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of the Temple of Apollo Patroos

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HELLENISTIC SCULPTURE FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA, PART 4

THE EAST PEDIMENT AND AKROTERIA OF THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO PATROOS

ABSTRACT

This article attributes five fragmentary sculptures from the Agora excavations to the east pediment and akroteria of the Temple of Apollo Patroos, on the basis of their scale, technique, style, and subjects. Comprising an epiphany of Apollo with the Muses in the pediment and the slaughter of the Niobids above it, the ensemble is dated to ca. 306–300 B.C. in accord with the temple's revised date of ca. 313–300 proposed by Mark Lawall in 2009. Its religious and political significance is examined. Two appendixes revisit Euphranor's statue of Apollo Patroos and other sculptural fragments found around the temple, and the Niobids that Pausanias saw in the choregic monument of Thrasyllus.

INTRODUCTION

Pausanias saw the Temple of Apollo Patroos in the Agora as he walked southward from the Stoa of Zeus (Figs. 1–3), and describes it and its environs as follows:¹

Paus. 1.3.3: στοὰ δὲ ὀπισθεν ᾠκοδόμηται γραφὰς ἔχουσα θεοῦς (τοὺς) δώδεκα καλουμένους: . . . 1.3.4: . . . ταύτας τὰς γραφὰς Εὐφράνωρ ἔγραψεν Ἀθηναίους καὶ πλησίον ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τὸν

1. Paus. 1.3.4 = *Agora* III, no. 111. Research for this study, the fourth in an ongoing series (see Stewart 2012a, 2012b, 2017), was carried out in the Agora Museum and at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in 1996–1998, 2000, and 2007–2015. I owe my sincere thanks to John Camp, T. Leslie Shear Jr., and the late Evelyn Harrison and Homer Thompson for allowing me to study and publish this material; to Sylvie Dumont, Jan Jordan,

and Craig Mauzy for facilitating access to it; to Karen Løven and Maria Tziotziou for cleaning those pieces that required it; to Craig Mauzy for his splendid photographs; to Nick Blackwell, Karen Bohrer, Robert Bridges, the late W. D. E. Coulson, Jack Davis, Blanche Menadier, James Muhly, Maria Pilali, Stephen Tracy, Nancy Winter, and James Wright for administrative and library support at the School; to my research assistants Erin

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Ἀπόλλωνα Πατρῶν ἐπέκλησιν· πρὸ δὲ τοῦ νεῶ τὸν μὲν Λεωχάρης, ὃν δὲ καλοῦσιν Ἄλεξίκακον Κάλαμις ἐποίησε. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῶ θεῷ γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, ὅτι τὴν λοιμώδη σφίσι νόσον ὁμοῦ τῶ Πελοποννησίων πολέμῳ πιέζουσιν κατὰ μάντευμα ἔπαυσε(ν ἐκ) Δελφῶν. 1.3.5: ὄκοδόμηται δὲ καὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν ἱερόν, ἣν Φειδίας εἰργάσατο.

1.3.3: A portico is built behind [*sc.* the statues of Zeus Eleutherios and Hadrian] with pictures of the gods called the Twelve. . . . 1.3.4: . . . These pictures were painted for the Athenians by Euphranor, and he also made the Apollo called Patroos in the temple nearby. In front of the temple, Leochares made one Apollo and Kalamis made the other, called Averter of Evil. They say that the god received this name because by an oracle from Delphi he stayed the pestilence that afflicted the Athenians at the time of the Peloponnesian War. 1.3.5: Here is built also a sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods; the image is by Pheidias.

The temple (Figs. 1–3), which stood until the Herulian invasion of A.D. 267, was excavated in three campaigns: in 1895–1896 by the German Archaeological Institute under the direction of Wilhelm Dörpfeld; in 1907–1908 by the Greek Archaeological Service under the direction of Panayiotis Kavvadias; and in 1931–1935 by the American School of Classical Studies under the direction of T. Leslie Shear Sr. The German and Greek campaigns were very poorly published, but the American very thoroughly so in 1937 by Homer Thompson, who during the previous four years had excavated much of the rest of the Agora’s west side. In a monumental article on the entire area, he carefully assessed the previous finds, marshaled strong arguments (still occasionally contested) that the temple was dedicated to Apollo Patroos, and reconstructed its history, ground plan, and general appearance.²

A second article by Thompson, published in 1952, treated a statuette (S 1530) found the previous year (2; Fig. 4). He identified it as a Muse, citing the well-known Praxitelean Mantinea base (Fig. 5) and the Apotheosis of Homer relief from Bovillae signed by Archelaos of Priene, and attributed it to the temple’s east pediment.³ His third and final article,

Raphael Jacob, Nancy Klein, Michaelis Lefantzis, Olga Palagia, Molly Richardson, Paul Scotton, Kristen Seaman, Dimitris Sourlas, Anne Stewart, Ronald Stroud, Mary Sturgeon, and Bonna Wescoat for help on particular points; to Seth Estrin, Laura Hutchison, Raphael Jacob, Amanda Lazarus, Becky Martin, Jenifer Neils, Kristen Seaman, Anne Stewart, and Hector Williams for kindly verifying all or most of the associations and attributions essayed below; and last but not least to Kim Hartswick and a second, anonymous, reviewer for *Hesperia*, for their detailed, challenging, and helpful critiques. Others will be acknowledged in their proper place. All translations

are my own, as are any and all errors of fact or interpretation.

2. Thompson 1937, pp. 77–114, figs. 47–60, pls. 3–5; cf. *Agora* III, pp. 50–53, nos. 107–113; *Agora* XIV, pp. 136–140, pls. 6–8, 68, 69; Camp 2010, pp. 70–73, nos. 23, 24, figs. 40, 41. *Contra*, most recently, Lippolis 1998–2000, whence Greco 2014, pp. 881, 1001–1003 (F. Longo); succinctly demolished by Lawall 2009, pp. 398, 401, nn. 34, 50.

3. S 1530: Thompson 1937, pp. 107–108, fig. 56; summarized, Thompson 1952a, p. 123, pl. 9:c; 1952b, p. 167; 1952c, pp. 109–110, fig. 5, pl. 28:c, d. Mantinea base, Athens, National Museum 215–217: Svoronos 1903–

1937, pl. 30; Stewart 1990, p. 177, figs. 492–495; Boardman 1995, p. 55, fig. 28; Rolley 1999, pp. 252–255, figs. 249–251; Kaltsas 2002, p. 246, no. 513; Bol 2004, vol. 1, pp. 375–376, 540, vol. 2, fig. 341; Corso 2013, pp. 144–147, figs. 46–48. Archelaos relief, British Museum 2191: Pinkwart 1965a; 1965b, pp. 19–90, pl. 1; Ridgway 1990, pp. 257–258, pl. 133; Stewart 1990, pp. 217–218, figs. 761–763; Smith 1991, p. 187, fig. 216; *LIMC* VII, 1994, p. 1004, no. 266, pl. 723, s.v. “Mousa”; “Mousai/Musa” (J. Lancia; L. Faedo); Andreae 2001, pp. 176–177, pl. 168; Bol 2007, vol. 1 pp. 257–258, 404; vol. 2, fig. 224.



Figure 1. State plan of the Athenian Agora indicating findspots of the sculptures discussed in this article. Several are approximate only. Courtesy Agora Excavations, with additions by C. Mauzy

published in 1961, treated the colossal statue S 2154 (6; Fig. 6) found in 1907 in or near the northern room of the Metroon (see Fig. 1), plausibly identifying it as the Apollo Patroos of Euphranor mentioned by Pausanias (see above) and listing some of its ancient echoes, which range from 4th-century votive reliefs to a statuette from the Agora and a life-size Roman statue in the Vatican (Fig. 7).⁴

The present study seeks to build upon Thompson's proposals by attributing another statuette to the pediment and adding significant remains of the temple's figural akroteria. Though the arguments, deductions, and

4. S 2154: Thompson 1953–1954 [1961]; cf. Palagia 1980, pp. 14–20, figs. 18–25, 28, for the reliefs and the Vatican and other versions, including

the statuette Agora S 877 (on which see, most recently, Lawton 2006, p. 41, fig. 44; Gawlinski 2014, pp. 33, 172).

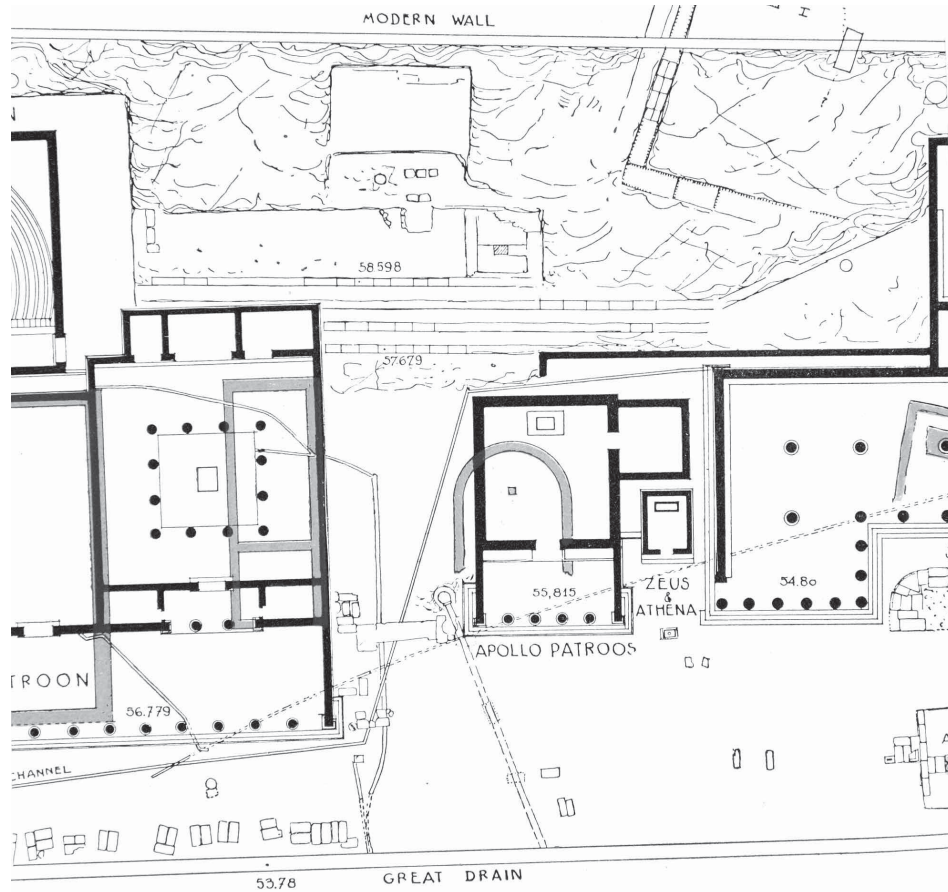


Figure 2. Partial, restored plan of buildings on the west side of the Agora. From left to right (north to south): Metroon; Temple of Apollo Patroos (wrongly restored as tetrastyle in antis); Naikos; Stoa of Zeus Eleuthereus. Thompson 1937, p. 219, fig. 126

conclusions that follow are often speculative, they are nevertheless materially, textually, and historically based; as independent of one another as possible; mutually reinforcing; and last but not least (I trust) archaeologically and historically plausible and coherent.

An L-shaped structure built around a somewhat earlier naiskos immediately to the north (Figs. 1–3), the Temple of Apollo Patroos is generally presumed to have been Ionic on the basis of its cult, even though the excavations yielded no securely identifiable fragments of its superstructure apart from some blocks from the cella walls. Two Ionic anta bases and two Ionic raking geisa, however, found 100 m or more east of the temple in 1951, and attributed to it by John Travlos but never published, would clinch the matter if their dimensions could be shown to match it.⁵ Thompson's

5. Agora A 1755, A 1756 (geisa), A 1757, A 1764 (antae; the latter's left rear corner was identified and joined in 1954), the first three found together in a Byzantine wall at M/10,11–7/20,8/1, just east of the Altar of Ares, and A 1764 further to the east in Section Σ: mentioned, Travlos, *Athens*, p. 96. I thank Nancy Klein for examining and discussing these blocks with me. Travlos's calculation that the anta walls and

thus the columns were 0.486 m thick (Agora drawing PD 604/DA 4210 = Agora image no.1997.03.0032 [L-32]) falls considerably short of Thompson's estimate of ca. 0.56 m (1937, p. 97) and Knell's of 0.58–59 m (1994, pp. 220, 227, fig. 6). Although neither anta preserves its full width, the joint made in 1954 to A 1764 validates Travlos's calculation of 0.778 m for the length and thus also the width of its lower

torus, along with 0.534 m for the anta itself. The bedding marks on the northern stylobate are ca. 0.85 m wide (Thompson 1937, pl. 3), which would nicely accommodate this toichobate. So there seems no compelling reason to reject the attribution, especially since two similarly sized, 4th-century Ionic temples in the area would be most unlikely.



Figure 3. The west side of the Agora seen from the northeast, with the Temple of Apollo Patroos (wrongly restored as tetrastyle in antis) at center. Travlos, *Athens*, p. 265, fig. 338

suggestion that it was tetrastyle in antis (Figs. 2, 3) is now rightly discounted in favor of a hexastyle prostyle plan, indicating in turn that its facade was a modernized version of the east porch of the Erechtheion, completed in 406.⁶ Finally, his date for it “late in the third quarter of the fourth century” has now been lowered two decades or more.⁷ The catalyst for this revision was the identification of a Thasian stamped amphora handle of ca. 313 from a deposit in a pit buried by the temple’s associated terracing.⁸

As for the naiskos, Thompson’s suggestion that it was the Temple of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria remains controversial.⁹ Yet the new, post-313 date for the Apollo temple; the realization that Euphranor’s colossus (6; Fig. 6) likely precedes it by several decades and must have been housed somewhere else in the meantime; the simple fact that because of this statue’s sheer size and weight, any such house must have been constructed around it and at least partially demolished in order to move it (see Appendix 1); and the addition of a colonnade to the naiskos apparently in the 2nd century B.C.—together, all suggest the following scenario. Was the naiskos the Apollo temple’s predecessor, built ca. 350 to house Euphranor’s statue; partially dismantled soon after 313 in order to move the statue next door; and then rebuilt and perhaps repurposed for Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria?¹⁰

6. Knell 1994, pp. 222–228, fig. 6; accepted by Camp 2001, p. 156, and in conversation (the reappearance of Thompson’s plan in Camp 2010, pp. 70–72, fig. 40, is an oversight). Regardless, the pedimental dimensions in each case would have been roughly the same.

7. Thompson 1937, p. 104.

8. Pit: Thompson 1937, pp. 101–102, fig. 54; Lawall 2009, pp. 391–392, figs. 2, 3. As Thompson recognized, the pit’s stone curbing was covered by over

40 cm of earth when the area around the temple was terraced (i.e., filled and leveled up to the bottom of its euthynteria course), which must have choked it completely and rendered it inoperable; its drain was also partially covered by the temple’s foundations.

9. Thompson 1937, pp. 78–80, 84–90 (“Second Temple”), 104–107 (Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria), figs. 42, 43, 55, pls. 3–5; *Agora III*, p. 52, no. 112; *Agora XIV*, pp. 139–140, pls. 6, 12, 68:a; Camp 2010, p. 71, fig. 40, p. 73,

no. 24. *Contra*: Hedrick 1988, p. 193 (offering no alternative); Lippolis 1998–2000 (Zeus Eleutherios); Lawall 2009, pp. 390, 399–401 (Apollo Patroos); Greco 2014, pp. 881 (follows Lippolis), 1010–1011 (F. Longo: skeptical). Its cella, ca. 2.65 m wide and still containing in situ a foundation block for a statue base, could easily have accommodated S 2154, which cannot have exceeded ca. 1.50 m in width.

10. For these suggestions, see further Appendix 1, 6.



Figure 4 (*left*). Seated Muse (2). Athens, Agora Museum S 1530. Scale 1:4. Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

Figure 5 (*above*). Seated Muse from the base of Praxiteles' statues of the Apolline Triad at Mantinea. Athens, National Museum 216 (*detail*). Photo K. Seaman

Thompson's attributions of S 1530 and S 2154 (2, 6; Figs. 4, 6), on the other hand, generally have stood the test of time, although some small pieces of a second draped figure "found on the temple steps" (Appendix 1, 8) and kithara fragments from a third (Appendix 1, 9 [Fig. 8], made of coarse island marble, as against Pentelic for 6 and 8) found in the narrow gap between the temple and the Stoa of Zeus (see Fig. 2) occasionally still prompt doubts about whether 6 is Euphranor's statue.¹¹

Yet the drapery slivers (8) are lost and the kithara (9) only life-size, whereas 6 is a true colossus, fit for a temple statue, unweathered, copied in both Late Classical and Roman times, and datable around the midcentury, exactly when Euphranor was in his prime. So it fits the bill on all counts.¹² Specifically, like other Athenian showpieces, such as the Athena Parthenos, it was soon quoted in Attic votive reliefs and statuettes (one of them, S 877, found in the Agora), and then copied in Roman times, considerably increasing the odds in its favor.¹³

As for the kithara fragments, since they are too small and of the wrong marble to belong to 6, it is tempting to assign them to one of the other two Apollos that Pausanias saw. Yet a kithara hardly seems a suitable attribute for an Alexikakos, and as for Leochares, except for his supervision of the

11. Thompson 1937, pp. 109–110, n. 6 (drapery); 1953–1954 [1961], pp. 37–39, fig. 7 (kithara), p. 43, n. 2 (drapery). Cf., e.g., Palagia 1980, pp. 8, 13–19; Hedrick 1988, p. 199; Lawall 2009, pp. 389, 398.

12. According to Pliny (*HN* 34.77), Euphranor *floruit* in 364–361, but his career extended well into the 330s. See, e.g., Palagia 1980; Stewart 1990, pp. 286–288; Kansteiner et al. 2014, vol. 4, pp. 65–90, nos. 2758–2799.

13. See Thompson 1953–1954 [1961], pp. 33–36, figs. 3–5; Palagia 1980, pp. 19–20, figs. 18–25, 28; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 204, no. 145:a–m, pl. 195, s.v. Apollon (W. Lambrinudakis, P. Bruneau, O. Palagia, et al.).



Figure 6 (above). Apollo Patroos of Euphranor (6). Athens, Agora Museum S 2154. Photo courtesy Agora Excavations



Figure 7 (right). Apollo Patroos of Euphranor (reduced Roman copy). Vatican, Sala a croce greca 582. Photo Rossa, DAI Rome 75.1257

sculptures on the west side of the Mausoleion at Halikarnassos and his akrolithic Ares there (given by some to Timotheos), he worked exclusively in bronze.¹⁴

Finally, apropos the cult, Apollo Patroos was the god of the tribes (*phylai*), clans (*gene*), and perhaps also the family unions (*phratriai*) of Attica, whose members had to declare at their scrutiny for eligibility for public office “where they have their Zeus Herkeios and Apollo Patroos and their family graves.”¹⁵ Yet his official state cult had been long ensconced by the Ilissos

14. Sources, output, and commentary: Stewart 1990, pp. 282–284; Kansteiner et al. 2014, vol. 3, pp. 210–239, nos. 2032–2068.

15. Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 55.3; Harp. s.v. Ἐρκεῖος Ζεὺς, with quotations from Deinarchos, Hypereides, and

Demetrios of Phaleron (fr. 139 Wehrli); Dem. 57.67; Lycurg. *Leoc.* 25. See also Burkert 1985, pp. 257–258; Schutter 1987; Hedrick 1988, pp. 200–204; Lambert 1993, pp. 209–218; Parker 1996, pp. 64, 108, 313–314, 322; Cromey 2006 (excludes phratries).

When the *genos* of the Salaminioi sacrificed a pig to Apollo Patroos, they honored Leto and Artemis with piglets: *SEG XXI* 527, lines 89–90; *Agora XIX*, no. L4a; Parker 1996, p. 313 (363/2 B.C.).

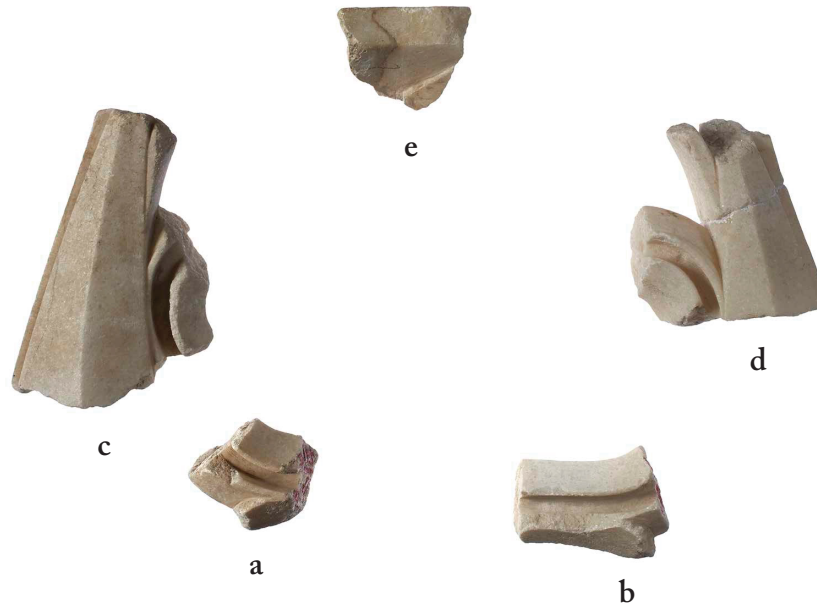


Figure 8. Kithara fragments (9). Athens, Agora Museum A 41. Scale 1:4. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

River, and against almost a century of speculation it now seems to be agreed that it reached the Agora only in the 4th century.¹⁶ This new state cult's close links with the Athenian and Delphic cults of Apollo Pythios are well documented, together with its overtly political nature as *the* cult that linked Athens and its Ionian allies, even though the Ionians themselves ignored it.¹⁷

Given all this, to associate the arrival of the cult in the Agora with the Second Athenian Sea League (379/8–338) is tempting. At first, presumably, the god simply was given an altar, as was usual in Attica and exemplified in the Agora by the early-4th-century altar to Eirene and its enhancement soon after by Kephisodotos the Elder's statue of the goddess carrying Ploutos.¹⁸ Now lost, perhaps this altar was the one subsequently gilded around 330 by Neoptolemos of Melite, Lykourgos's point man on religious matters.¹⁹

As for Euphranor's statue, it is tempting to connect it with the League's checkered history after its initial successes of the 370s, including the Social War of 357–355 and the League's gradual decline until its *de facto* abolition by Philip II of Macedon in 338, after his victory at Chaironeia.²⁰ As

16. See Schutter 1987; Hedrick 1988, pp. 194 (discounting the *horos*, Agora I 5569), 200–210; Cromey 2006; Lawall 2009, p. 401; Greco 2011, pp. 430–434 (Ilissos); Greco 2014, pp. 1004–1005 (M. Saporiti; Agora). *Contra*, e.g., Parker 1996, p. 73. For a new fragment of the Altar of Apollo Pythios dedicated by Peisistratos II, grandson of the tyrant (Thuc. 6.54.6–7; *IG I³* 948; Athens Epigraphical Museum 6787), pinpointing the altar's findspot by the Ilissos, see http://www.greekepigraphicsociety.org.gr/newsletter_05-2011.aspx?menu=10 (accessed August 5, 2015); found at 3 Iosif ton Rogon St., now Athens,

Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens, inv. A 13142 (I thank Nikolaos Papazar-kadas for alerting me to this discovery).

17. See esp. Hedrick 1988, pp. 200–206; Cromey 2006, p. 42; Lawall 2009, p. 401; Greco 2014, pp. 1004–1005 (M. Saporiti).

18. *LIMC* III, 1986, pp. 702–703, nos. 4–8, pls. 540, 541, s.v. Eirene (R. Volkammer); Stewart 1990, pp. 173, 276, figs. 485–487; Rolley 1999, pp. 212–213, figs. 202–204; Bol 2004, vol. 2, figs. 239, 240. On the cult, see Parker 1996, pp. 229–230, and cf. Plut. *Per.* 13.8 (altar and statue of Hygieia on the Acropolis).

19. [Plut.] *X orat.* 843f; *Agora* III,

p. 52, no. 113; Parker 1996, p. 245; carried out in response to an oracle presumably from Apollo Pythios.

20. Even during this period, the Ionian cities and their colonies continued to dedicate crowns to Athena on the Acropolis. See, e.g., *IG II²* 1437, lines 10–18; 1438, lines 15–16; 1441, lines 5–18; 1443, lines 89–122 (354/3–345/4); for a synopsis, see Rhodes 2010, pp. 276–278. They and their colonies, comprising about two-thirds of the allied dedicators listed, include Andros, Elaious, Erythrai, Kalchedon, Naxos, Paros, Samos, Samothrace, and Thasos.

Hedrick aptly noted in 1988, the god's long hair (cf. Fig. 7: preserved on the anterior of the statue's left shoulder), ankle-length peplos, and kithara help to identify him as the Delian Apollo, worshiped (as his *Homeric Hymn* states) by the Athenian *demos*, the islanders, and the "long-robed Ionians" alike, "with boxing, dancing, and song, so often as they hold their contest" (lines 30–45, 149–150).²¹

Putting all this together, we may tentatively reconstruct the sequence of events as follows:

- Ca. 370–350: Cult of Apollo Patroos founded and altar dedicated.
- Ca. 355–338: Euphranor's cult statue commissioned and installed in the Agora; naiskos built around it.
- 337–324: Neoptolemos gilds the altar; Lykourgos proposes a crown for him.
- After ca. 313: Thasian stamped amphora handle discarded in pit later put out of use by the temple. Temple authorized and begun; naiskos dismantled; statue transferred to temple platform; temple completed; naiskos rebuilt and repurposed.
- Ca. 150–86: Colonnade added to naiskos.

As will appear, there is more to be said about the fourth stage, but the above will suffice for the present.

THE PEDIMENT

The L-shaped Temple of Apollo Patroos was colonnaded only at its eastern end (unlike, for example, the Temple of Athena Nike on the Acropolis), and its western end both backed onto the 10 m high scarp of Kolonos Agoraios and was extended awkwardly to the north by the addition of an extra room. So it is likely that any architectural sculpture was confined to this eastern facade, as apparently on the Stoa of Zeus just to the north. The interior dimensions of this pediment can be reconstructed with some confidence. For on the Erechtheion, perhaps its model, the outer corners of the usable pedimental space (i.e., the intersection of the horizontal cornice with the soffits of the raking ones) were located above the inner faces of columns 1 and 6 and thus above the inner faces of the cella walls also, and the pitch of the raking cornices is 1 in 4, or just over 14 degrees.²² Extrapolating for the Apollo temple, this would produce a pedimental space about 9 m wide and 1.125 m high at the center.

Among the over three and a half thousand fragments in the Stoa basement, the following candidates present themselves.

1 Enthroned male, probably Apollo Patroos

Fig. 9

S 2110. Built into Late Roman/Byzantine Wall T, Room D, of the former Mint (destroyed by the Slavs in A.D. 582/3), at Q-17, July 9, 1959.²³

H. 0.415; W. 0.32; D. 0.31 m. H. of throne seat above ground, 0.285; of top of footstool, 0.06; of cushion, 0.06 m. P.D. of throne, 0.16; of footstool, 0.065; of both combined, 0.225 m. H. of lower leg to kneecap, 0.27 m. Est. total H. when complete at least 0.86 m. Pentelic marble with white micaceous veins.

21. Hedrick 1988, p. 200.

22. Stevens et al. 1927, pls. 3, 5, 13, 22; cf. Thompson 1937, pl. 5; Knell 1994, p. 225, fig. 5.

23. For these late walls and their excavation, see Thompson 1960, pp. 329, 349, fig. 1.



a



b



c

Figure 9 (*opposite*). Enthroned god (1), probably Apollo Patroos: (a) front view; (b) three-quarter view; (c) left profile view. Athens, Agora Museum S 2110. Scale 1:4. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

Mended from three pieces. Broken all round and at back; left knee chipped; folds between calves battered. Missing: lower legs and feet, upper body above waist; rear part and proper right side of throne, front and right side of footstool. Lightly weathered; battered around breaks, thighs, and edges of drapery folds.

Drapery lightly rasped in valleys of folds around waist, between legs, behind left leg. 2–3 mm drill channels in drapery folds on front; 4 mm drill channels in deep valleys of himation overhang to left; all recut with chisel and rasped. Sides of footstool and throne flattened and smoothed; underside of seat rasped.

The man sits frontally on the edge of a box-like throne with flat sides overhung by a seat and topped by a thick cushion. The seat is articulated by three horizontal fasciae, the middle one recessed; the footstool is crowned by a half-round molding. The man's muscular left leg projects forward somewhat; his right leg is withdrawn, with its ankle possibly crossed behind the left one. Because the throne is unnaturally high, he is perched on the edge of his seat with his thighs sloping downward toward the knee at an angle of about 30 degrees. His feet originally rested on a projecting footstool whose left side alone is partially preserved. The top surfaces of both the footstool and the throne rise toward the back. This, their unusual height, and the figure's posture all indicate that he was intended for viewing from below.

He wears a long chiton, stretched tight over the legs but drooping between them, and a heavy himation with weighted hem that wraps voluminously around his waist, bunches at his left hip, drops in long, straight, vertical, bifurcated folds over the left-hand front corner of the throne, and terminates at the upper edge of the footstool. The carving of the himation thins out just above the latter, where it appears somewhat flat. On the right side it loops under the thigh, and below this loop stretches tightly between thigh and shin in straight, radiating folds that are sharp-edged behind the knee and bifurcated below. The even finish of the drapery on each side suggests that the figure was frontal or nearly frontal to the viewer. No traces of the upper body or of *puntelli* survive, perhaps suggesting that the arms were extended or raised.

Ca. 310–300 B.C.

Unpublished.

2 Woman (probably a Muse) seated on a rock Figs. 4, 10

S 1530. Found during removal of Byzantine walls at approximately K/10–11/10, June 19, 1951.

H. 0.416; W. 0.34; D. 0.22; plinth L. 0.234; D. 0.12 m. H. of lower leg to knee, 0.23; to navel, 0.367 m. Est. total H. of figure when complete ca. 0.70 m. Max. D. in original setting (from back to left shin, not including projecting left foot, added separately and now lost), ca. 0.24; D. of plinth in this setting, 0.215 m. Pentelic marble.

Missing: upper body above waist, left foot (originally doweled on), part of rocky seat below left hip. Battered around edges of plinth and along left leg.

Forepart of left foot originally carved separately and attached; joining surface broken all round; flat, rectangular iron dowel (W. 0.016; H. 0.05 m) still embedded. Underside of plinth roughly pointed in short strokes, with modern hole (plastered) for mounting (Diam. 0.024; D. 0.041 m). Buttocks cut flat diagonally in approximate diamond shape (0.11 × 0.11 m), at an angle of ca. 95 degrees to bottom of plinth, presumably for placement against tympanon wall. Cutting finely smoothed with claw (4 teeth/1 cm); additional, somewhat rougher recutting below.

Finely carved all round. At back, rocky seat chiseled and pointed; drapery rasped. At front, himation and rock lightly rasped; chiton over belly more heavily rasped in horizontal strokes. Below left hip, 2 mm running drill channel separates



himation and rocky seat; discreet 3 mm drill channels in deeper valleys of looping himation folds behind left leg; all recut with chisel and rasped. Hem of himation with hanging weights completely undercut and freed from background. Small puntello (L. 0.02; W. 0.008 m) on himation covering upper surface of right thigh.

The woman sits diagonally on a rock with her weight on her left buttock, right hip raised, and torso twisting and inclining somewhat to her left. The diamond-shaped cutting across her buttocks shows that she was positioned in a three-quarter pose with her left side toward the observer, facing outward at an angle. Her upper torso was almost frontal, her hips less so, and her legs at approximately 45 degrees to the background. Her left leg juttied forward with its foot (carved separately) overhanging the plinth, and her right lower leg and foot were withdrawn into her himation. The slightly obtuse angle—95 degrees—between the plane of the cutting and the bottom of the plinth indicates that, for greater stability, the figure was embedded about 1.5 cm more deeply at the front into the surface it stood on, presumably the horizontal cornice of a temple (see pp. 286–287, below). The puntello on the right thigh was probably for an attribute or perhaps the right hand.

The woman's hips are wide, her torso tapered, and her legs elongated. She wears a thin, transparent chiton plastered against her belly and torso and occasionally creased into sparse, flat folds; and a heavier himation with weighted hem that covers her legs in large, sagging folds, wraps around her waist, and falls over her left thigh in long, straight, bifurcated folds, leaving her torso quasi-nude from the belly upward.

The flat cutting at the back, the slightly sloping underside of the plinth, the scale, the tilted, three-quarter pose, and the distortions indicate that the figure was meant to be viewed from below and was positioned to the spectator's right.

Ca. 310–300 B.C.

Figure 10. Seated Muse (2): (a) side view; (b) back view. Athens, Agora Museum S 1530. Scale 1:4. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

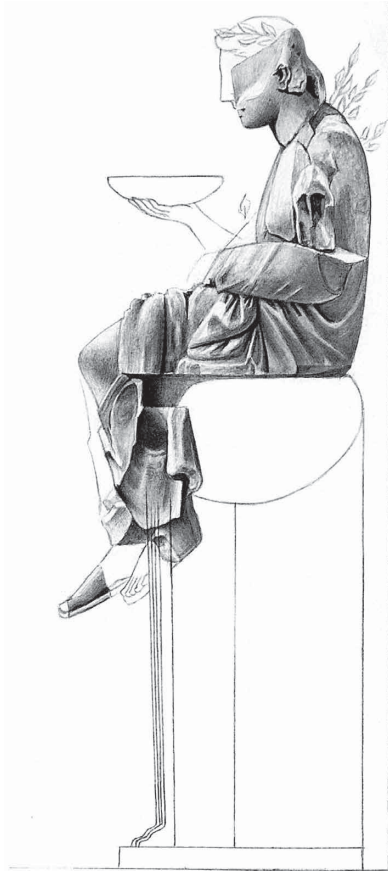
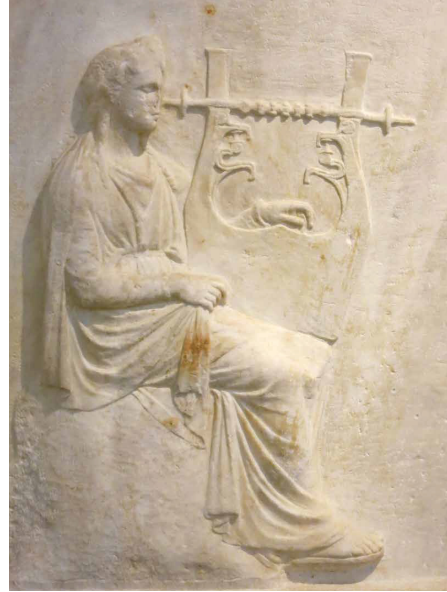


Figure 11 (*above*). Apollo Pythios seated on his tripod, from the east pediment of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, left profile view. Delphi Museum 2166 + 11787. *FdD* IV.7, pl. 4. Drawing K. Iliakis; courtesy École française d'Athènes

Figure 12 (*right*). Seated Apollo Kitharoidos from the base of Praxiteles' statues of the Apolline Triad at Mantinea. Athens, National Museum 215 (detail). Photo K. Seaman



Thompson 1952a, p. 123, pl. 9:c; 1952b, p. 167, fig. 11; 1952c, pp. 109–110, fig. 5, pl. 28:c–d; Palagia 1980, p. 8, fig. 2; Ridgway 1990, p. 236, pl. 117; *FdD* IV.7, pp. 159–160.

These two figures are of the same scale and, to judge by their remarkably similar drapery mannerisms and drill work, possibly were carved by the same hand, or at least in the same workshop. Their widely scattered findspots are unproblematic, for after the Herulian sack of A.D. 267 the vandalized buildings outside the new city wall, which ran from the ruined Stoa of Attalos roughly up the eastern side of the present excavations (Fig. 1, far right, hatched), were extensively plundered for building material. Many of these spolia ended up in this new fortification, while others such as these two were reused in the late antique and Early Byzantine structures that soon arose outside it.²⁴

Both figures would fit the interior dimensions of the temple's east pediment as reconstructed above, namely, about 9.0×1.125 m. Broken at navel height but still 41.5 cm high even so, **1** originally was at least 86 cm high. This is up to 12 cm more than one would expect by comparison with its counterparts on the east pediment of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi (Fig. 11, 335–327 B.C.) and the Mantinea base (Fig. 12, ca. 330 B.C.), because its sculptor piled Pelion on Ossa, exaggerating the height of both footstool and throne seat, and then adding a cushion for good measure.²⁵ Was its now-missing torso also elongated somewhat, in order to match these items in scale and to compensate further for its elevated setting? Nevertheless, just enough room would still have remained between the top of the figure's head and the apex of the cornice for him to stand up if need be.

24. *Agora* XIV, pp. 208–216, pls. 104, 105; Camp 1986, pp. 197–214, figs. 165, 177.

25. Reckoning that at 0.355 m

about half the height of **1** is preserved; comparing Figures 11 and 12; then adding 6 cm for the footstool or 12 cm for the footstool and cushion together.



Figure 13. Votive relief dedicated to Pan and the Nymphs at Vari (Attica) by Eukles. Athens, National Museum 2012. Photo K. Seaman

As for **2**, Palagia has seen that its closest Athenian relative, both stylistically and compositionally, is a seated nymph on a votive relief dedicated at Vari by a certain Eukles (Fig. 13), probably around 320.²⁶ This nymph, in turn, shows that **2**'s height originally was around 70 cm, making it a second-rank figure positioned about one third of the way toward the pediment's right-hand corner.

Both figures clearly are meant to be seen from below and were positioned differently in relation to the spectator standing on the temple's central axis, about 10 m or so from its facade: **1** was frontal to him/her or nearly so, and **2** was placed to his/her right. In addition, although the back of **1** is missing, **2**'s buttocks and the upper part of her rock below them are trimmed flat in order to turn the statuette into an appliqué high relief, as is normal in pedimental sculpture of the mid- to late 4th century.²⁷ Aligned with the tympanon in this way, the figure would lean to its left and out of the pediment at an angle of 9–10 degrees (measured across its knees and down the axis of its torso).

This strong forward inclination recalls the second of the two guidelines governing Ionic architectural sculpture in Vitruvius's *De architectura* (3.5.12–13):

Acroteria angularia tam alta, quantum est tympanum medium, mediana altiora octava parte quam angularia. (13) Membra omnia, quae supra capitula columnarum sunt futura, id est epistylia, zophora, coronae, tympana, fastigia, acroteria, inclinanda sunt in frontis suae cuiusque altitudinis parte XII, ideo quod, cum steterimus contra frontes, ab oculo lineae duae si extensae fuerint et una tetigerit imam operis partem, altera summam, quae summam tetigerit, longior fiet. Ita quo longior visus linea in superiorem partem procedit, resupinatam faciet eius speciem. Cum autem, uti supra scriptum est, in fronte inclinata fuerit, tunc in aspectu videbuntur esse ad perpendiculum et normam.

26. National Museum 2012: Svoronos 1903–1937, pp. 581–585, no. 235, pl. 98; Palagia 1980, p. 8, fig. 3; Ridgway 1997, p. 197, pl. 51; Kaltsas 2002, p. 218, no. 452; cf., e.g., Meyer 1989, pp. 300, 306, nos. A 125, A 142, pls. 35:2, 42:1; Lawton 1995, pp. 105, 146, nos. 49 (323/2), 150, pls. 26, 79; Pologgiorgi 1998, pp. 35–41, figs. 1–15.

27. Tegea (340s): Stewart 1977, p. 40, pls. 6:c, 12:b, d. Delphi (335–327): *FdD* IV.7, pp. 137–139, pls. 26, 31, 60, 63, fr. 22:d, 29:c, 49:c, 61:b.

The corner akroteria are to be as high as the center of the tympanum; the central ones are to be one-eighth higher than these. (13) All the members that are to be placed above the level of the column capitals, namely, the epistyles, friezes, cornices, tympana, pediments, and akroteria, are to be angled forward for one-twelfth of their height. That is because, when we stand opposite the facades, if two lines extend from the eye and one touches the bottom of the work, the other the top, the one that touches the top will be longer. Thus, since the longer line of sight reaches the upper part, it will make it seem to lean backward. When, however, the work inclines forward as prescribed, everything will seem perpendicular and normal.

In fact, this 9–10 degree forward inclination, equivalent to a slope of about 1 in 6, is double Vitruvius's recommended 1 in 12, or 4.75 degrees. We shall revisit this discrepancy below, when considering the akroteria.

Who are these two figures? **1**, enthroned, given a high footstool and cushion, is surely a god, and among the Olympians and their ilk his long chiton and himation exclude all but Apollo himself. Zeus, Poseidon, and Asklepios are always bare-chested; Dionysos should wear a *nebris*; and Hades and his scion Sarapis are both chthonic, and thus out of the running. Thus, if one accepts Thompson's plausible suggestion that **2** may be a Muse, this pediment, like the eastern one of Apollo's temple at Delphi, completed in 327 and carved (Pausanias tells us) by the Athenians Praxias and Androstheneis, also apparently featured the god's epiphany, flanked by the Muses.²⁸

At Delphi, however, Leto and Artemis were included too, but several database and in-person searches of the Agora Museum's reserves have yet to yield plausible candidates for them. Given this pediment's relatively small size, it is hard to see how this divine triad, nine Muses, and perhaps a tenth, balancing figure (their mother Mnemosyne?), could fit into it unless either Apollo's family or some of the Muses were excluded.

Moreover, whereas at Delphi the god wears only a simple himation, leaving his chest bare, **1** is far more formally dressed, in both himation and the long Ionian chiton. Unfortunately, his attributes can only be conjectured. As an Apollo Mousagetes he might have carried either a kithara, like the Apollo of the Mantinea base (Fig. 12), or a lyre; alternatively, he could have held a laurel branch and a phiale, like the Delphi Apollo (Fig. 11). Since there is no sign of a join on **1**'s left thigh, however, his left arm must have been either lifted clear of it or suspended by his side, perhaps tilting the balance toward a lighter attribute such as a laurel branch, if any. The god's close links with Apollo Pythios, mentioned earlier, might also favor this solution. Did the pediment's designer also wish to avoid too close an echo of Euphranor's cult statue inside (Fig. 6), deciding instead to complement rather than copy it?

1 and **2** have nothing in common stylistically with the Delphi pediments. Even when the composition is similar, as in the case of **2** and the seated Muse III from the east pediment at Delphi, the latter's drapery is characterized by heavy folds that sag, loop, and fall in large, thick masses.²⁹

28. Paus. 10.19.4; *FdD* IV.7; Kansteiner et al. 2014, vol. 3, pp. 21–24, no. 1, texts 1822, 1823.

29. *FdD* IV.7, pl. 25, fr. 21:a, b.



Figure 14. Agathe Tyche. Athens, Agora Museum S 1529. Scale 1:4. Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

This was a popular mid-4th-century style, found on numerous Athenian gravestones and on the Mausoleion at Halikarnassos.³⁰ The drapery of **1** and **2**, by contrast, is thinner, finer, more delicate, and more elegant. In ancient Greek critical parlance, it exudes *λεπτότης* and *χάρις*, “refinement” and “grace,” identified by later Hellenistic critics as the essence of the *γλαφυρὸς χαρακτήρ* or “polished style.”³¹

In the Agora, this refined style appears next, in a stiffer and somewhat mutated form, on a once fine but now very damaged little Agathe Tyche, S 1529 (Fig. 14), which should belong around 300–275.³² Its roots may be found in certain products of the so-called rich or flamboyant style of the years between ca. 425 and ca. 375, such as the Athenas from the Nike temple parapet and several seated figures from the Erechtheion frieze. These reminiscences could suggest in turn that the Agora temple offered attentive observers a nostalgic coordination of conservative architectural and sculptural styles.³³

As mentioned earlier, the closest parallel to **2** both stylistically and compositionally is the seated nymph on Eukles’ votive relief from Vari (Fig. 13), carved probably around 320.³⁴ Even more suggestive, however, is the close kinship between **2** and a topless, two-thirds life-size statuette from the Altar of the Asklepieion at Kos (Fig. 15). This altar, in turn, is generally accepted as the setting of the first two dozen lines of Herodas’s Fourth Mimiambos, an early-3rd-century comic account of two women visiting a sanctuary of Asklepios, who begin their tour by admiring a group

30. See, e.g., Stewart 1990, figs. 515, 527, 535, 572; Boardman 1995, figs. 18:3, 19, 59, 119; Rolley 1999, pp. 217, 219, 288, 314, figs. 208, 211, 296, 330; Kaltsas 2002, pp. 184–185, 188, 196–197, 235, nos. 363, 364, 369, 391, 392, 494.

31. E.g., Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 22–23, 26; Demetr. *Eloc.* 129–130. See Politt 1974, pp. 194–196, 297–301;

Stewart 2012a, pp. 314–315.

32. See Stewart 2017, pp. 84–97, fig. 2.

33. See, e.g., Stewart 1990, figs. 420, 434; Boardman 1995, figs. 52, 138; Rolley 1999, pp. 114, 208, figs. 103, 196; Kaltsas 2002, p. 178, no. 353. Erechtheion: Boulter 1970, pls. 6–9, 13, 14, 22, 23, 28:b.

34. Its central figure, dated to the

320s by her ultra-high girdle, echoes a popular late-4th-century kore type apparently derived, ultimately, from the brilliant colossus S 2370, carved probably ca. 330. See Palagia 1982, 1994; Ridgway 1990, pp. 54–56; 1997, p. 339; Stewart 1990, p. 192, fig. 575; Boardman 1995, fig. 51; Rolley 1999, pp. 375–376, fig. 393; Bol 2004, vol. 2, fig. 337; Camp 2010, pp. 71–72, fig. 41.

Figure 15. Statuette of Aphrodite(?) from the Altar of Asklepios at Kos, by Kephisodotos and Timarchos, sons of Praxiteles. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 1557. Bieber 1923–1924, pl. 7



of sculptures of the god, his family, and others by the sons of Praxiteles, Kephisodotos II and Timarchos. These two sculptors' long careers, well documented both epigraphically and textually, began around 344/3 in Kephisodotos's case, and ended around 291/90.³⁵

The altar itself, the Koan Asklepieion's first monumental building after the *synoikismos* of 366, was completely rebuilt around 150, but a base block found in secondary use on the site, helpfully inscribed ΑΛΙΟ:ΑΜΕΡΑΣ ΜΑΧΑΟΝΟΣ ΕΚΑΤΑΣ in 4th-century lettering, clearly belongs to this elusive earlier phase.³⁶ Moreover, its inclusion of Asklepios's son Machaon overlaps with Herodas's gazetteer of Kephisodotos's and Timarchos's statues in lines 1–25 of his poem. As a result, there is wide agreement that this first phase of the altar dates to ca. 350–300; that it was indeed embellished by

35. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 1557: Bieber 1923–1924, pl. 7; 1961, p. 20, fig. 32; Kabus-Preisshofen 1989, pp. 68–69, 179, 181, no. 5, pl. 13; Ridgway 1990, pp. 163–164; Stewart 1990, pp. 198, 295–296, fig. 604; Zanker 2009, pp. 111, 122–125; Interdonato 2013, pp. 35–36, 100, 377, no. 5, fig. 199. *Agalmata* by the sons of Praxiteles and the Koan Asklepieion: Herod. 4.1–25; Sherwin-White 1978, pp. 350–352; Zanker 2009, pp. 98–99, 106–107, 111; Interdonato 2013,

pp. 36, 100, fig. 49; Kansteiner et al. 2014, vol. 3, pp. 525–527, 539–540, no. 4, text 2386; cf. Stewart 1990, pp. 295–296; Corso 2014, pp. 128–129. Kansteiner argues that the *agalmata* in question are cult statues, but from the Parthenon onward, building accounts call architectural marbles *agalmata*, and the two women do not enter the temple, which is locked, for another 31 lines. He also lowers the brothers' careers somewhat, but mistakenly down-dates their father's *floruit*

(364–361) by a decade and reassigns the crucial inscription of 354/3, or more probably 344/3, to Kephisodotos I (Kansteiner et al. 2014, vol. 3, p. 40, no. 7, text 1842). *Contra*, see Corso 2014, p. 110.

36. I.e., “[*Images of*] Helios; Day [*gap*] Machaon [*gap*] Hekate”; see Schazmann and Herzog 1932, pp. 25–31, 73–74, figs. 19–23, pls. 12–14, 49, 50; most recently Interdonato 2013, pp. 34–37, 49, 54, 100, figs. 4–6, 49. See *IG XII.4.1* 397.

the sons of Praxiteles; that their work was reinstalled in its mid-Hellenistic successor; and that it can be identified with reasonable probability in a group of 19 fragments from the site, the statuette illustrated in Figure 15 included.³⁷

This Koan statuette's buttocks are carefully claw-chiseled flat for placement against a wall, just like those of **2** (Fig. 10:b). This is suggestive, because the backs of the pedimental figures from Tegea and Delphi are quite differently treated: cut flat and hollowed out, respectively, using long, coarse strokes of the point.³⁸ The drooping, U-shaped folds over the statuette's legs, the complex, sagging bundle of them across the lower belly, and the cascade of cloth down its left hip and beside its left leg are all very similar indeed to **2**, as are the proportions and modeling of what is left of its body. Only the somewhat heavier fabric, a holdover from the midcentury, may put it somewhat before **2**, but not by much.

The heavy, stacked himation folds that curve up from the woman's engaged right ankle and shin to her relaxed and advanced left knee and thigh, also a reversion to a turn-of-the-century scheme found, for example, on a full-size Agathe Tyche in the Agora, probably of 393/2, first reappear in Late Classical Attica on the Lykourgan Sophokles of 336–324 and a few document reliefs of the last quarter of the century. This resurrection, in turn, militates against a date earlier than ca. 330 for the Koan statuette.³⁹ Accordingly, **2** and thus presumably the entire Agora pediment may tentatively be credited to a slightly later phase of the same workshop, previously active on Kos in the 320s or perhaps (given the advanced style of the heads) the 310s.⁴⁰

As to typology, to the close kinship between **2** and the Vari nymph (Figs. 4, 10, 13) one should add a third example in Pella, in Pentelic marble and clearly Attic, generally dated to ca. 350–325.⁴¹ Their wide distribution and yet shared Athenian manufacture suggest that all three of them may depend upon a single, lost, mid-4th-century Attic prototype, such as the two sets of Muses by Kephisodotos (I and/or II?) on Mount Helikon.⁴² If made

37. Kabus-Preisshofen (1989, pp. 68–69, 73–78, 179, 181) dates the altar's sculptures to ca. 340–330, which seems somewhat early given (1) the dates of Kephisodotos II's career; (2) Figure 15's stylistic proximity to **2**; and (3) the recent trend to lower late-4th-century ceramic and sculptural chronology across the board. Ridgway (1990, p. 163) puts them in the 3rd century; most recently, Interdonato (2013, pp. 36, 377) cautiously opts for ca. 325–270. Corso (2014, p. 129) favors the brothers' acme in 296–293 (cf. Plin. *HN* 34.51); K. Bairani (in Stampolidis and Tassoulas 2014, pp. 173–175) compares “the latest of the Athenian grave reliefs, ca. 330–300.”

38. Stewart 1977, pp. 39–40, pls. 6:c, 12:b, d; *F&D* IV.7, pp. 137–139, pls. 12 (no. 5:c), 16 (no. 7:c, d), 19 (no. 11:c),

21 (no. 15:b), 23 (no. 17:c), 26 (nos. 21:d, 22:c, d), etc.

39. Agathe Tyche, S 37: Stewart 2012a, p. 278, fig. 10 (identified as Aphrodite); 2017, pp. 86–93, fig. 3, 5, 6. Maussolos and Sophokles: Stewart 1990, figs. 535, 579; Boardman 1995, figs. 19, 106; Ridgway 1997, pl. 28; Rolley 1999, pp. 314, 375, figs. 330, 392; Bol 2004, figs. 279, 389. Document reliefs: Meyer 1989, pp. 302, 306, nos. A 132 (321/20 or 318/7), A 142, A 143, pls. 37:2, 42:1, 42:2; Lawton 1995, pp. 107, 142, 143, nos. 53 (321/20 or 318/7), 150, 153, pls. 28, 79, 81.

40. Two of the female heads (Kabus-Preisshofen 1989, pp. 180–181, nos. 3, 4, pl. 11; Interdonato 2013, pp. 375–376, nos. 3, 4, figs. 197, 198), with their deep-set eyes, pinched mouths, and deep, narrow chins, are paralleled on the very last of the Attic gravestones,

whose production was banned by Demetrios of Phaleron in 317. See, e.g., Clairmont 1993, plate volume, nos. 1.328 (Aristomache), 2.431 (the maid), 2.480 (Lysippe), 3.446, 4.459 (the maid).

41. Pella ΓΑ 11, from Palia Pella: Karamitrou-Mentesidi 1983, pp. 273–280, pls. 1–3; Lilimpaki-Akamati et al. 2011, p. 96 (fig.). Compare the document reliefs in Meyer 1989, pp. 285, 288, 293, nos. A 69 (355/4), A 78 (349/8), 97 (337/6), pls. 22:2, 28:1, 30:2; Lawton 1995, pp. 96, 98, 99, nos. 29 (355/4), 34 (349/8), 38 (337/6), pls. 15, 18, 20.

42. Paus. 9.30.1. See Stewart 1990, p. 276; Corso 2004, pp. 66–67, 75–77, 88, 101–102; Robinson 2012, p. 243; Kansteiner et al. 2014, vol. 3, pp. 38–39, nos. 5, 6, texts 1839, 1840.

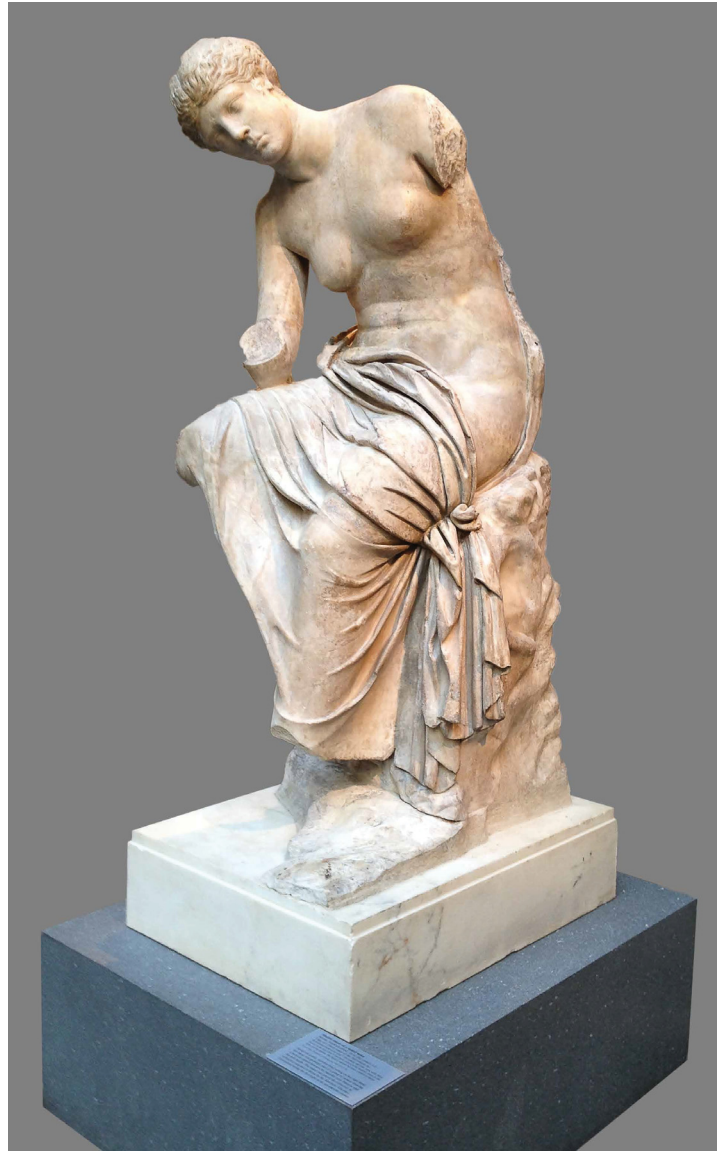


Figure 16. Muse of the Dresden/
Zagreb type (Roman copy). New
York, Metropolitan Museum
03.12.16. Photo A. Stewart

by Kephisodotos I, this admittedly hypothetical prototype ought to belong to the first half of the century; if by Kephisodotos II, it must have been an early work of his, since (as noted above) his long career began ca. 344/3 at the earliest.

Among the Muses preserved in Roman copy, the Kassel/Miletos type is closely dependent upon the Pella-Vari-Agora one; its original probably was made in the late 4th or early 3rd century B.C.⁴³ She tilts the opposite way, however, to her right, as does her successor, the topless Dresden/Zagreb type (Fig. 16), followed by most Hellenistic Muses of this kind.⁴⁴ Already often

43. Pinkwart 1965b, pp. 136–143, 205:G (replicas); *LIMC* VII, 1994, p. 999, no. 237 (= no. 300:d), pl. 725, s.v. “Mousa”; “Mousai/Musae” (J. Lancia; L. Faedo); Schneider 1999, pp. 9–10, 119–124, 174–177, no. 4 (replicas), pls. 8, 9, 35:b, 36, 57:c, d. For discussions

of the various early–mid Hellenistic types, see Pinkwart 1965b; Ridgway 1990, pp. 247–268; Stewart 1990, pp. 217–218; *LIMC* VII, 1994, pp. 991–1011, nos. 156–277, s.v. “Mousa”; “Mousai/Musae” (J. Lancia; L. Faedo); Schneider 1999, pp. 71–190 (the most

authoritative and persuasive one to date); Andrae 2001, pp. 176–178.

44. Richter 1954, p. 191, no. 194, pl. 137 (03.12.16); *LIMC* VII, 1994, p. 1003, no. 265, pl. 723, p. 1018, no. 39, pl. 731, s.v. “Mousa”; “Mousai/Musae” (J. Lancia; L. Faedo).

dated to the 3rd century, and possibly once yet another study in λεπτότης, the Dresden/Zagreb type now seems best at home around 300–250.

Finally, the late-3rd-century Twisting Muse type retains the same pose and drapery configuration below the waist, but pivots her upper body and head to look backward, over her left shoulder.⁴⁵ Miniature versions of these Kassel/Miletos and Twisting types appear in the early-2nd-century Archelaos relief from Bovillae, mentioned earlier, and another remarkable Late Hellenistic one from the Villa of Herodes Atticus at Loukou in the Peloponnese, confirming their early to mid-Hellenistic date.⁴⁶

THE AKROTERIA

Remains of three statues out of a possible four survive. Like the pedimental figures, all of them belong probably to the east facade of the temple.

3 Running girl, probably a Niobid Figs. 17–19, 21

S 440. Found face down, March 13, 1934, built into the lowest part of the corner of a late wall in the northernmost part of the foundation trench of the Tholos, at G/12,15–11/7,9.

H. of figure, 1.06; of plinth, 0.06 m. Max. W. 0.50; of plinth, 0.51 m. Max. D. 0.26; of plinth, 0.26 m. W. at shoulders, 0.335; est. original H. of statue, ca. 1.22 m. Pentelic marble.

Mended from several pieces. Missing: head; right arm from above elbow; left forearm and hand; much of himation across front and to statue's left; left foot (originally doweled on). Weathered all over; neck, adjacent part of right shoulder, and breasts battered.

Forepart of left foot originally carved separately and attached. Vertical joining surface lightly pointed and rasped; horizontal dowel hole at center (Diam. 0.015; D. 0.03 m). Top of plinth dressed with point in vertical strokes; underside inaccessible. Chiton sleeve on right chiseled; himation folds above left breast rasped. Right side vague from midline backward; back only roughly planned with point and chisels, though three horizontal press folds are visible over the left leg; behind left leg, large flat folds defined by three running drill channels (W. 0.004 m), radiating downward. Running drill channels (W. 0.004 m) under right armpit, on chiton folds above girdle, below chiton, on himation and under its hem below left hand, and between peplos hem and plinth all around front; also in valleys of swept-back folds of chiton over legs, recut with chisel and point. Right leg apparently cut back and refinished: vertical peplos folds on upper thigh heavily rasped in long strokes terminating abruptly on a horizontal line halfway down thigh; knee and shin cut back so as to flex at a sharper angle, and flattened with point; sides of folds framing leg roughly pointed from about 1 cm back from ridges; foot and sandal summarily cut back and foreshortened so as to end at hem of chiton; remains of earlier sandal preserved in rough projecting ridge between plinth and outer edge of sole.

The girl (identifiable as such by her slim torso, high breasts, and tripartite dress; see below) leans forward at an angle of approximately 9–10 degrees. She stands on her left leg with her right leg relaxed, extended back into her drapery with its heel raised. Her upper body moves out toward the left with its left shoulder raised in a non-contrappostic stance. The left upper arm is withdrawn and held against the body, and the forearm extended out to support the himation. The right upper arm

45. Pinkwart 1965b, pp. 132–134, 203, 204:E (replicas), pls. 5:a–d, 6:a–d; *LIMC* VII, 1994, p. 1001, no. 252, p. 1012, no. 254:f, s.v. “Mousa”; “Mousai/Musae” (J. Lancia; L. Faedo).

46. For Archelaos, see n. 3, above. For Loukou/Tripolis 18, see Spyropoulos 1993, pp. 264–266, fig. 10.



Figure 17. Running Niobid (3):
 (a) left three-quarter view; (b) front
 view. Athens, Agora Museum S 440.
 Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

is also withdrawn, but to a lesser extent, and also held against the body, but there is no trace of a joining surface or puntello along the flank, so the right forearm may have been flexed out to the side or even upward and outward in a gesture of shock. The head was turned somewhat to the figure's right.

The girl wears three garments. The delicate, crinkly ruffles of a thin linen chiton are visible at the exposed right sleeve, fastened with four buttons, and below the neckline. Over this, a heavy, ankle-length, so-called Attic peplos with an overfold is pinned at the shoulders and girdled with a flat ribbon just below the breasts, crimped toward the right side. The hem of the overfold is marked by mobile, S- and Ω-shaped swirls of drapery, lightly drilled at center, and left unfinished on the back. Below it, the garment drops in deep, concave, swept-back folds (so-called motion lines) to the feet. The treatment of the cloth is subtle, with much variation in the surface, articulation, and direction of the folds. A himation hangs over the left shoulder, extending down the left arm to the elbow, waist, and below in a flourish of drapery off to the woman's left, now largely broken away; passing over the shoulder, it crosses the back diagonally down to and around the



right hip, then crosses the front diagonally upward to the left elbow and forearm again. There it was gathered up by the (now missing) left hand, its end (now broken away) fluttering off to the side. The treatment is again subtle, with much variation in the surface, articulation, and direction of the folds, though it becomes sketchy at the right side and schematic at the back. Three horizontal press folds are indicated over the left leg, however. In front, the peplos folds below the overfold are tubular, slightly inflated, and nicked, like long, thin, bent balloons. The right foot wears a sandal of simple design: flat, with its sole articulated in two superimposed planes and slightly concave at the front.

Ca. 310–300 B.C.

Thompson 1962, p. 196; 1976, p. 288 (attributing it to the Hellenistic Metroon); Gawlinski 2014, p. 77.

4 Fragment of a draped running woman

Figs. 20–22

S 1877. Marble piles west of Tholos at F-11, October 1954.

H. 0.415; W. 0.26; D. 0.20 m. Pentelic marble.

Figure 18. Running Niobid (3):
(a) right three-quarter view; (b) right profile view. Athens, Agora Museum S 440. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations



Figure 19. Running Niobid (3):
(a) back view; (b) left profile view.
 Athens, Agora Museum S 440. Photos
 C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

Lower left side of draped female figure, considerably under life-size. Draped left leg from knee to midcalf and drapery at left side preserved, back included, weathered evenly all round. Drapery at front lightly rasped in long strokes; behind the leg, 2–7 mm running drill channels define five swept-back peplos folds. Back roughly rasped. Vertical rectangular tenon hole (H. 0.085; W. 0.04; D. 0.03 m) cut into drapery to left of leg, once largely obscured by (now broken) folds. Sides and top of hole pointed; back crosshatched with chisel and pierced by pour-channel (Diam. 0.013; D. 0.045 m) with lead filling, drilled through to back of figure. Break to proper right of leg, portion of calf, and adjacent drapery completely recut (H. 0.32; D. 0.18 m) from front to back of figure, in three flat, vertical facets, either for a mortised repair or more probably for reuse in late or post-antique times as a door or window frame. Two of the facets (left, L. 0.178; W. 0.048; right, L. 0.262; W. 0.071 m) flank a flat, recessed channel (H. 0.334; W. 0.061; D. 0.005 m), all roughly pointed and chiseled. Near the top of the channel, a diagonal bean-shaped hole for a dowel or pour-channel, twice drilled (Diam. 0.009 and 0.018; D. 0.034 m).

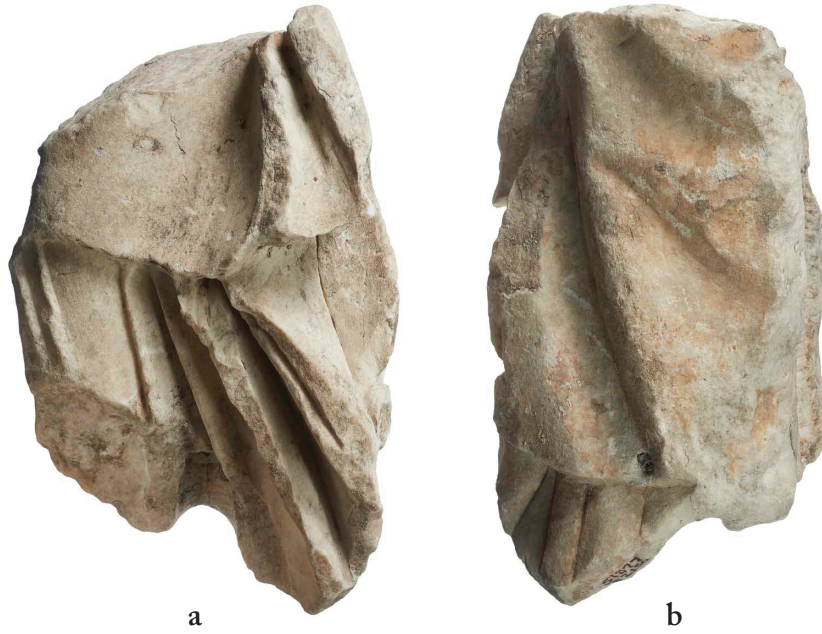


Figure 20. Fragment of a running woman (4), perhaps Niobe: (a) front view; (b) back view. Athens, Agora Museum S 1877. Scale 1:5. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations



Figure 21. Details of the backs of running Niobid (3; *left*) and running woman (4; *right*). Scale 1:3. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations



Figure 22 (left). Fragment of a running woman (4), perhaps Niobe, recut right side. Athens, Agora Museum S 1877. Scale 1:4. Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

Figure 23 (right). Left breast of a woman (5), perhaps Artemis, and adjacent drapery. Athens, Agora Museum S 3330. Scale 1:4. Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

The figure was running to the spectator's left, her drapery streaming behind her. Parts of two garments are preserved, identifying her as a mature woman. A heavy, so-called Argive or Doric peplos with a thigh-length overfold is swept back from the knee by the wind, suggesting that the figure is running to her right. A heavy himation billows out behind it, separated from the peplos by a narrow, curving running drill channel a few centimeters inside the break at the spectator's right, and hangs down to midcalf at the back.

The fragment is very similar in scale, technique, style, and format to 3, and probably by the same hand. The scale of the calf, the agitation of the drapery, and the position of the leg are extremely close. On the lower back of each of them, just below 4's himation overfold and behind 3's left leg, three running drill channels (Diam. 2 mm) radiate downward in an almost identical fashion. Moreover, while 3 moves toward the right, 4 moves toward the left, indicating that they served as pendant corner akroteria on the same building.

Ca. 310–300 B.C.

Unpublished.

5 Fragment of a draped female figure: Artemis?

Fig. 23

S 3330. Found by the Agora's head guard, south of southeast corner of Heliaia, at K-15,16, April 4, 1979.

H. 0.28; W. 0.21; D. 0.11 m. Pentelic marble.

Broken all round and at back; area below (missing) neckline split away; ridges of folds chipped; all modeled surfaces weathered. Valleys of himation folds drilled with 3 mm running drill, then rasped in long strokes; chiton also lightly rasped.

Left breast and adjacent area of chest preserved; just under life-size. A thin chiton overlies the breast and flutters beside it, and a himation falls diagonally from the (missing) left shoulder, between the breasts, and down to the right side of the waist.

This fragment is markedly similar in material, technique, and style to 3 and 4, though it is slightly larger in scale (by about 10–12 percent) than 3 and thus,

presumably, than **4** also. This, in turn, suggests that it comes from the central akroterion of the set. The drillings and fold depths resemble those of **4**. The treatment of both chiton and himation where they are stretched over the flesh surfaces also is strikingly similar. Below the breast on **3** and **5** and across the leg on **4** the chiton puckers into two thin parallel folds, rendered identically on both fragments, and the long diagonal fold at the far right of **5** and that from the left shoulder to the center of the girdle of **3** are treated identically.

Ca. 310–300 B.C.

Unpublished.

These three pieces, two of them found on the west side of the Agora, all clearly carved in the same workshop, and roughly contemporary with the temple, display clear signs that they served as its akroteria.⁴⁷ Not only are they weathered evenly and equally on all surviving surfaces, and conspicuously lack back depth, but like **2**, the seated pedimental Muse (see Fig. 10), **3** leans outward at an angle of 9–10 degrees, a slope of about 1 in 6, proving that she, too, was displayed at a considerable height and intended to be seen from well below.

As with **2**, this strong outward inclination again is double Vitruvius's recommended 1 in 12, or 4.75 degrees (his second Ionic guideline; see pp. 286–287, above). If these guidelines were indeed products of Hellenistic or even Roman neoclassicism,⁴⁸ Vitruvius's general reliance upon Hermogenes of Alabanda (*floruit* ca. 200) for Ionic proportions and other matters points to the former. The height of **3**, namely, 1.06 m as preserved and ca. 1.22 m originally, also transgresses his first guideline, although to a much smaller extent (by ca. 8.5 percent, or about one-twelfth), assuming the temple's estimated tympanon height of ca. 1.125 m ventured above.⁴⁹ Compensating for the elevated position of **3** on the Apollo temple, these optical distortions neatly complement those already noted on the two pedimental figures, **1** and **2**. All of them surely were either prescribed in advance by the temple's architect or agreed upon by the sculptors themselves.

Moreover, the composition of **3** clicks properly into focus only when seen from three-quarter left and right (Figs. 17:a, 18:a; as calculated from the front of her ancient plinth, not her modern base). On the ground, these viewpoints correspond: first (Fig. 17:a), to the point where—like Pausanias—one first caught sight of the temple as one walked southward

47. Thompson's suggestion (1962, p. 196; 1976, p. 288) that **3** stood above the Hellenistic Metroon cannot be right. Chronology apart, its 14-column facade cannot have supported a pediment.

48. Danner 1989, p. 69, with references; Gros 1997, p. 348, nn. 205–207; cf. Vit. *De arch.* 3.3.8, generally crediting Hermogenes with his Ionic guidelines.

49. The only other well-preserved set of Hellenistic temple akroteria in Greece, from the so-called Hieron at Samothrace (autopsied June 2015, when on show in Athens), is problematic.

The central floral is implausibly restored using the base of an Early Hellenistic asymmetrical lateral akroterion, and the position of the 2nd-century Nikai (central or lateral?) is uncertain (Thompson 1973, p. 229). These headless Nikai are now 1.43 m high vis-à-vis the building's tympanon height of 1.47 m, and must have been around 1.53–1.57 m originally, or 4–7 percent greater than the tympanon height; see Lehmann 1969, pp. 351–352, 365, 368, 377–378, figs. 302, 317, pl. 108; 1972. For other poorly preserved examples, see Webb 1996, p. 26. The 1.43 m

height measurement includes the left wing's upper tip, which rises considerably above the stump of the neck, so the top of the head would have been only ca. 10–15 cm above this, assuming a standard 1:7.5 head-to-body ratio. For the rare Classical akroteria that conform to Vitruvius's first guideline, see Lehmann 1969, p. 351, n. 183; Stewart 1977, pp. 8, 153 (n. 11); Danner 1989, pp. 88–89 (comparative table of measurements and proportions, to ca. 320). I thank Bonna Wescoat for alerting me to some of these issues and kindly discussing them with me.

down the road past the Stoa of Zeus (Fig. 3); and second (Fig. 18:a), to the same location posited earlier for viewing the pedimental sculptures, namely, standing on the temple's central axis about 10 m or so from its facade. Only when seen from these viewpoints does the girl's body lunge coherently forward and outward, and only from the second of them do the diagonals of the shoulders, girdle, himation, and peplos hem coordinate with this lunging movement, and the folds of the skirt underscore it by properly framing the legs.

Suggestively in this regard, the right leg of **3** was cut back somewhat, perhaps in order to articulate all this better. Presumably when tested in situ, it was found not to speak clearly and emphatically enough. **4** is also recut, although since it is unclear whether its two interventions were contemporaneous, the reason(s) for them remain clouded, especially since **4** otherwise matches the other two in style and technique.

Despite the similarities in the treatment of the drapery, however, **3** and **4** are differently attired. **3** wears the standard late-4th-century formal attire of an unmarried girl or *parthenos*, namely, a sleeved, ankle-length chiton, high-girdled "Attic" peplos pinned at collarbone level, and himation wrapped from her left arm around her back, across her waist, and over her left arm again, leaving the overfold of her peplos exposed below.⁵⁰ **4**, on the other hand, apparently wears a heavy "Argive" or "Doric" peplos overfolded down to her knees and a himation that billows out beside it and hangs down low at the back.⁵¹ This scheme indicates an older woman than **3**, and thus by Greek convention usually a married one.

As to their date, the best comparanda are the Athenian nymph reliefs—or would be, if most of them were not so poor in quality. One of them in particular stands out, however, dedicated around 300 by Telephanes to Pan and the Nymphs in their cave on Mount Parnes (Fig. 24).⁵² The nymphs are miniature versions of **3**, their poses and drapery strikingly similar to it in composition, garment types, calligraphy, and girdle height. Outside Athens and Attica, a running woman on one of the column plinths from the Artemision at Ephesos may be approximately contemporary.⁵³

To turn once more to types known only in Roman copy, the most plausible model for **3** is the running Uffizi/ex-Chiaramonti-type Niobid

50. Compare, e.g., Clairmont 1993, vol. 1, pp. 291, 308, 309, 313, 316, 319, 329, 335, 350, 371, nos. 1.280, 1.310, 1.312, 1.321a, 1.329, 1.334, 1.350a, 1.359, 1.382, 1.433, vol. 2, p. 520, no. 2.421, vol. 3, pp. 292, 381, nos. 3.394b, 3.453, etc. (all illustrated); Roccas 2000, pp. 245, 247, figs. 1, 4–6, 9–12; Lee 2015, pp. 103, 202–203, fig. 7:3. The himation of **3** is not pinned as a back mantle, however.

51. Lee 2015, p. 103, fig. 4:7 left; cf. the attire of Amphitrite, Poseidon's consort, and other mature goddesses on the Pergamon Altar: Stewart 1990, fig. 711; Smith 1991, figs. 194, 195 (W);

Bol 2007, fig. 175k. S 1780, a female forearm and hand of similar scale, extended away from the body, bent double at the wrist, and clutching the corner of a himation, at first sight looks like part of the same statue, which would then have been a version of the Uffizi Niobe, desperately holding out her himation to shield her youngest child from the arrows. Unfortunately, its marble is clearly Parian, so it must belong to one of the Agora's 5th-century Parian marble akroteria, probably a Nike from the Hephaisteion (Stewart [forthcoming]; against Delivorrias [1974, p. 29, n. 113, folding pl. 3], who

also erroneously cites it as S 178).

Unprovenanced, it was retrieved in 1953 from a marble pile behind the north end of the Stoa of Attalos.

52. Athens, National Museum 1448: *IG II²* 4646; Svoronos 1903–1937, pp. 450–451, no. 147, pl. 74; Fuchs 1962, pp. 243, 249, pl. 65:2; *LIMC I*, 1981, p. 23, no. 188, pl. 40, s.v. Ache-loos (H. P. Isler); Güntner 1994, p. 125, no. A 44, pl. 9:1; Kaltsas 2002, p. 219, no. 456.

53. London, British Museum 1200: Bieber 1961 fig. 68; Geominy 1984, pp. 281–282, fig. 335; Bol 2007, vol. 1, pp. 376–377, fig. 343.



Figure 24. Votive relief dedicated by Telephanes on Mt. Parnes (Attica) to Pan and the Nymphs. Athens, National Museum 1448. Photo K. Seaman

(Figs. 25, 26), now known in several other replicas, including a hitherto unpublished one from the Agora (10; Fig. 27). Along with its fellow Niobids, the type has been dated to the 320s by Wilfrid Geominy in a monumental study whose conclusions have gained widespread acceptance.⁵⁴ The type's three main replicas span the gamut from the bold, extraordinarily dramatic, and over lifesize ex-Chiaramonti statue (Fig. 25) to the mannered, finicky, and probably somewhat reworked Uffizi one (Fig. 26).⁵⁵

A new replica from Ciampino, near Rome, stands somewhere in between them, and the one from the Agora (10; Fig. 27) is much more emphatic, though still clearly based on the same original. *Prima facie*, the Agora akroterion (3), although somewhat classicizing and less flamboyant, seems closest to the Ciampino statue, but a definitive judgment must wait until it is cleaned, available for study, and properly published. As suggested in Appendix 2, these Roman-period Niobids may echo the ones that Pausanias saw inside the choregic monument of Thrasyllus (Fig. 28), cut

54. Mansuelli 1958, pp. 112–113, no. 72, fig. 72:a, b; Bieber 1961, pp. 74–76, figs. 253–265; Stewart 1977, pp. 118–120, pl. 50; Geominy 1984, with p. 245 for the date; *LIMC* VI, 1992, pp. 918–920, no. 23:e, pls. 615, 616, s.v. Niobidai (W. Geominy); Smith 1991, pp. 107–108, figs. 140, 141; Rolley 1999, pp. 277–280, figs. 285–287; Ridgway 2003, pp. 92–93 (with further bibliography); Bol 2007, vol. 1, pp. 442–444, text figs. 102, 103; Corso 2010, pp. 69–78. To Geominy's extensive replica lists (Geominy 1984; *LIMC* VI, 1992, pp. 918–920, no. 23) add, in

order of discovery: (1) the Late Hellenistic tondo busts of Niobe and one other from the Mahdia wreck, Hellenkemper-Salies 1994, vol. 1, pp. 303–328, figs. 12–17, 31–34 (H. H. von Prittwitz und Gaffron); (2) the fragments of the *paidagogos* and second son from the Barbara Baths at Trier, Goethert 2000; (3) a late-2nd-century A.D. Niobe and her daughter from the Villa of the Quintilii on the Via Appia, Paris and Pettinau 2007, pp. 475–477, figs. 4–7; (4) an Augustan set of seven Niobids and associated fragments from the villa of Ovid's

patron, M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, at Ciampino, near Rome, http://www.repubblica.it/speciali/arte/gallerie/2013/01/08/foto/villa_messalla-50097355/1/# (accessed August 1, 2014), which includes the running Uffizi/ex-Chiaramonti type mentioned in the text; Lorenzi 2016; and (5) the version of the ex-Chiaramonti type in the Agora, S 1046 (10; Fig. 27).

55. Geominy 1984, p. 50; Vorster 1993, pp. 77–82, no. 29, pls. 137–144 (ex-Chiaramonti: a mid-Hellenistic original); critical discussion, Ridgway 2003, p. 112, n. 66.



Figure 25 (above). Ex-Chiaramonti Niobid from Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli. Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Profano 1035. Photo Museum



Figure 26 (right). Running Niobid (Roman copy) from Rome. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi 72. Photo UCLA Classics Archive

into the great artificial cliff or *katatome* immediately above the Theater of Dionysos and dated by inscription to 320/19:⁵⁶

Paus. 1.21.3: ἐν δὲ τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ θεάτρου σπήλαιόν ἐστιν ἐν ταῖς πέτραις ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν· τρίπους δὲ ἔπεστι καὶ τούτω· Ἀπόλλων δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ Ἄρτεμις τοὺς παῖδας εἰσὶν ἀναιροῦντες τοὺς Νιόβης· ταύτην τὴν Νιόβην καὶ αὐτὸς εἶδον ἀνελθὼν ἐς τὸν Σίπυλον τὸ ὄρος· ἡ δὲ πλησίον μὲν πέτρα καὶ κρημνός ἐστιν οὐδὲν παρόντι σχῆμα παρεχόμενος γυναικὸς οὔτε ἄλλως οὔτε πενθούσης· εἰ δέ γε πορρωτέρω γένοιτο, δεδακρυμένην δόξεις ὄραν καὶ κατηφῆ γυναῖκα.

IG II² 3056 = SEG XXI 962: Θράσυλλος Θρασύλλου Δεκελεεὺς ἀνέθηκεν | χορηγῶν νικήσας ἀνδράσιν Ἴπποθωντίδι φυλῆι | Ἐϋΐος Χαλκιδεὺς ἠΰλει. Νέα[ιχμ]ος ἦρχεν·Καρκίδαμος Σώτι[ο]ς ἐδίδασκεν.

56. "At the top of the theater is a cave in the rocks under the Acropolis. This also has a tripod over it, and in it are Apollo and Artemis killing the children of Niobe. This Niobe I myself saw when I had gone up to Mount Sipylus. When

you are near it is a beetling crag, with not the slightest resemblance to a woman, mourning or otherwise; but if you go further away you will think that you see a woman in tears, with bowed head."

"Thrasyllos son of Thrasyllos of

Dekeleia dedicated [this] after his victory with the men's chorus of the tribe of Hippothontis. Euios of Chalkis was the flutist; Neaichmos was archon; Karkidamos son of Sotis was the producer."



Figure 27. Running Niobid (Roman copy). Athens, Agora Museum S 1046. Scale 1:5. Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations



Figure 28. Choregic monument of Thrasylos on the south face of the Acropolis, before reconstruction began in 2011. Photo A. Stewart

For what it is worth, the close affinity between this Niobid and the Vatican Apollo Kitharoidos (Fig. 29) from the “Villa of Cassius” at Tivoli was recognized long ago, prompting the attribution of their originals to the same stylistic circle or even sculptor, although recent scholarship, as so often, prefers to relegate this Apollo type to the Roman period.⁵⁷ **3**, a Greek original, may help to anchor both these types in time and space, since it shares several of the same drapery mannerisms, teepee-like front view, and lunging principal view, as the Apollo (Figs. 17:b; 29, right). If

57. Vatican, Museo Pio-Clementino 301 (Sala delle Muse 516); full-scale replicas in the National Museum, Stockholm (no. 3), and the Museo Nazionale delle Terme (no. 197681). See Lippold 1950, p. 311, pl. 110:3; Stewart 1977, p. 120, pl. 50:d; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 203, no. 135, pl. 194, s.v. Apollon (W. Lambrinudakis, P. Bruneau, O. Palagia, et al.); s.v. Apollon/Apollo, p. 385, nos. 65:a–e (E. Simon); Flashar 1992,

pp. 108–113 (with earlier bibliography), figs. 78, 79, *inter alia* showing that the view in Figure 29, left, is the principal one, just as for **3** (Fig. 18:a). Found with the nine Muses now displayed with it, though clearly an interpolation; *pace* Flashar (1992, pp. 105–108, figs. 74–77), there seems no compelling reason to consider the type a derivation from the striding Apollo of the Pergamon Altar, rather than vice versa, especially

given the testimony of **3** and, e.g., the Telephanes relief, Figure 24. The Colonna Artemis (Lippold 1950, p. 291, pl. 110:4; *LIMC* II, 1984, s.v. “Artemis,” pp. 638–639, nos. 163–168, pl. 457 [L. Kahil]; s.v. “Artemis/Diana,” p. 801, no. 15, pl. 589 [E. Simon]), a replica of which was found together with the Terme copy of the Apollo (Paribeni 1926, pp. 279–280, pl. 5), may belong to the same stylistic circle.

Figure 29. Apollo Musagetes (Roman copy) from the “Villa of Cassius” at Tivoli. Photos Jastrow, Wikimedia Commons



the same, presumably Attic, workshop were indeed responsible for them all, it remains anonymous.

Finally, we come to **5**, which is somewhat larger in scale (by 10–12 percent) than **3** and thus, presumably, than **4**, indicating that it comes from the central akroterion of the set.⁵⁸ Its taut, dart-like, bifurcated folds and distinctive drilling echo those on the equivalent area of **3**, confirming manufacture in the same workshop. In stark contrast to the pedimental figures (**1** and **2**), the heavy drapery of all three of these pieces, and several of its individual mannerisms, recall the Apollo Patroos (Fig. 6; Appendix 1, **6**). Is this kinship a matter of period style, homage to Euphranor’s masterpiece, or a genuine workshop tradition? His son Sostratos was active in Athens in the second half of the century; according to Pliny he “flourished” along with Lysippos in 328–325. Since only three signed statue bases of his survive, however, one of them from the Agora and all for bronzes, any attribution would be premature, to say the least.⁵⁹

As to the identity of **5**, her himation, bunched and slung diagonally across her torso from the left shoulder to the right side of the waist, around which it would then be wrapped, is worn in a manner characteristic of active young women such as Artemis.⁶⁰ In this context, the goddess herself is the obvious candidate, in turn strengthening the case that the ensemble showed the slaughter of the Niobids. And if an avenging Artemis stood above the peak of the gable, *a fortiori* presumably so did her equally vengeful brother, Apollo.

58. If so, it may be no coincidence that this 10–12 percent difference between them corresponds more or less to the central akroterion’s relative size vis-à-vis the corner ones recommended by Vitruvius (3.5.12: see pp. 286–287, above), namely, one-eighth, or 12.5 percent, higher. Since the Tegea akroteria of ca. 340 apparently are similarly

proportioned (Stewart 1977, pp. 9–14, 59–60, pl. 53; Danner 1989, pp. 15, 20, 27, 89, nos. 89, 120, 168), did some 4th-century theorist recommend this ratio for the statues only, and did Hermogenes then coordinate it with the tympanon?

59. Plin. *HN* 34.51; Agora I 7354; *IG* II² 2799, 4279; see Palagia 1980, p. 5, fig. 1; Kansteiner et al. 2014, vol. 3,

pp. 558–560, nos. 1–3, texts 2425–2428.

60. E.g., *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 641–642, 645, 727, nos. 194–203, 250–251, 1359, pls. 460–462, 465, 558, s.v. Artemis (L. Kahil); and the Agora votive relief S 2361: Camp 1980, p. 9, fig. 15; 1986, p. 205, fig. 176; Lawton 2006, p. 50, fig. 54.

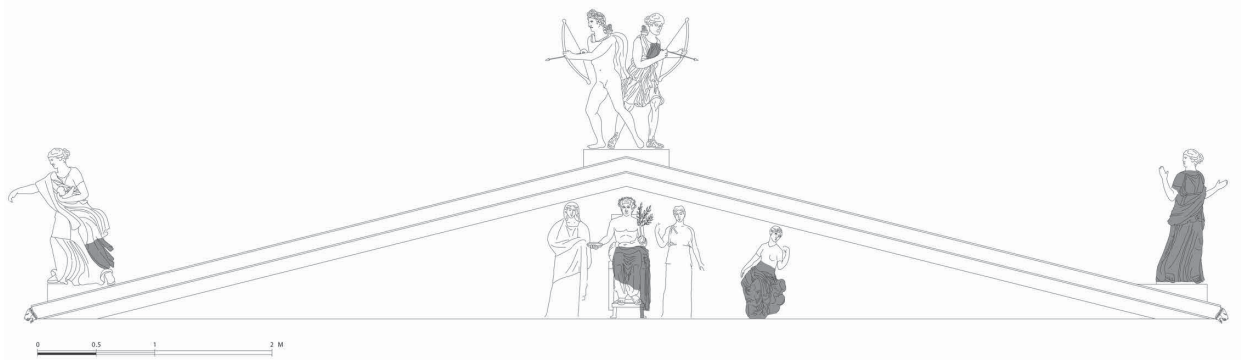


Figure 30. Conjectural reconstruction of the east pediment and akroteria of the Temple of Apollo Patroos. Montage E. Babnik

PROGRAM, PURPOSE, AND DATE

As conjecturally reconstructed (Fig. 30), the temple's sculptural program apparently consisted of the epiphany of Apollo on the east pediment, accompanied by at least some of the Muses, and an excerpt from the slaughter of the Niobids above it. Seen from head-on in this way, the clearly oversized akroteria highlight their designer's deep concern to compensate for their more elevated position than the pedimental sculptures, and consequently greater diminution when viewed from below.

The epiphany, already featured on the east pediment of Apollo's temple at Delphi, completed in 327, but on present evidence not indebted to it either compositionally or stylistically, would have underlined both Athens's ties to Delos and Ionia, and reciprocally their own ties to Athens as their mother city, mediated through the person of Apollo Patroos (1, 6; Figs. 6, 9).⁶¹ Moreover, as the patron god of the tribes (*phylai*), clans (*gene*), and perhaps also the family unions (*phratriai*) of Attica, and the guarantor of the ephobic oath, he directly represented their autochthony, cohesion, and longevity.⁶² And last but not least, he had introduced culture to humankind, Athens conspicuously included, in the form of music and the Muses.

In the 4th-century Athenian imaginary, then, Apollo Patroos's domain extended horizontally right across the Aegean, and vertically throughout Athenian and Ionian society. The two statues of the god that Pausanias saw in or before the temple's pronaos, the Alexikakos by Kalamis and another by Leochares, perhaps a Pythios, touched on all these, as the texts confirm.⁶³

The slaughter of the Niobids would have complemented and focused these concerns. Born to Tantalos and Dione at the foot of Mount Sipylus in eastern Ionia (western Lydia), Niobe had married Amphion, one of the twin founders of Thebes, thereby neatly traversing the horizontal, geographical axis of Apollo Patroos's own domain. According to Sappho, she and Leto "were friendly companions," presumably before they became mothers.⁶⁴ Then, owing famously to Niobe's *hybris* in declaring that she had many more children than Leto, they became bitter rivals.⁶⁵ With all her children—except for one or two, according to later sources—massacred by Leto's vengeful offspring, Apollo and Artemis, the devastated Niobe fled back to Mount Sipylus; was turned to stone (as Pausanias verifies); but continued to weep rivers of tears even so.⁶⁶

61. See Hedrick 1988, pp. 204–205.

62. See n. 15 above, for references.

63. Hedrick 1988, pp. 201–202.

64. Ath. 13.571d = Sappho fr. 142 Lobel-Page/Campbell.

65. E.g., Hom. *Il.* 24.603–604; Sappho fr. 205 Lobel-Page/Campbell.

66. Gantz (1993, pp. 487–488, 536–540) helpfully summarizes the early Greek tradition.

Niobe's story thus speaks not only to Apollo's role as castigator (*sophronistes*) of transgressors from Greece to Ionia and back again, but also to the need to maintain a proper respect for the divine vertically within the city, clan, and family. In 5th-century Athens, Aischylos, Sophokles, the mythographer Pherekydes, and the lyric poet Timotheos all treated the story, and the first three of them, at least, agreed that the massacre took place at Thebes (only two scraps of Timotheos's dithyramb survive, with no mention of the location).⁶⁷ As Townsend has argued, it was possibly this Timothean dithyramb that Thrasyillos revived in 320.⁶⁸ The dedicatory inscription on his choregic monument above the Theater of Dionysos mentions only that he won the competition for the men's chorus, but, as remarked earlier, inside it Pausanias saw "Apollo and Artemis . . . slaying the children of Niobe."⁶⁹ Explored further in Appendix 2, this statement is most suggestive.

The Temple of Apollo Patroos cannot have taken long to build. Smaller than that of Asklepios at Epidauros, which took four and a half years, and colonnaded only at the front, yet (as there) employing two separate workshops for the sculptures of its east facade, as there, it could have been finished in less than four years.⁷⁰ Moreover, Lawall's demonstration that it almost certainly belongs after ca. 313⁷¹ leaves only a relatively narrow window for its authorization and construction: essentially, the last decade of the century.

This tumultuous period saw the last few years of the tyranny of Kassandros's puppet, Demetrios of Phaleron (317–307); Demetrios Poliorketes' triumphant entry into the city, the restoration of the democracy, and the Four Years' War, which saw Athens twice assailed by Kassandros and his army (307–304); the city's substantial contributions of men and ships to Demetrios's cause (306–301); his two sojourns in the Parthenon (304–302); and his return to Asia, defeat at Ipsos by Seleukos and Lysimachos alongside his father, Antigonos One-Eye, and flight to Cyprus (302–300). The city then had to suffer another tyrant and Macedonian protégé, the infamous Lachares (300–295), under whom it sought to mend fences with Kassandros and Lysimachos (299–297).⁷²

Yet before we plunge into all this, it has been suggested that by the 320s the slaughter of the Niobids could have been perceived in a very particular way: as an allegory for the Macedonian destruction and depopulation of Thebes in 335, a disaster that had hit the Athenians particularly hard.⁷³ If so, one implication would be that the Thebans somewhat deserved their fate, which in turn could indicate a pro-Macedonian bias in the story's selection for the temple's akroteria, and so could point to a period when the Macedonians controlled Athens, during either the tyranny of Demetrios of Phaleron or the hegemony of Demetrios Poliorketes.

Yet although the Athenians indeed kowtowed to the Macedonians during these years, there is no indication that they ever used or interpreted mythology in this directly allegorical and simplistically politicized manner, either then or at any other time.⁷⁴ For example, Euripides' *Trojan Women* of 415 (to name but one example) had treated the captives with great sympathy, as war victims rather than enemies justly punished for their city's misdeeds, perhaps alluding to the cruel Athenian obliteration of the Melians a year earlier. As for Niobe, the thrust of Timotheos's dithyramb is unknown, but both Aischylos and Sophokles seem to have complicated

67. Aesch. fr. 154a, 160 Nauck²/Radt; Soph. ap. schol. ΣΤ in Hom. *Il.* 602 (see Gantz 1993, pp. 537–538, for a synopsis of the plays); Pherekydes, *FGrH* 3 F38; Timotheos fr. 786–787 Campbell. Homer (*Il.* 24.602–617) does not give the location either, merely noting that the children were killed "in the halls," and Niobe then was turned to stone on Mount Sipylus.

68. Townsend 1982, pp. 198–216.

69. *IG* II² 3056; Paus. 1.21.3; see p. 301, above.

70. Epidauros: *IG* IV² i 102; Roux 1961, pp. 83–130; Prignitz 2014, pp. 18–85, esp. 73–75.

71. Lawall 2009.

72. Habicht (1997, pp. 53–87) authoritatively surveys the period.

73. Simon 2000; cf. Habicht 1997, p. 15. Cf. Polyb. 9.28.8, 34.1.

74. Neer (2002, pp. 7–8, 24–26) offers a penetrating critique of such interpretations.

the plot by shifting at least part of the responsibility for it onto the gods. Aischylos apparently decried their implacable determination to destroy the House of Amphion whatever happened, and Sophokles their massive overreaction to Niobe's *hybris* with its vengeful waste of innocent lives.⁷⁵ All in all, then, to ascribe a particular moral bias to the myth *per se* and thus an equivalent political one to the sculpture, ignoring the complexities of both the former's reception in Athens and the latter's multivalent functions, seems both crude and inadvisable.

In fact, closer scrutiny of the events of these years opens up a far more promising path. As historians recognized long ago, the liberation of Athens in 307 marked not only a return to democracy and thus to the Kleisthenic system whose ten tribes Apollo himself had authorized,⁷⁶ but also a sea change in its relations with the outside world and particularly with its daughter cities in Ionia. Philip II of Macedon had severed these in 338 when he abolished the Second Athenian Sea League *de facto*, thereby robbing Apollo Patroos of a good part of his *raison d'être*. As Habicht has astutely remarked,

The Athenians' shift of allegiance—from Cassander's Macedonian-Greek realm to that of Antigonos in Syria, Asia Minor, and the Aegean—renewed old connections, in particular with the communities in Ionia that had traditionally regarded Athens as their mother city. These communities had followed the events of 307 closely and were highly pleased with the outcome; many Ionian cities expressed their sense of solidarity with the new democratic regime in Athens by sending delegations with crowns and honors for its leaders. Between 307 and 301 inscriptions document such demonstrations of goodwill from Miletus, Ephesus, Priene, Colophon, and the Ionian communities of Chalcis and Tenos. At the same time, Athenian merchants gained access to the territories ruled by Antigonos, so that in 305/4, for example, importation of grain "from Asia" is documented.⁷⁷

Most likely, then, it was in these years that an Athenian resolution to update and upgrade Apollo Patroos's currently cramped home would have been not only called for, but also almost mandatory. (As the history of the Peloponnesian War shows, Athenians never balked at temple building in wartime, which was exactly when they needed the favor of the divinities in question.) And what better for its embellishment than a reassertion of Apollo's awesome powers, universal reach, unique gifts to humankind, and special import for the Athenians themselves and their Ionian kin? Authorization of the temple in 306 or shortly thereafter would also have left a good half-dozen years for the Thasian amphora (the key to the shrine's new, low chronology) to be made, filled, imported, emptied of its wine, broken, and deposited in its pit in the Agora.

75. Gantz 1993, pp. 537–538.

76. Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 21.6.

77. Habicht 1997, p. 69, citing
IG II² 129, 1485 A 24 (Miletos); IG II²
1485 A 9 (Ephesos); IG II² 456, 470

(Kolophon); IG II² 464 (= *Agora XVI*,
pp. 175–176, no. 112), 565–567; *SEG*
III 86 (XXXIII 103) (Priene); IG II²
563; Schweigert 1937, p. 323, no. 4
(Chalkis); IG II² 466 (Tenos).

CHRONOLOGY

The sequence of events proposed earlier may now be refined as follows:

- Ca. 370–350: Cult of Apollo Patroos founded and altar dedicated.
- Ca. 355–338: Euphranor’s cult statue commissioned and installed in the Agora; naiskos built around it.
- 337–324: Neoptolemos gilds the altar; Lykourgos proposes a crown for him.
- Ca. 313–306: Thasian stamped amphora imported, emptied, and broken; its handle discarded in pit later put out of use by the temple.
- Ca. 306: Temple authorized and begun; naiskos dismantled; statue transferred to temple platform; construction resumed.
- By ca. 300: Temple and its sculptures completed; naiskos rebuilt and repurposed.
- Ca. 150–86: Colonnade added to naiskos.

CONCLUSION

If the present study is anywhere near the mark, as a votive to Apollo Patroos and thus an “honor” (τιμή) and “delight” (ἄγαλμα) for him, this temple and its sculptures (Niobids, Muses, and the god himself: Figs. 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 17–23, 30), along with their links to the Pythian and Delian cults, offered a comprehensive picture of his own “honors” (τιμαί) or prerogatives: namely, archery, music, and prophecy. His *Homeric Hymn* had established them centuries earlier, citing the very first words he had spoken after his birth.⁷⁸

As the god who personifies and promotes the “straight way” and the “back-stretched harmony (παλίντονος ἄρμονίη) of the kosmos” produced by the taut strings of bow and lyre/kithara, the “far-working” (ἐκατοίος; ἐκάεργος) Apollo is the custodian and transmitter of his father Zeus’s cosmic order through his archery, music, and prophecy.⁷⁹ “By the beneficent and deadly use of the same strings”⁸⁰ and the communicative power of his oracles, not to mention his own imagery in sculpture and painting, he impels humankind to fear, joy, and understanding. Far-shooting, far-sounding, farsighted, and the mortal enemy of *hybris*, he both straightens us out and keeps us to the straight and narrow. The god of rectitude, he corrects, directs, and civilizes the city, its allies, and us by remote control.

Unfortunately for this temple’s sponsors, however, by the time it was decreed and built, the political part of its message was already all but obsolete.

78. *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 131–132: Εἴη μοι κίθαρίς τε φίλη καὶ καμπύλα τόξα, / χρήσω τ’ ἀνθρώποισι Διὸς νημερτέα βουλὴν; cf. Burkert 1985, pp. 143–149;

Clay 2006, pp. 43–44, 92–93; Graf 2009.

79. ὁδὸν . . . ἴθουε: *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 421, 539; παλίντονος ἄρμονιή κόσμου

ὄκωσπερ λύρης καὶ τόξου: Heraclitus fr. 27 Marcovich; DK 22 B 51; ἐκατοίος; ἐκάεργος: *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 1, 257. 80. Graf 2009, p. 28.

APPENDIX 1

THE APOLLO PATROOS AND OTHER ASSOCIATED SCULPTURAL FRAGMENTS

6 Colossal statue of Apollo Patroos

Figs. 6, 31, 32

S 2154. Found in 1907, apparently in the northern part of the Hellenistic Metroon, at G,H-8,9.⁸¹ Transferred from the National Museum to the Agora in 1956.⁸²

H. of statue 2.54; W. 0.98; D. 0.55 m. H. of plinth in front, 0.085; behind, 0.13; W. 0.92; D. 0.62 m. H. of peplos hem from plinth, 1.40; of belt, 2.0 m. Socket for head and neck, L. 42.1; W. 31.0; D. 0.07; lewis hole toward the back of this socket, L. 0.08; W. 0.05; D. 0.127 m. Vertical socket for kithara tenon, H. 0.215; p.W. at lower rear 0.025; D. 0.08 m. Break from left shoulder to waist where left upper arm broke away, H. 51.0 m. Pentelic marble.

Broken vertically into two major pieces with other small fragments added; mended in 1916 with iron bars and concrete infilling. Lightly weathered. Missing: head and neck; left forearm and kithara (all carved separately and inset; see below); rim of socket for neck; shoulders; most of long hair locks on anterior of left shoulder; most of socket for kithara tenon; both arms; right side of torso; part of right knee and ca. 20 cm of fold dropping from it (restored in concrete); most of left side of himation; much of its right side down to knee level; ridges of some folds, especially above belt and left foot; most of right upper sandal strap. Center of belt battered, hanging ends broken in antiquity and reattached with five small pins, Diam. 2 mm.

Since the virtuoso technique of the statue has been very thoroughly described by Adam, and its drapery and style by Thompson and Palagia, only a few supplementary observations are necessary here.⁸³

The body, the left upper arm, and perhaps also the right arm were carved from a single massive block of Pentelic marble measuring about 2.8 × 1.2 × 0.75 m, weighing about 6.5 tons, and placed upright in the workshop. Predictably, its foliation runs vertically from top to bottom, strengthening the deep vertical folds of the drapery but weakening the left arm at the shoulder joint, eventually causing it to break off at this point (see p. 310, below).

The top and sides of the plinth and the rear part of the sole of the left sandal were pointed in medium to long strokes, then partially smoothed in front with the flat chisel. Delicate “mason’s” strokes with a fine claw (4 teeth/8 mm) finished the bottoms of the valleys of the himation folds down the right side and on the drapery elsewhere. Relatively few patches of rasping appear in the valleys and on some ridges of the chiton folds on the front; more, somewhat coarser ones on the back. A light polish remains on the toes of the right foot and the adjacent parts of the sandals and drapery. The sandals’ fenestrated uppers and notched straps

81. Lawall (2009, p. 398, n. 36) offers important remarks on its reported findspot “near” and south of the temple, concluding that its often-quoted provenance “20 m” south of it cannot be documented earlier than 1929. Since it was found split in two from top to bottom, presumably it was severely damaged by the Heruli in A.D. 267, along with the rest of this side of the Agora, was discarded, and was being readied for the lime kilns when for some reason it was abandoned.

82. Thompson 1953–1954 [1961], p. 30.

83. Adam 1966, pp. 94–97; Thompson 1953–1954 [1961], pp. 30–33; Palagia 1980, pp. 13–20.

Figure 31. Apollo Patroos of Euphranor (6), left profile, detail of the socket for the kithara and left forearm. Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

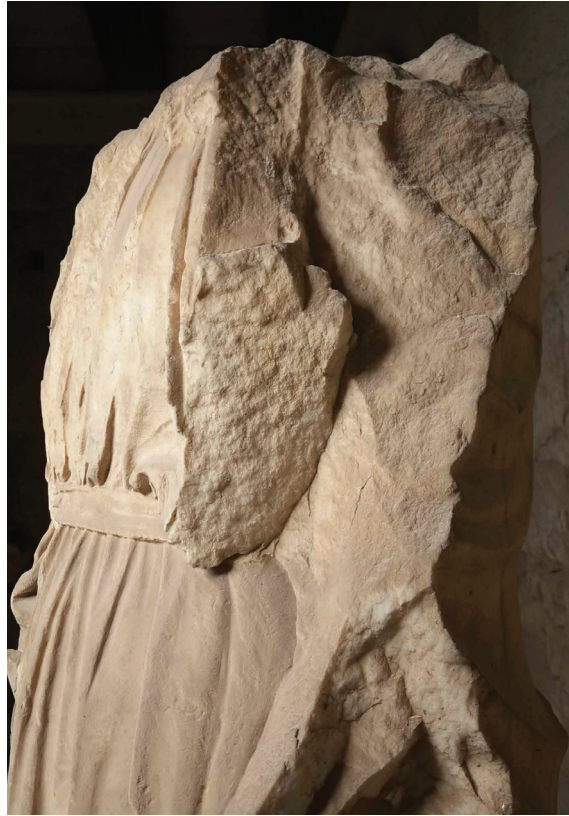


Figure 32. Apollo Patroos of Euphranor (6), detail of the socket for the head and neck, and central lewis, from above. Photo courtesy Agora Excavations



both across the ends of the toes and behind them are still unparalleled in extant 4th-century sculpture.⁸⁴

A vertical socket for the kithara tenon, previously overlooked, was cut into the front of the left armpit in two stages (Fig. 32). Its lower 12 cm and slightly sloping floor were first honeycombed with the drill, then punched out and carefully smoothed with the flat chisel; its upper 10 cm, 1–2 mm narrower, were quite

84. Morrow 1985, pp. 75–76, 83, 161, fig. 7:b, pl. 88:a, b; Palagia (1980, p. 15) cites the Apollo Barberini, now regarded as a classicizing Roman

work (Flashar 1992, pp. 206–212, figs. 181, 182; Fuchs 1992, pp. 203–211, pls. 208–211), but although the uppers of his sandals are also

fenestrated, their straps are somewhat differently positioned and not notched.

roughly punched diagonally from above and barely smoothed at all. Clearly the sculptor realized at a late stage that a marble tenon measuring only 12 cm from top to bottom might not bear the combined weight of the kithara (about half as high as a man: see Fig. 12) and attached colossal forearm.⁸⁵ Yet with this extension the socket now terminated perilously close to the apex of the left shoulder, which eventually sheared away down the foliation, taking the upper arm with it. Probably, then, the kithara and forearm were the last elements of the statue to be carved and installed, perhaps (if the left-hand side of the insertion bust for the head and neck extended that far and thus helped to load and stabilize the kithara and forearm from above) even after the head and neck were lowered into place in their socket.

This socket, a shallow bowl that follows the neckline of the chiton, is roughly picked in short strokes with the point (Fig. 31), and, as mentioned above, a lewis hole is cut into it slightly behind the colossus's center of gravity.⁸⁶

This lewis hole evidently was used for hoisting the massive marble block into a vertical position, but probably not secondarily for a dowel to secure the head and neck. Lowering the latter, which must have weighed at least 100 kg, accurately into place without damaging this putative dowel would have been most difficult, and no pour-channel exists for the lead infilling required thereafter.

On the assumption that the statue was first installed in the naiskos and only a few decades later moved next door to the new temple, for both practical and aesthetic reasons, the sculptor and his team must have carved this colossus upright from the start, presumably in situ on its base in the naiskos. (Why do so in the workshop, when they would have to move and reerect it later anyway?) This would both eliminate the risk of damage en route and allow the sculptor to gauge the exact composition and modulations of the drapery for maximum effectiveness in the half light of the building.

Presumably, then, the neck cavity and lewis were cut first, with the block lying horizontally as it had come in from the quarry, albeit no doubt already dressed down somewhat to lighten the load. The dressed-down block then was raised upright using a huge sheer-legs, before the building had risen much if at all above stylobate level. Exactly the same technique was used in 1956 to position the statue on its present base in the Stoa colonnade.⁸⁷

Reinstallation in the new temple then would have entailed (1) prior construction of its stylobate and possibly its colonnade, but probably not its cella walls and roof; (2) demolition of the naiskos down to its stylobate; (3) construction of a wooden ramp between the two; (4) removal of the statue's inserted left arm, kithara, head, and neck; (5) erection of a sheer-legs on the stylobate of the naiskos; and (6) transfer of the statue upright to a huge dolly. Moving it upright in this way, presumably braced by stout timber supports, would also have eliminated the risk of fracturing it while tilting it into a supine position and then back upright again in its new home. The new temple would then have been constructed around it.

Ca. 350 B.C., along with the naiskos immediately to the north of the cella of the temple (Figs. 1–3). Formerly often placed ca. 340–330 along with the temple, which Lawall (2009) now has down-dated by at least a quarter century (see p. 277, above).

Attribution: Since the back of the statue is extremely schematic and clearly meant to be invisible, it cannot have been one of the two freestanding Apollos that Pausanias saw in front of the temple (1.3.4; see pp. 273–274, above). Since it is (1) carved for proximity to a wall surface; (2) a virtuoso piece of work; (3) recovered “near” the Temple of Apollo Patroos; (4) colossal; and (5) replicated from the late 4th century into the Empire (Fig. 7), there is no good reason to doubt that it is indeed Euphranor's cult statue. For a possible association with the last years of the Second Athenian Sea League (355–338), see pp. 280–281, above.

85. The kithara and forearm of the Dionysos from the west pediment of Apollo's temple at Delphi, installed in 327, were attached in the same way; see Boardman 1995, fig. 14:2; *FdD* IV.7, p. 85, pls. 34–37.

86. Cf. Ginouvès and Martin 1985, pp. 119–120, 122–123, pls. 29:4, 32:3, 4, 33:5; Partida 2015, p. 33; *inter alia*, both note that the hole must be located behind the center of gravity in order to stop the statue from swinging uncontrollably when suspended in midair.

87. See Gawlinski 2014, p. 12, fig. 1.

Select bibliography: Thompson 1937, pp. 107–109, fig. 56; Thompson 1953–1954 [1961], pp. 30–44, pls. 1, 2 (with earlier bibliography); 1962, p. 120; 1976, p. 180, fig. 28; Lippold 1950, p. 261; Adam 1966, pp. 16, 17, 33, 34, 35, 67, 78, 94–97, 127, pls. 42, 43; Travlos, *Athens*, pp. 96–97, figs. 123, 124; *Agora XIV*, p. 139, pl. 69; Camp 1980, p. 8, fig. 13; 1986, p. 160; 1990, p. 193, fig. 39; 2003, p. 10, fig. 11; 2010, pp. 71–72, fig. 41; Palagia 1980, pp. 13–20, figs. 6–17; 1997, pp. 185–186, 187–188, fig. 17; Dontas 1982, pp. 20–25, pl. 3:2; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 204, no. 145, pl. 195, s.v. Apollon (V. Lambrinudakis, O. Palagia); Morrow 1985, pp. 75–76, 83, 161, fig. 7:b, pl. 88:a, b; Hedrick 1988, pp. 194–200; Stewart 1990, p. 179, fig. 112; Flashar 1992, pp. 50–60; Boardman 1995, p. 55, fig. 30; Ridgway 1997, pp. 335–337, pl. 80:a, b; Rolley 1999, pp. 284–285, figs. 290, 291; Roccas 2000, p. 240, n. 39; *FdD* IV.7, pp. 150–151, pl. 66; Bol 2004, vol. 1, pp. 369–370, 559; vol. 2, fig. 335; Lawton 2006, p. 40, fig. 43; Gawlinski 2014, pp. 33–34, fig. 23; Greco 2014, pp. 1006–1007, fig. 609; Kansteiner et al. 2014, vol. 4, pp. 75–76, no. 1, text 2776, ills.

7 Drapery fragments

Apparently not inventoried and still unlocated; perhaps relegated to a marble pile after discovery. Found “north of the Metroon, in the 3rd-century destruction level” (Section E, Nb. V, p. 859), i.e., at H-8/2,10, on April 6, 1935. Marble.

Unpublished.

These may be identical to 8, below.

8 Drapery “slivers”

Apparently not inventoried and still unlocated; perhaps relegated to a marble pile after discovery. Found “on the temple steps,” i.e., at H/12,18–7/16,8/10, in 1931–1936. Not mentioned in the notebooks for sections E, H', or OE, which intersect at that point. Pentelic marble.

“In clearing the ruinous front steps of the Third Temple we found a basketful of slivers of Pentelic marble from the drapery of a large statue. The workmanship is excellent, the finish somewhat smoother than that of the statue found in the Metroon. Repeated efforts have failed to establish any join between the slivers and that statue. The fragments, then, must come from another large statue of the Classical period which may very well have stood in the porch of that temple.”⁸⁸

Thompson 1937, pp. 109–110, n. 6; 1953–1954 [1961], p. 43, n. 2; whence Hedrick 1988, p. 199; Lawall 2009, p. 398.

These may be identical to 7, above.

9 Five fragments of a kithara for an approximately life-size statue Fig. 8

A 41. Misidentified as a balustrade and registered as architecture. Fragments a–c found apparently in the gap between the north room of the Temple of Apollo Patroos, the naiskos, and the Stoa of Zeus, at H/11,12–7/10,11, June 17, 1931. Two others found soon after and added to catalogue card.

(a) L. 0.055; W. 0.061; D. 0.063 m. (b) L. 0.081; W. 0.061; D. 0.041 m. (c) L. 0.155; W. 0.095; D. 0.063 m. (d) L. 0.099; W. 0.095; D. 0.063 m. (e) L. 0.071; W. 0.059; D. 0.051 m. Coarse-grained, highly translucent, island (Naxian?) marble. A sixth fragment, found in a marble pile in the section on July 3, 1931 (Section A, Nb. IV, p. 668; Thompson 1953–1954 [1961], p. 39, fig. 7:a, top right; 7:b, bottom), and somewhat resembling the eye of an Ionic volute, is Pentelic and does not belong.

Front highly polished, back smooth and unpolished; almost no tooling visible. Corner of flat chisel used for grooves and reentrant angles; some light rasping in places on back.

88. Thompson 1937, pp. 109–110, n. 6.

First identified and inventoried as fragments of a balustrade, fragments a–d come from the arms and inner decorative “tendrils” of a marble kithara. Fragment e is harder to place but may come from their upper ends or the crossbar. Comparison with Apollo’s kithara on the Mantinea base (Fig. 12) suggests an instrument about half a meter across and thus about 80–90 cm high. It therefore belonged to an approximately life-size statue, i.e., about 1.6–1.8 m high. Neither its marble nor its scale, then, fits **6**, the Apollo Patroos (Fig. 6).

4th century B.C.?

Thompson 1937, pp. 109–110, n. 6; 1953–1954 [1961], pp. 37–39, fig. 5:a, b; Hedrick 1988, p. 199; Lawall 2009, pp. 389, 398.

10 Torso of a running Niobid, ex-Chiaramonti type Fig. 27

S 1046. Modern house wall at O,Q-17,19 (i.e., Section Ψ), May 12, 1938.

H. 0.265; pit of neck to girdle, 0.155; W. 0.388; of neck, >0.010; of shoulders, ca. 0.155 × 2; nipples, 0.180; D. 0.298 m. Pentelic marble.

Broken across just below girdle and at base of neck; edges of break chipped. L. shoulder, side, and adjacent portion of back missing; right arm broken away above elbow, right side of torso broken away below. Edges of many drapery folds chipped; girdle and its knot battered. Weathered.

Many anterior chiton folds above girdle running drilled (Diam. 3; D. 3–8 mm); also thinner folds hanging from right arm (Diam. 2; D. 3–5 mm); rest chiseled. Chiton folds down back cut more roughly with flat and bullnose chisels; himation folds below sketched with flat chisel, then rasped.

The woman, dressed in a high-girt, sleeved chiton and heavy himation, was running to her left with her left leg flexed and her right extended out to the side. Her right arm also reached out somewhat, perhaps to hold up the hem of her himation, whose folds hang in catenaries across her back from lower left to upper right, converging and disappearing toward her right shoulder. The chiton is emphatically modeled in front, its folds looping around her neck, spiraling around her right breast, and cascading between her breasts and down her right side; sharp ridges and deep valleys cut with the running drill create a dramatic black-and-white effect over the entire upper torso, especially since at proper right they are framed first by narrower running drill valleys and then flatter, entirely chiseled folds. The girdle is tied in front with a reef or “Herakles” knot, and the sleeves are buttoned on the surviving shoulder and down the arms; remains of three buttons are visible.

The statue is clearly a Niobid of the Uffizi/ex-Chiaramonti type, though the detailing is somewhat capricious and more emphatic than any replica published hitherto.

The emphatic modeling and absence of heavy rasping on the drapery suggest a date in the 1st century A.D., perhaps later rather than earlier.⁸⁹

Unpublished.

89. I thank Sheila Dillon for verifying this for me.

APPENDIX 2

THE CHOREGIC MONUMENT OF THRASYLLOS AND ITS INTERIOR

At the top of the theater is a cave in the rocks under the Acropolis. This too has a tripod on it. In it Apollo and Artemis are slaying the children of Niobe. Niobe herself I saw when going up Mount Sipylos.

Paus. 1.21.3

The monument dedicated by Thrasylos to celebrate his victory in the men's chorus at the Greater Dionysia of 320/19 B.C. has occupied an honored if minor place in the topographical handbooks of ancient Athens since Stuart and Revett first published it in 1787.⁹⁰ At that time, even though the grotto behind it housed the little Byzantine shrine of Panayia Chrysospiliotissa, it was almost intact. Forty years later, however, its facade was destroyed during the final Turkish siege of the Acropolis. Since 2011, the Greek Archaeological Service has been collecting, reassembling, and reerecting its fragments. As for the grotto behind it, now closed off by an iron grille, it is now occasionally accessible again by special appointment (Figs. 28, 33–35).

Early scholarship on the monument focused upon its complicated history; the contradictions between what Pausanias saw and what Stuart and Revett recorded; and the Niobid scene.⁹¹ Because Pausanias notes the latter in his typically laconic way, three main problems soon emerged, as follows. Was Niobe herself included in it? What was its medium? And why was it selected for this particular spot? Concerning Niobe, it was soon agreed that Pausanias's words should not be taken restrictively—that his focus on the children by no means entails that their mother (who was spared) was omitted. Yet was the scene embossed on the tripod; carved in relief in the monument's vestibule; painted; or represented in the round? Did Thrasylos select it and its site because he had won his victory with a dithyramb on the story, and the site resembled Mount Sipylos?⁹²

Only in 1938, when Welter published a new study of the monument, were the architectural questions apparently resolved to general satisfaction. Its doors opened inward into the grotto, whose floor and roof each rise about 2 m from front to back, following the naturally sloping stratification of the rock and creating a fairly uniform, tube-like space about 8.3 m deep *in toto*, 5.8–6.2 m wide, and roughly 5.5–6.0 m high. Just inside the monument's doors, this grotto's rocky floor and sides had been cut back to create a square cave mouth and level, rectangular vestibule 7 m wide, 1.8 m deep, and 0.50 m high at the back.

On top of this half-meter-high step at the back of the vestibule, a second, very shallow cutting, 30 cm from front to back, extends almost its full width, fronting the deep inner chamber of the grotto, whose walls

90. Stuart and Revett 1787, chap. 4, pls. 1–6; Travlos, *Athens*, pp. 562–565, figs. 704–708; Greco 2010, pp. 163–165, figs. 83–85.

91. The most important contributions are listed and summarized in Travlos, *Athens*, p. 562. Boletis (2012) offers a comprehensive treatment of the monument, the cave behind it, the early pictorial documentation, scholarship, and reconstruction. I thank John Camp for alerting me to this dissertation and sharing his copy of it with me. See also Zarkadas 2012–2013, p. 311.

92. See, e.g., Stark 1863, pp. 111–118 (votive group in the grotto); Milchhöfer 1885, p. 144 (embossed on the tripod); Sauer 1897, cols. 420–421 (marble relief in the grotto); Frazer 1913, vol. 2, p. 231 (marble group probably in the vestibule).



Figure 33. Detail of the western end of the vestibule inside the choregic monument of Thrasyllus, showing the first step up into the grotto proper and adjacent wall cuttings. Photo A. Stewart

now slant inward at around 60 degrees (Figs. 28, 33). Welter concluded that this half-meter-high step and the shallow cutting on top of it were clearly intended to carry a wall. Since (as he argued) the monument could not have housed freestanding sculpture (the vestibule is too shallow, and the wall would have closed off the inner chamber behind it), the Niobids must have been frescoed or carved in relief on this wall.⁹³

In the early 1980s, Rhys Townsend reexamined the monument and came to the opposite conclusion. Yet since his study—a dissertation on late-4th-century Athenian architecture—was never published, it has not received the attention it deserves.⁹⁴ He observed, first, that the shallow, 30 cm cutting on top of the step probably carried a balustrade, not a wall, since at the sides it continues upward for only 0.25 m, so that its top stood only around three-quarters of a meter above the floor of the vestibule (Fig. 33). Second, although the inner chamber behind this cutting was inaccessible and much obscured by the Orthodox chapel and its trappings, its general configuration was clear (Figs. 34: B' ΘΑΛΑΜΟΣ; 35).

About 6.3 m deep *in toto*, it is a fairly uniform 5.5–6.0 m high. Like the vestibule (Fig. 34: A' ΘΑΛΑΜΟΣ), its rocky floor, sides, and roof had been dressed by a coarse punch. Starting at the presumed balustrade, its floor rises gradually for a distance of 3.3 m via a series of three very low, roughly cut ledges, and ends in a second step, also about 50 cm high. Finally, the floor behind this second step, now about 2 m above that of the vestibule and just like it dressed quite level, extends back again for another 2.5 m to a third step, well over 2 m high, at the very rear of the grotto (Fig. 34: “ΕΞΩΣΤΗΣ”), creating yet another ledge whose depth was obscured by a Christian wall in front of it. The tooling of all these areas is uniform, proving that they are contemporary.

Since (Townsend continued) the vestibule (Fig. 34: A' ΘΑΛΑΜΟΣ) and its balustrade created a wide, stepped observation gallery and huge picture

93. Welter 1938, cols. 39–47, figs. 4–7.

94. Townsend 1982, pp. 194–198; cited by Agelidis (2009, pp. 175–177) and Boletis (2012, p. 30), but otherwise ignored; it is not cited, e.g., in Greco 2010, p. 164.

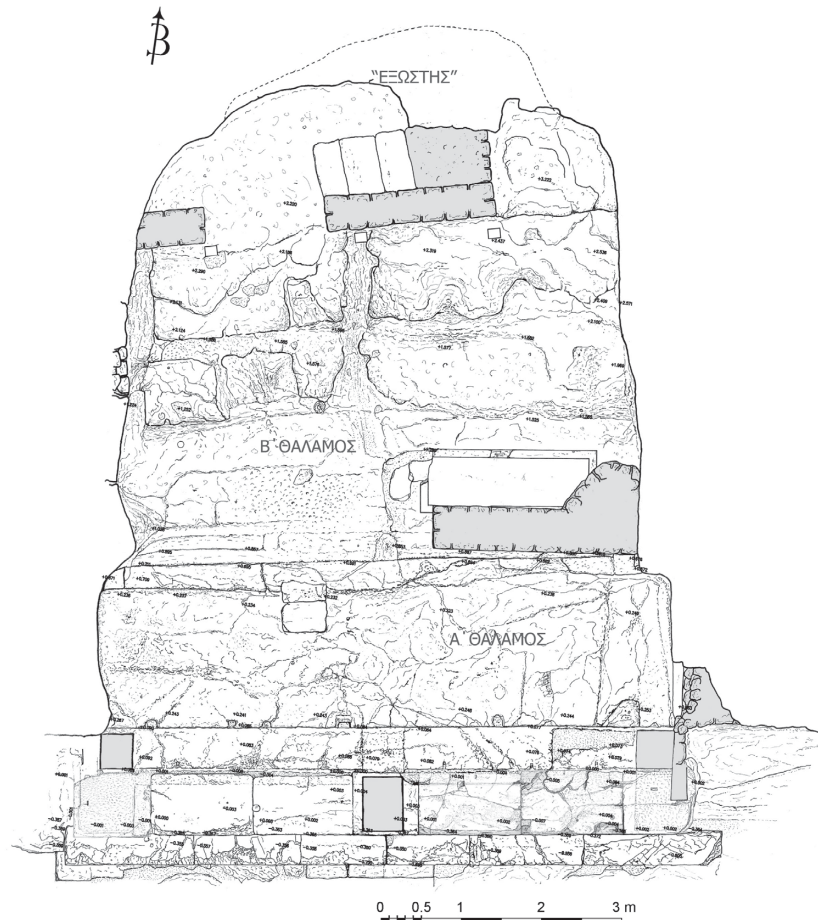


Figure 34. Plan of the grotto. Boletis 2012, pl. 102; courtesy K. Boletis

window into the steadily rising grotto (Figs. 34: Β' ΘΑΛΑΜΟΣ; 35), which itself had been artificially dressed down presumably at considerable cost, something must have been displayed there, but what? A sculptural group, perhaps? It is certainly big enough to house one: at least 45 m² (ca. 500 ft²) in area. Moreover, when Pausanias talks about paintings, he always specifies them as such by including some form of the word *graphe* (γραφή) or *graphein* (γράφειν). For sculptures in the round he either uses one of the words for “image” (*xoanon* [ξόανον]; *agalma* [ἄγαλμα]; *andrias* [ἀνδριόξ]; *eikon* [εἰκόν]; etc.), or personifies them, as here.⁹⁵

So, Townsend argued, the grotto indeed may have housed such a group, namely, Pausanias’s Niobids: the originals of the Uffizi/ex-Chiaramonti

95. Compare the following personified sculptures in the round, from the chapters preceding the description of Thrasyllos’s Niobids: 1.1.3 (Zeus and Demos by Leochares); 1.2.4 (mounted Poseidon and Polybotes); 1.2.5 (Pegasos of Eleutherai); 1.3.2 (Konon, Timotheus, Evagoras, Zeus Eleutherios, Hadrian); 1.3.5 (Apollo by Peisias and Demos by Lyson); 1.8.2–3 (bronze Lykourgos, Kallias, Demosthenes); 1.9.4 (Philip and Alexander); 1.14.1

(Dionysos in the Odeion); 1.14.4 (Epimenides); 1.15.1 (bronze Hermes Agoraios); 1.18.7 (bronze Zeus in the Olympeion); 1.19.2 (herm-like Aphrodite Ourania); 1.20.1 (satyr by Praxiteles; Eros and Dionysos by Thymilos, in the Temple of Dionysos). Contrast the following paintings, all explicitly identified as such: 1.3.3–4 (Theseus, Democracy, Demos, and others by Euphranor, in the Stoa of Zeus); 1.3.5 (Thesmothetai by Protogenes and

Kallippos by Olbiades, in the Bouleuterion); 1.15.1–3 (Oenoe, Amazonomachy, Ilioupersis, and Marathon in the Stoa Poikile); 1.17.2 (Amazonomachy, Centauromachy, and Theseus’s Recovery of the Ring, by Mikon, in the Theseion); 1.18.1 (Wedding of the Leukippidai by Polygnotos, in the Sanctuary of the Dioskouroi); 1.20.3 (Dionysos cycle in the Sanctuary of Dionysos).

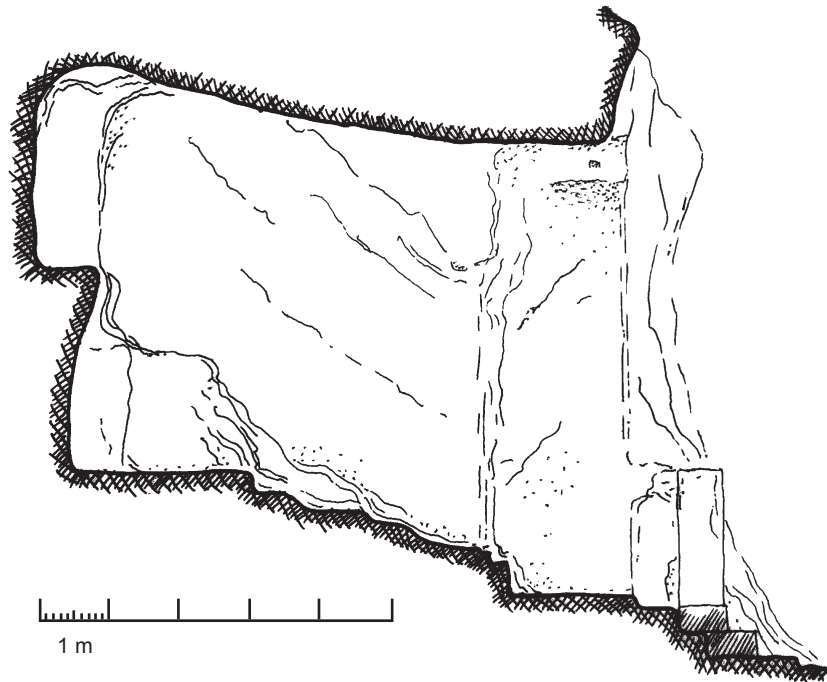


Figure 35. Section of the grotto.

Redrawn and adapted by R. Levitan from Boletis 2012, pl. 39, with Christian additions removed

ones (see Figs. 25, 26), several of which clearly are composed for viewing not in the round but from just such a single viewpoint. As such, like a petrified *tableau vivant* they presumably illustrated Thrasyllus's victorious production: a dithyramb about the slaughter of the Niobids. Some warrant for this idea comes from the Nikias Monument 100 m downhill to the southwest, dedicated for a victory in the boys' chorus at the same festival in 320/19. Its votive inscription tells us that Nikias won with a revival of Timotheos's dithyramb *Elpenor*, and according to a popular (but perhaps mistaken) reconstruction of the evidence, the monument housed his own painting of the Underworld. Since Thrasyllus's victory was gained in the men's chorus, perhaps he won it with another Timothean revival, this time of the poet's *Niobe*.⁹⁶

In 2012, a still unpublished dissertation on the monument by Konstantinos Boletis, a product of the Greek Archaeological Service's decade-long restoration project, presented the first fully professional photographs, plans, and sections of the grotto (Figs. 34, 35). As well as meticulously documenting, studying, and reconstructing the architecture and surviving cuttings, he offered one major addition to Townsend's observations on the grotto. The high ledge at its rear (Figs. 34: "ΕΞΩΣΤΗΣ"; 35) actually stands about 2.8 m

96. On the Nikias Monument, see *IG II²* 3055; Travlos, *Athens*, pp. 357–360; Townsend 1982, pp. 198–216; Agelidis 2009, pp. 31, 171–174, no. 27; Greco 2010, pp. 192–193, figs. 199, 200. On Nikias the painter and his *Underworld*, see Plin. *HN* 35.132; Plut. *Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum* 11.2 [*Mor.* 1093e]; also Köhler 1885; Neutsch 1940, pp. 16–17, 67.

Gengler (2000) argues that *choregos* and painter were not the same man, since their patronymics are different (Nikodemos, *IG II²* 3055; Nikomedes, Pausanias 1.29.15, 3.19.4, 4.31.12), and (*pace* Köhler 1885; Neutsch 1940, pp. 16–17; Palagia 1980, p. 70; et al.) the latter cannot plausibly be emended to fit the former. On the other hand, Pausanias could easily have misheard

the name or unconsciously switched the consonants. Yet none of this undermines the possibility that Nikias the *choregos* produced Timotheos's *Elpenor*, while Thrasyllus the *choregos* produced Timotheos's *Niobe*. For the pitiful surviving scraps of the two poems, see Timotheos fr. 779 and 786–787 Campbell.

above its floor, creating a large niche about 4.5 m wide, 2.7 m high, and a very variable 0.50–1.5 m deep, since a sizable rocky outcrop protrudes from its eastern side.⁹⁷ Boletis went no further, but the implications of his work for the Niobids that Pausanias saw are hard to avoid. If they indeed stood in this artificially improved grotto, beyond the parapet, then this spacious, elevated niche surely held the avenging Apollo and Artemis.

An autopsy of the grotto on July 1, 2015, not only confirmed Boletis's observations but also suggested the following:

1. The late-4th-century enhancements to the grotto apparently were massive. Its walls were cut back, and its floor cut perhaps way down to create not only the rectangular vestibule (Fig. 34: A' ΘΑΛΑΜΟΣ) but also the steps, ledges, and terraces behind it, right back to its rear wall (Fig. 34: B' ΘΑΛΑΜΟΣ).
2. No 4th-century clamp or dowel holes for bronzes, or level beddings for marbles, are in evidence, and much of the floor is too sloping and uneven to have supported them unaided.
3. The late antique and Christian recutting and building operations, serious water erosion from a seasonal spring behind the grotto, and other random injuries by (inter alia) fire and human feet have damaged the late-4th-century floor to the point where any such bedding traces almost certainly are lost beyond recovery.
4. The 30 cm wide surface of the first step is uneven, and the vertical cuttings beside it are more equivocal than Townsend thought. If it supported any structure at all, it was perhaps a mortared stone terrace wall, presumably backed by fill.
5. Although the investigation was inconclusive, and the question remains open from an archaeological perspective, the laboriously squared-up vestibule (Fig. 34: A' ΘΑΛΑΜΟΣ), the contrived system of steps, ledges, and terraces behind it (Fig. 34: B' ΘΑΛΑΜΟΣ), and the dressed-down grotto walls cannot have been mere whimsy. They must be meaningful, and in no way contradict the theory that the intent was somehow to provide a display space for sculpture.⁹⁸

The statues themselves also continue to offer some support for this idea. Both the identification of S 440 (3; Figs. 17–19) as a near-contemporary version of the Uffizi/ex-Chiaramonti Niobid (Figs. 25, 26), and the discovery also of a hitherto unpublished Roman version of the type in the Agora (10; Fig. 27), greatly increase the odds that their archetypes stood in Athens or Attica, like those of no fewer than two dozen other sculptural types long known in replica but also now represented mostly by battered, painstakingly reassembled fragments of their Classical Greek originals. Many of these originals stood on the Acropolis and in its environs, some in the Agora and other urban sites, and a few elsewhere in Attica. The collection includes one

97. Boletis 2012, pp. 129–132, pls. 39, 40, 64, 76, 102, 103, 121.

98. Undertaken along with Michael Lefantzis, Supervising Architect of the Slopes of the Athenian Acropolis, in the Ephorate of Antiquities of

Athens; Konstantinos Boletis, Supervising Architect of Restoration at the Theatre of Dionysos and choregic monument of Thrasylos, also in the Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens; and Jesper Jensen, of the Danish Institute in

Athens. I thank them for their companionship, guidance, and generosity in sharing their observations and ideas, and apologize in advance for any and all errors in conveying the gist of our discussion.



Figure 36. Slaughter of the Niobids, Athenian red-figure calyx-krater attributed to the Niobid Painter (name vase). Paris, Louvre G 341. Photo E. Lessing/Art Resource, New York

group that is famous and relatively well preserved, namely, the Erechtheion Caryatids; the rest are broken, partial, and mostly identified quite recently, such as the fragments of the Barberini “Suppliant” and Albani “Olympias.”⁹⁹

Although the Uffizi/ex-Chiaramonti Niobids are not yet in this category, one famously enigmatic original that is stylistically identical to them was found on the South Slope of the Acropolis not far from the Thrasyllos Monument, namely, the so-called Ariadne head, Athens National Museum 182. Discovered in 1876 in the Turkish fortification by the Asklepieion Spring House (145 m west of the Thrasyllos Monument), it was first associated with the Uffizi Niobids by Studniczka in 1919.¹⁰⁰ In these circumstances, to reconsider Townsend’s theory seems opportune. Could Thrasyllos have commissioned the originals of the Uffizi/ex-Chiaramonti Niobids for his cave?¹⁰¹ Not only are the Uffizi ones clearly “one-sided” and generally composed for inspection from a single viewpoint, compatible in

99. Despini 2008; list on pp. 301–304.

100. For the findspot and identity, see Despini 2008, pp. 303, 313–314, no. 11. For the location of the spring-house, see Travlos, *Athens*, pp. 61, 71, 138, figs. 71:114, 91; Greco 2010, p. 180, fig. 89:11. On “Ariadne,” see

Studniczka 1919; cf. Stewart 1977, pp. 118–120, pl. 50; most recently, Pochmarski and Schidlofski 2007 (synopsis of the scholarship; reception; full bibliography).

101. This, in turn, would entail that the “Dying Children of Niobe” displayed in the mid-1st century A.D. in

the Temple of Apollo Sosianus at Rome, and supposedly by either Skopas or Praxiteles (Plin. *HN* 36.28), had nothing to do with the Uffizi/ex-Chiaramonti ones. Thus, persuasively, Corso (2010, p. 72), *inter alia* noting along with Geominy and others that the latter are too large for that temple.



Figure 37. Slaughter of the Niobids, Roman marble disk from Italy. London, British Museum 1877,0727.1.

Photo BM AN362591; courtesy Trustees of the British Museum

scale with this location, and mounted on rocky plinths, but also generally agreed to copy a scenically displayed monument of some sort.¹⁰²

If so, they would have been arranged in a quasi-“Polygnotan” perspective within the grotto (Fig. 34: B’ ΘΑΛΑΜΟΣ), with the two vengeful Olympians placed on the elevated ledge at the back (Figs. 34: “ΕΞΩΣΤΗΣ”; 35), as in the famous mid-5th-century Niobid krater in the Louvre (Fig. 36). Perhaps the massive recutting of the cave’s walls and floor was undertaken to create an appropriate ambience for the tragedy, as there and on the British Museum’s Niobid disk (Fig. 37),¹⁰³ presumably aided by some artfully landscaped terracing, now lost. Many 4th-century votive reliefs show mythological scenes in caves (see, e.g., Figs. 13, 24), and a freestanding Dionysiac tableau in one is concretely attested only a few decades later, among the floats displayed in Ptolemy II’s Great Procession of the 270s.¹⁰⁴

102. For a critical summary of the scholarship, see Ridgway 2003, pp. 92–93, nn. 65–66.

103. Niobid krater from Orvieto, Paris, Louvre G 341: *ARV²* 601, no. 22; *Paralipomena* 395; *LIMC* VI, 1992, p. 916, no. 4, pl. 618, s.v. Niobidai (W. Geominy); and especially Denoyelle 1997; Giuliani 2015. Niobid disk,

British Museum 1877,0727.1: *LIMC* VI, 1992, p. 918, no. 15:i, pl. 618, s.v. Niobidai (W. Geominy).

104. See, e.g., Stewart 1990, figs. 522, 581–583; Boardman 1995, fig. 146. For Ptolemy’s grotto, see Ath. 5.200b–c (quoting a contemporary account by Kallixenos of Rhodes), and cf. Poseidippos 113 Austin-Bas-

tianini; cf. Lauter 1972; Hesberg 1981, pp. 96–107; Lavagne 1988, pp. 31–156; Rice 1995, esp. p. 403, n. 46 (on Lauter’s “pleasure park” as probably part of a cemetery); Ridgway 2000, pp. 277–278; Robinson 2011, pp. 159–170, figs. 93–96; Stewart and Liston, forthcoming; and, in general, McNerney and Sluiter 2016.

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