

Greek Statue Terms Revisited: What does ἀνδριᾶς mean?

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IT HAS LONG BEEN a truism in scholarship on Greek sculpture that the ancient Greeks had no word that meant “statue.” Rather, the Greek terms used to describe or refer to statues depended upon their functions and the contexts in which they stood.¹ Though recent scholarship has argued against any clear-cut ontological distinction between cult statues and other divine images, a series of specialized terms—ξόανον, βρέτας, and ἐδός—seem to have been used beginning in the sixth century BCE to denote a divine statue displayed on axis in a temple building.² In the early fourth century, a distinction began to be made between a divine statue called an

¹ J. Ducat, “Fonctions de la statue dans la Grèce archaïque. *kouros* et *kolossos*,” *BCH* 100 (1976) 246: “Le grec n’a pas, on le sait, de terme générique pour désigner ‘la statue’; il a plusieurs substantifs, correspondant soit à tel ou tel aspect (‘objet poli’), soit à telle ou telle fonction (‘siège’ de la divinité, offrande, représentation d’homme, image) de la statue.” A. Duploux, *Le prestige des élites. Recherches sur les modes de reconnaissance sociale en Grèce entre les Xe et Ve siècles avant J.-C.* (Paris 2006) 186: “Or en grec, il n’existe pas de mot générique pour désigner la ‘statue’.” A typical generalizing statement from a handbook on Greek sculpture is C. Rolley, *La sculpture grecque I* (Paris 1994) 22: “Les textes classiques distinguent souvent la statue d’une divinité, *agalma*, de celle d’un être humain, ἀνδριᾶς (*andrias*).”

² For cult statues and the Greek terms used to describe them see especially I. B. Romano, *Early Greek Cult Images* (diss. Univ. of Pennsylvania 1980) 42–57; A. A. Donohue, *Xoana and the Origins of Greek Sculpture* (Atlanta 1988), and “The Greek Images of the Gods: Considerations on Terminology and Methodology,” *Hephaistos* 15 (1997) 31–45; T. S. Scheer, *Die Gottheit und ihr Bild, Untersuchungen zur Funktion griechischer Kultbilder in Religion und Politik* (Munich 2000) 8–34.

ἄγαλμα and a portrait statue called an εἰκὼν.³ From the third century onward, a statue representing a Hellenistic king or a prominent civic benefactor might be referred to as an *agalma* if its function was primarily religious, but an *eikon* or an *andrias* if it was likened to portraits of other persons.⁴ As Simon Price pointed out, *agalma*, *andrias*, and *eikon* could all be used to describe statues representing the Roman emperor, and so “the observer could use different terms depending on what aspect of the object [statue] he wished to stress.”⁵

One of the most common Greek terms for a statue, *andrias*, is also the least discussed and the least understood.⁶ Recent studies of Greek portrait sculpture raise key questions about terminology that thus far remain unanswered.⁷ When did

³ Another important Greek statue term whose meaning has been debated in recent scholarship, *kolossos*, lies beyond the scope of this article. See most recently M. Dickie, “What is a Kolossos and How Were Kolossoi Made in the Hellenistic Period?” *GRBS* 37 (1996) 237–257, and E. Kosmetatou and N. Papalexandrou, “Size Matters: Poseidippos and the Colossi,” *ZPE* 143 (2003) 53–58.

⁴ See D. Fishwick, “Statues Taxes in Roman Egypt,” *Historia* 38 (1989) 335–347, esp. 340–344 (portraits of the Ptolemies).

⁵ S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power* (Cambridge 1984) 176–179 (quotation at 176); see also P. Veyne, “Les honneurs posthumes de Flavia Domitilla et les dédicaces grecques et latines,” *Latomus* 21 (1962) 49–98; A. Oliver, “Honors to Romans: Bronze Portraits,” in C. C. Mattusch (ed.), *The Fire of Hephaistos: Large Classical Bronzes from North American Collections* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1996) 144–145. K. Tuchelt’s assertion, *Frühe Denkmäler Roms in Kleinasien I (IstMitt Beih.* 23 [1979]) 68–71, that the material distinction between marble statues and bronze ones was paramount in determining which were called *agalmata* (marble) and which were called *eikones* (bronze) has been criticized by K. Höghammar, *Sculpture and Society. A Study of the Connection between the Free-Standing Sculpture and Society on Kos* (Uppsala 1993) 68–70, and D. Damaskos, *Untersuchungen zu hellenistischen Kultbildern* (Stuttgart 1999) 304–309.

⁶ For *andrias* see, in addition to the citations above, H. Philipp, *Tektonon Daidala: Der bildende Künstler und sein Werk im vorplatonischen Schrifttum* (Berlin 1968) 106–107, and S. Bettinetti, *La statua di culto nella pratica rituale greca* (Bari 2001) 37–42, both with an emphasis upon Classical literary references.

⁷ R. Krumeich, *Bildnisse griechischer Herrscher und Staatsmänner im 5. Jahr-*

andrias, a term whose etymology naturally connects it with male figures, begin to be used to refer to portraits of women?⁸ Why did *andrias* eventually become a more common term for portrait statues in Greek inscriptions than *eikon*? And when did *andriantopoiios* come to denote a maker of bronze statues specifically? As I hope to show, though it is clear that *andrias*, beginning in the fifth century BCE, was sometimes used in both literature and inscriptions to refer to portrait statues, it can only be said to mean “portrait” from the second century BCE onward. Appealing to later Greek usage risks obscuring several important points about what the Greeks called their statues before the second century BCE. In the Archaic and Classical periods, both inscriptions and literary sources used *andrias* for any male statue. *Eikon* became a standard term for a portrait statue once honorific decrees awarding portraits began to be inscribed on stone; thereafter, *andrias* was used sporadically in such decrees to convey the technical specifications of male portrait statues called *eikones*. The earliest inscribed decrees in honor of women in the Greek world, dating to the fourth and third centuries BCE, avoided referring to female portraits as *andriantes*. The inscribed Hellenistic temple inventories from Delos consistently used a constellation of other terms (ζῶρον, ζῶδιον, and ζῶδάρτιον especially) to avoid calling

hundert v. Chr. (Munich 1997); F. Queyrel, *Les portraits des Attalides: Fonction et représentation* (Paris 2003); S. Dillon, *Ancient Greek Portrait Sculpture: Contexts, Subjects, and Styles* (Cambridge 2006); P. Schultz and R. von den Hoff (eds.), *Early Hellenistic Portraiture: Image, Style, Context* (Cambridge 2007); S. Dillon, *The Female Portrait Statue in the Greek World* (Cambridge 2010); J. Ma, *Statues and Cities: Honorific Portraits and Civic Identity in the Hellenistic World* (Oxford 2013).

⁸ For *andrias* as a term applicable to female portraits see Dillon, *The Female Portrait Statue* 36–37 and 189 n.133, citing R. R. R. Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits* (Oxford 1988) 16 and 35, and *LSCG* Suppl. 107, a decree of the third century BCE from the Asklepion on Rhodes regulating the placement of offerings. The decree makes a distinction between *andriantes* (statues) and *anathemata* (non-statue offerings); in this particular case, *andrias* means any statue, not only portraits.

female figures *andriantes*, down to ca. 200 BCE. Thereafter, both inventories and honorific decrees frequently made a distinction between painted portraits, called *eikones*, and portrait statues, called *andriantes*. This seems to be the origin of the use of *andrias* in the Roman imperial period as a standard Greek term for a portrait statue, either male or female. Finally, the terms *andriantopoiios* and *agalmatopoiios* seem to have been used interchangeably to mean “sculptor” until the time of Aristotle.

Of the terms for statues enumerated in my introductory paragraphs, *agalma* by far dominates the literary and epigraphical lexicon of the Archaic period and the fifth century. As Joseph Day has most recently shown, in inscribed dedicatory epigrams *agalma* connoted “an ornament that generates friendly responses with its beauty.”⁹ Down to the end of the fifth century, at the same time that *agalma* in literature often denoted the statue of a god or a hero, it continued to be used in epigrams inscribed on votive offerings that were not statues, such as ceramic tiles and vases. In contrast, *andrias* occurs in only three inscriptions on statues or statue bases before the end of the fifth century, each time in reference to a schematic, nude, standing, male figure of the *kouros* type. The first appears on the base of the so-called Naxian colossus on Delos, a massive marble *kouros* of ca. 590–580 representing Apollo (*CEG* 401):¹⁰

[τ]ὸ ἄφουτὸ λίθο ἐμὶ ἀνδριάς καὶ τὸ σφέλας.

I am (made) of a single stone, both statue and base.

The second inscription with *andrias* is a late Archaic (ca. 500) prose dedication to Apollo on the base for a *kouros* from

⁹ J. W. Day, *Archaic Greek Epigram and Dedication, Representation and Reperformance* (Cambridge 2010) 124–129 (quotation at 125).

¹⁰ For the date see P. Bruneau and J. Ducat, *Guide de Délos*³ (Paris/Athens 1983) 125–128, no. 9, who interpret the verse as a riddle or *adynaton*; see also P. Bruneau, “Deliaca (VII),” *BCH* 112 (1988) 577–579. According to Herodotus (2.176), the pharaoh Amasis dedicated at Memphis a colossal statue and two smaller ones on the same base, all three statues cut from the same block (τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐόντος λίθου).

Neandria in the Troad:¹¹

τόνδε τὸν ἀνδ[ριάντα Ἀπό]λλωνα ὀνέθῃ-
 κε Ἑρμῆας ἀρα[σαμένο] τῷ παῖδος, vacat
 Ὀγεμάχ[ο] (or Ὀγεμάχ[ειος]). vacat

Hermeas son of Ogemachos(?) dedicated this Apollo statue, his son having vowed it.

The third inscription, also in prose, was carved on the thigh of a colossal *kouros* of the mid-sixth century found along the Sacred Way leading from Miletus to the sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma. It refers to a group of *andriantes* displayed together:¹²

τόσ<δ>ε τὸς ἀνδριάντ[ας]
 [Λά]τμιοι ἀν[έθε]σαν (κτλ.)

The Latmians dedicated these statues ...

The *andriantes* might have consisted either of male statues exclusively or of a combination of male and female figures; pairs of votive *kouroi* and *korai* are attested elsewhere.¹³ In light of a similar reference to multiple statues in the inscription on the Archaic seated male figure dedicated by Chares at Didyma, however, we should perhaps reconstruct the Latmian dedication as a group representing either a family or the members of a *genos*, predominantly male. Just such a statue group is now

¹¹ E. Schwertheim, *Neue Forschungen zu Neandria und Alexandria Troas* (Asia Minor Studien 11 [1994]) 40–41, no. 2 [*SEG XLIV* 986]. Earlier editions are R. Koldewey, *Neandria* (Berlin 1891) 27–28 (who reported the discovery of fragments of a *kouros* near the base); Ad. Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* (Vienna 1909) 7–8; M. L. Lazzarini, *Formule delle dediche votive* (Rome 1976) no. 767 (who emended the accusative Ἀπό]λλωνα to dative Ἀπό]λλωνι); and *LSAG*² 360 and 362, no. 9 (ca. 500–475 BCE?).

¹² *I.Didyma* 12–13 [*SEG XVI* 711], with M. Wörrle, *CRAI* 2003, 1371 n.44; cf. *LSAG*² 332–333 and 342, no. 25.

¹³ Two nearly identical *korai* of ca. 570–560 were dedicated by Chermymes in the Samian Heraion, the so-called Hera from Samos now in the Louvre and a second statue found in 1984: J. Franssen, *Votiv und Repräsentation: Statuarische Weihungen archaischer Zeit aus Samos und Attika* (Heidelberg 2011) 65–69, nos. A5 and A6.

attested in the so-called Temenos along the Sacred Way between Didyma and Miletus, where several seated figures were placed on a semi-circular base in an enclosure along with a cult dining room.¹⁴

As is well known, the term *kouros* for an Archaic, schematic, nude male figure in marble is a modern coinage.¹⁵ On the rare occasions when Archaic Greeks needed a term to refer to a *kouros* statue, they chose *andrias*.¹⁶ But that *andrias* simply meant “statue” is demonstrated by Herodotus’ usage in the last quarter of the fifth century.¹⁷ He used *agalma* to mean “divine image,” and this term occurs in his text about four times more frequently than either *andrias* or *eikon*; his particular interest in *agalmata* is consistent with his preoccupation with the divine and divine agency in history. Yet he also called the colossal bronze Apollo dedicated at Delphi by the Greeks from the Persian spoils from the battle of Salamis an *andrias* (8.121.2).¹⁸

¹⁴ Seated statue of Chares and its inscription: *LSAG*² 332, no. 29; K. Tuchelt, *Die archaischen Skulpturen von Didyma* (*IstForsch* 27 [1970]) 78–80, no. K47 and pls. 43–46; C. M. Keesling, *The Votive Statues of the Athenian Acropolis* (Cambridge 2003) 102–106. Temenos on the Sacred Way and its statues: K. Tuchelt, H. R. Baldus, T. G. Schattner, and H. P. Schneider, *Ein Kultbezirk an der Heiligen Strasse von Milet nach Didyma* (Didyma III.1 [1996]); Duploux, *Le prestige* 203–214 and 228–233; A. Herda, *Der Apollon-Delphinios-Kult in Milet und die Neujahrsprozession nach Didyma* (Milesische Forschungen 4 [2006]) 343–350.

¹⁵ For the modern use of the term see M. Meyer and N. Brüggermann, *Kore und Kouros: Weihgaben für die Götter* (Vienna 2007) 93, with references to earlier scholarship. An ancient precedent is the reference to golden *kouroi* at Homer *Od.* 7.100–103.

¹⁶ *Pace* Meyer in Meyer and Brüggermann, *Kore und Kouros* 29, given the very small number of inscriptions associated with *kouroi* it is probably not significant that only one *kouros* inscription (no. 290) uses the term *agalma*.

¹⁷ On Herodotus’ statue terminology see A. Hermay, “Les noms de la statue chez Hérodote,” in M.-Cl. Amouretti and P. Villard (eds.), *EYKPATA. Mélanges offerts à Claude Vatin* (Aix-en-Provence 1994) 21–29.

¹⁸ Herodotus’ contemporary Aristophanes refers to a statue of the Athenian hero Pandion as an *andrias* (*Pax* 1183). In the inscribed accounts of the *naopoioi* at Delphi for 340/39 BCE, a statue of Apollo is referred to simply as

He used both *agalma* and *andrias* to describe another Apollo, this one gilded (6.118.3), but elsewhere distinguished an *agalma* representing Apollo from the *andrias* representing the legendary mystic Aristeeas of Proconnesos that stood beside it in the agora of Metapontum (4.15.4). In the temple of Bel (Zeus) at Babylon, Herodotus compared the seated gilded *agalma* of Zeus with a reported solid gold *andrias* twelve cubits tall that had previously stood there before Darius removed it (1.183); the comparison makes it clear that the *andrias* too was an image of Zeus.¹⁹ Mixed male/female statue pairs and groups in Herodotus can also be *andriantes*: the portraits of the pharaoh Sesostris and his wife in front of the temple of Ptah (Hephaistos) at Memphis (2.110.1–2); Mikythos' dedication at Olympia of gods, goddesses, divine personifications, and portraits (7.170.4); and the Phocian dedication at Delphi consisting of several statues of unknown type surrounding a tripod (8.27.5).

Just as *andrias* in Herodotus means “statue,” not “portrait,” he uses *eikon* for statues representing a variety of subjects: images of heroes (2.106, Memnon), animals (1.50.3, Croesus'

the μέγας ἀνδριάς, the big statue (*FD* III.5 22.30 = *CID* II 43, cited by A. Hermay, “Témoignage des documents figurés sur la société chypriote d'époque classique,” in E. Peltenburg [ed.], *Early Society in Cyprus* [Edinburgh 1989] 195 n.9).

¹⁹ The bilingual Phoenician-Greek dedicatory inscriptions on three fourth-century statuette bases from sanctuaries of Apollo (Reshef Mikal) on Cyprus use the term *andrias*: O. Masson, *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques* nos. 215, 216, 220. Masson thought these *andriantes* were portraits of their dedicators: “le mot ἀνδριάς désigne évidemment la statuette à l'effigie du dédicant jadis fixée sur la base” (p.225); cf. Hermay, in *Early Society in Cyprus* 187–189 and 195 n.9. Similarly, P. Briant, “Droaphernès et la statue de Sardes,” in M. Brosius and A. Kuhrt (eds.), *Studies in Persian History: Essays in Memory of David M. Lewis* (Leiden 1998) 205–226, assumed that an *andrias* in a late fifth- or fourth-century document recording the dedication of a statue by a Persian named Droaphernes at Sardis (*I.Estremo oriente* 235) was a portrait of Droaphernes himself; cf. K. Rigsby, “A Religious Association at Sardes,” *AncSoc* 44 (2014) 3–5, who cites five post-fifth-century dedicatory inscriptions in which *andrias* refers to a statue of the recipient deity.

gilded lion at Delphi), as well as men and women, both sculpted (1.31.5, the statues of Kleobis and Biton at Delphi; 2.182.2, the wooden portraits of the pharaoh Amasis and his wife) and painted (2.182.1, an εἰκόνα ἐωντοῦ γραφῆ εἰκασμένην of Amasis). It may be significant that the only time Herodotus chose to mention a non-*agalma* female statue on its own, he called it not an *andrias* but an *eikon*: he notes that a small golden εἶδωλον at Delphi—a term he uses only three times—was identified by the Delphians in his own time as an *eikon* (representation) of Croesus' female bread baker (1.51.5).²⁰

Though Herodotus did not use it, the term κόρη for female figures appears in some fifth- and fourth-century Athenian inscriptions as an alternative to *andrias*.²¹ The earliest occurrence of *kore* in this sense, on an inscribed statue base of ca. 480 on the Acropolis, inspired Theodoros Sophoulis and Henri Lechat to coin the term *kore* for the female equivalent of the *kouros* when large numbers of Archaic marble female statues were coming out of the Acropolis excavations.²² The inscription reads (*IG I³ 828 = DAA 229 = CEG 266*):

[τέ]νδε κόρεν ἀ[ν]έθεκεν ἀπαρχὸν
[Ναύ?]λοχος ἄγρας : ἐν οἱ ποντομέδ-
[ον χρ]υσοτρία[ι]ν' ἔπορεν.

²⁰ For *eidolon* in Herodotus see also 6.58 (a body-replica of a Spartan king killed in battle is carried to the tomb on a bier) and 5.92 (the ghost of the Corinthian tyrant Periander's murdered wife Melissa). For the possible significance of the appellation bread-baker for the female figure dedicated by Croesus see L. Kurke and A. Garrett, "Pudenda Asiae Minoris," *HSCP* 96 (1994) 75–83, and A. Jacquemin, *Offrandes monumentales à Delphes* (Paris 1999) 198, no. 344. In reality, Croesus' bread-baker may have been a figure of Artemis, or even a female support figure detached from one of the numerous precious metal vessels Croesus dedicated in the sanctuary.

²¹ Keesling, *The Votive Statues* 110–114 and 241–242; cf. Meyer in Meyer and Brüggermann, *Kore und Kouros* 31–32.

²² T. Sophoulis, *Τὰ ἐν Ἀκροπόλει ἀγάλματα κορῶν ἀρχαϊκῆς τέχνης* (Athens 1892) 6 and 12–15; H. Lechat, *Au Musée de l'Acropole. Etudes sur la sculpture en Attique* (Paris/Lyon 1903) 276–277.

[Nau]lochos dedicated this female statue, first fruits of the catch which the sea-ruler with the golden trident provided to him.

The statue dedicated by [Nau]lochos, now lost, might in fact have been made of bronze; in any case, the term *kore* reveals a female as opposed to a male figure.²³ Like *andrias* in the Archaic inscriptions quoted above, *kore* did not in itself imply that the statue so described was anonymous. Athenian temple inventories and building accounts of the Classical period also used *kore* for female figures whose identity (for whatever reason) was not specified. Two examples of a gilded (κατάχρυσος or χρυσή) *kore* on a stele were listed among the golden objects stored in the Parthenon and the Hekatompedon beginning in 434/3; here stele refers to a small pillar base.²⁴ Similarly, the Parthenon inventories of 369 (*IG II²* 1424a.279) and 368 (1425.380–381) mention eleven “*korai* from the baskets.”²⁵ The building account for the Erechtheion dated to 409/8 (*IG I³* 474.86) refers to the six marble caryatids holding up the south

²³ Similarly, the funerary epigram by Kleoboulos of Lindos for King Midas of Phrygia (quoted by Diogenes Laertius 1.89; *PMG* 581) refers to a female figure standing over the tomb as a *parthenos* (maiden): καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τινες τὸ ἐπὶ Μίδα τοῦτόν φασι ποιῆσαι· χαλκῆ παρθένος εἰμί, Μίδα δ’ ἐπὶ σήματι κείμαι (“And some say he [Kleoboulos] composed the epigram for Midas: ‘I am the bronze maiden set up over the tomb of Midas’”).

²⁴ D. Harris, *The Treasures of the Parthenon and Erechtheion* (Oxford 1995), nos. IV.20 (Parthenon inventories, 434/3 through 412/1) and V.90 (Hekatompedon, 434/3 through 408/7). For a “stele” as a statue base see R. H. W. Stichel, “Columella-Mensa-Tabellum. Zur Form der attischen Grabmäler im Luxusgesetz des Demetrios von Phaleron,” *AA* 107 (1992) 436–438.

²⁵ R. Hamilton, *Treasure Map, A Guide to the Delian Inventories* (Ann Arbor 2000), Athena Treasure B.246. Explanations for what these *korai* were range from bronze statuettes dedicated by the girls who served as *kanephoroi*, stored in baskets (J. Schelp, *Das Kanoun: Der griechische Opferkorb* [Würzburg 1975] 20) to figural attachments for the baskets carried by these girls in festival processions (B. S. Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture I* [Madison 1990] 587–588 n.13).

porch as *korai*.²⁶

Herodotus used both *andrias* and *eikon* for portrait statues; *eikon* became the standard Greek term for a portrait statue only when honorific portraits emerged at the beginning of the fourth century BCE. The only pre-Herodotean epigraphic example of *eikon* occurs at Olympia in the epigram for Euthymos of Locri, a three-time victor in boxing who won his last known victory in 472 (*I.Olympia* 144 [CEG I 399]):

Εὐθυμος Λοκρὸς Ἀστυκλέος τρὶς Ὀλύμπι' ἐνίκων.

εἰκόνα δ' ἔστησεν [[τὴνδε βροτοῖς ἐσορᾶν.]]

Εὐθυμος Λοκρὸς ἀπὸ Ζεφυρίου [[ἀνέθηκε]].

Πυθαγόρας Σάμιος ἐποίησεν.

“Euthymos the Locrian, son of Astykles, I won three times at
Olympia.”

He set up this portrait for mortals to wonder at.

Euthymos the Zephyrian Locrian dedicated it.

Pythagoras the Samian made it.

The final words of the second and third lines were changed,

²⁶ Nymphs, and statues of them, could also be called *korai*. In Pl. *Phdr.* 230B–C Socrates describes a rural sanctuary belonging to the nymphs and the river god Acheloös full of “*korai* and *agalmata*.” Plutarch (*Them.* 31) reports that when Themistokles was in exile in the Persian Empire he visited the temple of Cybele in Sardis and saw a two-cubit tall bronze *kore* called the “water-carrier” (ὕδροφόρον κόρην χαλκήν) that he himself had dedicated on the Acropolis from fines he collected as commissioner of the Athenian water supply before the Persian Wars. For nymphs as *korai* see also CEG 331 = SEG XXII 404 (dedication of ca. 500–480 from Boiotia) and T. Hadzisteliou-Price, “Double and Multiple Representations in Greek Art and Religious Thought,” *JHS* 91 (1971) 56–57. *Kore* in a statue base inscription of the second century CE from Thrace may refer to the dedication of a statue of a nymph (*I.Thrac.Aeg.* 431 = SEG LV 780): [Τι(βέριος)?] Κλαύδιος Φιλόμο[υ]σος κατ' ὄναρ ἀνέθηκεν τὴν κόρην χαριστήριον θεοῖς συ[ν]νάοις μετὰ τέκνω[ν κ]αὶ συ[μβ]ίω[ν], ἱερητ[ε]ύοντος –]ράτου [τοῦ δεῖνος] (“Tiberius Claudius Philomousos dedicated the *kore*, in accordance with a dream, as a thank-offering to the temple-sharing gods, with his children and retainers, the priest being –”). All that remains of the statue are the feet of a small female figure carved in one piece with the base.

probably soon after the portrait was set up in ca. 470, and the reason why is not clear.²⁷ All the same, *eikon* was there from the beginning, and the unprecedented use of this term for Euthymos' portrait statue seems intended to stress its resemblance to its subject.²⁸ The earliest surviving inscribed decrees awarding the honor of a portrait statue, those for Konon in 394/3, use *eikon* as the technical term for this new category of civic honor. The relevant part of the decree of Erythrai reads (*I. Erythrai* 6.13–16 = *GHI* 8):

ποίησασθαι δὲ
[αὐτοῦ εἰκόνα χαλκῆν
[ἐπίχρυσον] καὶ στήσαι
[ὅπου ἂν δόξῃ] Κόνωνι·

And make a gilded bronze portrait of him and set it up wherever Konon decides.²⁹

The adoption of *eikon* as the preferred term for an honorific portrait led to an explosion in its use in private dedicatory epigrams of the first half of the fourth century: *CEG* II includes 28 examples, while Euthymos' inscription is the only example in the first volume.

Francis Piejko remarked that in the extant honorific decrees awarding a statue from the fourth century through ca. 50 BCE,

²⁷ On the inscription see E. Loewy, *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer* (Leipzig 1885) no. 23; J. Ebert, *Griechische Epigramme auf Sieger an gymnischen und hippischen Agonen* (*AbhLeip* 63.2 [1972]) no. 16; Lazzarini, *Formule delle dediche* no. 853; *LSAG*² 342, no. 19.

²⁸ *Eikon* as evidence that Euthymos' portrait was a 'true' likeness: M. L. Lazzarini, "Epigrafia e statua ritratto: alcuni problemi," *AAPat* 97 (1984/5) 89–91; J. P. Barron, "Pythagoras' *Euthymos*: Some Thoughts on Early Classical Portraits," in R. Mellor and L. Tritle (eds.), *Text and Tradition, Studies in Greek History and Historiography in Honor of Mortimer Chambers* (Claremont 1999) 37–59.

²⁹ Cf. the fragmentary Athenian decree of 393 for Konon's patron Euagoras of Salamis on Cyprus (*GHI* 11), where no term for the statue has been preserved on the stone; cf. D. M. Lewis and R. S. Stroud, "Athens Honors King Euagoras of Salamis," *Hesperia* 48 (1979) 180–193.

the term *andrias* for an honorific portrait is subordinated to *eikon*: “the honor conferred is εἰκών, whereas contracting, fabrication, engineering, setting up, supervision, and costs of such an εἰκών will be often specified by the alternative word ἀνδριάς.”³⁰ An early example of this pattern is the decree of Priene in honor of the Ephesian priest Megabyxos, son of Megabyxos, dating to 334–323 (*I.K. Priene* I 16 = *I.Priene* 3 = *Syll.*³ 282.Π):

(8–9) ἐστεφανῶσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου χρυ[σ]ῶι στε[φάνωι]
καὶ εἰκόνι χαλκῆι ὡς καλλίστηι ...

(15–24) εἶν[αι δὲ]
[α]ὐτῶι καὶ ἐμ πρυτανείωι σίτησ[ι]ν, τὸν δὲ ἀνδ[ριάν]-
[τ]α ἐγδοῦναι μετὰ Μεγαβύξου τοὺς νομοφύ[λακας]
[το]ὺς νομοφυλακοῦντας μῆ[ν]α Βοηδρομιῶ[να καὶ]
[Πυ]ανοπιῶνα ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρο[υ] Διοφάνεως· σ[τῆ]σαι
δὲ τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι [τῆ]ς Ἀθηνᾶς πρὸ [τοῦ με]-
τωπίου τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ στήλην π[αρα]στῆσαι τοῦ[ς] νομο]-
φύλακας ἀναγράψαντας τόδ[ε] τὸ ψ[ή]φισμα, τὸ δ[ὲ] ἀνά]-
λωμα εἰς τὸν ἀνδριάντα καὶ τ[ῆ]ν στήλην ὑπηρ[ετῆ]σαι
τοὺς νεωποίας Ἄδμητον καὶ ..ᾶδα...

Let him [Megabyxos] be crowned by the demos with a golden crown and a bronze portrait [*eikon*] as fine as possible ... And let there be for him also free meals in the prytaneion, and let the nomophylakes in office in the months Boedromion and Pyanopsion when Diophanes is stephanephoros contract for the statue [*andrias*] in conjunction with Megabyxos; and let the statue [*andrias*] stand in the sanctuary of Athena in front of the façade of the temple and the stele upon which the nomophylakes have inscribed this decree stand alongside, and the neopoiai Admetos and – – will undertake to cover the expense for the statue [*andrias*] and the stele.

All the examples of *andrias* in the honorific decrees cited by Piejko refer to portraits of men, which raises the question:

³⁰ F. Piejko, “Antiochus Epiphanes Savior of Asia,” *RivFil* 114 (1986) 425–436 (quotation at 431).

when did female portraits begin to be called *andriantes*? One way to answer this question is to look at the small corpus of Classical and Hellenistic honorific decrees for women.³¹ The earliest decree that mentions an honorific portrait of a woman seems to be one from Erythrai in honor of Mausolus and his sister/wife Artemisia from the 360s or mid-350s (*I.Erythrai* 8.11–14 = *GHI* 56):³²

σῆσαι δὲ α[ὸ]-
 [τοῦ κ]αὶ εἰκόνα χαλκῆν ἐν τῆι ἀγ[ο]-
 [ρῆ]ι καὶ Ἀρτεμισίης εἰκόνα
 [λιθί]νην ἐν τῶι Ἀθηναίωι·

And set up both a bronze portrait of him [Mausolus] in the agora and a stone portrait of Artemisia in the Athena temple.

Though statue honors for women are otherwise attested by statue bases, as we can see from the list in the Appendix below extant honorific decrees mentioning portrait statues of women are very few before ca. 200 BCE; none of these uses *andrias*.³³ Even after 200, when honorific portraits of women became

³¹ For discussion of selected examples see R. van Bremen, *The Limits of Participation: Women and Civic Life in the Greek East* (Amsterdam 1996) (second century BCE and later); A. Bielman, *Femmes en public dans le monde hellénistique* (Lausanne 2002).

³² For portraits of the Hekatomnids of Caria see J. Ma, “The History of Hellenistic Honorific Statues,” in P. Martzavou and N. Papazarkadas (eds.), *Epigraphical Approaches to the Post-Classical Polis, Fourth Century B.C. to Second Century A.D.* (Oxford 2013) 165–181: “the statues for Artemisia and Ada, female members of the dynasty, are the first securely known public honorific statues for women” (168).

³³ For early honorific portraits of women generally see C. M. Keesling, “Syeris, *Diakonos* of the Priestess Lysimache on the Athenian Acropolis (*IG* II² 3464),” *Hesperia* 81 (2012) 490–498. G. J. Oliver’s catalogue (“Space and the Visualization of Power in the Greek Polis: The Award of Portrait Statues in Decrees from Athens,” in *Early Hellenistic Portraiture* 184–188) of 86 Athenian honorific portraits before the Roman imperial period includes only four of women: one of these (no. S56 = *Agora* XVI 277 and XXXI 35, ca. 180 BCE) is a painted portrait, and only one (no. S49, the portrait of Glaukon included in the Appendix below) dates before ca. 200.

more common, it is difficult to find any epigraphic reference to a female portrait as an *andrias*. In the Testament of Epikteta from Thera (*IG XII.3 330*), inscribed on the base for portraits of Epikteta and her two sons ca. 210–195, it is doubtful that references in the inscription to *andriantes* include Epikteta's own portrait; instead, the statues of Epikteta and her sons are called *agal mata* because after Epikteta's death all three were recipients of hero cult.³⁴ In the dossier of decrees in honor of the local benefactor Archippe from Kyme in Aeolis soon after 130 (*I.Kyme 13*), a group of statues representing Archippe's deceased father Dikaiogenes together with Archippe and a personification of the Demos crowning her are referred to as *andriantes*, but an individual portrait of Archippe is referred to only as an *eikon*.³⁵ The earliest honorific text to call an individual female portrait statue an *andrias* may in fact be the one for Nikassa, a priestess of Athena Lindia on Rhodes, dated to 10 CE (*I.Lindos II 392.7*).³⁶

Inscribed temple inventories support the notion that, though in the Archaic and Classical periods *andrias* meant "statue," it was avoided in reference to female portraits, and female figures

³⁴ See A. Wittenburg, *Il testamento di Epikteta* (Trieste 1990). The *andriantes* in lines 12 and 15 are those of Epikteta's deceased husband, Phoinix, and son Kratesilochos (Wittenburg 144–147). When her other son, Andragoras, died two years later, Epikteta set up an *andrias* of him as well (line 21). *Agalmata* of the whole family in the Mouseion: lines 44–45 and 274–276.

³⁵ The first decree (col. i.1–20), after voting a bronze *eikon* of Archippe crowned by Demos and a bronze *eikon* of Dikaiogenes, calls the three statues together *andriantes* (15). The sixth decree inscribed on the same stone (vi.17, 29–30, 39) mentions the subsequent award on a gilded *eikon* to Archippe. For discussion of the honors for Archippe see van Bremen, *The Limits of Participation* 13–18. In a decree of Kyzikos in Mysia from the late first century BCE (*CIG 3657*), Kleidike is awarded a bronze *eikon* that will stand beside the *andrias* of her brother Dionysios in the men's agora of the city (van Bremen, *The Limits of Participation* 171–172 and 187).

³⁶ Cf. *IG V.2 436*, a second-century BCE decree of Megalopolis in honor of a woman named Xenokrate, where the restoration (line 11) of *andrias* rather than *eikon* in a very fragmentary text seems doubtful.

in general, until late in the Hellenistic period. As we have seen, inventories of the temples on the Athenian Acropolis include female statues and statuettes called *korai*; they also include male figures called *andriantes*. In the Acropolis inventories of 369/8 and 368/7, for example, the helmets (κύναι) and helmet crests (λόφοι) detached from *andriantes* should come from bronze male portraits; other *andriantes* on the Acropolis, described as support figures attached to a lampstand or holding a water vessel, are similar to male figures mentioned by Pausanias and attested by extant Hellenistic and Roman bronzes.³⁷ In an inventory of bronze statues on the Acropolis from the Lycurgan period (*IG* II² 1498–1501), a distinction is made between bearded (γενειῶν) and beardless (ἀγένειος) *andriantes*.³⁸ On Delos, temple inventories began to be inscribed on stone in the fourth century when the island was controlled by an Athenian-dominated amphictyony and continued through the period of Delian independence (from 314 to 167), and on into the period of direct Athenian control (after 167); inventories of the contents of upwards of twenty different buildings survive.³⁹ As in the

³⁷ Helmets from *andriantes*: *IG* II² 1424a.281; helmet crests: 1424a.284. Bronze lampstand and the *andriantiskos* from it: 1424a.271; gold unweighed aporrhanterion which the *andrias* holds: 1424a.362; gold perirrhanterion which the *andrias* holds: Harris, *The Treasures* VI.29. The mid-fifth century sculptor Lykios, son of Myron, made statues of a youth holding a perirrhanterion on the Athenian Acropolis (Paus. 1.23.8) and of a boy holding an incense burner (Plin. *HN* 34.79). For adolescent male support figures in Hellenistic and Roman bronze sculpture see e.g. B. S. Ridgway, *Roman Copies of Greek Sculpture* (Ann Arbor 1984) 83–84.

³⁸ See D. Harris, “Bronze Statues on the Athenian Acropolis: The Evidence of a Lycurgan Inventory,” *AJA* 96 (1992) 637–652, and D. Harris-Cline, “Broken Statues, Shattered Illusions: *Mimesis* and Bronze Body Parts on the Akropolis,” in C. C. Mattusch et al. (eds.), *From the Parts to the Whole I* (*JRA* Suppl. 39 [2000]) 135–141. Cf. E. Kosmetatou, “Reassessing *IG* II² 1498–1501A: *Kathairesis* or *Eksetasmos*?” *Tyche* 18 (2003) 40–41.

³⁹ For the Delian temple inventories see especially Hamilton, *Treasure Map*, and E. Kosmetatou, “Ζῶδια in the Delian Inventory Lists,” *Mnemosyne* 57 (2004) 481–484.

Athenian inventories of the fifth and fourth centuries, in the Delian inventories before 167 there is no reason to doubt that any of the individual statues or statuettes called ἀνδριάς, ἀνδριαντίσκος, or ἀνδριαντίδιον was a male figure.⁴⁰ On Delos, though *andrias* and its diminutives appear frequently throughout the inventories, divine images were typically called either *agalma* or by the god's name, as in the post-167 inventories of the Serapieion that include a Zeus, an Eros, an Aphroditiskos, an Apolloniskos, a Palladion, and a Paniskos, among other statues.⁴¹ The inventories frequently employ a cluster of related terms—ζῶον, ζῶδιον, and ζῶδάριον—to refer to human figures generically, without implying anything about their identity, gender, or material.⁴²

Until ca. 200 BCE, the Delian inventories in their usage of *andrias* are consistent with Greek authors and with other inscriptions: an *andrias* was a male figure, either a portrait or the

⁴⁰ Cf. the frequent collective references to fragments of gold and silver fallen from *andriantes* in inventories of the Apollo temple beginning with *I.Delos* 379. Hamilton's translations (*Treasure Map* 349–360) obscure the use of *andrias*-terms in the inventories. He translates *eikon* and *zoidarion* as “figure,” *agalma* as “statue,” and *andriantiskos* as “statuette.” *Andrias* and its diminutives, not included in Hamilton's glossary, are generally translated as either “statue” or “figure.” For the use of diminutives as an example of linguistic creativity in the Delian inventories see C. Prêtre, “Un collier délien,” *REA* 99 (1997) 371–376, and “Imitation et miniature. Etude de quelques suffixes dans le vocabulaire délien de la parure,” *BCH* 121 (1997) 673–680.

⁴¹ See Hamilton, *Treasure Map* 223–240 (Serapieion Treasure D): *I.Delos* 1416.A.i.1 ff., 1417.A.ii.141 ff. (155 BCE), and 1442.A.1 ff. (146 BCE).

⁴² See for example the ζῶδάρια παιδικά (figures of children) in the Serapieion D inventories. ζῶον and ζῶδιον in Herodotus refer to figures carved in relief, painted, or used as textile decoration (e.g. 1.70.1, 2.148.7, 3.47.2, 3.88.3). In later periods, however, *zoia* were clearly freestanding statues. Aristotle's will (Diog. Laert. 5.15–16) included provisions for the dedication both of portraits (*eikones*) of family members and of stone *zoia* four cubits tall of Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira. In the Testament of Epikteta the *zoia* of the Muses interpreted by Wittenburg as reliefs should also be statues (*Il testamento di Epikteta* 144–147).

representation of a god or a hero. After ca. 200 on Delos, we see *andrias* used for both male and female figures, and this change can be related to important developments in Greek portraiture. In one notable instance, the same pair of silver statuettes of Apollo and Artemis dedicated by a woman named Kleino, stored in the temple of Apollo, were called ζώδια from 279 through 224 BCE, but ἀνδριαντίδια from 195 onward.⁴³ In the inventories from the period of Athenian domination after 167, we find for the first time the collocation ἀνδριάς γυναικεῖος for a female figure, which confirms both the normative assumption that an *andrias* was male and a new desire at this time to apply the term to female statues.⁴⁴

This broadening of the usage of *andrias* was not merely a response to the increasing popularity of female portraiture after ca. 200; rather, it seems to result from a desire to make a clear distinction between portrait statues and portrait paintings. Though painted portraits as votives are attested as early as the fifth century, when the sons of Themistokles dedicated a painting (γραφῆ) depicting their father inside the cella of the

⁴³ Kleino's Apollo and Artemis appear in 12 inventories, from 279 BCE (*IG XI.2 161.B.1*) through 145 (*I.Délos 1449.e*). Kosmetatou (*Mnemosyne 57* [2004] 481) noticed the change in terminology, but concluded that the terms *zoidia* and *andriantidia* were interchangeable. This seems to be the case only in the second-century inventories, where both ζω-terms and ἀνδρια-terms were used for female figures. For example, in an inventory of the temple of Agathe Tyche from 146 (*I.Délos 1442.B.35*) we find in line 44 a ζωιδάριον Ἀφροδίτην λίθινον (stone Aphrodite figure) paired with an ἀνδριαντίδιον χαλκοῦν Ἀγαθῆς Τύχης (small bronze *andrias* of Agathe Tyche).

⁴⁴ In the Thesmophorion in 155 (*I.Délos 1417.A.i.49*) appear an ἀνδριαντίδιον γυναικεῖον (59) and an ἀνδριάς γυναικεῖος (114–115). In the same year the inventory of the Letoion (1417.A.i.100) includes an ἀνδριάς γυναικεῖος on a base (114–115), and the Aphrodision (1417 A.ii.1) has a γυναικεῖος ἀνδριάς dedicated by Stesileos (119). The 155 BCE inventory associated with the gymnasium (1417.A.i.118) includes an ἀνδριάς τέλειος γυμνός (full-sized nude statue, 123), two ἀνδριαντίδια (128, 132), and an ἀνδριάς γυναικεῖος with a cup in her hand (141).

Parthenon (Paus. 1.1.2), officially awarded painted portraits are first attested in the third century, becoming far more common in the second.⁴⁵ As painted portraits were being awarded as a lesser honor than a portrait statue, honorific decrees began to refer to a portrait statue as an *andrias* and a painted portrait as an εἰκῶν γραπτῆ. The earliest examples of honorific decrees awarding both a statue and a painting, which date to the second century BCE, contradict Piejko's generalization about the use of *andrias* in pre-50 BCE decrees. For example, in a decree of the Poseidoniasts of Berytus on Delos soon after 153/2 in honor of a Roman (*I.Délos* 1520), the γραπτῆ εἰκῶν (26–27 and 31) clearly refers to a painted portrait awarded in addition to an *andrias* (24 and 27), a portrait statue.⁴⁶ In some inscriptions of the first century BCE and the first century CE, it also seems likely that an *eikon* without further specification, awarded at the same time as an *andrias*, should be understood as a portrait painting.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ For painted portraits see M. Nowicka, *Le portrait dans la peinture antique* (Warsaw 1993) 121–126. The Delian inventories make a distinction between πίνακες ἀναθηματικοί (votive painted plaques) and πίνακες εἰκονικοί (portrait paintings); the latter are also attested in the Athenian Asklepieion (S. B. Aleshire, *The Athenian Asklepieion. The People, their Dedications, and the Inventories* [Amsterdam 1989] 148). The earliest Athenian honorific painted portrait is the “*eikon* on a pinax, according to custom” awarded by a *thiasos* of Carian Zeus to its treasurer, Menis Mnesitheou of Herakleia, in 298/7 (*IG* II² 1271). See H. Blanck, “Porträt-Gemälde als Ehrendenkmäler,” *BjB* 168 (1968) 1–12, who however cites the decree of 178/7 for Hermaios Hermogenou Paionides (*IG* II² 1327) as the earliest example. Satyra, a priestess of the Thesmophoroi, was honored by her deme ca. 180 with an *eikon* on a pinax (*Agora* XVI 277 = XXXI 35).

⁴⁶ Other early examples are *CIG* 3068.B.28 (Teos) and *IKourion* 34.23 (both mid-second century BCE).

⁴⁷ Likely examples are *IG* II² 4193 (first century BCE), *IOSPE* I² 34 from Olbia (early first century BCE), *TAM* V.2 920 from Thyateira (49 BCE?). In the Lindian statue base of 10 CE for the priestess Nikassa (*I. Lindos* II 392) the honors mentioned include an *eikon*, a gilded *eikon*, and a bronze *andrias*: the former two could be painted portraits, one with a gold background. An early imperial decree in honor of a female sacred official called a *hydrophoros*

From the late Hellenistic period onward, epigraphic usage diverges somewhat from that of literary texts. In Polybius, *andrias* refers to any statue, divine or portrait, male or female, but Pausanias in the second century CE still preferred to call portrait statues *eikones*, not *andriantes*.⁴⁸ In hundreds of Roman imperial inscriptions of various genres from mainland Greece, the Aegean islands, and Asia Minor, however, *andrias* should be translated “portrait statue.” These include, I would argue, some key epigraphic texts of the first century CE. In a decree of the gerousia of Cos (*IG XII.4 471 = Iscr.Cos ED 230*) authorizing the melting down of *andriantes*, the 17 male Coan citizens whose names are listed in the genitive case are best understood as the subjects of portrait statues to be removed

from Didyma (*I.Didyma 381*) mentions the award of both *eikones* and *andriantes*; in a second, roughly contemporary *hydrophoros* decree of 17/6 BCE (*I.Didyma 378*) an εἰκῶν χρυσή awarded by the demos is mentioned: is this a gilded bronze statue or a painted portrait with a gold background? Cf. T. Pekáry, “Statuen in kleinasiatischen Inschriften,” in S. Şahin et al. (eds.), *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens, Festschrift F. K. Dörner II* (Leiden 1978) 730, who cautioned that “eine immer und überall gültige Definition von εἰκῶν und der angefügten Adjektive ist wohl nicht möglich. Das Wort bedeutet grundsätzlich Porträt, bildnishaft Darstellung, und ohne Adjectiv wohl in den meisten Fällen, jedoch nicht ausschliesslich, eine Statue.”

⁴⁸ In at least two cases, Polybius seems to use *andrias* for portrait statues as opposed to divine images: 21.30.9 (*agalmata*, *andriantes*, and *graphai* taken as plunder from Ambracia) and 32.15.3 (both *andriantes* and stone *agalmata*). Cf. 4.78.3, where he refers to a bronze *andrias* of Athena. For statue terms in Pausanias see V. Pirenne-Delforge, “Image des dieux et rituel dans le discours de Pausanias. De l’‘axiologie’ à la théologie,” *MEFRA* 116 (2004) 811–825: “Les termes *eikôn* et *andrias* sont inadaptés pour décrire la statue d’un dieu parce que leur signification intègre l’idée de portrait” (816). The *eikonion* of Themistocles inside the temple of Artemis Aristoboule in Athens, described by Plutarch (*Them.* 22.1–2), could be either a statuette or a small painted portrait (P. Amandry, “Thémistocle à Mélitè,” in *Χαριστήριον εις Αναστάσιον Κ. Ορλάνδου IV* [Athens 1967–1968] 276–277; cf. Krumeich, *Bildnisse* 78–79). This diminutive is used for a cypress wood statuette in *I.Delos 1442.A.i.56* (146/5–145/4 BCE), but all literary attestations date to the Roman imperial period.

from display and their bronze melted down to mitigate a financial crisis.⁴⁹ *Lindos* II 419 (= *LSCG* Suppl. 90), a long and difficult decree of 22 CE, proposes auctioning off the right to put new inscriptions on the bases of *andriantes* on the acropolis of Lindos to generate revenue to pay for sacrifices and festivals.⁵⁰ Though *andriantes* here has most often been taken as a general reference to statues of all kinds, it is doubtful how many statues other than portraits would have been standing on the Acropolis and its approaches at this late date (30–44):

ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ἀνδριάντες

[τ]ινές ἐντι ἐν τῷ ἀναβ[ά]σει καὶ αὐτῶ τῶ ἄκρα ἀνεπίγραφοι καὶ ἄσαμοι, συνφέρων δὲ [ἐ]στι καὶ τούτους ἡμῖν ἐπισάμους ἐπιγρ[α]-[φ]ὰν ἔχοντας ὅτι θεο<ῖ>ς ἀνάκεινται, δεδόχθαι Λινδίοις,

κυ(ρωθέντος) τοῦδε

[τ]οῦ ψα(φίσματος)· τοῖ αὐτοῖ ἐπιστάται μ[ισθω]σάντων ἐκάστου ἀνδριάντος τὰν

[ἐ]πιγραφάν, διαχειρο[τονησ]άντων Λινδίων εἰ δεῖ τοῦ εὐρίσκοντος κατακυροῦ[ν ἢ μ]ή, καὶ [εἶ κ]α [δ]όξη τοῦ εὐρίσκοντος κατακυροῦν τὸ πεσὸν ἀργύριον· [ἀ]πὸ τού[τ]ων καταβαλόμε[ν]οι λ[όγ]ον π[ό]σου ἐ[κ]ά[σ]το[υ ἀ] ἐπιγραφ[ὰ ἀπε]δόθη[ν]

παραδόντω ἱερὸν

[ἦ]μ[ε]ιν εἰς] πα[ρ]ακα[τ]α[θ]ήκαν τῶς Ἀ[θ]ήνας τ[ᾶ]ς Λινδίας καὶ τ[οῦ]

[Διὸς τοῦ Πολιέ]ως· [τοῖ δὲ] ὠνησά[μ]ε[ν]οι τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς μὴ ἔχόντων ἐξουσίαν ἀπ[ε]νε[ν]κεῖ[ν] ἐκ τῶς ἄκρας ἀνδριάν[τας] [τρόφω μηδ]ενὶ μηδὲ παρευρέσει μηδεμιᾷ ἢ ἔνοχοι ἐόντ[ω]

⁴⁹ See the remarks of Chr. Habicht, “Neue Inschriften aus Kos,” *ZPE* 112 (1996) 86. Cf. *IG* XII.4 353 (= *Inscr. Cos* ED 257: first or second century CE), which prohibits the dedication of an *eikon*, *agalma*, or *andrias* on any exedra in the gymnasium of Cos, where *eikon* may mean a portrait painted on a pinax.

⁵⁰ The most thorough discussion of the relevant section is M. Kajava, “Inscriptions at Auction,” *Arctos* 37 (2003) 69–80; cf. H. Blanck, *Wiederverwendung alter Statuen als Ehrendenkmäler bei Griechen und Römern* (Rome 1969) 101–103, and L. Migeotte, *Les souscriptions publiques dans les cités grecques* (Geneva/Quebec 1992) 121–126, no. 41.

[ἀσεβεί]α· ποιησάμενοι δὲ τὰν αἵτησιν ἐχόντων ἐξουσίαν]
[ἀπενενκ]εῖν ἅ κα συνχωρήσωσι διὰ τῶς αἰτήσιος Λίν[δ]ιοι·

And since there are some portrait statues [*andriantes*] along the ascent and on the top itself [of the acropolis], which are without inscription [ἀνεπίγραφοι] and undistinguished [ἄσαμοι], and it is expedient that these too shall be distinguished [ἐπισάμους], bearing inscriptions (saying) that they are dedicated to gods, it was voted by the Lindians: when this decree has been sanctioned, the same *epistatai* shall lease out the inscription of each portrait statue [*andrias*], the Lindians deciding by vote whether the winning bid should be confirmed or not, and if it will be decided that the winning bid should be confirmed, they [the *epistatai*], after having made an account of the rate for which the inscription of each portrait statue [*andrias*] has been ceded, shall hand over the money accrued from these to be sacred to the fund of Athana Lindia and Zeus Polieus. Those who have purchased the inscriptions shall not have permission in any wise nor under any pretext to remove portrait statues [*andriantes*] from the top; otherwise they shall be liable to be accused of impiety. But if they make a request, they shall have permission to change (portrait statues) [ἀπενενκεῖν, largely restored]⁵¹ according to what the Lindians agree on account of the request (transl. Kajava, with “statue” changed to “portrait statue”).

Here the uninscribed and undistinguished *andriantes* that are to receive new inscriptions dedicating them to the gods should be interpreted as portraits whose subjects are no longer identifiable.⁵² Though the Lindian inscription specifies only that the

⁵¹ Alternatively, L. Robert, *Hellenica* 2 (1946) 110–111, restored [μετενενκ]εῖν, which would imply the exchange of the statue standing on the auctioned base for another statue.

⁵² Cf. Kajava, *Arctos* 37 (2003) 74 (“In fact, considering that it was normal for cultic and votive statues of deities to be without inscription, one may assume that the Lindian *andriantes* also included some belonging to this category”); J. Mylonopoulos, “*Odysseus with a Trident? The Use of Attributes in Ancient Greek Imagery*,” in *Divine Images and Human Imaginations in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Leiden 2010) 171–174, who takes the *asamoi andriantes* to be divine images unrecognizable owing to the absence or loss of attributes.

andriantes are to be inscribed with dedications to the gods, the terms used to describe the statues eligible for selection, ἀνεπίγραφοι and ἄσαμοι, anticipate the language used by Dio Chrysostom (31.72–74) later in the first century to describe honorific portrait statues in Rhodes town chosen for reinscription with the names of new portrait subjects. The same practice was likely envisioned at Lindos.

Finally, the related words ἀνδριαντοποιός and ἀνδριαντοποιικά take on new significance in light of the recent publication of Poseidippos' poetry book of ca. 280 BCE, preserved on papyrus: the epigrams of the *Andriantopoiika* section concern bronze statues, mostly male, none of them female portraits.⁵³ When Pindar in the first half of the fifth century compared himself to an *andriantopoiios* who makes *agalmata* (*Nem.* 5.1–6), the natural inference is that he meant the sculptors of athletic victor portraits, but the reference is not yet specifically to bronze statuary, for he elsewhere (*Pyth.* 5.40) called a wooden statue (of Apollo?) at Delphi an *andrias*.⁵⁴ Later in the fifth century, Gorgias' *Encomium of Helen* (18) included the antithesis ἡ δὲ τῶν ἀνδριάντων ποίησις καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἐργασία νόσον ἠδεῖαν παρέσχετο τοῖς ὄμασσιν ("the fashioning of *andriantes* and the working of *agalmata* provides a pleasant

⁵³ On the *Andriantopoiika* see especially A. Stewart, "Posidippus and the Truth in Sculpture," in K. Gutzwiller (ed.), *The New Posidippus. A Hellenistic Poetry Book* (Oxford 2005) 183–205, and E. Prioux, *Regards alexandrins, histoire et théorie des arts dans l'épigramme hellénistique* (Louvain/Paris 2007) 109–113. Cf. K. Gutzwiller, "Posidippus on Statuary," in G. Bastianini and A. Casanova (eds.), *Il papiro di Posidippo, un anno dopo* (Florence 2002) 44: "Even the title ἀνδριαντοποιικά, though formed from one technical term for sculpting, conveys through its living etymology an emphasis on the human elements in the statues presented." The *andriantes* themselves seem all to have been made of bronze, a material correlation lacking in the Hellenistic temple inventories from Delos.

⁵⁴ For the relationship between Pindar's epinician odes and contemporary Greek sculpture see D. Fearn, "Kleos Versus Stone? Lyric Poetry and Contexts for Memorialization," in P. Liddel and P. Low (eds.), *Inscriptions and their Uses in Greek and Latin Literature* (Oxford 2013) 231–253.

disease for the eyes”). This seems to constitute a case in which “matter which does not contain any inherent contrast is split in half or duplicated for the sole purpose of producing a pair.”⁵⁵ Though Xenophon employed the term *andriantopoiōs* in reference to bronze statues and their sculptors, Plato clearly used *andriantopoiōs* and *agalmatopoiōs* interchangeably: the fifth-century sculptor Pheidias is called either an *andriantopoiōs* (*Meno* 91D) or an *agalmatopoiōs* (*Prt.* 311E); Pheidias and his contemporary Polykleitos of Argos are referred to in tandem as *agalmatopoiōi* (*Prt.* 311C).⁵⁶ The earliest instance in Greek literature in which an *andriantopoiōs* as a sculptor of human figures in bronze is clearly distinguished from a maker of divine images in stone occurs in Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics* (1141a11): τὴν δὲ σοφίαν ἐν τε ταῖς τέχναις τοῖς ἀκριβεστάτοις τὰς τέχνας ἀποδίδομεν, οἷον Φειδίαν λιθουργὸν σοφὸν καὶ Πολύκλειτον ἀνδριαντοποιόν (“wisdom in the arts we ascribe to those who practice the arts most perfectly, for example Pheidias the stone sculptor and Polykleitos the *andriantopoiōs*”). Lists of Greek sculptors that divide them into *agalmatopoiōi*, sculptors specializing in divine images, and *andriantopoiōi*, bronze portrait sculptors, seem to originate no earlier than the second century BCE, the same

⁵⁵ D. M. MacDowell, *Gorgias, Encomium of Helen* (London 1982) 19.

⁵⁶ See especially Xen. *Mem.* 1.4.2–4 (Polykleitos excels in *sophia* among *andriantopoiōi*) and 3.10.6–8 (Kleitōn the *andriantopoiōs* makes statues of runners, wrestlers, boxers, and pancratiasts). For the literary and epigraphical sources on Pheidias and Polykleitos see S. Kansteiner et al. (eds.), *Der neue Overbeck: Die antiken Schriftquellen zu den bildenden Künsten der Griechen* (Berlin 2014) nos. 841–1075 (no. 1047 = Arist. *Eth.Nic.* 1141a9–12, see below) and 1205–1294. *Agalmatopoiōi* appear in the Parthenon and Erechtheion building accounts (*IG* I³ 445–449 and 476); in the list of individuals and their occupations in the heroes of Phyle decree of 401/0 (*IG* II² 10); and in inscribed accounts of the mid-fourth century (*IG* II² 216, 217, 1508). In ca. 336–330 a Boiotian *andriantopoiōs* was hired by the Athenian state to repair a fifth-century (bronze?) *agalma* of Athena Nike (*IG* II³ 444, discussed by S. Lambert, “Connecting with the Past in Lykourgan Athens: An Epigraphical Perspective,” in L. Foxhall et al. [eds.], *Intentional History: Spinning Time in Ancient Greece* [Stuttgart 2010] 226–228).

time that *andrias* began to be used in Greek inscriptions as a standard term for a portrait statue, male or female.⁵⁷

The Greeks *did* have a word for statue: ἀνδριός. In origin an *andrias*' male gender mattered more than its material or whom it represented. In the Archaic and Classical periods at least, *andrias* was simply less common in literature and inscriptions than other terms, *agalma* and *eikon*, with more specific denotations. In these periods female portraits, uncommon before ca. 200 BCE, were not referred to as *andriantes*. Though a full study of the Delian inventories as a source for Greek sculpture remains to be written, their language reflects a shift in the meaning of *andrias* over time that comes through most clearly in late Hellenistic and Roman imperial honorific decrees, where we see a new concern to make a distinction between portrait paintings and portrait statues. The painted—and sometimes gilded—*eikones* that proliferate in honorific texts of these periods set the stage for the icon paintings of Byzantine Christianity.⁵⁸

APPENDIX: Pre-200 BCE honorific decrees
mentioning portrait statues of women

1. *RO* 56 = *I.Erythrai* 8 (360s or mid-350s BCE): Mausolus honored with a bronze *eikon* in the agora of Erythrai and Artemisia with a stone *eikon* in the sanctuary/temple of Athena (*Athenaion*).
2. *IG* XI.4 514; H. Kotsidu, *Τιμὴ καὶ δόξα: Ehrungen für hellenistische Herrscher* (Berlin 2000), no. 123 (soon after 300): *agalmata* of Asklepios and of Stratonike, daughter of Demetrios I, on Delos.
3. *I.Didyma* 480 = *SEG* XXXIV 1075; Kotsidu no. 269; Bielman, *Femmes en public* 64–68, no. 10 (299/8): Apame (first wife of Seleu-

⁵⁷ Such lists appear in the *Laterculi Alexandrini*, P. Berol. inv. 13044^r col. vii.6–9 (H. Diels, *AbhBerl* 1904, 7), a papyrus of the second or first century BCE, and in *P.Oxy.* X 1241 (second century CE). For arguments in favor of a post-Ptolemaic date for the latter see J. Murray, “Burned after Reading: The So-Called List of Alexandrian Librarians in *P. Oxy.* X 1241,” *Aitia* 2 (2012) (<http://aitia.revues.org/544>).

⁵⁸ S. Sande, “The Icon and its Origin in Graeco-Roman Portraiture,” in L. Rydén and J. O. Rosenqvist (eds.), *Aspects of Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium* 75–84, esp. 77–80.

- kos I) honored by Miletus with an *eikon*.
4. *SEG XXXVI* 1218; Kotsidu no. 293 (243/2): *eikones* of Ptolemy III and Berenike II in the Letoön at Xanthos.
 5. *I.Oropos* 175 = *IG VII* 297 = *OGIS* 81; Kotsidu no. 82 (215–204): decree ending with reference to *eikones* of Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe, inscribed on the base for their portrait statues (*I.Oropos* 427).
 6. *IG II²* 1314 (213/2): *eikon* of Glaukon, chosen by lot to be annual priestess, in the temple (*naos*), awarded by orgeones.
 7. *SEG XLI* 1003.8, 32, 45; Kotsidu no. 239 (204/3): marble *agalмата* for Antiochos III and Laodike III in Teos; also an *agalma* in bronze and a gilded *eikon* for Antiochos.⁵⁹

July, 2017

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⁵⁹ I would like to offer my warmest thanks to J. W. Day, who made comments on a draft of this paper, to an anonymous reader, and to the editors of *GRBS*. Any mistakes or misunderstandings that remain are my own.