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Plaster
Casts
at Berkeley



COLLECTIONS OF THE HEARST MUSEUM OF ANTHROPOLOGY
& DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS AT UC BERKELEY

AN EXHIBITION OF RARE PLASTER CASTS
OF ANCIENT GREEK AND ROMAN SCULPTURE

Plaster
Casts
at Berkeley

SECOND EDITION

COLLECTIONS OF
THE HEARST MUSEUM OF ANTHROPOLOGY
&
DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS
AT UC BERKELEY

AN EXHIBITION OF
RARE PLASTER CASTS OF
ANCIENT GREEK AND ROMAN SCULPTURE

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First Edition

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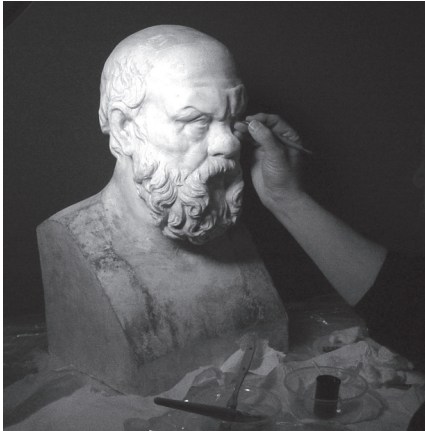
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Casts of the San Francisco collection piled together in a warehouse in January, 2003.

Introduction



Bust of Socrates (19) during conservation.

For more than seventy years a treasure has languished, unknown and inaccessible to students and researchers and Bay Area citizens in general. This resource consists of more than 300 plaster casts of ancient Greek and Roman sculpture which should have been used by generations of scholars, but has instead been hidden beneath bleachers and in warehouses. This booklet represents an attempt by a small but dedicated group of people to change the situation by repairing and restoring a selection of those plaster casts. It is our hope that our efforts will result in a heightened awareness not only of the existence of these plaster casts, but also of their importance to our community, and that the full collection will finally be made available to all.

The visitor to this small display will understand something of the pedagogical value of the whole collection by even a casual comparison of these few pieces and what they tell about the development of the sculptor's skills. We begin by observing how the Greek sculptor of the mid-7th century BC. took the first tentative steps that resulted in *Nikandre* (1). She betrays the Egyptian influences and the insecurity of marble carving that give her a blocky, plank-like form, but she is still the first monumental sculpture from the Greek world. Less than a century later, the *Moschophoros* (3) reveals an interest in anatomical details that was fundamental to the sculptor's ability to produce realistic portrayals of the world around him. Less than yet another century later the *Kritios Boy* (5) shows a fleshy restless shifting of weight and direction of gaze that reveals an ease of showing the human form and a new interest in the portrayal of motion. By the time of *Agias* (22), about 300 years after the tentative *Nikandre*, the sculptor can portray not only accurate anatomic detail, not only a static suggestion of motion, but—in the deep and brooding eyes—a sense of human emotion.

So, too, the two-dimensional flat relief of a motionless *Aristion* (7) yields in a brief time to the awkward but moving *Dancing Warrior* (8), whose motion is lost to *Amphotto* (7). But once again the calm but realistic features of *Amphotto*, when compared to the distorted face of *Aristion*, show how far the Greek sculptor had progressed within less than a century. Within less than another generation, the *Nike parapet* (10) reveals in the sureness of its carving not only skill but confidence with which the Athenian mason had mastered his marble.

Along the way, just after the time of *Amphotto* but before that of the *Nike parapet*, the Parthenon was created. This landmark in civilization is represented for us in the plaster casts of nine slabs (11-19) from the long frieze that showed

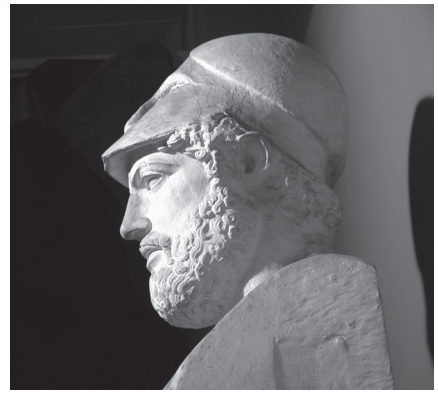
Greek gods and Athenian citizens in a timeless hopeful procession toward a goal of human excellence.

The plaster casts in Berkeley also document another kind of excellence — that of the individual people who have made a difference in our common history. Perikles (25), Sokrates (26), Menander (27), and Cicero (28) are only a few of the portraits that are in the collection and that could be presented with proper care and conservation, but these four remind us of the contributions of all our predecessors to the world we inhabit today. They may have lived millenia ago, and Sokrates may have died by public execution and Cicero may have ended with his tongue pinned to the Rostra of the Roman Forum, but their achievements continue today even as we continue to learn from them.

The effort to bring this small group of plaster casts back to life in our community has been aided by many, and we thank them. The Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology of the University of California has made its casts available for our work. We regret only that there has not been time to do more than the 2% of the Hearst collection that is presented here.

The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, by transferring its casts to the Department of Classics, has provided an example of generosity that still encourages us. The Department of Classics, and particularly its chair Robert C. Knapp, have been supportive in every possible way.

Financial support has come from the Support Fund of the Klio Professor, Richard and Connie Holton, George Katsoulis, Martin and JoAnn Lorber, Stephen and Effie Miller, and Leon and Lina Petrakis. Gifts and loans of materials and equipment have come from the Aleshire Center for Greek Epigraphy, Elisabeth Cornu, Crawford Greenewalt, Stephen Miller, and Tom Ventresco. Volunteer



Bust of Pericles (25).



The cast of Classics 270, 2003: (back row, from left) Boaz Zissu, Tom Ventresco, Erin Dintino, Marcia DeVoe, Rebecca Karberg, Joel Rygorsky, Stephen Miller; (front row) Elisabeth Cornu and Mont Allen, with plaster friends.

help has been given by Frank Cope, Effie Miller, and Tom Ventresco. Technical advice is still coming from Fordham & Associates, Nicos Makris, Kevin Moore, and Ron Chung. The space which has been necessary to carry out our work was made possible by Thomas Koster, Raymond Shiflett, and Tom Ventresco of Space Management and Capital Programs. Access to that space has been made possible by Di Anna Comrie and her security staff whose unstinting kindness and good cheer has been especially appreciated. Legal counsel in the arrangement of the transfer of the casts from the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco has come from Brian Donohue and Cindy Caprasecca, and the actual transfer was effected expeditiously and carefully by Mike Filler and his NorCal Moving associates.

Most important of all has been the skill and the enthusiasm of Elisabeth Cornu and Nadina Reusmann. Without Elisabeth, the casts would still be dirty, broken, and water-worn beyond use. What follows is attributable and a tribute to her.

SGM

Elisabeth Cornu applies a solution to the Nikandre Kore (I) while Joel Rygorsky looks on.



Introduction to the Second Edition

In the 30 months since the 21 newly cleaned, repaired, and restored casts in the Berkeley collection were presented to the campus community, word of their existence has spread. They had been left on display, albeit in the dark and dingy confines of Room 11 in the Marchant Warehouse in Emeryville, distant at least 20 minutes by automobile from the campus. Despite these problems of space and time, many undergraduate classes visited the collection, and benefited from their visits. Of the dozens of letters that students have written, I quote just one:

October 9, 2003

Dear Professor Miller,

To have stood before pieces that are the 'exact' copies of the statues that stood in the Acropolis or an ancient Greek home, cemetery, etc., was quite exciting. It is hard to visualize what the statues really look like despite images in books and references to the size of statues. Viewing Berkeley's cast collection in person allowed me the closest opportunity to encounter the statues as the artist intended for the viewer.

I recently wrote a paper for my Greek and Roman Art class before viewing the cast collection, comparing the Moschophoros and the Kritios Boy. When I saw the Moschophoros and Kritios Boy casts in person, I realized that I made some incorrect assumptions that I would not have made had I seen the casts of the statues beforehand. Of course, this was not possible because access to the cast collection is simply inconvenient.

I strongly believe that providing a permanent home for Berkeley's Cast collection on campus would be most beneficial for not only Greek and Roman Art students but for all students of Berkeley... It is my sincere hope to see the installation of Berkeley's most excellent cast collection on campus.

Cordially,
J. Nahry Tak

The hope of this student, and of so many others, has yet to be realized, and it is with a sense of frustration that I must acknowledge that I have not been able to bring that hope to fulfillment, despite the help of so many people on campus, particularly Cathy Koshland, Barbara Davis, Vicki Harrison, Mitchell Celaya, Robert Knapp, and Tom Ventresco. Nonetheless, the increasing awareness of



James Xavier Barbour uses the Berkeley Casts to teach his students from the Academy of Arts University the techniques of drawing faces.

The cast of Classics 270, 2005: (front row, from left) Elisabeth Cornu, Raina Chao, Blanche Kim; (back row): Megan DuBois, Stephen Miller, Stephanie Pearson, Nathan Arrington, Jose Abrigo



the cast collection and of its pedagogical value, wasted for a century, is reason to continue to hope that it will find a home where students can use it regularly.

Meantime, the Classics Department has made it possible for a small and dedicated group of different students to continue enlarging the collection, and to enhance its value. Some of the chronological gaps in the development of the Greek sculptor's ability to portray the human form realistically have been filled with the addition of the Melian Kouros (2), Akropolis Kore #684 (4), and the Erechtheion Karyatid (6). We may now study two works from Praxiteles, one of the most important sculptors of the 4th century BC. The Hermes (20) and Aphrodite (21) not only show Praxiteles' talents and allow them to be compared to those of Lysippos' Agias (22), but they also open the way for the cast collection to be expanded into the Hellenistic period with the entangled figures of the Pankratiasts (23). Finally, the Dead Persian (24) reveals that age's fascination with the other and with the portrayal of the human form in ultimate repose.

The cast collection is, in other words, growing, but the knowledge that there are still hundreds of figures in dirty broken disarray is both frustrating and challenging, and we hope that what is presented here in 2005 will entice others to continue with this work in the years to come.

We have once again been the beneficiaries of support from many individuals and institutions (in addition to those already mentioned). The Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology of the University has made its casts available for our work. Our dent in that group is still small but growing, and the continued co-operation of the PAHMA Director, Douglas Sharon, and his staff is critical to that growth.

A special note of thanks must go to Mrs. Margaritopoulou of the Akropolis Museum in Athens who, by return mail (!), supplied us with detailed photographs

of the right shoulder of Kore 684 (4) so that we could restore our cast's destroyed drapery as accurately as possible.

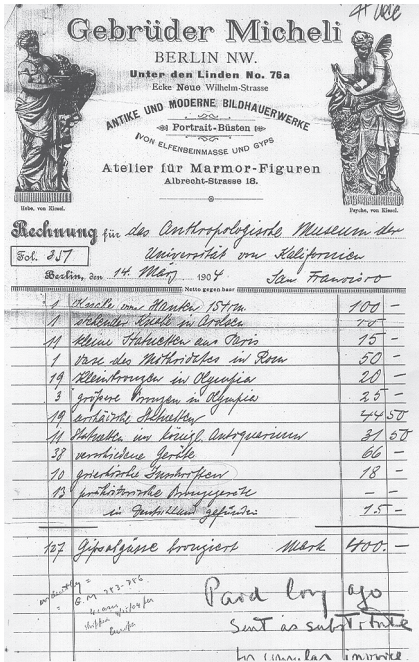
Financial support in 2005 has come from the Stephen G. Miller Retirement Fund, Thunderstone Cast Stone and its President, Mark Hansen, and Athena Trakadas. Equipment and materials have been loaned or given by Elisabeth Cornu, Crawford Greenewalt, and Stephen Miller. Volunteer assistance has come from Mario Barsotti and Martin Lorber. Erin Dintino has once again organized this book, and Denise Fordham has provided a base for another of the casts. The security staff in the Marchant Building, under the leadership of Di Anna Comrie, have been unfailingly courteous and helpful in many ways that do not always fall within their job descriptions.

We have once again been helped beyond measure by Elisabeth Cornu both in her expertise as conservator, and in bringing to us others who have assisted our efforts with their knowledge and their hard work: Blanche Kim, Nadina Reussman (for the second time), and Pedro Bernal. It will be noted by the reader who had studied the first edition that we were not able to achieve the restoration of as many pieces this year as in 2003. This was due in part to our fewer numbers, and in part to the difficulty of some of the pieces, especially Hermes (20) and the Pankratiasts (23), but mostly to the fact that Elisabeth's time had to be split between us and the opening of the deYoung Museum. What I wrote in 2003 about her importance to the project was proven in 2005; I would have rather not been so right. SGM



Elisabeth Cornu helps Megan Dubois find the correct paint color for the new plaster shoulder of Akropolis Kore #684 (4), following the photographs of the original which can be seen on the wall behind.

History of the Collections



Receipt for purchase of plaster casts from Gebrüder Micheli, dated May 14, 1904.

The University of California, Berkeley now boasts two plaster cast collections, each with its own remarkable history. Initially, the university had a single but exceptional collection of casts made directly from original Greek and Roman artifacts in European museums. Consisting of nearly three hundred works, ranging from small bronze implements to monumental freestanding statuary, the UC Berkeley plaster cast collection was among the finest in the country during the early 20th century.

A COLLECTION FOR TEACHING AND RESEARCH

The University acquired this first cast collection between 1902 and 1904 with funds donated by Phoebe Apperson Hearst. A philanthropist, UC Regent, and donor to the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Hearst was very keen to help UC Berkeley’s Museum of Anthropology acquire a collection of Greek and Roman antiquities for purposes of teaching and research. She commissioned Dr. Alfred Emerson, a scholar of ancient Mediterranean art, to act as her emissary in acquiring artifacts in Europe and facilitating their shipment to California. Even in the early 20th century, procuring original masterpieces of ancient art required substantial funds and a measure of serendipity; truly important works were both scarce and expensive. Having a collection of plaster casts enabled a university to possess masterpieces in replicas that were so close to their respective originals as to be preferable to them for some purposes. The even, white surfaces of plaster casts rid the works of discoloration that often rendered the originals less favorable for comparative examinations of sculpted musculature or drapery details, for example. Moreover, a collection of casts enabled side-by-side comparisons of masterpieces the originals of which were scattered among many different museums. By acquiring plaster casts of the more important treasures of antiquity, Emerson was able to flesh out the university’s teaching collections, assembling a body of objects that included representative pieces from most areas and eras of the ancient world.

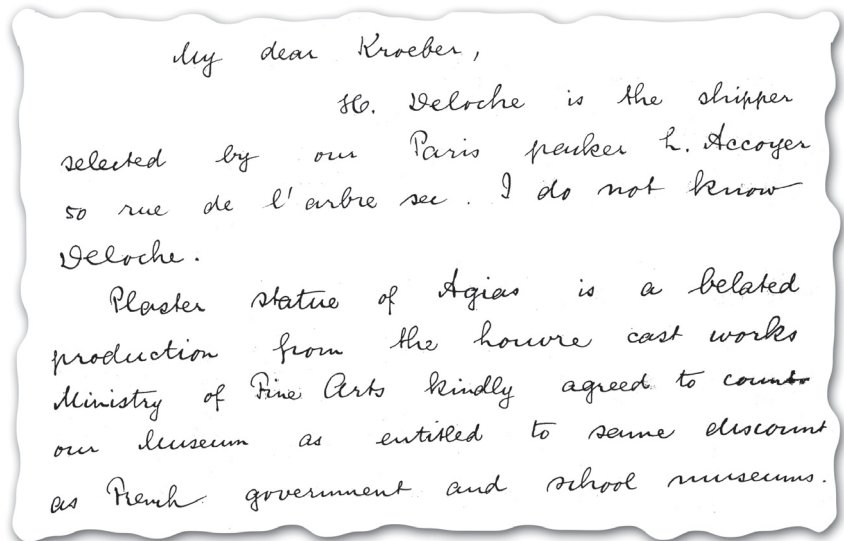
Museum records document that Emerson’s plaster cast purchases came from various European museums and sculpture studios. Shipping the sculptures from Europe was a lengthy and involved process that required his enduring attention. In the case of one statue, that of Agias the pankratiast (22), more than two years elapsed before Emerson’s purchase arrived safely in California. After being forwarded from Paris to Antwerp for shipping, the statue finally sailed west on

the SV Jupiter and was received in Berkeley on October 7, 1906. Emerson sent several letters to Berkeley's Museum of Anthropology in the interim, periodically checking whether the cast had arrived. In at least one instance, a shipment of casts met with bad weather en route and suffered some damage; letters written by Professor Alfred L. Kroeber in August of 1904 discuss the receipt of wetted cases and the loss of some cargo from a shipment of plaster casts.

Unfortunately, of the hundreds of casts that reached Berkeley intact, dozens can no longer be accounted for. Those that did survive the last century in California bear witness to decades of mishandling and neglect. The fate of the missing casts is uncertain, but several relocations over the years exposed the collection to excessive handling and hostile storage conditions. Presumably, many of the missing works were damaged beyond repair and were discarded. Others were "loaned" to different campus departments such as the portrait busts in the main entrance and in the Morrison Room of Doe Library. Regardless of what fate befell the various missing pieces of the collection, it is certain that few of the casts ever went on display where students and the public could benefit from them—Phoebe Apperson Hearst's vision of a teaching collection was never properly realized.

A CENTURY OF OBSCURITY

The first home the Berkeley casts found was in a structure made of corrugated iron, built in 1902 behind the Museum of Anthropology (roughly on the location of Hertz Hall today) with funds donated by Mrs. Hearst. Dubbed the "tin shack," the 9,600-square-foot structure held the casts for the first few decades after Emerson acquired them. In 1931, museum collections stored in San Francisco had to be moved into the "tin shack," thereby displacing the plaster cast collection. Without an adequate venue to display or store the casts, the museum was forced to move them to the only then-available space: beneath the bleachers of Edwards Field. Ten years later, the casts were still languishing there, in much worse condition for having been exposed to moisture and unfavorable temperatures. A letter from Alfred Kroeber notes that a selection of casts was borrowed for a President's reception in 1942, at which time it was discovered that the collection was deteriorating. Most unfortunately, the discovery of damage did not prompt a removal to a safer location; Berkeley's collection remained beneath the bleachers



My dear Kroeber,
St. Deloche is the shipper
selected by our Paris painter L. Accoyer
50 rue de l'arbre sec. I do not know
Deloche.
Plaster statue of Agias is a belated
production from the Louvre cast works
Ministry of Fine Arts kindly agreed to count
our Museum as entitled to same discount
as French government and school museums.

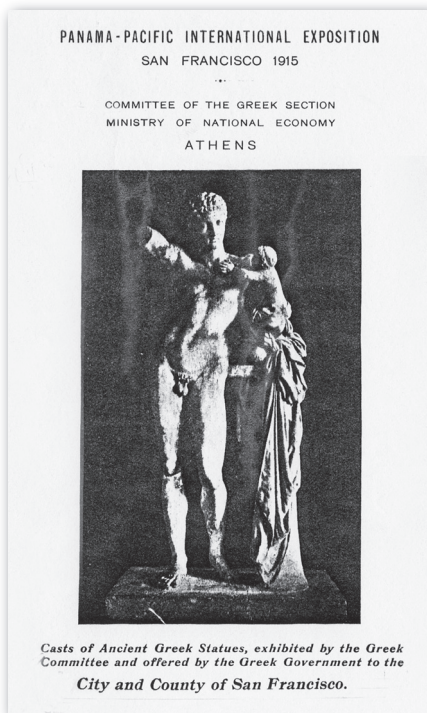
Excerpt from letter to Alfred Kroeber, written by Alfred Emerson on December 17, 1905.



View of the “tin shack” storage structure near Faculty Glade.

until 1976, when faculty members of the Classics department organized a rescue effort. The casts were moved to a proper storage facility in Richmond, whence they were moved again in the mid-1980s to their current location in an Emeryville warehouse.

Securing proper storage conditions for the casts helped to prevent further damage, but none of the plaster sculptures emerged from beneath the bleachers in a presentable condition. Covered in grime, scarred from dripping water, and having suffered many chips, cracks, and breaks, the surviving pieces of the cast collection were in dire need of conservation. While organizing efforts to repair the Hearst collection, Professor Stephen Miller learned of a second collection of plaster casts in the Bay Area that likewise needed attention. He ultimately arranged for the donation of 26 casts from the Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco to the UC Berkeley Department of Classics.



The cover of the 1915 catalogue of casts on exhibit at the Greek Pavilion of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition.

GIFTS FROM GREECE

The San Francisco casts had a distinguished beginning as representatives of Greece’s cultural heritage while on display at the Panama Pacific International Exposition of 1915. Held to celebrate the completion of the Panama Canal, the PPIE was an international extravaganza. Nearly every major nation in the world participated by building a pavilion somewhere on the 635 acres of designated fairgrounds in San Francisco.² The Greek Pavilion was a large neoclassical building with a grand, three-tiered staircase rising to its porch. Draped before the two central columns of its prostyle façade during the June 9 dedication, a pairing of massive flags—those of Greece and the United States—visually declared the building’s purpose: to celebrate and support international relations. As a gesture of good will, the Greek government cast 156 plaster sculptures for the Exposition with the intent of donating the entire collection to the city and county of San Francisco. The casts sailed west on the U.S.S. Jason, along with works of art from six other European countries, reaching San Francisco on April 11. A catalogue printed to accompany their display at the Greek Pavilion states that the “finest specimens” were chosen from the National Museum’s holdings, along with a few works from other museums. Photographs of the Greek pavilion show the building displaying its many plaster treasures both outside and within. Casts were perched atop the balustrades of the monumental staircase, set inside the porch, and arranged along the walls of the building’s interior.

Eighty-eight years after the 1915 world fair, the gifts of Greece may be remembered by the twenty-six remaining pieces of the original donation. Little is known about the San Francisco collection’s fate after the Greek pavilion was demolished following the Fair’s close. Like the Berkeley casts, those from San Francisco emerged from decades of storage bearing the soot and scars of extended neglect. It is possible that some of the pieces were distributed to schools or universities in the Bay Area, but only the twenty-six casts ultimately held by



the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco are accounted for. In 2003, Professor Miller arranged for the Classics Department to accept a generous donation of the San Francisco casts,³ in the hopes that they might be properly conserved and displayed. As a result, UC Berkeley is now in a position to follow the lead of other American and European universities in making available to its students and to the public a substantial collection of ancient Greek and Roman sculpture cast into plaster—a collection that embodies Bay Area history in creations molded directly from original works of the ancient world.

AN INVESTMENT FOR THE AGES

Institutions boasting collections of plaster casts offer a pedagogical resource now almost impossible to imitate. Most museums will no longer allow molds to be made from original works, for fear of damaging them. Thus, many of the casts Emerson procured—besides being antiques in their own right—are simply irreplaceable. The collection's priceless in this regard does not, however, preclude an estimate of its monetary value in Emerson's time, and an examination of Emerson's investment helps put the collection's worth into perspective.

Here again, the example of Agias the pankratiast (22) proves fruitful. Emerson secured a special academic discount from the French ministry of education that

Interior view of the Greek Pavilion, showing plaster casts donated by the Greek government. Photo: San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library.



Dedication ceremony at the Greek Pavilion at the opening of the 1915 world's fair. Photo: San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library.



(Above and right) UC Casts greet the public for the first time in decades at the 2003 UC Casts exhibition.

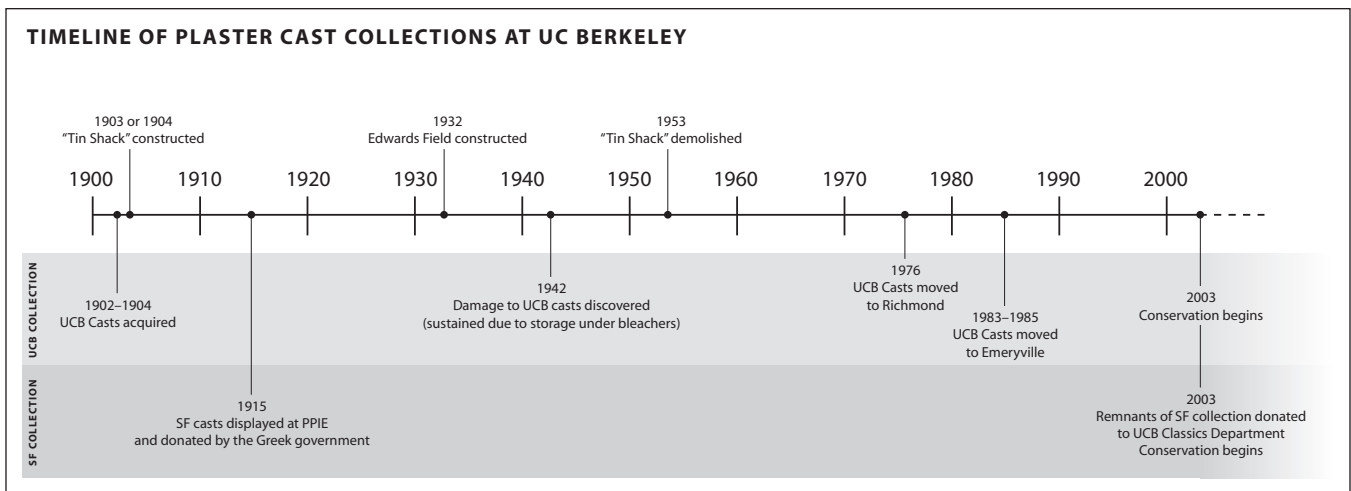


allowed him to purchase the two-meter-tall statue at a twenty-percent rebate, the same discount offered to French schools at the time. When adjusting for currency conversion and inflation, the 180 francs Emerson paid to the Louvre for Agias translate into over seven hundred 2005-dollars.

Two more casts from the collection similarly illustrate the collection's worth even at the time of purchase. The bust of Perikles (25) fetched an Italian replication studio the equivalent of 145 modern dollars, the standard price of bust portraits bought by Emerson. Larger statues sold for higher prices: the Knidian Venus (21), a life-size statue, cost Emerson over 1,000 modern-day dollars. Simply converting these numbers from price-paid to modern dollars sets the cleaned UC Berkeley collection well over the \$10,000 mark. This number, already a substantial sum, only increases in light of the assemblage's value amassed during its 102-year life span, which makes it two years older than the age of a bona fide antique.

Perhaps an even more telling comparison comes from Greece's Ministry of Culture which today offers several plaster casts for sale. Several of the casts in the UC Berkeley collection are also sold by the Ministry—among these, Kore 684 (4), \$1056; the Running Nike from Delos (CC021), \$504; the Aristion Stele (7), \$780; the Kritios Boy (5), \$1080; and the Hermes of Olympia (20), \$4680. Extrapolating from these prices the cost of other UC Berkeley pieces, only those pieces cleaned and conserved thus far, results in an estimated \$43,000 worth of the conserved collection. This staggering price does not even take into account the dozens of casts in the collection that still await conservation. The UC Berkeley cast collection, then, stands up to an appraisal of both its value as a non-renewable resource and of its sheer dollar value on today's art market. Phoebe Hearst endowed UC Berkeley with a gift that obviously accrues monetary value as time goes on; yet only the conservation and display of this artistic and historic investment will result in a full realization of its true worth.

ED & SKP



NOTES

1 Special thanks are due to Ira Jacknis for his research on the history of the Hearst Museum, which helped to pinpoint the dates for the construction of the "tin shack" and the relocation of the casts to Edwards Field. For more on the history of the museum see I. Jacknis, "A Museum Prehistory: Phoebe Apperson Hearst and the Founding of the Museum of Anthropology 1891-1901," *Chronicle of the University of California* 4 (2000) 47-77.

2 Today, these grounds are known as the Marina District and house the only remaining relic of the Exposition, the Palace of Fine Arts.

3 The decision of the Executive Committee of the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco to transfer the casts to the University was taken on December 13, 2001. The public minutes of that meeting include the following:

4. Resolution to Transfer Twenty-six Plaster Casts Primarily from the Parthenon Frieze and Reproductions of Greek Free-standing Sculpture to the University of California at Berkeley

Chair Merriam advised that twenty-six plaster casts primarily from the Parthenon Frieze and reproductions of Greek free-standing sculpture entered the permanent collection of the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco mainly due to their educational value soon after the founding of the M. H. de Young Museum in 1895. Because of their poor condition and the Museums' policy to not display reproductions, they have not been on view at either the de Young Museum or the Legion of Honor for decades. Upon the recommendation of the Curator of Ancient Art and the Acquisitions Committee, the Board of Trustees of the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco approved the deaccessioning of the twenty-six plaster casts at its meeting on June 14, 2001.

Chapter 28 of the San Francisco Administrative Code pertains to the transfer of works of art and states that "Where it is found to be in the public interest to transfer any object which is of historical or other interest to San Francisco, the object will first be offered to a San Francisco public or nonprofit institution. Three nonprofit, educational institutions were notified that the twenty-six plaster casts were available. All three, San Francisco Art Institute, San Francisco State University, and California College of Arts and Crafts, declined their acquisition.

The University of California at Berkeley (University), however, expressed serious interest in acquiring the plaster casts and is willing to assume responsibility for the costs of transport, conservation, reconstruction and storage of the twenty-six plaster casts befitting museum standards.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the resolution on pages 4006 and 4007 of Appendix I of these minutes approving the transfer of the twenty-six plaster casts to the University and further authorizing the Director of Museums to execute a transfer agreement governing the transfer of the twenty-six plaster casts to the University. There was no discussion among Trustees. There was no public testimony. The Board of Trustees voted unanimously to adopt the resolution of pages 4006 and 4007 of Appendix I of these minutes.

Plaster Casts in Museums and Education: A Brief Historical Survey

The making of plaster casts of ancient sculptures has a pedigree as old as the rediscovery of ancient sculpture itself (and even older, see the following essay). Those Italian artists who were at the forefront of renewed interest in ancient art did not merely study those newly resurrected antiquities and imitate them in their own art; they were also the first to carry out restorations of them, the first to make molds of them—and the first to collect plaster casts of them, beginning apparently with Francesco Squarcione, a Paduan painter of the fifteenth century, who used plaster casts for training his pupils. And it seems that the practice quickly spread: near the end of the 16th century, for example, Giovanni Battista Armenini, himself both a painter and a writer, tells us that cast collections for artists existed in many northern and central Italian cities (precisely those cities which had been the historic centers of the Renaissance).

In the 17th century, the making and use of plaster casts had spread, both in social and geographic terms—just as the values of the Renaissance itself had. In social terms, the adoption of Renaissance values and taste by Europe's aristocracy meant that the conspicuous display of antiquities (or casts of them) became an integral part of an aristocrat's proclamation of cultivated refinement. Hence

Plaster cast gallery at the University of Saskatchewan.



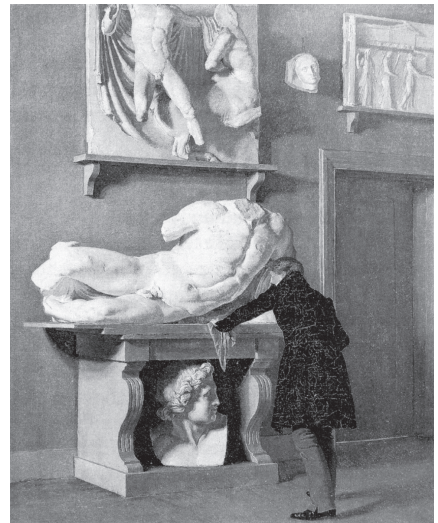
we have the first documented examples of casts made not for the instruction of artists, but for display in the houses and gardens of nobility. A notable example here is Francis I, who hired Primaticcio to make a cast of the Laocoon group for his new French court at Fontainebleau. It is interesting to note that plaster casts—then even more than now—were expensive to make and transport. Furthermore, high-level diplomacy was often required to obtain permission for taking molds and making casts in the first place. Francis I, for example, had to acquire the Pope's personal permission to cast the Laocoon. It was largely because of the expense and diplomacy involved that engravings, rather than plaster casts, played the more important role in disseminating knowledge of ancient sculpture through the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries.

In geographic terms, the spread of Renaissance values and taste outside the borders of Italy meant a concomitant spread of cast collections for instructional purposes. France again led the way when the French Academy in Rome, established in 1666, exported a group of its casts to Paris. But soon similar collections began spreading north of the Alps, and by the end of the 17th century, artists' academies in Mannheim, Copenhagen, and especially Berlin had begun founding collections.

Up to this point, then, plaster cast collections were limited to two main purposes: proclaiming the Humanist refinement of Europe's aristocracy; and instructing artists in artists' studios and academies. The use of plaster casts for teaching academic students about the history of art (which meant the transfer of casts from the artist's atelier and academy to the university) occurred first in Germany in the 18th century, when—under the influence of Winckelmann himself—the University of Göttingen opened its new assemblage of casts to students in 1767.

The 19th century saw the addition of yet another place for the display of plaster casts: the world fair. It is notable that a large exhibition of casts was actually mounted at the first of all such fairs, the one which introduced this new and distinctively 19th-century kind of spectacle to the world stage: London's Great Exhibition of 1851. Here, among the other international halls established in the Crystal Palace, was erected a Cast Court displaying the greatest hits of the ancient world. (Though the sculptures here were all plaster copies, the fig leaves discretely placed over every offending set of genitalia were fully real.)

This century also saw the rise of a new academic discipline: Classical Archaeology. Though early versions of the discipline had existed in Germany since the 18th century (as at the University of Göttingen—see above), Classical Archaeology as an autonomous field of its own, with its own faculty and its own methods, did not spread beyond Germany and gain the stature of an international discipline until the second half of the 19th century, when professorships to match the famous ones in Berlin were created in Strasbourg in 1873, in Paris in 1876, and in Oxford in 1885. Thus began the golden age of university cast collections: for



Charlottenborg cast collection, Copenhagen, by Christen Købke, 1830.

all such departments of Classical Archaeology considered it a high priority to assemble a functional teaching collection of plaster casts as a crucial apparatus of scholarship, an apparatus just as important as having an archaeological library. Nor were such collections limited solely to teaching: they also functioned as means of research and experimentation. Thus, for example, Adolf Furtwängler, famous professor of Classical Archaeology at the University of Dresden, in 1880 placed a plaster cast of an ancient head from Bologna on the body of an Athena in Dresden and discovered that they fit perfectly. He later identified his newly sutured work as a copy of Pheidias' famous bronze Athena from Lemnos, and most cast collections to this day continue to show this Athena as Furtwängler did, with head and body reunited.

The fact that classical archaeologists unearthed new ancient sculptures at a staggering pace during the second half of the 19th century meant that plaster cast collections—now provided with a continuous stream of ever-more newly discovered antiquities to copy—kept on growing. Thus, for example, when the Winged Nike of Samothrace was exhumed in 1863, plaster copies were quickly disseminated to university collections all over Europe. By the first decade of the 20th century—precisely when Phoebe Apperson Hearst made her donation of casts to U.C. Berkeley to establish a collection—Europe's collections of plaster casts had reached their maximum extent.

The importance of cast collections as an important tool in university instruction did not begin to wane until the 20th century. This had both cultural and technological causes. Culturally, the senseless horrors of the First World War led to a general crisis of faith in European civilization and its traditional values

Portraits from cast collection of sculptor Antonio Canova (1755–1822).

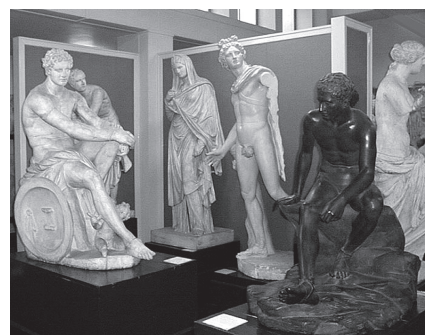


and ideals. Among other casualties of this cultural loss of nerve was the conviction that classical civilization represented the supreme paradigm worthy of emulation. Relatedly, Classicism in the arts came under increasing attack from Modernism and the new Avant-Garde; and suddenly the discipline of Classical Archaeology found itself estranged from the art and values of its own time.

At the same time, in the realm of technology the development of photography did much to obviate the need for maintaining expensive and space-demanding collections of casts. Though obviously two-dimensional and capable of rendering only a single view of a sculpture at a time, photographs were much cheaper to produce and acquire, could be mass-produced, and carried no risk of damaging the original.

As a result of these two factors—a changed cultural atmosphere and the new availability of photography—cast collections suffered increasingly as the 20th century wore on, and of those not destroyed or damaged during the Second World War, many were later moved, starved of funds, or broken up.

Nonetheless, a few have survived in good order. Realizing that only plaster casts can provide three-dimensional, hands-on access to ancient sculpture—something which photography can never provide—Pisa, Versailles, Basel, Dresden, and Berlin in particular have worked hard to reassemble, preserve, and even expand their cast collections, which serve to this day as important and irreplaceable tools for university instruction and academic research. We can only be thankful that U.C. Berkeley has finally begun to take similar steps. MA&JMR



Casts on display at Oxford University.

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Plaster casts in American Education



Casts on display at the University of Texas at Austin.

In the 1930s and 1940s, changing tastes in educational style resulted in many universities discarding their cast collections. Thankfully, in the 1980s, the academic world rediscovered the use of plaster casts for teaching students about Greek and Roman art and culture as well as models for architecture and drawing classes. Today, we see more and more cast collections being used as teaching tools at the University level. Cambridge University is home to over 600 full size plaster casts of sculpture as well as close to 400 smaller replicas. This collection, now housed in the Museum of Classical Archeology, was acquired as early as 1912. One of the most notable pieces of the collection is the Peplos Kore, which has been painted in reconstruction where the original could not be, thus giving the viewer a better idea of what Greek sculpture may have actually looked like.

The United States is home to cast collections at several institutions (e.g. Cornell, Emory, et alii) among which two stand out: the collections at the University of Missouri at Columbia and at the University of Texas at Austin. The University of Missouri collection is comprised of over 100 casts of Greek and Roman sculpture, as well as three scale models of parts of buildings that can be used to study the Ionic, Dorian, and Corinthian orders. Originally housed in the Museum of Classical Archeology and History of Art, the casts can now be found in their own display space in the large front gallery of Pickard Hall, where they are open to be viewed by the public as well as faculty and students. The cast collection at the University of Texas, called the William J. Battle Collection of Plaster Casts, is made up of examples of Greek and Roman sculpture and architectural elements that span the 6th century BC to the 3rd century AD. It is considered to be one of the most representative collections of Greek and Roman sculpture. The Battle Collection was restored in the 1970s after being in storage for over twenty-five years. It is now used widely throughout the University by students in various disciplines.

MDB

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University of Texas, Austin: http://www.utexas.edu/cofa/bma/wm_battle.html
University of Missouri, Columbia: http://aha.missouri.edu/research_resources/castgallery.html

Plaster Casts in the Roman Period

Some of the casts in the collection are described as Roman copies of Greek originals. The Romans were the first to use plaster casts systematically to make exact, or at least close, copies of an original – be it of a 5th century BC Greek masterpiece or of a contemporary emperor's portrait.¹ Casts in pieces or complete casts could be shipped to the far ends of the empire. Sometimes just the negative piece molds were sent, allowing the receiving sculptor to make his own cast. Measurements were taken from the new plaster figure (sometimes painstakingly and sometimes more as a sketchy reference) and transferred to the marble block as the sculptor fashioned his copy.² By using a cast as a model, a bust that stood in Athens could be copied and sold by an atelier in Rome to a statesman for his garden. Likewise, copies of the reigning ruler's portrait could be created and set up in all parts of the empire. Even though individual busts show signs of having been made in the provinces, they all reproduce more or less faithfully the mold or cast of the "official" original that was disseminated from Rome. And statues were not the only artworks that the Romans reproduced through casting: studies of the porch of the Karyatids in the Forum of Augustus show that the Ionic capitals are replicas made from casts of the Erechtheion on the Athenian akropolis.³

In 1954 Italian professor Mario Napoli discovered a cache of 450 fragments of plaster casts in a deposit in the cellar of a private bath house in Baiae on the Bay of Naples. The close quarters of the room and the context indicate that the casts were not originally used in this location, but evidence elsewhere at the site points to the presence of Roman period sculptors' workshops at Baiae. The plaster pieces are fragmented: "*Ma è quanto basta, comunque, ad accertare in maniera inequivocabile la presenza di una bottega di copista*," writes Napoli.⁴ At least twelve certain statue types can be identified, including the tyrannicides Harmodios and Aristogeiton, the Hera Borghesi, the Ephebe Westmacott, the Apollo Belvedere, and the Doryphoros. Many of the casts preserve amazingly fine detail from the originals, such as chest hair and raised veins.⁵ By comparing these casts to the Roman copies that exist, it becomes apparent that Roman craftsmen were not slaves to the Greek originals. For instance, the Roman marble copies of Aristogeiton present a younger, less archaic man than the cast from Baiae.⁶



Fragment of a Roman-period plaster cast found in Baiae.

The exact way in which the casts were made is not clear, but scholars have suggested the following process.⁷ First were the preliminary preparations. Removable pieces of the statue, such as metal locks of hair or other attributes such as weapons, were detached. Clay and (more rarely) wax were used to strengthen and protect the original. Eyelashes were covered, and such hollows as the spaces between fingers, gaps underneath a raised foot, or some of the deeper crevices between folds were filled.⁸ Second, a negative was created, either from plaster or from an “elastic” material.⁹ For a plaster negative, the statue was either covered for protection with either a thin coat of clay or perhaps some type of powder.¹⁰ Many small pieces comprised each negative piece mold, and the edges of these small pieces were coated with adhesive or “keyed” so that they would fit together permanently. A layer of plaster was applied to all such small pieces to hold them together and form the piece molds. For an “elastic” negative, the statue was coated with clay two to five millimeters thick. A large plaster shell was applied over the clay and, when dry, removed. The clay was then removed, the plaster shell replaced, and a hot, fluid material was poured in, which hardened as it cooled and created the negative. Finally, the plaster cast was made from the plaster or “elastic” negative piece molds. Two types of plaster were used in this process: a whiter, thinner plaster, and a more impure plaster, mixed with sand or brick powder, that was stronger and more water resistant. The thin plaster was first applied to the negative piece mold in order to thoroughly coat the surface and acquire as many details as possible from the negative. Once this dried, a layer of the thicker plaster was applied. Finally, the various piece molds were put together, and a third layer was applied to hold it all together. Bones, a light and cheap material, were used to strengthen the structure, as well as reeds and, for smaller areas, lead. Wood and iron rods strengthened limbs and joined them to each other.

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NOTES

¹ According to Pliny, though, the Greek sculptor Lysistratos took plaster impressions not only from statues but from humans, apparently in an effort to make his sculptures more life-like (*Historia Naturalis* 35.153).

2 The sculptor often may have used a tool like a compass to measure distances from fixed reference points, and on some statues the small holes from the tip of such instruments are still visible. He may also have used a pointing device to transfer a series of positions from one piece to another.

3 The Roman capitals have knobs where the Athenian ones have holes. These holes originally contained bronze applications which, after a mold was taken, would have appeared in the resultant plaster cast as knobs. Thus it is clear that the capital must have been reproduced by casting.

4 As quoted in Richter (1970), p. 296.

5 It is quite possible that the plaster casts were an end in themselves, painted as real marbles were and sold as less expensive versions to a popular market to decorate such homes as those of intellectual posers, which "... *omnia plena gypso Chrisippi invenias*" in Juvenal, *Sat.* II.2.3-4.

6 Roman marble copies of Aristogeiton: Naples, Museo Nazionale, Inv. 6010; Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Braccio Nuovo, Inv. 2404; Rome, Museo Nuovo Capitolino, Inv. 2312.

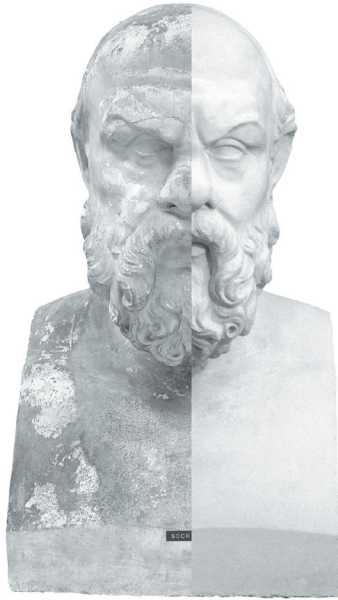
7 In particular, we thank Mark Hansen and Tom Ventresco for their helpful comments.

8 Since marble statues were carved together with their base, there is no cavity between the bottom of the foot and the base. Bronze statues, on the other hand, were fastened to a base that was created separately from the statue. Thus, it is usually possible to determine from the casts of feet whether the original statue was bronze or marble. At Baiae, the vast majority of the casts are from bronze statues.

9 The use of an "elastic" material has been suspected from Lucian's comments about a Greek statue black with pitch from all the molds being made from it (Lucian, *Iuppiter Tragoedus* 33) and from Landwehr's observations of the "slippage" marks on two cast fragments (Landwehr (1985), p. 17, and pls. 67d and 101c). It should be noted that none of the casts from Baiae are negatives.

10 For clay: Landwehr 1985, pp. 16-17. However, Tom Ventresco suggests that oil or grease was used. Indeed, this may explain the pitch in the passage from Lucian (note 9, above), which Landwehr uses to postulate elastic molds.

Conserving the Casts



Before and after.

The process of conservation has a standard routine, regardless of the material or object that is being conserved.¹ This routine always begins with documentation, proceeds to cleaning and repair, and ends with a consideration of how the object will be displayed or stored. Most of our work on the casts in the warehouse consisted of cleaning and repairing the pieces, although we hope that the next step—formal display on the University of California campus—will soon follow. Each cast presented its caretaker with a unique set of challenges, and each caretaker developed a set of conservation skills specialized to his or her group of casts.

Documenting the casts began by carefully examining all of the surfaces of the piece and noting cracks, breaks, areas of previous restoration, and missing pieces that were present in the original. Also noted were differences in wear in some of the casts since their history left them exposed, at least partially, to natural elements. All of the pieces were dirty, but the nature of the dirt and damage varied with each individual artwork. This diversity made the later repairs and cleaning more difficult since different techniques affected individual areas to varying extents. Some of these pieces also had coatings on them, paint or shellac in most cases. These details were included in the initial documentation process as well. Away from the warehouse, time in the library was devoted to studying photographs of the originals, as well as learning all that was possible about their provenance and archeological contexts. Conservation is a science, to be sure, but it has indissoluble ties to the world of art and art production. Each ancient piece must be considered within its historical and art historical context in addition to its intrinsic worth as an object. An appreciation of how the object was made, along

Elisabeth Cornu conducts initial inspections and outlines her plans for conservation.





Work on a cast begins with documenting its dimensions and condition.

with its place in the art historical tradition is just as important to conservation as is an understanding of the chemistry behind the creation of the material and the substances used to clear or repair it. The documentation process gave us an opportunity to grasp some, if not all, of this.

After documenting the pieces by writing condition reports and taking initial photographs we then moved on to the phase of the conservation process that would consume most of our time. Cleaning was a process of its own that involved multiple steps, but can be most easily subdivided into mechanical and solvent based. Most importantly, cleaning always begins with the mildest method and then progresses to stronger techniques that are tried and applied as necessary. Mechanical cleaning was accomplished without the use of any chemicals. We began this by simply vacuuming and dusting the pieces, removing as much loose dust, dirt and other accumulated debris (bird droppings, in one case) as we could. Then we tried a variety of erasers on the surfaces, to pick up dirt that was a bit more stubborn. Erasers were a useful starting point regardless of their efficacy since rubbing, no matter how vigorous, did not harm the surface of the casts. The success of this technique was varied: even after vacuuming and using a vulcanized rubber sponge on some surfaces, very little difference was discernible on the Kritios Boy (5) or parts of the busts of Socrates and of Menander (26-27);



Loose dirt is brushed off into a vacuum.



(Left) A vulcanized rubber eraser is used to remove dirt before proceeding to wet treatments. (Middle) Wet cleaning begins with a simple application of cotton swabs moistened with water. (Right) More stubborn dirt requires the use of acetone, applied as a last resort when detergents and gentle solvents have failed.



however, the stele of the running warrior (8) showed vast improvement even before the solvent phase of cleaning began.² In addition to the vulcanized rubber sponge, we also tried erasers much the same as those found in most mechanical pencils (which achieved great results on the Pankratiasts [23] in 2005) as well as a polyvinyl alcohol sponge. At this point in our efforts, the need to consider the entirety of the pieces became apparent as some surfaces came clean quickly, while others resisted all mechanical efforts due to the dissimilar wear they had suffered. It took great care and restraint to ensure an even treatment of the surfaces of the pieces to prevent blotchiness that could be just as disconcerting as the dirt.

Every cast required some attention with solvents; mechanical cleaning was never enough. In a few cases, a simple application of water on a cotton pad to the surface and some gentle rubbing was enough to clean the surface to everyone's satisfaction. In most cases, however, we experimented with a variety of detergents as well as some chemical solvents (i.e. ethanol, acetone, and ammonia) in hopes of removing as much dirt and accretion as possible, and even then, the task was challenging. The chemical characteristics of the solvents influenced their application. For instance, acetone was used to remove pigments on the surface of the casts (successfully in the case of the Karyatid [6] and less so for the Kore [4]) while ethanol was used primarily in combination with water to make it dry faster. The mixture of water and alcohol was very important in cases where the plaster had been exposed to consistently damp conditions. In these instances, the water had disrupted the structure of the plaster causing it to remain permanently damp and leaving it especially vulnerable to future exposure to liquids, thus, quick evaporating alcohol was used to ensure no further damage came to these areas. Plaster is calcium sulphate (Ca_3SO_4), and its chemical properties needed to be taken into account with whatever detergent or solvent that we applied to it. Accordingly, we used four different kinds of detergent in 2003: one mild (Orvus), one very strong (Vulpex), and two that were not very strong but had high surface tensions (Micro and Maypon), making them useful for drawing out dirt that had closely bonded with the plaster. The solutions were mixed in low concentrations, ranging between two and four percent and we aimed for a slightly basic pH of about 8.5. These detergent solutions removed, for the most part, a good portion



Holes are patched with new plaster that is sculpted to match the originals.

of the dirt. But some of the casts were coated, either partially or fully, with shellac or other sealants which, in addition to darkening with age, made the dirt adhere to the surface with particular stubbornness. In 2005, though we flirted with the use of the mildest detergent, Orvus, we relied more heavily on the use of an enzymatic solution and Ammonium citrate ($C_6H_{14}N_2O_7$). The enzymatic solution contained a mixture of enzymes, similar to those in our saliva (which is sometimes used by conservators desperate to remove dirt), that helped break down the dirt on the surface. Though this often worked very well, the residue could also be detrimental to the surface so it was necessary to wash the area with water after using it. Washing with water was also necessary after use of detergents. The main bulk of our cleaning was accomplished with various concentrations of ammonium citrate (ranging from 2–5%). Ammonium citrate is a chelating agent, penetrating into the pores of the plaster and drawing out the dirt, which made it extremely effective against deeply ingrained dirt. However, it also needed to be rinsed with water to prevent surface degradation. It was considered preferable to the detergents previously employed since its polar chemical structure makes it easier to remove by water rinse than the detergent residue and thus it is less likely to cause long-term damage to the surfaces of the casts.

Once scrubbing the surface with detergents or ammonium citrate and cotton pads, or swabs in less-accessible areas, became less and less fruitful, we tried chemical solvents, mostly ethanol and acetone. Socrates (26) and one slab of the Parthenon frieze (13) proved to be particularly difficult, and they were given methyl cellulose packs, which consisted of Methocel plus a detergent, water, and Attopulgite (an inert clay, which was the binding agent). This treatment did give us the results that we were seeking – the removal of dirt that would not come out any other way – but it was both too drastic, leaving the plaster dead white in its wake, and not time-efficient. As a last-ditch effort, on some dark areas that no other efforts could lighten, we applied a dilute solution of trisodium phosphate, which was immediately rinsed with water to minimize the possibly deleterious effects of this solvent. In the end we adhered, for the most part, to a regimen of detergents and then solvents; the latter were much better at dissolving some of the old shellac and dirt without removing everything as in the case of the packs. By far, the liquid part of the cleaning process was the most physically demanding as well as time-consuming, but most often our investment had an immediate payoff. Cleaning with solvents such as acetone is something that conservators generally try to avoid, but so many of these casts had been exposed to years of dirt

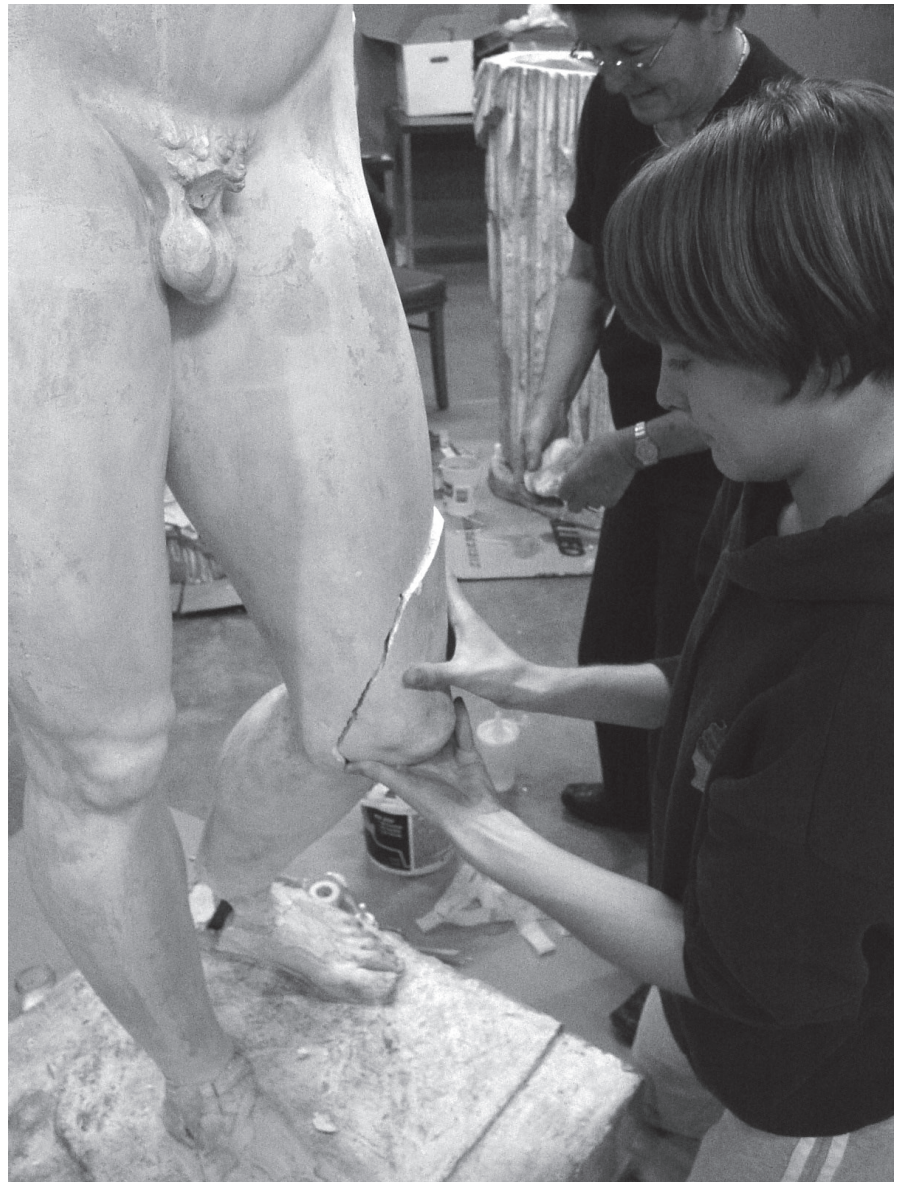


Tinted washes help blend repairs with the patina of a piece.

Iron dowels are brushed with a rust inhibitor before reattachments are made.

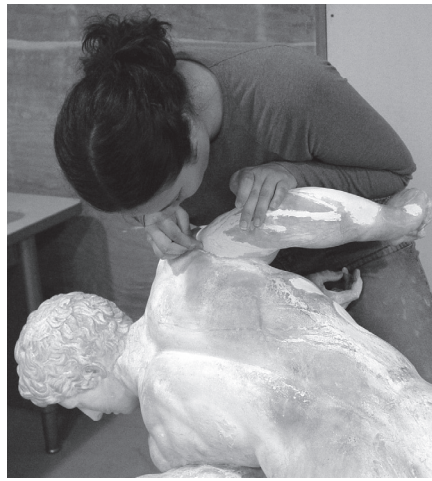


Broken pieces are carefully joined and secured with inert adhesives.



and soot accumulation, as well as stains and coatings that could not be removed any other way.

Once the casts were as clean as we could make them, we glued, patched and filled any damaged areas. In 2003, part of Cicero's toga had been broken off (28), as had the ankle of the military dancer and Amphotto's arm (8 and 9). In 2005 we had to contend with both major breaks (such as Hermes's knee and ankle [20]) and in-filling of pits and rivulets that had been eroded by dripping water (such as the Kore's shoulder [4] and numerous places on the Pankratiasts [23]). Another objective of the conservator is to avoid altering the pieces in a way that cannot be reversed. With this goal in mind, we painted all areas that were to be reattached or filled with an acrylic polymer B-72 that sealed the pores of the plaster, ensuring that the fill or adhesive would lie on top of the plaster and be easily removable if there was ever need. For the same reason, after the fills were completed and in-



Cracks and obliterated areas are injected with Polyfilla. (Left) Erosional grooves left in a cast by dripping water. (Right) The grooves are carefully filled and blended with the cast's surface.

painting was required to integrate the new patch with the surrounding plaster we used watercolor pigments that could be removed in the future. The broken pieces were reattached with an adhesive (Acryloid B-72 or PVA) and the cracks and pits were filled with an acrylic dispersion adhesive, Phoplex AC-234 or AC-33. In the days before synthetic adhesives, fish and animal glues were the only adhesive options, but they are very seldom used today because of their tendency to turn from clear or white to yellow and brown with age. Very few of the casts did not require some repairs of this sort and each of us became experienced in the art of plastering and filling missing areas, especially with the Parthenon frieze panels (11-19). In 2005 we had several instances where the casts had been formed on an iron frame (such as Hermes [20] and the Pankratiast's finger [23]). In these cases, the iron had been exposed to the elements and accumulated rust, thus increasing its volume and cracking the surrounding plaster (a process known as "jacking up"). We painted these exposed areas with a reagent that reversed the oxidation process, removing the rust, prior to again covering the frame with fill to ensure no further jacking up would occur. Cracks and missing sections alike were filled with Polyfilla, a vinyl filler that contains calcium carbonate (CaCO_3) which, when dry, looks and behaves just like the plaster it was replacing. The fills required sanding and sculpting to maintain the contours of the surface they were on. Another fill, a general outdoor spackling with microballoons (small glass spheres) was also used for smaller fills since the microballoons prevented shrinking, dried faster and was easier to sculpt while still wet. The fact that it dried white meant that we had to devote time to surface integration. For us, that meant learning how to mix pigments to disguise the patches and repairs that we had made. Most of the painting and infilling was done with shellacs that contained alcohol stains and pigments (e.g. yellow ochre) in 2003. In 2005 it was mostly done with highly watered down paint with watercolor pigments. On pieces where slightly more coverage was preferable, we started with a mix of thinned latex primer, and then added pigments until the desired color was achieved.



Each cast is prepared for mounting according to its particular weight, dimensions, and display requirements.

A special problem involved the ridges of plaster that were left between the mold pieces (12-14). These clearly detracted from the appearance of the piece, and yet we were not eager to remove them when the remaining surface of the plaster was in relatively good condition. Some of the Parthenon slabs showed the danger in trying to remove the ridges, for at some point in their history, yet after a patina had been acquired, the ridges were taken off leaving a network of unsightly irregular lines of fresher plaster (16-19). We tried to mitigate those by tinted washes. In other cases, however, the plaster surface had already deteriorated so much that we could not remove the ridges and then paint over the whole to provide a uniform, if almost too fresh, look to the whole (22, 25-28). We ran into a similar problem in 2005 when attempting to remove splatters of concrete from the Pankratiasts (23).

Most of our work ended with this stage. Mounting these casts for display has been delegated to a professional firm³ that specializes in preparing artworks for display, in accordance with seismic regulations. The mounting will utilize wider bases to counter seismic shaking⁴ and counterweights to bring the center of gravity as close to the floor as possible for the sculptures in the round, such as the Moschophoros, Kore 684, and the Kritios Boy (3, 4, and 5). The relief panels will be held in place by sturdy hooks as well as a support along the bottom edge of the cast. These will be anchored to the frame of the structure where the pieces are displayed so that they become, in effect, a part of the wall. Once displayed, these pieces will serve as objects of study, not only for students of ancient Greek art, but of art and conservation as well.

RAK & RC

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NOTES

- 1 Thanks are due to Elisabeth Cornu and Nadina Reussman for sharing their knowledge and experience with us during both seasons in 2003 and 2005, and to Blanche Kim for her input in 2005.
- 2 Of course, this piece was only created ca. 1970, so it had 70 fewer years of mistreatment and exposure to weather and dirt.
- 3 Fordham & Associates
- 4 We thank Professor Nicos Makris and Margarita Constantinides for their studies of the size needed for each base to prevent toppling in an earthquake. See "Seismic Response of Plaster Cast Sculptures on the University of California, Berkeley Campus."

Catalogue of Classical Casts



I CC 001

NIKANDRE KORE

Inv. no.: Hearst 21-50;
Original in National Museum, Athens, inv. no. I
H: 1.75 m.
W: 0.495 m.
D: 0.183 m.
H of modern base: 0.086 m.
W of modern base: 0.531 m.
D of modern base: 0.410 m.

This cast is of a marble *kore* (maiden) found in the sanctuary of Artemis on the island of Delos by French excavators in 1878.¹ The statue depicts a woman, boxlike and stiff in appearance. She stands upright, with her feet together and both arms positioned straight down and affixed closely to her sides. Her hair is an undifferentiated mass on top and in back; the hair hanging over her shoulders is divided into four distinct locks on either side. There are holes in both hands, indicating that they were intended to hold some type of objects or offerings. Over her body the Nikandre Kore wears a *peplos*, a full-length robe extending from shoulders to feet, girded around the waist by a belt. The *peplos* arches upward at the bottom of the statue, creating a niche from which the feet extend. A *miltos*-filled inscription carved vertically and *houstophedron* (from one end to the other and back again) onto her left side declares herself an offering of a certain Nikandre to the goddess Artemis.² It reads (translated):

Nikandre dedicated me to the far-shooter of arrows, the goddess;
(Nikandre), the daughter of Deinodikos of Naxos, honored among
women, the sister of Deinomenes and the wife of Phraxos.

The statue was found broken into two pieces at the waist. The left arm between the elbow and the bottom of the hand is broken off and missing. The right arm between the elbow and hand was also broken off and missing at the time of its discovery. However, this section of the arm was found in 1950 and subsequently reattached in its original position.³ The statue also has endured some rather extensive wear over its entire surface. Heavy and deep abrasions cover especially the face and upper torso, but no area of the statue has escaped entirely

the scarring effects of weathering that have so battered the the aforementioned areas. The plaster copy of the Nikandre Kore in the Hearst collection, cast entirely in one piece, duplicates exactly the state of the original prior to 1950. It is currently in excellent condition and seems to have suffered no major damage or wear at all since it was originally cast.

The Nikandre Kore (ca. 650 BC) is the earliest extant over-life size, marble sculpture currently known.⁴ The particularly rigid and block-like form of her body, combined with the stratigraphical evidence of her findspot, indicate that this statue is also among the earliest extant statues of the Kore type. Her size, composition, and form suggest her sculptor was either directly or indirectly inspired and influenced by earlier and contemporary styles of Egyptian sculpture.⁵

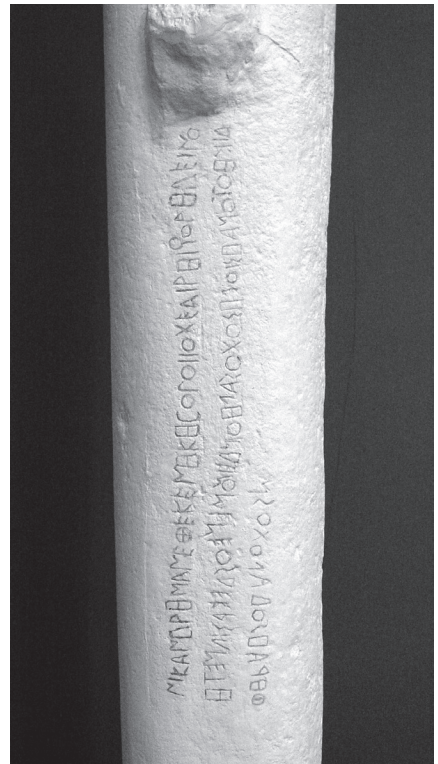
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NOTES

- 1 In the original publication the findspot is recorded as 'in front of the temple of Apollo' (see Homolle 100); in all subsequent publications (e.g. Richter, Marcade) the findspot is changed to the sanctuary of Artemis.
- 2 *IG*, XII, 5, 2, XXIV.
- 3 Marcade, *BCH* 74 (1950) 182.
- 4 A funerary kore carved from Naxian marble found on Thera in 2001 has been recently published and dated contemporary to the Nikandre Kore. See G. Kaminilis, "Dädalische Plastike," in P.C. Pol (ed.) *Die Geschichte der antiken Bildhauerkunst I* (Mainz 2002) 74–75.
- 5 A. Stewart, *Greek Sculpture: An Exploration* (New Have 1990) 108.
- 6 For full bibliography, refer to Richter (1968) 26 and Jockey (1996) 14.



2 CC 026

MELIAN KOUROS

Inv. No. FAMSF 44813
 Original in National Archaeological Museum, Athens, inv. no. 1558
 H with plinth: 2.245 m.
 H w/o plinth: 2.170 m.
 W at shoulders: 0.57 m
 W of head *inter tragos*: 0.185 m.

The original statue of this cast was found on the island of Melos in 1891 and has since been housed at the National Archaeological Museum of Athens. The statue,





made out of Naxian marble, was found almost completely intact, including the plinth (the base of the statue). The lower legs have been reattached, and the left shin has been restored. The upper portion of the body from the waist up was found extremely pock marked, especially around the chest area. Moreover, the top portion of the hair has almost been completely worn smooth, which indicates that perhaps the statue had been on display and exposed to the elements for a prolonged period of time.

The statue is a representation of a nude young man (*kouros*) standing upright with his left leg slightly advanced and arms held down at his sides with fists clenched. The expression on the face is the ubiquitous “archaic smile”, and his hair fans downward to his back and is rendered in a shell-like pattern on his forehead.

The figure descends from a long tradition of statues identified as “*kouroi*”—or “youths”. They are found throughout the entirety of the Greek Archaic period, first appearing at the end of the 7th century and subsequently disappearing a century later. The type was most almost certainly inspired in Egypt since the earliest *kouroi* found have numerous stylistic parallels with Egyptian sculpture. However, though the Greeks adopted the style, they soon made them their own, evolving and advancing techniques at a rapid pace.

Through stylistic analysis this statue can be placed chronologically near the beginning-middle of the *kouros* development at around 550 bc. At this point, the *kouros* has clearly broken away from its Egyptian model, but has not yet attained the “International Style”—or the homogenized model of the type that evolved as artists began to travel more frequently between city-states and the subsequent cross-pollination of stylistic influence. The Kouros from Melos still retains the distinctive stylistic elements of the region from which it originates with slight indications of some “internationalizing” influence.

The island of Melos in the Cyclades is considered to be primarily under the Naxian regional style, which prefers its *kouroi* to be thin and flat. The waists are almost always narrow, with the torso and the shoulders almost flaring upwards from it. The groin is stylized in a prominent V-shape pattern and the abdominal muscles are never prominent and are oftentimes left flat. This representation owes much to the Naxian technique of rendering the body as a series of spherical tubes—thus the musculature seems separately accentuated.

The Melos Kouros does embody many features of this categorization, but with a few exceptions. Rather than the absence of, there seem to be a faint hinting of abdominal muscles. Moreover, compared to other *kouroi* from the Naxian school, the statue is cut more in the round and the muscles flow together much more smoothly – they are no longer separately accentuated. Thus, the statue stands at one of the cusps of the *kouros* development and has contributed an enormous amount to our understanding of Archaic Greek sculpture. JA

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3 CC 027

MOSCHOPHOROS (CALF-BEARER)

Inv. no. FAMSF 44879
Original in Akropolis Museum, Athens, inv. no. 624
PH w/o base: 1.18 m.
W at shoulders: 0.462 m.
W of head *inter tragos*: 0.147 m.

Reduced-size plaster cast of the life-sized original in Athens (H. w/o base: 1.65 m). Uncovered in an 1864 excavation on the Akropolis, the fortified hill-top of Athens, in the area of the current Museum. Legs are missing from the knees down; the genitalia and left thigh are badly damaged and broken away. The remaining sculpture and its surface are in excellent condition. Chiseled in the High Archaic style ca. 570-60 BC from Hymettian marble, this statue is in essence a *kouros* (youth). It bears the indicative traits of this popular votive type, such as the deeply dimpled “Archaic smile,” the geometric musculature, and stiff, striding stance. The *Moschophoros* is, as his name indicates (*moschos/calf*, *phoros/carrier*), a man carrying a male calf intended to become a sacrifice to the goddess. His dewey-eyed offering rests relaxed upon the sprightly man’s muscular shoulders. He is nude except for a mantle draped beneath the young animal. Remnants of black paint on the original pick out the arched brows while a cinnamon-red can be detected within the border of his cloak. The calf was apparently painted a bluish grey. Stone inlay of the eyes is missing.

The balanced unison of the pair—in emotional tones, anatomical handling, feeling of physical weight—generates a surprising degree of lively naturalness. Like other *kouroi*, the *Moschophoros* would have served as a double votive offering, the statue in itself, and then the calf within the secondary reality of the sculpture. The inscribed base found in the same spot three years after the body (not reduplicated here—ours is painted blue to emphasis the fact) confirms this reading.⁷ The name of the calf-bearer’s dedicant, written from right to left, reads “[Rh]onbos.” He likely numbered among the aristocratic Athenian youths, emblemized as they were in their noble beauty (*kalokagathia*) by this type of statue.



The base also offers a clue to who the artist may have been. Our man's feet are still attached, broken off at the ankles. The particular handling of the square toenails, of all things, suggests that the Moschophoros was executed by one Phaidimos, whose name appears—amazingly in the same stonemason's hand—on two other statue bases below similarly worked feet. An attribution to an artist such as Phaidimos who individualized his work with his signature jibes well with the addition of a calf, mantle, and beard to an otherwise fairly standard *kouros*. MD

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NOTES

- 7 See Payne, pp. 67 and pls. 2–4 for excellent plates of base and inscription.



4 CC 024

AKROPOLIS KORE

Inv. No. FAMSF 44808
 Original in Akropolis Museum, Athens, inv. No. 684
 PH: 1.19 m.
 PW at shoulders: 0.48 m
 W of head *inter tragos*: 0.15 m.

This cast is of a marble *kore* (maiden statue) from the Athenian Akropolis. Most of the original was discovered just east of the Parthenon between 1882-1883. The statue is just less than life size and depicts a young woman clad in *chiton*, *himation*, and *epiblema*. Both of her legs are missing at the knees, as are her left arm from the shoulder, her right hand from the wrist, and the tip of her nose. Her head was broken off at the neck but reattached after excavation. As was noted earlier, most of the original was found in 1882-83. There were, however, pieces found later by the German archeologists Schrader and Brückner. These pieces, the most noticeable of which are her left breast, part of her *himation* just below her right breast, as well as parts of her hair and shoulders, were restored to the original years after the main portion of the statue had been found, and after this cast was made.

This statue is dated to around 500-490 BC. The *kore* would have stood upon the Akropolis as a votive offering. However, where she was found may not be indicative of where she originally stood. In 480 BC, the Persians attacked Athens and, in the process, destroyed many of the statues and monuments on the Akropolis. During the cleanup process, many of the burned and broken statues were buried in large pits atop the Akropolis. This debris, called *Perserschutt*, has produced many of the archaic *korai* that are now known, probably including this one.

The *kore* stands rather squarely with her left leg advanced. Her right forearm is extended while her left arm is lowered to grasp her *chiton*, as is evidenced by the way the garment is pulled towards her left side. Her *himation* is in the Ionic style, which appeared around 550 BC. The *himation* is draped over her right shoulder and falls diagonally across her body, ending underneath her left arm. This strong diagonal is also a mark of Ionic influence. The *kore* also wears a shawl-like *epiblema* draped across her back. The garments, especially the *chiton*, fit the contours of her body, especially revealing the shape of her legs and buttocks, and can be seen as a predecessor to the especially clingy Classical style of drapery. The face of the *kore* is oval shaped with high cheekbones, horizontal eyes, and a horizontal mouth. Of interest are her cleft chin and dimples. These speak to the idea that these statues were highly individualized, perhaps even modeled after real women. The *kore's* hair forms a thick, wavy band across her forehead that ends in bunches before her ears. The rest cascades in waves down her back. She wears a *tainia* (head band) and has a hole for a *meniskos* drilled into the top of her head. She also wears disk earrings, a bracelet, and a necklace.

MDB

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5 CC 028

KRITIOS BOY

Inv. no. FAMSF x1987.925

Original in Akropolis Museum, Athens, inv. no. 698

PH: 1.165 m.

Height plus base: 1.352 m.

W at shoulders: 0.352 m.

W of head *inter tragos*: 0.112 m

The cast is of a marble, less-than-life-size statue of a standing nude youth. Both of his arms have been broken off above the elbows, his left leg is preserved down to the ankle, and his right leg is broken just below the knee. The head was found separately from the body, and was then rejoined to the body with a thick layer of plaster, accounting for the ring around the statue's neck.

This statue, nicknamed the Kritios Boy not long after its discovery, is without question one of the most important monuments in the discipline of ancient art history. Head and body were found on the Athenian Akropolis during two separate excavation campaigns in the 19th century: the torso at some point in the years 1864-1866 (with the lower left leg reattached to the rest of the body some years later), and the head over a decade later, in 1888. Most of the discussion surrounding this statue has centered on its date in relation to ancient Greek sculpture as a whole as well as to the chronology of events on the Athenian Akropolis. After the sack of Athens by the Persians in 480 BC, the Athenians cleaned up the destruction debris of the Akropolis. In this process many of the statues and monuments that had been smashed and burned in the Persian attack were buried in pits that dotted the top of the Akropolis. Excavation of these pits, filled with what has been termed *Perserschutt*—debris from the Persians—has yielded some of the most spectacular caches of archaic Greek sculpture. Because these statues must be assigned a date earlier than 480 BC, they and their archaeological contexts have been invaluable in dating the development of archaic sculpture, and the style is generally regarded as having reached its peak just before the Persian invasion and its subsequent events. The Kritios Boy was found in a context that cannot be called decisively *Perserschutt*, and so assigning it a date of 480 BC or earlier cannot be done with any level of confidence. To be sure, giving it a date of any definitive sort cannot be done, either, but the most recent examination of this piece suggests a slightly lower date, or circa 470 BC.

Regardless of when this statue was created and installed on the Akropolis, it is an important stylistic monument. When compared to other pieces found in similar contexts on the Akropolis, and to archaic sculpture in general, the Kritios Boy represents not only a break with any preceding sculptural tradition, but

presages the path that almost all Greek sculpture subsequent to it would follow. When compared to Archaic masterpieces such as the Moschophoros (3), the Kritios Boy can be seen as one of the first representatives of early Classical style. His weight is not evenly divided between both legs, as it is on the Moschophoros. His body has a very slight twist to it, and the musculature of the body is more realistic and less schematic than any of his archaic predecessors. Both the Moschophoros and the Kritios Boy are part of a long line of standing male nude statues, called *kouroi*. The Kritios Boy represents the end of the development of this form. While his date cannot be determined to be 480 and at the “end” of archaic sculpture, he can be placed with some degree of comfort in the era that marked the transition from the static and schematized forms of archaic Greek art into the looser and more relaxed styles of Classical art. The pose of the Kritios Boy is much more reflective of a stance that a real human being might take, rather than the rigid and angular arrangement of muscles and limbs that is on display in the Moschophoros. In the Kritios Boy one can see a flow in energy from one part of the body to the next, alternating between tensed and relaxed muscles. His stance is a direct antecedent of the *contrapposto* that becomes canonic after its enshrinement by the Classical sculptor Polykleitos in his statues, most notably of the Doryphoros.

The Kritios Boy received his nickname early on because of his similarity in both style and facial features to another sculptural group from the same period. Two Athenian sculptors named Kritios and Nesiotes were given a commission to recreate a monument of the tyrannicides Harmodios and Aristogeiton; certain similarities in the modeling of both works, and the faces of the Kritios Boy and Harmodios led to a nineteenth-century attribution of the youth to the school of these two artists, if not the sculptors themselves. What the Kritios Boy represents is not known. He could be a celebration of an athletic victory in the Panathenaic Games, or a representation of one of Athens’ greatest heroes, Theseus, or some other youth whose name has not survived to us. Like the Moschophoros (3), he is part of a minority of statues found on the Akropolis, since he is an image of a nude male on a site that was sacred to a virgin female divinity (the vast majority of dedications to Athena are statues of young women). His exact function as a dedication on the Athenian Akropolis cannot be determined, but he will remain a monument for the history of ancient art.

RAK

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6 CC 019

KARYATID

Inv. no. FAMSF 44767
 Original in the Museum of the Acropolis, Athens
 H with base: 2.379 m.
 H w/o base: 2.219 m.
 MaxPW at shoulders: 0.585 m.
 W of head *inter tragos*: 0.190 m.
 MaxW of echinus: 0.534 m.
 MaxD of echinus: 0.516 m.
 H of echinus: 0.093 m.



The original of this architectonic female figure, a so-called “karyatid,” dressed in a Doric peplos and a mantle, once occupied the northwesternmost position on the karyatid porch of the Erechtheion, the temple that housed the sacred statue of Athena Polias on the Akropolis in Athens. As on the original, the front of the plinth is damaged; the face marred by weather and vandalism; the arms and sandals missing; and some of the ridges of the deep folds chipped. On the cast – which, unlike the original, is composed of two parts that join at the maiden’s waistline – the plinth is modern, and several chips from the statue have been repaired, particularly where the upper and lower halves of the cast meet.

An inscription from 409/8 BC, IG1474, preserves the report from commissioners for the Erechtheion’s original construction. It details the work that still needs to be completed, and at one point states, “On the porch toward the Kekropion it is necessary to do the relief carving on three ceiling blocks over the *korai* [maidens].” It seems reasonable to conclude that this statement indicates that the *korai* to which the inscription refers, who can only be the karyatids, had been completed by 409/8 BC. We can work backwards from this date to establish when work on the maidens began. The inscription suggests that the work on the temple had been interrupted, probably by the disastrous results of the Athenian expedition to Sicily in 413. If political events stopped the building program, a respite from war with Sparta provided by the Peace of Nikias in 421, would have given the Athenians an opportunity to turn the energy and resources of the state to art.

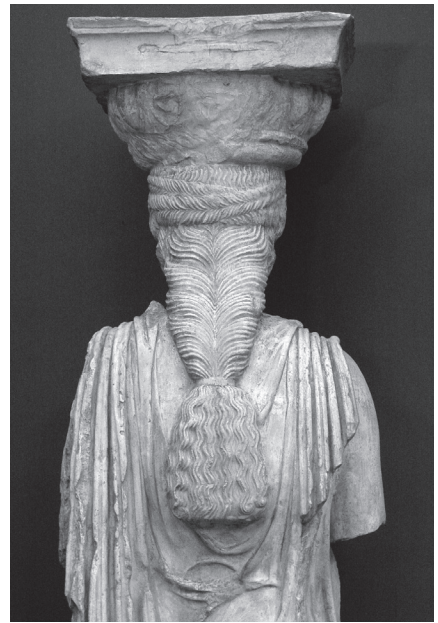
Thus we may conclude with a certain justified confidence that the maidens on the Erechtheion were carved sometime between 421 and 413 BC.

Several centuries later, casts were made of Karyatids C and D, those occupying the middle position on the porch, which Roman artisans used to create very accurate reproductions, slightly modified to fit Roman taste and new display contexts (see “Plaster Casts in the Roman Period,” pp. 18-20, above). Most notably, copies have been found in the Forum of Augustus in Rome (now in the *Antiquarium* del Foro di Augusto and the *Sala della Logetta* of the Casa dei Cavalieri di Rodi), and at the Villa of Hadrian in Tivoli (Villa Hadriana Nrs. 2233, 2236, 2238, and 2239). A copy of Karyatid D in Florence (Museo Archeologico, Inv. 13708) is close to the copies in the Forum of Augustus, and perhaps of the same date. Two karyatids in Copenhagen (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Nr. 286 Inv. 1291 and Nr. 301 Inv. 1942) seem, on stylistic grounds, to have been made during the reign of Septimius Severus, and close to them is a karyatid in the Vatican (Braccio Nuovo Inv. 2296). A copy of Karyatid E in Mantua (Palazzo Ducale Nr. 6681), dated on the basis of style to the middle Antonine period, holds a tragic mask in her right hand.

In 1803, Lord Elgin took Karyatid C to London, where it is now in the British Museum. In August 1979, Greek authorities moved the remaining karyatids from their positions on the porch to the protection of the museum on the Acropolis, and today casts of the karyatids stand in their places on the Erechtheion. Thus Berkeley’s cast is one of the latest additions to a long history of casting, copying, and reproducing the karyatids.

The maiden’s formal features are determined to a great extent by her architectural functions. She must not only physically support the building and uphold the laws of physics, but her image must convince the viewer that she is sufficiently strong and solid to fulfill this task. The Greek craftsmen had to create a statue that through its pose, style, and attributes would meld into the building and visually support it. Somehow these maidens standing in for columns could not look out of place. The building had to flow as a unified sculptural and architectural program. But at the same time, the Greek craftsmen of the late fifth century were concerned with grace and movement. They did not want lifeless, asexual pillars. Reconciling these two antonyms – rigid strength and feminine grace – was no small feat.

The deep, vertical folds of the fabric over the statue’s right leg suggest the fluting of columns. Her shoulders are level, neck strong, head upright. Unlike most statues from this period, whose free leg trails behind the standing leg, the maiden keeps her free leg forward. The long braids falling over her chest are another archaic trait, which lend a necessary rigidity to the figure. In contrast, the diaphanous clothing over the left leg could almost belong to a different figure than the right leg, the styles are so opposed. The folds around the knee, as well as those around the breasts, are graceful, revealing, and suggestive. The woman





seems to step momentarily from the building, framed by the abacus and plinth that were carved from separate blocks. Her body's slight curve guides the weight of the building away from the center, yet the weight is retained by the heavy fluted-folds on the outer leg. While half of the maidens have the fluting on their right leg and half on their left, they are united in that (according to the copies at Tivoli - the arms of the originals are broken away) they all hold their peplos in their left hand and a phiale in their right hand, and they wear snake-bracelets on their right arm.

Precursors to the Erechtheion karyatids can be found in architecture in the Near East and in the Greek minor arts. Male figures in the Near East often supported buildings, and women in Greece support such smaller objects as mirrors. The first appearance of female architectonic figures on mainland Greece, and the only instance before those on the Erechtheion, occurs in the sixth century at the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi. The debt these owe to Near Eastern architecture or the Greek minor arts is debated. Architectural predecessors are not usually female and do not appear in Anatolia, a most appropriate stepping stone to Greece, and the Greek minor objects with supporting figures were produced in western Greece rather than near Delphi, and not during the first half of the sixth century. Shear argues that, in the process of accommodating the monumental Ionic order, exemplified by the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus, to a small treasury, the sculpted figures on the column drums were translated into the Siphnian karyatids.

The precise meaning of the karyatids on the Erechtheion is even more contested. The ancient inscription simply refers to them as *korai*, young women. Vitruvius (1.1.5), a Roman architectural historian, calls them karyatids and describes how they are meant to represent Greek women of Karyae⁸ enslaved by Greeks in punishment for their city's treacherous behavior during the Persian War. However, this story of origins cannot be true and must be an effort to provide an etymological history, for the Siphnian karyatids were carved long before the enslavement of the women of Karyae. In the case of the karyatids on the Erechtheion, formal features certainly do not point to a servile status. The ladies' load is lightened by cushions, and they appear strong and graceful, elegant and regal. Despite the efforts of strident feminist interpreters, these are not examples of female subjugation, and we would do best to remember that similar female figures, like no. 4 above, long appeared on the Acropolis as elite dedications, perhaps representing the dedicants or goddesses.

Several scholars have suggested that the Erechtheion karyatids represent the Arrhephoroi, who were attendants of the cult statue of Athena Polias and whose house was close to the Erechtheion (Paus.1.27.3). However, there were two Arrhephoroi, not six, and they were only around seven years old. Others advocate that the maidens represent the daughters of Kekrops, a mythical king of Athens whose grave lay beneath the maiden porch, and who Cicero says initiated the

ritual of internment in Greece (*De legibus* 2.25.63). Yet ancient sources describe only three daughters, the statues lack some of the attributes we would expect based on vase-paintings, and there is no distinction between Pandrosos and the other sisters. Yet the reception of the karyatids, namely their use on the Heroön in Limyra in *circa* 370 BC, a grave monument for the Lycian King Perikles, points to some relationship between the karyatids and the grave of Kekrops. Scholl argues convincingly that the statues represent ideal “daughters” of Kekrops, unidentifiable figures who honor the dead king and, by association, Athens’ past. He notes that in the copies at Tivoli the phiale the statues hold is vertical, indicating they have poured a libation. The karyatids’ horizontal braids above their foreheads and long mantles are similar to representations of *parthenoi* on lekythoi and grave reliefs. The archaic features of the statues, concomitant with the old-fashioned character of the Erechtheion itself, point to a time-honoured past and, during a period of tumultuous change and uncertainty, would have emphasized the polis’ link with their mythical history.

The six karyatids exhibit stylistic traits of different artisans. Lauter argues that our karyatid, Karyatid A, and the statue to its south, Karyatid B, were sculpted by the workshop of Agorakritos. NTA

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NOTES

- 8 M. Vickers accepts Vitruvius’ explanation, which leads him to some interesting but incorrect conclusions (“Persepolis, Vitruvius and the Erechtheum caryatids. The iconography of Medism and servitude,” *RA* [1985] 3–28).

7 CC 033

GRAVE STELE OF ARISTION

Inv. no. FAMSF 44836

Original in the National Museum, Athens, inv. no. 29

H: 2.050 m.

W: 0.455 m.

D: 0.155 m.

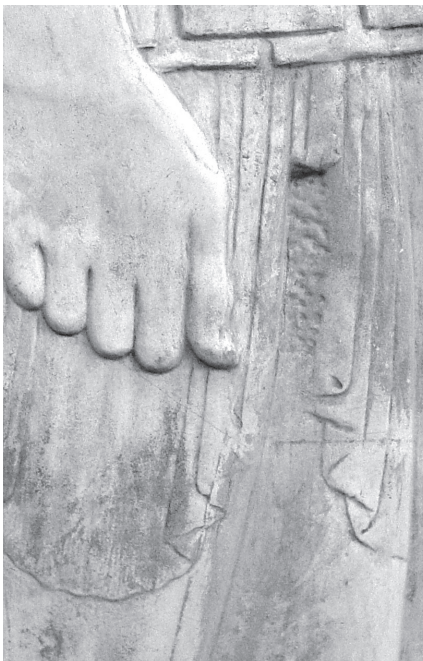
Inscriptions: "the work of Aristokles" (on bottom projection); "of Aristion" (on original base, not made with this cast).



The original of this cast is made of pentelic marble and was found in 1839 near Velanideza, Attica. Originally crowned at the top with a palmette, this tombstone relief shows a standing man in profile. He is clad in a short *chiton* which falls in distinctive narrow, swallow-tail folds. His cuirass (breastplate), short armored skirt, greaves, and helmet-liner clearly identify him as a warrior, as does the lance held vertically in his left hand. The helmet-liner and skirt of the original retain hints of blue, while the hair, beard, and cuirass preserve traces of red. In addition, the cuirass is decorated with ornamental patterns and a lion's head incised over the breast, probably in imitation of bronze armor (an effect which was no doubt reinforced by the red pigment).

This is one of the best-preserved pre-Classical grave stelai from Attica. Like most such Archaic stelai, it is high and narrow and shows only a single figure, who occupies the entire field. And like Archaic relief in general, it tends to collapse the figure into a single plane: hence the butt of the spear seems to rest on the toes of the far foot, while the far foot in turn appears to tread on the top of the near one. The characteristic swallow-tail treatment of the drapery, however, finds its closest parallel on the vases of Euphronios (circa 510 BC), and this—combined with the novel (and more realistic) roundness of the eyes and the incipient steps towards rendering the figure as a sharply delimited entity fully autonomous from its background—leads us to a similarly Late Archaic date (end of the 6th century BC). This date, and the authenticity of the piece, is further underscored by the Archaic idiosyncracies of the script, which renders *Ergon Aristokleos* ("the work of Aristokles") with a *lambda*-like *gamma*, an L-like *lambda*, an *alpha* with diagonal cross-bar, and three-bar *sigmas*.

At first glance, the features of the face may not strike one as typically Archaic (Late or otherwise), largely because the beard lacks the tell-tale Archaic point. This is sheer accident: the tip of the beard was quite clearly broken off already in antiquity, and appears to have had a replacement glued on at that time. Another repair is to be seen just in front of the right hand where a narrow vertical area of stippling represents the contact surface for adhesive that held a small patch of marble in place. What remains a mystery, however, is the long, straight, gouged-out groove which intersects the body where neck meets back. We might imagine



a shield or even a quiver here, but it is hard to see what role this groove was intended to play in representing such objects. MA

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8 CC 005

GRAVE STELE OF A WARRIOR

Inv. no. Hearst - number unknown
Original in National Museum, Athens, inv. no. 1959
PH: 1.013 m.
W at volutes: 0.735 m.
Est. W at bottom : 0.765 m.
Th. top: 0.097 m.
Th. bottom: 0.117 m.

This cast is of a marble stele, found in Athens in 1901, depicting a naked adult male, wearing a helmet, running right, holding his clenched fists close to his chest. The original is broken at the top and bottom left corner, and nearly the entire right corner is missing; the left elbow has also been chipped, and there are also numerous small chips and abrasions to the entire front surface.

Nicknamed the “Marathon Runner” soon after its discovery,⁹ the function and subject of the stele has been a matter of debate. The relief is in the archaic style, dated to ca. 520-510 BC. It was found in the vicinity of the Peiraeus gate in the Athens city wall, and while it is very likely that it served as a grave marker, much like other relief stelai of the period, its form and subject matter are atypical enough to produce alternate interpretations. Like those other stelai, this one most likely had a palmette at the top, now missing, along with the cornice that connected the Ionic volutes on the top corners. Most grave stelai from this period are taller and slimmer than this one, and usually depict a standing figure, such as the stele of Aristion (7). This has led some to believe that this stele did not serve as a funerary monument. However, stelai that are wider and shorter than normal are not unique phenomena in the archaic period: the subject matter requires a canvas that is wider than that used for Aristion.

The unnamed figure of this stele was early identified as a runner because of the “pinwheel” pose of his legs, but in most depictions of mid-stride runners, the arms are in similar right-angle positions and the hands are displayed open and in profile. The elbows-out, thumbs-up position of the arms here seems to



indicate some other activity—still high-energy, because the figure is shown in a dynamic pose, but it is not the classic runner seen in so many archaic vase paintings. On most other depictions of runners, the head and body face the same direction, unlike the figure on this stele. Likewise, the helmet has posed some interpretative problems, too: is this a hoplite, participating in a race, specifically the *hoplitodromos*? Probably not, because artistic representations of that activity show participants with other pieces of armor (greaves and a shield), in addition to a helmet. This relief probably depicts part of a Pyrrhic dance; other representations of dancers often show that their arms are bent in, fists clenched. Pyrrhic dances were a “military” ballet with movements evocative of those seen in battle.¹⁰ In the words of Plato (*Laws* 7.815a) these were “...movements that evade blows and missiles by dodging, yielding, leaping, crouching, and the opposite, offensive postures of striking with missiles, arrows and spears, and all sorts of blows.”

In this example the helmet signifies a militaristic nature, and the lack of any other armor and specific gestures of the hands encourage the interpretation of the portrayal as of a dance, rather than a race in armor.

Attached to the wire embedded at the back of the cast is a small lead seal, slightly less than a centimeter in diameter, with the Greek letters ΥΠΠΕ ΤΑΠ on the obverse, which is an abbreviation for Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού και Ερευνών, Τομείο Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων (Ministry of Culture and Research, Treasury of Archaeological Receipts). On the reverse is an image of a phoenix, the symbol of the military junta that was in power in Greece from 1967 to 1974, indicating that this cast joined the Hearst collection later than most of the other pieces. RAK

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NOTES

9 The name is historically impossible, for the stele is earlier than the Battle of Marathon in 490 B.C., and it is doubtful that there ever was a runner from Marathon before the Olympic Games of 1896. See

S. G. Miller, *Ancient Greek Athletics* (New Haven 2004) 45-46; I. Kertész, "Schlacht und 'Lauf' bei Marathon — Legende und Wirklichkeit," *Nikephoros* 4 (1991) 155-160.

10 Other representations of pyrrhic dances show young men with helmets or shields. See Stephen G. Miller, *Ancient Greek Athletics* (New Haven 2004) 139-140.

9 CC 032

GRAVE STELE OF AMPHOTTO

Inv. no. FAMSF 44882

Original in the National Museum, Athens, inv. no. 739

H: 0.81 m.

W: 0.37 m.

Th: 0.088 m.

This Boeotian grave marker was uncovered in Pyre, a small village near Thebes, in 1890. The stele is of local stone, and dates to ca. 450-440 BC. A figure of a woman stands in profile within a low-relief architectural setting. She rests upon a projecting step that allows her to stand in front of a simple pediment crowned with three floral *akroteria*. The background is left with a rough combination finish of claw and flat chisel work. An inscription reading AMΦOTTO identifies the deceased. It is written neatly in large capitals, below the plinth and to the left of her visage. Due to lack of planning, the letter-cutter runs out of room, and the final O descends to a pocket of space down around the woman's mouth and chin. (The use of *omicron* in this position rather than the more familiar *omega* is due to the date of the relief and its Boeotian provenance.) Her glance and features are even and idealized, indicative of the High Classical style. Amphotto wears a *peplos* cinched at the waist, and caps her long, wavy hair with a cake-shaped *polos*. Standing firmly on the left, exterior leg, she advances a relaxed right leg, slightly bent at the knee. Both arms are raised at her side from the elbow, palm upwards; the left holds a pomegranate while the right is slightly extended with pinched fingers that probably held a painted flower.

The imagery of the grave stele probably reflects the worship of Persephone, goddess of the Underworld, who was especially worshipped in Boeotia. The maiden daughter of Demeter and Zeus was abducted while picking flowers in a field by her paternal uncle Hades. Demeter searched desperately everywhere for her young daughter, letting the crops in her care fall to ruin, until Zeus finally had pity and retrieved his young daughter from his brother's grasp. But because she had been tricked by Hades into eating some pomegranate seeds, Persephone could only return above ground for part of the year, and spent the remainder ruling alongside her new husband. The deceased is perhaps a priestess to the goddess, or more likely as newly deceased, cast in the role of a "new" Persephone.



Her long, unbound hair identifies her as a *parthenos* (virgin), and she holds the symbols of one who spent her girlhood on earth, but has now gone below. MD

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IO CC 020

NIKE FROM THE NORTH FACE OF THE BALUSTRADE AROUND THE TEMPLE OF ATHENA NIKE

Inv. no. FAMSF 4485 I
Original in the Akropolis Museum, Athens, inv. no. 11.
H: 1.055 m.
W: 0.620 m.
Th: 0.195 m.



On the south-west edge of the Athenian Akropolis is a high projecting spur, an outcropping of rock with a vertical drop on three sides. Here, in the midst of the endless Peloponnesian War, the Athenians built a small, Ionic temple to Victorious Athena (*Athena Nike*). Though apparently begun in 448 BC, it was not finished until *circa* 421 BC, after the Peace of Nikias. Later—no doubt to prevent the occasional pious pilgrim from plummeting off the cliff—a fencing or balustrade of Pentelic marble relief panels 1.05 meters high was erected along the spur's three precipitous sides. Most scholarship assumes the balustrade was erected to celebrate the ephemeral successes of Athens in the final stages of the Peloponnesian War, following Alcibiades' victories, and thus dates the reliefs to *circa* 410/409 BC. (Dissenting voices, however, have wanted to push at least parts of the balustrade down by a decade or two, to after the turn of the century.)

The three sides of the balustrade were adorned with a frieze showing winged Nikai symbolically celebrating victory through two activities: erecting trophies, and leading sacrificial bulls in procession. Our relief—which comes from the north face—shows a Nike striding forward vigorously. Her wings and drapery sweep around and billow out as though caught in some sudden blast of air sweeping upward along the sheer face of the Akropolis. Her right hand, no longer extant, reaches out to grasp a prancing bull, presumably by the horns (its decapitated trunk and amputated stub of a limb can be seen on the left); whether

she was restraining the bull, or instead hauling it forward along its parade of death, is unclear.

Carved by sculptors of the immediate post-Parthenon generation, our relief perfectly demonstrates the new stylistic trends which mark the work of this period and separate it from that of the Parthenon itself. First is a marked detachment of figure and background: the body and its drapery appear to jut out as if almost independent of their stony bedding, even in those cases where the relief is actually quite low. Second is the peculiarly transparent quality of the drapery, a drapery which clings diaphanously to the flesh and hides nothing of the contours of the body—indeed, it emphasizes them. And third is the highly dramatic use of sweeping folds for the drapery blown around the figure; carved in voluminous ridges and deep troughs, they create dark shadows which contrast strikingly with the smooth rendering of the body. When these last two effects—corporeal transparency and dramatically sweeping billows—are combined, as here in our Nike, the striking impression is of stateliness and turmoil mixed.

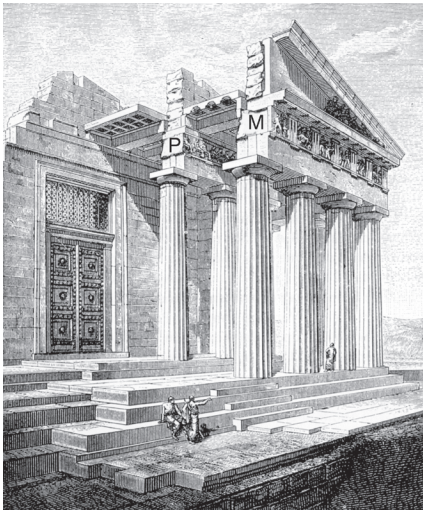
It has been suggested that the blatant virtuosity of this piece, its showy and self-conscious proclamation of optical effect—all pressed into the service of victory propaganda—harmonizes perfectly with the contemporary Sophistic spirit. The aim of all this visual brilliance is purely rhetorical, it is claimed: its goal is to charm, to beguile, and ultimately to persuade the viewer—to persuade him that what appears so gloriously, so compellingly, in human art (here, an Athenian Victory, representing Athenian victory), actually is (or will be) in reality.

Though this argument is itself rhetorically compelling, we may wonder whether our Nike does not actually yield precisely the opposite effect. How much propaganda value does it have? For what seems undeniable to us is that its strident virtuosity, its self-conscious revelling in artistic effect for its own sake, actually serves to de-narrativize the work and strip it of its message. The story being depicted (a bull being led triumphantly to the slaughter by a winged Victory)—that story whose communication is the relief's ostensible reason for existence—clearly emerges in the end as a mere excuse for the showy exercise of artistic brilliance, and is thus thoroughly marginalized: excessive stylization here works at cross-purposes to content, and the supposed message of the work (sacrifice! victory!) gets lost—unlike the Nike's own body—underneath all the drapery.

MA

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THE PARTHENON FRIEZE

When Persian troops stormed Athens' fortified hilltop in 480 BC, they put to the torch the "Old Parthenon" which was just being erected on roughly the same spot where the present one stands now. The Athenians, by the terms of the Oath of Plataia (479), had agreed not to rebuild any of the sanctuaries that had been destroyed but to leave them as a visual record of the barbarians' destruction. About 30 years later, however, an ambitious rebuilding program was instigated by Athens' leading politician Pericles (25). The architects Iktinos and Kallikrates were commissioned to design a new temple to honor the city's great deity Athena in her guise as *parthenos* (maiden). Pheidias was assigned the position of artistic director for the whole project. Construction began in 447, and the Parthenon was dedicated only nine years later although it took a few more years to complete all the details.

The new building was a Doric temple built along traditional lines but with extraordinary size and refinements. Adding to its sumptuous impression was the sculptural decoration of the Parthenon beginning with the gigantic, 40 ft. high *chryselephantine* (ivory and gold) statue of Athena wrought by Pheidias as the cult image to be placed in the center of the temple. Indeed, the sculptural program of the whole building was a glorification of the goddess and of her eponymous city. The end gables, or pediments, of the temple were filled with sculpture in the round. The principal facade on the east shows Athena's miraculous birth, fully grown, from her father Zeus' head. The west end depicted Athena and Poseidon battling for possession of Attica, a contest that she won, but from which Athens was the winner.

Around the exterior of the building above the colonnades was a traditional Doric frieze with metopes (M) carved in high relief to show scenes from mythical battles. In those battles where Athena does not play a major role, her surrogate, the Athenian hero Theseus, appears.

Another development that differentiates the Parthenon from other Doric temples is the addition of Ionic elements. Columns of the Ionic order were used in the treasury room behind the cella, and a continuous frieze was introduced along the top of the outside wall of the cella (P). The plaster casts in the Berkeley collection come from different parts of this frieze.

SCULPTURAL STYLE

At a little over 3 ft. high and originally 524 ft. long, the frieze is the largest extant Greek monument of its kind. The whole is carved in low-relief and was painted primarily in blues, reds, and yellows. Holes for metal attachments in the form of reins appear along the horses' heads and the riders' hands, and similar decorative attachments would likely have fashioned crowns and details of armor elsewhere.

Youths in their prime are consistently, but never monotonously, portrayed with same-sized bodies and proportions. Prominent brows, eyes and cheeks over a small rounded chin and pouting, bowed lips create an ageless, ideal type. The drapery lies in heavy, deeply carved folds that trap the light, creating a play of brightness and shadow, and higher visibility. This uniform depiction and style represent the artistic convention of High Classical sculpture. It also points to the likelihood that the sculptures and their elaborate program were all conceived by a single mastermind. Pheidias functioned as art director, creating the organic scheme of rising and slowing rhythms that can be seen in the flurry of prancing horses' legs and the retarded motion caused by the strategic interspersions of back-turned static figures. He also would have been the hands-on supervisor for crews of sculptors as they carved the frieze *in situ*, working from sketches drawn directly on the blocks as they stood on wooden scaffoldings, plying their chisels and hammers so many feet up in the air.

PANATHENAIC FESTIVAL

The *Panathenaia* was a religious festival celebrating Athena's birthday. It was held during the last days of the month *Hekatombaion* (our June-July), with the culmination on the 28th day. As the *pan* in its name indicates, all of Athens—young and old, men and women—participated in the festival, which included dancing and music, athletic and musical competition, and a kilometer-long procession along the Panathenaic Way. This procession proceeded from the Dipylon Gates of the city wall, diagonally across the Agora, and finally winding its way up to the Parthenon. The festival was held for the Athenians, but every fourth year all of Greece was invited to come and participate in a grand fete, the Greater Panathenaia, to which an expanded program of athletic competitions was added. No doubt this was in part to show off the splendor of Athens to her neighbors in the Hellenic world, and the Parthenon was the crown of the Akropolis.

In years of the Greater Panathenaia, a birthday gift of a hand-woven *peplos* (robe) was delivered to the goddess, carried up with the procession slung across the "mast" of a wagon fitted-out in the guise of a ship. Sacrificial victims were led up to the temple as well, where they were ritually slaughtered; the bones of a hundred cattle were wrapped in fat and put in the fire to create a rich smoke that might rise to Athena up on Mt. Olympus. The huge quantity of meat—which cleverly was not burned in sacrifice—was cooked and distributed to the lively crowd at the foot of the hill.

INTERPRETATION OF THE FRIEZE

Tradition holds that the frieze's sculpture illustrate the real-life Panathenaic procession, its actors, and activities. This idealized procession would have mirrored the real-life pageant walking below, with the frieze images becoming animated by the movement of the participant as he or she walked along. The

frieze begins its narrative from the southwest corner and continues thence in both directions. The official route of the procession followed the Way up along the shady north side and then around the corner eastward to the far end where a doorway led into the main *cella* and the huge statue of Athena. The shorter alternate route to the east façade ran straight up the south side, turning left to reach the *cella* door. Both itineraries brought the viewer basically past the same scenes of youths on horseback or manning chariots, elders, musicians, youths bearing water-jugs or trays, and cattle being guided to sacrifice. Both north and south processions were to meet on the eastern side, the climactic section of the frieze. Identification of the eastern figures is especially problematic. The visitor gazed upon a group of “elders,” possibly the eponymous heros of the attic demes, two young girls and a boy handling a folded cloth, and Athena herself sitting among the Olympic pantheon.

This strict interpretation of an historical reality has been questioned by recent scholarship, however, and the iconography (the “who’s who”) and iconology (“meaning”) of the frieze are not as straightforward as they once seemed.¹¹ Difficulties abound in determining issues of space and time within both the depictive frieze and the procession itself, assuming that—and here is the other main area of interpretive dilemma—the frieze does indeed depict the Panathenaic procession. And if it does, which procession? Major discrepancies between textual accounts of the Greater Panathenaia and representation of the procession of the frieze, such as the missing ship-wagon, the lack of hoplites, the sex-change of the water carriers from male to female, have led to a reassessment that the sculptures represent the Lesser Panathenaia, which is much less documented and may well have had a varied format. One scholar posits that the North and South frieze depict the Greater Panathenaia in Archaic times and in the period following Kleisthenes’ reorganization of that event in 510, respectively.¹² Returning to spatio-temporal considerations, most debate has focused on just where and when the various events of the frieze are taking place. Is all of the activity going on in a continuous parade, within the same time frame? Or does some of the activity take place in the morning in the Agora, as the horsemen preparing their mounts may suggest, while the other end has advanced the day, and we are taken up to the climactic moment of sacrifice and presentation at the temple itself? Did the Greeks view time and space as fluid or linear, and can we identify this sense of time as manifest in their art? Questions like these keep the study of the Parthenon frieze as lively as ever. Interpretations of individual characters and groups, events and activities, time and place, are many and complex. Hopes of ever reaching a definitive conclusion as to what the frieze “means” are slim at best, a fact which will preserve the mystique and pleasure of puzzlement for generations of viewers to come.

MD

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NOTES

- 11 See any of the several recent publications for a fuller exegesis of the issues and accompanying bibliography than is possible to present here.
12 A. Stewart, *Greek Sculpture: An Exploration* (New Haven 1990) 155-156.

11 CC O10

PARTHENON, EAST FRIEZE, SLAB VI

Inv. no.: FAMSF 44914
Original in Athens, Akropolis Museum
Manufacturer's number, top left: not legible¹³
H: 1.015 m.
W: 1.382 m.
Th: 0.045 m.

This is part of slab VI of the Parthenon frieze, from the east side of the building. It was originally located north of the door to the interior of the temple, to the right of the central "peplos" scene. These three figures (E 38-40), part of the twelve seated figures flanking the central scene, are unanimously taken to be the Olympian gods, since their scale is one-third larger than the other figures on the frieze. Artemis sits at right, Apollo in the center, and what is usually identified as Poseidon at the left end of the panel. Shown without her familiar attributes of a dress bound up for ease of movement in the hunt, or her bow and arrows, Artemis is adjusting her dress and linking arms with Aphrodite, who is on the next panel; she and her son Eros are welcoming, or at the very least acknowledging, the procession which is approaching from the northeast corner of the frieze. Apollo and Artemis, the twins, are frequently shown together in Greek art; at an assembly of the gods such as this, it is only natural that the two should be seated together. Apollo is the young beardless male *par excellence* in Greek art, and this fact plus the readily apparent identities of the other beardless gods on the east side of the



Parthenon frieze—Hermes with his short boots and a traveller's hat on his lap, and Ares sitting restlessly on his stool, as befits the god of war and strife—leave us with Apollo as the only unlabeled beardless male Olympian. Drill holes on the head of this figure (in the hair encircling the face) show that he was wearing a crown or wreath of some sort, in this case laurel, which was sacred to Apollo. Similarly, all of the other bearded gods on the frieze have been identified, and while no traces of any item commonly associated with Poseidon remain on the slab, we can perhaps imagine a painted trident held in his left hand. Moreover, behind the figure usually regarded as Poseidon sit Hephaestus and Athena, and the proximity of three gods who are all associated with foundational myths of Athens is appropriate for this work. RAK

NOTES

13 The plaster casts of the Parthenon frieze have two different types of numbering. This and CC 014 have numbers that are engraved into the plaster. (CC 010 is broken away; the bottom of 0 or 6 or 8 is preserved.) These two casts are also made with steel frames embedded in the plaster. The other frieze casts have numbers which were a part of the mold and are raised in relief. They all have wooden frames.

12 CC 012

PARTHENON, NORTH FRIEZE, SLAB II



Inv. No. FAMSF 44916.2
Original in the Akropolis Museum, Athens
Manufacturer's number; top right: 857
H: 1.02 m.
W: 1.42 m.
Th: 0.058 m.

The second slab of the Parthenon's north frieze depicts two bovines being brought to sacrifice as part of the Panathenaic procession. Three draped youths can be seen escorting the victims, and the hand and garment of a fourth appear at the slab's right edge. The leading animal's head appeared on the preceding slab, but one can sense its relative stillness by the position of its legs, in contrast with the wild bucking of the following cow. The youths lower their heads solemnly, one having tucked the lower part of his face into the folds of his garment. ED

PARTHENON, NORTH FRIEZE, SLAB X

Inv. no. FAMSF 44916.1

Original in Akropolis Museum, Athens

Manufacturer's number, top left: 865.

H: 1.02 m.

W: 1.20 m.

Th: 0.06 m.



The tenth slab of the north frieze was removed from its original location during the 5th century after Christ, when the Parthenon was converted into a church. The builders of the church cut three windows in the upper part of each of the side walls, in order to provide better lighting.¹⁴ The slab was discarded and covered by debris near the NW corner of the building where it was discovered during excavations in 1835, following the Greek War of Independence.

The slab depicts a group of six standing, draped and bearded elders and belongs to the eastern half of the north frieze. These six elders are part of a larger group of sixteen who follow a group of musicians. This group is depicted in front (left) of the chariot group. For this reason the first two figures at the right look back fearfully as a chariot comes to a halt immediately behind. The elders are draped in *himatia*, covering their lower bodies and left shoulders, leaving the chests and right arms bare. Some (as the sixth from the right) wear braids around their heads, a fashion common for older men and gods in Classical art.

Some of the elders (as the third from the right) raise their right arms in tightened fists. They might have carried olive twigs in their palm and therefore could be identified as *thallophoroi*—olive twigs carriers in religious processions. However, there are no drill holes for attachments, and painted twigs are no longer extant. J. Carrey's drawing (done in 1674) of the neighboring slab IX seems to show a twig in the elder's left hand; that part of the slab is now missing.¹⁵ BZ

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NOTES

¹⁴ Korres 146-147.

¹⁵ See Neils 142 and Hadziaslani slab IX, with superimposition of photos on Carrey's drawings).



14 CC 013

PARTHENON, NORTH FRIEZE, SLAB XXIII

Inv. no. FAMSF 44928
Original in Akropolis Museum, Athens
Manufacturer's number, top left: 859
H: 1.02 m
W: 1.12 m.
Th: 0.057 m.

This slab is not complete; the far right hand side was broken off when the adjacent slab, number XXIV, was taken down for export to England by Lord Elgin. The remaining part of the slab captured in this plaster cast depicts three figures and part of a fourth: from the viewer's left to right, two men aboard a chariot, one man on foot, and part of the head and two front legs of a horse. The horse is part of the chariot team depicted on the aforementioned slab XXIV. With his front two legs airborne and his head craned downwards, his posture suggests to the viewer that he is running. The standing figure in the center is portrayed in the nude; his drapery covers only his left shoulder and arm before disappearing behind his back, re-emerging again only to cover his right thigh. He stands firm in the face of the advancing chariot with his legs spread wide apart and both arms raised up and bent at the elbow. The final two figures are riding in a chariot car to the left of the nude man. The one in the foreground wears a *chitoniskos*, with drapery that leaves his arms, lower legs, and the right side of his chest exposed. He carries a shield behind his back, held by his left hand; his right hand grips the chariot. On his head he wears a high-plumed helmet. The man in the background also wears a *chitoniskos*. He stands nearly erect and is holding firmly the reins of the chariot.

This slab has usually been interpreted as a depiction of the *apobates* race. What exactly the *apobates* race was is not fully understood. This race was not run at most pan-Hellenic festivals, but was held at the Panathenaic Games in Athens, a fact attested by the depictions of the race on a few known Panathenaic amphoras, which were the prizes given to winners at the games. The race involved sets of two men, a chariot, and a team of horses. One man, the figure depicted here in the background, was the charioteer. The other man, the one depicted here in the foreground with armor, was the *apobates*, meaning he "got down from" the chariot several times during the course of the race, then likely ran alongside the chariot and remounted. The role of the nude man in this slab is likely that of a marshal or official of the race who perhaps signals the place of dismounting or of remounting, while the horse on the far right would represent another *apobates* team. The origins of this race seem to be in the military use of the chariot in battle, and the cooperation and teamwork that the charioteer and warrior would have shared. This is reflected in the fact that the *apobates* event was open only to Athenian citizens, and the competition was between members of the ten different demes,

or districts of the city. The course of the race was about 700 meters long and ran through the Agora, or central marketplace, of the city, along the Panathenaic Way, from the city gate to the south up to the lower slopes of the Akropolis. JMR

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15 CC 014

PARTHENON, NORTH FRIEZE, SLAB XLII

Inv. no. FAMSF 44938
Original in the Akropolis Museum, Athens
Manufacturer's number, top right: 29
H: 1.005 m.
W: 1.230 m.
Th: 0.065 m.

The three horsemen (N 115-117) shown on this panel are only part of a much longer cavalcade, which extends across numerous panels and follows upon the *apobates* race found further to the east on the same frieze. As such, the three here are hardly unique. In fact, they are strikingly *not* unique, and may actually constitute the single most homogeneous grouping of riders found anywhere on the north frieze, as a comparison with other panels quickly shows.

First, the cavalcade does indeed have a marshal: a single standing figure, who officiously beckons to the oncoming riders. He, however, is placed amidst the first wave of horsemen (slab XXXIV, N 90)—not among our three, who come considerably later in the parade.

Second, at irregular intervals in the parade we find riders who are looking back over their shoulders to check the progress of those following behind. Our panel, however, lacks such backward-gazing figures: all three of our horsemen look forward.

Third, the riders of the north frieze as a whole show a great deal of variation in dress: some are draped in a mantle, others wear tunics, and still others are shown nude. The same variety is also found with regard to headgear: some ride bareheaded, while others sport distinctive caps which are reminiscent



of Thracian costume and may represent helmet-liners. Our three horsemen, however, are thoroughly uniform—all are draped, and all ride bareheaded.

Finally, the north frieze also distinguishes individual riders by varying the tilt of the head, thus suggesting differences in mood: while some confidently hold their gaze level, others seem to dip their chins and eyes reflectively. Once again, the horsemen of our panel display a tight cohesion: all resolutely direct their gaze straight ahead. So uniform are their forward gazes, in fact, that we are perhaps forgiven—given the relative conflation of planes—for thinking at first that each is actually staring at the back of the head of the one before.

In short, then, this panel shows *ephebes* at their most homogeneous. But before denigrating it, then, as sadly lacking in conceptual or compositional variety, we might pause. For classical style as a whole tended—as is well known—towards idealized and generalized features. And if “the persona of the horseman is that of ideal youth, with the same carefully measured features and sober expression” (as Ian Jenkins has put it), then we might view our group of three riders, in their cohesive assimilation to each other, as perfectly embodying the cohesiveness of the Ideal.

MA

16 CC 017



PARTHENON, WEST FRIEZE, SLAB V

Inv. no. FAMSF 44917a
Original on the Akropolis, Athens.
Manufacturer's number; top right: 3
H: 1.02 m.
W: 1.39 m.
Th: 0.07 m.

The two youths depicted on this slab are part of the cavalcade of horsemen on the west frieze. This is the side first approached by the visitors to the Akropolis and it actually matched the orientation of the advancement of the actual Panathenaic procession. The directional flow is from right to left (or south to north). This panel features two horsemen. The figure on left stands in *contrapposto*, beside his horse. The youth is wearing a *chlamys*, the cloak given to the *ephebe* (the young man training for citizenship) that is pulled close against the neck. The figure on the right wears a *chitoniskos* and is mounted on a standing horse. The horses have realistic bodies with accurate depictions of muscles and veins, but are mostly posed in an idealized parade position. The horses are small in proportion to the men, resembling ponies. This discrepancy can probably be explained by the small size of 5th-century BC horses.¹⁶ Both riders wear sandals. Of these only the soles are visible, because most other details were rendered in paint.

This slab, together with other slabs of the west frieze, survived the explosion of 1687 and the looting activities of Lord Elgin and remained *in situ* on the building until recently. Due to the negative effects of weather, the slabs of the west frieze were removed for conservation in 1993.¹⁷

BZ

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NOTES

16 Neils 115-116.

17 Jenkins 49.

17 CC 016

PARTHENON , WEST FRIEZE, SLAB VII

Inv. no.: FAMSF 44850b

Original on the Akropolis, Athens

Cast manufacturer's number, top right: 5

H: 1.02 m.

W: 1.40 m.

Th: 0.065 m.

This slab features two youths (figures W 13 and W 14, from left to right) on horseback. The left-hand figure is badly damaged by a cleft in the stone that has caused his head and almost entire upper body to fall away, although his mount remains in decent condition. The right-hand, overlapping figure and horse are well preserved except for significant chipping from the legs of both. The young man stares ahead with Classical serenity and poise as the horses prance beneath him and his fellow rider, both part of a much larger cavalcade of youths. Like most of the others they are dressed in *chitoniskoi*, but W 14 wears an additional animal (lion?) skin that flutters backwards with motion from his shoulders. This feature adds visual variety and differentiates the ephebe's *deme*. The block of these two riders was situated on the Parthenon between two static figures: Slab VI has a man with his foot up on a block, checking his shoe laces, while Slab VIII (16) shows a bearded dismounted man identified as a *hipparchos*, or cavalry leader. For this reason it appears that the two riders are at the beginning of the cavalcade before it has gotten completely underway. Drill holes along the horses' heads are evidence that attachments—likely metallic studs and hammered ribbons of bronze for reins—were attached to the marble.

MD





18 CC 018

PARTHENON, WEST FRIEZE, SLAB VIII

Inv. no. FAMSF 44917b
Original on the Akropolis, Athens
Cast Manufacturer's number, top right: 6
H: 1.02 m.
W: 1.40 m.
Th: 0.070 m.

This slab features two figures: a horse and his dismounted rider. Both figures are depicted in profile and are moving from the right to left from the viewer's perspective. These figures are part of the procession of cavalry that is depicted in a series of slabs on the west frieze. The horse is rearing up wildly on its hindlegs; its front legs both are flailing violently into the air, threatening to crash down upon the horse and rider pictured in the adjacent frame, slab VII (17). The man is shown dismounted and standing beside the horse. His face has been battered and smashed off; however, earlier casts taken before this damage show that he was bearded and wore a tight cap with a long extension protruding out from near the base of the neck, perhaps a helmet-liner. He is struggling mightily to control his horse with his right arm; his left arm stretches out to the right, perhaps in an attempt to counterbalance or offset the horse's lunge to the left, while the folds of his tunic whip through the air below it. It seems that this man is a *hipparchos*, or general of the cavalry. JMR

19 CC 015

PARTHENON, WEST FRIEZE, SLAB X



Inv. no. FAMSF 44850a
Original on the Akropolis, Athens.
H: 1.02 m.
W: 1.39 m.
Th: 0.06 m.

On this slab two riders are represented prancing to left. The horsemen are depicted as ideal but not identical youths with sober expressions. The right rider wears a high leather boot (*embades*) fixed below the knee with a band. The other rider is apparently barefoot. The horses are depicted in full motion, with both rear legs bent, and the front legs lifted into the air. The impression of forward motion is given not only by the action of the horses but also by the cloak that flutters out behind the right horseman. A typical feature of the west frieze is that each rider or group of figures is contained within the frame of the slab, and the figures do not

overlap the joint between the slabs. As explained above (16) this slab remained in its original location until 1993, when it was removed for conservation purposes. The same is true of the other west frieze slabs in this collection (17 and 18). BZ

20 CC 029

HERMES WITH BABY DIONYSOS

Inv. no. Hearst 21-055 / 21-118

Original in the Olympia Museum, inv. no. S 192

H: 2.14 m.

W at shoulders: 0.765 m.

D at left arm: 0.505 m.

W of head *inter tragos*: 0.185 m.

On his journey to deliver the newborn god Dionysos to the Nymphs of Nysa, who are to raise the child, Hermes pauses at a nearby tree. Such journeys are familiar to Hermes: as messenger god, he is often entrusted with precious packages for delivery. Here his job as fleet-footed envoy combines with his duty as half-brother to this infant god. Along the way, Hermes leans his left arm, draped with his cloak and cradling the baby Dionysos, on a tree trunk. His easy posture exudes a calm that reflects his forest surroundings. In this moment of quiet repose, Hermes absent-mindedly dangles a plaything—most likely a bunch of grapes—to entertain the baby god. While the baby is clearly enraptured by the plaything, a fruit destined to become his attribute when he is celebrated as the god of wine, Hermes' distant gaze away from the baby betrays his wandering thoughts. The beholder of this pair of gods is witness to an intimate scene of inner reflection and outer serenity.

The tranquil atmosphere of this piece is due to the skill of the probable sculptor, Praxiteles of Athens. Known for his work in both bronze and marble,¹⁸ Praxiteles was one of the most renowned and prolific Greek artists of the fourth century BC. His works entranced contemporary Greek and Roman viewers as they do modern-day ones, their detailed musculature and soft faces enlivening the stone.¹⁹

Several artistic devices considered quintessentially Praxitelean appear in the Hermes as in most Praxitelean statues. Among these is the S-curve of Hermes' stance, winding from ankles to knees to cocked hips, twisting through the torso to the tilted head. Also Praxitelean is Hermes' soft expression, exemplifying the misty *sfumato* technique the sculptor used to impart a gentle, veiled countenance to his figures. Anatomical proportions known from other Praxitelean figures here





too define Hermes' body, and the fine musculature of the god again illustrates the sculptor's sensitive style.

Yet the authenticity of this Hermes as an original Praxitelean work is contested. When the marble statue was discovered in 1877 by a German archaeological team, its originality was assumed *a priori*. Discovered piece by piece around the Temple of Hera at Olympia, a temple which housed a broad assortment of other ancient statues, the Hermes' fragmentary state at discovery complicated the reconstruction of its history: the right foot of Hermes, for example, was found in the south colonnade of the Temple; the head of the baby Dionysos was found some 50 meters southwest of the Temple, and the upper part of his body in the northeastern colonnade of the palaistra.²⁰ Several body parts remain lost, necessitating their complete recreation during the statue's reconstruction; these include Hermes' lower legs and left foot. The anatomical bits that were found had been buried under various toppled columns and sand drifts, and Hermes' body had the fortune to find shelter in a mire of clay dissolved from the mudbricks of the upper walls of the temple.²¹

Despite the scattering of smaller fragments, the discovery of the largest pieces, including the plinth and the torso in the Temple of Hera, could immediately be associated with an ancient reference. The Greek traveler Pausanias gave this report, and he is the only to refer to the statue standing in the Heraion: "There is also a marble Hermes, holding Dionysos as a baby, work (*techné*) of Praxiteles."²² These comments derive from Pausanias' visit to Olympia around 174 AD, over 500 years after Praxiteles would have carved the Hermes.²³ Pausanias also observes that the other statues in the Temple of Hera were of varying ages, media, and qualities, affirming the possibility that a marble statue by the master Praxiteles could have found a place among the heterogeneous sculptural assortment.

That Pausanias, a paramount resource for classicists and art historians, should attribute the Hermes to Praxiteles is no small matter. Instances of Pausanias' competence in artistic affairs are numerous, hence some scholars' loyalty to his accounts; his mistakes, conversely, prove reason enough for more skeptical scholars to discount his testimony.²⁴ In the case of the Hermes, Pausanias' brief description of the statue helps little in the argument over authenticity.²⁵ This ambiguous textual reference to the statue is, then, to be subordinated to more certain qualifiers: physical clues in the statue itself.

Traits of the Hermes consistent with Praxitelean protocol—the S-curve through the legs and torso, the *sfumato*, and the musculature—are matched, perhaps even overpowered, by copyist trademarks. Eight disputed features of the statue form the argument for a Roman copy rather than a Praxitelean original. These include technical aspects, like the statue's shiny finish: Hermes' high polish could not have held the traditional Greek pigment used to color marble statues, a technique known as *ganosis* that was often used in the fourth century BC and would have been preserved on the statue which had been protected by the clay

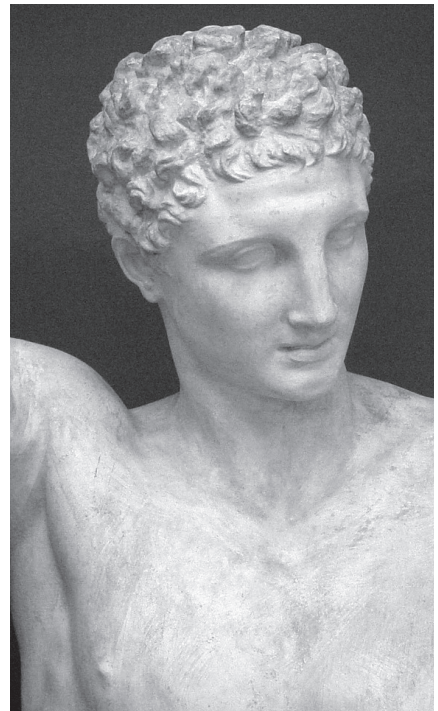
from dissolved mud brick in the upper walls of the temple.²⁶ Hermes' roughly-hewn backside also contributes to the technical anomalies casting doubt on the piece's origin.²⁷

Anachronisms of the *Hermes*' rendering add to this doubt. Chisel marks on the tree trunk are born of a round chisel or *drove*, used only from the Roman period onward; the tree trunk itself is a means of support common to Roman copies, not Greek originals.²⁸ Hermes' sandal style is likewise an invention postdating Praxiteles by at least a century,²⁹ and their summarily executed straps fare no better in proving a masterful Praxitelean hand.³⁰ The base supporting Hermes is of a style thought to be second-century, not fourth;³¹ Hermes' hair, unmodeled in the back, is similarly dated;³² his cloak, following suit, is of a length unsuited to the short Greek chlamys but appropriate to later Roman garments.³³

Indeed, one of the most convincing arguments for the *Hermes* as a Roman copy springs from his cloak. The swags of drapery looping over Hermes' arm appear only in Roman statuary, not fourth-century BC Greek statuary. The realism of the drapery is enough to convince some scholars of its total fabrication by a later copyist. If the drapery does offer such a firm date, and its conception in a fourth-century Greek original is then impossible, the implications for our reimagining of the original *Hermes* are monumental. The combination of drapery added by a later Roman hand and the tree trunk accepted as another such copyist's addition results in a firm grounding for one theory: that the *Hermes* originally stood without these supports.

Marble statues require struts and supporting tree trunks like the *Hermes*', but statues in the other leading medium of fourth-century Greece, bronze, do not. And how much more elegant—and hence Praxitelean—would be a *Hermes* swaying on his own two feet instead of leaning on a choppy tree trunk. Idealization of form does draw one to a bronze image, autonomous and strong; but more indications than mere aesthetics support the case for a bronze *Hermes*. The hair of the marble *Hermes* could attest to his Roman creator, as it was once gilded in the manner popular in not only Roman bronzes but Roman marbles imitating bronzes.³⁴ The high polish accommodates this hypothesis as well, since Romans would have alluded to the shine of bronze with this sheen rather than with Greek *ganosis*.³⁵ What emerges from this swirling mist of disputed interpretations can be distilled into a simple picture: a bronze statue of *Hermes* created by the fourth-century Greek master Praxiteles, copied in marble by a second-century Roman. The original would have resembled the figurines and paintings imitating the Praxiteles *Hermes*, jauntily poised and free of bulky supports.³⁶

Recently, another proposal has been set forth in an attempt to reconcile all these contradictions: that the *Hermes* from Olympia is a creation in the style of Praxiteles, or perhaps an imitation of an original by him, done significantly later than the master. "The head, even the entire composition, may derive more-or-less directly from the master, but in the present state of our knowledge it is safest to





consider it where it apparently belongs, within the Hellenistic period.”³⁷ If this interpretation is correct, then the marble Hermes from Olympia is neither from Praxiteles’ own time in the late Classical period (360-340 BC), nor from the Roman period shortly before Pausanias’ visit, but inbetween those two limits.

What, then, of our plaster copy of the *Hermes*? To trace a somewhat perfunctory reverse chronology is to begin with the gift by Phoebe Apperson Hearst of her collected casts to the Hearst Museum (more on the gift in the beginning section “History of the Collections”). Mrs. Hearst’s agent, Alfred Emerson, acquired the cast in Berlin during his early 20th-century acquisition assignment. This German cast would have been one of those provided for in the German and Greek governments’ contract from their joint excavation of Olympia. The Germans, according to this document, were allowed a copy and mold of every object found in the excavations up to five years after their exhumation.³⁸ Another copy also came to San Francisco in 1915 directly from the Greek State (inv.no. FASMSF 44766), but about a third of it has disappeared. There is, however, a notable technical difference between the German and the Greek casts: the former is solid plaster while the latter is hollow. One wonders what will be thought in 2000 years about the authenticity of one or the other.

Regardless of such controversies of authenticity the posited bronze Hermes doubtless enchanted its viewers with its Praxitelean sensitivity as does the marble version from Olympia, and this sense of intimacy has persevered through the copies to emerge as potent as ever in its plaster descendant. SKP

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NOTES

- 18 Stewart, 277.
 19 Lucian is allured by Praxiteles’ temptress Knidia, attesting the power of Praxiteles’ statues: Lucian, *Amores* 13-14; *Imagines* 6. On Praxiteles, “who masterfully embodied the emotions of the soul in works of stone,” Diodorus Siculus 26.1.
 20 Weil, 194
 21 Treu, 194-5.

- 22 Pausanias 5.17.1-4.
 23 As dated by Rizzo, 71.
 24 See Stewart on the "usually extremely laconic" style of both Pausanias and Pliny when describing statues, 26. Pausanias' choice of the word "techne" in his description of the *Hermes* is ambiguous: this could indicate a statue either "by" or merely "in the manner of" Praxiteles; he more typically uses the word "ergon" to mean a "work" by a specific artist.
 25 See Collignon for an adulatory romp through the *Hermes*' "inestimable value" as a Praxitelean original, 80-1.
 26 Rizzo disparages those authors who dismiss Pausanias as "distratto . . . ed incompetente" in their desire to treat the *Hermes* as an original, 71.
 27 Casson, 263 sees the rough back as an exception to the general taste for finished statues; Carpenter sees it not as haste but as a poor attempt to rectify carelessness, "Postscripts" 3; Yalouris believes the rough work to be from a later re-working.
 28 Carpenter notes both chiselwork and trunk: "Postscripts" 12.
 29 Wallace believes that the *Themis* from Rhamnous, epigraphically dated to c. 300 BCE or perhaps later, shows the first awkward signs of the sandal cutout between the toes: see 215-6. This cutout, though of a more sophisticated variety, characterizes *Hermes*' sandals; this would seem to indicate an even later date for the creation of the extant *Hermes*.
 30 Carpenter, "Who Carved" 259.
 31 Stewart, 177; Carpenter, "Postscripts" 2.
 32 Carpenter, "Postscripts" 7-8.
 33 Carpenter, "Who Carved" 252 and "Postscripts" 6-12.
 34 Carpenter, "Who Carved" 258. Praxiteles is known to have gilded his bronzes, attested by Paus. 10.14.7 and Plut. *amator* 9.10.
 35 Carpenter, "Postscripts" 6-12.
 36 Figurines and Pompeian painting mentioned in Stewart, 26, and Collignon, 81.
 37 Stewart, 177.
 38 Weil, 112.

21 cc 036

APHRODITE

Inv. No. Hearst 21-109
 Original in Glyptothek, Munich, inv. no. 258
 H: 1.74 m.
 H w/o plinth: 1.63 m.
 W at shoulders: 0.412 m.
 W of head *inter tragos*: 0.126 m.

This cast is of a marble over-life-size statue of Aphrodite, the Greek goddess of love. The cast is completely intact and undamaged, save for a chip on her chin. The original, however, is missing her right leg at the knee, her left leg at the ankle, her right arm at the wrist, and the fingers of her left hand.

The ancient original of which this cast was made, though called the Aphrodite Braschi after a collector who once owned her, is a Hellenistic copy of the Aphrodite of Knidus. The Knidian Aphrodite was made c. 350 BC by Praxiteles, one of the great masters of Greek sculpture. His Aphrodite was not only considered his finest work, but the finest work of sculpture in the world.³⁹ The story goes that





Praxiteles had made not one, but two statues of Aphrodite. The first was a much more conservative and traditional draped depiction of Aphrodite. The second, however, was something the ancient world had not yet seen. This Aphrodite was fully nude, seemingly caught unawares at her bath. The people of Kos chose the more severe, clothed Aphrodite. The second statue was bought by the Knidians, and it soon became the much more famous of the two.⁴⁰ The Knidians were so proud of their Aphrodite that they built a special rotunda for her to be housed in so that she could be admired from all sides. Pseudo-Lucian tells us "... the temple has two entrances, [the second being] for those who wish to see the goddess directly from the back."⁴¹ The Knidia was made of fine Parian marble, so one can only imagine what a sight she would have been, shining in the sunlight. Indeed, pseudo-Lucian continues to tell of the effect that the statue had on one group of viewers.

So we decided to see all of the goddess, and went round to the back of the shrine. Then, when the door had been opened by the woman who had charge of the keys, we were filled with instant wonder at the beauty we saw. The Athenian, who had been so impassive an observer a minute before, upon inspecting those parts of the goddess that recommend a boy, suddenly raised a shout more frenzied than Charikles'. "Herakles!" he exclaimed. "What a well-proportioned back! What generous flanks! How satisfying an armful to embrace! How well delineated is the flesh on the buttocks, neither too thin and close to the bone, nor endowed with too great a quantity of fat!"⁴²

Praxiteles' Aphrodite was said to be modeled after Phyrne, his mistress.⁴³ The statue's hair, jewelry, and *hydria* would have been gilded, while the lips, eyes, and pubic hair would have been painted on.⁴⁴

The fact that the Knidia was so popular may account for why so many copies were made. She was new and controversial; something worth looking at. At least twenty-two copies of the Knidia have been found thus far. Our particular copy stands in a strong *contrapposto*, giving her pose a sensuous S curve. Her hair is wavy and pulled back with a ribbon. The head of the statue is held high and looks off towards her left, as if engaging some viewer there. Her expression appears serene, though she reaches towards her genitals with her right arm, presumably to cover them. Aphrodite's left hand holds her *peplos*, which falls in a strong backwards slant, finally resting atop her *hydria*, which presumably held her bathwater. The angle of the drape is a marked contrast to Aphrodite herself, who leans slightly forward in the opposite direction. The musculature of her back, buttocks, and torso appears very soft and fleshy, as if it would give if touched, in an example of Praxiteles' mastery of *sfumato*. Her genitals are notable for their complete lack of vulvic detail, something that remains a mystery even today. The legs of the statue are pressed together rather protectively. The left leg is bent while the right supports most of her weight. Finally, on the rear of the base of the statue, the seal and signature of the modern cast maker can be found.

MDB

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- 39 Pliny, *Natural History* 34.69 and 36.20 (translated by Jones 151-152).
40 Pliny, *NH* 36.20 .
41 [Lucian], *Amores* 13 (Pollitt 86).
42 [Lucian], *Amores* 14.
43 Pliny, *NH* 34.70; Athenaios 13.590; Pausanias 1.20.1
44 Stewart 99.

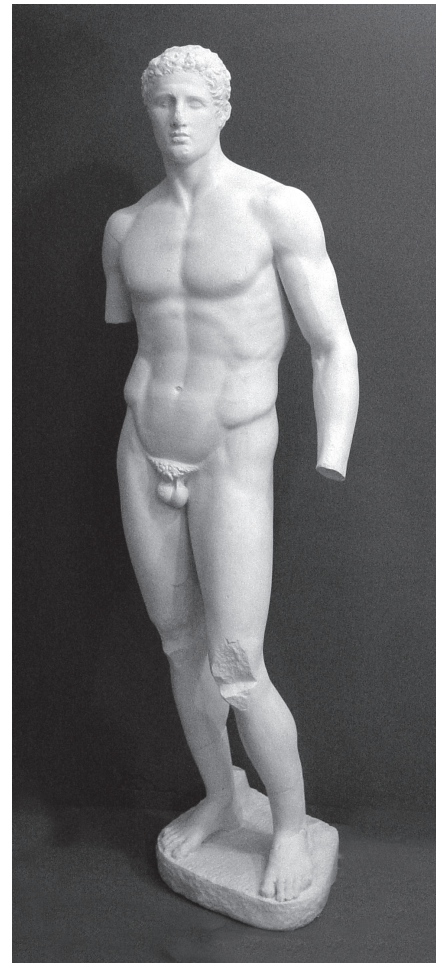
22 CC 002

AGIAS OF PHARSALOS

Inv. no. Hearst 21-286
Original in the Delphi Archeological Museum, inv. no. 369
H: 2.08 m.
W: 0.685 m.
D: 0.32 m.
W of head *inter tragos*: 0.165 m.

Found in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi fallen in front of its base, the original statue of Pentelic marble⁴⁵ has been identified as Agias the pankratiast from Pharsalos by an inscription on the base of the monument to which it belonged. Daochos II, tetrarch of the Thessalians and political ally of Alexander the Great, dedicated the monument while serving as *hieromnemon* at Delphi (336–332 BC). Agias, great grandfather of the dedicant, had won honor for his family with athletic victories at both Olympia and Delphi.

Although the marble original dates to the time of Daochos' tenure at Delphi, it was probably a copy of an earlier statue in bronze from a monument at Pharsalos. The bronze original is now lost, but an inscription recorded from its base matches the inscription from Delphi, with two exceptions: the base of the bronze statue claimed Agias had five victories at Delphi (the Delphic base states there were three⁴⁶); and the base at Pharsalos included the signature of its artist, Lysippos, one of the greatest sculptors of the classical world. Since Lysippos is only known to have worked in metal, it is highly unlikely that the marble statue in Delphi is a work by the master's hand. Nonetheless, the statue of Agias displays proportional qualities that are apparently Lysippan; writing in the 1st century after Christ,



Pliny the Elder described the relatively small heads and slender bodies that characterized works by Lysippos—qualities which caused his statues to appear especially tall.⁴⁷

Standing about two meters in height, the nude statue of Agias is larger than life.⁴⁸ His lower right arm and left hand were not recovered during excavation of the original, but comparanda showing athletic victors suggest he once held a victor's crown or libation bowl in his right hand. The statue's ankles and knees are also missing from the original; the ankle pieces evident from break lines in the cast were restored on the original soon after its excavation. Aside from the more noticeable abrasions to the back, nose, and toes, the original statue is remarkably well preserved. The roughly hewn supports rising a short distance behind each ankle appear on every statue in the Daochos group as well as on a statue from the Kallithea monument in Peiraeus; presumably, such supports were included to strengthen a statue at its ankles.⁴⁹

Since Agias—whose Olympic victory was probably in 484 BC⁵⁰—lived about a century and a half before the time of Lysippos, the statue is probably not a portrait, despite its rather distinctive facial features. Its small, close-set eyes and broad nose seem to be remnants of an historical visage, but the overall smoothness of the facial features and the untroubled gaze lend the statue an idealized air. The bloated “cauliflower” ears seen here are typical attributes of the professional boxer. A cutting in the hair evinces a now-lost ribbon, the standard symbol of an athletic victor.

ED

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45 Palagia and Herz 2002: 245–246 conclude from the results of isotopic analysis that the statues of Daochos I and Sisyphus II are of Pentelic marble. Through visual inspection, they conclude that the other statues in the group are likewise Pentelic

46 Miller 1978: 140, presents evidence that the Delphic inscription originally claimed five victories for Agias, but was edited in antiquity, possibly by Aristotle after he had researched and compiled a list of Pythian victors.

47 Pliny *HN* 34.65.

48 The average height of a Greek male in the Classical period has been reckoned at 1.705 m. For statistics on ancient Aegean skeletal remains, see S.C. Bisel and J.L. Angel, “Health and nutrition in

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49 On the struts of the Daochos and Kallithea monuments, see E. K. Tsirivakos, "Παρατηρήσεις ἐπὶ τοῦ Μνημείου τοῦ Δαόχου," *Αρχ.Εφ.* 1972, 70-85, esp. 84-85.

50 L. Moretti, *Olympionikai, i vincitori negli antichi agoni olimpici* (*Atti della accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Memorie, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 8, 1957) p. 80 #192.

23 cc 009

PANKRATIASTS

Inv. no. Hearst 21-004

Original in the Uffizi, Florence, inv. no. 547

H: 1.02 m.

W: 1.16 m.

D: 0.63 m.

W of head of upper athlete *inter tragos*: NA

This group is cast from a marble sculpture group now residing in the Uffizi Gallery's domed Tribune. The original is a 1st century BC Roman copy mostly in large crystallized Greek marble⁵¹ of a mid-3rd century BC lost Greek original, perhaps of bronze. Attempts have been made to attribute the original of this group to a Kephisodotos, the son of Praxiteles, based on Pliny's description of an exceptional group of "grappling figures".⁵² This attribution is problematic since the word *symplegma* can be translated as "intertwined" and does not explicitly refer to either pankratiasts or wrestlers thus they are usually not attributed to a specific artist. In any case, the present marble group was uncovered in an excavation at the Horti Lamiani on the southeastern outskirts of Ancient Rome in 1583. The original owner of the garden, Consul Lucius Aelius Lamia, relinquished his gardens to the Imperium in a bequest to Tiberius sometime before his death in 33 AD.⁵³ Discovered with the Pankratiasts was a group of fourteen statues of the Niobids some of which are now in the Uffizi Gallery as well. The same year that these groups were discovered, they were acquired by Cardinal Francesco de Medici and placed in the Villa Medici on the Pincian Hill in Rome. An engraving done by Cavalleriis from 1586 is said to show that prior to restoration both athletes were missing their heads and the upraised right arm of the top wrestler was also gone.⁵⁴

In 1677 the *Pankratiasts* arrived at the Uffizi Gallery in Florence. At this time E. Ferrata performed some restoration of unknown extent. However, we do know that in 1711 the artist Massimiliano Soldani-Benzi executed a group in bronze almost identical to the *Pankratiasts*.⁵⁵ Since Soldani-Benzi worked under the auspices of the Medici and his workshop was on the ground floor of the Uffizi Gallery, it seems likely that he was deliberately copying the work, showing that it



had already been brought to a state of restoration virtually identical to its present appearance. In 1784 the group underwent a second episode of restoration, this time by F. Carradori, yet the results are equally mysterious. Experts disagree on the legitimacy of most parts of the group, likely fueled by the number of fractures and joins visible in the group today. The base is almost unequivocally modern. It seems to be universally recognized that the heads of both athletes are modern, or at the very least ancient but not intended for this particular group. The fact that the heads are executed in Pentelic marble while the rest of the sculpture is composed of marble with large crystals would seem to support this hypothesis. Another theory is that the heads belong to the Niobid group with which it was unearthed. However, this hypothesis is problematic since all of the statues in the Niobid group retain their heads. They were brought to the Uffizi long after the *Pankratiasts* in 1769 and though they were restored by the same F. Carradori, the time frame, between 1784 and 1800, places them at the Uffizi long after the time when the heads of the *Pankratiasts* had been restored. Nevertheless, it is possible that the heads were crafted by restorers who were imitating the style of the Niobid group since a set of plaster casts of the Niobids was brought to the Uffizi in 1588 while the originals were still at the Villa Medici.⁵⁶ These casts would have been readily available to provide inspiration to the restorers. There is no doubt that the current heads must have been separated from the bodies at some point since the working on the underside of the lower athlete's head is of comparable quality to the rest of his more easily accessible body. The heads are not the only contested parts of the athletes for modern scholars have suggested that one or more arms and/or one or more legs are modern additions.⁵⁷

Though the group is commonly referred to as *The Wrestlers* the athletes are involved in a particular athletic competition: the *Pankration*. Ancient wrestling was quite different from the modern competition. The event of the *pale* involved both competitors standing, avoiding close contact and attempting to throw their opponents to the ground. Winners threw their opponents three times without being thrown thrice themselves. The *Pankration* itself is a combination of wrestling (the *pale*) and boxing (the *pyx*). Boxing was said by Philostratos to have been invented by the Spartans as practice to endure blows to the face. The athletes here are depicted on the ground and without gloves unambiguously marking them as *Pankratiasts* rather than participants in one of the other events. Like in boxing, victory was won by a *pankratiast* when his opponent was unable or unwilling to continue the competition. Though the predicament of the lower athlete looks dire, Philostratos tells us that "The *pankratiasts*...learn holds by which one who has fallen can still win"⁵⁸ leaving the outcome of this match still undecided. The upper athlete displays uneven handling in his ears, his right ear being puffy as if he had just received a blow from a right handed opponent, a common feature in artistic depictions of boxers.

RC

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42-44, 76-78.

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- 51 It is frequently stated that the heads are of Pentelic marble, while the remainder is of Greek marble without further specification. See, e.g., Mansuelli 92 and Dütschke 244.
52 Pliny 36.4.24.
53 Lanciani 1907: 406-409 describes the location and other finds in detail.
54 Though this engraving is frequently referred to in modern scholarly literature concerning the Pankratiasts, a reproduction of the image could not be found even after a vigorous search.
55 The Beazley Archive explains that the bronze was acquired from Soldani-Benzi in 1711 for the Blenheim Palace by the Duke of Marlborough.
56 Mansuelli 1958: 92 describes all these restorations in detail.
57 Miller 2004: 57 quotes from Philostratos (Pictures in a Gallery 2.6; A45)

24 CC 041

DEAD PERSIAN

Inv. no. Hearst 21-124
Original in the Museo Archaeologico Nazionale, Naples, inv. No. 6014
H: 0.325 m.
L head to foot: 0.985 m.
W of base: 0.577 m.

This is a cast of a Roman copy of a Greek original, a figure of a man identified as a Persian lying dead on his side. His left arm is underneath his body gripping a shield, while his right is extended outwards and bent at the elbow. His left leg is bent while his right leg is draped over his ankle. On his head is a *mitra*, or a Phrygian cap. He is wearing a tunic, sleeved over one arm with his right shoulder bare, bounded by a belt. He is also wearing a pair of *anaxyrides*, or breeches, and *akantias*, or short boots. A scimitar (curved sword) lies in front of the figure by the knees, and he is lying upon a rounded shield, which is visible behind him. The figure is two-thirds life size and the surface is lightly weathered. The original statue was made out of Asian marble from Marmara. The top of the cap, both arms, part of the left foot, the right leg below the knee and part of the plinth and shield are modern restorations made during the Renaissance.





The statue was found in Rome in 1514 under a convent along with four or five other figures that are now dispersed in various other museums and collections. The convent was most likely around the area of Campus Maritus, over the ancient Roman baths of Nero/Alexander Severus, which was where they were probably displayed in their own time. This theory is corroborated by the fact that most of the weathering to the statue happened after it was discovered, thus suggesting it was displayed indoors. Moreover, the statue was cut in the round, meaning that it is meant to be seen from all sides, it was probably displayed in a colonnade portico or long hallway, which is consistent with the Roman practice of situating indoor free standing sculptures.

The dating of the statue is highly contested, though it was probably created around the first quarter of the second century AD. This date would put it under the Emperors Trajan or Hadrian, and also coincides with the restoration projects of rebuilding Rome after the great fire of 80.

The statue is a copy of a Greek original, a part of the Attalid Dedication on the Akropolis. The original dedication consisted of perhaps more than a hundred figures divided into four sets: a Galatomachy, Persianomachy, Amazonomachy, and Gigantomachy. The monument was most likely made out of bronze, consequently none of the originals survive today as they were probably melted down and used for some other purpose. This particular work is from the Persianomachy. As stated before, the statue was discovered along with four or five other figures, and to understand its purpose, we must consider them together as a set. The other figures were all originally from the Attalid dedication, they include: a dead giant, a dead amazon, a kneeling Gaul, a dying Gaul, a kneeling Persian. The correlations between the figures are that they are representations of barbarians in varying stages of death.

A question one must ask then is, why did the Romans, out of the numerous other options possible, choose these particular figures? Moreover, why are there no statues of victors or other warriors? First, a point one must consider is that, although they are original Greek works of art, one must situate the copies within a Roman framework. This consequently explains the absence of warriors or other figures. The Romans, continuing the long established practice of selectively borrowing from the Greeks, have appropriated the statues to appeal to their mentality. Or in other words, the statues now serve to please Roman eyes and accordingly, figures of triumphant Greek warriors would be inappropriate.

Indeed, those Greeks have been supplanted by the Romans. The original conception of the group, dedicated by the Attalid kings in the center of Greek civilization, the Athenian Akropolis, was to show the ultimate Greek conquest of the barbarian non-Greeks. The Giants try to take over Olympos and eject the Greek gods, but they are defeated: dead Giant; the Amazons invade Greece and lay siege to Athens, but the Athenians – bastions of culture – drive them away: dead Amazon; the Persians continue the assault upon Hellenism, and even though

they destroy Athens, they are finally defeated and kicked out of Greece: dead Persian; and, as the Athenians lose power, the Attalids are there to hold the torch of Hellenic civilization even as the Gauls, or Galatians, attack them, but the Gauls are now driven away in the latest triumph of Greek culture: Gaul falling back in defeat and death. Thus the original group in Athens, but now the Athenians, and the Greeks, cannot defend culture and the Romans must play that role. The dead and dying barbarians remain as a part of the historical record, but the Greek defenders are gone and the Romans are now the real bastion of civilization.

To further situate the work within the context of a Roman artistic genre, the statue serves as an “exemplum”. The closest English cognates of this concept would be an example, paradigm or lesson. The Roman world was divided into many dichotomies, one being Roman/Barbarian, another civilized/savage. The Persians have long been one of the ancient archetypes for barbarians. Moreover, the work is a representation of a “transgressor undergoing punishment”, as Andrew Stewart aptly puts it. Therefore, the statue served the purpose of invoking the ideal of superiority by displaying to the viewer an image of a defeated foe, with death being the ultimate consequence of standing outside the sphere of Roman civilization.

JA

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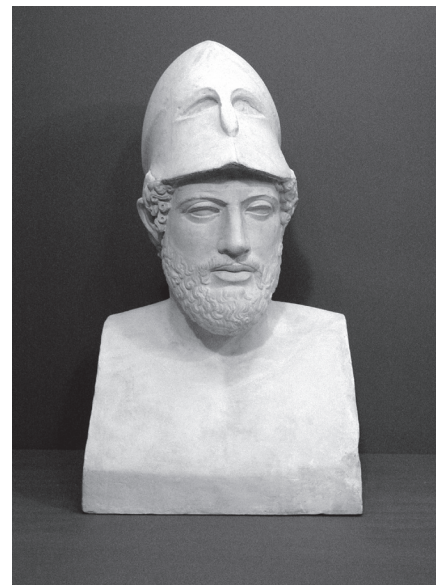
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25 CC 007

PORTRAIT HERM OF PERIKLES

Inv. no. Hearst 21-036
Original in the Sala delle Muse, Vatican, inv. 269.
H: 1.83 m.
W: 0.34 m.
D: 0.32 m.
Width of head *inter tragos*: 0.170 m.

The cast is of the top of a full herm (H: 1.83 m.) of Pentelic marble which is inscribed: ΠΕΡΙΚΛΗΣ / ΞΑΝΘΙΠΠΟΥ / ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ (Perikles the son of Xanthippos, Athenian). The producer of the cast, the famous Leopoldo Malpieri from Rome, copied only the head and the upper part of the breast, without the lower part of the herm and the inscription. Also the shoulder-sockets of the original herm were



filled and only slight traces of them can be seen. The original portrait had the following parts broken away and restored with modern marble: the nose, parts of the helmet, and the back of the left shoulder including a part of the socket.

The original herm was found in 1779 by Domenico De Angelis, a nobleman and painter engaged in "archaeological" excavations, in the remains of a Roman villa (called the Villa of Brutus) near Tivoli. The excavation revealed other herms and statues as well.

The herm is a Roman reproduction made after a Greek original, now lost. It shows a bearded man, slightly idealized, wearing a Corinthian helmet. The helmet is common to all extant portraits (two clearly identified by inscriptions) and was described by Plutarch, who speaks of several portraits of Perikles. Plutarch (*Perikles*, III, 2) explained that his head was too long, and "for this reason, the portraits of him, almost all of them wear helmets, because the artists, as it would seem, were not willing to reproach him with deformity."

Perikles, born *ca.* 495 BC, was the leader of Athens at its pinnacle. He combined eminent statesmanship qualities with excellent military ability. In his days the building of Parthenon and the long walls of Athens were completed. In 429 BC Perikles fell a victim to a dreadful plague that killed one-third of the Athenian population.

Perikles' name remained linked with Athens' heyday and he was therefore admired by the Romans, and marble copies of him adorned their houses and gardens. The Vatican herm is one of five extant portraits of Perikles. The others are kept at the Barracco Museum, Rome, at the British Museum (also found at Tivoli, inscribed ΠΕΡΙΚΛΗΣ and featuring a slight inclination of the head), at the Staatliche Museen, Berlin, and at the Art Museum, Princeton. The style of these copies, mainly the rendering of the hair, points to a date *ca.* 430 BC for the Greek original.

BZ

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PORTRAIT BUST OF SOCRATES

Inv. no. Hearst 21-038

Original in the Villa Albani, Rome, inv. no. 1040

H: 0.522 m.

W: 0.293 m.

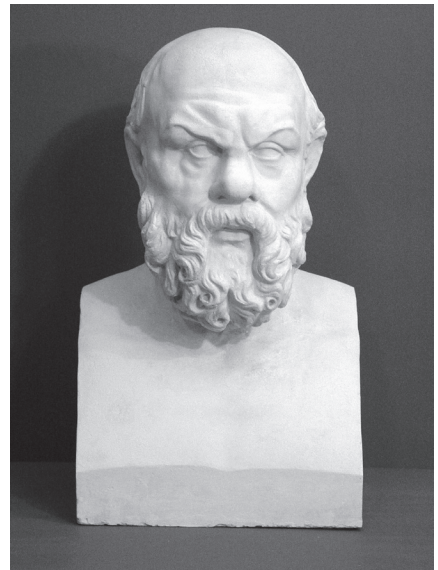
D: 0.246 m.

Width of head *inter tragos*: 0.170 m.

This cast is of a fine-grained white marble head of Socrates (469-399 BC), often called the founder of Attic philosophy. His father, Sophroniskos, is said to have been a sculptor, and Socrates himself is supposed to have practiced stone-cutting and sculpture in his early life (if true, he may well have participated in the Periclean building program). He was reputed to have served with distinction and courage as a hoplite in three campaigns. In his younger years, he was interested in scientific philosophy, but turned in middle and later life increasingly to the examination of morals and right conduct. He never took money for his teaching and lived in poverty. This, combined with his occasionally combative method of teaching in public places and his irreverence towards power, led him into trouble with the authorities: in 399 he was charged with impiety, introducing strange gods into Athens, and corrupting the youth; he was tried and condemned to death. After thirty days in prison he drank hemlock, but gained immortality through the writings of Aristophanes, Diogenes Laertius, and especially Plato, who used him as a figurehead for philosophy.

According to Plato, Xenophon, Cicero, and Lucian, Socrates was stocky, broad-shouldered, had a broad nose with flaring nostrils, prominent eyeballs, a large mouth with thick lips, a thick neck, a protruding belly, was bald, and—most notably—that he resembled a Silenos or Satyr. So famous—and famously ugly—were his features that they lent themselves easily to caricature. All the portraits of Socrates lean in this direction, assimilating the human and the Satyr-like to greater or lesser extent.

Discovered near Cicero's villa in Tusculum in 1736, our bust was identified as Socrates as early as 1785, when it was first published. Its expressive features and hyperbolic indicators of thinkerly activity were in keeping with the taste of the times, and by the 19th century, this piece had become the most famous of all Socrates portraits. Accordingly, it was also assumed to be a typical and paradigmatic example of how he had been portrayed in antiquity. This opinion only began to change when scholars started to sort rigorously the extant portraits of Socrates into groups and types and derive them, as copies, from certain reconstructed originals. Only then did the Villa Albani Socrates reveal itself to be a special and highly problematic case—special and problematic because it fits neatly into neither of the two main types (labeled Type A and Type B) to which nearly all



other portraits of Socrates clearly belong. Some have tried to account for his lack of clear fit by viewing him as a copy variant, and thus derive him ultimately from one or the other of the two main types. Others have claimed that he simply cannot be linked to either major type, and have proposed varying explanations for his distinctiveness. One theory attempts to explain his atypicalness by explaining it away: the Villa Albani Socrates is a modern work, it is claimed. This view, however, can be rejected on account of the work's various metallic encrustations, which can only reflect the passage of a much longer period of time. Another theory tries to explain the problem away by rejecting its identification: so instead of a Silenos-like Socrates, the head is claimed to represent Silenos himself. This view, however, flounders on the purely human form given the ears (Silenos had the pointed drooping ears of a goat); in addition, despite all its differences from other portraits of Socrates, our head still shows more similarities to them than to known representations of Silenos himself.

But this means that if our head is not to be understood as simply a freakish variant of Type A or B, it must represent a copy of a *third* original, an original marked by its hyperbolic intensification of expressivity. For everything here is pushed to extremes: the top of the head has been stripped of any last remaining trace of hair; the cranium arches upwards as a towering hemisphere; the brow springs forward almost obscenely, yet is impossibly contracted and pulled down over the eyes; and the nose is ludicrously up-turned and pugged. At the same time, these indicators of extreme (intellectual) tension co-exist with a bizarrely formal rigidity, manifested in the perfect order of the beard and the near-perfect symmetry of the face as a whole. These and other stylistic features of the piece show a close affinity with Late Hellenistic works, and on these grounds, the Villa Albani Socrates has been tentatively dated to the late 2nd century BC. Since Types A and B have been dated to the early and late 4th century BC, respectively, this means that our head most likely post-dates the other portraits of Socrates by at least two centuries.

This piece is, then, unique: the Socrates who refuses to fit tidily; and at the same time, the head which, ironically, was deemed by the 19th century to be the most typical ancient portrayal of Socrates. This no doubt explains why we have it here: most of the casts donated by Phoebe Hearst were of very famous pieces, and at the time, the Villa Albani Socrates was the most famous of them all. While it might represent a rather unusual choice today for a cast collection seeking to embody the typical tastes of antiquity, it would have been the logical choice for a collection formed a century ago.

MA

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27 cc 008

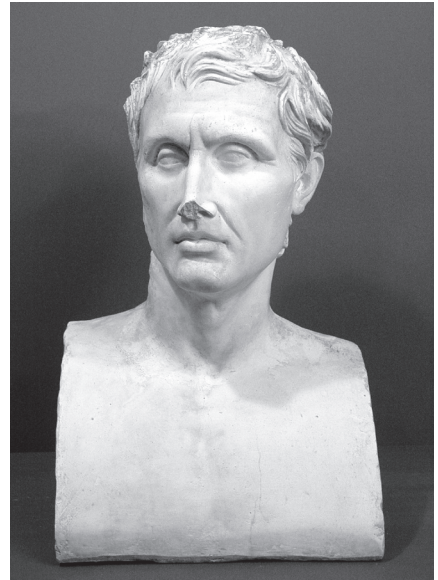
BUST OF MENANDER

Inv. no. Hearst 21-001
Original in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, inv. no. 97.288
H: 0.51 m.
D: 0.22 m.
Width of head *inter tragos*: 0.165 m.

This cast is of a bust of the the comedic poet Menander (342-293 BC), a Roman copy of a Greek original; the exact provenience of the bust isn't known, but it comes from the Torre Annunziata region of Italy. It was acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston in 1897 from the Catherine Page Perkins Collection. The original bust in Boston is in rather poor condition; a large crack runs down the length of the chest, the tip of the nose is battered off, the left side of the face is marked with slight indentations and miscoloring throughout, and the entire right side of the head (including hair, ears, and face) is heavily pockmarked and damaged. The cast itself has also suffered from rather extensive damage; water has dripped down onto the top of the head and both of the shoulders, eroding the plaster. Accordingly, small holes had to be refilled on the top of the head and the right shoulder; a large and deep hole on the right shoulder also was repaired. A thick layer of mold and dirt covered the bust throughout, and could only be partially removed without causing irreversable structural damage to the cast.

The bust seems to have been adapted from a herm type, as it has two large rectangular holes on either side, presumably for the attachment of arms. The back and sides of the torso were not smoothed out with a chisel, but instead only dressed down with a point drill; the chest itself is unclothed, indicating that the man depicted is in the nude. The style of the face portrays a mature, but beardless man. He wears a scowl upon his clean-shaven face, with a furrowed brow and tensely puckered lips. In profile, the rounded chin protrudes out slightly farther than what would be proportional, as does the thick, strong brow. The hair is combed forward and rests on the forehead in a series of locks running from the head's left to right.

Menander was the foremost of the 'New Comedy' poets that burst onto the scene in Athens during the latter part of the 4th century BC. This 'New Comedy'



style differed from the classical comedies of poets such as Aristophanes in that it tended to deal with everyday themes and characters, whereas 'Old Comedy' tended to work with mythological themes and characters. Menander wrote over 100 comedies in his lifetime and produced his first play in 321, a work entitled *Orges*. While he did achieve some literary success (Menander won his first theatrical contest in Athens in 315), his style and the themes of his writing were also widely criticized during his own lifetime. However, the fame and repute of his work grew with the generations, so much that his style was copied by Roman comedic poets like Terrence and Plautus, and even preferred by Plutarch to the classical 'Old Comedy' plays of Aristophanes. JMR

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28 CC 004

PORTRAIT BUST OF CICERO

Inv. no. Hearst 21-271

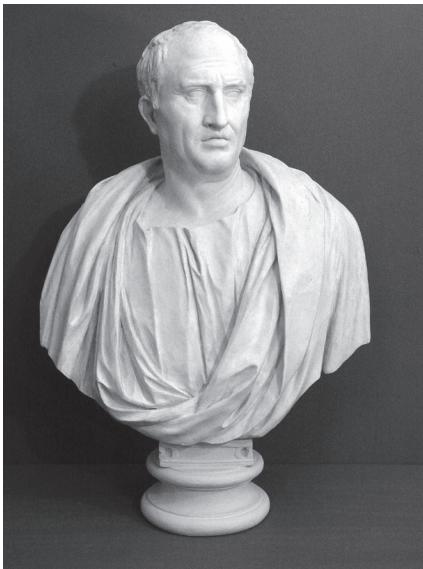
Original in the "Stanza dei Filosofi" of the Capitoline Museum, Rome,
inv. nos. Albani, A 27; MC 0589⁵⁸

H (without base): 0.830 m.

W: 0.665 m.

D: 0.260 m.

W of head *inter tragos*: 0.180 m.



"The head has been much cleaned, the bust patched in several places."⁵⁸ Bust and foot are Renaissance restorations after 2nd century after Christ style.

Portrait of a man in late middle-age, balding above a domed, wrinkled forehead and prominent brows. Deep-set eyes are surrounded by distinct crows-feet. Heavy creases drop down diagonally from the bridge of his nose and along side of his mouth to meet a strong, rounded chin. A slight turn of the head toward the left creates several folds in the flesh of the neck. The full-bust consists of the circular gather of a toga and extends almost to mid-abdomen.

This portrait of M. Tullius Cicero (c.106-43 BC), Roman statesman and orator, is conventionally considered an early- to mid-1st century after Christ copy of a late Republic original, but the dating of the copy is based on stylistic grounds and must be considered unproven. It is a fine example of realistic late Republican portraiture and shows a "Hellenistic" influence which imbued the sitter with heroic qualities and somewhat idealized features. A bust such as this Cicero might have adorned a Roman patrician's library or peristyle to reflect his general erudition or skills in oratory.

The sculpture is identified as Cicero mainly on iconographical similarity to an inscribed bust in London at Apsley House; the inscription (and therefore the head) is generally held to be authentic. Although the Apsley bust has been restored considerably, enough of the coiffeur, brows and eyes exist to confirm that it and the Capitoline bust are portraits of the same man. Variant portrayals exist (e.g. the Uffizi and Vatican busts), each depicting an increasingly aged and corpulent Cicero. The Capitoline bust is the “youngest” of the series. Several portrait gems also confirm this as his likeness. MD

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NOTES

58 First in the Barberini collection (early 17th c.), then the Albani collection, finally acquired by Capitoline in 1730s.

59 Jones, *Catalog* 249-250 and plate 58.

