

VITRUVIUS AND THE ORIGIN OF CARYATIDS

HISTORIAS autem plures novisse oportet, quod multa ornamenta saepe in operibus architecti designant, de quibus argumenti rationem cur fecerint quaerentibus reddere debent. Quemadmodum si quis statuas marmoreas muliebres stolas, quae caryatides dicuntur, pro columnis in opere statuerit et insuper mutulos et coronas conlocaverit, percontantibus ita reddet rationem. Carya civitas Peloponnesensis cum Persis hostibus contra Graeciam consensit, postea Graeci per victoriam gloriose bello liberati communi consilio Caryatibus bellum indixerunt. Itaque oppido capto viris interfectis civitate desacrata matronas eorum in servitutem abduxerunt, nec sunt passi stolas neque ornatus matronales deponere, uti non una triumpho ducerentur sed aeterno servitutis exemplo gravi contumelia pressae poenas pendere viderentur pro civitate. Ideo qui tunc architecti fuerunt aedificiis publicis designaverunt earum imagines oneri ferundo conlocatas, ut etiam posteris nota poena peccati Caryatium memoriae traderetur. Non minus Lacones, Pausania Agesipolidos filio duce, Plataico proelio pauca manu infinitum numerum exercitus Persarum cum superavissent, acto cum gloria triumpho spoliorum et praedae, porticum Persicam ex manubiis, laudis et virtutis civium indicem, victoriae posteris pro tropaeo constituerunt, ibique captivorum simulacra barbarico vestis ornatu, superbia meritis contumeliis punita, sustinentia tectum conlocaverunt, uti et hostes horrescerent, timore eorum fortitudinis effectus, et cives id exemplum virtutis aspicientes gloria erecti ad defendendam libertatem essent parati. Itaque ex eo multi statuas Persicas sustinentes epistylia et ornamenta eorum conlocaverunt, et ita ex eo argumento varietates egregias auxerunt operibus. Vitruvius, *De Arch.* i 4.8–5.11 Rose.

‘But he must acquaint himself with many narratives from history; for architects often incorporate many ornamental features in the designs of their works, of which they must be able to give a reasoned account, when asked why they added them. For example, if anyone erects marble statues of robed women, which are called Caryatids, instead of columns on his building, and places mutules and crowning members above them, this is how he will explain them to inquirers. Carya, a city in the Peloponnese, allied herself with the Persian enemy against Greece. Later the Greeks were rid of their war by a glorious victory and, by common consent, declared war on the Caryates. And so the town was captured, the males were killed and the Caryan state publicly disgraced. The victors led the matrons away into captivity, but did not allow them to lay aside their robes or matronly ornaments. Their intention was not to lead them on one occasion in a triumph, but to ensure that they exhibited a permanent picture of slavery, and that in the heavy mockery they suffered they should be seen to pay the penalty for their city. So the architects of those times designed images of them specially placed to uphold a load, so that a well-known punishment of the Caryates’ wrongdoing might be handed down to posterity.

‘Likewise the Spartans, led by Pausanias son of Agesipolis, after overcoming with a small force an infinitely large army of Persians at Plataea, celebrated a glorious triumph with the spoils and the booty, and erected the Persian Stoa from the sale of the plunder, to show the renown and valour of their own citizens and serve as a trophy of their victory for their descendants to see. There they disposed likenesses of their prisoners, dressed in rich, barbaric clothes, holding up the roof, their pride punished by well-merited humiliations; both to make enemies tremble for fear of what Spartan bravery could achieve, and to cause their fellow-citizens, catching sight of this example of valour, to hold their heads high and remain ready to defend their freedom. And so from that time many builders placed in their works statues of Persians holding up the architraves and their attendant ornaments; so that this theme enabled them to increase notably the variety of their creations.’

All this is not, I think, merely the ‘foolish story’ that Frazer thought it.¹ I would treat it with as much respect as was shown it by Th. Homolle in his paper ‘L’origine des Caryatides’,² and I owe most of this little paper to him, as Poulsen owed *his* discussion.³ But I differ from Homolle over the rôle filled by Vitruvius.

¹ J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias* iii 320.

² *Rev. Arch.* v.5 (1917) 1–67.

³ F. Poulsen, *Delphi* (London 1920) ch. 14.

Before I proceed, I would note two interesting points.

(1) The 'Caryatids' are apparently used *instead* of normal columns, and they hold up a *Doric* entablature with mutules on the cornice. If, like their opposite numbers, the 'Persians', they adorned a stoa, they would appear most happily on its *Doric* exterior.

(2) This is the only place in Vitruvius where Caryatids are mentioned. The style of architecture that he prescribes is always very bleak and jejune. Even so, I find this silence a little remarkable, and also that references to Caryatids in ancient literature should amount to two or three in all.

I cannot seriously entertain the suggestion of Granger that Vitruvius was referring to the district of Caria, in south-west Asia Minor, rather than to the town of Caryae, near Sparta, described in Pausanias iii 10.7; if only because the Carians, whenever they had the chance, fought boldly with the Greeks against the Persians. On the other hand, the only Caryatid from Caryae ever mentioned by Pausanias is Artemis Caryatis herself, worshipped in an hypaethral temple, where the Spartan girls annually performed a set dance: τὸ γὰρ χώριον Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Νυμφῶν ἔστιν αἱ Καρύαι, καὶ ἄγαλμα ἔστηκεν Ἀρτεμίδος ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ Καρυάτιδος· χόρους δὲ ἐνταῦθα αἱ Λακεδαιμονίων παρθένοι κατὰ ἔτος ἰστάσι, καὶ ἐπιχώριος αὐταῖς καθέστηκεν ὄρχησις. (At first sight an hypaethral shrine contradicts the idea of Caryatids: but of course a baldacchino could have sheltered Artemis.) One would suppose these girl dancers to have been the subject not only of Callimachus' 'saltantes Lacaenae' of c. 400 B.C., but also of Praxiteles' famous group, the 'Caryatids, or Thyiads' mentioned by Pliny in a chapter (*NH* xxxvi 23) devoted, I think, to Praxiteles' groups.

After single figures by Praxiteles, Pliny comes to other works by him not in Rome. 'Romae Praxitelis opera sunt Flora, Triptolemus, Ceres in hortis Servilianis' (first group), 'Boni Eventus et Bonae Fortunae simulacra in Capitolio' (second group), 'item Maenades et quas Thyiadas vocant et Caryatidas, et Sileni [viz. Satyrs] in Pollionis Asini monumentis' (third group) 'et Apollo et Neptunus.' If Praxiteles' 'Caryatids' formed part of a larger group of figures, it is hard to see them as resembling in their arrangement the self-contained group on the Delphic Acanthus Column (PLATE IVa), the famous work to which we now turn.

This column of Pentelic marble, said to have been discovered among the sculptures of the Archaic Temple⁴ and, unlike the figures surmounting it, never completely published, is discussed both by Homolle and Poulsen. We can believe that the individual figures of the girls resembled Praxiteles' 'Caryatids'. For, just as Pliny called these 'Thyiads, or Caryatids', so Plutarch tells us (*Mulierum Virtutes* 249E) that the women devotees of Dionysus at Delphi were called 'Thyiads'. The column is put by most scholars somewhere near the mid-fourth century; and I cannot resist the temptation to mention one tiny scrap of corroborative detail (PLATE Vc). Below each joint in the acanthus stalk, the flutes of the column imitate the rounded ends of leaves. The fillets, themselves grooved, curl to form the rims, while the centre of each fluted hollow is marked by a vertical incision, a kind of 'reeing'. We are looking at the upper ends of long leaves, their median ribs down the centres of the flutes. The exact opposite of this treatment is found on the Monument of Lysicrates⁵ (PLATE IVb). There the capital brusquely interrupts the fluting, as do the acanthus rings on the Delphic Column. Again, vertical incisions are found down the centres of the flutes. But here they mark the edges of the leaves, and the fillets form the median ribs. So the two monuments, at Delphi and Athens, using long leaves of the same type solve the same problem in two exactly opposite ways, though I prefer Lysicrates for sheer neatness. Both, I feel, are near-contemporaries; and the Monument of Lysicrates dates, of course, from 334 B.C. So much for Praxitelean 'Caryatids'.

Vitruvius' Caryatids, widowed and enslaved, were no Bacchic dancers; and, unlike the Delphic girls, they were in long dresses ('stolatae'). What was their posture? They should have been vertical and nearly upright. He never mentions them again; and this, I think, is because he

⁴ P. de la Coste-Messelière, *Delphes* (Paris 1943) 328. He therefore dates them around 380 B.C., because they should have been thrown down with the Temple in 373. Yet, like many others, I wonder if they can be quite so early; and also whether the evidence of provenience, on such a site as Delphi, is absolutely conclusive.

⁵ My plate, of course, is from Stuart and Revett, *Antiquities of Athens* i (London 1762) ch. iv, pl. vi. While it is hard today to obtain a photograph half as clear as their drawing, examination of the monument will show that the feature I have noticed is exactly as they have rendered it.

regards them as exactly interchangeable with his columns, which adhere closely to the proportions of the human body.⁶ See, for instance, the account of the earliest Doric in the introduction to iv (85. 22 ff. Rose): 'Cum invenissent pedem sextam partem esse altitudinis in homine, idem in columnam transtulerunt. . . . Ita dorica columna virilis corporis proportionem praestare coepit.'

Nor were all Greek Caryatids Praxitelean dancers. One of the very rare references to Caryatids is a quotation in Athenaeus from memoirs of a parasite called Eucrates the 'Lark'. These were published by a certain Lynceus, and Eucrates is also mentioned as a contemporary in a play, *The Poets*, by the long-lived fourth-century comic writer Alexis, also quoted in this passage of Athenaeus. Eucrates, writes Lynceus, was drinking as a guest in some tumbledown house, and remarked: 'When one dines here, one has to use one's left hand, as Caryatids do, to hold up the roof'.⁷

There are, in fact, four possible stances for the sort of figure which *we* have learnt to call a Caryatid: the columnar figure, arms held down at the sides, which we all know from the Erechtheum; the upright figure, with two hands held up each side of the head of which Lamb gives an example,⁸ or the two different stances of the two figures shown so neatly on the metope in Olympia,⁹ the one (Heracles) with both forearms supporting the load, the other (Athena) with one hand, in the manner of Eucrates the 'Lark'. The posture of the Erechtheum's 'Maidens' (PLATES IVc and IVd) was possible ever since the mid-sixth century, or earlier; and we all know it from the Ionic treasuries of Delphi. The types of figures on the Olympia metope could not, surely, precede Early Classical art—that is, the years around 480 B.C., to which Vitruvius dates his earliest Caryatids. Famous examples of the forearm pose are the Giants of Akragas, also Early Classical (even though they are not clothed 'Persians' but naked 'Telamones': see PLATE Va¹⁰), and a pair of good female figures, perhaps archaising slightly, but surely not later than the fourth century, from Sparta's colony, Taras.¹¹ The type of the bronze, with both hands held up, is not, I think, found in architecture. Were it of any size, it could hardly be managed adroitly.¹² The poses of the Erechtheum and Akragas seem the most architectonic.

However, we also possess literary and sculptural evidence for the one-handed support; and the sculptural would be greatly strengthened if we could trust the genuineness of an interesting relief in Naples, once engraved by Mazois, apparently of a table to hold spoils. Through the kindness of the Naples Museum, I can figure a modern photograph (PLATE Vb) to supplement the ancient engraving of Mazois (*Les Ruines de Pompeii* [Naples 1824] i 24, 58). The table is 3 ft high, and so perhaps life size. Epigraphists have long quarrelled about the genuineness of its inscription, which agrees, perhaps too obviously, with our Vitruvian passage; and they have asked when, if ever, in the Classical world the expression could have been coined τῆι Ἑλλάδι τὸ τρόπαιον ἐστάθη. In my simplicity, I should have thought at most times. As for style, it has been taken by the most responsible scholars—Homolle, for instance, though even he does not make clear in his article whether he has seen it—to be Hadrianic. Indeed, the crouching figure reminds one of the customary pose of conquered peoples on coins of the Roman Empire. But Hadrian, too, as we all know, enjoyed replicas of celebrated antiquities. The actual design of this relief, especially of its vegetable detail, is surely possible for a work of the mid-fourth century B.C.;¹³ and I hope I am not over-bold to think it conceivable that the whole object, once so famous but now rather tucked away, represents one of the monuments to which Vitruvius alludes. I grant that it has no mutules. But perhaps the 'Persian Stoa' made up for that deficiency.

⁶ In the first chapter of Book iv (86 Rose) he finds even the Ionic capital anthropomorphic. It imitates graceful curls of hair with its volutes to either side, and employs mouldings and half-palmettes—*encarpia*—in place of an ornamental coiffure. See *BSA* lxx (1970) 184–5.

⁷ ἑνταῦθα δειπνεῖν δεῖ ὑποστήσαντα τὴν ἀριστερὰν χεῖρα ὡσπερ αἱ Καρυάτιδες, Athen. 241d.

⁸ W. Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes* (London 1929) pl. 44 (a late Archaic patera in Carthage).

⁹ See e.g. M. Robertson, *History of Greek Art* (Cambridge 1975) pl. 93c.

¹⁰ From the frontispiece by C. R. Cockerell to the *Suppl. Vol. of Stuart and Revett* (London 1830).

¹¹ H. Klumbach, *Tarentiner Grabkunst* (Reutlingen 1937) pl. 25.

¹² Even if the ungraceful pose restored by H. Hoermann for the *Cistophori* of Eleusis is correct (*Die Inneren Propyläen von Eleusis* [Berlin 1932] pls 27, 28, 50), they are not supporting the roof on their upturned hands, but steadying their baskets!

¹³ The figures stand out from the background, are in fact almost in the round (as I saw from a cast in the Wickham-Valentine House in Richmond, Vir.), making a Greek date rather more likely. Like earlier writers, I assume that, since it is in Mazois, this relief comes from Pompeii.

Now we know from Xenophon that Caryae was destroyed by Sparta and all its menfolk killed in 369/8 B.C., in the aftermath not of Plataea but Leuctra. The men of Caryae, a perioecic city quite likely to hold a centuries-old grudge, egged on the Thebans to attack Sparta, promising to show them the way. Later, after the Thebans had gone home, Archidamus attacked and *Καρύας ἐξαιρεῖ κατὰ κράτος, καὶ ὄσους ζῶντας ἔλαβεν, ἀπέσφαξεν* (Xen. *Hell.* vi 5.25 and vii 1.28). I am persuaded by Homolle that the Spartans made much of this, their first real success since Leuctra; and also that, since Thebes was intriguing successfully with Persia at this time, they may even have accused Thebes and Caryae of Medism. In Homolle's words, 'les Thébains et, par contre-coup, les Caryates . . . furent les victimes expiatoires d'une crise de nationalisme assez factive. . . . Tout ceci se passait dans les années 368 et 367' (*op. cit.* 16). It was always too easy to rake up the old Theban Medism of 480 B.C.

After this, I must part company with Homolle, my main source up till now. He considers it no accident (p. 18) that the term Caryatid appears in Greek Art with Praxiteles, just about the time when Caryae was destroyed. But I cannot myself see how the Praxitelean group or the Delphic Dancers can have any connection with the dejected matrons of the conquered city. So I think the nearly simultaneous appearance of the two types of Caryatid was merely an accident. I suppose that Vitruvius (or his authority) saw in Sparta two monuments, one the famous Persian Stoa, which figures both in Vitruvius and Pausanias (iii 11.3), another a Caryatid trophy. The date and occasion of the Stoa were obvious, and Vitruvius' *cicerone* made the natural mistake of dating the trophy from the Stoa. The Stoa, besides being the most prominent building in the Agora, seems to have numbered among its humiliated Persians such recognisable or well-labelled figures as Mardonius; while Herodotus' Artemisia, daughter of Lygdamis, was figured somewhere on this building, but not, for all we know, as a Caryatid: *εἰσὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν κίωνων Πέρσαι λίθου λευκοῦ καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γωβρύου. πεποιήται δὲ καὶ Ἀρτεμισία, θυγάτηρ μὲν Λυγδαμίδος, ἔβασίλευσε δὲ Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ* (Paus. *loc. cit.*; cf. Hdt. vii 99).¹⁴

It could be reasonably objected that Pausanias never mentions such Caryatids in Sparta. But Pausanias admits, when he reaches it, that the Spartan Agora is one of those ancient sites so crowded with monuments, that he can select only a few for his description—a wry comment on the unkind things that Thucydides has to say in i 10.2 about the outward appearance of Sparta. In fact Pausanias repeats for Sparta the expression he had used for Athens itself: 'The fate that beset me in my account of Athens, that I could not describe everything but only a selection of the cream of the most noteworthy monuments, I shall recall now before I begin my account of Sparta' (iii 11). The Agora, he continues, is 'worth seeing (*θέας ἀξία*—his equivalent of a double star in Baedeker); and of all its buildings the Persian Stoa is the most magnificent (*ἐπιφανέστατον*). It had, he says, been enlarged and remodelled at least once before his time—*ἀνὰ χρόνον δὲ αὐτὴν ἐς μέγεθος τὸ νῦν καὶ ἐς κόσμον τὸν παρόντα μεταβεβλήκασι*. The events of the 360s could have provided one occasion for such a change; and perhaps the Caryatid Trophy, especially if we can put any faith in the relief in Naples, then became part of its furniture if not its structure.

What that structure was in Pausanias' (and probably Vitruvius') time I am not required by my brief to decide here. But, hazarding a guess, and departing from the prudent caution of J. J. Coulton (*ADGS* 39), I should like to think of it as a two-storey stoa, perhaps with a wholly Doric exterior, and with columns on the ground floor separated by a continuous architrave from Persians on the first floor. A continuous Doric entablature could have provided a handsome crown for the whole work. Vitruvius does say that 'captivorum simulacra . . . sustinentia tectum conlocaverunt'; and the *ἐπὶ* of Pausanias ought to mean that the Persians came above columns, rather than that they were attached to their fronts in the fashion of Egyptian figures of Osiris (as in the Great Temple of Abu Simbel), or perhaps of archaic Greek *ῥαντήρια*.¹⁵ With such a design, the Persian Stoa would stand in the line of the Throne of Apollo at Amyclae, often restored (as in *Jdl* 1918, pl. 19) with a peristyle supporting an upper storey of grouped figures.¹⁶

¹⁴ On Artemisia, a notoriously manly female, as on the whole 'Persian Stoa', I consider Charles Picard wide of the mark in *CRAI* (Séances de 1935) 215 ff., if only because he prefers the 'correction' to the interpretation of Vitruvius.

¹⁵ F. Matz, *Geschichte der griechischen Kunst* (Frankfurt a.M. 1950) pl. 247b and fig. 28b.

¹⁶ This would be especially true, if the Throne resembled its restoration by E. Fiechter in *Jdl* 1918. He envisaged a surround of two storeys, with the 'figured Order'

Of the monuments surviving in Sparta itself, a small terracotta 'Persian' 12 cm (5 in.) high appears to show (PLATE Vc) one of the Persians in the Stoa in a posture identical with that of the Classical 'Atlas' or 'Telamon', and so of Heracles in the Olympia metope. It was found on the north-east side of the Spartan Acropolis—probably very near the site of the Persian Stoa—and published by Mr Steinhauer in *Deltion* xxvii (1976) 248 and Pl. 186a. It is through his kind offices that I am enabled to publish my photograph of it, with my 6-in. rule behind. If it represents a Persian from the Stoa, it shows that at least he formed a free-standing support, like the figures on the Ionic Treasuries at Delphi, not merely decoration on the front of an 'Osirid' pier or column of a sort apparently known since the seventh century in Sparta. Unhappily, it tells us nothing about the supports that the Persians themselves might have had, whether pedestals, like those in the Siphnian Treasury, or even small columns.¹⁷

Possibly as important for me is the large head, no. 571, in Room 3 of the Sparta Museum. The height of the face is 16 in. (40 cm), or 19 in. (48 cm) with the surviving portion of *polos* (PLATE Vd). So it is about twice life-size. It comes from Xirokambi, on the southern edge of the Spartan plain, and, though much defaced (e.g., by the cross fitchy on the forehead) and cut down to serve as a building-block, it is described by Wace, in the Sparta Museum catalogue, as perhaps an original of the third century B.C., or at least a very good copy of the Roman Imperial period. Why not the fourth century? I confess I know myself no certain criteria for such things. The expression of the face is very sad, with the corners of the mouth turned decidedly downwards; and I can picture this battered but still impressive fragment as part of a Caryatid standing about 12 ft high. If it were, I cannot entirely believe the *tropaion* in Naples, though in style and design the two monuments are less widely apart than may at first sight appear. The main difference is in the *polos*: and the little flaring capitals of the *tropaion* are among its less satisfying features. Were I right about this head, the Caryatids would have adorned a proper fourth-century building, and this, while making the silence of Pausanias even less excusable, would be much more consistent with Vitruvius.

The mutules above Vitruvius' Caryatids (and possibly above the Persians of the Stoa, not to mention the Giants at Akragas) remind us that the Doric Order was less hidebound than we often think. It is not merely in Magna Graecia that hybrids were to be found. Another example in Vitruvius of the same sort of hybrid is the Corinthian Column that he so unevenly describes (iv 84. 1–14 Rose): 'cetera membra quas supra columnas imponuntur aut e doricis symmetriis aut Ionicis moribus in Corinthiis columnis conlocantur'. There are also remarkable Doric or Corinthian hybrid entablatures from Rhenea, now in the National Museum at Athens (nos 1194 and 1317), which I must discuss one day.

As for the figures of the Erechtheum type, slim and bolt upright, these seem never to have been called Caryatids in Antiquity. The Erechtheum's were always *Korai*, and the figures of this type at Amyclae, supporting the actual seat in the Throne of Apollo, comprised two *Horai* and two *Charites* (Paus. iii 18.10). The *Korai* of the Erechtheum were first, I think, identified as Vitruvius' Caryatids by Stuart and Revett, throughout the second chapter of their second volume—unquestioningly and reasonably, though not, as I now conclude, correctly. For they are neither Thyiad dancers, with shortened *chemises*, nor captive widows.

Finally, what are we to make of the male figures 'called Telamones by the Italians, Atlantes by the Greeks' (Vitruv. 151. 5 Rose)? Like his passage on Caryatids, Vitruvius' reference to Atlantes appears as a pedantic, semi-grammatical digression. 'If statues of a manly shape', he tells us, 'support mutules or cornices, our countrymen call them *telamones*—a name of which the why or the wherefore is nowhere given in the textbooks—but the Greeks call them *Atlantes*'. Not a word to explain how they differ from Persians. But surely it must be that they are naked and muscular. Again, they ought to be in the very posture of Heracles in our Olympia metope; for he is doing the actual work of Atlas. As such, they figure in a building probably of the generation before

above. On some recently discovered evidence, R. Martin prefers a complicated one-storey design (*Rev. Arch.* 1976, 205 ff.). The evidence is not yet sufficient; and in any case the mixture of two Orders and of Caryatid-like figures seems highly relevant to the Stoa. See also p. 39 of Coulton *ADGS*, which keeps an open mind, but agrees

that the Stoa had a figured Order of some sort.

¹⁷ Abbreviated columns, directly supporting figures of Maidens, appeared on at least one sixth-century Treasury at Delphi, though I wish I had better evidence for their appearance than the small drawings of Dinsmoor *BCH* xxxvii (1913) 17, 80.

Vitruvius', the men's *tepidarium* of the Forum Baths at Pompeii.¹⁸ Above a plain dado, the wall is divided into niches and intervening piers, and in front of each pier a muscular Atlas, with a wild expression, holds up the cornice on his forearm—'mit ihren erhobenen Unterarmen das Kampfergesims tragen'. So Mau 189 in the German text. But alas! Kelsey's translation (199) reads 'sustaining a cornice upon their uplifted hands'. This illustrates the kind of carelessness nearly always likely to bedevil inquiry into architectural *motifs*. In fact, the *Atlantes* of Pompeii have the posture of the Giants at Akragas, as Mau implied.

This inquiry into Caryatids has vindicated, so far as it can on such slight evidence, the truthfulness of Vitruvius in making the famous examples at Sparta perhaps the earliest and certainly the most influential. We should probably forget the Erechtheum, when we study Caryatids of the Vitruvian kind.

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¹⁸ Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii* (Macmillan 1899) 198–9. The best rendering of them is still that in F. Mazois, *Les Ruines de Pompéi* (Paris 1829) Pt III, pl. 50.



(a) Acanthus column at Delphi: detail. (Courtesy, École Française d'Archéologie, Athens.)



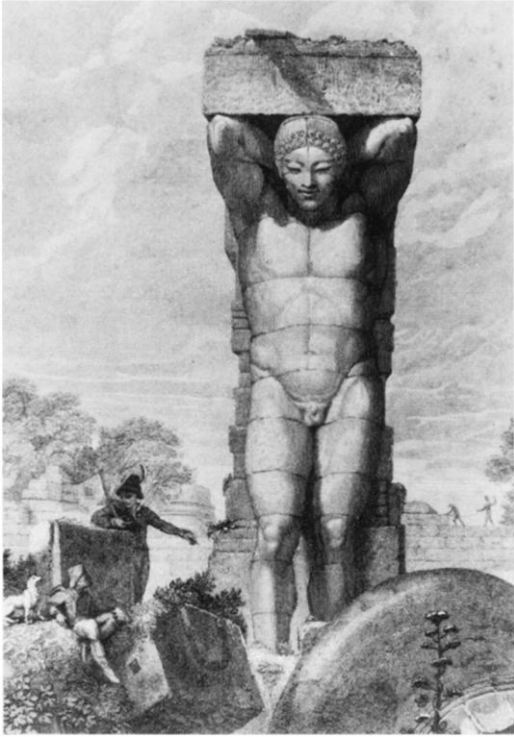
(b) Monument of Lysicrates, Athens: capital (after Stuart and Revett.)



(c) Erechtheum, Athens: the tribune of the Korai (W.H.P. 1960.)



(d) Copy of Kore on Erechtheum, Hadrian's Villa, Tivoli (W.H.P. 1964.)



(a) Giant at Akragas (after C. R. Cockerell.)



(b) Caryatid Relief, Naples Museum inv. no. 6715 (Courtesy, Museo Nazionale, Naples.)



(c) Terracotta 'Persian', Sparta Museum (W.H.P. 1977.)



(d) Head, Sparta Museum (W.H.P. 1977.)