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## THE ATHENA OF PALMYRA

(Pl. XVII-XXI)

One of the outstanding exhibits\* owned by the Museum of Palmyra is an overlife marble statue of Athena discovered in 1975 amid the ruins of a temple.<sup>1</sup> Surprising among the rich collection of very distinctive Palmyrene sculpture, this piece represents one of the very few imported works of art found on this site, and certainly the biggest and best preserved, in spite of massive and wilful damage it had sustained in Late Antiquity. It appeared at once to be a good copy of a fifth century Athenian work from the circle of Pheidias (Pl. XVII. 1).

The discovery was made in the course of excavation in the sanctuary of Allat, an Arab goddess mentioned by Herodotus, the Qur'an, and many inscriptions in between. Not surprisingly, this warrior patron of nomad tribesmen was identified, when it came to it, with the only constantly armed goddess of Greek mythology.<sup>2</sup> In the inscriptions of her sanctuary in Palmyra she is regularly called either Allat or Athena, depending on the language of the text, Aramaic or Greek.

The first temple of Allat was dedicated about 50 B.C., the date which makes it the oldest extant monument in Palmyra (with the exception of one tomb of mid-second century B.C., preserved within

the grounds of the later sanctuary of Baalshamin). The temple was built in the desert outside the oasis by a certain Mattanai, who appears to have been a great-grandson of the founder of the tomb just mentioned, the patriarch of a clan which was prominent among the worshippers of Allat and of Baalshamin during at least two centuries following the founding of their sanctuaries.<sup>3</sup>

This primitive shrine was a very small and unsophisticated affair, measuring 7.35 m by 5.50 m and opening on a larger side. It enclosed within a tiny chamber a statue of Allat enthroned between two lions and holding a long scepter, thus indistinguishable from Atargatis, the Syrian Goddess *par excellence*.<sup>4</sup> We have this cult image reflected in several minor votive monuments, while all that is materially left in the temple itself is a slab bearing various slots and mortises which can be related to the throne, the lions, and the feet of the statue. This was most likely composite, as stone statuary of the required natural size seems not to have been within the skills of local craftsmen of the time.

About the middle of the second century after Christ the original temple was incorporated in a Classical cella, quite Vitruvian in character and very much like the nearly contemporary temple of Baalshamin, also added in the midst of an older temenos. In the case of Allat, however, the builders did not replace the

\*This paper was written during a stay at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton in 1994/95. I had the opportunity and privilege to consult there Homer A. Thompson and Evelyn B. Harrison, and I am greatly indebted to both of them.

<sup>1</sup> The Polish mission to Palmyra is sponsored by the Centre for Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Warsaw, and led by the present writer. At the time, colleagues from the Rijksuniversiteit te Groningen, Netherlands, were associated in these excavations. Cf. H.J.W. Drijvers, *Das Heiligtum der arabischen Göttin Allât im westlichen Stadtteil von Palmyra*, *Antike Welt* 7.3, 1976, pp. 28-38; M. Gawlikowski, *Le temple d'Allat à Palmyre*, RA 1977, pp. 28-38; idem, *Two Classical Sculptures from Palmyra*, in: *Proceedings of the XI International Congress of Classical Archaeology*, London 1978, p. 290; idem, *Le sanctuaire d'Allat à Palmyre. Aperçu préliminaire*, AAS 33, 1983, pp. 179-198; idem, *Réflexions sur la chronologie du sanctuaire d'Allat à Palmyre*, DaM 1, 1983, pp. 59-67.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. J. Starcky, *Allath, Athéna et la déesse syrienne*, in: *Mythologie gréco-romaine. Mythologies périphériques* (Colloque CNRS 593), Paris 1981, pp. 119-130; LIMC I, pp. 564-570; also M. Gawlikowski, *Les dieux de Palmyre*, in: ANRW II, 18.4, 1990, pp. 2639-2644.

<sup>3</sup> M. Gawlikowski, *Le premier temple d'Allat*, in: *Resurrecting the Past. A Joint Tribute to Adnan Bounni*, Leiden 1990, pp. 101-108; idem, *Allat et Baalshamin*, in: *Mélanges d'histoire ancienne et d'archéologie offerte à Paul Collart*, Lausanne 1976, pp. 197-203.

<sup>4</sup> H.J.W. Drijvers, *De matre inter leones sedente. Iconography and Character of the Arab Goddess Allât*, in: *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren*, I (EPRO 68), Leiden 1978, pp. 331-351.



outmoded chapel but respected it scrupulously, going to such pains as to undercut the ground beneath in order to insert the foundations of their temple. Inside, the walls of the new cella touched the old ones with little or no interference. The new building was of course larger, measuring 18.40 m by 9.20 m on the low podium (Pl. XVII. 2). It had four prostyle columns and one on each side towards the antae, standing on a raised stylobate surrounding a slightly lower pavement of the pronaos. The outer walls were articulated with pilasters. The temple included a formerly open paved space in front of the old shrine, complete with the altar piously if incongruously conserved under a roof, some 70 cm below the outer stylobate level.<sup>5</sup>

The marble Athena dates approximately to the same period. As the marble is Pentelic, it would seem most natural that the statue was ordered in Athens, and was meant for the temple built about the same time. It is clear, however, that the primitive idol remained the main object of veneration. Consequently, the new statue must have been assigned to a less prominent position, perhaps on one of the lateral benches in front of the original building which has become the adyton within the new cella.<sup>6</sup>

The prosperity of the caravan city came to an abrupt end in A.D. 272 in the wake of the unfortunate attempt of Queen Zenobia. Even if Palmyra did not cease to exist as a city, and the destruction by the Roman troops was far from wholesale, the sanctuary of Allat, exposed at the western outskirts of the town, suffered heavy damage. In particular, the old shrine was entirely pulled down and the primitive statue disappeared. The walls of the cella survived, however, and so, somehow, did the marble Athena.

The largely empty neighborhood of the sanctuary was soon taken over to accommodate a legionary camp, part of the Syrian *limes* designed under Diocletian.<sup>7</sup> The *principia* were dedicated ca. 300, and the site is known today as Diocletian's Camp, but some military facilities could have been installed there immediately after the sack. At any rate, the cult of the sanctuary was restored without delay with such means as were available.

As the old shrine was then beyond repair, its site was levelled so as to preserve in a kind of massive

platform at the rear end of the temple at least some broken relics. Four small columns, borrowed from some ruined buildings, were set up in front of this platform at levels varying to make up for their unequal shafts (Pl. XVII. 2). They formed a canopy above the statue of Athena, only then promoted to the dignity of the cult image. To what extent she was still identified with Allat, rather than Minerva of the Roman army, remains a moot question in absence of contemporary inscriptions. What we know is that the temple was attended, presumably by soldiers of the Christian Empire, until it was sacked for the second time in the 380s, as testified by coin finds. The Athena was broken to pieces which remained mostly scattered on the floor as they fell, among many votive lamps typical of the 4th century. Unfortunately, some parts of the statue are missing.

Enough has survived to show that we have here an outstanding replica in the best Hadrianic or early Antonine tradition.<sup>8</sup> The copyist has left no traces of the running drill, and insisted on shadow effects of deep-cut folds of the drapery, as contrasted with the smooth surface of exposed parts; the surviving eye has the pupil marked with a small round cavity.<sup>9</sup> The torso was lying face down and the folds of the drapery are preserved reasonably well, unlike the back which has to be exposed to the elements for quite a time and is badly eroded (Pl. XVIII a). It was found in one piece 1.60 m high, broken just below the left knee and half-way down to the right foot (Pl. XVIII b-c). Ably restored by the sculptor Józef Gazy, then of the National Museum in Warsaw, it is now set on a block of white local limestone in which a plinth and the outline of the missing lower parts are sketched (Pl. XVII. 1). One vertical splinter of the drapery with the tip of the right big toe was identified. It is too narrow to make an assured link, but it helped to determine the proper height of the restored statue (the left knee is now 68 cm above the plinth). The head was made separately with a massive tenon, as was the usual practice with Roman copies. The tenon was actually found still fixed in its mortise, while the head itself had to be reassembled from seven other fragments (Pl. XIX a-b). The nose is chipped off together with most of the lips, one eye and some less visible parts have been restored, and there are many lesser breaks and chips. All together, the statue stands now 2.14 m from foot to the top of the helmet, not counting some 10 cm more for the sphinx sitting in

<sup>5</sup> For a preliminary history of the sanctuary, see Gawlikowski, AAS 33, 1983, pp. 179–198. The publication is in final stages of preparation.

<sup>6</sup> For Classical statues in the Roman East, cf. A. Linfert, *Phidias im Rauhen Kilikien*, ZPE 41, 1981, pp. 253–255, and *Pseudo-Clementine I*, 12.12.1 (p. 180 Rehm) on works of Phidias to be seen on the island of Arados.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. M. Gawlikowski, *Palmyre VIII. Les principia de Dioclétien* ("Temple des Enseignes"), Varsovie 1984.

<sup>8</sup> Beside the quoted preliminary papers, the statue is illustrated in LIMC I, Allath 28, and commented upon by A.J.N.W. Prag, *New Copies of the Athena Parthenos from the East*, in: *Parthenon-Kongress Basel*, Mainz 1984, pp. 182–187.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. H. Lauter, *Zur Chronologie römischer Kopien nach Originalen des V. Jahrhunderts*, Diss. Bonn 1966.



the center of the headgear. With the three crests complete, the figure must have measured some 2.5 m above the plinth (now modern).

The right shoulder was found separately in a different location and it was a very opportune find because it enabled the restorer to fix the unconnected part of the right arm with the elbow and the hand, as well as, by means of some struts, the hanging cloak (Pl. XIX c). The left shoulder and side were broken off with one stroke and never found. Fortunately, two fingers of the left hand holding the shield-strap as well as a fragment of the rim of the shield itself have survived among the identifiable fragments, thus assuring the position of the shield on the arm and not at the foot.

Athena is standing on her right leg, her left being bent and moved a little back and to the side. The head is very slightly turned to her proper left. She wears an Attic peplos with a generous apoptygma, girdled with two intertwined serpents and crossed by a narrow, folded aegis. The right arm was raised and held a spear, the left grasped a shield, combat-ready. The goddess is therefore not another copy of the Pheidias Parthenos, but wears nevertheless an Attic helmet adorned with all the attributes usually and indisputably associated with this type.

The round helmet has a short offset neck-guard, supported by a heavy bunch of hair. The central winged sphinx sitting on her hind legs atop the helmet was broken off, but could be replaced; her breast and head are missing. Two other animals adorned the sides of the helmet. Of the animal to the right there remains the fore part with front legs outstretched, and of its left counterpart only the outline; both were apparently pegasoi. A rampant griffin is represented on the right, partly preserved *paragnathis* or cheek-piece, of the other only hind legs remain. The brow-line of the helmet is nearly straight over the front, except for a short tip in the middle over the root of the nose. Above there is a heavy protruding band (*stephanē*) fixed between the cheek-pieces and adorned with thirteen *protomai* of hoofed animals, alternately winged and unwinged; their heads are broken, but there is little doubt that they represented pegasoi and does, as should be expected. Some curls of hair appear on the temples from beneath the helmet and find their way over the rim of the headgear and behind the cheek-pieces, while two long wavy locks emerge on each side from beneath the neck-guard and rest on the drapery in front proving, if need be, that the head and the body belong together.

There is no need to insist that all these details of the head conform closely with the most reliable copies so far identified of the Pheidias chryselephantine colossus in the Parthenon and with the description of Athena Parthenos by Pausanias, as far as the text

allows.<sup>10</sup> The excellent monograph of Neda Leipen supplemented by more recent contributions, especially the publication of the recently acquired copy of Athena Parthenos, now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, make such demonstration redundant.<sup>11</sup> It suffices to say that among all extant replicas the one from Palmyra presents the highest number of animals on the *stephanē* and so is probably closest to the prototype.<sup>12</sup> The full, yet youthful face, though disfigured, also resembles closely the traits of the best copies, such as the head in Berlin.<sup>13</sup> The head is that of Athena Parthenos without a shred of doubt.

Not so however the body. While the stance of the figure and the arrangement of the peplos, with its bountiful *kolpos*, the twin serpents as the belt, the deep vertical folds about the right leg, the indented hem of the *apoptygma*, all find close parallels in recognised copies of the Parthenos, some other features differ from them radically. Already at first glance, the aegis of the Palmyra statue sets a discordant tone. On closer inspection, the movement of both arms appears also incompatible with the Parthenos posture: not only the right hand held a spear instead of the Nike figure, but the left brandished a shield instead of just retaining it against the leg. Well illustrated by coins, the goddess in such stance is referred to as Athena Promachos, though differing from the most famous statue usually so described.<sup>14</sup>

Instead of the large, cuirass-like aegis covering the breast of Athena, not only the Parthenos but also of most other statuary types, the Athena of Palmyra wears a folded-over sash across the chest from the right shoulder. Both edges of it are fitted with twisted serpents, and a grotesque Gorgo head is fixed in the middle like a brooch. The aegis is no longer a piece of armor, but rather an attribute far removed from the form and function of the archaic goat hide.

Not that this is novel in itself. Among several instances of the diagonal aegis that will be shortly

<sup>10</sup> Paus. 1.24.5 (SQ 649).

<sup>11</sup> N. Leipen, *Athena Parthenos. A Reconstruction*, Royal Ontario Museum 1971; C.C. Vermeule III, *Athena of the Parthenon by Pheidias: A Graeco-Roman Replica of the Roman Imperial Period*, Journal of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1, 1989, pp. 41–59.

<sup>12</sup> So already Prag, *op. cit.*, remarking that with 13 animals alternating, a winged creature falls at each end and in the middle. Among known copies, the "Minerve au collier" has 11 animals, and others less. Prag considers our statue a free copy of Athena Parthenos, but true in this detail.

<sup>13</sup> C. Blümel, *Katalog der Sammlung antiker Skulpturen IV*, Berlin 1931, pp. 31–32, pl. 58–59; cf. Leipen, *op. cit.*, no. 24, fig. 16–17.

<sup>14</sup> On Promachos, see P. Demargne, LIMC II, pp. 1020–1021, 1029–1030, 1040–41; no. 145; cf. J.N. Svoronos, *Corpus of Ancient Coins of Athens*, Chicago 1975 (ed. B. Pick), pl. 84. 26–28 and 86. 1–29, 31–39.



discussed, one is particularly telling. A torso found on the Athenian Agora agrees point by point, at least so far as preserved, with the Palmyra statue (Pl. XX. 1).<sup>15</sup> While the arms are broken, it is clear that the right one was extended sidewise, the forearm presumably raised, and a folded cloak is thrown on the shoulder in just the same way on both sculptures. The preserved torso is 49.5 cm high, exactly as much as the corresponding part of the more complete Palmyra statue, measured from the cloak folds on the right shoulder down to a point just below the girdle. Both sculptures are 39 cm thick.<sup>16</sup> The only differences to be observed consist in the girdle, which on the Agora piece is simply a double string, and the absence of the side locks on the shoulders. As the torso in Athens is certainly a late 5th century original, there is no reason to regard the Palmyra statue as anything but a direct copy of it.

If so, we have recovered, in the tradition of 19th century scholarship, no less than another Classical masterpiece. Alternatively, we would have here a Roman hybrid: the head of the Pheidias Parthenos, the body of some other Athenian statue. There is no reason why an Antonine copyist would not proceed to a pasticcio of two works of the Classical period, should his taste, or the requirements of his client, suggest such a course. On the other hand, I do not see any general considerations which would favor this mixed solution as against a straightforward copy. The Agora torso does not provide any clues as to the type of headgear or the peplos arrangement below the waist, which would differ from the Palmyra statue. The question, quite simply, can be reduced to this: could one of the pupils and successors of Pheidias reproduce the head of the Parthenon statue in a creation of his own?

Meanwhile not only the triple-crested Attic helmet as an attribute of Athena, but also the diagonal aegis can be reasonably considered a personal invention of Pheidias. The first instance of this feature appears in

the West Pediment of the Parthenon: the brisk movement of Athena leaning away from the center of the composition could favor there a light sash over the ponderous traditional aegis (Pl. XX. 2).<sup>17</sup> It is certain that the head of the goddess was prepared to accommodate a round Attic helmet in metal; we have no means of knowing how far the bronze fittings once attached to it resembled the ornaments of the Parthenos statue, but there is indirect evidence for three crests there too.<sup>18</sup>

It is obvious that the pediment sculptures were the work of a team and in the same time carefully designed by a single person. That person could be only Pheidias himself, who, however, left Athens some time during the years 438–432 when the pediment groups were being executed.<sup>19</sup> The West Pediment Athena was thus conceived by the great master, together with the peculiar aegis, but executed probably by one of his collaborators.<sup>20</sup> Whether this was Alkamenes, Agorakritos, Paionios or Kolotes, or yet another sculptor entirely forgotten, is a question no scholarly argument can pretend to solve, the personalities of the artists being largely a matter of speculation and the sculptures themselves sadly incomplete. The only assured work of Agorakritos, the Rhamnous Nemesis, merely “warns us – so Evelyn Harrison – to be more cautious in using the sculptures of the Par-

<sup>17</sup> The fragmentary torso is in the British Museum, the head and several minor fragments in the Akropolis Museum; cf. F. Brommer, *Die Skulpturen der Parthenon-Giebel*, Mainz 1963, pp. 39–40, pl. 97–101; idem, *Studien zu den Parthenongiebeln V*, AM 84, 1969, pp. 116–117, pl. 49, with ref.; LIMC II, Athena 234, pp. 978–979.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. E. Berger, AntK 19, 1976, p. 124, pl. 29 and AntK 20, 1977, pp. 126–134, for the reconstruction in the Skulpturhalle at Basel (height 3 m without the crest). For the original, see most recently O. Palagia, *The Pediments of the Parthenon*, Leiden 1993, pp. 45–46. For reflections on painted vases, cf. E. Simon, *Die Mittelgruppe im Westgiebel des Parthenon*, in: *Tainia (Festschrift R. Hampe)*, Mainz 1980, pp. 239–256, pl. 51–54.

<sup>19</sup> On the uncertain date of Pheidias' trial, cf. E.B. Harrison, *The Composition of the Amazonomachy on the Shield of Athena Parthenos*, Hesperia 35, 1966, p. 110 s.

<sup>20</sup> So all earlier authorities, following Plutarch, *Pericles* 13, and a clear majority of recent authors ever since B. Schweitzer, *Phidias der Parthenon-Meister*, JdI 55, 1940, pp. 170–241. The hypercritical attitude of H. Schröder, *Phidias*, Frankfurt 1924, was recently emulated by N. Himmelmann, *Phidias und die Parthenon-Skulpturen*, in: *Bonner Festgabe Johannes Straub*, BJB-BH 39, 1977, pp. 67–90, without forcing conviction, cf. A.H. Borbein, *Phidias-Fragen*, in: *Beiträge zur Ikonographie und Hermeneutik. Festschrift für N. Himmelmann*, Mainz 1989, pp. 99–107. On the other hand, E. Buschor, *Phidias der Mensch*, München 1948, p. 42, would attribute the West Pediment Athena directly to Pheidias. See Brommer, *Skulpturen*, pp. 131–135, and most recently Palagia, *op. cit.*, pp. 40–59, pl. 10–11. Ancient authors on Pheidias' pupils: Plin., *NH* 34.72, 36.16; Paus. 9.34.1.

<sup>15</sup> Inv. S 654. Cf. T. L. Shear, AJA 40, 1936, pp. 196–7, fig. 14; W.B. Dinsmoor Sr., *Hesperia* 9, 1940, p.1, n. 4; H.A. Thompson, *The Athenian Agora. A Guide*<sup>3</sup>, 1976, pp. 201–202, fig. 104; LIMC II, Athena 244, p. 980. See also B. Schlörb, *Untersuchungen zur Bildhauergeneration nach Phidias*, Waldsassen 1964, p. 35, pl. 3 (also back view): ascribed to Agorakritos; E. Berger, AntK 10, 1967, p. 87, n. 29; A. Delivorrias, *Attische Giebelkulpturen und Akrotere des 5. Jhs. v. Chr.*, Tübingen 1974, p. 97, n. 432, p. 108 (to Alkamenes); P. Karanastassis, *Untersuchungen zur kaiserzeitlichen Plastik in Griechenland. II. Varianten und Umbildungen nach Athena-Typen des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, AM 102, 1987, pp. 323–428.

<sup>16</sup> The dimensions of the Agora torso were kindly provided by Evelyn B. Harrison from the original excavation record. The width (61.3 cm) cannot be compared directly, as the left side of the Palmyra statue is missing.



thenon as evidence for the personal style of Pheidias, as distinguished from those of his associates".<sup>21</sup>

The motive of the sash aegis gained instantly wide popularity. Setting aside a major but later creation known as Athena Charchel,<sup>22</sup> a contemporary parallel to the Agora torso is provided by the "angelehnte" Athena, leaning on her huge shield.<sup>23</sup> However, closer parallels to the Palmyra sculpture are found in several statuettes found on the Athenian Acropolis.<sup>24</sup> While all of them are most probably Roman copies, and quite free to boot, there is no doubt that their common original dated back to the late 5th or early 4th centuries.<sup>25</sup> The only one with partly preserved head wore an Attic helmet; both arms are missing, but the counterpoise in comparison to the Palmyra copy is inverted there (Pl. XXI. 1). Others follow more closely the arrangement of drapery of the Palmyra statue, including the cloak on the right shoulder (Pl. XXI. 2). They point to the existence of a Classical statue of Athena inspired by the West Pediment figure. We need look no further for it than in the Agora Museum, where the prototype of the Palmyra Athena is kept.

<sup>21</sup> E.B. Harrison, *Lemnia and Lemnos: Sidelights on a Pheidian Athena*, in: *Kanon. Festschrift Ernst Berger*, Basel 1988, pp. 101–107.

<sup>22</sup> LIMC II, Athena 251. Long thought to be Hephaistia, after E. Reisch, *ÖJh* 1, 1898, pp. 58–99, and S. Karouzou, *Alkamenes und das Hephaisteion*, *AM* 69/70, 1954/55, p. 77; against it (and for Athena Farnese), E. Langlotz, *Alkamenes-Probleme*, Berliner Winckelmanns-programm 108, 1952, pp. 9–12, and E.B. Harrison, *Alkamenes' Sculptures from the Hephaisteion: Part I. The Cult Statues*, *AJA* 81, 1977, pp. 137–178 (for Athena Velletri); cf. also Delivorrias, *Attische Giebelskulpturen*, p. 16, n. 52; idem, *Sparagmata. Aus der klassischen Ikonographie der Athena*, in: *Archaische und klassische griechische Plastik* (DAI Athen-Colloquium II), Mainz 1986, pp. 149–154, pl. 133–134; O. Palagia, *Ερῶθημα ... ἃ ντὶ κρόνου*. In *Defence of Furtwängler's Athena Lemnia*, *AJA* 91, 1987, pp. 81–84.

<sup>23</sup> C. Praschniker, *Die 'angelehnte' Athena*, in: *Antike Plastik. Festschrift Walther Amelung*, Berlin-Leipzig 1928, pp. 176–181; S. Karouzou, *Two Statues on a Vase*, in: *Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann*, N. York 1964, pp. 153–159, and *Encore une reproduction de "l'Angelehnte Athena"*, *ET* 13, 1983, pp. 155–160. Cf. E. Berger, *AntK* 10, 1967, p. 85, pl. 24.8, and M. Mangold, *Athenatypen auf attischen Weihreliefs des 5. und 4. Jhs. v. Chr.*, Bern 1993, pp. 47–50; LIMC II, Athena 249.

<sup>24</sup> First published by C. Praschniker, *Aus dem Depot des Akropolismuseums I. Athene Gestalten*, *ÖJh* 37, 1948, pp. 5–30, p. 20 s., fig. 12 (no. 2311+2161, with helmeted head); fig. 13 (no. 2310), fig. 14a (no. 2808+2811); also I. Beyer, *AM* 89, 1974, pp. 123–149, pl. 55 (no. 1337); no. 7237 (unpublished). Cf. Karanastassis, *op. cit.*, pp. 369–381, pl. 50–51 (catalogue of copies).

<sup>25</sup> Cf., however, O. Palagia, *AJA* 91, 1987, pp. 81–84, considering the statuette Akropolis 1337 as a 5th century reflection of a contemporary major work; Beyer, *op. cit.*, holds it for a Roman copy of an East pediment figure.

If we accept the principle of supplementing the parts missing in the Agora torso from the Palmyra copy, we shall obtain indeed a very Pheidian figure. It is even possible that a 2nd century description of Athena as Pheidias made her might refer to a statue with a diagonal ("girded over") aegis.<sup>26</sup> Only a sculptor intimately familiar with the work of Pheidias and directly participating in it could have taken over the helmet, the peplos with *apoptygma*, and the sash aegis, and incorporate them all into his own creation. The first free renderings of the Parthenos in sculpture appear only a century later, and then only in relief on the decree stelae, while in statuary not before the Pergamon series.<sup>27</sup>

The alternative to this would make of the Palmyra statue an Antonine hybrid creation, and the close coincidence with the torso from the Agora would be just accidentally limited to the preserved part of it. Indeed, the two sculptures differ by the presence in the Palmyra copy of two unmistakably Pheidian features: the serpent girdle and the locks falling on shoulders. It could be surmised, then, that the Parthenos head is added as well. There are naturally many Roman variants of Athena, especially from the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus, and ours would be just another.<sup>28</sup> If I do not think so, that is because the Attic helmet stands out both in the West Pediment prototype of the sash aegis Athena and in the Roman statuette from the Acropolis, both close to the Agora torso and lacking as it does the shoulder locks and the serpent girdle. On the other hand, Roman copies of the Athena Parthenos tend to be true to their model in factual details, if obviously not in more subtle ways, and very understandably so: the celebrity of the Pheidian masterpiece made tampering with it self-defeating. In our case we would have a copy of the Parthenos with an aberrant type of aegis and a different stance. Who, in Athens or in Palmyra, would have insisted to have a copy with a difference? It seems more likely that the copyist followed the Agora original, but outbid it with a Pheidian touch.

<sup>26</sup> Maximus Tyrius 14.6 (SQ 659): ... παρθένον καλήν, γλαυκώπιν, ὑψηλήν, αἰγίδα ἀνεξωσμένην, κόρυν φέρουσαν, δόρυ ἔχουσαν, ἄσπίδα ἔχουσαν.

<sup>27</sup> For the stelae, cf. now Mangold, *op. cit.*, pp. 32–35; for the "Schrägägis Athena" from Pergamon, A. Ippel, *AM* 37, 1912, p. 313, pl. 24. Cf. G. Krahe, *Nachahmung des V. Jh. in pergamenischen Statuen*, *RM* 40, 1925, pp. 67–106; M. Gernand, *Hellenistische Peplosfiguren nach klassischen Vorbildern*, *AM* 90, 1975, pp. 17–24, pl. 12.

<sup>28</sup> For those found in Greece, see Karanastassis, *op. cit.*, pp. 323–339. Add L. Jones Roccas, *Athena from the House on the Areopagus*, *Hesperia* 60, 1991, pp. 397–410, pl. 107–112. A statuette similar to the Acropolis 2808+2811 comes from Rimini: F. Poulsen, *Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture in the NCG*, I, Copenhagen 1951, p. 98, no. 106 (head is modern).



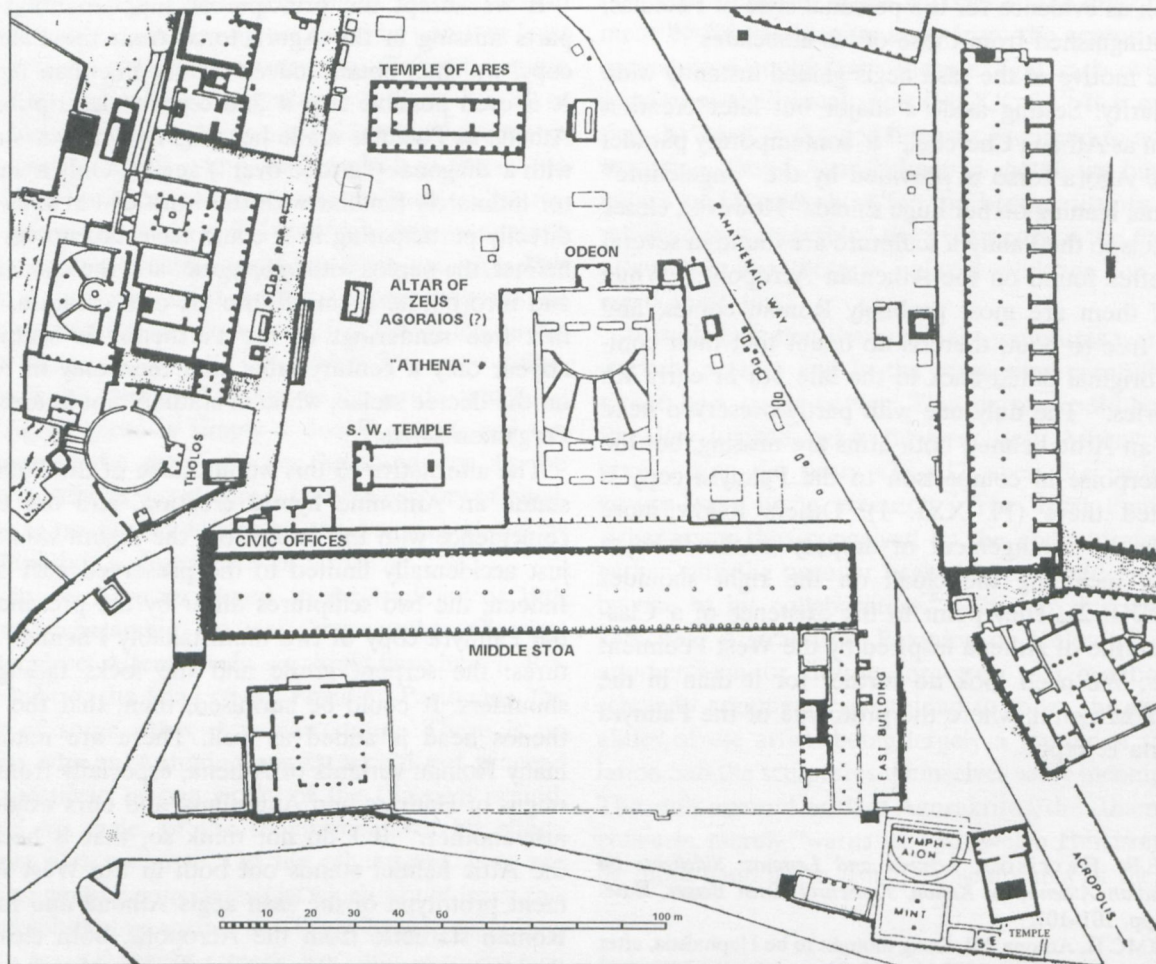


Fig. 1. Location of the three "floating temples" on the Agora. The find spot of the Agora torso marked „Athena” (After Dinsmoor Jr.)

Before going any further, it is necessary to give a closer consideration to the possible identity of the Agora torso, as this may help in assessing our dilemma. The sculpture was found in 1935 and first considered to be probably Athena Boulaia, because of the proximity of Bouleuterion. Soon, however, the proposition of Homer Thompson, expressed in subsequent editions of his *Guide*, to the effect that the Agora torso comes from the temple of Ares, gained a wide acceptance. Even though it was found not 18 m but 47 m to the South of that temple, as eventually corrected from the excavation files (Fig. 1),<sup>29</sup> the sculpture was at any rate reused in a late wall, and neither of the two locations is for that reason more likely than the other, or indeed a third one, for instance somewhere in the late "Palace of the Giants", to which the find spot was really close.<sup>30</sup>

Thompson's identification is primarily inferred not from the ambiguous argument of the finding place, but from the testimony of Pausanias about the Ares temple.

Pausanias' guidebook mentions in and about the temple a whole array of sculpture: "Near the statue of Demosthenes is a sanctuary of Ares, where are placed two images of Aphrodite, one of Ares made by Alcamenes, and one of Athena made by a Parian of the name of Locrus. There is also an image of Enyo, made by the sons of Praxiteles. About the temple stand images of Heracles, Theseus, Apollo binding his hair with a fillet..."<sup>31</sup> The passage has been subject to thorough scrutiny and extensive speculation in the great German tradition of 19th century archaeology. As first proposed by Conze in 1869, it is most often considered, on the authority of Furtwängler, that the statue of Ares by Alcamenes is best

<sup>29</sup> W. B. Dinsmoor Jr., *Hesperia* 51, 1982, p. 437, fig. 1.

<sup>30</sup> I owe this suggestion to E.B. Harrison. If so, the statue could have been placed there only after ca. 410.

<sup>31</sup> Paus. 1.8.4 (1959, Loeb).



represented by the Ares Borghese.<sup>32</sup> This was contested by Langlotz, in favor of another type of Ares, which he proposed to associate with the statue of Athena represented by the torso Medici (also known as Minerva Ingres), attributed to Agorakritos.<sup>33</sup> Two most outstanding pupils of Pheidias would thus have worked together for the temple of Ares, as they could have done before on the Parthenon.

Though displaying an inverted symmetry and otherwise different from the Parthenos and some related types including the Palmyra copy, the Athena Medici, as completed with the head Carpegna, was covered by a helmet which could have been practically identical when supplied with bronze adornments.<sup>34</sup> The original of this type is now generally attributed to Pheidias himself.<sup>35</sup> As proposed by Becatti, it would have stood on the Acropolis, referred to in one source as the "little Parthenos".<sup>36</sup> This proposal has not been commonly accepted, and recently it has been argued that the Athena Medici might in fact reproduce the Pheidian Lemnia.<sup>37</sup> In any case it is clear that this probably acrolithic statue was widely popular and often copied in the course of the 2nd century after Christ. It could hardly have been attributed by Pausanias, about the same time, to a sculptor whom no other extant source cared to mention.

Curiously, the wide acceptance of the Agora torso as representing Athena from the temple of Ares did not prevent some scholars from attributing it to Agorakritos,<sup>38</sup> formerly presumed by Langlotz to be the author of Athena Areia as purportedly reflected in

the Medici type. There is no reason at all to treat the original of the Medici Athena and the Agora torso as the works of the same hand, and even less to attribute them to the sculptor of the Rhamnountine Nemesis.<sup>39</sup> It is wiser to keep the text of Pausanias as it stands.

The discovery of the temple of Ares brought the revelation that it did not stand in the Agora from the beginning.<sup>40</sup> The fact of transfer itself is beyond doubt and, while there is nothing to corroborate the otherwise sensible idea of Dinsmoor Sr. about the temple being brought from the site of the Roman Agora not far away, the original siting at Acharnai seems reasonably certain.<sup>41</sup> Not only the principal sanctuary of Ares in Attica was there, firmly attested by local documents in the course of the 4th century B.C. and, for the last time, about the turn of the Christian era, but it apparently disappeared before the time of Pausanias who listed the cults of Acharnai without ever mentioning Ares. Moreover, the sanctuary at Acharnai had also known the cult of Athena Areia, instituted in the 4th century.<sup>42</sup> Parallel to the Acharnian dedication to Ares and Augustus there is one from Athens to the "New Ares" incarnated in Caius Caesar, and so dated most probably to B.C. 2, the year C. Caesar visited Athens, immediately after taking part in the dedication of the Mars Ultor temple in Rome. Both inscriptions are probably linked with the removal of the 5th century temple to Athens.<sup>43</sup>

Other temples in or near the Athenian Agora were apparently in the same situation. A number of Classical architectural members reused in early Roman times, and again after 267, have been tentatively attributed to foundations of two utterly destroyed buildings known as the SW Temple and the SE Temple (Fig. 1). One set of these stones was Doric,

<sup>32</sup> A. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik*, Leipzig-Berlin 1893, pp. 121–122 (quoting A. Conze, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der griechischen Plastik*, Halle 1869, p. 9, n. 2).

<sup>33</sup> E. Langlotz, *Alkamenes-Probleme*, Berliner Winckelmanns-programm 108, 1952, p. 14, n. 27; for Ares in Palazzo Borghese, Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, p. 126, fig. 24; LIMC II, Ares/Mars 22.

<sup>34</sup> Restored by W. Amelung, *Athena des Phidias*, *ÖJh* 11, 1908, pp. 169–211; cf. *idem*, *Zum Kopftypus der Athena Medici*, *RM* 40, 1925, pp. 137–138; G. Libertini, *Atena d'Efeso*, *RM* 40, 1925, pp. 125–135; S. Pelikidis, *Ο τύπος της Αθηνᾶς τῶν Μεδικῶν*, *ADelt* 9, 1924/25, pp. 121–128 (head and fragments of a statue in Thessaloniki).

<sup>35</sup> LIMC II, Athena 172, Minerva 144. Cf. A. Frickenhaus, *JdI* 28, 1913, pp. 341–369, p. 360 (Athena of Elis, by either Pheidias or Kolotes); H. Thiersch, *Die Athena Areia des Phidias und der Torso Medici in Paris*, *Nachr. d. Ak. d. Wiss. in Göttingen NF II*, 10, 1938, p. 211 s. (Areia of Plataiai, by Pheidias); F. Chamoux, *Le type de la Minerve Ingres*, *BCH* 68/69, 1944/45, pp. 206–215.

<sup>36</sup> G. Becatti, *Problemi fidiaci*, Milano-Firenze 1951, pp. 175–184, pl. 87.

<sup>37</sup> Harrison, *Lemnia and Lemnos*, pp. 101–107.

<sup>38</sup> B. Freyer, *Zum Kultbild und zum Skulpturenschmuck des Arestempels auf der Agora in Athen*, *JdI* 77, 1962, pp. 211–226, p. 220, n. 21; Schlörb, *op. cit.*, pp. 34–36.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. G.I. Despinis, *Συμβολή στη μελέτη του έργου του Ἀγορακρίτου*, Athens 1971, pp. 187–188, attributing the Agora torso to Lokros of Paros.

<sup>40</sup> W.B. Dinsmoor Sr., *The Temple of Ares at Athens*, *Hesperia* 9, 1940, pp. 1–52; M.H. McAllister, *The Temple of Ares at Athens*, *Hesperia* 28, 1959, pp. 1–64; H. A. Thompson, *The Itinerant Temples of Attica*, *AJA* 66, 1962, p. 200; *Agora XIV*, pp. 162–165.

<sup>41</sup> In spite of objections by K. J. Hartswick, *The Ares Borghese Reconsidered*, *RA* 1990, pp. 227–283 (p. 262), founded solely on lack of 5th century evidence.

<sup>42</sup> L. Robert, *Etudes épigraphiques et philologiques*, Paris 1938, pp. 293–296, pl. 1; G. Daux, *Deux stèles d'Acharnes*, in: *Charisterion A.K. Orlandos I*, Athens 1965, pp. 78–90; J. Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie der antiken Attika*, Tübingen 1988, p. 1, fig. 4–5. The negative testimony of Pausanias, 1.31.6. For Areia, see also LIMC II, Ares 65.

<sup>43</sup> IG II 2, 2953 (Acharnai/Menidi) and IG II 2, 3250 (theater at Athens). For the date, see G.W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the East: the Problem of the Succession*, *Studies on the Eastern Roman Empire*, Goldbach 1994, pp. 170–175 (originally published in F. Millar – E. Segal, eds., *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects*, Oxford 1984, pp. 169–188).



including columns taken from the unfinished peripteros at Thorikos, and another Ionic, brought from the temple of Athena at Sounion. There was clearly no attempt to reproduce at the new location the architectural form of either the peristasis of Thorikos or the asymmetric colonnade of the Sounion temple.<sup>44</sup>

Thompson proposed to assign the Doric elements in the lower courses of the Post-Herulian wall to the nearby SE Temple, where parts of a colossal draped female statue were found, and ascribed the building to Demeter. Dinsmoor Jr. on the contrary would attribute to this temple the Ionic columns from Sounion, but he stopped short of the obvious inference of his proposal, namely that the cult statue found in this temple, which stood originally some 4 m high, should be that of Athena. As far as I can see on the published photograph, parts of the statue that could have borne traces of the aegis are not preserved. The attribution to Demeter, however, rests not only on the proximity of the Eleusinion and on the known presence of this cult at Thorikos, but also on the suggested identification by Evelyn Harrison of what is left from the cult statue with the type of Capitoline Demeter, as well as on a mention of a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in this general area.<sup>45</sup>

The SW Temple, for its part, is conversely thought by Dinsmoor Jr. to have been Doric, and built using some Thorikos material, and by Thompson Ionic and transplanted from Sounion. Without entering into complexities of Dinsmoor's argument in favor of the Doric order, it suffices to say that according to him the Doric columns found in the late wall *could not* be accommodated in the porch of the SE temple, while they *would* fit into the front of the SW temple. In other words, these elements could also have been used in some other place. The attribution of the SE temple to Demeter being otherwise more than likely, it seems that the SW temple should be best thought of as transferred from Sounion.<sup>46</sup> The probable maintenance at the new site of the original dedication of the Sounion temple and, perhaps, the transfer of the original statue as well, seems a distinct possibility, more satisfactory than alleged use of architectural members from a temple of Athena in a temple of another goddess.

Now, the torso of Athena in the Agora Museum, usually attributed to the Ares temple, was found much closer to the SW temple, contrary to earlier statements on this point (Fig. 1).<sup>47</sup> While not conclusive (all these stones have continued to move about the Agora for centuries), this fact should at least incite to consider the attribution of the torso to the SW temple. Dinsmoor Jr. has thought indeed, rather inconsistently with his own opinion about the two transplanted buildings, that the Agora torso could be a part of the statue of Athena Sounias, were it not for the size of the fragment, only about half of what he would expect. However, if the essential parts of the Sounion temple were indeed moved to the SE site, as Dinsmoor claimed, then the original cult statue has been found and there is no need to worry about the size of the torso. If, however, the identity of the statue in the SE temple as Demeter holds good (and it has not been contested), then it was another transplanted building (SW temple or still another) that must have contained the columns from Sounion and was in all likelihood sacred to Athena.

While there is no evidence whatsoever for the appearance of Athena Sounias, the foundations of its socle preserved at Sounion (about 3 m wide according to Travlos) call for a large statue and there is no reason to quarrel with the supposition of Dinsmoor that it measured some 4 m in height. This is corroborated by the estimated size of the statue found in the SE temple, both cellas being of comparable dimensions.<sup>48</sup> While it is by no means certain that colossal statues were a usual feature of Classical temples, the Agora torso fits ill in this context and has probably nothing to do with Sounion.

There was of course still another famous statue of Athena in the neighborhood, its appearance also controversial.<sup>49</sup> The group of Hephaistos and Athena in the Hephaisteion is commonly attributed to Alkamenes; this notion rests on two literary mentions containing the same judgement on a Hephaistos figure by him, while there is only one statuary type of Hephaistos known.<sup>50</sup> The Hephaisteion statues were

<sup>47</sup> Dinsmoor Jr., *Hesperia* 51, 1982, p. 437, fig. 1.

<sup>48</sup> Cella of Athena Sounias without the colonnade: 15.58 m by 11.14 m; SE temple: 20.30 m by 11.20 m; SW temple: 20.50 m by 10.48 m. Both Agora temples had a deep pronaos added, but the width of all three is comparable.

<sup>49</sup> E. Reisch, *Athene Hephaistia*, *ÖJh* 1, 1898, pp. 58–99, and S. Karouzou, *Alkamenes und das Hephaisteion*, *AM* 69/70, 1954/55, pp. 67–94, for the type of Athena Cherkel (cf. LIMC II, Athena 241). Harrison, *Alkamenes' Sculptures*, pp. 137–178, proposed an entirely different restoration with Athena Velletri, dating rightly the type Cherkel in the 4th century.

<sup>50</sup> Cicero, *De natura deorum* 1.30.83, and Valerius Maximus 8.11.3 (SQ 821–822). Also *Agora* III, 1957, nos. 284, 288, 291, 293; LIMC IV, Hephaistos 67.

<sup>44</sup> See H.A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 29, 1960, pp. 339–343; *idem*, *AJA* 66, 1962, p. 200; *idem*, *Athens Facing Adversity*, *Hesperia* 50, 1981, pp. 343–355; W.B. Dinsmoor Jr., *Anchoring Two Floating Temples*, *Hesperia* 51, 1982, 410–450.

<sup>45</sup> Paus. 1.14.1; E.B. Harrison, *Hesperia* 29, 1960, pp. 371–373, and *Hesperia* Suppl. 20 (Thompson Volume), 1982, p. 50, n. 47. Cf. LIMC IV, Demeter 51.

<sup>46</sup> On Sounion and its temples, there is only a small guide by W.B. Dinsmoor Jr. (*Athens* 1971); for the Athena temple, cf. Travlos, *op. cit.*, fig. 528–534.



executed between 421 and 415, as is known from the engraved accounts. Were Alkamenes also responsible for the couple of Ares and Athena, or even if we accept the idea of two artists, Alkamenes and Lokros, putting their works together, the group as a whole should rather date to the years before or after. And if the temple itself is roughly contemporary with the Parthenon, it would be sensible to expect the statues as being not much later than the 430s.<sup>51</sup>

Meanwhile, the Agora torso is generally dated to the same years as the statues of the Hephaisteion, Thompson's estimate being ca 420–410 B.C., while Delivorrias would rather push it back to ca 425.<sup>52</sup> The earliest proposed dating known to me refers to a relief of a decree of 427/426 as a reflection of this statue, but this applies in fact to the "angelehnte Athena" type;<sup>53</sup> the Agora torso is but one, and not necessarily the earliest, of several known adaptations of the diagonal aegis motive.

The argument from scale, the complete statue having been only some one third over life, is not necessarily valid. The temple of Ares was nearly a twin of the Hephaisteion and presumably had originally received cult statues roughly of the same height as the latter, but this does not necessarily mean colossal proportions: if such is the graphic restoration by John Travlos, in agreement with the old proposal of Reisch, Stevens estimated the Hephaisteion statues as only 2.35–2.45 m high and Karouzou settled for about 2.70 m, while Harrison wanted her very different restoration bigger again.<sup>54</sup> Given such disagreement, it cannot be said that figures of some 4 m are a matter of course. The same applies naturally to the temple of Ares.

The existence there of a group of Ares and Athena, while suggested by the syntax of the quoted text of Pausanias, is not necessarily implied. But it certainly is clear that one could admire in the sanctuary a whole collection of Classical statues, as in a modern museum. It is also highly improbable that a local temple of an Athenian deme could have boasted such a collection, let alone keep it through centuries down to the time of Augustus when the temple was transplanted stone by stone to the Agora. The statues had been obviously assembled at this new location, and none of them came necessarily from Acharnai, if this

was, as seems to be the case, the original site of the temple.

Supposing now that the Ares of Alkamenes was ordered for his temple at Acharnai, the chronology could be restricted even further. It appears out of the question that the work there should go on while Attica was overrun by the enemy. The temple itself could have been completed before, as the comparison with the Hephaisteion seems to recommend,<sup>55</sup> but even this latter temple, protected as it was inside the walls, had to wait for the cult statues until the war was temporarily over in 421. Again, after the resumption of hostilities in 415 any serious activity at Acharnai, closer to Dekeleia than it was to Athens, is highly improbable. We are left, then, with the possible span from 421 to 415, precisely the years when the statues of Hephaistos and Athena for the Hephaisteion were being executed. A statue of Ares by Alkamenes for the temple at Acharnai should have been made in the same time, which is not impossible by itself. We cannot be sure, however, that the original of Ares Borghese was by Alkamenes, and even less that it was made for Acharnai.

The identity of the statue Borghese as a copy of the Ares of Alkamenes was first proposed in 1869 by Conze and seldom contested for a century.<sup>56</sup> The general agreement was not seriously undermined by one discordant note,<sup>57</sup> until Ph. Bruneau has shown how uncertain the whole case really is.<sup>58</sup> Quite recently, K. Hartswick refused to recognise in Ares Borghese a replica of a Classical original altogether, seeing it rather as a Roman pasticcio representing the young C. Caesar as Mars Ultor, wearing a late Hellenistic, and not 5th century helmet.<sup>59</sup> This might be right; but if so, one does not see why the statue remains connected in Hartswick's mind with the temple in the Agora. The reason for this association was the attribution to Alkamenes, with which the proposed identity as "New Ares" cannot be reconciled.

<sup>55</sup> But Miles, *op. cit.*, pp. 227–235, would date the temple of Ares as late as ca 420, while in T.L. Shear (ed.), *The Athenian Agora. A Guide to the Excavations and Museum*<sup>4</sup>, American School of Classical Studies, 1990, p. 115, a date in the 430s is preferred.

<sup>56</sup> Conze, *Beiträge*, p. 9, n. 2. For this statue, see LIMC II, Ares 23, Ares/Mars 21. A head in Munich, and a summary of research in B. Vierendeis-Schlörb, *Klassische Skulpturen des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, München 1979, pp. 178–185, pl. 80–84; cf. A. Delivorrias, in: *Kernos* (Festschrift G. Bakalaki), Thessaloniki 1972, p. 33 (for original in bronze).

<sup>57</sup> Langlotz, *op. cit.*, p. 14, n. 27.

<sup>58</sup> Ph. Bruneau, *L'Arès Borghèse et l'Arès d'Alcamène ou de l'opinion et du raisonnement*, in: *Rayonnement grec. Hommages à Ch. Delvoye*, Bruxelles 1982, pp. 177–199.

<sup>59</sup> Hartswick, *Ares Borghese*, pp. 247–248, fig. 10, quoting for the helmet P. Dintsis, *Hellenistische Helme*, Rom 1986, pp. 113–133.

<sup>51</sup> Cf., however, M.M. Miles, *A Reconstruction of the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous*, *Hesperia* 58, 1989, pp. 221–226, contesting the accepted relative dating of temples attributed to the "Theseum architect".

<sup>52</sup> Delivorrias, *Attische Giebelskulpturen*, p. 97, n. 432.

<sup>53</sup> Schlörb, *op. cit.*, pp. 35–36.

<sup>54</sup> These restorations can be compared in Harrison, *op. cit.*, fig. 1–3; J. Travlos, in: *Agora XIV*, fig. 36; G. Ph. Stevens, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, p. 145, fig. 1; Karouzou, *op. cit.* Cf. LIMC II, Athena 241.



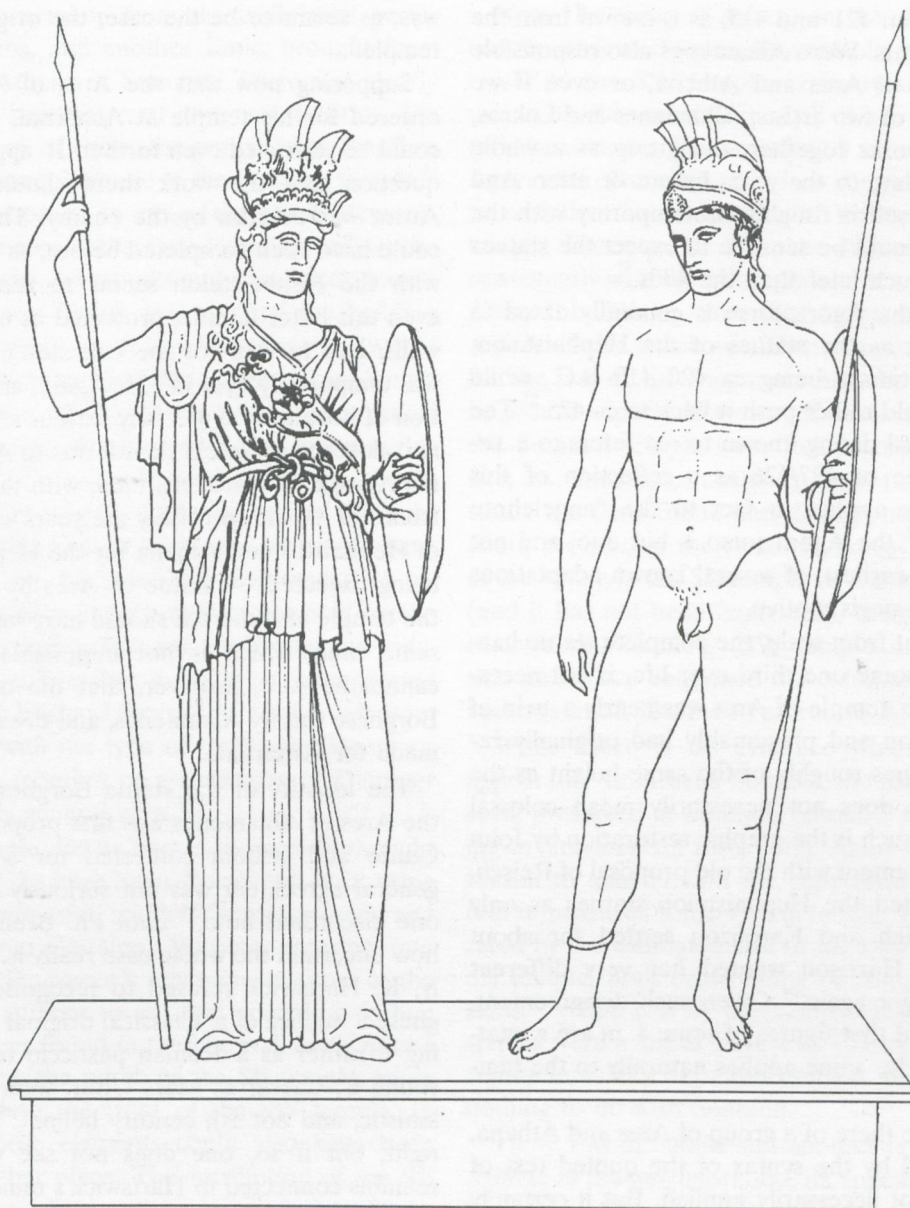


Fig. 2. A hypothetical group in the Agora temple: Ares Borghese and Athena Areia (Draw. M. Puzkarski)

It has been observed that the diagonal aegis on the Agora torso would match well the sword-belt of Ares Borghese, especially when passed through the left shoulder as on the Ares bust in Dresden, thus offering a mirror reflection of the aegis if paired with Athena.<sup>60</sup> However, the authenticity of the Dresden torso has been recently put in doubt.<sup>61</sup> At any rate, the head of Ares is turned to his right, while the head of the Agora torso was clearly turned left, suggesting an axial symmetry. And if we are allowed to restore

<sup>60</sup> B. Freyer, *Zum Kultbild und zum Skulpturenschmuck des Arestempels auf der Agora in Athen*, *JdI* 77, 1962, p. 212; Delivorrias, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>61</sup> Hartswick, *op. cit.*, pp. 278–279.

to Athena an Attic, Parthenos-like helmet, just as on the Palmyra copy, then it would find its parallel in the headgear of Ares, complete with the central sphinx and lateral griffins. Indeed, the discovery of the Palmyra statue could support strongly the old identification of the Ares Borghese as a replica of the work of Alkamenes which Pausanias saw in the Agora temple, even if the copyist had altered the primitive form of the helmet.

The group (Fig. 2) would thus represent two figures wearing a similar, highly ornate helmet and turning their heads to each other. In some reconstructions, the nude Ares holds a sword (not shown in our Fig. 2) in his right lowered hand and a spear in his left, while draped Athena is armed with a spear. Each



would bear a shield on the left forearm.<sup>62</sup> We would have in this way recovered, in the pure Furtwängler tradition, the 5th century statuary group of the Ares temple, using a statue in the Louvre, a torso in Athens, and another statue in Palmyra. The result would be rather similar to restorations attempted for the Hephaisteion, with the same concern for symmetry.

But precisely the existence of parallel restorations of the Hephaisteion group, where at least the god's appearance is reasonably certain, shows how hazardous such attempts are bound to be. The type of Athena Charchel has been discredited as Hephaistia for chronological reasons. In the case of Ares Borghese the guarded scepticism expressed by Ph. Bruneau is even more pertinent: if we were sure the statue represents Ares, then the attribution to Alkamenos would be indeed highly probable; and if we were certain that the work is by Alkamenos, then there would be a good chance that it represents Ares.<sup>63</sup> Unfortunately, we are not sure of either.

It is true that Ares Borghese and the Athena of Palmyra would make a very attractive match, but no doubt other possibilities remain open for each of the statues, including standing alone. The dimensions of the Athena torso do not immediately mark it out as part of a cult statue of a major temple. Figures of similar size, it is true, have been proposed for the Hephaisteion, but there they stood on a pedestal of considerable size, decorated with reliefs. A base of this sort cannot be automatically adduced for the temple of Ares without further evidence. At any rate the cella of Athena at Sounion, and both temples in the southern part of the Agora are definitely larger. And of course it must be kept in mind that there might have been other locations in the Agora, of which no written or archaeological record is available.

Despite all these reservations, it may be said that the location of the statue represented by the Agora torso in the sanctuary of Ares is more likely than any other. Moreover, if we admit the evidence of the Palmyra copy as relevant to the Agora fragment, this statue would make a satisfactory group with a figure of the type Borghese usually taken to represent Ares, in accordance with the description of Pausanias. While any discussion of the style of Alkamenos, let alone Lokros, is bound to tread a very uncertain ground, the frequent attribution of Ares Borghese to Alkamenos, as propounded by many excellent scholars, deserves to be considered at least a working

hypothesis. Even Bruneau, after demonstrating the fallacy of all arguments so far used to prove it, is inclined to accept it. And even admitting this statue to be an idealised representation of Caius Caesar (at best another working hypothesis), it does not follow that this Roman version, rather than a 5th century original,<sup>64</sup> stood in the Agora temple. We can suppose the original by Alkamenos being similar to this copy with more confidence since the identity of the statue as Ares is corroborated by its helmet (even if of a late form in the existing copies) matching the Parthenos-like helmet of the Agora/Palmyra statue.

While, on the other hand, it is established that the altar of Ares and Athena Areia came to Athens from their sanctuary at Acharnai when it apparently ceased to exist under Augustus,<sup>65</sup> it does not follow that both sculptures, if granted to the Agora temple, were set up originally in the Acharnai temple later to be displaced. Whether or not Alkamenos was able to provide the Ares statue at the same time as the Hephaisteion group is of course a moot question; but if he was, the identification is neither confirmed nor refuted by the 4th century stele from Acharnai, now in the École Française d'Athènes, which might or might not reflect the cult statues of Ares and Athena in this temple.<sup>66</sup> This document shows Athena crowning a cuirassed Ares quite unlike the nude Borghese figure, and if the appearance of the goddess on this relief should reflect her cult statue, it was not the statue of which the Agora torso is a part.

It seems to me that the possibility of bringing together the two sculptures, with some others, only at the time of Augustus in order to outfit the re-erected temple in the Agora is more likely than their coming from Acharnai. If the phrasing of Pausanias is to be understood as meaning that both, Ares by Alkamenos and Athena by Lokros were forming a couple, then they could have been selected because matching in size and equipment and counterpoise, all features which do not prove they were originally made to match each other. Indeed, the grouping seems rather rhetorical, contrasting the fully armed, confident Athena and the somewhat subdued, downhearted Ares. It does not seem a composition of the Classical age.

In all this uncertainty, we might be justified in considering the statue of Athena by itself. The very

<sup>64</sup> Cf. K. Schefold, *Athenas und Hephaistos' Leben auf einem Fries in Ostia und Berlin*, AntK 22, 1979, p. 101.

<sup>65</sup> Thompson, in: *Agora XIV*, p. 164.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Daux, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-90, pl. 4. The Roman date of the relief, as proposed by Hartswick, *op. cit.*, pp. 264-266, is impossible: its relation to the inscription shows that both are necessarily contemporary. Cf. Schefold, *op. cit.*, p. 101. There is another cuirassed image of Ares from Acharnai, unfortunately not dated: LIMC II, Ares 4.

<sup>62</sup> For Ares, this is confirmed by a copy from Side: J. Inan, *Roman Sculpture in Side*, Ankara 1975, pp. 47-50, no. 10, pl. 22, against Freyer, *op. cit.*, 212.

<sup>63</sup> Bruneau, *op. cit.*, p. 185.



fact that a copy was used in Palmyra as a lone cult statue shows that the original could have been also conceived as independent. It was, however, certainly not isolated in the statuary tradition of 5th century Athens. Several Athena figures, some of them Roman copies and most of them associated with the Acropolis, display related features. Among those, the diagonal aegis is the most characteristic and useful for the first sorting of the evidence. More important, however, is the headgear, not preserved on the Agora torso, but consistently present whenever the head is at least partly extant. It may be said that the Palmyra copy and, consequently, also the Agora original go back to the West Pediment figure with a narrow aegis worn across one shoulder, but remain also dependent on the Parthenon statue. Without bothering about the shadow of Lokros or the problematic personality of Alkamenes, we may confidently ascribe this type to the circle of Pheidias, meaning the great master himself and all those who worked under him and continued to stay under his dominant influence.

This definition naturally includes the team of the Parthenon pediments. One of the artists involved executed the Athena figure on the West façade, doubtless according to the Pheidian project. This figure displayed the first known instance of the diagonal aegis and an Attic helmet covered in metal and with fitting bronze ornaments, possibly very similar to the helmet of the colossal statue inside the temple. The same artist could well, at a later date, have made a statue of the goddess closely resembling his pediment Athena; the torso of this work is preserved. Whether his name was Alkamenes, Agorakritos or Lokros, scholars disagree. Maybe this is not the most important point.

Other Classical statues also took up the diagonal aegis, being otherwise unrelated directly to the Pheidian type: Athena leaning on her shield, and later Athena Cherkel and Athena from Piraeus are best known among them. They all use a Corinthian helmet. Only the Agora statue was obviously the goddess of the Parthenon, as anybody could see her on the West Pediment and, in a different posture and wearing a heavy aegis, in the cella itself.

There is no means of knowing where this warlike statue had stood originally. Wherever it was, it was reclaimed about the turn of the Christian era for the temple of Ares or, less likely and later, for another temple transplanted to the Agora. The earliest known imitations of this figure are the statuettes in the Acropolis Museum, Augustan in date, confirming a renewed interest in this type, which could well have been stimulated by the exhibition of the original in the Ares temple. If the statue was paired with Ares Borghese, it would be only at that time.

A century and a half later, about the time of Pausanias, a copy of this type of Athena was ordered for Palmyra. The possible connection with Ares would encourage such a choice, as the Greek god of war was conceived locally as identical with the Arab god Arṣu who had a temple in Palmyra in his own right. His appearance on local monuments does not suggest, though, any Athenian reference. On the other hand, the Attic statue of Pheidian inspiration declared to represent an Arab goddess, nourished a syncretistic cult of a caravan city and, after its demise, also of the Roman army.

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