

## THE APOLLO PATROOS OF EUPHRANOR

### Discovery.

The Archaeological Society in Athens, regarding the exploration of the Athenian Agora as its honorable duty, proceeded in the year 1907 to continue the excavation previously begun by the German Archaeological Institute along the west side of the area<sup>1</sup>. The field work was directed by the late George Oikonomos. Among the sculpture found in that year were the fragments of a colossal statue which are reported to have come to light at a point some twenty metres to the south of what is now known to be the Temple of Apollo Patroos<sup>2</sup>. After lying for many years in a courtyard of the National Museum, the fragments were put together by the sculptor-technician M. Panayiotakis, and, in 1916, the statue was set up in the courtyard. Subsequently the god was given shelter in the Gallery of Themis where he stood until the Museum was dismantled on the outbreak of World War II. In 1956 the statue was transferred to the Agora Museum and placed in the colonnade of the newly rebuilt Stoa of Attalos.

The present brief notice of the statue will serve as a poor substitute for the full study which was projected but, alas, not completed by the finder. It is offered, however, in respectful admiration for the memory of one who labored early in the task of clearing the Athenian Agora<sup>3</sup>.

### Description (Pls. I and II, Figs. 1 and 2).

The god, for such he surely is, stands easily, resting his whole weight on the left foot<sup>4</sup>. The right is thrust far back and turned at a decided angle to the

<sup>1</sup> *Πρακτικά*, 1907, pp. 54-57.

<sup>2</sup> On the discovery of the statue cf. B. STAIS, *Δελτ.*, II, 1916, parartema, p. 80; K. KOUROUNIOTES, *Ἡ ἀνασκαφή τῶν ἀρχαίων Ἀθηνῶν*, Athens 1926, fig. 9, p. 16; A. D. KERAMOPOULLOS, *Δελτ.* XII, 1929, p. 95; W. JUDEICH, *Topographie von Athen*, ed. 2, Munich 1931, p. 333; N. VALMIN, *Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund*, 1933-1934, I, p. 2f.; H. A. THOMPSON, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> For references to the statue, in addition to the works quoted above, cf. G. LIPPOLD, *Kopien und Umbildungen griechischer Statuen*, Munich 1923, pp. 277f.; S. PAPASPYRIDIS, *Guide du Musée National*, Athens 1927, p. 82, No. 3573; O. DEUBNER,

*Hellenistische Apollgestalten*, Munich Dissertation, Athens 1934, pp. 8f.; C. PICARD, *Manuel d'archéologie grecque*, La Sculpture, III, Paris 1948, pp. 862-866; G. LIPPOLD, *Handbuch der Archäologie*, III, 1, Die griechische Plastik, Munich 1950, pp. 260f.

I am indebted to the Council of the Archaeological Society and to the Director of the National Museum for permission to publish the statue; to Mr. and Mrs. Chr. Karouzos for facilities in the study, and to Miss M. Alison Frantz for the photographs of the statue, as also of the Apollo on the Mantinea slab and the Apollo from Antikythera.

<sup>4</sup> Height above plinth 2.54 m.; height of plinth

ground which may account for the apparent lightness of the stance despite the actual bulk of the torso. Both shoulders are broken so deeply as to give no indication of the position of the arms; nor is there any trace of the attachment of arms or hands lower down on the torso. In front of the left shoulder are the battered ends of heavy locks of hair. On the back are the lower ends of three wavy



Figure 1. Apollo from the Athenian Agora : back.

in front 0.085 m., behind 0.13 m.; outline of plinth ca. 0.62 × 0.92 m.; height of statue from top of plinth to middle of girdle 2.06 m.; maximum width of statue 0.98 m.; maximum depth from front to back 0.55 m.; width of foot 0.18 m.

The statue has been broken in two major pieces from top to bottom. A sliver, triangular in section and 0.30 m. wide at the outside, is missing from



Figure 2. Apollo from the Athenian Agora : socket for head.

locks with upcurled tips; other locks have no doubt been broken away. A large socket in the top of the torso indicates that the head was worked separately and inset<sup>1</sup>.

On the surviving part two garments are apparent. The torso is enveloped in a peplos of heavy stuff which falls to the ground; its overfall opens on the proper right side and is held by a broad, flat girdle set high on the waist. The ends

the edge of one of these fragments in the back of the statue; its place has been filled with plaster. Several fragments of drapery on the right side have been re-attached.

The marble is Pentelic of good quality. The surface shows little or no ancient weathering; it is covered in part with light brown patination.

<sup>1</sup> The socket measures 0.27 × 0.35 m. Its present

of the knotted girdle are now missing; they had apparently been broken off in antiquity and re-attached by means of five small iron pins, the stump of one of which remains in place. Down the back a great cloak falls almost to the ankles; a mass of it still frames the proper right side of the figure and the breakage indicates that a similar mass once bordered the left side. The back is completely finished, although in summary fashion.

The lines of the drapery are clear and simple. The V's over the chest carry through below the girdle almost without interruption. A light «Steilfalt» falls from the bent knee. The folds in front of the left leg terminate above the toes in a projecting point. The lower edges of the peplos and of its overfall have been clearly defined by undercutting done largely with the drill but so carefully finished with chisel and rasp that little trace of the drill remains. The same is true of the vertical furrows.

A striking feature of the drapery is the elaborate pattern of crease marks on the peplos, especially on the front of the figure; they do not occur on the cloak either front or back. The marks observe a more or less regular alternation in such a way as to suggest creases and intervening smooth areas of cloth, and the illusion of realism is heightened by the fact that, while some of the marks are formed by furrows, others stand out as ridges. In addition to the creasing, rumpling has been suggested with some degree of naturalism especially in the middle of the overfold of the peplos.

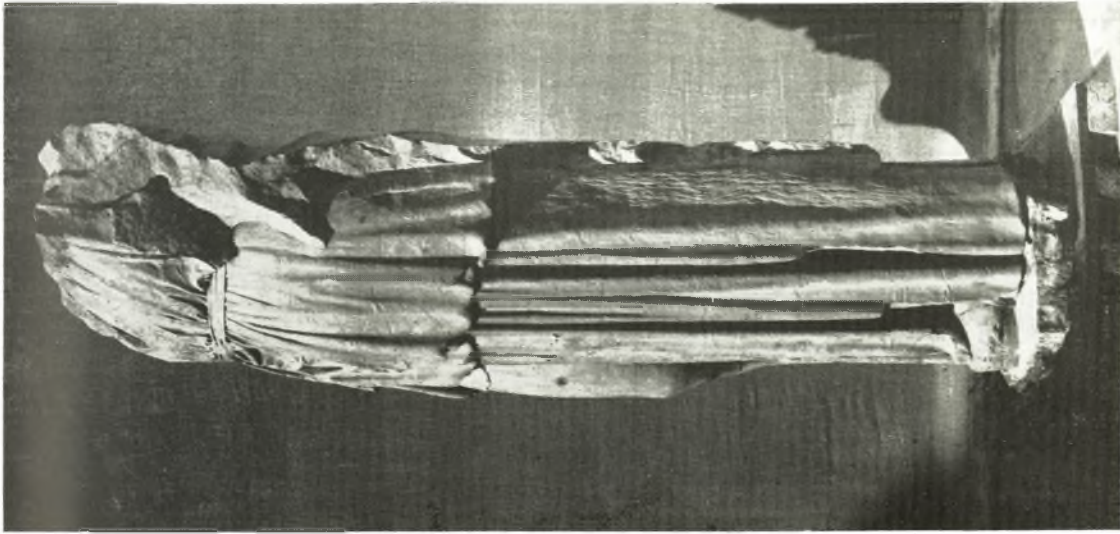
The surface of the drapery is finished throughout with light rasping which provides an agreeable contrast with the smoother finish of the flesh parts.

The god wears elaborate sandals, or perhaps rather shoes with openwork in front. A sole, 4 centimetres thick, supports a leather upper which is open above the toes. The upper edge of the aperture is cut in a scalloped line. Its lower edge is bordered by a narrow strip of leather which is fastened below to the sole and is pierced by a row of small rectangular openings; this strip confronts the ends of the toes. A still narrower strip of leather runs across from side to side above the toenails. The toes are carefully worked and have been separated by drilling. The flesh surface is smooth but not polished.

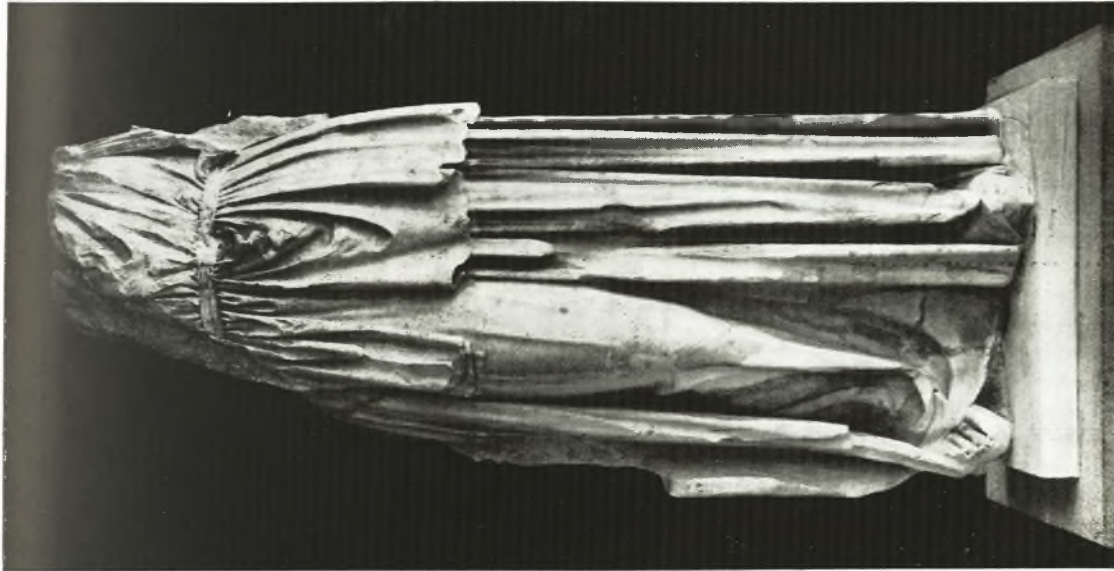
On the proper left side of the torso are traces of a kithara held close to the body. The scar left by the sound box measures 0.51 m. in height and extends from a point about midway between the bottom of the overfall and the girdle to a point about midway between the girdle and the shoulder. The drapery on the left side, at the level of the lower ends of the locks, has been roughly worked with the single point, the sculptor apparently having been embarrassed by the

depth is ca. 0.07 m., but much of the rim has been broken away. In the bottom of the socket is a smaller cutting, 0.045 × 0.08 m. in outline, with a depth of 0.11 m. Its bottom is splayed like

that of a lewis hole, and the cutting may indeed have been made for a lewis to assist in raising the torso on its pedestal, or it may have held a dowel for securing the head.

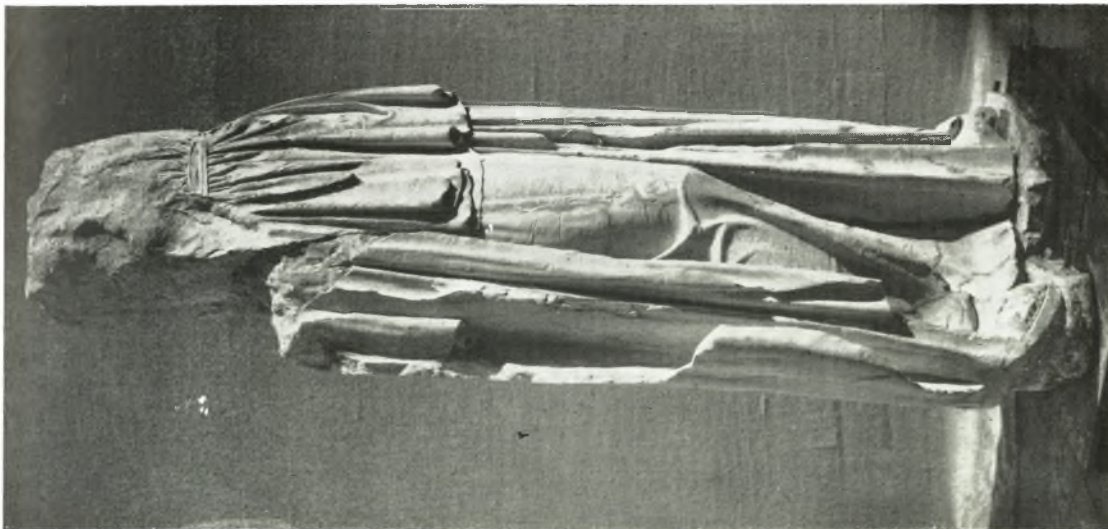


c

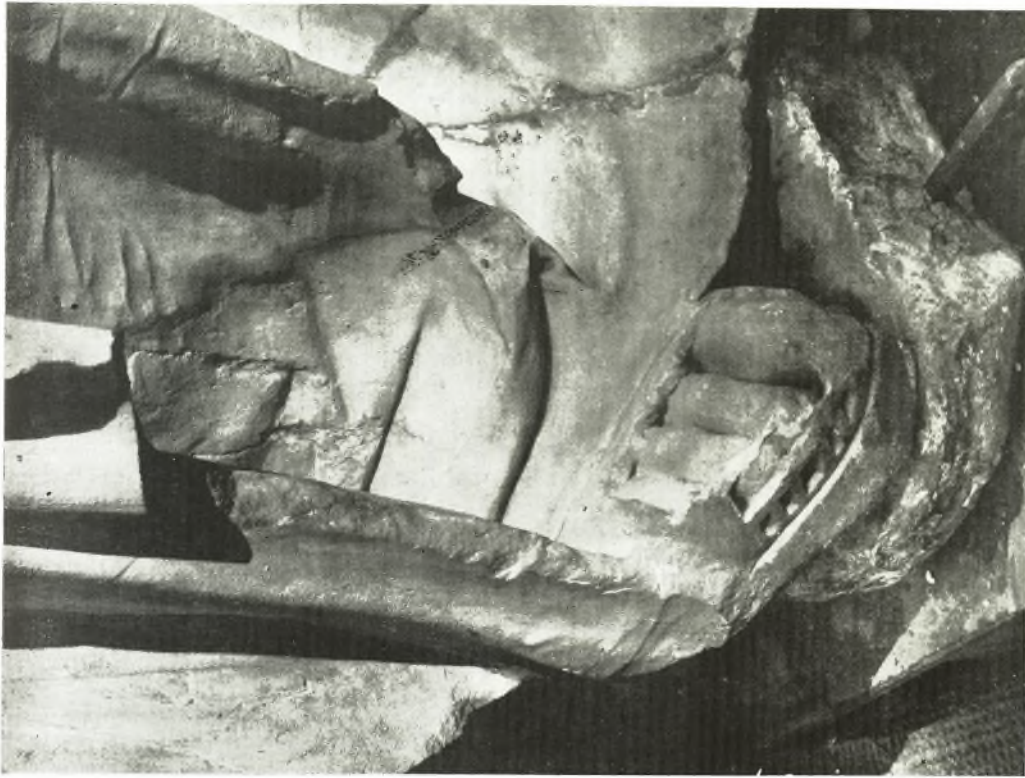


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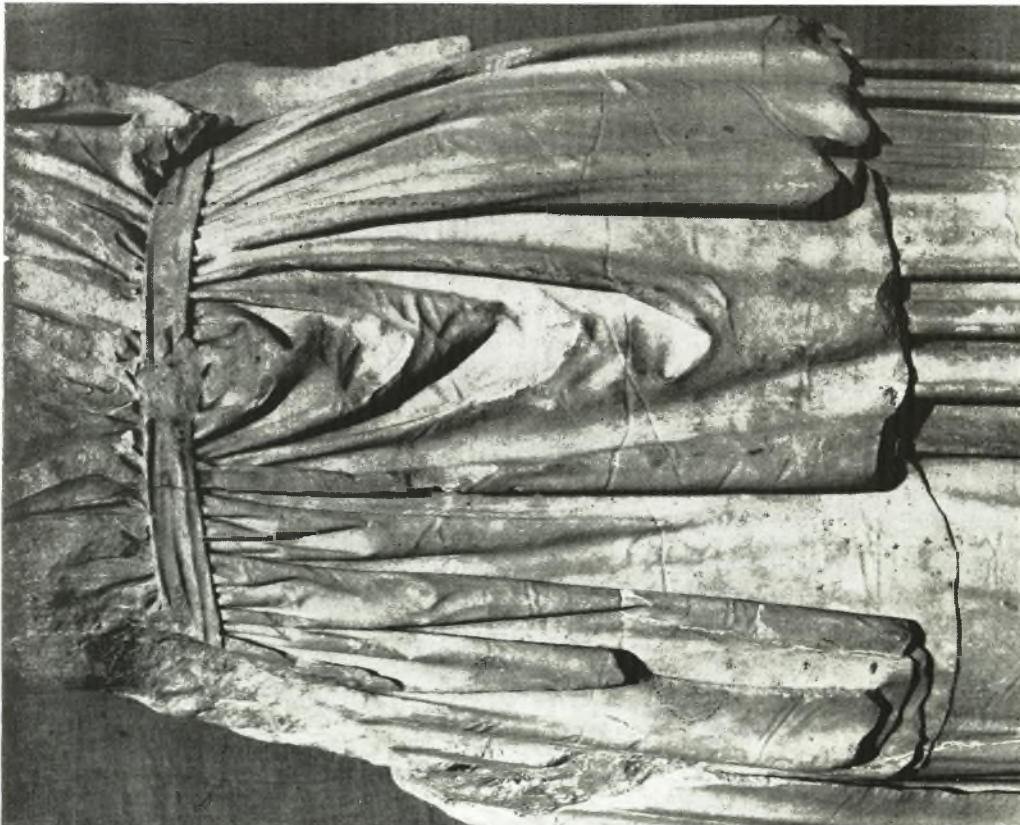
Apollo from the Athenian Agora.



a



b



a

Apollo from the Athenian Agora: Details.

proximity of the arm of the kithara. An evidently male figure in this costume and stance, equipped with a kithara, can be none other than Apollo.

As kitharoidos the god will have held in his right hand either plectrum or phiale. The absence of any sign of attachment or of propinquity on the surviving parts of the statue suggests that the right forearm was thrust out clear of the body, a disposition which is confirmed, as we shall see, by the copies. Hence the object held is more likely to have been phiale than plectrum, and we are probably to think of the divine minstrel as stepping forward, like his human counterpart, to pour a libation before striking up his music. But the kithara, by its sheer size and position, will undoubtedly have been the most compelling element in the composition and we may picture the god as radiantly confident in the power of that instrument over man and bird and fellow gods<sup>1</sup>.

That the statue is an original work of the fourth century before Christ may be regarded as certain because of the precise correspondence in the rendering of drapery and in toolwork with the better Attic gravestones of that time.

#### Type.

No exact copy of our statue is known, but several later works are sufficiently close to our piece and to one another to justify their being grouped together as free adaptations of this original:

1. Vatican, Sale a Croce Greca No. 582. Fig. 3.

LIPPOLD, *Die Skulpturen des vaticanischen Museums*, III, pp. 184-186, pl. 51. Height, including head, 1.93 m. The head, carved separately, is of Pentelic marble; the body «feinkörnig, mit weniger deutlichen Streifen, mehr gelblich» (LIPPOLD). The lower arms, the upper parts of the kithara and small parts of the drapery are restored. The arms are covered with sleeves as far as preserved. Long locks fall down the back and forward over the chest.

2. Athens, National Museum No. 230 Fig. 4.

STAIS, *Δελτ. Ἀρχ.*, V. 1899, pp. 233, 240; KAVVADIAS, *Γλυπτὰ τοῦ Ἑθνικοῦ Μουσείου*, p. 185, No 230; ARNDT-AMELUNG, *Einzeltaufnahmen*, No 708; REINACH, *Repertoire de la statuaire*, II, p. 785, No 2; L. SAVIGNONI, *Ausonia*, II, 1907, p. 22 (f).

Height 1.00 m. Apparently of Pentelic marble. Found in 1889 in the sanctuary of Apollo Aigiles on the island of Antikythera. An inscribed base found with the statue has been associated with it, but without good reason since the rectangular socket in the top of the base is quite un-

<sup>1</sup> Best described by Pindar in his first Pythian.

suitable for the plinth. The head was inset and is missing. The right arm is covered with a sleeve as far as preserved, i. e. to the wrist. Long locks fall both behind and in front.



Figure 3a.



Figure 3b.

Apollo in the Vatican

(Aufnahme des deutschen archäologischen Instituts Rom. Neg. 8018, 8019).

3. Athens, Agora Museum Inv. S 877.

Fig. 5.

T. L. SHEAR, A. J. A., XLI, 1937, p. 185, fig. 12.

Found in 1937 in a well on Kolonos Agoraios about 130 m. south of the Hephaisteion in a context of the fourth century after Christ.

Height 0.29 m. Pentelic marble.

The head, right forearm and the horns of the kithara were carved sep-

arately and attached by means of iron pins; all are missing. Long locks both front and back.

More remotely related are:



Figure 4a.



Figure 4b.

Apollo from Antikythera in the National Museum, Athens.

4. Athens, National Museum No. 1637.

ARNDT - AMELUNG, *Einzelaufnahmen*, No 709b; REINACH, *Repertoire*, II, p. 785, No 1; SAVIGNONI, *Ausonia*, II, 1907, p. 22 (g).

Not accessible in 1953.

A roughly worked statuette lacking head, both forearms and kithara. In stance and drapery this is close to the original but the forward thrust of the arms suggests that the god was actually playing his instrument.



## 5. Delphi, Fouilles, IV, pl. LXXV, p. 40.

Close to the original in stance and in the general scheme of the drapery but with many capricious variations in the drapery, notably over the left leg<sup>1</sup>.

It is instructive to observe how closely the authors of the first three adapta-



Figure 5a.



Figure 5b.

Apollo: Statuette in the Agora Museum, Athens.

tions have retained the proportions and the stance of the original, while failing to catch its elasticity. The set of the arms also would seem to have been fairly

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Karouzou has kindly called my attention to an unpublished relief in the National Museum at Athens (No. 3917) on which Apollo, close in type to our statue, stands between his mother and sister. The workmanship is of high quality and the date apparently late fourth century, hence perhaps an early echo of our major work.

Apollo Patroos has been recognized in the reverse type of a series of Athenian bronze coins of imperial date (J. N. SVORONOS, *Trésor des monnaies d'Athènes*, Munich 1926, pl. 93, 1-7; J. P. SHEAR, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 310 f., fig. 17, 1-7). The god stands, kithara at his left side, phiale in outstretched right hand, head turned slightly to the proper right; he

consistent on the copies, although on the Vatican and Antikythera figures the base of the kithara has slipped down to a point below the hip joint whereas the Agora statuette agrees with the original in showing the heavy instrument held high enough to be supported by the hip. The relation of the three garments and the massing of the folds have been correctly reproduced by the first three adapters, and the sculptor of the Antikythera statue has even made some effort to use the formulae for creasing and crumpling. Most of the niceties, however, have evaporated in the copying, above all the gentle undulations in the ridges. The individual lines have hardened; the patterns have become schematic; the sequence of folding at the lower edge of the overhang of the peplos has been altered, and only in the large-scale Vatican figure has the carver taken the trouble to reproduce the knot in the girdle.

For the head we are almost entirely dependent on the Vatican figure<sup>1</sup>. Here again, insofar as we can control the evidence, the correspondence is mechanically close. The slight turn to the right in the Vatican head corresponds with the indication of a similar turn given by the empty socket in the original. In agreement too are the locks that fall forward over the shoulders and the upcurled tips of the locks on the back. On the lesser adaptations the forward locks are correctly indicated but the back hair is rendered schematically. Comparison with the Apollo of the Mantinea slab and with contemporary vase paintings<sup>2</sup> and coins encourages one to believe that the Vatican head may be trusted in the arrangement of hair and wreath and for the general proportions, but for little more. We may be sure that this head, in its flat modelling and insipid expression, is as far removed from the original as is demonstrably true of the drapery.

The combined evidence of the Vatican and small Agora copies gives us the scheme of the lower part of the kithara. It is clear that the projection along the edge of the sounding box to which the lower ends of the cords were attached was turned toward the god's front. The arms and upper parts of the instrument may be restored on the analogy of the Mantinea slab (Fig. 6)<sup>3</sup>.

Some idea of the delicacy of workmanship expended on the representation of a kithara in this period may be gained from a half dozen fragments found in 1931 along the north side of the Temple of Apollo Patroos in the Agora (Fig. 7)<sup>4</sup>.

wears belted peplos and mantle. It is to be noted, however, that the weight is borne on the right leg rather than on the left as in our statue; this discrepancy may have resulted from assimilation to the contemporary Athena Parthenos types (SVORONOS, *op. cit.*, p. 82).

<sup>1</sup> The head of the Vatican statue was worked separately and inset, but it appears to belong: LIPPOLD, *Die Skulpturen des vaticanischen Museums*, III, p. 185; SAVIGNONI, *Ausonia*, II, 1907, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> E. g. SCHEFOLD, *Kertscher Vasen*, Berlin 1930, pl. 18b.

<sup>3</sup> The upper part of the kithara held by the Vatican copy has been made much too small by the restorer. On the ancient kithara in general cf. T. REINACH in DAREMBERG-SAGLIO, *Dictionnaire*, s. v. *lyra*, p. 1442; M. WEGNER, *Das Musikleben der Griechen*, Berlin 1949, pp. 32-36.

<sup>4</sup> Agora Inv. A 41. Length of largest fragment 0.16 m; maximum thickness of arms as preserved

The arms and the «tendrils» recall the instrument held by Apollo on the Mantinea slab, but the arms would seem to have terminated above like those of the instrument held by Apollo from Cyrene now in the British Museum, i.e. with bolster-like knobs between which would have been fastened the rod to hold the upper ends of the strings; one of these knobs is included among the fragments found by the temple (upper right in Fig. 7)<sup>1</sup>. The arms were reinforced in front with an angular addition; they are flat behind. The tendrils are deeply



Figure 6. Apollo on the Mantinea slab.  
National Museum, Athens.

channeled both front and back. The carving has been done with the utmost precision and the surface is beautifully smoothed. The scale of this instrument would seem rather small to permit association with the statue from the Agora. Another obstacle is the discrepancy in marble, the kithara being Island and the statue Pentelic. Nor is there any indication, either on the original or on any of the copies, of the marked curvature which we should expect in the arms of the instrument represented by the fragments. On the whole, therefore, it appears more probable that this fragmentary kithara was held by some other statue in the temple.

It has long been recognized that the Apollo type of which our statue is the immediate origin is only one of several variations produced in the fourth century on the

theme of the heavily draped, quietly standing kitharoidos<sup>2</sup>. Of the other variants that have been isolated the most prominent are:

0.064 m. Coarse-grained Island marble.  
<sup>1</sup> For the Apollo of Cyrene cf. British Museum Catalogue of Sculpture, II, p. 222, no 1380; O. DEUBNER, *Hellenistische Apollogestalten*, no 30, pp. 30 ff.; K. A. PFEIFF, *Apollon*, Frankfurt - am - Main 1943, pp. 139 f., Abb. 10 (3. Beilage). For a drawing of the kithara cf. DAREMBERG-SAGLIO, *Dictionnaire*, s. v. *lyra*, fig. 4717. I am greatly indebted to Messrs. Bernard Ashmole and Peter Corbett for new photo-

graphs and information about this statue.

<sup>2</sup> For the discussion of these Apollo types cf. especially SAVIGNONI, *Ausonia*, II, 1907, pp. 16-66 (with good illustrations); LIPPOLD, *Kopien und Umbildungen griechischer Statuen*, pp. 224-228; G. E. RIZZO, *Bolletino Comunale*, LX, 1933, pp. 51-66; DEUBNER, *Hellenistische Apollogestalten*, pp. 1-25; PFEIFF, *Apollon*, pp. 116-119, 127 f. The best series of illustrations is still J. A. OVERBECK,

- 1) The prototype behind the Apollo Barberini in Munich<sup>1</sup>, a torso in the Palazzo dei Conservatori<sup>2</sup>, and the Apollo Pythios at Gortyn in Crete<sup>3</sup>. The original is commonly and perhaps rightly placed in the stylistic neighborhood of Kephisodotos' Eirene and Ploutos, i.e. presumably ca. 375 B.C. It differs from our statue chiefly in the fact that the weight is carried on the right rather than the left leg, in the greater number of folds in the garment over the weight leg and in the pointed end of the overhang of the peplos toward the open side.



Figure 7a.



Figure 7b.

Fragments of a marble kithara from the Temple of Apollo Patroos (a) front view (b) side view.

- 2) The prototype of the figure of Apollo on the Sorrento Base<sup>4</sup>, with which is closely related the lower part of a torso in the Palazzo Corsini at Florence<sup>5</sup>.

These have been considered, with a fair degree of probability, to derive from a work by Skopas originally made for Rhamnous in Attica, later displayed in the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine. The figure appears to have been rather more static than ours and, in the drapery, the pointed, pendent corner of the overfall is again prominent.

Griechische Kunstmythologie, Leipzig 1871-89, Atlas, pl. XXI.

<sup>1</sup> FURTWÄNGLER, Beschreibung der Glyptothek, no. 211; BRUNN-BRUCKMANN, Denkmäler, no. 465; Ausonia, II, 1907, p. 21 and fig. 5 on p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Ausonia, II, 1907, p. 21 and fig. 4 on p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Ausonia, II, 1907, pp. 16-66, pls. IV, V.

<sup>4</sup> RIZZO, Bolletino Comunale, LX, 1933, pp. 51-66.

<sup>5</sup> RIZZO, l. c., p. 64, fig. 8; Ausonia, II, 1907, p. 21 and fig. 6 on p. 25.

The dating of these variants and the study of their interrelationships are made difficult, perhaps hopeless, first by the fact that our available evidence consists so largely of copies, which in several cases can be shown to be heavily contaminated, and secondly by the varying degrees of religious conservatism evident in all. Nor can one hope for much help from the literary sources; they tell us that all the first-rate sculptors of the fourth century, with the notable exception of Lysippos, executed one or more Apollos, but rarely do they afford any clue to the type.

Having always in mind the serious reservations just noted, one might conjecture that our variant is later than the two others listed above, and that it may indeed be the latest notable handling of this theme within the fourth century of which we have knowledge. The generally pyramidal outline of the design, considered both with and without the cloak, and the high girding would indicate a date after the middle of the fourth century, while, as we shall see, the details of the drapery point more specifically to the third quarter of the century<sup>1</sup>.

#### **Drapery.**

In addition to the peplos and the cloak which are attested by the surviving marble, we may be sure, from the evidence of the copies, that the god also wore a long-sleeved chiton, a practical garment for a lyre player who could not, like his listeners, wrap his arms in his cloak on a chilly evening. In the archaic period and the fifth century the normal garb of the kitharoidos, whether mortal or divine, had been the chiton and the cloak. The peplos is an addition of the fourth century which occurs on several of the statue types of Apollo Kitharoidos close in date to our work. The reason for this sudden appearance of the peplos is not clear, unless it be the assimilation of the god to his goddess sister, as she is dressed, for instance, in the statue in the Vatican<sup>2</sup>. The result of the new mode was to give to the representation of the god a volume and dignity unmatched either before or after. Following a short vogue, the peplos was laid aside, together with the chiton, so that the normal kitharoidos type of the late fourth century and of the Hellenistic period wears only a light cloak or nothing<sup>3</sup>.

The peplos type used during this short period in the fourth century is close

<sup>1</sup> For the gradual change in the outline of the figure and in the girding an instructive series of dated documents is available in representations of Athena in the reliefs above Athenian inscriptions of the fourth century, conveniently illustrated in SÜSSEROT, *Griechische Plastik des 4. Jahrhunderts vor Christ*, Frankfurt-am-Main 1938, Pls. 1, 2, 4, 5, 9, 11.

<sup>2</sup> AMELUNG, *Die Skulpturen des vatikanischen Museums*, I, p. 51, no. 38, pl. 5; M. BIEBER, *Die Entwicklungsgeschichte der griechischen Tracht*,

Berlin 1934, pl. 20; BLÜMEL, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Katalog der Sammlung antiken Skulpturen*, V, K 241, pl. 57 (a replica converted into Isis).

<sup>3</sup> The locus classicus for the dress of the kitharoidos is STEPHANI, *Compte-Rendu*, 1875, pp. 95-160. Cf. also BIEBER, *Jahrbuch*, XXXII, 1917, pp. 65 ff.; BEAZLEY, *J.H.S.*, XLII, 1922, p. 74; K. SCHEFOLD, *Untersuchungen zur Kertscher Vasen*, Berlin and Leipzig 1934, p. 129; DEUBNER, *Hellenistische Apollgestalten*, p. 6.

to the substantial, simply draped garment of the Periclean period, so familiar from the Athena figures of Phidias. Differences there are, to be sure. The effect of a fluted column, so frequent on the side of the bearing leg of fifth century figures, has here been precluded by deliberate variation in the size and shape and length of furrow and fold. Another touch of greater realism is the heavy mass of garment pendent from the bent knee. The continuity of the drapery lines behind the girdle, which results in a long V-shaped pattern down the middle of the front of the figure, especially evident in the Vatican copy of our work, would be hard to match in the fifth century, but is shared by other Apollo types of the second half of the fourth century, notably that represented by the Kitharoidos in the Palazzo Borghese<sup>1</sup>, and by such other works as the Artemis in the Vatican<sup>2</sup> and the Athena from Castro Pretorio<sup>3</sup>.

It is worth noting how scrupulously our artist respected and how successfully he emphasized the clean vertical lines of the peplos. Working in the fourth century, however, he could not entirely refrain from the use of heavy and deeply shadowed masses of drapery. This taste he gratified in the rich deployment of the cloak to either side of the figure. The two garments were readily distinguishable by the contrast between the vertical lines of the peplos and the zigzag pattern of the cloak, as also by the fact that the crease marks were confined to the peplos. The sleeves of the undergarment, if we may trust the Antikythera copy, were differentiated by their thin and crinkly stuff. The eye was no doubt helped also by the use of color, of which, to be sure, no trace remains on the marble but which is so well attested by contemporary vase paintings of Apollo and by the literary references to the dress of the kitharode<sup>4</sup>.

The formulae employed by our master for rendering the surface texture of the drapery are those in use in the middle and third quarter of the fourth century. Crease marks in an open pattern of shallow grooves are already in evidence on the sculptured drums of the later temple at Ephesus, begun soon after the fire of 356 B. C.<sup>5</sup> They are more pronounced on the figure of Mausollos from Halikarnassos, to be dated, no doubt, close to the middle of the fourth century<sup>6</sup>. The method of rendering the creases followed by our master is very

<sup>1</sup> Ausonia, II, 1907, pls. VI, VII.

<sup>2</sup> AMELUNG, op. cit., I, pl. 5; BIBBER, op. cit., pl. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Ausonia, II, 1907, p. 36, fig. 14; R. HORN, *Stehende weibliche Gewandstatuen*, Munich 1931, pl. 2, 2; D. MUSTILLI, *Il Museo Mussolini*, pp. 93 ff., pl. LIV. Cf. also the rendering of the peplos on the Athena figures on the four inscription reliefs dating between 340 and 329 B. C. assembled by SÜSSEROT, *Griechische Plastik des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, pl. 5.

<sup>4</sup> For traces of painted wave ornament on the border of the chiton of the Apollo Pythios of Gor-

tyn cf. O. DEUBNER, *Hellenistische Apollogestalten*, p. 24.

<sup>5</sup> BIBBER, *Entwicklungsgeschichte der griechischen Tracht*, pl. 31, 3 and 4; G. M. A. RICHTER, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, ed. 3, New Haven 1950, figs. 328, 705. Mr. Peter Corbett reports (by letter) creases in the chlamys of Hermes and on the outer of the two chitons worn by the woman on his left on column base No. 1206, and on the chiton of a standing woman on column base No. 1213.

<sup>6</sup> HEKLER, *Greek and Roman Portraits*, New York 1912, pl. 37; E. BUSCHOR, *Mausollos und*

closely paralleled on the Sisyphos I of the group dedicated at Delphi by Daochos II about the year 336 B. C.<sup>1</sup> Close also are some of the more carefully worked Attic grave stones of the third quarter of the fourth century<sup>2</sup>.

Crease marks seem to have gone out of vogue in the latter part of the fourth century. They do not appear on the Lateran Sophokles, the original of which presumably dates from about 327 B. C., nor on the Aischines, probably of ca. 315 B. C., nor on the Demosthenes of 280 B. C., although in all these cases we can judge only from copies which in this respect are not always trustworthy. Their sporadic occurrence in the third century is attested by the bronze statue of a Cynic in the Capitoline<sup>3</sup>. They return to fashion in the second century B. C., notably on the altar friezes of Pergamon and Magnesia, perhaps as an element of the classicistic tendency of the time. Classicizing, too, is the prominent display of creases on the bronze portrait statue of a Julio-Claudian prince in the Metropolitan Museum<sup>4</sup>, and on certain Attic grave stelai of the Roman period patterned on fourth century prototypes<sup>5</sup>.

From the little of the god's footwear that shows beneath the peplos it is clear that in this case, as so often, he was elaborately shod, with the openwork shoes or heavy sandals in vogue in the fourth century<sup>6</sup>.

#### Attribution.

Since its discovery our statue has been almost universally regarded as the cult statue from the temple of Apollo Patroos, a work which was attributed by PAUSANIAS (I, 3, 3) to Euphranor<sup>7</sup>. This view appears to be well founded. From the sequence of Pausanias' account of the buildings on the west side of the Agora, there can no longer be doubt that the small temple at the foot of the hill to the east of the Hephaisteion near which the statue was found belonged to

Alexander, Munich 1950, p. 10, fig. 17; RICHTER, *op. cit.*, fig. 314.

<sup>1</sup> Fouilles de Delphes, IV, pl. LXV; HORN, *Stehende weibliche Gewandstatuen*, p. 9; SJÖQVIST, *Opuscula Atheniensi*, I, 1953, pp. 93-97.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. A. C. L. CONZE, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, Berlin 1890-1922, no. 239, pl. LIX (Athens); no. 320, pl. LXXVIII = H. DIEPOLDER, *Die attischen Grabreliefs des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Berlin 1931, pl. 47 (Athens); CONZE, *op. cit.*, no. 804, pl. CLI = DIEPOLDER, *op. cit.*, pl. 43, 2 (Athens); RICHTER, *Sculpture and Sculptors*, p. 104, fig. 317 (New York); A. J. A., XXXVIII, 1934, pp. 43 ff., pl. IV (Providence).

<sup>3</sup> HEKLER, *op. cit.*, pl. 112 b; K. SCHEFFOLD, *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker*, Basel 1943, p. 123.

<sup>4</sup> RICHTER, *Handbook of the Classical Collection*, ed. 6, New York 1930, p. 296, fig. 209; *Roman Portraits*, New York 1948, fig. 29.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. the monument of a man of Damascus

now displayed in the porch of Loring Hall at the American School of Classical Studies (A. J. A., X, 1895, pp. 471, 479 ff.; CONZE, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, no. 2038, pl. CCCCLII; A. MUEHSAM, *Berytus*, X, 1952, pl. XIV, 1). For similar treatment on a portrait bust of the early second century after Christ cf. *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 178, pl. 56; E. B. HARRISON, *The Athenian Agora, I: Portrait Sculpture*, Princeton 1953, no. 19, pl. 14.

<sup>6</sup> No exact parallel for the design comes to mind. Compare, however, the shoes of Maussollos and of the seated figure on the Ephesus drum No 1206: BIEBER, *Entwicklungsgeschichte der griechischen Tracht*, pl. 31, 2 and 3. The sandals of the Apollo Belvedere have similar openwork fronting the toes: OVERBECK, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, Atlas, pl. XXIII, 29.

<sup>7</sup> Mrs KAROUZOU assures me that she no longer feels the hesitation expressed in *Guide du Musée National*, p. 82.

Apollo<sup>1</sup>. It may be regarded as equally certain that our statue, in view of the proximity of its finding place and its great bulk, came from that temple. Its unweathered condition proves, moreover, that the statue stood under cover. PAUSANIAS, to be sure, mentions, in addition to the image by Euphranor which stood in the temple, other statues of Apollo by Leochares and by Kalamis; these stood in front of the temple, probably in its porch<sup>2</sup>. Yet the scale of our torso is so appropriate to the cella, which measured internally 8.64 × 9.285 metres, as to leave little doubt that it occupied the place of honor.

The drapery of our torso, which provides much the surest clue to its date, is matched, as we have seen above, in works datable to the middle and the third quarter of the fourth century. Such a dating would accord well with the association of the statue with the temple near which it was found, for that building may be assigned on the evidence of material, clamp forms and pottery to the latter part of the third quarter of the fourth century<sup>3</sup>. So dated, the statue would apparently fall late in the career of Euphranor whose floruit is given by PLINY (N. H., XXXIV, 50) as the 104th Olympiad (364-361 B. C.), but who lived to do Philip and Alexander in quadrigae, a commission which in all likelihood postdated Chaironeia (338 B. C.).

Since no other original work by Euphranor is known, and since the recognition of copies of his works has not progressed beyond the stage of merest possibilities, our only control on his style lies in the literary references. It may be said at once that the ancient authors would appear to conflict in no way with the attribution of the Apollo to Euphranor and would in some measure support it<sup>4</sup>. Euphranor is reported to have made other figures of colossal size, among them personifications of Virtue and of Greece<sup>5</sup>. The present colossal statue, remarkable for the simple clarity of its design, was certainly conceived with a sure feeling for the proprieties of scale. PLINY reports of Euphranor: «He appears to have been the first to bring out the dignity of heroes and to have mastered proportions, but his figures were too slight, their heads and limbs too large<sup>6</sup>».

1 Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp. 90 ff.

2 I, 3, 4: ταύτας τὰς γραφὰς (in the Stoa of Zeus) Εὐφροάνωρ ἔγραψεν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ πλησίον ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Πατροῶν ἐπίκλησιν· πρὸ δὲ τοῦ νεῶ τὸν μὲν Λεωχάρης, ὃν δὲ καλοῦσιν Ἀλεξίμακον Κάλαιμις ἐποίησε.

On the placing of the statues by Leochares and Kalamis cf. Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 109. Fragments from the drapery of a statue of Pentelic marble found on the steps of the temple in the course of its excavation differ slightly in surface finish from the great torso, nor has it been possible to fit them to the torso (*pace* N. VALMIN, Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund, 1933-1934, I, p. 3); they may therefore derive from one of the other statues (Hesperia, VI, 1937, p.

109, note 6). The same is true of the fragments of a kithara found in 1931 along the north side of the temple and discussed above (p. 37-38).

3 Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp. 102-104.

4 J. A. OVERBECK, Die antiken Schriftquellen, Leipzig 1868, Nos. 1785-1806. For recent discussions of Euphranor cf. especially F. P. JOHNSON, Lysippos, Durham 1927, pp. 40-48; PICARD, La Sculpture, III, pp. 853-878; LIPPOLD, Die griechische Plastik, pp. 260-261.

5 PLINY, N. H., XXXIV, 77; XXXV, 128.

6 N. H., XXXV, 128: *hic primus videtur expressisse dignitates heroum et usurpasse symmetriam, sed fuit in universitate corporum exilior et capitibus artiusculisque grandior.*



We do not know on what standard this criticism was based nor can we safely argue about the relative size of head and limbs since they are preserved only in the copies, nor, again, can we be sure of how widely the observation was intended to be applied by Pliny's source. It is worth noting, however, that the torso of our figure, as shown both by the original and by the copies (especially the two smaller ones), is markedly light in its proportions when compared with such massive contemporary creations as the Apollo Borghese<sup>1</sup>. Nor will anyone who has had the privilege of standing before our original ever forget its dignity, a quality which is again emphasized by comparison with the impetuously striding Apollo who stands in the Sala delle Muse of the Vatican (No 516) or with the lithe, nude Apollo of the Belvedere. One is reminded too of Fronto's implication that one could not conceive of Euphranor producing a wanton work<sup>2</sup>.

The attribution of the present statue to Euphranor is supported not least by its sheer quality: the sureness of the design, the masterly craftsmanship, the fresh and interesting treatment of a well worn theme. In these respects the work is worthy of an artist who was placed by the ancients in the very top rank, as a painter far exceeding all others of his generation, as a sculptor worthy to be grouped with Polykleitos and Praxiteles.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ausonia*, II, 1907, pls. VI, VII.

<sup>2</sup> Fronto, ad Marcum(?) I, ed. Haines, Loeb

*Classical Library*, vol. II, p. 48; OVERBECK, *Die antiken Schriftquellen*, No 1726.