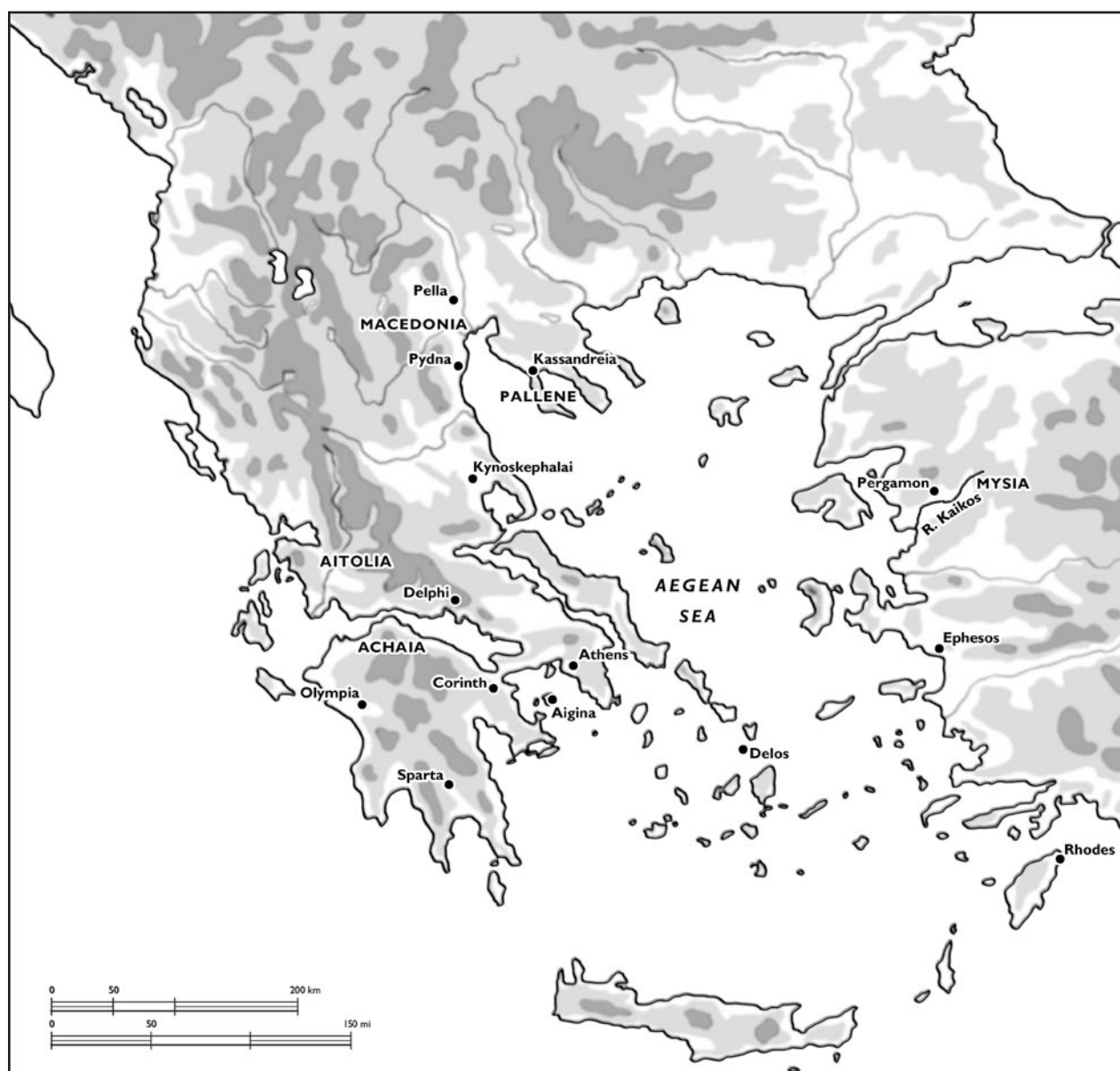


## ATTALOS, ATHENS, AND THE AKROPOLIS

This volume examines the “Little Barbarians,” ten highly expressive Roman marble figures of Giants, Amazons, Persians, and Gauls that were found in Rome in 1514 and are now recognized as copies of the Small (or Lesser) Attalid Dedication on the Athenian Akropolis. Manolis Korres’s recent discovery of the monument’s pedestals, fully published in this volume, has led Andrew Stewart to a complete reconsideration of the statues’ form, date, and significance. He demonstrates that this is the only Hellenistic royal donation of sculpture whose donor, location, and form are all known; the only one securely identified in copy; and the only one whose life can be glimpsed from beginning to end, a period ranging over 2,200 years. Illustrated with new photographs of all ten Barbarians and twenty-six new drawings by Manolis Korres, the book systematically traces the Barbarians’ impact upon Roman and Renaissance art, and the intellectual history of Hellenistic art and archaeology.

Andrew Stewart is Professor of Ancient Mediterranean Art and Archaeology at University of California at Berkeley. A recipient of fellowships from the Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities and the Guggenheim Foundation, he is the author of numerous works on aspects of Greek art, including *Greek Sculpture: An Exploration*; *Faces of Power: Alexander’s Image and Hellenistic Politics*; and *Art, Desire, and the Body in Ancient Greece*.

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MAP: The Greek World in 200 BC.

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Andrew Stewart

Frontmatter

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# ATTALOS, ATHENS, AND THE AKROPOLIS

THE PERGAMENE “LITTLE BARBARIANS” AND  
THEIR ROMAN AND RENAISSANCE LEGACY



ANDREW STEWART

University of California at Berkeley

with an Essay on the Pedestals and  
the Akropolis South Wall by

MANOLIS KORRES

National Technical University of Athens



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“By their own follies they perished, the fools.”

Homer, *Odyssey* 1.7

“A statue on its base, like a good, well-intentioned man,  
should remain immovable.”

Sokrates, in *Paroemiographi* 2: 287, no. 98c

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Andrew Stewart

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## PREFACE



THE LITTLE BARBARIANS of my subtitle are ten Roman marble figures of Giants, Amazons, Persians, and Gauls (see Figures 1–25, 29–64, 77–80). Two-thirds life-size, startlingly expressive, and finely carved, they apparently caused quite a sensation when discovered in Rome at the height of the Renaissance. The ancient and Renaissance documentation about them and about the Athenian monument that they copy is assembled in Appendix 1 (ancient *testimonia*, AT1–8; Renaissance *testimonia*, RT1–13), and a catalog of the statues themselves appears in Appendix 2.

Six of the Barbarians – originally seven, but one vanished soon after its discovery – were found in Rome in 1514 and are now in Naples, the Vatican, and Paris (RT1–2; see Figures 1, 3, and 5). Three more probably emerged immediately afterward but were documented only in 1523, after their transfer to Venice, where they still remain (RT3–4; see Figure 2). A tenth, now in Aix-en-Provence, was noted first only in 1738 (see Figure 4), but might just possibly be the lost seventh statue of the 1514 find. For clarity’s sake, when distinctions are needed I follow Brunilde Ridgway in labeling the figures that are recorded during the Renaissance the “core group,” and I call the documented find of 1514 (RT1–2) its “kernel.”

Renaissance connoisseurs immediately and colorfully identified this seven-figure “kernel” as the battling Horatii and Curiatii of Roman legend and the Horatii’s murdered sister (RT1–2, 6–8). The three Venetian statues, however, were thought to be gladiators (RT4, 9, 12). Af-

ter the “kernel” was dispersed, however, the Horatian “sister” eventually became an Amazon; one of the Curiatii also became a gladiator; and the rest became nameless (RT10).

The “core group” was not reunited until 1865, when the German archaeologist Heinrich Brunn assembled plaster casts of the Little Barbarians in Rome and attributed them to a dedication on the Athenian Akropolis seen by the traveler Pausanias around AD 170 (AT6). Pausanias locates this monument “by the South Wall” of the citadel; describes its subjects as the battles against the Giants, Amazons, Persians, and Galatians – as in the surviving copies; and names its dedicator as “Attalos,” presumably either King Attalos I (r. 241–197 BC) or Attalos II (r. 158–138 BC) of Pergamon.<sup>1</sup> Fortunately he also notes that its figures are “about two cubits” high: two Ionic cubits of ca. 52.5 cm or about four English feet.

Since this is exactly the scale of the “core group,” the monument is generally – if somewhat misleadingly, given its length and complexity – called the Small (or Lesser) Attalid Dedication. Until recently, though, its precise form and location were matters of conjecture. In the early 1990s, however, Pausanias’ vital snippet of information as to its reduced scale led the then-director of the Parthenon Restoration Project, Manolis Korres, to identify some cornice blocks with sockets for bronze feet of exactly this size (see Figures 214–16) as remains of its long-lost pedestals. His Essay herein offers a catalog and thorough study of these pedestals and of their setting, the South Wall of the Akropolis.

## PREFACE

Now Pausanias (AT6) correctly calls the Pergamenes’ originally northern European opponents “Galatians” (*Galatoi*); the mainland Greeks called their cousins, the invaders of 279, “Celts” (*Keltoi*); and the Romans called all of them “Gauls” (*Galli*). Since it would be confusing to switch back and forth among these names, and our surviving Little Barbarians are Roman, I will risk the wrath of purists by calling them all “Gauls.” And for clarity’s sake too, I distinguish the four Akropolis groups by Roman numerals, beginning with the one that is both earliest “historically” and the first in Pausanias’ sequence: the Gigantomachy (I). Then come the Amazonomachy (II), Persianomachy (III), and Galatomachy (IV).

A thing of violence created amid threats to Athens’ very existence, the Attalid Dedication remains contested even today, albeit in the less sanguinary arena of modern scholarship. Strangely, though, since Brunn published his conclusions in 1870 only Beatrice Palma has studied the ensemble in its entirety, in 1981. She collected most of the ancient sources and modern bibliography and cataloged almost all the statues ever attributed to it (thirty-two in all). In a subsequent article in 1984 she traced the history of these statues since their discovery, again citing most of the Renaissance and modern bibliography. These two studies are invaluable, but there is more to be said. For – the monument’s newly discovered pedestals apart – both it and its copies stand at the intersection of several different subdisciplines, including art history, topography, cultural history, ideology, religion, politics, and intellectual history. They have many different stories to tell.

At times this study has felt like a six-year exercise in detection, Sherlock Holmes style; hence the whimsical epigraphs to most chapters. It began as an article but swiftly outgrew its origins when in June 1997 I stumbled upon Korres’s discovery (modestly announced in a single sentence) while reading one of his Parthenon reports in the American School’s Blegen Library.<sup>2</sup> Our collaboration started soon afterward, eventually resulting in the retrieval of dozens more blocks from the pedestals, his Essay included here (between my Conclusion and the Appendixes), the superb drawings reproduced in Figures 217–19, 226, 265–81, and 283–87, and last but not least, a fundamental reevaluation of the entire monument.

Simultaneously, however, as I began to do my homework and to delve into the scholarship, I realized that this monument and its ten surviving replicas, the Little Barbarians, have led no fewer than four lives: Hellenistic Greek, imperial Roman, Renaissance, and modern. The first of these required a complete rewrite; the second, all but totally overlooked, needed to be investigated from scratch; the third had attracted much interest, but chiefly

from historians of collecting and iconographic source hunters; and the fourth raised some intriguing questions about the intellectual history of the discipline. Moreover, scrutiny of the traditional kind had diverted attention from the statues themselves – from the ten little marbles that we actually possess (see Figures 1–25, 29–64, 77–80). For by viewing them as mere windows to their lost originals, scholars had generally refrained from addressing them as sculptures in their own right – from attending to them as individual, arresting, and challenging works of art per se.

So I decided to begin the book with a direct encounter with these little marbles – a much-edited and highly impressionistic version of my own personal engagement with them over the years – and then to write the main part of it in reverse chronology. My four chapters attempt to peel away, like archaeological strata, the four successive levels in the Dedication’s history and reception, beginning with the modern scholarship and ending on the Hellenistic Akropolis. They can then be reread in proper chronological order; but for those with no time or inclination for such a marathon, some concluding remarks revisit them in this fashion. Researching them has led me to make a deeply satisfying acquaintance with some of the masterpieces of Renaissance art; to read what I can of the literature on them and to develop (hesitantly and with genuine diffidence) some ideas about them; and to rethink some of my old thoughts about Roman and Hellenistic art, and about the discipline in general.

Chapter 1 begins in nineteenth-century Athens and Rome, examining the modern scholarship from the pioneering work of Leake, Penrose, and Brunn to the present. Of course, this way of introducing the subject is as conventional as it is convenient. Yet since “all history is contemporary history” and some of the discipline’s best minds have wrestled with these problems, a study of this kind can also illuminate the field’s wider concerns over the past century and a half. So en route and inter alia, the chapter considers the successes and limitations of positivist historicism and of formalism; the roles of photography and of the corpus in the consolidation of the discipline; the contest between contemporary neopositivism and deconstruction; and the discipline’s methods, aims, and prospects at the beginning of the third millennium. It allows us to see the successive incarnations of our statues (artistic and scholarly) as culturally embedded, as contingent products of an ongoing discourse, and indicates that the present study is no different.

Chapter 2 retreats to the Renaissance. It chronicles the Little Barbarians’ discovery, their identification, and their subsequent odyssey through the great collections of

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sixteenth-century Rome and Venice. Since the narrative given them when they came to light was never codified – contrast (for example) the Belvedere Apollo and the Laokoon (see Figure 82) – they stagger unsteadily from role to role, from heroes to villains to saints. So what impact did they make on Renaissance artists, from Raphael, Michelangelo, Sansovino, Titian, Veronese, and Tintoretto to others such as Albertinelli, Aspertini, Peruzzi, and Pordenone? Under what description(s) did they engage these statues? What did they see in them that was so compelling? And what uses did they make of them?

Chapter 3 steps back another fourteen hundred years to the Roman Empire and considers the Little Barbarians as works of Roman art. Why did the Romans select these particular statues? When were they made? Where and how were they displayed? Why did the selection apparently include no victors? This omission compels us to focus on them *as barbarians*, as generic representatives of the world “beyond the pale.” It forces us to take a virtual step into the two main locales where the Romans’ eternal conflict with barbarism and the barbarian body was played out: the outlands beyond the frontiers and the Roman arena. And it brings the ensemble’s two model spectators – emperor and citizen, authority and ourselves – into alignment, using the insistent specter of barbarian chaos to create a bond of solidarity between them. Finally, what impact did the Barbarians – or their types – have on Roman art?

Chapter 4 regresses, at last, to the Little Barbarians’ originals and to Athens of the years around 200 BC. What did Attalos’ Dedication look like and where did it stand? Who made it and when? Which Attalos donated it and why? What purposes did it serve at this time of national near-disaster and equally uncertain prospects? How might its various intended or unintended audiences have received it? What new light can it shed upon the core agenda of Athenian–Pergamene cultural chauvinism: their spatiotemporal construction of “true” Hellenism in an age of Greek upheaval and Roman expansion, and their own self-anointed mission as its only true guardians?

As mentioned earlier, an Essay by the discoverer of the Attalid Dedication’s pedestals, Professor Manolis Korres, follows the main text. In addition to publishing a catalog and study of the numerous surviving blocks (almost sixty at last count), this essay investigates in detail the history and topography of their setting: the Akropolis South Wall. It thereby offers en passant a contribution to Akropolis studies that will remain definitive for the foreseeable future, until the Parthenon Restoration Project is completed and reexcavation of the area can commence.

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## ABBREVIATIONS



AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger, Herausgegeben vom Deutsches archäologisches Institut</i>
AAA	<i>Archaiologika Analekta ex Athinon/Athens Annals of Archaeology</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AkrM	Akropolis Museum
AM	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutsches archäologisches Institut, Athenische Abteilung</i>
AnSt	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
ANS–MN	<i>American Numismatic Society – Museum Notes</i>
AntK	<i>Antiker Kunst</i>
ArtB	<i>The Art Bulletin</i>
AvP	<i>Altertümer von Pergamon</i> . Berlin, from 1885
AZ	<i>Archäologischer Zeitung</i>
B–B	Heinrich Brunn and Friedrich Bruckmann (eds.), <i>Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Sculptur</i> . Munich 1888–1900
BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique</i>
Bd'A	<i>Bollettino d'Arte</i>
BICS	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, University of London</i>
Bjb	<i>Bonner Jahrbücher</i>
BM	British Museum
BSA	<i>Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens</i>
BurlMag	<i>The Burlington Magazine</i>
DocIn	<i>Documenti inediti per servire alla storia dei Musei d'Italia</i> . Rome 1878–80. 4 vols.
EA	Paul Arndt et al., <i>Photographischer Einzelaufnahmen antiker Skulptur</i> . Munich 1893–1947
EAA	<i>Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica</i> . Rome, from 1958
FGH	Felix Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> . Berlin, from 1923
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>

## ABBREVIATIONS

Helbig <sup>4</sup>	Wolfgang Helbig, <i>Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom</i> . 4th ed. by Hermine Speier, Tübingen 1963–72. 4 vols.
HSCP	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> . Berlin, from 1913
JdI	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen archäologischen Institut</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JRA	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
JWCI	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i>
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> . Zürich 1981–99
NM	National Museum, Athens
OGIS	Wilhelm Dittenberger, <i>Orientalis graeci inscriptiones selectae</i> . Leipzig 1903–05
ÖJb	<i>Jahreshefte des Österreichisches archäologisches Institut</i>
RA	<i>Revue Archéologique</i>
REA	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i>
REG	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
RhM	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i>
RIA	<i>Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte</i>
RM	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung</i>
RPAA	<i>Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia romana di Archeologia</i>
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

## SOME IMPORTANT DATES



## GREECE (ALL DATES BC)

—	(Giants assault Olympos)
—	(Herakles and Theseus attack Amazon territory of Themiskyra; abduct Antiope/Hippolyte)
—	(Amazons attack Athens; death of Antiope/Hippolyte)
490	Persians invade Attica; Battle of Marathon (Figure 223?)
480	Persians invade Greece; Battle of Salamis
Ca. 450	Stoa Poikile (Athens)
447–432	Parthenon (Athens) (Figures 67, 212–13, 218–19, 227–28)
404	Athens defeated in Peloponnesian War
338	Philip II of Macedon defeats Athens and Thebes at Chaironeia
334–323	Alexander the Great (Figures 182, 184, 225) conquers the East
320–280	Breakup of Alexander’s empire
279–278	Gauls invade Greece, attack Delphi, and invade Asia Minor
Ca. 275	Ptolemy II destroys rebellious Gallic mercenaries in Egypt
268–262	Chremonidean War; Macedonians defeat and occupy Athens
241	Attalos I ruler of Pergamon
Ca. 237	Attalos I defeats Gauls by River Kaikos; proclaims himself king
229	Macedonians withdraw from Athens
223	Attalos I commissions Epigonos to commemorate his victories over Gauls and Seleukids (Figure 224)
221	Philip V (Figure 256) king of Macedon
211–205	First Macedonian War
202–197	Second Macedonian War:
201	Philip V ravages Pergamene Asklepieion and Nikephorion

## SOME IMPORTANT DATES

200	Philip V ravages Attica; Attalos I visits Athens (AT1)
197	Flamininus defeats Philip at Kynoskephalai; Attalos I dies; accession of Eumenes II (Figure 230a)
192–188	Antiochos III of Syria invades Greece; Romans defeat him and expel him from Anatolia
189	Romans under Manlius Vulso and Pergamenes attack Gauls in Anatolia
178–175	Antiochos IV of Syria resides in Athens
172–168	Third Macedonian War; Romans abolish Macedonian kingdom; Aemilius Paullus visits Athens
168–166	Eumenes II of Pergamon suppresses Gallic revolt; commissions Great Altar of Pergamon (Figures 68–69, 91, 236)?
158	Eumenes II dies; accession of Attalos II
138	Attalos II dies; accession of Attalos III
133	Attalos III dies, willing Pergamon to Rome
88	Mithradates VI of Pontus invades W. Asia Minor and Greece; Athens joins him against Rome
86	Sulla besieges and takes Athens
31	Omens foretell disaster for Antony and Kleopatra (AT5, 7); Octavian defeats them at Actium
Ca. 20	Athenians resolve to restore their ruined sanctuaries (AT2)

## ROME (ALL DATES AD)

80	Fire destroys most of Campus Martius (cf. Figures 162–63)
81	Emperor Titus dies; accession of Domitian
88–89	Romans defeat Dacians under Decebalus; Domitian celebrates Dacian triumph
92–93	Romans defeat Sarmatians
96	Domitian assassinated; accession of Nerva (Figures 154, 157)
98	Nerva dies; accession of Trajan
101–02	First Dacian War
105–06	Second Dacian War; suicide of Decebalus
107	Trajan celebrates Dacian triumph
111–13	Hadrian (Figures 173–74) visits Athens
113	Trajan dedicates his Forum and Column (Figures 172, 194, 197–202)
114–17	Trajan invades Parthia; reaches Persian Gulf; forced to retreat by revolts; dies; accession of Hadrian
118	Hadrian and his generals suppress revolts in Syria, Judaea, Dacia, and Mauretania; Hadrian enters Rome, celebrates Trajan’s Parthian triumph; Hadrian begins work on the Pantheon (Figures 162–63) and his villa at Tivoli
131–35	Jewish (Bar-Kochva) revolt
138	Hadrian dies; accession of Antoninus Pius



## SOME IMPORTANT DATES

## THE RENAISSANCE

- 1506 Discovery of the Laokoon (Figures 83, 109)
- 1508–12 Michelangelo’s Sistine Chapel ceiling
- 1512 French invasion of Italy; battle of Ravenna
- 1513 Death of Pope Julius II; accession of Leo X Medici; Leo commissions tapestry cartoons (Figures 108, 114) from Raphael
- 1514 Little Barbarians discovered in Rome (RT1); seven sold to Alfonsina Orsini, who gives one to Leo (RT2)
- 1515 French invasion of Italy; battle of Marignano
- 1516 Raphael completes tapestry cartoons, begins design of Vatican Logge (Figures 120–27)
- 1517–19 Raphael’s workshop decorates Vatican Logge; Raphael begins his *Transfiguration* (Figures 128–29)
- 1519 Peruzzi’s Volta Dorata in the Palazzo della Cancelleria (Figure 130)
- 1520 Alfonsina Orsini, Leo X, and Raphael die; Cardinal Domenico Grimani begins to transfer his collection to Venice
- 1523 Domenico Grimani dies, leaving his collection to Venice (RT3, 4)
- 1525 Sala delle Teste opened in Venice (RT5)
- 1526 Parmigianino’s *Vision of Saint Jerome* (Figure 132)
- 1527 Sack of Rome; Parmigianino, Peruzzi, Sansovino, and others flee the city; Titian’s *Martyrdom of Saint Peter Martyr* (Figure 93)
- 1529 Sansovino appointed *proto-magister* of the Procuratia di San Marco de Supra in Venice
- 1536–41 Michelangelo’s *Last Judgment* (Figures 133–36)
- 1537 Margaret (“Madama”) of Austria inherits Alfonsina’s palazzo and collection
- 1542–44 Titian’s *Santa Maria della Salute* cycle (Figure 138)
- 1545–46 Ceiling of Sansovino’s library collapses; Sansovino tried and punished; given contract for San Marco sacristy doors (Figure 137)
- 1548–59 Titian’s *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* (Figure 140)
- 1550 M. Ulisse Aldrovandi visits Rome (RT6); Vasari publishes his *Lives of the Artists*
- 1553 Sansovino’s *Resurrection* (Figure 137)
- 1556–59 Jean Jacques Boissard visits Rome (cf. RT13, published 1597)
- 1559–62 Titian’s *Rape of Europa* (Figure 141)
- 1562–63 Tintoretto’s *Last Judgment* (Figure 148–49)
- 1562–66 Tintoretto’s *Saint Mark* cycle (Figures 145–46)
- 1566 Pius V banishes all pagan statues from the Vatican
- 1586 Margaret (“Madama”) of Austria dies; Alessandro Farnese inherits her estate; Giambattista de’ Bianchi restores her collection (RT10). In Venice, Sala delle Teste closed (RT9); Giovanni Grimani donates his collection to the city
- 1589 Alessandro Farnese dies
- 1593 Giovanni Grimani dies (RT11); Tiziano Aspetti restores his collection (RT12)
- 1597 Statuario Pubblico opened in Venice