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Images and Prestige of Cult Personnel in Athens between the Sixth and First Centuries BC

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IN THE *POLEIS* OF ANCIENT GREECE, priests and priestesses rarely had permanent political, social, or economic power as a group and outside their sanctuaries.¹ On the other hand, everyone would agree that priests were an essential component of every Greek *polis*.² One aspect of their position was their high prestige; that is, their reputation and informal authority.³ In ancient Greece, prestige was defined by and recognizable through various cultural practices. Images set up in the public sphere—statues, reliefs, or paintings initiated by the depicted persons or by others—were focal means of demonstrating prestige. Indeed, a large number of such portraits of cult officials are preserved from the Greek *poleis*. These *testimonia* have been catalogued and analyzed. But considering the debate about the roles of priests and priestesses in Greek *poleis*, it seems decidedly unusual that they have not been studied under the specific perspective of prestige presentation.⁴ In this essay, I will try

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¹ Feaver 1957:123; Garland 1984:75; Bremmer 1994:6–7; Bremmer 1996:10; cf. A. Chaniotis and U. Gotter in this volume.

² Price 1999:67; cf. Sourvinou-Inwood 1988:259–260.

³ Burkert 1977:161. Witness, for instance, the advice of the priestess of Athena in favor of Themistocles' plans in 480 BC; Herodotus 8.41. The distinction between power and prestige is crucial and needs further investigation.

⁴ Mantis 1990; cf. also Clinton 1974; Aleshire 1989; Aleshire 1991 and now *ThesCRA* 5:1–65. Priest-

to do so in a chronological overview. My purpose is to trace the changing role and importance of images of cult personnel in relation to their prestige. Those elements of priestly functions and qualities will be discussed which were crucial for the setting up of these images, in order to understand the basis on which the reputation and authority of priests was founded and to describe the public discourse that used this reputation as social capital. The category *cult personnel* includes all persons responsible for *cult activities* who held a certain *office* which was not solely administrative in function.⁵ I am going to examine portrait images of cult personnel, although other—and possibly more important—means of defining prestige did exist and would also be worth studying. However, I will not restrict my interest to preserved images. Rather, all epigraphic, literary, and archaeological records will be studied, insofar as they refer to images. Such a synoptic approach has for long been neglected and thus appears particularly necessary and fruitful.⁶ Athens between the sixth and first centuries BC has been chosen as a case study due to the large corpus of surviving records, which allows us to trace historical changes over this period. I will focus primarily, but not exclusively, on the Acropolis as Athens' most important sanctuary, in which public roles and the prestige of cult personnel can be expected to be expressed best, although other contexts such as grave monuments and other sanctuaries would need further investigation.⁷ Two questions will guide me through the relevant *testimonia*:

1. What were the changing functions and aims of images of cult personnel?
2. Which qualities of the depicted cult personnel were emphasized in these images, that is, how was prestige defined and how was it articulated visually?

esses have received particular attention recently: Kron 1996; van Bremen 1996; Dillon 2002; Lindner 2003. On grave reliefs with images of cult personnel: Scholl 1996:135–148; Kosmopoulou 2001:292–300.

⁵ Cf. Plato *Statesman* 290c–d; Aristotle *Politics* 6.1322b12–28; cf. Price 1999:67–73; A. Chaniotis in this volume.

⁶ Cf. von den Hoff 2004, where some of the ideas touched on here have also been worked out from a different perspective; Clinton 1974.

⁷ Such as the Asclepieum (with reference to Aleshire 1989; Aleshire 1991) or the sanctuary at Eleusis (with reference to Clinton 1974). A study of the grave reliefs (cf. above n4) from the point of view of the demonstration of their prestige by cult personnel, is still a desideratum; see the remarks below. I will not discuss the depiction of priests and other cult personnel on vases here, because they follow different rules, in that, for instance, they are not individualized; cf. van Straten 1996; Gebauer 2002, and the remarks in Bremmer 1994:28; Bremmer 1996:33; below n27.

Starting with the Archaic period, we do not know of any statues of cult officials, explicitly defined as such, from Athens in the sixth century BC. It has been claimed that the more than seventy *korai* from the Acropolis were images of servants of Athena, such as *ergastinai*, *kanēphoroi*, *arrhēphoroi*, or priestesses of the goddess.⁸ Yet these figures could also be dedicated to Poseidon (IG I³ 828), who had no female cult officials, and they do not display any attributes identifying them as divine or mythological figures or as cult personnel.⁹ Equally significant is the fact that they bear no individual names. Rather, in the inscriptions, they are simply called *korē*, *aparkhē*, or *perikallēs agalma*. This is in contrast to named statues on the Acropolis, and to named *korai* in other sanctuaries, which, however, are also never identified as cult personnel by their inscriptions. Thus, it remains the most plausible explanation that the Athenian *korai* were primarily dedications to Athena (or to other gods), rather than being intended to represent living persons.¹⁰ Neither any identification as specific individuals nor any clue to cult functions is readily recognizable. As precious and expensive *agalmata*, the *korai* served to demonstrate the wealth and piety (*eusebeia*) of their male dedicators. Wealthy male citizens also used these votives as visual confirmation of the social role of women as objects of exchange and as visual demonstration of normative female behavior.¹¹

⁸ See now Hurwit 1998:125–129; Karakasi 2001:115–144; Keesling 2003:3–161; Holtzmann 2003:55–62 (all with further bibliography); Stieber 2004. For suggested identifications, cf. for example, Ridgway 1977:108–112 (*arrhēphoroi* or *kanēphoroi*); but note that she altered her opinion, cf. below, following note); Shapiro 2001:3–5 (*kanēphoroi*); Shapiro 2001:92–94 (young Athenians); Karakasi 2001:134–139 (*arrhēphoroi*); Brinkmann 2003:71 (“Frauen aus reichen attischen Häusern”, which is also suggested by Stieber 2004); further bibliography: Kron 1996:145n36; Keesling 2003:100–102. That some *korai* have been found near the alleged house of the *arrhēphoroi* (Pausanias 1.27.3) is no argument for an identification. For other find-spots, cf. Karakasi 2001:130 fig. 19. Insofar as Archaic images do not attempt to depict age accurately, the argument that the *korai* look too old for girls like *arrhēphoroi* (Langlotz 1939:7–8; Martini 1990:80) is not valid.

⁹ Dedication to Poseidon: Keesling 2003:112. The so-called Peplos Kore from Athens, Acropolis 679 (Ridgway 1990:602–611; Keesling 2003:135–139; Brinkmann 2003 cat. no. 100) wears a garment different from those of the other statues, and seems to be a goddess. Ridgway 1982:126–127; Ridgway 1990:601–602; and Harrison 1988:53–54, identify the *korai* as nymphs or similar semidivine figures. Keesling 2003:97–161 now identifies the *korai* as statues of Athena, but this remains debatable because almost all (!) of them lack Athena’s principal attributes of the Archaic period: weapons and aegis (for exceptions: Keesling 2003:129–140). These omissions must have been intended to distinguish the *korai* from statues of Athena.

¹⁰ Lechat 1903:270; Graindor 1938:202–211; Payne and Young 1936:9–10n3 (reference to goddess rather than to dedicator); Langlotz 1939:7–8; Richter 1968:4; Schneider 1975:2–3; Floren and Fuchs 1987:262; Pandora 1996:129–131 no. 1; Martini 1990:80–82; Ross Holloway 1992:268; Kron 1996:145; Dillon 2001:12; Holtzmann 2003:56; cf. Keesling 2003:107–121. Keesling 2003 and Stieber 2004 have recently challenged this point of view.

¹¹ Schneider 1975:2–3; Osborne 1994:90–91.

The lack of explicit depictions of cult personnel on the Archaic Acropolis is the more noteworthy because statues of specific individuals were placed in this sanctuary during the sixth century. Even statues of civic officials were set up there, such as the sitting “scribes,” possibly *tamiai*.¹² Furthermore, elsewhere in Greece, identifiable portraits of cult officials are known from the Archaic period. From Didyma, the marble figure of a man is preserved, who wears an unusual mantle and is holding a scepter (fig. 1). This possibly identified him as a seer in Apollo’s sanctuary.¹³ His sitting posture was a common pattern of representation for members of the political elite, especially in the East. *Key-bearers* (*kleidoukhoi*) were depicted in small, *korē*-like terracotta figurines from the Artemis sanctuary in Cercyra,¹⁴ while in Miletus, the marble statue of a *korē* could be equipped with a *lituus*-like staff to demonstrate the cult function of the woman being portrayed.¹⁵ These images document the fact that conventional statue types (a *korē*, a sitting man) did serve to depict cult personnel in Archaic Greece, while distinct attributes, related to sacred authority (scepter, key), were used as symbols of their specific cult functions. Since such portraits are completely lacking from Athens, it appears that, in this *polis*, cult officials did not choose to represent themselves or to publicly define their status in this way during the Archaic period, even if concern with cult status was not entirely excluded from the competitive practices of Athenian aristocrats. Nevertheless, the prestige associated with cult and ritual itself was high, considering the scenes of processions and sacrifices on Attic vases of this period.¹⁶

In the fifth century, according to Pliny’s *Natural History* 34.54 and Cicero’s *Against Verres* 2.5.5, statues of both *kanēphoroi* (by Polyclitus) and

¹² For named statues of dedicators, see only the image of Rhombus (Fuchs and Floren 1987:276 pl. 22.1; Holtzmann 2003:63 fig. 41); further evidence in: Krumeich 1997:23–24; Holtzmann 2003:50–55, 63–66; Keesling 2003:117, 180–185. For the *scribes*: Krumeich 1997:22–23 figs. 1–4; Trianti 1998:1–33; Shapiro 2001a:94–96 (“*heilige Männer*”); Keesling 2003:182–185; Brinkmann 2003 cat. no. 22, 66; Holtzmann 2003:65–66 fig. 43.

¹³ Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 1945; Höckmann 1996:93–102 pl. 18–19.1; Kopanias 2001. On the sitting posture: Nagy 1998. For the role of seers in the Archaic period, see K. Trampedach in this volume.

¹⁴ Cercyra, Archaeological Museum: Lechat 1891:32 fig. 4, 79 fig. 13; Mantis 1990:30–31 pl. 5.

¹⁵ Now lost, ex art market: Mantis 1990:31–32 pl. 6a; Karakasi 2001:35n9 cat. no. M10, 38–39 pl. 45. For the unusual attribute, cf. Özgan 1978:133–135. See also Archaic statues of priests from Cyprus: Senff 1993:54, 70–71 pl. 37, 61d–e; Karageorgis 2000:109–110 no. 172.

¹⁶ Vases: Gebauer 2002. Among extant Attic grave monuments of the Archaic period, only the painted stele of Lyseas can be related iconographically to a cult context, on the basis of the attributes depicted; however, these could also be signs of his *eusebeia* rather than pointing to a position as priest of Dionysus: Mantis 1990:92–93 pl. 42b. For the dominance of the elite in Athenian state religion: Ober 1989:57, cf. also 290n73.



Figure 1. Statue of a seer (?). From Didyma, sixth century BC. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 1945. Photo by H. P. Laubscher, courtesy of the Institut für Klassische Archäologie, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich.

kleidoukhoi (by Phidias) existed in Greece.¹⁷ If the relief from Mantinea with a woman inspecting the liver of an animal was set up in honor of a female seer,

¹⁷ Palagia 1980:41; Mantis 1990:52–56; 74–75; Phidias' statue could also have been a mythical figure. Cf. the *kleidoukhos* of Euphranor (Pliny *Natural History* 34.78; Palagia 1980:40–41) and late Classical or early Hellenistic *kleidoukhoi* from Cyprus (Connelly 1988:21–22, 27 fig. 32–33). We do not know the date of the statues of priestesses in front of the temple of Hera in Argos: Pausanias 2.17.3.

this would be further evidence for images of cult personnel in the Classical period.¹⁸ But still no such records from Athens have been preserved—either from the Acropolis or from other areas of the city. This is astonishing, because, also in this period, we know of votive statues of other Athenian individuals, such as athletes, civic servants, and *stratēgoi* being set up on the Acropolis.¹⁹ The statue group of the *stratēgos* Tolmides with his seer beside him (Pausanias 1.27.4–5) is a revealing example.²⁰ Placed on the Acropolis around the middle of the fifth century, the purpose of this group was to demonstrate Tolmides' military success. The seer was not meant to be a cult official in his own right, but represented the *eusebeia* of Tolmides himself.²¹ In Athens, mention of individuals as holding cult offices was avoided even in inscriptions, as is evidenced by the case of Callias, son of Hipponicus. He fought successfully at Marathon in the position of Eleusinian *dadoukhos*, while he was, indeed, wearing his priestly garment (Plutarch *Aristides* 5). Despite this highly renowned act, he did not mention his priestly office in a dedicatory inscription on the Acropolis some years later (IG I³ 835).²² Instead, he calls himself *hipponikos* in reference to his Olympic victories, which obviously were more prestigious than his position as *dadoukhos*.

It is on the Acropolis, in the frieze of the Parthenon (447–438 BC), that the first explicit representations of Athenian cult officials appear in the public sphere. In the Panathenaic procession, depicted in the northern, southern, and western parts of this frieze, distinct cult officials cannot be identified, although some participants carry cult objects and all are engaged in the rites of the cult.²³ In the most prominent eastern frieze, the women leading the procession are also carrying cult utensils (East 2–15, 55, 57–63).²⁴ Although here younger *parthenoi* and older women are distinguished by dress and hairdo,²⁵ we are

¹⁸ Athens, National Museum 226; Mantis 1990:51–52 pl. 18; Kron 1996:142–143 fig. 1; Kaltsas 2002:132 no. 254. The statue of a priestess made by Phradmon from Argos is attested by an inscription from Ostia: Zevi 1969–1970:110–114.

¹⁹ Krumeich 1997:63–150; Keesling 2003:170–180, 191–198. For the difference between private votive statues and official honorific statues, which, in Athens, were not set up between 477/6 and 394/3: Demosthenes 20.70; Himmelmann 2001:51–53n79.

²⁰ Krumeich 1997:110–111, 244 cat. no. A58; Keesling 2003:258n81.

²¹ For seers in Athens: Garland 1984:81–82; 1996:93–94; cf. Trampedach and Flower in this volume. Cf. a statue of a *splankhnoptēs*: Pliny *Natural History* 34.81; Robertson 1999.

²² Krumeich 1997:92; 231–232 cat. no. A20.

²³ For the frieze as a whole: Berger and Gisler-Huwiler 1996; Neils 2001.

²⁴ Berger and Gisler-Huwiler 1996:147–169 pls. 128–130, 138–140; Hurwit 1998:184–186; Neils 2001:154–158 fig. 118; Dillon 2001:42–50; Holtzmann 2003:131–133; Lindner 2003:58–59.

²⁵ Berger and Gisler-Huwiler 1996:151, 152, 167, 168, 169; Neils 2001:158; cf. Beschi 1984:180–183; Harrison 1989:51–53.



Figure 2. *Archon basileus* (?) and priestess of Athena with servants. Central part of the east frieze of the Parthenon, 447–432 BC. London, British Museum. Photo, Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY.

still unable to identify holders of distinct cult offices, except for two possible *kanēphoroi* (East 50–51).²⁶ It is only in the central scene—above the entrance and framed by the gods themselves—that priests are depicted (fig. 2). One male figure (East 34) wears the long, ungarmented *khitōn* which was the typical dress of priests.²⁷ This dress and the very prominent position point rather to an official representative of the *polis* than to a member of the *genos* of the Praxiergidae without an official priestly position, as has been recently suggested.²⁸ Thus, he is probably best identified as the *arkhōn basileus*.²⁹ He holds Athena's *peplos*. Behind him, two girls (East 31–32) are welcomed by a larger woman (East 33). In such a position, related to the Panathenaea and above the entrance to Athena's temple, the priestess of the goddess must be depicted. She is slightly smaller than her male counterpart and is not clothed distinctively. Thus, iconographically, the priest is highlighted and distinguished from usual civic images, while

²⁶ Rocco 1995:641–668, esp. 657–658; Neils 2001:157; *contra*: Mansfield 1985:354–355n130. Other identifications of cult personnel: Beschi 1984:193; Harrison 1989:53; Berger and Gisler-Huwiler 1996:167.

²⁷ Berger and Gisler-Huwiler 1996:157–161 pl. 134; Neils 2001:166–171 figs.127, 197–200; Neils and Oakley 2003:159 fig. 24; for the dress, cf. Miller 1989:319–323; on vases, the long priestly *khitōn* is rarely depicted: Mantis 1990 pls. 35b, 43; van Straten 1995 figs. 135, 145–146.; cf. Gebauer 2002:471–478.

²⁸ Steinhart 1997.

²⁹ Berger and Gisler-Huwiler 1996:159, 172–174 (table with suggested identifications).

the priestess is not. This will become a common pattern in Athenian images of cult personnel. The two girls in front of the priestess are carrying stools, but it is uncertain whether they are the official *diphrophoroi*.³⁰ Because of her size, the girl on the left (East 31) is certainly the youngest female participant in the entire frieze. She is highlighted by her frontal posture, which would make an identification as *arrhēphoros* probable, except that the stool may militate against this conclusion.³¹ Taken all together, in keeping with the Archaic Attic tradition, the Parthenon frieze was not intended primarily to depict individual cult officials by means of well-defined iconographical patterns. Instead, it staged the whole *dēmos* of Athens as active participants in the cult: an icon of *tōn Athēnaiōn eusebeia*. Indeed, the Athenians later claimed that their *eusebeia* towards the gods made them superior to all other *poleis* (Lycurgus *Against Leocrates* 15). Only in the eastern frieze are two high cult officials present, framed by and close to the gods, and thus distinguished: the most important woman in Athena's cult, who was a member of the *genos* of the Eteoboutadae, with two girls as her attendants, and the most important man in the *polis*-cult as a whole, who was chosen by lot each year, with a male attendant. This choice programmatically included both hereditary and democratic priest-hoods.³² Further, the fact that the priest is taller than the priestess, and that his bearing of Athena's robe makes his role more prestigious, points to the precedence of men in the *polis*-cult. At the same time, both the presence of two female attendants in this scene, as opposed to only one male attendant for the priest, and the prominent position of women in the Panathenaic procession as a whole, were certainly due to the female gender of the deity to whom the temple was dedicated, and suggest that women were by no means unimportant in the Athenian cultic context. Thus, gender and sociopolitical roles were distinguished precisely: they resulted in hierarchies and different ways of participation in the cult, as well as in different priestly dress. Yet these first public Athenian images of cult officials were still not meant to be depictions of historical individuals. Rather, they were *signa* of civic *eusebeia* embedded within the *Athēnaiōn dēmos* as a whole. They represented positions rather than individuals, and signified the importance of cult activities in the *polis* and the idea that cult officials acted primarily in the service and on behalf of the city and her piety, and not according to their own desire for prestige.

³⁰ Schäfer 1987; they really carry stools, *pace* Wesenberg 1995.

³¹ Cf. Sourvinou-Inwood 1988a:58–59; von Heintze 1993; Berger and Gisler-Huwiler 1996:158–159; Neils 2001:168; Holtzmann 2003:134. For the age of *arrhēphoroi*, see below. For the shoulder cord worn by East 31: Harrison 1977; Roccas 2000:245–247 (but with crossbands).

³² Schäfer 1987:211.



Figure 3. Grave relief of a priest. From Athens, late fifth century BC. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Pergamonmuseum K 28. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Pergamonmuseum.

It was immediately after the erection of the Parthenon, in the late fifth century, that this situation began to change. From this time on and through the fourth century, priests and priestesses were depicted on Attic grave reliefs (figs. 3–4).³³ Here, for the first time, cult personnel were individually named

³³ See above n4; cf. Bergemann 1997:45; *ThesCRA* 5:30 nos. 136–138 pls. 4–5; and now Ajootian 2007.



Figure 4. Grave relief of the priestess Polystrate. From Athens, early fourth century BC. Athens, Kerameikos Museum I 430. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens; neg. no. Ker 6164.

on public images, although in this genre of monument, references to professional activities were normally very rare. Priests (fig. 3) wear the long *khitōn*, which is already known from the Parthenon frieze, and they usually hold a knife in their hand as a sign of their ability to perform sacrifices. Priestesses, on the other hand (fig. 4), are represented in common civic dress, as in the frieze, but now they frequently hold a temple key.³⁴ Again, gender distinctions are obvious: priestesses are not distinguished by their dress, but defined by their administrative authority (key), while priests are clearly distinguished by their garment as well as being defined as performers of bloody rituals (knife). It is noteworthy that, in Athens, such individualized images of cult personnel were introduced in funerary art, albeit in small reliefs rather than in the elaborate *naiskoi* of the wealthy families. Thus, the members of the elite—in charge of the hereditary priesthoods and monopolising ritual expertise—did not use their prominent grave monuments to advertise their role in the cult. Rather, they did so only in smaller reliefs, and it was the middle class who visually represented their *eusebeia* and services for the *polis* in prestigious priestly positions, which they certainly gained by way of lot or election.³⁵ Not everyone who was in a position to do so, however, actually took the opportunity: witness the grave *stēlai* of a family of seers from Brauron, and the grave *lēkuthos* of Myrrhine, first priestess of Athena Nike. She is depicted without any attributes referring to the position she held. Instead, the image focuses on her relationship to the gods—that is, her *eusebeia*—which in itself seems to have been more prestigious than the cult office.³⁶

Despite the increasing number of grave reliefs with cult personnel, priests or priestesses do not appear on Attic votive reliefs of the fourth century, although the preparation of sacrifices is depicted.³⁷ This is certainly due to the

³⁴ Lindner 2003:55, 61–63. Temple keys and sacrificial knife: Mantis 1990; Scholl 1996:136–137, 143; Kosmopoulou 2001:294. For the dress: Kosmopoulou 2001:296–297 (women); above n27 (men). However, knives are also known as attributes of female cult personnel in graves: Kron 1992:650.

³⁵ Scholl 1996:138–139, 147–148; cf. the grave monuments of the Lycurgus family, below n52.

³⁶ Brauron: SEG 23, 161; Bergemann 1997:202 Q3 pl. 11. Although members of this family are explicitly named as *mantis* on the large inscription stelae of this precinct, the reliefs do not refer to this position. Myrrhine, Athens, National Museum 4485: Turner 1983:82–96; Rahn 1986; Clairmont 1993:163–165 no. 5.150; Kaltsas 2002:148–150 no. 289; Holtzmann 2003:224 fig. 196; cf. IG I³ 35 and IG I³ 1330, Hansen 1983:54 no. 93; Parker 1996:125–127; Price 1999:175–176 nos. 4–5; *ThesCRA* 5:10 no. 31. On *eusebeia* (cf. above) and honoring the gods as important qualities mentioned in grave epigrams: IG II² 5501 = Hansen 1989:88–89 no. 600; IG II² 6551 = Hansen 1989:90–91 no. 603; IG II² 7227 = Hansen 1989:49 no. 543; IG II² 8593 = Peek 1960 no. 106; Blümel 1994:158–159; further evidence: Peek 1960:371 s.v. *Frömmigkeit*.

³⁷ Van Straten 1995; Edelmann 1999. The exception which proves the rule is the priest wearing a



Figure 5. Document relief in honor of a woman. From the Athenian Acropolis, early fourth century BC. Athens, Acropolis Museum 2758 + 2427. Photo, Gösta Hellner, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens; neg. no. Ath. 1985/3.

fact that these reliefs were dedicated by citizens who were not priests. Thus, by showing the dedicator's autonomous sacrificial act, they aimed at demonstrating his *eusebeia*, which did not necessitate the presence of a priest. It is also in the early fourth century that the first honors for Athenians as religious officials are recorded (*IG II²* 1140). This happened at the same time as the first honorific statues for Athenian citizens after the Tyrannicides were also set up.³⁸ This change is also discernible on the Acropolis, for example, on the fragments of a marble relief from this sanctuary which was carved during the early fourth century (fig. 5).³⁹ Accompanied by other divine figures, Athena is

long *khitōn* on a votive relief in Eretria, Museum 631: Edelmann 1999:190no. B32 (I owe this reference to A. Klöckner); cf. Mantis 1990:36 Taf. 9b (votive relief in Malibu, Getty Museum 73.AA.124); Geominy 1989:255 (votive relief in St. Petersburg, Hermitage PAN 160).

³⁸ Awards of wreaths: Blech 1982:153–161. For honorific statues after 394/3, see above n19. The inscription for the priest Aristokrates (*IG II²* 3454; Meritt 1933:155–156 no. 4; Davies 1971:60 no. 1926) does not belong to this period, nor is it a statue base: Ma and Tracy 2004:121–126.

³⁹ Athens, Acropolis Museum 2758 + 2427: Meyer 1989:287 cat. A76 pl. 27,1; Mantis 1990:41–42, 88; Lawton 1995:125 no. 91 pl. 48. Priestesses on document reliefs: Lawton 1995:61.

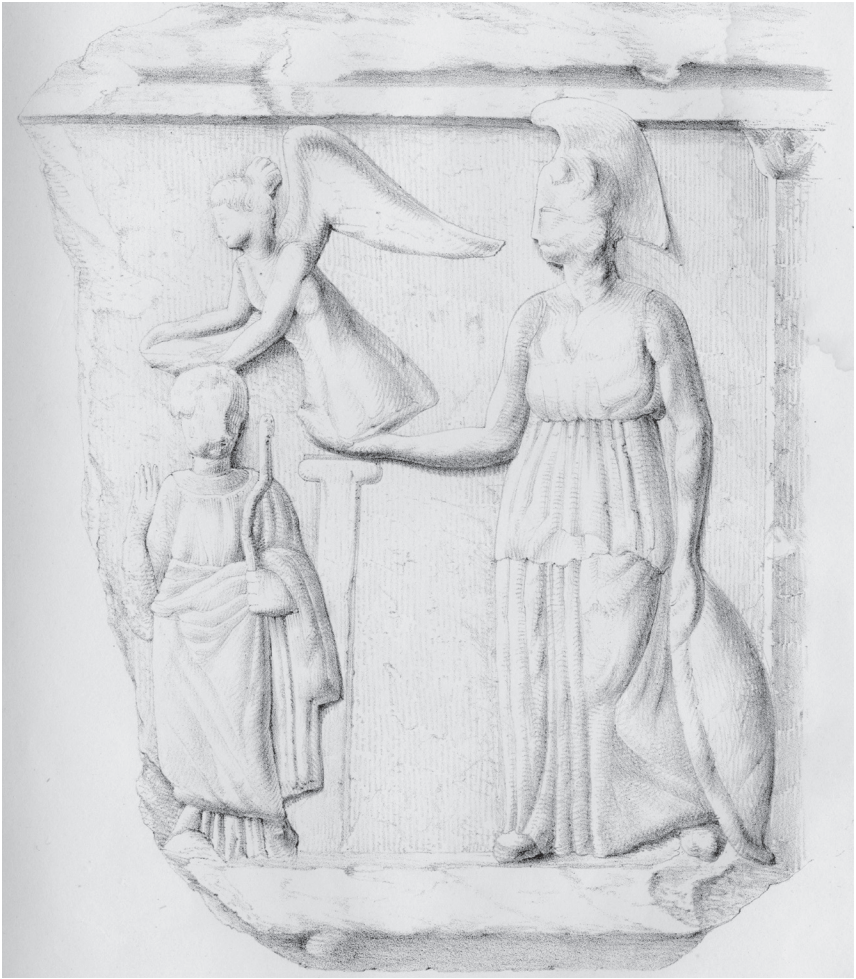


Figure 6. Document relief in honor of a priestess of Athena, second half of the fourth century BC. Berlin, Antikensammlung Sk 882. Drawing after *Archäologische Zeitung* 15 (1857), pl. 105.

adorning a smaller woman (with a wreath?), who is piously raising her hand towards the goddess in a gesture of prayer. Considering the provenance of the relief, and that it was the upper part of an honorary decree in which the woman must have been the *honorée*, it is reasonable to conclude that a female member of the Acropolis cult personnel is depicted here. She may have been

the priestess of Athena herself, although no key is depicted as a definite sign of this position. In the mid-fourth century and the era of Lycurgus, the number of honors awarded to Athenian cult personnel increased (IG II² 354; 410; 1199). The relief of an honorific decree for a priest of the tribe Antiochis is additional visual evidence of this trend.⁴⁰ Also from the Acropolis comes another relief recording honors for a woman (fig. 6).⁴¹ Dated on stylistic grounds to around 340–320, Nike, flying from Athena's hand, crowns a smaller woman, who is holding a temple key and who again raises her hand towards the deity. She must be a priestess of Athena and thus a member of the *genos* of the Eteoboutadae.⁴² These fourth-century *testimonia* reveal the growing prestige attached to cult offices in terms of awards granted by the *polis*.⁴³ Now, individual honors, especially for the old *genē* holding the hereditary priesthoods, were documented visually on the Acropolis. However, honorific statues for cult personnel set up by *dēmos* and *boulē* were yet to be placed in this sanctuary.⁴⁴

Private votive statues depicting cult officials seem to have compensated for this absence. The base of the life-size bronze statue of Lysimache is the earliest surviving example from the Acropolis (IG II² 3453; fig. 7).⁴⁵ As a priestess of Athena, Lysimache came from the *genos* of the Eteoboutadae. Her bronze statue was set up posthumously around 360, most probably by a member of her family. The inscription especially highlights the fact that she had seen generations of children; she died after sixty-four years in office, at eighty years of age. So far, efforts to identify copies of this portrait statue

⁴⁰ Athens, National Museum 3482: Meyer 1989:289–299 cat. A86; Lawton 1995:143–144 no. 145 pl. 77. Cf. also the honors for a priest in an Attic *dēmos*: SEG 42, 112; *ThesCRA* 5:28 no. 121.

⁴¹ Berlin, *Antikensammlung* Sk 882: Meyer 1989:289 cat. A85; Mantis 1990:41–43 pl. 12; Lawton 1995:151–152 no. 164 pl. 86; Scholl 2002:193 no. 90; *ThesCRA* 5:29 no. 124 pl. 3.

⁴² It is uncertain whether it perhaps depicts Phanistrate, priestess of Athena, known to have been in office in 341/0: Mantis 1990:41–43; Aleshire 1994:336 no. 2 note b.

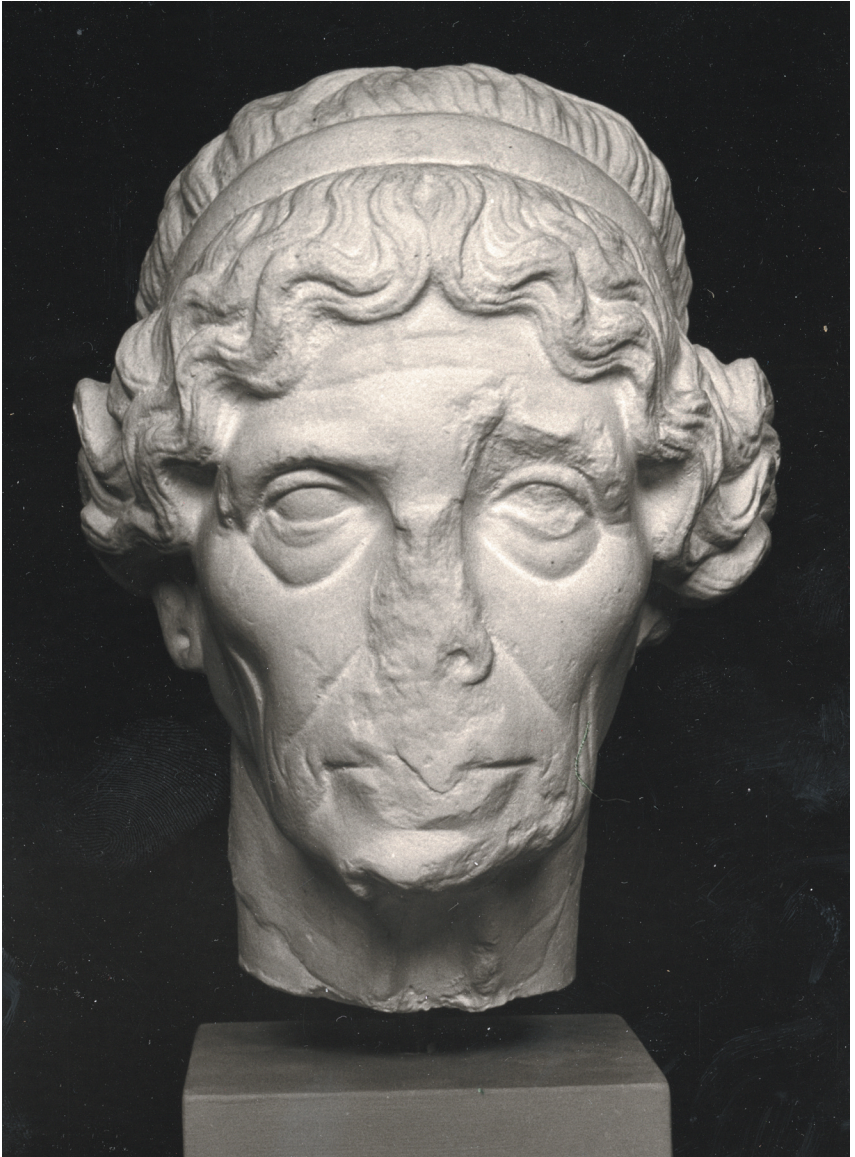
⁴³ It is doubtful whether the document relief in Athens, National Museum 1396 (Lawton 1995:147–148 no. 153 pl. 81; Kaltsas 2002:236 no. 496) portrays a priest of Amphiaras, as the honored Articlides is not wearing priestly dress.

⁴⁴ Other official honorific statues were also rare on the Classical Acropolis: IG II² 3822, 4321 (cf. Hansen 1989:179 no. 761); the provenance of IG II² 4330 is uncertain; IG II² 3827 is Roman: Ma and Tracy 2004:121–126. On the other hand, official honorific statues did exist in sanctuaries outside Attica: Eule 2002:213–214.

⁴⁵ Jahn and Michaelis 1931:pl. 28 no. 9; Reisch 1919:303–306 fig. 192; Lewis 1955:1–12 fig. 2; Hansen 1989:175–176 no. 757; Mantis 1990:70–71 pl. 29; Georgoudi 1993:157–196; Kron 1996:143–144 fig. 2 (with bibliography); Löhr 2000:198; Bielman 2002:22–25; Holtzmann 2003:221; *ThesCRA* 5:10–11 no. 32. It remains uncertain whether this was the same Lysimache, mother of Telemachus, founder of the Asclepieum, who dedicated a silver *phialē* on the Acropolis in 398/7: Harris 1995:171 cat. V 317, 246 no. 31; Hurwit 1998:251; Bielman 2002:22; Holtzmann 2003:221; cf. Davies 1971:170–171.



Figure 7. Statue base of the priestess Lysimache. From the Athenian Acropolis, ca. 360 BC. Athens, Acropolis. Photo by Feiler, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens; neg. no. Akr. 2300.



Figures 8a–b. Plaster cast: portrait of a priestess (?). Roman marble copy after a Greek original of the early fourth century BC, London, British Museum 2001. Cast, Munich, Museum für Abgüsse Klassischer Bildwerke 127. Photos, H. Glöckler, Museum für Abgüsse Klassischer Bildwerke, Munich.



made by Demetrius of Alopece (Pliny *Natural History* 34.76) have not been convincing,⁴⁶ but a female head of possibly slightly earlier date, preserved in Roman copies in London (figs. 8a–8b) and Rome, gives an idea of such a portrait of an old priestess.⁴⁷ Her old age, like that reflected in this portrait, her

⁴⁶ Cf. Pfisterer-Haas 1989:101–105; Kron 1996:144; Schulze 1998:98–99. Nonetheless, the fact that Pliny mentions the statue speaks in favor of the existence of Roman copies.

⁴⁷ London, British Museum 2001: Reisch 1919:312–316 fig. 195; Pfisterer-Haas 1989: 102–103 Abb. 164–165; Mantis 1990:70–74 pl. 30γ–31; Todisco 1993:61–62 pl. 89; Hurwit 1998:251 Abb. 205; Holtzmann 2003:221 fig. 195. The *strophion* relates the head to the portrait of the priestess Aristonoë (below n68); originally, earrings were attached on both sides, which also distinguishes the woman from conventional mythological figures; but cf. the identification as mythological heroine: Pfisterer-Haas 1989:104–105.

lifelong service for Athena and for the *polis*, proved Lysimache's *eusebeia* and thus made such an extraordinary (and, as far as we know, hitherto unknown) statue of a priestess on the Acropolis possible. Nonetheless, as is seen from the epigraphic formula, it was not an official honor granted by *dēmos* and *boulē*. Instead, the Eteoboutadae themselves took the opportunity to demonstrate their particular religious engagement for the *polis* with such a prominent votive monument.⁴⁸ They emphasized their own prestige in religious affairs, while at the same time approximating this statue to the honors awarded by the *polis* to other priestesses of the same *genos*, which were documented on the Acropolis in the reliefs mentioned above.

Lysimache's statue, the grave-reliefs, and the public honors indicate that, in the late fifth and fourth century, for the first time, the prestige associated with a cult office became the subject of individual representation in the Athenian visual culture. By the same token, an element of competition in demonstrating this prestige emerged, a trend which the *eupatridai* seem to have reinforced. Yet, if we consider the grave reliefs and other individual records, it becomes clear that this phenomenon had broader dimensions.⁴⁹ In contrast to ordinary Athenian citizens, who used these reliefs merely to document their cult positions, the elite sought to demonstrate their *eusebeia* in Athena's sanctuary itself, which thus became the locus of the display of prestige associated with cult offices. In view of the fact that the elite could parade themselves in the central sanctuary of the city, religious representation on their prominent grave monuments may have been redundant.

The sociopolitical changes of the late fourth century were not without consequences for the representation of cult personnel on the Athenian Acropolis: the elite sought to preserve its religious hegemony, while the middle classes tried to display elite-like qualities. From 317/07 on, grave reliefs were forbidden by law: thereby, the opportunity to document cult engagement in the *nekropoleis* vanished altogether.⁵⁰ At the same time, the Acropolis became a focal point of Athenian identity construction, especially in the religious sphere, and also the preferred setting for official statues of the most highly honored Athenians.⁵¹ Such a context led the members of the wealthy *genē* to maintain

⁴⁸ Compare the dedication of a small temple by the priestess Menecrateia in the sanctuary of Aphrodite Pandemos around 350–320: IG II² 4753; Hansen 1989:183–184 no. 770; Kron 1996:154–155 Abb. 8.

⁴⁹ For the definition of *eupatridai*: Ober 1989:55–59. Cf. the votive statue of the priestess Chaerippe made by Praxiteles and set up by her brothers, possibly in the city Eleusinion: Ajootian 2007.

⁵⁰ Later, in the Hellenistic period, this is done again by depicting keys on *columellae*: Mantis 1990 pl. 14–15.

⁵¹ See von den Hoff 2003.

the position they had established in this sanctuary by means of votive images of cult officials. The Eteoboutadae imposed this competitive demonstration of prestige on the Acropolis to an unprecedented degree.⁵² Habron, Lycurgus' son and successor as hereditary priest of Poseidon, shortly before his death around 305, dedicated a *painting* (*pinax*) on the Acropolis (Pausanias 1.26.1).⁵³ In this painting, Ismenias of Chalcis depicted *the family's genealogy* (*katagōgē*) in life-size figures,⁵⁴ including the last three priests of Poseidon: Lycomedes, his son Lycurgus, and Lycurgus' son Habron ([Plutarch] *Moralia* 843e–f). Habron, the dedicator, is seen handing over the trident to his brother Lycophron. Habron did not have any children, and so had to make other arrangements for his succession: Lycophron had a son.⁵⁵ Thus, the monumental painting was an assertion of the Lycurgus family's legitimacy and of the continuity in holding their hereditary priestly office.⁵⁶ The *pinax* was located inside the Erechtheum, which was also the principal office of the Eteoboutad priests of Poseidon and, at the same time, the cult place of their ancestor Butes with the throne of his priest (IG II² 5166). Later, the painting hung beside a gallery of *images* (*graphai*) of the Eteoboutad priests of Poseidon in the same room (Pausanias 1.26.5), but it is unclear if the first of these images was dedicated in the Classical period or later.⁵⁷ Nonetheless, in the late fourth century, Ismenias' painting was not enough for the Eteoboutadae: also inside the Erechtheum, a statue group of Lycurgus with his three sons Habron, Lycurgus, and Lycophron was dedicated ([Plutarch] *Moralia* 843e–f). The lifetime of these subjects suggests a date after around 330/20; since the sons of Praxiteles, Timarchus and Cephisodotus, carved the statues, a date before around 290 is probable, although we do not know which of those depicted was the dedicator.⁵⁸ The group is a further

⁵² For the *genos*: Davies 1971:351–352; Merker 1986:41–50; Matthaïou 1987:31–41; Aleshire 1994:28; Parker 1996:290–293; Mikalson 1998:22. For the priesthood of Poseidon: Garland 1984:106; Aleshire 1994:330–332; Lycurgus very probably held the priesthood until his death in 325/4. The grave *lekuthos* of Lycophron has been found: Matthaïou 1987:35–37 pl. 10; SEG 37.160. It must have been set up after the law of Demetrius prohibiting large grave monuments.

⁵³ Marcade 1948:697–698; Hölscher 1977:378–379; Merker 1986:47, 50; Hintzen-Bohlen 1990:152–153; Löhr 2000:147 no. 167; cf. von den Hoff 2003:179–180 for the following argument.

⁵⁴ Lippold 1916:2141.

⁵⁵ Marcade 1948:697–698; Hintzen-Bohlen 1990:153; cf. Merker 1986; Matthaïou 1987.

⁵⁶ Hintzen-Bohlen 1990:153. Ideas about the appearance of the painting remain speculative: Robert 1895:86; Löhr 2000:147, 156, 163–164, 177.

⁵⁷ It remains unclear if these images were wall paintings (Dörpfeld 1911:48, 95; Lippold 1916:2141). Pausanias' plural proves that the painting by Ismenias, at the most, was *one* of them, if not a single dedication, which seems more probable: Robert 1895:87; Hölscher 1977:378; Hintzen-Bohlen 1990:152–153n178; Löhr 2000:163; *contra*: Jeppensen 1979:385. For portrait paintings in temples in the fifth century: Pausanias 1.1.2; Woodhead 1997:390–391 no. 277.

⁵⁸ Timarchus and Cephisodotus: Matthaïou 1994:175–183; Ajootian 1996:94–97; Andreae 2001;

demonstration of the family's genealogy. During the second half of the fourth century, it was not unusual to set up such family monuments on the Acropolis.⁵⁹ What was unusual was the material of the Eteoboutadae's statues: wood. This linked them to the old and venerable wooden *xoana* on the Acropolis, such as the cult image of Athena not far from the statues themselves (Pausanias 1.26.6; Apollodorus *Library* 3.14.6).⁶⁰ A wooden statue of Hermes also stood in the Erechtheum, supposedly dedicated by Cecrops, the mythical king of Attica (Pausanias 1.27.1). In this local and material context, the wooden statue group of Lycurgus and his sons must have connoted the sacred tradition and antiquity of the Eteoboutadae's cult engagement. In the years before 290, a statue of a priestess of Athena added to the visual presence of this *genos* (IG II² 3455).⁶¹ She was a member of the other line of the family, in charge of the priesthood of Athena Polias,⁶² and was most probably called Lysimache like her well-known predecessor. The portrait statue was dedicated by her son and set up during her lifetime. Besides the Eteoboutadae, other families also sought to advertise their cult position by setting up votive statues on the Acropolis. The statue of Pheidostrate, priestess of Aglauros from the *genos* of the Salaminioi and sister of the politically active Chremonides, was placed there sometime around 300 BC (IG II² 3459).⁶³ Not far away, Pheidostrate herself dedicated a statue of her father Eteocles (IG II² 3458); he had previously been honored for his engagement in the Eleusinian cult (IG II² 1933.11), and was one of the first *agōnothetai* of Dionysus after 317/07. He himself dedicated a statue in the theater of Dionysus (IG II² 3845).

In short, between around 330/20 and the early third century, the families of the Athenian elite tried to enhance their visual presence on the Acropolis by dedicating multiple portraits of family members—statues and paintings, of

Schultz 2003. For the lifetime of Lycurgus and his sons: above n52. Lippold 1921:236; Bieber 1923–1924:270; Morricone 1991:196–197, prefer a date for the group late in Habron's lifetime (310/04), while Marcade 1948:698 suggests a date in the early third century, but only because of the artists' floruit, which Löhr 2000:160, thinks is possible. Against a dedication made by Habron: Hölscher 1977:378n23. Indeed, the possibility cannot be excluded that the statues were dedicated by Lycurgus himself: Hintzen-Bohlen 1990:153.

⁵⁹ Löhr 2000.

⁶⁰ Wooden statues: Oelmann 1957:15n11; Romano 1980:357–364; Donohue 1988:147; Arafat 1996:54–57; Pritchett 1999:168–182. Archaic wooden votives: Kyrieleis 1980. Cf. the wooden statue of Sarapis from the Roman Imperial period: *LIMC* 7 (1994) 669 s. v. Sarapis no. 8b.

⁶¹ Lewis 1955:8; Davies 1971:171–172 no. 4549 (stemma and dedicator); Mantis 1990:74; Aleshire 1994:336–337 note d; von den Hoff 2003:180n62–63.

⁶² Garland 1984:91–94.

⁶³ Ferguson 1938:20–21; Mikalson 1998:165n87; von den Hoff 2003:180. Chremonides himself appears as dedicator on the Acropolis: Immerwahr 1942:344–347 no. 3.

individuals and groups, in and outside prestigious cult offices. This trend was new in terms of quality and quantity. In the case of the Eteoboutadae, material and context reveal that this demonstration was ideologically based on the family's long genealogy, which ostensibly provided a link to Athens' mythical past. It also touched on the legitimacy of the hereditary character of their priesthoods, that is, on traditional claims of expertise and power. At the same time, such dedications were now often set up while the depicted cult official was still alive,⁶⁴ so that they lent luster to the living families. This went far beyond the two prevailing interests of the earlier period: to demonstrate *eusebeia* and to document service on behalf of the *polis*. In the case of *genē* like the Eteoboutadae or the Salaminioi, this development cannot be separated from political pretensions. The Acropolis thus became a point of crystallization, where families competed to visually consolidate their prestige within society through the recording of their cult activities.⁶⁵

Unfortunately, we lack precise information about how such Athenian statues of cult officials—mostly made of reusable bronze—looked. To infer from the evidence of the Parthenon frieze and the grave reliefs, we might suppose that priests were portrayed wearing the long *khitōn*, although this dress is not previously recorded for freestanding statues. Klaus Fittschen has suggested that the head of a beardless man from Athens with a myrtle wreath belongs to the late third century BC (figs. 9a–9b).⁶⁶ Such wreaths were typically worn by the Eleusinian hierophants, but often in addition to a *strophion*. The fact that nonpriestly officials could also receive such a crown casts into question the statement that the depicted person was indeed a priest.⁶⁷ However, if this were the case, it would demonstrate that such images followed the modern fashion of shaving in contrast to the traditional appearance of, for instance, bearded philosophers in this period. In light of the visual *testimonia* discussed above, statues of priestesses should have worn the conventional *khitōn* with a *himation* above it during the fourth and third

⁶⁴ This was not previously completely unknown (Keesling 2003:192), but as far as is known, it is new for cult personnel.

⁶⁵ Cf. Geagan 1996:155: "transformation of the cult away from personal piety to status display."

⁶⁶ Athens, National Museum 351: Arndt und Bruckmann 1891–1942 no. 343–344 (era of the Diadochi); Buschor 1979:87 no. 218 Abb. 60 (first century BC); Harrison 1953:14 (first century BC); Stewart 1979:82–84 no. 1 Abb. 26 a (first century BC); Fittschen 1988:26n155 pl. 133 (late third century BC, myrtle wreath); Stewart 1990:fig. 781 (200 BC); Andrae 2001:115–116 fig. 75; pl. 86 (190 BC, archon); Kaltsas 2002:297 no. 621 (first century BC).

⁶⁷ *Hierophants*: Clinton 1974:23n96, 32–33, 46; cf. Clinton 1974:104–106 figs. 11–14; Goette 1989. Honorific statues for *hierophants* set up by the Eleusinian priesthood: Clinton 1974:23–24 (*IG II²* 2944); for other honors awarded to *hierophants*: Clinton 1974:22–27. Myrtle wreaths for other nonpriestly personnel: Woodhead 1997:329 no. 228.

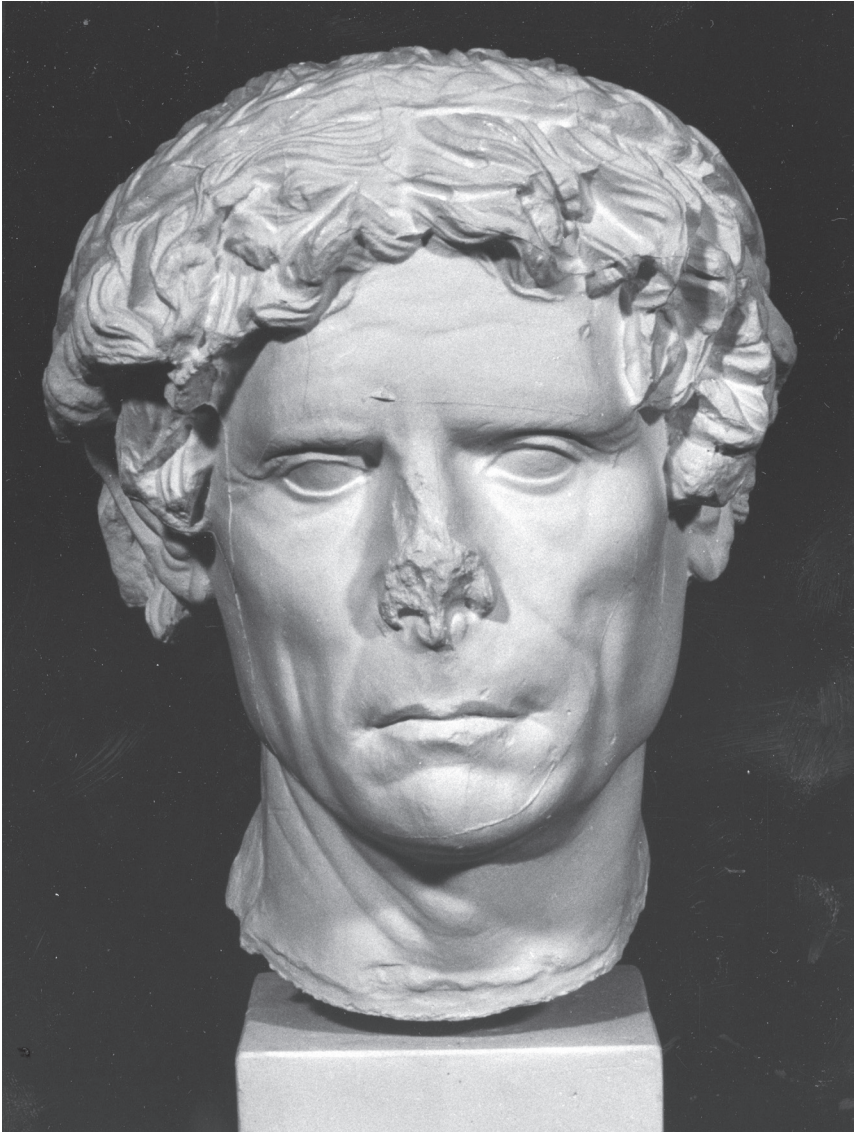


Figure 9a-b. Plaster cast: portrait of a priest (?). From Athens, late third century BC, Athens, National Museum 351. Cast, Munich, Museum für Abgüsse Klassischer Bildwerke 354. Photos, H. Glöckler, courtesy of the Museum für Abgüsse Klassischer Bildwerke, Munich.



century. This is also illustrated by the early Hellenistic statue of Aristonoe, priestess of Nemesis from Rhamnus (fig. 10).⁶⁸ She has a rounded *strophion* in her hair, like the head compared above to Lysimache's portrait. This was apparently a priestly attribute. With a *phialē* in her right hand, Aristonoe is

⁶⁸ Athens National Museum 232: *IG II²* 3462; Mantis 1990:109–110 pl. 47β; Eule 2001:141–143, 185 cat. 57 fig. 63; Petrakos 1999:108 no. 133; Himmelmann 2001:8 fig. 2 (with further bibliography; for a later dating of the inscription: Tracy 1990:165); Kaltsas 2002:274 no. 574; *ThesCRA* 5:29 no. 126 pl. 3. Cf. the early Hellenistic statuette of a herd initiate (?), Eleusis, Museum 111: Mylonas 1961:203 fig. 80; Clinton 1974:104–105 C. It is unclear if the early Hellenistic statue in Athens, National Museum 255 (Kaltsas 2002:256 no. 535), depicted an Eleusianian *dadoukhos* (Geominy 1989:253–264) or the divine Iacchus (Clinton 1992:70, 137 no. 3 fig. 64).



Figure 10. Statue of the priestess Aristonoe (on base, *IG II² 3462*). From Rhamnous, third century BC. Athens, National Museum 232. Institut für Klassische Archäologie, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich.

pouring out a libation; obviously, the temple key was not the only attribute of statues of priestesses in this period. Rather, other utensils and gestures could also underline the cult activities and, by the same token, the *eusebeia* of the depicted person.⁶⁹ Finally, Aristonoe's portrait—and possibly also the male head mentioned above—demonstrates that marble as well as bronze was used for statues of cult personnel in Attic sanctuaries.

During the third century BC, possibly as a reaction to the conspicuous visual demonstration of cult activities by the elite, the practice of setting up images of cult officials on the Acropolis changed its character. For the first time, we now find even statues of less important cult personnel, like the small-scale statue (or relief) of Syeris, the *aged servant* (*diakonos*) of Athena's priestess Lysimache. In view of the epigram inscribed on the base, a Hellenistic date is more convincing for the statue than the identification of Syeris' mistress with the fourth-century priestess Lysimache.⁷⁰ The image was set up by Syeris herself. Her age certainly justified her doing so: old age was a *topos* for the qualification of cult officials (Plato *Laws* 759d). The scale of the image reflected Syeris' minor role in holding a secondary office; furthermore, she was possibly of Egyptian origin. By its comparatively smaller size, the votive also enhanced the high status of the real priestesses, who were visually present in the same sanctuary; indeed, a statue of Syeris' superior was set up not far away (*IG II²* 3455).

It was also in the third century that, for the first time, statues of *arrhēphoroi* were set up on the Acropolis. These four young girls, between seven and eleven years old, were elected every year and lived on the Acropolis for the time of their office. They were in charge of the traditional ritual of the Arrhēphoria (Pausanias 1.27.3); two of them, chosen by the *arkhōn basilēus*, attended to the weaving of Athena's *peplos*.⁷¹ Only the inscribed bases of their bronze statues are preserved. The first of this series belong to the

⁶⁹ Compare the statue of the priestess of Demeter, Niceso, from Priene (Berlin, *Antikensammlung* Sk 1928), who once, as a sign of her function, held a *hydria*(?) on her head: Mantis 1990:98–99 pl. 44β; Kron 1996:146–148 fig. 4; Eule 2001:43–44, 179–180 cat. 43 fig. 71; *ThesCRA* 5:30 no. 131 pl. 3.

⁷⁰ Reisch 1919; Lewis 1955:8 (also for the date); Stewart 1979:115, 118 (epigram); Aleshire 1994:337 note d; Hurwit 1998:356n23; Bielman 2002:22–23; *contra* Mantis 1990:75–76; Holtzmann 2003:221. For an impression of the appearance of the image, cf. the bronze statuette in Reisch 1919 pl. 6. Todisco 1997:121–123 takes the object mentioned here for a relief, and, indeed, the preserved base is much longer than it is deep: Reisch 1919:302. For the earlier priestess Lysimache, see above.

⁷¹ Jordan 1979:28–36; Turner 1983:121–122; Mansfield 1985:260–357; Brulé 1987:79–98; Lefkowitz 1996:78–91; Berger and Gisler-Huwiler 1996:193–194; Donnay 1997; Dillon 2001:57–60; Holtzmann 2003:222, Aleshire, and Lambert 2003:77; Neils, and Oakley 2003:149–151.

second quarter of the third century (*IG II²* 3470, 3471, 3472). Later examples date from the late third through the first century BC (*IG II²* 3461, 3466, 3473, 3488, 3496, 3497), and from the imperial period.⁷² Hence, this is in fact the largest group of portrait statues from the Hellenistic Acropolis. A statue of an *arrhēphoros* was dedicated either to Athena or to Pandrosus, who was related to the Arrhephoria. It was usually set up shortly after the end of the girl's official duties, and her father was the dedicator, thus highlighting the families' rather than the girls' prestige.⁷³ In the fourth century, paying for the *Arrhēphoria* was a *leitourgia* (Lysias 21.5), a privilege of the wealthiest families, while the *arrhēphoroi* themselves had to be of *good birth* (*eugenēs*). This does not refer to a legally defined social group, and may imply nothing more than a long Attic ancestry. Further, the fact that the *arrhēphoroi* were elected is a sign of the originally nonaristocratic character of her office.⁷⁴ Consequently, they were not necessarily members of the *eupatridai*, although they certainly belonged to the middle or upper classes of Athens, who could afford to set up a bronze statue on the Acropolis.⁷⁵ At first glance, it is quite astonishing that, given the traditional prestige of the *arrhēphoroi*, statues of these girls were not set up earlier. However, this development confirms the view that now, in the early Hellenistic period, the practice of demonstrating religious prestige had widened its scope and was adopted by other prosperous groups of Athenians, who used for this purpose the highest office accessible to them.⁷⁶

Statues of other minor cult officials are also known from the Hellenistic Acropolis, such as images of *kanēphoroi*. These girls were slightly older than the *arrhēphoroi* (ten–fifteen years old: Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 642–647) and had to carry the baskets with sacrificial utensils in the various cults in Athens, and at the Panathenaea.⁷⁷ *Kanēphoroi* seem to have been members of the *eupatridai*, witness the sister of Harmodius in the sixth century (Thucydides 6.56),

⁷² List of *testimonia*: Donnay 1997:204–205. For the dates: Aleshire 1994:336 *ad* no. 6–7note f; cf. Donnay 1997:181, 204–205; Mikalson 1998:199, 206, 256 (who postulates a date after 229 for the first statues); Geagan 1994:167–170; Geagan 1996:153–155; von den Hoff 2003:178–179; for the dates of *IG II²* 3470–3472: Tracy 2003:141. *Arrhēphoroi* are not attested with certainty in the cult of Asclepius: Aleshire 1989:90–91; Mikalson 1998:266 *ad IG II²* 974 = SEG 18, 26.18–19.

⁷³ Some fragmentary inscriptions belong to the same series because of their characteristic dedication formula: *IG II²* 3465, 3482, 3486; Donnay 1997:180n11.

⁷⁴ Turner 1983:52–119, 120–128. For the concept of *eugeneia*: Ober 1989:248–259.

⁷⁵ Geagan 1994:170 (“wealthiest”); Donnay 1997:197 (“aristocracy”); Wilson 2000:42–43, with critique in Ober 2000; cf. Feaver 1957:146; Burkert 1976:4; Turner 1983:121–122; Mansfield 1985:270–271. Cf. priests as *eugenetoi*: Demosthenes 57.46, 48.

⁷⁶ Cf. Geagan 1994:170.

⁷⁷ Roccas 1995:641–666; Brulé 1996:47–50; Lefkowitz 1996:78–91; Berger and Gisler-Huwiler 1996:194–195; Dillon 2001:37–42; Neils, and Oakley 2003:17–19, 158.

and the fact that fathers of *kanēphoroi* had *leitourgia* duties in the Athenian Asclepieum.⁷⁸ These fathers were also obliged to pay their daughters' costs, and nominated them without democratic procedure, which is additional evidence for the exclusive nature of this office.⁷⁹ The first Athenian record of a statue of a *kanēphoros* comes from the Acropolis and is dated to the fourth or third century BC (*IG II² 3457*);⁸⁰ the girl was also active as *kanēphoros* in Eleusis. The wreaths on the marble base testify to an official honorific statue;⁸¹ if the early date is correct, then this is the first statue set up by *dēmos* and *boulē* for a cult official on the Acropolis. The second statue of a *kanēphoros* likewise comes from the Acropolis and was an official honor (*IG II² 3477*); it was set up during the second century BC. In contrast to statues of *arrhēphoroi*, then, statues of *kanēphoroi* were rare and not private dedications, but honors granted by the *polis*.⁸² This was due perhaps to the higher social status of the girls and to the financial support which their fathers provided to the *polis* cult. Lycurgus had also been honored for adding to the equipment of the *kanēphoroi* ([Plutarch] *Moralia* 852a–b). To judge from these cases, the *polis* would seem to have occasionally acknowledged the financial engagement of the elite in the cult with honorific statues of elite families' daughters on the Acropolis.⁸³

On the third-century Acropolis, the new statues of minor cult officials like the *arrhēphoroi* signify an increasing and socially more broad-based interest in demonstrating engagement in religious offices—which had been originally an elite privilege—by imitating (originally) elite practices.⁸⁴ They also testify to a new social differentiation. While a broader spectrum of Athenians set up statues—possibly as an imitation of elite practices well established since the fourth century—leading families were less interested in dedicating images of their members who had been only minor cult personnel. Rather, the elite had two other possibilities open to them for asserting their prestige: they dedi-

⁷⁸ Aleshire 1991:90–92.

⁷⁹ Cf. Zopyros: *IG II² 896*, and Wilson 2000:25–26; Ober 2000

⁸⁰ Outside Athens, statues of *kanēphoroi* had existed since the later sixth century, see above nn14, 17. Pliny *Natural History* 34.69 (Praxiteles) does not refer to a *kanēphoros* with certainty: Corso 1988:75; 201n365. For statues of *kanēphoroi* in Athens: Geagan 1994:167–170.

⁸¹ Compare Burnett, and Edmonson 1961, and: *IG II² 3207, 4330*.

⁸² Cf. *IG II² 3489, 3498*; Geagan 1983:155–158 nos. 1–2.

⁸³ Daughters serving as *kanēphoroi* must have enhanced their fathers' prestige: see *IG II² 668.31–33, 896.9–10, i 14–15, 21–28*, where this is mentioned explicitly; cf. Mikalson 1998:198–199.

⁸⁴ Cf. what Ober 1989:259–261, 289–292 has called “democratization” and “subversion” of elite ideals, attested by the desire of many “to portray themselves in the role of aristocrats and their use of terminology that specifically recalls the aristocratic code of behavior” (289). In Athens, this trend may have begun earlier, during the fourth century, in the political arena rather than in the religious context.

cated statues of their high-ranking priests, and they were awarded statues of minor cult officials by the *polis*. At the same time, from the third century onwards, honorific statues of cult personnel granted by the *polis* served to pay honor to their financial rather than merely to their religious engagement. Furthermore, compared to the small number of statues of mostly mature men and women produced in the fourth century, the considerable increase in the number of statues of young female cult officials after this period defined the sanctuary as an especially female space and as a sphere of activity for young Athenian girls. This aspect in turn added an educational dimension to the design of the sanctuary: the holding of cult offices was visually defined as the most prestigious activity of Athenian maidens, while the *ephēbeia* was defined as the most prestigious service of young boys by statues and honors set up in other places during the Hellenistic period. On the Acropolis, a similarly gendered pattern of normative behavior had been displayed in earlier periods, notably by the Archaic *korai* and by the Classical Parthenon frieze, with its clearly distinguished tasks for youths and maidens.

Again, it is quite difficult to decide about the appearance of the new images of *arrhēphoroi* and *kanēphoroi*. Since statues of *kanēphoroi* were still renowned in the imperial period (Pliny *Natural History* 36.25; Cicero *Against Verres* 2.5.5), and since some of the *arrhēphoroi* bases from the Acropolis have artists' signatures, it is probable that Roman copies of such statues are preserved, although they have not yet been identified. One possible candidate is the statue of a maiden in the Glyptothek in Munich (fig. 11), with a replica in San Antonio (fig. 12), recently identified by Christiane Vorster.⁸⁵ The girl appears to be ten–fifteen years old, which would fit either a *kanēphoros* or an *arrhēphoros*. The fact that such a statue of a girl was copied in Roman times suggests its importance either in terms of artistic value or of local fame, which might be explicable if it came from the renowned Athenian Acropolis; female statues in such prominent public places very often depict cult personnel. The slightly-larger-than-life size of the figure, compared with other statues of children, would further signify the importance of the girl.⁸⁶ Finally, the figure

⁸⁵ Munich, Glyptothek 478 (preserved height without plinth: 1.23 m): Hiller 1965:43–46 pl. 20–24; Vorster 1983:78–79, 127–133, 348 no. 51; von den Hoff 2003:179 fig. 4. San Antonio, Museum of Art 85.137.2 (preserved height: 0.66 m): unpublished; Fine Antiquities, Sotheby's New York, Auction 9.12.1985, lot 139; I owe this reference to C. Vorster. The existence of two replicas makes it probable that the Munich statue is a very good Roman copy and not a Hellenistic original, cf. Furtwängler 1907:7.

⁸⁶ Compare the size of statues of children from Brauron, which do not exceed 1.20 m: Vorster 1983 cat.; cf. Sourvinou-Inwood 1988a, for defining the age of girls in statues.



Figure 11. Statue of an *Arrhēphoros* (?). Roman copy after a Greek original of the third century BC. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 478. Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Munich.



Figure 12. Statue of an *Arrhēphoros* (?). Roman copy after a Greek original of the third century BC. San Antonio, TX, San Antonio Museum of Art 85.137.2. Courtesy of the San Antonio (TX) Museum of Art.

resembles the young girl carrying a stool in the Parthenon eastern frieze (East 31; fig. 2), who must be a member of the Acropolis cult personnel, although we do not know which. On stylistic grounds, the statue in Munich has been dated to the third century, which accords well with the date of the earliest *arrhēphoroi* bases. In view of the large number of statues of *arrhēphoroi*, it seems reasonable to identify her as an *arrhēphoros* rather than as a *kanēphoros*.⁸⁷ Hence, although distinct iconographic features are lacking, the statue type from *Munich-San Antonio* could well depict an early Hellenistic statue of one of these maidens, as Vorster has suggested in her dissertation. At least, the resemblance to the figure on the Parthenon frieze makes an identification as a cult official on the Acropolis highly probable. The statue demonstrates that undistinguished dress was still common for female cult personnel in the third century, and that the iconographic tradition created by the Parthenon was still alive in this period.

The images of cult personnel on the Athenian Acropolis during the second and first centuries BC can only be touched on here.⁸⁸ In this period, the total number of honors awarded to cult officials was growing.⁸⁹ As Riet van Bremen has observed for late Hellenistic Asia Minor, the *poles* increasingly took over the role of private dedicators in the cultic sphere.⁹⁰ By the same token, it was the financial engagement of the persons honored which became increasingly important.⁹¹ The *polis* was now anxious to secure adequate funding for the cult, and the prestige associated with cult offices consequently came to be contingent on such engagement. At the same time, Athenian families active in this context intensified the advertisement of their service on behalf of the *polis* by commissioning inscriptions and statues at various places in the city.⁹²

⁸⁷ Identification as a *kanēphoros* can probably be excluded because of the dress: Roccas 1995. A suggested depiction of an *arrhēphoros* which occurs on a fourth-century votive relief (Acropolis Museum 2554; Palagia 1990:351–352 fig. 16; Jenkins 1994:28 fig. 15; I owe these references to Olga Palagia), is not wearing a *himation*, but a *peplos*, though its identification is unclear, cf. von den Hoff 2003:179n51.

⁸⁸ Cf. van Bremen 1996; Eule 2001:125–127 (Asia Minor).

⁸⁹ See only: *IG II²* 689–690, 776, 783 (for the date, see now Tracy 2003:155), 788, 863, *SEG* 33.115; Woodhead 1997:390–391 no. 277; Holtzmann 2003:221; Ma and Tracy 2004, 121–126 (from the *Agora*).

⁹⁰ Van Bremen 1996:174–180.

⁹¹ Cf. *IG II²* 776.17; *IG II²* 788. The frequent honors granted to the priests of Asclepius in the second century BC were possibly due to the fact that this office was a *leitourgia*: Aleshire 1991:72–75; *SEG* 18.21–22, 26–29; Mikalson 1998:203–204, 261–262; cf. *IG II²* 968; Mikalson 1998:258. The growing importance of selling priesthoods could also be mentioned in this context: Turner 1983:141–173; Wörrle 1990:43–49. For the decline in the difference between religious and civic *leitourgiai*: van Bremen 1996:25–34.

⁹² Chrysis, priestess of Athena: Acropolis: *IG II²* 3484; *IG II²* 3485; Delphi: *IG II²* 1136.7, 12, 27–32;

The first honorific statue of a priestess set up by *dēmos* and *boulē* on the Acropolis belongs to this period. It was the portrait of a priestess of Pandrosus, from the *genos* of the Salaminioi, dating from the second century BC (IG II² 3481).⁹³ This portrait added to the visual presence of this family in the most prestigious sanctuary of the *polis*. Furthermore, the relation of Pandrosus to the Arrhephoria underlined the importance of this old and exclusively Attic ritual, which is also revealed by the large number of statues of *arrhēphoroi* on the Acropolis. The new awards of wreaths to the *ergastinai* signify the same interest in traditional and local cult offices in this period (IG II² 1034, 1036, 1060; SEG 28.90).⁹⁴ The fact that even *arrhēphoroi* received official honorific statues on the Acropolis in the first century AD illustrates the continuity of this trend (IG II² 3554, 3556). Since the second century BC, references to local *polis* traditions were also expressed in private votive statues, witness the statue of Philtera, priestess of Athena (IG II² 3474).⁹⁵ Her image expanded the statue group of Eteoboutadae on the Acropolis, but the inscription also mentioned the name of this *genos* for the first time. The text not only reminded the viewer of Philtera's father, who had been *stratēgos*, but also of two of her most renowned (but long dead) ancestors: Lycurgus, the reformer of Classical Athens, and Diogenes, who liberated the *polis* in 229. Thus, family tradition and *polis* tradition became explicitly intertwined, transcending the immediate religious context in which they were publicized. In the high and late Hellenistic period, most of the cult officials honored or depicted on the Acropolis still came from the upper strata of Athenian society, though certainly not exclusively from the wealthiest *eupatridai*.⁹⁶ The increasing number of their images and of documents of honors awarded to them in this sanctuary made very blatant how broad the engagement of these Athenian families in cult affairs was: indeed, Acropolis cults appeared to be practiced and financed almost exclusively by

her father was priest of Asclepius (IG II² 950 = SEG 18.22), her grandfather priest in Eleusis (IG II² 3857); cf. Aleshire 1989:175–176 table 9 (stemma); Mikalson 1998:256. Panariste: *arrhēphoros* and *ergastinē*: IG II² 3488; IG II² 1034 col. II.9; for other members of her family: Clinton 1974:98–101 with no. 1, 13; Mikalson 1998:260. Further examples: Geagan 1983:155–161 nos. 1–2; Mansfield 1985:284–286, 288–289; Geominy 1989:257–258; Mikalson 1998:239; 266; 258; Aleshire 1991:89–92; compare also the multiple offices of *ergastinai*: Tracy 1990:219; Aleshire and Lambert 2003:85–86.

⁹³ Raubitschek 1945:434–435.

⁹⁴ Tracy 1990:217–219. For the *ergastinai*: Mansfield 1985:277–281; Brulé 1987:100–105; Berger, and Gisler-Huwiler 1996:194; Mikalson 1998:256–258; Holtzmann 2003:222; Aleshire, and Lambert 2003.

⁹⁵ Aleshire 1994:336 no. 11; Mikalson 1998:171–172, 206, 256. For the artists: Despinis 1995:333–338; Linnemann 2001.

⁹⁶ Cf. for the *ergastinai*: Aleshire, and Lambert 2003:86.

these affluent Athenians, though they were no longer the monopoly of the *eupatridai*.

Primary visual evidence for the appearance of statues of cult personnel on the Athenian Acropolis is also lacking for the late Hellenistic period. Only images from other contexts can be used in order to obtain an idea of what such portraits may have looked like. The bald head of a man from the Agora, dated to the first century BC, may represent a priest—possibly of Isis—because the *strophion* was very often a priestly attribute.⁹⁷ Beardlessness and verisimilitude adopt fashionable elements of late Hellenistic civic portraiture. We do not know what kind of statue belonged to this head, but grave reliefs from Asia Minor with similar portraits indicate that now priests could wear a common civic *himation*.⁹⁸ This change (earlier, the long *khitōn* was their significant dress) further reduced the visual distance between male cult officials and other citizens, and reveals the incorporation of priestly offices into the civic interests of the *polis*. Unfortunately, we do not know if this was also true in Athens. Nonetheless, the most impressive document of priestly self-representation in this period comes again from Athens, although not from the Acropolis. It is the monumental votive relief which Lacratides, priest in Eleusis, dedicated around 100 BC.⁹⁹ Compared to the portraits we have discussed so far, the dedicator, wearing the *strophion*, appears in a very unusual manner: he has a long beard and long hair, which is in contrast to the contemporary portrait fashion, but which relates his image to portraits from Athens' Classical past. The classicizing style of the relief similarly reminds the viewer of a relationship to the great Classical era of Athenian power. Lacratides is shown standing in the middle of a group of gods and goddesses and is the same size as these

⁹⁷ Athens, Agora Museum S 333: Harrison 1953:12–14 no. 3, 84–85 pl. 3; Stewart 1979:80–81 fig. 24; Smith 1991:257 fig. 326; Pakkanen 1996:55n186. Cf. another late Hellenistic portrait with a wreath, but in Corinth, Archaeological Museum 1445 a: Harrison 1953:13 pl. 43 c (possibly a priest). A survey of the *strophion* as priestly attribute is a *desideratum*. The presence of a *strophion*, however, does not necessarily define a priest: cf. Rumscheid 2000:2–4 and above n47 and n68 for *strophia* as attributes of priestesses. A bald head as a sign of a relation to the cult of Isis: Fittschen 1977:67–69 no. 22; Isis cult in Athens: Pakkanen 1996:47–63; Mikalson 1998:276–277.

⁹⁸ Leiden, *Rijksmuseum* Pb. 27: Pfuhl, and Möbius 1977:93 no. 170 pl. 37; Känel 1989:56–57; Schmidt 1991:83–84, 138 (priest?). Images of priests are otherwise unknown on Hellenistic grave reliefs, but images of priestesses are preserved from Smyrna: Pfuhl, and Möbius 1977:136–138; Känel 1989:57; Mantis 1990:99–101; see also the second-century grave *columellae* with temple keys from Athens: Mantis 1990:44–45.

⁹⁹ Eleusis Museum 5079: Heberdey 1899:111–116; Mylonas 1961:197–199 fig. 71; Stewart 1979:53–55, 78 pl. 23c (head of Lacratides); Palagia 1987:82–83 fig. 1; Clinton 1992:51–53, 135 no. 3 figs. 5–7; Papangeli 2002:243 figs. 246, 253 (head of Lacratides). For the dedicator: Clinton 1974:97 no. 1.

deities. This is neither the pious and humble documentation of *eusebeia* in the service of the *polis*, nor a representation of family traditions—the two principal concerns which stood at the beginning of the development of Attic images of cult personnel. Rather, Lacratides claims a powerful and exceptional individual role as being near to the gods and representing and revitalizing a glorious past.¹⁰⁰

This brings us to the end of the period under investigation. Looking back, it appears that, in the Archaic period, the prestige of cult offices had not been used for visual self-representation and social competition in Athens. Being a priest seems to have been perceived merely as a *technical* duty. Thus, generic rather than individualized images of cult personnel could be neutral signs of civic *eusebeia* in this *polis* in the late fifth century. The radical democracy under Pericles and the following crisis of the Peloponnesian War were the starting points for an individualized competition in the holding of cult offices. At this time, the middle class, eligible only for nonhereditary priesthoods, started to document cult activities in the service of the *polis* through images of priestly figures on grave reliefs. From the fourth century, this competition for prestige was pursued especially by the *eupatridai* through their private dedication of portraits of members of their own family as cult personnel, which were set up on the Acropolis.¹⁰¹ Obviously, the Athenian elite saw their social position challenged and were looking for new ways of maintaining their privileged role in the religious sphere. Social distinctions and gender roles were clearly expressed in these late Classical Athenian images of cult personnel by means of attributes and dress and by their different settings. What we know about the early Hellenistic votive statues of priests on the Acropolis reveals that, for instance, Lycurgus and his sons justified their expertise and prestige by alluding to cult traditions and family genealogy. In the third century, however, Athena's sanctuary saw the demonstration—through portrait statues—of a less exclusive engagement in the field of cult activities by other wealthy Athenian families. Statues of minor cult officials appeared with increasing frequency. This could be read as a sign of a *democratization* of this particular cult space, or at least of a broader conception of who was responsible for this space and of who constituted the religious elite.¹⁰² As in the Archaic period, so also during the third century, the *female* character of the cult of Athena was demonstrated by a large number of statues of young girls in the service of the

¹⁰⁰ A painting of Alcibiades in Nemea's arms on the Acropolis was taken as a sign of *hubris* in the late fifth century; Plutarch *Alcibiades* 16.5.

¹⁰¹ Cf. van Bremen 1996:178; Geagan 1996:155.

¹⁰² Cf. Ober 1989:259–61, 289–292.

goddess. Establishing a relationship to Athens' great past became an important feature of dedications of statues in the high and late Hellenistic period. The *polis* secured the existence of its cults by awarding honors increasingly to those who were financially engaged and not only to those who traditionally inherited religious prestige: being a priest became very much a question of funding cult activities. Wealth had replaced birth as the definition of the elite. Consequently, in the late Hellenistic period, for Lacratides, expertise and family were no longer of primary importance. His prestige was based on wealth—evidenced by the large format of the marble relief—and on claims of individual power and status in reference to the past and the gods. The increasing importance of cult officials as civic donors in the Hellenistic period had made this change possible, as a result of which, new means for self-confident demonstrations of personal prestige became even more necessary.¹⁰³

¹⁰³ Unfortunately, this phenomenon cannot be examined in its relation to other changes in late Hellenistic culture here; cf. various contributions in Wörrle and Zanker 1995.