

Tradition and innovation: portraits and dedications on the early Hellenistic Akropolis

Ralf von den Hoff

“[In Athens] you will see the most beautiful sights on earth:[...] a magnificent temple of Athena, something out of this world and worth seeing, the so-called Parthenon, which lies above the theatre; it makes a great impression on sightseers.”

Herakleides 1.1 (third century B.C.)¹

Studying cultural change in ancient societies requires looking not only for the historical or artistic record, but also for cultural context: for focal points of identity construction and cultural practice, such as were provided by sanctuaries in ancient Greece. The manner in which heterogeneous objects were dedicated and viewed together, and the appearance of the sanctuary as a whole can be taken as records of specific interests and patterns of behaviour and of the historical conditions that created them. In this sense, the Athenian Akropolis was always taken as a visible manifestation of the classical period of Athens in the fifth century B.C. However, its history after the death of Alexander the Great should be of more interest than recent studies suggest.² What was happening in Athens' most important sanctuary and what were the Athenians' interests concerning it during the Macedonian occupation? The existing epigraphical, literary and sculptural evidence of this period has not been studied together as a record of cultural change up to now. My purpose is to do so and to develop some broader ideas concerning the significance of the Akropolis for the Athenians after 323 and into the third century. Because of the fragmentary nature of our records, the results will be preliminary and are to be understood as nothing more than a basis for further discussion. I will focus on two aspects: dedications and portrait statues on the Akropolis.

The Panathenaia – Athens' most important festival connected to the Akropolis – seem to have provided a prime occasion for foreign rulers to demonstrate their status and piety in early Hellenistic times. Bearing witness of this are Lysimachos' (*IG II² 657* ll. 14–16)³ and Ptolemy II's (*SEG 28.60* ll. 66–70)⁴ donations of equipment for the Panathenaic ship, as well as the fact that images of Demetrios and Antigonos were by decree woven into Athena's Panathenaic peplos alongside the gods shortly after 306 (Plut. *Demetr.* 12.2–4; Diod. 20.46).⁵ Thus, foreign kings were indirectly included in the traditional cult affairs of the *polis*. During the same period, rulers were active in the Akropolis cults as well. The sacrifice of Pyrrhos to Athena Polias in 287/6, after Athens' liberation from Demetrios Poliorketes (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 12.4), was a symbolic act of reverence to the *polis* goddess.⁶ Other instances of this were armour dedications. After 334 Alexander dedicated 300 panoplies “captured from the barbarians who inhabit Asia” (Arr. *Anab.* 1.16.7) to Athena. Plutarch only mentions 300 shields (Plut. *Alex.* 16.17), but it is far from certain that they were attached to the east architrave of the Parthenon, as has often been suggested. However, the dowel holes in this architrave can

¹ Translation in M. M. Austin, *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest* (1981) 151, no. 83; cf. F. Pfister, *Die Reisebilder des Herakleides* (1951); Mikalson 168–169.

² Hurwit 261–282; but cf. D. Geagan, in M. Dillon (ed.), *Religion in the Ancient World* (1996) 153–155.

³ Bringmann – von Steuben 21–25, cat. no. 6; Mikalson 99; K. Bringmann, *Geben und Nehmen. Monarchische Wohltätigkeit und Selbstdarstellung im Zeitalter des Hellenismus* (2000) 94–95.

⁴ Bringmann – von Steuben 40–45, cat. no. 16; Bringmann (supra n. 3); for the date cf. Mikalson 108 with n. 9; B. Dreyer, *ZPE* 111, 1996, 45–67.

⁵ Hurwit 261 with n. 3; Mikalson 81–104; H. Kotsidou, *TIMH KAI ΔΟΞΑ* (2000) 33–38, cat. no. 9. On the monuments of Demetrios Poliorketes in Athens, see also T. M. Brogan, this volume.

⁶ Mikalson 104.

be taken as tokens of similar votives, though not dated precisely.⁷ In 318, Alexander's namesake, the son of Polyperchon, who had just 'liberated' Athens, dedicated a ceremonial panoply to Athena (*IG II² 1473 ll. 6–8*).⁸ Finally, the golden shields Lachares removed (Paus. 1.25.7) must have been parts of similar dedications, while the 1,200 suits of armour donated by Demetrios Poliorketes (Plut. *Demetr.* 17.1) were probably actual military equipment.⁹ For Alexander, the dedication of barbarian weapons had certainly been a gesture of acknowledgement of the Athenian victories over the Persians: not only a reverence for tradition but also a token of his unchallenged legacy.¹⁰ On the other hand, the role of some dedicants as liberators seems to have been important, as it must have been for Pyrrhos' sacrifice. It appears that the foreign rulers' claims to be Athens' liberators were often underlined by armour dedications or sacrifices on the Akropolis. Furthermore, giving armour to Athena was in keeping with an old-fashioned trend in dedications,¹¹ avoiding non-traditional patterns of behaviour. The Akropolis seems to have served as a focal point for the advertisement of ruler interests in traditional patterns, and so did the Panathenaia.

So far as Athenian activities are concerned, we know that the *tamiai* ordered silver vessels to be crafted for the Akropolis from recycled material in 321/0, 320/19 and 314/3, possibly also in 318/7, 311/0 and 307–304.¹² Gold *phialai* were produced from a 1% tax collected by the archon of the previous year in 320/19.¹³ The *boule* dedicated a silver *kanoun* in 318/7.¹⁴ All these activities pursued old practices and Lykourgos interests, and it is not astonishing that Lykourgos was honoured in 307 for his diligence in preserving the *kosmos* of the Akropolis.¹⁵ Nevertheless, the nearly annual dedications by public institutions after 323 are a sign of sustained interest in it. Inscriptions on the objects named the source of the material, the artist and the dedicant. This practice became widespread possibly in order to demonstrate the democratic character of the procedure (and so did the inventories).¹⁶ Hence, in the late fourth century, the Athenians tried to maintain 'business as usual' so far as the Akropolis cult was concerned. The regular examination of the Athena Parthenos,¹⁷ the interest to maintain the regularity of the Panathenaia, the Athenians' active engagement in the festival in addition to the above mentioned ruler activities¹⁸ and the resumption of published inventories of the Akropolis treasures around 240/30¹⁹ point in the same direction.

⁷ Bringmann – von Steuben 17–18, cat. no. 2; B. Schmidt-Dounas, *Geschenke erhalten die Freundschaft* (2000) 86; 88–91; 232, figs. 26–27. Dowel holes in the east architrave of the Parthenon: G. P. Stevens, *The Setting of the Periclean Parthenon*, *Hesperia* Suppl. 3 (1940) 64–66; M. Korres, in P. Tournikiotis (ed.), *The Parthenon and its Impact in Modern Times* (1994) 138–139, fig. 2; Hurwit 253–254 with n. 35 and figs. 207; 276. See also P. Themelis, this volume.

⁸ Bringmann – von Steuben 20–21, cat. no. 4; Habicht 59; D. Harris, *The Treasures of the Parthenon and Erechtheion* (1995) 117, no. 18; 233–234; Bringmann (supra n. 3) 64; Schmidt-Dounas (supra n. 7) 84. See also P. Themelis, this volume.

⁹ Bringmann – von Steuben 31, cat. no. 11; Bringmann (supra n. 3) 67–68 with n. 23; 110; Schmidt-Dounas (supra n. 7) 79 n. 381; Habicht 59 considers them a dedication. See also P. Themelis and T. M. Brogan, this volume.

¹⁰ Habicht 30; Bringmann (supra n. 3) 57–58; Schmidt-Dounas (supra n. 7) 86; 232.

¹¹ Cf. on the Athenian Akropolis: *Inscriptionen von Priene* no. 5 ll. 2–6; *IG II² 456b ll. 3–8*; O. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (1932) 34. Elsewhere: Bringmann (supra n. 3) 64–65; Schmidt-Dounas (supra n. 7) 79–93. See also P. Themelis, this volume, on dedications of royal women.

¹² *IG II² 1469 ll. 3–16; 22; IG II² 1480 (Hesperia 57, 1988, 355) ll. 8–11*; D. Harris, *Hesperia* 57, 1988, 330–332; ead. (supra n. 8) 159, no. 253; 160–161, no. 258; 168, no. 296. The dedicants of vessels in 318/7, 311/0 and 307–304 are unknown. These could at least partly have been official commissions as well, because Nikeratos of Kolophon worked for the *tamiai*: *IG II² 1474 ll. 18–20; IG II² 1492 ll. 29–35; 70–73*; add. p. 810 ll. 17–20; Harris (1988) 334–336; Harris (supra n. 8) 153, no. 217; 154, no. 221; 158–159, no. 251; 162, no. 261; 211, no. 30.

¹³ *IG II² 1471 ll. 10–15*; Harris (supra n. 8) 171–172, no. 320. Earlier *phialai* dedications by *choregoi*: S. Lambert, *ZPE* 135, 2001, 52–59.

¹⁴ *IG II² 1474 ll. 10–13*; Harris (supra n. 12) 334; Harris (supra n. 8) 120, no. 44.

¹⁵ *IG II² 333*; [Plut.] *Mor.* 852 B; Paus. 1.29.16.

¹⁶ For possible reasons for the appearance of the artist's name: Harris (supra n. 12) 336–337. On the inventories, see infra n. 76.

¹⁷ Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 47.1; see infra n. 76; D. M. Lewis, in D. Knoepfler (ed.), *Comptes et inventaires dans la cité grecque* (1988) 300–302 with n. 18.

¹⁸ Mikalson 108–109; 164.

¹⁹ Poll. 10.126 (archon Alkibiades 240/30: for the date, see infra n. 63); cf. Mikalson 163. Earlier inventorying under Lykourgos: D. Harris, *AJA* 96, 1992, 637–652. In the Athenian Asklepieion inventories were produced in 274/3 and 244/3: S. B. Aleshire, *The Athenian Asklepieion* (1989) 301.

But what about the images on view inside the sanctuary? First of all: what about the presence of royal portraits, which could underline the kings' interest in self-presentation or Athens' gratitude towards them? This practice is attested in other Greek sanctuaries²⁰ and in the Athenian Agora, where, among others, honorary statues of Lysimachos (Paus. 1.9.4), Pyrrhos (Paus. 1.11.9), Seleukos I (Paus. 1.16.1), Demetrios²¹ and Antigonos (*SEG* 25.149; Diod. 20.46.2) were set up.²² But we have no certain evidence for Hellenistic royal portraits on the third-century Akropolis.²³ It seems unlikely that this lack could be due to a loss of records, because actually some statues are known, but they are 'late-comers', after 229. The earliest ones are the pillar monuments of the Attalids.²⁴ The lack of royal portraits – both honorary and votive – is astonishing. It is possible that early Hellenistic kings studiously refrained from dedicating their own portraits on the Akropolis, thus respecting traditional patterns of behaviour and the monument of Athens' past. But it seems to be more likely that the Athenians themselves tried to keep statues of kings out of Athena's sanctuary.

In this context, it is revealing to look at portrait dedications by Athenians. So far as honorary statues are concerned, that is, statues dedicated by the *demos* or the *boule*, the images of Demetrios of Phaleron and of Olympiodoros are the only ones on the early Hellenistic Akropolis known to us.²⁵ Demetrios' portrait must have been set up between 317 and 307. It was part of the honours he received (Nep. *Miltiades* 6.4; Diog Laert 5.75). What is astonishing is that the statue was spared when, in 306, all other images of him in Athens were destroyed (Diog Laert 5.77).²⁶ This may be due to the fact that it was a votive to Athena and that even in this sensitive political case the Athenians respected its sacredness.²⁷ We do not know what the portrait looked like.

²⁰ Cf. Schmidt-Dounas (supra n. 7) 102–125 and Bringmann – von Steuben 126–128, cat. nos. 78, 80. Hellenistic royal dedications in sanctuaries are altogether less common than other benefactions: A. Giovannini, in M. Christol (ed.), *Actes du Xe congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine* (1997) 175–181.

²¹ Cf. fragments of gilded equestrian statue from the Agora (not certainly that of Demetrios): T. L. Shear, Jr., *Hesperia* 42, 1973, 165–168, pl. 36; C. C. Mattusch, *Classical Bronzes* (1996) 125–128, fig. 4.11; J. M. Camp, *The Archaeology of Athens* (2001) 170, fig. 164. See also T. M. Brogan, this volume.

²² Kotsidou (supra n. 5) 31–38, cat. nos. 7–8; 47–52, cat. no. 11; 73, cat. no. 24. Other kings: *OGIS* no. 248 ll. 56–57 (Antiochos IV, *Hesperia* 51, 1982, 60–62, no. 3). *IG II²* 653 ll. 13–15, 40–42; C. Löhr, *Griechische Familienweihungen* (2000) 131–132, no. 150; 145–146, no. 165; *SEG* 47.1997, 131 (King Spartokos III of the Bosphoros and, earlier, his ancestors, cf. Bringmann – von Steuben 73–77, cat. nos. 33–34). *IG II²* 654 ll. 57–58; Bringmann – von Steuben 70–72, cat. no. 32 (King Audoleon of the Paionians). *IG II²* 3425 (King of Sidon; unknown setting). Cf. S. Dow, *HarvStClPhil* 67 (1963) 83–85. Statues of Ptolemy I (Paus. 1.8.7) and Ptolemy II with his wife, Arsinoe II (Paus. 1.8.6) were probably later additions to the Agora. For statues of other benefactors: A. S. Henry, *Honours and Privileges in Athenian Decrees* (1983) 294–296; P. Gauthier, *Les cités grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs*, *BCH Suppl.* 12 (1985) 103–112.

²³ An exception could have been *IG II²* 653 ll. 40–42; *Syll.*³ 370 (Spartokos III), but the restoration of the Akropolis as setting is not certain: Henry (supra n. 22) 296; P. Gauthier, *REG* 92 (1979) 370 n. 40; B. Hintzen-Bohlen, *JdI* 105, 1990, 142–143; Bringmann – von Steuben 74–77, cat. no. 34, esp. p. 77; H. Heinen, in P. Carlier (ed.), *Le IV^e siècle av. J.-C.* (1996) 365; Löhr (supra n. 22) 132 n. 674; 146 n. 737; nothing but the decree has been found on the Akropolis (*pace* Heinen). The portrait head of Alexander, Athens, Akropolis Museum 1331, is Roman, as K. Fittschen, *Katalog der antiken Skulpturen in Schloss Erbach* (1977) 22, Beil. 2, has demonstrated; *contra*: A. Stewart, *Faces of Power* (1993) 106, fig. 5; Hurwit 252, fig. 206.

²⁴ H. R. Goette, *AM* 105, 1990, 273–278, nos. 2–3; M. Korres, in R. Economakis (ed.), *Akropolis Restoration* (1994) 47–48; 177–178; Hurwit 271–272, figs. 220–221; 317, no. 17.

²⁵ The setting of the statue of an unknown Athenian (?) in *IG II²* 513 ll. 4–6 (after 318/7), usually restored as 'Akropolis', is uncertain: Dow (supra n. 22) 86 (foreigner); M. Osborne, *ZPE* 42, 1981, 172–174 (Lykourgos?); Henry (supra n. 22) 295.

²⁶ Cf. Pliny, *HN* 34.27; Plut. *Mor.* 820 E-F; Strab. 9.398. *IG II²* 2971 belongs to a statue of Demetrios' grandson (Habicht 64; S. V. Tracy, *Athenian Democracy in Transition* [1995] 43–44; id., in W. W. Fortenbaugh – E. Schütrumpf [eds.], *Demetrius of Phalerum* [2000] 334–336). Tracy suggested [*ibid.*, 334 n. 12] that since no statue base of Phalereus has come down to us, the literary references may have conflated the statues of Demetrios of Phaleron with those of Demetrios Poliorketes. Nevertheless, as the statue of Phalereus on the Akropolis is the only one mentioned separately, this looks like a trustworthy record; *contra* R. Parker, *Athenian Religion: A History* (1996) 258 n. 8. On the statues of Phalereus erected by the Athenians, see also P. Green, this volume.

²⁷ T. Lorenz, in *Perspektiven der Philosophie. Neues Jahrbuch* 23, 1997, 409–410; N. Himmelmann, *Die private Bildnisweihung bei den Griechen* (2001) 53. The statue of Hipparchos on the Akropolis was melted down in the fifth century to erect a bronze stele inside the sanctuary (Lycurg. *Leoc.* 117–119); R. Krumeich, *Bildnisse griechischer Herrscher und Staatsmänner im 5. Jh. v. Chr.* (1997) 63. Honorary statues in the Agora could be melted down without replacement: Krumeich 64.

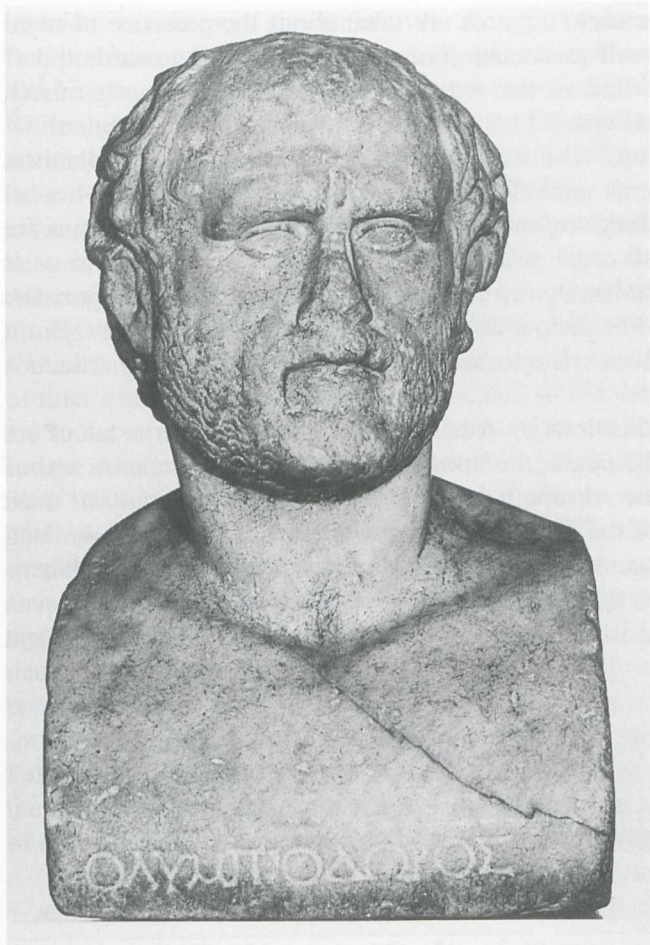
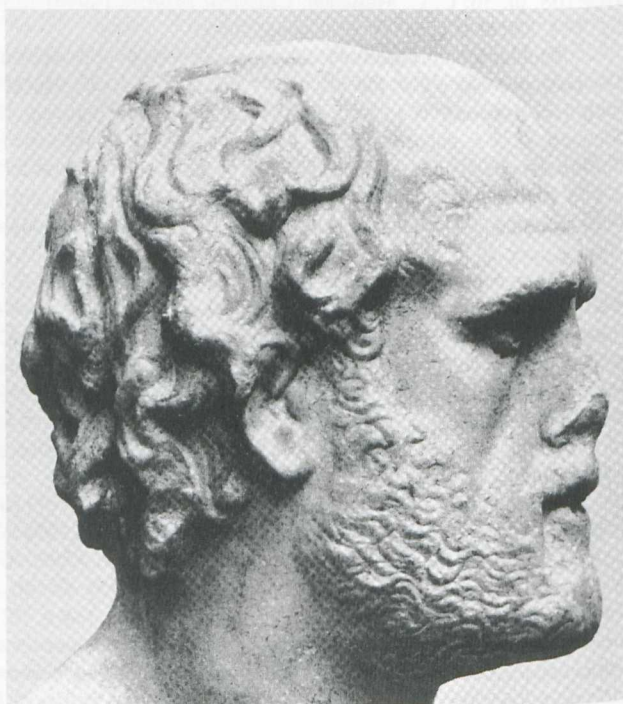
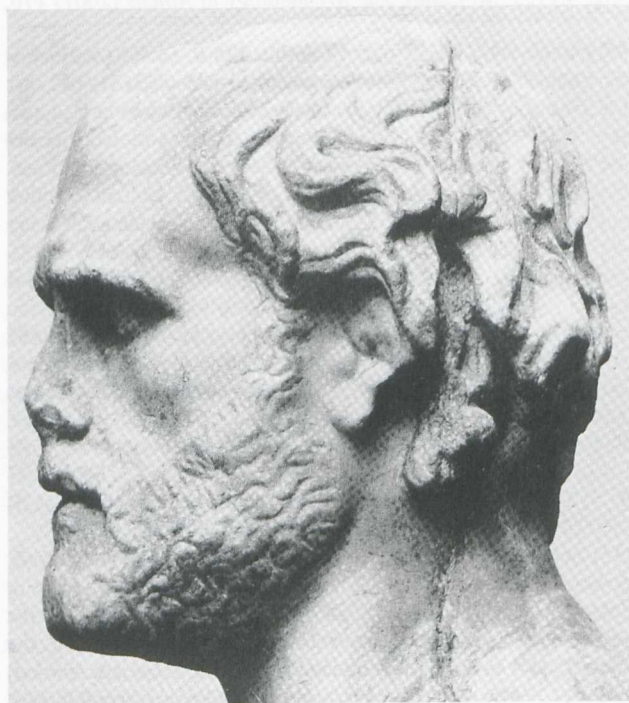


Fig. 1 (left): Portrait of Olympiodoros. Oslo, National Museum 1292. Roman copy of a bronze original of about 280 B.C. Photo after K. Fittschen (ed.), *Griechische Porträts* (1988) pl. 107, 1.

Fig. 2 (below left): Portrait of Olympiodoros. Oslo, National Museum 1292. Roman copy of a bronze original of about 280 B.C. Photo after G. M. A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks* (1965) fig. 895.

Fig. 3 (below right): Portrait of Olympiodoros. Oslo, National Museum 1292. Roman copy of bronze original of about 280 B.C. Photo after G. M. A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks* (1965) fig. 896.



In contrast, this is what we do know about Olympiodoros' image. Its head is preserved on an inscribed Roman herm (Figs. 1–3).²⁸ Although it is not clear which of his statues is reproduced in this head, it is at least very probable that the Akropolis statue looked similar. According to Pausanias, it stood near the south wall and was an honorary statue.²⁹ What he says about Olympiodoros (1.25.2) sounds like the quotation of an epigram like the one on Demosthenes' statue of 280.³⁰ Afterwards, he talks about Olympiodoros' liberation of Athens, but mentions the statue again after all his deeds down to 280 have been listed (Paus. 1.26.3). Hence, it is probable that the statue was a late honour for Olympiodoros' achievement, set up around 280. This is also the stylistic date of the portrait head.³¹ Unfortunately, the Roman herm gives no clue to the statue as a whole.³² Only the head allows some comments. The middle-aged appearance, the short beard and the curly hair follow fourth-century features, common for the representation of politicians.³³ The knit eyebrows resemble the portrait of Demosthenes. But in contrast to his hooded lids, Olympiodoros raises his head. His neck is abruptly turned to the left, a sign of activity and energy in contrast to the calm pose of the orator. This motif is taken over from ruler portraits, and Alexander's image was well-known for it.³⁴ Furthermore, Olympiodoros has cauliflower ears (Figs. 2–3). They are the tell-tale sign of the dedicated athlete and demonstrate energy, but can also be a *signum* of aristocrats, as Plato knows (Pl. *Grg.* 516 A).³⁵ Olympiodoros was in fact elected *strategos* (Paus. 1.26.1; *IG II²* 2429).³⁶ Since the fifth century, it had been common to depict Attic *stratego*i with Corinthian helmets, though such helmets were no longer used in real life. This still happened around 300 B. C., as witness the Roman copy of a portrait of this period in Berlin.³⁷ Thus, Olympiodoros' portrait on the Akropolis may have worn a helmet as did the portrait of Pericles (and certainly others) standing nearby. This would have demonstrated a living tradition of Athens' glorious past, which Olympiodoros certainly intended. In this case, the preserved head would be a copy of another of Olympiodoros' portraits.³⁸ But it is equally possible that Olympiodoros' portrait on the Akropolis assumed a more civilian image in Athena's realm. In any case, the preserved portrait follows in the footsteps of other images of well-known *stratego*i of the past without helmet, like Themistokles, also characterized by cauliflower ears. But these stood away from the Akropolis.³⁹ Apart from all this, the typical early Hellenistic naturalism is certainly obvious in Olympiodoros' physical appearance and especially in his receding hairline. All things considered, Olympiodoros' image was both conservative (retrospective) and contemporary. The *stratego*s' aristocratic connection to heavy athletes and to older military leaders, his capacity as saviour of Athens and his self-confident power and serious engagement during a political crisis were emphasized.

²⁸ Oslo, National Museum 1292: G. M. A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks* (1965) 162, figs. 894–896; K. Fittschen (ed.), *Griechische Porträts* (1988) pl. 106; S. Sande, *Greek and Roman Portraits in Norwegian Collections* (1991) 15, no. 7, pl. 7; R. R. R. Smith, *Hellenistic Sculpture* (1991) 37, fig. 41; Krumeich (supra n. 27) 200; 211 n. 34, fig. 114.

²⁹ Paus. 1.25.2; 1.26.3; Gauthier (supra n. 22) 79; Krumeich (supra n. 27) 211. Other honorary statues of Olympiodoros stood in the Athenian Prytaneion and in Delphi: Paus. 1.26.3. Cf. T. Schäfer, *AM* 115, 2000, 326–334.

³⁰ Perhaps Pausanias saw the inscription: Ch. Habicht, *Pausanias' Guide to Ancient Greece* (1985) 90–92. The Demosthenes epigram: [Plut.] *Mor.* 847 A (see here, p. 140).

³¹ Stylistically comparable is the portrait of Demosthenes (280/79; Richter [supra n. 28] 215–223, esp. figs. 1401–1402); J. J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (1986) 63. Honours for Olympiodoros: Habicht 102 with n. 101. Usually, honorary statues for Athenians after 322 were decreed late and some time after their deeds: Gauthier (supra n. 22) 110–112.

³² The naked chest of a herm is not necessarily a sign of a naked statue. Cf. Richter (supra n. 28) figs. 1414, 1481, and the statue of Pericles: N. Himmelmann, *Ideale Nacktheit in der griechischen Kunst* (1990) 89–101; Krumeich (supra n. 27) 122.

³³ Compare the portraits of Aischines (around 310: Richter [supra n. 28] 212–215, figs. 1369–1390) or Demosthenes (supra n. 31).

³⁴ T. Hölscher, *Ideal und Wirklichkeit in den Bildnissen Alexanders des Großen* (1971); A. Stewart, *Faces of Power* (1993).

³⁵ N. Himmelmann, *Realistische Themen in der griechischen Kunst der archaischen und klassischen Zeit* (1994) 69 with n. 67; id. (supra n. 27) 6. Compare the bronze statue of a boxer in Rome: N. Himmelmann, *Herrscher und Athlet*, exh. cat. Bonn (1989) 150–174; 201–202, no. 1.

³⁶ *Der Neue Pauly* 8 (2000) 1186 s.v. Olympiodoros (B. Dreyer).

³⁷ Portraits of 'stratego'i' and other soldiers: D. Pandermalis, *Untersuchungen zu den klassischen Strategenköpfen* (1969); Himmelmann (supra n. 27) 54–58 *contra* Krumeich (supra n. 22) 199–200; N. Himmelmann, in G. Brands (ed.), *Rom und die Provinzen. Gedenkschrift für H. Gabelmann* (2001) 21–25; cf. Aeschin. 2.80; 3.243. Portrait Berlin, Staatliche Museen Sk 323: *ABR* 289/90; C. Blümel, *Römische Kopien griechischer Skulpturen des 4. Jhs. v. Chr.* (1938) K 204, pl. 18; Pandermalis 71–72, pls. 21, 4; 22, 1; Krumeich (supra n. 27) 199, fig. 112.

³⁸ Possibly the one in the Prytaneion: Paus. 1.26.3.

³⁹ Themistokles: Richter (supra n. 28) 97, figs. 405–408; Himmelmann (supra n. 35, 1994) 68–69, figs. 26–27; Krumeich (supra n. 27) 76–78, figs. 27–29; Himmelmann (supra n. 27) 6, pl. 1. Cf. Miltiades: D. Hertel, *MM* 36, 1995, 259–268. The relation between Olympiodoros' and Themistokles' portraits has been noted by Himmelmann (supra n. 35) 69 n. 67.

Olympiodoros and Demetrios were both Athenians, both held positions as *archon*, and both images were very probably honorary statues erected by the *polis*. These are revealing observations. In the fourth century, the *demos* or the *boule* erected very few honorary statues of citizens or foreigners on the Akropolis.⁴⁰ The usual location of such honorary portraits was the Agora, while nearly all portraits on the Akropolis were private, not official ones.⁴¹ After about 322 the rules changed. On the one hand, some important Athenians were now honoured on the Akropolis as well, which became a place for special honours for high and influential officials, as witness Demetrios and Olympiodoros. On the other hand, portraits of foreigners were now excluded. No honorific statue of a non-Athenian is known from the third-century Akropolis. However, such statues were still frequent in the Agora.⁴² It is again revealing that we actually know of statues of foreigners on the Akropolis, but like ruler portraits, they date from later in the century. The earliest known is the honorary statue for Eumarides from Kydonia, significantly decreed in 228, just after the end of foreign occupation (*IG II² 844 I ll. 26–27*), followed by an Egyptian official of the second century.⁴³ Eumarides' statue was not set up on the Akropolis but in the sanctuary of Demos and the Charites (ll. 39–40); however, the decree shows that an Akropolis location has also been considered. From this time on, foreigners were honoured on the Akropolis several times.⁴⁴ We do not know the exact date of the inception of the restricted use of Athena's sanctuary for portraits of Athenian citizens in the late fourth century nor how it was enforced. A connection to the changes in the practice of honours in Lykourgan times, studied by Gauthier, is possible.⁴⁵ But it would appear that the early Hellenistic Akropolis was reserved for the display of portraits of Athenians to guarantee a show of independence and to establish a distinctive Athenian self-presentation.

What other types of portraits did the Athenians dedicate on the Akropolis? From the epigraphical evidence it appears that the practice and types of dedications did not really change compared to the fourth century, though the total number went down.⁴⁶ Far more common now, however, were portraits of cult officials. The statue of a *kanephoros* was set up in the late fourth/early third century (*IG II² 3457*), after Lykourgos had equipped the *kanephoroi* with a new *kosmos*.⁴⁷ A new type of statues, portraits of *arrhephoroi*, appears with the statue of Lysistrate, dedicated by her parents (*IG II² 3465*).⁴⁸



Fig. 4: Statue of a girl. Munich, Glyptothek 478. Roman copy (?) of an early third-century original. Photo Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München.

⁴⁰ I know of only two examples: *IG II² 3827* (Samippos of *Elis*); *IG II² 3822* (Phanokritos of Athens).

⁴¹ The statues of Konon and Timotheos on the Akropolis were private dedications: H. R. Goette, *AW* 22, 1991, 172; Krumeich (supra n. 27) 211–212.

⁴² Supra nn. 21–22 (kings); Dow (supra n. 22) *passim*; Henry (supra n. 23) *passim*.

⁴³ Eumarides: *IG II² 844*; Ch. Habicht, *Studien zur Geschichte Athens in hellenistischer Zeit* (1982) 84; 93; 99; 159–162; for the date cf. Henry (supra n. 22) 295; 345. Egyptian: *IG II² 983 ll. 5–6*; *SEG* 42.106; not Ptolemy VI as in Hurwit 278. Increasing number of portraits after 229: A. Stewart, *Attika* (1979) 116–117.

⁴⁴ Kings: supra n. 24. Roman examples: *IG II² 1072 ll. 11*; 1076 ll. 27–38.

⁴⁵ Gauthier (supra n. 22) 77–92; 105–106; 110–112.

⁴⁶ Geagan (supra n. 2) 153. Votives of priestesses of Athena: *IG II² 776 ll. 16–20*; see below. Agonistic victors: *IG II² 3143*; 3142. *Aparche*: *IG II² 3846*; 4339. Private dedications: *IG II² 4276*; 4915; 4929. Family groups: *IG II² 3829*; Löhr (supra n. 22) 139–142, no. 161 (330/20?); *IG II² 3850*; *IG II² 4030*; cf. Hintzen-Bohlen (supra n. 23) 129–154; Löhr no. 151 and p. 155. Votive statuettes: *IG II² 4413*. Therefore it is highly improbable that female statues on the Akropolis were limited to images of *arrhephoroi* after the late fourth century, as Parker (supra n. 26, 271) suggested. For the total number of inscriptions: C. W. Hedrick, *Hesperia* 68, 1999, 401–405.

⁴⁷ *IG II² 333 I. 10*; [Plut.] *Mor.* 852 B; Paus. 1.29.16; B. Hintzen-Bohlen, *Die Kulturpolitik des Eubulos und des Lykurg* (1997) 120; Mikalson 28–32. *Kanephoroi*: L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (1932) 25; 102–103; J. Schelp, *Das Kanoun* (1975); F. T. van Straten, *Hiera Kala* (1995) 10–12; *Der Neue Pauly* 6 (1999) 245 s.v. *kanephoroi* (F. Graf).

⁴⁸ U. Kron, in P. Hellström (ed.), *Religion and Power in the Ancient Greek World*, colloquium Uppsala (1996) 145; Geagan (supra n. 2) 153–154; Parker (supra n. 26) 271. On the *arrhephoroi*: Deubner (supra n. 47) 9–22; 31; 36; E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica* (1983) 39–46. It has been suggested that the archaic Korai from the Akropolis represent *arrhephoroi*, but without epigraphic

These girls performed certain rituals during the Panathenaia, Arrhephoria and Chalkeia. Soon afterwards, the practice became usual and similar statues were set up (*IG* II² 3470–3472),⁴⁹ all of them dedicated by the girls' parents. Christiane Vorster has suggested that the copy of an early Hellenistic statue of a girl in Munich (Fig. 4) could be such a portrait,⁵⁰ but the iconography of the *arrhephoroi* remains problematic.⁵¹ We do not know the reason for the new focus, but if the Athenian *arrhephoroi* were elected,⁵² the demonstration of this democratic practice may be significant.⁵³ In addition to the *kanephoros* and the *arrhephoroi*, we also know of statues of priestesses.⁵⁴ Altogether, such images of cult personnel were neither new nor unusual in a sanctuary. But their growing number proves an increasing interest in demonstrating the continuity of traditional cult activities by Athenian citizens on the Akropolis, in which women played the most important role.

Other votives combined *oikos* representation with cult affairs, namely the portraits of Lykourgos and his family, the Eteoboutadaï, who were in charge of the priesthood of Poseidon-Erechtheus.⁵⁵ Lykourgos himself received a posthumous honorary statue in the Agora in 307/6 (*IG* II² 3776; [Plut.] *Mor.* 843 C-E; 847 D; 852 E; Paus. 1.8.2).⁵⁶ It may be that this portrait can be identified with an early Hellenistic portrait, known in several Roman copies and imitating classical models in a retrospective manner.⁵⁷ On the Akropolis, on the other hand, he and his sons Habron, Lykophron and Lykourgos were represented in a group of wooden statues inside the Erechtheion, made by Kephisodotos II and Timarchos ([Plut.] *Mor.* 843 E-F).⁵⁸ They must have been set up before 290, very probably after 307 in connection to the honours for Lykourgos and Habron's priesthood.⁵⁹ Wood is an unparalleled material for portrait statues. However, archaic *xoana* were typically wooden, as was Athena's *agalma* near the Lykourgan statues in the Erechtheion.⁶⁰ Thus, the

evidence: Kron 145 with n. 36 (with bibliography); Hurwit 58. H. A. Shapiro, in D. Papenfuß – V. M. Strocka (eds.), *Gab es das griechische Wunder?* (2001) 93–94 takes the Korai for *kanephoroi*.

⁴⁹ The priestess of Athena in *IG* II² 3470–3471, Penteteris, was active between around 250 and 230, based on the date of *IG* II² 928 given by S. V. Tracy, *Attic Letter Cutters of 229 to 86 B.C.* (1990) 259; S. Aleshire, in R. Osborne – S. Hornblower (eds.), *Ritual, Finance, Politics* (1994) 336–337. One of the artists of the statue *IG* II² 3470, Kaikosthenes, also produced the statue *IG* II² 3472, which is consequently not to be dated much earlier or later. On the artists: R. Vollkommer (ed.), *Künstlerlexikon der Antike* 1 (2001) 132–133, s.v. Chalkosthenes (O. Dally); 170, s.v. Dies (R. Vollkommer).

⁵⁰ Glyptothek 478 (h. without plinth, 1.23 m; head and neck missing): *EA* 1185 (W. Amelung); A. Furtwängler, *MitJb* 1907, 7, fig. 3; F. Hiller, *AntPl* 4 (1965) 43–46, pls. 20–24; C. Vorster, *Griechische Kinderstatuen* (1983) 78–79; 127–133; 348, no. 51. The statue seems to be a very good Roman copy, as Amelung and Furtwängler suggested. They knew of a replica, now re-identified by C. Vorster in the Museum of Art in San Antonio/Texas 85.137.2: unpublished; *Fine Antiquities*, Sotheby's New York, Auction 9.12.1985, lot 139.

⁵¹ See O. Palagia, in *Opes Atticae. Miscellanea philologica et historica R. Bogaert et H. van Looy oblata* (1990) 347–356; I. Jenkins, *The Parthenon Frieze* (1994) 28, fig. 15; I owe these references to O. Palagia, who delivered an as yet unpublished paper on the iconography of the *arrhephoroi* at the conference "Ancient Greek Iconography", held in Reading in 1999 in honour of Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood. I cannot discuss the problems here (see supra n. 48), but in contrast to the Munich girl, the hitherto suggested images of *arrhephoroi* have no himation. Nevertheless, they could also depict *ergastinai* (cf. *IG* II² 1034; 1942; 1943) and they all belong to the classical period. *Arrhephoroi* with himation in Hellenistic times cannot be excluded. The Munich girl is slightly over life-size (with head about 1.50 m; cf. the usually smaller statues of comparably young girls: Vorster [supra n. 50] 330–350), which underlines her prominence. Nevertheless, the identification cannot be proved because she lacks distinct iconographical features.

⁵² Deubner (supra n. 47) 11–17; Aleshire (supra n. 49) 325–326.

⁵³ Cf. the democratic mass-publication of decrees after 307: Habicht 71–72; Hedrick (supra n. 46) 403–405, fig. 3; S. V. Tracy, *Hesperia* 69, 2000, 229–230. The *arrhephoroi* also played a role in the Athenaia/Chalkeia, Deubner (supra n. 47) 31; 35–36; Mikalson 114–115, which had been restored by Lykourgos: Ch. Habicht, *AM* 97, 1982, 177–184.

⁵⁴ *Aglauros*: *IG* II² 3459. *Athena*: see infra n. 63. Honours for the priestess of Athena Polias around the middle of the third century: *IG* II² 776; 928.

⁵⁵ Parker (supra n. 26) 242; 290–293; Aleshire (supra n. 49) 330–332. On the family: J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families* (1971) 348–353, tab. IV.

⁵⁶ Habicht 76.

⁵⁷ Richter (supra n. 28) 206–207, figs. 1325–1339. I will discuss this question elsewhere; cf. S. F. Schröder, *Katalog der Skulpturen im Museo del Prado* 1 (1994) 74, no. 8; R. von den Hoff, *Philosophenporträts des Früh- und Hochhellenismus* (1994) 66 n. 43; S. F. Schröder, *MM* 41, 2000, 355–356.

⁵⁸ Hintzen-Bohlen (supra n. 23) 153. Kephisodotos II and Timarchos: A. P. Matthaiou, in Osborne – Hornblower (supra n. 49) 181–182; A. Ajoitian, in O. Palagia – J. J. Pollitt (ed.), *Personal Styles in Greek Sculpture* (1996) 94–97; Vollkommer (supra n. 49) 410–411, s.v. Kephisodotos II (B. Andreae); P. Schultz, this volume. An early dating before 310 for the output of Kephisodotos II and Timarchos is not certain: Matthaiou 182 with n. 20; the portrait of Menandros (300/290) is their latest known work and possibly the reason for the late *floruit* given by Pliny, *HN* 34.51.

⁵⁹ M. Bieber, *Jdl* 38/39, 1923/24, 270; *RE* XI 1 (1921) 236 s.v. Kephisodotos no. 9 (G. Lippold); M. L. Morricone, in S. Stucchi (ed.), *Giornate di studi in onore di A. Adriani* (1991) 196–197; Löhr (supra n. 22) 160 (possibly even after 305/4).

⁶⁰ Wooden statues: F. Oelmann, *BJb* 157, 1957, 15 n. 11; I. B. Romano, *Early Greek Cult Images* (1980) 357–364; A. A. Donohue, *Xoana and the Origins of Greek Sculpture* (1988) 147; cf. K. W. Arafat, *Pausanias' Greece* (1996), 54–57; W. Pritchett, *Pausanias Periegetes* II (1999) 168–182. *Athena's xoanon*: Paus. 1.26.6; Apollod. *bibl.* 3.14.6.

exceptional material could be construed as a claim of archaic, traditional legacy for the Eteoboutadai. Habron and Lykophron were also to be seen in a painted portrait gallery of the priests of Poseidon, again inside the Erechtheion (Paus. 1.26.5). In addition, a pinax, painted by Ismenias, represented the whole genealogy of the Eteoboutadai and Habron handing over the trident of Poseidon to Lykophron as a sign for passing on the priesthood to his brother ([Plut.] *Mor.* 843 F). It should be dated to his last years between 307 and 304, when Habron's successor was to be installed.⁶¹ Hence, from the last years of the fourth century on, the Erechtheion was in a way dominated visually by votive portraits of the Eteoboutadai as high-ranking cult personnel to demonstrate the old family's legacy and the living tradition of Lykourgos. This was not enough. A statue, probably of Lysimache, was set up near the Erechtheion. She was priestess of Athena, a position also held by the Eteoboutadai, but by the second branch of the family (*IG II²* 3455).⁶² The chronology of the sculptors Kephisodotos II and Timarchos and the reconstruction of the list of the priestesses of Athena point again to a date in the late fourth or early third century.⁶³ Other families seem to have tried to establish a similar visual presence. A statue of Pheidistrate, priestess of Aglauros, was set up between the Propylaia and the Parthenon (*IG II²* 3459). She was the sister of the well-known Chremonides, who gave his name to the third-century war. Near the Propylaia (?) stood a statue of her father Eteokles, dedicated by her, because he had been *agonothetes* for Dionysos (*IG II²* 3458) after 317/07.⁶⁴

These portraits demonstrate the attention influential families paid to their visual presence and to the presentation of their ongoing cult activities. Old aristocratic *gene* seem to have especially enforced this as status display. Athenian cult personnel must have dominated every visitor's visual experience on the Akropolis. On this level, the sanctuary was really kept as a place of a distinct and especially religious Athenian identity after 323.

As for the actual statues on the early Hellenistic Akropolis, all remnants of bronzes were melted down in later times. The only marble example known so far was published by A. Mantis: a nearly 2 m high statue of Athena wearing an *aegis* and a himation, dated around 320 (Figs. 5–6).⁶⁵ She is the last of a series of over life-size divine statues of classical times.⁶⁶ There are also fragments of sculptured statue bases. The Atarbos base (Figs. 7a–7b) held portraits, dedicated in 323/2 by a victorious choregos in the *pyrrhiche*, the armed dance.⁶⁷ The Xenokles base (Fig. 8) with a similar scene was probably carved a little earlier.⁶⁸ Both focus on tribal military contests. The base of another agonistic statue set up around 320/10 (Figs. 9–10) has recently

⁶¹ I. L. Merker, *Ancient World* 14, 1986, 47; 50; Hintzen-Bohlen (supra n. 23) 152–153; Löhr (supra n. 22) 147 no. 167 (shortly before 305/4). Family grave: [Plut.] *Mor.* 842 E; A. P. Matthaiou, *Horos* 5, 1987, 35–43, pls. 10–11; A. Scholl, *Jdl* 109, 1994, 252.

⁶² On the priestesses of Athena: Parker (supra n. 26) 290–293; Aleshire (supra n. 49) 332–333; 336–337. On *IG II²* 3455: J. Marcadé, *Recueil des signatures des sculpteurs grecs* 1 (1953) 58. The name of the priestess should be restored as Lysimache: D. Lewis, *BSA* 50, 1955, 8; Davies (supra n. 55) 172; Aleshire (supra n. 49) 336–337 n. d, though not undisputed: E. Reisch, *ÖJh* 19/20 (1919) 306 n. 16 (Lysistrate); cf. A. G. Mantis, *Προβλήματα της εικονογραφίας των ιερειών και των ιερέων* (1983) 90; Kron (supra n. 48) 144 with n. 32. According to *IG II²* 3455 her father came from the same deme (Bate) as Lykourgos' wife. On the family stemma: *IG II²* 766; Lewis 1–12; Davies (supra n. 55) 169–173, no. 4549.

⁶³ Priestesses of Athena: Aleshire (supra n. 49) 336; the honours for one of Lysimache's successors (*IG II²* 776; Aleshire [supra n. 49] 336–337) are now dated around 240/30 (archon Alkibiades): M. J. Osborne, *ZPE* 78, 1989, 241; id., in P. Flensted-Jensen et al. (eds.), *Polis and Politics, Presented to M. H. Hansen* (2000) 507–520. See also M. Osborne, this volume. It is still debated if Syeris, whose statue (?) stood nearby, was this Lysimache's *diakonos*: *IG II²* 3464; Paus. 1.25.2; Reisch (supra n. 62) 299; A. Michaelis, *Jdl* 17 (1902) 84; Lewis (supra n. 62) 8; Mantis (supra n. 62) 70–76, pl. 29; Kron (supra n. 48) 144–145; Aleshire (supra n. 49) 336–337 with n. d; Hurwit 276 with n. 74; L. Todisco, *PP* 23, 1997, 121–123.

⁶⁴ Mikalson 165 n. 87.

⁶⁵ Athens, Akropolis Museum 2810, 3877: A. Mantis, *AntPl* 27 (2000) 85–86, pls. 48–49.

⁶⁶ G. Despinis, *AM* 109 (1994) 173–198, pls. 31–36; also Zeus by Leochares (Paus. 1.24.4; Hurwit 190–192; cf. *IG II²* 4899); Athena (*IG II²* 4335: 350/00?).

⁶⁷ Athens, Akropolis Museum 1338: *IG II²* 3025; A. Kosmopoulou, in K. J. Hartswick – M. C. Sturgeon (eds.), *Stephanos. Studies in honor of B. S. Ridgway* (1998) 163–172 (with bibliography); Hurwit 257, fig. 210; F. Rausa, *AM* 113, 1998, 226–227, pl. 36, 1–2; P. Wilson, *The Athenian Institution of the Khoregia* (2000) 39–40, fig. 2. On the dedicant: Davies (supra n. 55) 74, no. 2679.

⁶⁸ Athens, Akropolis Museum 6465, 6465a: *IG II²* 3026; R. M. Schneider, *Jdl* 105, 1990, 178–179, fig. 11; Rausa (supra n. 67) 217–230, fig. 9, pl. 37, 1–3. On the dedicant: Davies (supra n. 55) 414–415, no. 11234; Rausa 218–221.



Fig. 5: Statue of Athena. Athens, Akropolis Museum 2810+3877 (and other small fragments). About 320 B.C. Photo German Archaeological Institute, Athens 88/63.



Fig. 6: Statue of Athena, right side. Athens, Akropolis Museum. Photo German Archaeological Institute, Athens 88/65.

been studied by Federico Rausa.⁶⁹ On its main face, six *apoxyomenoi* clean their bodies after some athletic activities. More were shown on the other sides, their names and demotics inscribed below their feet. All of them – four names are preserved – come from the same tribe, Oineis. Thus, the monument must have commemorated a victory in a tribal competition, as Rausa convincingly pointed out. I am not convinced, however, that it was the Lampadedromia, as he argued, since the Euandria during the Panathenaia would be another possibility: a contest in manly beauty with an important athletic component, although its exact nature is under discussion and we have no firm depiction of this event up to now.⁷⁰ It is certain, nevertheless, that

⁶⁹ Athens, Akropolis Museum 3176, 5460, 2635: Hurwit 276; Rausa (supra n. 67) 192–217, pls. 34–35 (with bibliography). O. Alexandri's addition of another fragment is still unpublished.

⁷⁰ Euandria: N. B. Crowther, *AntCl* 54, 1985, 285–291; N. Reed, *Ancient World* 15, 1987, 59–64; J. Neils, in W. D. E. Coulson – O. Palagia et al. (eds.), *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy* (1994) 151–160; A. L. Boegehold, in J. Neils (ed.), *Worshipping Athena* (1996) 97–103. Cf. M. Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, 18. Ergh. *AntK* (1998) 68 (for suggested early images). Cf. Euexia/Eutaxia: N. B. Crowther, *ZPE* 85, 1991, 301–304; *LIMC* IV (1988) 120 s.v. Eutaxia (O. Palagia); S. D. Lambert, *ZPE* 135, 2001, 56–57. Lampadedromia and athletic images: Rausa (supra n. 67) 209–214; O. Palagia, in *ἀγαθός δαίμων. Mythes et cultes. Études d'iconographie en l'honneur de L. Kahil*, *BCH Suppl.* 38 (2000) 403–408. Athletes indeed appear in images related to the Lampadedromia, but most of the base depicts athletic activities of minor, *post eventum* interest for this competition (although we do not have all sculptured parts of the base), as other images connected with the Lampadedromia never do to such an

after 323 the Athenians did not immediately cease dedicating statues with expensively carved marble bases on the Akropolis. Tribal competitions were a thematic focus, as had been the case in earlier dedications. The participants in such events were citizen teams. In this sense, the Akropolis also seems to have been maintained as a place of commemoration especially of Athenian activities.⁷¹

I have so far refrained from touching on two well-known events: Demetrios Poliorketes' residence in the *Opisthodomos* of the Parthenon (304/3) and Lachares' robbery and melting down of gold from the sanctuary (301/294).⁷² I left them out intentionally, since they can be taken as signs of *asebeia* and of the new role that rulers claimed even in Athens. But they were isolated acts, not usual patterns of behaviour. Did they have any consequences for the Akropolis? The end of the publication of treasury inventories seems to be chronologically connected to Demetrios' residence,⁷³ and certainly, Lachares must have wreaked havoc everywhere. But despite damage, most of the votives may have survived.⁷⁴ However, the lack of colossal divine statues and of expensive marble bases after 320/00 points to a change at that time as does the increasing number of inscribed statue bases. This was long-lasting change – as was the end of document reliefs around 300/290 – and there was a parallel decline of high quality sculpture production in Athens altogether. The evidence suggests a lasting and not a temporary change in the quantity of dedications and images, starting between 320 and 300, without obvious connection to special events and without revivals.⁷⁵ But was all this due to a loss of interest, or could it be construed as sign of a different, new interest in the Akropolis?

extent. Athletic presentations were possibly more important during the Euandria, although the Euandria of the Theseia at Athens seem to have been a military competition: G. Bugh, *ZPE* 83, 1990, 20–37.

⁷¹ Compare also the relief frieze of an early Hellenistic honorary(?) monument on the Akropolis: Schäfer (supra n. 29) 291–334, figs. 1–6. Another relief base of early Hellenistic date, with *apobatai*, Athens, Akropolis Museum 1326, was not found on the Akropolis but on the west slope: M. Collignon, *BCH* 7, 1883, 458, pl. 17; S. Casson, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum* 2 (1921) 227–228, no. 1326; M. Brouskari, *The Acropolis Museum* (1974) 23–24, fig. 13; Hurwit 276. We know of such bases from the Agora: *Mind and Body*, exh. cat. Athens (1989) no. 187. The military character is again obvious. The race of *apobatai* was not only understood as a very old competition ([Dem.] 61.25), but also depicted in the Parthenon frieze. On the *apobatai*: S. Müller, *Nikephoros* 9, 1996, 56–69.

⁷² Demetrios: Plut. *Demetr.* 23.3; 26.3 (= Philippides fr. 25); Clem. Al. *Protr.* 4.54.6; W. Burkert, in M. V. Fox (ed.), *Temple in Society* (1988) 37; Mikalson 87; Habicht 85–86; Hurwit 262; T. Scheer, *Die Gottheit und ihr Bild* (2000) 271–279. Lachares: Athen. 405 F (= Demetrios II fr. 1); Plut. *Mor.* 379 C–D; 1090 E; Paus. 1.25.7–8.; 1.29.16; T. Linders, in T. Linders – G. Nordquist (eds.), *Gifts to the Gods* (1987) 117; Mikalson 90–92; Habicht 90–92; B. Dreyer, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des spätklassischen Athen* (1999) 44–45; Hurwit 262; Scheer 279–283.

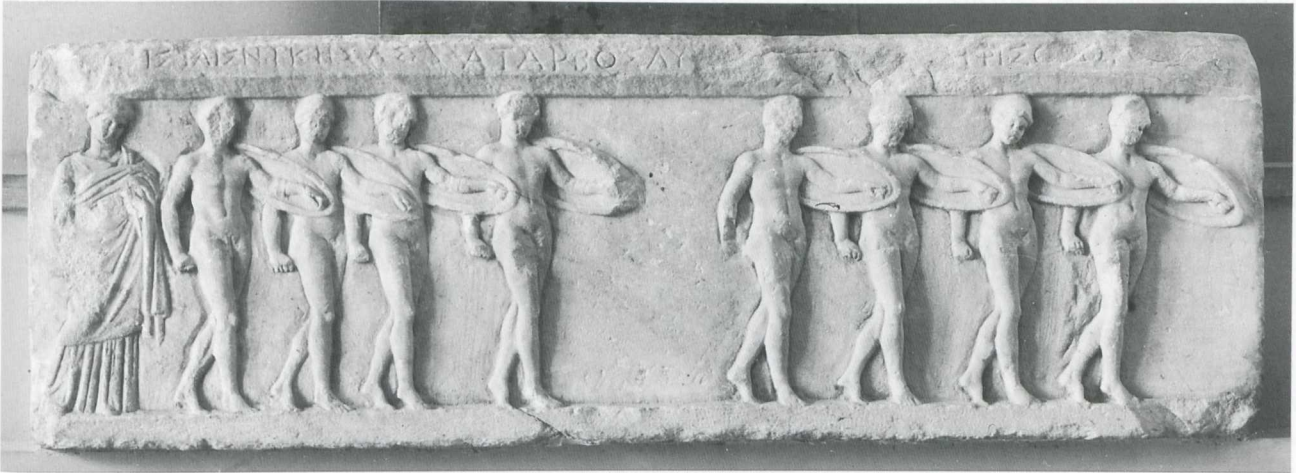
⁷³ Lewis (supra n. 17) 297–308; Harris (supra n. 8) 37–38.

⁷⁴ Possibly even the statue of Athena Parthenos needed repair after 304: *IG* II² 482; W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens* (1931) 37 n. 2; Harris (supra n. 8) 37. Repair of votive statues had been necessary even before, under Lykourgos: D. Harris, *AJA* 96, 1992, 637–652.

⁷⁵ Geagan (supra n. 2) 153. It is possible that the end of the *choregeia* (317/07) was the reason for the lack of more elaborate sculptures, since some of the late bases had been votives of *choregoi*: supra nn. 67–68; cf. Wilson (supra n. 67) 270–276.



a



b

Fig. 7: 7a. Atarbos base. Athens, Akropolis Museum 1338. Dedication of a victorious choregos of the pyrrhiche, 323/2 B.C. Photo German Archaeological Institute, Athens 2001/866. 7b. Atarbos base, detail. Athens, Akropolis Museum 1338. Photo German Archaeological Institute, Athens 72/3004.

I would argue that the latter is more probable. The end of treasure inventories on the Akropolis around 300 is not a sign of lack of interest in Athena's sanctuary, but may be attributed to the fact that the administration of the sanctuary no longer formed an important part of the democratic process.⁷⁶ It became a thing apart. This separateness is part of the specific character of the early Hellenistic Akropolis, which can be summarized as follows:

1. Reinforcing an earlier, fourth-century tradition, the Akropolis became an important site in an ideal and representative sense. So far as its overall design was concerned, it remained untouched more than ever before: a *symbol of Athens*. Consequently, it attracted the attentions of foreign rulers and pretended liberators, eager to demonstrate reverence for Athens. As a rule, they tended to accept the traditional means of dedication and sacrifice (Demetrios and Lachares being the exceptions that make the rule!). The Athenians upheld its sacredness regardless of political conflicts, as witness the preserved statue of Demetrios of Phaleron. Continuity so far as the types of dedications are concerned was altogether dominant after 323. The fact that the last preserved marble statue of a goddess is a colossal figure of Athena herself (Figs. 5–6) may not be accidental. One tried to hold the Panathenaia regularly, though sometimes in vain. The equipment of cults and festivals was maintained, and even a Lykourgos-like inventorying of the Akropolis treasures was revived later in the third century. Thus, business as usual and the preservation of tradition were the *credo*.

2. We observed an increasing interest of old, *aristocratic* families in their representation on the Akropolis, and the fact that Olympiodoros' image emphasized a certain aristocratic ideal by its heavy-athletic

⁷⁶ On the end of the Akropolis inventories: Lewis (supra n. 17); D. Harris, in Osborne – Hornblower (supra n. 58) 221–225; Harris (supra n. 8) 20–22; 37–39; cf. R. Hamilton, *Treasure Map* (2000) 247–276.

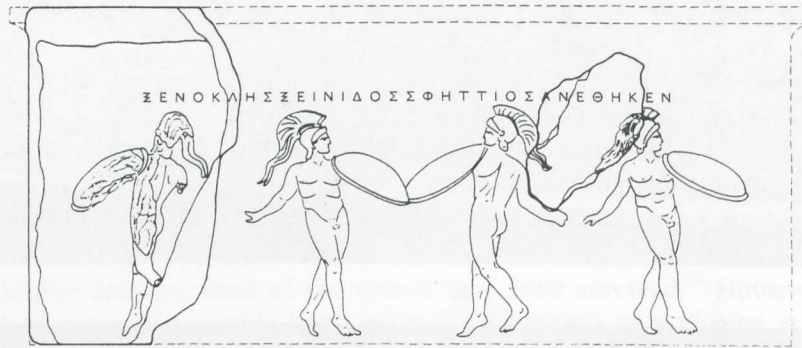
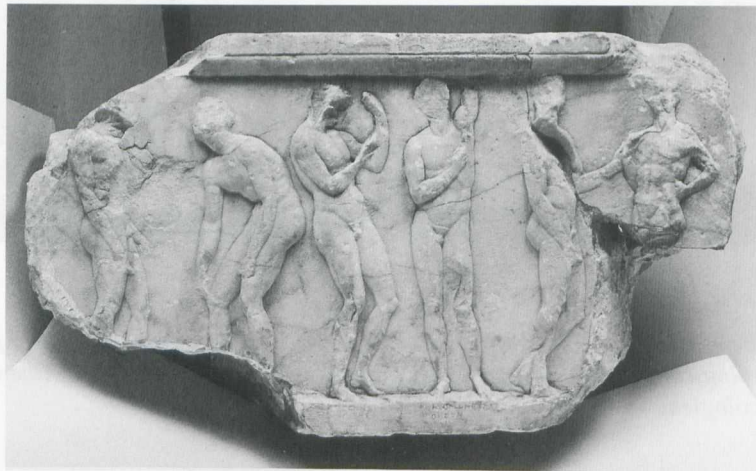


Fig. 8: Xenokles base. Athens, Akropolis Museum 6465+6465a. Dedication of a victorious choregos of the pyrrhiche, 330/20 B.C. Drawing after AM 113, 1998, 229, fig. 9.



Figs. 9–10: Base with athletes. Athens, Akropolis Museum 3176+5460+2635. Dedication of the victorious tribe Oineis, 320/10 B.C. Photo German Archaeological Institute, Athens.

appearance (Figs. 1–3). Social status display seems to have become more important than demonstration of personal piety. The Akropolis became what Dan Geagan has called a “preserve of a narrow elite”.⁷⁷ But not only so, because there was a new interest in the *democratic* character of cult equipment in the late fourth century and in statues of ‘democratic’ personnel like the *arrhephoroi* in the third century (cf. Fig. 4). Both tendencies seem to have been accepted as parts of the Athenian tradition on display on the Akropolis.

3. The Akropolis remained the major *display case of Athenian identity* and self-definition. But the large number of statues of cult officials, who had not heretofore been depicted, and the massive visual establishment of family traditions in cult affairs could be taken as signs of growing importance of *religious* affairs, of *eusebeia* as part of identity construction. What was also growing was religious *traditionalism*, as witness the focus on old-fashioned cult functions and the Eteoboutadai’s wooden statues. On the other hand, the Akropolis offered opportunities of display of highest official honours for Athenian politicians, adding another political aspect to its character as archive of Athens’ history, which was maintained by the state decrees still set up in the sanctuary. Expensively carved bases and statues were erected especially in connection with tribal competitions of Athenian citizens until around 320/10 (Figs. 7–10). At the same time, foreigners’ statues were excluded from Athena’s realm, making the sanctuary a purely Athenian, so to speak ‘national’, monument, so far as its visual appearance was concerned. This exclusion ended around 228, when Athens regained its independence. During the second century, foreign kings themselves appear as dedicators of huge monuments, which is far more than the Athenians had allowed in early Hellenistic times.⁷⁸ The kings now established their legitimacy by a visual linkage to Athens’ past, of which the Akropolis had become the major symbol during the time under discussion here.

In sum, what happened to the Akropolis after 323 was that tradition became overwhelming and that the Athenians maintained and enforced the idea of the Akropolis as the most traditional site of their city. It became a sort of ‘national’ symbol: a focal place of Athenian identity construction by the maintenance of ritual tradition and the advertisement of purely Athenian achievements, dominated by aristocratic families. This identity was distinguished by its especially religious focus: perhaps due to the situation, in which foreign rule made the confirmation of a distinct self-definition more necessary than ever before and in which opposition against *asebeia* was ideologically defined as political.⁷⁹ In this sense, the sanctuary became a distinct symbol of a living religious tradition, also regarded as such by later foreign rulers, and in Herakleides’ words: “something out of this world”.

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Abbreviations

Bringmann – von Steuben	K. Bringmann – H. von Steuben (eds.), <i>Schenkungen hellenistischer Herrscher an griechische Städte und Heiligtümer</i> I (1995)
Habicht	Ch. Habicht, <i>Athen. Die Geschichte der Stadt in hellenistischer Zeit</i> (1995)
Hurwit	J. M. Hurwit, <i>The Athenian Acropolis</i> (1999)
Mikalson	J. D. Mikalson, <i>Religion in Hellenistic Athens</i> (1998)

⁷⁷ Geagan (supra n. 2) 155.

⁷⁸ Herakleitos’ dedication in commemoration of Antigonos’ victories over the barbarians (*IG II² 677 ll. 3–6*: perhaps 254 B.C.) was a first step in this direction.

⁷⁹ See M. Mari, this volume.