

ART IN ATHENS DURING THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

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ARCHAISM AND THE QUEST FOR IMMORTALITY IN ATTIC SCULPTURE DURING THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

OLGA PALAGIA

A thenian sculptural production in the period 431–404 B.C. was rich and varied, dealing with themes inspired by war and death. This chapter discusses first, the emergence of archaism in free-standing sculpture, and second, the sculptured representations of the return from the Underworld and of intimations of immortality, themes which were hitherto known only in painting.

ARCHAISM

R etrospection and nostalgia for the past can be generated by a need for reassurance in times of crisis. Old and venerable types repeated on mass-produced commercial objects can also function as guarantors of quality and stability. The archaic head of Athena on classical Attic coins and the archaic (and eventually archaistic) Athena Promachos on Panathenaic prize amphorae served precisely this purpose, turning by extension into symbols of the city.¹ Archaism as a stylistic phenomenon in Greek sculpture consists in a deliberate revival of archaic poses, draperies, and coiffures, combined with classical types of dress and a more realistic anatomy. It is a question of interpretation whether we apply this term only to sculptures exhibiting a mixture of archaic and classical styles or whether we extend the meaning of archaism to include reproductions of archaic xoana, as well as herms that are more or less survivals of earlier periods.

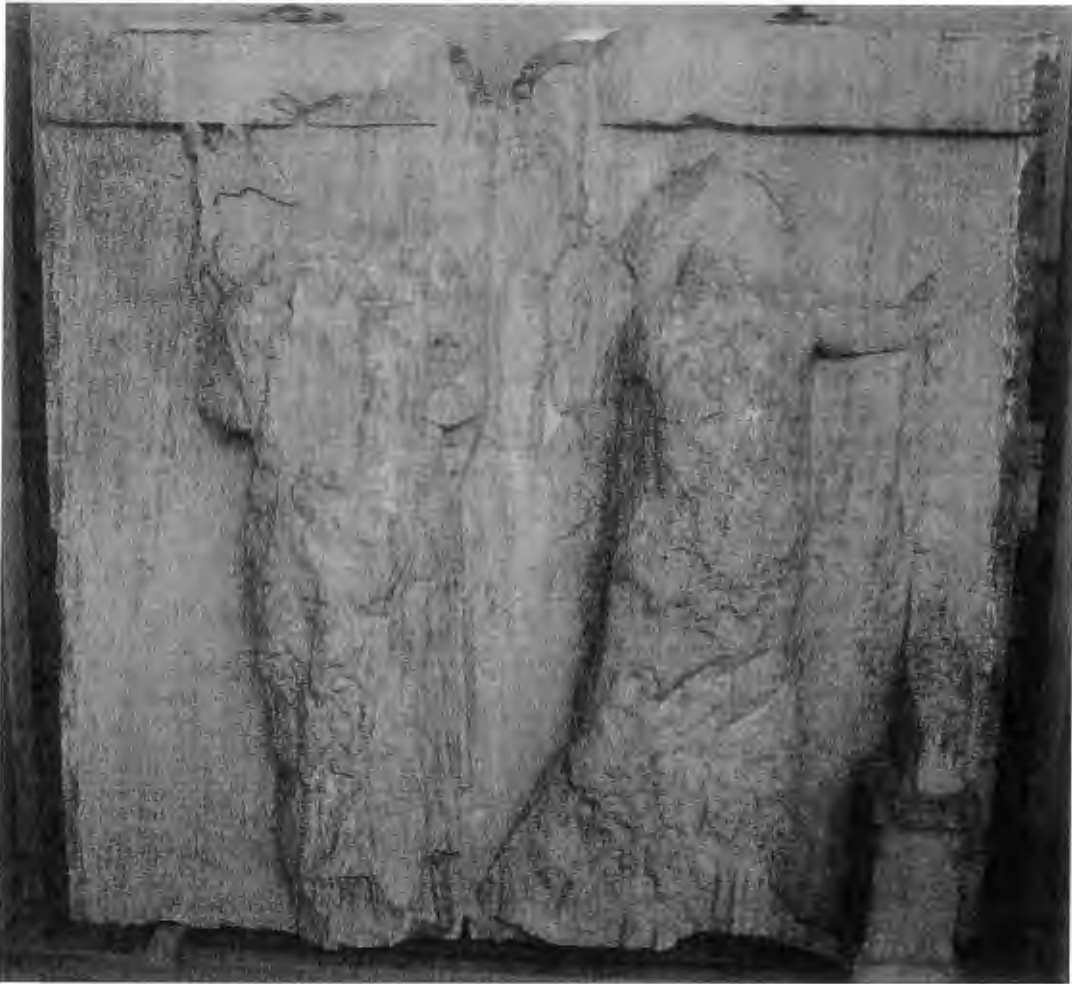


Figure 2. Parthenon, North metope 25. Athens, Akropolis Museum. Photo: Olga Palagia.

1. Xoana

The metopes of the Parthenon (c. 447–442 B.C.) include reproductions of archaic statuary types. The representations of xoana (cult statues) on metopes South 21 and North 25 (Fig. 2) are based on the so-called Daedalic korai of the second half of the seventh century B.C.² These xoana are set up either on a rectangular pedestal or a low column and are invariably shown on a smaller scale than the other figures in the scene. They are presumably meant to reproduce venerable wooden images, possibly inspired by the wooden statue of Athena Polias which was originally housed in the Old Temple of Athena and was eventually moved into the Erechtheion (Pausanias 1.26.6). Such images were small-scale and were of course represented as such on the metopes. On South 21 two female suppliants flank the frontal xoanon of a goddess. A similar xoanon is shown in profile on North 25, where Helen seeks protection from Menelaos at the palladion of Troy (Fig. 2). More enigmatic is a pair of archaistic running figures on South metope 18.³ As they are not

reduced in size, they cannot represent xoana. However, since metope 18 is only known from “Carrey’s” drawing, we cannot recover its true style and meaning, and the intention behind the archaic forms of this metope has yet to be discovered.

2. Herms

The earliest attested herm, which was said to have been dedicated to Athena Polias by the legendary king Kekrops, was of wood (Pausanias 1.27.1). The marble herms of fifth-century Athens are survivals of archaic types combined with Severe Style traits.⁴ This blend of styles is typical of the Early Classical period. Because most herms are known only from Roman copies, it is now impossible to determine which types, if any, were created in the first or second half of the fifth century. Only one famous sculptor of the fifth century, Pheidias’ pupil Alkamenes, was credited with the creation of a herm. But the lack of consensus over which herm type can be attributed to him serves to illustrate the chronological and stylistic problems posed by herms in the development of classical sculpture. Roman copies and variants of two slightly different types of herm found at Pergamon and at Ephesos carry inscriptions attributing the original of each one to Alkamenes.⁵ The Pergamon type (Color Pl. 1) appears to draw on a Severe Style prototype, judging by its low forehead crowned by a triple row of curls and its thick eyelids and stylized beard, which is reminiscent of that of the Artemision god.⁶ The Pergamon type has been variously dated from c. 430 to the first century B.C.⁷ The proposed dates for the Ephesos type also range from the mid-fifth century to the first century B.C.⁸ Stewart suggests that both types were created by Alkamenes around 430 B.C.⁹

Even though uncertainty over dates compels us to omit the Alkamenes-type herms from our discussion of archaism during the Peloponnesian War years, we can safely credit Alkamenes with the creation of the earliest known archaistic free-standing sculpture, the triple Hekate on the Athenian Akropolis. Pausanias (2.30.2) says that Alkamenes was the first to represent Hekate in triple form and that the Athenians set her up near the temple of Athena Nike on the Akropolis and called her Epipyrgidia (on the bastion).¹⁰ Her position near the Propylaia accords well with her traditional role as guardian of gates.¹¹ Hekate on the bastion, assimilated to Artemis Epipyrgidia, shared a cult with the Graces on the bastion at least by the first century B.C., as attested by an inscribed priest’s seat in the theater of Dionysos in Athens.¹² Pausanias does not describe her style, but the earliest known triple-bodied Hekate from Athens, as represented on a New Style silver tetradrachm of the first



Figure 3. Triple Hekate. Athens, British School at Athens S 21. Photo: Olga Palagia. Reproduced with permission of the British School at Athens.

century B.C., is archaistic in its rigid frontality and must reflect Alkamenes' image.¹³ A number of small-scale marble copies from the Athenian Agora and a hekataion of uncertain provenance now in the British School at Athens (Fig. 3), all dating equally from the first century B.C. – first century A.D., reproduce the same type of three frontal figures standing back to back like xoana around an invisible pillar.¹⁴ Artemis Epipyrgidia is described as πυρφόρος in *IG II² 5050* and probably held torches as shown on the New Style silver tetradrachm and as implied by the holes in the hands of the British School Hekataion (Fig. 3).

Alkamenes' Hekate introduces a new sartorial concept, a classical peplos belted over an overfold with archaistic zigzag folds. Her anatomy and the drapery folds over her chest are purely classical, whereas her frontal pose,

feet placed close together, hands by the sides, and the symmetrical drapery arrangements below her belt reproduce archaic schemata. The swallow-tail hem of the overfold and the double central pleat of the skirt with folds radiating from its top offer the first manifestations of archaism in free-standing sculpture. Alkamenēs' original has been variously dated c. 430¹⁵ or to 420–410, which seems closer to the point.¹⁶ A similar archaistic peplos with swallow-tail overfold and skirt with central pleat is worn by a striding Athena on an Attic red-figure oinochoe of about 410 from the Athenian Agora.¹⁷ Reflections of the style and form of Alkamenēs' Hekate can be found in two xoana represented on marble reliefs from c. 415–410 B.C.: the idol at the extreme right of the votive relief of Xenokrateia (Color Pl. 2) signposting the sanctuary of Kephisos at Phaleron,¹⁸ and the xoanon of Artemis embraced by a Lapith woman on the centauromachy frieze of the temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai.¹⁹ A variant of the Hekate is used as a statue support for a marble Aphrodite of the late fifth century found in Tarquinia.²⁰

The large concentration of archaistic peplos figures in the period 415–410 entails a common prototype, that is, Alkamenēs' Hekate, originating at that time. Alkamenēs' statue may therefore be tentatively dated around the time of the Sicilian expedition. The reduced size of all copies, the use of the type to represent xoana in sculptured narratives, and the fact that a variant serves as a statue support raise interesting questions about the size of the original. Was it small-scale and was it intended to reproduce a xoanon rather than the goddess herself? The fact that classical marble herms as well as the xoana on the Parthenon metopes are probably inspired by archaic wooden images may point to a similar source of inspiration for Alkamenēs' triple-bodied Hekate. Her image is small-scale because it stands for a venerable cult statue in wood going back to times immemorial. Its new brand of archaism, however, introducing a peplos with archaic folds which cannot be a survival of earlier forms (because the peplos did not exist in the archaic period), indicates an imaginative re-creation of earlier paradigms. It has been suggested that Hekate's archaistic form is meant as an historical allusion to times past, involving the origins of the Athenian league.²¹ But this brand of religious conservatism may also be regarded as being formed in tandem with a conservative trend in politics: both acknowledged a superior past that must be recovered at all costs. The Athenian conservatives' appeal to the ancestral constitution of Kleisthenes ([Aristotle], *Athenaion Politeia* 29.3), which had been adulterated by the extreme democrats, demonstrates a retrospective outlook that obviously found favor in some quarters and eventually led to a

brief overthrow of the Athenian democracy in 411.²² The rule of the 400 that ensued was perceived as the restoration of an alleged ancestral polity. This political construct found its visual expression in archaism. The conservative aspect of Alkamenes' Hekate may well be associated with the oligarchic movement that undermined the rule of the demos.²³

We have seen that Hekate/Artemis Epipyrgidia on the bastion shared a cult with the Graces.²⁴ The cult image of the Graces is attributed by the ancient sources to the philosopher Sokrates, son of Sophroniskos, a well-known conservative.²⁵ If this attribution is correct, it dates the Graces during the Peloponnesian War. They probably formed part of the sculptural program of the bastion which comprised Alkamenes' Hekate and the Hermes Propylaios, which Pausanias (1.22.8) may also attribute to Sokrates (the phrasing is so ambiguous that modern scholarship, probably erroneously, assigns this Hermes to Alkamenes on the strength of the inscribed herm from Pergamon discussed above).²⁶ The Hermes Propylaios need not have been a herm but was probably a full-length figure conceived as the Graces' companion according to standard iconography: Hermes is often shown alongside three Graces or nymphs, and it can be hard to distinguish which triad is meant. It has been suggested that Sokrates' Graces were free-standing on account of the word *agalмата* used by both Pausanias and the Scholiast to Aristophanes, *Clouds* (773), to describe them.²⁷ The Scholiast explicitly says, however, that they were carved on the wall, which indicates a relief. The term *agalмата* is here used in the sense of cult images.²⁸

Sokrates' Graces were disassociated from the Hermes Propylaios already in the nineteenth century and recognized in a Severe Style relief of three dancing maidens which has come down to us in a number of Neo-Attic copies (Fig. 4).²⁹ This attribution was reinforced by the excavation of a fragmentary copy on the south slope of the Akropolis in the 1870s (Fig. 5)³⁰ and especially by the appearance of four other fragments near the Propylaia, in the mosque of the Parthenon and in marble piles on the rock.³¹ The Severe Style appearance of this relief, however, renders attribution to Sokrates impossible.³² At first sight, two solutions to this chronological discrepancy present themselves: either the relief was made by a different Sokrates or it was a Neo-Attic variant created in commemoration of the philosopher's famous original. Despite the unanimous verdict of the ancient sources, which assign the Graces to the philosopher Sokrates, a Boeotian sculptor Sokrates, who may have been active earlier in the fifth century, was put forward as an alternative candidate.³³ The relief has also been relegated to the late Hellenistic period.³⁴ But the combination of late archaic and Early Classical



Figure 4. Neo-Attic relief of the so-called Graces of Sokrates, here identified as nymphs. Piraeus Museum 2043. Photo: Olga Palagia.

stylistic traits is typical of the Severe Style; the Neo-Attic copies (Figs. 4,5) must therefore draw on a work of the first half of the fifth century.

But there is a third possibility: what if we reconsider the identification of the dancing maidens? There is no iconographical reason that they could not be nymphs instead of Graces. A sanctuary dedicated to a nymph was excavated on the south slope of the Akropolis in the 1950s,³⁵ and because the only securely excavated fragment of the Neo-Attic reliefs (Fig. 5) comes from the south slope, the reliefs of the dancing maidens may well be associated with a nymph cult in that area and they may indeed represent nymphs.³⁶ The Neo-Attic relief fragments found on the Akropolis were not in fact excavated



Figure 5. Fragment of Neo-Attic relief of the so-called Graces of Sokrates, here identified as nymphs. From the south slope of the Athenian Akropolis. Athens, Akropolis Museum 1341+2594. Photo: Hans R. Goette.

there and may have been moved to the rock to serve as building material in the Middle Ages. The Propylaia were conveniently used for storing antiquities in the nineteenth century.

A series of fragmentary votive reliefs and a statue base of the fourth century B.C. found on the Akropolis represent the three Graces in scenes involving Athena (Fig. 6) and/or Nike or an arrhephoros working at the loom or carrying a warp peg (Fig. 7).³⁷ The involvement of Nike and an arrhephoros indicates that some at least of the reliefs were dedicated on the occasion of the Panathenaia. The Graces are also represented on their own in a votive relief of



Figure 6. Fragmentary votive relief with the Graces and Athena. Athens, Akropolis Museum 18143. Photo: Hans R. Goette.

unknown provenance and uncertain date, now in a private collection.³⁸ That their shrine was an important religious landmark of the city is attested by a fragmentary document relief of the fourth century presumably decorating a decree associated with the cult of the Graces on the Akropolis (Fig. 8).³⁹ On all these reliefs (Figs. 6–8), the Graces are invariably shown as half figures, implying that they are chthonic deities, rising from the ground. The position of their arms varies: they can be extended or held tightly against their breasts. Figure 6 shows the Graces and a half figure of Athena alongside three phialai depicted as if hanging from a wall, which suggests that all these figures are in relief.

The Graces are frontal and stylized, and their relief format allows a linear, two-dimensional design. Even though they are not truly archaic, they are conceived like xoana, attempting to revive an ancient tradition but failing to obliterate the classical characteristics that betray their own period. Their strict frontality and their Attic peploi have an affinity not only to the upper part of Alkamenes' Hekate but also to the middle Grace on Pheidias' statue base of Athena Parthenos, as reproduced on a reduced copy from Pergamon.⁴⁰ Their frequent repetition, albeit with variations, on fourth-century votive and document reliefs and statue bases indicates that they allude to a well-known



Figure 7. Fragment of statue base. Arrhephoros with warp peg alongside one of the Graces. Athens, Akropolis Museum 3306. Photo: Hans R. Goette.

cult group, and Sokrates' is the only cult image of the Graces attested on the Akropolis. The question remains: if the relief with the Graces represented as half figures is based on Sokrates' original, why is not Hermes represented alongside them? It is possible that he was not part of the group but was a separate image, perhaps not even by Sokrates. Pausanias' phrase (1.22.8), "at the entrance of the Akropolis there is a Hermes named Propylaios, and the Graces, allegedly made by Sokrates, son of Sophroniskos," is ambiguous, and it is noteworthy that no other references to the Graces of Sokrates mention this Hermes.

In conclusion, the first archaistic sculptures that did not belong to the fabric of a temple (like the metopes of the Parthenon), the triple Hekate of Alkamenes and the Graces of Sokrates, were produced for the Athenian Akropolis during the Peloponnesian War. They were very likely visual manifestations of a conservative trend in contemporary Athenian society and may have aimed to provide reassurance in a time of crisis.



Figure 8. Fragment of document relief with one of the Graces. The name of the eponymous archon Sokratides is inscribed on the architrave. 374/3 B.C. Athens, National Museum 157. Photo: Museum.

THE DESCENT INTO THE UNDERWORLD AND THE QUEST FOR IMMORTALITY

During the Peloponnesian War a new theme of the descent to and return from the Underworld is introduced in Attic sculpture. Such scenes were already common in major painting and vase painting,⁴¹ but somehow eschatological subjects had eluded monumental sculpture so far, with the notable exception of Herakles. His apotheosis and introduction to Olympos are shown on an archaic pediment from the Athenian Akropolis, and east metope 5 from the temple of Zeus at Olympia shows Herakles fetching Kerberos from the Underworld.⁴² Herakles, Odysseus, Orpheus, and Theseus all made the journey to the Underworld and back. The purposes of their descent varied: Odysseus ventured into Hades in search of a prophecy, and Theseus in search of a bride for his friend Peirithoos, whereas Herakles and Orpheus went to fetch back the dead. The theme of the descent into Hades in order to bring back a deceased individual was poignantly exploited in Aristophanes, *Frogs*, which was produced in the penultimate year of the war (405 B.C.). It is noteworthy that Dionysos in the play is disguised as Herakles in order to secure safe passage to the Underworld and back.

Odysseus' descent into the Underworld seeking guidance from the dead Teiresias for his return journey to Ithaca is graphically described in the *Odyssey*, Book 11. Odysseus encounters scores of dead heroes sitting or standing around in dejection. This episode, drawing heavily on Homer, was painted by Polygnotos in his *Nekyia* in the Lesche of the Knidians at Delphi in the late second quarter of the fifth century (Pausanias 10.28–31).⁴³ It formed the counterpart of another painting by Polygnotos in the same Lesche, *Troy Taken (Iliouperis)* (Pausanias 10.25–27). The iconography of the fall of Troy and its aftermath, the descent into Hades, may have inspired the sculptured frieze of the Ionic temple on the Ilissos River, which is usually dated within the period of the Archidamian War (431–421 B.C.).⁴⁴ The frieze is now very fragmentary and difficult to interpret. Slabs B and C represent a unified theme, men standing around or sitting, scattered in a rocky landscape.⁴⁵ The lack of action is typical of sculptured narratives in the third quarter of the fifth century. The widely spaced composition of inactive characters recalls Underworld scenes in Attic red-figure vase-painting of the high classical period, for example the *Nekyia* on a calyx krater in New York.⁴⁶ It is likely that landscape elements were painted in the background. The best part of slab B (Fig. 9) comprises two men in himatia seated facing one another on rocks, heads bowed in dejection, accompanied by a bundle, a sack of



Figure 9. Slab B of the frieze of the Ilissos temple. Berlin, Antikensammlung. Staatliche Museen – Preussischer Kulturbesitz Sk 1483. Photo: Hans R. Goette.

provisions, a crooked stick for carrying them, and a pilos-like object that has often been interpreted as a helmet but may be a bucket instead.⁴⁷ In the early twentieth century the pair was interpreted as Theseus and Peirithoos in Hades, and by extension slabs B and C were seen as parts of a *Nekyia*.⁴⁸ The two heroes in Hades, however, are usually shown as warriors, not as citizens in himatia;⁴⁹ I have argued elsewhere that the two men on slab B are initiates in the Underworld, resting on the banks of the Acheron River.⁵⁰ The reeds of the river may have been painted in the background. Even though it is not possible to prove that part of the Ilissos frieze carried an Underworld scene,⁵¹ it remains a plausible interpretation, especially as the other surviving slabs, D and E, can be viewed as scenes of the *Ilioupersis*.⁵² The iconography of the architectural sculptures of the Ilissos temple would thus be echoing Polygnotos' pictures at Delphi and would be rather appropriate decoration for a temple erected in the opening years of the Peloponnesian War. The representation of an Underworld scene would mark a new development in sacred architecture which remained, however, without following.

In the decade 420–410 Herakles' attainment of immortality was celebrated on the Akropolis in a (fragmentary) votive relief that was excavated near the Erechtheion (Fig. 10).⁵³ It shows a coronation scene. Herakles⁵⁴ on the left is crowned by Nike, who embraces a youthful goddess on the right. Nike is distinctly smaller than the other two figures. A deep cutting in her



Figure 10. Fragmentary three-figure relief with Herakles, Nike, and Athena. Athens, Akropolis Museum 1329 (on loan to the Museum of the History of the Ancient Olympic Games, Olympia). Photo: Hans R. Goette.

right hand must have accommodated a metallic wreath. Her clinging peplos is typical of the Rich Style and recalls the draperies of Nikai on the Nike temple parapet, whereas Herakles' muscular chest echoes Poseidon in the west pediment of the Parthenon.⁵⁵ Parthenonian overtones are also evident in the intimacy between the goddesses which finds a parallel in Nike and Hera on the Parthenon frieze, and in Herakles' furrowed brow that can be seen on some of the horsemen on the same frieze.⁵⁶ Nike's smaller scale and dependence on the larger goddess suggests that the crown is ultimately awarded by this other goddess. But who is she? Her identification with Hebe, suggested by a handful of scholars, does not explain Nike's gesture of intimacy.⁵⁷ Hebe can be shown crowning Herakles⁵⁸ but cannot command Nike to award the crown. Given the Akropolis findspot, the goddess may be more plausibly interpreted as Athena. She was Herakles' greatest champion and introduced him to Olympos after his demise and apotheosis. The fact that she wears neither helmet nor aegis is not a problem, for she occasionally appears without them in the second half of the fifth century, for example, on the Parthenon frieze, on a votive relief of Athena Nike from the Akropolis dating from c. 415–410 B.C.

(where she holds her helmet on her lap) (Fig. 17), and on a record relief of 409/8 B.C.⁵⁹ Eternal youth was Herakles' reward for acquiring the apples of the Hesperides and his coronation by Nike belongs to the imagery of apotheosis.⁶⁰

The closest stylistic parallel to the relief from the Akropolis (Fig. 10) can be found on another three-figure relief showing Herakles seated under the apple tree in the garden of the Hesperides. It is known from a number of fragmentary copies of the Roman period (Fig. 11).⁶¹ It forms part of a group of four three-figure reliefs, all transmitted through Roman copies in Pentelic marble, showing scenes related to the quest for immortality. The other three reliefs represent Theseus, Peirithoos, and Herakles in the Underworld, Orpheus, Eurydice, and Hermes *psychopompos* (Fig. 15), and Medea and the daughters of Pelias (Fig. 14).⁶² Herakles' hairstyle is similar on the Akropolis and the Hesperides reliefs, and Athena's idiosyncratic braids wrapped round her head (Fig. 10) recur in the Hesperid standing behind Herakles in the Hermitage copy of the Hesperides relief.⁶³ Herakles' head and anatomy (Fig. 10) are also related to those of Theseus on the relief illustrating Herakles liberating Theseus and Peirithoos from Hades.⁶⁴ It looks as though the three Herakles reliefs were conceived in the same workshop at the same time, two of them illustrating stages in the hero's attainment of immortality, the third showing his ability to resurrect the dead. A similar atmosphere of blissful timelessness is conveyed in the bottom zone of a contemporary Attic red-figure hydria by the Meidias Painter in London, showing Herakles in the garden of the Hesperides (Fig. 12) attended by Hygieia, Medea holding a casket with magic potions (Fig. 13), and a number of Argonauts and Athenian eponymous heroes, along with Theseus' sons, Demophon and Akamas.⁶⁵ The presence of Athenian heroes characterizes the scene as an Athenian Elysium. Medea's appearance, on the other hand, has been viewed as a jarring note, an element of evil in paradise.⁶⁶ However, her capacity to bestow eternal youth, just like the apples of the Hesperides, and her association with Theseus' father, Aigeus, are good reasons for her inclusion in this Attic garden.⁶⁷

Medea and the daughters of Pelias form the subject of another three-figure relief transmitted through Roman copies (Fig. 14).⁶⁸ It represents the moment of horror when the daughters of Pelias realize that their father, boiling in the cauldron, is not going to be rejuvenated as promised by Medea. In a similar vein, the relief of Hermes, Eurydice, and Orpheus (Fig. 15) evidently illustrates the spouses' separation, when Hermes must convey Eurydice back to Hades.⁶⁹ It has been argued that the relief shows the final reunion of Orpheus and Eurydice because the Greek literary sources are mainly aware

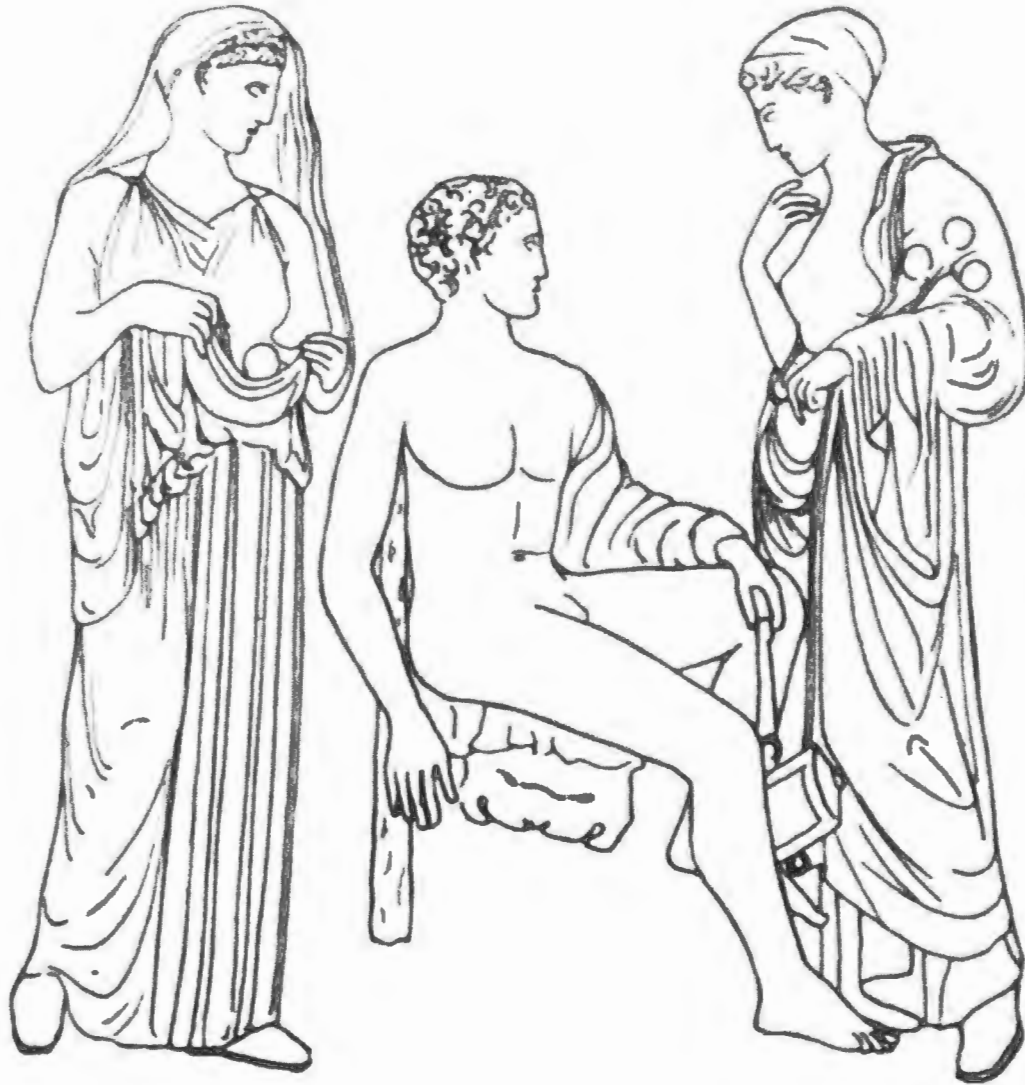


Figure 11. Reconstruction of three-figure relief of Herakles in the garden of the Hesperides. After H. Götze, *JdI* 63/64 (1948/49) p. 93 fig.4.

of a version of the story in which Orpheus' mission is successful.⁷⁰ However, Hermes' firm grasp of Eurydice's hand indicates that he is leading her back to Hades.⁷¹ Hermes invariably acts as *psychopompos* in the funerary iconography of the fifth century: the best parallel to the gestures of Hermes and Eurydice in the Orpheus relief is offered by the lekythos of Myrrhine (Fig. 16), which dates from roughly the same period.⁷²

The Medea and Orpheus reliefs, therefore, immortalize their heroes' failed attempts to attain eternal life, whereas the Herakles reliefs celebrate his conquest of death for himself and others. Because the four three-figure reliefs copied in Roman times are closely related in style and are of approximately the same size, they are usually considered as forming part of a single monument. As the three figures echo the three actors of Attic drama, the reliefs have been attributed either to the base of a funerary monument for a tragic poet⁷³ or



Figure 12. Attic red-figure hydria by the Meidias Painter. London, British Museum E 224. Photo: copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.

to a choregic monument.⁷⁴ These possibilities, however, are not supported by the evidence. Attic funerary monuments do not represent gods or heroes, except Hermes, and choregic monuments are not known to have illustrated more than a single winning poem.⁷⁵ An alternative interpretation sees them



Figure 13. Attic red-figure hydria by the Meidias Painter. London, British Museum E 224. Detail: Medea. Photo: copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.

as flanking the entrance of a sacred precinct.⁷⁶ Because of the predominance of Herakles imagery, Evelyn Harrison has assigned them to the precinct of the sanctuary of Herakles at Melite.⁷⁷

The four three-figure reliefs, however, do not stand alone. Even though slightly smaller in scale, the Akropolis relief (Fig. 10) is closely related to them in style and iconography and has the additional advantage of being a fifth-century original. It introduces a divine figure (Athena), thus raising the question of the recipient of the dedication. The majority of scholars have regarded this relief as a votive to Herakles despite the fact that we have no evidence of a Herakles cult on the Akropolis in the classical period.⁷⁸ A sixth-century statue base in Naxian marble probably carrying a dedication to Herakles and found embedded in an Ottoman wall near the Propylaia is sometimes taken as evidence of a Herakles cult on the rock.⁷⁹ If such a shrine existed, it may have been destroyed by the Persians in 480/79; it was, at any rate, not seen by Pausanias.⁸⁰ Both the findspot (near the Erechtheion) and Athena's likely appearance on the Herakles relief from the Akropolis (Fig. 10) indicate that it may have been dedicated to her.⁸¹ Likewise, the prototypes of the other three-figure reliefs need not have belonged to a single monument but may have been votives to Athena on the Akropolis, all created in a single workshop in the last decades of the Peloponnesian War. Their unusual



Figure 14. Three-figure relief of Medea and the daughters of Pelias. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen – Preussischer Kulturbesitz Sk 925. Photo: Hans R. Goette.

iconography is no obstacle. Herakles' close relationship to Athena is well known; Theseus was the Attic hero par excellence; Medea enjoyed a sojourn in Athens; Orpheus' continuous presence in fifth-century Attic vase-painting is a token of his popularity in Athens and of Athenian interest in Orphism.⁸² It is probably no accident that one of the metopes of the temple of Apollo



Figure 15. Three-figure relief of Hermes, Eurydice, and Orpheus. Paris, Louvre MA 854. Photo: Olga Palagia.

Epikourios at Bassai (carved c. 415–410 B.C., possibly by Athenian sculptors) also carries Orpheus playing his music.⁸³

We do not know why there are no Roman copies of the Herakles relief from the Akropolis (Fig. 10), or whether other similar works were created at the same time. If the choice of themes in the three-figure reliefs may appear odd for votive reliefs, it is no more unusual than the marble group of Prokne about to slaughter her son Itys, dedicated to Athena on the Akropolis by the sculptor Alkamenes during the Peloponnesian War.⁸⁴ New narratives tend to be created in times of crisis, and the Peloponnesian War was no exception. Eschatological themes will disappear from Attic sculpture in the fourth century.



Figure 16. Funerary lekythos of Myrrhine. From Athens, Syntagma Square. Athens, National Museum 4485. Photo: Hans R. Goette.

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NOTES

1. Cf. Fullerton 1986, 671. Coins with conservative types: Wartenberg 1995, 5–7. Panathenaic amphorae carrying olive oil awarded to winners in the Panathenaic games: Tiverios 2007.

2. Metope South 21: Brommer 1979, fig. 13 (drawing by “Jacques Carrey” in 1674). Partial reconstruction with fragments: Mantis 1997, 77–8, fig. 9. Metope North 25: Brommer 1979, pl. 41; Schwab 2005, 183–6. Daedalic korai: Boardman 2006, 10–12, figs. 6–7.
3. Brommer 1979, fig. 13.
4. Harrison 1965, 129–34.
5. The controversy over attribution to Alkamenes is compounded by the problem of authorship of the Hermes Propylaios that stood within the Propylaia of the Athenian Akropolis. Pausanias (1.22.8) refers to a Hermes Propylaios that may have been the work of Sokrates. The Pergamon herm calls itself “before the gates” (which need not specify a location in the Akropolis Propylaia but may allude to any gate) and cites Alkamenes as its maker, hence the association of the Akropolis Propylaios with Alkamenes. See also infra n. 26. Pergamon herm: Istanbul Archaeological Museum 1433, Brahms 1994, 298, cat. no. 16, fig. 19. Copy reproduced in Color Pl. 1: Athens, National Museum 107, Kaltsas 2002, no. 166. Other copies: Brahms 1994, 298–300. Ephesos herm: Izmir Museum 675, Brahms 1994, 295, cat. no. 15, fig. 14. Other copies: Brahms 1994, 295–8.
6. On the date, see Brahms 1994, 300 (460–450). Artemision god, Athens, National Museum X 15161: Kaltsas 2002, no. 159.
7. Harrison 1965, 130 (430–410); Willers 1975, 33 (Neo-Attic).
8. Harrison 1965, 130 (c. 440–430); Willers 1975, 34 (450–440); Brahms 1994, 298 (Neo-Attic).
9. Stewart 2003.
10. Kraus 1960, 84–118; Fullerton 1986, 670.
11. As defined by Johnston 1999, 207–8.
12. *IG II²* 5050; Maass 1972, 122. Ἱερέως Χαρίτων / καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος / Ἐπιπυργιδίας / Πυρφόρου. First century B.C.
13. Eckstein 1965, 31, fig. 8.
14. Hekataia in the Athenian Agora: Harrison 1965, 86–105, nos. 134–151. Hekataion, British School at Athens S 21 (Fig. 3): Eckstein 1965; Brahms 1994, 309, cat. no. 22.
15. Kraus 1960, 96; Brahms 1994, 310.
16. Eckstein 1965, 31; Harrison 1965, 53.
17. Athenian Agora P 14793: Harrison 1965, 52, pl. 63b; Moore 1997, 256, no. 823, pl. 84.
18. Athens, National Museum 2756: Eckstein 1965, fig. 12; Brahms 1994, 316, cat. no. 31; Kaltsas 2002, no. 257; Comella 2002, 212, fig. 63.
19. London, British Museum 524: Brahms 1994, 316–17, cat. no. 32.
20. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen Sk 586: Eckstein 1965, fig. 11; Brahms 1994, 183, fig. 50; Scholl and Platz-Horster 2007, no. 42.
21. Fullerton 1986, 674.
22. Kagan 1987, 144–5; Rhodes 1993, 375–7; Munn 2000, 136–41.
23. Palagia 2006a, 85–6.
24. Supra n. 12. For the cult of the Graces on the Akropolis, see Schwarzenberg 1966, 14–19. For their placement on the bastion of Athena Nike, see Beschi 1967–68, 531–6; Palagia 1990, 353–5.
25. Pausanias 1.22.8: “At the entrance to the Akropolis there are figures of Hermes, named Propylaios, and of the Graces, allegedly works of Sokrates, son of Sophroniskos, who was the wisest of men according to Pythia’s testimony . . .” Pausanias 9.35.7: “Sokrates, son of Sophroniskos, made ἀγάλματα of the Graces before the entrance to the Athenian Akropolis.” Schol. Aristophanes, *Clouds* 773: “Behind Athena, the Graces were carved on the wall, and were said to have been made by Sokrates. For Sokrates was the son of the stonemason Sophroniskos and was trained as a sculptor, having carved marble

- portraits... and ἀγάλματα of the three Graces... these were carved on the wall behind Athena." See also Pausanias 9.35.2–3; Pliny, *NH* 36.32; Diog. Laert. 2.19; Suda, s.v. Σωκράτης.
26. For the attribution to Alkamenes, see supra n. 5. On the controversy, see also Zagdoun 1989, 151 n. 59; Brahms 1994, 113–17.
 27. Ridgway 1970, 119; Chamoux 1996, 39, 52.
 28. Stephanidou-Tiveriou 1979, 143–4; Palagia 1990, 353 n. 28. Elsewhere Pausanias (8.48.4) uses the word *agalma* to denote a sacred image in relief.
 29. Stephanidou-Tiveriou 1979, 138–45, pls. 25–6; Brahms 1994, 253–4; Monaco 1999–2000.
 30. Akropolis Museum 1341: Furtwängler 1878, 180; Monaco 1999–2000, 85–8, fig. 1. This fragment joins Akropolis Museum 2594, which is of uncertain provenance but may have been picked up on top of the Akropolis: Monaco 88 n. 15.
 31. Akropolis Museum 1341α, 1341β, 1341γ: Benndorf 1869, 57, pl. 22; Kastriotis 1895, 63; Monaco 1999–2000, 85–6, 92, 99, figs. 4 (βγ) and 5 (α).
 32. Sokrates was born in 469. The prototype of this relief is placed in the second quarter of the fifth century when he would have been in his infancy.
 33. Stephanidou-Tiveriou 1979, 144 with earlier references; Monaco 1999–2000, 100; Kansteiner et al. 2007, 18.
 34. Ridgway 1970, 115–21; Harrison 1986, 196–7.
 35. Travlos 1971, 361–3; Brouskari 2004, 32–7.
 36. The fact that these dancing maidens are combined with a figure of Hermes on a Neo-Attic relief from the Villa of Herodes Attikos in Loukou (Spyropoulos 1993, 260, fig. 4; Monaco 1999–2000, 94–6, fig. 7) does not solve the problem of identification because Hermes can be a companion of either the Nymphs or the Graces.
 37. Three Graces and Athena, perhaps Nike as well: Akropolis Museum 2556 (Fig. 6), Walter 1923, no. 274; Beschi 1967–68, 535, fig. 17; Palagia 1990, 352–5, fig. 14. Three Graces and Nike: Akropolis Museum 2644 and 2555, Walter 1923, nos. 275 and 275a; Palagia 1990, fig. 15. Three Graces and arrhephoros: Akropolis 2554 (votive relief with arrhephoros at the loom) and 3306 (Fig. 7) (statue base with arrhephoros carrying warp peg): Walter 1923, nos. 276 and 458; Palagia 1990, fig. 16; Jenkins 1994, fig. 15.
 38. Palagia 1990, 347–8, fig. 12; Brahms 1994, 254–5, cat. no. 87, fig. 93.
 39. Athens, National Museum 157: Svoronos 1937, 677, pl. 249, 1. The pedimental crown indicates that it is a document relief, not votive. The eponymous archon's name is inscribed on the architrave: Sokrat[...]. Sokratides was archon in 374/3: Develin 1989, 243.
 40. Berlin, Pergamonmuseum P 24: Palagia 1990, 356, fig. 18; Palagia 2000, 60, fig. 4.5; Nick 2002, 249.
 41. See discussion in Felten 1975.
 42. Archaic pediment, Athens, Akropolis Museum 9: Trianti 1998, 26–7, fig. 13; *LIMC* V (1990) s.v. Herakles, no. 2862 (J. Boardman). Metope in the Olympia Museum: Herrmann 1987, pl. 46; *LIMC* V (1990) s.v. Herakles, p. 90, no. 2591 (V. Smallwood).
 43. Felten 1975, 65–85; Stansbury-O'Donnell 1990; Stansbury-O'Donnell 1999, 178–90.
 44. On the date of the Ilissos temple, see Palagia 2005, 178 with n. 8.
 45. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen Sk 1483 and Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum I 1094: Palagia 2005, figs. 15.1–3.
 46. Metropolitan Museum of Art 08.258.21, Rogers Fund 1908: *ARV*² 1086, 61; Felten 1975, 83–4, fig. 27; *LIMC* VII (1984) s.v. Peirithoos, pp. 237–8, no. 73 (E. Manakidou); Pautasso 2002, fig. 15; Palagia 2005, 181, fig. 15.12 (with further references).
 47. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen Sk 1483. For the interpretation of these objects placed against the rocks, see Palagia 2005, 179–80. Further parallels of sacks of

- food and wineskins held over one's shoulder by means of a crooked stick can be found on Attic red-figure vases: (a) oinochoe in Tübingen, Archaeological Institute of the University S./110 1605, *ARV*² 1659; Böhr 1984, 82–3, pl. 36, and (b) olla in a private collection in Italy, Lezzi-Hafter 2002, 191, pl. 51b.
48. See Palagia 2005, 181 for earlier references. The interpretation of these figures as Theseus and Peirithoos was revived by Pautasso 2002, 810–13.
 49. Their iconography is discussed in Felten 1975, 46–64; *LIMC* VII (1994) s.v. Peirithoos pp. 237–8, nos. 73–84 (E. Manakidou).
 50. Palagia 2005, 179–82.
 51. Alternative interpretations are discussed in Palagia 2005, 182. See also McNeill 2005.
 52. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen Sk 1483 and Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum I 093: Palagia 2005, 182–4, figs. 15.4–5.
 53. Athens, Akropolis Museum 1329. Width 65 cm. Its original height would have been about 1 m. On loan to the Museum of the History of the Ancient Olympic Games in Olympia since 2003. The relief came to light in the winter of 1867/8: Kekulé 1869, 104–5, pl. 24,1, Mangold 1993, 57, no. 2; Comella 2002, 44–45, 191, no. Atene 14, fig. 30 (with earlier references); Palagia 2006b, 146, fig. 48.
 54. His large scale suggests a hero. He is sometimes identified as an athlete: Casson 1921, 229–31; Kabus-Jahn 1972, 20 with n. 23; Gulaki 1981, 129–30.
 55. Nike temple parapet: Brouskari 1999, pls. 21, 41, 43, 46, 62. Poseidon in west pediment of Parthenon: Palagia 1993, fig. 95.
 56. Neumann (1979) illustrates the parallel in his figs. 42a and 42b. Brows of Parthenon frieze knights: e.g., west II.2: Brommer 1979, pl. 50.
 57. Most scholars identify the goddess with Athena. A minority view prefers Hebe: Kekulé 1869, 104–5; Brouskari 1974, 169–70, fig. 364; Vikela 1997, 185.
 58. E.g., Attic red-figure squat lekythos in the manner of the Meidias Painter, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 24.97.36: *ARV*² 1325,54; Burn 1987, 112, no. MM 84; *LIMC* V (1990) s.v. Herakles, p. 163, no. 3325 (A. – F. Laurens).
 59. Athena on the Parthenon frieze: Brommer 1979, pl. 103. Athena on votive relief Akropolis Museum 2460+2664 (Fig. 17): Mangold 1993, 63, no. 24, pl. 9,1. See also Lawton, Ch. 4, p. 83, cat. no. 6. Record relief of 409/8 B.C. in Paris, Louvre MA 831: Lawton 1995, 86, no. 8, pl. 5. For Athena's lack of aegis in the later part of the fifth century, see Gulaki 1981, 130, 319–20 n. 513.
 60. Apples of the Hesperides bestow immortality: Diod. 4.25.4. For Herakles' apotheosis, see *LIMC* V (1990) s.v. Herakles, pp. 121–30 (J. Boardman). Coronation by Nike: *ibid.*, pp. 177–8. The garden of the Hesperides symbolizes eternal youth: *LIMC* V, s.v. Herakles, p. 110 (G. Kokkorou-Alewrás).
 61. The association between the Herakles relief from the Akropolis and the Hesperides reliefs was first made by Kekulé 1869 and taken up by Götze 1938, 271–2. For the Hesperides relief, put together by combining disparate fragments, see Götze 1948/49, fig. 5; Bol 1989, no. 127, pls. 227–8 (H.-U. Cain); Micheli 2004, 84, 90–1, 113–19, figs. 32–5.
 62. On these reliefs, see now Micheli 2004 with earlier references. Their height ranges from 1.18 to 1.09 m and their width from 1.14 to 0.89 m.
 63. St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum A 641: Kosmopoulou 1998, fig. 6; Micheli 2004, fig. 33.
 64. Copies listed in Micheli 2004, 105–6, figs. 23–30. Diodoros (4.26.1) says that Herakles secured the release of both heroes from the Underworld. Harrison (1964, 77) argues that this tradition is echoed in the three-figure relief. On Theseus and Peirithoos in Hades, see Felten 1975, 46–64; *LIMC* VII (1994) s.v. Peirithoos, pp. 237–8, nos. 73–84 (E. Manakidou).

65. British Museum E 224: Harrison 1964, 78–9, pl. 13; Burn 1987, 15–25, pls. 1a, 2b–c., 3, 7b, 8a–b, 9a–b; Micheli 2004, 116, fig. 38a–b. See also Shapiro, Ch. 10, p. 239.
66. Burn 1987, 22–25.
67. On Medea, see Meyer 1980; *LIMC* VI (1992) s.v. Medeia, pp. 386–7 (M. Schmidt). Medea as a benign Athenian heroine: Shapiro forthcoming.
68. Meyer 1980, 38–50; Harrison 2002, 140–2; Micheli 2004, 100, figs. 17–21; Sinn 2006, 96–102, no. 22, pl. 23 (Vatican copy); Scholl and Platz-Horster 2007, no. 114 (Berlin copy).
69. Bol 1989, 451–3, no. 146, pl. 259 (Villa Albani copy); Micheli 2004, 92–3, figs. 7–12; Pasquier and Martinez 2007, 90–3 (Louvre copy).
70. Lee 1964; Touchette 1990.
71. Harrison 1964, 77; Micheli 2004, 98–9.
72. On the status of Hermes as leader of souls to Hades, see Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 103–5, 304–7. See also *LIMC* V (1990) s.v. Hermes, pp. 336–9 (G. Siebert); Kosmopoulou 1998; Kosmopoulou 2002, 216–19, no. 46. Hermes on white lekythoi: Oakley 2004, 137–41. Lekythos of Myrrhine, Athens, National Museum 4485: Clairmont 1979; Kaltsas 2002, no. 289; Micheli 2004, 98–9, figs. 14–16.
73. The three-figure reliefs have been known since the late nineteenth century. Only the most recent references are cited here. Funerary function: Neumann 1979, 53; Raeder 1994, 391; Micheli 2004, 128–30; Delivorrias 2007 (with earlier references).
74. Götze 1938, 247–9; Götze 1948/49, 98–9.
75. On the iconography of choregic monuments, see now Goette 2007.
76. Thompson 1952 attributed them to the precinct of the twelve gods in the Agora but Gadbery 1992 has shown that this precinct dates from the following century. See also Meyer 1980, 138–9; Harrison 2002, 143.
77. Harrison 2002, 143. For an association with Herakles, see also Sinn 2006, 99.
78. Watzinger 1904, 243; Tagalidou 1993, 56, 183–4, pl.1; Güntner 1994, 68, F 2, pl. 33,1.
79. Athens, Epigraphical Museum 6317: *IG* II³ 602; Raubitschek 1949, no. 60; Kissas 2000, 258, no. 21.
80. On the (uncertain) location of the shrine of Herakles Menytes, sometimes placed on the south slope of the Akropolis, see Woodford 1971, 219–21; Parker 2005, 412 n. 100.
81. Vikela 1997, 186.
82. On Orpheus in Athenian art, see Tsiafaki 1998, 41–93.
83. London, British Museum 510: Palagia 2002, 378–9, fig. 9. I have argued that Hermes and Eurydice are represented as well: *ibid.*, 379–80.
84. Pausanias 1.24.3. Athens, Akropolis Museum 1358: Barringer 2005.