

THE ROMANIZATION OF ATHENS

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CLASSICAL ENCOUNTERS: ATTIC SCULPTURE AFTER SULLA

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When Sulla sacked Athens and Piraeus in 86 B.C., he not only caused tremendous loss of life but also dealt a blow to the economy with the total destruction of the city's vital port.¹ As a result, Athens lost its status as a trade and artistic center and became heavily dependent on Roman patronage. The city that had frowned on Apellikon's private collection of Athenian and other antiquities in 88 B.C.² went so far as to allow the export of its own antiquities in the 70s.³ Even earlier, during the last days before the fall of Piraeus, the magnificent cache of bronze and marble sculptures found in Piraeus betrays desperate measures: the export of new and old art works to finance the defense of the city.⁴ Sculptural and architectural production diminished considerably and was at first maintained chiefly through foreign patronage and manpower. A dearth of native talent is evident in the inclusion of two Roman architects in a team of three that repaired Pericles' Odeion in the middle years of the first century.⁵ A Roman sculptor, Quintus Pompeius, was active in Eleusis some time in the first century.⁶ It is quite possible that a number of Athenian sculptors perished in the sack, and this created a break in tradition. The lack of native resources is also evident in the tendency to rededicate earlier honorific portraits by simply reinscribing the honorand's name on the base. This was rampant in the middle years of the first century, when several Hellenistic portrait statues at Oropos, for example, were rededicated to Sulla and his wife, to Appius Claudius Pulcher, Cn. Calpurnius Piso, Brutus, and Agrippa.⁷

The little that survives in Athens and Attica from the middle years of the first century may be said to reflect a failure of nerve.⁸ A breakdown of tradition compelled the Athenians to look at themselves as if from the outside and to reinvent their forms of expression. It is only then, after Sulla's sack, that we begin to detect a process of Romanization in the art of Athens. We shall see that this generated a form of eclecticism which, combined with a Pheidian revival, marks a turning point in the development of Graeco-Roman art.

Until Sulla's arrival, Athenian sculpture had flourished along an independent course. Its mainstay was the export trade of both artifacts and artists. Athenian sculptors and architects were invited to Rome by the victorious generals of the Republic to build temples and carve cult statues for them, all in marble, a new luxury material for the Romans. In the second half of the second century, Rome was

gradually transformed into a center of Greek art.⁹ Although the influence was not entirely Athenian, the Athenian contribution was nevertheless prominent. Two families of sculptors of the Attic School were active both in Rome and on Delos, an island under Athenian control and busy with Roman traders. More extensively documented is the family of Timarchides, Timokles, Dionysios, and Polykles, where at least two and perhaps three generations were involved;¹⁰ the less well-known Parians Skopas the Younger¹¹ and his son Aristandros¹² can also be assigned to the Attic school. The works associated with the family of Timarchides, for example the head of Herakles in the Conservatori Museum attributed to Polykles,¹³ the portrait of C. Ofellius Ferus by Dionysios and Timarchides on Delos,¹⁴ and the type of the Cyrene Apollo possibly after the Apollo Kitharoidos of Timarchides in Rome,¹⁵ belong to a classicizing tradition drawing on fourth-century styles. Skopas is said by Pliny the Elder to have produced marble candelabra, as well as cult statues of Mars and Venus for the temple of Mars built by Hermodoros of Salamis for the consul Brutus Callaecus shortly after 132 B.C.¹⁶ Pliny's comparison of Skopas's Venus to that of Praxiteles (*Nat.* 36.26) indicates that Skopas was inspired by fourth-century models. The Athenian brand of classicism can be labeled a survival rather than a revival, since the late classical style of the fourth century never really died out but developed naturally into a Hellenistic interpretation of the classical.

Whereas free-standing statuary was conceived in a fourth-century manner, the Pheidian tradition was maintained in relief copies. Pausanias (10.34.8) informs us that the sons of Polykles copied the shield of Pheidias's Athena Parthenos in their Athena Krania at Elateia, though the Athena herself was presumably an original creation.¹⁷ This tendency is also evident in other artistic centers, Pergamon for example. A good case in point is the second-century variant of the Athena Parthenos from Pergamon now in Berlin.¹⁸ The statue itself is a pure Hellenistic creation, while its base is a reduced copy of the Pheidian original. The production of relief copies of high and late classical prototypes developed into a very active industry. It is first documented by the kraters in Pentelic marble from the Mahdia shipwreck,¹⁹ dated to the 70s on the basis of the amphoras,²⁰ but its inception is usually placed in the late second century.²¹ Skopas II's candelabra²² indicate that the industry was established before Sulla's siege of Athens.

Alongside the classicizing trend which dominated Hellenistic Athens, an archaizing streak had run continuously since the late fifth century. The archaistic style of Hellenistic Athens is mainly represented by reliefs.²³ The production of herms, on the other hand, which seems to have slowed down in Athens during the Hellenistic period, was revived by Roman interest in the first century, even before Sulla's sack, as shown by the pair of herms accompanying the Piraeus cache of bronzes.²⁴ This revival is well documented by Cicero's orders of herms of Athena and Herakles for his villas from Attic workshops (*Cic. Att.* 1.4.3; 10.3).

One of the last sculptures set up in Attica before the sack of Sulla is the colossal relief dedicated by the priest Lakratides in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis ca. 100 B.C. (Fig. 1).²⁵ It is designed in a classicizing style, heavily dependent on fourth-century models, even though its large scale is out of proportion compared with fourth-century reliefs. The depiction of the dedicant in the gods' size is equally

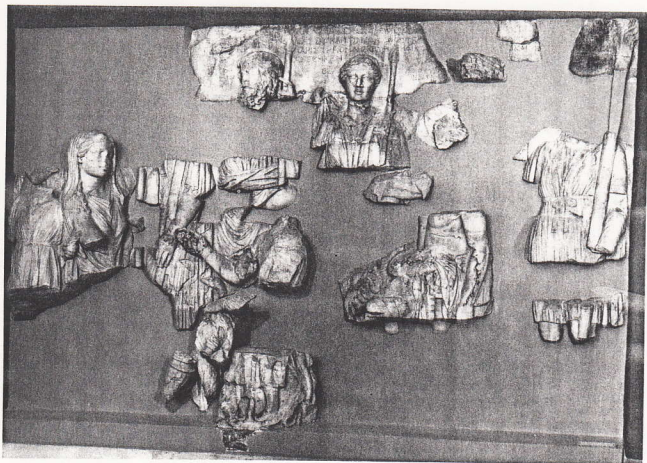


FIG. 1. Relief dedicated by the priest Lakratides. Eleusis Museum 5079. Photo by Craig Mauzy.

unclassical. Ironically, the only monumental sculptures in Athens and Attica firmly dated to the period between Sulla's sack and the advent of Augustus are again at Eleusis: the cistophoroi from the inner entrance of the Lesser Propylaia (Fig. 2).²⁶ This building was entirely due to Roman patronage: Kevin Clinton's paper in this volume discusses the historical circumstances in detail and offers a suggestion as to the occasion.²⁷ All we need say here is that it was vowed to Demeter and Kore, for reasons unknown, by Appius Claudius Pulcher when he was consul in Rome in 54 B.C. We learn from Cicero's letters that the building was begun before February of the year 50 and abandoned by August of the same year (*Att.* 6.1.26; 6.2). The dedicatory inscription states that it was completed after Pulcher's death in 48 by his nephews, probably with money provided for in his will. It is generally agreed that most of the building dates from the 40s B.C.

The pair of colossal caryatids carry the mystic cista on their heads (Figs. 3, 4). They are virtually carved in the round except for a sliver at their backs which was attached to the pilasters. Their estimated total height is ca. 3.80 m.²⁸ The cista holds the sacred objects and is profusely decorated with symbols of the Mysteries: plemochoe, ears of corn, poppies, and myrtle leaves. The cistophoroi gently incline their heads inwards. The upper part of the figure at the left of the doorway is now in Cambridge (Fig. 3),²⁹ while that at the right remains at Eleusis (Fig. 4).³⁰

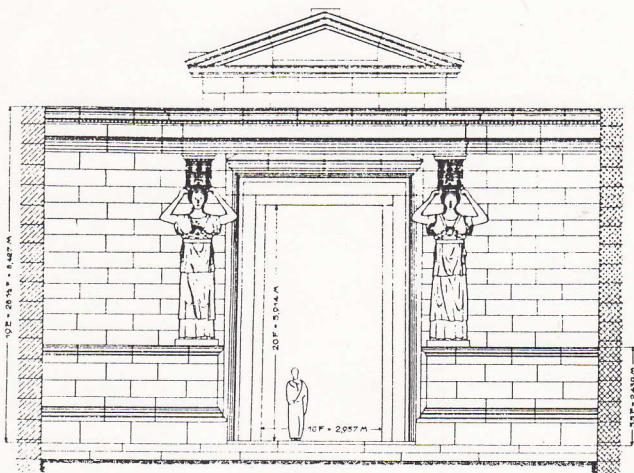


FIG. 2. Restored inner entrance of the Lesser Propylaea at Eleusis. After H. Hörmann, *Die inneren Propyläen von Eleusis* (Berlin/Leipzig 1932) pl. 22.

The caryatid in Cambridge is heavily weathered from long exposure to the elements. It had the additional misfortune of being lost at sea during transport to England, though it was eventually recovered from the shipwreck. Its present state of preservation can be easily accounted for by the description of the Cambridge scholar E.D. Clarke, who first saw the statue in 1801 before eventually removing it: "...the fragment of a colossal statue, mentioned by many authors as that of the goddess herself, appeared in colossal majesty among the mouldering vestiges of her once splendid sanctuary. We found it ... on the side of the road, immediately before entering the village, and in the midst of a heap of dung, buried as high as the neck, a little beyond the farther extremity of the pavement of the temple. The inhabitants of the small village which is now situated among the ruins of Eleusis still regarded this statue with a very high degree of superstitious veneration. They attributed to its presence the fertility of their land; and it was for this reason that they heaped around it the manure intended for their fields... They predicted the wreck of the ship which should convey it; and it was a curious circumstance that their augury was completely fulfilled, in the loss of the *Princessa* merchantman, off Beachey Head, having the statue on board." In order to obtain permission to remove it, Clarke had to bribe the

local Turkish governor with a field glass. But the villagers were not easily cheated of their treasure: "The people had assembled, and stood around the statue; but no one among them ventured to begin the work. They believed that the arm of any person would fall off who should dare to touch the marble, or to disturb its position. Upon festival-days they had been accustomed to place before it a burning lamp. Presently, however, the priest of Eleusis ... put on his canonised vestments as for a ceremony of high mass, descending into the hollow where the statue remained upright, after rubbish around it had been taken away, gave the first blow with the pickaxe for the removal of the soil, that the people might be convinced no calamity would befall the labourers."³¹ The statue was identified with Demeter by George Wheler who visited the sanctuary in 1676 and with Kore by Richard Chandler who passed through in 1765.³² Both remarked that the face of the statue was disfigured.

The Cambridge caryatid (Fig. 3) wears a fine linen chiton with long, ample sleeves buttoned over the arms. A thicker overgarment covers the left shoulder and is belted high under the breasts. It is additionally fastened with a pair of cross-bands, decorated with a gorgoneion at the center. The bands serve the practical purpose of holding the garments in place while the caryatid's hands are busy balancing the cista over her head. The upper edge of the overgarment is bunched over the left cross-band. A back mantle, pinned on the shoulders with brooches, is also evident at the rear, falling free of the belt. The caryatid has long, wavy hair, parted in the middle and caught with a ribbon at the nape of her neck. The outlines of earrings can just be made out on the weathered surface under her ears.

The caryatids' complete garment can be reconstructed thanks to six copies from the first/second century A.D., found in a private villa at Monte Porzio near Frascati (Figs. 5, 6). Four are now in the Villa Albani in Rome;³³ two more ended up in the Villa Torlonia but one was subsequently lost.³⁴ These caryatids were heavily restored by Cavaceppi and none retains the original head or basket. The overgarment of the Villa Albani copies is clearly a *diplax*, a diagonal himation with overfold very similar to the *peplos* except that it is fastened on one shoulder.

Whereas the Cambridge caryatid suffered at sea, the Eleusis one (Fig. 4) suffered a fate worse than death. In his guidebook to Eleusis published in 1906, Dimitris Philios informs us that he had the caryatid restored and set up at considerable trouble and expense.³⁵ In fact, her nose, chin, right ear with earring, the right half of her coiffure, the best part of her neck, and the entire right part of her chest were creatively, albeit misleadingly, completed in plaster. All that remains of the gorgoneion is the left ear and a few curls above it. The rest of its face is modern. The heavily weathered state of the gorgoneion on the Cambridge caryatid (Fig. 3) does not allow much room for comparison.

The Eleusis caryatid (Fig. 4) turns her head gently to her right. Her hands held the legs of the cista, now lost. She wears rosette earrings, which can be barely distinguished on the Cambridge figure. We should restore the Eleusis caryatid as wearing the *diplax* fastened over the right shoulder, as is evident from the original bunch of folds caught under the left cross strap. The restorer erroneously made the right side of her dress the mirror of the left. His scheme was followed by Hörmann in his restoration of the inner courtyard of the Lesser Propylaea (Fig. 2). He failed to



FIG. 3. Caryatid from the Lesser Propylaia at Eleusis. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR.I.1865. Photo Museum.



FIG. 4. Caryatid from the Lesser Propylaia. Eleusis Museum 5104. Photo DAI Athens Eleusis 570.

notice that the caryatids are mirror images, the one at the left of the entrance, now in Cambridge, wearing her diplax fastened on the left shoulder, while the other, now in Eleusis, has her diplax fastened on the right shoulder.

The diagonal mantle fastened on the right shoulder of the Eleusis caryatid (Fig. 4) is reflected in one of the caryatids from Monte Porzio (Fig. 5).³⁶ This is not a copy but a variant, however, lifting her skirt as if she were dancing. Since the stump of the left upper arm of the Eleusis caryatid is extended, we may safely conjecture that both her arms were raised, holding the cista. It is interesting to note that the gorgoneion on the Villa Albani copy of the Eleusis caryatid is different: whereas she sports a classicizing winged gorgoneion with wavy hair (Fig. 5), the wingless gorgoneion with two superimposed rows of curls on the Cambridge-type copies is archaistic (Fig. 6).³⁷



FIG. 5. Caryatid from Monte Porzio.
Rome, Villa Albani 24. After Bol pl. 54.



FIG. 6. Caryatid from Monte Porzio.
Rome, Villa Albani 97. After Bol pl. 184.

The diagonal mantle or diplax, usually worn over a chiton, was a garment appropriate for religious festivals and weddings. It was introduced in the early classical period and remained popular throughout the classical period.³⁸ It was much favored by Athena, also occasionally adopted by Kore. Most examples are ungirded. Girded examples like Pulcher's caryatids are less common: compare the Severe Style Corinth/Mocenigo goddess³⁹ and, in an appropriate Eleusinian context, the dancer leading the

lower Eleusinian procession on the clay plaque of Ninnion of the early fourth century in the National Museum in Athens.⁴⁰ Closest to our caryatids, however, comes the post-Pheidian Athena Hope-Farnese of the decade 430/420 (Fig. 7): compare the tripartite division of the lower body, the ample sleeve falling off the raised forearm, and the Pheidian head.⁴¹ The original of this Athena probably stood on the Acropolis, as she has been convincingly identified with Pyrrhos's Athena Hygieia erected just inside the Propylaia.⁴²

The diagonal mantle was reintroduced in archaistic art in the late fourth century, its earliest occurrence being at Eleusis.⁴³ It is worn, girded, over an archaistic chiton by a pair of basin-bearers dedicated by the Athenian *demos* (Fig. 8).⁴⁴ Like the caryatids of the Lesser Propylaia, the supporting figures are mirror images of one another, as is evident from the pendent folds of the diplax at their sides. Their dress points to sanctuary officials, though of a different rank than Pulcher's caryatids since they lack the back mantles and cross-bands with medallions. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods the cross-bands decorated with a medallion are usually associated with Victories, as on a late Hellenistic Nike from Crete now in Venice⁴⁵ and in a pair of Roman Victories in Berlin.⁴⁶ A number of silver tetradrachms of Ptolemy I and Antigonos Gonatas also carry an archaistic type of Athena Promachos with cross-bands and gorgoneion.⁴⁷ As there seems to be no reason to associate Pulcher's caryatids with either Victory or Athena, however, their cross-bands and medallions are better explained as accessories of ritual garb. They are already present in the Anatolian garb of the statue of Artemis Kindyas from the Piraeus cache.⁴⁸ If we look back in time, we find them in the fourth-century dress of kanephoroi, little girls who carried baskets at weddings and religious ceremonies and whose function was sometimes indicated in their funerary monuments. The evidence on fourth-century kanephoroi in peplos, back mantle, and cross-bands with medallion was recently collected by Linda Roccas.⁴⁹

We have seen that the gorgoneia of Pulcher's caryatids may have been different,



FIG. 7. Athena Farnese. Naples, Museo Nazionale 6024. Photo DAI Rome 69.677.



FIG. 8. Basin-bearer. Eleusis Museum 5140.
Photo by Mark Fullerton.

judging by the Monte Porzio copies. If the caryatids are subtly differentiated, it may well be because they represent a pair of sanctuary officials who served Demeter and Kore respectively. The fact that they carry *cistae* may point to the two hierophantids of Demeter and Kore: priestesses are mentioned in the Rheitoi inscription of 421 B.C. as carrying the sacred objects at the head of the procession of the Mysteries.⁵⁰ Ironically, it was one of the hierophantids who had begged the tyrant Aristion for a twelfth of a bushel of grain during Sulla's siege of Athens, only to be presented with so much pepper (Plut. *Sull.* 13).

The style of Pulcher's caryatids, so far as can be assessed by the remains of their busts and the copies from Monte Porzio, forms a watershed in the development of Athenian sculpture. It introduces a new blend of styles which do not easily mix and represents an almost programmatic display of erudition. The upper part of the figures draws on Pheidian and post-Pheidian art of the 430s, with the head vaguely inspired by the Erechtheion korai, while the ample sleeves recall the Hope/Farnese Athena (Fig. 7). This direct allusion to Pheidian art is a novelty. Hellenistic

sculpture may have been inspired by it, but it always offered adaptations in a contemporary idiom. The caryatids' rosette earrings, on the other hand, can be termed archaistic. Rosette or disc earrings are prominent in almost all archaic korai. They can also be found in the archaistic Herculaneum Athena on the Athenian Acropolis.⁵¹ Her date depends entirely on stylistic assessment; Mark Fullerton has convincingly argued that the mixture of archaistic (Promachos body) and classical (Pheidian head) points to a date after Sulla.⁵²

The high girding and elongated proportions of Pulcher's caryatids belong to the late Hellenistic period. In addition, the rigid frontality and the feet placed close together are archaistic. The caryatids offer a new combination of high classical dress, late classical accessories, and late Hellenistic proportions with an archaistic stance. The effect is overwhelming, rendered even more so by the colossal scale of the figures. Roman patronage, perhaps even Roman workmanship introduced a new formal



FIG. 9. Head of a caryatid from the City Eleusinion. Athens, National Museum 1682. Photo Museum.

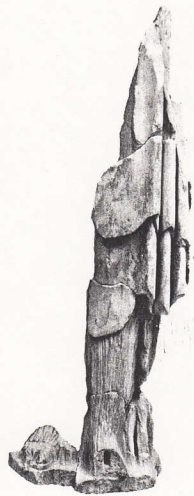


FIG. 10. Fragments of a caryatid from the City Eleusinion. Athens, National Museum 5798. Photo Museum.

language, characterized by ponderous diction and an almost total lack of playfulness. The light touch of Greek art has given way to the earnestness of the new acolytes.

And was this the death of Greek sculpture? The balance was eventually redressed. The Eleusis cistophoroi were finally transformed into the cheerful so-called Tralles caryatids (Figs. 9, 10), lifting the edge of their diplax in a dancing gesture. The hip is thrust out, introducing a whiff of imbalance which imparts a sense of life to the column-like figure. The "Tralles" type is no cistophoros but wears a high polos instead. Its date and origin is constantly disputed. It seems to me to postdate Pulcher's caryatids because it corrects their shortcomings by adjusting their stance and proportions. It is therefore a Roman creation of a more mature phase than its pioneering predecessors at Eleusis.⁵³ The fragments of a pair of "Tralles" caryatids in Pentelic marble, found in the Athenian Agora (Figs. 9, 10) were claimed by Eliana Raftopoulou for the originals, which she dated to the turn of the second to the first century B.C.⁵⁴ Their harsh, cursory workmanship, the combination of running drill

channels in the drapery and shallow carving in the hair, along with the reduced size, indicate that the Athenian examples cannot be the originals; they are more likely mechanical copies in a style which is generally acknowledged to belong to the second century A.D.⁵⁵ The Athenian origin of the "Tralles" type is by no means established, since the over life-size copy from Tralles in the Istanbul Museum seems to be earlier, probably dating from the first century A.D.⁵⁶ The Tralles copy seems in fact to be the earliest known, since a third copy from Cherchel is now placed in the second century A.D.⁵⁷ The Agora copies are tentatively associated by Margaret Miles with a Roman propylon in the City Eleusinion, which she dates to the second century A.D.⁵⁸ Their ritual dress and dancing gesture recall not Pulcher's caryatids but Ninnion on the clay plaque from Eleusis.⁵⁹ Since they were not originally created for the City Eleusinion, their iconography need not carry any Eleusinian connotations. They remain, at present, simply dancing maidens in ritual dress.

Pulcher's caryatids set a fashion that was soon carried to Rome by Athenian sculptors. Vitruvius (1.1.5) was quick to invent a historical perspective for this revived architectural ornament. Diogenes of Athens was commissioned by Agrippa to make caryatids for the porch of his Pantheon in Rome, dedicated in 25 B.C.⁶⁰ These may well have been inspired by their immediate predecessors, Pulcher's cistophoroi. Or were they captives, like Vitruvius's women of Caryai? Augustus went even further and had rows of caryatids, copied at a reduced scale from the Erechtheion korai, decorate the attics of the colonnades of his Forum in Rome, dedicated in 2 B.C.⁶¹ Augustus's caryatids went back to the classical source, in accordance with the classical revival inspired by the emperor. The days of experimentation of the late Republic were over.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Bol	P.C. Bol ed., <i>Forschungen zur Villa Albani II</i> (Berlin 1990).
<i>Das Wrack</i>	G. Hellenkemper Salies, H.-H. von Prittwitz und Gaffron, G. Bauchhens eds., <i>Das Wrack: der antike Schiffsfund von Mahdia</i> (Cologne 1994).
Moreno	P. Moreno, <i>Scultura ellenistica</i> (Rome 1994).
Schmidt-Colinet	A. Schmidt-Colinet, <i>Antike Stützfiguren</i> (Frankfurt 1977).

NOTES

1. Plut. *Sull.* 12–14; App. *Mith.* 28–41. On Athens and Sulla, see R.M. Kallet-Marx, *Hegemony to Empire* (Berkeley 1995) 198–220; C. Habicht, *Athen: die Geschichte der Stadt in hellenistischer Zeit* (Munich 1995) 303–13. On Sullan damage in the Agora, see J.M. Camp, *The Athenian Agora* (London 1986) 181; H.A. Thompson, "The Impact of Roman Architects and Architecture on Athens," in S. Macready and F.H. Thompson eds., *Roman Architecture in the Greek World* (London 1987) 4.
2. Athen. 5.214e [Apellikon of Teos]: τὰ τ' ἐκ τοῦ Μητρῶου τῶν παλαιῶν αὐτόγραφα ψηφισμάτων ὑφαίρουμένος ἐκτάτο καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων εἴ τι παλαιὸν εἶη καὶ ἀπόθετον. ἐφ' οἷς φωραθεῖς ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἐκινδύνευσεν ἂν εἰ μὴ ἐφυγεν.
3. Fourth-century reliefs and inscriptions from Athens and Piraeus were included in the cargo of the Mahdia ship, which sank in the second quarter of the first century B.C. See G. Bauchhenss, "Die klassischen Reliefs," in *Das Wrack*, 375–80; G. Petzl, "Die griechischen Inschriften," in *Das Wrack*, 381–97. On the date of the shipwreck, see S.I. Rotroff, "The Pottery," in *Das Wrack*, 133–52.
4. This is now argued in O. Palagia, "Reflections on the Piraeus Bronzes," in O. Palagia ed., *Greek Offerings. Essays on Greek Art in Honour of John Boardman* (Oxford 1997) 177–95. The fullest account of the entire cache remains E. Vanderpool, "News Letter from Greece," *AJA* 64 (1960) 265–67, pls. 65–71. Recent views on the bronzes: C.C. Mattusch, *Classical Bronzes: The Art and Craft of Greek and Roman Statuary* (Ithaca 1996) 129–40. Marble Artemis Kindyas: I. Jucker, "Artemis Kindyas," in *Gestalt und Geschichte: Festschrift K. Schefold* (*AntK-BH* 4, 1967) 133–45. Marble herms illustrated in Ch. Panagos, *Ο Πειραιεύς*² (Athens 1995) 138–39.
5. Gaius and Marcus Stallius, commissioned by Ariobarzanes II, king of Cappadocia, 63/2–52/1 B.C. (Vitr. 5.9.1; *IG* II², 3426). The Odeion was burned by Aristion during Sulla's siege to deprive the enemy of its timber (App. *Mith.* 38). A Roman architect, Cossutius, was employed by Antiochos IV in the 170s for the completion of the temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens (Vitr. 7.praef.15 and 17; *IG* II², 4099). This, however, rather reflects the patron's association with Rome at the time.
6. Statue base of Aion: *IG* II², 4705. K. Clinton, "The Eleusinian Mysteries: Roman Initiates and Benefactors, Second Century B.C. to A.D. 267," *ANRW* II.18.2 (Berlin 1989) 1509–13, pl. I:2; *LIMC* I (1981) s.v. Aion, no. 5 (M. le Glay). Its exact date is uncertain but it is generally agreed to postdate Sulla.
7. B. Petrakos, *Ὁ Ὀρωπὸς καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου* (Athens 1968) 154–70.
8. For the historical circumstances of Athens after Sulla, see M.C. Hoff, *The Roman Agora at Athens* (diss. Boston Univ. 1988) 5–26; Habicht (supra n. 1) 314–34; and Hoff, this volume.
9. See F. Coarelli, "Architettura e arti figurative in Roma: 150–50 a.C.," in P. Zanker ed., *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien* (Göttingen 1976) 21–51; P. Zanker, "Zur Funktion und Bedeutung griechischer Skulptur in der Römerzeit," in *Le classicisme à Rome* (EntrHardt 25, 1978) 283–314; J.J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge 1986) 150–63; C. Reusser, *Der Fidestempel auf dem Kapitol in Rom und seine Ausstattung* (Rome 1993) 91–112; T. Hölscher, "Hellenistische Kunst und römische Aristokratie," in *Das Wrack*, 875–88; E. La Rocca, "Greek Artists in Republican Rome: A Short History of Sculpture," in G. Pugliese Carratelli ed., *The Western Greeks* (Monza 1996) 607–26. See also infra n. 10.
10. A. Stewart, *Attika* (London 1979) 42–46, 65–98; H.-U. Cain and O. Dräger, "Die sogenannten neuattischen Werkstätten," in *Das Wrack*, 809–29; Moreno 520–59. On the family of Timarchides, see F. Coarelli, "Polykles," *StMisc* 15 (1969) 75–89; idem, *Revixit ars* (Rome 1996) 67–77, 258–79; J. Marcadé, *Recueil des signatures de sculpteurs grecs* II

- (Paris 1957) 131–32; H.G. Martin, *Römische Tempelkultbilder* (Rome 1987) 57–90; C. Habicht, "Eine Liste von Hieropoioi aus dem Jahre des Archons Andreas," *AM* 97 (1982) 178–80; F. Queyrel, "C. Ofellius Ferus," *BCH* 115 (1991) 448–64; Moreno 520–30.
11. Skopas II was a marble sculptor, mainly active in Rome in the third quarter of the second century B.C. He is documented by the label *Scopas minor* on a statue base of Hercules Olivarius found in the Forum Boarium in Rome: *CIL* VI, 33936; E. Loewy, "Scopa Minore e il simulacro di Ercole Olivario," *RM* 12 (1897) 56–70; *LIMC* IV (1988) s.v. Herakles, no. 1065 (O. Palagia); F. Coarelli, *Il Foro Boario* (Rome 1988) 96–97; L. Richardson, Jr., *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore/London 1992) 187, s.v. Hercules Olivarius. Skopas II's works seem to be listed by Pliny (*Nat.* 36.25–26). The existence of Skopas II was pointed out by Mingazzini and Coarelli: P. Mingazzini, "Scopas Minore," *Arti figurative* 2 (1946) 137–48; idem, "Su quattro scultori di nome Scopas," *RivIstArch* 18 (1971) 69–90; F. Coarelli, "La Porta Trionfale e la Via dei Trionfi," *DialArch* 2 (1968) 55–103; idem, "L'ara di Domizio Enobarbo e la cultura artistica in Roma nel II secolo a.C.," *DialArch* 2 (1968), 302–68; idem, "Classe dirigente romana e arti figurative," *DialArch* 4–5 (1970–71) 241–65; idem, *Revixit ars* (supra n. 10) 76–84; idem, *Il Campo Marzio* (Rome 1997) 379–446; Martin (supra n. 10) 57–158.
 12. For his signatures on Delos, see Marcadé (supra n. 10) 10–11, 23, pl. 27.
 13. Cic. *Att.* 6.1.17. Rome, Conservatori, Museo Nuovo 2381. F. Coarelli, "Le tyrannoctone du Capitole et la mort de Tiberius Gracchus," *MEFRA* 81 (1969) 137–60, figs. 5, 6; idem, *Revixit ars* (supra n. 10) 268, figs. 108–110; Helbig⁴ II, 1710; *LIMC* IV (1988) s.v. Herakles, nos. 1284 and 1307 (O. Palagia); Moreno 525–26, figs. 648, 649.
 14. Delos Museum A 4340. Signed statue base: Marcadé (supra n. 10) 41–42, 132, pl. 31.1. Statue: Queyrel (supra n. 10) 389–448; idem in J. Marcadé ed., *Sculptures déliennes* (Paris 1996) no. 85.
 15. Pliny, *Nat.* 36.35. *LIMC* II (1984) s.v. Apollon, nos. 222 and 586 (O. Palagia); G. Becatti, "Attikā – Saggio sulla scultura attica dell'ellenismo," *RivIstArch* 7 (1940) 33–38; Martin (supra n. 10) 64–86; Cain and Dräger (supra n. 10) 814, fig. 4; Moreno 522–23, fig. 642.
 16. Pliny *Nat.* 36.25–26. Richardson (supra n. 11) 245, s.v. Mars, Aedes in Circo Flaminio.
 17. Moreno 552. Pausanias's remark that she was shown ὡς ἐξ μάχην may indicate an archaistic Promachos type.
 18. Berlin, Pergamonmuseum P 24. *Die Antikensammlung Berlin* (Mainz 1992) no. 75.
 19. D. Grassigner, "Die Marmorkratere," in *Das Wrack*, 259–83.
 20. Supra n. 3.
 21. Cain and Dräger (supra n. 10).
 22. Pliny *Nat.* 36.25: *duosque lampteras* (where *lampteras* is an emendation of the incongruous *campteras*).
 23. E.B. Harrison, *Agora XI: Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture* (Princeton 1965) nos. 128, 129 (Agora S 370 and S 1726+245 + Acropolis Museum 4962), pls. 29, 30; M.-A. Zagdoun, *La sculpture archaïsante dans l'art hellénistique et dans l'art romain du haut-empire* (Paris 1989) no. 14 (Agora S 1726+245 + Acropolis Museum 4962), pl. 23; no. 41 (Agora S 370), pl. 58; no. 59 (Athens, National Museum 1966), pl. 35; no. 170 (Delos Museum A 9, from Athens), pl. 20. Archaistic statue: Artemis Munychia, Piraeus Museum 1927, L. Paleokrassa, Το ιερό της Αρτέμιδος Μουνυχίας (Athens 1991) 52, 101–102, Γ 13, pls. 10, 11.
 24. Harrison (supra n. 23) 127. Piraeus herms: supra n. 4.
 25. Eleusis Museum 5079. IG II², 4701. K. Clinton, *The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Philadelphia 1974) 97; idem, *Myth and Cult* (Stockholm 1992) 51–53, 56, figs. 5–7.
 26. H. Hörmann, *Die inneren Propyläen von Eleusis* (Berlin/Leipzig 1932) 64–76, pls. 22, 28, 50–52; G.E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton 1961) 159–60, fig. 56;

- A. Giuliano, *La cultura artistica delle province della Grecia in età romana* (Rome 1965) 27–28. The Hadrianic date proposed for the caryatids in Helbig⁴ II, 3217 is not supported by the architectural remains: there is no evidence of any extensive rebuilding of the Lesser Propylaia (W.B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*³ [London 1950] 286–87; D. Giraud, Η κυρία είσοδος του ιερού της Ελευσίνας [Athens 1991] 107–14).
27. See also Clinton (supra n. 6) 1504–1506, pl. I:1.
 28. Hörmann (supra n. 26) 73.
 29. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR.I.1865. L. Budde and R. Nicholls, *Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Sculpture in the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge 1964) 46–49, no. 81, pls. 24, 25.
 30. Eleusis Museum 5104. K. Preka-Alexandri, Ελευσίνα (Athens 1991) 19.
 31. Excerpted from E.D. Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries: Greece, Egypt and the Holy Land VI* (London 1818) 600–602, 615–23.
 32. G. Wheler, *A Journey into Greece* (London 1682) 428 with ill.; R. Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor and Greece I* (London 1817) 215–16.
 33. Rome, Villa Albani 16: Hörmann (supra n. 26) fig. 52; Bol no. 179, pls. 50–53; Schmidt-Colinet W 38a; Helbig⁴ II, 3217. Villa Albani 24 (Fig. 5): Hörmann fig. 55; Bol no. 180, pls. 54–57; Schmidt-Colinet W 69a; Helbig⁴ II, 3217. Villa Albani 91: Hörmann fig. 51; Bol no. 224, pls. 180–183; Schmidt-Colinet W 38b; Helbig⁴ II, 3282. Villa Albani 97 (Fig. 6): Hörmann fig. 54; Bol no. 225, pls. 184–187; Schmidt-Colinet W 38c; Helbig⁴ II, 3282. See also P. Zanker, *Klassizistische Statuen* (Mainz 1974) 85 n. 112; E. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Karyatiden* (Würzburg 1982) 100–102; R. Neudecker, *Die Skulpturen-ausstattung römischen Villen in Italien* (Mainz 1988) 171–72.
 34. Schmidt-Colinet W 38d and W 69b. See also C. Gasparri, *Materiali per servire allo studio del Museo Torlonia di scultura antica* (Rome 1980) no. 485, pl. VI:c.
 35. D. Philios, 'Ελευσίς (Athens 1906) 122–23.
 36. Villa Albani 24. Bol no. 180, pls. 54–57.
 37. Villa Albani 16, 91, and 97. Supra n. 33.
 38. On the classical diplax, see O. Palagia, "A Classical Variant of the Corinth/Mocenigo Goddess: Demeter/Kore or Athena?" *BSA* 84 (1989) 324–25.
 39. Corinth Museum S 68 and Rome, Terme 154583. The type was identified with Athena by Palagia (supra n. 38) 323–31, pl. 46:c–e.
 40. Athens, National Museum 11036, from Eleusis. Mylonas (supra n. 26) fig. 88; Clinton 1992 (supra n. 25) 67, 74, 136, no. 1, frontispiece, fig. 73.
 41. Los Angeles County Museum of Art 51.18.12 and Naples, Museo Nazionale 6024. Palagia (supra n. 38) 330, pl. 47:e (Naples).
 42. IG P, 506. Associated by Plutarch (*Per.* 13) with the building of the Propylaia (437–432 B.C.). Athena Hope/Farnese identified with Athena Hygieia: F. Studniczka, *AA* 1899, 134–35. See also A. Preyß, "Athena Hope und Pallas Albani-Farnese," *JdI* 27 (1912) 88–128; idem, "Athena Hope und Winckelmanns Pallas," *JdI* 28 (1913) 244–65.
 43. Harrison (supra n. 23) 54–57 on the archaistic diagonal mantle. She remarks that it was not used in the fifth or the early fourth century (54).
 44. Eleusis Museum 5140 and no number. M.D. Fullerton, "The Archaistic Perirrhanterion of Attica," *Hesperia* 55 (1986) 208–209, pl. 41; Preka-Alexandri (supra n. 30) fig. 24.
 45. Venice, Archaeological Museum 264–A. G. Traversari, *Sculture del V^o–IV^o secolo a.C. del Museo Archeologico di Venezia* (Venice 1973) no. 64; Moreno 545, fig. 665.
 46. Berlin Antikensammlung. C. Blümel, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: Römische Kopien griechischer Skulpturen des fünften Jahr. v. Chr.* (Berlin 1931) 42–43, K 181, pl. 74.
 47. Zagdoun (supra n. 23) cat. 258–259, pl. 3, figs. 14, 16.

48. Supra n. 4.
49. L.J. Roccas, "The Kanephoros and her Festival Mantle in Greek Art," *AJA* 99 (1995) 641–66.
50. *IG I³*, 79. Clinton 1974 (supra n. 25) 69.
51. Fragments in the Acropolis Museum 7181, 8750, 3189, 7782, 2899. M. Bruskarı, "Η Αθηνά του τύπου Herculaneum στην Ακρόπολη," in H. Kyrieleis ed., *Archaische und klassische griechische Plastik II* (Mainz 1986) 77–83, pls. 107, 108. Head in the Agora S 1064. Harrison (supra n. 23) 73–75, no. 124, pl. 26; Zagdoun (supra n. 23) cat. 30, pl. 6, figs. 28, 29. Copy from Herculaneum in Naples, Museo Nazionale 6007. Zagdoun (supra n. 23) cat. 286, pl. 7, fig. 30.
52. M.D. Fullerton, "The Date of the Herculaneum Pallas Type," *AA* 1989, 57–67 dates her ca. 50 B.C. and associates her with Appius Claudius Pulcher.
53. That they are a Roman creation is also the view of C. Landwehr, *Die römischen Skulpturen von Caesarea Mauretaniae I: Idealplastik* (Berlin 1993) 72–74.
54. Athens National Museum 1682 and 1683 (heads) with fragments of a body (5798). Under life-size. E.G. Raftopoulou, "Neue Zeugnisse archaischer Plastik im Athener Nationalmuseum," *AM* 100 (1985) 355–65, pls. 72–76, 78:1–2, 79, 80:1–2.
55. Athens copies thought to be Hadrianic: H.P. Laubscher, "Skulpturen aus Tralles," *IstMitt* 16 (1966) 128–29, pls. 24:1–3, 25:2–3, followed by Landwehr (supra n. 53) and R. Özgan, *Die griechischen und römischen Skulpturen aus Tralleis* (Asia Minor Studien 15, Bonn 1995) 125–33. An Antonine date should not be ruled out, however, on account of their affinity to the statuary from the Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus at Olympia (published by R. Bol, *Das Statuenprogramm des Herodes-Atticus-Nymphäums* [OIForsch 15, Berlin 1984]).
56. Istanbul Museum 1189. Height 1.83 m. without the plinth. Augustan. Özgan (supra n. 55) 128.
57. Cherchel Museum S 89. Headless. Height 1.55 m, without the plinth. Antonine. Landwehr (supra n. 53). This example was long associated with Juba II of Mauretania and dated to the late first century B.C.; this dating persists in Özgan (supra n. 55) 126–27.
58. In her forthcoming study of the City Eleusinion.
59. Supra n. 40.
60. Pliny, *Nat.* 34.13 and 36.38; Cass. Dio 53.27.2. Richardson (supra n. 11) 283, s.v. Pantheon.
61. Probably begun in 24 B.C. P. Zanker, *Forum Augustum* (Tübingen 1968) 7–8, figs. 5 and 25; E. Schmidt, "Die Kopien der Erechtheionkoren," *AntP* 13 (1973) 7–19, pls. 1–5; Richardson (supra n. 11) 160–62, s.v. Forum Augusti; M. Hofter ed., *Kaiser Augustus und die verlorene Republik* (Mainz 1988) cat. 77–78, figs. 78; 85; P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, trans. A. Shapiro (Ann Arbor 1988) 256–57, fig. 202; L. Ungaro and M. Milella eds., *I luoghi del consenso imperiale. Il Foro di Augusto. Il Foro di Traiano* (exh. cat., Rome 1995) 32–41.