

# UC Berkeley

## UC Berkeley Previously Published Works

### Title

HELLENISTIC FREESTANDING SCULPTURE FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA, PART 2: Demeter, Kore, and the Polykles Family

### Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/05f5t6jz>

### Journal

Hesperia The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 81(4)

### ISSN

0018-098X

### Author

Andrew Stewart

### Publication Date

2012

### DOI

10.2972/hesperia.81.4.0655

Peer reviewed

# HESPERIA

THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL  
OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME 81  
2012



Copyright © The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, originally published in *Hesperia* 81 (2012), pp. 655–689. This offprint is supplied for personal, non-commercial use only. The definitive electronic version of the article can be found at <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2972/hesperia.81.4.0655>>.

# HESPERIA

Tracey Cullen, EDITOR

## EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

Carla M. Antonaccio, *Duke University*  
Angelos Chaniotis, *Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton*  
Jack L. Davis, *University of Cincinnati*  
A. A. Donohue, *Bryn Mawr College*  
Jan Driessen, *Université Catholique de Louvain*  
Marian H. Feldman, *University of California, Berkeley*  
Gloria Ferrari Pinney, *Harvard University*  
Sherry C. Fox, *American School of Classical Studies at Athens*  
Thomas W. Gallant, *University of California, San Diego*  
Sharon E. J. Gerstel, *University of California, Los Angeles*  
Guy M. Hedreen, *Williams College*  
Carol C. Mattusch, *George Mason University*  
Alexander Mazarakis Ainian, *University of Thessaly at Volos*  
Lisa C. Nevett, *University of Michigan*  
Josiah Ober, *Stanford University*  
John K. Papadopoulos, *University of California, Los Angeles*  
Jeremy B. Rutter, *Dartmouth College*  
A. J. S. Spawforth, *Newcastle University*  
Monika Trümper, *University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

*Hesperia* is published quarterly by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Founded in 1932 to publish the work of the American School, the journal now welcomes submissions from all scholars working in the fields of Greek archaeology, art, epigraphy, history, materials science, ethnography, and literature, from earliest prehistoric times onward. *Hesperia* is a refereed journal, indexed in *Abstracts in Anthropology*, *L'Année philologique*, *Art Index*, *Arts and Humanities Citation Index*, *Avery Index to Architectural Periodicals*, *Current Contents*, *IBZ: Internationale Bibliographie der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Zeitschriftenliteratur*, *Numismatic Literature*, *Periodicals Contents Index*, *Russian Academy of Sciences Bibliographies*, and *TOCS-IN*. The journal is also a member of CrossRef.

The American School of Classical Studies at Athens is a research and teaching institution dedicated to the advanced study of the archaeology, art, history, philosophy, language, and literature of Greece and the Greek world. Established in 1881 by a consortium of nine American universities, the School now serves graduate students and scholars from more than 180 affiliated colleges and universities, acting as a base for research and study in Greece. As part of its mission, the School directs ongoing excavations in the Athenian Agora and at Corinth and sponsors all other American-led excavations and surveys on Greek soil. It is the official link between American archaeologists and classicists and the Archaeological Service of the Greek Ministry of Culture and, as such, is dedicated to the wise management of cultural resources and to the dissemination of knowledge of the classical world. Inquiries about programs or membership in the School should be sent to the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 6–8 Charlton Street, Princeton, New Jersey 08540-5232.

# HELLENISTIC FREE- STANDING SCULPTURE FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA, PART 2

## DEMETER, KORE, AND THE POLYKLES FAMILY

### ABSTRACT

This article, the second in a series publishing the Hellenistic freestanding sculpture from the Athenian Agora, collects four fragments of over-life-size female statues and two related heads. Dating to ca. 150 B.C., all but one of the related pieces are attributable to the Polykles family from Thorikos. The fragments are apparently from a cult group of Demeter and Kore, and they broaden our understanding of the technique, style, and iconography of the genre. They also contribute significantly to our knowledge of Hellenistic Athenian sculpture from Athens, illuminating the Athenian portion of the Polykles family's sculptural production, and they compare favorably with other mid-Hellenistic cult statues from elsewhere in Greece.

### A CULT GROUP OF DEMETER AND KORE

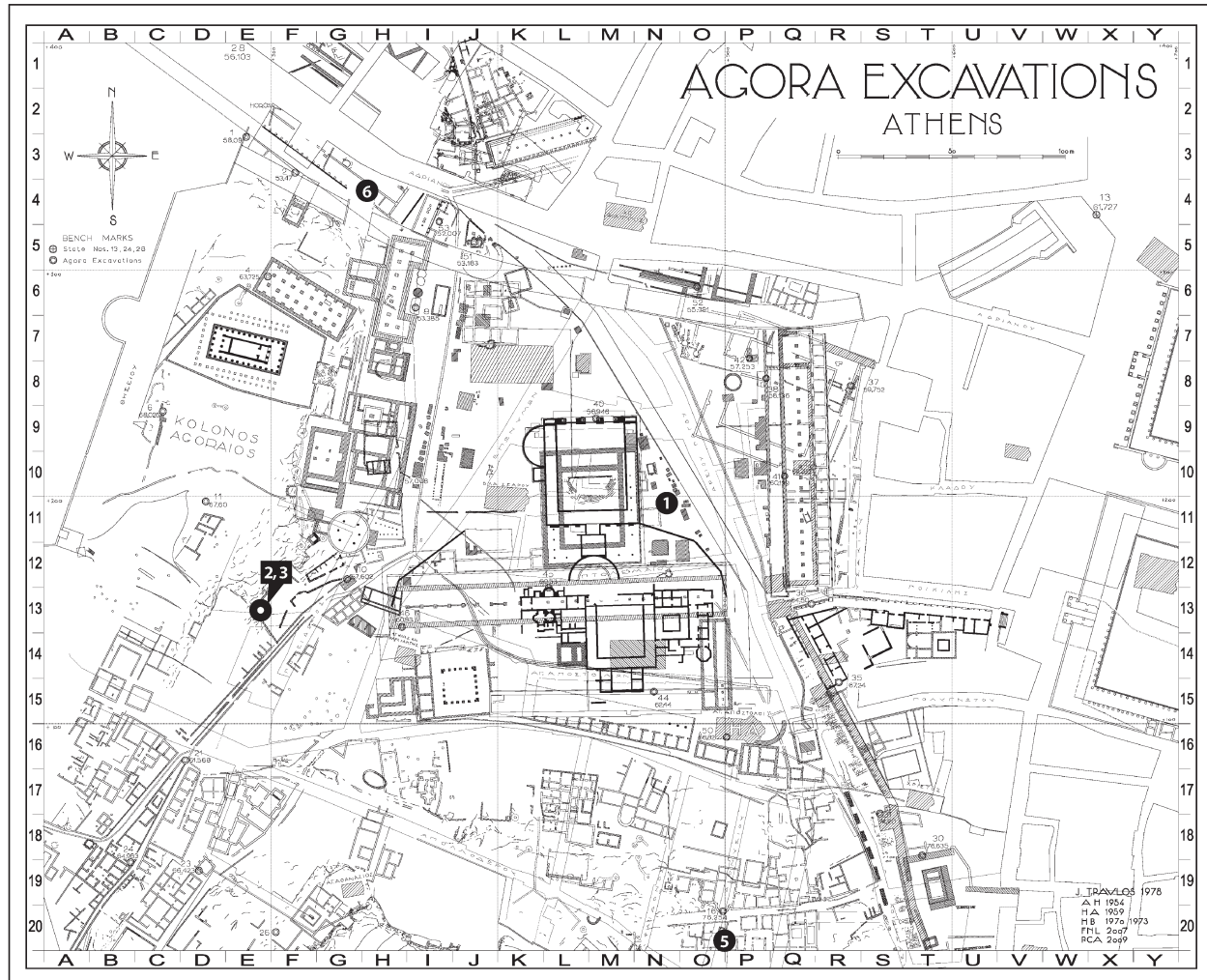
The sculptural ensemble published here consists of four fragments of large statues depicting females and two related heads from the Athenian Agora (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> Included are a large female head originally wearing a coronet (*stephanê*) and veil (1: Fig. 2, with the reconstruction, Fig. 3), a fragment

1. A full description of the individual fragments is given in Appendix 1.

Research for this study and its predecessor on Aphrodite (Stewart 2012) was carried out in the Agora Museum and the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in 1996–1998, 2000, and 2007–2011. I owe my sincere thanks to John Camp, Evelyn Harrison, T. Leslie Shear, and the late Homer Thompson for allowing me to study and publish this material; to Jan Jordan and Sylvie Dumont for facilitating access to it and for patiently fielding my queries and requests for material; to Karen Loven for cleaning those pieces

that required it; to Harry Laughy and Craig Mauzy for their splendid photographs; to Karen Bohrer, Robert Bridges, John Camp, the late W. D. E. Coulson, Jack Davis, Blanche Menadier, James Muhly, Maria Pilali, Stephen Tracy, and Nancy Winter for administrative and library support at the School; to Gianfranco Adornato, Richard Anderson, Harriet Blitzer, Nancy Bookidis, Jake Butera, John Camp, Michael Djordjevitch, Hallie Franks, Evelyn Harrison, Annie Hooton, Michael Ierardi, Raphael Jacob, Nikolaos Kaltsas, Carol Lawton, Alexander Mantis, Becky Martin, Veronika

Mitsopoulou-Leon, Olga Palagia, Nikolaos Papazarkadas, Christopher Pfaff, Geoffrey Schmalz, Kristen Seaman, Bert Smith, Dimitris Sourlas, Carol Stein, Ronald Stroud, Mary Sturgeon, Stephen Tracy, John Traill, Ismene Trianti, the late Stelios Triantis, and Martha Weber for help on particular points; to Erin Babnik and Lynn Cunningham for help with the illustrations; and to Tracey Cullen and three anonymous reviewers for *Hesperia* for their helpful criticisms, advice, and assistance. Others will be acknowledged in their proper place. All translations are my own.



of another large female head (2: Fig. 4), and two drapery fragments (3, 4: Figs. 5, 6). Only the first of these (1) has a proper context, and it is post-antique. The fragments are associated because of their material, a medium-grained, crystalline white marble; the identical scale of the two heads; and their style, which by comparison with the huge mass of Classical and Roman fragments in the Agora storerooms looks uniformly Hellenistic.

As I argue below, the fragments date to ca. 150 B.C. and join a number of impressive marbles from both Greece and Rome that are attributable to the Polykles family from Thorikos in eastern Attica. This family managed the leading sculptural workshop of mid-Hellenistic Athens; operated a prominent branch of it in contemporary Rome; catered to Italian merchants on Delos; and participated actively in Athenian politics. As a result, we know more about this family than any other Athenian practitioners of the art.

The two heads, 1 and 2 (Figs. 2–4), clearly were made as a pair. Judging from quarry samples, the marble is probably Parian—a rarity in Athens between ca. 400 B.C. and the Roman period, when Pentelic marble becomes the norm (see below).<sup>2</sup> The heads are both over life size: 1 indicates a figure around 3 m tall if she were standing upright. Moreover, their measurements

Figure 1. State plan of the Athenian Agora indicating findspots (all post-antique) of marble sculpture discussed in this article. The findspot of fragment 4 is unknown. Courtesy Agora Excavations, with additions by E. Babnik

2. Palagia 2000, p. 351.

TABLE 1: COMPARISON OF HEADS 1 AND 2

	<i>Between Canthuses of Eyes</i>	<i>Left Eye, Length</i>	<i>Right Eye, Length</i>	<i>Eyes, Outer Corners</i>	<i>Canthuses to Parting</i>	<i>Outer Corners to Parting</i>	<i>Width at Temples</i>
1	4.8	5.4	5.5	14.5	12.0	14.2	22.0
2	5.0	5.3	5.0	14.2	12.0	14.3	22.0

All measurements are in centimeters.

(when the damage to 2 allows comparisons to be made) are all but identical (Table 1).

These similarities indicate that the two heads come from the same monument—presumably, given their scale and material, a pair of cult statues, or *agalmata*. Since their scale, number, and probably also their material rule out deified Hellenistic queens (who also often wear a coronet and veil),<sup>3</sup> they must represent goddesses. And among these, the only ones regularly worshipped as a pair, one veiled and one bareheaded, are the matronly Demeter and her daughter Kore.<sup>4</sup> Probably the former was seated and the latter was standing, as is usual in Late Classical and Hellenistic art.<sup>5</sup> Since the facial asymmetries visible in the Demeter (1) and its somewhat angled cutting at the back indicate that she turned her head to her right, Kore (2) presumably stood on this side of her, that is, to the spectator's left.

The arm fragment 3 (Fig. 5) cannot belong to a seated figure (i.e., 1, the Demeter), since the folds continue under the forearm, which should be resting on the figure's lap if she were seated. So it should come from a standing figure, namely, Kore (2), and suggests that she shares attributes with the so-called Small Herculaneum Woman (Fig. 7) and—given the cutting for (probably) the raised left hand—the so-called Pudicitia type (Fig. 8).<sup>6</sup> The heavy folds looped around the right forearm and the cloth drawn tight over the elbow area imitate the former; a statuette group in Eleusis shows that in Attic sculpture, Kore displayed this motif as early as ca. 300 B.C.<sup>7</sup> The drapery cascade above the forearm is new, however, and apparently unprecedented in the Small Herculaneum Woman and its variants, which began to appear almost as soon as the originals of the two women were

3. The suggestion that 1 could be a Hellenistic queen (Thompson 1976, pp. 288–289, 325; *contra*, already, Stewart 1998, pp. 89–90, with references) is now moot, since (1) over-life-size portraits of these women are vanishingly rare outside their own kingdoms; (2) the use of marble suggests a cult statue, or *agalma*, and in Athens it seems clear that these traits were reserved for gods and (rarely) kings; and (c) a *pair* of such royal female *agalmata* exceeds all bounds of probability.

4. For arguments against an identification of 1 as Hera or Aphrodite (the two other goddesses who wear a coronet and veil), see Stewart 1998, pp. 89–

90. The recognition that 2 forms a pair with 1 disqualifies them both, leaving only Demeter.

5. See Peschlow-Bindokat 1972, pp. 117, 119, 139, figs. 39, 41, 42, 47, 48; *LIMC* IV, 1988, pp. 867–869, nos. 261–287, pls. 578–581, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi).

6. Small Herculaneum Woman and variants: Lippold 1951, p. 242, pl. 86:2; Bieber 1961, pp. 22, 176, figs. 751–753; 1962; Ridgway 1990, pp. 92–93, pl. 56:a, b; Smith 1991, p. 75, figs. 89, 336; Alexandridis 2004, pp. 243–248, 298–299, table 11; Bol 2004, pp. 424–425, text fig. 101; Bol 2007, pp. 25–27, fig. 31; Daehner 2007, esp. frontispiece, p. ii, and pls. 1, 7 (for the motif

of grasping the hem of the himation); Weber 2007, pp. 68–70. Pudicitia type: Lippold 1951, p. 335, pl. 131:4; Bieber 1961, p. 176, figs. 522–525; Linfert 1976, pp. 147–155, figs. 369–382; Smith 1991, p. 86, figs. 114, 116; Alexandridis 2004, pp. 261–265, 303–304, table 13 (I thank Jens Daehner and Kenneth Lapatin for alerting me to this study).

7. Kern 1892, p. 132, fig. 9; Ruhland 1901, pp. 86–88; Oikonomos 1946, p. 415; Metzger 1965, p. 35, no. 6; Peschlow-Bindokat 1972, pp. 138–139, fig. 47, p. 157, no. S 13; *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 869, no. 287, pl. 581, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi).



a



b



c



d



e



f

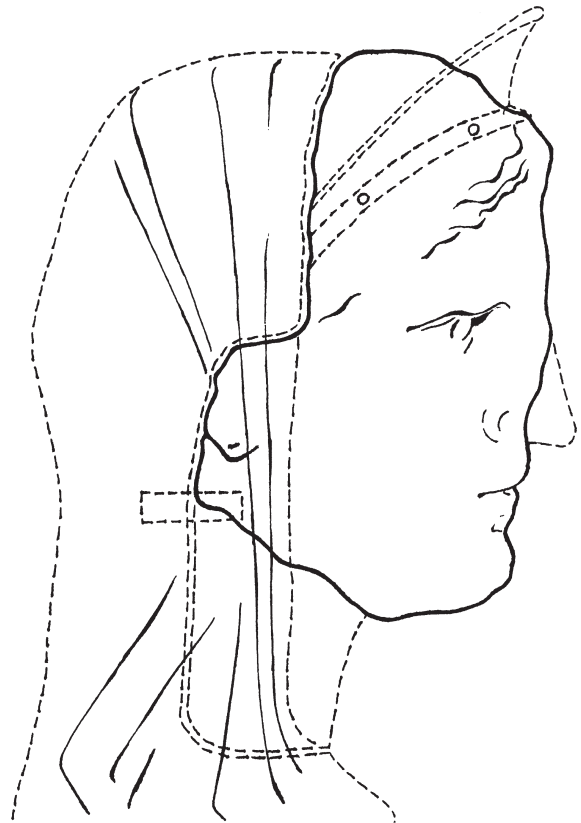


Figure 2 (*opposite and above*). Head of Demeter (1): (a) front view; (b) original poise; (c) right profile; (d) left profile; (e) three-quarter back view showing stepped cuttings probably for insertion into a veil; (f) back view showing stepped cuttings and a dowel hole below. Athens, Agora Museum S 551. Scale 1:4. Photos C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations

Figure 3 (*right*). Head of Demeter (1), reconstruction with *stephanê* and veil. Athens, Agora Museum S 551. Drawing C. Link

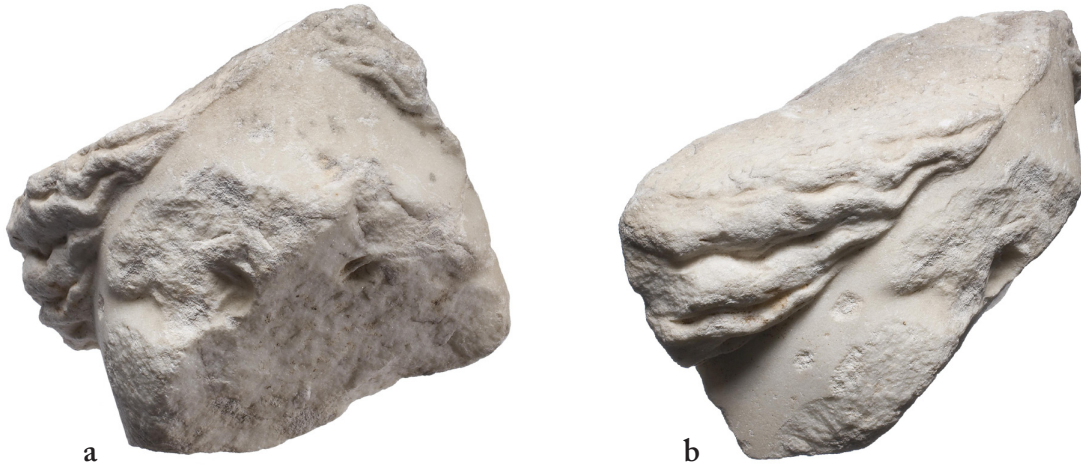


Figure 4. Head of Kore (2): (a) front view; (b) right profile. Athens, Agora Museum S 1874. Scale 1:4. Photos C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations

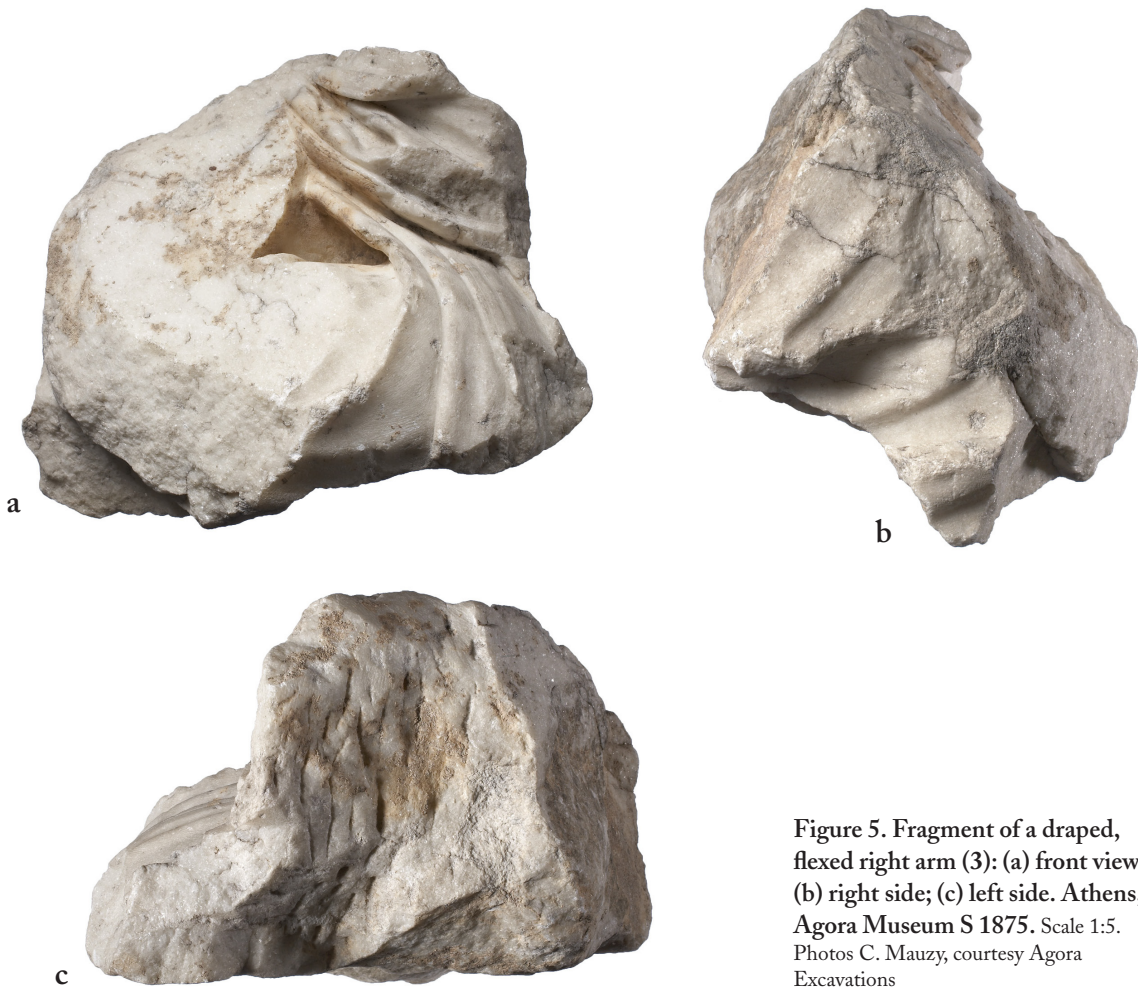


Figure 5. Fragment of a draped, flexed right arm (3): (a) front view; (b) right side; (c) left side. Athens, Agora Museum S 1875. Scale 1:5. Photos C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations



**Figure 6. Drapery fragment (4).**  
Athens, Agora Museum S 2689.  
Scale 1:3. Photo C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora  
Excavations



**Figure 7. So-called Small Hercula-  
neum Woman from Delos, detail of  
right arm. Athens, National Archae-  
ological Museum 1827.** Photo A. Stew-  
art, courtesy National Archaeological  
Museum, Athens; © Hellenic Ministry of  
Culture and Tourism/Archaeological  
Receipts Fund

made, in the late 4th century.<sup>8</sup> The figure's left arm was apparently slotted into the vertical funnel-shaped cavity behind the drapery cascade. If so, the left elbow must have covered the right hand and wrist, and the left hand either held the hem of the figure's drapery at neck level or cupped her

8. See, e.g., Horn 1931; Kruse 1975; Linfert 1976; Vorster 2007b. Vorster (2007a) plausibly argues that the originals were bronze portraits of elite Athenian women by Praxiteles and/or his sons (a specialty of this workshop, and in this case presumably displayed at some central location where they swiftly

became iconic); and that the types were never used for goddesses. A free variant of the Large type used apparently for Kore on a sarcophagus at Aphrodisias (inv. S-2; Smith et al. 2006, p. 158, Sarc. 8, p. 138; information from Bert Smith and Martha Weber) is insufficient to shake this conclusion. The New

Style coins of Athens illustrate several more Kore types, all quite different from this one: Thompson 1961, pls. 88, 89, nos. 802–811; pl. 133, nos. 1187–1195; pl. 137, nos. 1127–1229; pl. 139, nos. 1241–1244; pl. 141, no. 1263; Herzog 1996, pp. 61–65, 89–92, 95–98, 110–114, 131–134.



Figure 8. So-called Pudicitia. Vatican Museums, Braccio Nuovo 23, inv. 2284. Photo Alinari/Art Resource, NY (ART 353266)

chin, as seen in mirror image on the Pudicitia type illustrated in Figure 8. Studies of this type tend to put its invention in the 2nd century B.C., though since all the supposedly early versions are undated, this is little more than guesswork.

As for Demeter (1), a Roman statuette of the goddess found in the Metroon during the Greek excavations of 1907 (Fig. 9) may give some idea of her appearance. Seated on a cylindrical Eleusinian *cista* (not visible in the photograph) and holding sheaves of grain and the seed pod of a poppy flower, she wears a heavy, looping himation not dissimilar in style to the drapery cascade of fragment 3 (Fig. 5:a).<sup>9</sup>

9. Athens NM 3989: P.H. 0.39 m. See Oikonomos 1946; Peschlow-Bindokat 1972, pp. 135, 156, no. S3;

*LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 859, no. 142, pl. 572, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi); Kaltsas 2002, p. 253, no. 529; Kaltsas and Shapiro

2008, pp. 136–137, no. 56, regarding it as a Roman copy of a Hellenistic original. For the attributes, see the



**Figure 9. Demeter. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3989.**  
Photo courtesy National Archaeological Museum, Athens; © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund

The statues' approximate date and authorship are relatively easy to discover. The colossal cult images by Damophon of Messene at Lykosoura and Attalos son of Lachares of Athens at Pheneos, datable respectively to the early and late 2nd century B.C.,<sup>10</sup> establish the relevant parameters, as does a head in the Agora (6: see Fig. 21, below), apparently from the

Corinthian "Sam Wide" plate, Athens NM 5825: Metzger 1965, p. 27, no. 63, pl. 9:1; *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 858, no. 121, pl. 571, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi); and the Demeter from her sanctuary on Acrocorinth, Corinth S 2662: Stroud 1965, p. 23, pl. 9:e (I thank Ronald Stroud for these references). I thank Nikolaos Kaltsas for allowing me to study this figure and for providing a cast of the neck in case her head lurks in the Agora Museum storerooms; unfortunately, a preliminary search has turned up no obvious candidates.

10. See Stewart 1979, pp. 39–46, figs. 13–15; 1990, pp. 94–96, 221,

304–305, figs. 788–793; Smith 1991, pp. 240–241, figs. 299–302; Themelis 1996, pp. 154–185, figs. 91–131 (overlooks Stewart 1990); Damaskos 1999, pp. 24–30, 33–40, 44–70; La Rocca, Presicce, and Lo Monaco 2010, pp. 103, 168 (Damophon's Anytos: color pl.), 178 (Eukleides' Zeus: color pl.), 256–257 (no. I.15: Anytos), 265–266 (no. I.23: Zeus). Attalos's Hygieia at Pheneos is published only in preliminary reports: Protonotariou-Deilaki 1961–1962, p. 59, pls. 63, 64; Vanderpool 1959, 280–281, pl. 76, fig. 13; whence Smith 1991, fig. 300; Moreno 1994, vol. 2, pp. 544, 547, figs. 670,

672; La Rocca, Presicce, and Lo Monaco 2010, p. 103, fig. 14. Reusser (1993, p. 109) and La Rocca et al. (2010, p. 103) convincingly date it to ca. 100 by comparison with the head of Fortuna Huiusce Diei from Temple B in the Largo Argentina (Martin 1987, p. 201, pls. 13, 14; Moreno 1994, vol. 2, p. 545, fig. 671; Ghisellini 2003–2004, pp. 487–488, fig. 25, 496, 511, no. 3; La Rocca et al. 2010, p. 103, fig. 15), dedicated in 101 B.C. I thank Alexandros Mantis for taking me to see it in 2007 and sharing his opinions of it with me.

same workshop as the latter, of which more below.<sup>11</sup> Yet the modeling of the Demeter (1) is both firmer, less pulpy, and less mobile than that of Damophon's goddesses, and stronger and more nuanced than that of Attalos's Hygieia and its Agora counterpart (6), which play down the minor and middle forms in favor of a stereometric monumentality that all but depersonalizes the subject and distances her decisively from mundane humanity.

In short, the Demeter (1) occupies a middle ground within the parameters of the genre, which—at least in Greece—usually remained resolutely classicizing and neo-Pheidian or neo-Praxitelean, tolerating only a very limited degree of modernization even as Pergamon and other centers in Asia enthusiastically embraced the Hellenistic baroque.<sup>12</sup> The Agora sculptor's success in this regard can be gauged by the fact that the Demeter's excavators and others considered it to be unquestionably a 4th-century original.<sup>13</sup>

The four closest relatives stylistically to the Demeter are an over-life-size head of Athena in a private collection in Larisa (Figs. 11, 16); a fragmentary under-life-size female head from the sanctuary of Athena Kranaia near Elateia (Figs. 12, 17); a startlingly similar head from the Agora (5: Figs. 13, 18); and a colossal Herakles found either on or at the foot of the Capitoline Hill in Rome (Fig. 14).<sup>14</sup> Their material is probably Parian marble also, and the Athena and Herakles are both acrolithic.<sup>15</sup> The provenance and author of the Larisa Athena are unknown, but as Pausanias tells us, Athena's cult statue at the Kranaia sanctuary was made by the sons of Polykles (identified a few sentences earlier as Timokles and Timarchides of Athens), and the Herakles is usually connected with a remark by Cicero about a statue by Polykles standing near the Capitoline Temple of Ops.<sup>16</sup> All three men are amply attested elsewhere as scions of a prominent family of sculptors from Thorikos in eastern Attica (see below and Appendix 2), active between ca. 180 and ca. 130 B.C.

All four heads have many features in common. Two of them, the Elateia head (Figs. 12, 17) and the fragmentary one from the Agora (5: Figs. 13, 18), are the same size (Table 2) and were probably made by the same hand.

11. For more comparanda, see Stewart 1998, pp. 87–89, figs. 11–13.

12. Compare the Athenian Phrymachos's Asklepios Soter at Pergamon, if the city's coins are a reliable guide: Stewart 1979, fig. 7:d; 1990, fig. 679; discussion, Damaskos 1999, pp. 132–136. For a similar stylistic range within the genre in contemporary Rome, see Martin 1987, pp. 198–200; Reusser 1993, p. 105; La Rocca, Presicce, and Lo Monaco 2010, pp. 102–103.

13. See, e.g., Thompson 1976, pp. 288–289.

14. (1) Athena, E. Karamanolis Collection, Larisa: Knigge 1986, pls. 130–131; Häger-Weigel 1997, pp. 249–252; Giustozzi 2001, pp. 44–47, figs. 74–76; Despinois 2004, p. 272.

(2) Head from the Athena Kranaia sanctuary, Athens NM 4817: Despinois 1995 (published 1998), pp. 347–349, pls. 75:2, 76:1, 2, after La Rocca's (1972–1973, p. 429, n. 3) correction of Raftopoulou's (1971) attribution of it to the Argive Heraion. (3) Female head, Agora S 2902 (5): unpublished. (4) Herakles, Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori 2381, from an acrolith: *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 789, no. 1307, pl. 529, s.v. Herakles (O. Palagia), with earlier bibliography; Stewart 1990, p. 230, fig. 858; 1998, pp. 88–89, 91, n. 11 (with earlier bibliography), figs. 2, 5; Moreno 1994, vol. 2, pp. 525–526, figs. 648, 649; Despinois 1995, pp. 363–365, pl. 77; Landwehr 2000, pp. 105, 108, n. 28, 109, n. 100 (not an acrolith);

Figure 10 (*opposite, top left*). Head of Demeter (1). Athens, Agora Museum S 551. Photo C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations

Figure 11 (*opposite, top right*). Acrolithic head of Athena. E. Karamanolis Collection, Larisa. Photo E. Feiler, courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, neg. 1985/219

Figure 12 (*opposite, bottom left*). Female head from the sanctuary of Athena Kranaia at Elateia (cast). Athens, National Archaeological Museum 4817. Photo E. Gehnen, courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, neg. 1995/719

Figure 13 (*opposite, bottom right*). Female head (5). Athens, Agora Museum S 2902. Photo C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations

Ridgway 2000, pp. 243–244; Giustozzi 2001; Ghisellini 2003–2004, pp. 481–482; Despinois 2004, pp. 269–272 (follows Landwehr); Volkommer 2004, vol. 2, p. 294, s.v. Polykles (C. Müller); Bol 2007, p. 277, fig. 239; La Rocca, Presicce, and Lo Monaco 2010, pp. 179 (color pl.), 266–267, no. I.24 (N. Giustozzi).

15. Knigge 1986, p. 143; Despinois 1995, p. 349; Giustozzi 2001, p. 10; Despinois 2004, pp. 269–272; La Rocca, Presicce, and Lo Monaco 2010, pp. 266–267, no. I.24 (N. Giustozzi).

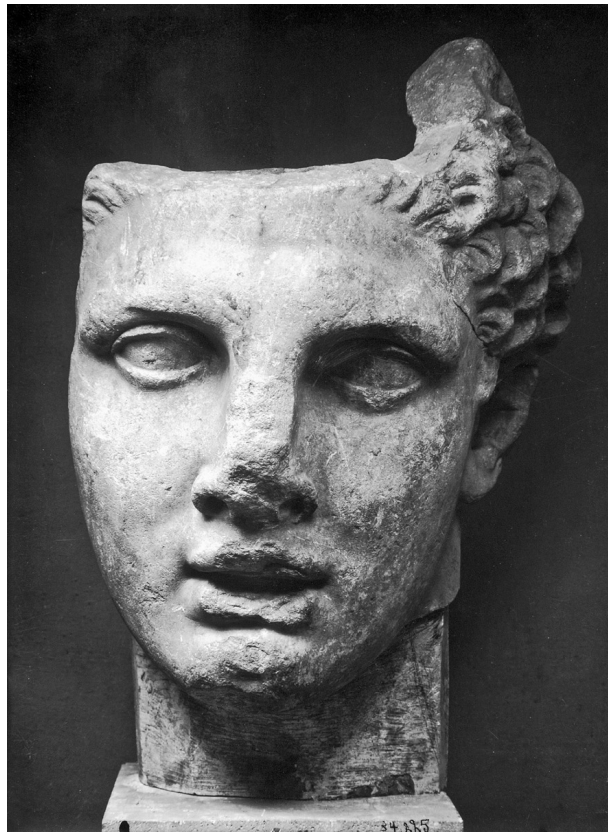
16. Paus. 10.34.6–8; Cic. *Att.* 6.1.17. According to Pausanias, the shield of the Athena Kranaia was copied from, or at least inspired by, that of Pheidias's Athena Parthenos.



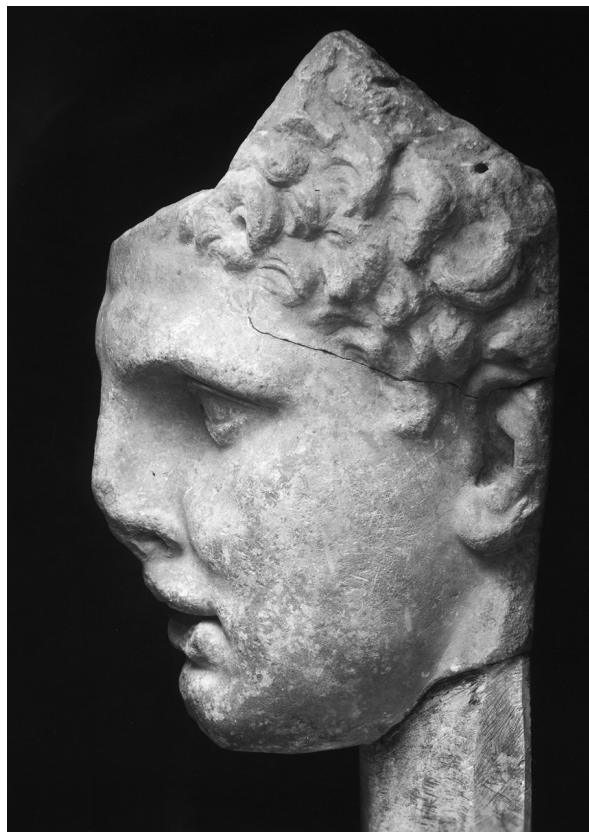
TABLE 2: COMPARISON OF THE ELATEIA HEAD AND AGORA HEAD 5

	<i>Eyes, Inner Corners</i>	<i>Right Eye, Length</i>	<i>Lower Lids to Mouth</i>	<i>Lower Lids to Chin</i>	<i>Mouth, Length</i>
Elateia, NM 4817	2.5	3.3	5.3	9.6	4.0
Agora S 2902 (5)	2.5	3.0	5.3	9.7	4.3

All measurements are in centimeters.



a



b

These heads—as far as their state of preservation allows one to judge—are closest to the Demeter (1: Figs. 10, 15). Their facial structure, asymmetries, and the modeling of their chins and mouths (dimple below included) are all but identical, as is the inlay technique of their eyes.<sup>17</sup>

In profile, however, their chins jut a little more than that of the Demeter and their nasolabial furrows are both slightly more prominent and more vertical. Despinois boldly identifies the Elateia head as the Gorgoneion from the cult statue's aegis, which would neatly explain the special attention given to its eyes. If he is correct, then the Agora head 5 could point to the existence of an Athenian replica of it.<sup>18</sup>

The Larisa Athena (Figs. 11, 16) is stylistically quite close to these three heads (see Figs. 10–13, 15–18), but it has a slightly leaner face than the Demeter (1), as one would expect from its subject. Its proportions and

17. The similarities between 1 and 5, kindly verified by Craig Mauzy and other members of the Agora staff when the two were brought into the offices for photography, are astonishing, given the difference in scale between them. The Elateia head (Figs. 12, 17) is 12 cm high and the Agora head 5 (Figs. 13, 18) 10.5 cm; originally, both were ca. 20 cm high, so less than life

size. For more measurements of the Elateia head (some not entirely accurate), see Raftopoulou 1971, p. 264; I thank Nikolaos Kaltsas for allowing me to study it. The loss of the upper part of the head in both cases can be explained by the post-antique pillaging of the eyes, which must have been made of some precious or semiprecious material, and were extracted by splitting

Figure 14. Acrolithic head of Herakles from the foot of the Capitoline Hill, Rome: (a) front view; (b) left profile. Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori 2381. Photos Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, negs. 34.225, 33.808

off the top of the head.

18. Despinois 1995, p. 349. The Agora head's lack of proper context makes it hazardous to assume that its parent statue originally stood there, since large quantities of fragmentary sculpture were brought there from elsewhere in Athens as building material in the medieval and early modern periods.



Figure 15 (*top left*). Head of Demeter (1), left profile. Athens, Agora Museum S 551. Photo C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations



Figure 16 (*top right*). Acrolithic head of Athena, left profile. E. Karamanolis Collection, Larisa. Photo E. Feiler, courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, neg. 1985/354

Figure 17 (*near right*). Female head from the sanctuary of Athena Krania at Elateia (cast), left profile. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 4817. Photo E. Gehnen, courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, neg. 1995/722

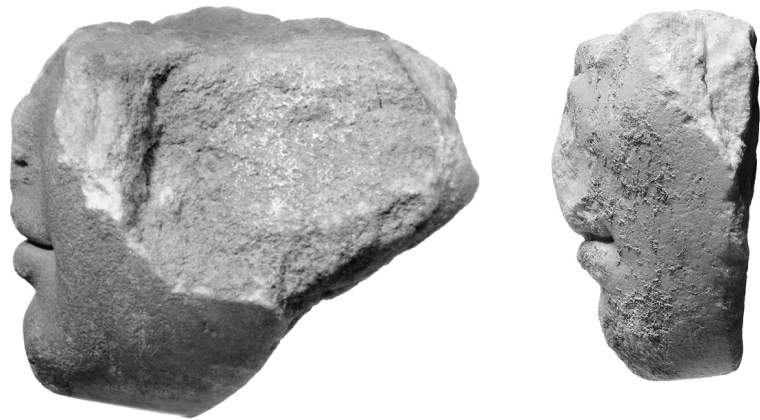


Figure 18 (*far right*). Female head (5), left profile. Athens, Agora Museum S 2902. Photo C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations

features—especially its mouth and narrow, elongated eyes—seem very similar, however. In profile, too, it shares the same slightly receding, flattened chin and jutting lower lip (cf. Figs. 15, 16). In short, the two look like sisters.

As for the Capitoline Herakles, despite the difference in gender, the affinities with the Demeter (1) are also not negligible (cf. Figs. 10, 14, and 15). Close in structure, proportions, and profile views (again, one notes their somewhat receding chins), they have similar lips, nasolabial furrows, and (where preserved) noses; a similar mixture of linear definition and softened detailing in the features; and a similarly slurred modeling of the flesh. As one would expect, the musculature of the Herakles is much heavier, especially around the mouth and on the forehead, and moreover its

eyes are larger and more open.<sup>19</sup> In short, all five heads look like products of the same artistic milieu, and thus presumably of the same Athenian workshop—that of the multigenerational Polykles family.

## THE POLYKLES FAMILY

Perhaps the best documented of all Athenian Hellenistic sculptural dynasties, the Polykles family from Thorikos in eastern Attica can be traced through four generations from the late 3rd century B.C. through the end of the 2nd. After decades of controversy, it now seems clear that the only stemma that fits all the evidence and is prosopographically possible is Kirchner's of 1901–1903, supplemented by a new, fourth generation and enriched by much epigraphical evidence discovered in the meantime (Fig. 19).<sup>20</sup> The evidence for the family members' lives and sculptural output is collected in Appendix 2, but may be summarized as follows.

The family's first generation is known only from the patronymic of Polykles II, son of Polykles I of Athens. Polykles II was an Aitolian *proxenos* in 210/9 B.C., an appointment that cannot have predated his mid/late twenties and already indicates a certain social and perhaps professional standing.<sup>21</sup> Apparently this Polykles (II) also was the first sculptor in the family, since he is surely the same man as the Polykles “pupil of Stadius” who made a bronze statue of Amyntas of Ephesos, victor at Olympia in the boys' pankration in or after 192.<sup>22</sup> By the mid-180s he was rich enough to enroll his eldest son, whose name is lost but was probably Timokles (there is space for eight letters on the stone), in the Athenian ephebia.<sup>23</sup> Usually this signal honor was accorded to the firstborn of the family, and that year saw only an elite pair of youths from each tribe enrolled.

Timokles and his younger brother Timarchides II,<sup>24</sup> after inheriting the family business and working as partners, continued to make bronzes of

19. Although Giustozzi (2001, p. 45) calls the Athena “the most direct ancestor of the Hercules technically and stylistically,” it would be rash to turn the above observations into a chronology. Reusser discusses and rejects some other attributions to this stylistic circle, most prominently the colossal, crowned female head in the Museo Capitolino (Galleria, inv. 253; Reusser 1993, pp. 105–106, figs. 43–45), often identified with the Juno Regina by Polykles and Dionysios. La Rocca, Presicce, and Lo Monaco (2010, pp. 257–258, nos. I.16–17) agree.

20. Stemma, *KirchPA* 11992; whence Habicht 1982, p. 179; La Rocca 1990, p. 427; Queyrel 1991, p. 461; Moreno 1994, vol. 2, pp. 522–530, 809, n. 832. Alternatives: (1) Becatti 1940, p. 18; Coarelli 1969–1970, p. 77; cf. Queyrel 1991, pp. 461–462; (2) Marcadé 1953–1957, vol. 2, p. 131; Stewart 1979, p. 44;

Goodlett 1989, p. 249, fig. 7; Despinis 1995, p. 362. I thank Geoffrey Schmalz for his detailed comments on the prosopographical evidence, and for correcting my draft stemma to that offered in Fig. 19. The revised stemma (1) confirms that on their numerous joint projects, coevals worked together; (2) restores the typical Attic double-generation cycle of grandfather-to-grandson, especially if the Polykles son of Aristokrates of Thorikos, known only from the columella *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 6327 (*SEG* XXVIII 249), is integrated into it in the third generation as Polykles IV; (3) no longer requires the family's descent over the course of four generations through a single (male) family member, a near impossibility (Perrin-Saminadayar 2007, pp. 93–94); and (4) satisfies Occam's Razor, the law of parsimony.

21. *IG* IX<sup>2</sup>.1 29, line 17.

22. Paus. 6.4.5 (the event was first

held in 196, and that year's victor is known). Otherwise, surely he would have been apprenticed to his father.

23. See Meritt, Woodhead, and Stamires 1957, p. 219, no. 75, line 4; *SEG* XVII 51; Tracy 1982, p. 60 (chronology—just before or after ca. 186/5–185/4—and relation to other ephebic inscriptions); 1990, pp. 84–86 (“The Cutter of Agora I 656+6355,” active ca. 203/2–164/3); Queyrel 1991, p. 456, no. 28; Despinis 1995, p. 359, no. 3. Perrin-Saminadayar (2007, pp. 43–44, 76–77) prefers the otherwise unattested [ΠΟΛΥΚΛΗΣ ΠΙ]ΟΛΥΚΛΕΟΥΣ. The ca. eight-letter lacuna before the patronymic rules out Timarchides; the honor suggests that Timokles was the elder of the two; and its date that he was born just before 200.

24. Pausanias (10.34.6) names them in this order, confirming that Timokles was the elder of the two.

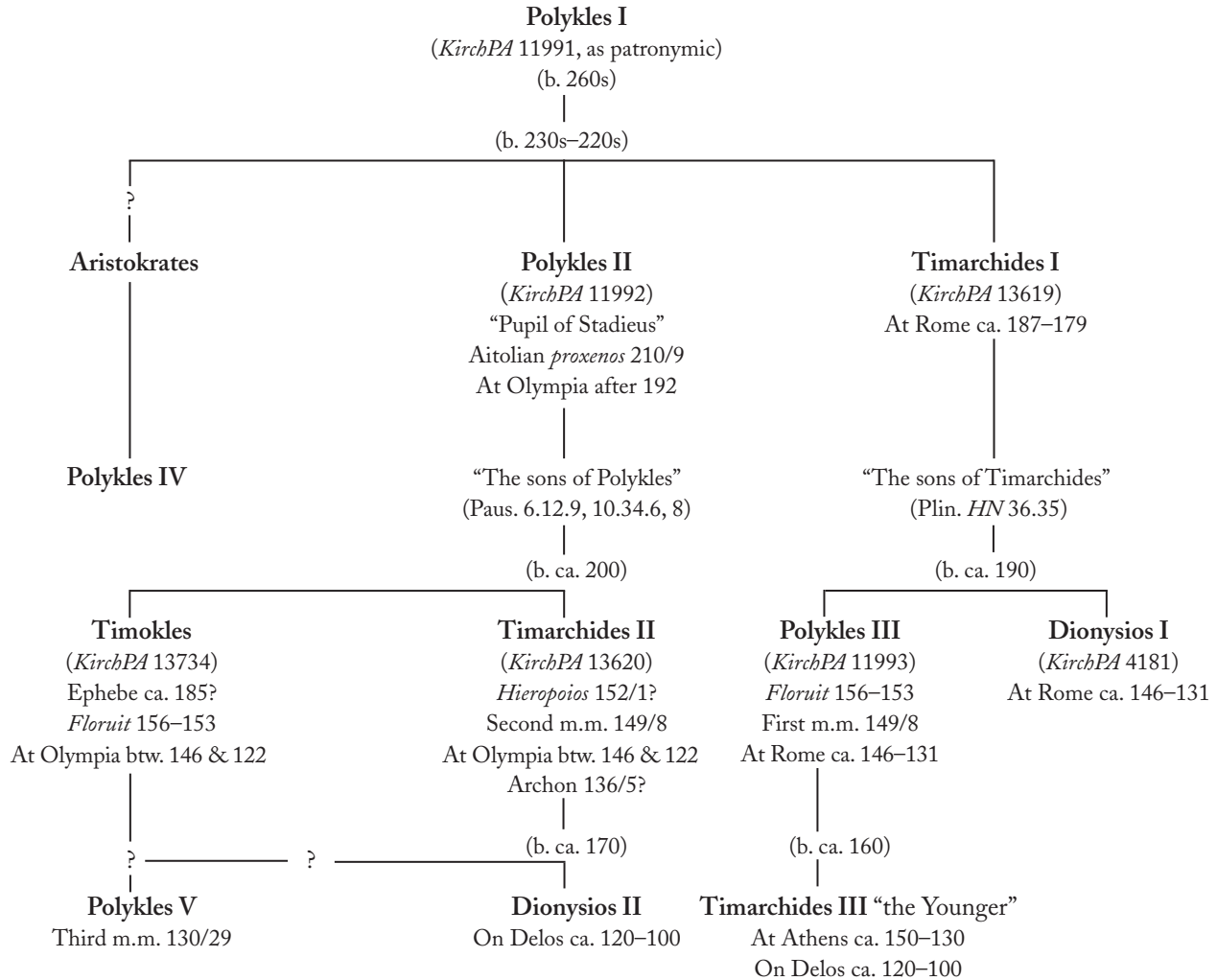


Figure 19. Reconstructed stemma of the Polykles family (b. = born; m.m. = mint magistrate). Thirty-year generations are used instead of the 25-year anthropological standard, since Athenian men normally married and procreated at around the age of 30.

athletic victors but also diversified into marble cult statues, producing *inter alia* the Athena Kranaia for Elateia discussed earlier (see Figs. 12, 17).<sup>25</sup> In addition, Timarchides II pursued a political career, holding various civic offices that apparently culminated in an eponymous archonship in 136/5.<sup>26</sup> The fourth generation of this branch of the family followed suit, though perhaps less prolifically, working both in mainland Greece<sup>27</sup> and eventually for Italians resident on Delos, and also holding the occasional civic office.

The family’s other (cadet?) branch, beginning with the brother of Polykles II, Timarchides I, blazed a different trail. Deftly exploiting the burgeoning Roman market for neoclassical cult statues for temples built *ex manubiis* from the vast triumphal spoils gained from Roman conquests in the east, Timarchides I started a successful business along these lines

25. Paus. 6.12.9, 10.34.6–8.

26. *SEG* XII 101; *Agora* XV, pp. 195–197, no. 243; *Agora* XVI, p. 436 (discussion). The name is rare and in the 2nd century otherwise attested only for the Polykles family.

27. This reconstruction assumes that the only inscription found at the Kranaia sanctuary (*IG* IX.1 141; *SEG* XLV 508,

2337, 2 fr.), which reads [- -]ΠΟΛΥΚΛΗΣ ΤΙΜ[. .] and [. .]Ν[- -], comes not from the base of the cult statue (so Despinis 1995, pp. 350–356, *contra* Paus. 10.34.6–8), but from another base. Instead of restoring it as ΠΟΛΥΚΛΗΣ ΤΙΜ[ΟΚΛΗΣ ΤΙΜΑΡΧΙΑΗΣ ΟΙ ΠΟΛΥΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙ ΕΠΙΟΙΗΣΑ]Ν (Despinis), it is simpler to conjecture either

ΠΟΛΥΚΛΗΣ ΤΙΜ[ΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΕΠΙΟΙΗΣΕ]Ν or ΠΟΛΥΚΛΗΣ ΤΙΜ[ΑΡΧΙΔΟΥ ΕΠΙΟΙΗΣΕ]Ν. This Polykles (V) would then be the third mint magistrate named on the Athenian New Style tetradrachms of 130/29 (as corrected for the revised lower chronology of the New Style coins): Thompson 1961, pp. 161 (nos. 408:b, 411:c, d), 579, pl. 41.

that his two sons, Polykles III and Dionysios I, eventually inherited. Finally, the son of Polykles III, Timarchides III, returned to Greece to specialize in portraiture, working both alone in Athens and in collaboration with his cousin Dionysios II on Delos.

Throughout, it seems, when working in stone the family preferred Parian rather than Pentelic marble. In this regard, it is suggestive that their home in Thorikos faced eastward into the Aegean. Parian marble could easily be imported there by sea and roughed-out or even finished work easily exported as well—far more easily than Pentelic marble, which would require either a long haul overland from the quarries or cartage to Piraeus and shipment from there to Thorikos. Since both the latter routes would have been expensive (transport by land was incomparably more costly than by sea), one wonders: did the family make a virtue out of necessity, perhaps even operating a marble import-export business, and turn it into a kind of trademark?<sup>28</sup>

## CHRONOLOGY

From the foregoing it is evident that the Agora fragments 1–4 (Figs. 2–6) and their comparanda, those from Elateia and the Agora (5), together with the Larisa Athena and the Capitoline Herakles (Figs. 11–14), all belong to the Polykles family's third generation, active from the 170s through the 130s—the Roman branch perhaps slightly later than the Athenian one.<sup>29</sup> The Agora and Elateia fragments, and probably also the Larisa Athena, can be associated with Timokles and Timarchides II, sons of Polykles II, and the Herakles (Fig. 14) with their perhaps younger cousins Polykles III and Dionysios I, sons of Timarchides I. The Herakles, exhibited alongside a statue of Scipio and perhaps commissioned together with it, is in any case often thought to date to the (late) 140s, though the text of Cicero's discussion of its dedicatory inscription is corrupt.<sup>30</sup>

To return to the Agora, the only other close comparandum for the colossal pair published here (1–4: Figs. 2–6)—if the drapery fragment 3 (Fig. 5) indeed belongs to this ensemble—is the Aphrodite Hegemone, S 378 (Fig. 20).<sup>31</sup> The looping folds of the himation over Aphrodite's right thigh and to some extent those by her left side are characterized and modeled somewhat as those of 3, though they display considerably more diagonal rasping, inhibiting a direct attribution to the Polykles family. Since, as I discussed in part 1 of this series, Agora S 378 should date to the mid-160s,

28. On comparative transport costs, see Stewart 1990, pp. 1–2. I thank an anonymous reader for *Hesperia* for this suggestion, and Harriet Blitzer for informing me that eastern Attica's close trading and cultural links with southern Euboia and the central Cyclades, evident in antiquity from the 6th-century Sounion kouroi onward, persisted deep into the 18th and 19th centuries A.D.

29. Despina (1995, p. 363) independently dates the Elateia fragments to the third quarter of the 2nd century.

30. Cic. *Att.* 6.1.17: see Giustozzi 2001, pp. 63–78, for an extended discussion, opting on pp. 71–72 for Scipio Aemilianus, consul in 147, conqueror of Carthage in 146, and censor in 142 (the COS <CENS> of the dedicatory inscription as recorded by Cicero).

31. For S 378 see Stewart 2012, pp. 288–298, figs. 24, 25. To the list of Hegemone statuettes from Athens discussed there (pp. 296–298, figs. 26, 28) should now be added a Late Hellenistic example, Acropolis Museum 14822,

from the Makriyanni excavations: H. 27.5 cm. Preserved from the lower thighs to the neck; both arms broken off; head, once dowelled to the stump of the neck (perhaps a repair), missing. Stylistically close to Agora S 1192 (pp. 289, 326–327, no. 13, fig. 26), but considerably larger, and lacking the Eros. I thank Raphael Jacob for allowing me to study and mention this piece, noticed in the museum storerooms in June 2012.



Figure 20. Aphrodite (probably Aphrodite Hegemone of the Demos). Athens, Agora Museum S 378. Photo C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations

it must therefore belong either to an earlier phase of the Timokles-Timarchides II workshop or to another workshop altogether.

The next stage in the development of this genre is documented by 6 (Fig. 21). Originally inset into a draped and veiled body, the head is identifiable as a Demeter by its (presumed) attire, slight double chin, and by the long locks trailing down over its shoulders (of which only the one at proper left remains intact), all of which characterize the goddess's iconography from the 4th century onward.<sup>32</sup> What may be a slight smile on her face perhaps indicates that her daughter Kore, newly returned from the Underworld, accompanied her.

The proportioning of the neck, face, and hair of 6, and the head's petite features (particularly its somewhat narrowed eyes), understated modeling, and the explicitly neo-Praxitelean style of its face and coiffure are startlingly similar to features of the head of Hygieia from Pheneos mentioned earlier and securely attributed to Attalos son of Lachares of Athens by the combined

32. See, e.g., Peschlow-Bindokat 1972, pp. 119, 122, 139, figs. 41, 46, 48; *LIMC* IV, 1988, pp. 848–884, nos. 27, 70, 72, 74–75, 79, 81, 84, 138, pls. 564, 568–571, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi).



Figure 21 (*opposite*). Head of Demeter (6): (a) front view; (b) original poise; (c) right profile; (d) left profile; (e) back view. Athens, Agora Museum S 2497. Scale 1:3. Photos C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations

testimony of Pausanias and the sculptor's signature on the base.<sup>33</sup> Like the Hygieia, too, 6 was meant to be viewed from below (Fig. 21:b). This viewpoint, echoed in the terracottas of the period, animates its otherwise neutral Praxitelean features and makes the goddess appear to be gazing dreamily toward far horizons.<sup>34</sup> The Pheneos Hygieia's similarity, in turn, to the cult statue of Fortuna Huiusce Diei in Rome secures a date for this workshop in the late 2nd to early 1st century B.C., for the Fortuna was dedicated in 101.<sup>35</sup>

Finally, at least two terracottas from the Agora, both found in Sullan destruction contexts, echo these two Demeters (1, 6). A large fragment from the Herakles Deposit closely reproduces their elongated eyes and surrounding parts of the face, and another from a different deposit mimics the proportions, mouth, and lower face of 1, but has larger eyes.<sup>36</sup>

## AESTHETICS

The previous study in this series established that Athenian Hellenistic statues of Aphrodite tend to cleave to some fundamental aesthetic principles, as follows: (1) a relief-like format; (2) paratactic groupings; (3) crisp outlines; (4) solid, compact compositions; (5) chiasmic poses; (6) clear-cut proportions; (7) fluid, impressionistic modeling; and (8) conservative coiffures and attire.<sup>37</sup> Unfortunately, the state of preservation of the present collection of fragments (1–6) means that only the last two of these traits are relevant here.

Moreover, it was determined that this neoclassical aesthetic in turn generally conforms to the Isokratean “polished” (γλαφυρός) style, described by Dionysios of Halikarnassos in the 1st century B.C. as follows:

συνηλεῖφθαί τε ἀλλήλοις ἀξιοῖ καὶ συνυφάνθαι τὰ μόρια ὡς μιᾶς λέξεως ὅψιν ἀποτελοῦντα εἰς δύναμιν. τοῦτο δὲ ποιοῦσιν αἱ τῶν ἀρμονιῶν ἀκρίβεια χρόνον αἰσθητὸν οὐδένα τὸν μεταξύ τῶν ὀνομάτων περιλαμβάνουσαι· ἔοικέ τε κατὰ μέρος εὐητρίους ὕφεσιν ἢ γραφαῖς συνεφθαρμένα τὰ φωτεινὰ τοῖς σκιεροῖς ἐχούσαις. εὐφωνὰ τε εἶναι βούλεται πάντα τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ λεῖα καὶ μαλακὰ καὶ παρθενωπά, τραχείαις δὲ συλλαβαῖς καὶ ἀντιτύποις ἀπέχθεται πον· τὸ δὲ θρασὺ πᾶν καὶ παρακεκινδυνευμένον δι' εὐλαβείας ἔχει.<sup>38</sup>

33. See Protonotariou-Deilaki 1961–1962, pl. 63, and n. 10, above, for further references. Unfortunately, because this important find is not yet fully published, it cannot be illustrated here, but a comparison of Figures 21:a and 21:b with the illustrations in this preliminary report is instructive. My thanks not only to Alexandros Mantis (n. 10, above), but also to Hector Williams (who has seen the Pheneos image several times) for independently recognizing the similarity between it and 6 during a fortuitous visit to the Agora

sculpture basement in July 2011, shortly after I had noticed 6 and had tentatively associated it with the Hygieia.

34. For the terracottas, see, e.g., Thompson 1963, pp. 310, 312–313, pl. 83; Thompson 1965, pp. 52, 55, pl. 22 (though the chronology should be adjusted downward somewhat); and Thompson, Thompson, and Rotroff 1987, pp. 378, 380–381, 404, 407, pls. 44, 54, which remark repeatedly upon this phenomenon.

35. See n. 10, above.

36. (1) T 2498 from the Herakles

Deposit (C 18:3): Thompson 1965, pp. 58, 70, no. 8, pl. 18:8; Thompson, Thompson, and Rotroff 1987, p. 192. (2) T 1414 from deposit N 19:1, middle fill: Thompson 1965, pp. 66, 71, no. 4, pl. 22:4; Thompson, Thompson, and Rotroff 1987, pp. 191–192.

37. Stewart 2012, p. 315.

38. Dion. Hal. *Isoc.* 2, and esp. *Comp.* 26: “[It] sets out to blend together and interweave its component parts and to make them convey as far as possible the effect of a single utterance. The result is achieved by the exact

The pursuit of beauty via this “polished” (γλαφυρός) style obviously was particularly appropriate to the love goddess and paragon of divine beauty and femininity. Here, however, she was not alone. At least two of the sculptures published here (1, 6: see Figs. 2, 21) confirm that by the 2nd century B.C., this “polished” style had become a genre style and an Athenian feminine ideal.<sup>39</sup>

In particular, the fluid, impressionistic modeling (7) of 1, perhaps 2, and 6, carefully avoiding everything “rough,” “dissonant,” “rash,” and “hazardous” (τραχειάς δὲ . . . καὶ ἀντιτύποις ἀπέχθεται . . . τὸ δὲ θρασὺ πᾶν καὶ παρακεκινδυνευμένον δι’ εὐλαβείας ἔχει), makes them “melodious and smooth, and soft like a maiden’s face” (εὐφωνά . . . καὶ λεία καὶ μαλακὰ καὶ παρθενωπά).<sup>40</sup> Together with their conservative coiffures and attire (8), these traits recall the genre’s Classical golden age, the work of Praxiteles and the 4th century B.C. Moreover, if 3 (Fig. 5) belongs, its enveloping, wraparound garments would complete one’s sense of a classically “tightly woven” and highly decorous composition (συνηλεῖσθαι τε ἀλλήλοις ἀξιῶ καὶ συνυφάνθαι τὰ μόρια).<sup>41</sup> To all of this, the turbulent, kaleidoscopic, highly differentiated, aggressively pictorial, and protean “baroque” style of the Pergamene Gigantomachy provides a ready foil.<sup>42</sup> One only has to imagine the hair of 1, 2, and 6 coiffed and deeply drilled in the flamboyant Pergamene manner to get the point.

Although the Agora excavators readily identified 1, 2, and 6 as 4th-century originals, with the possible exception of 6 it is unlikely that 2nd-century Athenians would have made this mistake.<sup>43</sup> They respected and thoughtfully reinterpreted Classical and classicizing principles instead of copying Classical styles verbatim: this was to come later, after Sulla.

## SETTINGS

It is unfortunate that all of the statues presented here were found in secondary contexts (Fig. 1). The Demeter head 1 comes from a medieval or Turkish wall across the Panathenaic Way from the center of the Stoa of Attalos, 2 and 3 from marble piles near the Tholos, 4 and 5 from other marble piles that somehow escaped registration at discovery, and 6 from a Slavic destruction context in a room in the stoa beside the Panathenaic Way. 5 cannot be localized until more fragments come to light to identify it (and perhaps not even then), but two likely locations within the city for

fitting together of the words so that no perceptible interval between them is allowed. In this respect the style resembles a finely woven net, or pictures in which the lights and shadows melt into one another. It requires all its words to be melodious and smooth, and soft like a maiden’s face, and shows a sort of repugnance toward rough and dissonant syllables and careful avoidance of everything rash and hazardous.” Dionysios cites Hesiod, Sappho, Anacreon,

Simonides, Euripides, and Isokrates as the foremost examples of this style.

39. On “appropriateness” and the so-called *πέπτον-decor* theory, see, e.g., Arist. *Rh.* 1408a12; Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 20; Cic. *Orat.* 21.70; Pollitt 1974, pp. 68–70, 217–218, 341–347. On Hellenistic Athenian sartorial and behavioral protocols for women, see, e.g., Hypereides fr. F14 Jensen; cf. Ogden 2002, pp. 212–213; Fabricius 2003, pp. 166–167.

40. Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 26: see n. 38, above.

41. Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 26: see n. 38, above.

42. Bieber 1961, figs. 458–470; Stewart 1990, figs. 692–711; Smith 1991, figs. 193–196; Ridgway 2000, pls. 7–19.

43. The object card for 6 in the Agora Museum identifies it as a head from a 4th-century gravestone.

1–4 and 6 come to mind: the Demeter sanctuary in the Inner Kerameikos, visited by Pausanias just after he saw the Pompeion, and the City Eleusinion up the slope from the Stoa of Attalos, to the east of the Panathenaic Way.

The first of these sanctuaries, which boasted statues of Demeter, Kore, and a torch-bearing Iacchos signed by Praxiteles, lies under the synagogue in Melidone Street just to the east of the Kerameikos and has not been excavated.<sup>44</sup> As for the City Eleusinion, the outer part of the sanctuary and its Temple of Triptolemos were dug in the 1930s and later; its inner sanctum and Temple of Demeter and Kore, mentioned but not described by Pausanias because of a warning in a dream, still lie under the modern city.<sup>45</sup>

Of these two candidates, the City Eleusinion is by far the more attractive locale for 1–4 given (a) Praxiteles' authorship of the statues in the other shrine; (b) the discovery of the Demeter (1) just downhill from the City Eleusinion; (c) the likelihood that the latter shrine contained several major sculptural groups; and (d) the epigraphical testimony that it underwent major refurbishment in the early to mid-2nd century B.C.<sup>46</sup> Since the surfaces of the fragments (where preserved) are relatively fresh, indicating that they probably stood inside, and their sheer size is inappropriate for mere votives, could they be the sole extant remains of this important sanctuary's Hellenistic cult statues?

As for 6, its discovery together with other sculptures in the stoa beside the Panathenaic Way suggests a Late Antique cache of votives rescued from closed pagan sanctuaries threatened with desecration.<sup>47</sup> In this case, the Demeter sanctuary in the Inner Kerameikos, a mere 200 m to the northwest, becomes the obvious candidate. The piece's explicitly neo-Praxitelean style would have resonated strongly with the 4th-century master's cult images there,<sup>48</sup> even as the subtler Praxitelean tones of 1 and 2 paid a more discreet homage to them in the City Eleusinion, 800 m away uphill. Moreover, there are signs that this particular part of the city was receiving serious attention in the late 2nd century B.C., since Euboulides' colossal group of Athena Paionia, Zeus, Mnemosyne, and the Muses, also carved and dedicated at that time, stood nearby.<sup>49</sup>

44. Paus. 1.2.4, noting the sculptor's signature on a plaque on the wall. For Melidone Street and the shrine's location, see Travlos, *Athens*, p. 303, fig. 391; Camp 2001, p. 262, fig. 246.

45. Paus. 1.14.1–4; *Agora XXXI*, pp. 48–52. The Southeast Temple, erected in the Augustan period using columns from the 5th-century Temple of Athena at Sounion, is not a serious candidate, since its cult statue was surely the late-5th-century draped female colossus (S 2070a and b) found in its cella and still standing nearby: Harrison 1960, pp. 371–373, pl. 81:c; *Agora XIV*, pp. 167–168, pls. 8, 13:b, 104:a; Camp 2001, p. 191. Nor is the Southwest Temple, imported unfin-

ished from Thorikos at the same time and given a Doric entablature lifted from yet another building of unknown location: *Agora XIV*, pp. 165–166, pls. 8, 13:a; Camp 2001, p. 191.

46. Sculpture: *Agora XXXI*, pp. 68, 77. Refurbishment: *Agora XXXI*, pp. 84, 198, no. 35 (I 5165 = *Agora XVI*, no. 277, pl. 28), p. 208, no. 74 (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 2330*; *Agora III*, p. 81, no. 217; Tracy 1990, p. 149).

47. Shear 1973, pp. 376–382, fig. 5 (room 3); see, in general, Travlos, *Athens*, pp. 25, 80, figs. 34, 102 (no. 61); *Agora XIV*, p. 108, fig. 1, pls. 1, 8–9; Camp 1986, p. 259, fig. 244 (no. 38). The other sculptures are (1) S 2495 from room 3, Classical document relief

with Athena watching women building a wall (Lawton 1995, p. 123, no. 1, pl. 35:a; 2006, pp. 10–11, fig. 7); (2) S 2496, unpublished herm fragment from room 4; (3) S 2498, unpublished male bust from room 4; and (4) S 2499, herm head from room 4, deposit G 4:3 (Alaric's destruction; Shear 1973, pp. 381–382, 406–407, pl. 76:b). Another much larger and more impressive Late Antique sculpture cache was found in the Omega House: Camp 1986, pp. 202–211, figs. 173–178, 183–184.

48. Paus. 1.2.4.

49. Paus. 1.2.4; Stewart 1979, p. 54, pl. 16:d; Despina 1995, pp. 321–338, pls. 62–66.

## CONCLUSION

The four over-life-size fragments (1–4) published here and identified as mid-2nd century B.C. cult statues of Demeter and Kore are attributable to the third generation of the Polykles family from Thorikos in eastern Attica. Together with several marbles from other sites in Greece and from Rome, they significantly augment our knowledge of the work of the family’s third generation, active from the 170s through the 130s. If this workshop also made the Aphrodite Hegemone from the Agora, S 378,<sup>50</sup> its output in marble is now documented (albeit unevenly) over three generations, from ca. 170 into the last two decades of the century, when the Italian *negotiator* C. Ofellius Ferus commissioned the family’s last known members to carve his portrait on Delos. Unfortunately, none of the workshop’s numerous bronzes survive, or have yet been successfully identified.

A smaller Demeter (6) represents the next stage in this genre’s development. Probably from a votive made toward the end of the century, it is attributable to the workshop of Attalos son of Lachares, which like that of Polykles was active both elsewhere in Greece and apparently also in Rome.

Although the Polykleian marbles discussed here differ in subject matter, they share one characteristic: all are based firmly on 4th-century precedents but discreetly update them to appeal to contemporary taste. As Verity Platt has argued apropos Damophon of Messene’s near-contemporary work at Lykosoura and Messene, such discreet modernizing endows them “with a sense of contemporaneity that vitalizes their more conservative aspects for Hellenistic viewer-worshippers.”<sup>51</sup> Platt continues:

Past and present are brought together in a way that derives venerability from traditional forms while generating a sense of fresh encounter through dynamic techniques of the new. [This] stylistic eclecticism is thus driven by a theological impulse that is entirely related to the demands of its immediate sacred context, while at the same time exhibiting features characteristic of the allusive cultural play so commonly defined as “Hellenistic.” [Such] careful selection of stylistic elements effectively mobilized the visual language of epiphany in order to make [the gods] present for their worshippers within the sanctuary.<sup>52</sup>

Attalos’s work (6), on the other hand, is more sternly conservative, all but eliminating the middle and minor forms in favor of the grand ones, presumably so that (to quote Quintilian on Pheidias) his work should “seem to add something to the traditional religion: to such an extent is its majesty equal to that of the god.”<sup>53</sup> This *fin de siècle* development foreshadows trends that fully emerge only after the Sullan sack of 86, when the surviving Athenian workshops shift decisively to copying Classical masterpieces and producing decorative reliefs in the so-called neo-Attic mode for the Roman market.<sup>54</sup>

50. Stewart 2012, pp. 288–298, figs. 24, 25.

51. Platt 2011, p. 131.

52. Platt 2011, p. 131.

53. Quint. 12.10.9: *adiicisse aliquid etiam receptae religioni videtur; adeo*

*maiestas operis deum aequavit.*

54. See Stewart 2012, pp. 334–338 (Appendix 3).

# APPENDIX 1

## CATALOGUE OF FRAGMENTS

### 1 Over-life-size head of Demeter Figs. 2, 3, 10, 15

S 551. Late (medieval or Turkish) wall across the Panathenaic Way from the Stoa of Attalos, at N/15,16–11/4,5, April 9, 1935.

H. 0.395; W. 0.280; Th. 0.250; original H. of figure if standing, ca. 3.0; if seated, ca. 2.5.<sup>55</sup> Medium-grained crystalline white marble, probably Parian.

Broken across at junction of chin and neck and thence diagonally upward to ca. 0.03 below earlobes. Chin, lips, and nose battered by left to right hammer blows; eyes blinded by hammer blows from above, which also chipped the brow ridges. Minor chipping on left cheek. Hair on right side and crown of head on left side mostly chipped away. Face lightly weathered, hair at left more so.

Face lightly polished, fine rasping visible at right side of nose, below chin, and below left ear. Mouth drilled with 2-mm running drill, corners with ca. 2-mm simple drill; nostrils and canthuses drilled with 4-mm drill. Earlobes drilled for earrings with 2-mm drill; holes 0.007 deep. Hair chiseled with flat chisel and rasped. Top of head roughly punched; cutting ca. 0.03 wide chiseled with flat chisel and claw (3 teeth/1 cm) above hairline for a metal coronet or *stephanê* or diadem; two dowel holes preserved in this cutting, at center and ca. 0.12 to left, Diam. 0.004, D. 0.01; remains of bronze dowel in second cutting. Back of head cut with point stepwise at ca. 25° to the facial plane from ca. 0.03 behind left ear to immediately behind lobe of right ear, effacing the remainder of the ear. Lower “riser” slopes forward ca. 15°, coarsely pointed, preserved H. 0.105, W. 0.260; “tread” horizontal, also coarsely pointed, D. 0.06, W. 0.270; upper “riser” vertical and finely pointed, H. 0.180, W. 0.260. Rectangular dowel hole on break at bottom center of lower “riser,” preserved H. 0.038, W. 0.020, D. 0.041, cut horizontally with point: horizontal gouges on sides, dents at back.

The cuttings and dowel holes in the hair and at the back of the head show that it was crowned with a metal *stephanê* or (less likely) a diadem, and veiled (see Fig. 3). The *stephanê* originally was anchored by three thin bronze pins (the one on the right is missing as a result of the damage to the hair). A horizontal rectangular dowel at the back of the head anchored it to the veil, and the step above both supported the veil and allowed it to counterbalance the projecting mass of the face.<sup>56</sup>

Positioning the cutting at the back parallel to a wall reveals the original poise of the head (Fig. 2:b). It was turned somewhat to its right on the neck, into the hollow of the veil, which thus obscured most of the right ear. The face is a heavy oval. Its right side is slightly broader than the left, and the parting of the hair is located off-center, toward the inner corner of the right eye. The axes of the eyes and mouth also converge slightly toward the figure’s right, reinforcing the turn of

55. Unless otherwise indicated, all dimensions are given in meters.

56. For a more detailed description and technical discussion of these items, with comparanda, see Stewart 1998, pp. 84–86, figs. 4, 6–10.

the head in this direction (see Fig. 2:b). The chin is full and slightly flattened at the tip; the cheeks are firm and broad with high cheekbones, the forehead smooth. The features are strong, well defined, and firmly embedded into the flesh of the face. The mouth is quite wide, with full, slightly parted lips that appear to pout somewhat when seen in profile; this impression is enhanced by the pronounced dimple under the lower lip, which is somewhat shorter than the upper. The corners of the mouth, turned down a little, are indented and surrounded by soft pads of flesh. The nose was broad and slightly rounded along the ridge, which in profile forms a slight angle with the plane of the forehead. The almond-shaped eyes are wide, canted forward somewhat, and quite deeply set, especially at the inner corners. The eyeballs are slightly hollowed. The orbital portions of the eyelids are soft and fleshy and their ocular portions are sharply faceted; the upper lid crosses the lower in both cases. The brow is clearly defined where it swings into the ridge of the nose, softens toward the outside, and then merges imperceptibly into the side of the skull without meeting the cheekbone. The ears are pierced for earrings; the visible part of the left ear is large, soft, and fleshy, with a pronounced tragus, antitragus, and lobe. The hair, a homogeneous mass, is combed to the sides from a central parting into long, undulating locks, each sharply faceted into several strands.<sup>57</sup>

Ca. 150 B.C.

Bibliography: Thompson 1976, pp. 288–289, 325; Stewart 1998; Giustozzi 2001, pp. 10, 34–35, figs. 3, 4, 59–61; Ghisellini 2003–2004, pp. 472–478.

2 Fragment of an over-life-size head of Kore Fig. 4

S 1874. Marble pile southwest of Tholos at E-13, October 1954.

H. 0.240; W. 0.290; Th. 0.145; original H. of figure (if standing) ca. 3.0. Marble as for 1.

Broken all around and at back; only the upper part of the face and some adjacent sections of hair are preserved. Face below eyes and cheekbones; sides, back, and crown of head above parting; and most of hair at proper left all broken away. Eyes blinded by hammer blows from above, destroying all but their inner and outer corners, most of the brow ridges, and the bridge of the nose. Lightly weathered only.

Face lightly polished. Hair chiseled with flat chisel and rasped.

The head, carved to the same scale and in the same style as 1, has been deliberately mutilated in the same manner. What remains of the face is oval and finely carved. The almond-shaped eyes, though severely damaged, are wide, canted forward somewhat, and quite deeply set, especially at the inner corners. The right eyeball is slightly hollowed. The orbital portions of the eyelids were originally soft and fleshy and their ocular portions were sharply faceted; the upper lid crossed the lower in both cases. The brow softens toward the outside and then merges imperceptibly into the side of the skull without meeting the cheekbone. The beginning of the tragus of the right ear is visible on the break. The hair, a homogeneous mass, is combed to the sides from a central parting into long, undulating locks, each sharply divided into several strands.

Ca. 150 B.C., given its similarity in material, scale, and style to 1.

Bibliography: unpublished.

3 Flexed right arm and adjacent upper right side of the torso Fig. 5  
of an over-life-size female statue, swathed in drapery

S 1875. Context as 2.

H. 0.320; W. 0.375; Th. 0.210. Marble as for 1 and 2.

Forepart of upper arm, elbow, and adjacent part of forearm; underside of forearm; and apex of shoulder all broken away. Right hand, medial part of fold cascade above forearm, and most folds along underside of forearm missing. Many

57. For a more detailed stylistic description and comparison with a selection of female heads from the 5th through the 2nd centuries, see Stewart 1998, pp. 87–89, figs. 11–13.

fold ridges chipped, especially those covering the lower part of the forearm toward the wrist. Lightly weathered only.

Flesh surfaces lightly polished. Folds carefully carved and finely rasped along ridges, occasionally also diagonally. Some signs of flat chisel work. A 5-mm running drill channel visible in one valley of fold cascade above forearm. At top right, above and behind the cascade, is a curving rim ca. 0.04 across and 0.12 wide across its inner edge, broken away at both ends and flattened with point and rasp. It borders a vertical funnel-shaped cavity of which only a small segment survives; its upper part (patinated like the rim and adjacent drapery folds) is 0.11 deep and its lower part (patinated differently) is 0.08 deep. The former is pointed in long strokes, the latter roughly picked.

The upper arm was vertical; the forearm, held across the chest, is flexed at 60° to 70°. The arm is draped in a heavy himation whose folds descend diagonally from the right shoulder, wrap around the forearm and the now-missing elbow, and converge again behind the elbow and upper arm toward the back of the body. The cloth is pulled tight over the forearm toward the elbow, effacing all folds except for one in the crook of the elbow that begins to bifurcate at the break in front. Above, extra folds cascade from the shoulder toward the center of the body, around the funnel-shaped cavity, apparently once terminating just below it. If the left hand was inset into this cavity, as seems likely, it was elevated, perhaps grasping the (now lost) uppermost folds of the himation at neck height or even cupping the figure's chin.

Hellenistic, ca. 150 B.C., if the fragment belongs to 1 or 2.

Bibliography: unpublished.

#### 4 Drapery fragment

Fig. 6

S 2689. Recovered from circled marbles,<sup>58</sup> not registered on the grid, August 12, 1977.

H. 0.210; W. 0.150; Th. 0.085. Marble as for 1–3.

Broken all around, ridges of folds chipped. Lightly weathered only.

Folds finely rasped along ridges, and also diagonally. Back roughly anathyrosed similarly to 3: above, a 3-cm border smoothed with a claw chisel (4 teeth/5 mm); below, the remainder pointed in long strokes.

Two curving himation folds from a large statue of approximately the same scale as 1–3.

Hellenistic, ca. 150 B.C., if the fragment belongs to this collection.

Bibliography: unpublished.

#### 5 Face fragment from an under-life-size female head

Figs. 13, 18

S 2902. Recovered from circled marbles in section Ω, at N-Q, 19–22, August 10, 1977.

H. 0.105; W. 0.130; Th. 0.070; original H. of head, ca. 0.20. Marble as for 1–4.

Broken all around and at back; only the lower part of the face is preserved. Nose missing, lips and point of chin battered. Flesh surfaces pocked and weathered.

Mouth drilled with 2-mm running drill similarly to 1. Eye sockets hollowed out for insertion of eyeballs in a different material; bottom of sockets chiseled and then rasped from front to back.

The face is a heavy oval and slightly asymmetrical. The right-hand side of the face is a little wider and the axes of the mouth and eyes converge somewhat to this side, suggesting that the head was turned gently to this side. The chin is full and slightly flattened at the tip; the cheeks are firm and broad with high cheekbones. The mouth is quite wide, well defined, and firmly embedded into the flesh of the face. The full, slightly parted lips appear to pout somewhat when seen in profile; the pronounced dimple under the lower lip, which is somewhat shorter than the

58. The term "circled marbles" refers to fragments identified as sculpture sometime after excavation and whose inventory numbers were circled to distinguish them at a glance from properly provenanced pieces.

upper, enhances this impression. The corners of the mouth, turned down a little, are indented and surrounded by soft pads of flesh. The nose is too battered to allow comment. The ocular portions of the eyelids are sharply defined against the flesh of the cheeks.

Hellenistic, ca. 150 B.C., given the stylistic similarities to 1.

Bibliography: unpublished.

## 6 Head, probably of Demeter

Fig. 21

S 2497. From layer 12 (late-6th-century A.D. destruction context) in room 3 of the stoa along the Panathenaic Way, at H/3-4/4, June 30, 1972.

H. 0.341; W. 0.225; Th. 0.127; H. of head, 0.233; original H. of figure if standing, ca. 1.75; if seated, ca. 1.15. Marble as for 1-5.

Broken across at base of neck; traces of beveling for an insertion bust visible on break at proper right. Lock descending from behind right earlobe to right shoulder broken away almost completely. Nose, upper lip, lower lip, and adjacent part of chin severely chipped by hammer blows from a right-handed man; neck chipped around break. Flesh surfaces and hair pocked and lightly weathered; lower locks of hair on both sides somewhat more severely weathered.

Back of head cut flat with point and carefully rasped; the upper edge of this cutting (i.e., around the crown of the head) roughly beveled to a maximum width of 0.070 at the crown with long strokes of the point. Mouth and eyes chiseled, not drilled; shallow drill hole (Diam. 0.003, D. 0.004) in right nostril (left nostril is missing). Hair cut with flat chisel and left unpolished; long lock descending from behind left earlobe to left shoulder cut free from the neck by a 4-mm running drill channel; L. 0.090 in front and 0.054 at back. Remains of similar lock on other side drilled by 4-mm drill behind earlobe. Face and neck lightly polished, leaving faint traces of careful rasping behind the jaw and at the sides of the neck.

Like 1, the head once was inset into a draped body with a hollowed-out veil, though the technique is simpler, dispensing with the step and dowel at back. This could suggest a repair. Positioning the cutting at the back parallel to a wall reveals the original poise of the head (Fig. 21:b): looking upward and slightly to the figure's left. Traces of the continuation of the garment's neckline remain around the base of the neck on the proper right, and of the veil's hem at both sides of the head behind the hair mass. The bevel around the crown of the head may have been intended for a metal coronet, though it bears no dowel holes to anchor one.

The neck is columnar, with prominent Venus rings, and the face is a long oval. The hair is waved to the sides from a central parting, covering the ears except for the earlobes, and is treated as a single mass discreetly divided into wavy locks that are delicately chiseled into two or three strands; two long locks originally fell to the shoulders from behind the earlobes but only the one at proper left is now extant. The features are petite and converge slightly to the figure's proper left, in the direction of the movement. The eyes are somewhat narrowed, with deep lower lids that suggest that the figure is glancing into the distance. The lips, now severely damaged, were full and clearly articulated. The modeling of the flesh surfaces is understated, with subtle indications of the subsurface musculature below the cheekbones, around the mouth, and under the chin, which is full and fleshy; the forehead, however, is unarticulated.

Hellenistic, ca. 125-86 B.C., or shortly thereafter if a repair.

Bibliography: unpublished.

## APPENDIX 2

### THE POLYKLES FAMILY

This appendix presents the evidence for the Polykles family from Thorikos in eastern Attica and for their sculptural output. Names included in the reconstructed stemma of the family (see Fig. 19) are listed below in alphabetical order; all dates are B.C. References to previous prosopographies for the family include all citations for each individual treated here. Since allocations of the evidence to homonyms and thus reconstructions of their careers and oeuvres rarely coincide, multiple entries for each individual and the inclusion of two or more individuals under a single entry are common.

#### SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

*KirchPA* 11992; Becatti 1940, pp. 16–19; Coarelli 1969–1970; Stewart 1979, pp. 42–45; 1990, pp. 220, 225, 230, 304–305; Queyrel 1991; Moreno 1994, vol. 2, pp. 521–530, 533–546; Despinois 1995, pp. 349–369; Ridgway 2000, pp. 242–244; Perrin-Saminadayar 2007, pp. 43–44, 76–77, 87, 93–94, 622, 624; La Rocca, Presicce, and Lo Monaco 2010, pp. 100–104.

#### FAMILY MEMBERS

##### Aristokrates, father of Polykles IV

*LGPN*, s.v. no. 94; Traill 1994–2010, vol. 3, no. 171250. (a) *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 6237 (columella), as patronymic; *SEG XXVIII* 249 (Habicht 1982, p. 179, n. 36; Despinois 1995, p. 359, no. 2).

##### Dionysios I, son of Timarchides I, younger brother of Polykles III

*KirchPA* 4181; Becatti 1940, pp. 16–19; Coarelli 1969–1970; *LGPN*, s.v. Dionysios no. 750; Queyrel 1991, pp. 457–458, 461–464; Traill 1994–2010, vol. 5, no. 344180; Despinois 1995, pp. 361–364; Volkommer 2004, vol. 2, p. 178, s.v. Dionysios VII (C. Müller); *Brill's New Pauly*, vol. 4, p. 491, s.v. Dionysios no. 48 (R. Neudecker).

(a) Filiation: Plin. *HN* 36.35 (Queyrel 1991, pp. 449, no. 2, 453, no. 15; Despinois 1995, pp. 361–363, no. 8).

(b) Active at Rome, ca. 146–131: Plin. *HN* 36.35 (for references and date, see [a], above, and nos. 1, 2, below).

1. Marble cult statue of Jupiter Stator for his temple in Rome, erected between 146 and 131, in collaboration with his elder brother Polykles III: Plin. *HN* 36.35 (for references, see [a], above; Steinby 1993–2000, vol. 3, pp. 157–159, s.v. Iuppiter Stator [A. Viscogliosi]). Temple begun apparently in 143.

2. Marble statue of Juno Regina for her temple in Rome, in collaboration with his elder brother Polykles III: Plin. *HN* 36.35 (for references, see [a], above; Steinby 1993–2000, vol. 3, pp. 126–128, s.v. Iuno Regina, Aedes in Campo [A. Viscogliosi]). Contemporary with (1).

### Dionysios II, son of Timarchides II

*KirchPA* 4181; Becatti 1940, pp. 16–19; Coarelli 1969–1970; *LGPN*, s.v. Dionysios no. 750; Queyrel 1991, pp. 457–458, 461–464; Traill 1994–2010, vol. 5, no. 344180; Despinois 1995, pp. 361–364; Volkommer 2004, vol. 2, p. 178, s.v. Dionysios VII (C. Müller); *Brill's New Pauly*, vol. 4, p. 491, s.v. Dionysios no. 48 (R. Neudecker). Possibly identical with Dionysios I.

(a) Filiation: *IDélos* 1688 (Queyrel 1991, pp. 448, no. 1, 456, no. 25; Despinois 1995, pp. 361, no. 9, 363–364).

(b) Active on Delos, ca. 120–100 (for references and date, see [a], above, and no. 1, below).

1. Marble portrait of C. Ofellius Ferus in niche 18 of the “Agora” of the Italians on Delos, in collaboration with his cousin Timarchides III, son of Polykles III: *IDélos* 1688 (Queyrel 1991, with [a], above). Trümper (2008, pp. 39–40, 49, 354, 358–359) dates the niche architecturally and epigraphically to ca. 110–100; on p. 354, however, seduced by Queyrel's stylistic date for the statue and the chronological consequences of his stemma, she unwisely opts for ca. 130–110 again; *contra* already, Despinois 1995, p. 361.

### Polykles I, father of Polykles II

*KirchPA* 11991; Coarelli 1969–1970; *LGPN*, s.v. Polykles no. 41; Queyrel 1991, pp. 458–459, 461–464; Traill 1994–2010, vol. 14, nos. 779119, 779129; Despinois 1995, pp. 361–364; Volkommer 2004, vol. 2, p. 292, s.v. Polykles II (C. Müller); *Brill's New Pauly*, vol. 4, p. 491, s.v. Polykles no. 48 (R. Neudecker).

(a) *IG IX<sup>2</sup>*.1 29, lines 17–18 (Thermon, 210/9), as patronymic (Queyrel 1991, p. 453, no. 12; Despinois 1995, pp. 350, 356–357).

(b) *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 6238; *SEG XXVIII* 249 (columella), as patronymic (Queyrel 1991, p. 453, no. 13; Despinois 1995, p. 359, no. 2).

### Polykles II, son of Polykles I

*KirchPA* 11992; Becatti 1940, pp. 16–19; Marcadé 1953–1957, vol. 2, pp. 107–108; Coarelli 1969–1970; *LGPN*, s.v. Polykles nos. 9, 42; Queyrel 1991, pp. 458–459, 461–464; Traill 1994–2010, vol. 14, nos. 779120, 779129, 779130; Despinois 1995, pp. 363–364; Volkommer 2004, vol. 2, pp. 292–293, s.v. Polykles II (C. Müller); *Brill's New Pauly*, vol. 11, p. 508, s.v. Polykles no. 3 (R. Neudecker).

(a) “Pupil of the Athenian Stadiеus”: Paus. 6.4.5 (Queyrel 1991, pp. 452, no. 10, 458; Despinois 1995, p. 358, no. 1).

(b) Aitolian *proxenos* in 210/9: *IG IX*<sup>2</sup>.1 29, line 17, with patronymic (Queyrel 1991, p. 453, no. 12; Despinis 1995, pp. 350, 356–357).

(c) Active at Olympia after 192: Paus. 6.4.5 (for references, see [a], above).

(d) Columella, with patronymic: *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 6238; *Agora XVII*, p. 54, no. 147 (Queyrel 1991, p. 453, no. 13; Despinis 1995, p. 359, no. 2).

1. Bronze victor statue of Amyntas son of Hellanikos of Ephesos, Olympia. Paus. 6.4.5 (for references, see [a], above). The event was first held in 196, and that year's victor is known.

2. Poinos(?) of Macedon, *titulus* from near Pompey's portico in Rome; now lost, known in two copies. *IG XIV* 1202; Marcadé 1953–1957, vol. 2, p. 107; Queyrel 1991, p. 451, no. 7; Despinis 1995, p. 358, no. 1. Moretti (1990, pp. 42–43, no. 1540) shows that the restoration [ ]ΠΙΟΙΝΟΣ ΜΑ[ΚΕΔΩΝ] ΠΟΛΥΚΛΗΣ ΣΤ[ΑΔΙΕΩΣ ΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΟΙΗΣΕΝ] proposed by Coarelli (1969–1970, p. 81) after copy (b) cannot be sustained. Surely commissioned before the Third Macedonian War (172–168), so presumably by Polykles II; probably taken to Rome in 168 or 146.

[3. Portrait of Astukrates on Lindos, allegedly in collaboration with Mnasitimos son of Aristonidas: *IG XII*.1 855; Traill 1994–2010, no. 779130; yet *ILindos* no. 56B, the rediscovered right-hand section of the base, shows that this Polykles is a priest and son of Polykrates.]

### Polykles III, son of Timarchides I, elder brother of Dionysios I

*KirchPA* 11993; Becatti 1940, pp. 16–19; Marcadé 1953–1957, vol. 2, pp. 107–108; Coarelli 1969–1970; *LGPN*, s.v. Polykles no. 43; Queyrel 1991, pp. 458–459, 461–464; Traill 1994–2010, vol. 14, no. 779135; Despinis 1995, pp. 361–366; Volkommer 2004, vol. 2, pp. 294–295, s.v. Polykles III, IV (C. Müller); *Brill's New Pauly*, vol. 11, p. 508, s.v. Polycles no. 3 (R. Neudecker).

(a) Filiation: Plin. *HN* 36.35 (for references see Dionysios I, [a]).

(b) *Floruit* 156–153: Plin. *HN* 34.62 (Queyrel 1991, p. 452, no. 11, 457; Despinis 1995, p. 360, no. 5).

(c) First Athenian mint magistrate in 149/8: Thompson 1961, pp. 58–61, nos. 101–110, 579, 581, pl. 13, corrected for the revised lower chronology of the New Style tetradrachms (Queyrel 1991, p. 452, no. 8; Despinis 1995, pp. 359–360, no. 4).

(d) Active at Rome, ca. 146–131: Plin. *HN* 36.35 (for references and date, see Dionysios I, nos. 1, 2).

1. Marble cult statue of Jupiter Stator for his temple in Rome, erected between 146 and 131, in collaboration with his younger brother Dionysios I: Plin. *HN* 36.35 (for references, see Dionysios I, no. 1). Apparently begun in 143.

2. Marble statue of Juno Regina for her temple in Rome, in collaboration with his younger brother Dionysios I: Plin. *HN* 36.35 (for references, see Dionysios I, no. 2).

3. Marble Herakles (Hercules), on the Capitol in Rome (Fig. 14): Cic. *Att.* 6.1.17–18 (Coarelli 1969–1970; Queyrel 1991, p. 450, no. 6; Despinis 1995, pp. 361, no. 8, 364–366; Giustozzi 2001; La Rocca, Presicce, and Lo Monaco 2010, pp. 179 [color pl.], 266–267, no. I.24 [N. Giustozzi]; for other references, see n. 14, above).

**Polykles IV, son of Aristokrates**

*LGN*, s.v. Polykles no. 41; Queyrel 1991, pp. 458–459, 461–464; Traill 1994–2010, vol. 14, no. 779110. Possibly identical with Polykles I.

(a) Filiation: *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 6237 (columella); *SEG XXVIII* 249 (Habicht 1982, p. 179, n. 36; Despiniis 1995, p. 359, no. 2).

**Polykles V, son of Tim[okles] or Tim[archides II]?**

*KirchPA* 11993; Marcadé 1953–1957, vol. 2, p. 108; Coarelli 1969–1970; *LGN*, s.v. Polykles no. 12; Queyrel 1991, pp. 458–459, 461–464; Traill 1994–2010, vol. 14, no. 779135; Despiniis 1995, pp. 350–356, 359–360, nos. 4–5; Volkommer 2004, vol. 2, pp. 294–295, s.v. Polykles IV (C. Müller); *Brill's New Pauly*, vol. 11, p. 508, s.v. Polycles no. 3 (R. Neudecker). Possibly identical with Polykles III.

(a) Filiation: *IG IX.1* 141; *SEG XLV* 508, 2337 (Marcadé 1953–1957, vol. 2, p. 108; Queyrel 1991, p. 453, no. 14; Despiniis 1995, pp. 350–356, 360, no. 6, pls. 71:3–4, 72:1).

(b) Third Athenian mint magistrate in 130/29: Thompson 1961, pp. 161 (nos. 408:b, 411:c, d), 579, pl. 41, corrected for the revised lower chronology (Queyrel 1991, p. 452, no. 9; Despiniis 1995, p. 359, no. 4).

1. A statue in the sanctuary of Athena Krania near Elateia: *IG IX.1* 141 (for references, see [a], above).

**Timarchides I, son of Polykles I**

*KirchPA* 13619; Becatti 1935; Coarelli 1969–1970; *LGN*, s.v. Timarchides nos. 10, 11; Queyrel 1991, pp. 459–460, 461–464; Traill 1994–2010, vol. 16, no. 883995; Despiniis 1995, pp. 361–363, 366–369; Volkommer 2004, vol. 2, pp. 468–471, s.v. Timarchides I (C. Müller); *Brill's New Pauly*, vol. 14, p. 683, s.v. Polycles no. 1 (R. Neudecker); Ghisellini 2003–2004, pp. 480–482, 486.

(a) Filiation: Plin. *HN* 36.35 (Queyrel 1991, pp. 449, no. 2, 454, no. 14; Despiniis 1995, pp. 361–363, no. 8).

(b) Active in Rome, 187–179. Plin. *HN* 36.35 (for references, see [a], above, and nos. 1, 2, below).

1. Marble cult statue of Juno Regina for her temple in Rome: Plin. *HN* 36.35 (for references, see [a], above; also Steinby 1993–2000, vol. 3, pp. 126–128, s.v. Iuno Regina, Aedes in Campo [A. Viscogliosi]; Ghisellini 2003–2004, pp. 482, 511, no. 2). Temple erected between 187 and 179.

2. Marble Apollo Kitharoidos in the temple of Apollo Medicus in Rome. Plin. *HN* 36.35 (for references, see [a], above; Becatti 1935; LaRocca 1977; Despiniis 1995, pp. 366–369; Steinby 1993–2000, vol. 1, pp. 49–54, s.v. Apollo, Aedes in Circo [A. Viscogliosi]; Ghisellini 2003–2004, p. 510, no. 1). Temple renovated apparently in 179.

**Timarchides II, son of Polykles II, younger brother of Timokles**

*KirchPA* 13620; Becatti 1940, pp. 16–19; Coarelli 1969–1970; *LGN*, s.v. Timarchides, nos. 10–11; Queyrel 1991, pp. 459–460, 461–464; Traill 1994–2010, vol. 16, nos. 883995, 884000, 884005; Despiniis 1995, pp. 361–363; Volkommer 2004, vol. 2, p. 471, s.v. Timarchides II (C. Müller); *Brill's New Pauly*, vol. 14, p. 683, s.v. Timarchides no. 1 (R. Neudecker).

(a) Filiation: Paus. 6.12.9, 10.34.6, 8 (Queyrel 1991, pp. 454, no. 19, 457, no. 29; Despinis 1995, p. 360, no. 6).

(b) *Hieropoios* at Athens probably in 152/1: *Kerameikos* I 10; Habicht 1982, p. 172, I line 6; *SEG XXXII* 216 (Habicht 1988, pp. 242, 246 [the date]; Tracy 1990, pp. 151, 161 [attributing it to “The Cutter of Agora I 6006,” active ca. 169–135], 214; Queyrel 1991, p. 456, no. 24; Despinis 1995, p. 356).

(c) Second mint magistrate in 149/8: Thompson 1961, pp. 58–61, nos. 101–110, 579, 581, pl. 13, corrected for the revised lower chronology (Queyrel 1991, pp. 452, no. 8, 455, no. 21; Despinis 1995, pp. 359–360, no. 4).

(d) Active at Olympia between 146 and 122: Paus. 6.12.9 (Queyrel 1991, pp. 454, no. 20, 457, no. 30, 459–460; Despinis 1995, p. 362), noting that the inscription identified the subject, Hagesarchos of Tritaia, as an Arkadian even though his city was Achaian. Mummius almost certainly decreed this reassignment in his settlement of 146: Larsen 1968, pp. 500–501; Queyrel 1991, pp. 459–460; Despinis 1995, p. 362. *SEG XV* 254 shows that it had been reversed by 122.

(e) Probably eponymous archon in 136/5: *SEG XII* 101; *Agora XV*, pp. 195–197, no. 243; *Agora XVI*, p. 436; *IDélos* 1922 (Traill 1994–2010, no. 883950, s.v. Timarchides).

1. A “Parthenos” listed in an Athenian gymnasium inventory of ca. 169–135: Clay 1977, p. 259 (B), line 57; *SEG XXVI* 139 (Tracy 1990, pp. 150, 159, attributing it to “The Cutter of Agora I 6006,” active ca. 169–135; Queyrel 1991, p. 455, no. 22; Despinis 1995 p. 361, no. 8).

2. Bronze victor statue of the boxer Hagesarchos son of Hermostratos of Tritaia at Olympia, in collaboration with his elder brother Timokles: Paus. 6.12.8–9 (for references and date, see [d], above). Date 146–122.

3. Marble(?) cult statue of Asklepios for his temple at Elateia, in collaboration with his elder brother Timokles: Paus. 10.34.6 (Queyrel 1991, pp. 455, no. 23, 457, no. 32; Despinis 1995, pp. 349, 360, no. 6).

4. Marble cult statue of Athena Kranaia at Kranaia near Elateia (Figs. 12, 17), in collaboration with his elder brother Timokles: Paus. 10.34.8, cf. 34.6 (Queyrel 1991, pp. 454, no. 19, 457, no. 29; Despinis 1995, pp. 339–349, 360, no. 6, 369–372, pls. 70–76, 80–83). Armed; the shield was copied from that of the Athena Parthenos.

### Timarchides III “the Younger,” son of Polykles III

*LGPN*, s.v. Timarchides no. 11; Queyrel 1991, pp. 459–460, 461–464; Traill 1994–2010, vol. 16, no. 884000; Despinis 1995, pp. 361–364; Volkommmer 2004, vol. 2, p. 471, s.v. Timarchides II (C. Müller); *Brill’s New Pauly*, vol. 14, p. 683, s.v. Timarchides no. 1 (R. Neudecker).

(a) Filiation: *IDélos* 1688 (Marcadé 1953–1957, vol. 2, p. 132; Queyrel 1991, pp. 448, no. 1, 456, no. 25; Despinis 1995, p. 361, no. 9).

(b) Active in Athens, ca. 150–130: *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 4302, signing as “the Younger” (Queyrel 1991, p. 456, no. 27; Despinis 1995, pp. 361, no. 9, 364, pl. 79). Evidently his uncle Timarchides II was still alive and working at the time, which dates the commission to the 140s or 130s.

(c) Active on Delos, ca. 120–100: *IDélos* 1688 (for references and date, see [a], above, and Dionysios II, no. 1).

1. A statue in the Theater of Dionysos at Athens: *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 4302 (for references and date, see [b], above). Ca. 150–130.

2. Marble portrait of C. Ofellius Ferus in niche 18 of the “Agora” of the Italians on Delos, in collaboration with his cousin Dionysios II, son of Timarchides II: *IDélos* 1688 (for references and date, see Dionysios II, [a], above, and no. 1). Ca. 120–100.

### Timokles, son of Polykles II, brother of Timarchides II

*KirchPA* 13734; Becatti 1940, pp. 16–19; Coarelli 1969–1970; *LGPN*, s.v. Timokles no. 51; Queyrel 1991, pp. 460, 461–464; Traill 1994–2010, vol. 16, no. 887280; Despinis 1995, p. 359, no. 3, 362; Volkammer 2004, vol. 2, p. 473, s.v. Timokles I (C. Müller).

(a) Born ca. 203: see n. 23, above, and (c), below.

(b) Filiation: Paus. 6.12.9, 10.34.6, 8 (for references see Timarchides II, [a]).

(c) Ephebe ca. 185 (for references, see n. 23, above; as noted there, only the patronymic is preserved; the preceding eight-letter lacuna rules out his brother Timarchides II, and the honor suggests that he was the elder of the two).

(d) *Floruit* 156–153: Plin. *HN*34.62 (Queyrel 1991, pp. 452, no. 11, 457, no. 31; Despinis 1995, p. 360, no. 5: Timarchides, erratum for Timokles).

(e) Active at Olympia between 146 and 122: Paus. 6.12.9 (for references see Timarchides II, [d]).

1. Bronze victor statue of the boxer Hagesarchos son of Hermostratos of Tritaia at Olympia, in collaboration with his younger brother Timarchides II: Paus. 6.12.8–9 (for references and date see Timarchides II, [d]). Date 146–122.

2. Marble(?) cult statue of Asklepios for his temple at Elateia, in collaboration with his younger brother Timarchides II: Paus. 10.34.6 (for references, see Timarchides II, no. 3).

3. Marble cult statue of Athena Kranaia at Kranaia near Elateia (Figs. 12, 17), in collaboration with his younger brother Timarchides II: Paus. 10.34.8, cf. 34.6 (for references, see Timarchides II, no. 4). Armed; the shield was copied from that of the Athena Parthenos.

## UNASSIGNED SCULPTURES

### Polykles

1. Alkibiades: Dio Chrys. 37.40, p. 122 (Queyrel 1991, p. 450, no. 4; Despinis 1995, p. 360, no. 7).

2. Hermaphrodite in bronze: Plin. *HN*34.80, calling it “noble” (Queyrel 1991, p. 450, no. 5; Despinis 1995, p. 360, no. 7).

3. Muses: Varro, *Sat. Men.* fr. 201 Bücheler (Queyrel 1991, p. 449, no. 3; Despinis 1995, p. 360, no. 7).

### Timarchides

1–4. Athletes, warriors, hunters, men sacrificing, in bronze: Plin. *HN* 34.91 (Queyrel 1991, p. 454, no. 17; Despinis 1995, p. 360, no. 7).

### [Timarchides II or III, or Timokles] son of Polykles II or III

1. Statue on or near the Acropolis, Athens: *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 4309 (found north of the Propylaia)(Marcadé 1953–1957, vol. 2, p. 132; Queyrel 1991, p. 456, no. 26; Traill 1994–2010, vol. 14, no. 779105; Despinis 1995, pp. 361, no. 9, 364).

## REFERENCES

- Agora = The Athenian Agora: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, Princeton
- III = R. E. Wycherley, *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*, 1957.
- XIV = H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Agora of Athens: The History, Shape, and Uses of an Ancient City Center*, 1972.
- XV = B. D. Merritt and J. S. Traill, *Inscriptions: The Athenian Councillors*, 1974.
- XVI = A. G. Woodhead, *Inscriptions: The Decrees*, 1997.
- XXXI = M. M. Miles, *The City Eleusinion*, 1998.
- Alexandridis, A. 2004. *Die Frauen des römischen Kaiserhauses: Eine Untersuchung ihrer bildlichen Darstellung von Livia bis Iulia Domna*, Mainz.
- Becatti, G. 1935. "Timarchides e l'Apollo qui tenet citharam," *BullCom* 63, pp. 111–131.
- . 1940. "Saggio sulla scultura attica dell'ellenismo," *RivIstArch* 7, pp. 7–116.
- Bieber, M. 1961. *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, rev. ed., New York.
- . 1962. *The Copies of the Herculaneum Women (PAPS 106.2)*, Philadelphia.
- Bol, P. C., ed. 2004. *Die Geschichte der antiken Bildhauerkunst 2: Klassische Plastik*, Mainz.
- . 2007. *Die Geschichte der antiken Bildhauerkunst 3: Hellenistische Plastik*, Mainz.
- Camp, J. McK. 1986. *The Athenian Agora: Excavations in the Heart of Classical Athens* (New Aspects of Antiquity), London.
- . 2001. *The Archaeology of Athens*, New Haven.
- Clay, D. 1977. "A Gymnasium Inventory from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 46, pp. 259–267.
- Coarelli, F. 1969–1970. "Polykles," *StMisc* 15, pp. 77–89.
- Daehner, J., ed. 2007. *The Herculaneum Women: History, Context, Identities*, Los Angeles.
- Damaskos, D. 1999. *Untersuchungen zu hellenistischen Kultbildern*, Stuttgart.
- Despinis, G. I. 1995. "Studien zur hellenistischen Plastik I: Zwei Künstlerfamilien aus Athen," *AM* 110, pp. 321–372.
- . 2004. "Zu Akrolithstatuen griechische und römische Zeit," *NAkG* 8, pp. 245–301.
- Fabricius, J. 2003. "Soma/Corpus: Körperbilder und Körperkonzepte in der griechischen und römischen Kultur" (diss. Univ. of Göttingen).
- Ghisellini, E. 2003–2004. "Un acrolito tardo-ellenistico inedito della collezione Spada: Annotazioni sulla statuaria di culto della Tarda Repubblica," *RendPontAcc* 76, pp. 449–523.
- Giustozzi, N. 2001. "L'Hercules Πολυκλέους e la tecnica acrolitica nel II secolo a.C.," *BullComm* 102, pp. 7–82.
- Goodlett, V. C. 1989. "Collaboration in Greek Sculpture: The Literary and Epigraphical Evidence" (diss. New York Univ.).
- Habicht, C. 1982. "Eine Liste von Hieropoioi aus dem Jahre des Archons Andreas," *AM* 97, pp. 171–184.

- . 1988. "The Eponymous Archons of Athens from 159/8 to 141/0 B.C.," *Hesperia* 57, pp. 237–247.
- Häger-Weigel, E. 1997. *Griechische Akrolith-Statuen des 5. und 4. Jhs. v. Chr.* (Wissenschaftliche Schriftenreihe Archäologie 4), Berlin.
- Harrison, E. B. 1960. "New Sculpture from the Athenian Agora, 1959," *Hesperia* 29, pp. 369–392.
- Herzog, H. 1996. *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung von Statuen auf Athener Silbermünzen des Neuen Stils* (Schriftenreihe Antiquates 11), Hamburg.
- Horn, R. 1931. *Stehende weibliche Gewandstatuen in der hellenistischen Plastik (RM-EH 2)*, Munich.
- Kaltsas, N. E. 2002. *Sculpture in the National Archaeological Museum*, Athens.
- Kaltsas, N., and A. Shapiro, eds. 2008. *Worshiping Women: Ritual and Reality in Classical Athens*, New York.
- Kern, O. 1892. "Das Kultbild der Göttinnen von Eleusis," *AM* 17, pp. 125–142.
- Knigge, U. 1986. "Ein Kultbild der Athena in Larisa," in *Archaische und klassische griechische Plastik. Akten des internationalen Kolloquiums vom 22.–25. April 1985 in Athen 2: Klassische griechische Plastik*, ed. H. Kyrieleis, Mainz, pp. 143–148.
- Kruse, H.-J. 1975. "Römische weibliche Gewandstatuen des zweiten Jahrhunderts nach Christus" (diss. Univ. of Göttingen).
- Landwehr, C. 2000. *Die römischen Skulpturen von Caesarea Mauretaniae 2: Idealplastik. Männliche Figuren*, Mainz.
- La Rocca, E. 1972–1973. "Una testa femminile nel Museo Nuovo dei Conservatori e l'Afrodite Louvre-Napoli," *ASAtene* 50–51, n.s. 34–35, pp. 419–450.
- . 1977. "L'Apollo qui . . . citharam tenet di Timarchides," *BollMC* 23, pp. 16–33.
- . 1990. "Linguaggio artistico e ideologia politica a Roma in età repubblicana," in *Roma e l'Italia: Radices Imperii*, ed. G. Pugliese Carratelli, Rome, pp. 287–495.
- La Rocca, E., C. P. Presicce, and A. Lo Monaco, eds. 2010. *I giorni di Roma: L'età della conquista*, Rome.
- Larsen, J. A. O. 1968. *Greek Federal States: Their Institutions and History*, Oxford.
- Lawton, C. 1995. "Four Document Reliefs from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 64, pp. 121–130.
- . 2006. *Marbleworkers in the Athenian Agora (AgoraPicBk 27)*, Princeton.
- LGPV = P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews, eds., *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Oxford 1987–.
- Linfert, A. 1976. *Kunstzentren hellenistischer Zeit: Studien an weiblichen Gewandfiguren*, Wiesbaden.
- Lippold, G. 1951. *Die griechische Plastik* (Handbuch der Archäologie 3.1), Munich.
- Marcadé, J. 1953–1957. *Recueil des signatures de sculpteurs grecs*, 2 vols., Paris.
- Martin, H. G. 1987. *Römische Tempelkultbilder: Eine archäologische Untersuchung zur späten Republik* (Studi e materiali del Museo della civiltà romana 12), Rome.
- Meritt, B. D., A. G. Woodhead, and G. A. Stamires. 1957. "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 26, pp. 198–270.
- Metzger, H. 1965. *Recherches sur l'imagerie Athénienne* (Publications de la Bibliothèque Salomon Reinach 2), Paris.
- Moreno, P. 1994. *Scultura ellenistica*, 2 vols., Rome.
- Moretti, L. 1990. *Inscriptiones Graecae urbis Romae 4* (Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto italiano per la storia antica 47), Rome.
- Ogden, D. 2002. "Controlling Women's Dress: *Gynaikonomoi*," in *Women's Dress in the Ancient Greek World*, ed. L. Llewellyn-Jones and S. Blundell, Swansea, pp. 203–227.
- Oikonomos, G. P. 1946. "Ἀγαλμάτιον Δήμητρος ἐκ τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀγορᾶς," *BCH* 70, pp. 403–417.
- Palagia, O. 2000. "Parian Marble and the Athenians," in *Paria Lithos: Parian Quarries, Marble, and Workshops of Sculpture. Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Archaeology of Paros and the Cyclades, Paros, 2–5 October 1997* (Archaeological and Historical Studies 1), ed. D. U. Schilardi and D. Katsonopoulou, Athens, pp. 346–354.
- Perrin-Saminadayar, É. 2007. *Éducation, culture, et société à Athènes: Les acteurs de la vie culturelle athénienne (229–88): Un tout petit monde*, Paris.
- Peschlow-Bindokat, A. 1972. "Demeter und Persephone in der attischen Kunst des 6. bis 4. Jahrhunderts," *JdI* 87, pp. 60–157.
- Platt, V. 2011. *Facing the Gods: Epiphany and Representation in Greco-Roman Art, Literature, and Religion*, Cambridge.
- Pollitt, J. J. 1974. *The Ancient View of Greek Art: Criticism, History, and Terminology* (Yale Publications in the History of Art 25), New Haven.
- Protonotariou-Deilaki, E. 1961–1962. "Ἀνασκαφὴ Φερευῶ 1958, 1959, 1961," *ArchDelt* 17, B', pp. 57–59.
- Queyrel, F. 1991. "C. Ofellius Ferus," *BCH* 115, pp. 389–464.
- Raftopoulou, E. 1971. "Κεφαλὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἐργαστηρίου τοῦ Ἡραίου τοῦ Ἄργους," *ArchDelt* 26, A', pp. 264–275.
- Reusser, C. 1993. *Der Fidestempel auf der Kapitol in Rom und seiner Ausstattung: Ein Beitrag zu den Ausgrabungen an der Via del Mare und um das Kapitol, 1926–1943* (BullCom Suppl. 2), Rome.
- Ridgway, B. S. 1990. *Hellenistic Sculpture 1: The Styles of ca. 331–200 B.C.* (Wisconsin Studies in Classics), Madison.
- . 2000. *Hellenistic Sculpture 2: The Styles of ca. 200–100 B.C.* (Wisconsin Studies in Classics), Madison.
- Ruhland, M. 1901. *Die eleusinischen Göttinnen: Entwicklung ihrer Typen in der attischen Plastik*, Strassburg.
- Shear, T. L. 1973. "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1972," *Hesperia* 42, pp. 359–407.
- Smith, R. R. R. 1991. *Hellenistic Sculpture: A Handbook* (World of Art), New York.
- Smith, R. R. R., S. Dillon, C. H. Hallett, J. Lenaghan, and J. van Voorhis. 2006. *Aphrodisias II: Roman Portrait Statuary from Aphrodisias*, Mainz.
- Steinby, E. M., ed. 1993–2000. *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*, 6 vols., Rome.

- Stewart, A. 1979. *Attika: Studies in Athenian Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (JHS Suppl. 14), London.
- . 1990. *Greek Sculpture: An Exploration*, New Haven.
- . 1998. "Goddess or Queen? A Colossal Marble Head in the Athenian Agora," in *Regional Schools in Hellenistic Sculpture. Proceedings of an International Conference Held at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, March 15–17, 1996* (Oxbow Monograph 90), ed. O. Palagia and W. D. E. Coulson, Oxford, pp. 83–92.
- . 2012. "Hellenistic Freestanding Sculpture from the Athenian Agora, Part 1: Aphrodite," *Hesperia* 81, pp. 267–342.
- Stroud, R. S. 1965. "The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth, Preliminary Report I, 1961–1962," *Hesperia* 34, pp. 1–24.
- Themelis, P. 1996. "Damophon of Messene," in *Personal Styles in Greek Sculpture* (YCS 30), ed. O. Palagia and J. J. Pollitt, pp. 154–185.
- Thompson, D. B. 1963. "Three Centuries of Hellenistic Terracottas: The Second Century B.C.," *Hesperia* 32, pp. 301–317.
- . 1965. "Three Centuries of Hellenistic Terracottas," *Hesperia* 34, pp. 34–71.
- Thompson, H. A. 1976. *The Athenian Agora: A Guide to the Excavations and Museum*, 3rd ed., Athens.
- Thompson, H. A., D. B. Thompson, and S. Rotroff. 1987. *Hellenistic Pottery and Terracottas*, Princeton.
- Thompson, M. 1961. *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens* (NS 10), New York.
- Tracy, S. V. 1982. "Greek Inscriptions from the Athenian Agora: Third to First Centuries B.C.," *Hesperia* 51, pp. 57–64.
- . 1990. *Attic Letter Cutters of 229–86 B.C.* (Hellenistic Culture and Society 6), Berkeley.
- Traill, J. S. 1994–2010. *Persons of Ancient Athens*, 19 vols., Toronto.
- Trümper, M. 2008. *Die "Agora des Italiens" in Delos: Baugeschichte, Architektur, Ausstattung, und Funktion einer späthellenistischen Porticus-Anlage*, Rahden.
- Vanderpool, E. 1959. "Newsletter from Greece," *AJA* 63, pp. 279–283.
- Volkommer, R., ed. 2004. *Künstlerlexikon der Antike*, 2 vols., Munich.
- Vorster, C. 2007a. "Greek Origins: The Herculaneum Women in the Pre-Roman World," in Daehner 2007, pp. 113–139.
- . 2007b. "The Large and Small Herculaneum Women Sculptures," in Daehner 2007, pp. 59–83.
- Weber, M. 2007. "Gewandikonographie als Quelle zum Verständnis von inhaltlichen Bildkonzepten," *Thetis* 13–14, pp. 61–70.

### *Andrew Stewart*

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY  
 DEPARTMENTS OF HISTORY OF ART AND CLASSICS  
 BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94720-6020  
 astewart@berkeley.edu