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HESPERIA

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CLASSICAL SCULPTURE FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA, PART 2

THE FRIEZES OF THE TEMPLE OF ARES (TEMPLE OF ATHENA PALLENIS)

ABSTRACT

This article discusses 49 high-relief, half-life-size marble fragments from the Agora excavations (the so-called Agora high-relief frieze) and one from the Roman Agora. It attributes them to the pronaos and opisthodomos friezes of the Temple of Ares, originally the Temple of Athena Pallenis at Pallene. The iconography of the friezes, the temple's sacred law, and its original orientation toward Apollo's sacred isle of Delos prompt an identification of their subjects as the introduction of Apollo to Pallene (east) and a joint sacrifice to him and Athena (west). Dated to ca. 430–425 B.C., they are examined in relation to the temple's possible genesis as a response to the great plague of 430–426.

INTRODUCTION

In May 1931, a mere two days after the American School of Classical Studies began excavations in the Athenian Agora, the team came across a small marble fragment featuring two sheep in high relief (S 16, here catalogue number 24; Fig. 1).¹ More such pieces soon appeared, though some

1. Research for this study was carried out in Athens in 2012–2019. Andrew Stewart directed the project and is responsible for the main text and conclusions; research, study of the fragments, identifications, plotting, and cataloguing were undertaken in stages by all involved, as follows: Eric Driscoll and Seth Estrin in summer 2015; Rebecca Levitan and Samantha Lloyd-Knauf in summer 2016; and Natalie Gleason, Erin Lawrence, Rebecca Levitan, and Kelsey Turbeville in summer 2017–2019. Any significant individual contributions and discoveries are credited where applicable. We owe our sincere thanks to John Camp, T. Leslie

Shear Jr., and the late Evelyn Harrison and Homer Thompson for allowing us to study and publish this material, and to the Greek Archaeological Service for permission to study and publish 11, the torso in its care. We thank John Camp for generously discussing our work with us and commenting on our draft submission; Sylvie Dumont, Bruce Hartzler, Pia Kvarnström, and Craig Mauzy for facilitating access to the Agora fragments; Maria Tziotziou for cleaning those pieces that required it; Craig Mauzy for his splendid photographs; Matt Auvinen for autopsying the fragments in situ and for advising on their technique; and Nick Blackwell, Karen

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supposedly insignificant ones were not inventoried and were relegated to marble piles, and the recognition that they all belonged to a Classical-period high-relief frieze (henceforth, the HRF) took until 1950, almost two decades later.² Meanwhile, some marble *disiecta membra* of a medium-sized Doric temple of ca. 450–400 B.C. (several bearing mason’s marks in a late Hellenistic/Augustan script) and, in 1937, a large, rectangular foundation of reused limestone blocks, had appeared in an area where, ca. A.D. 170–190, Pausanias had seen and briefly described a sanctuary (*hieron*) dedicated to Ares (1.8.4–5; Fig. 2):

τῆς δὲ τοῦ Δημοσθένους εἰκόνας πλησίον Ἄρεώς ἐστὶν ἱερόν. ἔνθα ἀγάλματα δύο μὲν Ἀφροδίτης κεῖται, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἄρεως ἐποίησεν Ἀλκαμένης, τὴν δὲ Ἀθηνῶν ἀνὴρ Πάριος, ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῷ Λόκρος. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἐνυοῦς ἀγαλμὰ ἐστὶν, ἐποίησαν δὲ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Πραξιτέλους.

Near the portrait of Demosthenes is a sanctuary of Ares, where two statues of Aphrodite stand; Alkamenes made the one of Ares, but a Parian man named Lokros made the Athena. A statue of Enyo is there also, which the sons of Praxiteles made.

Clearly, then, the Temple of Ares (henceforth, “the temple”) had been moved into the Agora from elsewhere.³ Many believed that it had come from Acharnai, a deme “famous of old for brave men” and from the 4th century B.C. (if not earlier) the home of the only known Ares cult in Attica.⁴ In 1951, pottery recovered from the temple’s foundations and careful study of their relation to the Odeion of Agrippa and the local drainage system established an Augustan date for the transfer, more precisely ca. 10 B.C.⁵

As mentioned earlier, Pausanias saw the temple intact in the late 2nd century, but 70 or 80 years later it was derelict. This melancholy process began with the Herulian sack of Athens in A.D. 267, after which some of its (eastern?) coffers and ceiling beams were spoliated and built into towers W3 and W6 of the post-Herulian fortification wall, together with two Aphrodites (Agora S 378 and S 1882)—probably the pair that Pausanias had seen in the temple.⁶ Yet it was still standing, more or less, in the early 5th century, since all the other contexts for its architectural *disiecta membra*

and the two anonymous reviewers for *Hesperia* for comments and help on particular points. Others will be acknowledged in their proper place. All uncredited translations are by Andrew Stewart.

2. Thompson 1951, pp. 56–58; 1952, pp. 94–95.

3. Shear 1938, pp. 320–322, fig. 6, pl. 9. See also Dinsmoor 1940; McAllister 1959; Travlos, *Athens*, pp. 104–111, figs. 138–145; *Agora XIV*, pp. 162–165, fig. 39, pls. 80–83; Miles 1989, pp. 221–226, 239–242; Korres 1998; Camp 2010, pp. 110–112, figs. 72, 73; Greco 2014, vol. 3.2, pp. 1055–1061, figs. 644–646 (R. di Cesare); Shear 2016, pp. 250–252; Miles 2017.

4. Pind. *Nem.* 2.16–17; for an authoritative study of the deme, see Kellogg 2013.

5. Thompson 1952, pp. 93–94; McAllister 1959, p. 4, pl. A; Thompson 1987, p. 9.

6. For summaries and discussion, see Thompson 1960, pp. 350–359; *Agora XXIV*, pp. 7–8, 134, pls. 4–6. Although the Aphrodites were built into the earliest phase of tower W3 (Harrison 1960, pp. 373–376; most recently, Stewart 2016, pp. 619–621), the context for much of the architecture is less secure than often asserted. Not only was the wall repaired at intervals through the Byzantine period, but fragments A 2119–A 2186 were found “near” it



Figure 1. Two sheep (24): left profile. Athens, Agora Excavations S 16.

Scale 1:5. Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

(Agora Notebook I 16, p. 3099; perhaps the source for the misleading statement by Castrén [1994, p. 11] that “a great number of blocks which could have belonged to this temple and which were used in the [post-Herulian wall] turned out to belong to later repairs to this Wall”); yet the ceiling beams A 1379 and A 2387–A 2389 definitely come from the foundations of tower W3 (Agora Notebook I 15, p. 2920; see also McAllister 1959, p. 38, n. 89, referencing the excavation photograph in Shear 1935, p. 332, fig. 4); and two ashlar blocks supposedly from the temple, as yet unidentified, come from the foundations of tower W7 (Thompson 1950, p. 319).



Figure 2. Plan of the Athenian Agora in Late Antiquity indicating findspots of the sculptures discussed in this article. The cross-hatched rectangle at K/7,8 is the Temple of Ares. Courtesy Agora Excavations, with additions by C. Mauzy and K. Turbeville

are later; the western wall of the north court of the so-called Palace of the Giants was extended to abut its southeast corner; and the still enigmatic Square Building was constructed against its northern side. (These two structures will be crucial in assessing the import of the HRF's findspots.) By the Slavic sack of A.D. 582, or soon afterward, however, the temple had vanished entirely—first demolished down to its foundations, and then silted over by flooding from the Eridanos River, whose flood-control system had been allowed to fall into ruin.⁷

7. The courtyard wall and Square Building, revealed in 1937, first appear in Shear 1938, p. 340, fig. 22 (plan by J. Travlos); Thompson 1951, pl. 28 (far right); McAllister 1959, pl. 1 (lower

right); *Agora XXIV*, pp. 7, 75, 97, 109, 131, 134, pls. 3, 6, 53, 57 (bottom right); Camp 2010, pp. 25–26, fig. 9; cf. Stewart 2016 on the two Aphrodites and Agora S 654 (see Fig. 54, below),

an Athena torso of ca. 430 B.C. found in a Byzantine wall 40 m south of the temple, that is probably Lokros's original cult statue.

The impetus for the recognition of the sculptural series as an architectural frieze in high relief was the discovery in 1950 of the foundations of the altar of the temple 20 m to its east; of a once-fine, half-life-size, bearded male head in a gap in that altar's partially robbed-out uppermost foundation course (1; Fig. 3); and of other fragments evidently from the same series around and near it. Quietly walking, standing, or seated, and apparently quite widely spaced, the numerous figures seemed unlikely to belong to a series of metopes. Interacting with each other nevertheless, sometimes vigorously, they recalled the gods on the east frieze of the Hephaisteion (see Fig. 17, below), the east frieze of the Temple of Athena Nike (see Fig. 16, below), and the base of the Nemesis at Rhamnous, all of them also in high relief and carved in the generation after the Parthenon frieze, between ca. 440 and 420.⁸

Indebted to the style of the Parthenon frieze (finished by midsummer 439; Fig. 4),⁹ these fragments were clearly contemporary with the temple, whose likely date had been narrowed in the interim to the third quarter of the 5th century B.C. Unfortunately, their scale seemed slightly too large for Ionic pronaos and opisthodomos friezes like those on the Hephaisteion. To judge from the temple's exterior Doric frieze, they would have been ≤ 83.7 or 83.8 cm high, only a fraction more than the Hephaisteion's 82.8 cm. Speculation therefore immediately erupted about possible alternatives. Had they embellished the altar itself, a parapet around it, the base of the temple's cult statue(s), or some other monument entirely?¹⁰

The size and sheer number of the figures soon disqualified the first and third of these proposals, however, and the second had no hard evidence to back it up. Moreover, Marion McAllister's thorough study of the architecture of both temple and altar published in 1959 had shown that the former included a pronaos frieze that extended to the outer colonnade, just like the Hephaisteion and the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion. Although this crucial fact proved that the frieze must have been Ionic and thus also presumably sculptured like theirs, it gained no traction whatsoever in the literature.¹¹

The continuing discovery of more fragments farther afield, ongoing efforts to catalogue and publish the Agora's architectural sculpture, and the German Archaeological Institute's inspired decision in 1984 to convene a conference on unpublished and poorly published Archaic and Classical sculpture in Greece led Evelyn Harrison to summarize the state of knowledge on the HRF in a thoughtful but necessarily inconclusive paper, published in 1986.¹² In it, she recounted the story of the frieze's discovery and identification; discussed its material, technique, appearance, and subject matter; reevaluated and eventually rejected the case for its attribution to the Temple of Ares; sketched its life cycle from inception to destruction and burial; offered valuable comments on its style, date, and individual pieces; suggested that it might have represented the Birth of Pandora; and speculated on its possible source. By this point she had drafted a manuscript cataloguing and discussing much of the Agora's architectural sculpture (the HRF included), a task assigned to her by Homer Thompson in the 1950s. Unfortunately, this study remained both incomplete and unpublished at her death in 2012.¹³

Yet this attempt to decode the HRF was soon rendered moot. For in 1994, some well-preserved temple foundations were discovered by chance in a rescue excavation at Stavros (ancient Pallene), near the northeastern end of Mt. Hymettos (Fig. 5), and three years later, Manolis Korres proved



Figure 3. Male head (1), probably Poseidon: front view. Athens, Agora Excavations S 1459. Scale 1:2. Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

8. For a summary, see Harrison 1986, pp. 110–111.

9. No mention of sculptors in the accounts of 439/8 (*IG* I³ 444–445; *SEG* LX 47, 102), and the exclusive use thereafter of the formula “ἀγαλαματοποιῶς ἐναετίον μισθός,” date the completion of the frieze to 440/39; see, e.g., Shear 2016, p. 68, contra Jenkins 1994, pp. 19–20; Harrison 1988b, p. 103.

10. For discussion, see Harrison 1986, pp. 111–112, 117. Neils (2001, p. 216, n. 28), taking up Korres's theory that the Parthenon's east door may have been capped by a frieze (p. 78, fig. 56), tentatively places the HRF there.

11. McAllister 1959, pp. 32–33, 60–61, fig. 17, pl. 5:b, superseding Dinsmoor's pioneering work (1940). See now Shear 2016, pp. 256–257.

12. Harrison 1986, overlooking McAllister's discovery.

13. Harrison, n.d.

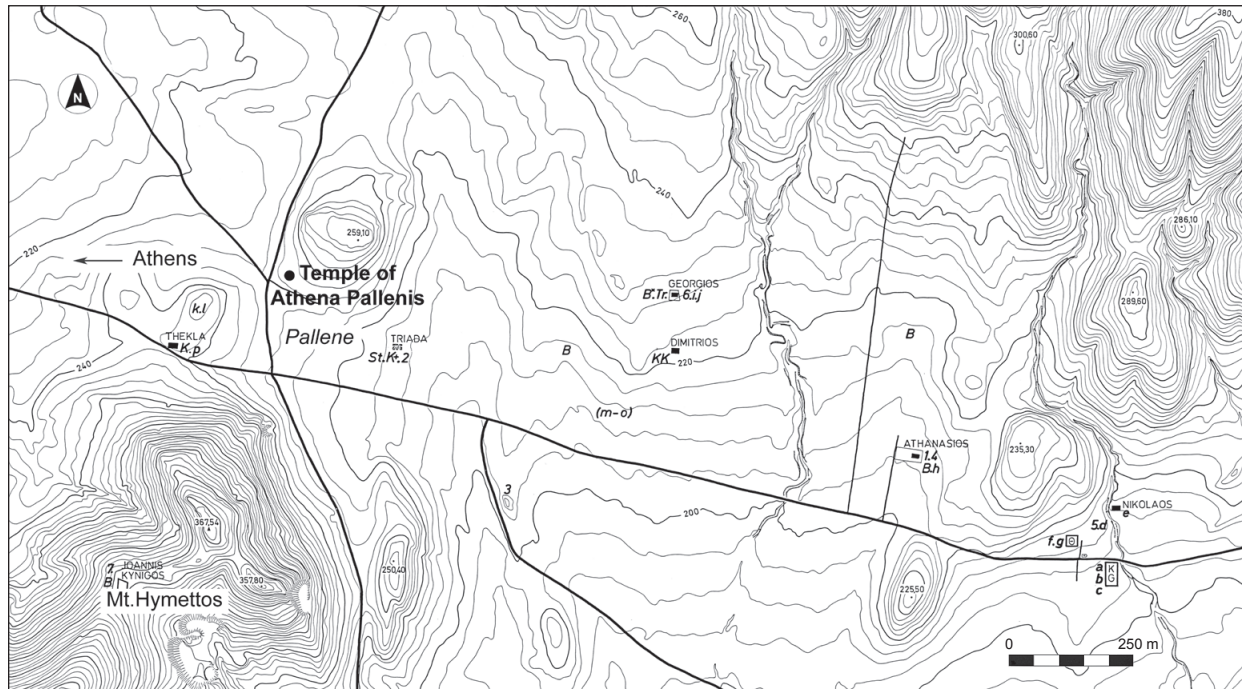


Figure 4 (above). East frieze of the Parthenon, central slab (block V.28–37), depicting Hera, Zeus, two acolytes, priestesses of Athena Polias, Archon Basileus, acolyte, Athena, and Hephaistos. London, British Museum 1816,0610.19. Photo H. Goette

Figure 5 (below). Topographical map of Pallene (modern Stavros) and environs. H. Goette, with additions by A. Stewart

beyond reasonable doubt that the Temple of Ares originally must have stood on them.¹⁴ Given their location on the southwestern slope of an isolated hill, 259 m high, now called Keraies (Κεραίαι), but evidently the “sacred hill of Athena Pallenis” mentioned by Euripides in his *Herakleidae* of ca. 430 (lines 843–853, 1026–1036), this sanctuary was surely the one celebrated in several other ancient sources. Its cult, shared among four demes (Acharnai, Gargettos, Pallene, and Paiania) arrayed in a rough arc along the southwestern foot of Mt. Pendeli and the north and east sides of Mt. Hymettos, was among the most famous and richest in Attica, and it included not Ares but Apollo (see Appendix).¹⁵ So Ares must have joined it when the structure was moved to the Agora, sharing cult honors with Athena and usurping Apollo (Paus. 1.8.4–5). Together with McAllister’s and Harrison’s discoveries, these items constitute the basis for the present study.

14. Platonos-Yota 1997; Korres 1998. For the location, see via Google map reference “Zaloggou 7, Gerakas 153-44, Attica: Lat. 38.0144832 latitude, 23.8402186 longitude.” Modern Pallene lies 3–4 km to the

east of this point.

15. On the cult, see, e.g., Hdt. 1.62–63; Andoc. *Myst.* 106–107; Ath. 6.234f–235d (see Appendix). See also Solders 1931, pp. 13–14 (nos. 26–35), 111, 114–118; Schlaifer 1943; Stanton

1984, pp. 292–298; Goette 1992–1998, 1997; Parker 1996, pp. 330–331; Jones 1999, pp. 239–241; March 2008; Kellogg 2013, pp. 149–189; Shear 2016, pp. 258–260.

THE AGORA HIGH-RELIEF FRIEZE

Forty-nine fragments in the Stoa of Attalos, including four currently on display in its lower colonnade, may be attributed confidently to the HRF on the grounds of their findspots (Fig. 2), weathering, scale, material, and style. One of them (23; Fig. 6) is a composite, and two more are unfinished and discarded Roman repairs (49, 50; Figs. 66, 67, below). A fiftieth fragment, a draped female torso (11; Fig. 7) found in the Roman Agora in 1956 and attributed to the HRF by Georgios Despinis, now sits in the storerooms of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens at Plato's Academy.¹⁶

The proportion of heads to bodies to limbs is quite unusual, with the 26 heads accounting for just over 50% of the total. Since none of those with necks preserved fits the six extant torsos, the total number of extant figures is at least 26. Their sex ratio is also somewhat unbalanced, with 11 certain males to 14 certain females (excluding 49, the Roman repair), though of the nine draped bodies (including 11, the one in Greek custody), only one (5) is male; there are no nude or fully draped males. In addition, there is one hand holding up a corner of cloth (8); some drapery hanging over a rock or chair (48); one limb (40); and 10 feet (27–30, 41–45, 47), two of them draped and eight either sandaled or bare, at least one of them (47) from a child.

These totals include the female heads 13 and 22 (Figs. 8, 9), a pseudo-join dismantled in 2016, and a probably false association of an elaborately coiffed female head (10; Fig. 10) with the female torso 23 (Fig. 6). Although 13 and 22 have the same distinctive hairdo, they come from opposite ends of the temple (Fig. 2), do not cohere properly, create a grotesquely distorted amalgam when joined nevertheless, and have furrowed hair locks that are slightly different in width. As for 10 and 23, they too come from opposite ends of the temple, and there is no physical join between them.

Moreover, 23 and 11 (the torso in Greek custody; Fig. 7) not only wear revealing chitons that leave the right shoulder bare, but also were found west and east of the temple, respectively. Finally, two male heads, 2 and 17 (Figs. 11, 12), both have the long dreadlocks or sideburns that characterized epebes and youths who were coming of age.¹⁷ Most likely, then, the same individuals, identified here as Leto (13, 22; Figs. 8, 9), Aphrodite (10, 11, 23; Figs. 10, 7, 6), and Apollo (2, 17; Figs. 11, 12), were represented twice over, presumably at each end of the temple. Furthermore, one of the female figures (35; see Fig. 53, below) wears a thin peplos whose distinctive fold patterns clearly echo those of the temple's presumed cult statue, an Athena torso of ca. 430 found in a Byzantine wall

16. Included in Harrison, n.d.; the present location was kindly furnished by Dimitris Sourlas. We thank Voula Bardani for facilitating access to it in June 2018. A battered and partially fire-blackened female head from Geras (Pallene) in the Benaki Museum at Athens (inv. GE 37581), is contemporary with the HRF but somewhat too small to belong to it (head H. 9.8 cm), unless it represents a child rather than a

young woman (as its hairdo would indicate), and was damaged and discarded before the HRF was transferred to the Agora. Perhaps it comes from a votive relief. We thank Mairi Gkikaki for bringing it to our attention, and Irina Papageorgiou for kindly allowing Stewart, Lawrence, and Levitan to study and photograph it in June 2018.

17. Harrison 1988a, p. 248, fig. 2; see further, pp. 642, 654, Fig. 25, below.



Figure 6. Female torso (23), probably Aphrodite: front view. Athens, Agora Excavations S 2024 + S 1834. Scale 1:5. Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations



Figure 7. Female torso (11), probably Aphrodite: front view. Athens, Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens, at Plato's Academy, M 12. Scale 1:5. Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens

Figure 8 (*left*). Female head (13), probably Leto: right profile. Athens, Agora Excavations S 1451. Scale 1:3. Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

Figure 9 (*center*). Female head (22), probably Leto: front view. Athens, Agora Excavations S 400. Scale 1:3. Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

Figure 10 (*right*). Female head (10), probably Aphrodite: left three-quarter view. Athens, Agora Excavations S 1494. Scale 1:3. Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations



40 m south of it (Agora S 654; Fig. 54, below), and may therefore be attributed to the same workshop.¹⁸

FRIEZE TYPE

These duplications and correspondences with the Athena, S 654, reopen the issue of the frieze's type, location, and function. In 1959, Harrison had suggested that the HRF might have belonged in the temple's porches, and (as mentioned earlier) critically revisited her own arguments in 1986, uncharacteristically overlooking McAllister's discovery that its eastern porch frieze indeed was sculptured.¹⁹ She argued that (1) the figures were designed for display well above eye level, as opposed to a statue base or altar enclosure; (2) their sheer number ruled out both base and altar, and their scale excluded the former anyway; (3) they seemed to be carved in two styles, which would fit a pronaos and an opisthodomos frieze; and (4) this would explain why they have no plinths or crowning moldings. The soffit of 14 (Fig. 13) is preserved, and the top of head 20 (Fig. 14) was carefully trimmed, indicating that this figure occupied the full height of its slab.²⁰ On an Attic 5th-century Doric entablature, such plinths and crowning moldings would have been carved and added separately.

Figure 11 (*left*). Male head (2), probably Apollo: left three-quarter view. Athens, Agora Excavations S 301. Scale 1:3. Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

Figure 12 (*right*). Male head (17), probably Apollo: front view. Athens, Agora Excavations S 168. Scale 1:3. Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations



18. Agora S 654: Stewart 2016, pp. 603–607, figs. 22–31; see further p. 666, and Figure 54, below. Instead of Ridgway's criteria of "fastening and width" (1981, p. 223) to distinguish the peplos from the chiton ("the chiton being much larger and having sleeves, the peplos being pinned only over the shoulders"), we prefer to use the

presence or absence of an overfold: cf. Lee 2015, pp. 100–110, figs. 4:5–4:13. Fabric thickness and presumed material are unreliable guides, since fabrics for a given garment may have changed according to season, as today, and in any case clearly were manipulated by late-5th-century sculptors for effect.

19. Harrison 1959; McAllister 1959, pp. 32–33, 60–61, fig. 17, pl. 5:b; Harrison 1986, p. 111; Shear 2016, pp. 256–257.

20. The other two heads thus treated, 19 and 25, are chiseled far more crudely, perhaps in a later attempt to remove bird droppings.



Figure 13. Frieze slab with walking woman (14): underside. Athens, Agora Excavations S 2099. Scale 1:5. Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

SCALE

Nevertheless (Harrison continued), a perhaps fatal objection—albeit, in retrospect, the only significant one—to the HRF’s attribution to the temple is the estimated height of its figures, calculated by Thompson at 85–90 cm and by herself at 85 cm for a frieze height of up to 90 cm.²¹ Yet as mentioned above, the temple’s pronaos and opisthodomos friezes, whether Doric or Ionic, cannot have exceeded 83.7 or 83.8 cm, the height of its exterior one, and could have been slightly smaller. To arrive at these results, both Thompson and Harrison appear to have used a head-to-figure ratio of at least 1:7.

Since the HRF’s major fragments consist entirely of headless torsos and nonjoining, disembodied heads, however, and Harrison’s own estimate is only a mere 1.3 cm—half an inch or 1.5%—greater than the temple’s maximum frieze height, these calculations (and all similar ones) are hardly ironclad. Moreover, in Classical Athenian temple friezes (see, e.g., Figs. 4, 16, 17, below) human proportions vary widely, from a quite top-heavy head-to-figure ratio of about 1:6.2 to a more natural 1:6.9, clustering around 1:6.5. At times, an attempt to correct the progressive attenuation of the figure when viewed from below at a neck-stretching angle (familiar to Plato [*Soph.* 235e–236a] as a problem with colossi, but equally vexing in the case of friezes placed high up on a building) may have been in play. Moreover, some contemporary Attic vase painters also liked these largish heads, combining them with the quite large eyes that appear also on the HRF (see, e.g., 10; Fig. 10), and, as there, “giving [their figures] a child-like effect.”²² In any case, and for whatever reason, High Classical Attic architectural work rarely ventures beyond a 1:7 head-to-figure ratio and usually falls short of it.

Finally, not only were at least two of the HRF’s figures definitely seated (5, 48; Figs. 15, 65), and perhaps more, but 5 must have had a somewhat larger head than the standing ones, perhaps reaching ca. 20% of his seated height. He is certainly too big for any of the HRF’s surviving heads. If he stood up he would measure over 60 cm from feet to navel and thus over 1 m high in toto, assuming the roughly 3:2 lower- to upper-body ratio found on the seated Olympians of the Parthenon frieze (Fig. 4). In corroboration, the HRF’s extant adult heads do vary somewhat in scale (measured from jawline to crown), from 11.1 to 13.0 cm high (19 and the bearded 1 only), with most of them averaging around 12.2 cm high.

In Attic temple friezes of ca. 450–420, this discrepancy in scale characterizes (1) Zeus and (2) seated gods and goddesses receiving a procession of mortal worshippers or watching a battle. For example, Zeus on the east frieze of the Temple of Athena Nike (Fig. 16, no. 16) is far bigger than any of the other seated figures, even Poseidon (Fig. 16, no. 13); and the heads



Figure 14. Female head (20), probably Nike: top view. Athens, Agora Excavations S 1246. Scale 1:3. Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

21. Thompson 1952, p. 94; Harrison 1986, pp. 111–112. Harrison’s other two objections, that the weathering of some fragments is too severe for the two and a half centuries between the Herulian sack and the temple’s destruction, and that at <16 cm the depth of relief is too great for an interior frieze, are invalid. Water cascades and wind funnels resulting from partial exposure to the elements can increase such damage enormously, and the Hephaisteion’s two friezes are up to 22 cm deep in places.

22. Robertson 1992, p. 229, apropos the Shuvalov Painter, active in the 430s and 420s.



Figure 15. Seated male (5), probably Zeus: left profile. Athens, Agora Excavations S 1778. Scale 1:5. Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations



Figure 16. East frieze of the Temple of Athena Nike. Athens, Acropolis Museum (cast in Berlin). Photo H. Goette

of the Parthenon frieze's seated divinities (Fig. 4) are about 15%–20% larger than those of their devotees, equivalent to ca. 1:5.5 of their seated height. As for the Hephaisteion, Stuart and Revett's measured drawings of its east frieze (when some of the heads were still intact [see Fig. 17:a]) give head-to-figure proportions also of ca. 1:5.5 for the seated Zeus and slightly smaller Hera, and 1:6.2/6.5 for the battling warriors.²³ In this way, propriety and visual decorum could neatly coincide, by underscoring Zeus's dominance over everyone else, increasing both the physical size of all the seated Olympians vis-à-vis mere mortals, and maintaining a rough isocephaly at or near the frieze's crowning molding.

On the HRF, to recapitulate, at least one scene showed a sacrifice involving mortal participants (proven by the sheep, 24; Fig. 1) and presumably at least some seated divinities, and the adult heads vary somewhat in height (11.1–13.0 cm, averaging around 12.2 cm). If utilized there, a 1:6.6 head-to-figure ratio would produce total body heights, if standing, of ca. 73.2–85.8 cm (19), with most clustering around 80.5 cm; and a 1:5.5 ratio, if seated, of ca. 61.0–71.5 cm, with most clustering around 67.1 cm. In sum, if normally proportioned by late-5th-century standards, even the very largest of the HRF's figures (e.g., 1, 4, 19) would fit comfortably within an Ionic pronaos or opisthodomos frieze ca. 83.5 cm high if seated, and the remainder would do so whatever their poses.

23. Measurements taken from the University of California at Berkeley's casts of the Parthenon frieze and Stuart and Revett 1762–1816, vol. 3, pls. 15, 16; see also Dörig 1985, endpapers.



a



b

Figure 17. East frieze of the Hephaisteion showing Athena, Hera, Zeus, warrior: (a) drawing; (b) cast in Basel. Drawing from Stuart and Revett 1762–1816, vol. 3, pl. 15; photo H. Goette

Along with the discovery that the temple carried at least one porch frieze of exactly this sort, noted earlier, the fragments' findspots, weathering, and damage patterns support this heartening conclusion.

FINDSPOTS

Many of the fragments were found in a scatter around the east and west fronts of the temple, with a handful to the south, seven much farther to the southwest and southeast, and only two considerably farther north (Fig. 2). This distribution pattern alone makes the temple their obvious source, and it is consistent with what one might expect of Periklean-period porch friezes, as on the Hephaisteion. It is also consistent with the building's later history and the weathering and damage patterns visible on the fragments themselves.

The findspots are thus of considerable importance, even in the case of those fragments recovered from marble piles. The temple fortunately is situated near the junction of no fewer than four of the original excavation sections (Fig. 2), whose seemingly random borders in fact were dictated by the untidy street plan of the 19th-century neighborhood built above it—namely (proceeding clockwise from the north, and lettered in Greek), H', H, P, and E.²⁴ Supposedly insignificant pieces found in a given section were relegated to marble piles in that section, with the result that the approximate find circumstances even of these vis-à-vis the temple are fairly secure.

As a result, it is clear that about half of the fragments were found at, near, and beyond the temple's eastern facade, and about a quarter at, near,

24. For these excavation sections, see, most conveniently, *Agora XXXI*, plan 1.

and beyond its western one. This disparity is not surprising since not only did the extension of the temple's east frieze to its outer colonnade lengthen it by nearly 50%, but also in Late Roman times a limekiln was handily located only 25 m to the building's northwest, in front of the Stoa of Zeus.

Moreover, as mentioned earlier, the western wall of the north courtyard of the Palace of the Giants abutted the eastern end of the temple's south side, and the contemporary Square Building abutted the western half of its north side (Fig. 2). Constructed by ca. A.D. 525, they would have all but prevented fragments from migrating from one end to the other, at least before these structures too fell into ruin in the early/mid-6th century. Significantly, too, no debris from the temple emerged among the many other such pieces reused in the walls of the Palace of the Giants and the Square Building, clearly indicating that the temple stood more or less intact during the construction of the two and perhaps even significantly after it.

Nevertheless, one must also keep in mind that apparently no single frieze fragment was found in situ—that is, exactly where it had fallen; that fewer than a dozen of them come from Late Roman contexts; and that several others that *are* properly provenanced were found some distance from the temple in the walls, fills, pits, and wells of the Middle Byzantine settlement founded ca. A.D. 1000, or in even later contexts.²⁵ So whereas discovery at or near one end of the temple or the other may reinforce the evidence of iconography and scale in favor of attribution to that particular end, discovery elsewhere, even at the other end of the building, should not be assumed automatically to undermine or even negate it.

WEATHERING AND DAMAGE

As briefly noted earlier, the fragments reveal a three-stage process of degradation during the two centuries between the Herulian disaster of A.D. 267 and the first appearance of pieces of the HRF in Late Roman contexts of the 4th–6th centuries A.D. First, ca. 270–300, at least some of the temple's marble roof tiles and wooden rafters were removed, probably from the pronaos and presumably for recycling by the Athenians themselves, followed by some of its marble coffers and ceiling beams, earmarked for the new city wall.²⁶ Weathering and rainwater erosion began immediately and continued until the temple's eventual demolition, though some figures (presumably protected by the remaining ceiling beams and probably also their associated coffers) escaped relatively unscathed.

Next, after the construction of the Square Building and the Palace of the Giants ca. A.D. 410–425, and probably in the late 5th or early 6th century, the heads of most of the principal figures were systematically defaced (e.g., **1, 2**; Figs. 3, 11). Any particularly provocative female breasts also were hammered away (**11, 23**; Figs. 6, 7), and (one presumes) any exposed male genitalia were excised.

Finally, probably between Justinian's expulsion of the philosophers from Athens in 529 and the end of the 6th century, the temple was systematically demolished and its friezes dismembered. This move perhaps coincided with the abandonment of the Palace of the Giants, the conversion of some of its space to industrial use, and its partial reoccupation by Christians.²⁷ These two events will receive more detailed attention toward the end of this article (see pp. 688–691, below.)

25. Fourth century A.D.: **31**; Late Roman: **1, 3, 4, 9, 10(?)**, **18, 20, 25, 26**; Middle/Late Byzantine: **6, 12, 17, 19, 35**; cf. Harrison 1986, p. 113.

26. *Agora* XXIV, pp. 7, 75, 131, 134; and see n. 6, above.

27. *Agora* XXIV, pp. 91, 108.



Figure 18. Frieze slab with walking woman (14): front view. Athens, Agora Excavations S 2099. Scale 1:5. Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

MORE STATISTICS

Accepting for the sake of argument that the HRF indeed comprises the remnants of two porch friezes from the temple, its eastern one (the pronaos) was a fraction under 12 m long, and its western one (the opisthodomos) a fraction over 8 m long.²⁸ Now, the average width of the seven preserved Agora figures from the HRF is almost 26 cm, and the space between the woman represented by **14** (Fig. 18) and the next figure to the left was at least 12 cm: a one-figure-plus-one-space module of at least 38 cm. For comparison, the module of the Hephaisteion's 11.49 m and 29-figure east frieze is 39 cm, and that of the left half of the Nike temple's much smaller east frieze (Fig. 16), 2.55 m long and containing 14 figures, is 18 cm. Correcting for scale, on the Temple of Ares these would produce modules of 40.7 cm and 42.3 cm, respectively. Altogether, then, a one-figure-plus-one-space module of ca. 40–43 cm for our two friezes seems reasonable, and would yield 28–30 figures on the east and 18–20 on the west, for a grand total of 46–50 figures. In total, fragments of up to 50% of the HRF's figures perhaps have survived, with the majority clustering on the east, as one would expect.

THEMES

The reasons for identifying each individual fragment and attributing it to the temple's east or west frieze are given in its catalogue entry below. As for pinpointing their themes, by this date they should conform to what one might call "Hölscher's Law"—namely, that each one should be "a 'normal' choice . . . that . . . provided a sculpted frame for this [Athenian] cult."²⁹ Fortunately, in the present case these themes are ascertainable from three points: (1) the marbles themselves; (2) an inscribed dedication at Pallene made in 432/1 by the "archons and *parasitoi*" of the cult of Athena Pallenis; and (3) the cult's own sacred law.

As mentioned earlier, the marbles themselves (point 1), given their findspots, point at a minimum to the depiction of a sacrifice of sheep (**24**) in (probably) the west frieze, and some sort of assembly of the gods in (probably) the east frieze. Yet the former must have been symmetrical, as on the Parthenon frieze, with two streams of worshippers and their animals

28. McAllister 1959, pp. 32–33, 60–61, fig. 17, pl. 5:b (calculated at 11.948 and 8.064 m, respectively).

29. T. Hölscher 2009, p. 57 (apropos the Parthenon).

TABLE 1. SELECTED 5TH-CENTURY B.C. APOLLO TEMPLE ALIGNMENTS WITH DELOS

<i>Temple</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Alignment</i>	<i>True Bearing to Delian Apollo Sanctuary</i>	<i>Distance to Delian Apollo Sanctuary (km)</i>
Athena Pallensis (Pallene/Stavros)	ca. 430 B.C.	ESE at $117.5 \pm 1^\circ$	118.16°	142.7
Apollo Daphnephoros (Eretria)	ca. 500 B.C.	SE at $133.7 \pm 1^\circ$	130.13°	170.1
Apollo Zoster (southern Attica)	ca. 500 B.C.	ESE at $111.5 \pm 1^\circ$	108.64°	139.4
Apollo (Aigina)	ca. 500 B.C.	E × SE at $99.5 \pm 0.5^\circ$	102.91°	167.4

converging on the center, possibly indicating a second major honoree besides Athena Pallenis. For this individual's identity, and for the other frieze's possible subject, we turn to point 2, the dedication, and point 3, the sacred law, and then to the individual fragments.

We owe our knowledge of points 2 and 3 entirely to a comically erudite discussion in the *Deipnosophistai* by Athenaios of Naukratis (3rd century A.D.) of the original meaning of the word *parasitos*, "parasite," quoted in full in the Appendix. Remarkably, the sacred law (point 3) mandated that when the cult's devotees sacrificed bovines (not sheep) and offered grain to Athena Pallenis at the great festival to celebrate its ripening, its Achaean *parasitoi* should also offer grain and sacrifice to Apollo. Presumably, then, he should be the recipient of our sheep (24). Since such laws often were drawn up in order to ensure continuity of practice at times of disruption, this particular one may well be contemporary with the long-accepted stylistic date for the temple and also proposed below for the HRF—namely, ca. 430–425 B.C., in which case the gold crown (point 2) awarded to the archons and *parasitoi* in 432/1 perhaps had celebrated the project's inception.

Moreover, amazingly, the long axis of the temple's foundations at Pallene/Stavros is closely aligned with the sacred island of Delos, Apollo's birthplace (Fig. 19:a, b). No fewer than three Apollo temples within 50 km of it replicate this alignment: the Temple of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria, the Temple of Apollo Zoster, and the Temple of Apollo at Aigina (Table 1; Fig. 19:b, alignments indicated by the green, and in Pallene's case, red lines).³⁰ Their deviations from true are minor, and in Pallene's case (indicated by the yellow line in Fig. 19),³¹ literally minuscule, well within the ± 1 degree margin of error imposed by the irregularities in the ancient stone foundations at Pallene and the experimental error inherent in such fine calculations.³² This fourfold cluster is extraordinary considering the early date of the temples, the distances covered, the intervening topography, and last but not least, the supposedly rudimentary surveying techniques available to 5th-century Greeks. It cannot be a coincidence. To speculate upon how it was achieved would be a fascinating task, but has no place in the present study. Its implications are examined below, however, in the conclusion to this article.

DISCUSSION

With all this in mind, we return to the fragments themselves. The aforementioned, massive, leftward-facing draped male with naked torso, seated on a rocky crag (5; Fig. 15), comes from an area between the east facade of

30. Kiesling 2018, p. 7, fig. 6. This discovery, made independently by Brady Kiesling, was generously shared with the authors in July 2017, a year after Stewart, Levitan, and Lloyd-Knauf had determined the date (ca. 430: Stewart 2016, p. 618) and likely subjects of the friezes, and had floated a possible connection with the plague. We thank Robert Hannah (University of Otago, Dunedin, N.Z.) for kindly replicating Kiesling's results, and both of them for their generous help with this topic and its manifold implications. Athenian *parasitoi* were involved in the Delian cult of Apollo as well as the Pallian one (Ath. 6.234e–f, with 4.173b–c; on the links between Delian and Pythian Apollo, see Chankowski 2008, pp. 95, 246, 261–262), significantly strengthening the connection (as observed by E. Driscoll). For further discussion, see the conclusions, pp. 691, 695–697, below. The data provided in Table 1 is courtesy Brady Kiesling.

31. Regarding the red and yellow lines in Fig. 19:c, Kiesling writes (pers. comm.): "The red line is my best estimate of the actual orientation of the temple, whereas the yellow line is the line connecting the temple foundations to the Sacred Lake on Delos."

32. For a clear explanation and analysis of this problem, see www2.ece.rochester.edu/courses/ECE111/error_uncertainty.pdf (G. A. Carlson).

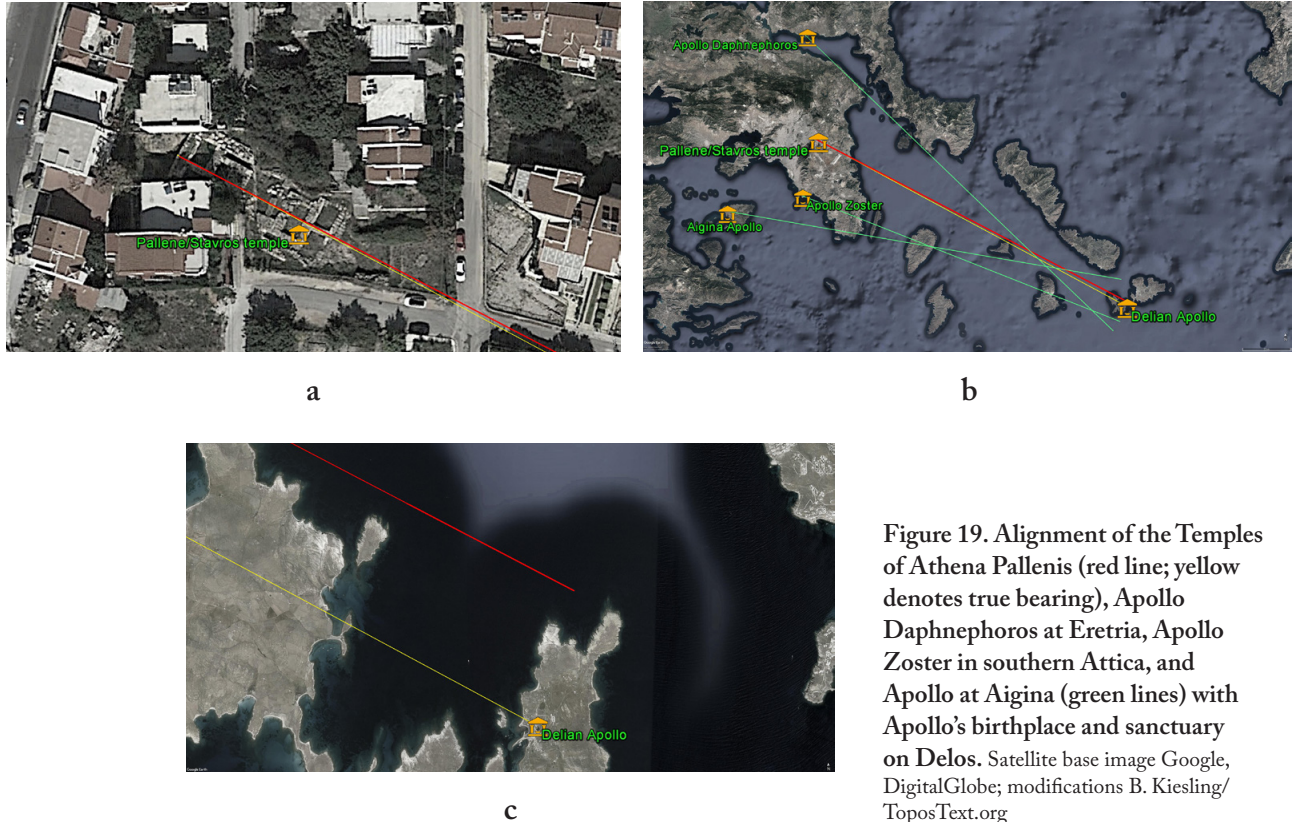


Figure 19. Alignment of the Temples of Athena Pallenis (red line; yellow denotes true bearing), Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria, Apollo Zoster in southern Attica, and Apollo at Aigina (green lines) with Apollo's birthplace and sanctuary on Delos. Satellite base image Google, DigitalGlobe; modifications B. Kiesling/ToposText.org

the temple, the Palace of the Giants, and the Stoa of Attalos that yielded several other fragments of the HRF (Fig. 2). Larger than any of the other preserved figures, as on the friezes of the Parthenon and especially the Nike temple and Hephaisteion (Figs. 4, 16, 17), he is surely Zeus and belongs on the east where he was found. Second, there are two important heads from this side: the large-scale, rightward-facing uniquely bearded god (1; Fig. 3) from a Late Roman hole in the ruins of the altar, which is both somewhat too small and wrongly oriented to belong to 5 (Zeus), so by process of elimination should be Poseidon; and an also rightward-facing helmeted head of Athena (6; Fig. 20).

Finally, there is the once-fine head of an ephebe mentioned earlier (2; Fig. 11), most likely Apollo given his youth and distinctive hairdo.³³ As will appear, he faces completely the wrong way to belong to an Apollo receiving sacrifice on the west frieze, so should belong also on the east. Together, these pieces point to a central group (from left to right) of Poseidon (1) →, Athena (6) →, || ← Apollo (2), and ← Zeus (5), presumably witnessing the introduction of the young Apollo to Pallene. Since such introduction scenes (often but not always involving Herakles) had been a staple of Athenian art for well over a century, to include one in this context would have caused no particular puzzlement.

As for the west frieze itself, if 2 is indeed a youthful Apollo, the large-scale but severely damaged 17 (Fig. 12), which had the same hairdo, should be his western avatar. Moreover, 17 is one of a number of large-scale heads found on this side of the temple that face either left (Herakles and a smiling Athena, 15 and 19; Figs. 38 and 21, respectively) or right (Apollo and Artemis, 17, 21; Figs. 12, 44; both identifiable by their distinctive hairdos).



Figure 20. Female head (6), probably Athena: right three-quarter view. Athens, Agora Excavations S 3365. Scale 1:3. Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

33. Cf. Harrison 1988a.



Figure 21. Female head (19), probably Athena: left three-quarter view. Athens, Agora Excavations S 2331. Scale 1:3. Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

34. Although in epic poetry, and at Delphi, Delos, and Klaros, Apollo received entire hecatombs of oxen, the sacrificial calendars and other sources show that in Attica his standard offerings were goats, sheep, and pigs; Athena's favorites were cows and sheep. See *TheoCRA* I, 2004, pp. 70–71, no. 21, s.v. sacrifices: "Apollo"; p. 77, no. 95, s.v. sacrifices: "Athéna" (A. Hermary, M. Leguilloux).

35. All catalogue entries were written independently by the authors, edited by Stewart, and then checked against those included in Harrison's catalogue (Harrison, n.d.). The technical sections have benefited enormously from a visit to the Agora from May 30, 2018, through June 8, 2018, by Auvinen, a specialist in premodern stone carving techniques (<http://www.mattaauvinen.com/>), when all technical descriptions and conclusions were double-checked against the fragments, his observations in situ, and his fine collection of historical and self-made sculptor's tools. All measurements are in meters unless otherwise stated.

36. For carving times, see Stewart 2019b, pp. 59–61 (e.g., Erechtheion).

37. A determination based on the heads' 11.1–13.0 cm height range, with most averaging around 12.2 cm.

Together with the two leftward-walking sheep (24), they indicate a double sacrifice, with the seated deities somewhat larger in scale than their approaching worshippers, as usual.

Given the testimony of both Pallene's own sacred law (see Appendix) and the sacrificial calendars that survive from other Attic sites, this sacrifice presumably involved, at left, now-lost cows and perhaps also sheep to Athena (19), and at right, sheep (24) and perhaps also now-lost oxen to Apollo (17; cf. the Appendix), her divine associate or (later) *theos paredros/synnaos theos*, in a basically $\rightarrow \rightarrow \leftarrow || \rightarrow \leftarrow \leftarrow$ compositional scheme, as on the Parthenon frieze (Fig. 4).³⁴ The influence of that frieze on this western ensemble, and the eastern one's compositional similarity to that of the Nike temple (Fig. 16), should be obvious. These links will only multiply.

The catalogue that follows is organized accordingly, first by selecting the identifiable and potentially assignable members of the two friezes, east and west, then proceeding to those pieces that cannot be identified or assigned with confidence, or are too unspecific to be of any real help, such as backs of heads, limbs, and stray feet. It concludes with Roman repairs. For the fragments from the two friezes (chiefly but not exclusively heads), the primary selection criteria are provenance, scale, iconography, and pose, assessed on a case-by-case basis; family and other ties also are given due deference. (To anticipate once more, the first four of these criteria correlate almost completely.) Because the proposed identifications vary in probability, the sections are arranged neutrally, by sex and then by body part, working from head to toe and left to right, with drapery fragments bringing up the rear.³⁵

Finally, as to chronology, it is clear that a number of sculptors were involved in the project and that the styles of the better-preserved pieces range from what one might call late Parthenonian (i.e., the mid- to late 430s) almost to the Nike temple parapet (ca. 425–423); see pp. 680–688, below. Yet since the two friezes cannot have taken more than one or two years to carve,³⁶ date ranges for individual pieces are not given in the catalogue to avoid confusion. Instead, readers should assume pro tem that all of them cluster more or less around the year 430.

CATALOGUE

EAST FRIEZE

MALE

1 Bearded male head: Poseidon

Figs. 3, 22

S 1459. On top of north wall of the altar foundation, in black fill in a hole where second course was missing (Agora Notebooks P 9, p. 1705; P 10, pp. 1820–1821; i.e., a 5th- to 7th-century A.D. context, perhaps deposited along with 9), ca. 12 m east of northeast corner of the temple at L/15,M/1–7/17; June 17, 1950.

H. 0.145, head 0.133; W. 0.097; D. 0.115, relief 0.110 m. H. tear duct to outer corner of mouth 0.035, to chin 0.064 m. Pentelic marble.

Scale: large.³⁷

Head of a bearded man, broken across neck and split vertically from crown through right nostril and cheek, preserving only its neck, right ear, and bearded jawline, and proper left side, eye, mouth, and beard. Forehead chipped; pick scar



down left side above (omitted) left ear. Slightly raised, clean break at left rear gives attachment point to frieze slab. Top, back, and right side of head weathered, left side of face less so; no original surface preserved.

Left side mostly unfinished, ear not carved. Back of head roughly pointed in short, horizontal strokes; three horizontal drill channels (Diam. 7 mm; L. from top down 4.5, 3.5, 2.5 cm) separate nape of neck to left from frieze slab. Hair on left roughly chiseled with bullnose chisel in long, horizontal strokes; chiseled on right in long strokes, perhaps over original running drill channels. Beard on left chiseled in short strokes. Right earhole drilled (Diam. 4; D. 6 mm); top of antihelix also (D. 2 mm). Slightly raised circle on left eyeball indicates greater protection from weathering by painted iris and pupil.

Signs of Roman cleaning (though weathering obscures exact sequence of tool use): right jawline and transition from ear to skull apparently running drilled, then sharply pointed; mouth and hair on right also.

The technique, weathering, primary damage pattern, and remains of the relief slab at left rear show that the head faced to the spectator's right in three-quarter view (Fig. 22:b). Prominent skin folds on the right side of the neck show that the man was turning his head somewhat to his right, out of the frieze; his open mouth shows that he was speaking or about to speak, and his nostrils are slightly distended. His preserved left eyebrow is ridged and strongly arched, and the orbital and ocular portions of the eyelid clearly delineated. The eye is bulging and preserves the tear duct. The left ear was never carved; the right is delicately modeled using chisel and drill. His beard is short and neat; his hair long and wavy, adhering closely to the skull. He was intentionally defaced in late antiquity, before being beheaded and discarded.

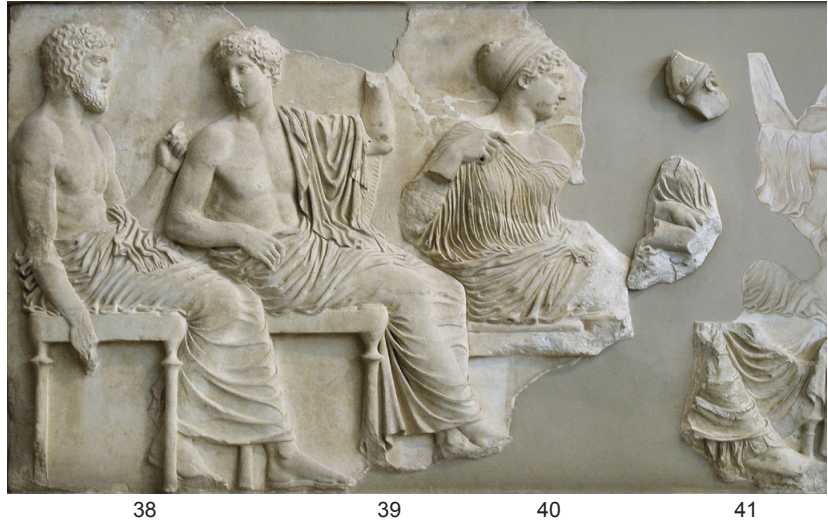
Together, the findspot and scale point strongly to the east frieze, and the beard (which is unique among the preserved fragments) and long hair to the "father god" Zeus or Poseidon, since Asklepios can be excluded on chronological and contextual grounds, and Hades is a nonstarter.³⁸ Yet one would expect Zeus to have a much bushier beard and "bigger" hair, as on the Parthenon frieze (Fig. 4, no. 30; cf. Fig. 23). Moreover, since the seated god 5 (Fig. 15) should also belong to this (east) frieze, is oriented antithetically to 1, and clearly surpasses it in scale, Poseidon becomes the clear favorite. These disparities in presence, scale, and (presumed) positioning are exactly paralleled on the east frieze of the Nike temple (Fig. 16, nos. 13, 16). Fragment 1's somewhat shorter hair and beard compared with his counterpart on the Parthenon (Fig. 23, no. 38) can be easily explained, since these are early days for the Olympians, when Apollo (2), still a mere stripling, is just coming into his birthright.

Thompson 1951, pp. 57–58, pl. 29:b, c; 1952, p. 94, n. 19; Schlörb 1964, p. 36; *Agora XIV*, p. 164, pl. 82:c; Delivorrias 1974, p. 144; Harrison 1977a, p. 173, fig. 38; 1977c, p. 418; Felten 1984, pp. 109–110, pl. 31:3; Harrison 1986, pp. 109, 110, 112, 114, fig. 1 (findspot), pl. 120:4 (Prometheus); Leventi 2014, p. 184.

Figure 22. Male head (1), probably Poseidon: (a) right profile; (b) right three-quarter view; (c) left profile; (d) back view. Athens, Agora Excavations S 1459. Scale 1:3. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

38. Contra Harrison 1986, p. 116 (Prometheus).

Figure 23. East frieze of the Parthenon showing Poseidon, Apollo, Artemis, Aphrodite (block VI.38–41). Athens, Acropolis Museum 856. Photo H. Goette



2 Male head with coming-of-age/ephebic hairstyle: Apollo Figs. 11, 24
S 301. Disturbed area ca. 105 m south-southwest of the temple at H/5,6–13/9,10; March 14, 1933.

H. 0.132, head 0.112, face 0.079; W. 0.108; D. 0.120 m. W. outer corners of eyes 0.051 m. H. tear ducts to outer corners of mouth 0.031, to chin 0.06 m. Pentelic marble.

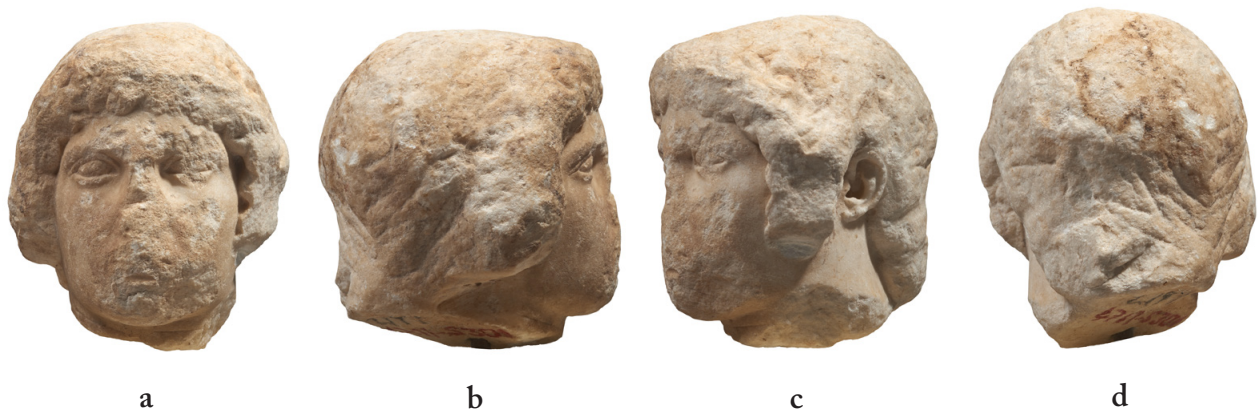
Scale: small.

Broken across the neck, from below chin to hair at nape; breaks battered; bottom of left sideburn scarred by modern pick stroke. Left sideburn, neck below chipped, presumably by Late Antique hammering, together with all facial features, left side of chin. Face, sideburns, hair cap heavily weathered, but original surface preserved under inner corners of eyes, on brow below hairline, and on both sides of neck (by brow ridges and overhanging hair, respectively).

Jawline, skin fold on neck chiseled. Head diagonally pointed at right rear in a rough V-pattern with mason's strokes, presumably to separate it from background; right side hair and sideburn sketched with point and flat chisel; underside of right sideburn honeycombed (four shallow holes) with drill (Diam. 2 mm). Two shallow drill holes (Diam. 4 mm) in anterior of left sideburn; left ear cavity, hair behind left ear, and right nostril drilled (Diam. 2 mm).

The youth's head was turned in three-quarter view toward the spectator's left (Fig. 11), and also inclined in this direction, toward which the axes of the eyes and mouth also converge quite sharply; the left eye is slightly longer than the right, which is more salient. The face is a heavy oval, with a strong jaw, large cheeks, wide

Figure 24. Male head (2), probably Apollo: (a) front view; (b) right profile; (c) left profile; (d) back view. Athens, Agora Excavations S 301. Scale 1:3. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations



cheekbones, and a broad forehead. The eyelids protrude, and the eyeballs bulge somewhat; no tear ducts are indicated. The left ear is finely carved, and its lobe unpierced. The hair is thick and was elaborately curled, with bangs hanging over the forehead, a long, thick sideburn at proper left (the hair mass at proper right is undifferentiated, and the ear not shown), and a cluster of locks hanging down the back, now truncated by the break on the neck.

The findspot is unhelpful, but the head's small scale and pose (indicating a position to the right of center of the composition) both strongly favor the temple's east frieze. As with the two Aphrodites (10 + 11, 23), the severe damage to the face suggests a deliberate attack on the subject's beauty and personality, and thus indicates a principal actor in the narrative. Given its elaborately old-fashioned hairstyle, the best candidate is a young, ephebic Apollo, with long sideburns and hair let down, so not in action. Compare Figure 25 and the Olympia Apollo, active, with the same hairdo but bound up at the back, and Figure 26 for a mature (but still young) man's side locks.³⁹

Unpublished.

3 Male head fragment: Hermes(?)

Fig. 26

S 305. Late Roman layer at northeast corner of the temple at L/3,4–7/13,14; March 13, 1933. Stolen from excavation house August 22, 1955.

H. 0.16, head ca. 12.4, of face ca. 0.078; D. 0.12 m. Pentelic marble.

Scale: medium.

Registration card reads: "Most of the left side of the face and head is broken away. Nose, chin, and cheek chipped, and the head is broken off at the base of the neck. The finish of the wavy hair at the top and at the back suggests that this was probably broken from a relief." In pencil below: "Probably from the Parthenon Frieze."

The findspot and scale point to the east frieze, and the abundant, tousled hair and generally youthful, vigorous appearance to one of the younger Olympians (Apollo, Ares, Dionysos, Hephaistos, or Hermes). Among these, Hermes certainly would seem to be the best candidate (Harrison 1986, p. 115), especially since Apollo is already spoken for (2).

Schlörb 1964, p. 36; Harrison 1967, p. 41; 1986, pp. 110, 115, fig. 1 (findspot), pl. 121:4; Leventi 2014, p. 184.

4 Head of a young man: Hephaistos(?)

Fig. 27

S 717. Ca. 17 m east-southeast of the temple, in the "Black Hole," a "Dark Age" pit (Agora Notebook P 2, pp. 339, 349–350; i.e., probably 7th century A.D.), at L/20,M/1–8/18,19; April 8, 1936.

H. 0.147, head 0.122, face 0.09; W. 0.105, face 0.075; D. 0.063 m. W. outer corners of eyes 0.051 m. H. left tear duct to corner of mouth 0.037, right 0.035 m. H. left tear duct to chin 0.065, right 0.061 m. Pentelic marble.

Scale: medium.

Back of head and neck split away, preserving entire face; neck broken across 2 cm below chin, chipped at front. Badly weathered and battered. Left eyebrow, cheek, and lips chipped; nose and helix of left ear broken away. Face, side hair, and breaks covered in root marks.

Modern drill hole (Diam. 6 mm) for mounting in the break on the neck. Jawline and groove between lips defined by flat chisel; hair cap sketched with point and flat chiseled above brow and on right sideburn. Right ear omitted; left earhole and apex of antihelix drilled with 5 mm bit.

The youth turns his head somewhat to his right (Fig. 27:b). The right side of his face is wider than the left, and the axes of his eyes and mouth converge in this direction, showing that he faced toward the spectator's left in three-quarter view. His mouth is comparatively short. His eyeballs are narrow, bulging, and deep set at the corners; the ocular portion of the upper lid flares strongly, and the tear duct is



Figure 25. Detail of Apollo from the tondo of an Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Penthesileia Painter. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 2689. FR, pl. 55.



Figure 26. Male head (3), probably Hermes: right profile. Athens, Agora Excavations S 305 (stolen). Not to scale. Photo courtesy Agora Excavations

39. Plut. *Thes.* 5.1; Harrison 1988a, p. 248, fig. 2; cf. Boardman 1985, fig. 21:3; Stewart 1990, fig. 270; Rolley 1994, p. 375, fig. 401. Good Classical examples from vase painting include (1) cup tondo by the Penthesileia Painter, depicting Apollo: Munich, Antikensammlung 2689; *ARV*² 879, no. 2; and see Figure 25; (2) calyx krater by the Achilles Painter, side A, depicting Kephalos: London, British Museum E463; *ARV*² 991, no. 55; (3) hydria by the Coghill Painter depicting Apollo: London, British Museum E170; *ARV*² 1042, no. 2 (Coghill Painter); (4) dinos by the Kleophon Painter, side A, depicting Apollo: Ferrara, Museo Nazionale Archeologico T57CVP; *ARV*² 1143, no. 1.



Figure 27. Male head (4), Hephais-
tos(?): (a) front view; (b) left three-
quarter view; (c) right profile; (d) left
profile. Athens, Agora Excavations
S 717. Scale 1:3. Photos C. Mauzy;
courtesy Agora Excavations

prominent. He has a low forehead, and a short, bowl-like hairstyle with sideburns; presumably the individual locks were detailed with paint.

By process of elimination, Harrison's suggestion (1986, p. 115) that this head represents Hephaistos among the younger gods seems reasonable, since Apollo (2) is already spoken for, and Ares should be helmeted; it is too severe and craggy to be a Dionysos or a Hermes. Although the god is bearded on the Parthenon frieze (Fig. 4, no. 37) and in several late-5th-century vases, a beardless, youthful Hephais-
tos sans his trademark *pilos* would be appropriate here, as in many of the contemporary pictures of his triumphant return to Olympos after his expulsion as a child by Zeus.⁴⁰

Harrison 1977a, p. 173, fig. 39; Brommer 1978, p. 241, no. 15; Harrison 1986, pp. 110, 113, 115 (Hephaistos), fig. 1 (findspot), pl. 120:3; Leventi 2014, p. 184.

5 Draped male seated on a rock: Zeus

Figs. 15, 28

S 1778. Unrecorded marbles at M/Q-7/12 (i.e., section Σ, 10–100 m northeast to southeast of the temple); recovered and registered November 1953.

H. 0.264; W. 0.392; D. 0.131, relief ca. 0.140 m. Pentelic marble.

Scale: very large. This is the largest of all the figures represented among the fragments of the HRF.

Extremely weathered and battered lower left half of a man sitting in profile on a rock. Broken across back (with traces of background remaining in places on the break), across waist, and just above ankles; diagonal break down left hip, perhaps for lowered left forearm; rock broken away from behind left calf to just below left buttock. Breaks, left knee, calf, drapery folds, and remains of torso battered. Entire surface heavily weathered, water damaged, and patinated gray from years in marble pile.

Drill hole (Diam. 9 mm; D. 1.4 cm) between drapery and man's spine, 2 cm from break at back; running drill channels (Diam. 3–5 mm) in many fold valleys over upper thigh, hip, buttocks, and adjacent portions of rock; upper ends of some of these folds tunneled. Some of this drilling may be Roman, but weathering prevents certainty.

The figure recalls the Poseidon on the east frieze of the Parthenon (Fig. 23, no. 38), in mirror image. He sits on a rock, facing the spectator's left; his left arm either hung by his side or was withdrawn, supporting his body from behind; and his left lower leg is drawn back quite sharply, his right advanced somewhat. His torso is bare, but the lower half of his body is swathed in a heavy himation that passes behind his buttocks, disappears into the background, and emerges again on top of his thighs to cross his lap from right to left just below his navel. There, however, one corner falls in a cascade down his left hip and over the rock; the remainder is gathered over the rock and tucked under his legs, its other visible corner falling fanwise from the crook of his left knee presumably to or near the ground. The folds

40. E.g., LIMC IV, 1988, pp. 638–644, nos. 119, 150, 162b, 164a, 166, pls. 392, 396–399 (A. Hermary, A. Jacquemin); Stewart 2018, p. 720, fig. 42.



are somewhat wavy, rounded, and often bifurcated where they swathe the hips and upper thigh; but taut, quite sharp-edged, and occasionally double-ridged where they fan out from the crook of the knee. Hems are pie-crust-ed.

The findspot points to the east frieze, but the scale exceeds that of all the surviving heads, **1** included. Moreover, since (as noted in the catalogue entry for **1**) there are good reasons for identifying **1** as Poseidon, **5** is clearly bigger, and the two gods reappear identically positioned and scaled in the Nike temple frieze (Fig. 16, nos. 13, 16), the odds overwhelmingly favor an identification of **5** as Zeus. Its substitution of a rock for Zeus's more usual (but not obligatory) throne will be explained below.

Harrison 1967, p. 41, n. 116; Harrison 1977b, p. 274, fig. 12; Felten 1984, pp. 109–110, pl. 31:5; Harrison 1986, pp. 114, 115, pl. 121:3; Leventi 2014, p. 184.

FEMALE

6 Head of Athena wearing a Corinthian helmet Figs. 20, 29

S 3365. Well deposit J 3:1 (9th–13th century A.D.), against west side of Stoa Poikile; June 17, 1981.

H. 0.153; W. 0.089; D. 0.116 m. Pentelic marble.

Scale: medium.

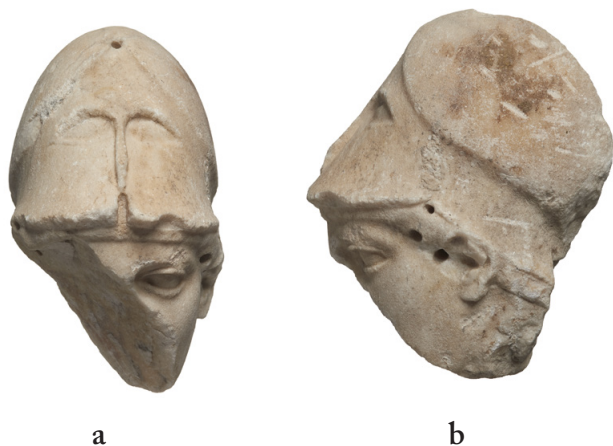


Figure 28. Seated male (**5**), probably Zeus: (a) right three-quarter view; (b) left three-quarter view. Athens, Agora Excavations S 1778. Scale 1:5. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

Figure 29. Female head (**6**), probably Athena: (a) front view; (b) left profile. Athens, Agora Excavations S 3365. Scale 1:3. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

Entire right side of head below helmet rim and front of face to bridge of nose and left cheek split away; left side and front of helmet, with the figure's brow, left eye, cheek, and ear, preserved; back of head, neck, and helmet split away diagonally from above (missing) right ear to behind left one. Top of helmet broken away, perhaps by hammer blow to remove bronze crest. Helmet rim and eyeholes, left eyebrow, ear, and side hair chipped. Moderately weathered all over, helmet slightly more severely on left; fresh scrapes on top and sides caused probably during excavation.

Drill hole (Diam. 6 mm) in broken cavity at top of helmet (p.D. 9 mm); another at front center (Diam. 4; D. 7 mm), both evidently for its metal crest. Below angle at helmet rim before both ears, three drill holes (Diam. 4 mm) in a L-shaped pattern (D. 1–2 cm) for metal cheekpieces or perhaps hair locks. Antihelix of left ear exhibits characteristic shallow drill hole (Diam. 4 mm) at apex. Flat chisel and point used to define cap, helmet (left eyehole less sharply than right), and eyes.

The woman wears a Corinthian helmet over a 2 mm thick cap, projecting ca. 5 mm below its rim, probably of leather. She was intentionally defaced in late antiquity, before being beheaded and discarded.

The primary damage pattern and vague modeling of the helmet's left eyehole indicate that the head faced toward the spectator's right in three-quarter view. The surviving eye is large and shallow-set, with narrow eyelids and a vaguely indicated tear duct; the eyeball is almost flat in the vertical dimension. The hair, although largely broken away, apparently was gathered at the back of the neck. The ridged eyebrow, eye, and ear closely resemble those of the Poseidon (1), indicating the same hand at work.

Although the findspot is of little help, in the context of this particular temple the helmet identifies 6 as Athena Pallenis in an Assembly of the Gods⁴¹ and points to the east frieze, since the large-scale, smiling 19, found to the west of the temple, may be identified confidently as the same goddess greeting a sacrificial procession.

Harrison 1986, p. 115, pl. 120:2; Leventi 2014, p. 185.

7 Veiled female head: Hera

Fig. 30

S 1095. Unnumbered sculpture fragments in section N, ca. 30 m south of the temple at approximately J,K-9,11; recovered and registered July 20, 1938.

H. 0.150, head 0.12; W. 0.119, mouth 0.023; D. 0.151, relief 0.137 m. H. right tear duct to outer corner of mouth 0.033, to chin 0.056 m. Pentelic marble.

Scale: medium.

Broken diagonally across the neck from throat up to nape; upper part from crown through right eye to left cheek and ear split away. Extended left side of veil against relief background broken away; join to background preserved at left rear; breaks chipped and somewhat battered. Nose, lips, and chin battered away, perhaps by right-handed hammer blow. Top of head and parts of face weathered; original surface preserved either side of nose, on left cheek, and neck below.

Two parallel chisel cuts, left 1.7 cm (one perhaps a mistake), define anterior chin-neck transition. Nostrils and corners of mouth drilled with 2 mm bit, groove between lips channeled with same tool. Right ear cavity cut with 5 mm drill (left ear not carved), then completed with three drill holes (Diam. 3 mm) in a T-pattern. Valleys between veil folds on right carefully cut with 4 mm running drill, shallowing and tapering off toward top. Underside of veil at back honeycombed with six drill holes (Diam. 6; D. 2–6 mm); junction of right side of neck and veil honeycombed with five to six shallow drill holes (Diam. 4 mm); left side with two drill holes (Diam. 7; D. 3 and 7 mm). Neck drilled for mounting (Diam. 1 cm).

The figure was intentionally defaced in late antiquity, before being beheaded and her head discarded. The finish, weathering, break at the back, and primary damage pattern indicate that she was facing somewhat to the spectator's right (Fig. 30:a), inclining her head somewhat. Her face is oval, and her girlish features

41. Harrison 1986, p. 115; cf. Ritter 1997, pp. 44–45, 54–56; contra Leventi 2014, p. 185 (a warrior).



comparatively large. She has the curly hair, rosebud lips, projecting eyelids, and bulging eyes characteristic of some of the other fragments (e.g., 9; Fig. 32). She wears a veil covering all but the front and side hair back to the ears. Pulled tight at its front, it lies in thick, overlapping folds over the crown of the head and the side hair, and originally descended to the shoulders or below; at the back of the head it is largely unelaborated. The left ear and adjacent hair are merely sketched; behind this, toward the relief background, the veil begins to extend to her left, and must have been held out sideways in the so-called bridal or *anakalypsis* gesture.

The findspot is not incompatible with the east frieze, and the emphatic bridal gesture points to the goddess Hera, as on, for example, the east frieze of the Parthenon (Fig. 4, no. 29), the east frieze of the Hephaisteion (Fig. 17), and the Nike temple frieze, where she stands behind her husband but turns to speak to another god standing to her left (Fig. 16, nos. 17, 18).⁴² All this, in turn, immediately suggests an association with a female left hand holding up such a veil (8), found to the east of the temple.

Harrison 1977b, pp. 278–279, fig. 20.

8 Female left hand holding drapery

Fig. 31

S 1554. Marble pile northeast of Giants at M,N–7,8 (i.e., section P, ca. 40 m east of the temple); recovered with 42 and registered July 26, 1951.

L. 0.15; W. 0.087; D. 0.053 m. Pentelic marble.

Broken across wrist and down drapery ca. 3 cm away from thumb; thumb and fingers from first joints, little finger and adjacent side of hand broken away. Background broken away all round back. Flesh and drapery lightly weathered; some light encrustation and damage from rainwater coursing down sides of thumb and drapery folds.

This hand and 7 were carved with the same tool kit, probably by the same carver. Back of hand and wrist defined against relief ground by long groove cut with a scraper or channeling tool. Skin folds at wrist, thumb chiseled, perhaps over fine running drill channels; thumb and forefinger transition defined by a deep running drill channel (Diam. 3 mm; L. 1.3 cm), and its sides finely rasped, drapery included; associated skin folds cut with shallower running drill channels (Diam. 2 mm). Drapery fold to left also undercut with drill (Diam. 2 mm); shallow drill channel down drapery near break (Diam. 3 mm; L. 3.3 cm).

The forearm and hand were raised to hold a corner of cloth out to the figure's left in the so-called bridal or *anakalypsis* gesture. The pad of the thumb is rounded and smooth; the folds comparatively shallow except for the remains of one on the break at spectator's left.

The findspot points to the east frieze, and the gesture to an association with 7 and an identification as Hera (cf. Figs. 4, 16, 17, 30:b). Harrison, however, proposed an association with the peplophoros, 36, and identified this figure as Hera, even though she was clearly posed in profile. Her left shoulder and arm are missing entirely, and perhaps were never carved.⁴³

Harrison 1986, p. 115 (Hera), n. 31, pl. 118:5.

Figure 30. Veiled female head (7), probably Hera: (a) right three-quarter view; (b) left three-quarter view; (c) right profile; (d) right rear three-quarter view. Athens, Agora Excavations S 1095. Scale 1:4. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations



Figure 31. Female with left hand holding a veil (8), probably Hera: front view. Athens, Agora Excavations S 1554. Scale 1:3. Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

42. Parthenon East V.29: Robertson and Frantz 1975, East V.29; Brommer 1977, pl. 174; Jenkins 1994, fig. on p. 78.

43. Harrison 1986, p. 115.

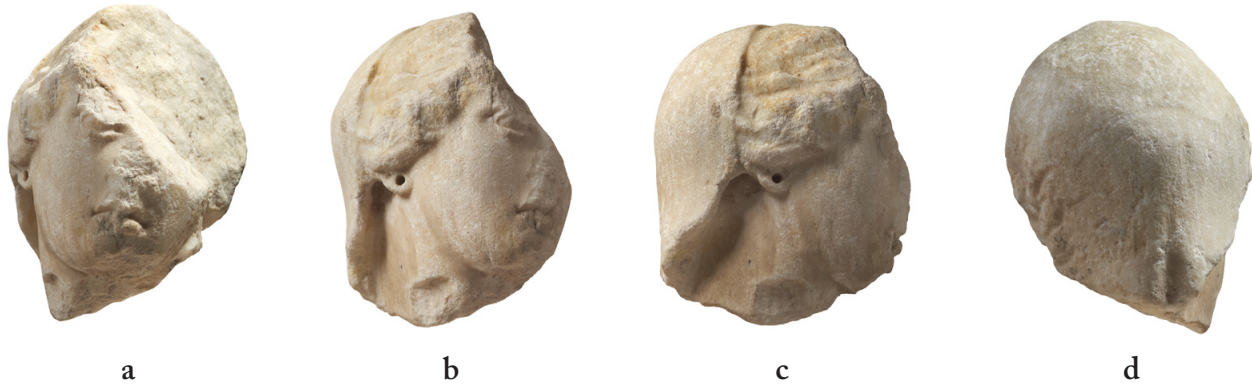


Figure 32. Veiled female head (9), perhaps Amphitrite: (a) front view; (b) right three-quarter view; (c) right profile; (d) back view. Athens, Agora Excavations S 1538. Scale 1:3. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

9 Veiled female head: Amphitrite(?)

Fig. 32

S 1538. Very late (5th–6th century A.D.) Roman fill 0.10 m below level of top of second course of the altar foundations, east of the temple at M/2,3–8/1,2; June 14, 1951. Perhaps deposited along with 1.

H. 0.137, head 0.121; W. 0.102; D. 0.118, relief 0.105 m. H. tear duct to outer corner of mouth 0.033, to chin 0.055 m. Pentelic marble.

Scale: medium.

Transition to background preserved as a shallow ridge at back. Head broken diagonally across the neck from throat up to below left ear and nape; left side of head from below left ear through right eyebrow split away. Breaks chipped and somewhat battered. Left cheek and jawline below eroded by water. Nose, right lower lip, left side of chin battered away, perhaps by hammer blows. Weathered.

Veil honeycombed behind right ear with 5 mm drill (D. 1 cm), then abraded; drill hole in earlobe for earring (Diam. 4; D. 8 mm); left ear not carved. Hair and transition to veil on crown cut with bullnose chisel. Left side and adjacent part of back of head roughly pointed; hem of veil separated from background by horizontal drill hole (Diam. 7 mm; L. ca. 5 cm).

The figure was intentionally defaced in late antiquity, before being beheaded and her head discarded. She turns and inclines her head abruptly to her left; this, the tooling at left rear, and the hole for an earring in her right earlobe all show that she was to be seen facing to the spectator's right in three-quarter view (Fig. 32:b). Probably carved by the same hand as Hera (7; Fig. 30), she has the same curly hair, oval face, and large, girlish features: rosebud lips, projecting eyelids, and bulging eyes. The veil on the back of her head is largely unelaborated except for a single fold at the back of the neck, indicating that this side faced the background, although cut completely free of it. She wore an earring in her right ear (the left is missing and may never have been carved). This indicates high status, probably a goddess, turning to address a companion on her left.

The findspot points strongly to the east frieze, and the veil to a married goddess such as Amphitrite,⁴⁴ Demeter, Hera, or Leto.⁴⁵ Yet (1) Hera may be recognized in 7, and Leto in 13 and 22; and (2) 9 is not making 7's characteristically emphatic bridal gesture (8). Since 1 has already been identified as Poseidon, his wife Amphitrite (standing behind him, as on the Nike temple frieze [Fig. 16, no. 12]) thus becomes the favorite, en route also edging out Demeter.

After 31, which may have been broken off soon after the Herulian withdrawal in A.D. 267, this head has the next earliest context of all the fragments of the HRF; suggestively, her putative husband, Poseidon (1), may have been deposited at the same time.

Thompson 1952, p. 94, n. 19, pl. 23:a; Harrison 1967, p. 41; Schlörb 1964, p. 36; *Agora XIV*, p. 164, pl. 82:a; Delivorrias 1974, p. 145, n. 620; Harrison 1977b, pp. 278–279, fig. 19; Harrison 1986, pp. 110, 113, 114, 115, fig. 1 (findspot), pl. 121:2.

44. Observed by E. Lawrence, 2017.

45. Contra Harrison 1986, p. 115 (a nymph).

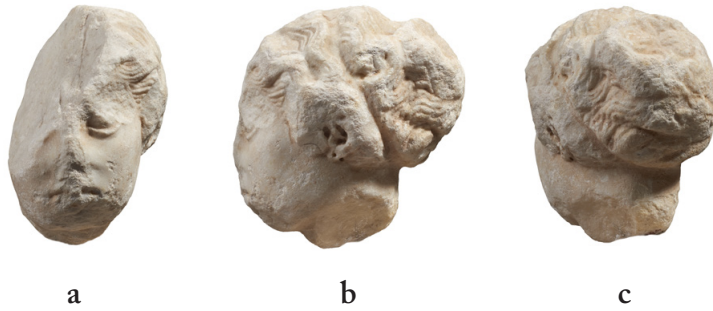


Figure 33. Female head (10), probably Aphrodite: (a) front view; (b) left profile; (c) left rear three-quarter view. Athens, Agora Excavations S 1494. Scale 1:4. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

10 Female head with elaborate hairdo: Aphrodite Figs. 10, 33

S 1494. Marble lining of Byzantine(?) pithos, 28 m due east of the temple at M/14,15–7/17,18; April 23, 1951.

H. 0.135, head 0.121, face 0.088; W. 0.094; D. 0.140 m. H. tear duct to outer corner of mouth 0.034, to chin 0.06 m. Pentelic marble.

Scale: medium.

Broken across neck; break severely chipped and battered. Entire right side of head from crown through right cheekbone and right rear of head split away. Chin, most of mouth, nose, left eyebrow, helix of left ear, hair around, above, and behind it, and topknot battered away. Right side of neck and jaw heavily weathered; strip of original surface preserved beside nose from left tear duct to left corner of mouth.

Channel for circlet and base of topknot both roughed out with running drills (Diam. 5 and 7, respectively; D. 3–5 mm), then chiseled. Hair and topknot detailed with flat chisel; centers of curls point drilled. Corners of mouth drilled with fine drill (Diam. 2 mm). Antihelix and tragus of ear channeled with two running drill channels (Diam. 2; L. 5 and 9; D. 3 mm); ear lobe drilled twice for an earring ([1] Diam. 2; D. 4; [2] Diam. 3; D. 3 mm). Right side of head separated from background by coarse drill channel (Diam. 1.3; L. 4.5; D. 1.0 cm). Neck drilled for modern mount.

The woman's head faced and was turned somewhat to the spectator's left, and was to be seen in three-quarter view (Fig. 10). This is also consistent with the delicate finish of its left side, ear (complete with piercing for an earring), highly elaborate hair, and the schematic right jawline and coarse running drill channel just behind it. It is, however, inconsistent with the weathering, which therefore must be secondary (as with the Apollo head, 2).

Her face is round and childlike, with rosebud lips and delicate features, including a very carefully carved left ear. Her luxuriant, finely carved, stranded hair is elaborately coiffed: waved back and to the sides from the brow, confined by a circlet, and then gathered into a bun behind the crown of the head, on the top of which the ends of the locks are arranged in a complex whirligig pattern around a central point.

Together, the findspot and scale point strongly to the east frieze, and the delicate facial features, jewelry, headgear, and uniquely elegant hairdo to Aphrodite.⁴⁶ This head has been tentatively associated with the standing female torso 23, perhaps erroneously, since its right shoulder, S 1834, was found to the west of the temple (23a on Fig. 2); the torso in Greek custody, 11, also wears an off-the-shoulder chiton and is an equally good candidate.

Thompson 1952, pp. 94–95, pl. 23:b (associating head and body, 23); Freyer 1962, pp. 218, 221, 224, fig. 5; Schlörb 1964, p. 36; Harrison 1967, p. 41, n. 118; Delivorrias 1974, p. 145, n. 620; Harrison 1977a, p. 166, fig. 22 (with 23); Schuchhardt 1977, pp. 14–16, fig. 17; Harrison 1986, pp. 110, 112, 115, fig. 1 (findspot), pl. 121:1; Leventi 2014, p. 184.

46. Thus Harrison 1986, p. 115 (with 23).

Figure 34. Female torso (11), probably Aphrodite: (a) right three-quarter view; (b) left three-quarter view. Athens, Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens, at Plato's Academy, M 12. Scale 1:5. Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens



11 Draped female torso: Aphrodite(?)

Figs. 7, 34

Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens storeroom M 12 (inv. 145), at Plato's Academy. Found in Hadrian's Library in 1956; attributed to the HRF by Georgios Despintis in the 1970s.

H. 0.361; W. 0.191; D. 0.181, relief ca. 0.136 m. Pentelic marble with white mica inclusions.

Broken all round; join to background preserved only along back of neck and immediately adjacent part of right shoulder. Head, neck, left forearm, right arm at shoulder, right side of body, legs from below knees missing. Breasts, himation overfall hammered away. Anterior weathered and battered, with gray-white patina typical of excavation marble piles; many traces of mortar; water corrosion along neckline of clothing. Small patches of original surface below pit of neck, at left knee level, and at proper right above break.

Tooling largely obscured by damage and weathering, but some himation fold valleys cut by running drill (Diam. 3–5 mm); running drill (Diam. 2 mm), fine channeling tool, or finely pointed riffer file used on narrower ones; their upper termini often tunneled. Traces of fine rasping along some folds and by bundle inside left elbow. Crosscut chiton folds between breasts and above himation finely chiseled.

The woman's breasts were hammered away in late antiquity, before she was beheaded and her head discarded; her body was then hacked off its backer and dumped.

She stood more or less frontally on her left leg in a quasi-Polykleitan pose, with her right hip dropped and her right leg relaxed and somewhat advanced. Her left forearm also was advanced, and her right arm flexed and held out to the side, perhaps so that she could rest her hand on the back of the shoulder of another figure to her right (such as 37; see Fig. 56, below). This action has twisted her torso a little to her right, raised her right shoulder, and thrown it into high relief. Her neck was inclined to her left, and her head thus presumably turned to her right, toward her companion.

The woman wears a thin, crinkly chiton without overfold, and a somewhat heavier himation; since the back of her neck is bare, she was not veiled. The chiton, which is hemmed at the neck, has slipped a little off her right shoulder, like that of 23 (see Fig. 45, below). The himation is draped over her left shoulder so that a

portion of it hangs down the front of her body almost to her left knee, apparently (though most of it is lost owing to the intentional damage to the breasts) skirting the left breast. Passing around the shoulders in back, it crosses the front of her body at waist level, loops over the crook of her elbow, and hangs down her left side.

Scale, depth of relief, workmanship, style, and material all confirm the connection with the HRF. The motif of the slipping chiton, shared with **23**, the Aphrodite of the east pediment of the Parthenon, and Pheidias's Aphrodite Ourania,⁴⁷ points to that goddess, as does the severe damage to the breasts, which is shared only by **23**. The provenance (along with **23**'s attribution to the west frieze; see p. 659, below) suggests an attribution to the east frieze, even though the piece was found quite far from the Agora. The head, **10**, may belong, even though in its present state it bears no trace of mica; in this case, a thin micaceous vein that runs diagonally through the base of **11**'s neck either stopped short of the preserved stump of **10**'s neck or fell just outside it. The workmanship of both is equally fine. If her companion was **37**, as the right hand on its shoulder and its discovery east-southeast of the temple might suggest, the two stood somewhat apart from each other (see Fig. 56:b, below); they may also have been carved by the same hand, though **11**'s severely damaged state prohibits certainty.

Unpublished.

12 Female head with wide headband: Artemis

Fig. 35

S 2345. "Late" (i.e., Middle Byzantine or later) green lime mortar wall at O/3–6/5 (i.e., 65 m northeast of the temple), July 27, 1970.

H. 0.138, head 0.113, face 0.084; W. 0.115; D. 0.062 m. W. outer corners of eyes 0.051 m. H. left tear duct to outer corner of mouth 0.03, right 0.029 m. H. left tear duct to chin 0.058, right 0.058 m. Pentelic marble.

Scale: small.



Figure 35. Female head (**12**), Artemis: (a) front view; (b) right three-quarter view; (c) right profile. Athens, Agora Excavations S 2345. Scale 1:3. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

Back and left side broken away; right side of head and neck chipped off from ear backward; neck broken diagonally from throat to nape. Front hair eroded by dripping water. Right eyebrow chipped; nose, lips, and chin damaged perhaps by right-handed hammer blow from above. Traces of green and brown mortar on all surfaces. Flesh surfaces lightly weathered; hair moderately so.

Hair and Venus rings on neck tooled with flat chisel or edged rasp; hair flat chiseled. On left eyeball, slightly raised quarter circle extending from six to nine o'clock, with pimple at center, indicates greater protection from weathering by painted iris and pupil.

The young woman's neck bears faint traces of two Venus rings; her left eye is slightly longer and more salient than the right, showing that she was to be seen in three-quarter view, facing toward the spectator's right (Fig. 35:b). Her mouth is short; the lips protrude, are strongly articulated, and turned down at the corners. Her eyes are large and shallow-set, with narrow eyelids and discreetly indicated tear ducts; the eyeballs are almost flat in the vertical dimension. Her hairdo and

47. Parthenon east pediment M: Brommer 1963, pls. 45–51; Boardman 1985, fig. 80:3; Stewart 1990, figs. 350–352; Palagia 1993, figs. 42, 45; Rolley 1999, p. 100, fig. 90; Williams 2013, p. 23, fig. 22. Ourania: Boardman 1985, fig. 213; Rolley 1999, p. 140, fig. 125; Bol 2004, p. 176, fig. 96:a–d; Cullen Davison 2009, vol. 1, pp. 29–37; vol. 3, p. 1239, fig. 3:1; Stewart 2012a, pp. 272–273, fig. 3, with references.

band exactly copy those of Artemis on the Parthenon frieze (Fig. 23), clinching the identification.⁴⁸ Her front hair is waved back from a central part and held in place by a wide headband (max. W. 4 cm) with raised hems, placed 2–3 cm behind the hairline. Behind it, the hair radiates from the crown of the head in crisply chiseled waves, suggesting that it was originally gathered into a *lampadion*, perhaps executed in lower relief on the backing. In style, this head closely resembles the Athena (19) found in the same late wall complex, and perhaps was carved by the same hand.

The scale, identical to that of her twin brother, the youthful Apollo (2), and to some extent the provenance, both point to a location on the east frieze.

Shear 1971, pp. 272–273, pl. 57:b; Harrison 1977b, pp. 279–280, fig. 21; Felten 1984, pp. 109–110, pl. 31:2; Harrison 1986, pp. 114, 116 (Artemis), pl. 122:1; Leventi 2014, p. 184.

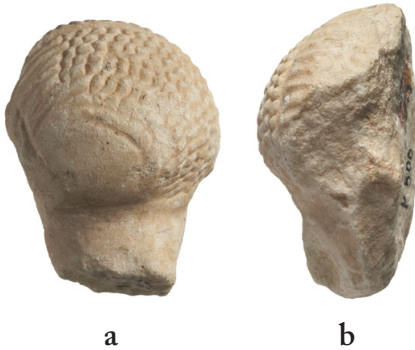


Figure 36. Female head (13), probably Leto: (a) back view; (b) front view. Athens, Agora Excavations S 1451. Scale 1:3. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations



Figure 37. Head of Leto from a votive relief. Brauron, Archaeological Museum EA 12/NE 1180 + 1179. Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, neg. 1989-1286

48. Slab East VI.40: see, already, Harrison 1986, p. 116; cf. Robertson and Frantz 1975, East VI.40, pls. 14, 15; Brommer 1977, pls. 178, 179, 182; Jenkins 1994, frontispiece, fig. on p. 80.

49. Observed by E. Lawrence, 2017.

13 Back of female head with back-combed, ridged hair: Leto Figs. 8, 36
S 1451. Byzantine pit between the temple and altar foundations, ca. 4 m northeast of southeast corner of the temple at L/7,8–8/7,8, May 24, 1950.

H. 0.115; W. 0.089; D. 0.65 m. Pentelic marble.

Scale: medium(?).

Pseudo-join to 22 dismantled (June 1, 2016). Broken at base of neck; entire face and left side of head sheared off; breaks heavily chipped and battered. Large chip at right side of head and below at break on neck. Weathered along edge of crown.

Slight remains of right earlobe and drill hole (Diam. 2 mm.) for earring preserved on break to right. Hair locks chiseled. Furrows between straight ridges of hair on crown cut with 3 mm bullnose chisel; grooved transition to wavy locks at rear shallowly cut with 4 mm bullnose chisel. Locks first grooved across in semi-circles parallel to this transition, then faceted with flat chisel to create wavy locks at right angles to these semicircles, stopping at rearmost section closest to relief background; bun at back undifferentiated, smoothed with flat chisel and rasp only.

The head belonged to a woman facing in three-quarter view to the spectator's right, and was turned and inclined to her left. Her hair was drawn back in straight, ridged locks from the brow, confined by a cord or metal "Alice" band behind the crown (indicated only by a shallow 4 mm wide groove), and then drawn back in crinkly locks to a bun. An identical hairstyle is seen on 22, clearly carved by the same hand; its front locks, however, are a fraction wider and farther apart. The findspot and perhaps also the scale point to the east frieze, and the distinctive hairdo (echoed on 22) to Leto, as on Artemis's famous epiphany relief in Brauron (Fig. 37) and elsewhere.⁴⁹

Thompson 1952, p. 94, n. 19; Harrison 1986, pp. 110, 115 (Pandora), fig. 1 (findspot), pl. 119:3, 4.

14 Legs of draped woman and adjoining part of frieze slab Figs. 13, 18
S 2099. Marble pile behind eastern giant at M/12–9/10, ca. 32.5 m east-southeast of the temple; recovered and registered July 1959.

H. 0.297, woman 0.224 m. W. 0.335, preserved front surface of slab 0.29, woman 0.17, background 0.12 m. D. 0.202, relief below 0.073, relief above 0.120 m. Pentelic marble.

Frieze slab broken and battered all round and across back; large portion of background extant behind figure, max. W. 12.5; small portion above toes of left

Brauron, Archaeological Museum EA 12/NE 1180 + 1179: *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 717, no. 1225:a, pl. 545, s.v. Artemis (L. Kahil); Boardman 1985, fig. 175; Despini 2010, pls. 10:1, 11:1, 3, 4; Vikela 2015, p. 218, no. Tr 2, pl. 53, below. Leto also wears this hairdo on

two reliefs from Eleusis and Athens, (1) Paris, Louvre Ma 3580, and (2) Athens NM 1389 (minus veil): *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 265, no. 657, pl. 237, s.v. Apollon (W. Lambrinudakis); Vikela 2015, pp. 217–218, nos. L 1 and Tr 1, pls. 52 (below), 53 (above).

foot, 5 cm. Figure broken on slight diagonal at knees; right foot broken away. Drapery folds, right ankle battered; medial portion of right foot, big and second toes, most of third toe battered away. All surfaces weathered; contours of drapery at front and left foot water damaged.

Soffit of frieze slab carefully chiseled and sanded flat; faint patches of claw chiseling (3 teeth/1 cm) visible in places. Underside of figure and small adjoining part of soffit roughly pointed from left and right in long mason's strokes, as in foot fragments **30** and **42** (W. 19.5; max. D. 8.5 cm; cutting 1.5 cm high at front, shrinking to 5 mm on soffit proper), presumably for leverage upon dismantling for subsequent reassembly in the Agora in the Augustan period. Wide folds cut with flat and bullnose chisels; vertical folds at bottom with fine chisels and with running drills (Diam. 3–5 mm). Traces of honeycombing beside hem weight and some himation folds. Highest point of himation hem over left shin tunneled with drill (Diam. 3; D. 5 mm). Toes of left foot, foot-sandal transition chiseled. Patches of flat chiseling and rasping on drapery and relief background.

The woman walks slowly to the spectator's right in three-quarter view. Her right leg is flexed slightly, and her right foot was angled out toward the spectator. She wears sandals, a thin chiton, and a himation draped around her right leg and then up and over her left knee, thigh, and probably also at least her left forearm. Its hem, which is not pie-crust-ed, drops down from this presumed fulcrum in flattish, overlapping zigzags, terminating in a corner above the little toe of her left foot from which a circular hem-weight hangs. The chiton folds are mostly bifurcated, and both V-shaped and rounded in section; the himation folds are sparser, thicker, and rounded, and curve around the right shin to model it.

The findspot suggests an attribution to the east frieze, the rightward-facing pose to its left half, and the reworking of the sole of the foot perhaps to the left-most block of the series. Consequently, this may have been the first frieze block earmarked for removal when the temple was transferred from Pallene to the Agora.

Delivorrias 1974, p. 136; Harrison 1977a, pp. 165–166, fig. 21; Harrison 1986, p. 110, fig. 1 (findspot), pl. 117:1 (soffit).

WEST FRIEZE

MALE

15 Athletic male head: Herakles

Fig. 38

S 46. Byzantine(?) level (Agora Notebook A 1, pp. 56, 59) "8 m due N of NW corner of Dörpfeld's temple" (i.e., Temple of Apollo Patroos, 45 m west of northwest corner of the Ares temple), along with **16**, at H/5–7/2, June 9, 1931.

H. 0.148, head >0.120; W. 0.096; D. 0.113, relief 0.103 m. H. tear duct to outer corner of mouth 0.035, to chin 0.059 m. Pentelic marble.

Scale: medium.

Male head, broken across neck and diagonally from crown to left cheekbone. Left eye completely missing, upper lid of right eye chipped; nose and point of chin chipped off; left ear battered. Very weathered; entire ancient surface patinated orange.

Back of head at right of axis smoothed flat to ca. 5.5 cm above hairline, vertical ridge down neck below caused by working toward back of neck from each side; hair roughly chiseled, pointed around (omitted) right ear, and in long mason's strokes behind left ear. Left ear cavity drilled twice (Diam. 3; D. 6 mm). Skin folds on front and right side of neck chiseled or cut with edged file.

The man's head is gently inclined and turned to his right (Fig. 38:b) and is flattened accordingly at right rear. This is also consistent with the primary damage pattern, whereby the projecting left side of the face has been sheared off. The face is quite long and muscular. The lips are slightly parted, the extant upper eyelid crosses the lower, the eyeball bulges, and the left ear is cauliflowered. The hair falls in long, undulating locks from a whirligig on the crown, and then becomes roughly tousled.

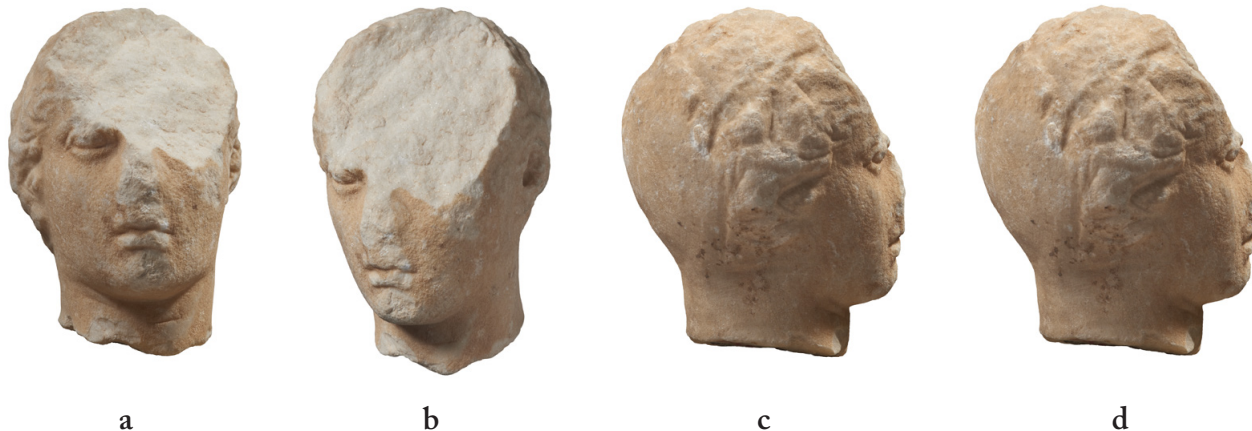


Figure 38. Male head (15), probably Herakles: (a) front view; (b) left three-quarter view; (c) right profile; (d) left profile. Athens, Agora Excavations S 46. Scale 1:3. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

The findspot and leftward-facing pose strongly support an attribution to the left half of the west frieze. Since the piece should therefore belong to a seated god, and has a cauliflowered ear, Herakles seems to be the only viable candidate.

Thompson 1952, p. 94; Harrison 1986, p. 110, fig. 1 (findspot).

16 Fragment of helmeted male head: Ares

Fig. 39

S 47. Byzantine(?) level (Agora Notebook A 1, pp. 56, 60) “8 m due N of NW corner of Dörpfeld’s temple” (i.e., Temple of Apollo Patroos, 45 m west of northwest corner of the Ares temple), along with **15**, at H/5–7/2, June 9, 1931.

H. 0.103; W. 0.078; D. 0.43 m. Pentelic marble.

Scale: apparently medium, by comparison with the large-scale head **19**, and with the medium-scale **15**, **17**, and **20**.

Broken all round and down the back. Most of nose, left eye, and entire right cheek chipped away. Diagonal ridge at break down right side of helmet, indicating join to a limb, another figure, or more likely background. Moderately weathered.

Three drill holes: (1) before (missing) right ear (Diam. 6; D. 12 mm); (2) on centerline of helmet, 3 cm above tip of visor (Diam. 4 mm; D. 1 cm); (3) on break at apex of helmet, offset to the figure’s right from the proper centerline of the helmet 9 cm directly above (1) (Diam. 4 mm; D. 1 cm). Ocular and orbital portions of upper eyelid outlined with flat chisel.

The man wears a snugly fitting “Chalkidian” helmet (Pflug 1988, p. 138, fig. 2, type V) that sits low over his brow. The lower banded portion is set back from the rounded top and comes to a point at the center of the forehead. Hole (1) is for the attachment of its hinged cheekpiece. Holes (2) and (3) are surely for a helmet crest; (3) is strongly offset to the spectator’s left, showing that the figure faced toward the spectator’s right. His left eye was more salient than his right. His right eyeball is narrow, bulging, and deep set at the corners; the ocular portion of the upper lid projects strongly, and the tear duct is prominent. The forehead is narrow and smooth.

The findspot supports an attribution to the west frieze, and the medium scale and pose point to a standing figure in its right half. Since Athena does not wear a Chalkidian helmet in High Classical Attic sculpture,⁵⁰ Ares is the only possible alternative, perhaps standing next to Aphrodite (**23**).

Harrison 1986, pp. 110, 115, fig. 1 (findspot), pl. 120:1; Leventi 2014, p. 185.

17 Male head fragment: Apollo(?)

Fig. 12

S 168. “Late deposit” at J/16,17–9/19,20 (i.e., ca. 28 m south of southwest corner of the temple), February 10, 1932.

H. 0.125, extant part of head 0.90; W. 0.06; D. 0.90 m. H. tear duct to chin 0.061 m. Pentelic marble.

Scale: medium.



Figure 39. Male head (16), probably Ares, in right three-quarter view. Athens, Agora Excavations S 47. Scale 1:3. Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

50. Ritter 1997, contra Harrison 1986, p. 115, Athena. Leventi (2014, p. 185) identifies him as an anonymous warrior.

Right side of face from hairline to jaw and neck, including most of right eye, and vertical strip at back of neck and adjacent hair alone preserved; edges of breaks battered. Neck broken across and battered at base. Streaks of brown mortar on breaks at left and right. Right temple and neck weathered; eyelids battered.

Extant portion of face finished smooth. Outline of right eye and ocular portion of lid flat chiseled. Hairline, jawline, and rings on neck defined with flat chisel and rasp edge.

The youth's head is turned vigorously to his right and tilted back on the neck, displacing the right sternomastoid muscle and creasing the skin of the neck (Fig. 12). Hair traces down the side of his right cheek parallel the side lock found on **2**. The hair does not cascade down the neck, however, as in **2**, but was either cut short or, more likely, bound up in Apollo's customary manner, as on the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia.⁵¹

The eye is narrow, and the eyeball bulging and deep-set at the outer corner (the inner corner is missing), exactly like those of the head of Nike (**20**) and the sheep (**24**), and is clearly by the same carver. The mouth was comparatively short. The two skin folds on the neck break off at a subtly suggested Adam's apple.

The scale, findspot, and stylistic link with **24** (Fig. 1) all support an attribution to the west frieze, and the recurrence of **2**'s ephebic sideburn strongly suggests another Apollo.⁵² If so, he belongs in the frieze's right half, "cheating out" toward the spectator.

Harrison 1986, pp. 110, 114, fig. 1 (findspot), pl. 119:2.

18 Face of a child or adolescent

Fig. 40

S 191. Late Roman level (Agora Notebook E *2bis* 26, pp. 237–238), ca. 27 m south-southwest of the temple at I/13,14–9/11,12, March 1, 1932.

H. 0.123; W. 0.074; D. 0.062 m. H. tear ducts to outer corners of mouth 0.033, to chin 0.052 m. Pentelic marble.

Scale: small.

Face alone preserved; sides and back of head broken away in a V-shape before ears. Heavily worn and weathered. Left side of break at rear waterworn. Neck, chin, lips, nose, eyebrows, right eye, and lower forehead battered away and heavily weathered. Large oval chips on right side of chin and above right eye. The fragment's shape suggests secondary use as a pestle.⁵³

Hair roughly sketched with vertical strokes of the point.

The face is a heavy oval and slightly smaller in scale than some of the others, suggesting a child or adolescent. The mouth is Cupid's bow-shaped, although the lips are almost entirely worn away. The eyes are narrow and somewhat bulging, with small, knoblike tear ducts. The left eye is elongated and somewhat lower than the right, which together with the primary damage pattern suggests that the boy's head was turned somewhat to the spectator's right. The left upper eyelid crosses the lower at its outer corner (the right is missing). Originally, the hair perhaps was curly or wavy.

If this head belongs to the HRF, which is by no means certain,⁵⁴ the findspot suggests an attribution to the west frieze, which appears to have had at least one child in it. Eros is a possibility,⁵⁵ especially given the heavy damage to the face, which, as with Apollo (**2**) and Aphrodite (**10 + 11, 23**), suggests a deliberate attack on the subject's beauty and personality, and indicates that the figure was a principal or at least contentious actor in the narrative.

Harrison 1986, p. 110, fig. 1 (findspot).

51. See Boardman 1985, fig. 21:3; Stewart 1990, fig. 270; Rolley 1994, p. 375, fig. 401.

52. Observed by E. Lawrence, 2017.

53. Observed by N. Gleason, E. Lawrence, and K. Turbeville, 2017.

54. Observed by E. Driscoll, 2016.

55. Observed by E. Lawrence, 2017.



Figure 40. Face of a child or adolescent male (**18**), Eros(?): front view. Athens, Agora Excavations S 191. Scale 1:3. Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations



Figure 41. Female head (19), probably Athena: (a) front view; (b) right profile; (c) left profile. Athens, Agora Excavations S 2331. Scale 1:3. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations



Figure 42. Detail of the head of Athena, from the Stymphalian Birds metope (West 3). Olympia, Archaeological Museum 69. Photo A. Frantz, neg. EU19; courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens

56. Observed by A. Stewart, 2017.

57. Best replica: Bologna, Museo Civico G 1060. See also Boardman 1985, fig. 183; Stewart 1990, figs. 313, 314; Gercke 1991, pp. 167–175, nos. 35–38 (casts of the four full-size replicas); Rolley 1994, pp. 382–383, figs. 412, 413; Neumann 2004, pl. 50:1, 2; Cullen Davison 2009, vol. 3, pp. 1249–1250, figs. 5:1, 2.

58. Observed by R. Levitan, 2017.

FEMALE

19 Smiling female head with fillet: Athena

Figs. 21, 41

S 2331. Byzantine room 6, layer c (10th–12th century A.D., Agora Notebook BG 4, p. 644) at I/10–4/9 (i.e., ca. 67 m north-northwest of the temple, above Royal Stoa), June 1, 1970.

H. 0.141, head 0.13, face 0.085; W. 0.118, face 0.08; D. 0.135, relief ca. 0.125 m. Fillet: W. at front 0.015, on right 0.025, on left 0.01 m. W. outer corners of eyes 0.058 m. H. left tear duct to outer corner of mouth 0.032, right 0.03; left tear duct to chin 0.064, right 0.063 m. Pentelic marble, with an inconspicuous micaceous vein extending from the left eye down to the left upper lip.

Scale: large. This is the largest of the preserved heads.

Head intact but weathered; hair, ears, and fillet heavily worn by dripping water. Neck broken off 2 cm below chin and badly battered. Front hair, nose, left side of mouth damaged, perhaps by a hammer blow from above. Front hair covered by yellowish accretion.

Roughly modeled with point from the ears back; top of head either chipped off or roughly chiseled flat in a ca. 3.5 × 3.5 cm square (Harrison 1986, pl. 117:5). Lips, teeth, eyes, fillet chiseled. Both earlobes drilled for earrings (Diam. 2 mm; D. 1 cm left, 8 mm right); helix of ears defined from antihelix by running drill channels (Diam. 3–4 mm), and apex of helix of left ear crudely drilled (Diam. 5; D. 8 mm), possibly in a later (but still ancient) cleaning campaign.

The woman's head was slightly tilted to her right, and the axes of her eyes and mouth converge in this direction, indicating that she faced somewhat toward the spectator's left (Fig. 21). Her lips are parted in a smile, revealing the upper row of teeth. Her nose is narrow and rounded. Her eyes are large and shallow-set, with narrow eyelids and discreetly indicated tear ducts; the eyeballs are almost flat in the vertical dimension. Her hair is gathered into a bun at the nape of the neck and bound by a narrow fillet that decreases in width on the left and increases on the right. Possibly carved by the same hand as 12, she is slightly larger in scale than all other female heads attributed to the HRF. The scale implies that she was seated; the crudely trimmed top of her head therefore would not have corresponded to the upper frame of the relief, but probably is secondary, perhaps to remove bird droppings.

Her large scale, findspot to the west of the temple, and the attribution of the helmeted Athena (6) to the east frieze all point to placement in the west frieze. For the identification, compare the Palagi head type attributed to the Athena "Lemnia,"⁵⁶ which wears the same hairdo and headband,⁵⁷ and especially the slightly smiling Athena of the same type that receives the Stymphalian Birds from Herakles on Olympia metope West 3 (Fig. 42).⁵⁸ Previous identification as Eris (Harrison 1986, p. 116) or Elpis (Neils 2005, pp. 42–43) rested on Harrison's theory that the HRF showed the Birth of Pandora, and are now moot.

“A smiling deity is benevolent.”⁵⁹ Famously an attribute of Aphrodite *Philomedeides*, and worn by Kalamis’s Sosandra (an Aphrodite?) and Praxiteles’ Knidia, the smile (*meidiama*; different from a laugh, *gelos*, *gelasma*) occasionally is associated in Archaic and Classical poetry also with Hera and other divinities receiving gifts. More often, though, they simply “delight in,” “exult in,” or “enjoy” a present or a person.⁶⁰ Only once, apparently, is Athena recorded literally as smiling (Hom. *Od.* 13.287), when Odysseus wakes up on Ithaka, meets her, begs her for help, and introduces himself as a Cretan castaway (all Cretans being liars). Perhaps this is why, in both the Olympia metope and **19**, the goddess’s smile all but disappears when seen from below; instead she appears simply to be speaking.

Since this head is more or less intact, uniquely among those attributed to the HRF, perhaps it was struck off its body at an early stage, before or even at the time when the rest of its companions were defaced, apparently in the 6th century A.D.

Shear 1971, pp. 272–273, pl. 57:a; *Agora XIV*, p. 164, n. 348; Harrison 1986, pp. 110, 111, 112, 114, 116 (Eris), fig. 1 (findspot), pls. 117:5, 122:3, 4; Neils 2005 (Elpis), p. 43, fig. 4:13; Leventi 2014, p. 184.

20 Female head wearing a sakkos: Nike

Figs. 14, 43

S 1246. Late Roman fill with Byzantine disturbance (*Agora Notebooks OO 2*, p. 348; *OO 3*, p. 490) at E/5,6–18/2,4, May 20, 1947.

H. 0.153, head 0.123, face 0.088; W. 0.102; D. 0.135, relief 0.132 m. W. outer corners of eyes 0.054 m. H. left tear duct to outer corner of mouth 0.036, right 0.034; left tear duct to chin 0.063, right 0.06 m. Pentelic marble.

Scale: medium.



Broken across neck and join to relief slab at back of sakkos; breaks somewhat battered. Face worn; forehead, eyebrows, nose, lips, and chin badly chipped, perhaps by hammer blows. Cheeks scratched and nicked. Face and top of head weathered.

Roughly circular patch (Diam. 2.3 cm) on crown of head carefully flattened with fine claw (4 teeth/9 mm) (Fig. 14); behind it, two coarse drill channels undercutting knot of sakkos (Diam. 8 mm; L. 3.0, 3.5 cm), terminating at break from relief slab; bulge of sakkos below them chiseled; another drill channel (Diam. 8 mm) separated back of neck from relief background. Two semicircular chisel channels over anterior of sakkos from ear to ear delineate lunate front section and define it against the hair. Two shallow drill holes (Diam. 3 mm) at top of antihelix of both ears, and running drill channel (Diam. 3 mm) in ear cavity. Two Venus rings chiseled on anterior of neck.

The young woman’s head was turned slightly to her right (Fig. 43:c); the axes of her eyes and mouth converge in this direction, and her right eye is slightly longer and more salient. The turned-down lips and scale are consistent with many others in the assemblage, and the thin eyelids, bulging eyeballs, and prominent tear-ducts point to the same sculptor as the Apollo (**17**) and the sheep (**24**). The sakkos is modeled in two unequal sections, as if confined above the front hair and ears by a cord that was then tied at the nape of the neck; its top portion was then knotted

Figure 43. Female head (**20**), probably Nike: (a) front view; (b) right three-quarter view; (c) left three-quarter view; (d) left profile; (e) right profile. Athens, Agora Excavations S 1246. Scale 1:5. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

59. Mylonopoulos 2017, p. 75.

60. Aphrodite φιλομειδής: e.g., *Il.* 14.211; *Hymn. Hom.* 3.10.3; Sappho fr. 1.14; in Classical sculpture, Lucian, *Imagines* 6.19–20 (Kalamis: Kansteiner et al. 2014, vol. 1, p. 503, no. 589); Ps.-Lucian, *Amores* 13 (Praxiteles: Kansteiner et al. 2014, vol. 3, p. 64, no. 1872). Hera: *Il.* 1.595–596; 14.222–223; 21.434. “Delighting in,” “exulting in,” or “enjoying”: e.g., Athena in *Il.* 5.826 (“Diomedes, ἐμῶ κεχαρισμένε θυμῶ”).

at the back. Under it, the coiffure was imagined as parted in the center, pulled up clear of the ears, and drawn into a bun at the back of the head.

Formerly attributed to the Nike temple parapet, this sakkos-wearing head is all but identical to the few surviving heads of the parapet's many Nikai and what remains of the head of the Nike of Paionios.⁶¹ Since Classical Greek Nikai always stand, its carefully trimmed top (contrast the crude flat chiseling on **19** and **25**) must have been pared down in order to accommodate the frieze crown.

Chamoux 1947, pl. 67, right; Thompson 1948, p. 176, n. 38, pl. 52; Schlörb 1964, p. 50; *Agora XI*, p. 40 (find circumstances); Delivorrias 1974, p. 145, n. 620; Harrison 1986, pp. 110, 111, 114, fig. 1 (findspot), pls. 117:4, 119:1; Brouskari 1998, pp. 221–222, pl. 72.

21 Female head: Artemis(?)

Fig. 44

S 367. Byzantine level above west porch of the temple at J/13,14–8/5,6, May 22, 1933.

H. 0.125, head >0.111; W. 0.055; D. 0.104 m. Pentelic marble.

Scale: medium.

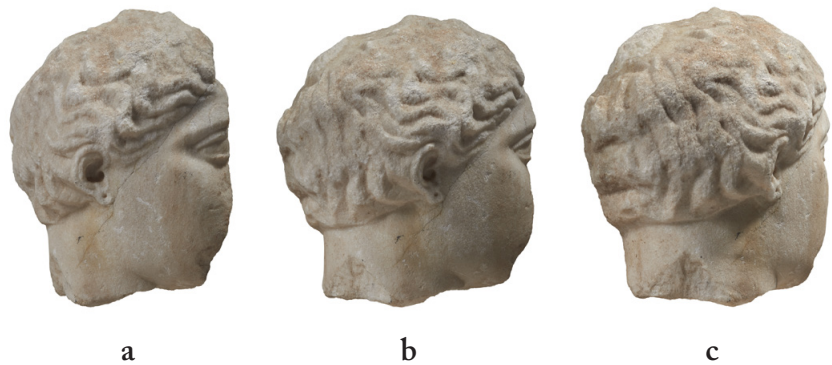


Figure 44. Female head (21), probably Artemis: (a) right three-quarter view; (b) right profile; (c) right rear three-quarter view. Athens, Agora Excavations S 367. Scale 1:3. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

Proper right side of head and neck alone survive; cheek, hair, right ear, right half of right eye preserved; neck broken across at chin height; break chipped. Topknot, earlobe broken away. Forehead damaged, head cracked down hairline almost to nape of neck, probably from a hammer blow.

Break at neck drilled for mount (Diam. 6 mm). Chip above eyebrow repaired. Hair near nape of neck pointed, hairline defined in straight facets with edged rasp; otherwise hair finely carved with flat chisel throughout. Four drill holes (Diam. 3 mm) in ear cavity and around antihelix; usual second drill hole at apex of helix missing. Earlobe drilled (shallow hole, D. 1 mm) for earring.

The woman, apparently posed as in Figure 44:a, wears her hair in a *lampadion* hairstyle with a (now-lost) topknot, indicating her status as a youthful parthenos. The earring and fine working of the ear and hair suggest a figure of some importance, presumably (given the *lampadion*) the goddess Artemis.⁶²

The findspot and scale point strongly to an attribution to the west frieze and the pose to a location in the right half of the frieze; too large to be standing, the goddess presumably was seated.

Thompson 1952, p. 94, n. 19; Harrison 1986, p. 110, fig. 1 (findspot).

22 Female head fragment with back-combed, ridged hair: Leto

Fig. 9

S 400. Mixed fill in front of Stoa of Zeus, ca. 25 m northwest of the temple at approximately I/8,9–6/19,20, March 22, 1933.

H. 0.057; W. 0.08; D. 0.03 m. Pentelic marble; darker toned than usual, possibly due to variations in stone, conditions after deposit, or patination.

Left eye, bridge of nose, brow, and frontal portion of hair alone preserved. Face sheared off at right ear. Breaks weathered. Pseudo-join to **13** separated June 1, 2016.

61. Parapet, AkrM 992, AkrM 1014: Carpenter and Ashmole 1929, pp. 29, 31, figs. 2, 3, pl. 9; Brouskari 1998, pls. 34, 58. Hereafter, pieces from museums in Athens will be referenced by their inventory number, prefaced by "AkrM" for the Acropolis Museum, "Athens EM" for the Epigraphical Museum, and "Athens NM" for the National Archaeological Museum.

62. Cf., e.g., *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 622–704, nos. 673, 708, 729, 970, 1065, pls. 499, 502, 504, 517, 529, s.v. Artemis (L. Kahil).

Hair locks separated by narrow bullnose chisel furrows (W. 4 mm). On left eyeball, slightly raised and lightly polished area indicates greater protection from weathering by painted iris and pupil.

The forehead is low and broad, and the face and brow ridge are smooth with little indication of toolmarks. The eye is a narrow almond shape with well-defined edges and a slightly flaring lid. The hair is carved and styled identically to that of **13**, evidently by the same sculptor. The front hair is back-combed into eight regularly spaced, narrow ridges, a fraction narrower and closer together than those of **13**, but probably representing twisted locks also. A channel at a right angle to these, presumably for a painted hairband, gives way to three offset ridges (all that remains of a series of wavy locks, as on **13**) behind it.

The findspot of **22** suggests that it comes from the west frieze, an attribution supported by the discovery of her twin, **13**, in front of the temple's eastern end. Their distinctive hairdo, carved by the same hand, parallels that worn by Leto on the famous epiphany relief of Artemis from Brauron (Fig. 37) and others, although there she is veiled.⁶³ The fragment is clearly a chip from one of the heads of the HRF defaced by Late Antique Christians.

Harrison 1967, p. 41; 1986, pp. 110, 115 (Pandora), fig. 1 (findspot), pl. 119:4; Leventi 2014, p. 184.

23 Female torso in chiton and himation with right shoulder exposed: Aphrodite Figs. 6, 45

S 2024 + S 1834. (a) Marble pile east of Church of Hypapanti at U-21, April 1959; (b) marble pile at back of Bouleuterion at F,G-9,10; recovered and registered March 1954.

H. 0.256; W. 0.269; D. 0.107, relief ca. 0.110 m. Pentelic marble.

Female torso composed of two fragments: body proper, and right shoulder and arm. Broken across at waist, neck, and back where struck off frieze slab, join to which survives on exterior of right arm and at left hip just above break; shoulders battered. Shoulders, breasts, left arm, himation folds across body battered away. Remaining folds on anterior chipped and weathered, left shoulder and stump of neck heavily so. Association with **10** is doubtful, given the lack of physical join and widely separated findspots.

Deeper drapery folds at and around girdle, at sides, and occasionally elsewhere finely running and point drilled with a variety of bits (Diam. 2–5 mm), then finished with flat and pointed chisels; valleys of folds rasped; some evidence of drilling (Diam. 5–7 mm) in heavily damaged folds at right hip. Yellow paint preserved on fold and adjacent valley before break under left elbow.

The woman was standing frontally with her right arm hanging at her side and very slightly flexed at the elbow, and her left forearm held at a somewhat acute angle across her body just below her left breast. Perhaps she was grasping the hem and adjacent catenary folds of her himation, which she presses close to her waist with her left wrist.

She wears a thin, sleeved chiton with overfold and a heavy himation. The chiton is girdled at the waist and buttoned down the front of the left arm; four fastenings, but no actual buttons, are visible below the broken-away shoulder (contrast, e.g., **38** here). Even so, the garment has slipped off this shoulder and some way down her right arm, while still demurely covering the left breast in a customized horizontal S-curve. Over this chiton a heavy himation is draped in a manner typical for this frieze, first cinching it against her body with her left elbow (where traces of saffron yellow paint or *krokotos* survive), then throwing it over her left upper arm and shoulder, letting it fall down across her back to her right hip and buttock,

63. Observed by E. Lawrence, 2017. See also n. 49, above.

Figure 45. Female torso (23), probably Aphrodite: (a) right three-quarter view; (b) left three-quarter view. Athens, Agora Excavations S 2024 + S 1834. Scale 1:5. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations



then drawing it forward and up over her belly and left breast, and finally tossing its residue over her left shoulder again.

The chiton folds above the girdle are flattish, elaborately faceted, crosscut, and channeled with chisel and rasp in a manner similar to the fragments of the Nemesis by Agorakritos.⁶⁴ The girdle itself is even twisted once in an unobtrusive manner that can hardly have been visible from below; and the twinned splays below it then immediately merge into single, quite sharp-edged folds that begin to fan out over the belly at the break. The folds over the left arm are slightly bolder versions of the former, darting, dividing, merging, and bifurcating again as they spread out from the off-the-shoulder hem and “buttons” and around the arm in a highly complex network of patterns. Finally, the twin-ridged folds under the left forearm fan out in a manner identical to those of S 1759, found on the east slope of the Areopagos and joined to AkrM 1013 from the Nike temple parapet in 1960.⁶⁵ The himation folds are much thicker and their valleys generally U-shaped, especially at the right hip and above the belly, though not entirely devoid of crosscutting and faceting, especially over the left arm.

Although battered, the detailing is extremely fine, which accords with the delicate rendering of the elaborate hairstyle of its formerly associated head (10). Torso 11 (23’s counterpart), now linked with 10 instead, may be a product of the same carver. Indeed, Rhys Carpenter’s brilliant description of the manner of his “Master D” on the Nike temple parapet (AkrM 1013 included) could easily apply tout court to these two pieces: “The quiet, graceful pose is accentuated by a systematic orderliness in the drapery lines which, for all their profusion, are never complicated or unintelligible. The modeling of the nude is very carefully observed and elaborated; but the surface is so covered with crisply detailed lines that the drapery seems more opaque than transparent.”⁶⁶

The findspot of the shoulder fragment, S 1834 (no. 23a on Fig. 2), suggests an attribution to the west frieze, and is consistent with the discovery of the Aphrodite head 10 and the torso 11 to the east of the temple. The off-the-shoulder chiton (a motif borrowed from Parthenon east pediment M and the Pheidias Aphrodite Ourania) and brutal, almost maniacal damage to the breasts point strongly to Aphrodite (Harrison 1986, p. 115).⁶⁷

Harrison 1967, p. 41, n. 115; 1977a, p. 166, fig. 22 (with 10); 1977b, p. 278, n. 54; 1986, pp. 112, 115, pl. 121:1; Leventi 2014, p. 184.

64. Despini 1971, pls. 41–46, 49:2, 50; Boardman 1985, fig. 122; Stewart 1990, figs. 403–406; Rolley 1999, p. 136, figs. 120, 121.

65. Harrison 1960, pp. 376–378, pl. 83:a; Brouskari 1998, pl. 56.

66. Carpenter and Ashmole 1929, p. 49.

67. On figure M, see n. 47, above.

OTHER

24 Two sheep

Fig. 1

S 16. Modern house wall at I/K-8/10 (i.e., section E, 40 m due south of the southwest corner of the temple), May 27, 1931.

H. 0.157; W. 0.252; D. 0.120, relief ca. 0.140 m. Pentelic marble.

Broken oddly; some breaks resemble finished surfaces. Left hindquarters and stump of left hind leg of sheep 1 preserved, broken away from frieze slab along spine; most of right haunch split away; left hind leg broken across just below body. Head, neck, and shoulders of sheep 2 preserved; body broken vertically behind shoulders, chest hollowed out below by complex breaks. Nose, left ear, most of right ear battered away.

Modern drill hole for mounting in stump of left leg of sheep 1. Woolly coats of both animals textured with fine bullnose chisels (W. 2–4 mm); right shoulder of sheep 2 cut free of background with mason's strokes from above. Face of sheep 2 flat chiseled; ear drilled three times (Diam. 2–3 mm). All wool delineated with rough picking from the point.

The sheep, which are about the right scale for the HRF, are moving to the spectator's left with sheep 1 half a length ahead of sheep 2. The distinctive eye of sheep 2 was carved by the sculptor of **17** and **20**; it lacks the orbital portion of the eyelid. These sheep do not resemble the rams on the Parthenon frieze.

The findspot, albeit in a modern house wall, is consistent with an attribution to the west frieze, which certainly showed two groups of gods facing outward to watch an event. In 5th-century Athenian temple sculpture, this can only have been a sacrificial procession, or a fight as on the east frieze of the Hephaisteion.⁶⁸

Unpublished.

UNIDENTIFIED AND UNASSIGNED

MALE

25 Youthful male head: Hephaistos(?)

Fig. 46

S 913. Late Roman fill at T/18,19–20/16,17, May 11, 1937. Gray wall mortar on left cheek and ear (removed April 1955) suggests tumble from post-Herulian wall.

H. 0.131, head 0.115, face 0.084; W. 0.088; D. 0.107 m. W. outer corners of eyes 0.050 m. H. left tear duct to outer corner of mouth 0.037, right 0.036; left tear duct to chin 0.06, right 0.059 m. Pentelic marble.

Scale: small.

Male head, broken across the neck and diagonally from back of head to right ear; break on neck chipped and weathered; slight traces of relief background remaining around upper break. Features battered, nose broken off; neck chipped at left, heavily weathered; top of head water damaged.

Square (2 × 2 cm) on crown roughly chiseled flat; corners of mouth shallowly drilled, left earhole and top of antihelix drilled (Diam. 4 and 2; D. 3 and 2 mm, respectively).

The scale and modeling suggest a youth (compare heads **4** and **17**), but not a boy, since, like **19**, its top was crudely trimmed, probably secondarily, to remove bird droppings. He faced to the spectator's left in three-quarter view (Fig. 46:d), turning and inclining his head somewhat to his right. The axes of his eyes and mouth converge slightly in this direction, and his right eye is a little longer and more strongly curved than his left. He has a broad, Cupid's-bow mouth, fleshy cheeks, and a low forehead. His eyes are almond-shaped, well defined, with bulging

68. Boardman 1985, figs. 112, 114; Dörig 1985; Rolley 1999, p. 107, figs. 94, 95.



Figure 46. Male head (25), perhaps Hephaistos: (a) front view; (b) right profile; (c) left profile; (d) left three-quarter view. Athens, Agora Excavations S 913. Scale 1:3. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

eyeballs, upper lids that overlap the lower ones, and, in his left eye, a prominent tear duct. The hair is modeled close to the head, with traces of a cutting for a fillet ca. 2 cm above the hairline.

Delivorrias 1974, p. 44, n. 620.

26 Male head fragment

Fig. 47

S 1473. Late Roman house wall 5 m south of the temple and 12.5 m from its west end at J/20,K/1–8/17,18, April 14, 1951.

H. 0.137, head >0.117; W. 0.093; D. 0.067 m. Pentelic marble.

Broken across neck; left side of neck split away; lower left side of cheek and jaw, back and rear right side of head alone preserved. Weathered; water damage at right rear of neck.

Side of neck, jawline chiseled; hair pointed in vertical and short horizontal strokes, roughly flat chiseled on crown. Original surface visible on left cheek.

The man's head was turned and inclined to his left, and the preserved surface and primary damage pattern show that it faced toward the spectator's right; the hair is short, sketchy, somewhat curly, and evidently male.

Harrison 1986, p. 110, fig. 1 (findspot).

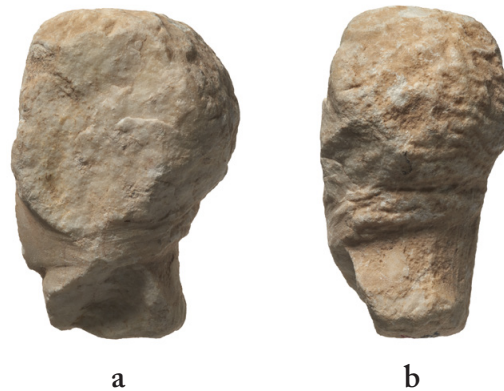


Figure 47. Male head (26): (a) left rear three-quarter view; (b) back view. Athens, Agora Excavations S 1473. Scale 1:3. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

27 Male left ankle, with drapery

Fig. 48:a

S 1742. Loose Byzantine fill about 5 m south of southwest corner of the altar at approximately L/5–8/15, July 17, 1953.

H. 0.08, sandal at front 0.012, sandal at rear 0.015; W. 0.045; D. 0.50 m. Pentelic marble.



Figure 48. Lateral views of male ankle 27 (a), foot 28 (b), and possible male feet 29 (c) and 30 (d). Athens, Agora Excavations S 1742 (a), S 174 (b), S 1954 (c), S 1760 (d). Scale 1:4. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

Sheared off at instep and above ankle; broken from frieze at rear right down vertical strip (H. 5.5; W. 1.5–2 cm). Water corrosion along proper left side below drapery hem and between foot and sandal; in between, original polished surface preserved.

Channel (Diam. 1.2; L. 6.0 cm) drilled vertically from below up rear of ankle beside join to frieze slab. Side of foot defined against sandal with chisel. Left side of foot finely carved and polished; right side rasped.

The foot was turned in three-quarter view to the spectator's left and belonged to a himation-clad man walking in this direction; it leans out somewhat with the weight of the body above. The hem is thick and clearly belongs to a himation, now otherwise wholly lost.

Unpublished.

28 Sandaled male left foot

Fig. 48:b

S 174. Modern fill 160 m south-southwest of the temple at F/10,12–15/11,12, February 15, 1932.

H. 0.059, sandal sole 0.013; W. 0.55; L. 0.95 m. Pentelic marble.

Broken across instep. Remains of original surface on instep; tips of toes battered; sides heavily worn and water corroded.

Foot defined against sandal on both sides by running drill channel (Diam. 5 mm). Groove between big and second toes also drilled (Diam. 5–4 mm from front to back; L. 2.7 cm); arch, toes, and toe joints further defined with chisel. Bottom and sides of sandal sole rasped and finished smooth.

The foot wears a contoured sandal and has long, slender toes with carefully delineated toe joints, and squarish toes. The second toe is longer than the big toe. The foot is equally finished all around, and the uppers of the sandal, including the thong between the big and second toes, must have been painted. There is no trace of drapery, perhaps indicating that this foot belonged to a man.

Harrison 1986, p. 110, pl. 117:2.

29 Left foot (male?)

Fig. 48:c

S 1954. Marble pile east of Odeion at N-9,11 (section O); recovered and registered July 23, 1956.

H. 0.055; W. 0.05; L. 0.077 m. Pentelic marble.

Broken across at instep. Left side from instep almost to little toe, right side of sandal and adjacent part of arch of foot heavily waterworn and pitted. Nail of little toe and right side of big toe chipped away.

Arch of foot defined against sandal by running drill channel (Diam. 5 mm; L. 2.5 cm); same tool cut groove ending in shallow tunnel between big and second toes (L. 2.4 cm). Other toes separated by running drill channels (Diam. 2 mm), and faceted in inverted V-section with flat chisel. Sandal sole delicately pointed and smoothed.

The weathering suggests that the figure may have been walking to the spectator's left. The foot rests on a thick, wedge-shaped sandal sole (H. 1.1–2.0 cm at break), and has long, curved toes with ridged edges and no distinguishable toe joints. The toenails are round. The grooves between the toes are wider and deeper

than elsewhere in the ensemble, and the modeling of the toes is unique. The lack of any traces of drapery suggests that the foot may have belonged to a man.

Unpublished.

30 Right foot (male?)

Fig. 48:d

S 1760. Unrecorded marbles north of the temple at J,L-6,8 (i.e., section H, ca. 0–15 m north of the temple), 1935, with **38** and **43**; recovered and registered November 1953.

H. 0.06, sandal at front 0.006, sandal at rear 0.012; W. 0.055; L. 0.010 m. Pentelic marble.

Sandaled right foot. Broken across at instep. Big toe and front of sandal chipped away; little toe broken off; edge of second toe chipped. Medial polished, anterior and lateral faces moderately weathered; drapery encrusted at proper right. Reddish residue, probably modern, in patches. Diagonal gash across right side of foot, water damaged.

Flat chisel used to define foot against sandal; left (medial) side of foot behind toes roughly sketched with point and chisel. Toe joints and nails defined with flat chisel. Shallow horizontal drill hole (Diam. 2 mm) between big and second toes at sandal level, as on **41**. Underside of sandal flattened and rasped; later, right side pointed in long mason's strokes and roughly chiseled, as on **14** and **42**.

The foot was turned to the spectator's right in three-quarter view. The foot rests atop a sandal whose uppers at front were originally painted, but which included a carved, now-triangular leather strap at right. The toes are long and slender with sharply delineated joints and round toenails. The figure, probably male, was walking to the right. Later, the underside of the sandal was roughly chiseled away at right, presumably for leverage upon dismantling for subsequent reassembly in the Agora in the Augustan period, as on **14** and **42**.

Unpublished.

FEMALE

31 Female head with left side of face sheared off

Fig. 49

S 1078. Per registration card, from "filling of late Roman Building, possibly tumbled from core of Odeion," in southeast basement of Odeion/Late Roman Palace of the Giants (ca. 75 m south-southeast of the temple) at N/1,3–11/20,12/1, June 7, 1938.

H. 0.11, head 0.09; W. 0.07; D. 0.115, relief 0.115 m. H. left tear duct to outer corner of mouth 0.029, right 0.028; tear ducts to chin 0.059 m. Pentelic marble.

Broken across base of neck; beginning of left shoulder preserved; left side of head and right side of hair cap split away diagonally; left eye, both ears missing; hair preserved only at right temple and back. Left side of nose chipped. Root marks on neck and right side of cheek. Right side and front of face lightly weathered.

Figure 49. Female head (31): (a) front view; (b) right three-quarter view; (c) right profile; (d) left profile. Athens, Agora Excavations S 1078. Scale 1:3. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations



Face finely modeled. Inside of mouth drilled (Diam. 2 mm), perhaps also nasolabial lines; lips, philtrum, nostrils, eyelids chiseled. Bun at back roughly pointed. Neck drilled at break for mounting (Diam. 5 mm).

The woman's head is turned slightly to her left and slightly inclined toward her raised left shoulder; this, the weathering, and the primary damage pattern show that it faced somewhat to the spectator's right (Fig. 49:b). The delicate, Cupid's-bow mouth is slightly open. The nose is straight, and the bridge narrow. The lower eyelid protrudes, and the eyeballs are large and rounded. A bun with loose curls sits at the nape of the neck, identifying the head as female.

Since **31** was found in an early-4th-century A.D. fill along with (inter alia) 3rd-century pottery and coins of Constantius Chlorus (d. 306) and Maximian (d. 310), by far the earliest context for any HRF fragment, either it was broken off the frieze at an early date, perhaps during the removal of the temple's eastern ceiling beams and coffers for the post-Herulian wall, or does not belong to the monument.⁶⁹

Thompson 1952, p. 94, n. 19; Harrison 1977a, pp. 169–171, figs. 34, 35 (boy Apollo); 1986, pp. 110, 113, 114, fig. 1 (findspot), pl. 122:2; Leventi 2014, p. 184.

32 Female head fragment

Fig. 50

S 1765. Unrecorded marbles at IJ-6,8 (i.e., section H', ca. 1–20 m northwest of the temple); recovered and registered November 1953.

H. 0.14, head 0.119; W. 0.093; D. 0.063 m. Pentelic marble.

Entire left side of head, face, and right side almost to angle of jaw split away; back of head, rear part of right cheek, and back and right side of neck alone preserved; right ear and adjacent hair and neck chipped away; all breaks battered. Streak of brown mortar down cheek and neck. Hair at back badly waterworn, face weathered.

Back of neck roughly worked; hair sketched with point. Jawline and three Venus rings on neck defined with chisel or edge of rasp.

Although the head's fragmentary state renders an assessment of gender difficult, the hair mass looks female, with thick locks gathered in a bun. Turned to its proper right, it faced toward the spectator's left in three-quarter view.

Unpublished.

33 Female head fragment

Fig. 51

S 169. Uncertain late context over northeast corner of Altar of Zeus Agoraios at approximately J/10,11–9/18,19 (i.e., ca. 28 m south of southwest corner of the temple), February 11, 1932.

H. 0.135, head 0.08; W. 0.09; D. 0.550 m. Pentelic marble.

Back of head, neck, and lower left cheek alone preserved. Broken across neck; left side and back of neck largely chipped away; entire front and right side of head missing. Hair heavily weathered, with much encrustation; cheek unweathered. Five spider cracks radiating from crown of head 1.5 cm from break suggest that it was struck off its background at this point.

Intact portions of left cheek and neck finished smooth. Remains of two skin folds below chin, carved with point. Left ear omitted; hair mass behind crudely defined against neck with long parallel strokes of point; on cranium roughly dented with point.

The woman's head turns and inclines sharply to its left; the modeling and primary damage pattern indicate that she faced toward the spectator's right in three-quarter view.

Harrison 1986, p. 110, fig. 1 (findspot).



Figure 50. Female head (32): right rear three-quarter view. Athens, Agora Excavations S 1765. Scale 1:3. Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

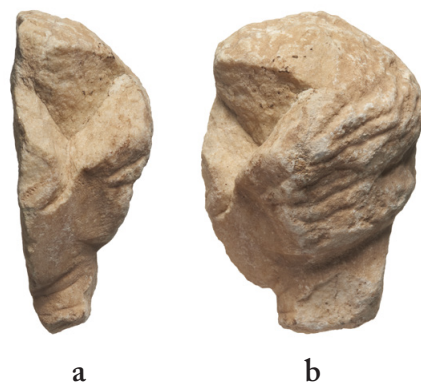


Figure 51. Female head (33): (a) front view; (b) left profile. Athens, Agora Excavations S 169. Scale 1:3. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

69. Observed by E. Driscoll, 2016.



Figure 52. Female head (34): (a) front view; (b) left three-quarter view.
Athens, Agora Excavations S 320.
Scale 1:3. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

34 Female head fragment

Fig. 52

S 320. Turkish pit at ca. 5 m north of northeast corner of the temple, at K/19,20–7/4,5, March 29, 1933.

H. 0.106; W. 0.07; D. 0.10 m. Pentelic marble.

Neck broken across 2 cm below chin; right side of head split away from left temple through nose to level of right outer corner of mouth; rear of head split away to just above hairline; left side split away from before left ear to rear, preserving only a narrow portion of neck all round. Left side of chin chipped. Lightly weathered, more on right rear than left. Modern drill hole (Diam. 7 mm) for mounting at base of neck; original surface preserved on left of neck under chin.

Inside of mouth drilled (Diam. 2 mm) or cut with fine channeling tool or riffler file. Jawline, lips chiseled. Venus ring at front of neck carefully flat chiseled.

The woman's neck, which bears a single, prominent Venus ring, curves to her right, and her head turns and inclines sharply in this direction. The Cupid's-bow mouth is slightly parted and pouting, with a full bottom lip and downturned corners. The pose, undifferentiated remains of the hair, and primary damage pattern suggest that she faced to the spectator's left in three-quarter view (Fig. 52:b).

The findspot and scale point to the east frieze, but the piece is too damaged to permit identification.

Thompson 1952, p. 94, n. 19; Harrison 1967, p. 41; 1977b, pp. 278, 279, fig. 18; 1986, p. 110, fig. 1 (findspot).

35 Young woman wearing thin Attic-type peplos

Fig. 53

S 1072. Late Byzantine wall in room XVI of Stoa of Attalos, at Q/15,20–8/16,20, May 31, 1938.

H. 0.592, throat to girdle 0.185, girdle 0.02 m. W. 0.29, neck 0.056, shoulders 0.215, nipples ca. 0.11, waist ca. 0.152, hips ca. 0.187 m. D. 0.256, neck 0.062, relief below 0.165, at left hand ca. 0.14 m. Pentelic marble, with a micaceous vein from left hand to groin.

Preserved from neck to just above knees. Right forearm below elbow, most of left forearm and hand missing; broken across back, with portions of frieze slab adhering on both sides. Weathered; ridges of folds chipped; left breast battered. Original polished surface preserved in patches around neck and in valleys of some folds below girdle.

Drapery folds defined with bullnose chisel; bottom of central V-fold point drilled (Diam. 1 cm; D. 5 mm). Running drill channels (Diam. 4 left, above; 2 left, below; 2 mm right, anterior) define forearms against chiton. Numerous chiton folds running drilled, often gradually widening or tapering from top to bottom, using wider or narrower bits (Diam. 2–4 mm; max. D. 1 cm) in sequence; channels then recut with chisels and abrasives. Chiton hem at opening down left hip and leg tunneled with drill (Diam. 4; D. 3–6 mm). Three shallow drill holes between damaged left thumb and forefinger (Diam. 4, 4, and 3; D. 1–3 mm). Drapery flat chiseled and rasped near background, not completely deleting remains of dents and channels left by roughing out with drills (Diam. 9–10 mm). Background rasped down contours of figure. Vague 4 × 3 cm patch below girdle on right perhaps remnant of Roman reworking, but toolmarks (if any) obliterated by weathering.

The young woman is positioned frontally in a non-contrappostic pose, turning slightly to her right. Her figure is somewhat immature, with small breasts and narrow hips, suggesting a girl in her early teens. Her head faced the spectator, perhaps looking downward. Her right forearm, flexed at the elbow, crossed her hip below the girdle, where a broken surface indicates the point of attachment to the body. Her



Figure 53. Young woman wearing an Attic peplos (35): (a) front view; (b) left profile. Athens, Agora Museum S 1072. Scale 1:5. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

left arm is sharply flexed, with the forearm held across the front of her body just above the girdle; her right leg was relaxed, and her left engaged. The shallow drill holes on top of her left hand suggest that she originally held an attribute, but the fingers are somewhat curled, not clenched, excluding, for example, a tightly grasped one but not a loosely held one such as a bird, a fruit, or even barley stalks (see Appendix).

The woman wears a sleeveless Attic-type peplos with overfold, pinned or sewn at the shoulders (though no actual pins are carved), and overgirdled at the waist: a young woman's dress worn, for example, by Iris in the Parthenon's east frieze (Fig. 4, no. 28). It is clearly conceived as open down her left side, though the opening is visible only over her left hip and thigh, starting about 8 cm below the girdle (Fig. 53:b). Here, despite the damage, the two pairs (front and back) of superimposed vertical hems of the garment proper and its overfold, each faintly pie-crust-ed, are clearly discernible as they zigzag down the exterior of the thigh. The hems of the overfold then make a corner just above the break in order to cross the front and back of the body; a tiny hem weight hangs from the rear V-shaped corner, visible just behind the top of the modern concrete base. Broken away in front, the hem then crosses her right thigh, terminating at the remains of the relief background.

Above the waist, the ridges of the folds are sharp and often nicked, and the valleys wide and shallow; below it they are broader, with deeper valleys between. Several of the drapery motifs are repeated with more subtlety and variation on the Athena, S 654 (Fig. 54), the best candidate for the cult statue by Lokros of Paros seen by Pausanias.⁷⁰

Cook 1951, p. 238, fig. 3; Thompson 1951, pp. 57–58, pl. 30:a; 1952, p. 94, pl. 22:b; Schlörb 1964, p. 36; Travlos, *Athens*, p. 107, fig. 144; *Agora XIV*, p. 164, pl. 83; Delivorrias 1974, p. 136; Thompson 1976, p. 200; Harrison 1977a, pp. 166, 167, fig. 24; 1977b, p. 266; 1986, pp. 110, 115 (Athena?), fig. 1 (incorrect findspot), pl. 118:3; Camp 1990, pp. 205–206; Bol 2004, vol. 1, pp. 218, 516, fig. 147; Gawlinski 2014, p. 49; Leventi 2014, p. 184; Stewart 2016, pp. 603–607, 618, figs. 22, 25, 28, 31.



Figure 54. Athena. Probably the cult statue of the Temple of Athena Pallenis/Ares by Lokros of Paros (H. 58 cm). Athens, Agora Museum S 654. Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

70. Stewart 2016, pp. 603–607, figs. 22–31; for this garment and the next (36), see Lee 2015, pp. 102–103, figs. 4:7 and 4:6, respectively.



Figure 55. Woman wearing an Argive peplos (36): (a) right profile; (b) front view. Athens, Agora Museum S 870. Scale 1:5. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

36 Torso and upper part of legs of a woman in an Argive peplos and himation Fig. 55

S 870. "Late Roman road fill, probably from Turkish wall nearby" (Agora Notebook Σ 13, p. 2407; i.e., fill over the road), ca. 10–100 m northeast to southeast of the temple, at M/Q-7/12, March 31, 1947.

H. 0.468; W. 0.213; D. 0.174; relief below 0.156, relief above 0.165 m. Pentelic marble.

Head, most of neck, legs from midthighs, right hand missing; traces of background remaining around break at back of figure from neck down almost to bottom of fragment. Badly weathered, with water damage all over neck, chest, between breasts down almost to hem of overfold, and down many valleys of peplos folds. Patches of original polished surface preserved on the neck.

Transition from figure to background running drilled (Diam. 3; D. 2 mm). Some himation fold valleys toward background running drilled (Diam. 8; L. 8–12 mm); hem at back honeycombed with drill (Diam. 5 and 8 mm; max. D. 1.8 cm). Signs of running drill channels (Diam. 3 mm) in many fold valleys, but water damage at times prohibits certainty; others cut using edge of fine rasp. Pie-crust hem of himation and zigzag folds down back chiseled. Drapery folds toward background at front and back of figure aggressively rasped, probably by Roman restorer. Himation flattened with flat chisel between shoulder blades. Patch of original polished surface preserved at proper left side of neck, presumably protected by the woman's chin.

The woman, tentatively identified by Harrison (1986, p. 115) as Hera and associated by her with **8**, stands quietly in a stance somewhat like that of the Erechtheion Caryatids. She faces the spectator's right with her left leg engaged, her right leg slightly relaxed and withdrawn, her right shoulder raised, and her head once turned somewhat out toward the spectator. Her right arm, held close to her body and flexed at a somewhat acute angle at the elbow, indicates that she once carried a lightweight attribute, such as a phiale, a flower, or grain (see Appendix).

She wears an undergirt, V-necked "Argive" peplos with an overfold and curved *kolpos* (compare **35**), and a heavy himation draped across her back and thrown

over her right shoulder; its hem is pie-crust-ed. The cloth is ample, and the folds above the *kolpos* thick and rounded at the front, thinner and more sharply edged on the shoulder and at the back. Below the *kolpos*, the folds are twin-ridged and sharp-edged, but quickly become flat and columnar over the belly. Because of the overhanging himation, the flat area at the back would not have been visible. It might indicate, however, that the fragment either abutted another figure or stood on the extreme left-hand edge of its frieze.

Thompson 1952, pp. 94–95, n. 19, pl. 22:b (wrongly captioned as S 820); Freyer 1962, pp. 221–224, fig. 7; Schlörb 1964, p. 36; Travlos, *Athens*, p. 107, fig. 144; *Agora XIV*, p. 164, pl. 83; Delivorrias 1974, p. 136; Thompson 1976, p. 200; Harrison 1977a, pp. 166–168, fig. 25; 1977b, p. 265; Schuchhardt 1977, p. 16, fig. 10; Knell 1978, pp. 14–15, figs. 7, 8; Harrison 1986, pp. 110, 112, 115 (Hera?), fig. 1 (findspot), pl. 118:1, 4; Camp 1990, pp. 205–206; Rolley 1999, p. 148; Bol 2004, vol. 1, pp. 218–219, 225, 516, fig. 148; Gawlinski 2014, p. 49; Leventi 2014, p. 184.

37 Woman wearing a himation and Argive peplos over a sleeved chiton; right hand of a second figure on her left shoulder Fig. 56

S 676. Mixed fill at approximately M/20,N/1–8/20,9/1, about 35 m east-southeast of southeast corner of the temple, March 16, 1936.

H. 0.460, throat to girdle 0.190 m. W. 0.338, neck 0.058, shoulders 0.226, nipples ca. 0.115 m. D. 0.159, relief at bottom of himation 0.112, relief at left breast 0.134, relief neck 0.073 m. Pentelic marble, with micaceous vein at break on right side of *kolpos*.

Preserved from neck to just below waist. Point of left breast, right hand, fingertips of left hand missing. Broken across back; portions of frieze slab adhering. Lightly weathered; original surface preserved to right of neck, on apex of right shoulder almost down to clavicle.

Transition from neck, right shoulder, right arm to background running drilled (Diam. 3 mm; L. 31.5 cm); running drill channel (Diam. 3 mm; L. 9 cm) around drapery under left hand. Chiton folds often running drilled (Diam. 2–3 mm),



Figure 56. Woman wearing an Argive peplos over a sleeved chiton (37): (a) front view; (b) left profile. Athens, Agora Museum S 676. Scale 1:5. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

then almost completely recut with flat and bullnose chisels and abrasives. Valleys of himation folds hanging from left arm running drilled at front and laterally next to background (Diam. 3–5 and 8–9 mm, respectively); one tunneled through halfway down to create a 2 cm long “bridge”; narrower valleys cut probably with finely pointed riffler file, then carefully rasped. Hems nearest background at break below tunneled with drill (Diam. 1; D. 1–2.5 cm); anterior ones pie-crusting with chisel and tunneled with drill (Diam. 5 mm; D. 0.5–2 cm). Two drill holes (Diam. 4 mm) at center of girdle for buckle; bronze plugs remain inside. Hollow of drapery under left forearm claw chiseled. Fingers of left hand of figure and right hand on left shoulder separated by running drill channel (Diam. 2 mm), then detailed with chisel.

The virtuoso technique (recalling that of **23** but by a different hand) was evidently intended to impress, and the fragment is also among the most advanced stylistically of all those preserved from the frieze. The woman stands frontally, turning slightly to the spectator’s left and inclining and turning her head sharply also in this direction. Uniquely, she is posed in contrapposto, echoing Polykleitos’s *Doryphoros*,⁷¹ with her left shoulder raised and her left hip dropped, presumably over her relaxed leg, her right arm hanging by her side, and her left arm flexed with its forearm advanced and hand holding the hem of her himation.

She wears a sleeved chiton and an Argive peplos over it. The chiton is buttoned at the shoulders and down the arms; five buttons are visible on her right, four on her left. Girdled at the waist and buttoned on the shoulders using the top button of the sleeves of the chiton, the peplos has a short overfold that terminates just below the breasts, as on figures East III.7 and VIII.56 of the Parthenon frieze.⁷² The vertical front hem of its open left side overlies the left sleeve of the chiton and clings to the left side of the breast. The folds are flat and ribbon-like with sharp edges, bifurcating and dimpling at the curving *kolpos* over the girdle. Below the girdle, twin-ridged folds fan out toward the break below. The two drill holes at the center of the girdle held a metal buckle or brooch that complemented her fine dress.

A heavy himation emerges from the background behind her left arm, wraps around the lower part of her biceps and the crook of her elbow, overlies her extended left forearm, and falls toward the ground on either side of it; her left hand clutches its hem, whose stitching is shown as pie-crusting. Its folds are thick and rounded, with deep, narrow valleys between them. The right hand of another figure rests on her left shoulder; its fingers are delicate and presumably female, but its thumb is modeled like a fifth finger. Presumably this woman (**11?**) stood to her left, though of her arm only this hand survives, emerging directly from the background of the frieze.

Thompson 1952, pp. 94–95, pl. 22:b; Freyer 1962, p. 224; Schlörb 1964, p. 36; Harrison 1967, p. 41, n. 115; Despina 1971, p. 42 (Aphrodite and Peitho?); Travlos, *Athens*, p. 107, fig. 144; *Agora XIV*, p. 164, pl. 83; Delivorrias 1974, pp. 52 (n. 220), 134 (n. 573), 136, 145 (n. 621); Thompson 1976, p. 200; Harrison 1977a, pp. 166–167, fig. 2; 1977b, p. 278, n. 54; Felten 1984, pp. 109–110, pl. 31:1; Harrison 1986, p. 110, fig. 1 (findspot), pls. 117:3, 118:2; Camp 1990, pp. 205–206; Bol 2004, vol. 1, pp. 212, 214, 218, 515, fig. 140; Gawlinski 2014, p. 49.

38 Draped right shoulder of a girl wearing a sleeved chiton Fig. 57

S 1762. Unrecorded marbles north of the temple at J,L–6,8 (i.e., section H, ca. 0–15 m north of the temple), 1947, with **30** and **43**; recovered and registered November 1953.

H. 0.097; W. 0.087; D. 0.035 m. Pentelic marble.

Draped right shoulder and adjacent part of chest of a small female figure. Broken all around; back, exterior of right arm, shoulder, neck split away. Remains of four fingers on chest. Weathered.

Very delicately carved; some folds, area below fingers lightly rasped.

71. Boardman 1985, fig. 185; Stewart 1990, figs. 378–382; Rolley 1999, p. 29, figs. 11, 12.

72. Robertson and Frantz 1975, East III.7 and VIII.56; Brommer 1977, pls. 167, 186, 187, 189; Jenkins 1994, figs. on pp. 76, 81.

The figure, presumably a young girl, wore a sleeved chiton buttoned at the neck and down the arm (two buttons visible). On the chest, traces of four fingers, presumably of the figure's own left hand, are visible; the palm of the hand was clear of the body and the area under and below the fingers smoothed flat. The folds, superimposed upon one another in two gentle wave patterns emanating from the central, dart-like fold above the hand and the button at its apex, are flattish and ribbon-like, with rounded crests and very shallow, flattened troughs.

Harrison 1977b, p. 278, n. 54.

39 Lower half of a woman wearing a thin chiton and himation Fig. 58

S 679. Marble pile in section Σ , i.e., ca. 10–100 m northeast to southeast of the temple, at M/Q-7/12; recovered and registered March 17, 1936.

H. 0.488; W. 0.246, waist 0.185, hips 0.21; D. 0.140, relief at right knee 0.086, at top of fragment ca. 0.06, max. at himation bundle 0.09, background 0.06 m. Pentelic marble, flawed down the exterior of the right leg.

Lower half of a frontal female figure wearing a thin chiton and himation. Broken vertically from frieze slab across back, laterally across waist and ankles; right leg below knee, folds down exterior of left hip and left leg split away. Breaks, ridges of some folds battered. Original surface preserved in deeper valleys and in patches on lower legs. Portions of background preserved down the right side and to left of left hip and waist; one section worked at back.

Transition from right thigh to background running drilled in three short channels (Diam. 2; D. 2 mm; L. 0.5–1.5 cm). Valleys of folds radiating down from girdle, deep channel defining medial surface of right knee running drilled (Diam. 7 mm; D. 1.5 cm); valleys of diagonal himation fold bundle below belly and of cascade over right hip running drilled (Diam. 3–4 mm). Valley of vertical himation fold at proper left running drilled (Diam. 1; D. 1.2; L. 25 cm). Narrowest fold valleys cut with finely pointed riffler file (a time-consuming technique). Most



Figure 57. Draped right shoulder of a woman (38): front view. Athens, Agora Excavations S 1762. Scale 1:2. Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

Figure 58. Woman wearing a chiton and himation (39): (a) front view; (b) right profile; (c) left profile. Athens, Agora Museum S 679. Scale 1:5. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations



a



b



c

channels then chiseled and abraded, deliberately softening the folds. Himation hem above lower break undercut by honeycombing with drills (Diam. 7–9 mm). Background by left hip punched; one section chiseled at back. Roughly punched surface on back of relief slab (both dents and short mason's strokes, H. 0.32 × W. 0.18 cm) clearly secondary (Roman); water damage below. Some modern cleaning and plaster infilling.

The woman stands frontally on her left leg with her right leg relaxed, right foot withdrawn, and right hip lowered, probably in full Polykleitan contrapposto. She wears a chiton, girdled at the waist, and a himation draped originally from her left shoulder that crosses her back down to and around her right hip and leg, then up again to her left arm and shoulder, and down her left side, where it is now broken away. The *kolpos* of the chiton is shallowly curved, and the folds above it are ropelike and somewhat crosscut; those over the belly are wavy, tubular, mobile, inflated a little, nicked in places, and often paired. The himation is thicker, with a heavy bundle of deep folds crossing the body diagonally from right hip to the left side of the waist; below it, sharper folds loop around the relaxed right leg, then stretch upward between the legs, framing the left leg and sometimes subdividing as they go, and either converge on the left hip and waist, joining others there that cascade vertically down the exterior of the left leg; or, twinning as they descend, disappear over the engaged left thigh and knee.

Thompson 1952, pp. 94–95, pl. 22:b; Freyer 1962, p. 224; Schlörb 1964, p. 36, pl. 1:3; Travlos, *Athens*, p. 107, fig. 144; *Agora XIV*, p. 164, pl. 83; Delivorrias 1974, p. 136; Thompson 1976, p. 200; Harrison 1977a, p. 165, fig. 20; 1977b, p. 265; 1982, p. 48, n. 39; Felten 1984, pp. 109–110, pl. 31:4; Camp 1990, pp. 205–206; Gawlinski 2014, p. 49.



Figure 59. Female left wrist and hand (40): lateral view. Athens, *Agora Excavations S 1666*. Scale 1:3. Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy *Agora Excavations*

40 Fragment of female left wrist and hand

Fig. 59

S 1666. Marble pile northeast of the temple at approximately L/1–7/7; recovered and registered June 12, 1952.

L. 0.11; W. 0.046; D 0.041 m. Pentelic marble.

Medial portion of figure's left forearm and hand, fingers broken away.

Shallow bullnose chisel used to create six evenly spaced grooves along proper left side of forearm. Top of forearm and hand finished smooth. Remains of running drill channel on inner side of fragment near base of thumb.

The chiseling on the proper left side of the forearm suggests that the hand was hanging down next to the body. The arm was connected to the body along the break at the underside of the forearm. The freshness of the break at the hand indicates that the fingers were broken off recently. The drilling between the thumb pad and the palm, along with the angle of the thumb, indicates that something was held in the hand.

Unpublished.

41 Draped, sandaled female left foot

Fig. 60:a, b

S 1764. Unrecorded marbles at IJ-6,8 (i.e., section H', ca. 0–30 m west or northwest of the temple); recovered and registered November 1953.

H. 0.085, sandal at front 0.01, at rear 0.015; W. 0.09; D 0.08 m. Pentelic marble.

Broken vertically across back; edges of breaks battered, especially above. Toes worn; tip of big toe broken off; third toe chipped. Drapery folds and transition to foot waterworn.

Most toolmarks removed by water corrosion, but running drill channels (Diam. 3 and 6 mm) detectable on some folds; two vertical drill holes (Diam. 4 mm), at first joint of toes between big and second toe, and under former on right (medial) side (D. 8 and 5 mm, respectively); shallow, horizontal drill hole (Diam. 2 mm) between their toenails and sandal. Folds, toe joints, and nails chiseled; sides of sandal rasped; underside roughly carved with flat or bullnose chisel.



Figure 60. Female feet: (a) front view 41; (b) top view 41; (c) front view 42; (d) top view 42. Athens, Agora Excavations S 1764 (a, b), S 1555 (c, d). Scale 1:3. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

The woman was advancing slowly to the spectator's right, perhaps in three-quarter view, and wore a light, crinkly chiton and perhaps a himation over it. Her foot rests atop a sandal whose sole thins toward the toes; its uppers were painted. Her toes are long and slender, with sharply delineated toe joints and circular toenails; the second toe is markedly longer than the big one. The chiton is finely modeled with sharp, crinkly folds separated by U-shaped valleys that seem to originate from a central point, presumably her flexed left knee. Its nearest parallel is that worn by **14**. Despite the heavy wear, the quality of the carving is high, suggesting a figure of some importance.

Harrison 1977b, p. 274, fig. 12; 1986, p. 110, pl. 117:2.

42 Left foot of an adolescent girl wearing a Persian slipper, with drapery Fig. 60:c, d

S 1555. Marble pile northeast of Giants at M,N-7,8 (i.e., section P, ca. 40 m east of the temple); recovered with **7** and registered July 26, 1951.

H. 0.107, sole of slipper on right of foot 0.007, on left 0.015; W. 0.060; L. 0.085 m. Pentelic marble.

Left ankle with drapery and top of instep alone preserved. Slipper broken and worn into rounded point; ankle and drapery sheared off diagonally at back. Heavily worn along proper left side. Rough, horizontal break at left front.

Drapery folds and two-ply sole of slipper flat chiseled. Small patches of yellow on lowest folds could be modern. Two vertical drill channels (Diam. 8 mm) at proper left side: one at back of fragment (L. 4 cm); the other at foot-drapery transition (L. 3 cm). Two horizontal chisel marks along sole of foot at right side. Underside of sandal roughly pointed in mason's strokes, then chiseled, as **14**.

The two drill channels may have bracketed the join to the frieze slab, since the drapery folds become vague and vanish toward the rearmost one; if so, the leg was advanced and the foot was posed in three-quarter view to the spectator's right. Its slipper emerges from a swathe of drapery that cascades in rounded, horizontal folds down the anterior of the shin. The rough tooling on the underside of the slipper is Roman recutting for leverage during dismantling for subsequent reassembly in the Agora, paralleled on **30** and more completely preserved on **14**. Since the foot is about 20% smaller than most of the others, probably it belonged to an adolescent girl or gracile woman.

Harrison 1977b, p. 265, fig. 2; 1986, pl. 117:2.

43 Fragment of sandaled left foot (female?) Fig. 61:a, b

S 1761. Unrecorded marbles north of the temple at J,L-6,8 (i.e., section H, ca. 0-15 m north of the temple), 1935, with **30** and **38**; recovered and registered November 1953.

H. 0.028; W. 0.059; L. 0.04 m. Pentelic marble.

Broken across just behind toes; little toe mostly chipped off. Upper surface of foot weathered, apparent drip lines on right side of big toe.



Figure 61. Female feet: (a) lateral view 43; (b) top view 43; (c) lateral view 44; (d) top view 44. Athens, Agora Excavations S 1761 (a, b), S 1461 (c, d). Scale 1:2. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

Space between big and second toe, skin folds across toe joints defined with chisel. Sandal sole delicately pointed and smoothed.

The foot rests atop the sole of a sandal (Th. 9 mm) and has long, slender toes with carefully delineated toe joints. The second toe equals the big toe in length. The toenails are square with rounded edges. The uppers of the sandal, including presumably a thong between the first and second toe, must have been painted, as usual on the HRF. The line of the break might indicate the presence of a long dress, with the toes emerging from it, and therefore the foot may have belonged to a female. Unpublished.

44 Draped, sandaled female right foot

Fig. 61:c, d

S 1461. In excavated dirt pile in section P, ca. 20 m due east of the temple at approximately L,M-7,8; recovered and registered June 21, 1950.

H. 0.045; W. 0.059; L. 0.65 m. Pentelic marble.

Broken across instep; battered fragment of drapery hem visible on break at left tip of big toe chipped; top of fourth toe, all little toe sheared off. Weathered; proper left side of foot, right side under last two toes heavily worn and corroded from water damage; sandal perimeter chipped and worn in places.

Foot defined against sandal by running drill channel at right (Diam. 4 mm), chiseled at left. Toes and toe joints defined with chisel. Foot, underside of sandal finished smooth.

The draped figure, evidently a woman, may have been posed frontally or in three-quarter view with her right foot pointing out. It rests atop a sandal sole (originally with painted uppers) and has long, slender toes with delineated toe joints. The second toe is longer than the big toe, and the toenails are trapezoidal, with their corners rounded off. The remains of two to three chiton folds are preserved along the left side of the instep.

Unpublished.

45 Bare right foot (female?)

Fig. 62

S 1787. Unrecorded marbles, section unknown (KTA); recovered and registered November 1953.

H. 0.03; W. 0.068; L. 0.065 m. Pentelic marble.

Broken across diagonally just behind toes. Tips of big, second, and third toes chipped off; little toe, left side and underside of big toe largely split away. Moderately weathered.

Gaps between toes, undersides of toes defined with chisel. Two diagonal running drill channels (Diam. 5 mm; L. 1.5, 1.3 cm) on left behind big toe; underside of toes indented with chisel. Sole finished smooth.

The foot pointed to the spectator's right with only the little and fourth toes touching the ground; the single extant toenail is squarish. The fleshy modeling suggests a female.

Unpublished.



Figure 62. Female foot (45): (a) lateral view; (b) top view. Athens, Agora Excavations S 1787. Scale 1:3. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

CHILDREN

46 Back of child's head

Fig. 63

S 1513. Marble pile southwest of Odeion at K-12, June 2, 1951.

H. 0.123, head 0.079; W. 0.091; D. 0.054 m. Pentelic marble.

Back of head, part of left jawline, and part of neck preserved. Broken diagonally across the neck. Face mostly split away. Heavily weathered. Top of head pitted and chipped. No original surface preserved.

Hair is roughly chiseled and possibly curly. Harrison (n.d.) identifies the head as female from the apparent remains of a bun at the back. The small scale suggests a child or adolescent. Harrison also notes a "working-arris" at the back, and suggests that the head may therefore have faced three-quarters right.

Unpublished.



Figure 63. Child's head (46): back view. Athens, Agora Excavations S 1513. Scale 1:2. Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

47 Child's left foot

Fig. 64

S 2209. Unrecorded marbles at I,J-8,10 (i.e., section E, ca. 5–30 m southwest of the temple); recovered and registered August 14, 1967.

H. 0.040; W. 0.050; L. 0.65 m. Pentelic marble.

Left foot broken across at instep. Big toe broken away, worn smooth at break; little toe chipped. Heavily weathered except on sole of foot; top badly pitted.

Chisel used to define grooves between toes. Gaps between big and second toes, little and fourth toes drilled (Diam. 5 and 2 mm, respectively); running drill channel beneath toes terminating at little toe (Diam. 5 mm; L. 2.5 cm). Sole and left side of foot pointed, summarily flattened, and rasped.

The foot is bare, with no indication of drapery, and belonged to a child walking to the right. Though heavily waterworn, this foot is technically similar to 45.

Unpublished.



Figure 64. Child's foot (47): top view. Athens, Agora Excavations S 2209. Scale 1:2. Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

48 Drapery fragment

Fig. 65

S 1831. Marble pile in front of Stoa of Zeus at approximately I-6,7 (i.e., section H, ca. 25 m northwest of the temple); recovered and registered March 1954.

H. 0.10; W. 0.097; D 0.066 m. Pentelic marble.

Broken below and at sides into roughly triangular shape; breaks and ridges of folds chipped and battered. Somewhat weathered.

Possible running drill channel (Diam. 5 mm) at proper left; tops of two fold valleys on left and one at right tunneled with drill (Diam. 5 mm). Some folds chiseled and rasped lengthwise; pie-crust hems chiseled.

The drapery cascades down in two main sprays, apparently over a rock or piece of furniture. The folds are quite stiff, deep, undercut in places, and both rounded and ridged; one at center bifurcates into twin ridges. A segment of pie-crust hem appears at the fragment's lower right.

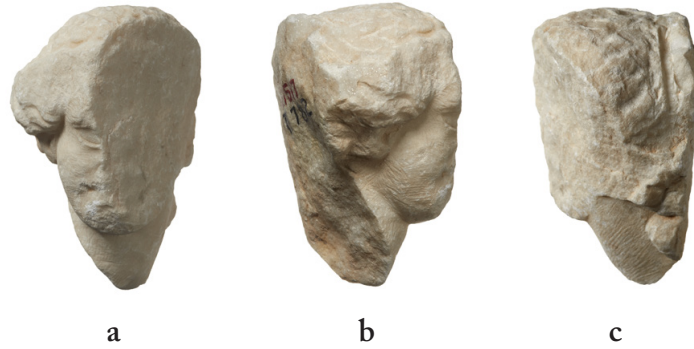
The fragment's nearest relative stylistically is the Zeus (5).

Unpublished.



Figure 65. Drapery hanging over a rock or piece of furniture (48): (a) front view; (b) left side. Athens, Agora Excavations S 1831. Scale 1:3. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

Figure 66. Female head (Roman repair) (49): (a) front view; (b) right profile; (c) left profile. Athens, Agora Excavations S 1517. Scale 1:3. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations



ROMAN REPAIRS

49 Small female head

Fig. 66

S 1517. Inside a tomb under modern house 636a/5, at P/12–14/13, May 25, 1951. H. 0.120; W. 0.084; D. 0.066 m. Pentelic marble.

Left side and much of front of head split away. Front and left side of neck and right side of head with join to background alone preserved, including outer parts of right eye and mouth, right ear, and hair from ear to ear. Hair significantly chipped above right temple. Unweathered.

Hair roughly punched into long, thick locks; right cheek and neck heavily rasped. Eyelids delineated with flat chisel; surviving corner of mouth drilled (Diam. 2 mm). Running drill channel (Diam. 3 mm; L. 4.5 cm) defines hair on left against remains of background.

The scale and Roman-period technique of this small head, presumably depicting a child and meant to be viewed from its left, are unique in the assemblage. Together with its late-5th-century proportions, features, and coiffure, and clear breakage from a relief, they indicate a Roman repair. Unlike its models, however, its hair covers the top of the ear and at the back cascades parthenos-style down to the nape of the neck. Like many of the other heads, it was intentionally defaced in late antiquity.

Unpublished.

50 Unfinished male right leg

Fig. 67

S 1463. Marble pile in section P near the two middle “Giants,” ca. 25 m southeast of the temple at L/20,M/1–9/1,5, June 28, 1950.

H. 0.225; W. 0.086, thigh 0.074, knee 0.065; D. 0.090, above ankle 0.045, background below 0.021, background above 0.010 m. Pentelic marble, sparkling white with white micaceous vein on back.

Broken diagonally across thigh, above ankle, and around most of background; traces of mortar on break below. Lightly weathered.

Unfinished. Entire leg covered in rough, horizontal point strokes (L. 1–2 cm). Running drill channel (Diam. 5 mm; L. 6.5 cm) between medial side of thigh and background; latter otherwise finely pointed. Exterior edge of background beveled flat from upper break downward (L. 7 cm), then broken away; interior edge roughly tooled from lower break upward (L. ca. 9 cm), then broken away. Back of background slightly concave and flat chiseled for about half its width. Domed measuring point (H. ca. 6 mm) on medial side of knee.

Apparently a Roman repair for a relief, the fragment was meant to be inserted from below as a plug-in. In its unfinished state, the leg is too big for the frieze, but when dressed down it would have been considerably smaller. It is slightly flexed, and its tooling may be Augustan, coinciding with the move of the Temple of Ares to the Agora, and further solidifying the attribution to the HRF.

Unpublished.



Figure 67. Unfinished male right leg (Roman repair) (50): (a) lateral view; (b) front view. Athens, Agora Excavations S 1463. Scale 1:5. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

TECHNICAL OBSERVATIONS

The sculptures are of good-quality Pentelic marble throughout, if somewhat larger grained than usual and with some inclusions of white mica, but no green ones. This contrasts with the fabric of the temple itself, aptly described by McAllister as “often strongly veined with grey-green chlorite.”⁷³ Unfortunately, no frieze slab is preserved to its full thickness. That of **14**, broken at the back, is a disappointing 12 cm thick, and that of **39**, roughly punched at the back but only 6 cm thick, was cut down in Roman times (see below).

The two friezes clearly were designed for viewing from below. The heads are somewhat big for their bodies, as noted earlier; carved mostly in the round or almost so; and project from 10.3 cm (**15**) to almost 14 cm (**7**) from their backgrounds. The bodies are in high relief, and project from a mere 7.3 cm (**14**) to an impressive 16.5 cm (**36**); several of them quite clearly increase in salience from bottom to top, for example, from 15.6 cm to 16.5 cm (**36**), 11.2 to 13.4 cm (**37**), and, most strikingly, 7.3 cm to 12.0 cm (**14**). Limbs and feet often are carved in the round also.

Technically, the fragments broadly meet one’s expectations for marble sculptures of the post-Parthenonian generation, but present one major surprise: their extensive primary use of the running drill (see below). All visible surfaces are properly, even finely finished, and skin surfaces polished, though occasional patches of rasping appear on drapery ridges (**11**, **14**, **38**, **48**), as well as in the valleys between them, as one would expect (**11**, **14**, **23**, **39**, **48**). The background of **35** is rasped down the contours of the figure. The woolly coats of the two sheep (**24**) are textured with the point, mostly in short, almost vertical strokes.

As for color, traces of painted pupils and irises appear on **1**, **12**, and **22**, and the Aphrodite **23** wore a bright yellow (*krokotos*) himation; unfortunately, the color of her chiton is not preserved.

To turn to retreating, withdrawn, and invisible surfaces, these are progressively more sketchy and even totally unmodeled, with toolmarks increasingly in evidence that range from rasping (e.g., **27**, **35**, **36**, **49**), through chiseling (e.g., **13**), to pointing (e.g., **9**, **31**). Soles of feet and sandals, however, are sometimes completely finished (**27–29**, **43**, **44**), sometimes not (**30**, **45**, **47**), indicating that the latter, at least, stood directly on the regula; this would have been a separate block, as usual in Doric architecture. Areas of heads that approached or faced the background often are cut free using increasingly crude mason’s strokes of the point (e.g., **1**, **2**, **4**, **33**), and on occasion even coarsely drilled out (**1**, **10**). Normally, men’s short hair is merely roughed out with vertical strokes of the point (e.g., **4**, **18**, **26**), as are the withdrawn and invisible areas of the hair of both sexes.

As usual in late-5th-century work, there are minimal traces of the claw. The hollow of the drapery under the left forearm of the woman with a hand on her shoulder (**37**) is claw chiseled; a small, roughly circular patch on top of the head **20** was trimmed flat with a fine claw, presumably to accommodate the frieze crown above it; and faint patches of coarser claw work are visible in places on the soffit of **14** where the rasping has not completely removed them.

The drill, on the other hand, is everywhere. Drill holes for metal attachments abound, whether helmet crests and cheekpieces (**6**, **16**), earrings

73. McAllister 1959, p. 2.

(**9, 10, 13, 19, 21**), buckles (**37**), or attributes held in the hand (**35**). The undersides of hair masses (**2**), and veils (**7, 9**) and drapery hems (**36**), are honeycombed, as are fold valleys (**23, 42**). On flesh, nostrils (**2, 7**), ear-holes (**1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 10, 15, 19–21, 24**), and corners of mouths (**24**) may be drilled. Idiosyncratically, a couple of carvers even emphasize the apex of the antihelix of the ear with a second drill hole (**4, 6, 19–21**, and perhaps also **10** and **24**). Grooves between big and second toes also may be drilled out (**28, 30, 41, 47**).

The running drill is just as popular. Several figures are defined against their backgrounds by running drill channels (**10, 36, 37, 39**, not to mention the Roman **49**), usually considered a 4th-century phenomenon, and flesh surfaces and even hair similarly may be defined against attributes, headgear, drapery, and sandals (**9, 19, 20, 28, 29, 35, 37, 44, 45, 48**). On drapery the technique is ubiquitous, and sometimes enhanced at the upper ends of the fold channels by continuing to tunnel up under the cloth (**5, 11, 14, 37, 48**), creating deep pools of shadow when seen from below. Finally, whereas hair locks, fingers, and toes may be defined against their neighbors by running drill channels (**8, 10, 13, 29, 47**), transitions between flesh surfaces are hardly ever treated in this way (only on **10** and **19**, in the ears, and under the toes of **47**). All of this running drill work is clearly contemporary with the carving of the figures.

Roman reworking proper falls into three categories. To begin with, levering out the blocks when the temple was dismantled for transfer to the Agora surely presented severe problems, since the ultratight joints between them would have offered no way for crowbars to gain purchase, and simply pulling them out from the top would have risked toppling them forward. So the soles of the most solidly anchored feet (**14** and, presumably, **30** and **42**) were chiseled away on the first block earmarked for removal, crowbars inserted into the gaps thus opened between them and the regula, and the block slowly levered out from below. As suggested in the catalogue, **14**'s findspot, pose, and reworked foot points to the leftmost block of the east frieze, presumably the first one to be removed. With this block gone, the rest could be pried out quite easily, one by one.

Secondly, repairs and refurbishing are represented by three heads and an unfinished leg (**19, 25, 49, 50**). The crude chiseling of the tops of heads **19** and **25**, presumably to remove bird droppings, could have been done at any time, but the little head, **49**, is certainly a repair, since it both clumsily attempts to reproduce the post-Pheidian style of the others and betrays the same damage patterns as they, presumably inflicted in the 5th or 6th century A.D. It is also typically Roman in technique, with heavy rasping on its neck and jawbone and roughly chiseled hair.⁷⁴ The discarded, crudely pointed leg, **50**, with its merely 1–2 cm thick background at first sight looks too large to belong, however, but proper finishing might have reduced it to the right scale; if so, it was presumably intended as a patch.

Finally, there is the recut back of slab **39**, reducing it to a mere 6 cm thick. Since it seems unlikely that the slab was trimmed this drastically in order to lighten it for transfer from Pallene to the Agora, and the figure itself is definitely not a Roman repair, maybe it was cut down in late antiquity for reuse as a pavement slab or doorsill. Unfortunately, since it comes from a marble pile, further speculation would be futile.

74. For its (presumed) Augustan date, contrast the heads from the Attic Hadrianic and Antonine friezes published by Despinis (2003, pls. 34, 45, 76, 82–84).

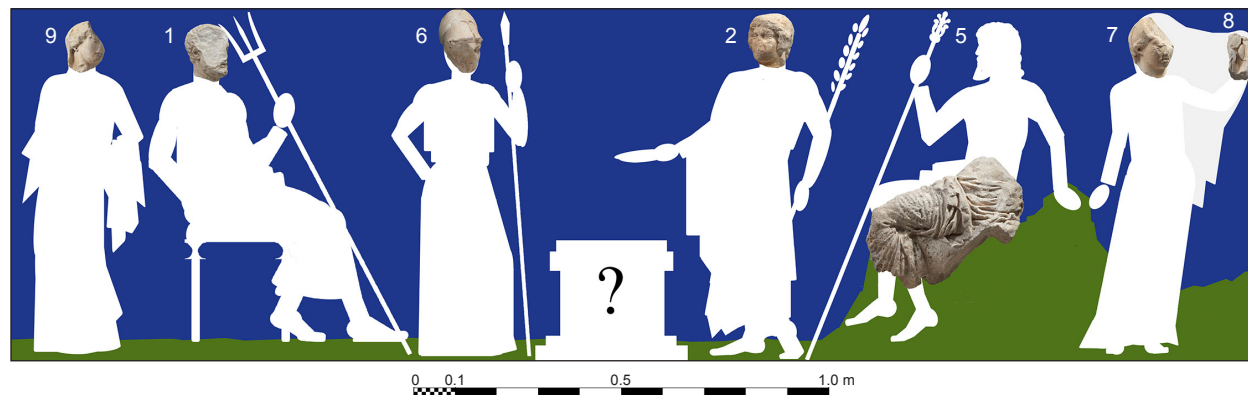


Figure 68. Conjectural reconstruction of the center of the east frieze. E. Lawrence and A. Stewart

COMPOSITION

The reasons for identifying each individual fragment and attributing it to the east or west frieze have been given in its catalogue entry. This section addresses the positioning of the main identifiable figures within each frieze.

EAST FRIEZE

This frieze's central quartet of a large-scale, seated Poseidon, a standing Athena and Apollo, and a very large, seated Zeus (1, 6, 2, and 5, respectively; Fig. 68) seems reasonably secure. Installed on his rocky throne, Zeus (5) is sponsoring his favorite son and privileged interpreter of his will, Apollo (2),⁷⁵ to join Athena Pallenis (6) in her sanctuary, presumably as her divine associate or (later) *theos paredros/synnaos theos*. Maybe an altar stood between them, setting the scene and symbolizing the sanctuary. To left of center, Poseidon (1), surely once seated like Zeus, speaks to Athena, no doubt in support of this initiative (see below).

As to the other participants, the two small-scale, veiled women (7 + 8, 9) ought to be Hera and Amphitrite, respectively; both of them should be standing. Placing them behind their respective husbands would make this central sextet an almost exact duplicate of the central one of the Nike temple's east frieze (Fig. 16, nos. 12–17). For the latter's figure 15 (probably Ares),⁷⁶ however, the HRF substitutes Apollo (2).

Hermes may have come next. A fine contemporary krater in New York signed by Polion shows Hermes introducing Apollo to Olympos, evoking the famous scene at the beginning of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*. At Pallene, however, he would naturally belong on the left-hand side of the frieze, his escort duty now finished.⁷⁷ Sadly, the best candidate for him, the beautifully carved 3, facing right, was stolen from the Agora's dig house in 1955, while the Stoa of Attalos was under construction.

Then would follow Artemis and Leto (12, 13), both also probably standing, since Apollo's sister obviously would deserve a front-row spot. Unidentifiable but clearly a minor figure, 14 should belong at far left, as on the Nike temple's east frieze.⁷⁸ As for the Aphrodite head, 10, found 12 m east of the altar, its three-quarter turn to the spectator's left might place it on the opposite side of the scene. It is compatible with either torso wearing an off-the-shoulder chiton (11, 23), the goddess's hallmark on the

75. See *Hymn. Hom.* 3.5–6, 205–206; on Zeus's sanctuary on Mt. Hy-mettos, see Paus. 1.32.2; *Etym. Magn.* 352, 49 (Solders 1931, p. 1, nos. 1, 2); Langdon 1976; and p. 692, below.

76. Almost totally obliterated by the breaks, this figure seems to have dropped out of recent scholarship. Standing on his right leg, he plants his bare left foot on Zeus's footstool, a gesture of both authority and familiarity that only the most senior male members of the household could get away with. For the status and military/civic functions of Ares in Classical Athens, see Stewart 2016, pp. 595–601.

77. See the terracotta volute krater by Polion in New York, Metropolitan Museum 27.122.8: *ARV*² 1171, no. 2; Richter and Hall 1936, pls. 153, 154, 171; Arafat 1990, pp. 154–155, 201, no. 7:38.

78. Blümel 1923, pls. 1–3; Pember-ton 1972, pl. 62.

east pediment of the Parthenon and on Pheidias's Aphrodite Ourania.⁷⁹ Unfortunately, both were found in secondary contexts far east of the temple, but the retrieval of **23**'s right shoulder from a marble pile to its west tilts the balance toward that porch, leaving **11** as the narrow favorite for the eastern one. Her pose suggests that she was embracing another figure to her right: **37**, found about 35 m east-southeast of the southeast corner of the temple, comes immediately to mind.⁸⁰ Finally, the "Hephaistos" (**4**), found 17 m to the east-southeast, could go in either wing: watching the action in the right-hand one, or turning away to talk to a companion in the left-hand one (Athena's side).

As a result, the lineup of the east frieze (Fig. 68) perhaps was more or less as follows: [Heroes? Divinities (**14**) ← →], . . . Leto (**13**) →, Artemis (**12**) →, "Hermes" (**3**) →, Amphitrite (**9**) →, Poseidon (**1**) →, Athena (**6**) → [ALTAR?] ← Apollo (**2**), ← Zeus (**5**), Hera (**7 + 8**) →, . . . Aphrodite (**10**), . . . [← → divinities; heroes?].

WEST FRIEZE

As mentioned earlier, Athena (**19**) and Herakles (**15**) probably sat to left of center (Fig. 69), facing leftward to receive their sacrifice. Thus arrayed, they would have dominated the approaching worshippers, as on the Parthenon frieze (Figs. 4, 23) and contemporary votive reliefs. One other figure also begs to be included on this side: the medium-scale Nike (**20**), found far away to the south-southwest. The top of her head is carefully flattened (Fig. 14), indicating that whereas the other two no doubt were seated, she stood to the full height of the frieze, up against its crowning molding. She is best at home between Athena (**19**) and Herakles (**15**), recalling Hera, Iris, and Ares on the Parthenon frieze (Fig. 4, nos. 28–29).

This brings us to Apollo's side (Fig. 69). As mentioned earlier, the badly damaged **17** had telltale sideburns like those of the epebic **2**, so should also be a youthful Apollo, seated in profile and "cheating out" to grab the spectator's attention. If so, the occasion in question should be the *first* such joint sacrifice to him and Athena, either immediately after his introduction to Pallene or at the next ripening of the grain.

Yet not only would a seated Athena (**19**) and Apollo (**17**) brusquely turning their backs on each other at the frieze's very center have contradicted the entire point of the exercise, but also in its eastern counterpart two *standing* figures (Apollo and Athena [**2**, **6**]) probably faced each other in this location, flanked by the two seated "father gods" Poseidon and Zeus (**1**, **5**). Probably, then, we should restore a similarly standing pair here also, presumably Athena's priestess (a certain Diphile in 432/1, about the time that the temple was commissioned and its sacred law was passed: see Appendix) and Apollo's priest. The priestess of Athena and the Archon Basileus at the center of the east frieze of the Parthenon (Fig. 4, nos. 33, 34) are good precedents. On our frieze, however, did an altar stand between them as well?

As for the remaining figures, **21** wears a parthenos's *lampadion* or ponytail, so should be Artemis, accompanying her brother Apollo (**17**; Fig. 12). If the smaller scale **22** is indeed their mother Leto, as her coiffure and that of her eastern avatar, **13**, strongly indicate, then presumably she stood between her two children (**17**, **21**), balancing Herakles, Nike, and Athena

79. See n. 47, above.

80. Compare figures 20, 21 (Demeter and Kore?) of the east frieze of the Nike temple: Blümel 1923, pls. 1–3; Pemberton 1972, p. 309, pl. 62.



Figure 69. Conjectural reconstruction of the center of the west frieze. E. Lawrence and A. Stewart

(15, 20, 19) in the opposite wing. The last two Olympians to survive from this frieze are the helmeted, rightward-facing Ares (16), who looks slightly smaller in scale than Artemis (21) and thus probably was standing, and the standing, frontal Aphrodite (23), though if 18 is truly Eros, then he should belong beside her. Last of all should come the approaching worshippers (children included; cf. 46, 47), their sacrificial sheep (24; Fig. 1), and presumably also oxen (see Appendix).

To summarize, the lineup of the west frieze perhaps was more or less as follows (Fig. 69): [cows, perhaps sheep, worshippers, divinities →] ← Herakles (15), Nike (20), ← Athena (19), [priestess? ALTAR?? priest?]; Apollo (17) →, Leto (22), Artemis (21) →, . . . Ares (16) →, . . ., ← [divinities, worshippers, oxen, and] sheep (24).

STYLE AND DATE

As noted at the outset, the figure style is post-Parthenonian, though still in touch with that temple's frieze (finished in mid-439) and pediments (438–433/2). Though Harrison dated the HRF to ca. 420, this now seems a little late. It was prompted inter alia by her belief that work on the Nike temple parapet did not begin until after 420 and spanned a quarter century, through the late 390s, though she pointedly ignored Carl Blümel's similar theory apropos the Nike temple itself, frieze (Fig. 16) included.⁸¹ These scenarios, engendered by a hyperformalist midcentury obsession with discerning “two periods” in Greek temples and/or their sculptures, are now untenable, both archaeologically and epigraphically.⁸² Yet since much confusion still reigns about the Nike temple and its parapet despite a generation of epigraphical and archaeological work on them and even on the Parthenon, it is worth summarizing the absolute chronology of all of these complexes at the outset.⁸³

446/5–440/39: Parthenon metopes and frieze (Figs. 4, 23). Accounts: Athens EM 667+: *IG I³* 436, 444, 445; *SEG LX* 47, 102; Hurwit 1999, pp. 313–314; Cullen Davison 2009, vol. 2, pp. 1115–1131; Younger and Rehak 2009, pp. 45–47 (construction phases); Shear 2016, pp. 68, 410, 414–415. Sculpture: Brommer 1967; Robertson and Frantz 1975; Brommer 1977; Jenkins 1994. The absence of sculptors from the accounts of 447/6 and 439/8, and the exclusive use thereafter of the formula ἀγαλαματοποιοῖς ἐναετίδων μισθός, date the metopes and frieze to 446/5–440/39: Shear 2016, p. 68, contra Harrison 1988b, p. 103; Jenkins 1994, pp. 19–20; and others.

438/7 to 434/3: Payments to sculptors of the Parthenon pediments (433/2, the final year of the accounts, breaks off after only 11 lines). Accounts: Athens EM 6677+: *IG I³* 449, lines 401–402; *SEG LX* 3, 47, 102;

81. Harrison 1986, p. 114; cf. 1988b, pp. 103–105.

82. Blümel 1923, pp. 41–42 (450/440–ca. 420); 1950–1951, pp. 154–155; Pemberton 1972, pl. 62; Schultz 2009. Brouskari (1998, pp. 39–49) conclusively demolishes Harrison's multiphase theory; cf. Stewart 2008, pp. 593–597, apropos the similar scenarios proposed for the pediments of the Temple of Aphaia at Aigina.

83. For a complete version of this chronology down to 390, with fuller bibliography, see Stewart 2019a.

Cullen Davison 2009, vol. 2, pp. 1120–1125, 1130–1133, 1143–1144; Shear 2016, pp. 67–69, 415–417, 429. Sculptures: Brommer 1963; Palagia 1993; Williams 2013.

Before 424/3: Decree funding the Temple of Athena Nike (actually begun before the Propylaia was abandoned in mid-432: Shear 2016, pp. 311, 342–347 [inception, ca. 434]). Decree: Athens EM 12604: *IG I³* 64a; *SEG LII* 40; line 14 also funds the parapet, τ[ο]ν δρυφακτο[v]; Dinsmoor 1926, p. 7 (parapet carved off-site, not in situ); Schultz 2002, with references (parapet integrated into the temple's euthynteria); 2003, pp. 52–54; 2009, pp. 150–151; Leventi 2014, pp. 90–99, 242–243 (English summary); Shear 2016, pp. 27–35, 346–347, figs. 112, 429. Friezes: Blümel 1923; 1950–1951; Pemberton 1972; Schultz 2009. Parapet: Carpenter and Ashmole 1929; Brouskari 1998. The numerous correspondences in style and motifs between the friezes and parapet (most conspicuously, the goddess in a “step-up” pose, E.3, and the “Sandalbinder”; but also, rarely observed, the three running goddesses, E.5, E.22, and E.24, and the Nike mounting a step) make them approximately contemporary, ca. 425.

By 424/3: Completion of the Nike temple (Fig. 16) and sanctuary, parapet included. Decree authorizing 50 dr. *misthos* for the priestess, beginning in the 11th month, Th[argelion] (early summer 423), and thus inaugurating the new sacrifices: Athens EM 8116: *IG I³* 35–36; *SEG LX* 47, 48, 80; Mattingly 2000 (425); Schultz 2002; 2003, pp. 52–54; 2009, pp. 147–152; Shear 2016, pp. 347–348 (temple and bastion completed, 425), 429 (temple, 424/3); Tracy 2016, pp. 36–43, 93–101, 203; sacrifices of cows: *ThesCRAI*, 2004, p. 77, no. 95:e (A. Hermary et al.). On this cramped, elevated site, these sacrifices would have required a parapet for safety, and there is no sign of sockets for a temporary barrier. Corroborated by (a) the carving of the parapet off-site (Dinsmoor 1926, p. 7), presumably (given its correspondences with the east frieze, Fig. 16), ca. 425–424/3; (b) *IG I³* 468 (*SEG L* 68: 426/5), the accounts of two golden Nikai, presumably to be housed in the temple; (c) *IG II³* 444, lines 7–12 (*SEG LX* 47, 102: ca. 336–330), repairing an *agalma* of Athena Nike (not the cult statue) dedicated for the victories of 427/6–425/4 (Thuc. 3.85, 106–112, 114; 4.49; Schultz 2009, pp. 151–152; Shear 2016, pp. 347–348); (d) the invocation to Athena Nike in Aristophanes, *Eq.* 581–594 (performed Jan./Feb. 424; Schultz 2003). So the entire complex was finished by early summer 423: Schultz 2009, pp. 147–152 (by winter 423/2); Leventi 2014, pp. 90–99, 242–243 (English summary); Shear 2016, pp. 27–35, 347–348, 429.



Figure 70. Head of the Nemesis by Agorakritos, from Rhamnous: right three-quarter view. London, British Museum 460 1820,0513.2. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum

84. Paus. 1.33.2–3, 7–8; Despini 1971; Boardman 1985, fig. 122; Stewart 1990, figs. 403–406; Petrakos 1999, vol. 1, pp. 247–267, figs. 162–177; Rolley 1999, pp. 135–137, figs. 120, 121. On its date, see Stewart 2016, p. 618, n. 85; cf. Kansteiner et al. 2014, vol. 2, pp. 394–406, nos. 1141–1154 (J. Raeder and L. Lehmann).

The other two key monuments of this brief period are the colossal Nemesis of Rhamnous by Agorakritos of Paros and its figured base, and the Nike by Paionios of Mende at Olympia. A fragment of the head of Agorakritos's masterpiece (described by Pausanias and, like the HRF, smashed to pieces in the Byzantine period) was recovered and donated to the British Museum in 1820 (Fig. 70). After rediscovering many more fragments of the statue, in 1971 Despini brilliantly rescued its sculptor from the shadows in a classic and—in its courageous espousal of demotic Greek under a right-wing military dictatorship—revolutionary monograph.⁸⁴

In that work, Despini identified several Roman replicas of the statue at reduced scale (hitherto never connected with the Nemesis); used their combined testimony to reconstruct it; and collected and discussed other

works plausibly either by or near Agorakritos's hand. These included figures K, L, and M from the Parthenon's east pediment, Carpenter's "Master A" on the Nike temple parapet, and the Agora's Parian marble Aphrodite, S 1882 (Fig. 71), which, in Augustan times probably became one of the four cult statues of the Athena Pallenis/Ares temple when the latter was transferred to the Agora.⁸⁵

Meanwhile, Vassilis Petrakos had recovered enough of the Nemesis's similarly abused base (described by Pausanias along with the statue) to reconstruct much of it with confidence, publishing a preliminary illustrated report in the aforementioned German Institute's conference volume of 1986, cheek by jowl with Harrison's on the HRF.⁸⁶ It is now generally accepted that both statue and base—the latter still not fully published, so unavailable for illustration here—were carved in that order ca. 430–425.⁸⁷

Finally, although strictly speaking not Attic, Paionios of Mende's Nike, dedicated by the Messenians and Naupaktians at Olympia for their victories at Pylos and possibly also Akarnania in 425, should postdate the Nike parapet's completion in 423 (even if Carpenter's "Master B" is not Paionios),⁸⁸ and perhaps even the Peace of Nikias in 421.⁸⁹ With her boldly bared breast and several new drapery mannerisms, she inaugurates a new phase of late-5th-century sculptural development that lies beyond the scope of this study.

Inter alia, this solid chronological framework demonstrates that once the Parthenon pediments were revealed to the world in 433/2, their impact was immediate and widespread. For it enables one to sketch a series of quinquennial summaries of contemporary developments in the art of Athenian sculpture,⁹⁰ here truncated and tailored to the specific requirements of the HRF.

1. By ca. 430, as evidenced by the most advanced figures of the Parthenon pediments (finished by midsummer 432), heads become more spherical, Venus rings appear on women's necks, and drapery and bodies are evenly balanced. Drapery models the body fully but seldom transparently, inviting only limited and selective ocular access to it. Sometimes it begins also to develop its own life and character, and strives to express the figure's character or *ethos*, as on, for example, the matronly Hera (the Wegner Peplophoros), the wind-swift Iris (West N), and

85. Figures K, L, M: Brommer 1963, pls. 45–51; Boardman 1985, fig. 80:3; Stewart 1990, figs. 350–352; Palagia 1993, pls. 42–45; Rolley 1999, p. 100, fig. 90; Williams 2013, pp. 23–48, figs. 22–49. "Master A": Carpenter and Ashmole 1929, pls. 1–6; Brouskari 1998, pls. 2–4, 10–16, 75. Agora S 1882: Harrison 1960, pp. 373–376, pl. 82; Despini 1971, p. 188; Boardman 1985, pp. 175–176, fig. 136; Stewart 1990, vol. 1, p. 167, fig. 425; Rolley 1999, pp. 141–142, fig. 126; Stewart 2012a, pp. 276, 288–289, 292, 294–297, 299,

fig. 8; 2016, p. 587 (fig. 12), 619–621, with full bibliography.

86. Petrakos 1986; Harrison 1986; Petrakos 1999, vol. 1, pp. 249–267, figs. 163–177.

87. Despini 1971, p. 57; Petrakos 1999, vol. 1, p. 258; Rolley 1999, p. 135; Bol 2004, vol. 1, p. 212; Kansteiner et al. 2014, vol. 2, p. 404 (Joachim Raeder and Lauri Lehmann); Stewart 2016, p. 618, n. 85.

88. Curiously, the Nike combines Carpenter's "Master B" (the legs of the right-hand Nike on AkRM 972) and



Figure 71. Parian marble Aphrodite. Athens, Agora Museum S 1882.

Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

"Master F" (the torso of AkRM 7099): Brouskari 1998, pls. 2, 4, 61, 62; this conflation is hard to explain.

89. *Olympia* V, cols. 378–384, no. 259; Paus. 5.26.1; Boardman 1985, fig. 139; Stewart 1990, pp. 89–92, 165, figs. 408–411; Rolley 1999, p. 125, fig. 114; Palagia 2016, pp. 80–81.

90. For illustrations, see esp. Blümel 1923, 1950–1951; Brommer 1963; Pemberton 1972, pls. 61, 62; Brouskari 1998; cf. Ridgway 1981, pp. 222–225.

the sexy Aphrodite with her off-the-shoulder chiton (East M).⁹¹ Himatia are lighter and thinner than before; *kolpoi* describe a quarter circle, often slightly flattened at the top. Other new motifs include helical modeling lines; incised folds; multiple pendant folds falling from breasts, elbows, and knees; U- and tension folds between them; and V- and)(folds converging on female genitalia, then diverging again.

2. By ca. 425, on the body, himatia, peploi, and chitons often correspond in thickness and articulation. Binary contrasts occur between sparse, delicately calligraphic chiton tops and overfolds, and heavy, dense, columnar skirts; parabolic *kolpoi* almost reach the navel, fully exposing the abdomen. Low-slung himatia create catenaries from below the girdle to below the belly, modeling engaged legs with curving, deeply furrowed, quasi-parabolic folds; drapery folds frame entire limbs or torsos; cloaks fly out behind figures in motion like curving wings, or upward in billows of crumpled folds. Polykleitan *contrapposto* is ubiquitous, along with hip-thrust poses.
3. By ca. 420, flamboyant, windblown drapery behaves autonomously while modeling the body fully and often transparently in a “wet-look” manner, inviting extensive ocular access to it; diaphanous cloth on the body turns heavy and dense when leaving it; and a comprehensive sartorial calligraphy largely independent of the modeling unifies most or all of the composition. X-straps may cross the torso; second girdles appear directly under the breasts; himatia acquire corner weights. New motifs include bravura, gust-driven drapery flourishes with Ω / “sanguisuga” hems; opulent Ω - and S-fold cascades; trifurcated, twisted, and crosscut folds; isolated, delicate folds, forming catenaries between breasts or hanging from them, sparingly distributed over torsos, and/or engraved on transparent areas, sometimes also twisted and crosscut. Flat, triangular, and dart-like complexes radiate from buttons. *Kolpoi* are articulated by alternating fold pockets, eyelets, wavelets, and/or scrolls, sometimes double-stacked. Nested, undulating tongues of himation folds splay horizontally across hips and groin, or loop below the exteriors of protruding thighs and then rise up and over them (a motif inspired by Pheidias’s Aphrodite Ourania);⁹² himatia are cinched between the legs, their folds converging on or otherwise stressing the genital area; fanlike and dart-like folds point down to it; one leg is mostly bared.

91. Brommer 1963, pls. 48, 49, 111–113, 136, 137; Palagia 1993, pls. 42, 61, 62, 105.

92. See n. 47, above.

93. Harrison’s “casual/expressive” group (1986, p. 114), to which she added **1**, **9**, and **31**. While not denying their general similarity, we would substitute Agora S 373, a female head found in front of the Stoa of Zeus, ca. 25 m northwest of the temple at I/1,2–6/17,18, and hitherto universally attributed to its akroteria; Delivorrias 1974, p. 124, n. 541, foldout pl. 2; Agora XIV, p. 99, pl. 51:c.

To return to the HRF with this dazzling and rapidly evolving array of motifs in mind, we begin with the better-preserved heads. Despite their mutilated state, they constitute the largest such collection in Attic post-Pheidian architectural sculpture. Among them, at least six different hands may be discerned by comparing telltale features such as mouths, eyes, ears, and hair. The roster is as follows:

Artemis (**12**, **21**) and the smiling Athena (**19**) (ears; eyes; wavy, impressionistic hair, similarly related to their hairbands): the “Pheidian Sculptor”⁹³

- Poseidon (**1**) and helmeted Athena (**6**) (flanged eyelids; puffy orbitals; ridged eyebrows): the “Poseidon Sculptor”
- Apollo (**17**), Nike (**20**), sheep (**24**) (membrane-thin eyelids; bulging eyeballs): the “Sheep’s Eye Sculptor”⁹⁴
- The two Letos (**13**, **22**), Ares (**16**), and perhaps the young Apollo (**2**) (long, narrow eyes; punched tear ducts; mouths): the “Leto Sculptor”
- Hera (**7**), Amphitrite (**9**), Aphrodite (**10**), two boys (**18**, **25**), and perhaps Herakles (**15**) (ovoid heads; eyes; pimple-like tear ducts; Cupid’s-bow lips; double-drilled ears): “Meidian Sculptor A”
- Two female heads (**31**, **34**) (spherical heads; eyes; slightly more elongated Cupid’s-bow lips, disdainfully upturned at the corners): “Meidian Sculptor B”

In the choice of artisans and their assignments, one senses a certain correlation between expertise and subject matter. The most conservative of the six is the “Pheidias Sculptor,” labeled thus because his first Artemis (**12**) is all but indistinguishable from the one on the Parthenon’s east frieze (Fig. 23). The “Poseidon Sculptor” is similarly affiliated. The most advanced are the two “Meidian” sculptors, who are closely related but perhaps not the same man. Their ovoid-to-spherical heads, delicate faces, Cupid’s-bow lips, and fancy, complex hairdos recall (or perhaps anticipate) those of the late-5th-century vase-painter of that name. Together, these features produce the somewhat childlike effect noted earlier.⁹⁵

As mentioned above, in the 20th century these differences often would have tempted one to date the artisans and their products up to a generation apart, dividing the HRF into two periods—or more.⁹⁶ Instead, it is clear that (as so often in architectural sculpture) they were merely conservatives and progressives working side by side on the same project. This diversity, in turn, neatly exemplifies the fissile tendencies of the Pheidias style that first emerge on the Parthenon’s pediments after the relative homogeneity of its frieze (perhaps owing to the master’s exile for embezzlement in 438), and explode with full force ca. 430, further fracturing the art during the next decade with hitherto unsuspected rapidity.

Among these men, the Poseidon Sculptor, responsible for two of the principal figures on the east frieze, Poseidon and Athena (**1**, **6**), was clearly a leading personality of the workshop, as was the Pheidias Sculptor, responsible for one of the principal figures on the west, namely, Athena (**19**), and for Artemis on both friezes (**12**, **21**). Their close affiliation with Pheidias aligns them with Alkamenes, his favorite pupil and by all accounts the main exponent of his style after his exile and death.

As for the Sheep’s Eye Sculptor, when **20** was excavated its austere, somewhat chilly beauty prompted an immediate attribution to the Nike temple parapet, but discoveries of more of the latter’s sadly battered heads in the interim have both weakened the connection and prompted a slightly earlier date for the Agora one. The recurrence of its eponymous mannerism on the HRF’s **17** and **24** supports this adjustment.⁹⁷

Finally, of the two Meidian sculptors, the drooping lower lids of A’s eyes and his penchant for rosebud lips affiliate his work to Agorakritos’s

94. Harrison’s “Quiet” group (1986, p. 114, omitting **24**).

95. For comprehensive monographs, see Nicole 1908 and Burn 1987, with Robertson’s observations (1992, p. 229) apropos the Shuvalov Painter, active in the 430s and 420s, and his contemporaries.

96. Compare Harrison’s aside, apropos her “Expressive” and “Quiet” groups, that “it is conceivable that one of [them] is earlier than the other, but if so the difference in time cannot be great” (1986, p. 114).

97. Thompson 1948, p. 176; rejected by Brouskari (1998, pp. 221–222, pl. 72).



Figure 72. Prokne and Itys dedicated by Alkamenes. Athens, Acropolis Museum 1358. Photo H. Goette

98. Petrakos 1986, pl. 112:3 (fig. 8: Athens NM 203, Athens NM 208); see also Svoronos 1903–1937, vol. 1, pls. 41, 42, for two more heads from the base, Athens NM 204, Athens NM 205.

99. Their contemporaries, Perikles' favorite *hetaira*, Aspasia, and oversexed protégé, Alkibiades, come immediately to mind.

100. On Parrhasios and the Meidias Painter, see Burn 1987, pp. 8–10; cf. Kansteiner et al. 2014, vol. 2, pp. 815–853, nos. 1636–1702 (H. Mielsch). Repeated attempts to link him with the white lekythoi of the Reed Painter and Group R, an association first proposed by Andreas Rumpf in 1951 and followed by, inter alios, Robertson (1992, pp. 237, 253) and Mielsch (in Kansteiner et al. 2014, vol. 2, pp. 852–853), all stumble on the imprecision of their

Nemesis, known both from the aforementioned fragment of her head (Fig. 70) and from her reappearance in profile on the statue's base.⁹⁸ Both men evidently sought to season Pheidias's idealism with a substantial measure of sensuality.⁹⁹ Their possible links with Agorakritos, the Meidias Painter, and perhaps Parrhasios beg for further attention, but this would transcend the parameters of this article.¹⁰⁰

The draped figures exhibit a similar stylistic range. The peplophoros, **36**, seems to have stepped right out of the Parthenon's east frieze (finished in mid-439), as does its monumental counterpart, the Prokne dedicated by Alkamenes on the Acropolis (Paus. 1.24.3; Fig. 72).¹⁰¹ This statue, in turn, is often associated with Sophokles' *Tereus*, a tragedy apparently staged ca. 430, or at least before 414, since in that year Aristophanes parodied it in *The Birds* (100–101). If so, Alkamenes presumably was the play's producer or *choregos*, as well as perhaps the Prokne's sculptor. Next, ca. 425, come the goddesses of the east frieze of the Nike temple (Fig. 16) and the Erechtheion Caryatids, though the Polykleitan contrapposto of the Nike frieze is more emphatic than the Prokne's (its pronounced asymmetries would have been distinctly de trop on the architectonic Caryatids), and the *kolpoi* of both groups of women are now basically parabolic, revealing the whole belly up to the navel.¹⁰²

Our peplophoros (**36**), however, is somewhat more conservative than all of these and closer still to the korai of the Parthenon frieze. The tongue of folds over her right shoulder is simpler, the arch of her *kolpos* is still a somewhat flattened quarter circle, and the columnar folds below it are wider and flatter than any of theirs. Her carver belongs with the first two listed above, especially the Pheidias Sculptor.

Likewise, at first sight, the walking woman (**14**). As preserved, she is a conventional chiton-himation figure, represented several times on the east frieze of the Parthenon (II.5, 9, 11; V.32) and adapted on figure 21 of the east frieze of the Nike temple and the Kore of the Rheitos Bridge decree of 422/21, but nowhere else among the well-dated comparanda.

drawing: contra, e.g., Plin. *HN* 35.67; Quint. *Inst.* 12.10.4; Lucian, *Merc. Cond.* 42.

101. AkrM 1358: Freyer 1962, pp. 221–224, figs. 7, 8; cf. Boardman 1985, fig. 135; Stewart 1990, fig. 399; Rolley 1999, p. 147, fig. 132; Neer 2010, pp. 168–180, fig. 110; Kansteiner et al. 2014, vol. 2, pp. 382–383, no. 12, text fig. (J. Raeder and L. Lehmann). The head AkrM 2789, long associated with AkrM 1358 and the basis for many attributions, has now been removed. Not only does it not fit the neck fragment discovered and joined by Ismene Trianti (see Fig. 72), but it is Parian, whereas the statue itself is Pentelic. Following Freyer (1962), **36** is often attributed to Alkamenes, sometimes along with the entire HRF: see, e.g., Schlörf 1964, p. 36; Delivorrias 1972; Harrison

1977a, 1977b, 1977c; Schuchhardt 1977, pp. 15–16, 37; Knell 1978, pp. 14–15. Yet despite the discovery in the 1990s of the temple's true provenance and function, and the realization that Alkamenes' Ares was a Roman interpolation (see, most recently, Stewart 2016, pp. 601–613, with references; cf. Paus. 1.8.4–5, quoted at the outset), the temptation remains: thus, e.g., Raeder and Lehmann in Kansteiner et al. 2014, vol. 2, p. 389.

102. Caryatids: Lauter 1976, with p. 12 on their eschewal of contrapposto. Caryatids A and B, for example, and Hera on the Nike temple frieze (Fig. 16, no. 17) are all but identical in their dress, proportions, drapery folds, and relation of clothing to body; see Schultz 2009, pp. 148–152 for the latter's date, ca. 425.

She thus seems impossible to date closely.¹⁰³ Yet her himation hem-weight may allow a tighter chronology. These weights apparently are absent from the Parthenon, the Prokne, and the few extant fragments of the Nemesis, and, oddly, seem to occur only once on the Nike temple parapet.¹⁰⁴ They do appear, however, on several of the reduced-scale copies of the Nemesis and on some gravestones conventionally dated to ca. 420, such as the Cat Stele, Athens NM 715.¹⁰⁵

The elegant and highly elaborate Aphrodite torso (**23**), on the other hand, is heavily indebted to the Nemesis. The rich mixture of faceted, flattened, and incised pleating on her overfold and the corded folds emerging from beneath it and looping over her girdle are all but identical.¹⁰⁶ Her himation was painted a jaunty saffron yellow (*krokotos*), a color often “worn by gay women” (LSJ s.v., citing Ar. *Thesm.* 138; *Ecc.* 879). Whether the head **10** belongs with it or with **11**, they are the most progressive draped figures of those preserved from the HRF. The female torso **11** also adopts a quasi-Polykleitan stance, though her engaged and relaxed arms do not follow the paradigm: compare **37** here. The author of **23** probably also carved the once excellent and remarkably subtle shoulder fragment **38**, and possibly even the Agora’s Parian marble Aphrodite, S 1882 (Fig. 71), which should belong ca. 420.¹⁰⁷

The equally Agorakritean torso **37**, exquisitely carved and finished but somewhat less differentiated, probably was produced by a different but no less accomplished hand than **23**. Its pose is also canonically Polykleitan, unlike **11** and any of the others, except possibly **39** (see below). As has appeared, probably two sculptors in Agorakritos’s orbit (our “Meidian Sculptors A and B”) worked on the heads from the HRF, so it is reasonable that at least two such hands would be detectable on the bodies also.

As to **37**, her chiton/peplos combination is anticipated, inter alia, on figures II.4, III.7, III.17, and VIII.56 of the east frieze of the Parthenon, though their peplos folds are thicker, sparser, and more rounded, and one of them wears her overfold long.¹⁰⁸ The latter, in turn, represents a modification of the standard undergirt Argive peplos, presumably to reveal more of the contours of the lower torso and hips, waist included, while still double-veiling the breasts. The type, the reduced density of its folds, and the flattened arch of its *kolpos* also recall the Nemesis (ca. 430–425), though her overfold is longer and the twinned underfolds more cord-like.¹⁰⁹ The Agora’s aforementioned Parian marble Aphrodite, S 1882 (Fig. 71), wears a slightly later version of this dress, with no girdle and thinner, sparser, and more revealing folds, sometimes incised.

Most of these figures wear ribbon drapery, sometimes enhanced by incision. Its effect would have been kaleidoscopic, reflecting light differentially; the incised transitions would have sharpened the juxtapositions and consequent shifts in tone. When painted, they would have created an array of subtle chromatic variations rather like the later *opus vermiculatum* in mosaic, counterpointing the body’s anatomy and contrasting with the more gradual tonal shifts of the heavier undulations of the himation (on **23**, a sunny saffron yellow).

Driven by a keen awareness of these optical effects, and thus of light itself as a sculptural medium like marble and bronze, this new dynamic eventually would climax in the work of Praxiteles—but on flesh, not fabric, and realized by quite different means. It is tempting to ascribe its invention

103. Frieze: Robertson and Frantz 1975, East II.5, II.9, II.11; V.32; pl. 4; Brommer 1977, pls. 166, 167, 174; Jenkins 1994, figs. on pp. 76, 79, pl. 3. Nike temple: Blümel 1923, pls. 1–3, East 20; Pemberton 1972, pl. 62. Decree: Lawton 1995, pl. 2:3.

104. On the Athena, AkrM 989: Brouskari 1998, pl. 27. On the drapery mannerisms of the Parthenon frieze, see Neils 2001, pp. 111–114.

105. Cat stele: Boardman 1985, fig. 148; Stewart 1990, fig. 429; Rolley 1999, p. 166, fig. 150; Kaltsas 2002, pp. 148–149, no. 287 and fig.

106. Despinois 1971, pls. 1, 12, 13–16, 32–34. The motif may begin on Parthenon east pediment K (“Hestia”), where the chiton folds below the left hem of the overfold are similarly treated: Brommer 1963, pl. 46:2; Palagia 1993, pl. 44.

107. The Nikai from the Nike temple parapet attributed to “Master A,” now firmly dated to ca. 425–423, belong between them: see Stewart 2016, p. 618, with bibliography; 2019a, pp. 87, 91. Their new fussiness may connect them and S 1882 with another enigmatic figure of the times, namely, Kallimachos the *katatexitechnos* or “niggler”: Plin. *HN* 34.92; Stewart 1990, p. 271.

108. Robertson and Frantz 1975, East II.4, III.7, III.17, and VIII.56; Brommer 1977, pls. 165, 167, 186, 187; Jenkins 1994, figs. on pp. 76, 81.

109. Despinois 1971, pls. 32, 35, 39, 40.

to Agorakritos (he certainly made sterling use of it), yet it seems to have been something of a flash in the pan.¹¹⁰ Elusive after ca. 420, it was definitely passé by 409, when the Erechtheion frieze was begun. Was it finally judged to be too radical a departure from the traditional solid materiality of the art?

To summarize, the activity of this Agorakritean workshop and its fellow travelers (Kallimachos perhaps included) from the mid-430s through the 420s may be traced as follows:

1. Figures K, L, and M from the Parthenon's east pediment
2. The Nemesis (Fig. 70) and her base
3. HRF 7, 9, 10, 31, and 34 ("Meidian Sculptors A and B"), plus 11, 23, 37, and 38
4. AkrM 972 and 975–977 from the Nike temple parapet ("Master A")
5. Parian marble Aphrodite, Agora S 1882 (Fig. 71)

The other three draped torsos (5, 35, 39) span the same spectrum as the previous ones.

First, there is the Zeus (5), along with 36, the most Parthenonian of all the draped fragments—a conservative treatment particularly appropriate to the supreme god of Olympos.¹¹¹ The fussiness and complexity of its folds is a legacy of the Zeus of the Parthenon frieze (Fig. 4, no. 30), and recurs on the Poseidon of the east frieze of the Nike temple (Fig. 16, no. 13), though the latter's lower legs are bare.¹¹² Yet (as so often with post-Parthenonian sculpture) this coincidence raises the suspicion that if—against all the odds—the fragment does represent Poseidon, the rendering might be driven by the theme, in this case the unsettled and turbulent character of the god of the surge, "mover of the earth and barren sea."¹¹³

The good-quality but rather costive 35 is somewhat more progressive, giving a nod to one major mannerism of the early 420s, in that, paradoxically, her revealingly delicate double-ply peplos top contrasts markedly with its heavy, denser, yet single-ply skirt. Figure 6 of the Nemesis base (necessarily carved after the statue for practical reasons) is close to her stylistically, and the Nikai AkrM 995, 996, 999, and 1004 from the Nike temple parapet (ca. 425–423) are more advanced: their cloth is thinner, and folds sparser and sharper.¹¹⁴ Numerous traits (both the fold patterns and the general rendition) shared with the Athena torso, Agora S 654 (most likely a remnant of Lokros of Paros's cult statue for the temple), show that this figure was carved in the same workshop.¹¹⁵ Probably trained on the Parthenon,¹¹⁶

110. Anticipated, however, on Parthenon metopes S 17 and S 19: Ridgway 1981, p. 24, figs. 1, 2. Suggestively, the painter Zeuxis also "invented" chiaroscuro during the war: Quint. 12.10.4. Among contemporary fashion designers, Issey Miyake and his famous "pleats" come immediately to mind.

111. Observed by E. Driscoll, 2015.

112. Frieze: Robertson and Frantz 1975, East V.29; Brommer 1977, pls. 172, 173; Jenkins 1994, fig. on p. 78. East pediment K, L, and M (Aphro-

dite) and west pediment W: Brommer 1963, pls. 45–51, 129–131; Palagia 1993, pls. 42–45, 119, 120. Nike temple: Blümel 1923, pls. 1–3, East 13; 1950–1951, p. 160, fig. 18; Pemberton 1972, pl. 62.

113. Γαίης κινήτηρα καὶ ἀτρυγέτοιο θαλάσσης: *Hymn. Hom.* 22.2. It is hard to read the drapery wavelets cresting along the top of his seat on the Parthenon frieze (Fig. 23) in any other way.

114. Rhamnous base, Athens NM 209: Petrakos 1986, pl. 112:1. Nikai: Brouskari 1998, pls. 41, 43, 46, 50,

and 77 (mostly from her "group C" workshop).

115. See Paus. 1.8.4; detailed comparisons and reconstruction: Stewart 2016, pp. 603–611, figs. 22–34, with pp. 616–619 for a full description of Agora S 654 (Fig. 54), and a proposed date for her of ca. 430, based on, inter alia, the incomplete conversion of her breastplate-type aegis to a diagonal, sash-like one.

116. See, e.g., Selene, east pediment N: Brommer 1963, pls. 53–55.

Lokros emerges as a highly competent but not particularly inspired practitioner of the art. Finally, **39** is the most advanced of the three, near the Nemesis herself, figure 8 on its base (probably Nemesis again), the east frieze of the Nike temple (Fig. 16), and its parapet.¹¹⁷

To summarize, from ca. 430, and also on the HRF, we find three prevailing modes in female drapery: the dense/solid (**5**, **14**, **36**), the pleated/reflective (**11**, **23**, **37**, **38**), and the linear/calligraphic (**39**'s peplos). The first, rooted in the Severe Style via Pheidias, may be associated with Alkamenes on the authority of the Prokne (Fig. 72); the second is clearly Agorakritean; and the third remains unattributed, though Kallimachos beckons seductively from the wings. (In contemporary painting, the equivalents would be Polygnotos and his followers, Zeuxis, and Parrhasios, respectively.) This triad should not be pressed too hard, of course. It is to some extent garment- and subject-specific and quite fungible, as shown by **35** and **39**.

Although all three modes are richly represented on the Nike temple parapet (ca. 425–423), it offers only a general terminus ante quem for the HRF. Clearly antedating it and that temple's east frieze of ca. 425 (Fig. 16) are (1) the limited transparency of the HRF's garments, which are still distinct in weight, texture, and behavior; (2) their conservative, somewhat flattened, quarter-circle *kolpoi*, as opposed to the Nike temple's parabolic, navel-revealing ones; (3) the limited, even timid use of Polykleitan *contrapposto*; and (4) the resulting absence of the ubiquitous hip-thrust poses seen in Figure 16.¹¹⁸

Nevertheless, the rule that one must date archaeological ensembles by the *latest* element in them still applies, and here the two Aphrodite torsos (**11**, **23**) and the pseudo-Nemesis (**37**) with her pronounced Polykleitan *contrapposto* are decisive. Collectively, they *presuppose* the Nemesis, which was carved ca. 430. Crucially, though, the dazzling constellation of new motifs that appears on the Nike temple parapet (ca. 425–423) is nowhere in evidence, urging a stylistic date for the entire ensemble during the preceding quinquennium.

DESECRATION AND DESTRUCTION

As mentioned at the outset and at several points in the catalogue, the HRF was attacked twice in late antiquity. On the first occasion, the heads of many of the principal figures were systematically defaced (e.g., **1**, **2**, **6**, **7**, **9**, **10**, **15**, **18**; Figs. 3, 11, 20, 22:b, 30:b, 32:a, 33:a, 38:b, 40); any particularly provocative female breasts were hammered away (**11**, **23**; Figs. 6, 7); and (one presumes) any exposed male genitalia were excised. Some of the smaller head fragments (e.g., **16**, **21**, **22**; Figs. 9, 39, 44:a) probably represent discarded chips from this assault.¹¹⁹

Several good parallels for this kind of defacing exist, the first two within the Agora excavations themselves, others elsewhere in Athens, and yet another more than 300 kilometers away, at Aphrodisias in southwestern Turkey. At Athens, the heads of the seated gods of the Hephaisteion's east frieze were defaced in exactly this way (e.g., those of Hera and Zeus; Fig. 17:b), as were those on two votive reliefs, to Artemis Phosphoros (Fig. 73) and to Apollo, in the sculpture collection of the Omega House on the northeast slope of the Areopagos, the latter apparently in the early 6th century A.D.

117. Nemesis: Despinis 1971, pls. 35, 40:1, 92. Base: Petrakos 1986, pl. 112:3 (figure 8: Athens NM 203, Athens NM 208). Parapet, AkrM 972, AkrM 991: Brouskari 1998, pls. 2, 4, 30. Schlörb (1964, p. 36, pl. 1) also compares her to the Agorakritean Doria-Pamphili Aphrodite.

118. East frieze, nos. 10, 12, 17, 19: Blümel 1923, nos. 10, 12, 17, 19, pls. 1–3; 1950–1951, pp. 159–160, figs. 15–18; Pemberton 1972, pl. 62.

119. We thank Diliانا Angelova, Amelia Brown, and Fotini Kondyli for their help with this section, though its conclusions are Stewart's alone. On Christian mutilations of this kind, see, in general, Trombley 1994; Stewart 1999; Caseau 2001; Hahn 2001; Sauer 2003 (omits Greece!); Caseau 2011; Lavan 2011; Saradi and Eliopoulos 2011; Burkhardt 2016, pp. 145–147; Sturm 2016; with Elsner's theorization of the practice (2012, pp. 369–371, 385–386).



Figure 73. Roman votive relief to Artemis, from the Omega House. Athens, Agora Excavations S 2361. Scale 1:5. Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

Later, the Artemis relief was carefully cached at the bottom of the house's courtyard well, along with three marble heads of Nike, Helios, and an unidentified man. The Apolline one, however, remained on view until the invading Slavs wrecked the house in 582, and thenceforth lay face down in its destruction debris until the Agora's excavators recovered it in 1971.¹²⁰

Devout Christians clearly acquired the house and remodeled it soon after Justinian's expulsion of the philosophers from Athens in 529 and his two decrees of 529–531 that inter alia subjected pagan private property to seizure.¹²¹ If the Artemis relief and its fellows were cached for safekeeping at this time, as seems likely, why did the Apolline one remain on display? Its subject, Hermes handing over a baby (Ion or Dionysos) to the Nymphs for safekeeping, provides an obvious answer: the house's owners easily could have reinterpreted it as a Nativity scene.

Similarly, alone of the northern metopes of the Parthenon, North 32 survived destruction perhaps owing to its lucky resemblance to the Annunciation.¹²² As for the Artemis relief (Fig. 73), since there would be no point in defacing it and *then* hiding it from Christian eyes (and hammers), presumably it had already been mutilated *before* the house's change of ownership: by an unhappy Christian household member, renter, or visitor eager to neutralize the demon presumed to dwell in it?

Other Athenian friezes of the Antonine period and a number of the high-relief panels of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias suffered a similar fate.¹²³ To quote Bert Smith's summary of the damage to the latter:

The problematic reliefs featured dangerous supernatural figures, or rather supernatural figures represented in a way that could be seen as a possible danger to Christians. They represent pagan *daimones* that could be appealed to for malevolent action, or they represent pagan cult, most often the abhorrent act of sacrifice. . . . "Lesser" adjustments focused on genitalia and on female breasts, [since] Christianity from its beginning professed deep anxieties about the human body and sexuality.¹²⁴

120. Hephaisteion: Sturm 2016, pp. 810–812, fig. 13. Agora S 2361, I 7154, and the Omega House: Shear 1973a, pp. 161–162, 168–173, pl. 35:c; Camp 1986, pp. 202–211, figs. 173–178; *Agora XXIV*, pp. 40–41, 48, 87–90, 91 (= House C); Castrén 1994, p. 8; Caseau 2001, p. 114; Watts 2006, p. 140; Camp 2010, pp. 147–153; Caseau 2011, pp. 488–493; Saradi and Eliopoulos 2011, pp. 279–280; Gawlinski 2014, pp. 43–45, fig. 27; Burkhardt 2016, pp. 136–137, 146; *Agora XXXVIII*, pp. 30–36, nos. 13, 15, fig. 1, pls. 3, 4. For another such deposit from the Northwest Stoa, overlooked by the extensive scholarship on such caches, see Shear 1973b, pp. 380–382, 406–407, pl. 76; Stewart 2012b, pp. 671–673, 675, 680, fig. 21: (1) S 2495, Classical document relief, Athena watching women

building a wall, room 3; (2) S 2496, herm fragment, room 4; (3) S 2497, Demeter head, room 3; (4) S 2498, male bust, room 4; (5) S 2499, herm head, room 4, deposit G 4:3.

121. The literature is huge, focusing on *Cod. Iust.* 1.5.18.4; 1.11.9, 10; Agathias, *Historiae* 2.30–31; John Malalas, *Chronographia* 18.187. See, conveniently, *Agora XXIV*, pp. 57, 82, 84–92; Hällström 1994; Watts 2006, pp. 128–142.

122. First proposed by Gerhard Rodenwaldt in 1933; discussion: Pollini 2007, pp. 214–216, pls. 27, 28; Burkhardt 2016, pp. 146–147; Sturm 2016, p. 810; contra Anderson 2017, citing an overlooked comment by the 17th-century Turkish traveler Evliya Çelebi, attributing this and other similar damage to a "Sultan Mansur from the

Mahgreb," apparently ca. A.D. 950.

123. Despinois 2003; Smith 2013, pp. 44–49. The reliefs of the Massaliot and Doric Treasuries and the Tholos in the Sanctuary of Athena Pronaia at Delphi were also beheaded and hacked off their backers, and some possibly were defaced beforehand: Marcadé and Croissant 1991, pp. 49–51, 60–63, 66–75, figs. 14, 22, 26–34. Yet since the site had begun to fall into ruin even by Pausanias's day (10.8.6), and never underwent Christian occupation, the blocks were not systematically recycled as in Athens, but (to judge by their scattered findspots) were either left where they had fallen or reused nearby in ad hoc fashion over the centuries.

124. Smith 2013, pp. 45, 47.

From these perspectives, the sacrifice on the Ares temple's west frieze (Fig. 69) would have been doubly odious, and quite possibly its east frieze (Fig. 68) also. Easily identifiable Olympians such as Zeus, Poseidon (1), Herakles (15), Ares (16), Athena (6), Hera (7), and especially Aphrodite (10, 11, 23) were obvious targets for defacing (Figs. 3, 6, 7, 20, 22:a, b, 29:a, 30:a, b, 33:a, 38:a, b, 39). As for the smiling Athena of the west frieze (19; Fig. 21), she may have escaped such attention precisely because, lacking her most characteristic attributes, she had become anonymous to all but a small and inexorably shrinking "in-group" of die-hard devotees.

Attaching dates to all of this damage is not easy, since not only by definition is it impossible to date *per se*, but also the remarkable tenacity of the Olympian religion in Late Antique Athens and its elite adherents' grip on the city into the 6th century made its Christianization a particularly protracted process. For them, the four major chronological milestones in this painful transition would have been (1) Theodosios I's anti-pagan decrees of A.D. 388–392 authorizing *inter alia* the destruction of pagan temples; (2) the closing of the Parthenon and Asklepieion and the removal of their cult images, variously dated between ca. 450 and ca. 480; (3) the death of the immensely prestigious Neoplatonist philosopher Proklos in 485; and (4) Justinian's decrees of 529–531, mentioned above.¹²⁵ At any rate, it is generally agreed that by the Slavic sack of 582, at the latest, Athens was firmly in Christian hands.¹²⁶ Archaeologically, as mentioned earlier, the fact that no architectural or sculptural fragments from the temple appeared among the many such pieces reused in the walls of the Square Building or Palace of the Giants (Fig. 2) indicates that the temple remained intact during their construction ca. A.D. 410–425, perhaps during the Palace's remodeling later in the century, and maybe even later. Yet the few good contexts for the fragments of the temple's pediments and akroteria are 5th century, showing that they were removed piecemeal at that time. So theoretically speaking, the friezes might have been defaced then also.¹²⁷

The Ares temple's pagan status and ambiguous position vis-à-vis the Palace, probably a sumptuous private (or perhaps imperial) *villa suburbana*, complicate matters, however. Inhabited for about a century, the Palace was abandoned apparently ca. 530, when some of its spaces were converted to industry.¹²⁸ Yet like the Omega House, it too has furnished clear evidence of devout Christian—even monastic—reoccupation from the mid-6th century until its final destruction in the Slavic sack of 582. So in the 5th–early 6th century was the temple imperial property, public property, or private property like the Omega House? Moreover, since the Theodosian decrees of 388–392, several of his successors had alternately decreed *and forbidden* the destruction of pagan temples and their images, and the old religion's adherents had Athens firmly in their grip at least until the death of Proklos in 485. Given these uncertainties, all one can say is that the defacing of our friezes is unlikely to have occurred much before then but may have been a *fait accompli* by ca. 525.

When was the temple demolished, and the HRF destroyed for good? The two generations between Justinian's decrees of 529–531 and the aftermath of the Slavic sack of 582 present the most obvious window, and the remarkable freshness of the defacing (Figs. 3, 6, 7, 20, 22:a, b, 29:a,

125. The arguments are complex and depend upon one's interpretation of the relevant passages in Marinus of Neapolis's *Life of Proclus* (d. 485) and Damascius's fragmentary *Life of Isidore*. For the earlier date, see, e.g., Watts 2006, p. 86; Sturm 2016, pp. 814–819; and for the later, e.g., Trombley 1994, pp. 307–312, 342–344.

126. See, e.g., *Agora* XXIV, pp. 92–94; Trombley 1994, pp. 329–332; Watts 2006, pp. 141–142; Burkhardt 2016, pp. 133–136; Sturm 2016, p. 818.

127. Pediments and metopes: Agora S 789 (Athena with triple-crested helmet); S 1313 (nude male, encrusted with cement from the Late Roman wall built nearby); S 303 (male head, probably from the metopes). Akroteria: NM 1732 + Agora S 1539 ("Hebe," from a late-5th-century Roman wall and a Late Roman fill, respectively); S 373 (female head, from a Late Roman fill); S 312 (Nike, from a lime slaking pit, ca. A.D. 400).

128. *Agora* XXIV, pp. 65, 91, 108; Greco 2014, vol. 3.2, pp. 1090–1091, no. 9:39 (P. Bonini), attributing the Palace to the family of Leontios, whose daughter Eudokia married Theodosios II in A.D. 421. The Square Building may have been abandoned somewhat earlier, perhaps owing to a Vandal raid ca. A.D. 467/476, but the evidence is very nebulous: *Agora* XXIV, pp. 78, 109–110.

30:a, b, 32:a, 33:a, 38:a, b) suggests a relatively short interval between the latter and the temple's final destruction. Any further advance on this front can come only with the ongoing restudy of the "latest Roman and earliest Byzantine" pottery discovered along with its architectural *disiecta membra* in the 1930s and 1950s.¹²⁹

In any case, once the frieze blocks had reached the ground, the figures were beheaded and their bodies were carefully chiseled from their backers, which presumably were carried off for reuse elsewhere, though at least one of the blocks (14; Figs. 13, 18) broke during demolition and was discarded. Most of the sculptural fragments went into the limekilns, but the heads, bodies, and limbs catalogued above apparently were too small to bother about. Their partial dispersal and general reuse as rubble building material then began, continuing into the 19th century.

CONCLUSIONS

As reconstructed, at least, the two friezes, carved probably ca. 430–425 B.C., are indeed "normal choices" for this Athenian cult.¹³⁰ Reenacting and thereby justifying Apollo's inclusion in its rituals, and heralding the cult statue(s) in the cella, they comprised his epiphany on the east, and a *pompe* (procession) and implied *thysia* (sacrifice) to him—and of course Athena—on the west. The temple's alignment with his sacred island of Delos (Fig. 19), the cult center of the Athenian *arche*, reinforced this telling choice of themes.

If an oracle from Delphi prompted all this, as seems likely, no such directive survives in the current corpus of these pronouncements. Yet this may not be quite the final word on the subject. Delphi's energetic promotion of Apollo's cult, particularly in its responses to crises such as plagues and natural disasters, is well documented, and many of the countless Apollo Pythios cults throughout the Greek world doubtless began in this way.¹³¹ It is also remarkable (and perhaps no coincidence) that most of the ancient epigraphical and literary sources on the temple cluster around 430, exactly when it was begun, constructed, and consecrated.¹³² Of course, this date for the complex at the very beginning of the Peloponnesian War also entails that the Spartan invaders of 431–425 left it alone, and that work continued

129. The pottery is currently under study by Fotini Kondyli. Cf., e.g., section E, unpublished final report (1951), p. 6: A 1748–A 1751 (painted cornice fragment; wall block/ashlar; coffer fragment; ceiling beam—a Roman repair) from layer IV above a Late Roman street between the Byzantine houses and the Palace of the Giants, dated to latest Roman/earliest Byzantine, with pottery basket B 414. The notebooks to sections E, H, and P also record the following blocks, attributable to almost every part of the temple, from the Late Roman walls, pits, and fills

nearby, some also together with Late Roman pottery: A 64 (corner triglyph); A 238/2251 (geison); A 1650 (triglyph); A 1773 (Doric capital fragment); A 1779 (epikranitis); A 1791 (euthynteria); A 1792 (architrave); A 1817 (orthostate); A 1845:b, c (Doric capital fragments); A 1847 (toichobate); A 2254 (cornice).

130. For this quotation from T. Hölscher 2009, p. 57 (apropos the Parthenon), see p. 636, n. 29, above; T. Hölscher 2018, pp. 68–69, 308–309.

131. See Parke and Wormell 1956, vol. 1, p. 322; Parker 1996, pp. 175, 186,

200, with, e.g., Soph. *OT* 68–73, 95–98, 147–150, generally considered a response to the great plague of 430–426; cf. *SEG* XXI 519 (ca. 350–325; Stewart 2016, pp. 594–595, with references) for the oracle's answer to a proposal by the Acharnians to add Ares himself to their cult of Athena Areia.

132. See *IG* I³ 383, lines 119–122, 328–330 (429/8); 369, lines 71, 88 (426/5). Is it mere coincidence that in the latter, loans from an unknown sanctuary of Apollo appear immediately after those from Athena Pallenis?

in the 10 to 11 months between each incursion. For—unlike Philip V of Macedon in 200—the Spartans stayed in Attica only quite briefly on each occasion, and had no intention of enraging the gods by outraging their sanctuaries.¹³³

To begin with the temple's east frieze (Fig. 68), it is best to imagine ourselves journeying up the main road from Athens to the Mesogeia as it skirted the northern tip of Hymettos (Fig. 5) and approached the ancient crossroads at Pallene (now a busy freeway junction)¹³⁴ that gave the modern Athenian suburb the name of Stavros. Pallene itself lies to our left, and Mt. Hymettos to our right. Athena (6) must be standing in her sanctuary at Pallene, while Zeus (5) sits enthroned in his temenos on Mt. Hymettos, which he shared with Apollo Pröopsios (Foresighted) according to Pausanias (1.32.2), overseeing the event. Apollo himself (2) is entering Pallene from the promontory of Ayios Ioannes at the mountain's northern tip. This still thickly forested spur terminates precisely at the southern boundary of ancient Pallene itself, 500 m due south of the temple.¹³⁵ It continues under Apollo's feet (2) as a gently sloping groundline, as on the contemporary Hephaisteion frieze (Fig. 17).

Behind Zeus stands his wife, Hera (7 + 8). Perhaps because the star of the event is not her son but Leto's (13), whose birth she had even tried to thwart “out of jealousy,”¹³⁶ she turns away to speak with another Olympian to her left, but nevertheless declares her ongoing fealty to her husband by her signature bridal gesture (*anakalypsis*; see also Figs. 4, 16, 17). Like many of the divinities whose faces are reasonably well-preserved (Poseidon [1] of course excluded), she is extremely young, almost a mere teenager. For this is the morning of the gods, when Apollo (2), still a mere stripling, comes into his birthright, “Phoibos of hair unshorn who shoots from afar; and at him then/marveled the goddesses all.”¹³⁷

Athena (6), standing in her sanctuary at Pallene, duly welcomes this youthful visitor (2) as her divine associate. She wears not the visored Attic helmet that in this period would identify her as the official city goddess of Athens, but the Corinthian one that reveals her beauty (sadly, now lost forever), active participation in events (compare Fig. 17:a), and in this context, local suzerainty as Athena Pallenis.¹³⁸ Behind her, Poseidon (1) speaks to her not in anger or dismay (as some have interpreted his expression),¹³⁹ but—since this is a solemn cultic scene, not a family melodrama—surely in full support. As her former rival for tutelage over Attica and her future ally at Troy, presumably he is urging her to accept Apollo (2) as her cultic associate.

133. Thuc. 7.27.4; cf. Miles 1989, pp. 227–235.

134. To be exact, the junction of Leophoros Marathonos and Leophoros Lavriou/Peripheriaki Imittou. On topological evocation in Periklean temples, see Cassell 2018; T. Hölscher 2018, pp. 18–21, 68–71, 114–124.

135. Also *Etym. Magn.* 352, 49; Hsch., s.v. Ὑμήττης (Solders 1931, p. 1, Zeus nos. 1, 2; p. 16, Apollon

nos. 2, 3).

136. *Hymn. Hom.* 3.97–101: μούνη δ' οὐκ ἐπέπυστο μογοστόκος Εἰλείθυσια / ἦστο γὰρ ἄκρω Ὀλύμπω ὑπὸ χρυσέοισι νέφεσσι / Ἥρης φραδομοσύνης λευκωλένου, ἣ μιν ἔρυκεν / ζηλοσύνη, ὅ τ' ἄρ' υἱὸν ἀμύμονά τε κρατερὸν τε / Λητῷ τέξεσθαι καλλιπλόκαμος τότε ἔμελλεν.

137. *Hymn. Hom.* 3.134–135: Φοῖβος ἀκερσεκόμης ἐκατηβόλος· αἰ' δ' ἄρα

πάσαι / θάμβεον ἀθάναται. Trans.

R. Merrill (pers. comm.).

138. Ritter 1997, pp. 44–45, 54–56; cf. Solders 1931, pp. 13–14, nos. 26–35.

139. E.g., Harrison (1986, p. 114): “Outright dismay is expressed in the frowning brow and open mouth of the old man.” What remains of his brow is unlined, however, making this reading moot.

To any contemporary Athenian familiar with the Theseus legend and the frescoes in his urban hero shrine, the Theseion,¹⁴⁰ the inclusion of Poseidon (1) in the scene together with his wife, Amphitrite (9), would also presage the following, in chronological order: the forthcoming birth of his son, the mighty Theseus; the hero's *aristeia* and voyage to Crete together with the sacrificial Athenian youths and maidens, including his spectacular dive to the bottom of the Aegean to retrieve Minos's ring from Amphitrite herself (9);¹⁴¹ his decisive victory at Pallene over the rebellious 50 sons of Pallas, the Pallantidai; and his ensuing unification of Attica.¹⁴²

We should also expect Hermes (3), Apollo's trusty guide and herald, somewhere on this side, along with Apollo's sister, Artemis, and their mother, Leto (12, 13). Artemis was already worshipped in Pallene/Gerakas as Orthosia, she who "guides [one] straight to safety or straightens out newborns," and Leto should be as far removed as decently possible from the vengeful Hera (7 + 8).¹⁴³ Other Olympian participants included Aphrodite (10 + 11), perhaps Hephaistos (4?), and presumably also Dionysos, worshipped in both Acharnai and Gargettos,¹⁴⁴ the ubiquitous Herakles, and (to fill the remaining space) perhaps some local heroes such as Eurystheus, Gargettos himself, and—from Acharnai—maybe Amphiaraos and Oineus.¹⁴⁵ Finally 14, presumably a minor goddess or nymph, hurries in to catch the ceremony.

The west frieze (Fig. 69) caps this solemn welcome with converging sacrificial processions honoring the two occupants of the shrine (17, 19). The citizens and *parasitōi* of Acharnai approach Apollo (17) with (inter alia) their sacrificial sheep (24), and the archons and *parasitōi* of Athena's cult honor her (19) likewise, as, presumably, do the women still with their first husbands (*protoposeis*) and their children (46, 47; see the Appendix). Athena smiles benevolently at their gifts, just as she had done when Herakles presented her with the Stymphalian Birds on the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. Perhaps her Corinthian helmet, now laid aside, since this is a happy and peaceful occasion, sat in her lap or alongside her chair, as on the Nike temple parapet and Erechtheion frieze.¹⁴⁶ Beside her, a standing Nike (20) certifies the event as indeed a heaven-sent success. Apparently, Herakles (15) on this side and Ares, Artemis, Leto, and Aphrodite (16, 21–23) on the other further dignified it (though, again, one sorely misses Dionysos); and maybe also some of the local heroes listed above.

How all this related to the rest of the building's sculptural embellishment cannot be tackled in detail here. Its elusive pediments (not a single scrap of their frames has survived), boldly restored by Angelos Delivorrias

140. For the frescoes, see Paus. 1.17.2–6.

141. This myth, portending the emergence of Athens as a sea power, had been celebrated brilliantly by Bacchylides in his 17th ode.

142. Philochoros, *FGrH* 328 F108; Paus. 1.22.2–3; synopsis, Plut. *Thes.* 13–19, reversing the Minos and Pallantidai episodes; cf. Gantz 1993, pp. 249–257, 276–277.

143. Horos: *SEG* X 362; *IG* I³ 1083; Goette 1997, pp. 117–118, fig. 1, p. 18,

no. B:4; cf. *IG* II² 5012 (Piraeus; Solders 1931, Artemis no. 7); Hdt. 4.87.2 (Taygetos). For the epiklesis, see Schol. Vet. Pind. *Ol.* 3.54 = 3.30 (1.45e, 54a Drachmann): ὅτι ὀρθοῖ ἐξ σωτηρίαν· ἢ ὀρθοῖ τοὺς γεννωμένους; and cf. the curse in Callim. *Diana* 126–128: αἰ δὲ γυναικες / ἢ βληταὶ θνήσκουσι λεχωίδες ἢ ἐφυγούσαι / τίκτουσιν τῶν οὐδὲν ἐπὶ σφυρὸν ὀρθὸν ἀνέστη.

144. Paus. 1.31.6 (Dionysos Melpomenos and Dionysos Kissos at Acharnai: Solders 1931; Dionysos no. 18);

Peek 1942, pp. 7–8, no. 5; Goette 1997, p. 117 (Dionysos at Gargettos).

145. Eur. *Herakl.* 843–853, 1026–1036 (Eurystheus at Pallene); Paus. 1.31.6 (Herakles at Acharnai); 6.22.7 (hero Gargettos); *IG* II² 1344, line 10 (Amphiaraos from near Menidi). Cf. Solders 1931, pp. 12, 58, 76; Kellogg 2013, pp. 149–189, esp. pp. 150 (n. 4), 173–176.

146. Ritter 1997, pp. 44–45; cf. Brouskari 1998, pl. 31.

in 1974, are problematic to say the least.¹⁴⁷ The following is what we know to date or can reasonably infer from the fragments that we have identified, based on their findspots, scale, style, technique, epigraphy, and similar signs of Roman refurbishing and repair:

Metopes: Two battles, one probably with the Pallantidai (east), and a (local?) Amazonomachy (west).¹⁴⁸

Pediments: Two scenes involving inter alios two standing Athenas wearing Attic helmets (triple-crested on the east), a young, naked hero (Theseus?), a seated woman, and a reclining, heavily muscled man (Herakles?).¹⁴⁹

Akroteria: Two Nereids on dolphins (east) flanking a central, draped, wingless female (Hebe/Thetis?). Two winged Nikai (west) flanking a central figure or group involving a young woman.¹⁵⁰

So whereas the subjects of the friezes (both Ionic and Doric) were local and aetiological, those of the pediments, featuring Athena wearing her “official” Attic helmet, were “national.” Only the Nereids clearly are intrusive, since they had nothing to do with Pallene, Athena, or Apollo, and their style dates them a full generation later, to ca. 400–390. Since the temple’s Augustan rebuilders lifted its lateral simas from the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion,¹⁵¹ did they bring the two Nereids along with them? In any case, a nod toward Augustus’s great victory at Actium in 31 seems likely, via a salute to his admiral Agrippa (the real victor, recently deceased and soon celebrated as *Novus Neptunus*), the porch of whose brand-new Odeion stood immediately to the southeast.

Finally, the torso of Lokros’s cult statue, the aforementioned Athena S 654 (Fig. 54), grouped in the temple’s second, Roman phase with Ares and probably also the two Aphrodites S 1882 (Fig. 71) and S 378, ended up in a Byzantine wall 40 m south of it.¹⁵² Converted from a breastplate-type

147. Delivorrias 1974, pp. 102–122, pls. 1–5, 26–38, suggesting a Judgment of Paris and an Amazonomachy. As he realized, however, S 789, a battered Athena head wearing a triple-crested Attic helmet (Delivorrias 1974, pp. 108–109, 152, 153, pl. 29:b), found in 1936 only 30 m east of the temple, should come from the east pediment, since its scale is right, and its resemblance to the work of the HRF’s “Pheidias Sculptor” is striking (as observed by K. Turbeville); see below.

148. Agora S 303, S 1372, S 1373, S 1417 (head of dying Amazon), S 1521 (Amazonomachy), S 1564, S 1743, S 2274 (Amazonomachy); all unpublished, and two of them with the panel’s original thickness preserved; cf. McAllister 1959, p. 21. Since these metopes and the continuous friezes were the same height, it is theoretically possible that some of the heads attrib-

uted here to the HRF (e.g., 34; Fig. 52) could be metopal, but their weathering and damage patterns are quite different. As for the Amazons, since they overran all of Attica except for the Acropolis, and their graves were to be seen all around Athens and in Megara, Boiotia, and Thessaly (Plut. *Thes.* 27–28), a patriotic local tradition about an Amazonomachy in one of the four demes of the Pallanian tetrapolis (Acharnai, Gargettos, Paiania, and Pallene) is perfectly possible, even likely.

149. Agora S 147 (“Herakles”); S 789 (Athena with triple-crested helmet); S 1098 (Athena with single-crested helmet); S 1232 (headless Athena, inscribed Δ[υτικὸς], “W[est]”); S 1313 (“Theseus”); S 2252 (seated woman); and other fragments: Gottlieb 1957, pl. 61:2, 3 (B, C); *Agora XIV*, p. 148, n. 152; Delivorrias 1974, pp. 22, 108–109, 152, 153, pl. 29:b; Gawlinski

2014, pp. 45, 64–65, fig. 38.

150. Agora S 312 and S 373, and many other fragments (west); NM 1732 + Agora S 1539; Athens NM 3397 + Athens NM 4798 + Agora S 2091; Athens NM 4846; Naples, Museo Nazionale 119 (east): Boulter 1953, pls. 47, 48; *Agora XIV*, p. 164, pl. 82:b; Delivorrias 1974, pp. 122–132, pls. 39–56; Fuchs 1979, pls. 3–5; Leventi 2014, pp. 195–196, fig. 32. All of the above, and others, will be addressed in the next article in this series; their study is ongoing.

151. Dinsmoor 1974.

152. Paus. 1.8.4–5, quoted at the outset; Stewart 2016; unfortunately, not found “ca. 12 m” from the temple (F. Hölscher 2017, p. 528). Moreover, Hölscher’s dissociation of the two Aphrodites (one of them perhaps repurposed as Ares’ consort Aglauros: Stewart 2016, p. 612, n. 71) from the

aegis to a sash-like one during manufacture, it too should date to ca. 430, soon after this type of aegis appeared on the west pediment of the Parthenon (completed and installed by mid-432 at the latest), and perhaps on Pheidias's Athena Lemnia.¹⁵³

As noted earlier in this series,¹⁵⁴ in its Augustan reincarnation Athena S 654 would have represented the Capitoline triad, Alkamenes' Ares/Mars the Imperium Augustum (and specifically Mars Ultor in his role as its facilitator at Actium and ongoing patron), and the two Aphrodites/Venuses the Gens Julia. Since the Romans considered Venus to be Mars's Olympian consort, their juxtaposition both at Rome (where Augustus dedicated the sanctuary of Mars Ultor in 2 B.C.) and in the Agora would come as no surprise. In effect, then, this Athenian relocation project boldly installed Ares/Mars as a second city god alongside Athena, the venerable and revered guardian and defender of Athens, and turned the newly created plaza between it and Agrippa's Odeion into a celebration of Actium.

Moreover, one suspects, it also rhetorically asserted that just like itself, the new Augustan world order—the *aetas aurea*—that it represented was also tight-knit and classical to the core. In every sense, then, it was indeed the rightful successor to and proper fulfillment of the Periklean and Pheidias age: the climax (τέλος) of human civilization, divinely validated by the epochal naval victory at Actium.

As for Apollo and Pallene, the near-perfect alignment of the temple's foundations with his birthplace on Delos (Fig. 19) proves that his participation was planned from the start. Did his image also originally stand in its cella as Athena's divine associate? If so, could it have been the Apollo Alexikakos by Kalamis, later seen by Pausanias in front of the Temple of Apollo Patroos, just across the way, and named thus “because by an oracle from Delphi he stopped the pestilence that afflicted the Athenians [*sic*] at the time of the Peloponnesian War”?¹⁵⁵

Pausanias revisits this explicit but (to some) puzzling statement when he reaches the contemporary Temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai (8.41.8–9), emphatically identifying it too as a response to the plague (*loimos; nosos*) and dating both it and the Apollo Alexikakos (again) to 430–426. Finally, the Scholia Vetera to Aristophanes affirm that a famous shrine and statue to Herakles Alexikakos in the urban deme of Melite also were dedicated in response to “the great plague, whereupon it stopped, though many people

cult group because Pausanias fails to name their authors, founders on his phrasing. First he lists the quartet together in the same breath, and then (in a new sentence not cited by Hölscher) clearly differentiates it from the Enyo displayed elsewhere in the temple, whose author (Kephisodotos II) he *does* name. So even if the two Aphrodites were not anonymous to start with, evidently by his time they had simply become so, having been displaced from their original locations and bases.

153. Stewart 2016, pp. 586, 617,

618, fig. 11:a, b. Athena, Parthenon west pediment L: Brommer 1963, pls. 97–101; Boardman 1985, fig. 79:4; Palagia 1993, figs. 92, 93; Rolley 1999, p. 77, fig. 67; Cullen Davison 2009, vol. 3, p. 1466, fig. 21:3.12. If the Dresden-Kassel-Palagi Athena type truly copies Pheidias's Athena Lemnia, then Pheidias appears to have invented this motif immediately beforehand, ca. 440–435: Gercke 1991 (M. Weber); Neumann 2004; Gercke and Zimmermann-Elseify 2007, pp. 51–55, nos. 5, 2 (the best copy of the body, Kassel Sk 3, more

differentiated and thus far less “severe” looking than the two Dresden torsos); Kansteiner et al. 2014, vol. 2, pp. 165–171, nos. 881–887 (K. Hallof, J. Raeder, B. Seidensticker); Weber 2015, p. 168; M. Weber, pers. comm.

154. Stewart 2016, pp. 611–613, fig. 35.

155. Paus. 1.3.4: τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῷ θεῷ γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, ὅτι τὴν λοιμώδη σφίσι νόσον ὁμοῦ τῷ Πελοποννησίων πολέμῳ πιέζουσιν κατὰ μάντευμα ἔπαυσεν ἐκ Δελφῶν.

were lost.¹⁵⁶ Thucydides, ever skeptical, indirectly corroborates all this by vigorously debunking it.¹⁵⁷

Although often scorned by both oracular and sculpture specialists, Pausanias's note on Kalamis and his Apollo not only fits within the sculptor's known (if sketchy) career but also coincides exactly with the date proposed earlier for the construction of the Pallene temple.¹⁵⁸ So did the League commission the new temple, its cult statue(s), and its friezes as an emergency response to the ravages of the plague during its first onslaught in mid-430 through mid-428, or (as the award to the League's archons in 432/1 might suggest: see the Appendix, below) did they heed the numerous advance warnings about it and react in kind?¹⁵⁹

Regardless, their choice of Delian rather than Pythian Apollo is easily explained, for while the Olympian god, Phoibos the Far-Shooter, inflicts the plague (most famously in *Il.* 1.33–67), in his Pythian persona he issues oracular warnings about it, and in his Delian one he heals it. Thus, when the war broke out, an oracle from Delphi was remembered that asserted, “a Dorian war shall come, and pestilence with it,” and in a clear reflection of the latter, it was precisely to “Delian Apollo” (*Dalie Paian*) the healer that the chorus in Sophokles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* of ca. 430–426 appealed for relief from the *nosos* afflicting Thebes.¹⁶⁰ So in these years Delian Apollo,

156. Schol. Vet. Ar. *Ran.* 501a6 Chantry: ἡ δὲ ἴδρυσις ἐγένετο κατὰ τὸν μέγαν λοιμὸν. ὅθεν καὶ ἐπαύσατο ὁ νόσος, πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπολλυμένων. Tzetzes, *Cbil.* 8.325–326 (8.317–318 Leone), problematically attributing the Herakles to Hageladas, “the teacher of Pheidias”: whence, e.g., the skepticism of Parker (1996, p. 186). Recent scholarship, however, distinguishes an older and a younger Hageladas, after Plin. *HN* 34.49 (*floruit* Ol. 87 = 432–429 B.C., perhaps owing to the Herakles) and other sources: Volkammer 2001, pp. 275–280 (P. Moreno); Kansteiner et al. 2014, pp. 361, 372–374, 376–377, nos. 454, 466, 467 (S. Kansteiner, L. Lehmann). This neatly finesses the problem. On the shrine itself, attested also by several votive reliefs but as yet unlocated, see Greco 2014, vol. 4, pp. 1245–1247 (F.85) (M. C. Monaco); and on religion and the plague at Athens in this period, see Mikalson 1984; Parker 1996, pp. 175, 186, 200.

157. Thuc. 2.47.4: Ὅσα τε πρὸς ἱεροῖς ἰκέτευσαν ἢ μαντείαις καὶ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἐχρήσαντο, πάντα ἀνωφελῆ ἦν (And prayers at sanctuaries, or appeals to oracles and the like, were all futile).

158. Contrast, e.g., Parke and

Wormell 1956, vol. 1, p. 190, apropos the Alexikakos (“some other plague”); vol. 2, p. 55, no. 125; Kansteiner et al. 2014, vol. 1, pp. 494–523, no. 578 (“zu Recht bestritten”). Kalamis's earliest dated work is a now-lost equestrian adjunct to a chariot group at Olympia that was dedicated by Deinomenes II, tyrant of Aetna, on behalf of his dead father (Paus. 6.12.1; 8.42.8), i.e., between Deinomenes' accession in 467 and his murder ca. 451 (Diod. Sic. 11.91.1). It is thus perfectly possible, even likely, that he was still active in 430. Although retrieving the Alexikakos may seem hopeless, the ephebic Kassel Apollo, often dated to ca. 450 and often thought to copy Pheidias's Apollo Par-nopios on the Acropolis (Paus. 1.24.8; Boardman 1985, fig. 68; Stewart 1990, p. 262, fig. 312; Gercke 1991; Rolley 1994, p. 343, fig. 355; 1999, p. 102), looks tempting, not least because the ancient critics thought Kalamis's work somewhat “hard” (Cic. *Brut.* 18.70; Quint. *Inst.* 12.10.7). Unfortunately, at exactly 2 m high, it is slightly smaller than the Athena, S 654 (Fig. 54), whose Roman copy at Palmyra was 2.14 m high (excluding its crowning sphinx) before the murderous DAESH/ISIS regime beheaded it in 2016. Is this

discrepancy enough to disqualify it?

159. For the many warnings of the plague's approach from the East in the late 430s via the Persian Empire and Egypt, see Thuc. 2.48.1; it struck Athens in early summer 430 and abated (though not entirely) two years later, in late summer 428, before returning for a year from early winter 427 to winter 426/5 (Thuc. 3.87; see Mikalson 1984; Hornblower 1991, pp. 494–495).

160. Thuc. 2.54.2: Ἥξει Δωρικὸς πόλεμος καὶ λοιμὸς ἀμ' αὐτῷ. Soph. *OT* 4–5: πόλις δ' ὁμοῦ μὲν θυμιαμάτων γέμει / ὁμοῦ δὲ παϊάνων τε καὶ στεναγμάτων, and lines 154–156: ἰήη Δάλιε Παιάν / ἀμφὶ σοὶ ἀζόμενος· τί μοι ἢ νέον / ἢ περιτελλομένας ὄραις πάλιν ἐξανύσεις χρέος; (“O Delian Paian, I'm in awe of you, wondering what thing you'll accomplish, maybe new, or maybe coming again with the revolving seasons.”) In lines 159–164, the chorus appeals again to “Phoibos the Far-Shooter,” Artemis, and Athena, the “trio that averts doom” (τριισοὶ ἀλεξιμποροί), for relief from the plague (*nosos*, lines 140, 169). On this and other oblique Athenian responses to the plague, see Mikalson 1984; Mitchell-Boyask 2008, esp. pp. 12, 162–163; Kallett 2009, p. 99.

already the patron of the Athenian *arche*, now became its first line of defense (*alexikakos/aleximoros*) against the plague.¹⁶¹ In winter 426/5, however, after it had first abated for a year (428/7) and then returned for another (427/6), the chastened Athenians duly purified Apollo's Delian home, and this time (despite Thucydides' skepticism) it stopped for good.¹⁶²

In sum, all indications situate our two friezes, the temple's probable cult statue (S 654; Fig. 54), and thus the new temple itself ca. 430–425, with the friezes themselves best placed late in the sequence. The temple's alignment with Delos (Fig. 19), the Apolline thrust of its friezes, and (if it belonged) Kalamis's Apollo Alexikakos and its accompanying oracle all point to its likely *raison d'être* as a plague temple and its inception by at least the year 430, and perhaps as early as 432/1.¹⁶³

Finally, all this would also explain why, in an age of marble colossi such as the Nemesis of Rhamnous (Fig. 70) and the contemporary Agora S 2070 (both once about 12 feet/4 m high),¹⁶⁴ the Athena S 654 (Fig. 54), originally only just over 7 feet/2.14 m high, is curiously undersized for an Attic late-5th-century cult statue for a midsize temple.¹⁶⁵ Was she always intended to have a divine associate standing beside her—namely, Kalamis's Apollo Alexikakos? If so (to jump ahead four centuries and speculate further), when the temple was transferred to the Agora, did the Athenians then carefully relocate the Alexikakos to the neighboring sanctuary of Apollo Patroos (Paus. 1.3.4) in order to substitute Alkamenes' Ares as Athena's associate in her newly reconsecrated home?

161. Cf. Soph. *OT* 163–164: τρισσοὶ ἀλεξίμοροι προφάνητέ μοι; and 169–171: νοσεῖ δέ μοι πρόπας / στόλος, οὐδ' ἔνι φροντίδος ἔγχος / ᾧ τις ἀλέξεται.

162. Thuc. 2.47.4 (all appeals to the gods fail); 3.87 (plague returns for a year); 3.104 (Delos purified because of “a certain oracle”); Diod. Sic. 12.58.6–7 (purification, to stop the plague); cf. schol. Vet. Ar. *Ran.* 401a Chantry

(Herakles Alexikakos), quoted in n. 156, above; Mikalson 1984, pp. 221–222; contra Hornblower 1991, pp. 519, 525–526; and esp. Parker 1996, pp. 150, 200, citing *IG I³ 1468bis*, an altar on Delos dedicated by “Athens” (sic) to Apollo Paian and Athena, and thus supporting Diodoros.

163. See the Appendix, below.

164. Harrison 1960, pp. 371–373,

pl. 81:c; from the cella of the Southeast Temple, also moved to the Agora in Roman times.

165. For the reconstruction, see Stewart 2016, p. 611, fig. 35. The slightly smaller Hephaisteion had two colossal cult statues, cast by Alkamenes in bronze between 421 and 415; see Stewart 2018, p. 682 for sources and discussion.

APPENDIX

ATHENAIOS AND THE CULT OF ATHENA PALLENIS

As explained in the main text, this passage is embedded in a learned discussion of the meaning and usage of the technical term *parasitos* (“parasite”) in cultic and contemporary secular contexts. Alternately quoted and paraphrased from the sacred law of the cult of Athena Pallenis and from several 4th-century/Hellenistic local historians of Attica (the so-called Attidographers), it preserves our only evidence to the date of the law’s contents. Inter alia, it shows (twice over) that at Pallene, Apollo, not Ares, was Athena’s cultic companion (*theos paredros/synnaos theos*).

Ath. 6.234f–235d (ca. A.D. 200; trans. *BNJ*, s.vv. Krates of Athens [362] [N. F. Jones]; Themison [374] [J. P. Sickinger], adapted)

(234f) ἐν δὲ Παλληνίδι τοῖς ἀναθήμασιν ἐπιγέγραπται τάδε· ἄρχοντες καὶ παράσιτοι ἀνέθεσαν οἱ ἐπὶ Πυθοδώρου ἄρχοντος στεφανωθέντες χρυσῶ στεφάνῳ. ἐπὶ Διφίλης ἱερείας παράσιτοι Ἐπίλυκος < . . . >στράτου Γαργήτιος, Περικλῆς Περικλείτου Πιτθεύς, Χαρίνος Δημοχάρους Γαργήτιος.

Κάν τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως δὲ νόμοις γέγραπται· θύειν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τοὺς Ἀχαρνέων παρασίτους. Κλέαρχος δ’ ὁ Σολεύς, εἷς δ’ οὗτος τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους ἐστὶ μαθητῶν, ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Βίων τάδε γράφει· (235a) ἔτι δὲ παράσιτον νῦν μὲν τὸν ἔτοιμον, τότε δὲ τὸν εἰς τὸ συμβιοῦν κατελεγμένον. ἐν γοῦν τοῖς παλαιοῖς νόμοις < . . . > αἱ πλεῖστα τῶν πόλεων ἔτι καὶ τήμερον ταῖς ἐντιμοτάταις ἀρχαῖς συγκαταλέγουσι παρασίτους. . . . καὶ Θεμίσων δ’ ἐν Παλληνίδι· ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ τὸν βασιλέα τὸν ἀεὶ βασιλεύοντα <καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας> καὶ τοὺς παρασίτους οὓς ἂν ἐκ τῶν δήμων προσαιρῶνται καὶ τοὺς γέροντας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τὰς πρωτοπόσεις· ἔχεις δὲ κάκ τούτων, καλέ (235b) μου Οὐλπιανέ, ζητεῖν τίνες αἱ πρωτοπόσεις γυναῖκες. . . .

Κράτης δ’ ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἀττικῆς Διαλέκτου φησί· καὶ ὁ παράσιτος νῦν ἐπ’ ἄδοξον μετὰκειται πρῶγμα, πρότερον δ’ ἐκαλοῦντο παράσιτοι οἱ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ σίτου ἐκλογὴν αἰρούμενοι καὶ ἦν ἀρχεῖόν τι (235c) παρασίτων. διὸ καὶ ἐν τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως νόμῳ γέγραπται

ταντί· ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ τὸν βασιλεύοντα τῶν τε ἀρχόντων ὅπως ἂν καθιστῶνται καὶ τοὺς παρασίτους ἐκ τῶν δήμων αἰρῶνται κατὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα. τοὺς δὲ παρασίτους ἐκ τῆς βουκολίας ἐκλέγειν ἐκ τοῦ μέρους τοῦ ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστον ἐκτέα κριθῶν δαίνυσθαί τε τοὺς ὄντας Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια.

Τὸν δ' ἐκτέα παρέχειν εἰς τὰ ἀρχεῖα τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τοὺς Ἀχαρνέων παρασίτους ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκλογῆς τῶν κριθῶν. ὅτι δὲ καὶ (235d) ἀρχεῖον ἦν αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ νόμῳ τάδε γέγραπται· εἰς τὴν ἐπισκευὴν τοῦ νεῶ καὶ τοῦ παρασιτίου καὶ τῆς οἰκίας τῆς ἱερᾶς διδόναι τὸ ἀργύριον ὅπόσου ἂν οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπισκευασταὶ μισθώσωσιν. ἐκ τούτου δῆλόν ἐστιν ὅτι ἐν ᾧ τὰς ἀπαρχὰς ἐτίθεσαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ σίτου οἱ παράσιτοι τοῦτο παρασίτιον προσηγορεύετο. ταῦτὰ ἱστορεῖ καὶ Φιλόχορος ἐν τῇ ἐπιγραφομένῃ Τετραπόλει.

(234f) The following is inscribed on the dedications at Pallene: “The archons and *parasitōi* [parasites] in the year when Pythodoros was eponymous archon [432/1] made this dedication after being crowned with a gold crown. In the year of the priestess Diphile, the *parasitōi* were Epilykos son of [. . .]stratos of the deme Gargettos, Perikles son of Perikleitos of the deme [Paiania], and Charinos son of Demochares of the deme Gargettos.”

(235a) And among the laws relating to the Archon Basileus is written: “The Acharnians’ *parasitōi* are to sacrifice to Apollo.” Klearchos of Soloi, one of Aristotle’s students, writes the following in Book I of his *Lives* (fr. 21 Wehrli): “Furthermore, a *parasitos* is today someone prepared to share another’s livelihood, but at that time it was an individual specifically selected to do so. In the ancient laws, at any rate [. . .] Even now most cities list *parasitōi* among their most prestigious magistracies.” . . . Likewise Themison in his *Goddess at Pallene* (FGrH 374 F 1): “Whoever is Archon Basileus at the time is to take care of this, along with the other archons and the old men and women still with their first husbands (*protoposeis*) they select from the demes to be *parasitōi*.” From these words, my good friend (235b) Ulpian, you might also ask who are the women still with their first husbands. . . .

And Krates in the second book of his *Attic Dialect* (FGrH 362 F 7 = fr. 107 Broggiato) says: “The term *parasitos* has changed its sense and now refers to something disreputable, whereas previously the men chosen to collect the sacred grain were referred to as *parasitōi* and there was an *archeion* (235c) of the parasites.” Accordingly, the following is written in the Law concerning the Archon Basileus: “The Archon Basileus is to see to the *archontes*, that they are appointed and that the *parasitōi* are selected from the demes in accordance with the statutes; and that the *parasitōi* are to select from the Boukolia, each from his own portion, a *hekteus* of barley apiece; and that those of the Athenians in the sanctuary be feasted (therefrom) in accordance with ancestral custom. And

that the *parasitoi* of the Acharnians are to present to the *archeia* for Apollo each his own *hekteus* from the collection of the barley.”

And on the point that (235d) the *parasitoi* had an *archeion*, in the same Law it is written as follows: “For the repair of the temple, [of the *archeion*], of the *parasition*, and of the sacred house, let enough money be provided to cover the wages of the men repairing the sacred buildings.” From this it is clear that the place in which the *parasitoi* used to put the first fruits of the sacred grain was called the *parasition*. These same facts Philochoros recounts in the work entitled *Tetrapolis* (BNJ 328 F 73).

Robert Schlaifer (1943, p. 60) summarizes this repetitive, lacunose, somewhat corrupt, but fascinating medley as follows:

The cult [i.e., of Athena Pallenis] was served by special officials with the title archon, and by a number of parasites who were chosen by the archons from the demes belonging to the League according to a sort of representative system. The old men of the league and the women still with their first husbands played a special role. For the great festival on the occasion of the ripening of the grain the parasites chose a victim, probably from a herd belonging to Athena, and levied a quota of barley, again probably on a property of the goddess. After using the barley in the preliminary rites and then sacrificing the victim, they banqueted on its flesh in the temple precinct. Apollo was joined with Athena in the rite, and received that portion of the barley collected by the Acharnian parasites.

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