Greek Art in Motion

Studies in honour of Sir John Boardman on the occasion of his 90th birthday

edited by
Rui Morais, Delfim Leão, Diana Rodríguez Pérez
with
Daniela Ferreira

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Preface

In the current volume are collected the proceedings of 'Greek Art in Motion,' an international conference held in Lisbon at the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation on May 3–5, 2017, as a Festschrift for Sir John Boardman, a token of the esteem in which the scholarly world holds him.

John Boardman, Emeritus Lincoln Professor of Classical Archaeology and Art at the University of Oxford, has published many seminal works, which will remain as a reference for current and future generations of scholars around the world. They address a variety of subjects and, above all, they demonstrate the longevity and beauty of Classical art, being a source of inspiration for junior and senior researchers alike and considerably increasing our knowledge of the ancient world.

His activities as a scholar and teacher distinguish him as an outstanding interpreter of Classical art and its reception. John Boardman is that kind of rare Hellenist, even-handed and open-minded, who always demonstrated a generosity toward his students, colleagues and other renowned scholars. He has been, for almost seven decades of intensive work, such a special and consistent exemplar of fruitful production.

A brief explanation of the title is in order. The choice of the phrase 'in motion' is meant to serve as metaphor for the dynamic and fluid nature of the field of Greek art. This volume hopes to showcase this kinetic aspect through the valuable contributions that a panoply of scholars have assembled to celebrate our eminent honoree.

The conference attracted a large audience over four days, including scholars, students from the Academy and other non-specialists from all over the world. In the first part of this work, some contributions from the keynote speakers feature, who, as friends and/or former students of Sir John, formulate a debate and problematisation of Greek art from both archaeological and historical standpoints.

Professor Emeritus Olga Palagia, University of Athens

Professor Emeritus Paul Cartledge, University of Cambridge

Professor Emeritus Peter John Rhodes, University of Durham

Professor Emeritus Lucilla Burn, University of Durham

Dr Thomas Mannack, University of Oxford

Dr Claudia Wagner, University of Oxford

Dr Gocha R. Tsetskhladze, Editor of the Ancient West and East Journal

Dr Milena Melfi, University of Oxford

In the second part, there are nearly 50 studies, divided thematically, which touch upon the salient subject areas of Sir John's oeuvre: Sculpture, Architecture, Terracotta and Metal, Greek Pottery, Coins, Greek History and Archaeology, Greeks Overseas, Reception and Collecting, Art and Myth.

New findings, both in mainland Greece and abroad, in regions directly or indirectly linked with the Greeks, offer an excellent ground to broaden our horizons and reframe old research questions. The encounter of Greeks and indigenous populations near colonization areas had varying effects in every instance, the knowledge of which opens new paths for research and raises awareness about the material culture of the ancient world, an interest visible across the works of Sir John. The papers featured in this volume represent different approaches to a variety of problems posed by the study of Greek Art. The interdisciplinary nature of these approaches lead to fruitful and lively debate throughout.

It is also a pleasure to be able to add to the present volume the database of the *Iberia Graeca Centre*. This Centre is an organisation that has been created to develop projects on research, documentation, conservation and the dissemination of the Greek archaeological heritage of the Iberian Peninsula.

Debts of gratitude are owed to many people and institutions which helped us to mount such a successful conference: the *Centre for Classical and Humanistic Studies*, the Universities of Coimbra, Porto and Lisbon, the *Iberia Graeca Centre*, the *Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation* (Lisbon), the D. Diogo de Sousa Archaeological Museum (Braga), and the Hotel da Estrela (Lisbon).

On behalf of all authors, we would like to acknowledge the generosity of numerous colleagues throughout the world who have been generous in providing access to documents, photographs and information, and in granting permissions which accompany some of the studies presented within.

The editors also wish to give special thanks to all the keynote speakers for their constant assistance and counsel, particularly in reading contributions to the volume and reviewing them.

A large part of the proofs of these proceedings were generously corrected by David Wallace-Hare, PhD candidate of Classics at the University of Toronto, to whom we would like to express our gratitude.

Finally, it is a pleasure to thank *Archaeopress* and especially David Davison for their support of the publication of these proceedings in honour of Sir John Boardman.

The Editors,

Rui Morais, Delfim Leão, and Diana Rodríguez Pérez,
with Daniela Ferreira

Porto, Coimbra, and Oxford, October 2018

John Boardman and Greek Sculpture

Olga Palagia

I am most grateful to the organizers of this conference for inviting me to participate in the celebration of my teacher's 90th birthday. I cannot even begin to enumerate his achievements. As you well know, John Boardman has mastered a great number of fields, from early Greek art[1] to Chinese bronzes.[2] He is driven by curiosity, being always ready to take on new challenges and expand his horizons. Even though Greek gems[3] and the diffusion of Greek art east and west[4] have been his dominant interests, his contribution to the study and understanding of Greek sculpture has had an impact on the field for he has brought to it an open mind, approaching it from a different perspective and illuminating it with his expertise in other art forms.

His interest in Greek sculpture dates from the 1970s. It seems to have begun with a reconsideration of the problems posed by the interpretations of the Parthenon frieze. He has left his mark on this as on all other tasks he has undertaken. It is my special pleasure and privilege to say a few words about my teacher's achievements in the field of Greek sculpture before we go on asking ourselves where do we go from here.

John Boardman first aired his thoughts on the Parthenon frieze in a lecture given at the Institute of Classical Studies in London on November 15, 1975, when it was still housed in Gordon Square. I was a graduate student in Oxford at the time and went down to London to hear him. He was venturing into new fields, looking away from early Greece which he had mastered to perfection, into the art of Athens which was still considered the crowning glory of classical archaeology. We have come a long way since then but those were the days of innocence. Boardman's theory was highly original and it was sprung upon an unsuspecting world.

The lecture was published in 1977.[5] The argument, however, was taken up again and refined in the proceedings of the Parthenon Congress in Basel.[6] The frieze presents the modern viewer with a number of riddles. Boardman focused on two fundamental questions. Does the frieze break the rule of showing only gods and heroes on sacred buildings? Does it really depict a religious festival enacted by contemporary Athenians as so many scholars have assumed beginning with Stuart and Revett?[7] And if it represents the Panathenaic procession, where are the hoplites? Why do we see so many horsemen (Figure 1) and chariots (Figure 2) instead of foot soldiers? He pointed out that '...there is no parallel on a Greek temple, before or after, for the depiction of contemporary mortals in such a setting, conducting a peaceful, non-heroic activity... There is no heroic implication in a procession to dedicate and sacrifice; but there is in the cavalcade.'[8] He went on to suggest that the military on the frieze, not only the knights and the apobates jumping up and down their chariots but also their teenage grooms may be understood as the heroic Athenians who had fought and died in the battle of Marathon

Figure 1. Parthenon, North frieze XXXVII-XXXVIII. London, British Museum. Photo: Olga Palagia.

[1] Boardman 1967; Boardman 1998.
[2] Boardman 2010.
[3] See the contribution of Claudia Wagner in this volume.
[4] Boardman 1994; Boardman 1999; Boardman 2015.
[5] Boardman 1977.
[6] Boardman 1984.
[7] Stuart and Revett 1787, 12.
[8] Boardman 1984, 214.

Figure 2. Parthenon, North frieze XII. London, British Museum. Photo: Olga Palagia.

in August 490 just before the celebration of the Panathenaia. The Marathon dead became the recipients of cult and as such may well be depicted on the frieze imparting to it an intimation of divinity, for the festival is no longer enacted by mortals. He even counted the soldiers on the frieze, excluding the charioteers, and found that their number corresponds exactly to the number of Athenians killed at Marathon, 192. He concluded, however, that classical art historians will be suspicious of such a numerate answer and will continue to search for the truth, which can only be established by the discovery of a text. His theory cannot actually be disproved to this day. As Boardman himself succinctly put it, 'The argument is not capable of proof. One might add that it is not capable of disproof...'[9]

A side issue he discussed alongside the main problem of the cavalcade is the question 'boy or girl?' regarding the child assisting the archon basileus to handle Athena's peplos in the centre of the east frieze (Figure 3). This child was initially recognized as a girl by Stuart and Revett[10] but was afterwards perceived as a boy. Boardman reprised the suggestion put forward by his colleague in Oxford, Martin Robertson,[11] that the child must be a girl rather than a boy. Robertson's argument was based on the Venus rings on the child's neck and on the garment open on the side which could be understood as a peplos. Boardman identified her as an arrhephoros, for which she has the right age, for they served Athena between the ages of 7 and 11, and were involved with the making of Athena's peplos, whereas there are no records of boys connected with Athena's sacred garments.[12] In his contribution to *Kanon* in honour of Ernst Berger, Boardman returned to the issue, introducing the argument of anatomy in favour of the female sex of the child, and pointed out that she is probably handing the new peplos to the archon basileus in anticipation of its transport to the Acropolis.[13] In response to criticism from C. Clairmont regarding the nudity of the child's bottom, exposed by the open garment, which would be inappropriate for a girl, Boardman pointed to a fifth-century grave relief of a girl wearing a peplos and holding two doves in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, where the girl's bottom is also visible.[14] He also anticipated further criticism of the oddity of the child's peplos opening on the left instead of the right, by pointing out that the peplos of the running figure G of the east pediment of the Parthenon, also opens on the left.

The debate about the figure's sex continues unabated to this day.[15] Key to the solution is, I think, still the garment. Further

[9] Boardman 1977, 48.
[10] Stuart and Revett 1787, 12, pl. 23.
[11] Robertson 1975, commentary to East V, 31-5.
[12] Boardman 1977, 41; Boardman 1984, 214.
[13] Boardman 1988.
[14] Boardman 1991.
[15] Neils (2001, 169-171) argues in favour of a boy.

Figure 3. Parthenon, East frieze V. London, British Museum. Photo: Olga Palagia.

argument against a peplos is the length of the garment which stops short of the ankles and would therefore be more appropriate for a boy. In an article published on the occasion of Boardman's 80th birthday, I resumed the argument, suggesting the possibility that the dress is not a peplos but an over-garment (*diplax*) with a chiton painted underneath, which would indeed suggest a girl. A classical grave relief from Thebes provides a parallel showing a girl whose garment is part modelled in stone, part painted.[16]

Boardman picked up again the thread of Parthenon scholarship with an article in the Festschrift for Olga Alexandri.[17] 'Pandora in the Parthenon – a grace to mortals' questions the received opinion that the creation of Pandora by Hephaistos and Athena on the statue base of Pheidias' Athena Parthenos inside the Parthenon is an illustration of divine hostility to mortals since Pandora, according to Hesiod's *Works and Days* and *Theogony*, was destined to wreak havoc on mankind. A reduced fragmentary copy of Pheidias' statue base found in Pergamon (Figure 4)[18] shows Pandora as an inanimate figure in the middle, being endowed with gifts by the Graces, Athena, Hephaistos and the other gods. Boardman investigated Pandora's imagery on Attic vase-painting of the fifth century, focusing on a volute krater in Oxford (Figure 5), where Pandora rises from the ground like an earth goddess, and came to the conclusion that Pandora in the Parthenon was seen as an all-giver, a blessing rather than a bane. He argued that Hesiod's view of Pandora did not correspond to what the Athenians made of her both in their visual arts and in cult. He pointed out that Philochoros' remark that every time a cow is sacrificed to Athena, a sheep is offered to Pandora, shows that she was worshipped as a goddess. In poorer manuscripts of Philochoros' text, Pandrosos is substituted for Pandora, thus obscuring the issue.

As chance would have it, when Boardman was working on his Pandora theory, I independently came to a similar conclusion on the benign nature of Pandora.[19] Rather than dissociate her from Hesiod, I associated her with his *Catalogue of Women*, where she is seen as the primeval woman and creator of mankind. We no longer attribute *Catalogue of Women* to Hesiod, but fifth-century Athenians thought it was his, and it conveniently provided them with an appropriate tradition on which to build a favourable view of Pandora, Athena's and Hephaistos' creation, progenitor of the Greek race and by implication a civilizing force of all Greece. Even though we only learned of each other's work when we exchanged offprints, the two articles complement one another reinforcing the argument in favour of the benevolent nature of Pandora thus explaining her inclusion in the statue base of the Athena Parthenos.

Boardman's sculpture studies also comprise a marble sculpture in his home ground of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. In 'The amazon's belt,' published in 1980,[20] his keen eye detected an oddity in the belt worn by an amazon torso in the Ashmolean Museum (Figure 6). The statuary type is known as the Berlin-Lansdowne Amazon named after two of the best preserved copies, and is usually attributed to the fifth-century master, Kresilas.[21] By comparing her belt to horse reins in Attic vase-painting, Boardman proved that it is in fact a horse bit, thus establishing the Amazon's identity as a horse woman.

From 1978 to 1995 John Boardman produced three handbooks on Greek sculpture. They were written in chronological order, the first dealing with the archaic period,[22] the second with the classical period[23] and the third with the late classical

[16] Palagia 2008.
[17] Boardman 2001.
[18] Berlin, Pergamonmuseum P24. Palagia 2000, fig. 4.5; Picón and Hemingway 2016, 132, cat.no.39. I am grateful to Hans R. Goette for the photo Fig. 4.
[19] Palagia 2000, 60-62.
[20] Boardman 1980.
[21] Bol 1998, 36-49; 171, 8.1 (Typus Sciarra).
[22] Boardman 1978.
[23] Boardman 1985.

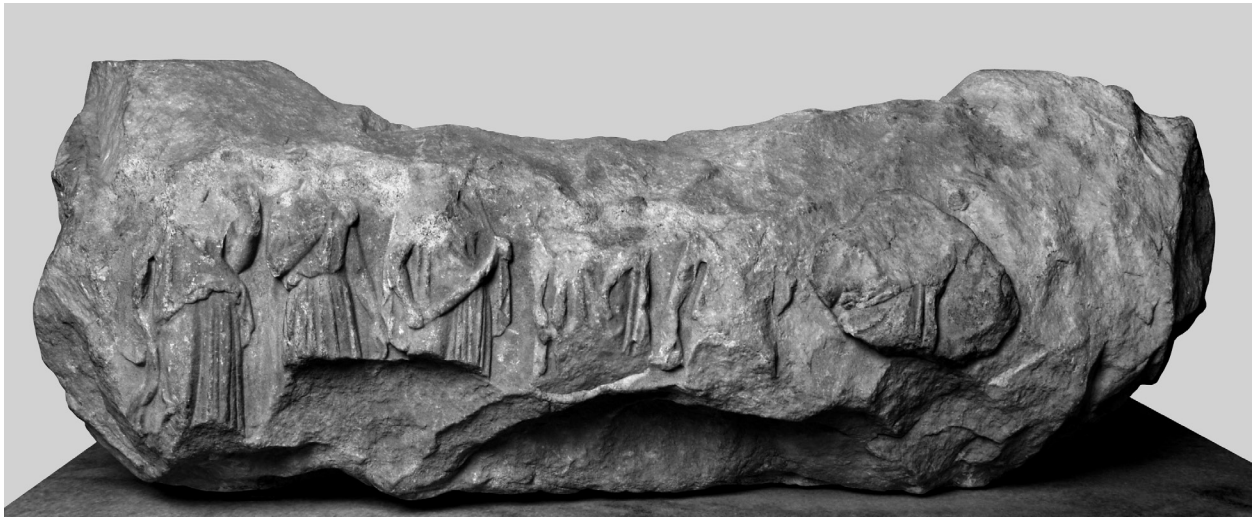

Figure 4. Reduced copy of the statue base of Pheidias' Athena Parthenos. From Pergamon. Berlin, Pergamonmuseum P 24. Photo: Hans R. Goette.

Figure 5. Attic red-figure volute-krater. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 525. Photo from Boardman 2001, fig. 3.

period, as well as with the sculpture of Sicily and South Italy.[24] The last handbook includes a brief chapter on reception of the antique. The great merit of these concise handbooks is their comprehensive illustrations. Every significant piece of sculpture is included and commented on. They were translated into Greek, German, Italian and French. They are eminently affordable and have been indispensable to many generations of students, not least my students in the University of Athens.

Boardman never lost interest in the early periods and returned to the question of the origins of Greek monumental sculpture in the chapter 'Sources and models' that he contributed to my collective book, *Greek Sculpture: Function, Materials and Techniques in the Archaic and Classical Periods*.[25] His chapter particularly highlights the contribution of Crete to the birth of Greek sculpture in the seventh century (Figure 7). He reinforces his argument thanks to his familiarity with vase-painting and the minor arts. His chapter is an exemplar

[24] Boardman 1995.

[25] Boardman 2006.

Figure 6. Detail of a copy of the Berlin-Landsdowne Amazon. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. Photo: Olga Palagia.

of how to approach a subject without ignoring the impact of other fields.

After this, Boardman developed different interests and went on to explore the diffusion of Greek art beyond Greece, as well as resuming work on Greek gems.

We will now go on to discuss recent developments in the study of Greek sculpture which carry the subject further, after Boardman, so to speak. I was asked by the organizers to share my thoughts on recent developments in the study of Greek sculpture. As I have already published an essay on new finds and developments in Greek sculpture until 2015,[26] I would like to discuss further developments and publications which appeared subsequently or too late to be included in that survey.

Greek sculpture is the subject not only of art history but also of archaeology and cannot be adequately explained without the aid of excavation data (if they exist) and/or historical circumstances. One of the main issues facing a sculpture expert in the light of recent discoveries is context.[27] Setting aside such sculptures as were found reused in later contexts, there is still a proportion that has come down to us in association either with the fabric of buildings or statue bases or inscriptions or that can be illuminated by means of technical data. Our understanding of Greek sculpture can be enhanced by interdisciplinary collaboration. The source of marble in the case of marble sculptures, for example, and in the case of bronze statues, the contents of their interior like clay core or sherds found therein may have a direct impact on our final assessment of a sculpture's date or historical significance.

Figure 7. Limestone relief of three goddesses. From Gortyn. Heraklion Museum 379. Photo: Olga Palagia.

The contents of a hollow-cast bronze statue may have a direct impact on either its date or its provenance. Let me cite three case studies. The statue of Apollo found off the coast of Piombino in Italy,[28] formed part of the magnificent exhibition of Hellenistic bronzes, *Power and Pathos,* organized by the Getty Museum in 2015.[29] The god holds out his hands, with a phiale once in the right and a

[26] Palagia 2015.
[27] This issue is also dealt with, from the perspective of excavation data, by Dillon 2017.
[28] Paris, Louvre Br 2.
[29] Daehner and Lapatin 2015, 288-291 (S. Descamps-Lequime).

bow in the left. A dedication to Athena is incised on the left foot. Even though he adopts the stance of an archaic kouros and has a retrospective looking coiffure, his general style can be described as eclectic. This has not stopped scholars from declaring it a genuine archaic antiquity until its date was finally established by the discovery of the signatures of two sculptors written on a lead tablet extracted through the figure's eye sockets. The fragments of the lead tablet were lost for over a century but resurfaced in time to be placed on show at the Getty. The letter-forms and particularly the lunate sigma point to a late Hellenistic date. The remnants of the name of Menodotos, a sculptor active on Rhodes in the late second century B.C., and indeed the beginning of the word 'Rhodian' give away the origin of at least one of the sculptors. The fact that they signed their work on a tablet hidden inside the statue, a unique occurrence so far, may suggest that we have a deliberate ancient forgery.

Clues to dating ancient bronzes may also be found in sherds clinging to their clay core. A case in point is the well-known Apollo of Piraeus (Figure 8).[30] It came to light in 1959, forming part of a cache of bronze and marble statues in a small room of a building of uncertain purpose. Their destruction and abandonment is attributed to Sulla's sack of Piraeus in 86 B.C. The rescue excavation was never completed and never published, and the find as a whole still awaits proper publication. Like the Piombino Apollo, the Piraeus Apollo also holds out his hands, with a phiale in the right and a bow in the left. He has the general appearance of an archaic kouros but projects the right foot instead of the left. He was hailed upon discovery as the earliest surviving hollow-cast bronze statue and dated to the last quarter of the sixth century. But the stylistic discrepancies of the figure quickly prompted the suggestion that it is, in fact, archaistic. The first scholar to propose this was George Dontas,[31] who was aware of the sherds found clinging to the clay core of the head and neck of the statue. They appear to be Attic, some being black-glazed, others coarse wares. Their possible date ranges from the sixth to the fourth centuries B.C. Dontas only mentioned the sherds in a footnote and did not illustrate them. He went on to place the statue in the second quarter of the fifth century, a period when no other archaistic statues are known. The verdict of the sherds was soon forgotten, however, as the sherds themselves were inaccessible, and the Apollo became better known as an archaistic work of the late Hellenistic period. Not so long ago, I obtained permission to re-examine the sherds with the help of a specialist, Susan Rotroff, and to publish them.[32] They compel us to date the Apollo either to the archaic or the classical period, and I have personally opted for a date towards the end of the fourth century, when we have the earliest monumental statues in the archaistic style but the options are open. We have, at any rate, to accept Attic manufacture for the statue and rule out a Corinthian provenance as was recently suggested by a scholar who was not aware of the testimony of the sherds.[33]

Figure 8. Apollo of Piraeus. Piraeus Museum 4645. Photo: Hans R. Goette.

The third case concerns the clay cores of the Riace bronzes[34] and what they can tell us about their workshop. In 2016 Vinzenz Brinkmann organized in Frankfurt an exhibition called 'Athen. Triumph der Bilder.'[35] The *pièces de resistance* were the new colourful reconstructions of the Riace bronzes with dark hair and shiny helmets and shields. The bronzes

[30] Piraeus Museum 4645. Palagia 2016. I am grateful to Hans R. Goette for the photo Fig. 8.
[31] Dontas 1986.
[32] Palagia 2016, figs. 7-9.
[33] Piteros 2011.
[34] Reggio Calabria, National Archaeological Museum 12801 (Riace A) and 12802 (Riace B).
[35] Brinkmann 2016.

Figure 9. Reconstruction of the Riace Bronzes by V. Brinkmann. Frankfurt, Liebieghaus. Photo: Hans R. Goette.

were identified with a group of Erechtheus fighting a duel with the Thracian Eumolpos, which was seen by Pausanias (1.27.4-5) near the Erechtheion on the Athenian Acropolis: 'near the temple of Athena ...are two large bronze statues (*agalmata*) of men facing each other in single combat. They call them Erechtheus and Eumolpus...on the same pedestal are portraits (*andriantes*) of Theainetos who served Tolmides as his seer and indeed of Tolmides himself...'[36] In another passage, Pausanias (9.30.1) seems to attribute this group to Myron. His style is rather different from that of the Riace bronzes but this question is never addressed.[37] Riace A is reconstructed as Erechtheus and given a Corinthian helmet, while Riace B is shown as the Thracian Eumolpos and given a fox skin cap, an axe and an amazon's shield. The reconstruction of the two figures on the base is awkward, for B is shown in profile even though both statues were obviously designed for a full frontal view (Figure 9).[38] It is also surprising that only the two bronzes are shown here despite the fact that Pausanias explicitly says that the group comprised two more figures, the Athenian general Tolmides and his seer, Theainetos. No explanation of their absence is offered. There is, in fact, no consensus as to the group's date and some scholars believe that Pausanias merged two

[36] Brinkmann and Koch-Brinkmann 2016.
[37] On Myron, see Vollkommer 2001-2004, s.v.Myron (I).
[38] Brinkmann 2016, 163, no. 35.

separate groups but Brinkmann and Koch-Brinkmann did not engage in the debate.[39] Moreover, their new reconstruction did not take into account three statue bases from the Acropolis, attributed to this group by Manolis Korres (Figure 10).[40] The bases carried over-life-size bronze statues, obviously belonged to a single monument and had been reused in the Roman repair of the west door of the Parthenon. Their workmanship and dowel-cuttings suggest a fifth-century date. Two of the bases carried cuttings for striding figures while the third supported a quietly standing figure turning towards its proper left, indicating that there was another figure on a fourth base. Even if we assume that the statue bases were tacitly rejected by Koch and Brinkmann-Koch,[41] we expected to have seen some arguments against them. In addition, the authorship of Myron mentioned above indicates that the group was an Attic work. But recent analysis of clay samples from the core of the Riace bronzes in the University of Modena has shown that Athens is excluded as a possible source, while the Argolid is considered a more likely candidate.[42] The reconstruction of the Riace bronzes as Erechtheus and Eumolpos on the Acropolis will fail to convince until the questions of the clay core provenance, the group composition of Tolmides, his seer and the two heroes, as well as the stylistic discrepancies between Myron's works and the Riace bronzes are addressed.

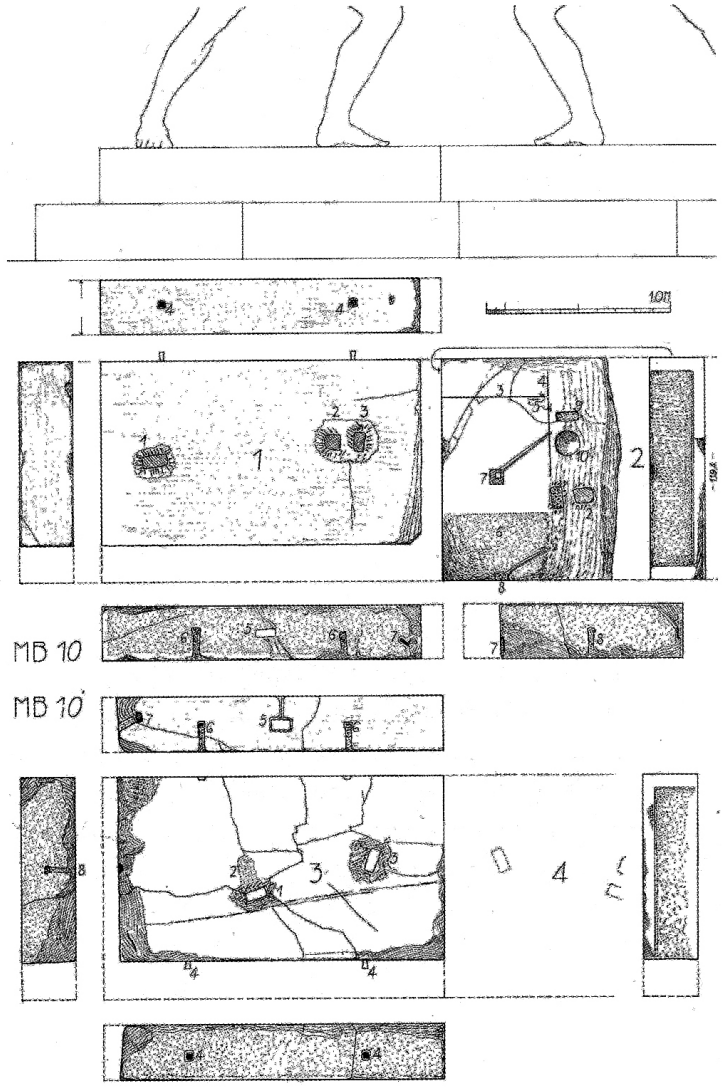

Figure 10. Three statue bases from the Athenian Acropolis. Photo from Korres 1994, 87.

Temporary exhibitions of Greek sculpture offer a unique opportunity to display side by side multiple copies or versions of a famous prototype scattered in different countries or even continents, as well as to focus on the products of a single workshop. The exhibition of Hellenistic bronzes *Power and Pathos* organized by the Getty Museum in 2015[43] managed to assemble two full scale bronze copies of a fourth-century Apoxyomenos, one from Ephesos and the comparatively recent one from Croatia, a marble full scale copy from Florence, as well as a bronze copy of the head in Fort Worth.[44] It was thus possible to study variations in the poise of the head and feet and the arrangement of hair locks, demonstrating that copyists did not always follow their prototypes very closely.

The detection of paint on ancient sculptures has been the object of intensive study in the past decade, as colour not only modifies the appearance but can also alter the meaning of sculptures. The exhibition *Transformation: Classical Sculpture in Colour*, organized by the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in 2014,[45] summarized the latest discoveries in the field and included a number of Brinkmann's experimental plaster casts painted with vivid colours, which have generated a lot of discussion. The Peplos Kore from the Athenian Acropolis, in particular,[46] provides a fine case study in the reconstruction of garments on the basis of the vestiges of colour. A compelling argument is made against the traditional interpretation of her drapery as a peplos worn over a chiton, for she is seen as wearing an *ependytis* over her chiton instead. Brinkmann's reconstruction,

[39] The group was probably dedicated by the Athenians after Tolmides was killed in the battle of Koroneia in 447: Ioakimidou 99-100 and 267-269; Keesling 2017, 265-266 n. 30. It was dedicated in Tolmides' lifetime: Krumeich 1997, 109-111. It may have been retrospective, set up towards the end of the fifth century: Tiverios 2016, 147. Krumeich (1997, 109-111) considers the Erechtheus group independent from that of Tolmides.

[40] Korres 1994, 86-87.

[41] Rejected by Krumeich 1997, 110-111 but accepted by Tiverios 2016.

[42] Jones et al. 2016.

[43] Daehner and Lapatin 2015.

[44] Ephesos: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum VI 3168, Daehner and Lapatin 2015, 272-273, no. 40. Croatia: Zagreb, Ministry of Culture of Croatia, Daehner and Lapatin 2015, 274-275, no. 41. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi 100, Daehner and Lapatin 2015, 278-279, no. 43. Fort Worth, Kimbell Art Museum AP 2000.03a, Daehner and Lapatin 2015, 276-277, no. 42.

[45] Østergaard and Nielsen 2014.

[46] Acropolis Museum 679. Koch-Brinkmann et al. 2014, 126-129, 136-137.

Figure 11. Copy of Dying Gaul. From Rome. Naples, National Archaeological Museum 6013. Photo: Olga Palagia.

however, presents two superimposed garments of the same colour, whereas the new reconstruction offered by the Acropolis Museum,[47] not included in the exhibition, shows a sharp tonal contrast between overgarment and undergarment.

The diffusion of the sculptural style of Pergamon was beautifully illustrated in the exhibition *Pergamon and the Hellenistic Kingdoms of the Ancient World* organized by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in 2016.[48] It was particularly instructive to assemble alongside the original Pergamene sculptures from Berlin, Roman copies of Pergamene works in Italy. It was possible to see in New York two busts of Pergamene rulers, Eumenes II and Philetairos from the Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum,[49] and copies of the so-called Lesser Attalid Dedication on the Athenian Acropolis now in the Naples Museum (Figure 11)[50] and in the Vatican.[51] This monument, dedicated on the Athenian Acropolis, south of the Parthenon, by Attalos I around 200 B.C., showed bronze battle groups, of gods against giants, Greeks against amazons, Athenians against Persians at Marathon, and Pergamenes against Gauls. The statues were under life-size, hence the name Lesser Attalid Dedication. We have copies of the defeated opponents only. What we did not see in New York, were samples of the original bases (Figure 12) of this dedication surviving on the Acropolis. They were identified by Manolis Korres several years ago,[52] proving that not only the defeated enemy but also the victors were represented, sometimes on horseback, for the horses have left their imprints on top of the bases. The juxtaposition of the copies of the Lesser Attalid Dedication with their original bases would have truly enhanced our appreciation of this lost monument.

This brings us back to the question of context in understanding Greek sculpture. Now that it is no longer considered the pinnacle of classical archaeology, sculpture has found its proper place as part of archaeology rather than art history, to be understood in tandem with epigraphy, architecture, pottery and science, which provide additional data for the decipherment of riddles.

[47] Pandermalis 2012, 28-29 and book jacket illustrations.
[48] Picón and Hemingway 2016.
[49] Eumenes II, Naples, National Archaeological Museum 5588. Philetairos, Naples, National Archaeological Museum 6148. Picón and Hemingway 2016, 120, no 24a and 124, no. 25.
[50] Naples, National Archaeological Museum 6012, 6013, 6015, from Rome. Picón and Hemingway 2016, 179-181, nos. 100a-c.
[51] Vatican Museums 2794. Picón and Hemingway 2016, 178-179, no. 99.
[52] Stewart and Korres 2004, 242-285.

Figure 12. Two statue bases from the Lesser Attalid Dedication on the Athenian Acropolis. Photo from Stewart and Korres 2004, fig. 215.

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