side of the face was the more exposed, it may have been more damaged. The strands of the top hair were re-drawn, thicker and with less regular wavings than the original strands, which may still be seen on the other side of the head. The original ear, perhaps broken, was trimmed off and a new one cut against the back hair. In order to give relief to this new ear the back of the neck was sheared away below its original level. This may account for the absence of wisps or curls on the nape of the neck. The peculiar smooth patch between the forehead hair and beard which is not matched on the other side is probably the result of the recutting by which the original ear was removed.

When allowances are made for what it has suffered, the fragment, referred to by Poulsen as an "insignificant little head," appears to be not a bad piece of work. Since its date should be some time around the middle of the 5th century, it might turn out to be quite interesting if its context were known. But its finding-place is probably related to the workshop where it was recut rather than to its original site, so that there is little hope of knowing more about it.

**160.** Head of a Small Herm, Roman Period. Pl. 41.

S 1090. Found in 1938 in a deposit of the 1st half of the 3rd century A.D. in a well south of the Agora (P 19:1). Broken off at top of shaft, break slanting slightly upward from back to front. A little bit of tops of arm-slots preserved on both sides. Projecting portions (nose, lips, point of chin) battered off. Back of head chipped. Pentelic marble, very poor grade, full of white mica.

P.H. 0.145 m., W. 0.103 m. (= width of shaft), P.Th. 0.10 m.

This ugly little herm is certainly trying to look archaic. At the same time the crudeness of its execution gives it a certain comic vivacity. Perhaps it is a trial piece by an apprentice hermoglyph of the Roman period. It comes from an area where sculptors' workshops certainly existed and an unfinished piece was found in the same well.<sup>10</sup> The crown of the head, disproportionately small, is surrounded by a flat fillet. Radiating wavy strands are roughly suggested and the back hair has more or less symmetrical wavy strands. Two rows of snail shell (not corkscrew) curls

frame the forehead. The side-locks are flat straps, not detached from the neck, adorned with diagonal hatching to suggest twisted strands. The ears, very small, are plastered against the side-locks. The plane of the beard is offset from that of the cheeks and its waves are suggested by diagonal grooves. The lips projected. The eyes are very large and rimmed with continuous heavy lids. The nose was thin, the eyebrows high-arched. The ends of drill holes for separating the beard from the front of the neck are visible under the beard. The model for this odd piece may have been either an actual early herm or a good imitation such as No. 161. It surely was not one of the classical types.

**161.** Head from a Herm, Early Roman Period (?). Pl. 43.

S 539. Mended from two joining fragments. The larger, front of head, found in 1935 in mixed late fill in the central part of the Agora (L 10), the smaller, part of back of head, S 1083, found in 1938 in a Byzantine building near the Altar of the Twelve Gods (K 6). Broken off at neck. Back proper right side of head missing, including right ear and forehead hair on right side. Nose and end of beard broken off. Chips missing from upper front curls, eyebrows, left eye, mustache, and lower lip. Pentelic marble. Heavy ancient weathering, especially on top and back of head and in front of ear where water was channeled down.

P.H. 0.225 m., P.W. 0.155 m., P.Th. 0.19 m., W. of face at start of beard 0.118 m.

T.L. Shear, *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 179 and fig. 7; Karo, *Arch. Anz.*, 1935, col. 169, fig. 6; Langlotz, *Alkamenesprobleme* (108 *Winckelmanns-programm*, Berlin, 1952), p. 6.

See also above (160) and pp. 132, 145.

The head is slightly under life size. Its structure and the style of the hair and beard leave no doubt that it is from a herm. A narrow hoop encircles the head, and the hair radiates evenly from the crown in very narrow, gently waved strands which are engraved into the smoothly convex surface of the crown without affecting its profile. The back hair, which seems to have hung down long, is not rendered in detail, the surface being simply smoothed. The usual long side-locks emerged from behind the ears. The forehead-locks are formed of ribbon-like groups of strands which end in rather small, delicately carved snail shell curls. These form two rows over the center, expanding to three on the sides. A tiny drill hole marks the center of each curl. The locks form a cornice of sufficient projection to protect the face from rain. The beard is a simple wedge-shaped mass engraved

<sup>10</sup> S 1089.

with very fine parallel wavy strands. The strands are also engraved on the under side of the beard at the sides. The rest of the under surface is simply smoothed. Here the weathering is heavy. The rain which ran down in front of the ears must have crawled along the under side of the beard and dripped off its point. The mustache, also finely engraved, has long thin ends. There is a flat, tongue-shaped "imperial" below the lower lip.

The face itself is neither archaic nor archaistic, but certain features, such as the low flat forehead which is rectangular in horizontal section, seem adapted to the herm form, and in general the herm design seems to have taken precedence over the face as such. The eyes are wide, with projecting lids that are casually carved. They neither overlap at the outer corners nor form a continuous heavy ridge but simply thin out and meet in a blurred angle. There is too much sidewise curve in the eyeballs for an early classical work, and the short mouth likewise suggests a later date. The lips are full and smoothly modelled, meeting in a fine line without any suggestion of parting. It is a sweet rather than a firm mouth. The ears are carefully carved with deep hollows and unfleshy ridges.

The type of this head is unusual enough to produce a wide variety of opinions as to its date. Shear said "end of the 6th century"; Karo, "vortreffliche frühe Kopie nach einem Dionysos des frühen 5. Jhs." The form of the eyes precludes an actual late archaic or early classical date, yet the head does not belong to the series of much-copied types such as the Hermes of Alkamenes. This head seems to have been designed for its present modest scale, and the original can hardly have been anything but a herm. The work which inspired our head may have been something like the head from the south slope of the Acropolis, Athens N.M. 96 (Pl. 65, b), dating from the 470's or thereabouts.<sup>11</sup> The carver of the new herm did not make a measured copy but reproduced the general effect of the original, adding to it, perhaps unconsciously, some elements of his own idea of a herm, the wide eyes and benign expression and the short full mouth without the trace of a smile. The qualities of the early work which impressed him most were its simple closed form and the fine shadowless detail of its surface. The beard of the south slope head shows what was the inspiration for the engraved beard of our herm, but the heavy bold strands of the head-hair in the early herm which provide such effective contrast and give energy to the whole are outside the range of our artist. By extending the metallic treatment to the hair as well as the beard, he has gained unity of texture at the expense of strength. Still, his product is a thoroughly pleasing work, honest in its painstaking craftsmanship and appealing in personality.

It is hard to fix a date for the execution of this work. We do not know enough to affirm that it cannot be earlier than the Roman period, but its qualities fit the taste of the time of Augustus. A head in the Museo Barracco, whose Roman date is proven by the carving of the eyes and eyebrows, has the strands engraved along the under side of the beard at the edges in much the same way as our herm.<sup>12</sup> The delicate shadowless treatment may be matched in the reliefs on the Hermes altar from near the Roman Agora.<sup>13</sup>

162. Fragment of Beard of Herm, from Copy of Pergamon Type Attributed to Alkamenes. Pl. 43.

S 1900. Catalogued December 1954 from uninventoried marbles originally in pile left by former excavators behind the north end of the Stoa of Attalos (R 7). Broken at level of mouth and broken off at back. Surface battered and flaked; all locks on proper left side obliterated. Chisel traces on lower edge show that very little of the end of the beard is missing. Pentelic marble. Ancient weathering seems to have been light.

P.H. 0.165 m., P.W. 0.165 m., P.Th. 0.075 m., W. of mouth ca. 0.06 m. Vertical distance from right corner of mouth to end of beard 0.155 m.

See also pp. 123, 130, 157.

The characteristic corkscrew lock in the lower proper right side of the beard marks this fragment as part of a replica of the type that survives in an inscribed herm from Pergamon (Pl. 66, c) whose epigram proclaims it a work of Alkamenes.<sup>14</sup> A second type, related but somewhat different in the design of hair and beard and slightly larger in scale, is attributed to the same artist by the inscription of a fragmentary herm found in Ephesos. Opinions have differed as to whether the two types had separate 5th century prototypes or whether they are copyists' variations of a single original.<sup>15</sup> Since each survives in a number of copies which are faithful in scale and details, the idea of separate originals seems more likely, whether or not the copyists were correct in attributing both to Alkamenes. The present fragment lends some support to this view since it eliminates the possibility that the two variations were a matter of locality. Both types are now proven to have been copied in Athens, where the hypothetical original, if there was only one, must have stood. The Ephesos type was used for the bearded heads of the double herms in the Panathenaic Stadion, built by Herodes Atticus

<sup>12</sup> Helbig, *La Collection Barracco*, pl. 26 bis; *Ath. Mitt.*, LIII, 1928, Beilage 24, 3.

<sup>13</sup> N.M. 54. Svoronos, pl. 23. See above, p. 82, note 96.

<sup>14</sup> For bibliography, see above, p. 123, note 114.

<sup>15</sup> See above, pp. 122-123.

<sup>11</sup> See above, p. 143, note 3.

(Pl. 66,f)<sup>16</sup>. Of the two types, the Pergamon type fits better our notions of the style of around 480–410, when Alkamenes was flourishing. The other type appears earlier, but not so early as to make it impossible that Alkamenes made it. If, as we have suggested above,<sup>17</sup> the name of Alkamenes occurred in a famous herm epigram that got into a collection of epigrams as appropriate for a Hermes Propylaios, it is conceivable that he did not make the original of either type. Since, however, the Pergamon type shows refinements of design that we do not find elsewhere among the archaistic herms, the likelihood remains that it is the work of an important sculptor and specifically of Alkamenes.

The workmanship of the Agora copy appears to be Antonine. Running-drill channels separate some of the locks of the beard. The hairs just under the lower lip are very finely engraved; otherwise the engraving on the surface of the locks is of average quality. The corner of the mouth is marked by a drill hole. As compared with the Barberini herm, which Curtius regards as the best replica of the Pergamon type,<sup>18</sup> our copy shows a little simplification of the locks; the overlapping hook-shaped locks of the center of the beard are merged into long wavy ones. The scale seems to have been about the same as in the other copies. The use of the Agora copy is unknown.

**163.** Head from a Double Herm, 1st Century B.C. (?)  
Pl. 44.

S 1077. Found in 1938 at the level of the 4th century after Christ in a cistern west of the Agora (G 5:2). Broken off at neck from point where underside of beard joined neck. Head was originally attached to something else at the back from which it has been deliberately broken away (pick-marks all around the edge). Most likely it was part of a double herm. Otherwise well preserved, with only minor chips missing from beard and outer forehead curls. Pentelic marble. Heavy weathering on top of head, some on back of corkscrew curls in front of ears and on side of beard just below ears.

P.H. 0.265 m., W. 0.182 m., P.Th. 0.165 m., W. of face at start of beard 0.103 m.

T.L. Shear, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 236 and fig. 35; Bousquet, *B.C.H.*, LXXX, 1956, p. 567, note 2; D.M. Robinson, *A.J.A.*, LIX, 1955, p. 21, note 16.

See also pp. 127, 131, 134, 149.

The head, a little under life size, is a well preserved example of the standard archaistic herms which might

be called "Alkamenoid" because they resemble in a general way the herm from Pergamon attributed to Alkamenes but do not preserve the individual features of its design.<sup>19</sup> Characteristic resemblances are the three rows of corkscrew locks over the forehead and the compact, wedge-shaped beard. Missing are the variations by which Alkamenes lent interest to the standard scheme: the loosening of the corkscrew curls into variously shaped locks on the sides and the interposition of corkscrews among the flame-shaped locks of the beard. Two excellently preserved examples of Alkamenoid herms were found in the Peiraeus in 1959 in a context which appears to date from the Sullan destruction of 86 B.C.<sup>20</sup> From the Agora itself comes another, No. 164, which appears somewhat later and coarser than the present head. No two of these are exactly alike. The pattern of the locks in the upper part of the beard on the proper left side is the same in both Agora heads, whereas those on the right side are different. It seems likely that the makers of smaller herms used earlier herms as one might use a pattern book, recombining and varying motives as it pleased them within the framework of a single broad type. That our head is not a close copy of a 5th century work may be seen from the narrow eyes.

The head was executed in a crisp and competent style and fairly well finished. The underside of the beard is smoothed with the chisel (no raw drill channels show). Heavy weathering on the top of the head and on the sides where water would naturally run down prove that it stood for some time as an outdoor herm in Athens. There is no drill-work in hair or beard. The centers of the corkscrew curls are raised rather than drilled and the centers of the beard-curls are not marked. The diadem encircling the head is rough, and the two drill holes behind the ears suggest that a metal wreath or crown was attached over it. (Or did these holes merely hold metal pins to which real wreaths or ribbons were fastened on festive occasions?) The face must have been freshened up in antiquity. This would explain why the surface of the forehead is wobbly and there are careless abrasive-marks around the eyes, whereas the ears show quite skillful carving. The end of the nose seems too small and pointed, probably because it has been cut down to conceal a chip. Abrasive-marks appear in the beard also, suggesting that it underwent the same cleaning process as the face. The other head of the double herm may have been cut away at the same time, perhaps because it was too damaged to save. Probably our head, found discarded in a cistern, was never actually set up again as a herm after the repair work, but remained in the workshop, perhaps serving as a model for other herms.

<sup>16</sup> See above, p. 123, note 118.

<sup>17</sup> P. 123.

<sup>18</sup> *Zeus und Hermes*, pp. 68f., note 1, pl. 20 and p. 67, figs. 27–28.

<sup>19</sup> See above, pp. 131, 134.

<sup>20</sup> Above, p. 127, note 149.

Shear has suggested an early Roman date for the piece, with the reservation that it might be earlier. The Peiraeus herms, if the evidence for their dating holds, prove that such work may be as early as the end of the 2nd century B.C. There is a noticeable similarity, especially in the profiles, between our head and the Copenhagen herm (Pl. 66, b) with a Zeus-like coiffure which is one of the Tyszkiewicz herms and probably comes from the Peiraeus.<sup>21</sup> Though made in a Neo-Attic shop, these heads were not made for export but for use as dedications in Attica.

The lost head which backed ours may have been another such bearded herm, a beardless archaistic Apollo herm, or a youthful non-archaistic Hermes head. The double-herm shaft, No. 205, with a conventional post herm with shoulder locks on one side and a chlamys herm on the other, would have demanded such a combination of heads, though our present head does not fit it.

164. Head from a Herm, Early Roman Period (?).  
Pl. 45.

S 2104. Found in 1959 in the lower part of the Late Roman Fortification south of the Agora (S 17). Split off at back behind ear-locks (a few pick-marks suggest splitting was deliberate). Cut off below through beard and neck with rough-picked surface. Shoulder-locks broken off just below ears. Pick-marks on top of head. Nose broken off. Lips, eyebrows and forehead-curls chipped. Traces of mortar. Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.245 m., P.Th. 0.12 m., W. of face at start of beard 0.114 m.

See also pp. 127, 134, 148.

This again is a standard herm-head, a little under life size, of the common archaistic type with three rows of corkscrew curls over the forehead and the conventional herm beard of flame-shaped locks. The drill is not used at all in the beard and only very sparingly in the spaces between the forehead curls. The centers of the corkscrew locks project. The hair on top of the head is rendered by parallel wavy grooves, divided into arbitrary segments with filling-triangles between rather than radiating evenly from the crown of the head. The diadem is rough, and two drilled holes just behind the shoulder-locks suggest that a wreath (in metal?) was to be attached over it.

The ears, half-hidden behind the curls, are poorly modelled. The eyes are rather narrow, but not deep-set, with strongly overlapping lids, such eyes as a Roman copyist might make in rendering an original

of the early 4th century. The mouth was full, the lips giving the usual impression of being slightly parted, but with no use of the drill. The flesh is hard and smooth, with no subtleties of modelling. The uneven surface of the forehead suggests that this herm, like No. 163, had its face polished up after it had become weathered or damaged. It may have been, like No. 163, originally part of a double herm, though no positive evidence is preserved for this. It was certainly an inferior work, and may be somewhat later, but in general type the two heads are very close. The pattern of locks in the upper part of the beard on the proper left side is the same in both, whereas those on the right side are different. These heads belong to the class that shares the triple row of corkscrew curls with the two herms attributed to Alkamenes and which might be called "Alkamenoid" for want of a better name. This seems to have been the most popular of all ancient herm types.

165. Head of Herm, Alkamenoid Type, Roman Period.  
Pl. 46.

S 575. Found in 1935 in late Roman debris over Southwest Fountain House (H 15). Broken off just below top of shaft. A bit of arm cutting preserved on proper right side. Full width of shaft not quite preserved (1 cm. or less lacking). Tip of nose chipped. A chip missing from back of curl on proper right side. Otherwise intact. Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.225 m., P.W. 0.16 m., Th. 0.18 m.

This was a herm with head about two-thirds life size, of the common Alkamenoid sort, with three rows of prominent corkscrew curls above the forehead. The beard is projecting and square-ended. The long shoulder-locks spring free of the neck. The forehead is low and the eyebrows rounded off. The nose is thick and little modelled. The mouth is small and open, the upper lip carved in one with the mustache, the lower lip a short isolated projection. The long thin ends of the mustache and the locks of the beard are merely sketched out with the chisel.

The piece has the raw, dead-white surface of unfinished marbles, and everywhere on the front the chisel-work is unsmoothed. The back, curiously, is more finished, and it looks as though some of the finished surface had been chiselled away again. This shows clearly on the side-lock of the proper left side, where the back is already carved with grooved strands and the plain-chiselled surface of the front cuts across the grooves. On the sides of the neck behind the locks the surface is smoothed, but it is roughened on the shoulder by new chiselling-away. The hair-mass below the fillet in back is all finished with wavy strands. Some traces of these strands also

<sup>21</sup> Curtius, *Zeus und Hermes*, pp. 2, 4, figs. 1, 3.

appear just above the fillet in back, but the rest of the top of the head is plain. Since the finished surfaces as well as the recut surfaces are fresh and white, it would appear that the recutting was not done to remedy the effects of weathering or damage from use. Whatever misfortune occasioned it must have happened before the piece ever left the workshop. The underside of the beard is rough, with drill holes coming from below and in front. The remains of the arm-slots, too, are still rough. The hollows of the ears are unusually deep. The neck is as thick as the face is wide, which suggests that the scale of the head was somewhat reduced in the recutting.

The prominent forehead-curly and projecting, square-ended beard are also to be found in the late Hellenistic bearded herm from the House of the Herm at Delos.<sup>22</sup> Both heads seem to represent an attempt to give a more archaic flavor to the Alkamenoid scheme, but ours is probably later than the Delos herm. It is doubtful whether a pre-Sullan piece would be found so fresh in a post-Herulian deposit.

**166.** Fragment of Herm Head, Alkamenoid Type, Roman Period. Pl. 46.

S 987. Found in 1938 in a Turkish pit south of the Agora and west of the Panathenaic Way (S 19). Broken off irregularly, preserving most of face and some of hair on proper left side, some of neck, and part of left ear. Pentelic marble. Surface stained brown and gray, perhaps damaged by fire.

P.H. 0.315 m., P.W. 0.18 m., P.Th. 0.21 m.

The head is a very little over life size. There were three rows of corkscrew curls over the forehead. Their centers were raised rather than drilled. The proportions of the face are unusually broad. The eyes are small with heavy lids. The flesh surface seems to be smoothed directly over chisel-work. The strands of both hair and beard are rather coarsely carved. Probably Roman. A head in Leningrad, though smaller, appears similar in the proportions of the face and the form of the eyes.<sup>23</sup>

**167.** Fragment of Herm Head, Alkamenoid Type, Roman Period. Pl. 46.

S 802. Found in 1936 in a modern house south of the Agora (M 17-18). Broken off at neck. Missing: back of head and neck, top of head, proper left side of head above level of jaw. Most of surface of beard, face

and front hair battered away. Pentelic marble of poor quality.

P.H. 0.321 m.

From a herm of about life size. The ordinary corkscrew curls on the side show that this is one of the Alkamenoid herms, not a copy of either the Pergamon or the Ephesos type. The beard also appears flatly conventional. Mediocre Roman work, characterized by shallow cutting in the hair and absence of intermediate stages between chisel and final smoothing in the flesh surfaces.

**168.** Head from a Small Herm, Alkamenoid Type, Roman Period. Pl. 47.

S 1036. Found in 1938 in very late Roman fill south of the Agora (O 19). Broken off at neck in jagged break. Nose and end of beard broken off. Front hair and top of head so battered that most of surface is gone. Original surface best preserved on proper right side. Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.145 m., P.W. 0.105 m., P.Th. 0.115 m., W. of face at start of beard 0.070 m.

This is an Alkamenoid herm head of about one-third life size. The hair was bound with a hoop-like fillet and the top and long back hair carved with the usual wavy strands. Long side-locks emerged from behind the ears. The corkscrew curls that frame the forehead seem to have been in three rows, though little of their surface remains. The broad forehead and wide eyes convey some feeling of a 5th century prototype. The lips seem to be parted. The ears are very summarily carved, without use of the drill. The beard is the most carefully treated element, each lock being carved individually with three or four engraved strands. The arrangement of locks is of the customary formal sort. The ends of the mustache diverge rather strongly, but curl in at the tips. The underside of the beard is smoothed with the chisel.

A minor work of the Roman period, this little head gives more sense of monumentality than many larger herms. The sculptor must have had some large work such as the Pergamon-type Alkamenes herm definitely in mind.

**169.** Head of Miniature Herm, Alkamenoid Type. Pl. 47.

S 906. Found in 1937 in a disturbed Roman deposit near the southwest corner of the Agora (I 11). Broken off near top of shaft. Some of side surface of shaft preserved on proper right, not on left. Tip of nose, end of beard, side-locks broken away. A chip out of right edge of back hair. Some front curls battered off. Pentelic marble.

<sup>22</sup> *B.C.H.*, LXXVII, 1953, pp. 500-512, figs. 5-7, 13.

<sup>23</sup> Waldhauer, *Ermitage*, I, no. 75, pl. 46.

P.H. 0.095 m., P.W. of shaft (= approximately original width) 0.051 m., P. Th. of frag. 0.048 m.  
See also below (170, 171).

This is a delicately carved miniature of the Alkamenoid type with three rows of corkscrew curls over the forehead. As often, these are longer on the sides than in the center. The bulge in the center of the forehead and the rather deepset eyes give a 4th century look that is natural in miniature carving, but the basic dignity of the type is maintained. The beard is carefully rendered in individual locks with curled ends. The back hair is a long flat mass, its surface covered with rippled strands. The slots for the arms are roughly rectangular, with drilled holes in their depths to hold the tenons of the arm-pieces. Such a fine miniature herm might have been made either to be a votive for a sanctuary or to occupy a niche in the doorway of a private house. The date is hard to fix. Miniature marble herms were made in classical as well as in Roman times.<sup>24</sup>

**170. Miniature Herm Head, Alkamenoid Type.**

Pl. 47.

S 1941. Found in 1956 in uncertain context in the industrial district southwest of the Agora (A-D, 14-17). Broken off at top of shaft. Much rolled about and battered. Lime incrustation on back. Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.067 m., W. of face at start of beard 0.029 m., W. of shaft 0.05 m.

Though the features are blurred by battering, this remains recognizable as belonging to the Alkamenoid type. The upper surface of the top row of corkscrew curls, divided and hatched as on larger herms, survives just below the fillet on the proper right side. The crown and the long back hair are engraved with wavy strands. The side-locks adhere to the neck. The ears are merely suggested. Face and beard are very broad, the forehead very low. The ends of the mustache and the curls of the beard were outlined with the chisel. Originally a careful piece of work, though not so good as No. 169.

**171. Head from a Miniature Herm, Roman Period.**

Pl. 47.

S 1243. Found in 1947 in Herulian debris in a well south of the Agora (M 20:2). Head made separately with dowel in bottom, but joint-surface broken away. The left side-lock behind the ear shows a

chiselled end, presumably joint-surface though it is not very smooth. Right side-lock broken. End of nose broken off; edge of forehead hair and end of beard battered. The iron dowel, though surrounded by lead, has stained the whole piece a dark rust-brown. Pentelic marble.

P.H. ca. 0.11 m., P.W. 0.063 m., P.Th. ca. 0.08 m.  
See also p. 132.

The little head is generally similar to the Alkamenoid types but with two instead of three rows of corkscrew curls except on the sides where they become three. The beard is exceptionally long and the proportions of the face are also longer than usual. Wavy strands are carved on the crown of the head and on the back hair. The locks of the beard are individually carved, mostly with a double curve and a hooked end, but they are not so sharply defined as in No. 169 and show no special pattern. The total effect is softer, less archaistic than in other examples. The features resemble those of Hellenistic-derived Roman works. The eyebrows project and curve far down at the corners. The eyes are narrow, with blurry lids, their inner corners deeply sunk. The mouth is small, with open lips. The ears have carefully cut rims and a small drill hole in the center of each. The underside of the beard is smoothed.

**172. Fragment of Small Herm Head, Alkamenoid Type.**

Pl. 47.

S 1946. Found in 1956 in Byzantine fill in the industrial district southwest of the Agora (A-D, 14-17). Broken off at neck; back of head split away. Nose and sides of beard broken off, forehead-curls and brow battered. Reddish patina and brown root-marks. Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.13 m., W. of face at start of beard 0.065 m.

This head, though rather crude in workmanship, may perhaps have been intended for a small version of the Ephesos type<sup>25</sup> rather than just a generalized Alkamenoid herm. The big eyes with heavy framing lids exaggerate the stern look that one finds in some replicas of the Ephesos type, and though the front curls are gone, the traces above the temples suggest that the forehead locks did not project uniformly as a hat-brim of corkscrews but flattened toward the center into simple snail-curls. Striations on the sides of the beard suggest locks brushed forward as they are on the Ephesos herm. The ears seem to have been covered by side-locks which are now broken off.

The face surface is smoothed, but the upper surface of the front hair surviving on the proper right side is

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Nos. 201, 202.

<sup>25</sup> See above, p. 123, note 117.

roughly blocked out with the chisel, and it may be that the head was never finished. Indentations in the eyeballs give the impression of carved pupils but are probably accidental, since the lids above them are also chipped. Presumably Roman work.

173. Fragment of Small Herm, Probably Alkamenoid.  
Pl. 48.

S 1518. Found in 1951 in disturbed Byzantine fill east of the Temple of Ares (M 7). Preserves part of crown of head, left temple and corner of left eye. Top of head worn. Pentelic marble. Face darkened but relatively fresh. Break surfaces incrustated.

P.H. 0.08 m.

Corkscrew curls in two (?) rows mark this as one of the Alkamenoid herms. Traces of beard on the side. Crisp, careful work. The diagonal strands on the tops of the curls alternate directions.

174. Fragmentary Head of a Herm, Roman Period.  
Pl. 48.

S 257. Mended from two joining fragments, the larger found in 1933 in the demolition of a modern house in the northwest part of the Agora (I-J, 6-7), the smaller found in 1949 in cleaning the Stoa of Attalos (P-R, 7-13). Preserves part of proper right side of face and most of the front hair. Much battered. Pentelic marble. Where the ancient surface is preserved, it has a brown patina.

P.H. 0.325 m., P.W. 0.30 m., P.Th. ca. 0.30 m., W. across face at start of beard 0.195 m.

See also p. 130.

This herm head was over life size. The hair radiates from the crown and is held by a hoop-like fillet of rounded section. There are gentle plastic waves in the profile of the crown. The strands of hair were sharp-edged. The forehead is framed by three rows of corkscrew curls which are very long on the sides and shorter over the center. The ends were carved with great care; they are shaped as little cones on which the spiral strands are meticulously delineated. Deep cutting between and below the ends emphasizes their independent projection. The beard was undoubtedly of the jutting, wedge-shaped variety. The upper row of locks on the side is preserved, all parallel and slanting forward, with drilled centers in the little curled ends. The side locks of the beard in the Ephesos "Alkamenes" herm are swept forward in this way but are drawn together instead of running parallel. The side fullness of the beard noted by Praschniker in the Ephesos type seems to exist here,

however.<sup>26</sup> The ear is carved with great care, broad and deeply cut, with a very thin helix. Too little is left of the eye to tell its shape, and nothing survives of the rest of the face.

This must originally have been a fine, impressive head of the more austere archaistic sort. The large size and careful execution distinguish it from the run-of-the-mill Roman herms. The long corkscrew curls on the side emphasize its architectural, decorative quality. The details of hair and beard seem inspired from bronze works of the latest archaic and early classical periods.<sup>27</sup> The conical centers of the forehead curls are to be found in the Hermes-like bronze head from Olympia, and the forward-swept parallel strands in the side of the beard recall the "Zeus" from Artemision. Our herm does not correspond to any of the major types established by Curtius,<sup>28</sup> but it would not be surprising to find a replica of it. The greater plastic interest of the forehead hair and the energetic thrust of the beard distinguish it from his Type F, which also has the three rows of corkscrews.

175. Fragment of Herm Head with Snail Shell Curls.  
Pl. 48.

S 304. Found in 1933 in Byzantine fill north of the Temple of Ares (K 7). Fragment of top of head front proper right. Pentelic marble. Surface battered, with some ancient weathering.

P.H. 0.16 m., P.W. ca. 0.18 m., P.Th. 0.16 m.

From an archaistic herm-head a little over life size but not so big as the biggest herms. Fairly average Roman or late Hellenistic work. The only interesting point is the arrangement of the forehead hair. Four rows of snail shell curls form the usual hat-like arch. The undersides of the curls on the sides are treated as corkscrew curls whereas the upper surface of the upper row is simply decorated with wavy strands after the fashion of early herms such as No. 156.<sup>29</sup>

176. Fragment of Beard of Herm, Copenhagen-Villa Albani Type.  
Pl. 49.

S 1880. Catalogued in 1954 from uninventoried marbles from the area (E-H, 10-12) on the west side of the Agora. Fragment preserving left side of beard and part of lower lip. Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.155 m., P.W. 0.105 m., P.Th. 0.075 m.

See also pp. 131, 155.

<sup>26</sup> *Jahreshefte*, XXIX, 1935, p. 30.

<sup>27</sup> See above, p. 130.

<sup>28</sup> *Zeus und Hermes*.

<sup>29</sup> Schmidt, p. 45, makes much of the difference between corkscrews and "Buckellocken," but in Roman times at least the distinction is not sharply observed.

The fragment is from a herm-head a little over life size. The locks of the beard are formally arranged and very crisply and carefully carved, with parallel grooves and a drill hole in the curled end of each major lock. The end of the mustache is long and curls inward at the tip. So far as it is preserved the pattern of the locks is the same as in the beard of a herm in Copenhagen (Pl. 66, b) and one of the same type in the Villa Albani.<sup>30</sup> In scale and in execution our fragment is closer to the Villa Albani head, and both copies are probably somewhat later than the Copenhagen head, which may be 1st century B.C. while these are probably of the imperial period. Poulsen has noted another replica in the Louvre.<sup>31</sup> Though not known in so many copies as Curtius' types A–D, this seems to go back to an important Attic original.

177. Head from a Small Herm, Related to "Type A."  
Pl. 49.

S 326. Found in 1933 in late fill near the southwest corner of the Agora (I 12). Broken off at neck. Face missing, partly broken, partly picked away. Whole piece much worn and rubbed, so that ancient surface survives only in isolated patches on crown of head and back of neck. Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.135 m.

See also p. 130 note 171.

This seems to have been a small herm-head of Curtius' Type A<sup>32</sup> or some related short-haired type. The traces of the fillet are visible, as well as the ends of short locks below it on the nape of the neck. On top of the head short locks diverge as from a central part. None of the face or forehead-hair is preserved. The eyes were inset, and the survival of the bottom of one of the holes gives a grotesque expression to the head when seen from the front. It is uncertain whether the picking away of the face was idle or had some purpose. The original workmanship of the head was delicate and the finish good.

178. Head of a Large Herm, "Type D," Roman Period.  
Pl. 49.

S 1482. Found in 1951 in a marble pile on the east side of the Agora (N–P, 7–13). Front of head only, split off in front of ears. Remains of a meniskos (?) hole in top on line of break. Broken off from neck

below beard. Nose, brows, lips, cheek-bones, etc. all battered off. Surface much flaked, original surface surviving only in hollows and crevices. These show brown patina and signs of ancient weathering. Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.405 m., P.W. 0.25 m., P.Th. 0.135 m., W. of face at start of beard 0.19 m.

See also pp. 130 note 170, 154.

This was an over-life-sized head of good workmanship, a replica of Curtius' Type D.<sup>33</sup> This type, of 5th century origin, has no archaistic features in its main design. Only the subsidiary engraving with parallel strands in the locks of hair and beard assimilates its surface effect to that of the archaistic herms. Both hair and beard are very curly. The hair is cut fairly short, long enough to hide the ears but not the back of the neck. A ribbon-like fillet encircles the head and on the better copies is knotted over the forehead. This part is missing on our head, but since the arrangement of the forehead hair corresponds to that of the more accurate copies, the knot was probably indicated here also. Our head belongs with one in Sorrento, preferred by Curtius as the most detailed copy,<sup>34</sup> a head in Venice of which the beard is restored but which is useful for the hair,<sup>35</sup> and a well preserved head from the Peiraeus in the Athens National Museum (Pl. 66, e) which gives the best idea of the plastic potentialities of the face.<sup>36</sup> The condition of our piece does not permit a complete lock-by-lock comparison with the other replicas, but one can see that above the left eyebrow below the fillet the locks corresponded to the Venice and Sorrento heads: a semicircular lock curling up over the fillet and a long hook-shaped lock extending out to the side. The Peiraeus head, which is somewhat smaller than ours, omits the semicircular locks. The technique of our head seems to have been similar to that of the Peiraeus head. The drill (in single holes, not running-drill channels) is extensively used to give relief to the beard and the hair below the fillet. The hair above the fillet shows no use of the drill but maintains the plastic identity of the locks, not flattening them into a surface pattern as in some of the simplified replicas. A small strip of ancient flesh surface beside the hair on the left temple indicates that the modelling of the face was good. The eyes seem to have been wide-open, and the eyeballs curved from side to side as in the Peiraeus head. The lips, as there, are parted. There are no drill holes in the corners.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 62–68.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 63, no. 11; Levi, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1924, p. 379, no. 13, fig. 6.

<sup>35</sup> *Zeus und Hermes*, p. 62, no. 3; *Einzelaufnahmen*, 2411–2412.

<sup>36</sup> *Zeus und Hermes*, p. 63, no. 10; p. 61, fig. 21; Karouzos, *B.C.H.*, LXX, 1946, pp. 263–270, pl. 13.

<sup>30</sup> Curtius, *Zeus und Hermes*, pp. 1–7, figs. 1–4.

<sup>31</sup> *From the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek*, II, p. 101, note 7; Salle Clarac, no. 2656, W. Fröhner, *Notice de la sculpture antique du Musée national du Louvre*, 3rd ed., 1876, no. 187.

<sup>32</sup> *Zeus und Hermes*, pp. 48–54.

Since this type is so extensively used for herms, Curtius suggests that the original was probably an Attic herm. He argues, however, that all our herm copies are simplified by the copyists and that the only thing close to the original is the head of an Asklepios in Florence.<sup>37</sup> That poses a problem, since the copies make fine, impressive herms with a plastic richness that is satisfying but not bewildering, whereas the Asklepios has a minute complexity in the hair and beard that is hard to imagine in any marble work of the 5th century, much less in a herm. One feels that its prototype must have been in bronze. We have suggested above that some of the classical Attic herm types may have been created for tribal dedications and their heads influenced by the types of the Eponymous Heroes.<sup>38</sup> If this is true, the Asklepios head may go back to a bronze hero statue independently of the herm tradition. The Florentine statue is generally agreed to be a pastiche, the body being of a much later type than the head. The shortage of early representations of the bearded Asklepios may have led the artist to borrow a head from another type at a time when the severe style was especially prized. It seems more reasonable that a head of Asklepios should be borrowed from the type of a hero than that it should be borrowed from a herm. The long locks at the back of the neck probably belong to the time of the pastiche.

The knotted fillet probably belongs to the herm creation. A similar fillet is worn by the youthful head of one of the ephobic herms from Rhamnous.<sup>39</sup>

**179.** Head from a Miniature Herm, "Type D," Roman Period. Pl. 49.

S 701. Found in 1936 in disturbed late Roman fill on the south side of the Agora (L 15). Broken off at neck. Lower left side of face broken away. Left eyebrow and hair above it chipped. Top of head flat, uncertain whether worn or made that way. Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.071 m., P.W. 0.051 m., P.Th. 0.054 m.  
See also p. 130 note 171.

In spite of its small size and crude execution, this is unmistakably a replica of the same Type D represented in the full-scale copy, No. 178. Short hair, long, vertically hanging beard and broad flat fillet around the head create the general impression, which is confirmed by details. A big polygonal knot is clearly indicated in the fillet over the center of the

<sup>37</sup> *Zeus und Hermes*, pp. 64-67. See also G. A. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi, Le Sculture*, Rome, 1958, pp. 160-162, no. 133.

<sup>38</sup> Above, pp. 132-133.

<sup>39</sup> N.M.318. See above, p. 126, note 139.

forehead, and to either side of it we find the same two curls that we noted in No. 178 as well as in the careful replicas in Venice and Sorrento. In the side-locks of the hair and in the beard there is a sketchy suggestion of the complicated curls of the original. Two little drill holes punctuate locks on the proper right side. Perhaps there would have been more of these if the head had been completed. The big, flat eyes look unfinished. The date is doubtless Roman.

That so many elements of the original are preserved in such a small piece devoid of artistic or decorative value suggests that the original was one of the important herms of 5th century Athens, though its location and the name of its artist are unknown. If it was one of the tribal herms, it must have been one in a place where it became a familiar landmark, as the herm of Aigeis by the house of Andokides seems to have done.<sup>40</sup>

**180.** Fragment of Re-cut Herm. Pl. 49.

S 196. Found in 1932 in uncertain context near the southwest corner of the Agora (F-H, 13-16). From a small head roughly re-cut into a squarish chunk, in the center of which a hole (5 × 2 cm. and 4 cm. deep) was cut, on the side where the face used to be. Cut off below hairline in a plane picked surface. A drill hole 0.008 m. diam. and 0.01 m. deep in the center of this surface probably comes from original use. Face cut off at corners of eyes. Left side cut off leaving only a trace of beard and adjoining face. Top cut off.

P.H. 0.11 m., P.W. 0.09 m., P.Th. 0.11 m.

This was probably from some relative of Curtius' Type D, though the pattern of the front hair is unclear. There is no fillet shown, but an indentation separates crown from nape and forehead-hair. The pattern of the locks is coarsened and simplified to a few big flat locks with curled ends. These are decorated with chiselled strands in the conventional manner. The ear was not drilled. Conceivably the head was still unfinished when it was chopped up.

**181.** Back of Herm Head, "Type C," Roman Period. Pl. 50.

S 365. Found May 1933 in late filling in the porch of the Metroon (H 10). Broken off at neck and face split away. A joining fragment gives a bit of the right shoulder and back edge of the shaft with the end of one lock of the back hair. A trace of the upper corner of the arm-slot 0.058 m. forward of the back of the

<sup>40</sup> See above, pp. 117-120.

shaft. Surface little weathered but with yellow and brown stains. Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.487 m., P.W. ca. 0.29 m., P.Th. ca. 0.25 m., W. of face at start of beard 0.173 m.

See also below (182) and pp. 130 note 170, 131.

This is from a large herm of Curtius' Type C, with long front hair looped over a round hoop to form curls in front of the ears.<sup>41</sup> The hair radiates from the crown in wavy strands, the waves indicated plastically as well as by the undulations of the strands. The long back hair is divided into six snaky tresses that end in curls with drilled centers. The long side-locks were cut free from the neck and are broken off. The arrangement of the front hair, with two separate tresses looped over the circlet on each side, seems to be exactly the same as in the better Capitoline replica of Type C.<sup>42</sup> The execution of the Agora piece is coarsely competent, with a hard flesh surface and sharp V-shaped grooves in the hair. The ear suggests a date in the 2nd century after Christ.

The herm does not seem to have stood in the Athenian rain for any length of time, though its finding-place on the west side of the Agora suggests that it had been actually set up, not left in the workshop. Perhaps it stood as a Propylaios in the porch of the Metroon or in the Propylon of the Bouleuterion in Roman times.

Curtius believed that Type C was designed by the same artist as the somewhat softer and more elaborate Type B, but that C was earlier, being more formal in its arrangement, especially in the beard. It might equally well be that C is an imitation of B by a less resourceful artist. It should be noted that the beard of Type C is quite similar to that of the Copenhagen-Villa Albani type. Compare our No. 176, a fragment of the latter type, with No. 182, a beard fragment of Type C.

There is a tendency to call herms of this type "Dionysos," but the evidence indicates that, like the other principal types, it represents Hermes.<sup>42a</sup>

**182. Fragment of Beard of Herm, "Type C," Roman Period.** Pl. 50.

S 105. Found in 1931 in a late context on the west side of the Agora (I 10). Broken off at level of top of mouth and down through proper left side. Tip also broken off. Some weathering and pale beige patina on both worked and broken surfaces but ancient weathering probably was light.

P.H. 0.15 m., L. from corner of mouth to end of mustache 0.083 m.

<sup>41</sup> *Zeus und Hermes*, pp. 58-62.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57, fig. 17.

<sup>42a</sup> See above, p. 131.

See also above (181) and p. 130 note 170.

This is from the proper left side of a herm beard, preserving the left corner of the mouth and the left side of the drooping mustache. The locks are crisply cut in the conventional manner with curled ends accentuated by deep drill holes. The locks correspond exactly with the more careful replicas of Curtius' Type C. The scale and the style of carving would be appropriate for the big herm No. 181, but it seems impossible to join the two. Perhaps they are from companion pieces.<sup>43</sup> The underside of the beard is very rough, with raw drill channels and rough chisel- and pick-marks.

**183. Miniature Herm Head, "Type C."** Pl. 50.

S 1641. Found in 1952 in a Byzantine well north of the Temple of Ares (K 7). Broken off at neck. End of beard and side-locks broken off. Forehead hair battered off on proper left side. Pentelic marble. Surface worn.

P.H. 0.067 m.

See also p. 130 note 171.

The little head, with long face and beard, has its hair arranged in the style of Curtius' Type C. A fillet encircles the head and the front hair is looped up over it so that the ends fall in front of the ears. Long back hair and side-locks are as in other standard herm types. Hair and beard are grooved with parallel strands; there is no attempt to indicate curls. The features are well placed, though carved in a blurry style that is common in small statuettes of late Hellenistic and early Roman times. In general the head is well-proportioned and gives a good reproduction of the type for its scale.

**184. Head from a Small Herm, near "Type C."** Pl. 51.

S 839. Found March 1, 1937 in Turkish fill south of the Agora (K 18). Broken off at neck. A wedge-shaped fragment comprising proper right side of face, forehead and top of head. Pentelic marble. Lightly weathered.

P.H. 0.165 m., P.W. 0.08 m., P.Th. 0.12 m.

This is a simplified version of the kind of herm represented by Curtius' Types B and C. The hair is bound by a stephane-like fillet. The top hair is carved in conventional wavy strands. The long front

<sup>43</sup> Cf. the use of two herms flanking the door in the Gymnasium of Vedius at Ephesos, *Jahreshefte*, XXIX, 1935, p. 25.

hair is parted in the center and drawn back in wavy loops to the sides, leaving a triangular forehead. The loops do not pass over the fillet, as in Type C, but are merely stuck under it, with the ends re-emerging in front of the ears. The beard is carved in conventional herm style with separate curled locks. The rendering is generally sketchy but the modelling of the face is true to the style of the original, with wide round eyes and a benign expression. The forehead swells only slightly; the bridge of the nose is broad. The little head has a warmth and charm that many more careful works lack. The 1st century (B.C. or A.D.) seems the most likely time.

185. Small Unfinished Herm Head. Pl. 51.

S 1327. Found in 1948 in Byzantine sand fill east of Great Drain (D 16). Broken off at neck. Chipped and stained. Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.095 m.

The face is nearer finished than the rest, eyes shaped, lips full (to be worked down), ears not yet formed. The drill has been used to shape lips, to undercut hair behind ears and to separate the beard from the neck. Otherwise, flat chisel and point only. The general outlines imply that this was to have been a herm, but it is not far enough along to show what type. The back hair falls in the usual straight mass, and the drilling on the side of the neck suggests that there were to have been shoulder-locks. The puffs of hair on the sides could be either for corkscrews or for the curls of Types B-C. The projection for the forehead hair is broken off.

186. Head of Miniature Herm with Hair Bound Up. Pl. 51.

S 1992. Found in 1957 in a Byzantine wall south of the Agora (E 18). Head and upper part of shaft cut off below by horizontal drill channels, under which the herm arms probably fitted. A vertical pin hole (off-center) for attachment to lower part of shaft. Left eye and nose missing. End of beard and front of bust chipped off. Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.04 m., H. chin to crown 0.033 m., W. of shaft 0.022 m.

The tiny head is too small to follow closely any of the standard types. The long hair is bound up as if over a fillet, forming a torus around the head. Diagonal grooves on the sides suggest divisions of the locks. Though the back of the neck is not worked out, there was no long hair-mass in back. The broad beard is lightly picked to suggest the shadows of a curly beard.

187. Small Bearded Head, Possibly from a Herm. Pl. 51.

S 861. Found in 1937 in late Roman fill on the east side of the Agora (P 9-10). Broken off at top of neck. Nose broken off. Surface generally battered and crumbly. A round hole in the top of the head, *ca.* 0.004 m. in diameter, containing a white substance. Medium-grained white marble, Pentelic or fine-grained island.

P.H. 0.117 m.

The work is sketchy and may not be entirely finished; its battered state makes it hard to judge. The hair is parted on top of the head and bound by a fillet, the front hair drawn back to the sides. Details are uncertain but the hair seems to be long and bound up. The beard is long, with wavy locks separately delineated. The eyes are narrow, the nose long and narrow-bridged. The mouth is slightly open. A rough indication of the ear is preserved on the proper left side but not on the right, where it is doubtful whether it was ever carved. The discrepancy between the two sides makes it questionable whether this head belonged to a herm. The line of the neck curves outward beside the jaw on the proper right side. Perhaps the head was made for a statuette of Zeus. The workmanship is not distinctive, and the piece is hard to date. It cannot be earlier than the 4th century, and, as usual, the laws of chance favor its being Roman.

188. Fragment of Neck and Back Hair of Herm. Pl. 52.

S 617. Found in 1936 in mixed fill on the east side of the Agora (P 8). Surface eaten as if by cesspool. Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.165 m., P.W. 0.074 m., P.Th. 0.07 m.

From a herm head under life size. Top hair in waving strands. The back hair-mass seems to narrow as if it had been bound with a fillet. The side-lock, instead of touching the ear as usual, springs out a little way behind it and the strands of the back hair are crossed by it.

189. Fragment of Beard of Herm. Pl. 52.

S 1888. Catalogued in 1954 from uninventoried marbles from the area G-I, 10-14 near the southwest corner of the Agora. Broken off below mouth. Lower left corner missing.

P.H. 0.085 m., P.W. 0.10 m., P.Th. 0.05 m.

See also p. 131 note 174.

From a herm-head about two-thirds life size. Conventional beard from an ordinary small herm. Under side rough-chiselled.

190. Beard of Herm.

Pl. 52.

S 1466. Catalogued in 1950 from marble pile near northeast corner of Temple of Ares (L 7). Broken off below lower lip. Proper right side split off just outside mustache-end. Lower edge battered. Pentelic marble. Heavy weathering, due at least in part to marble pile.

P.H. 0.13 m., P.W. 0.14 m., Th. of frag. *ca.* 0.09 m.

The beard was a thick wedge, rather square-ended but curving in more at the sides than the beard of the Pergamon Alkamenes type (No. 162). The surface is carved with the chisel only, in a simple symmetrical pattern of thin wavy locks often, but not always, subdivided into two strands. The ends are not curled, and the general impression is of long silky hair rather than of a decorative pattern. One may compare the beard of a marble mask of Dionysos in the Acropolis Museum.<sup>44</sup> The under side of our beard is carved with the chisel, showing diagonal strokes from below. This suggests that it comes from an actual herm rather than from a mask.

191. Fragment of Herm Beard (?).

Pl. 52.

S 1887. Catalogued in 1954 from uninventoried marbles from the area C-G, 13-16 outside the southwest corner of the Agora. A fragment from the front surface, split off vertically. Break at top runs through mouth. Lower left corner chipped. Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.125 m., P.W. 0.09 m., P.Th. 0.03 m.

The piece is probably unfinished, but would have been crude in any case. The locks of the beard, instead of forming rows, are reduced to single very long wavy locks that run the whole length of the beard. The ends of the mustache are also inordinately long. It is possible that the piece was intended for a Dionysos mask instead of a herm.

192. Fragment of Herm Shaft, Archaistic Type.

Pl. 52.

S 371. Found in 1933 in a late wall near the southwest corner of the Agora (I 11). Mended from two fragments. Broken off at neck and just below end of back hair. Pentelic marble. Battered, weathered and crumbly.

P.H. 0.29 m., W. of shaft 0.257 m., P.Th. of shaft 0.235 m. (= nearly original thickness).

From a herm of average, careful workmanship. The surface of the chest is smooth and may originally have been slick. A round dowel or pour hole (1 cm. diam.) enters each arm-slot from the back, starting from a point at the edge of the hair.

193. Fragment of Herm Shaft with Back Hair. Pl. 52.

S 1901. Catalogued in 1955 from marbles left by earlier excavators behind Stoa of Attalos (R 7). Fragment from upper back part of shaft with end of back hair. Remains of cuttings for arms. Weathered and battered. Pentelic marble, poor quality, with white mica streaks.

P.H. 0.148 m., P.W. 0.235 m. (est. W. of shaft 0.24 m.), P.Th. 0.075 m.

An unusual treatment of the back hair, with plain broad horizontal waves, the strands being carved (very delicately) only along the edges.

194. Fragment of Shaft of Small Herm.

Pl. 52.

S 1905. Found in 1955 in modern house wall on the south side of the Agora (P 17). Broken all around. Fragment of back of shoulder. Arm slot preserved 0.035 m. from back surface of shaft. Coarse-grained island marble.

P.H. 0.16 m., P.W. 0.075 m., P.Th. *ca.* 0.08 m.

The back of the shaft is dressed with the point rather than smoothed and the wavy strands of the long back hair are casually and coarsely carved. This manner of carving and the use of large grained island marble suggest that this is one of the small late Hellenistic archaistic herms such as the one from the Pompeion in Athens dated 95/4 B.C. or the herm from the House of the Herm at Delos.<sup>45</sup>

195. Shaft of Herm with Archaistic Shoulder-Locks, Inscribed with Prytany Catalogue of Ptolemais.

Pl. 53.

I 1393. Found on February 24, 1934 in a modern house wall south of the central part of the Middle Stoa (L-M 14). Head missing. Broken below. Back and right side broken away. Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.47 m., W. 0.29 m., P.Th. 0.128 m., H. of letters 0.015 m. in line 1, 0.012 m. in lines 2-8, 0.008 m. in lines 9-11.

<sup>44</sup> Wrede, *Ath. Mitt.*, LIII, 1928, p. 75, no. 5, Beilage 26, 1.

<sup>45</sup> See above, p. 127, notes 147, 148.

J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 66–67, no. 32. See also below (196) and pp. 126, 159.

A single long snaky lock with grooved strands surviving on the proper right shoulder shows that this herm had an archaistic head, whether of the sort with archaistic forehead curls or one of the semi-archaistic types like Curtius' B and C. The inscription is a prytany catalogue of the tribe Ptolemais. It was fairly usual in the Roman period to inscribe prytany catalogues on herms, but often the tops are missing and it sometimes appears that the herm was a portrait herm<sup>46</sup>. It is particularly interesting to find the old-style Hermes herm used for prytany lists of the Roman period, since it appears that prytany dedications of the 4th century sometimes took the form of herms, and the present example may represent a harking back to an earlier form. The herm is dated to the Severan Period. No. 196, dated to about the same period, has a similar tress.

The text as published by Oliver is as follows:

[Ἄγ]αθη̄ι Τύχ[ηι]  
 Ἐπι ἄ[ρ]χοντο[ς Δομιτίου Ἀραβία]  
 νοῦ Μα[ρ]θαωνίου ----- πρυτά  
 νείας οἱ [πρυτάνεις τῆς Πτο]  
 λεμαίδος [φυλῆς τιμήσαντες]  
 ἔα[ντ]οὺς κα[ὶ] τοὺς αἰσίτους ἀνέ[μ]  
 γ[ρα]ψαν· Ἐπώ[νυμος -----]  
 [Βερ]νικίδαι  
 [-----]χρηστος  
 [-- Δη]μοσθ[έ]νης  
 [-- Σε]κοῦν[δος]  
 [-----]

196. Fragment of Inscribed Herm Shaft with Archaistic Shoulder Lock. Pl. 53.

I 950. Found on June 6, 1933 in late Roman context in front of the Stoa of Zeus (I 6). Fragment preserving proper right side of chest and part of shoulder, with some of the front of the shaft. Proper right side of shaft preserved as far back as arm-slot, of which the front wall only is preserved. Broken behind, above, below and at right.

P.H. 0.225 m., P.W. 0.165 m., P.Th. 0.105 m. Distance of front wall of arm-slot from front edge of shaft 0.10 m. Distance of median line of chest from edge of shaft 0.10 m. (i.e. est. width of shaft ca. 0.20 m.). Letter height 0.011–0.014 m.

Meritt, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pp. 239–240, no. 73. See also above (195) and pp. 126, 159.

<sup>46</sup> For example, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1763 (honoring the Herald) and 1817 (honoring a Sacred Elder, cf. Oliver, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VI, *The Sacred Gerusia*, 1941, p. 125, no. 29).

The outline of a single wavy lock is preserved at the edge of the proper right shoulder, though the surface of the lock is broken away. This, then, is another example of an archaistic Hermes herm used for a Roman prytany list. The date is in the early 3rd century, close to the date of No. 195.<sup>47</sup> The text was published as follows by Meritt:

Ἄγαθη̄ι [Τύχηι]  
 ἐπι ἄρχον [τος Γ. Κύντου]  
 Κλέωνος Μα[ρ]θαωνίου,  
 στρατη[γού]ντος ἐπι τὰ  
 [ἔ]πλα Ἰ. Αἰλ. Ἰσοχρύσου  
 [Παλληνέως οἱ πρυτά]  
 [νεῖς τῆς ----- φυλῆς]  
 -----

It should be noted that the original thickness was greater than Meritt's publication indicates, for the full thickness is not preserved. The distance from the front of the shaft to the front wall of the slot for the herm is the same as on the herm of Moiragenes.<sup>48</sup> Since the thickness of Moiragenes' shaft is 0.144–0.149 m., the original thickness of this one may have been similar. The herm is smaller than the preceding and would have had a head somewhat under life size.

197. Fragment of Inscribed Shaft of Archaistic Herm, Roman Period. Pl. 53.

I 108. Found in 1931 in a modern house wall northeast of the Metroon (I–J 8). Fragment preserving part of front of shaft and a little of right edge. Pentelic marble. Top surface and curls weathered. Front surface rather slick.

P.H. 0.25 m., P.W. 0.20 m., P.Th. 0.10 m. Letter height average 0.017 m. Estimated original width of shaft, ca. 0.34 m.

B.D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, p. 49, no. 73, pl. 16.

From the upper front part of a herm shaft, the fragment preserves the ends of two long archaistic tresses on each shoulder. They are strongly waved and carved as usual with parallel strands. For the inscription, of which only the beginning is preserved, Meritt suggests:

[Ἄγαθ]ῆ Τύχη  
 [κατ' ἐπερώτημα] τῶν [σεμνο]  
 [τάτων Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν -----]

This is a common beginning for the inscription of an honorary portrait statue or herm in the Roman period. Meritt points out that it would be suitable

<sup>47</sup> See above, p. 126, note 144.

<sup>48</sup> *Agora*, I, pp. 35–37, no. 25.

for a Kosmetes. If the present example honors a Kosmetes, it forms an interesting parallel to Nos. 195-196, indicating that in the ephebic as well as in the prytany honors there was an occasional harking back to the earlier form of herm. The Kosmetai were regularly honored with portrait herms, of which a long series of heads is preserved.<sup>49</sup>

198. Shaft of Miniature Herm. Pl. 54.

S 1567. Catalogued in 1952 from marble pile in area K-Q, 14-17 on the south side of the Agora. Head broken off; broken below. Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.065 m., W. 0.026 m., Th. 0.023 m.

There are small drilled holes for the attachment of the arms and of the phallos. The long straight shoulder-locks with pointed ends are hatched to represent twisted strands. The square-ended beard is carved in relief against the chest. There is no indication of the long back hair.

199. Shaft of Miniature Herm. Pl. 54.

S 1443. Found in 1950 in Late Roman fill between the Panathenaic Way and the northeast corner of the Middle Stoa (P 12). Head broken off at neck and shaft broken below. Drilled holes in sides for attachment of arms. Drilled hole for attachment of phallus filled with a hard white mass, perhaps containing remains of the marble tenon. Battered. Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.077 m., W. 0.03 m., Th. 0.025 m.

The hair in back is only roughly blocked out. There is a single shoulder-lock on each side, thin and worn. Average workmanship of uncertain date.

200. Fragment of Miniature Herm Bust. Pl. 54.

S 119. Found in 1931 in a late level on the West side of the Agora (J 10). Head broken off. Proper left side, together with most of front, broken away by rusting of iron dowel in center of lower surface. Proper right side preserves original surface only near the back, but rough-picked bottom of arm-slot remains. Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.043 m., P.W. 0.045 m., P.Th. 0.041 m.

This is the neck and right shoulder of a miniature herm bust which was attached by an iron dowel to a

lower member, either a shaft of a different material or to some larger complex of which it formed a detail. A single lock is represented as a wavy ridge on the shoulder but there is no long back hair. Perhaps this was a youthful non-archaistic Dionysos or Apollo with the hair bound up.

201. Arm from Small Herm, 4th Century B.C. Pl. 54.

S 1426. Found in 1949 in 4th century B.C. filling in the Street of the Marble Workers in front of House G in the industrial district southwest of the Agora (C 17). Rectangular arm with tenon, of width and thickness not much less than the arm itself, which is partly broken off. A drill hole 4 mm. diam. in the middle of the tenon. A larger drill hole (7 mm. diam. and 26 mm. deep) is bored vertically into the top (or bottom) of the projecting part of the arm. Pentelic marble.

H. 0.054 m., P.W. 0.069 m., Th. 0.024 m.

R. S. Young, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 271, no. 2, pl. 84, b.

See also pp. 132, 151 note 24.

202. Arm of Miniature Herm. Pl. 54.

S 1427. Found in 1949 in filling of second half of 5th century B.C. over Poros Building in industrial district southwest of the Agora (D 17). Rectangular tenon broken at end. Pentelic marble.

H. 0.017 m., P.W. 0.017 m., Th. 0.009 m.

R. S. Young, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 271, no. 3, pl. 84, b.

See also pp. 132, 151 note 24.

203. Arm of Small Herm. Pl. 54.

S 888. Found in 1937 in a cistern of the last three quarters of the 1st century B.C. on the north slope of the Areopagus (N 19:1, cf. Robinson, *Agora*, V, Group F). Coarse abrasive finish except tenon, which is rough. Color very white as in all sculpture from this group. Pentelic marble.

H. 0.042 m., W. 0.049 m., Th. 0.029 m., L. of arm without tenon 0.04 m.

204. Marble Phallos, Probably for Attachment to a Herm. Pl. 54.

S 2121. Found in 1959 in the construction fill of South Stoa II (M-N 15:1). Broken off above. Trace of a tenon, oval in section, in the back for attachment to a flat surface. Pentelic marble.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. especially Graindor, *B.C.H.*, XXXIX, 1915, pp. 241-401.

P.H. 0.04 m., W. 0.036 m.

Since it is ithyphallic and since we sometimes find the remains of marble tenons in herm shafts, it seems likely that this piece is broken from a herm. The context in which it was found is dated to the 2nd century B.C.

**205. Fragments of a Double Herm, Latest Hellenistic or Early Roman. Pl. 53.**

Two non-joining fragments: S 1209, found in 1946 in the filling of the south tower of the gate of the Late Roman Fortification Wall (Q 13), P. H. 0.53 m., and 1794, from the same area of excavation but without exact record of provenance, presumably also from the filling of the wall, P.H. 0.41 m. S 1794, the upper fragment, is broken off diagonally below and most of the front of the draped side is broken away. Full shaft width preserved on undraped side. Heads were apparently originally carved in one piece with shaft, but they were later removed and a hollow chiselled out to receive a new pair of heads, to be fastened by a dowel (hole  $2.5 \times 2$  cm., 4 cm. deep) in the center of the hollow. This may never have been attached. Right arm preserved to elbow, left arm (presumably enveloped in cloak) missing entirely. Ends of square herm-arms broken off. S 1209 broken diagonally above and below. Right side missing. Pentelic marble.

W. of shaft on undraped side 0.225 m., Th. at lowest preserved part of drapery 0.23 m., L. of upper arm (top of shoulder to point of elbow) 0.26 m.

See also pp. 125, 149.

These are two fragments from a double herm which had one face in the conventional archaistic form with plain shaft, rectangular arms and wavy shoulder-locks, the other an anthropomorphic upper body draped in chiton and chlamys which is transformed at the waist or hips into a rectangular post. Judging from the preserved dimensions the shaft may have been around 22 cm. square at the base (later herms tend to taper a little downwards).

The archaistic side shows a single, long, wavy, grooved lock on each shoulder. There is no trace of an inscription; presumably the shaft was uninscribed. The rectangular arms were only 0.03 m. thick. They intersected the backs of the upper arms of the draped herm and projected beyond them. The draped herm wore a chiton of moderate width sewn at the top of the shoulders and falling to cover the upper arm. Two little corner tassels appear to either side of the seam. The chlamys was fastened at the front of the right shoulder. The heavy triangular fall of drapery on the right side of the shaft suggests that on our piece, as

on the 4th century chlamys herm from Rhamnous,<sup>50</sup> the left hand was on the hip and the left arm entirely enveloped in the cloak. The same scheme survives in a herm of the 3rd century after Christ from Epidauros.<sup>51</sup> Below the lower edge of the chlamys the chiton reappears hanging over the now quite rectangular shaft. None of the smooth lower portion of the shaft is preserved.

Though the combination of post herm and cloaked herm in one double herm seems to be very unusual (this is the only example of which I know and Lullies lists nothing of the sort), the similarity of the draped type to the Rhamnous herms suggests that this too is an ephebic dedication. There is no good evidence for its date. The scale is larger than that of the Rhamnous herms. The style is heavy and rather stiff, but not slick. The smoothing of the surface of the drapery with abrasive suggests that the piece is later than the three coarser herms from Rhamnous which have a rough chisel-finish for the clothing.<sup>52</sup> The 1st century B.C. or the 1st century after Christ seem most likely. This would be before the use of portrait herms for ephebic dedications began.<sup>53</sup> The heads will presumably have been a youthful Hermes head of ephebe type backed against a bearded archaistic head. When these were removed the intention may have been to substitute a portrait head or heads or simply to renew the old types with fresh heads. It is doubtful whether our fragments were brought by the wall-builders from the place where the dedications were set up or from a workshop where the herm had been taken for remodelling. The same tower of the wall contained fragments of an ephebic document that had stood in front of the Stoa of Attalos,<sup>54</sup> but the wall in this area also contained much workshop material.<sup>55</sup>

**206. Head of a Boy, Probably from a Herm, Early Roman Copy of a Late 5th Century Type (?). Pl. 55.**

S 2057. Found in 1959 in loose late Roman fill north of the north retaining wall of the Eleusinion (T 18). Broken off at neck. Upper back part of head broken away. Nose, front hair, eyebrows and lower lip battered. Pentelic marble. Top hair heavily weathered, face and neck surfaces comparatively fresh.

<sup>50</sup> See above, p. 125, note 135.

<sup>51</sup> See above, p. 124, note 123.

<sup>52</sup> N.M. 314-316. See above, p. 126, note 138.

<sup>53</sup> The herm of the Kosmetes Heliodoros, one of the earliest preserved of this class, dates from the time of Trajan (*Agora*, I, p. 31, note 6). The Julio-Claudian ephebe head, Graindor, *B.C.H.*, XXXIX, 1915, p. 290, no. 1, appears not to come from a herm, since the head is inclined on the neck.

<sup>54</sup> I 286. Cf. *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 223-224.

<sup>55</sup> *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, p. 370, note 7.

P.H. 0.20 m., H. chin to crown 0.16 m., W. of face at widest point 0.091 m.

*Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, p. 378, pl. 83, b.

See also pp. 128–129.

The head appears to have been broken from a herm, to judge from its symmetry, its frontality and the square section of the neck. The heavy weathering on top of the head and the comparatively unweathered condition of the face are also typical of herms. The hair is parted in the center and frames the face with loose locks, falling in bunches of curls in front of the ears. The hair on the nape of the neck is short but not shingled; the locks appear to come down from the crown of the head. The strands of hair are indicated by parallel grooves in the way that is usual for archaic herms. The locks lie flat and are not undercut with the drill. The head is encircled by a diadem which rose to a point, now broken off, in the center front.

The face is youthful and rather feminine, though the head seems to be a boy's. The features and the shape of the face suggest that it is modelled upon a work of the late 5th century B.C. The workmanship is excellent, and the blend of sweetness and nobility that belongs to works of that period is very well conveyed, but a certain emptiness in the surfaces of forehead, cheeks and neck suggests that we are dealing with a work that is in some sense a copy. A comparison with heads from the frieze of the Temple of Ares<sup>56</sup> serves to illustrate both the resemblances and the differences between this head and original late 5th century work. The modelling of the faces in any of the Ares heads shows a freer and more lifelike surface. The ears, which are marvellously delicate and natural in the Ares heads, are here quite perfunctory.

At least two other heads repeat the type of our present head, but not at the same scale.

A head in the Kerameikos (Pl. 67, a) is smaller and seems to have had a round fillet instead of the flat diadem, but the pattern of the hair is the same.<sup>57</sup>

A head of the same type as ours but a little larger in scale was found at Olynthos (Pl. 67, b).<sup>58</sup> Here the prominence of the central part of the forehead and the broader bridge of the nose seem to belong to the early 4th century, and the finding-place seems to preclude a Roman date. It is uncertain whether the Olynthos head belonged to a herm, but its symmetry and the stylization of the hair in the bronze-like wavy strands that are usual for herms makes it seem quite possible that it did. This head was first called female by Robinson and is now labelled "Apollo," perhaps

<sup>56</sup> *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 94–95, pl. 23; *A.J.A.*, LXIII, 1959, pp. 188–189.

<sup>57</sup> Kerameikos P 684. Provenance not recorded. I am indebted to Dr. F. Willemsen for permission to publish this head.

<sup>58</sup> See above, p. 128, note 157.

because of the similarity in type and length of hair to the Apollo on the coins of the Chalcidic League.<sup>59</sup>

A second relative of our Agora head (Pl. 67, c) resembles it in style and scale but not in type. This is in the Athens National Museum and apparently comes from Athens.<sup>60</sup> It has the same square neck and frontality that mark it as a herm, and also the same surface rendering of the hair. The same diadem with central point encircles the head. Though this boy, too, has the girlish bunches of curls in front of the ears, he is a somewhat sturdier looking type than ours. The hair on the crown of the head is cut into short locks and is curlier than that of our head. The right ear is slightly thickened from boxing or wrestling. If there is a quality of Apollo in the other type, there is a quality of Herakles in this.<sup>61</sup>

The absolute correspondence in scale, style and spirit between the two Athens heads suggests that they had a similar use, though they were probably not actually pendants, for the top of the National Museum head does not show the same outdoor weathering as ours. It seems most likely that both were ephebic dedications of some kind. The diadem with the point at the center, which was worn not only by divinities but by mortal boys on festive occasions,<sup>62</sup> appears on two heads from Rhamnous, one belonging to a chlamys herm dedicated by the ephebes of Erechtheis who were victorious in the torch race and dated around 330 B.C.,<sup>63</sup> the other larger and perhaps somewhat later but surely also from an ephebic dedication.<sup>64</sup> A third head from Rhamnous has a fillet with a knot in front to which a pointed leaf was probably attached.<sup>65</sup> This last has a broad face and wrestler's ear like the National Museum head, though otherwise it does not resemble it, for all the Rhamnous heads are in a naturalistic late 4th century style.

The cool and careful style of the two Athenian heads would fit the time of Augustus, though there is no evidence for close dating. What the 5th century originals were on which these heads were ultimately based and whether the Olynthos head was an ephebic dedication or indeed a herm of any kind remain mysteries which deserve further exploration.

**207. Head of Ephebe, Probably from a Miniature Herm, Roman Period.** Pl. 54.

<sup>59</sup> See above, p. 128, note 160.

<sup>60</sup> See above, p. 128, note 156.

<sup>61</sup> Later, in the 2nd century after Christ, ephebes who excelled in athletics were actually given the title "Herakles" (cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2026).

<sup>62</sup> We find such diadems on votive figures of children from Brauron and on terracottas from various sanctuaries.

<sup>63</sup> Above, p. 125, note 135.

<sup>64</sup> N.M. 317, above, p. 126, note 139.

<sup>65</sup> *Loc. cit.*, N.M. 318.

S 691. Found in 1936 in mixed fill (including much late Roman) in a drain on the south part of Kolonos Agoraios (C 12). Broken off at neck. Nose broken off. Forehead hair, eyebrows, mouth and chin battered. Little or no weathering. Fine-grained white marble, probably Pentelic.

P.H. 0.08 m., H. chin to crown 0.064 m.

See also p. 127.

This is a youthful athletic head of basically 4th century type with short hair bound by a fillet. The short locks are brushed up away from the face but grow somewhat longer on the nape of the neck. The eyes are deep-set; the center of the forehead projects, with hollows to either side. Both ears are thickened, and the left ear shows the characteristic radiating folds of the boxer's ear. A high polish on the surface indicates that the work is of the Roman period.

The type, the symmetry of the head and the square section of the back of the neck suggest that the head is from a miniature herm. Herms with such beardless athletic heads were dedicated by the ephebes in the Hellenistic period, and miniature herms of this kind have been found in a Hellenistic house in Delos.<sup>66</sup> The present and following examples show that such herms were still made in the Roman Period, but we do not know whether they kept their ephebic connection or were simply accepted as a familiar type of herm for household use or even for tourist art.

208. Head of Ephebe, Probably from a Miniature Herm, Roman Period. Pl. 54.

S 611. Found in 1936 in Late Roman fill on the south side of the Agora (K 15). Broken off at base of neck. Nose chipped, otherwise intact. Pentelic marble. Root marks.

H. 0.064 m., H. chin to crown 0.045 m.

See also p. 127.

This like the preceding is a short-haired athletic head with a square neck and swollen ears, but this one does not wear a fillet. Whereas the other is fully ideal in type and betrays its Roman date only by the high polish on the flesh, this has the combination of precise carving and coarse features characteristic of Roman portraits. With this, as with some ephebic herms from Delos, one has the feeling of portrait character, and yet the head is probably not a portrait but simply a realistic typical portrayal of a young athlete. This again must be from a miniature herm, smaller than the preceding. The date should be late 1st or early 2nd century after Christ.

<sup>66</sup> Marcadé, *B.C.H.*, LXXVII, 1953, pp. 527f., fig. 25, a and b.

209. Head of an Ephebe, from a Herm, Roman Period. Pl. 55.

S 1021. Found in 1938 in Herulian destruction fill in the area of the Northeast Stoa (P 7). Broken off at bottom of neck, with a little of the herm-shoulder preserved. Head intact except for very minor chips in hair. Fine-grained white marble, probably Pentelic. The head was stolen in 1960 and its present whereabouts is unknown.

P.H. 0.166 m., W. of head 0.092 m.

T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 239-240, fig. 39.

See also p. 127.

This is an idealized youthful head with short curly hair bound by a fillet. It is like the preceding two except that it lacks the realistic touches. The herm to which it belonged was not miniature, however, but about the size of the smaller herms dedicated by ephebes in the Hellenistic period. The style is certainly Roman. Though Shear said in the original publication that the piece did not have the high polish of Hadrianic works, the soapy quality of the surface makes it look much more like 2nd century than 1st century work. The slick finish and generalized modeling are fairly well matched in the Neo-Attic Nymph relief from the Peiraeus.<sup>67</sup> Fuchs dates these reliefs to the Hadrianic and early Antonine periods, and this is probably also the date of our head.

210. Bearded Herm Supporting Child, Probably from a Group of Hermes and the Child Dionysos, 2nd Century after Christ. Pl. 56.

S 33. Found in 1931 in late Roman level in front of the southeast corner of the Metroon (H 10). Fragment comprising whole herm-support with a little of plinth at its base. On it rests the arm of the main figure, broken off at the elbow, and the figure of the child, of which the upper part is broken away. Two struts, one narrow (roughly 6 cm. high × 3.5 cm. wide but not strictly rectangular) starting 0.225 m. above plinth, the other heavier (ca. 9.5 cm. high × 7.5 cm. wide) starting 0.68 m. above plinth. Edges chipped. Pentelic marble. Light weathering and patina.

P.H. 1.36 m. Total H. of herm above plinth 0.93 m. H. of herm head 0.21 m. Shaft of herm, not strictly rectangular, 0.14 m. wide and 0.185 m. deep above the thickened base.

Rizzo, *Prassitele*, pp. 9-10, pl. 14; Picard, *Manuel*, III, pp. 112-114; *J.H.S.*, LI, 1931, p. 185, fig. 2; Bieber, *Gnomon*, 1952, p. 203; Carpenter, *A.J.A.*,

<sup>67</sup> Fuchs, pls. 3 b and 37 b, p. 21, A 4 d, pp. 26f., 192.

LVIII, 1954, p. 12, note 51; Thompson, *Agora Guide*<sup>3</sup>, p. 122.

See also pp. 135, 166.

The left arm of a human figure slightly over life size rests above the top of a herm and carries a baby sitting on the hand and wrist with his upper body leaning forward. A cloth is wrapped loosely around the lower part of the child, and his feet hang free, the toes emerging from under the drapery. A cloak, presumably a chlamys, to judge from its moderate size and heavy texture, is draped over the herm, its folded part toward the inside, the ends hanging down in rather stiff, straight folds along the outside of the shaft. The material forms an unnaturally thick pad between the arm and the top of the herm. This unrealistic arrangement, which occurs in many Roman works but not in the 4th century figure of Sisyphos II from Delphi,<sup>68</sup> is probably aimed at keeping the face of the herm from being hidden by the cloth.

The herm face seems meant to be looked at from a little below, since the forehead hair slants outward to the top. The head is bearded and quasi-archaistic. Two long wavy side-locks fall down beside the face. The forehead is very low; the forehead curls form two rows of hook-spirals (not corkscrews or "Buckellocken"), and the beard, broad and rather square at the lower end, is composed of similar loose curls. The hanging ends of the mustache curl outward. The eyes are oval, like those of Hadrianic portraits, with heavy lids which overlap at the outer corners. The hollows below the eyes are deeply modelled, and the cheeks sag a little.

The head of the herm turns slightly to the proper right. This was probably done in order to make it appear in front face to one standing before the center of the group. From this view one would see a little of the inside of the herm shaft, giving a perspective effect. This contrast is analogous to the combination of perspective shaft and full-front plaque that we have in the fragment of a nymph relief, No. 132. The genitals are off center toward the right. This is probably not part of a calculated effect, but serves to illustrate the fact that the herm was conceived pictorially as an adjunct to the frontal view of the statue, not as an object in the round.

It seems clear that the statue was cut from the same piece of marble as the support, since both the chlamys and the baby's drapery are very roughly and awkwardly carved on the side toward the statue. The workmanship is second rate, the flesh surfaces smoothed but not polished, the drapery rasped.

The child rests on the carrying arm and turns toward the person who carries him in much the same

way as the little Dionysos in the Praxiteles group in Olympia. The Agora fragment has been taken as a copy of a lost work by Kephisodotos portraying Hermes and the child Dionysos which is assumed to have been the forerunner of the Praxiteles group.<sup>69</sup> We know from Pliny that Kephisodotos made a bronze group with this theme,<sup>70</sup> but we do not know where it was or what it looked like. There seem to have been several such groups in the ancient world. Pausanias says that the Hermes Agoraios in Sparta was carrying the child Dionysos.<sup>71</sup> A group in which Hermes seems to rest the arm carrying the child on a pillar instead of a herm or a tree-trunk appears on Roman coins of the Thracian cities Anchialos and Pautalia.<sup>72</sup> A drawing by Cavalieri shows a group in which the support is a herm.<sup>73</sup> This is most similar to a statue in Madrid, in which the child is missing but might once have been present, since the left arm is restored.<sup>74</sup> There is no clear indication as to which if any of these groups are identical with each other nor which if any is to be identified with the group by Kephisodotos. The close similarity in the pose of the Madrid figure to the Cavalieri drawing suggests that either the Madrid figure itself or a replica served as a model for Cavalieri, but there is no way of knowing how much the latter added and invented in his drawing.

The use of the archaistic herm as a support seems to have been a prime reason for associating the Madrid group with Kephisodotos. The torso of the Hermes seemed pre-Praxitelean in style, but the head has been generally agreed to be definitely later, with affinities to Lysippan and post-Lysippan works such as the Ares Ludovisi. This meant that the figure, if derived from Kephisodotos' group, must be copied not from that group itself but from a later variation of it. The herm, however, was taken to be a part of the original composition because the archaistic herm was felt to be a kind of quotation of the Hermes Propylaios of Alkamenes.<sup>75</sup> We have no proof that Kephisodotos was a pupil of Alkamenes. The idea that he was one is just an inference from the stately "Pheidian" quality of the Eirene. The Thracian coins show a Hermes in a pose very like that of the Madrid figure, but lack the herm. Rizzo, though he had been worried by this, felt that the difficulty was resolved by the discovery of our present Agora fragment. He said, and his argument was repeated by Picard, that since our piece comes from Athens, we can feel confident

<sup>68</sup> See especially Rizzo and Picard, *op.cit.*, above.

<sup>70</sup> N.H., XXXIV, 87.

<sup>71</sup> III, 11, 11.

<sup>72</sup> Rizzo, *Praxiteles*, pl. 4, nos. 3 and 4.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 12 (left).

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 12 (right) and Blanco, *Catalogo de la Escultura*, no. 39-E, pl. 21.

<sup>75</sup> See above, p. 135.

<sup>69</sup> See above, p. 136, note 200.

that it is an accurate copy. He concluded, therefore, that the pillar was substituted for the herm by the designers of the Roman coins.

There are two uncertainties here: we do not know that the Kephisodotos group was in Athens, and we do not know that it is his group that the Thracian coins are copying. The Agora herm appeals as being the work of Kephisodotos mainly because it is a herm, and the old argument of discipular piety retains its influence. This, then, deserves to be examined more closely and it is for this reason that the piece is included in the catalogue of herms rather than in the chronological place of Kephisodotos. One must ask first whether the herm was a Propylaios and second whether it was recognizable as that of Alkamenes. The first seems improbable to begin with. The herm at which Hermes stops to rest on his journey can only be a roadside herm, not a Propylaios. Like the roadside herm on the Vienna fishing pelike,<sup>76</sup> it is the symbol of the journey itself.

The second point is equally unlikely. Even if the herm as used in the group stands for a roadside herm and not a Propylaios, it might be argued that it resembled the Herm of Alkamenes obviously enough to remind the beholder of the earlier work. This can hardly have been true, however, if our Agora herm is a good copy of its original. The corkscrew curls of the Pergamon type are lacking, the forehead is lower, and the beard shows a different stylization. That these features are not variations produced by a single copyist is suggested by our No. 211, a fragment of a herm-support of exactly the same type. In this, the curls of the beard have the same pattern and the general lines of the drapery are the same, but the execution in the drapery is more crisp and careful. These two pieces are not duplicates produced in one workshop but separate copies of one type. That the type is necessarily pre-Roman does not follow, however. This head is not a close copy of either of the two "Alkamenes" types nor does it copy any of the other recognizable herms. It is a typical herm created for the purpose of its secondary use and in the spirit of the Roman period. The forms of hair and beard do not serve to articulate the head as a plastic creation but to provide a uniform decorative surface. We seem to recognize in them the pictorial ideal of the Roman period rather than a 4th century Attic sculptor's conception of form. Such a detail as the outward curl of the ends of the mustache is too purely ornamental to have formed part of the scheme of a classical Attic herm. We find it again in the decorative mask of Dionysos in colored stone, No. 226.

The prominence of the "Herm of Alkamenes" in archaeological literature is analogous to its importance in the Roman period, that is to say, it is mainly a

literary affair. If we think back to the visual situation in 4th century Athens we realize that the mere sight of an archaistic herm would hardly serve to recall Alkamenes to anyone's mind, even to one of his pupils. Not only were some of the actual archaic herms, the Hipparchan herms and the Kimonian herms (whose forms were essentially late archaic), still to be seen, but it seems clear that there was more than one important archaistic herm type of the classical period. Furthermore, as we see from the herm of Arcestrate,<sup>77</sup> modest original herm dedications in the 4th century were still being made in archaistic form.

To argue that the herm used in our present group is related to the herm of Alkamenes because the shape of the eyes and eyebrows is the same as in the Pergamon herm is even more far-fetched. These are typical classicizing Roman eyes and eyebrows of the 2nd century after Christ. We find them both in the Pergamon herm<sup>78</sup> and in the copy of the Ephesos type from the Stadion of Herodes Atticus (Pl. 66, f)<sup>79</sup> but not in the good Barberini copy of the Pergamon type,<sup>80</sup> where the eyes are wider, the lids narrower, and the eyebrows more arched.

The probability that the Hermes group of Kephisodotos included a herm, then, is not in any way increased by the appearance of our present herm-support. On the other hand, our piece brings into the discussion a new element which makes it unlikely that our group belonged to Kephisodotos. This is the close correspondence of the child's figure to the one in the Olympia group by Praxiteles. Both the pose and the drapery are so close that the Agora child looks much more like a coarse adaptation of the Olympia one than like an artistic ancestor separated from it by a whole generation. This seems especially so when we compare the child Ploutos of the Eirene group by Kephisodotos. Of the three, the Olympia child seems to be in the middle. The little Ploutos has his ankles crossed, and the drapery, covering only the lower part of the legs, is less enveloping and plays less part in the composition. In the Agora piece the child's legs are wide apart and turned more to the front so that the drapery, spread between them, is broadly displayed in the front view, and the cloth is wrapped higher, covering the whole thighs. The Olympia Dionysos is intermediate between the two in all these respects. It seems impossible that the Agora figure should have preceded it. The enveloping quality of the garment makes it analogous to draped female figures of Praxitelean inspiration such as the Muses on the Mantinea base. The folds are shallow and parallel, and major motives are created by folding

<sup>77</sup> Above, p. 126, note 145.

<sup>78</sup> Above, p. 123, note 114.

<sup>79</sup> Above, p. 123, note 118.

<sup>80</sup> Curtius, *Zeus und Hermes*, pl. 20, fig. 26.

<sup>76</sup> Above, p. 111, note 27.

the cloth over itself in bands which give a feeling of its material thickness.

The drapery of Kephisodotos' Ploutos still belongs to the first half of the 4th century. The cloth is light, and the folds stand out sharply with deep hollows between suggesting the recesses of the figure underneath. This can be felt not only in the good copy from the Peiraeus but also in a very casually carved fragment of a copy or adaptation from the Athenian Agora (S 2020), where the folds have lost their subtlety but not their depth. This needs to be mentioned because the weight and simplicity of the major folds in the figure of Eirene herself have led Rizzo to see a Kephisodotean quality in the heavy folds of the chlamys draped over our herm.<sup>81</sup> But in our piece this quality can just as well belong to the Hadrianic classicism of the copyist as to the post-Pheidian classicism of Kephisodotos, since these folds are on the side of the group, to which our sculptor paid little attention. The drapery of the Ploutos proves that the Eirene belongs to the first half of the 4th century and makes it hard to accept the Agora child as a work of the same man.

The easiest guess as to the identity of our group is that it is a Roman adaptation of the Praxitelean group. How the group was changed and what the reason was for the addition of the herm must remain uncertain. Our fragment of a replica of the herm (No. 211) is so broken that we cannot tell whether or not it supported a child. On the other hand, the drapery is preserved on the left side where our present piece has a heavy strut, and there is no strut at this point. Either the statue was in a different pose or the sculptor was more confident of his marble. The first is more likely, for the Olympia Hermes also has a strut at the same level.

We still do not know, then, whether Kephisodotos used a herm as a support for his Hermes. It remains perfectly possible that he did, but the two surviving examples, the Madrid figure with its Lysippan head and our fragment with its Praxitelean child, must both be later variations on the theme.

**211. Fragment of Archaistic Herm used as a Support, Roman Period** Pl. 56.

S 2144. Catalogued in 1959 from marble pile left by previous excavators of the Stoa of Attalos (P-R, 7-13). Broken all around. Pentelic marble. Weathered, but weathering may not be ancient.

P.H. 0.34 m.

See also above (210) and p. 164.

The fragment preserves the proper right side of the beard and face of a herm with drapery thrown over

<sup>81</sup> *Op.cit.*, p. 10.

it. It seems to be of the same type as the preceding, with a similar pattern of spiral locks in the beard. The chlamys is similarly draped with the folded part toward the left side of the herm, but the folds are more crisply cut, with deep channels. The surface of the drapery is rasped with regular parallel strokes across the ridges of the folds. The place corresponding to that where the largest strut is preserved on the preceding fragment shows no sign of a strut on this one. It is uncertain whether we have parts of two identical groups or simply two examples of the same herm type used for supports of two different groups. On the herm and its implications, see the preceding.

**212. Fragment of Archaistic Herm used as a Support, Roman Period.** Pl. 57.

S 2145. Catalogued in 1959 from marble pile left by previous excavators of the Stoa of Attalos (P-R, 7-13). Broken all around. Thasian marble. Weathering may not be ancient.

P.H. 0.18 m., P.Th. 0.27 m.

The fragment preserves part of the forehead hair of an archaistic herm and a mass of crumpled drapery laid over it. On the top of this is a trace which seems to correspond to the outline of a forearm resting on the drapery. The head had three rows of corkscrew curls. These are rather crudely blocked out, without indication of strands, and the centers of the curls are marked by drill holes. The corkscrew curls of the herm and the angular crumpled pattern of the drapery relate this to a figure of Dionysos leaning on a herm of which there are replicas in Madrid and Varese,<sup>82</sup> but the correspondence is not exact enough between these and our piece to affirm that ours belongs to a copy of the same type. The cloak in ours does not form so tall a cushion of drapery above the head of the herm, though the crumpled folds probably indicate that in ours as in the other two the greater part of the cloak is bundled up on top of the herm and the ends do not hang very far down. Perhaps this draping distinguishes the himation of Dionysos from the chlamys of Hermes. The harsh drilled slots in our drapery are like those of the Madrid copy. The workmanship is probably of the 2nd century after Christ. The Varese copy, which seems to be the more careful, shows three rows of corkscrew curls whereas the Madrid one shows only two. Essentially the same type of "Alkamenoid" herm is used as a support in the Madrid statue which has been reconstructed as a group of Hermes carrying the child Dionysos.<sup>83</sup> The drapery there, however, is quite different.

<sup>82</sup> Rizzo, *Praxiteles*, pl. 115, left; Blanco, *Catalogo*, 87-E, pl. 40 (Madrid); Rizzo, pl. 115, right (Varese).

<sup>83</sup> See above, note 74.

213. Beardless Herm, Support for a Statue, 1st Century after Christ (?). Pl. 57.

S 198. Found in 1932 in a context of Turkish times in a cistern in the southwest corner of the Agora (G 13-14). Shaft broken off below. This break has also removed the lower edge of the drapery on the outside (right) of the herm. Face of herm and edges of drapery battered. Genitals, which were made separately and attached, missing (lead and part of a marble tenon in attachment hole). A long vertical cutting, V-shaped in section, in the drapery on the right side seems to have served for the attachment of a marble patch which supplied a ridge fold of the drapery. The surface of the cutting is picked to hold cement and the joint was strengthened by two dowels for which the holes (*ca.* 0.5 cm. in diam.) remain, one containing lead. In the upper surface of the drapery on top of the head is a small cutting of irregularly trapezoidal shape, only about 1 cm. deep and about the same in width. Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.585 m., H. of herm head 0.135 m., W. of shaft 0.135 m.

T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 534-535, fig. 18.

See also p. 136.

The piece preserves the upper part of a beardless herm with a folded garment symmetrically draped over it, the folded portion to the left (inside), the edges to the right. The cloak forms a simple arch over the top of the herm, leaving the face and front hair visible. An arch-shaped sunken area on the back, finished roughly with pick and claw chisel, apparently represents the back of the herm-shaft, showing between the drapery. It is not, as Shear suggested, an attachment cutting.

The head belongs to the basically 4th century type of young athlete, with short curly hair brushed away from the face. There is no fillet around the head, and the ears are not carefully enough carved to show whether they were meant to be thickened. The workmanship is competent and not so coarse as in No. 210 but without any refinement or subtlety. The general style of the drapery suggests a date in the 1st century after Christ.

There are no struts preserved on our piece. Also the signs of attachment on top of the herm are so light that it does not look as though anything heavier than a hand or light attribute can have rested on it. Shear's interpretation of the cuttings on the back and right side as connected with the attachment of the statue are surely erroneous. Since the herm seems not to have been an urgent structural necessity for the statue (at most it can have had a single strut very low down), it is likely that it carries an intended reference to the Hermes of the gymnasium. Quite

possibly it accompanied a portrait statue, perhaps in one of the Hermes-orator types.<sup>84</sup>

214. Unfinished Re-Cut Herm.

Pl. 57.

S 363. Found in 1933 in Turkish wall near the southwest corner of the Agora (J-K, 11-12). Left front corner and left side of shaft broken off. Generally battered and weathered. Reddish patina. Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.98 m., P.W. 0.15 m., P.Th. 0.15 m., Th. of shaft 0.13 m.

The herm carvers of Athens are here caught at their familiar trick of chopping up old herms to make new ones. In this case the new herm was not a success and was abandoned at an early stage. Some relatively smooth surface surviving on the neck and cheek as well as the chisel-carved locks behind the ears come from the first version, a nearly life-sized, perhaps portrait herm. The present piece is chopped off just a little way below the shoulder-slots into a horizontal surface with slightly projecting central portion, the whole surface roughly picked. In front, the general shape of a face and long beard have been blocked out. The new ears are also dimly discernible. The top of the head narrows into a cylindrical shape suggesting a polos. Its top surface slants back, with a sunken area in the center back portion. Perhaps the new herm was to have been a support of some sort. Both original and recutting must belong to the Roman period.

215. Small Herm of Apollo (?), Roman Period.

Pl. 58.

S 755. Found in 1936 in disturbed very late Roman fill on the south side of the Agora (N 15). Broken off at top of shaft, preserving back part of arm-slot on proper left side. Break slopes up through right shoulder and front of neck. Nose and chin battered off. Side-locks broken away. In top of head a round hole like a meniskos hole but large in proportion to the head (0.025 m. deep, *ca.* 0.015 m. diam.). Fine-grained white marble, possibly a fine-grained variety of Pentelic. Brown stains.

P.H. 0.155 m., P.W. 0.095 m. (nearly = original width of shaft), P.Th. 0.08 m.

See also pp. 136, 167.

This is a beardless counterpart of the Alkamenoid herms, with two rows of corkscrew curls framing the forehead, the usual side locks and a long mass of

<sup>84</sup> See above, p. 136, note 205.

back hair. The back hair widens downward and its surface is engraved with wavy strands. The upper surfaces of the front curls are hatched straight across rather than diagonally. The face is broad and squarish in outline. The eyes have a wide, classicizing shape. There are little drill holes at the corners of the mouth. The ears are carefully carved, with helix indicated and with drilled hollows. The heavy neck shows a suggestion of sterno-mastoids and also of a groove or crease below the Adam's apple. The whole flesh surface is smoothed with some care but not polished. This is good work of the Roman period.

Beardless herms with archaistic hair are not uncommon. Whereas the youthful herms of 4th century type represent Hermes, it seems likely that herms like the present one represent Apollo. As Agyieus he shared with Hermes the protection of the gates and streets of the city and was often represented in aniconic pillar form. This may easily have become contaminated in Athens with the standard herm, Apollo being distinguished from Hermes by the type of head.<sup>85</sup>

**216.** Fragment of Archaistic Apollo (?) Head, Perhaps from a Herm. Pl. 58.

S 813. Found in 1936 in a modern house southeast of the Agora and east of the Panathenaic Way (T-U 22). Proper left half of forehead and front hair with most of left eye. The vertical front-to-back break intersects a drilled dowel hole (diam. ca. 1 cm.) which enters from back to front sloping slightly up. Back joint surfaces not preserved. Rust stains show that dowel was iron. Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.11 m., P.W. 0.11 m., P.Th. 0.065 m.

See also pp. 137, 138.

The hair is arranged with braids wrapped around the head and corkscrew curls framing the forehead. The smooth, rounded contours of forehead and eyebrows give a youthful impression. The eye is round, but with very delicate lids (overlapping at the outer corner). It is not certain whether the coiffure is male or female, but the combination of braids and forehead curls is more usual for males. This may be part of a beardless Apollo herm analogous to No. 215 but larger and rendered in greater detail. Alternatively, it may be from an archaistic statuette. The elaborate detail of the overlapping braids and the very careful finish of the features (the eyes worked over with fine abrasive) is more meticulous than the usual workmanship of herms. The pattern of the corkscrew curls is hard, precise and geometrical. The curls are

set straight above one another, not staggered. A small drill was used to cut out the spaces between the ends of the curls, and the cylinders of the upper curls are separated by sharp grooves. Their surfaces are hatched with slanting strands, all in the same direction.

The dowel at the back may be from a repair if the fragment is from a herm or statuette, rather than from a mask (which seems less likely). The excessively delicate workmanship would fit the early Roman period.

**217.** Fragment of Archaistic Apollo (?) Head from Small Herm. Pl. 58.

S 1889. Catalogued in 1954 from uninventoried marbles from the area G-I, 10-14 near the southwest corner of the Agora. Fragment from upper part of head, proper left side. Weathered (including break surface) and battered. Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.07 m., P.W. 0.058 m., P.Th. 0.105 m.

See also p. 137.

From a head about one-third life size. The shape of brow and eye, like those of No. 216, suggest that the head is youthful, hence probably an Apollo rather than a bearded Hermes. There are three rows of corkscrew curls, whose spiral strands alternate directions. The eyelid is delicately carved, the ear carefully made. Very good work of uncertain date but certainly not later than early Roman.

**218.** Small Female Herm, 2nd Century B.C. Pl. 58.

S 1086. Found in 1938 in a Hellenistic well north-east of the Hephaisteion (G 5:3). Broken at bottom but probably not much is lost. Nose and chin chipped. Otherwise complete. Unweathered. Rusty stains from well. Grayish Attic marble; could be either Hymettian or Pentelic.

P.H. 0.325 m., W. of shaft 0.08 m., Th. of shaft 0.07 m.

T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 238-239, fig. 37; *I.L.N.*, July 9, 1938, p. 57, no. 7; Langlotz, *Aphrodite in den Gärten*, p. 28 and note 41; D. B. Thompson, *Troy, Supplementary Monograph*, 3, p. 145.

See also pp. 91 note 26, 139.

The herm is of the ordinary rectangular post-herm form with a shaft of approximately uniform width and thickness from top to bottom. A garment, which is suggestive of the peplos in its simple folds, symmetrical draping and the double lower edge which implies an overfall, hangs down over the front of the

<sup>85</sup> See above, p. 137. An alternative suggestion is that they represent the youthful Hermes.

shaft. The offset of its bottom edge continues around the corner on the left side of the shaft, but no drapery is carved on the sides. There are no sockets or dowel holes for arms in the sides of the shaft. This suggests that the herm may be unfinished, for such a post herm should normally have arms. The back of the neck is not worked out, but the marble may have been left here intentionally for extra strength or just to save work. The neck is thick, the head rather small in proportion but broad, with round cheeks and a short, wide nose. The long hair is parted in the center and drawn back to either side, covering all but the lobes of the ears, which are merely suggested. The profile of the head implies a knot high in back, but the unfinished state makes this uncertain. The features of the face are blurry, without any clear style, but the general resemblance of the face to those of small figures of Hekate and the Mother of the Gods suggests that here also the artist had some 5th century type remotely in mind. The soft, indefinite quality of the surface, compounded of imprecise chisel-work and heavy abrasion or rasping, occurs in Attic small sculpture found in contexts dating from Sulla's destruction of Athens in 86 B.C. and apparently is characteristic of the 2nd century. Perhaps it is a direct imitation of Rhodian-Alexandrian style. The well filling in which this piece was found is now dated on the basis of the pottery contained in it not later than the middle of the 2nd century B.C.

Shear identified the herm as Aphrodite Ourania. The well was on the north end of Kolonos Agoraios, and the temple of Aphrodite Ourania was somewhere in the region, though its actual position has not been fixed. The traces of a small building formerly so identified appear to be of Roman date. The connection of the herm with Aphrodite Ourania suggested itself because Pausanias saw in the sanctuary of Aphrodite in the Gardens near the Ilissos a female herm whose inscription said that Aphrodite Ourania is the eldest (or most honored) of the Moirai.<sup>86</sup> It would be wrong to conclude from this, as has sometimes been done, that either the Athenian cult image of Aphrodite in the Gardens (by Alkamenes) or that of Aphrodite Ourania (by Pheidias) was in the form of a herm. It does, however, prove that Aphrodite could be represented as a female herm in Athenian dedications. Pausanias gives us no information on the date of the herm he saw, but the quotation smacks of Hellenistic or Roman pedantry. The phrase "eldest of the Moirai" was doubtless embedded in an ornate epigram. The reason for making Aphrodite a herm may lie in the fertility connections of Hermes if it is not to be explained by the connection of Aphrodite with the oriental Astarte.<sup>87</sup>

Aphrodite is not, however, the only goddess who takes the form of a female herm. The βῆτρος of Artemis held in the hand of a statue of her priestess found in the sanctuary of Artemis in the Agora at Messene lacks its head but has the form of a female herm not unlike ours in size and general aspect.<sup>88</sup> The contents of the well in which our piece was found were so unusual that we can hardly leave them out of consideration when we ask what goddess the herm represents. Besides pottery, it contained the bones of about 175 new-born infants and about 100 dogs. In addition there were bones of a middle-aged man, a child of around eleven and a few larger domestic animals. There was also a fine ivory-handled sword. Shear comments, "The combination in a single deposit of a statuette of Aphrodite Ourania, a magnificent and possibly ceremonial sword, and many bones of infants is certainly suggestive and recalls Pausanias' story that this sanctuary was founded by Aigeus in order to propitiate the goddess who had condemned him to childlessness. Although infant sacrifice was not practiced in Greece, perhaps infants who died at childbirth were dedicated to the goddess as a symbolic sacrifice and a token survival of the ancient oriental ritual. Some reason must have existed for this mass accumulation of infants' bones, with very few bones of adults among them."<sup>89</sup> This has not found general acceptance. J. L. Angell comments that starvation or plague seems the most likely explanation for the rapid accumulation of such a large number of dead babies. There are no traces of violence. That they must have all died within a short time seems evident, however. The Athenians would not have buried infants as a regular thing in a well inside the city. The circumstances must have been highly unusual, and one can hardly imagine that the well was left open for any length of time.

The starvation and danger attending on Sulla's siege of Athens in 86 B.C. would explain both the high infant mortality and the necessity of disposing of corpses inside the city, but G. Roger Edwards, who has studied the pottery from the well, finds that none of it can be dated later than the middle of the 2nd century B.C. and therefore suggests that the occasion was a plague or epidemic of which we have otherwise no record. He thinks it possible that the dead infants were placed in the coarse pottery basins which were found in great numbers in the well. No special explanation has been offered for the large number of dogs, but it seems possible that they were actually

<sup>86</sup> Ἐργον, 1962, p. 129, fig. 155. In Arcadia female herms dedicated to Aphrodite and to Artemis look very similar and are distinguished only by their inscriptions: Aphrodite, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1906, p. 35, fig. 1. Artemis (unpublished ?) in Tegea Museum.

<sup>89</sup> *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 238-239. On the bones, see further J. L. Angell, *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, pp. 311-312.

<sup>86</sup> I, 19, 2.

<sup>87</sup> See above, p. 138.

purification sacrifices. Dogs were offered to the birth-goddesses for the purification of women after child-birth, and in general the dog, as the cheapest offering, was a favorite for purification.<sup>90</sup> The gruesomeness of the whole situation would surely arouse superstitious feelings, and it may well be that the herm too is in some sense propitiatory or apotropaic. Its presence does not seem to be accidental, for it is not broken, and there was no other sculpture in the well. It seems, therefore, more likely to be Artemis, either as birth-goddess or as Artemis-Hekate, than Aphrodite. The heavy, rather forbidding aspect of the face would seem to support this, if we can attach any importance to the face in such a mediocre work. Certainly there is little of the charm of Aphrodite in it.

**219.** Head of Female Herm from the Stage Front of the Odeion of Agrippa. Pl. 59.

S 554. Found in 1935 in burnt (Herulian destruction) layer over the orchestra of the Odeion of Agrippa (L 10). In the top of the plaque behind the head are two cuttings for hook clamps which joined this piece to the slabs between the herms. The front part of the head projects above the top of the plaque and the back is cut down to a distance of 0.03 m. in front of the face of the plaque to receive the crowning moulding. The back of the plaque is rough-picked. The sides are finished smooth at the front edge only. The neck and tenon project below the lower edge of the plaque. The tenon is rough-picked and without a dowel hole. Upper left corner of plaque broken off. Nose chipped. Otherwise intact. Pentelic marble. Black stains and root marks.

H. 0.23 m., W. 0.19 m., Th. 0.20 m., Th. of plaque 0.08 m., H. of head chin to crown 0.17 m.

T.L. Shear, *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 180, fig. 9; H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 66-67, pl. 46.

See also pp. 139, 170.

This is one of two identical female heads that belonged to herms decorating the stage front of the Odeion of Agrippa. All of these herms were made in two pieces, the shaft and a piece with the front of the head carved in relief against a plaque of the same width as the shaft. The herms supported a crowning moulding carved with an archaistic lotus and palmette pattern.

The type of the present heads is used in Neo-Attic art for the heads of sphinxes, both free-standing and used as table supports. The type of sphinx that goes with the head is consistent except for the modifications

<sup>90</sup> Nilsson, *Geschichte*, I<sup>2</sup>, pp. 95, 105. The animal in the purification sacrifice was neither roasted nor eaten, but thrown away.

occasioned by the different forms of supports for which it is used. R. V. Nicholls, in publishing two heads of this type in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, has listed ten replicas, including our present herm heads.<sup>91</sup> In five of these examples the sphinx body is preserved. He refers the original to the middle of the 5th century and suggests that it was a group of Oedipus and the Sphinx. He further suggests that the type was recognizable to Athenian audiences in the Odeion, and that this indicates that the group was in Athens. It is hard to imagine, however, just how a sphinx head could be used in a herm in such a way as still to convey the idea of a sphinx, and the whole notion of a sphinx herm seems somehow rather far-fetched. It may be rather that the head comes originally from a statuary type and that its use in the sphinx is, like its use on a herm, a Neo-Attic creation. Nicholls has noted an asymmetry in the face that seems curious in the frontal sphinx heads, but would not be surprising in a head from a statue. The Agora heads seem to show the same asymmetry. We probably do not have any fragments of the shafts that went with the heads of this type. The green marble shafts, Nos. 223 and 224, apparently went with the male heads, and the single fragment of a draped shaft, No. 225, should go with an archaistic head rather than with these classical heads.

Though the hair is coarser and less varied in texture on the Agora heads than on some replicas, for example the sphinx in Mantua,<sup>92</sup> the features of the face convey better the austere quality of the classical original. In the precise, rather cold quality of the carving these heads furnish a good example of Neo-Attic work of the Augustan period.

**220.** Head of Female Herm from the Stage Front of the Odeion of Agrippa, Replica of the Preceding. Pl. 59.

S 553. Mended from two joining fragments, the first found together with the preceding, the second near by in the same fill at a slightly later date (L 10). Tip of nose missing and part of back of plaque broken. Otherwise complete. Clamp cuttings as in the preceding, with part of an iron clamp remaining in one. Pentelic marble. Black stains and root marks.

H. of plaque 0.193 m., W. of plaque 0.193 m., Th. of plaque 0.062 m., H. of head chin to crown 0.18 m.

<sup>91</sup> L. Budde and R. V. Nicholls, *A Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Sculpture in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1964, pp. 20-22, nos. 40-41. A letter from Nicholls, Dec. 17, 1964, adds as 5 bis to his list a sphinx in Grosseto, Museo Civico (A. Mazzolai, *Mostra Archeologica*, pl. 26).

<sup>92</sup> Alda Levi, *Sculture greche e romane del Palazzo Ducale di Mantova*, Rome, 1931, pl. 21, pp. 18f., no. 4.

Thompson, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 66–67, pl. 48.  
See also below (221, 222) and p. 139.

This head corresponds in all respects to the preceding. This indicates that the stage front contained at least two herms of each type, but there may have been more.

**221.** Head of Male Herm from the Stage Front of the Odeion of Agrippa. Pl. 59.

S 558. Found in 1935 in a level of the late Roman period about 15 meters east of the Odeion (N 11). Plaque broken off at left. The whole piece burned and deeply calcined. The face entirely flaked off. Original surface preserved on top of head and on proper left side of neck and cheek. Hook-clamp cuttings in top of plaque and cutting in top of head to accommodate crowning moulding are as in the preceding.

H. 0.24 m., P.W. 0.165 m., P.Th. 0.145 m., H. of head chin to crown 0.175 m.

See also below (222) and p. 139.

This was the head of a youth with short hair bound by a flat fillet which passed above the tops of the ears. The locks are brushed forward on the head like those of Polykleitan athletes. In front of the ear some of the locks seem to be brushed back against the fillet. Since the hairline is not preserved, it is not possible to identify the type, but presumably this is, like the female heads, Nos. 219 and 220, an accurate copy of a 5th century type. The position of the fillet above the ear suggests, if we compare it with the Diadoumenos of Polykleitos, that it would have passed too high up on the forehead to suit Thompson's conjecture that the face, No. 222, comes from a replica of this head. The head could well represent Hermes in his youthful ephebic form, but it is hazardous to try to identify any of these stage-front herms when we do not have all the types represented. The Tiberian frieze from the Agora at Aphrodisias presents under the guise of masks a bewildering variety of heads borrowed from classical sculptural types.<sup>93</sup>

**222.** Fragment of Head, from a Herm of the Stage Front of the Odeion of Agrippa. Pl. 59.

S 597. Found in 1935 in a post-Herulian deposit in the area of the stage of the Odeion (L–M 10). The central portion of the face, broken all around except at the top, where there is a horizontal joint surface and anathyrosis a little way above the eyebrows. Nose

chipped. Pentelic marble, surface unburned and finished very smooth.

P.H. 0.107 m., P.W. 0.075 m., P.Th. 0.52 m.

H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 66.

See also above (221) and p. 139.

The scale and finding-place indicate that this, too, is part of one of the herms from the stage front. Thompson suggested that the joint-surface at the top of the fragment represented the line of the bottom of a fillet, and he implied that the head was of the same type as No. 221. The first point is probably true, and if so the second seems unlikely. On looking through the collection of head types in the frieze of Aphrodisias, one notices that athlete types, such as the Diadoumenos of Polykleitos,<sup>94</sup> show more of the forehead below the fillet than does the present fragment. On the other hand, the fillet on No. 221 is actually a little *higher* in relation to the ear than that of the Diadoumenos. In the frieze we find a fillet which runs, as in our fragment, close above the eyebrows in the heads of various Dionysiac personages, satyrs or Dionysos himself.<sup>95</sup> Like these, our face has a suggestion of a smile at the corners of the mouth. That the effect of a smile is intentional seems certain when one compares the mouth of our piece with those of the two classical female heads, Nos. 219–220. The separation of the cheeks from the area around the mouth and the upswing of the eyebrows also distinguish this fragment from those two heads. These same features occur in some of the Dionysiac heads from Aphrodisias, and they are even more characteristic of archaistic heads. In both they convey an impression of youthfulness and vivacity. A good parallel for the style of our head, which is naturally much more delicate than that of the Aphrodisias frieze, may be found in the heads of four archaistic female herms found on the Esquiline and now in the Conservatori.<sup>96</sup> It is hard to be certain about the sex of our piece, but Thompson is doubtless right in taking it to be male. It might be a young satyr or Pan or even a young Dionysos. Such figures would unquestionably be appropriate to a stage front. If it is female, which seems less likely in view of the band across the forehead, it might belong with our fragment of a shaft with archaistic drapery, No. 225, representing one of the Graces, Seasons or Nymphs who sometimes appear in archaistic form along with Dionysos.

**223.** Shaft of Male Herm from Stage Front of Odeion of Agrippa. Pl. 59.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 22, no. 72.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 14, no. 40; pl. 20, no. 67; pl. 22, no. 71.

<sup>96</sup> Stuart Jones, *Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori*, pl. 55, Ort.Mecen. 1, 19, 24, 20 (head preserved on 19).

<sup>93</sup> *Mon. Ant.*, XXXVIII, 1939, pls. 1–39.

S 1213. Catalogued in 1946 from a marble pile in the area of the cavea of the Odeion (L-M 10-11). Lower end broken off. A concave cutting at the top to receive the tenon of a head. A socket for the attachment of the phallos, which was made separately, perhaps in bronze. Front and sides smoothed. Back picked. Light green Karystos marble.

P.H. 0.43 m., W. 0.187 m., Th. 0.14 m.

Thompson, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 66, pl. 46.

See also below (225) and pp. 139, 169.

Since it contains a socket for the attachment of the phallos, this shaft must go with one of the male heads. The practice of making herm heads and shafts in different materials seems to have been a Neo-Attic invention which became generally accepted in Roman art. Cicero mentions herms with bronze heads and Pentelic marble shafts which he acquired from Athens,<sup>97</sup> and similar bronze-headed herms have been found at Pompeii and Herculaneum.<sup>98</sup> A closer parallel to our herms with white marble heads and light green shafts may be found in the group of votive portrait herms from Nemi, in which the heads were of white marble and the shafts of bluish marble,<sup>99</sup> and in portrait herms in the atria of Pompeian houses, such as that of Cornelius Rufus.<sup>100</sup>

224. Fragment of Shaft of Herm from Stage Front of Odeion of Agrippa. Pl 59.

S 1391. Catalogued in 1949 from marble pile to east of Stoa of Attalos (R 7-13). Lower end preserved. Broken off above. A tenon on the lower end for inserting into the plinth. Front and sides smoothed; back picked. Light green Karystos marble. Surface flaked and corners chipped.

P.H. 0.42 m., W. 0.187 m., Th. 0.165 m., H. of tenon 0.04 m.

Thompson, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 66, pl. 47, b.

See also pp. 139, 169.

This is not preserved high enough to show the cutting for the phallos, but it corresponds exactly to the preceding in material and dimensions. Probably it is from a second male herm.

225. Fragment of Herm with Archaistic Drapery, probably from the Stage Front of the Odeion of Agrippa. Pl. 59.

<sup>97</sup> *Ad Atticum*, I, 8, 2.

<sup>98</sup> For example, the herm of Norbanus Sorex, Arndt-Bruckmann 457-458, and that of Caecilius Jucundus, Maiuri, *Pompeii*, p. 102.

<sup>99</sup> F. Poulsen, *Acta Archaeologica*, XII, 1941, pp. 20-52.

<sup>100</sup> Mau, *Pompeii*, 2nd ed., New York and London, 1904, p. 256, fig. 21. Cf. also the herm of Vesonius Primus, *ibid.*, p. 446.

S 1896. Catalogued in 1955 from uninventoried marbles from the area L-P, 10-12, over and to the east of the Odeion. Lower end of shaft, broken off above. Three sides sculptured except for a portion 0.05 m. high at the bottom which served as a tenon. This had the same width as the shaft but was set in about 0.5 cm. from its front face. Back picked, without anathyrosis. Bottom rough-picked. Pentelic marble. Battered. Marble on left side gray and crumbly from burning. Red mortar adhering to front.

P.H. 0.21 m., W. 0.178 m., Th. 0.14 m.

See also pp. 139, 169, 170.

On the front and on both sides is carved a pattern of archaistic drapery, the lower edge of an outer garment with zigzag folds rising to a central two-sided pleat and below this the shallow rippled folds of an underchiton. All the carving is very flat, and that on the sides seems more perfunctory than that on the front.

The dimensions, the general form and the finding-place all suggest that this is one of the herms of the Odeion. The thickness is the same as that of No. 223. The width is not quite one centimeter less than that of the two green marble shafts. The use of a tenon at the bottom is similar although the tenon itself is not shaped in exactly the same way. The drapery on the sides seems to have been carved all the way to the back edge, instead of stopping at the line where the intermediate slab would have overlapped the herm, but it is so flat, a mere texturing of the surface, that it would not have affected the joint. In spite of the various slight differences between this and the green shafts, it seems much easier to explain it as one of the Odeion herms than as anything else. The fact that it was made in white instead of green marble probably indicates that the drapery was painted. It is unusual to find a draped herm in which the drapery extends to the bottom of the shaft, but the draped portrait herm of Fundilia from Nemi offers a parallel.<sup>101</sup> The archaistic drapery of this piece probably means that the herm had an archaistic female head and represented one of the Graces, Nymphs or Seasons.

226. Archaistic Bearded Head of Dionysos in Herm Form, Decorative Appliqué, Roman Period. Pl. 60.

S 771. Found in 1936 in very late Roman fill over the late Roman Gymnasium on the south side of the Agora (N 15). Smooth-cut surfaces at back, below, and on proper left side. Proper right side broken off through right eye. End of nose, edge of beard, edge of shoulder-lock (or ribbon), top of head and front edge

<sup>101</sup> Poulsen, *Acta Archaeologica*, XII, 1941, p. 23, figs. 19-21.

of bust chipped. Incrustation on back and break surfaces. Pink marble.

H. 0.15 m., P.W. 0.075 m., P.Th. 0.52 m.

See also p. 164.

The piece seems cut for use in some sort of decorative revetment, though the surviving fragment shows neither dowel holes nor picking to hold cement. The shoulder-form is that of a herm (without arms) but the face seems to represent a mask rather than a head in the round. The hollowing of the eyes does not seem deep enough to have contained any sort of inset. There is no real plastic indication of the neck, merely a hollow groove behind the beard. The flat strip that hangs down behind the ear may as well represent a ribbon as a tress. The top of the head is covered by a smooth cap decorated at the sides with ivy leaves and berries. The wavy hair is parted in the center. The thin ends of the mustache curl decoratively outward. The surface of the beard is decorated with sketchily applied chisel strokes suggesting wavy strands. There are little drill holes in the corners of the mouth and in the curls of the mustache. The piece must be of the Roman period.

For the archaistic herm-head of Dionysos with the smooth cap, ivy leaves and berries, compare a herm in the Conservatori (Museo Nuovo).<sup>102</sup>

227. Table-Support in the form of a Herm of Dionysos, Early Roman Period. Pl. 60.

S 1925. Found in 1955 in a Byzantine well on the south side of the Agora (O 17:3). Broken off at bottom. Herm arms missing. Nose, chin and phallos chipped. Whole surface heavily eroded. Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.54 m., Th. 0.155 m., W. 0.11 m., W. of herm shaft 0.104 m., Th. of shaft 0.085 m., H. of head chin to crown 0.13 m. Diam. of circular cutting in top 0.055 m., Depth 0.02 m.

See also p. 140.

A support for a one-legged table (*monopodium*) in the form of a herm with the head of the youthful Dionysos. He wears a garland, probably of ivy leaves and berries, though the details are washed out by erosion, and long tresses fall down on both shoulders. The plump face with deep-set eyes is Hellenistic rather than classicizing in type, but the plain crude top without mouldings looks rather Roman than Hellenistic. An example from Megara in the Athens National Museum, on the other hand, has a typically post-Hadrianic face and must be considerably later than our piece.<sup>103</sup> The Museum in Kos contains a series of trapezophoroi in

the form of young Dionysos herms, which provide the generally closest parallel to our present example.<sup>104</sup>

228. Miniature Herm of Herakles in Lion Skin and Himation. Pl. 60.

S 1936. Found in 1948 in early Roman fill in the road west of the Middle Stoa (H 13). Broken off below. Edge of left arm chipped. Otherwise intact. Light beige patina and root marks. Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.103 m.

See also p. 140.

Herakles wears the lion skin over his head, and he is tightly wrapped in a himation worn in the standard *palhatus* scheme. This seems to be a contamination of the Herakles in lion skin with the mantle herm. One may imagine that the connection of Herakles with the gymnasium led to his being shown wrapped in an himation. It has been suggested that this complete wrapping denotes the athlete who has finished his exercise.<sup>105</sup> Another explanation would be that the fully wrapped figure is in an attitude of respect. In either case this would be an attitude of the worshipper transferred to the divinity. Two Roman marble mantle herms of young athletes have the himation drawn up over the head.<sup>106</sup> The type is pre-Roman, for a terracotta replica, with head missing but with the scheme of the mantle exactly the same, was found near Pergamon in a tomb group dated around the middle of the 2nd century B.C.<sup>107</sup> On our Herakles the lion's head has been substituted for the mantle as a head-covering but the body is completely wrapped in the himation, under which the lion skin disappears.

The proper right side is flat, the proper left side partly flat but with the outline of the arm and the zigzag edges of the himation below the left hand sketched out. The back is unmodelled but not perfectly flat, the smoothed surface being slightly convex and also interrupted by pickmarks apparently remaining from the earlier state of the stone. The work is casual but good. The date may be Hellenistic.

<sup>104</sup> Laurenzi, *Annuario*, N. S., XVII-XVIII, 1955-1956, pp. 193-194, nos. 166-171.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Lullies, *Typen*, p. 83. Lullies in his discussion of "Mantelhermen" does not distinguish properly between chlamys and himation.

<sup>106</sup> London, *British Museum Catalogue of Greek Sculpture*, III, 1742; *Ancient Marbles*, II, pl. 37; and Pompeii, Overbeck, *Pompeii*, p. 101. The Pompeian example was found in the Temple of Venus and the British Museum piece near Tivoli together with a copy of the crouching Aphrodite. It seems possible, therefore, that the unusually complete wrapping-up of these youthful herm figures is connected with the cult of Aphrodite.

<sup>107</sup> At Poyracik, O. Deubner, *Türk Tarih Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi*, IV, 1940, p. 39, fig. 2; German text, p. 46.

<sup>102</sup> Mustilli, *Museo Mussolini*, pl. XXXVIII, 159, 25, p. 60.

<sup>103</sup> Δελτιον, IX, 1924-25, Παράρτημα, p. 26, no. 12, fig. 16.

**229. Small Herm of Herakles Wrapped in Lion Skin, Roman Period. Pl. 60.**

S 1505. Found in 1951 in the wall of a modern well near the southeast corner of the Agora (P 13). Head broken off. Right hand and forearm (muffled in lion skin) chipped away, also upper end of club. Lower end of herm shaft chipped and battered, Pentelic marble of poor grade, moderately weathered.

P.H. 0.213 m.

See also p. 140.

Herakles wears his lion skin wrapped around him like an himation, enveloping both hands. The lion's head hangs down at his left side. He shoulders his club, holding the lower end in his muffled left hand. The texture of the lion skin is rendered by coarse stippling. The herm shaft, roughly square in section, tapers in both width and thickness. There seems to have been a kind of tenon at the bottom, now mostly battered away, but there is no dowel hole. The work is simple and rather clumsy and certainly belongs to the Roman period. The type is approximated in a fragment from Pergamon<sup>108</sup> and in one from Alexandria.<sup>109</sup>

**230. Small Herm of Herakles, Roman Period. Pl. 60.**

S 590. Found in 1935 in late Roman filling of a rock-cut channel connected with a cistern on Kolonos Agoraios (D 10:1). Mended from two joining fragments, the upper comprising the back of the shoulders and the whole front of the torso except for the proper right side of the chest, the lower one the hips and the tapering herm shaft out of which they grow. Head and both arms missing. A dowel hole in the neck. No finished joint-surface is preserved but the hollow shape of the broken surface suggests that it may have been chipped away to fit the neck of a new head set on for a repair. Red marble.

P.H. 0.285 m.

See also p. 140.

The torso is posed as if the weight were on the right leg, the right shoulder higher than the left. Both arms were lowered. No trace of the club remains. The lion

<sup>108</sup> *Pergamon*, VII, 2, p. 222, no. 260. There is considerable variation in these small Herakles herms. The Pergamon fragment has the club, but the arm which holds it is not enveloped in the lion skin. The same is true of the example from Alexandria in Tübingen (see below). It may be that ours is a contamination of the completely wrapped type without the club and the type with the club and the left arm free.

<sup>109</sup> *Expedition Ernst von Sieglin, Ausgrabungen in Alexandria*, II, 1 b (Watzinger), Leipzig, 1927, pp. 102-103; no. 91, fig. 39.

skin hangs at the proper left side as if draped over a support. The lion's face and shaggy hair are sketched with the chisel. The torso of Herakles is powerfully modelled, with considerable care on the front, more sketchily on the back. The forms suggest a Hellenistic prototype. The herm-shaft tapers downward in width but apparently not in thickness. For the use of red marble, compare a Pan-herm from Pergamon.<sup>110</sup>

**231. Miniature Herm of Hermaphrodite, Late Hellenistic or Roman Period. Pl. 60.**

S 1234. From disturbed Byzantine context in the district southwest of the Agora (B 19). Head, back of shoulders and lower end of shaft broken off. Battered. A small round dowel hole in the neck and one in the bottom of the shaft, but the joint-surface in both places is broken away. Medium-grained white marble, probably Parian. Light beige patina, brown stains on back.

P.H. 0.163 m., W. 0.092 m.

H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 180, note 59.

See also p. 140.

A Hermaphrodite, ithyphallic, in high-girt chiton with a small himation draped symmetrically across the back and over both forearms (compare Nos. 108 and 109) lifts the skirt of the chiton in front to show the phallos. The shaft, which tapers down, is not absolutely flat but has a shallow groove in the center to suggest the separation of the legs. The back, below the cross-folds of the himation, is treated as a plain convex surface. The thick-edged folds recall work in island marble of the 1st century B.C.

The type, with the himation over the lower arms and both hands lifting the skirt, is also represented in a statuette of a Hermaphrodite from the Agora, probably of about the same date.<sup>111</sup>

**232. Fragment of Small Draped Herm (Support?), Roman Period. Pl. 60.**

<sup>110</sup> *Pergamon*, VII, 2, p. 222, no. 259.

<sup>111</sup> S 1235. Mentioned by Thompson, *loc.cit.*, above. The gesture of lifting the skirt with both hands is thought to be borrowed from Priapos. A little bronze statuette in the Bibliothèque Nationale said to have been found in Athens in 1838 has the lifted skirt filled with fruits. A hermaphrodite herm in Stockholm (Reinach, *Répertoire*, I, p. 371, no. 1554 A) lifts the skirt with both hands and the same scheme is represented in a statue in Paris (*ibid.*, p. 372, no. 1549). Both of these have the himation over the shoulders instead of across the lower back and lower arms as in our figure. A hermaphrodite herm in Pergamon (*Pergamon*, VII, 2, p. 220, no. 257) lifts the skirt with one hand only.

S 2156. Catalogued in 1962 from marble pile left by previous excavators of the Stoa of Attalos (R 7). Broken above and below. Battered and very crumbly. A rectangular cutting for a tenon in each side below the edge of the drapery (on proper left side H. 2 cm., W. 1.5 cm., on proper right  $2 \times 2$  cm.). Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.22 m.

The shaft, rectangular in section, tapers downward in both width and thickness. Above was a human torso dressed in a short garment, probably a chlamys, which seems to be fastened on the right shoulder and shows the buttocks in back but not the genitals in front. Very coarse work, with heavy rasping on the drapery. The piece must have been an adjunct to a large statue or group of mediocre quality.

**233.** Fragment of Votive Relief with Worshippers and Herm, 4th Century B.C. Pl. 61.

S 1154. Found in 1939 in St. Spyridon beneath the second floor of the church of the first period, 16th century (Q-R 14). From lower left-hand corner of relief, which is broken above and at right. Marble very crumbly and much of surface of figures flaked off. Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.455 m., P.W. 0.25 m., Th. 0.135 m.

See also p. 140.

The slab was framed at the side by an anta whose face slopes inward toward the background of the relief. A group of worshippers, apparently a man, three women and two children, approach from the left in attitudes of worship, the women and children closely wrapped in their himatia. Behind them is a tall bearded herm, seen in three-quarters front view. The proper left herm-arm is foreshortened and the shaft is seen in diagonal relief. The herm seems to have had short full hair after the fashion of Curtius' Types A and D.<sup>112</sup> The face is unfortunately obliterated. Behind the head of the herm the edge of a wall, door or gate is suggested by an offset in the background. Perhaps this represents the entrance of the sanctuary into which the worshippers are coming. The herm would then be the Propylaios of the sanctuary.

Relief representations of herms in sanctuary scenes are not so common as one might expect. It is not possible to tell from what is preserved to which divinity the sanctuary belongs. Both the herm and the procession of worshippers would be appropriate to an Asklepios relief<sup>113</sup> but there are doubtless other possibilities.

<sup>112</sup> See above, p. 130.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. the herm on the big Asklepios relief N.M. 1877, Svoronos, pl. 48; Lullies, *Typen*, p. 52.

**234.** Herm Carved in Relief on Door Jamb of Shop in Stoa of Attalos. Pl. 61.

On reveal of right-hand (entering) door jamb of Shop III 1.34 m. – 1.46 m. above threshold. A little herm with square base and rectangular arms was outlined on the surface of the jamb and the background cut back in an arch-shaped area around it. The herm itself is treated in relief to the extent that the plane of the arms is behind that of the shaft. The surface is chipped and the lower part of the head missing, so that it is uncertain whether or not it was bearded. From analogy with the other herms of this sort it seems more likely that it was not. No phallos is preserved. Hermes is appropriate on the door as god of commerce if the shop served commercial purposes, but he would be appropriate as Prothyraios in any case.

Mentioned by H. A. Thompson, *The Stoa of Attalos II in Athens* (Agora Picture Book No. 2), fig. 14, caption.

See also p. 141.

**235.** Small Herm Incised on Fragment of Column, Roman Period. Pl. 61.

S 1224. Found in 1947 in uncatalogued marbles from the area Q-S, 17–20 south of the Agora and west of the Panathenaic Way. Broken all around. Fragment preserves top of herm's head but the base is broken away except for a trace of the upper left corner. Hymettian marble.

P.H. 0.255 m., P.W. 0.24 m., P.Th. 0.11 m., Est. diam. of column *ca.* 0.57 m.

A beardless herm with round childish head is outlined by a heavy chiselled groove in the rough surface of the column. There is no phallos and no difference of surface between shaft and arms, but the collar-bones and neck muscles, the features of the face and the hair are lightly sketched. The rather long hair cut straight across the forehead is a common fashion of the Roman period. The structure from which the column came is not identified.

**236.** Fragment of Column with Herm in Relief. Pl. 61.

S 2164. Catalogued in 1963 among marbles west of the Stoa of Attalos left by earlier excavators (O-P, 8–9). Broken above and at back. Hymettian marble.

P.H. 0.55 m., Diam. at bottom *ca.* 0.95 m.

In a sunken rectangular panel is carved in relief a herm on a rectangular base. It has down-tapering

shaft and long wavy shoulder-locks. The chin is broken away, but it does not seem to have been bearded. Above the panel is a roughly picked area as if something had been removed.<sup>114</sup>

237. Fragment of Roman Grave Relief with Herm.  
Pl. 61.

S 2157. Catalogued in 1962 from marble pile left by former excavators of the Stoa of Attalos (R 7). From the right edge of the stele. Broken above, to the left, and below. Back rough-picked, side roughly finished with the claw chisel. A slot in side 3 cm. wide by 1 cm. high by 2 cm. deep. Projecting frame of relief, ca. 0.05–0.06 m. wide, has all its surface chipped away. Pentelic marble, flaky from marble pile weathering.

P.H. 0.375 m., P.W. 0.245 m., P.Th. 0.15 m., Th. of background 0.07–0.08 m.

See also p. 141.

Just inside the frame of the relief stands a herm, not ithyphallic, with a long twisted lock on each shoulder. The head is missing. The neck is carefully modelled with indications of the sterno-mastoids and Adam's apple. It looks as if the head had been beardless. It is not unusual to find a herm in this position on a Roman grave relief. The figure of the deceased will have stood beside the herm. Sometimes his left hand rests on its head. A trace between the herm and the border here may be either the end of a fillet hanging down from the herm's head, or a corner of drapery from the main figure.<sup>115</sup>

Beardless herms with archaistic hair are less frequent on gravestones than either the non-archaistic ephebe herm or the bearded traditional type. Since all the types that appear on Attic gravestones in the Roman period are to be found, some of them earlier, on gravestones from Asia Minor and North Greece, it may be that they are mostly borrowed from there. Pfuhl lists gravestones from Samos and Alexandria Troas which have beardless herms with archaistic hair.<sup>116</sup>

238. Relief Herm on Large Rough Fragment. Pl. 61.

S 545. Found in 1935 in the wall of a modern cellar in the central part of the Agora (M 10). Split at the

<sup>114</sup> Cf. Conze, IV, no. 1825 (figure on p. 24). Here a Hellenistic columnar grave monument has been re-used as the monument of a Roman soldier and a herm in an arched niche carved into the inscribed side, partly obliterating the inscription. Our present piece, however, belongs to a regular architectural column of small size, not to a columnar grave monument.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. Conze, IV, nos. 2014, 2015, 2019, 2021.

<sup>116</sup> *Jahrb.*, XX, 1905, p. 77, 5 and 6.

back in a more or less flat plane parallel to the layers of white mica. Broken irregularly all around. The front was originally dressed roughly flat with a pick, and the relief herm is carved into a depression below the level of this surface. Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.57 m., P.W. 0.45 m., P.Th. 0.16–0.17 m., H. of herm including base 0.37 m.

See also p. 141.

In spite of the large size of the stone, this is probably to be counted as a workshop herm, apotropaic or just for practice, rather than a herm carved on a piece of standing architecture.<sup>117</sup> The original picked surface may have belonged to a block as it came from the quarry, and the split at the back may have resulted from a flaw. It is impossible to tell how much, if any, of the present broken edge was there when the herm was carved on the front. It seems likely in any case that the piece was a fragment rather than a block at that time. The outline of the herm was very roughly sketched with the point and then the actual herm was carved out inside the line with the flat chisel. The herm is youthful, beardless and not ithyphallic, standing on a simple rectangular base. The head suggests a date in the Roman period.

239. Fragment of Herm in Relief. Pl. 61.

S 1428. Catalogued in 1949 from marble pile left by previous excavators at south end of Stoa of Attalos (Q–R, 11–12). Broken irregularly all around. Back dressed flat with claw chisel. Surface of projecting area above the herm broken away. Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.35 m., P.W. 0.305 m., Th. 0.20 m.

In what seems to have been a recessed panel is preserved the upper part of a small beardless herm in low relief. The short hair conforms to the ephebe-Hermes type. The workmanship might be either Hellenistic or Roman. The smooth back is too carefully finished for a gravestone unless it was made out of a re-used block, but this may well have happened.

240. Fragment of Marble Cover Tile with Unfinished Sketch of Herm. Pl. 61.

S 890. Found in Sullan destruction fill in original channel of Great Drain southwest of Tholos (G 13). Fragment preserving the width from central ridge to edge of a cover tile. Broken at left and at both ends.

<sup>117</sup> It would seem that a herm carved or incised on a fragment might serve as a charm to protect the sculptor's work from misfortune, just as the herm on the door protected what was inside. See above, p. 141.

Flange battered off. Coarse-grained Parian marble. Stained yellow and marked with rust spots.

P.H. 0.22 m., P.W. 0.16 m., Width of sloping face 0.137 m., Est. W. of tile 0.23 m., Est. H. ca. 0.108 m., Th. without flange 0.039 m.

See also p. 141.

On the fragment someone has started to sketch out a little beardless herm with the chisel, cutting away the background around it. The cutting around the head is deeper than around the shaft. There is as yet no base. The marble and workmanship of the tile are similar to those of the Hephaisteion,<sup>118</sup> but the difference in width is enough to suggest that this is from a different building, presumably a temple, the roof of which may have been damaged in Sulla's siege of Athens in 86 B.C.

**241. Graffito Herm on Marble Fragment.** Pl. 61.

S 894. Found in context of the first half of the 1st century after Christ in a cistern north of the Hephaisteion (D 4:1). Broken above and at the left; straight edge below. Fragment of revetment with rounded edge. Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.18 m., P.W. 0.046 m., Th. 0.029 m.

H. S. Robinson, *Agora*, V, p. 39, G 165, pl. 52.

See also p. 141.

A little round-headed, non-bearded, non-ithyphallic herm has been outlined, and the maker has started to carve the neck in relief.

**242. Fragment of Stone with Two Incised Herms.**

Pl. 61.

S 1945. Found in 1956 in mixed Greek and Roman deposit in a cistern southwest of the Agora (A 16:4 D). An oblong fragment split back and front along planes of mica, chopped at sides with a few rough pick-marks and broken at both ends. Pentelic marble.

P.H. 0.44 m., P.W. 0.14 m., P.Th. 0.06 m.

See also p. 141.

On a flat fragment of poor micaceous marble someone has outlined a comic picture of two herms, one above the other, in heavy lines made up of rough point-marks. Since they exactly fit the shape of the present fragment, this must have been just as it is now when the herms were carved. Both are bearded. The upper one turns his head to the left and is not ithyphallic. The lower one, ithyphallic, is facing. This seems to be a cheerful piece of workshop fooling, perhaps inspired by the custom of apotropaic herms.<sup>119</sup>

<sup>118</sup> M. H. McAllister, *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 28-29, fig. 16.

<sup>119</sup> See above, p. 141.

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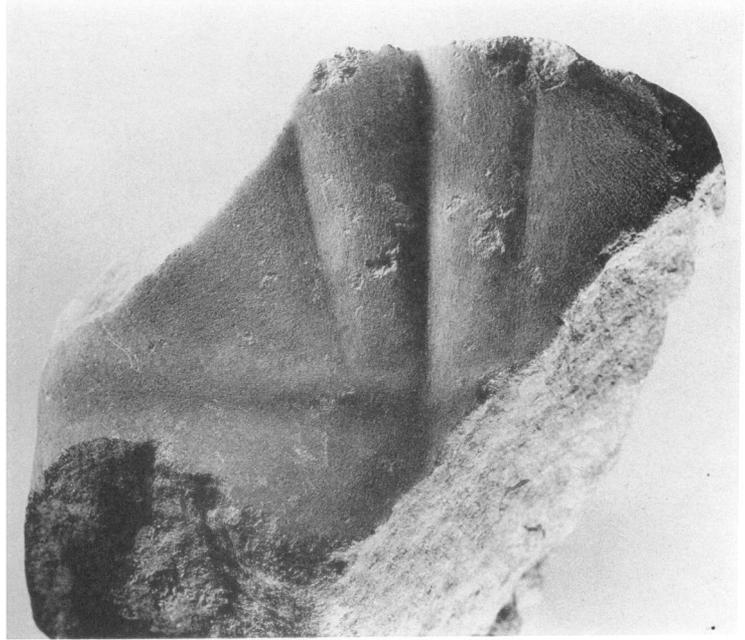
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## PLATES



65 D Left shoulder, back



65 B Torso, back



65 A-C Back



65 B Torso and hip, left side

Fragments of the Dipylon Kouros (?)

PLATE 2



65 A Left hand, back



Left side H. 0.32



65 C Right knee, right side



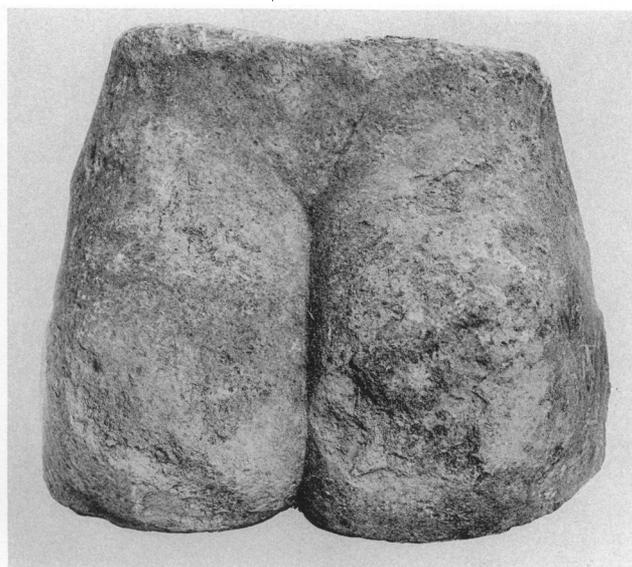
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Fragments of the Dipylon Kouros (?)



Front

66



Back

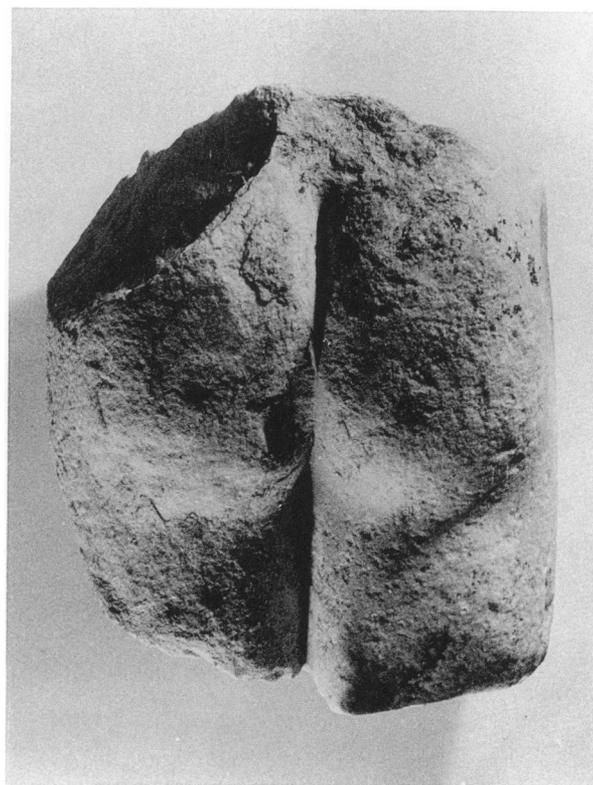
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Left leg, inside

67

H. 0.205



Buttocks, back

69

H. 0.42

Fragments of Kouroi

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PLATE 4

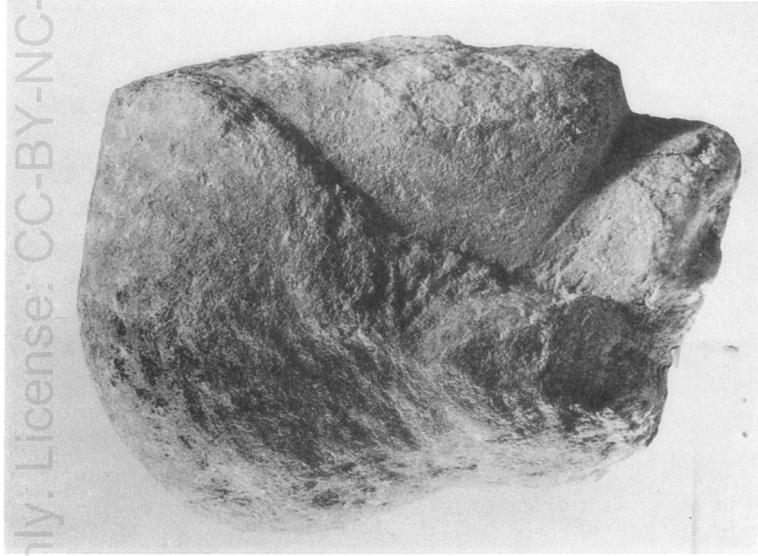
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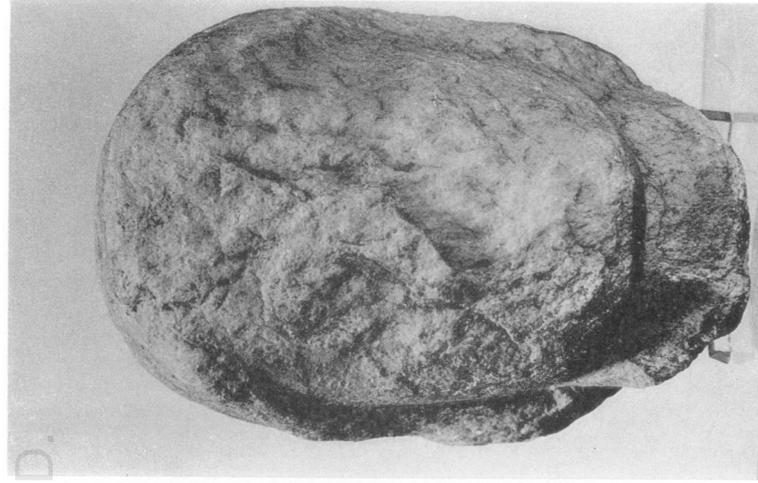
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Right side

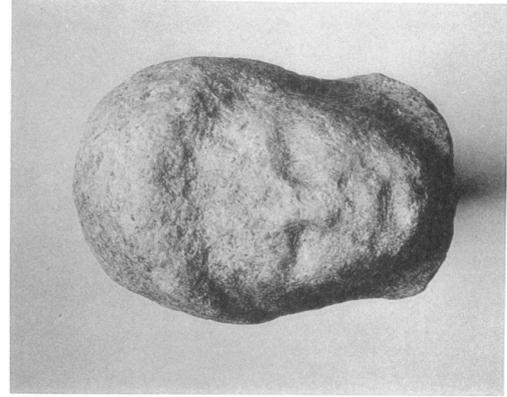
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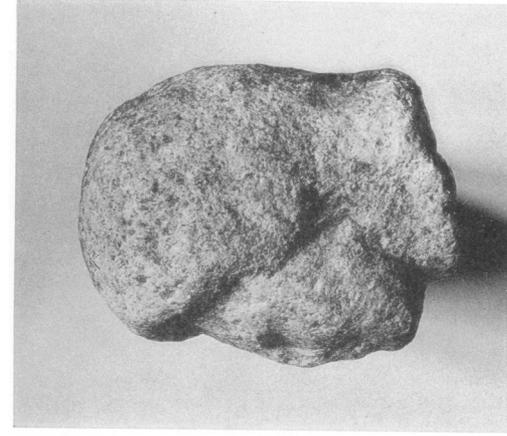
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71

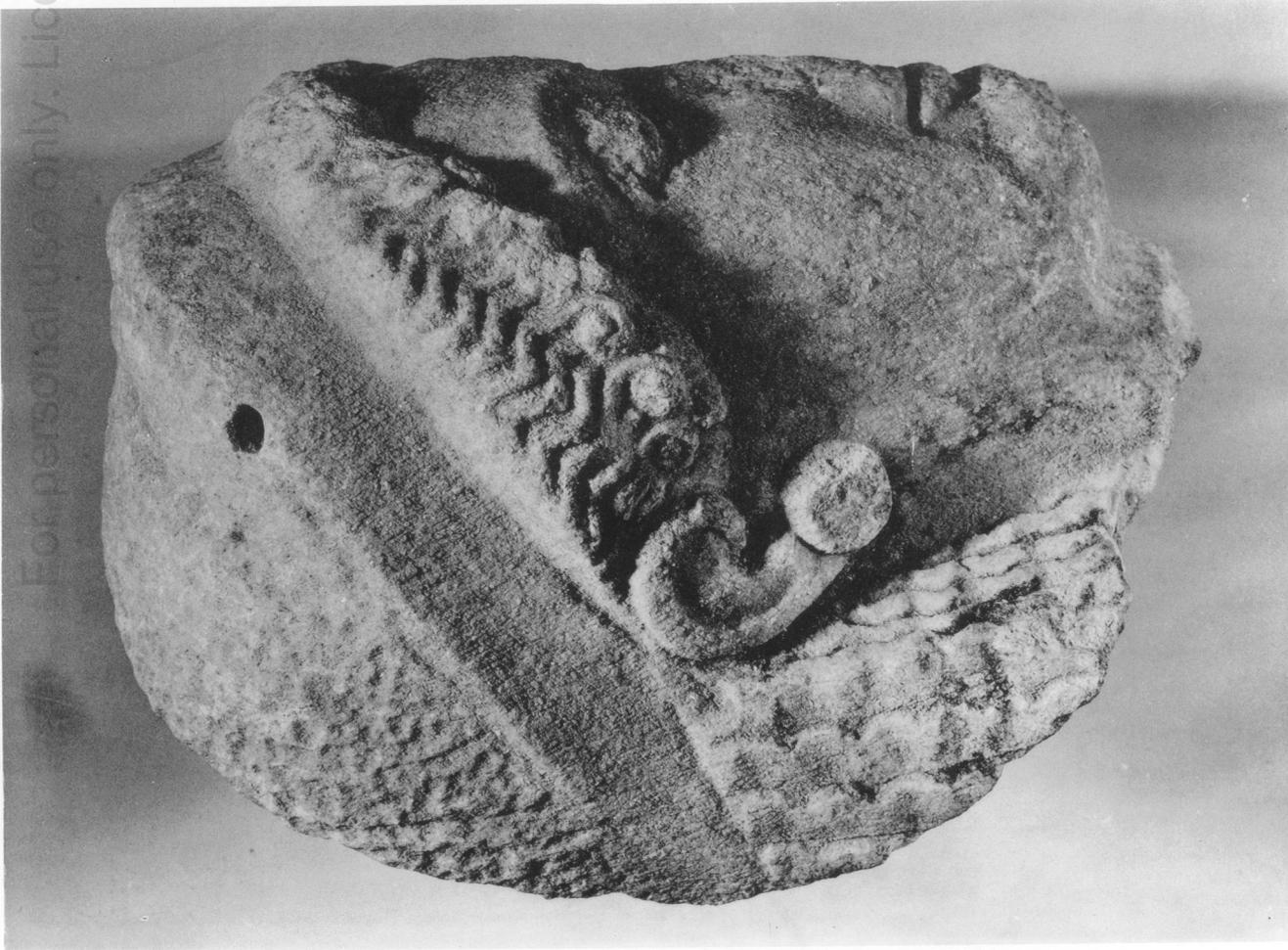


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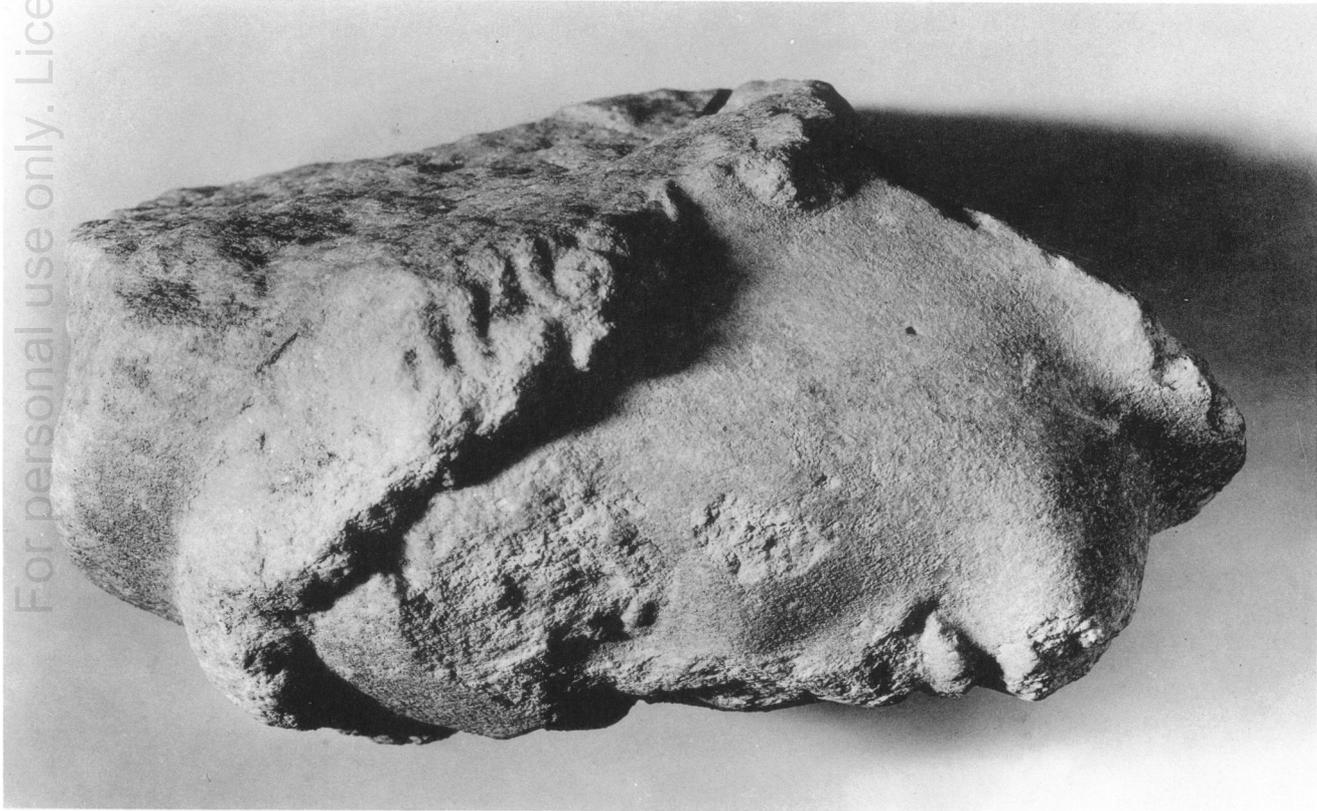
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Head of Kore



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73

Heads of Korai



72

Front



Left side

H. 0.125



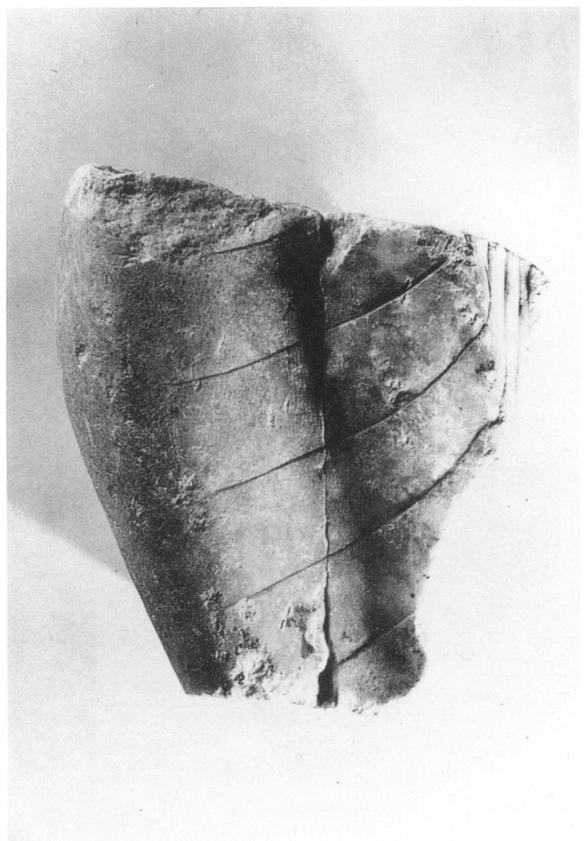
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H. 0.805



74 Right arm, front Max. Dim. 0.222



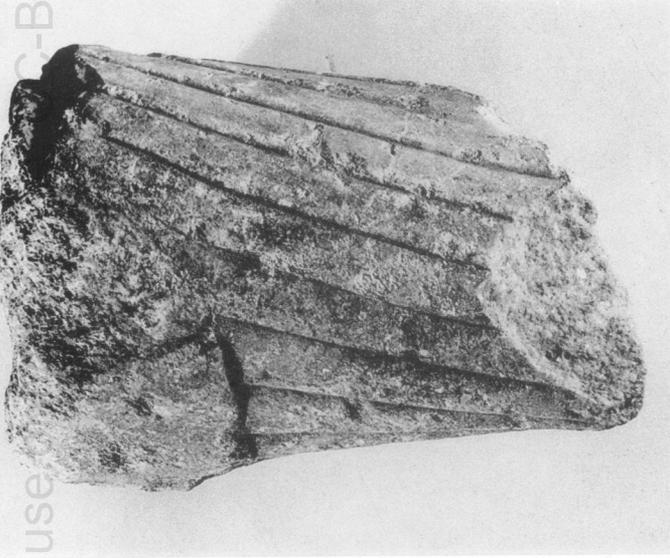
76 Lower legs, front H. 0.17

Korai

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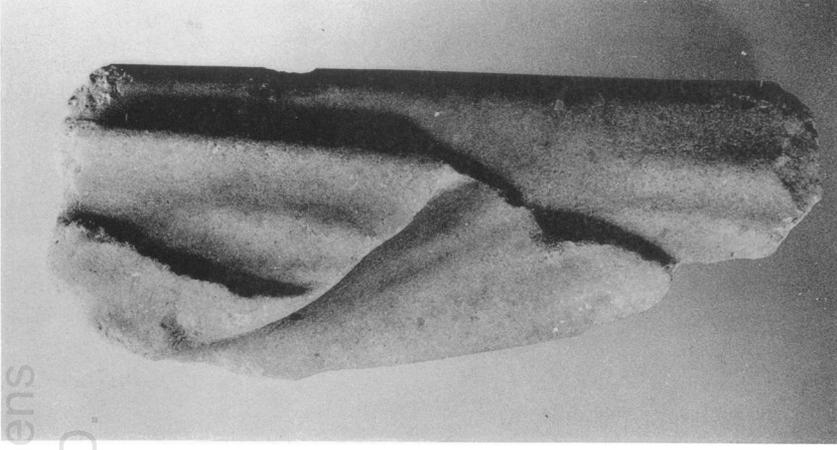
77 Left arm, front H. 0.115



80 Right thigh, outside (?) H. 0.18



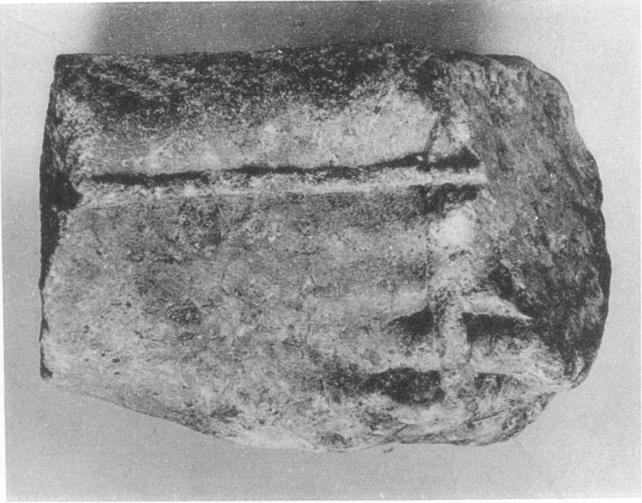
81 Outside  
Fragments of Korai H. 0.115



78 Hanging drapery, outside H. 0.20

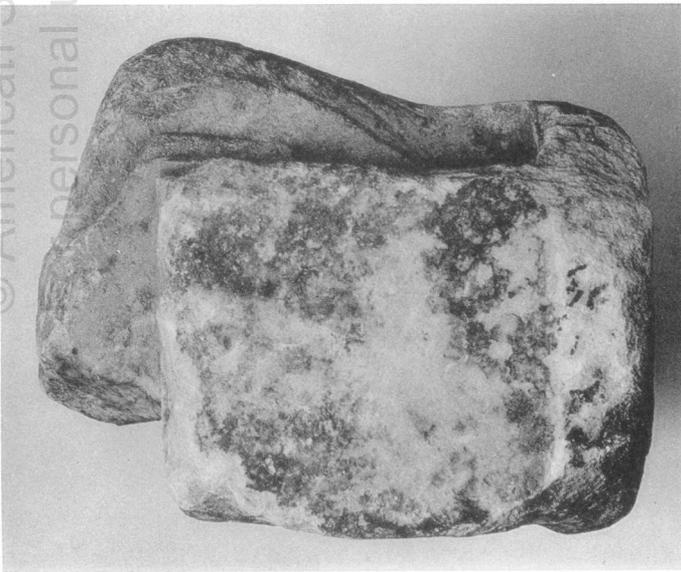


79 Hanging drapery, outside H. 0.145

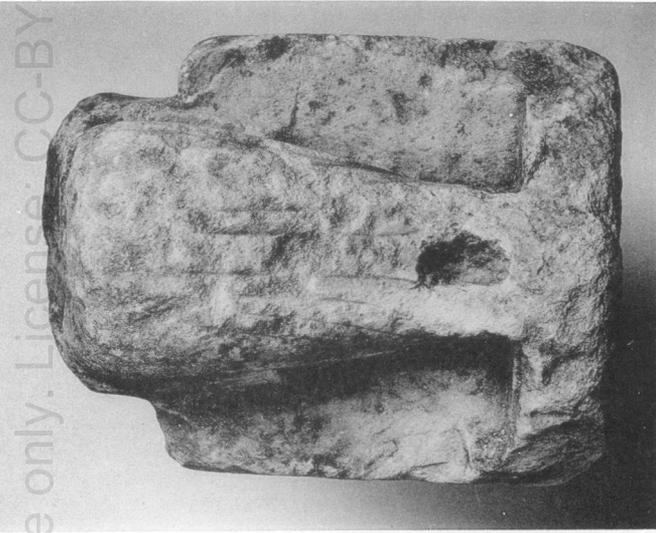


81 Right foot, front

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84 Seated figure, right side

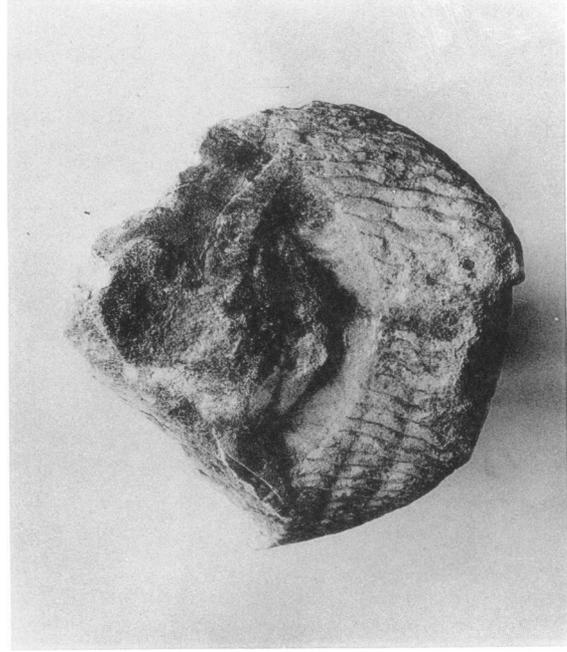


Front



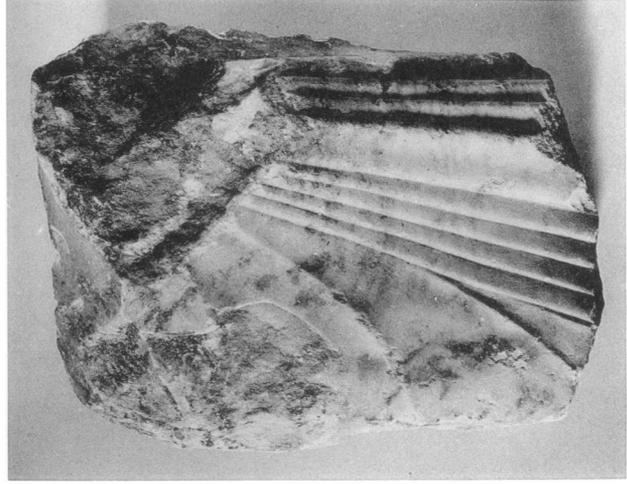
Left side

H. 0.157



82 Lower face, front

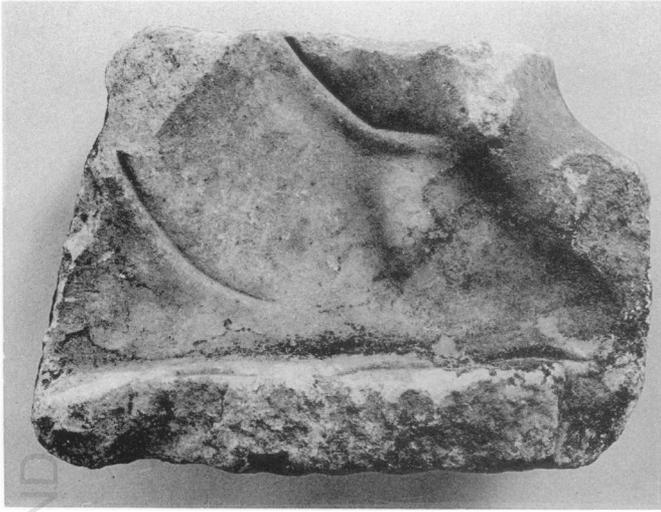
H. 0.12



83 Left lower leg of seated figure, outside

Max Dim. 0.251

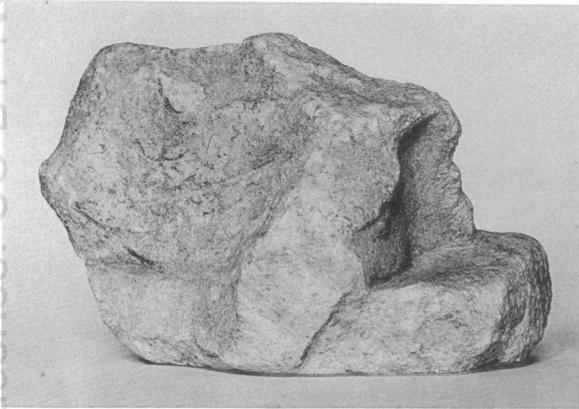
PLATE 10



85 Left foot of striding figure, inside



Outside H. 0.185



86 Feet and plinth of small striding figure, front



Back H. 0.085



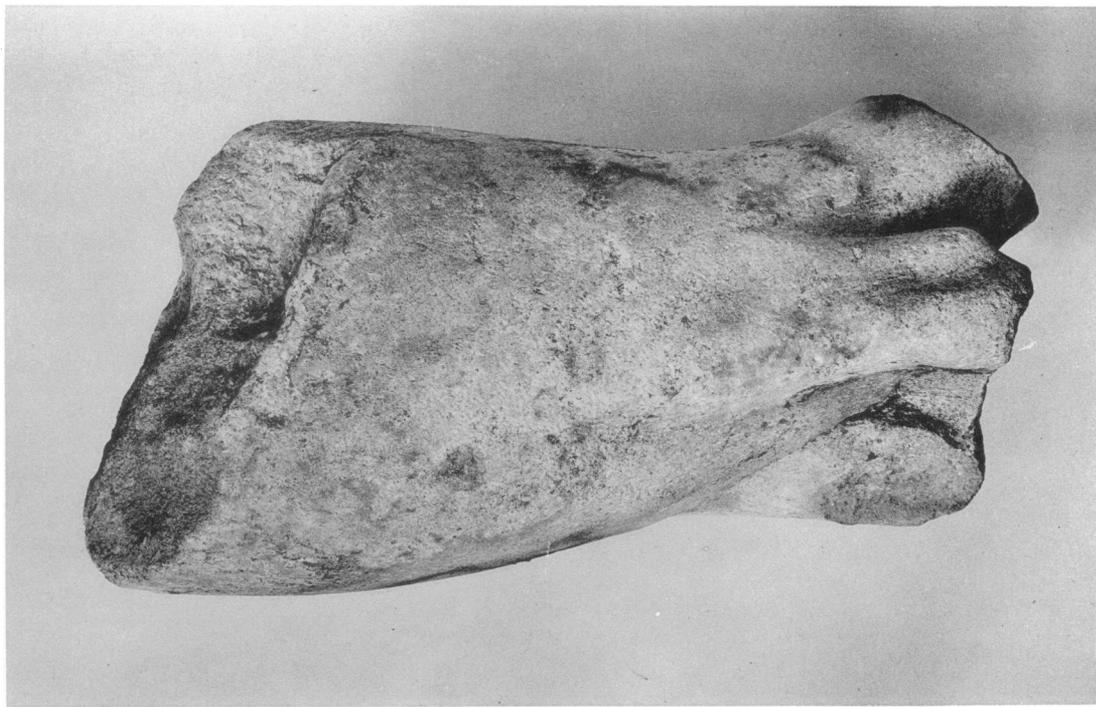
87 Torso of statuette in chiton, front



Left side H. 0.14



88 Fragment of abduction group (?), front



89

Bird

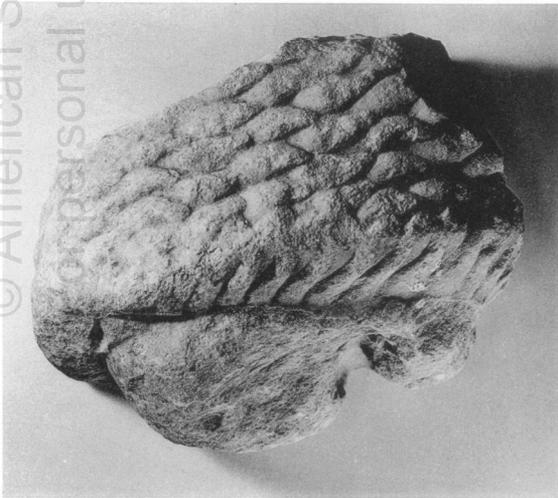
H. 0.292



Back

H. 0.205

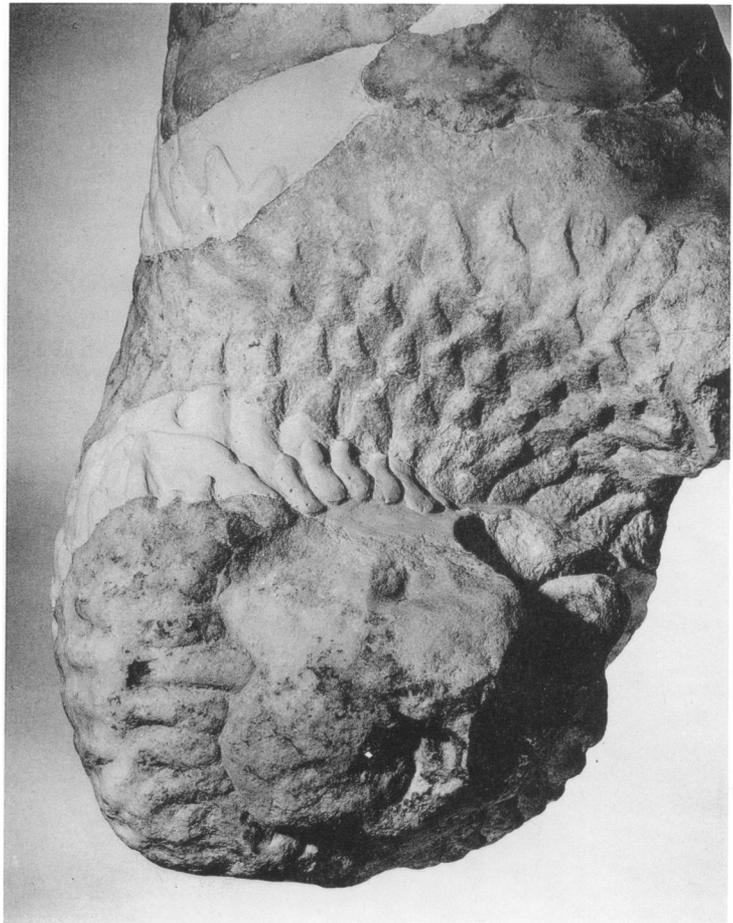
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90 Left side H. 0.40

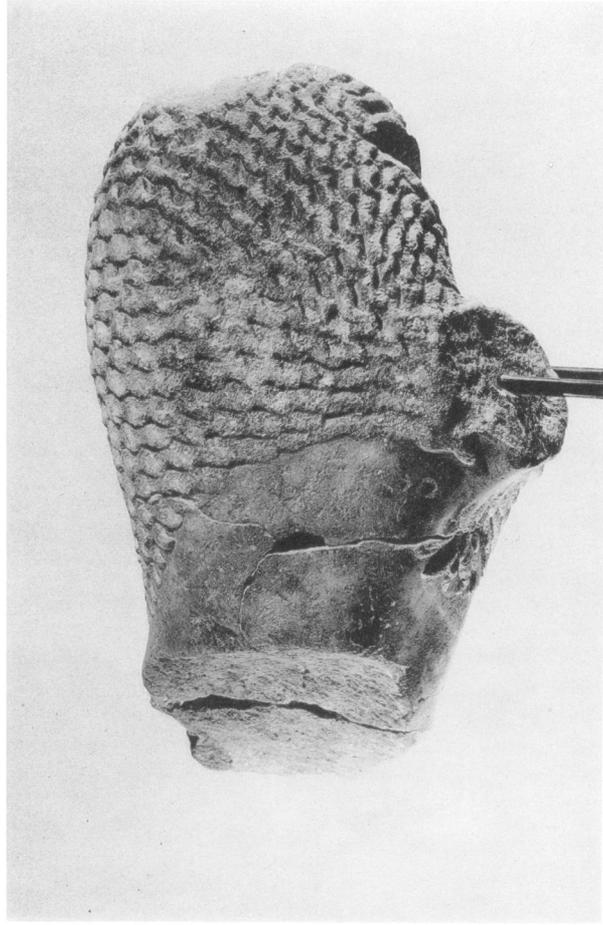


91 Front H. 0.39



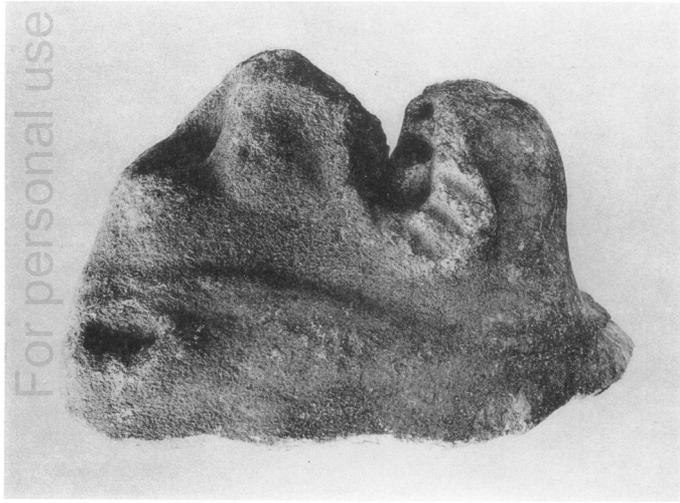
91

Grave or Votive Lions



91

Back



92 Head of lion or lioness, right



Front H. 0.20



93 Miniature lion and bull group, front



Back H. 0.085

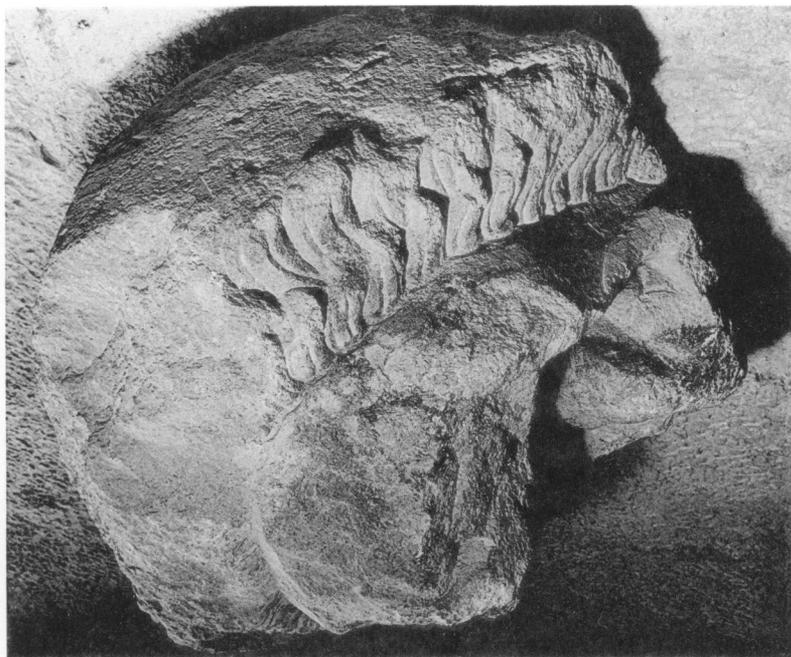
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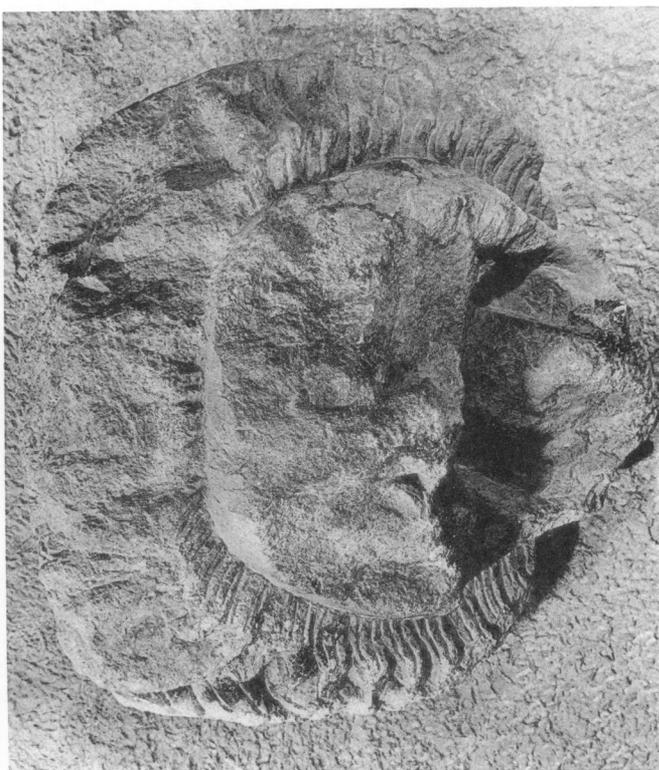
Back



Front

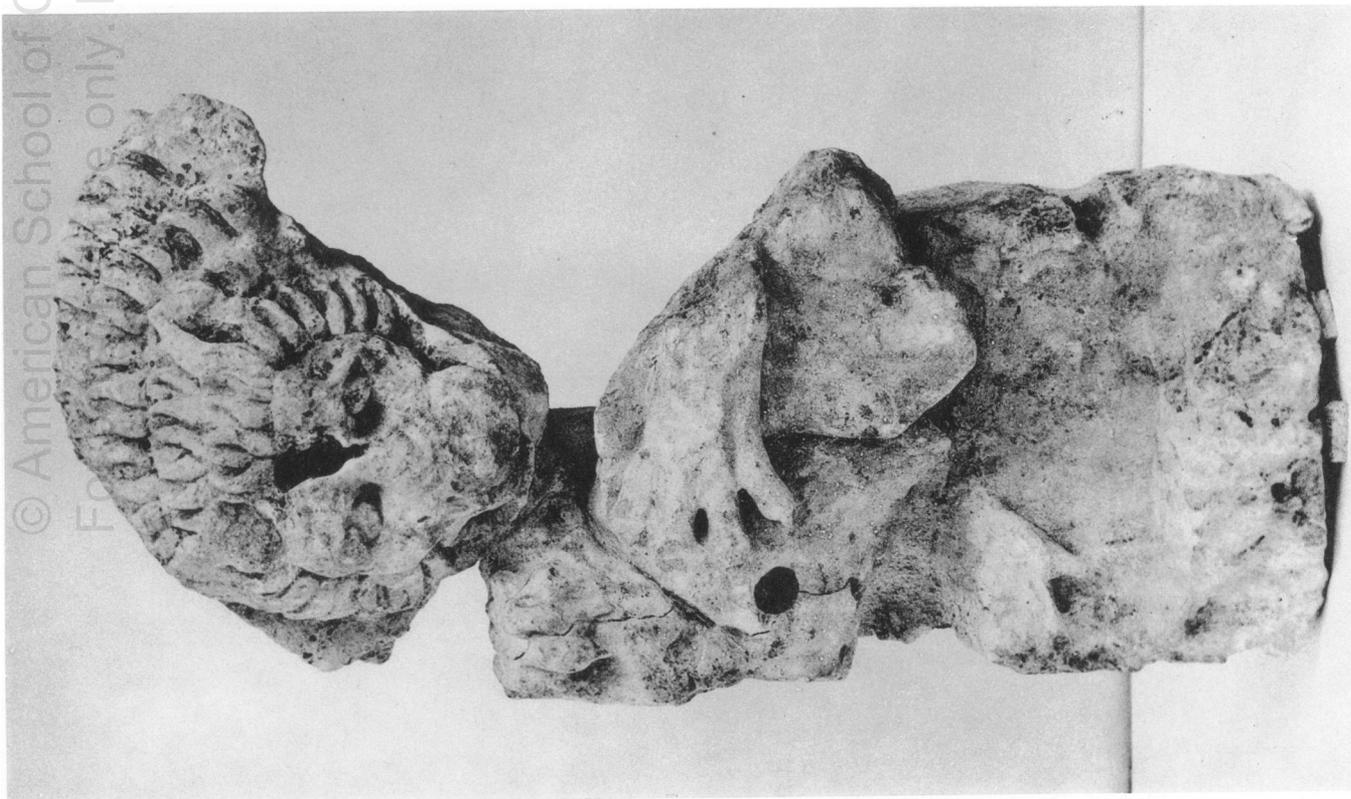


Left side H. 0.565



Front

Lion's Head from a Large Poros Pediment

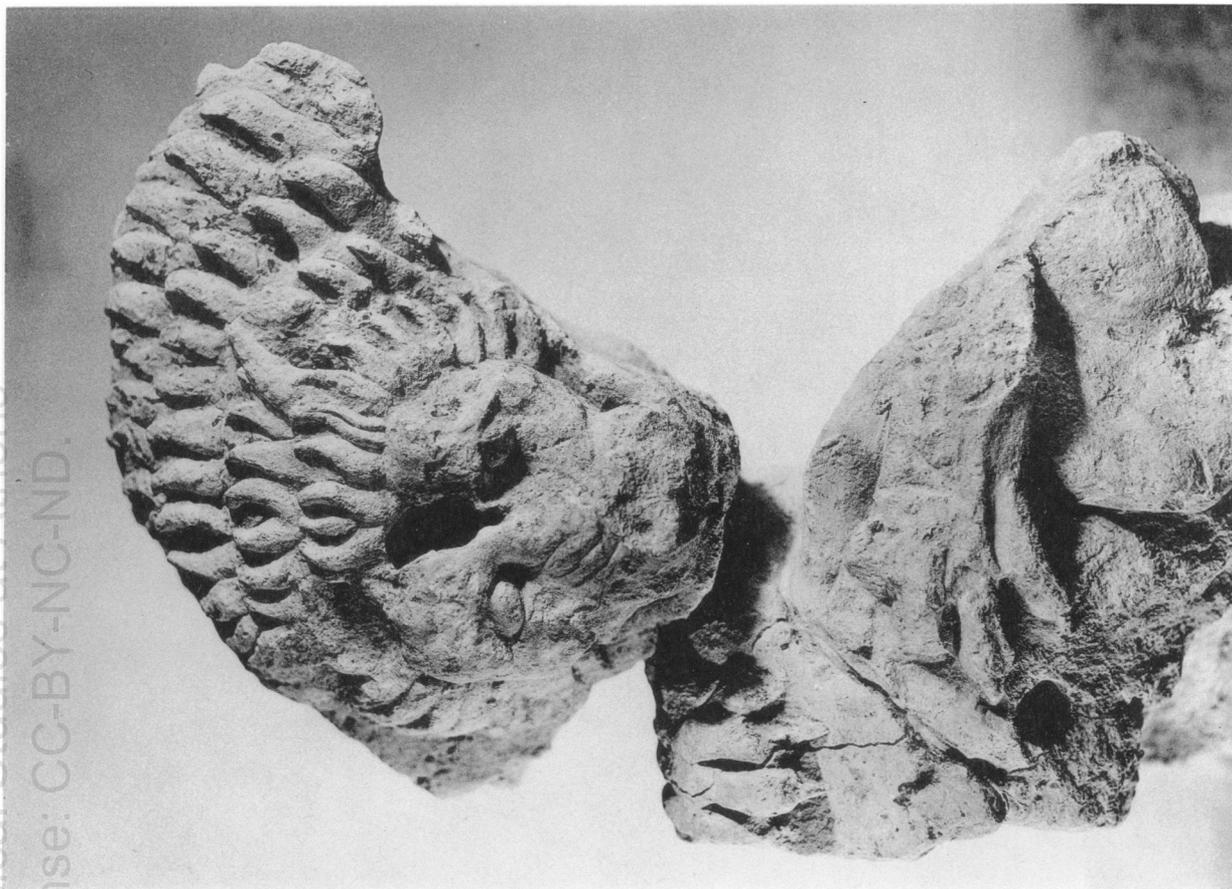


95 A

Lion and hindquarters of bull

H. 0.79

Lion and Bull from Small Poros Pediment



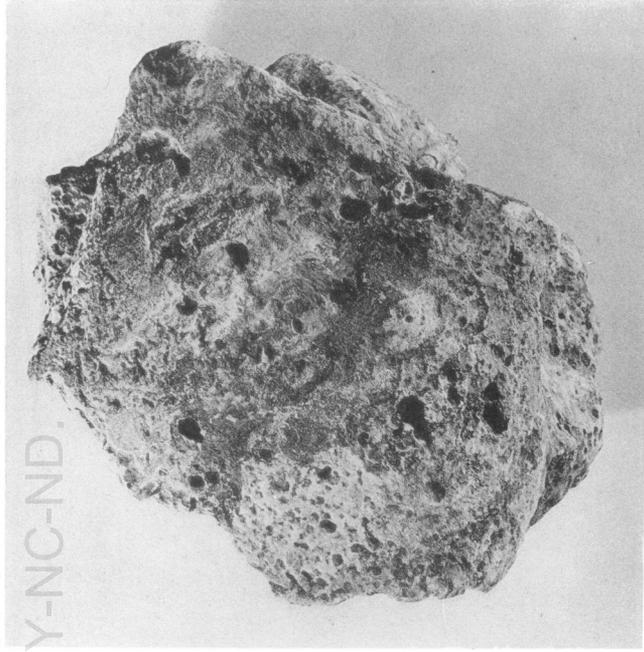
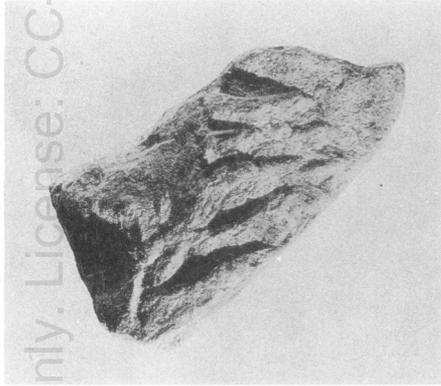
95 A

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95 Reconstruction

95 B Fragment of mane Max. Di., 0.213



95 C

Torso of lion

H. 0.30

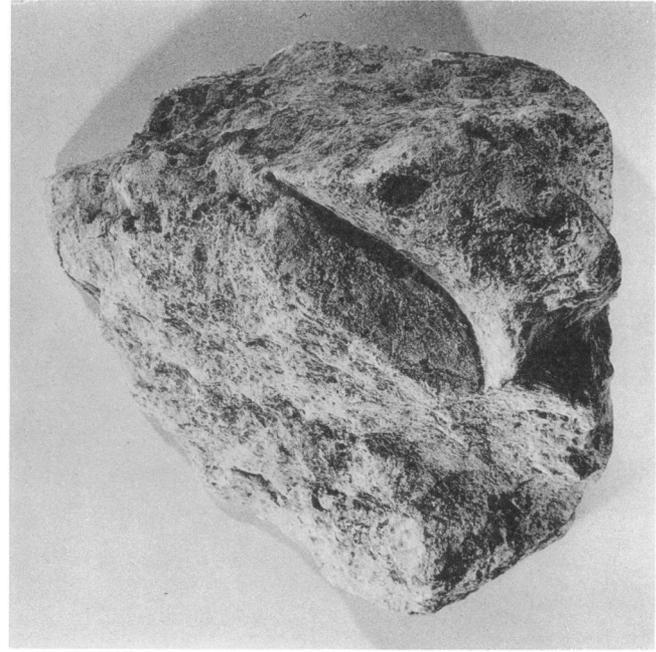


95 D

Tail of lion

H. 0.40

Fragments of Small Poros Pediment

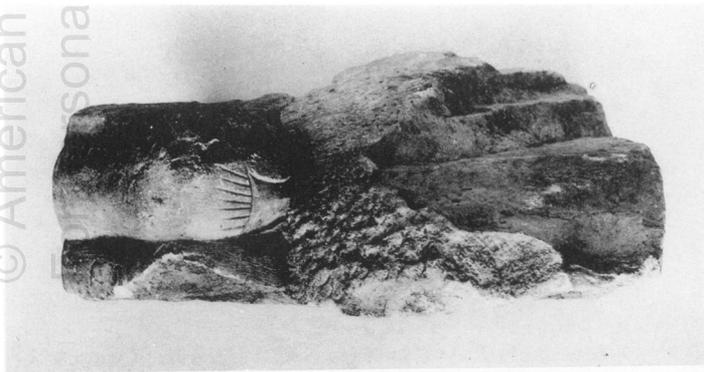


95 E

Snake (?)

H. 0.295

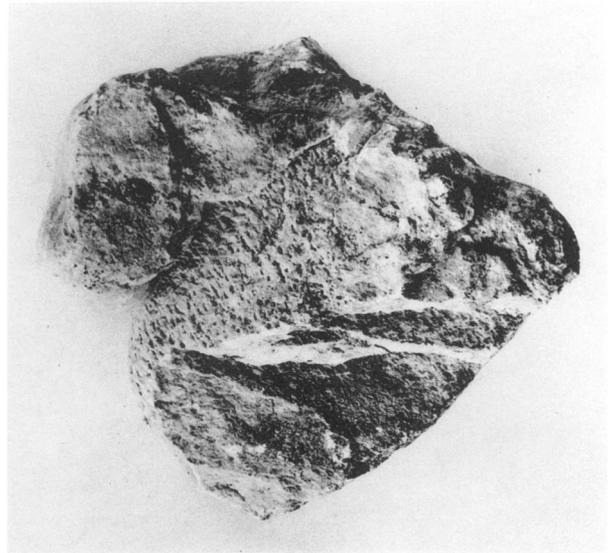
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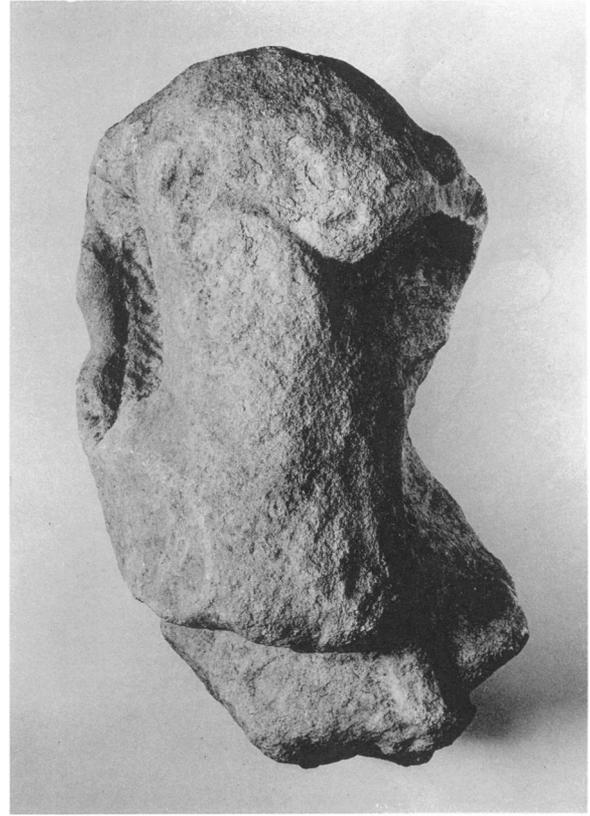
96 Fragment, Herakles and Lion, back of head



Reconstruction of group



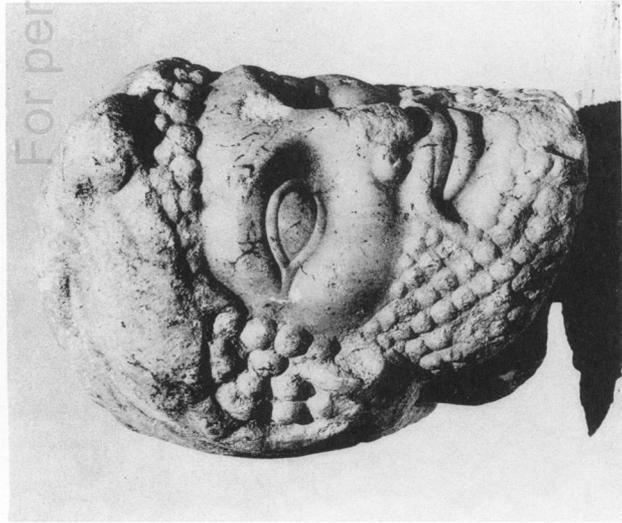
96 Front (right side of head) Max. Dim. 0.235



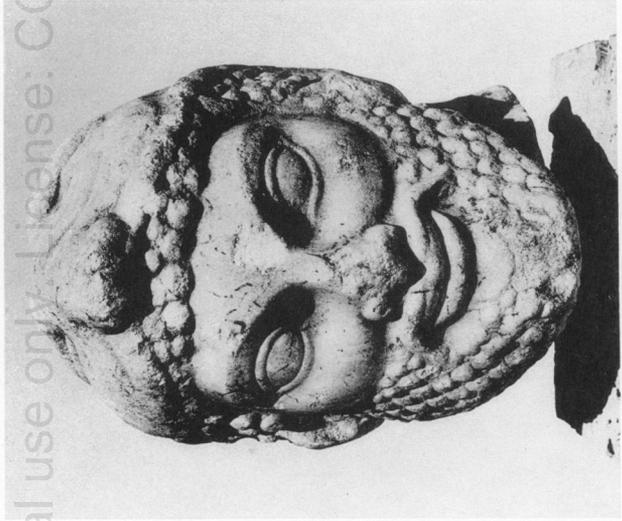
Horses, unfinished relief

98

H. 0.295

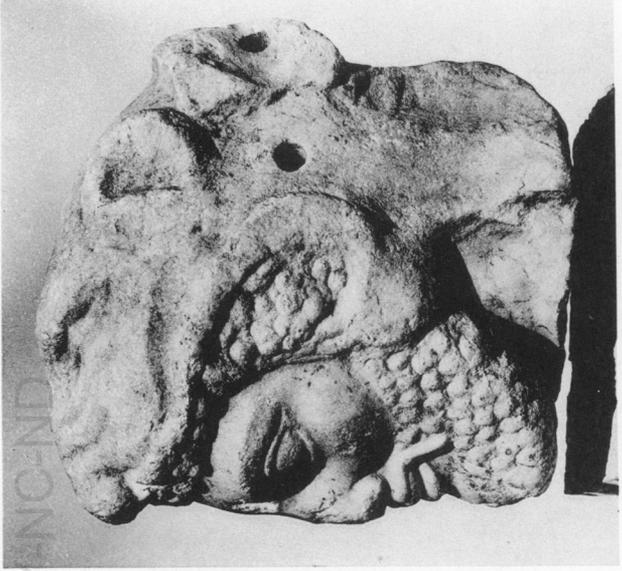


97 A

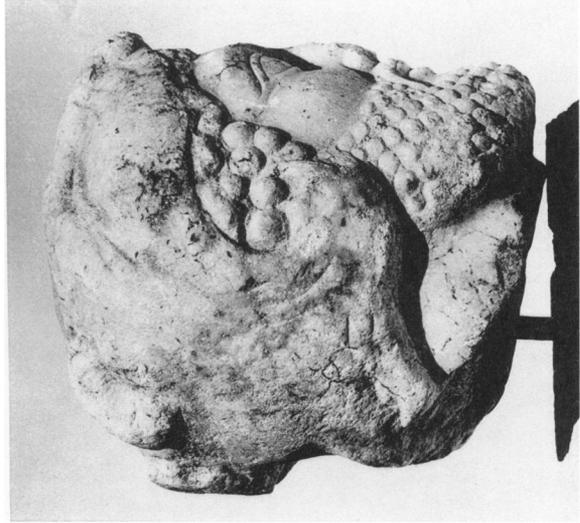


97 B

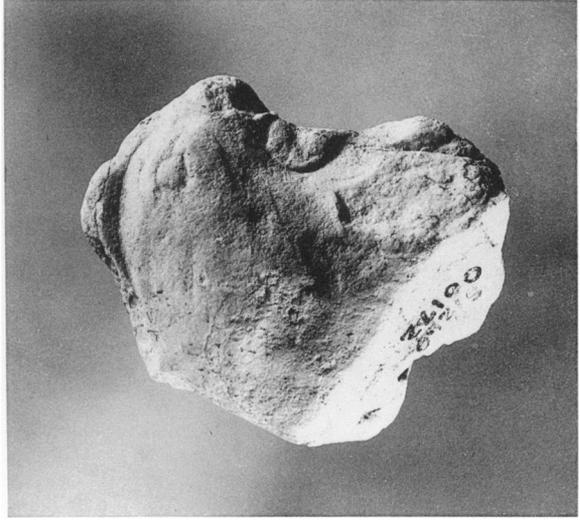
Right side  
Herakles and Cock



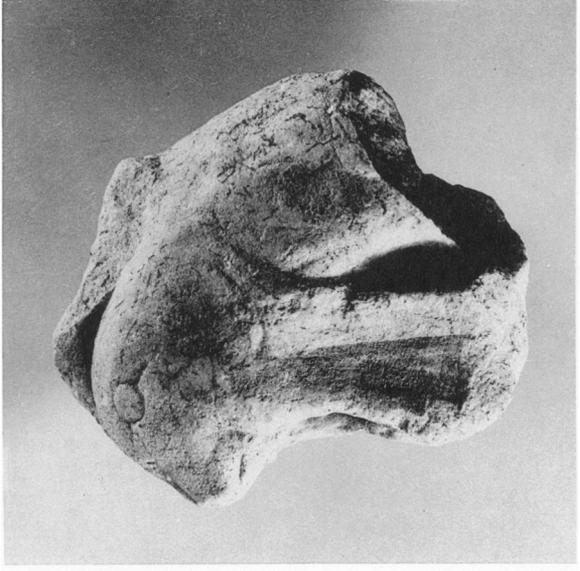
H. 0.147



97 A



Right side



H. 0.10

Left side

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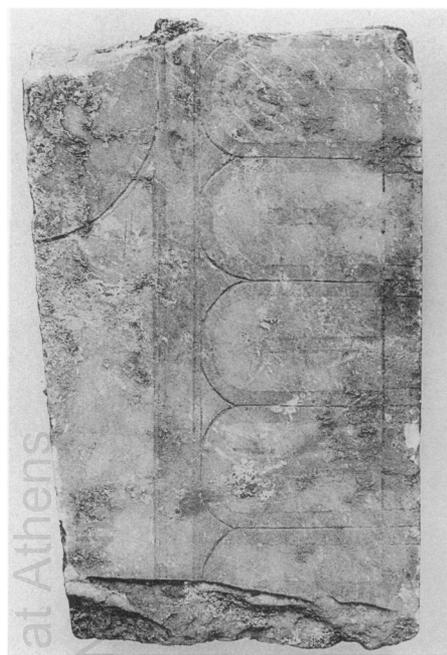


Stele in New York with cast of hand, 99



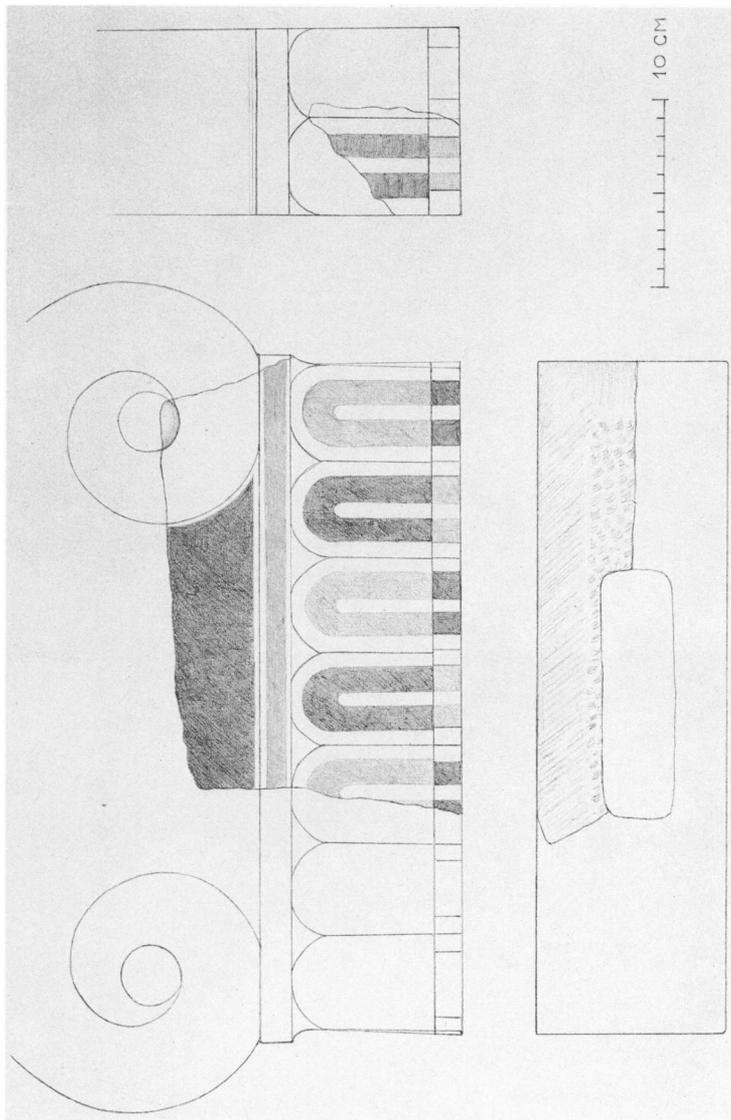
H. 0.102

99



H. 0.165

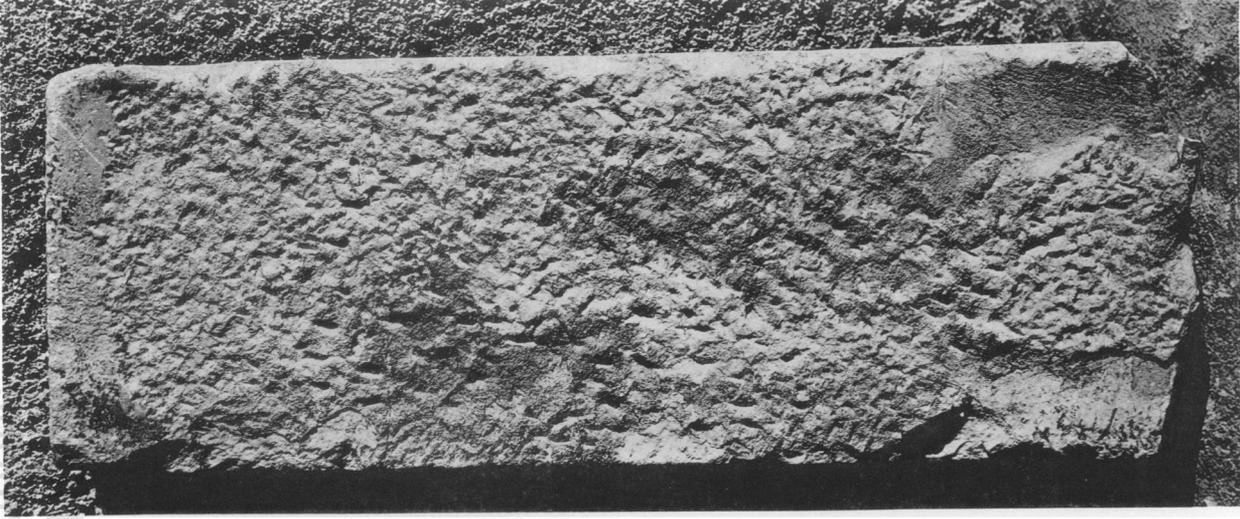
100



100

Drawing

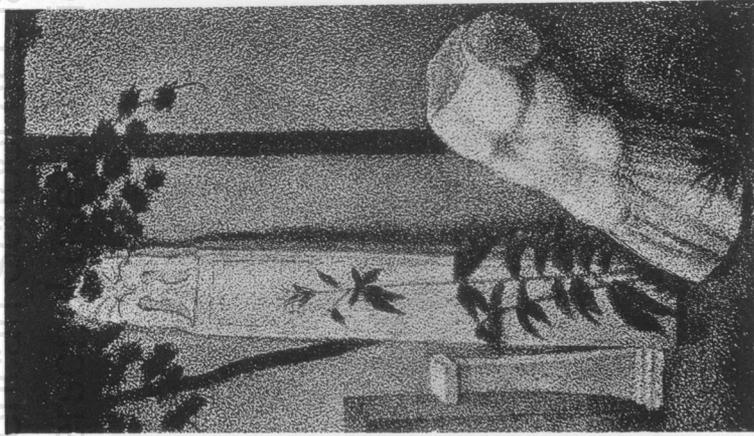
Archaic Gravestones



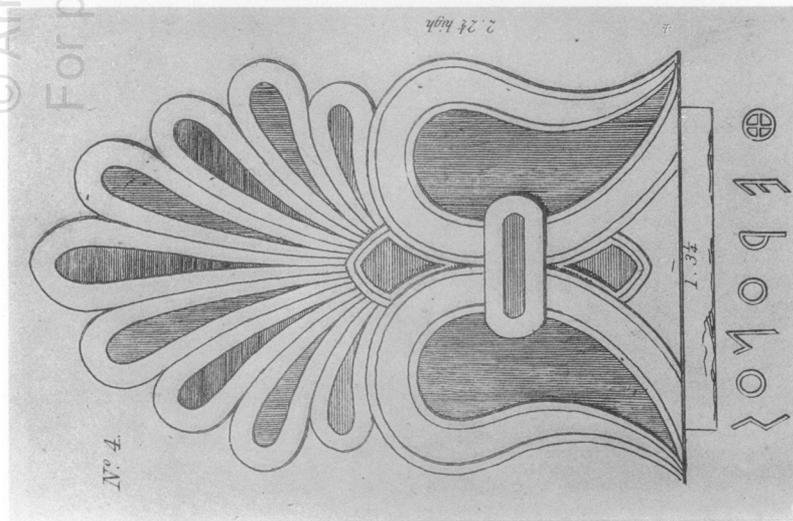
103 Head of man and top of shaft H. 1.045



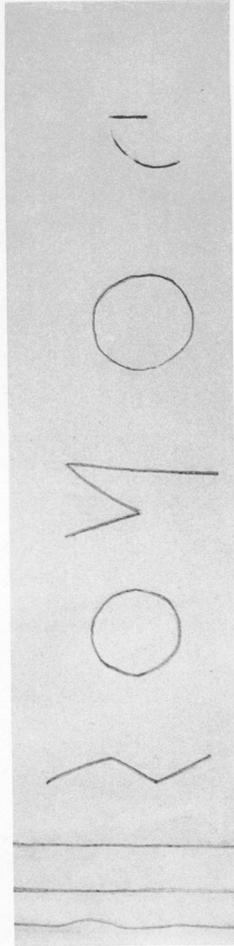
101 Stele of Theron H. 1.465



Stele of Theron in Fauvel's house (Dupre)

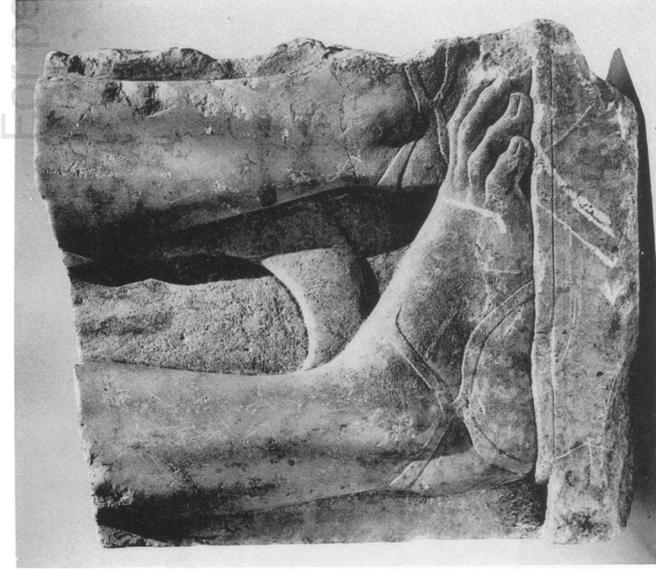


Stele of Theron, finial and inscription (Vulliamy)

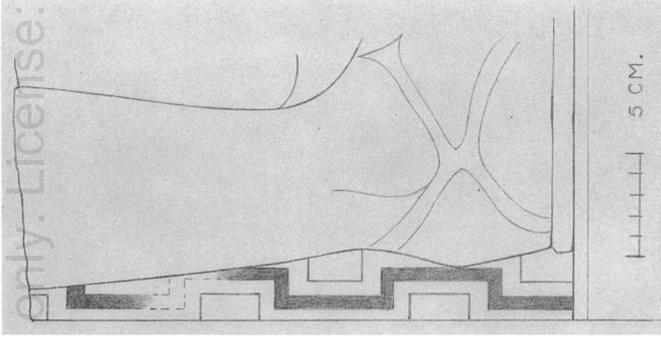


Inscription

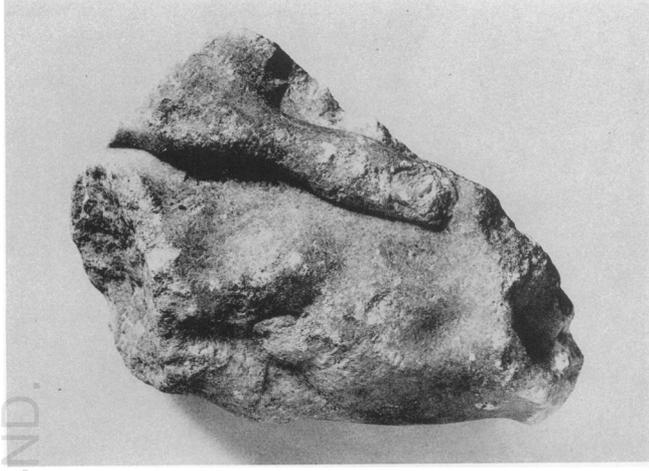
Archaic Gravestones



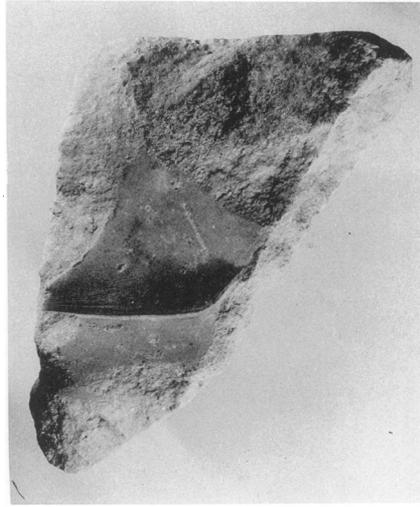
104 Gravestone, Man and Dog H. 0.34



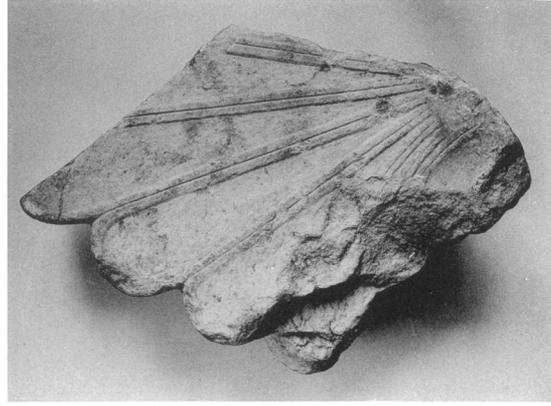
Pattern on border



105 Dog's head and human hand from a gravestone H. 0.175

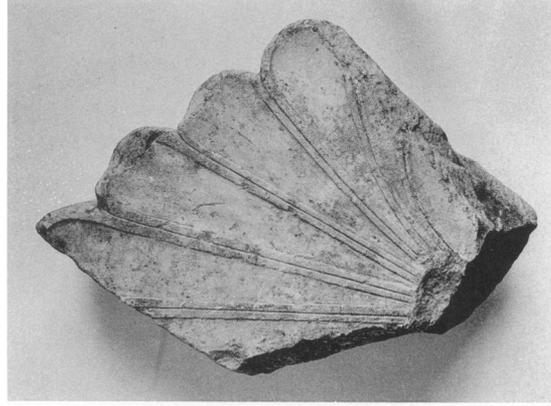


102 Fragment of gravestone, ankle H. 0.195

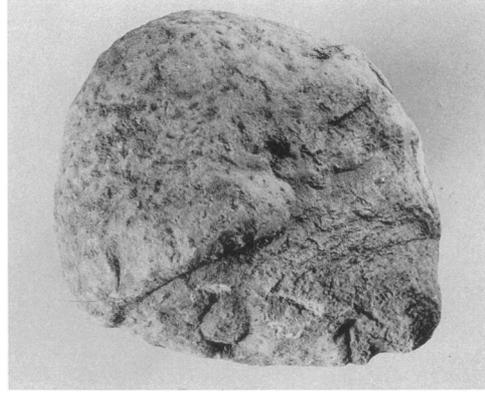


106

Two-sided palmette finial

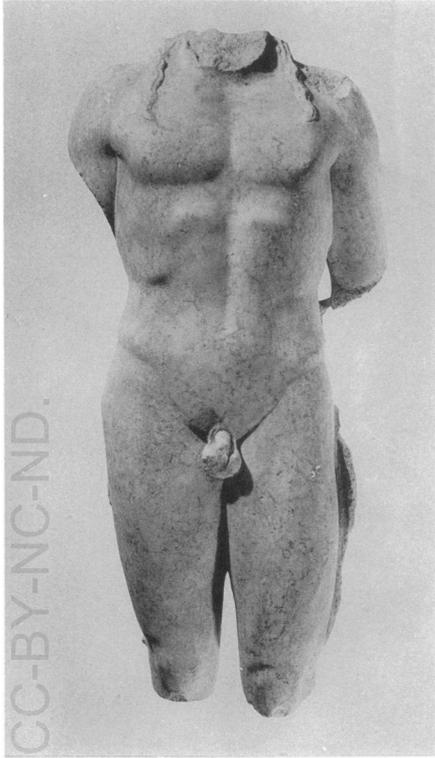


H. 0.41



107 Small Head from a Relief H. 0.105

PLATE 22



109 Archaistic kouros



H. 0.565



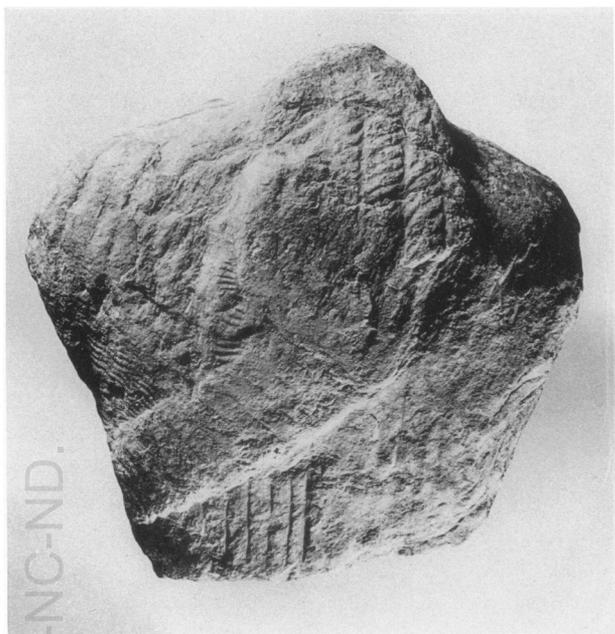
108 Archaistic statuette



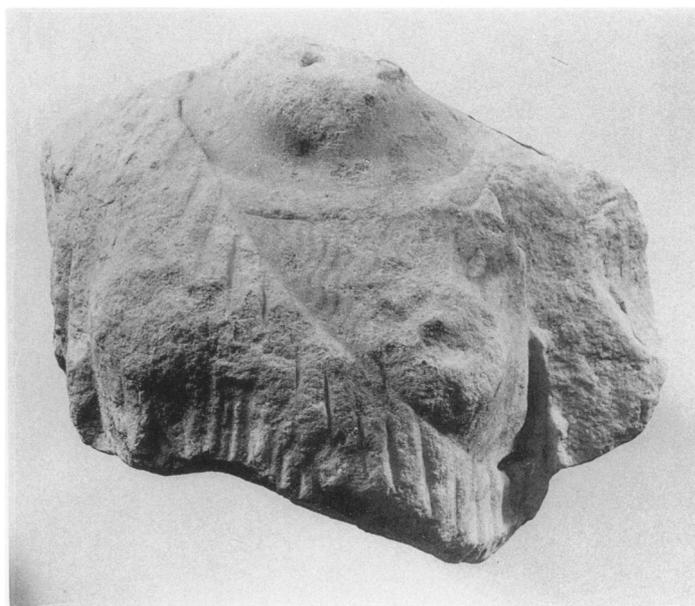
H. 0.123



110 Unfinished kriophoros H. 0.42



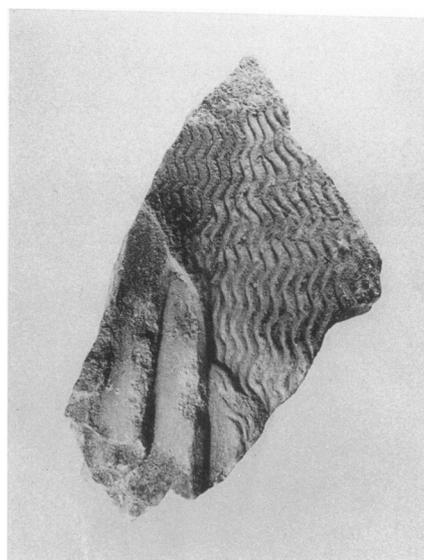
111 Back H. 0.37



118 Front H. 0.13



113 A Right shoulder and breast, front H. 0.40



113 B Left breast H. 0.216



112 Left foot and plinth H. 0.132

Archaistic Korai

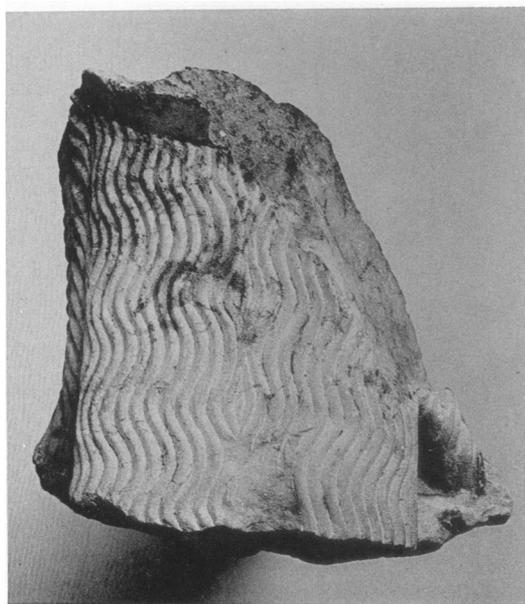
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115

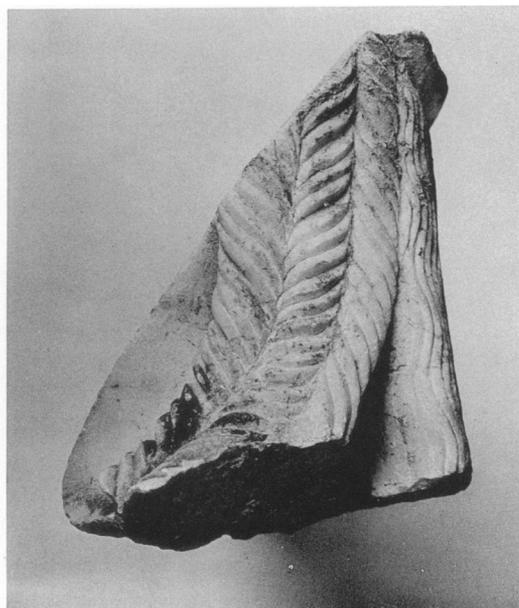
Replica of Munich Tyche, back

H. 0.335



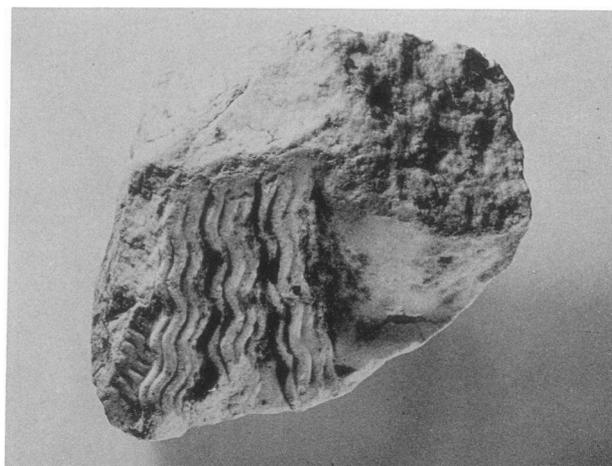
116

Hair, back



Hair, left side

H. 0.15



117

Neck and hair, front Max. Dim. 0.203

Archaistic Korai



114 Right side H. 0.37



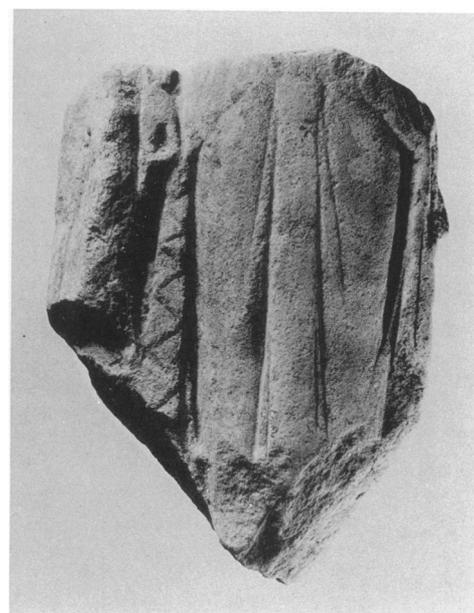
119 H. 0.265



120 Front H. 0.15



121 Front H. 0.077



122 Front H. 0.23



123 Back



Front

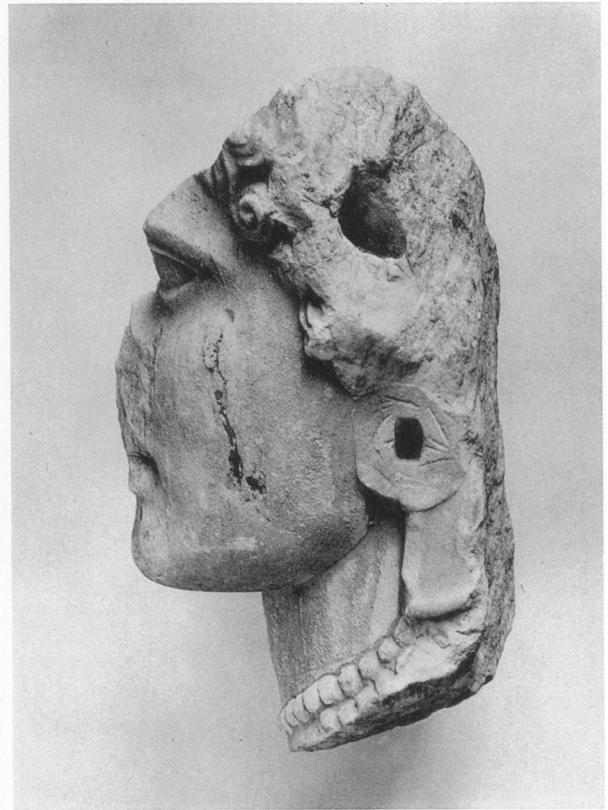
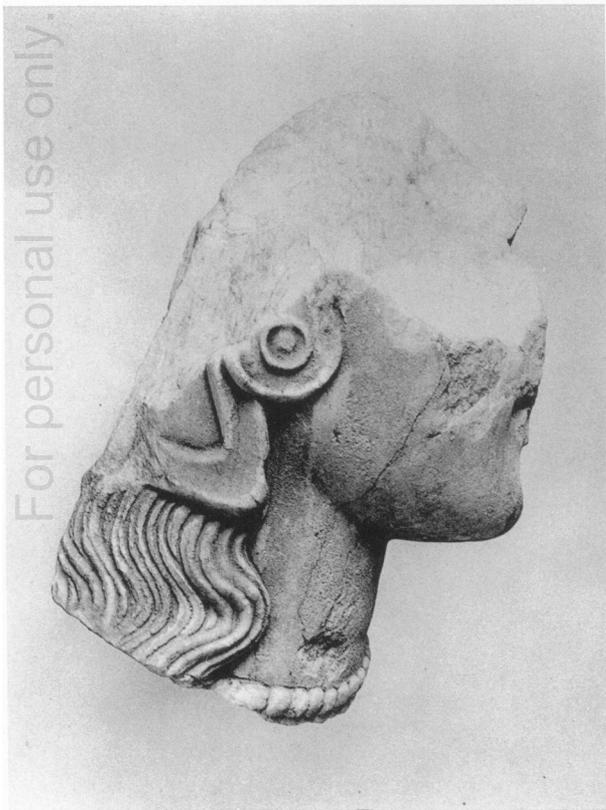


Left side H. 0.085

Archaistic Statuettes

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Head of Athena, Replica of Herculaneum Pallas



125 B Hips, left side H. 0.445



125 A Left arm, side H. 0.305



125 B Right side



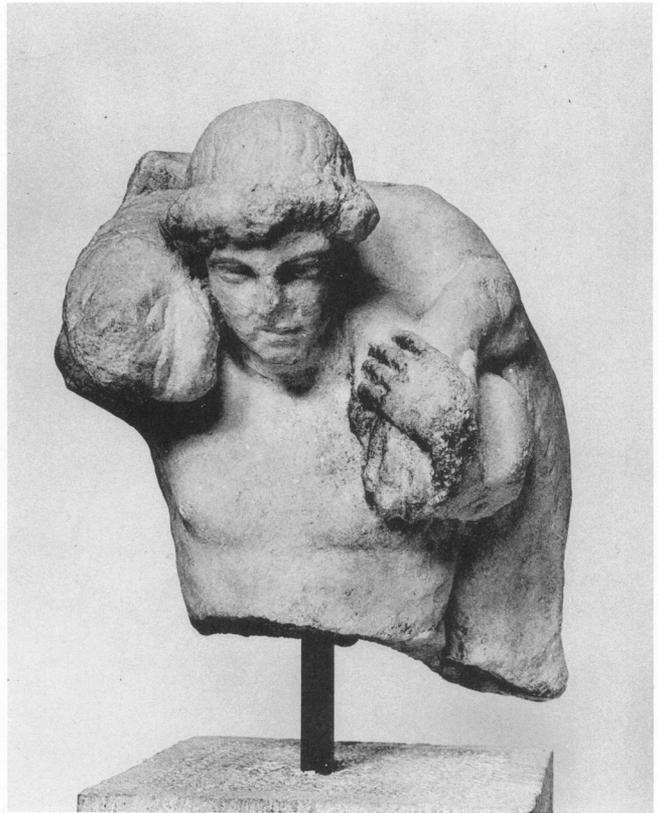
Front



Back

Archaistic Figure in Cuirass and Chiton

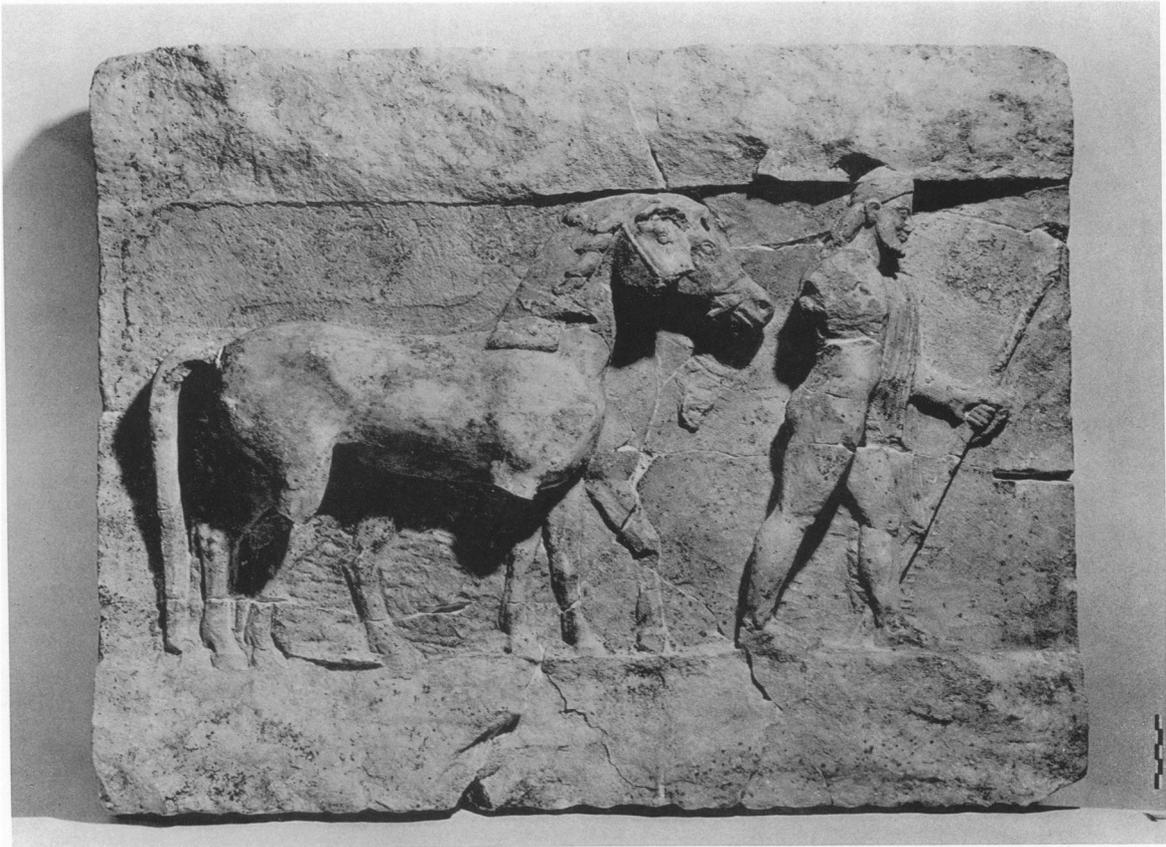
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126

H. 0.175

Bellerophon and the dead Chimera



127

Copy of archaic relief

H. 0.52



129 A

Hermes

H. 0.20



Acropolis and 129 B. Apollo and Artemis

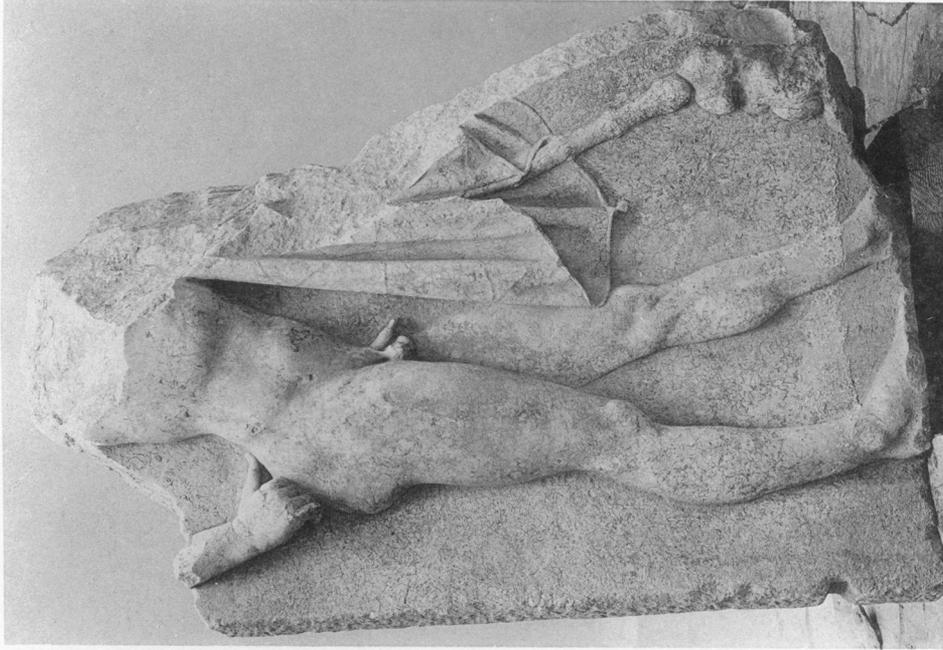
H. 0.31

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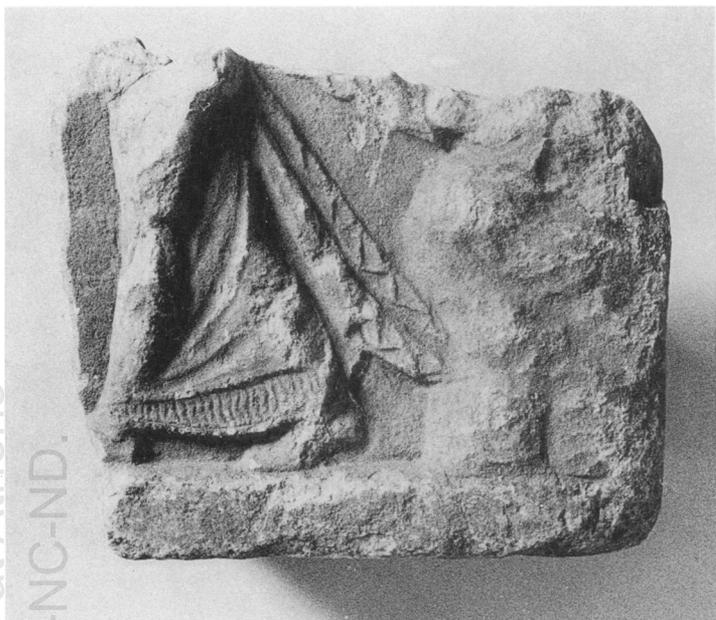
128



Tripod Base



H. 1.09



130

H. 0.145



131

H. 0.235



133

H. 0.205



132

H. 0.34

Fragments of Archaistic Reliefs

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134



Hekataion

H. 0.61



H. 0.105



136

H. 0.26



137



H. 0.158

Hekataia



138

H. 0.12



140



H. 0.317



139

H. 0.325



141



H. 0.25

Hekataia



142



H. 0.12



144

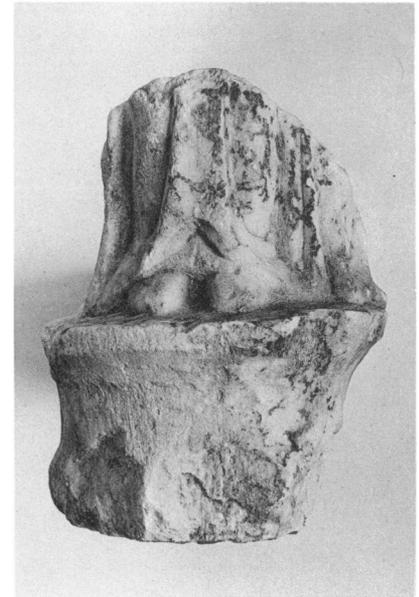
H. 0.16



143



H. 0.145



145

H. 0.12



146



Hekataia



H. 0.198

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150



H. 0.089



147



H. 0.397

Hekataia



H. 0.305



148

H. 0.248



151



H. 0.102

Hekataia

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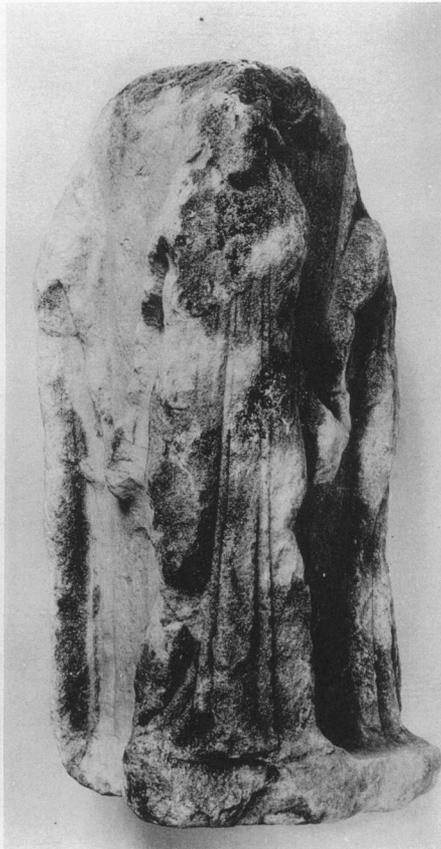
153



H. 0.33



152



H. 0.36

Hekataia

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154

0.28



155



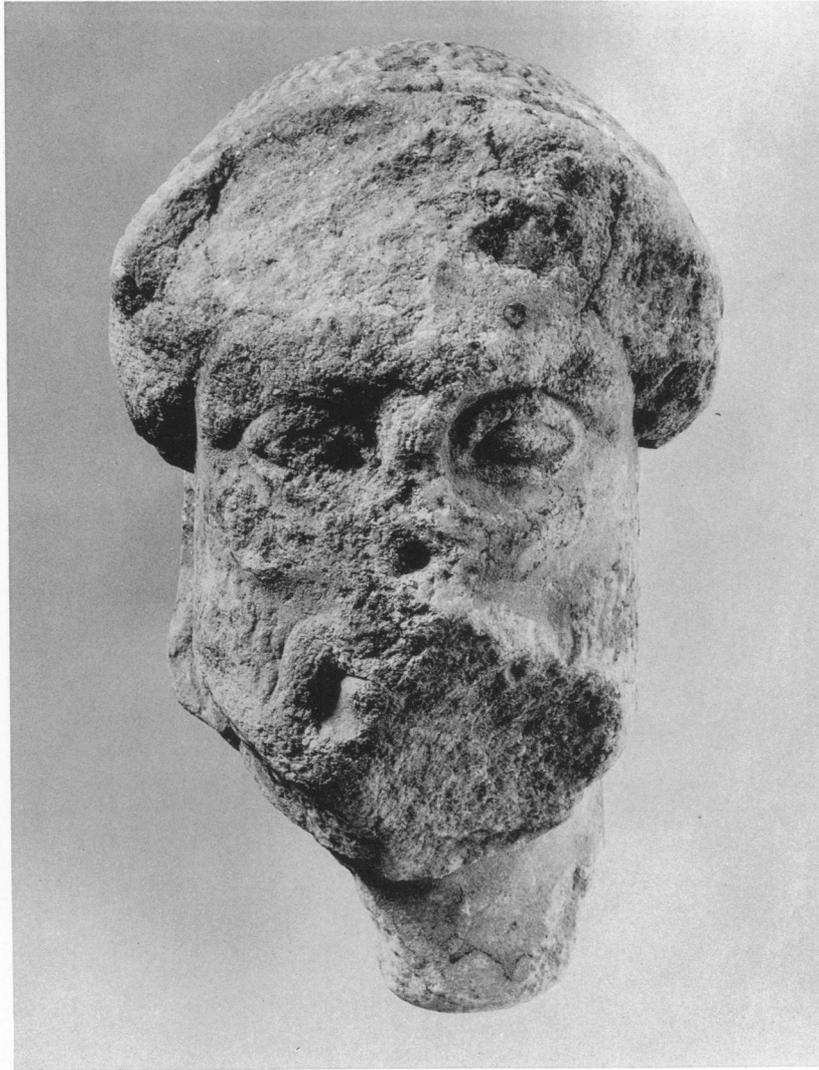
155



H. 0.165

Hekataia

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156



H. 0.29

Herm from the time of Kimon



157



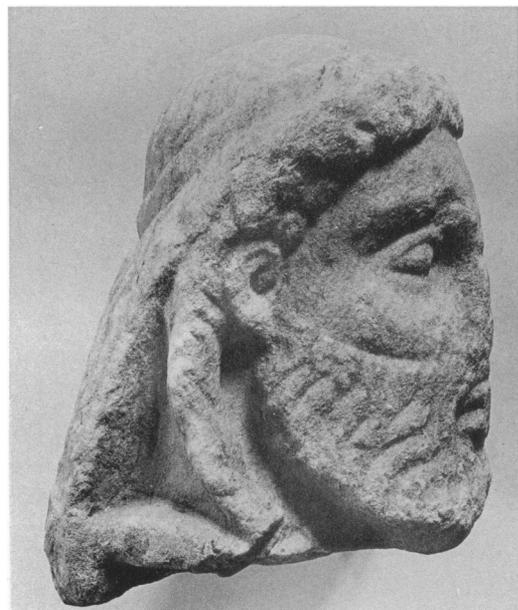
H. 0.125



158



H. 0.155



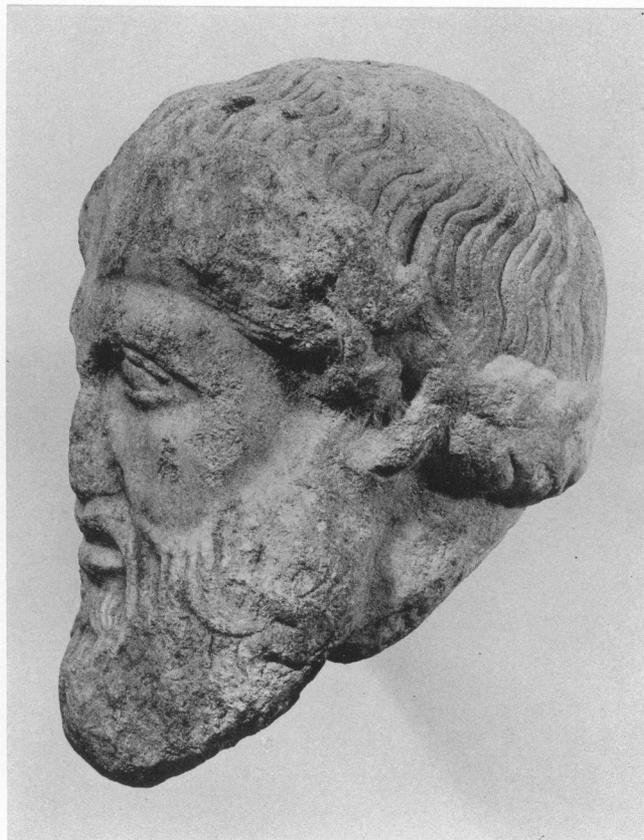
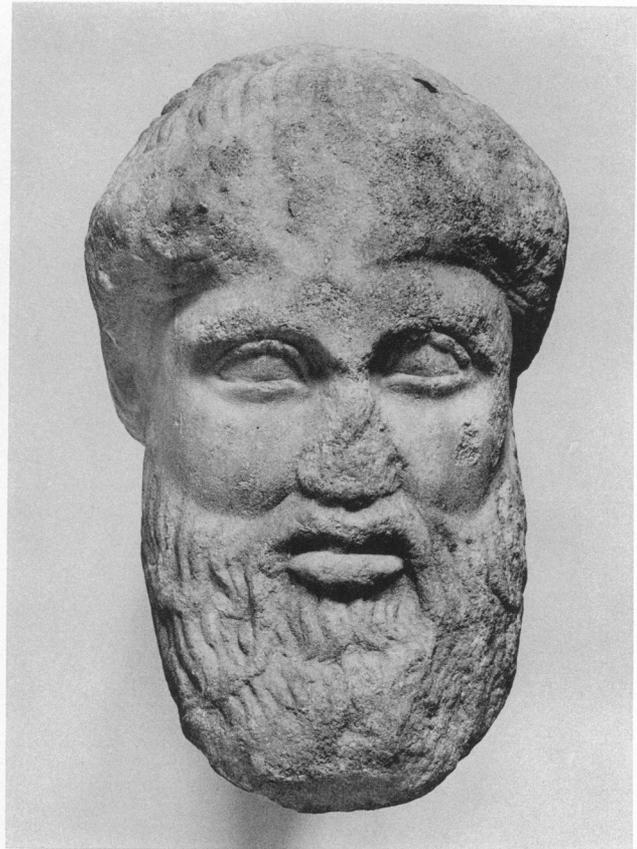
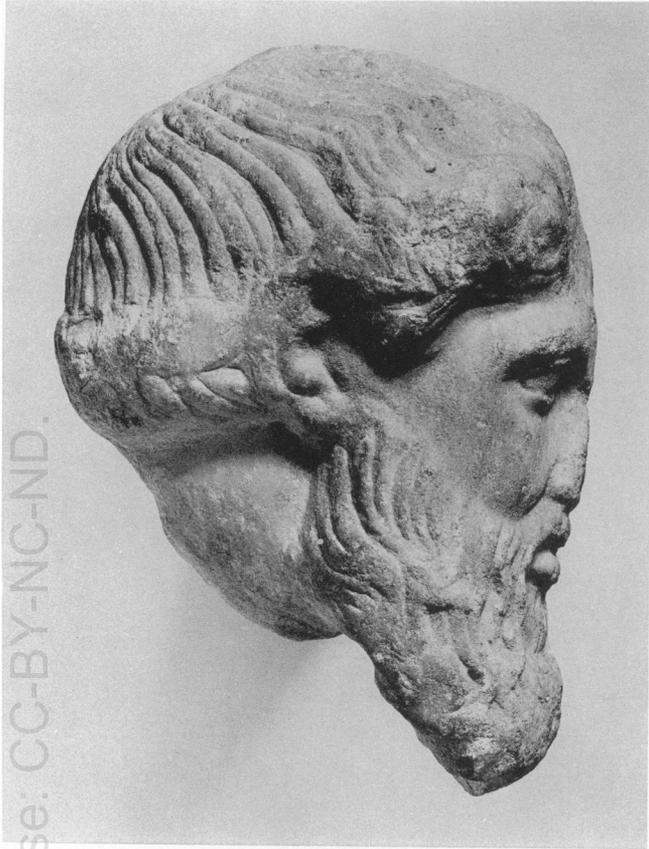
160



H. 0.145

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159

H. 0.145

Small bearded Head, 5th century B.C. H. 0.225



Herm head

H. 0.225



162

Beard of herm, Pergamon Type

H. 0.165

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163



Herm Head, Alkamenoid



H. 0.265



164



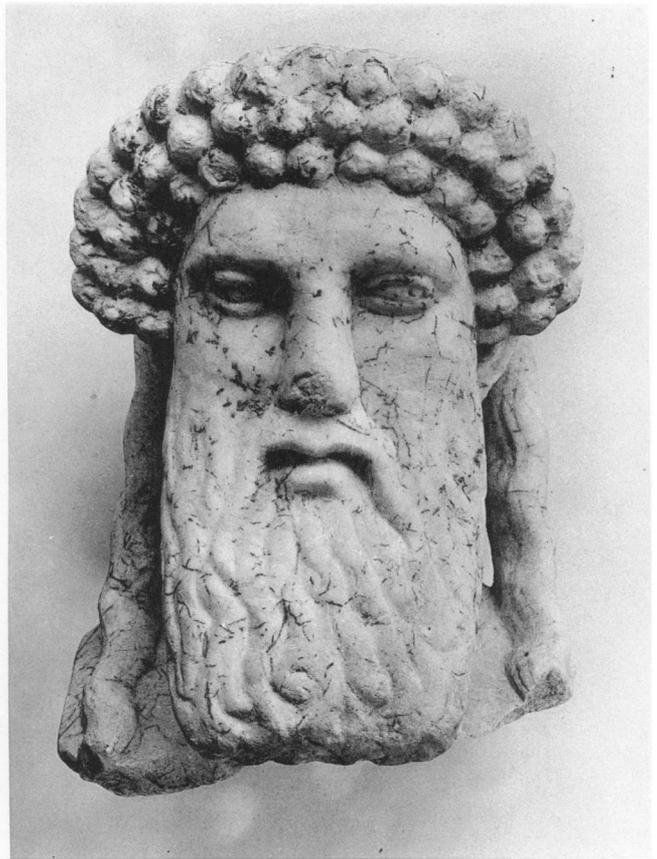
Herm Head, Alkamenoid



H. 0.245



165



H. 0.225



166

H. 0.315



167



H. 0.321

Herm Heads, Alkamenoid

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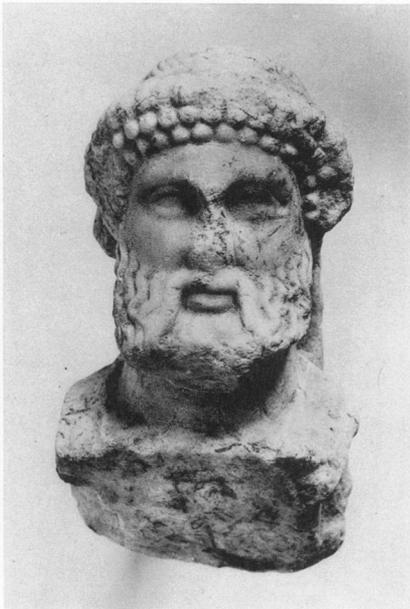
168



H. 0.145



169



H. 0.095



170

H. 0.067



171

H. 0.11



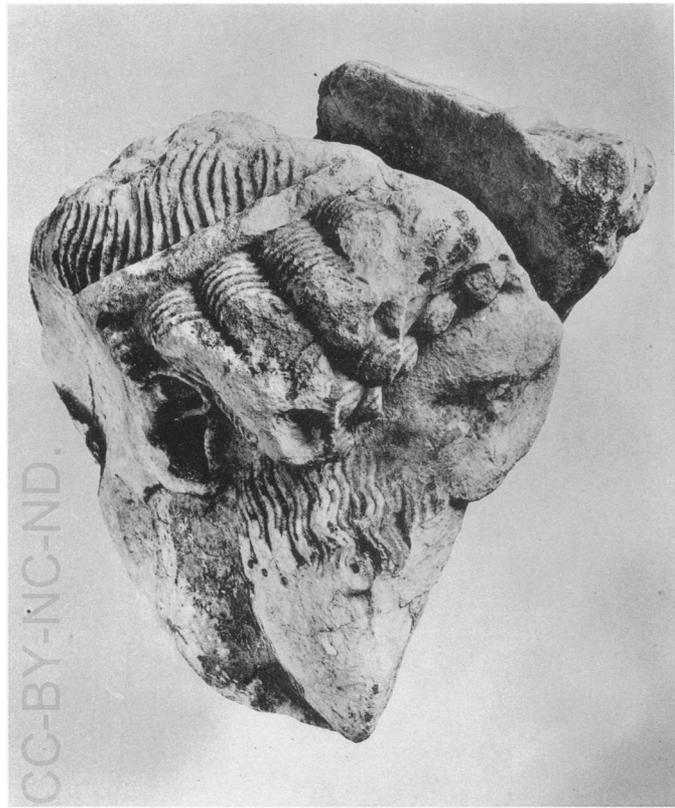
172

H. 0.13

Small and Miniature Alkamenoid Herm Heads

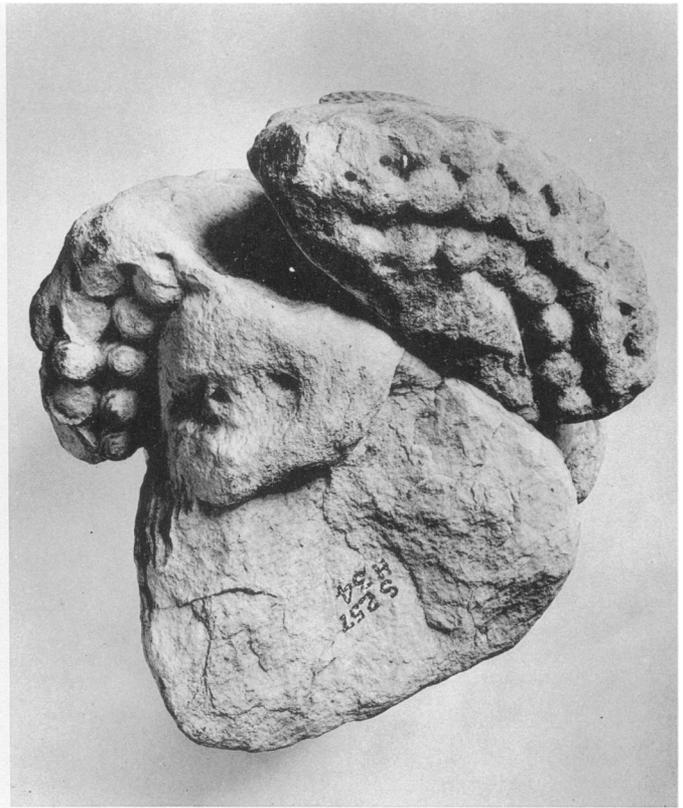
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174

Right side



Front

H. 0.325



173

Left side

H. 0.08



175

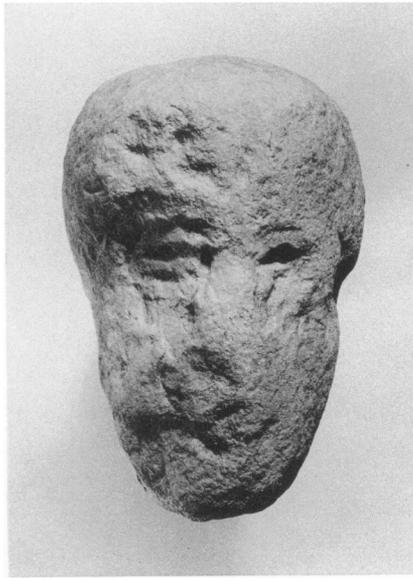
Right side

H. 0.16

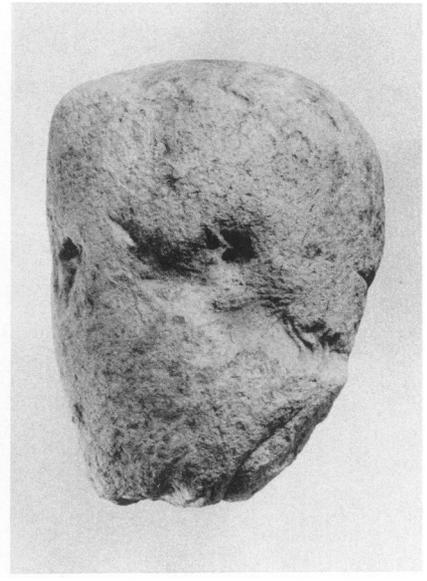
Fragments of Herm Heads with Archaistic Curls



176 Beard, front H. 0.155



177 Head, front



Left side H. 0.135



178

Type D

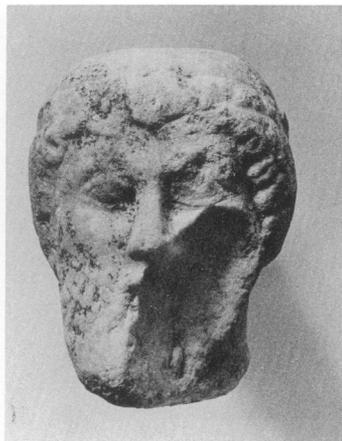


H. 0.405

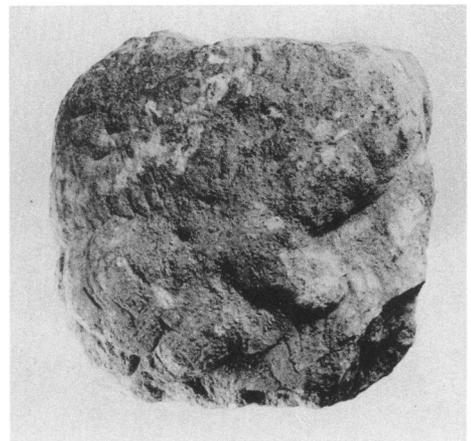


179

Miniature, Type D



H. 0.71



180 Recut, Right side H. 0.11

Herm Heads, Short-Haired Types

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181 Back



Left side H. 0.487



182 Beard, front H. 0.15



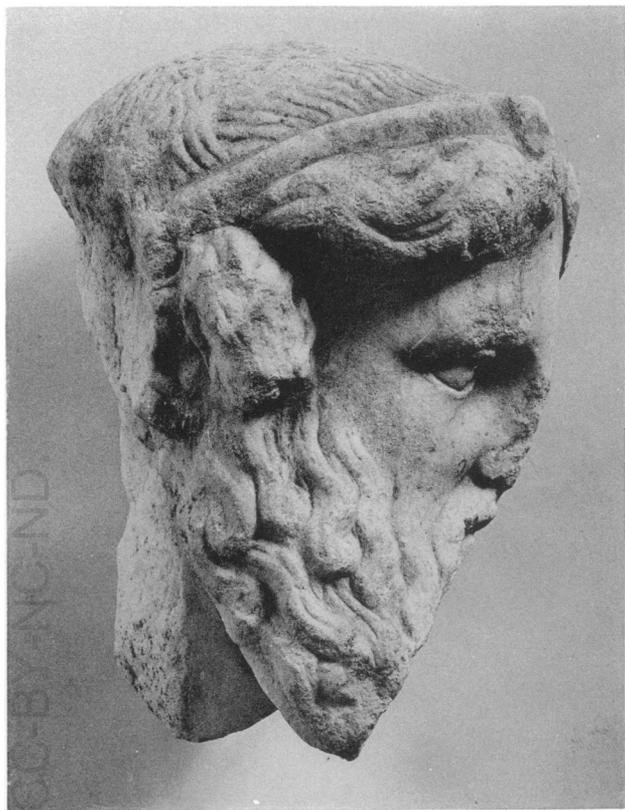
183



H. 0.067

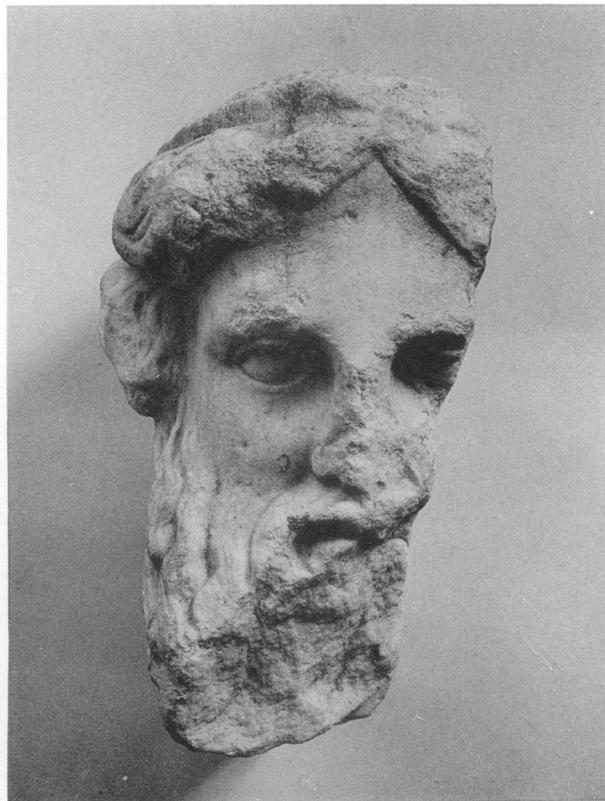
Herm Heads, Type C

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184

Near Type C



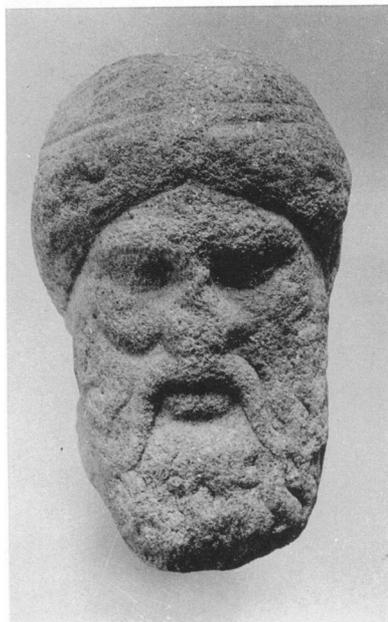
H. 0.165



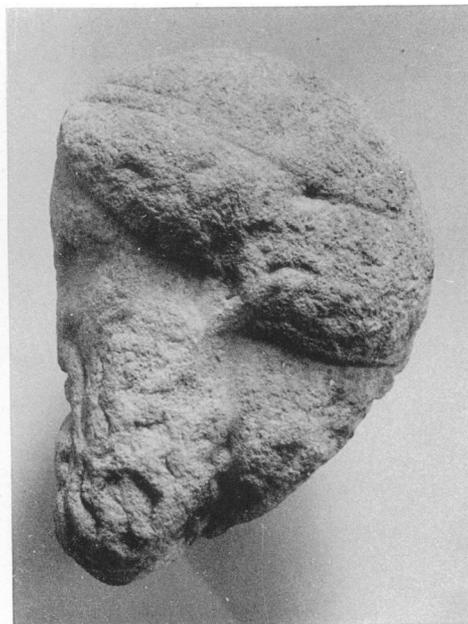
185

Unfinished

H. 0.095



187



H. 0.117



186

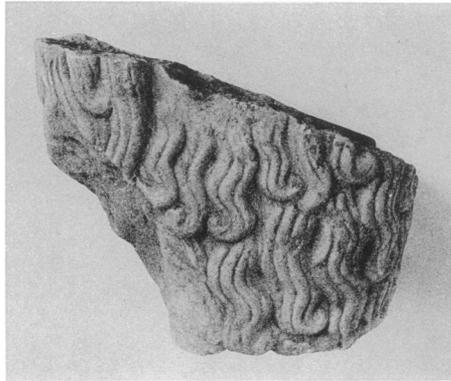
H. 0.04

Heads from Small and Miniature Herms

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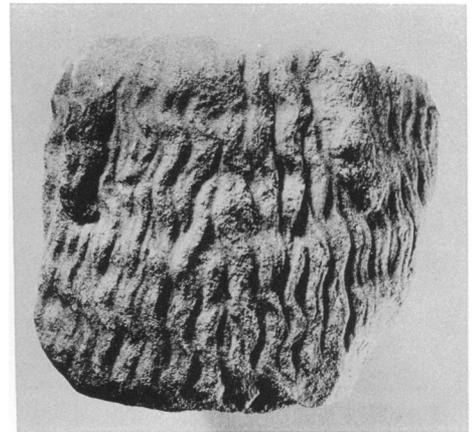
PLATE 52



189 Beard, front H. 0.085



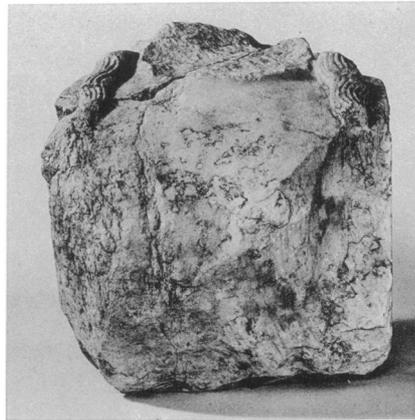
191 Beard, front H. 0.125



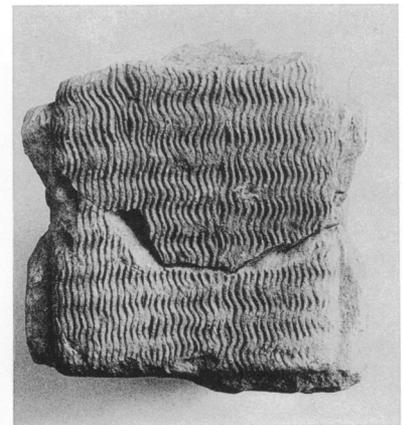
190 Beard, front H. 0.13



188 Neck and back of head, left side H. 0.165



192 Front



Back H. 0.29



193 Back H. 0.148



194 Back H. 0.16

Fragments of Archaistic Herms

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205 Double herm, archaistic side



Draped side

H. 0.41 (upper frag.), 0.53 (lower)



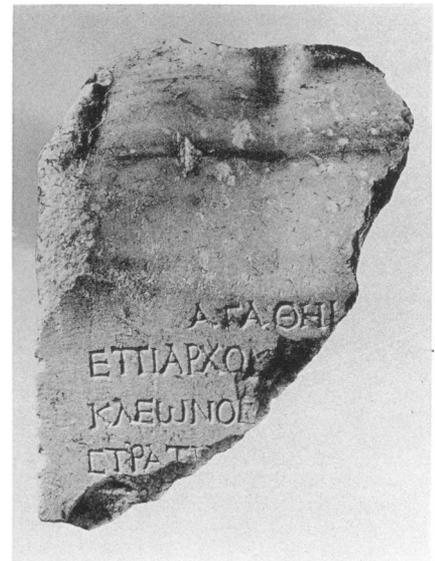
197

H. 0.25



195

H. 0.47



196

H. 0.225

Honorary Herms in Archaistic Form

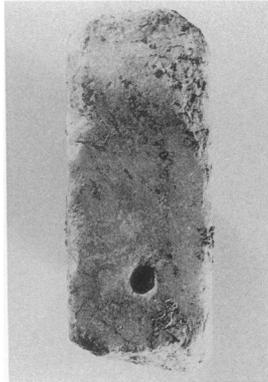
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PLATE 54



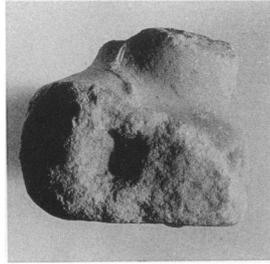
198

H. 0.065



199

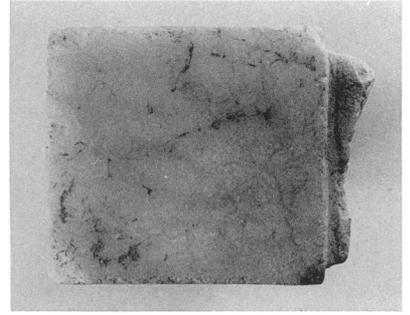
H. 0.077



200

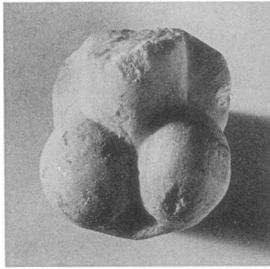
H. 0.043

Right side



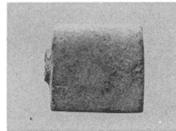
201

H. 0.054



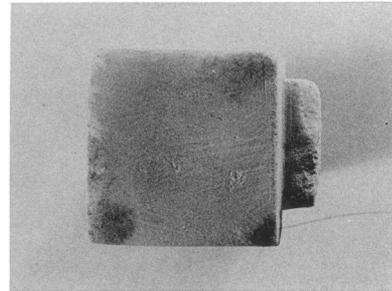
204

H. 0.04



202

H. 0.017



203

H. 0.042



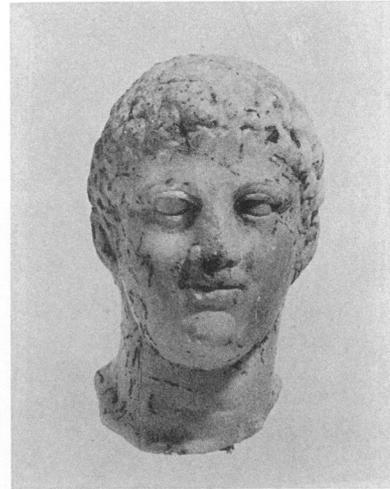
207



H. 0.08



208



H. 0.064

Miniature Herms

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206



H. 0.20



209



H. 0.166

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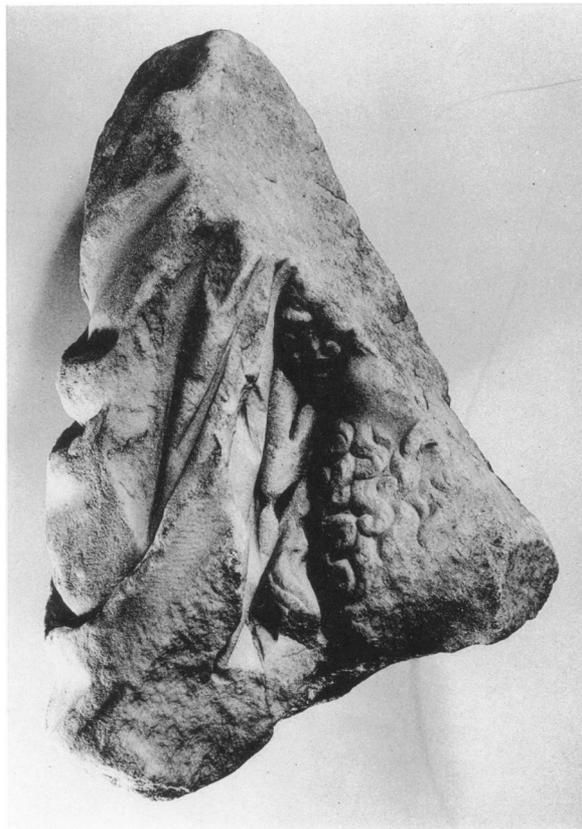


210

H. 1.36



210



211

Front

H. 0.34



210

Side

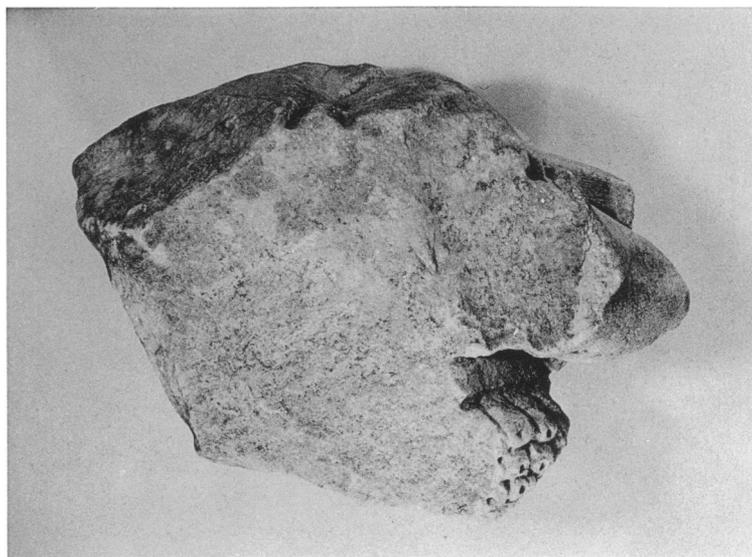
Herms as Statue Supports



213 Statue support H. 0.585



212 Herm-hair and drapery from proper right H. 0.18



212 Fragment of Statue Support from above, proper left



214 Recut herm, back



Left side H. 0.38



215 Apollo Herm



H. 0.155



216 Front H. 0.11



217 Left side H. 0.07

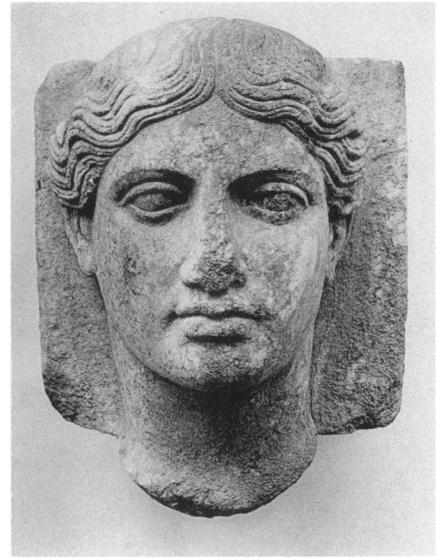


218 Female Herm H. 0.325



220

Female Head



219

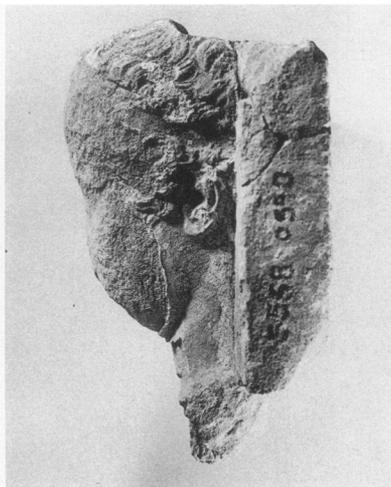
Female Head

H. 0.23



221

Male Head, Front



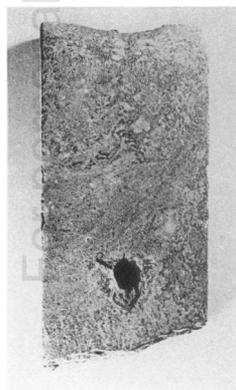
Left side

H. 0.24



222

H. 0.107



223

H. 0.43  
Shaft of  
Male Herm,  
Front



224

Shaft H. 0.42



225

Draped Shaft, proper right



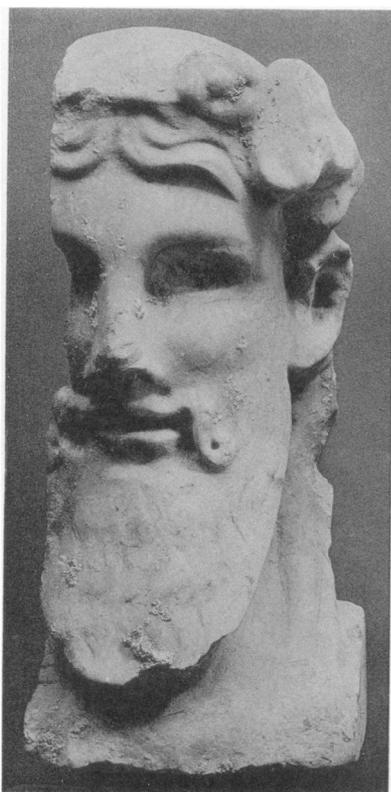
Front

H. 0.21

Hermes from the Stage-Front of the Odeion

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226 Dionysos H. 0.15



227 Table Support, Dionysos H. 0.54



228 Herakles



H. 0.103



229 Herakles H. 0.213



230 Herakles



Left side H. 0.285



232



Front

Back

H. 0.22



231

Hermaphrodite



H. 0.163



233

H. 0.455



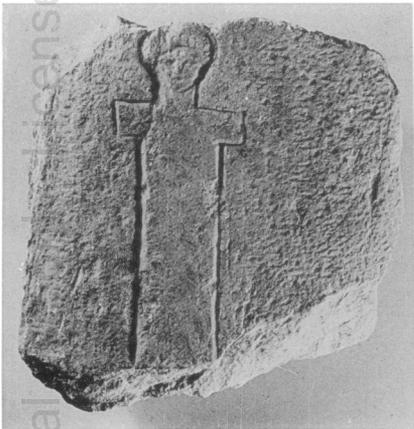
234

Herm in Relief on Door-Jamb in Stoa of Attalos



234

Detail



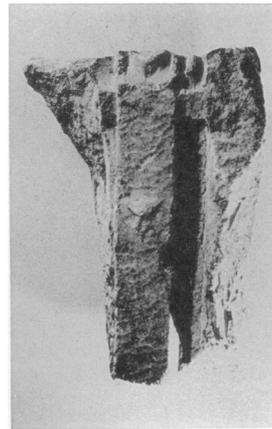
235

H. 0.255



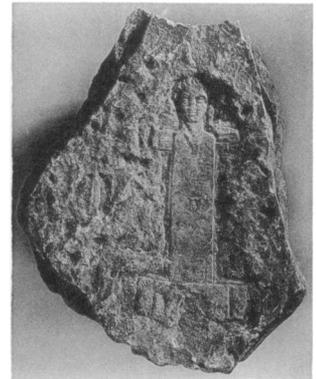
236

H. 0.55



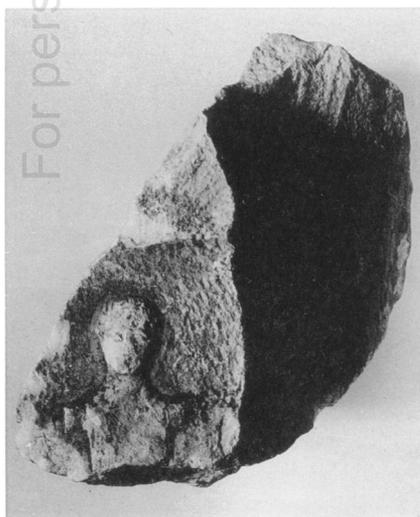
237

H. 0.375



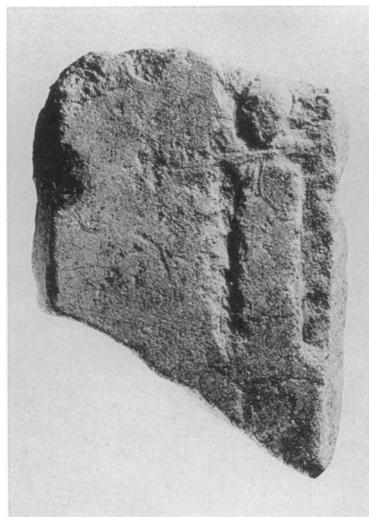
238

H. 0.57



239

H. 0.35



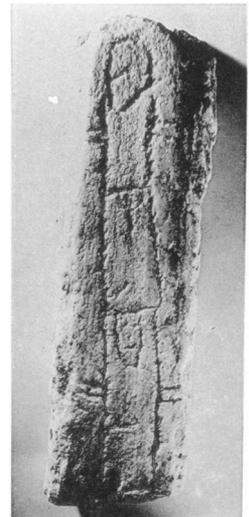
240

H. 0.22



241

H. 0.18

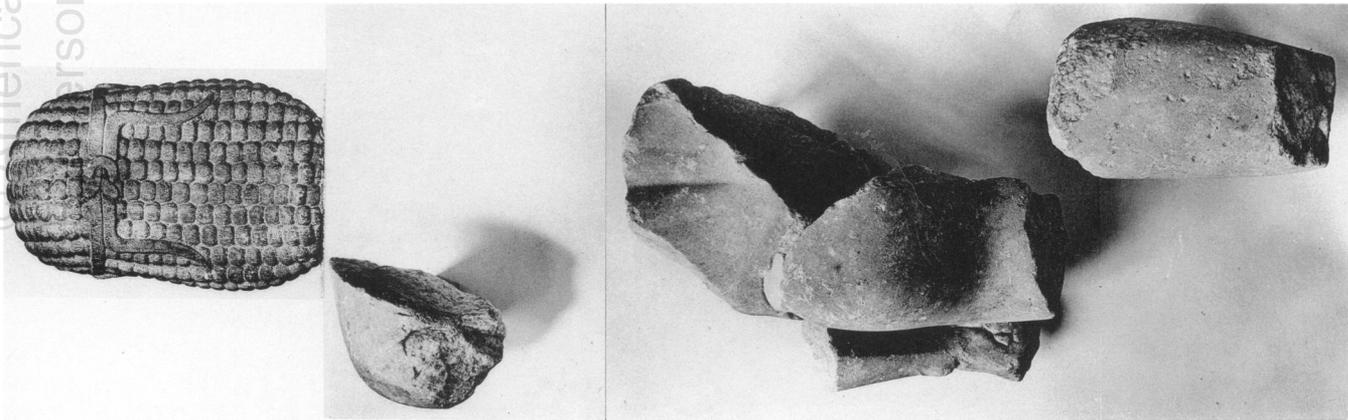


242

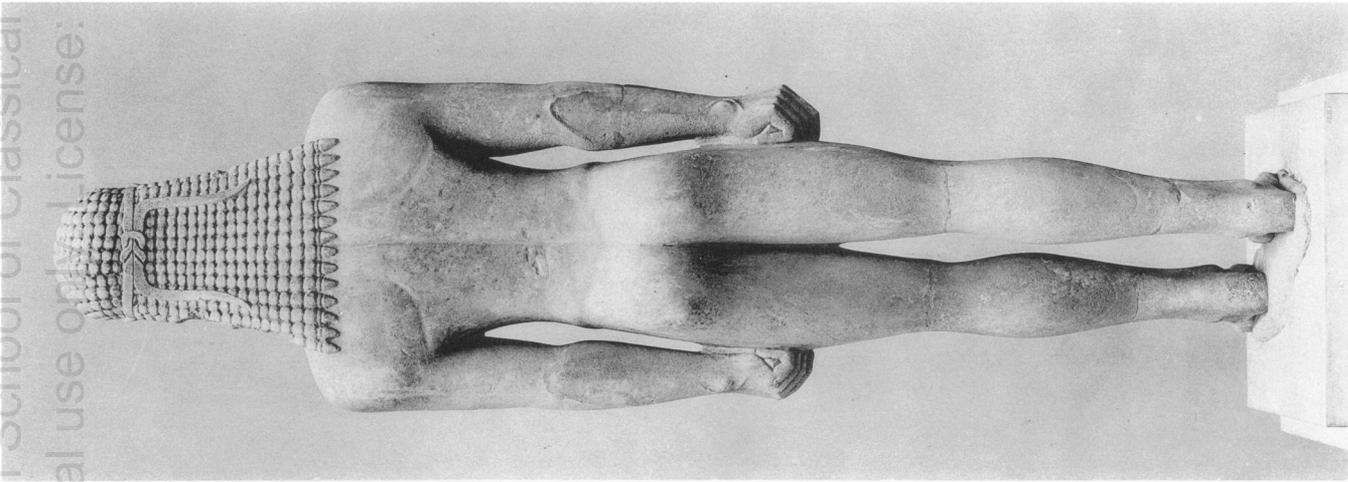
H. 0.44

Relief and Graffito Herms

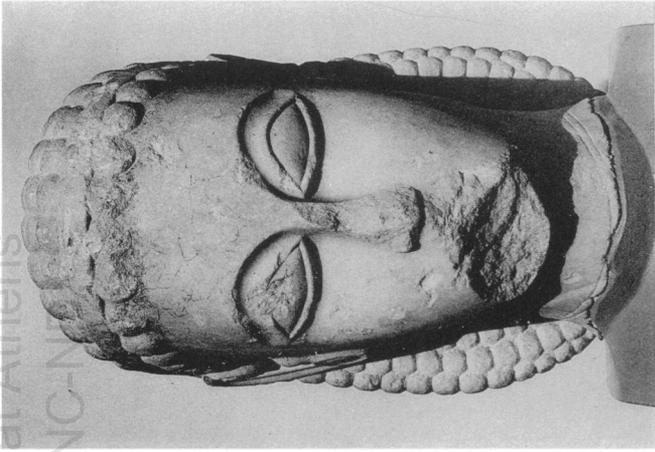
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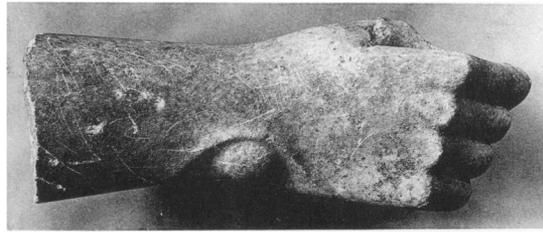
a. Fragments of Dipylon Kouroi (No. 65) with Dipylon Head



b. New York Kouroi



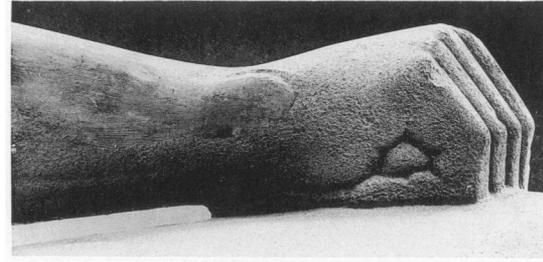
c. Dipylon Head



d. Dipylon Hand



e. Hand of Sounion Kouroi





a. Replica of Munich Tyche. Pergamon.  
Courtesy of Dr. Eric Boehringer



b. Neck of Red-Figured Oinochoe,  
Agora P 14793. Athena



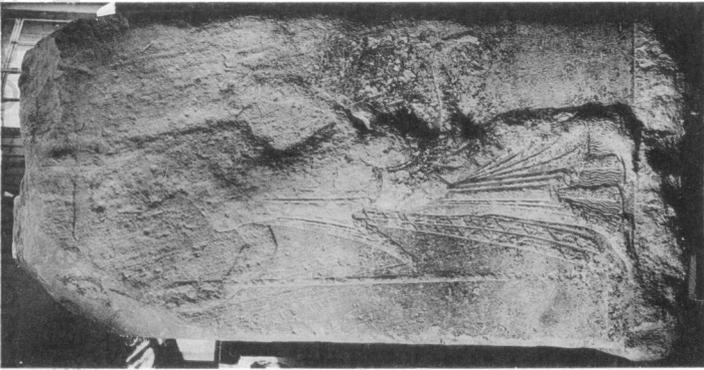
c. Fragment of Red-Figured Oinochoe,  
Agora P 150850. Hermes



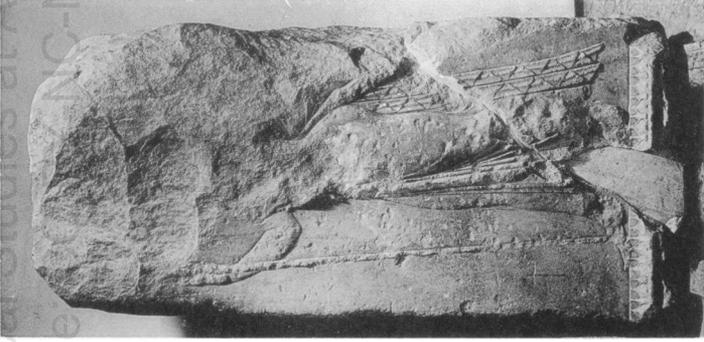
d. Herculaneum Pallas. Naples Museum



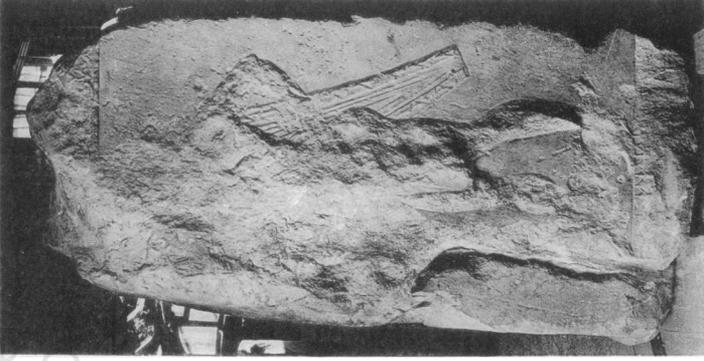
a. Hephaistos



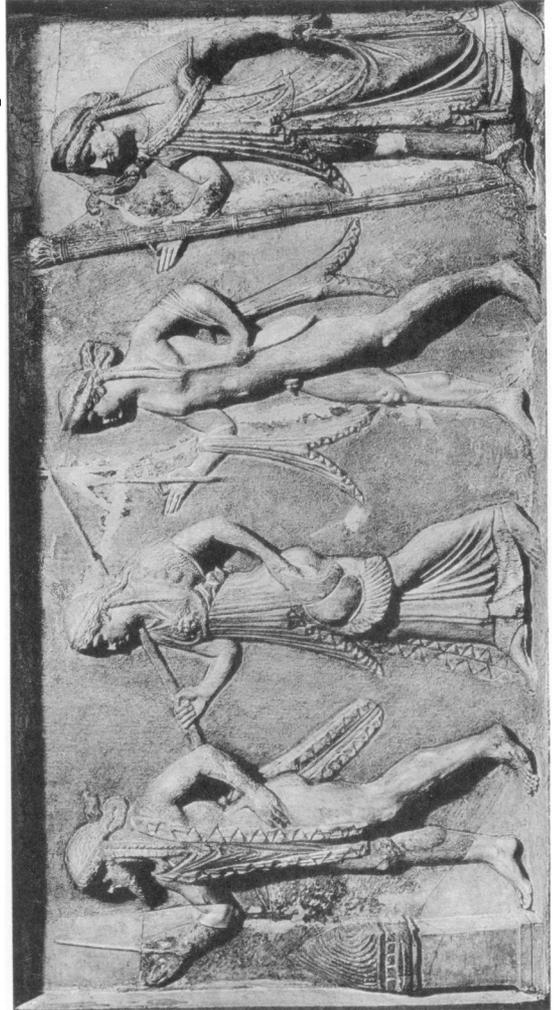
b. Athena



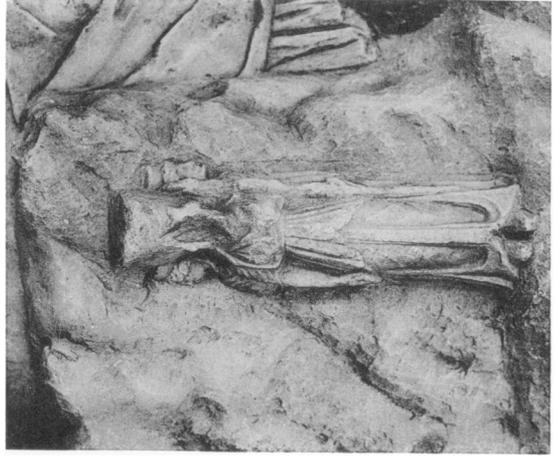
c. Zeus



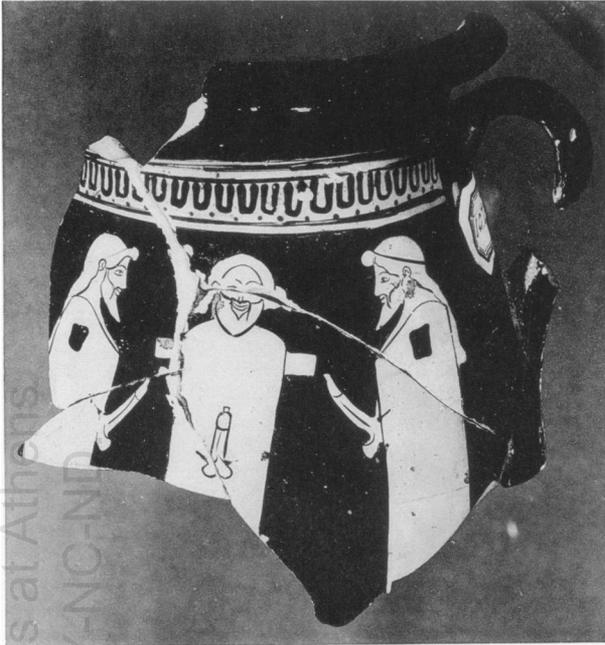
d. Hermes



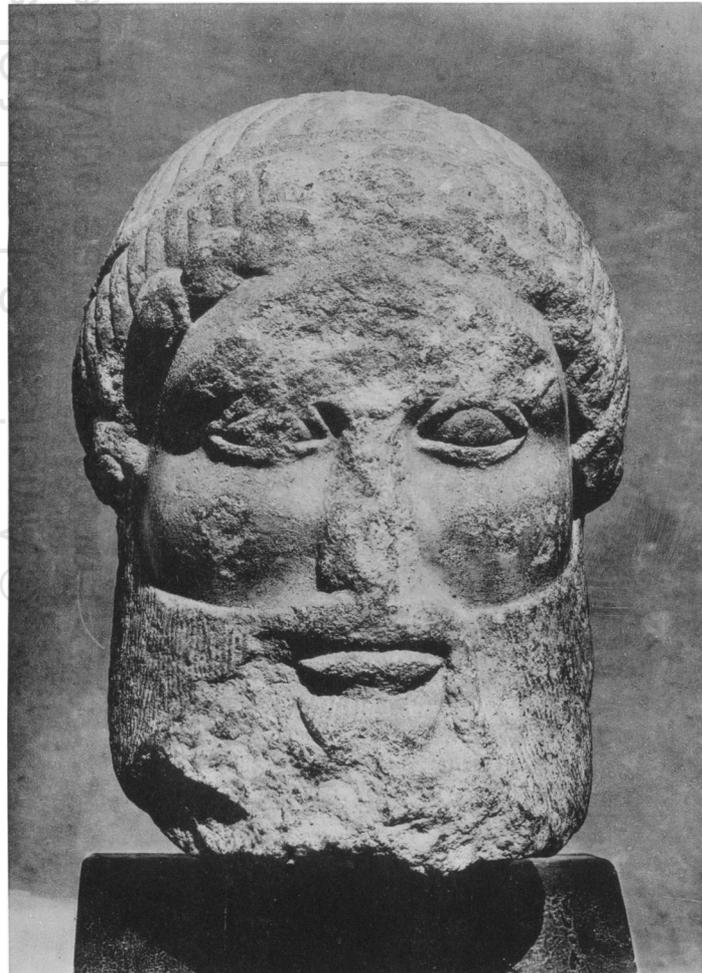
e. Procession of Four Gods, Villa Albani



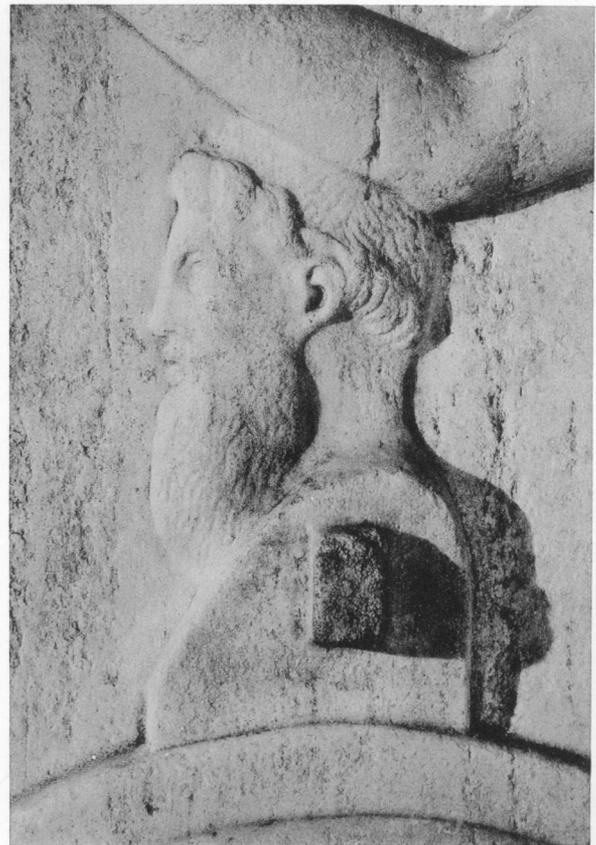
f. Hekate on Statue of Cybele, Corinth



a. Pelike by the Pan Painter. Louvre



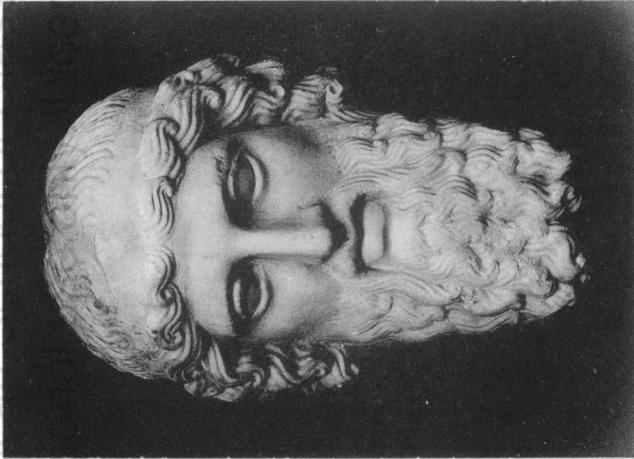
b. Early Classical Herm Head. Athens, National Museum



c. Neo-Attic Relief, Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts



a. Herm Head, Type A.  
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art



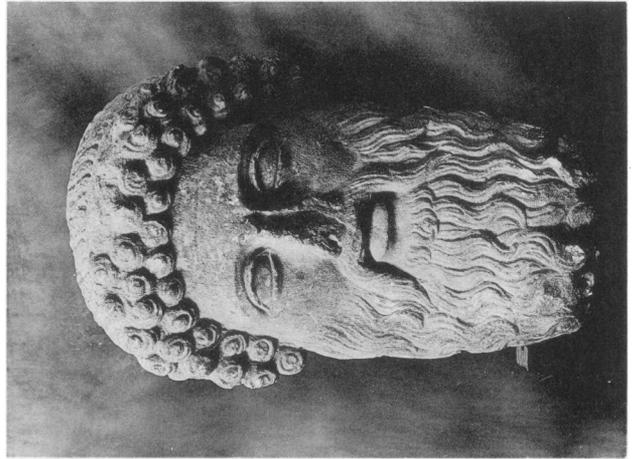
b. Head Herm, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek



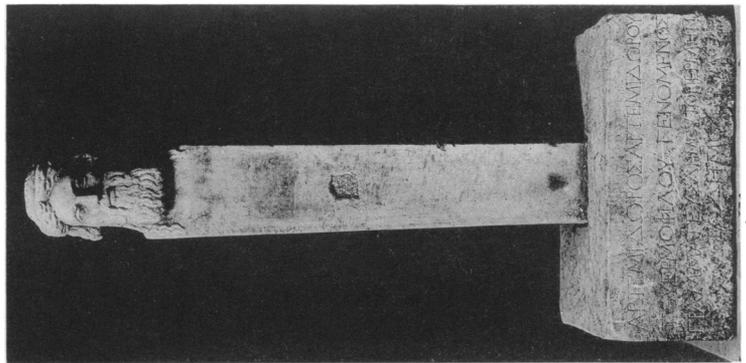
c. Alkameses Herm from Pergamon.  
Istanbul Museum



e. Herm Head, Type D, from Peiraeus.  
Athens, National Museum



f. Herm from the Stadion. Athens, National Museum



d. Herm from near Brussa.  
Istanbul Museum

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b. Head of Youth. Salonike Museum



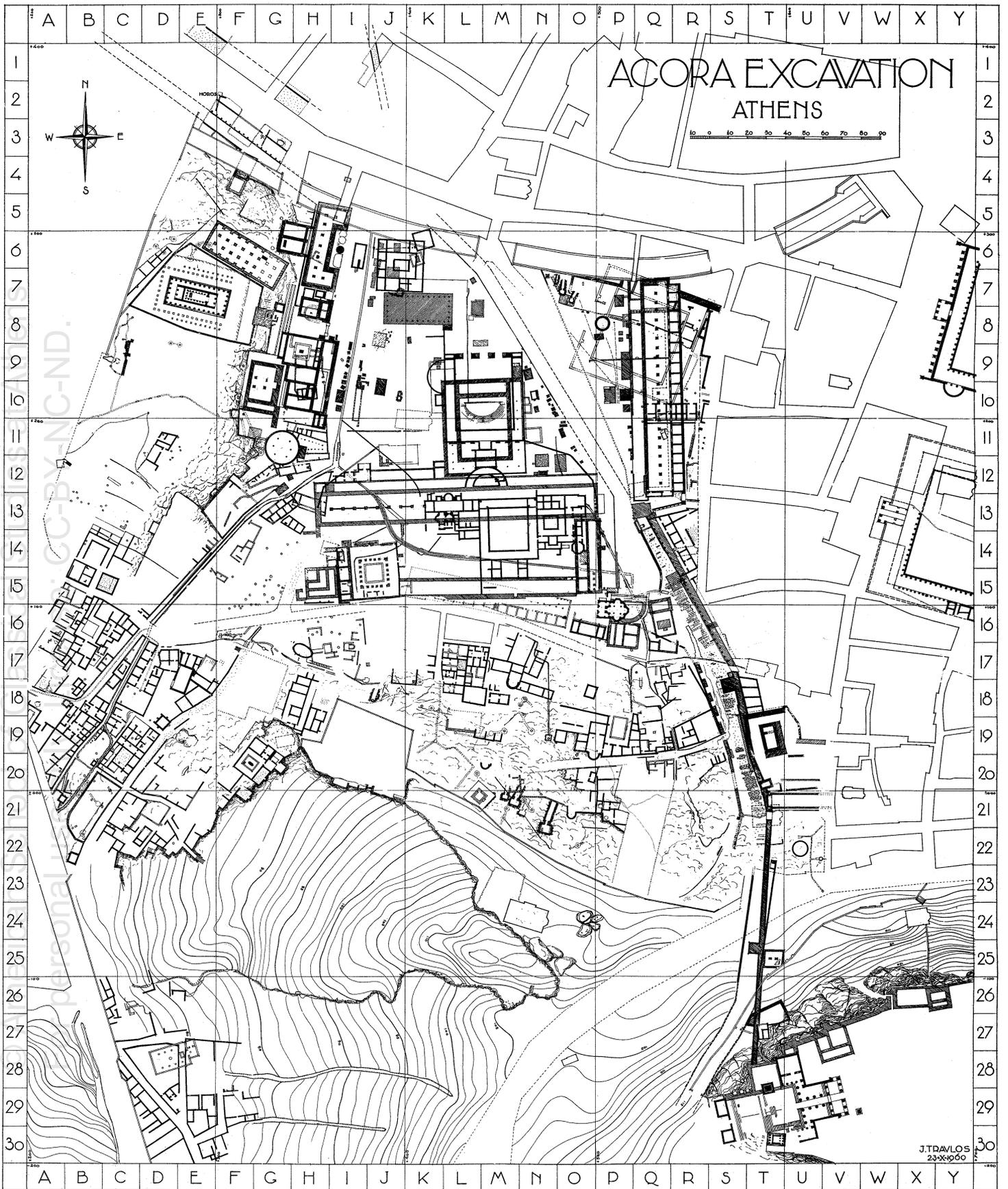
c. Head of Youth. Athens, National Museum



a. Head of Youth. Athens, Kerameikos Museum



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Actual State Plan of Athenian Agora