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Studies in the Hellenistic Sculpture of the Island of Rhodes

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**STUDIES IN THE HELLENISTIC SCULPTURE
OF THE ISLAND OF RHODES**

by

Gloria S. Merker

April 1970

Submitted to the Faculty of Bryn Mawr College
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

ABSTRACT

The study of Hellenistic sculpture is often based upon its division into local schools centering around Pergamon, Alexandria and Rhodes. The underlying premise of the present study is that if a distinctly Rhodian Hellenistic school of sculpture existed, it should be possible to define its characteristics by means of a study of the extant sculpture of known Rhodian provenance, supplemented by the preserved statue bases. If it is not possible to demonstrate recurring technical, iconographic and stylistic traits within the Rhodian material, it may be assumed that the theory of regional schools should not be applied to Rhodes.

One hundred and sixteen pieces of sculpture are catalogued and discussed. They consist of sculptures in the Rhodes Archaeological Museum, and the Lindos excavation sculpture now in Copenhagen and Istanbul. The statue bases from Lindos are analyzed for the information they yield about the now missing statues they once held and about the sculptors who signed them. An attempt is then made to correlate the evidence of the extant sculpture with that of the statue bases, and to correlate the entire body of the material evidence with the literary sources.

The preserved marble sculpture is characterized principally by the frequent use of non-Rhodian marble, probably of Cycladic

origin, the rather small size of many pieces, the extensive and skilful use of the piecing technique, the employment of sometimes drastic undercutting for stylistic effect, and a general technical competence. A wide variety of types, stylistic devices and eclectic tendencies can be found, but several types known in multiple replicas can be isolated as specifically Rhodian creations. Most of the marble sculpture can be dated, mainly on stylistic grounds, to the late Hellenistic period. The statue bases give evidence of a continuous pattern of bronze votive and honorary portrait statuary from the fourth century into the first century of the Christian era. There is clear evidence of local sculptural production in the bronze portraits, which must have been locally produced because of their very nature, in the occasional use of local Rhodian stone, in the presence of multiple replicas of individual types, in the repetition of small stylistic and technical traits which allows some of the marble sculptures to be grouped into workshops, and in the epigraphic evidence of families of sculptors resident in Rhodes for several generations.

It is concluded that the sculptors, both Rhodian and foreign, producing statuary in Rhodes were working within and reflecting general Hellenistic sculptural trends, but with a definite strain of local originality, and influenced by local technical limitations. The statuary is best understood not as a school in the artistic sense, reflecting great works mentioned in

the literary sources, but as a highly competent substratum of sculpture produced for local votive, honorary and decorative needs and tastes.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations used in this paper are those listed in the American Journal of Archaeology 74 (1970) 3-8. In addition, the following abbreviations have been used for frequently cited works:

Adriani, Repertorio = A. Adriani, Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano (Palermo: 1961-date).

Bieber, Sculpture = M. Bieber, The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age, rev. ed. (New York: 1961).

Br.Br. = H. Brunn and F. Bruckmann, Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Skulptur (Munich: 1888-1947).

Carpenter, Greek Sculpture = R. Carpenter, Greek Sculpture (Chicago: 1961).

Clara Rhodos II = A. Maiuri, "Monumenti di scultura del Museo Archeologico di Rodi, I," Clara Rhodos Vol. II (Rhodes: 1931) pp. 7-76.

Clara Rhodos V, pt. 1 = G. Jacopi, "Monumenti di scultura del Museo Archeologico di Rodi, II," Clara Rhodos Vol. V, pt. 1 (Rhodes: 1931).

Clara Rhodos V, pt. 2 (citations to pp. 9-58) = G. Jacopi, "Monumenti di scultura del Museo Archeologico di Rodi, II (continuazione)," Clara Rhodos Vol. V, pt. 2

(Rhodes: 1932) pp. 9-58.

(citations to pp. 59-189) =

L. Laurenzi, "Monumenti di scultura del Museo Archeologico di Rodi, III, e dell'Antiquarium di Coo (sculture di Coo)," Clara Rhodos Vol. V, pt. 2

(Rhodes: 1932) pp. 59-189.

Clara Rhodos IX = L. Laurenzi, "Monumenti di scultura del Museo Archeologico di Rodi - IV e dell'Antiquarium di Coo - II," Clara Rhodos Vol. IX (Rhodes: 1938) pp. 9-121.

EA = P. Arndt and W. Amelung, Photographische Einzelaufnahmen antiker Skulpturen (Munich: 1893-1947).

EAA = Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, 7 vols. (Rome: 1958-1966).

Jacopi, Spedale = G. Jacopi, Lo Spedale dei Cavalieri e il Museo Archeologico di Rodi (Rome: 1932).

Lindos II = C. Blinkenberg, Lindos, fouilles de l'Acropole 1902-1914, II, Inscriptions (Berlin: 1941).

Lindos III = V. Poulsen, "Un Catalogue des sculptures trouvées sur l'Acropole," Lindos, fouilles de l'Acropole 1902-1914, III, pt. 2 (Berlin: 1960) pp. 539-562.

Lippold, Handbuch = G. Lippold, Die griechische Plastik (Handbuch der Archäologie), Munich: 1950.

Lullies and Hirmer, Greek Sculpture = R. Lullies and M. Hirmer, Greek Sculpture (New York: 1957).

Memorie = Memorie pubblicate a cura dell'Istituto Storico-Archeologico F.E.R.T. e della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per Rodi, 3 vols. (Bergamo: 1938).

Mendel, Catalogue = G. Mendel, Musées Impériaux Ottomans, Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines, 3 vols. (Istanbul: 1912-1914).

Pergamon = Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Altertümer von Pergamon (Berlin: 1885-1912).

Picard, Manuel = C. Picard, Manuel d'archéologie grecque. La Sculpture, 4 vols. (Paris: 1935-1963).

Reinach, RSGR = S. Reinach, Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine (Paris: 1897-1931).

Richter, Portraits = G.M.A. Richter, The Portraits of the Greeks, 3 vols. (London: 1965).

Richter, Sculpture and Sculptors = G.M.A. Richter, The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks (New Haven, Conn.: 1950).

Smith, British Museum = A.H. Smith, A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum, 3 vols. (London: 1892-1904).

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION--PRESENTATION OF THE PROBLEM

AND REVIEW OF THE SCHOLARSHIP

Hellenistic sculpture has proven difficult to keep under scholarly control because of the great length of the period, the vast geographical area involved, the large amount of sculpture preserved, the wide variety of types and styles in use, and the uncertain chronology. In response to the need to organize the material, the method of dividing the sculpture into regional schools, centering mainly around Pergamon, Alexandria and Rhodes, has evolved.¹ Archaeological discoveries at Pergamon have provided a large, although disparate, core of material, which has made possible the profitable study of the late Hellenistic sculpture of that site.² Much of the Hellenistic sculpture of Alexandria

¹The most influential publication advocating the theory of regional schools is Bieber's Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age, rev. ed. (New York: 1961). On the other side of the question, G.M.A. Richter, Three Critical Periods in Greek Sculpture (Oxford: 1951), argues strongly for the international unity of Hellenistic sculpture, within which many types and styles were shared. See especially her chapter II, "The Last Third of the Fourth Century B.C." D.K. Hill, in her review of Richter's book, AJA 57 (1953) 293-294, suggests that regional tendencies in the minor arts should also be brought into the sculptural picture.

²The entire scholarly literature on Pergamene sculpture cannot be cited here. The basic publication of the finds is in

has recently been collected and discussed by Adriani,³ who has expanded the evidence of material now in Egyptian collections by adding to it sculptures of reported Egyptian provenance preserved in foreign countries. Discussions of Rhodian sculpture, however, have seldom concentrated on the interesting but still partly unpublished body of material in the Rhodes Archaeological Museum, but have tended to emphasize works connected with Rhodes through ancient literary sources and rather tenuous stylistic and iconographic associations.

The underlying premise of the present study is that if a distinctly Rhodian Hellenistic school of sculpture existed, it should be possible to define its characteristics by means of a study of the extant sculpture of known Rhodian proven-

Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Altertümer von Pergamon (1885-1912); the pertinent volumes in the series are the following: H. Winnefeld, Die Frieze des grossen Altars (Vol. 3, pt. 2, 1910), and F. Winter, Die Skulpturen (Vol. 7, 1908). Surveys and references to more recent works can be found in A. Schober, Die Kunst von Pergamon (Vienna: 1951), and E. Rohde, Pergamon, Burgberg und Altar (Berlin: 1961). Among recent contributions are D. Haynes, "The Worksop Relief," JbBerliner Mus 5 (1963) 1-13; H. Lushey, "Der Kopf der Aphrodite aus dem grossen Fries von Pergamon," IstMitt 11 (1961) 1-4; idem, "Funde zu dem grossen Fries von Pergamon," BWPr 116 (1962) 1-33.

³A. Adriani, Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano (Palermo: 1961-date); Documenti e ricerche d'arte alessandrina. I. Sculture monumentali del Museo greco-romano di Alessandria (Rome: 1946); II. Testimonianze e monumenti di scultura alessandrina (Rome: 1948).

ance, supplemented by the many preserved statue bases. If it is not possible to demonstrate recurring technical, iconographic and stylistic traits within the Rhodian material, it may be assumed at least that the theory of regional schools does not apply to Rhodes, and at most that the regional method is not the best one for the organization of Hellenistic sculpture as a whole.

The first major publication to deal with sculpture of definite Rhodian provenance is the Clara Rhodos series,⁴ which presents the results of Italian excavations and restorations in the Dodecanese, and especially in Rhodes. Although the sculptural finds are given a great deal of attention, the discussion consists largely of aesthetic appreciation, and the poor quality of the illustrations hampers the scholar who cannot visit Rhodes and must study the sculpture through photographs.

The sculpture discovered in the course of Danish excavations on the acropolis of Lindos from 1902-1914, and now preserved in the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul, and the National Museum, Copenhagen, was not published until 1960.⁵ Before this date, the portion of the material preserved in Istanbul was known

⁴Istituto Storico-Archeologico di Rodi, Clara Rhodos, 10 vols. (Rhodes: 1928-1941). A few pieces of sculpture were published earlier by A. Maiuri, "Sculpture del Museo Archeologico di Rodi," ASAtene 4-5 (1921-1922) 233-248.

⁵V. Poulsen, "Un Catalogue des sculptures trouvées sur l'Acropole," Lindos III, pt. 2, pp. 539-562.

only through the information and small drawings published in Mendel's catalog of sculpture,⁶ and occasional brief mentions scattered through the literature. Apart from these two basic publications, small groups of sculptures found on Rhodes have been published sporadically, sometimes without complete information on the circumstances of discovery or technical details, by L. Laurenzi⁷ and, more recently, the Rhodian Ephoria.⁸ In view of the generally unsatisfactory publication of the sculpture from Rhodes, it is not surprising that scholars have not taken it into as full account as it deserves.

Although Rhodian Hellenistic sculpture is frequently mentioned in the scholarly literature, relatively few scholars have discussed it either comprehensively or in detail. General

⁶G. Mendel, Musées Impériaux Ottomans, Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines, 3 vols. (Istanbul: 1912-1914).

⁷"Sculpture di scuola rodia dell'ellenismo tardo," Studi in onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni, Vol. III (Milan: 1956), pp. 183-189; "Rilievi e statue d'arte rodia," RömMitt 54 (1939) 42-65; "Piccole sculture inedite di Rodi," ArchCl 10 (1958) 172-179; "Rodia, arte ellenistica," EAA Vol. 6, pp. 760-763.

⁸A few pieces of sculpture are included in each of the following excavation reports: Ergon 1957 (1958) 80-82; 1958 (1959) 172-175; Praktika 1955 (1960) 267-283; 1956 (1961) 214-222; Deltion 20 (1965) Χρόνικα, pp. 594, 602; 21 (1966) Χρόνικα, pp. 449-450, 455; 19 (1964) Χρόνικα, pp. 465, 467. In addition, see the "Chroniques des Fouilles" in BCH 91 (1967) and 92 (1968).

surveys of Greek sculpture or Hellenistic art, and also works presenting an overview of Rhodian civilization, frequently include chapters summarizing Rhodian Hellenistic sculpture, or cite the better-known pieces.⁹ This format, however, is seldom conducive to the presentation of new material or original arguments. In more detailed studies of non-Rhodian statuary, Rhodian sculpture and sculptors are sometimes cited, and a number of sculptures have been connected with Rhodes through stylistic or iconographic comparisons.¹⁰

The first scholar to devote a work exclusively to Rhodian sculpture was A. Lawrence,¹¹ who in 1925 collected together a number of sculptures of reported Rhodian provenance, and concluded that a distinctive Rhodian style, separate from that of other Hellenistic sculpture, could not be defined.

⁹For example, see W. Klein, Geschichte der griechischen Kunst, III, Die Kunst der Diadochenzeit (Leipzig: 1907), esp. chapters 2, pp. 31-74, and 9, pp. 304-326; G. Dickins, Hellenistic Sculpture (Oxford: 1920), chapter 3, "The Rhodian School," pp. 35-52; C. Karouzos, Ρόδος: ἱστορία - Μνημεῖα - Τέχνη (Athens: 1949), esp. pp. 43-56, 107-111; L. Alscher, Griechische Plastik, IV, Hellenismus (Berlin: 1957), esp. pp. 162-164; J.D. Beazley and B. Ashmole, Greek Sculpture and Painting to the End of the Hellenistic Period (Cambridge: 1966), esp. chapter 16, "The Pupils of Lysippos and the Rhodian School," pp. 71-78.

¹⁰References in the literature to individual Rhodian sculptures will be cited below, in the appropriate entries in the catalog of sculpture. Works attributed to or associated with Rhodes are listed in the Appendix, with bibliography.

¹¹"Rhodes and Hellenistic Sculpture," BSA 26 (1923-1925) 67-71.

The most valuable studies of Rhodian Hellenistic sculpture carried out thus far are those of L. Laurenzi,¹² who, through his participation in the Italian excavations in Rhodes, was able to study the monuments at first hand. He has recognized the need to take into account the large quantity of small sculpture found in Rhodes for the purpose of defining a Rhodian style.¹³ By grouping some of these pieces together with sculpture found on Kos, and with statuary connected with the Rhodian through stylistic or iconographic similarities, he has constructed a picture of the Rhodian Hellenistic style. According to Laurenzi,¹⁴ the principal manifestation of Rhodian style was probably to be seen in the unfortunately now lost bronzes, which may have owed their character to the tradition of Lysippos and his pupil Chares of Lindos, the sculptor of the Colossus of Rhodes. In the extant marble sculpture, Laurenzi has detected in some cases the dynamic qualities of the

¹²A complete list of Laurenzi's works pertaining to Rhodian sculpture is included in the bibliography appended to his "Rodia, arte ellenistica," EAA Vol. 6, pp. 760-763. In the present chapter, only his fuller expositions of the subject are cited.

¹³"Un Catalogo di piccole sculture," Colloqui del Sodalizio 2 (1951-1954) 132-134.

¹⁴As most clearly described in "Problemi della scultura ellenistica: la scultura rodia," RivIstArch 8 (1940) 25-44; and most recently in op. cit., note 12 above.

baroque style most closely associated with Pergamon, and, in the late Hellenistic period, elements of neo-classicism, archaism and mannerism.¹⁵ A quality he frequently stresses is "verismo virtuosistico," perhaps best understood as an intensification of realism for dramatic effect. He relates the Rhodian school to a larger, insular-Asiatic school, a position taken also by M. Bieber, who discusses the Rhodian school together with the sculpture of southwestern Asia Minor in chapter 9 of her survey of Hellenistic sculpture.¹⁶ Miss Bieber builds her Rhodian school from a variety of elements, giving particular emphasis to the Nike of Samothrace and the Muse types attributed to Philiskos of Rhodes, but includes few sculptures of secure Rhodian provenance.

The approach to Hellenistic sculpture in Rhodes through the development of an aesthetic system around a few pieces of Rhodian provenance to which other more or less related statuary is then added, may well have been taken as far as possible. New sculpture is rapidly being found in the course of salvage excavations in Rhodes, making increasingly feasible the method

¹⁵For the most detailed exposition of Rhodian mannerism, see L. Borelli Vlad, "Una Scuola di manieristi dell'ellenismo rodio-asiatico," RendLinc ser. 8 vol. 4 (1949) 336-351.

¹⁶Op. cit. (see note 1). A similar position is taken by G. Hafner, who, in chapter 1 of Späthellenistische Bildnis-Plastik (Berlin: 1954), groups Rhodian portraits with those of southern Asia Minor.

of studying Rhodian sculpture through examination of the material remains of known Rhodian provenance. The present study, because of its unavoidable limitations, is but a very small contribution. The most pressing need is for a proper publication, with good photographs and all technical details, of the entire body of material in the Rhodes Museum. With such a tool, scholars could more easily assess the place of Rhodian sculpture within the larger framework of Hellenistic art.

In the present work, the ancient literary sources are first listed; the extant sculpture is then cataloged. A discussion of the statue bases, a correlation of the various forms of evidence, and a consideration of the sculptors themselves follow.

CHAPTER II

THE ANCIENT LITERARY SOURCES

A. Literary references to Rhodian sculpture in general:

1. Pliny, Historia Naturalis xxxiv.36¹⁷

Rhodi etiamnum III signorum esse Mucianus ter cos. prodidit, nec pauciora Athenis, Olympiae, Delphis superesse creduntur.¹⁸

[Three thousand statues]¹⁹ are still to be seen at Rhodes, according to Mucianus, who was three times consul, and it is supposed that at least as many still remain at Athens, Olympia and Delphi.

¹⁷The Latin texts of Pliny in this chapter, ^{and the translations} are quoted from ~~the Loeb Classical Library edition, book xxxiv (H. Rackham, 1952) and book xxxvi (D.E. Eichholz, 1963).~~ K. Jex-Blake and E. Sellers, The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art (London: 1896). ~~is the source of the translations.~~

¹⁸Mucianus was consul in A.D. 52, 70 and 75, and therefore the information in this passage pertains to the first century A.D. Mucianus' account is based upon his own travels and observations - Jex-Blake, op. cit. (see note 17), pp. lxxxv-lxxxvii.

¹⁹Jex-Blake's Latin text accepts the probably corrupt reading LXXIII, and the unlikely translation, "seventy-three thousand," is given. The reading of the Loeb text has therefore been substituted here.

B. Literary references to specific works in Rhodes or by Rhodian sculptors:

1. Pliny, Hist. Nat. xxxiv. 41-42

Ante omnes autem in admiratione fuit Solis colossus Rhodi, quem fecerat Chares Lindius, Lysippi supra dicti discipulus, LXX cubitorum altitudinis fuit. Hoc simulacrum post LVI annum terrae motu prostratum, sed iacens quoque miraculo est. Pauci pollicem eius amplectuntur, maiores sunt digiti quam pleraeque statuae. Vasti spectus hiant defractis membris, spectantur intus magnae molis saxa quorum pondere stabiliverat eum constituens. Duodecim annis tradunt effectum CCC talentis quae contigerant ex apparatu regis Demetrii relicto morae taedio opsessa Rhodo. Sunt alii centum numero in eadem urbe colossi minores hoc, sed ubicumque singuli fuissent, nobilitaturi locum, praeterque hos deorum quinque quos fecit Bryaxis.

The most marvellous of all, however, is the statue of the sun at Rhodes, made by Chares of Lindos, a pupil of the Lysippos already mentioned. It was 70 cubits [102 feet] in height, and after standing for fifty-six years was overthrown by an earthquake, but even as it lies upon the ground it arouses wonder. Few men can clasp their arms around the thumb, its fingers are

taller than most statues and wide caverns gape within its broken limbs, while inside can be seen huge fragments of rock, originally used as weights to steady it. According to tradition, its construction lasted twelve years, and cost 300 talents ... contributed by the Rhodians out of the siege-train left with them by King Demetrios when he wearied of the siege of Rhodes. There are 100 smaller colossal statues in this city, any one of which would have made famous the place it adorned, besides five representing gods, made by Bryaxis.²⁰

2. Pliny, Hist. Nat. xxxiv. 44

Habent in eodem Capitolio admirationem et capita duo quae P. Lentulus cos. dicavit, alterum a Charete supra dicto factum ...

Two heads, also placed on the Capitol, deserve to be admired. They were dedicated by Publius Lentulus: one is the work of the Chares mentioned above ...

3. Pliny, Hist. Nat. xxxiv. 63

Nobilitatur Lysippus et temulenta tibicina et canibus ac venatione, in primis vero quadriga cum Sole Rhodiorum.

²⁰For other references to the Colossus, see the Appendix.

Lysippos has also won fame by his drunken flute-player, his dogs and huntsmen, and above all by the four-horse chariot and the figure of the sun made for the Rhodians.

4. Pliny, Hist. Nat. xxxiv. 140-141

Aristonidas artifex cum exprimere vellet Athamantis furorem Learcho filio praecipitato residentem paenitentia, aes ferrumque miscuit ut robigine eius per nitorem aeris relucente exprimeretur verecundiae rubor. Hoc signum exstat hodie Rhodi. Est in eadem urbe et ferreus Hercules, quem fecit Alkon laborum dei patientia inductus.

The artist Aristonidas in a statue representing Athamas after the murder of his son sought to depict fury giving place to repentance, and mixed copper and iron, that the rust might show through the metallic lustre of the copper and express the blush of shame; this statue exists to this day at Rhodes, where also is a Herakles which Alkon bethought himself to cast in iron, in allusion to the fortitude of the god under his labours.

5. Pliny, Hist. Nat. xxxvi. 34

... Zethus et Amphion ac Dirke et taurus vinculumque

ex eodem lapide, a Rhodo advecta opera Apolloni et Taurisci. Parentum hi certamen de se fecere, Menecraten videri professi, sed esse naturalem Artemidorum.

[In the gallery of Asinius Pollio] ... Zethos and Amphion, with Dirke, the bull and the cord, all carved out of one block. It is the joint work of Apollonios and Tauriskos, and was brought from Rhodes. These two sculptors occasioned a controversy as to their parentage, by declaring that Menekrates was their nominal, Artemidoros their real father.

6. Pliny, Hist. Nat. xxxvi. 34

Ad Octaviae vero porticum Apollo Philisci Rhodi in delubro suo, item Latona et Diana et Musae novem et alter Apollo nud^us.

Near the gallery of Octavia in the Temple of Apollo stands a statue of the god by Philiskos of Rhodes, together with Leto, Artemis, and the nine Muses and another nude Apollo.

7. Pliny, Hist. Nat. xxxvi. 35

... aliam Venerem eodem loco Philiscus ...

... a second Aphrodite in the same place is by Philiskos.

8. Pliny, Hist. Nat. xxxvi. 37

... sicut in Laocoonte, qui est in Titi imperatoris domo, opus omnibus et picturae et statuariae artis praeferendum. Ex uno lapide eum ac liberos draconumque mirabiles nexus de consili sententia fecere summi artifices Hagesander et Polydorus et Athenodorus Rhodi.

The Laokoon, in the palace of the Emperor Titus, a work superior to all the pictures and bronzes of the world. Out of one block of marble did the illustrious artists Hagesander, Polydoros, and Athanodoros of Rhodes, after taking counsel together, carve Laokoon, his children, and the wondrous coils of the snakes.

9. Lucian, Περὶ τῆς Συρίας Θεοῦ, 26²¹

Ἔδωκε δὲ οἱ βασιλεὺς ἀρετῆς τε καὶ εὐεργεσίας εἴνεκα ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ εἶσταναι χάλκεον· καὶ ἔτι ἐς τιμὴν ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ κομβάθος χάλκεος Ἑρμοκλέους τοῦ Ῥοδίου ποίημα μορφὴν μὲν ὀκοίη γυνή, ἐσθῆτα δὲ ἀνδρῆϊν ἔχει.

²¹C. Iacobitz, ed. Luciani Samosatensis Opera (Leipzig: 1861) Vol. 3, p. 353. Lucian was born ca. 120 A.D.

The king, because of his [Kombabos'] virtue and good service, set up a bronze statue in the temple. And still standing to his honor in the temple, the bronze figure of Kombabos, the work of Hermokles of Rhodes, has a form like a woman, but the clothing of a man.²²

10. Polybius, Ἱστορίαι xxi. 4²³

ὅτι Ῥόδιοι ... ἔπεμπον εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην πρεσβευτὰς
τοὺς περὶ κλεαγόραν, κάλυνδα μὲν ἀξιῶσοντας
σφίσι παραχωρηθῆναι, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἔχόντων
ἐν τῇ Λυκίᾳ καὶ Καρίᾳ κτήσεις αἰτησομένους
τὴν σύγκλητον, ἴν' αὐτοῖς ἔχειν ἐξῆ, καθὰ

²²My translation. Unfortunately, this passage cannot readily be used as documentary evidence. It describes the self-castration of Kombabos, a young associate of Seleukos Nikator of Syria, in order to avoid adultery with queen Stratonike, and the subsequent honoring of Kombabos by the king with a bronze statue erected in the temple of Hera at Hierapolis. The entire work to which this passage belongs is a parody of Herodotean style and language. It is possible that a statue signed by Hermokles of Rhodes (of whom we have no other evidence) did exist in the temple of Hera, as recorded by Lucian. The exact nature of this statue, if it was not a creation of Lucian's imagination, is rather difficult to determine. It is described as a woman in man's clothing, but in the next paragraph Lucian describes Kombabos as the founder of the Galli, a sect of eunuchs who wore woman's clothing. Pfuhl, in "Hermokles," RE VIII, p. 883, no. 2, remarks, "Ob die Statue ein reines Eunuchenporträt, wie die Bilder der ephesischen Megabyzoi, war, oder ob sie Züge des Hermaphroditenideals enthielt, kann fraglich sein."

²³T. Büttner-Wobst, ed., Polybii Historiae (Leipzig: 1904) Vol. 4, pp. 319-320. The passage cited is dated Olympiad 154, 1, or 164/3 B.C.

καὶ πρότερον. ἔφηφίσαντο δὲ καὶ κολοσσὸν στῆσαι
 τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερῷ
 τριακοντάπηχυν.

The Rhodians ... sent Cleagoras on an embassy to Rome to beg that Calynda might be ceded to them and to ask the Senate to allow those of their citizens who owned property in Lycia and Caria to hold possession of it as before. They also voted to erect in the temple of Athena a colossal statue of the Roman People thirty cubits high.²⁴

The relationship of the above literary references to the extant body of Rhodian Hellenistic sculpture, and the usefulness of the information contained in them, will be discussed in Chapter III, part 8. The present discussion is confined to a brief statement of the information revealed by the literary sources, as it pertains to Rhodian sculpture as a whole.

Most of the references to Rhodian sculpture appear in the Historia Naturalis of Pliny the Elder, dedicated to Titus in 77 A.D., one of the major ancient sources for the history of ancient sculpture. Of the other two writers who refer to the subject of Rhodian sculpture, Lucian also lived during the Roman Imperial period (born ca. 120 A.D.); only Polybius

²⁴The translation quoted is that of W.R. Paton, Polybius, the Histories (Cambridge, Mass.: 1954) Vol. 6, p. 171.

(ca. 200 - ca. 118 B.C.) actually wrote during the period with which this paper is concerned.

In the relatively few references to Rhodian sculpture in the extant ancient literature, the following points stand out:

1. The only period referred to in detail is the Hellenistic period; the earliest sculptor mentioned is Bryaxis, and the latest work mentioned belongs to the first century B.C.
2. Rhodes was the home of a large number of sculptures in the first century A.D.
3. Rhodes was also the home of several works famous in antiquity, and employed several artists of consummate skill.
4. Colossi and complex groups are emphasized.
5. Rhodian sculptors worked in both bronze and marble; they produced tours de force in both media - bronze statues of enormous size and marble groups cut from one piece of stone.
6. Rhodian sculptors carried out commissions outside Rhodes, and foreign sculptors worked in Rhodes.

CHAPTER III

THE MATERIAL EVIDENCE

1. Introduction

Following this introduction, Chapter III is divided into sections as follows: 2) a catalog describing Hellenistic sculpture of established Rhodian provenance; 3) an index to this catalog; 4) a list of Hellenistic sculpture of reported Rhodian provenance; 5) a summary of the evidence derived from the preserved sculpture alone; 6) a discussion of the preserved inscribed statue bases; 7) a correlation of the evidence of the sculpture and statue bases; and 8) a correlation of the material evidence with that of the ancient literary sources, which were outlined in Chapter II.

Part 2, the catalog of sculpture, requires some explanation. It includes material in the Rhodes Archaeological Museum, the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul, and the National Museum of Denmark in Copenhagen. The last two museums house the sculpture discovered in the Danish excavations at Lindos which were carried out from 1902-1914. The catalog has been assembled with certain limitations. In order to bring out the characteristics of Rhodian Hellenistic sculpture with the greatest possible clarity, it includes only sculpture of definitely established Rhodian provenance. A number of statuettes and fragments in museums and private collections

outside of Rhodes are thought to be of Rhodian provenance, but because of the possibility that some of these attributions may be incorrect, such pieces of sculpture are only listed at the end of the catalog. In a few cases, sculptures believed to be of Rhodian provenance are clearly related to sculpture in the catalog, and are discussed under the appropriate entries.

Material found in territories neighboring Rhodes has also been excluded from the catalog. During the Italian occupation of the Dodecanese, a portion of the sculptural material discovered on the island of Kos was stored and displayed in the Rhodes Museum together with sculpture found in Rhodes itself; the two groups of sculpture were also published together in Clara Rhodos. The Koan material has since been restored to its original home, but the impression lingers of a close association between the sculptures of the two islands. This impression reflects modern rather than ancient politics, since Kos was neither an incorporated nor a subject territory of Rhodes.²⁵ Since Kos did not have particularly close political ties with Rhodes, and Rhodes had commercial relations with other regions as well as Kos, there is no valid reason to study Koan sculpture together with the Rhodian as a single art. In the Rhodian peraea, excavation has as yet been very limited. To my knowledge, only a few Hellenistic sculptures from the

²⁵ P.M. Fraser and G.E. Bean, The Rhodian Peraea and Islands (Oxford: 1954) chapter 5.

peraia have been published.²⁶

Although the catalog is restricted to sculpture of secure Rhodian provenance, parallels of other provenances will be suggested, to help determine the place of Rhodian sculpture within the larger framework of Hellenistic statuary.

I have been able to examine directly about eighty-five percent of the sculpture treated in the catalog. The Rhodes Archaeological Museum had on display in the autumn of 1966 about 135 stone sculptures, dating from the archaic to the Roman periods. Of these, the largest proportion, about 110, is Hellenistic, or occasionally of Roman execution but Hellenistic iconographic derivation.²⁷ About 15 more marbles, most of them Roman, are exhibited in the Palace of the Grand Master. The catalog assembled here includes about ninety percent of this material. In selecting sculpture for the catalog, sculpture in the round has been emphasized. Reliefs are included only when they provide specific information in regard to a type sculptured in the round (e.g. the relief thought to represent Helios, catalog number 61), or when fragments of reliefs have been incorrectly published as sculpture in the round

²⁶ J.M. Cook and W.H. Plommer, The Sanctuary of Hemithea at Kastabos (Cambridge: 1966) pp. 44-45 and pl. 7.

²⁷ It must be stressed that the distinction between Hellenistic and Roman execution was often very difficult to make, since the sculptural tradition seems to have been continuous, and a good deal of the Rhodian material appears to belong to very late Hellenistic times.

(e.g. catalog number 96). The usually accepted chronological limits of the Hellenistic period, 330-30 B.C., have not been strictly adhered to, because of the apparent sculptural continuity in Rhodes. There is very little classical sculpture in the Rhodes Museum; a probably fourth-century piece (catalog number 45) has been included as an example of pre-Hellenistic work. Because of the general lack of reliable chronological information, a close dating of individual Rhodian sculptures has not been attempted. The term "late Hellenistic" refers in this study to the late second and the first centuries B.C.

Several sculptures which are too fragmentary or battered to offer useful information have also been excluded. I was able to view briefly a number of recently found sculptures which were not yet on display in the Museum, but since I could not study them closely, I did not venture to include them in the catalog. A few published pieces were not exhibited in the Museum, and I could not ascertain their present locations. Although I was therefore not able to examine them, they are included here on the basis of the published information. Since my visit to Rhodes, a few pieces of recently found sculpture have been published, with limited information,

²⁷ It must be stressed that the distinction between Hellenistic and Roman execution was often very difficult to make, since the sculptural tradition seems to have been continuous, and a good deal of the Rhodian material appears to belong to very late Hellenistic times.

in the Deltion and the BCH, Chroniques des Fouilles, and have been included in the catalog.

The sculpture in the Rhodes Museum is usually unnumbered in the display, and therefore the inventory numbers of unpublished pieces could not be recorded in the catalog. Also unavailable was information regarding the place and context of discovery of unpublished sculptures. Since such information could be extremely important for determining chronology and for solving iconographic problems, the reader should keep in mind that some of the unpublished sculpture may unavoidably have been misunderstood in this study. Perhaps it is significant, however, that even the well-controlled salvage excavations in and around the city of Rhodes do not offer much chronological information, because of the continuous building activity of mediaeval and modern times, and the consequent disturbance of ancient deposits.²⁸

In the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul, several sculptures were displayed too high for effective study, but fortunately they are well published. In the National Museum, Copenhagen, I was able to examine even the smallest fragments with care, through the courtesy of the curatorial staff.

The photographing of most of the sculpture in the Rhodes

²⁸G. Konstantinopoulos, "Rhodes: New Finds and Old Problems," Archaeology 21 (1968) 120, on the difficulties of excavating in Rhodes.

Museum was permitted, but occasionally the conditions of display or lighting precluded photography with the equipment at my disposal. In the Istanbul and Copenhagen Museums, the indoor lighting conditions forbade photography in most cases. Photographs of unpublished sculptures are not provided in this paper, although the fact that they were photographed is recorded. Unless otherwise stated, the photographs which are included are the work of Irwin L. Merker.

A few remarks on the mechanical aspects of the catalog may be helpful. An index has been appended to the catalog to aid in the location of specific entries and to give a quick, general idea of the range of types found in Rhodes. The sculpture is arranged typologically, in the following order: female figures (deities, other); male figures (deities, other); heads; portraits; other types (children, a horse). Entries for heads have been separated from torsos to keep figures with drapery in sequence. The height of unpublished sculptures in Rhodes was estimated in feet and inches, and then converted to the metric system. Life size was considered to measure about 1.60 meters. The words "right" and "left" refer to the proper right and left of the sculptured figure. When the viewer's right or left are meant, it is so specified. An evaluation of the quality of the workmanship of each piece is attempted, but only in very general terms; the quality of the sculpture is discussed in greater detail in part 5 of this

chapter. Each sculpture is discussed in as much detail as possible, within the limitations of the catalog format. The large number of entries and the wide range of types and styles made an exhaustive study of each piece impossible. In the case of frequently cited sculpture, such as, for instance, the Crouching Aphrodite (catalog number 14), no attempt has been made at a complete collection of bibliography. The most attention has been given to sculptures which may have been original Rhodian creations or derivatives thereof. For these, as many non-Rhodian replicas as possible have been collected. For other pieces, the catalog discussion has been limited to finding the proper place for the type in the general framework of Hellenistic sculpture.

A final word should be added concerning replicas. Pieces of sculpture identified in the catalog as replicas are usually not very close copies. However, in the Hellenistic period, copying was carried out free-hand, rather than by the pointing process known in Roman times, and exact, fold-for-fold correspondence should not be expected. Moreover, many of the Rhodian replicas are rather summary works, to which little attention was given. The intent of the sculptor has been sought, rather than his results. In Hellenistic drapery particularly, where there is such a variety of arrangements, the intention of a sculptor to copy a certain type can often be clearly seen, even when his copy was poorly executed. The term "adaptation",

with its implication of modifications made for a specific purpose, as in the "copies" of classical works brought to Pergamon, cannot be correctly applied to the Rhodian replicas.

CHAPTER III

THE MATERIAL EVIDENCE

2. Catalog of Hellenistic Sculpture of Established
Rhodian ProvenanceCATALOG NUMBERS 1-4 -- Aphrodite

Catalog numbers 1-4 are marble statuettes of a female figure seated on a rocky support. Although differing in size and in some details, the four appear to be replicas of the same prototype. They will therefore be discussed together, in an effort to determine as closely as possible the characteristics of the original.

1. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. 13614. Clara Rhodos V, pt. 2, no. 38, pp. 30-35, figs. 19-21, pls. 3-4 (Jacopi). Bieber, Sculpture, pp. 133-134, fig. 528. P. Moreno, "Tauriskos," EAA Vol. 7, pp. 628-629, fig. 748. F.L. Bastet, "Untersuchungen zur Datierung und Bedeutung der Tazza Farnese," BABesch 37 (1962) 1-24, esp. pp. 16-17, fig. 16. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (see figs. 1-3). Excavation find, May 1931 (?), in the city of Rhodes, near the Via del Generale Ameglio. No further details of discovery published. P.H. - 0.63m. (about 3/4 life size). White crystalline marble with slight rusty surface discoloration. Head, right arm, left elbow and forearm originally carved separately and dowelled in place,

now missing. Feet, plinth, portion of hem of garment broken off. A large cutting behind the left elbow may have held a dowel, perhaps to fasten the figure to a stationary surface, such as a wall. The back is very flat and almost without detail. The rear of the support is finished only with the punch. The workmanship is competent.

2. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. I. Kondis, "Ἀνασκαφικαὶ ἔρευναι εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῆς Ρόδου," Praktika 1956 (1961) p. 222 and pl. 107c. Not exhibited in Museum (not illustrated here). Accidental find, from Archangelos. P.H. - 0.56m. (about 1/2 life size). Marble, not further described in publication. Head, right arm, left forearm, feet, part of plinth, portion of hem of garment now missing; publication does not indicate whether these members were broken off, or were carved separately and attached. Piece broken from left knee. The published photograph is poor, and does not accurately show the quality of the workmanship.
3. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unknown to author. Unpublished. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (not illustrated here). Circumstances of discovery unknown to author. P.H. - ca. 0.50m. (about 1/2 life size). White crystalline marble with rusty surface discoloration. Right arm, left forearm originally carved separately and doweled in place, now missing. Head and neck, feet, por-

tion of plinth broken off. The back is fully rounded and fairly well finished, especially the surface of the rocky support. In general, however, the workmanship is rather summary.

4. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unknown to author. Unpublished. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (not illustrated here). Circumstances of discovery unknown to author. P.H. - 0.30m. (somewhat more than 1/4 life size). White crystalline marble with slight rusty surface discoloration. Left forearm originally carved separately and dowed in place, now missing. Head and neck, right arm, right foot, portion of plinth, right knee and part of thigh broken off. Left knee abraded. The severe break at the right shoulder may have obliterated a dowel cutting for the attachment of the right arm. The back is fully rounded and the major elements defined. The workmanship is rather summary.

The rocky support, common to all four statuettes, is rendered as a curving formation of stone, with a very shallow, shelf-like seat less than half way from the top, and a plinth at the bottom on which the feet rest. The figure perches, rather than sits, on the seat on her left side, leaning her left elbow on top of the rocky support, and pulling her legs sharply to the proper right side to rest her feet on the plinth. Thus the viewer, when regarding the torso frontally,

sees the side of the seat rather than its front. This "side-saddle" posture and the twisting of the legs away from the torso create an almost spiralling pose which is distinctive of the Rhodian statuettes and sets them apart from other Hellenistic seated types.

The torsion of the pose creates an atmosphere of restlessness, which is contradicted by the languid S-curve of the figure in the front view. In order to understand the composition as a whole, the viewer must move from the front of the figure to its proper right side. Two points of visual rest, necessary contrasts to the sharp movement of the legs, are created in the heavy fall of drapery at the proper left side and the concentration of weight on the left elbow. Catalog number 4 preserves the left foot, which points toward the plinth. Behind this foot, the stone is deeply undercut, creating heavy shadows and a lack of stability, both visual and actual, at the bottom of the statue.

Another distinguishing characteristic of the type is the drapery arrangement. The nude torso is framed by a sweep of heavy drapery. This scheme, already known in such fourth-century types as the Aphrodite of Arles,²⁹ contrasts the smooth and rounded female form with the angular folds of the cloth. The opaque mantle falls over the left shoulder and diagonally

²⁹Br.Br. 296.

across the back, and reappears around the right hip, where it billows away from the body. From the hip the cloth is carried over the legs; its upper edge is twisted into a thick roll, which ends in a pouch beside the left thigh. A mass of cloth appears from beneath the pouch and cascades over the rocky support, barely reaching the plinth. At the left shoulder, the tip of the mantle bunches and falls over the upper arm in a brief "sleeve." The cloth continues its course along the torso, but is interrupted at the left elbow, under which it is tucked to form a cushion. From the elbow, the mantle continues to the lap, where it disappears under the folds coming from the opposite side of the figure.

In two respects the arrangement of the garment is somewhat irrational: the relationship between the pouch and the cascade of cloth which seems to emanate from it is clear only in catalog number 4, where the cascade is more logically part of the cloth on which the figure sits; it is also difficult to reconcile the tight roll of cloth across the lap, which suggests a stationary pose, with the billow of cloth beside the right hip, which suggests swift movement. It is possible that these irrational qualities of the drapery are in part due to copyists' misunderstandings, and were not inherent in the prototype.

The folds consist of a series of deeply cut diagonal furrows, which emphasize the tight stretch of cloth from leg to

leg, and arrowhead folds, which indicate the contrasting slackness of the cloth over the lap. The deep undercutting behind the ankles and under the skirt creates heavy shadows, accentuating the dramatic handling of the garment.

The surface treatment of the nude torso in all four replicas is rather broad, in contrast to the strongly modelled and shadowed drapery. Catalog number 1 has a light but clearly perceptible shine over the nude areas. In catalog numbers 1 and 2, the navel is large and deeply cut, as if to create a point of contrast in the relatively smooth torso. The navel of catalog number 1 is further accentuated by an unrealistic ring of muscle around it, perhaps the copyist's incorrect rendering of more subtle modelling in the original. In proportions, the torso is long, the shoulders and rib cage rather narrow, and the breasts compact and placed high.

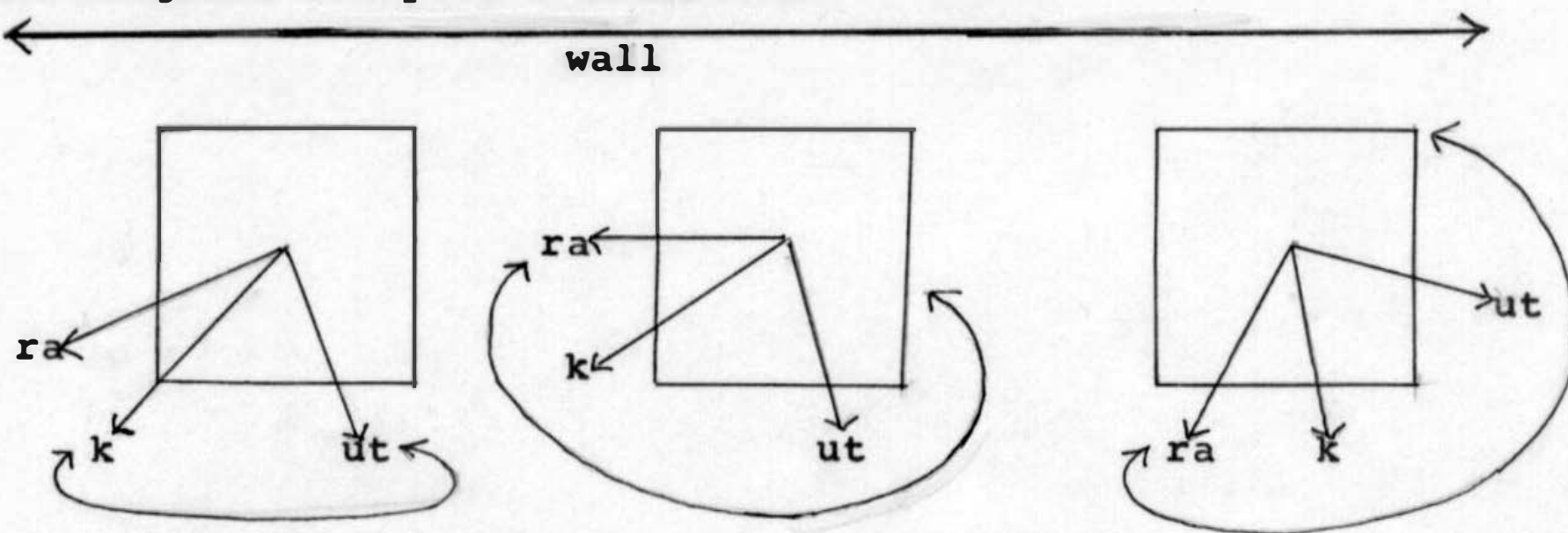
There is little physical evidence in any of the replicas for the reconstruction of the missing elements of the type. All four are lacking the same vulnerable limbs, the head and arms. Although in some statues the tension of the neck muscles may indicate the position of the missing head, the musculature of our figures is treated so summarily that the lack of muscular tension in the neck does not rule out a sharply turned head. The stump of the right arm is best preserved in catalog numbers 1 and 3; it indicates that the upper arm was outstretched to the side at the level of the shoulder.

The forearm and hand could either have formed a continuous horizontal extension of the upper arm, or could have been bent at the elbow to reach toward the head.³⁰ The position of the left arm is best known through catalog numbers 1, 3 and 4, in which it is preserved to the middle of the forearm. The left arm was bent at the elbow; the forearm rested horizontally on top of the rocky support. The hand may have held a small object, or perhaps drooped loosely from the wrist. The entire left foot is preserved only in catalog number 4, where it points downward, the toes touching the plinth. The sole of the sandal is preserved, but the straps were apparently painted. The same replica also preserves the heel of the right foot, which rested flat on the plinth, pointing in about the same direction as the right arm.

Which of the replicas is closest to the original? Catalog number 1 is by far the largest and most carefully finished, but nevertheless it is probably the furthest of the four replicas from the prototype. The sculptor of catalog number 1 was confused by the drapery at the left side, since he executed the pouch as a flat fold, and gave the cascade an unrealistic diagonal direction. He seems to have flattened

³⁰Jacopi, op. cit. (see p. 26), p. 35, suggests that the right hand arranged the hair, while the left hand held a mirror. Although this is a plausible suggestion, there is no direct evidence in the preserved sculptures to reconstruct a bent arm rather than an outstretched one.

a patently three-dimensional composition into two, probably intending it to be placed in a niche or against a wall,³¹ to which it may have been attached by a tenon at the left elbow. The diagrams below are schematic illustrations of the compositions of replicas 1, 3 and 4, as they are displayed in the Museum. The arrows indicate the directions of the limbs; the arc encloses the area in which the viewer can best understand the composition. The diagrams show that replica 1 is understandable from viewing points along only one side. When the viewer moves to the right of the area enclosed by the arc, the figure seems to merge with the support (fig. 3). In numbers 3 and 4, the viewing field is larger and the visual possibilities of the composition better realized. They may therefore be closer to the original sculptor's intention.



ra = right arm; k = knees; ut = upper torso.

³¹Jacopi, op. cit. (see p. 26), p. 33.

There are numerous Hellenistic seated female sculptural types, but few closely parallel the Rhodian. In many of these figures, the torso is turned at an angle to the legs, and the elbow leans on top of the support, but the legs are usually relaxed and in the same plane as the torso. The twisted "side-saddle" posture of the Rhodian type is relatively rare. The best compositional parallels are the following:

Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, 1003

Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, 746

Athens, National Museum, 380

Naples, National Museum, 6002 (Dirke, Farnese Bull group)

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 03.750

Kos, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. unknown to author.

The first two parallels, both from the Priene excavations, are the most informative. Istanbul 1003 was found in the Hellenistic house west of house number xxix.³² The pose agrees very

³²T. Wiegand and H. Schrader, Priene, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1895-1898 (Berlin: 1904) pp. 321, 372 and fig. 469 on p. 373. This publication is hereafter cited Priene. Mendel, Catalogue, Vol. II, pp. 101-102, no. 360. The house number is incorrectly given as xxxix in Priene, p. 372, and Mendel repeats the error. The correct xxix appears in Priene, p. 321, where the house and its contents are discussed. When fire destroyed both houses, the statuette is thought to have fallen from an upper storey together with other objects. Istanbul 1003 is smaller than any of the Rhodian replicas. P.H. - 0.46m. White crystalline marble. Front portion of right foot originally carved separately and dowed in place, now missing. Top of head, right forefinger, fingers of left hand broken off. Left side marred by calcified incrustations. Traces of burning. Bieber,

well with that of the Rhodian statuettes. The legs twist away from the torso to the proper right; the sandalled right foot is seen in profile, its sole resting flat on the plinth; only the ball of the left foot touches the plinth; the left elbow is propped on the rocky support. The statuette is important because it not only repeats the pose and drapery arrangement of the Rhodian figures, but also preserves the head and arms, which must be reconstructed in the Rhodian pieces.

The head of the Priene statuette is turned to the proper right. The right arm is fully outstretched at shoulder level in the same direction as the right knee. The head faces approximately the same direction as the left knee. Mendel suggested that the eyes regarded an object at which the right forefinger pointed. However, if this were the case, one would expect more coordination between head and hand than actually exists in the statuette. Moreover, the missing forefinger may not have been pointing, but curved downward, parallel to the other fingers.³³ Such a relaxed gesture of the hand can be explained

Sculpture, p. 104, does not connect the Priene statuettes with the Rhodian type, but considers them "original small creations of minor but gifted artists."

³³Mendel's drawing depicts a broken but clearly pointing forefinger. This seems to me to be an error, perhaps committed because the drawing seems to be derived from the photograph of the piece published in Priene, rather than from direct examination. A careful look at the fingers of the right hand revealed to me a strut connecting the smallest finger to the anular finger; the latter is

if it is assumed that the upper end of such an object as a short staff or scepter rested against the palm of the hand, held in place by the weight of the hand pressing it against the plinth.³⁴ Unfortunately, the plinth is not sufficiently preserved in any of the replicas to show if it was long enough to accommodate such an object. The remains of the fingers of Istanbul 1003 indicate that the left hand drooped gracefully from the wrist.

The thick surface incrustation hides the details of the face, but as far as they are visible, the features appear to be classicizing in style. The hair, crowned by a low, crescent-shaped stephane, is waved back from the temples into a round bun at the nape. The head seems to be generally similar, in the style of the face and the arrangement of the hair, to the Aphrodite of Capua.³⁵

The second parallel from Priene, Istanbul 746, was found

connected to the thumb with a longer strut, at the center of which begins a third strut to the middle finger. At the other side of the middle finger is part of the strut which once supported the missing forefinger. The remains of this strut indicate that the forefinger curved downward, parallel to the other fingers of the same hand.

³⁴Cf. Athena's right arm and hand on a silver cup from the Hildesheim treasure. A good photograph appears in A. Ippel, "Guss und Treibarbeit in Silber: Untersuchungen zu antiken Modellabgüssen des Pelizaeus-Museums," BWPr 97 (1937) pl. 4.

³⁵Br.Br. 297.

in house number xxix.³⁶ Although not as well preserved, it is clearly very similar to 1003 in composition and the style of the head. If the statuettes from Priene and Rhodes are really replicas of the same prototype, as they appear to be, we may assume that each of the Rhodian figures originally had a classicizing head turned to the proper right, away from the direction of the torso, a right arm outstretched to the side in its full length, a right hand resting flat upon the top of such an object as a staff or short scepter, and a left hand gracefully drooping from the wrist. The original composition was three-dimensional, moving in more than one plane, but not enclosing space within itself. The spiralling motion anticipated in the twisted legs is, in fact, not continued in the shoulders and head, both of which lack the turn to the proper left necessary to complete the spiral. The composition is therefore an open one which lacks a firm central axis. The chronological place of this type will be discussed later.

Several scholars have attempted to date the sculptural type now in question. Mendel dates the Priene statuettes to the third-second centuries B.C., presumably on general stylistic

³⁶Priene, p. 372 and fig. 468 on p. 373; Mendel, Catalogue, pp. 102-103, no. 361. P.H. - 0.33m. Both arms, right foot, much of the plinth, and portions of the locks of hair which (in this replica only) waved down to the shoulders, broken off. Almost the entire surface is incrustated and discolored by fire.

grounds, since he does not offer specific evidence. Jacopi does not give an exact date for catalog number 1, but seems to suggest the late Hellenistic period.³⁷ Gullini proposes a date a little after the middle of the second century B.C., citing the relief-like impression and frontal composition of catalog number 1, which he attributes to the classicizing spirit of the period.³⁸ Kondis mentions the existence of more than one replica, and suggests that they belong to the first half of the first century B.C.³⁹ He does not offer specific information to support his theory, but perhaps it is derived from as yet unpublished chronological information obtained during the discovery of catalog number 3 or 4. Bieber suggests a date of about 100 B.C., on the basis of the analogy between catalog number 1, which she considers an original work of Apollonios and Tauriskos, and the Dirke of the Farnese Bull group.⁴⁰

³⁷Op. cit. (see p. 26), p. 35.

³⁸"Su alcune sculture del tardo ellenismo," Arti Figurative 3 (1947) 66. In this case, the flatness and frontality may be due to the practical necessity of displaying the figure in a niche or against a wall, rather than to deliberate efforts at classicizing.

³⁹Op. cit. (see p. 27), p. 222.

⁴⁰Sculpture, pp. 133-134. The basis for her discussion is B. Schweitzer, "Die Dirke in Anlehnung an eine in spät-hellenistischer Nachbildung erhaltene Nymphe gebildet," Winckelmannsblatt Leipzig (1940). The same position is taken by Moreno in EAA Vol. 7, pp. 628-629. The Dirke parallel will be discussed again below.

The objective chronological evidence available from the Priene excavation should probably be considered at this time. Since the two houses in which the statuettes were found were destroyed in the same conflagration, their contents may offer some indications of date.⁴¹ The contents of the houses were not fully catalogued or illustrated, but the coins, normally the most reliable chronological indicators, have been studied by K. Regling in a separate publication.⁴² In house xxix was found a hoard of 329 coins, most of them illegible bronze issues of Priene. Four magistrate names were recognized, all on local coins of the same type, dated about 150-125 B.C.⁴³ In addition, the hoard contained a cistophoros of Tralles, dating to that city's Pergamene period, 189-133 B.C.,⁴⁴ and a silver coin of Rhodes, thought to date about 166-88 B.C.⁴⁵

⁴¹Priene, pp. 321, 327-328.

⁴²Die Münzen von Priene (Berlin: 1927).

⁴³Ibid., pp. 171-172 (Treasure II), and pp. 88-90, nos. 148-167. B.V. Head, Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Ionia [in the British Museum] (London: 1892) p. 233, nos. 44-51, dates the same type with the same magistrate signatures in the second century B.C. or later. Regling's dating of the local Priene coinage has been called too low by about a quarter century -- G. Kleiner, "Priene," RE Suppl. 9 (1962) 1219.

⁴⁴Regling, op. cit. (see note 42), pp. 171, 183. B.V. Head, Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Lydia [in the British Museum] (London: 1901) pp. cxxxv-cxxxvi.

⁴⁵Regling, op. cit. (see note 42), pp. 171, 182. The coin is

According to Regling's numismatic chronology, the hoard could have been buried no earlier than 150, the earliest date of the latest series of coins in it. On this basis, the fire which destroyed the house and buried the statuette could not have occurred before 150. However, allowing for the uncertainty of the chronology of local Prienian and Rhodian coins, it is probably best in this case to rely more heavily upon the date of the coin of Tralles, which could not, on historical grounds, fall outside the limits of 189-133, and to date the burial of the hoard no earlier than 189. The terminus post quem of the fire is therefore 189, and the statuette was in current use in 189 or later. It is not possible to know how old the statuette was at the time of the fire, but since two such statuettes were discovered in two different houses destroyed by the same fire, it is more likely that they were objects of current fashion than survivals from an earlier period. In the present state of knowledge, the date of the Priene statuettes seems to lie within the second century B.C. Their prototype would belong in the same period or earlier.

Another replica of the same type, Athens, National

compared to B.V. Head, Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Caria and the Islands [in the British Museum] (London: 1897) p. 257, no. 299, which is dated ca. 166-88 B.C. The important Rhodian Hellenistic coinage has unfortunately not yet been given the careful study it needs, and this date must therefore be considered tentative.

Museum, 380,⁴⁶ may shed some light on the chronological problem. It is an unfinished, probably funerary statue found on Rheneia, and has been dated to 88 B.C., since the sculptor seems to have been at work on the piece when Delos was sacked in that year, in the course of the Mithridatic Wars.⁴⁷ Clothed in a chiton under the mantle, lacking a stephane, and somewhat awkward in proportions and posture, the figure very accurately repeats the composition and draping of the mantle of the Rhodian statuettes. It seems, therefore, that by 88 B.C. the type was sufficiently well known to be adapted, with dress appropriately altered, to a use as far distant from the original as a funerary statue. The prototype should therefore date well before 88 B.C.

The analogy between catalog number 1 and the Dirke of the Farnese Bull group, which led Bieber to attribute catalog number 1 to Apollonios and Tauriskos, may perhaps have a chrono-

⁴⁶Lippold, Handbuch, p. 370; S. Papaspiridi, Guide du Musée National, Marbres, bronzes et vases (Athens: [1927]) p. 102; better descriptions appear in V. Stais, Marbres et bronzes du Musée National (Athens: 1910) pp. 88-89, and P. Kavvadias, Γλυπτά τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Μουσείου (Athens: 1890-1892) pp. 254-255. S. Karouzou, Ἐθνικὸν Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Μουσεῖον. Συλλογὴ Γλυπτῶν (Athens: 1967) p. 174, no. 380. The technical aspects of the statue were most recently discussed by S. Adam, The Technique of Greek Sculpture in the Archaic and Classical Periods (London: 1966) pp. 104-105. G.M.A. Richter, Sculpture and Sculptors, pl. 497, fig. 437.

⁴⁷However, Karouzou, op. cit. (see note 46) p. 174, dates the statue to the second century B.C.

logical implication. The two sculptors, Rhodian by adoption, may have adapted into their group an earlier Rhodian type with which they were well acquainted.⁴⁸ If our female type can be considered inspiration for a group dated about 100 B.C., we may have one more indication that the type already existed in the second century B.C.

The two remaining parallels are not informative with regard to chronology. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 03.750, is preserved only from the hips to the ankles, which is sufficient to show, however, that the arrangement of the legs and drapery is the same as that of the Rhodian statuettes.⁴⁹ If the upper portion, now missing, was true to the type, this figure would be the largest of the preserved replicas. It was purchased in Florence, and is dated "Hellenistic period, though the

⁴⁸If one removes mentally the restored upper torso of the Dirke, the similarity between the two figures is rather striking, especially in the arrangement of the drapery. However, Dirke's right leg is drawn much further to the proper right, and the entire lower composition is much more contorted. The photograph in Lippold, Handbuch, pl. 135, 1, is taken from an angle which shows the contortion of the legs very clearly.

⁴⁹L.D. Caskey, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture (Cambridge, Mass.: 1925) pp. 112-113, no. 53. P.H. - 0.58m. The published photograph does not show the cascade of drapery over the rock. Since the fragmentary sculpture is broken all around, it is not surprising that it is displayed in the gallery at a slightly incorrect angle. Hence the parallel is not convincing from the photograph alone. Upper torso, rear portion, left foot originally carved separately and attached, now missing.

type may have originated in the second half of the fourth century."⁵⁰ A small and poorly preserved statuette in the Kos Archaeological Museum may also be of the same type.⁵¹

Stylistic relationships to other female types may serve as further chronological indicators. The nude female torso framed by heavy drapery is first known in the fourth century, in the Praxitelean Aphrodite of Arles.⁵² The fourth-century Aphrodite of Capua type,⁵³ which has been connected with the Lysippan tradition because of her space-enclosing gesture, and the probably second-century Aphrodite of Melos⁵⁴ are further developments of the same general type. The Rhodian statuettes, although seated, are connected with this tradition through their similar approach to the nude female figure.

torso, and narrow, rather angular hips. Among the numerous sculptures with similar proportions, the fourth-century Aphrodite of Capua type combines these proportions with the draping of the lower part of the figure only.⁵⁵ Another similar type, an Aphrodite leaning on a dolphin support, is variously dated to the fourth century or the Hellenistic period.⁵⁶ The later date would place it in the same tradition as the Rhodian statuettes, combining fourth-century typological and facial reminiscences with a late Hellenistic compositional scheme and rendering of the body and drapery.⁵⁷ G. Kraemer places figures with long, narrow torsos in his third period, which he dates to the second half of the second

⁵⁵Lippold, Handbuch, p. 298, n. 9, suggests the comparison between the Rhodian type and the Aphrodite of Capua.

⁵⁶For the replicas of the type, see especially J.J. Bernoulli, Aphrodite: ein Baustein zur griechischen Kunstmythologie (Berlin: 1873) pp. 373-376, and Amelung's discussion of EA 1542. On the basis of the style of the head and the similarity of the drapery arrangement to the Aphrodite of Arles, the type has usually been dated to the fourth century, and sometimes connected with Praxiteles. But certain un-Praxitelean characteristics were noted long ago. W. Klein, citing the rhythm of the composition, placed the figure in his Rococco -- Vom antiken Rokoko (Vienna: 1921) p. 99. B. Ashmole, discussing a replica in Ince Blundell -- A Catalogue of the Ancient Marbles at Ince Blundell Hall (Oxford: 1929) pp. 20-21, no. 36 -- retained a fourth-century date, but noted the unusually high placement of the breasts.

⁵⁷For a similar tradition in male figures, see B.S. Ridgway, "The Date of the So-called Lysippean Jason," AJA 68 (1964) 113-128. For a general discussion of this trend, see Carpenter, Greek Sculpture, chapter 8.

century B.C.⁵⁸ Compositionally, the Rhodian type finds its best parallel in a late Hellenistic standing figure, the Aphrodite of Melos, with its broken lines and the turn of the legs away from the torso.⁵⁹ Consonant with a late Hellenistic date for the Rhodian statuettes are the dramatic handling of the drapery, the rich use of arrowhead folds, the heavy shadows surrounding the folds, and the deep cutting around the legs and under the hem.

The Rhodian type has been identified both as a nymph and Aphrodite. Mendel thought the figure represented Aphrodite because of the imperious quality of her pointing gesture. Although it now seems that she is not pointing, her attitude of very dignified femininity does indeed suggest divinity. The stephane, which may crown any one of several goddesses, does not necessarily indicate divinity,⁶⁰ but the combination of stephane and semi-nudity suggests that the figure can be identified as Aphrodite. Jacopi,⁶¹ lacking head, arms or attributes to assist him, suggested with hesitation that the figure

⁵⁸ "Stilphasen der hellenistischen Plastik," RöMitt 38-39 (1923-1924) esp. p. 180.

⁵⁹ The Melian Aphrodite is also similar to the Rhodian type in the baring of the torso and the classicizing of the face, but the proportions of the torso are different.

⁶⁰ D.B. Thompson, Troy: The Terracotta Figurines of the Hellenistic Period (Princeton: 1963) p. 49.

⁶¹ Op. cit. (see p. 26), pp. 30, 35.

represents Aphrodite. Kondis offered a choice of either identification.⁶² Bieber also mentions both possibilities, without choosing between them.⁶³ The problem of identification might be solved if more were known about the contexts in which the statuettes were found. The Priene replicas were found in private houses, but statuettes of either nymphs or Aphrodite would have been appropriate decorations in homes. In recent years, several Hellenistic nymphaea with statue niches have been found on Rhodes,⁶⁴ and one would therefore expect that the Rhodian repertoire would have included a number of Hellenistic nymph types. It is not certain, however, if the type now in question was one of them.

The identification of the type as Aphrodite has been chosen for this catalog. Another female type very similar in proportions and drapery is known to be Aphrodite because she leans on a dolphin support (see above, note 56). Other semi-draped figures seated on rocky supports, although not in the same twisted posture, can be identified as Aphrodite

⁶²Op, cit. (see p. 27), p. 222.

⁶³Sculpture, p. 133. Bastet, op. cit. (see p. 26), makes a rather unconvincing comparison between catalog number 1 and one of the horai of the tazza Farnese, pointing to the one-sidedness of the composition (which is not, in fact, true) and the arrangement of the drapery.

⁶⁴G. Konstantinopoulos, op. cit. (see note 28), pp. 118-119.

with certainty because of the presence of Eros.⁶⁵

The prototype of the Rhodian and Prienian replicas may have originated in Rhodes, since the replicas from Priene are both fewer and smaller. Moreover, the Dirke of the Farnese Bull group, which was taken from Rhodes by the Romans, is connected with our type, suggesting that there may have been a special interest in the type locally. The example from Delos is highly derivative; the one from Kos is very small, and is unique, to my knowledge, among the hundreds of marble statuettes in the Kos Archaeological Museum and its storerooms. The probable replica in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, which is the largest, cannot, unfortunately, be connected with an original provenance. Its purchase in Florence suggests discovery in Italy, but it could have been brought to Italy from elsewhere in ancient times.

In summary, catalog numbers 1-4 appear to be replicas of a statue of Aphrodite created in Rhodes in the second century B.C. It is unfortunately not possible to determine with certainty whether the original was of marble or bronze,

⁶⁵EA 283-284. Similar figures appear in the minor arts, e.g. a terracotta figurine from Myrina, S. Mollard-Besques, Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terra-cuite grecs et romaine II. Myrina (Paris: 1963) p. 29, no. MYR 45, pl. 32e. The general problems of the identification and chronology of Aphrodite types and their relationships to one another cannot be treated in the context of this catalog. The identification of the present type as Aphrodite does not exclude the possibility that some of the replicas may have been intended to represent nymphs.

although the horizontally outstretched arm, lacking any support except at the hand, and also the deep undercutting around the ankles, suggest that the original sculptor was thinking in terms of the lighter material, bronze. It is not impossible that the prototype was a bronze figure seated on a natural rock, a combination for which there seems to be evidence on Rhodes.⁶⁶

⁶⁶At Cameiros, there are about six bases, most of them un-inscribed, carved to imitate natural rocky formations. To my knowledge, these bases have not been published. They usually have either very small cuttings for attachments, or no visible cuttings at all. Several of them are so irregular in shape that they may have served as seats for statues of a lightweight material, such as bronze, rather than as pedestals for standing figures. I observed another such base on the acropolis of Lindos, un-inscribed and to my knowledge not published. It was shaped like an irregular cylinder with a flat projection at the bottom to one side, like a footrest; it is possible that it originally held a seated bronze figure.

CATALOG NUMBERS 5-9 -- Aphrodite

Catalog numbers 5-9 are marble statuettes representing a standing, draped female type. They are replicas of the same prototype, and will therefore be discussed together.

5. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished.

L. Laurenzi, "Sculture di scuola rodia dell'ellenismo tardo," Studi in onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto

Paribeni, Vol. III (Milan: 1956) pp. 183-189, esp. p.

187 and fig. 4 on p. 188 (hereafter cited, Laurenzi,

Sculture). Exhibited in Museum, photographed (see

figs. 4-5). Circumstances of discovery not published.

P.H. - 0.60m. (somewhat less than 1/2 life size). White

crystalline marble, with slight rusty surface discolora-

tion. Left arm from biceps, part of mantle at left side,

feet, part of garment hem broken off. Right shoulder

and arm originally carved separately and dowelled in

place, now missing. Head and neck originally carved

separately and set into cavity cut between shoulders,

now missing. Traces of fingers appear on left hip.

The back is quite flat and finished only with the punch.

The workmanship is otherwise of fairly good quality.

6. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unknown to

author. Unpublished. Exhibited in Museum, photographed

(not illustrated here). Circumstances of discovery un-

known to author. P.H. - ca. 0.75m. (about 1/2 life size).

Greyish-white marble. Head, right shoulder and arm, left hand, right knee, feet, part of garment hem broken off. Traces of fingers appear on left hip. The surface is chipped and abraded. The back is completely flat, with a fairly smooth finish. The workmanship is of fair quality.

7. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. L. Laurenzi, "Rilievi e statue d'arte rodia," RömMitt 54 (1939) 42-65, esp. p. 57 and fig. 16, 2 (hereafter cited, Laurenzi, Rilievi). Exhibited in Museum, photographed (see fig. 6). Circumstances of discovery unpublished. P.H. - 0.55m. (somewhat less than 1/2 life size). Greyish-white crystalline marble.⁶⁷ Head, front of left shoulder, smallest finger of left hand, feet, part of garment hem broken off. Three fingers of left hand preserved but abraded. Right arm originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. The back is flattened, the contours only slightly rounded, and a few of the major drapery folds indicated. The workmanship is summary.
8. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unknown to author. Unpublished. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (not ill-

⁶⁷ Laurenzi called the material island marble, but it is rather grey in color, and is perhaps closer in color and texture to the local Rhodian marble.

ustrated here). Circumstances of discovery unknown to author. P.H. - ca. 0.60m. (about 1/2 life size).

White crystalline marble, with slight rusty surface discoloration. Torso preserved from shoulder to knees.

Right breast, shoulder and arm, part of mantle at right side, left hand broken off. Left elbow and adjacent drapery, forearm badly battered. Head and neck originally carved separately and set into cavity cut between shoulders, now missing. Traces of fingers appear on left hip. The back is flat and is finished only with the punch. The workmanship is summary.

9. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unknown to author. Unpublished. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (not illustrated here). Circumstances of discovery unknown to author. P.H. - ca. 0.75m. (somewhat less than 2/3 life size). Greyish-white crystalline marble. Figure preserved from waist to plinth. Left wrist and hand preserved, but fingers broken and abraded. Both feet, left leg from ankle to calf, much of garment hem, part of mantle at right side broken off. The back is flattened and the contours only slightly rounded; it is finished only with the punch. The workmanship is of fair quality.

The statuettes represent a standing, draped female figure. The weight is carried on the straight left leg; the left hip is swung outward. The right foot is drawn back slightly, and

the knee bent. The right arm is not preserved in any of the above replicas. Since there are no traces of this arm or hand on the drapery, and the right shoulder of catalog number 7 is raised, the arm was probably outstretched to the side, and perhaps even somewhat raised above shoulder level. The left arm is bent at the elbow, which is pulled back sharply so that the bosom is projected forward. The left hand, fingers outspread, rests on the left hip. The palm of the hand may rest against the hip, as in catalog number 5, or the wrist may be bent, as in numbers 7 and 9, so that only the fingertips touch the hip. The drapery is best understood in catalog number 5, which is the most skilfully carved of the group. The undergarment is a transparent chiton, very long at the hem and trailing over the feet. The girdle, knotted at the center, is worn under the breasts; folds of cloth puff out over the girdle at each side, forming small kolpoi. The chiton folds consist of a few narrow vertical ridges from girdle to hem, a few more such ridges curving over the abdomen, irregular catenaries between the breasts, arrowhead folds above and below the girdle, and a pronounced arrowhead at the left knee. The chiton folds emphasize the female form rather erotically. A mantle of heavier cloth thrown over the left shoulder falls over the arm and down almost to the chiton hem. It is brought around the back and over the right hip and leg; the upper edge is gathered

into a thick roll which arches over the thigh, and falls between the legs in a long zig-zag to the feet. There is another zig-zag fold at the left side, where the mantle falls over the wrist. A narrow, deeply shadowed channel cut between the left side and the mantle emphasizes the contour of the body from shoulder to hem. Another channel frames the right hip; deep and skilfully cut pockets of shadow behind the central zig-zag fold emphasize the right leg. The other four replicas show a closely similar drapery scheme with minor variations in details. For example, the girdle may have a bow-tie rather than a knot (number 8) or no fastening at all (numbers 6 and 7). Instead of the catenaries between the breasts, there may be a series of V-shaped folds between the neck and the girdle (numbers 7 and 8). The roll of drapery over the right thigh may be folded at an angle rather than arched (number 9). In number 9, the mantle corners at the right knee and beneath the left hand show small lumps which may be identified as tassels. None of the other replicas approaches number 5 in quality. The shadowing is often clumsily handled, the drapery folds linear or repetitive, the swing of the left hip and the position of the bent left hand exaggerated. All the replicas are flattened in back and shallow in depth, and may have been intended for display against a wall or in niches, for frontal viewing only.

There are many more unpublished replicas of the same

type in Rhodes, although they are not exhibited in the Museum. Laurenzi, who mentioned five replicas in 1939,⁶⁸ mentioned twenty, of varying quality, in 1956.⁶⁹ Presumably none preserves the head, for in 1956 Laurenzi published a headless figure without attempting to reconstruct the head. Several more replicas have been found in Rhodes in recent years, including one, of fairly good quality, which does preserve the head and part of the right arm. I was able to view this replica briefly in the offices of the Rhodian Ephoria: the right shoulder was slightly lowered, the right arm, also slightly lowered, was outstretched to the side and slightly bent at the elbow. The head, in classicizing style and with a hairdo reminiscent of that of the Knidia, was turned 3/4 to the proper left. However, a terracotta of similar type found on Rhodes⁷⁰ has the head turned 3/4 to the proper right. The right arm of this figurine is not preserved, but the position of the stump indicates that it was held downward.

In addition to the replicas found on Rhodes, there are a number of others of varying provenance, dating to the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and of varying quality and detail.

⁶⁸Rilievi, p. 57.

⁶⁹Sculture, p. 187.

⁷⁰Laurenzi, Rilievi, p. 57 and pl. 16, 1. It is described more fully below, as replica number 19.

They are the following:

1. Athens, Agora. American School of Classical Studies at Athens, The Athenian Agora, a Guide to the Excavation and Museum, 2nd ed. (Athens: 1962) p. 122, no. S378 (Inv. no. 7495). T.L. Shear, "The Sculpture Found in 1933," Hesperia 4 (1935) 371-420, esp. pp. 384-387 and figs. 11-14; idem, "The Latter Part of the Agora Campaign of 1933," AJA 37 (1933) 540-548, esp. pp. 542-544 and fig. 4A on p. 543.⁷¹ This colossal statue was found in a wall of the south tower of the Valerian wall. It is of Pentelic marble, and was therefore locally carved. Although the composition is very close to that of the Rhodian statuettes, there are very definite differences, in addition to the obvious difference in scale. The Rhodian figures are all much more slender in their proportions than the stocky Athenian statue. Although the principal viewing point is the front, the Athenian figure is not flattened in the back, as are the Rhodian, but is fully rounded. There are considerable differences in the treatment of the chiton. The girdle is not tied under the breasts, but at the natural waistline, and it forms no kolpoi. Although the chiton is differentiated from the

⁷¹P.H. incl. base - 1.885m. Head and neck originally carved separately and set into socket cut between shoulders, now missing; right arm, right foot, originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. The back is fairly well finished, although not fully detailed.

mantle in weight, and is clearly meant to be transparent because the navel is visible, the folds do not consist of a few raised ridges which seem to cling to the body as if wet, but of a multitude of parallel grooves, which are somewhat repetitive in the skirt at the left side. As a result, the Athenian figure lacks the erotic appearance of the Rhodian type. One end of the mantle collapses in a series of flat folds between the high-soled sandals. It is not known if this collapsing drapery motif occurs on any of the Rhodian figures, since they are all poorly preserved at the bottom. The incidental creases in the mantle are indicated by a series of lightly carved arrowhead folds over the right lower leg and in the fall of cloth between the legs. While this motif does occur in some Rhodian figures (as the Aphrodite or nymph with upraised foot, catalog number 10), it does not occur in any Rhodian replicas of the type now in question. The mantle falls over the left shoulder of the Athenian figure, but does not run along the side of the torso as closely as in the Rhodian figures, leaving room for a deep, heavily shadowed cavity between the left arm and the torso. Over the right thigh, the mantle shows very thick, contorted folds, executed in deeply cut grooves, unlike the relatively flat folds of the Rhodian replicas. There are two notable similarities between the

Athenian and Rhodian figures, particularly catalog number 5: the heavy shadowing between the legs, and the small knot at the center of the girdle, which is very faint in the Athenian figure. Shear compared the Athenian piece to late second-century Pergamene statues, and suggested that it was the work of an Athenian artist, inspired by Pergamene models, and that it represented Stratonike, the wife of Attalos II of Pergamon. In the 1962 Guide to the Agora (see text above), the statue is tentatively identified as Aphrodite, since statuettes of similar type from Athens and Corinth (replica numbers 5 and 8 below) have an Eros perched on the shoulder. It is connected with one of the two statues of Aphrodite seen by Pausanias (I.8.5) in the Sanctuary of Ares. The Guide dates the statue simply to the Hellenistic period, and considers it Athenian work.

2. London. Smith, British Museum, Vol. III, p. 210, no. 2091 and pl. 23. Reinach, RSGR, Vol. III, p. 195, 6. W. Klein, op. cit. (see note 56), pp. 104-106, fig. 44.⁷² Probably from Rhodes. Although the right arm is missing, the position

⁷²P.H. - 0.43m. (about 1/3 life size). Marble called Parian. Head originally carved separately, set into socket cut between shoulders, now missing. Right arm originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. In the British Museum catalog entry, no provenance is recorded, but the statuette is illustrated on pl. 23, which is labelled "probably from Rhodes." The back is flattened, with only slightly rounded contours; its surface is partially smoothed, partially punched.

of the shoulder stump and dowel cutting show that it was probably outstretched to the side. The fingers of the left hand are outspread on the hip. The mantle falls over the right thigh in an arch, rather than an angular fold. The workmanship is summary. Klein relates it to the Nike of Samothrace, which he dates to the first century B.C.

3. London. Smith, British Museum, Vol. III, pp. 209-210, no. 2090.⁷³ From Rhodes. The remains of the right arm show that it was originally outstretched to the side. The proportions are unusually slender; the torso is elongated, but swells at the abdomen. The left hand was placed very low on the hip, almost at the thigh. The mantle falls over the right thigh in an angular fold. The outline of the pubic triangle is indicated. The workmanship is very summary.
4. Copenhagen. F. Poulsen, Catalogue of the Ancient Sculpture in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (Copenhagen: 1951) p. 227, no. 312a (Inv. no. 2240); Tillaeg til Billedtavler af antike Kunstvaerker (Copenhagen: 1915) pl. 6.

⁷³P.H. - 0.20m. (about 1/4 life size). Marble called Parian. Preserved from neck to middle of thighs. Head originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. Part of right arm, most of left hand broken off. The back is flattened, with only slightly rounded contours; a few major drapery folds are indicated.

Adriani, Repertorio, Ser. A, Vol. II, pp. 35-36, no. 135 and pl. 70, no. 227. EA 4433 (Brendel). Reinach, RSGR, Vol. V, pt. 2, p. 392, l.⁷⁴ Purchased in Egypt in 1892. Although the right arm is not preserved, the stump indicates that it was originally outstretched to the side at the level of the shoulder. The workmanship is summary. Adriani considers it a local Alexandrian copy of a well-known work, and dates it to the Hellenistic period. Brendel believed it to be a later development of the Aphrodite Valentini type (EA 2386-2388).

5. Athens, Agora. American School of Classical Studies at Athens, The Athenian Agora (see replica 1 above), p. 181, no. S1192. T.L. Shear, "The Campaign of 1940," Hesperia 10 (1941) 1-8, esp. p. 5 and fig. 5.⁷⁵ The right arm is held downward, the hand resting on a rectangular pillar. The left wrist is placed on the hip, with the palm turned upward. A figure of Eros is perched on the right shoulder. The mantle falls over the left upper arm, leaving the forearm free, and forms an arch over the right thigh, with a bare suggestion of

⁷⁴P.H. - 0.35m. (about 1/4 life size). White marble. Head and neck, right arm originally carved separately and attached with double dowels, now missing. Feet broken off.

⁷⁵P.H. - 0.29m. (about 1/5 life size). Head broken off.

an angular fold. Shear reported finding the statuette in "a well with a deposit of the Hellenistic period." In The Athenian Agora, the piece is called a work of an Athenian sculptor of the Roman period. The presence of Eros suggests that the statuette represents Aphrodite.

6. Berlin, Staatliche Museen. Berlin, Königliche Museen, Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen, mit Ausschluss der pergamenischen Fundstücke (Berlin: 1891) p. 198, no. 504. Bieber, Sculpture, p. 165 and fig. 709. W. Klein, op. cit. (see note 56), pp. 104-106.⁷⁶ Purchased in Venice in 1841. The head with the melon coiffure which is now attached to the torso does not belong to it. The chiton lacks a girdle, perhaps because the bosom was worked over in modern times to conceal the poor state of preservation of the torso. The right arm is now missing, but appears to have been held downward. The fingers of the left hand are outspread on the hip. The Berlin catalog suggests that the piece may have come from a grave monument, but no supporting evidence is offered. Klein relates it to the Nike of Samothrace, which he dates to the first century B.C.

⁷⁶ Restored H. - 0.75m. (somewhat less than 1/2 life size). White Greek marble. Right arm, small finger of left hand, feet missing; original method of attachment not specified. The back is flat.

7. Ancona, Museo Nazionale. H. Fuhrmann, "Archäologische Grabungen und Funde in Italien, Albanien und Libyen, Oktober 1939 - Oktober 1941," AA 56 (1941) 329-733, esp. 442-447. "Cronaca dei ritrovamenti e dei restauri," Le Arti 3 (1940-1941) 291 and fig. 1.⁷⁷ From Ancona; accidental find during work in the cellar of a house near the Palazzo Civico on the south side of Monte Guasco. The right arm was originally held downward. The left hand appears to be clenched rather than outspread, and held against the side of the hip. The mantle falls in an angular fold over the right thigh. The workmanship is summary. It is considered a Roman copy of a Greek type, perhaps representing a Muse. Fuhrmann suggested that it may have decorated the peristyle of a house.
8. Corinth. F.P. Johnson, Corinth ... Volume IX, Sculpture 1896-1923 (Cambridge, Mass.: 1931) pp. 45-46, no. 53 (Inv. no. 429).⁷⁸ The right arm was originally held downward, and is thought to have touched the right thigh. The left hand is clenched, as in the replica from Ancona. The angular fold of the mantle over the right thigh is

⁷⁷P.H. - 0.41m. (somewhat more than 1/4 life size). Head, right arm, feet missing; original method of attachment not specified.

⁷⁸P.H. - 0.35m. (somewhat more than 1/4 life size). Head, most of right arm, feet broken off. The depth of the figure is minimal.

- also similar to the Ancona replica. On the back of the left shoulder are the remains of the figure of a nude child, leading to the identification of the group as Aphrodite and Eros. The statuette is thought to be a copy of an original of the fourth century B.C. or later.
9. Munich, Antiquarium der Königliche Residenz. EA 922 (Arndt).⁷⁹ A poor work, heavily restored, considered a copy after a Hellenistic prototype. The head is ancient and may belong to the torso; the break at the neck is now covered over and cannot be seen, but Arndt believed the head and torso to be uniform in style and workmanship. The head is turned slightly toward the proper left. The features are classicizing; the hair is tied into a bow at the top of the head.
10. From Thasos. H. Sitte, "Thasische Antiken," JOAI 11 (1908) 142-164, esp. pp. 156-159 and figs. 49-50. Reinach, RSGR, Vol. II, p. 307, 2. R. Horn, Stehende weibliche Gewandstatuen in der hellenistischen Plastik (RöMitt, Ergänzungsheft 2, 1931) pl. 36, 3.⁸⁰ Purchased in Thasos. The

⁷⁹ Restored H. - 0.97m. (somewhat less than 2/3 life size). Restored: nose, right shoulder and arm with flutes, left hand, feet, plinth.

⁸⁰ P.H. - 1.06m. (somewhat more than 2/3 life size). White, fine-grained marble. Head missing, original method of attachment not specified. A. Lawrence, Later Greek Sculpture and its Influence on East and West (London: 1927) p. 103, indicates that this piece is in Budapest.

right arm is held downward; the hand rests on a pillar. The left hand rests, palm inward, against the side of the hip, fingers held together and pointing down. The chiton has a long overfold reaching to the knees. The mantle does not fall over the front of the left arm and shoulder, but merely forms a curtain in the rear. The mantle falls in an angular fold over the right thigh. There are traces of locks of hair on the shoulders in front, and at the base of the neck in back.

11. Athens, National Museum. V. Staïs, "Ἐργασίαι ἐν τοῖς Μουσείοις," Deltion 2 (1916) 81, no. 3367 and fig. 9 on p. 79 (incorrectly numbered 8367 in caption). Reinach, RSGR, Vol. V, p. 164, l.⁸¹ Accidental find in Chostia, in Megaris, in 1916. The right arm is held downward; the hand rests on the head of a statuette of Pan. The left wrist rests on the hip, with the palm of the hand turned upward. The mantle falls over the right thigh in an arch. The type is identified as Aphrodite; the piece is considered Roman work.

However, Sitte, p. 142, refers to it as in the collection of Adolf Wix de Zolna in Vienna. It is not included in Hekler, Die Sammlung antiker Skulpturen: Die antiker Skulpturen im ungarischen Nationalmuseum und im Budapest-er Privatbesitz (Vienna: 1929). I was unable to consult Lawrence's reference to Hekler, Az antik plasztikai Rm. I, 13.

⁸¹p.H. - 0.41m. (somewhat more than 1/4 life size). Head missing, method of attachment not specified.

12. Syracuse. G. Libertini, Il Regio Museo Archeologico di Siracusa (Rome: 1929) p. 165, no. 695. G.E. Rizzo, Il Teatro greco di Siracusa (Milan: 1923) pp. 156-157, figs. 73-74 on pp. 158-159. D. Serradifalco, Le Antichità della Sicilia, Vol. 4 (Palermo: 1840) pl. 21, 5. R. Horn, op. cit. (see replica 10 above), pl. 36, 2. Reinach, RSGR, Vol. II, p. 307, 7. E. Mauceri, Siracusa e la Valle dell'Anapo (Italia Artistica 47, Bergamo, 1909) p. 98, figure at right.⁸² Found near the theater at Syracuse. The proportions are very slender and elongated. Very little is preserved of the arms, but the stump of the right one suggests that it was held downward. The mantle does not fall over the left shoulder. It falls over the right thigh in an angular fold. Rizzo calls the figure Hellenistic, following an original of the fourth century B.C. He suggests that it represents a nymph or a Muse. Although the back is fully rounded and worked, he suggests that the statuette was adapted for display in a niche in the theater.⁸³ Libertini repeats Rizzo's analysis of the figure. Mauceri tentatively suggests its

⁸²P.H. - 0.93m. (about 2/3 life size). Head originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. Arms from deltoids broken off. The back is treated in detail.

⁸³Op. cit. (see text above), p. 157, "La stroncatura intenzionale del plinto ci parla dell'adattamento della figura ad una nicchia."

identification as a nymph.

13. Delos. Reinach, RSGR, Vol. IV, p. 199, 4.⁸⁴ Although the right arm is missing, the preserved stump indicates that it was held very high, perhaps toward the head. The left wrist rests on the hip, with the palm of the hand turned upward. The mantle falls over the right thigh in an angular fold. It does not fall over the left shoulder, but a small strip of cloth appears over the upper arm.
14. Tegea. Reinach, RSGR, Vol. II, p. 681, 2.⁸⁵ The right arm is missing, but the preserved stump indicates that it was held downward. The mantle falls in an arch over the right thigh. It is possible that the left arm was not bent at the elbow, and that the hand did not rest on the hip.
15. Torcello. A. Callegari, Il Museo provinciale di Torcello (Venice: 1930) pp. 20-21, no. 39, pl. XIV.⁸⁶ The lower part only of the statuette is preserved. The mantle falls in an arch over the right thigh. The high-soled sandal of the left foot is shaped around the largest toe.

⁸⁴P.H. - not published. Head and right arm missing; original method of attachment not specified.

⁸⁵P.H. - not published. Head, arms from deltoids missing; original method of attachment not specified.

⁸⁶P.H. - not published. Greek marble. Restored: entire upper part of figure, part of abdomen, right foot.

The workmanship is summary. The figure is called Aphrodite, and is thought to be a Greek original.

16. Leningrad, O. Waldhauer, Die antiken Skulpturen der Ermitage, Vol. III (Berlin: 1936) pp. 60-62, no. 313, fig. 59.⁸⁷ Provenance unknown. Torso preserved from girdle downward. The mantle falls over the right thigh in an angular fold. The figure is considered an early Hellenistic type and is compared to the replica from Syracuse (number 12 above).
17. Venice, Doge's Palace, Archaeological Museum. EA 2528 (Lippold).⁸⁸ The composition is of the type under discussion, but the only garment is the mantle; the torso is nude, and is slender in proportions. The figure is called Aphrodite, and is thought to be either late Hellenistic or a Roman copy of an original of that period.
18. The type appears in a grouping with a male figure, from Halicarnassos. Smith, British Museum, Vol. II, p. 140, no. 1108.⁸⁹ The female of the group clearly is one of

⁸⁷P.H. - 0.33m. (about 1/4 life size). Entire upper part of figure, including arms, broken off.

⁸⁸P.H. - not published. Head Trajanic, incorrectly restored.

⁸⁹P.H. - 0.46m. (about 1/3 life size). Head of female missing, originally carved separately and set into cavity between shoulders. Left forearm of male originally carved separately and set into cavity in elbow, now missing. His head, right arm from deltoid, both legs from middle of thighs broken off.

the type in question. The mantle falls over the thigh in an angular fold, collapsing in a series of flat folds between the feet, in the manner of the colossal figure from Athens (replica number 1 above). The back of the left hand rests on the side of the hip. The right arm is sharply raised, and rests on the left shoulder of the taller male figure, who stands beside her. The male figure is softly modelled, and is of a type usually associated with the Praxitelean tradition. The left hip is swung outward. The left forearm must originally have been extended toward the front. A mantle falling over the left arm fills the space between the figures. A strictly frontal composition, the group is strongly reminiscent of the so-called group of Orestes and Electra in Naples,⁹⁰ which utilizes the youthful male type known as Stephanos' athlete, and has, on the basis of this type, been dated to the first century B.C. Although both the male and female types of the Halicarnassos group are very different from those in the Naples group, the similar approach to group composition may make the groups roughly contemporary. Smith identified the Halicarnassos group as Dionysos and Ariadne, although no attributes are preserved.

⁹⁰Naples, National Museum, no. 6006. Br.Br. 306.

The type was also utilized in the minor arts of the Hellenistic period. Several examples follow:

19. Terracotta figurine from the Sanctuary of Apollo in Rhodes. Laurenzi, Rilievi, p. 56 and pl. 16, 1. The right arm is missing, but its preserved stump indicates that it was held downward. The fingers of the left hand are outspread on the hip. The head is turned $3/4$ to the proper right, and is slightly tilted forward. The hair is parted in the center and is waved back from the temples.
20. Terracotta figurine in the Cook Collection, Richmond. F. Winter, Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten, Vol. II (Berlin: 1903) p. 89, no. 3.⁹¹ The head is $3/4$ to the proper right, and is slightly lowered; the coiffure is of the melon type. The right arm is held downward, and the hand rests on a pillar. The left hand is clenched and rests on the side of the hip. The mantle falls over the right thigh in an angular fold. It does not fall over the shoulder, but only over the forearm.
21. Terracotta figurine from Taranto. NSc 1936, p. 124, h, fig. 14.⁹² The head is frontal, on a long neck. The hair is parted at the center and waves back, framing a

⁹¹Winter lists two more such terracottas, without illustrations or further references.

⁹²H.- 0.29m.

triangular forehead; it is circled by a thick, rolled fillet. The chiton is bound beneath the breasts. The mantle falls over the thigh in an angular fold. The fingers of the left hand are outspread on the hip. The end of the mantle falls over the left wrist only, leaving the arm free. The right arm is held down at the side, the hand resting on a pillar.

22. Bronze pin from Galjûb, one of a group of goldsmith's models, with a female figure of the type in question used as the head. A. Ippel, Der Bronzefund von Galjûb (Berlin: 1922) pp. 29-31, no. 9 (Inv. no. 2313) and pl. 2.⁹³ The figure is very small and the workmanship hasty, but a number of details are clear. The fingers of the left hand are outspread on the hip. The right arm is somewhat lowered and outstretched to the side; the hand rests on the head of an archaizing female statuette, which stands on a round base decorated with bucrania and garlands. The head is turned toward the proper right. There is a bun at the back of the coiffure, and a diadem on the crown. Ippel identifies the type as Aphrodite, and suggests that it is a Hellenistic transformation of a fourth-century type, which in turn was dependent upon Attic fifth-century works.

⁹³H. of figure, not incl. pin - 0.028m.

Unfortunately, scholars have not agreed in their treatment of the material outlined above. In particular, opinion regarding the date of the type has varied widely. In addition to the dates suggested in the publications of the replicas listed above, the following theories, here given in order of suggested date, have been put forward in more general discussions of the type. Bieber⁹⁴ considers the replica in Berlin (here replica 6) early Hellenistic in date and reminiscent of Praxitelean work, but believes that other replicas (here catalog numbers 5 and 7, and replicas 1 and 2) are second-century developments of the type, with greater movement, more drapery detail, and the addition of a girdle.⁹⁵ Lippold⁹⁶ dates catalog number 5 and replicas 1, 2, 4, 8, 9 and 22 in the period 340-310, but considers the replica in Syracuse (here replica 12), with its very slender proportions, to be later, and to belong to the reign of Hieron II (270-215 B.C.). Hekler⁹⁷ relates the type to Chairestratos, the sculptor of

⁹⁴Sculpture, p. 165.

⁹⁵However, the reworking of the torso could explain the lack of a girdle, and the head does not belong to the torso.

⁹⁶Handbuch, pp. 290, note 14, and 346.

⁹⁷This reference is from A. Lawrence, Later Greek Sculpture and its Influence on East and West (London: 1927) p. 103, citing Hekler, Az antik plasztikai Rm. I, 13, which I have been unable to consult.

the Themis of Rhamnous, but considers replicas 2 and 12 to be second or first-century developments of the same type. Lawrence⁹⁸ places the type in his chronological section of works dating ca. 300 B.C. Horn⁹⁹ groups the type with the Nike of Samothrace, which he dates to the first half of the second century B.C. He discusses the entire group of figures, both in movement and stationary, wearing the mantle over the thigh, together with Pergamene draped female figures. Laurenzi¹⁰⁰ places the type chronologically between the Nike of Samothrace, which he dates in the beginning of the second century B.C., and statues in his "manneristic" style, which he places after the middle of the second century B.C. Kraemer,¹⁰¹ referring to the statuette from Thasos (here replica 10), believed that the type belonged to the turn of the second to the first century B.C.

In view of the differing opinions concerning the chronology of the type, and the fact that the only full discussion of the type was that of Ippel in 1922,¹⁰² it is likely that a

⁹⁸Op. cit. (see note 97), p. 103.

⁹⁹Op. cit. (see text above), pp. 89-90, note 9; the type is listed on p. 90, section II of the long note, no. 3.

¹⁰⁰Sculture, p. 184.

¹⁰¹"Stilphasen der hellenistischen Plastik," RömMitt 38-39 (1923-1924) 183, note 2.

¹⁰²Op. cit. (see text above).

new consideration of the material is in order, and a necessarily brief attempt at a new analysis will be made here. It is very interesting that several scholars, although not agreeing exactly on the dates, have suggested that the type had both an earlier and a later development, and that the replicas did not depend upon a single prototype. When taken together, the replicas do seem to suggest such an approach.

It is probably best to begin with the colossal statue in Athens (here replica 1), because it is by far the largest and best in quality of the entire group. The differences between the Athenian figure and those in Rhodes have been outlined above. They are important because they suggest that, although all the figures were inspired by classical sculpture, the approaches to adapting the earlier material differed, and the actual sources of inspiration are not the same. The proportions of the Athenian statue are noticeably stocky, so much so that they suggest, not the sturdiness of such a draped figure as the Athena Parthenos, but the compressed proportions, and the very short and broad torso of the Athena of the frieze of the Altar of Zeus at Pergamon. The strongly swung hip and the knotted girdle are also reminiscent of the Pergamene Athena. A comparison of the figure in Athens with free-standing draped female figures from Pergamon has been suggested before.¹⁰³

¹⁰³Shear, loc. cit. (see replica 1); Horn, loc. cit. (see note 99).

The generally dramatic impression given by the figure and its deep shadows do not detract from such a comparison. The statue has a number of fifth-century reminiscences, the most obvious of which is the frontality of the pose. Several reminiscences are specifically Attic. The rendering of the thick bunch of drapery over the right thigh by means of deep, angular grooving recalls the drapery of such figures as the seated gods on the east frieze of the Parthenon. The motif of one end of the mantle collapsing on the ground, fold atop fold, occurs in the figure of "Ilissos" in the west pediment of the Parthenon.¹⁰⁴ The chiton is worn with neither pouch nor overfold, as is often seen in Hellenistic sculpture, yet with the girdle tied around the natural waistline, in the classical manner. The motif of the arched mantle over the lifted thigh of a standing figure, one of the most important elements of this type, is known in the fifth and fourth centuries. It occurs, for example, in the frieze of the Erechtheion,¹⁰⁵ the Balustrade of the Temple of Athena Nike,¹⁰⁶ and in the half-seated Leda in the Capitoline

¹⁰⁴F. Brommer, Die Skulpturen der Parthenon-Giebel (Mainz: 1963), West Pediment figure A, pp. 30-31, pls. 81-84.

¹⁰⁵Antike Denkmäler, Vol. II (Berlin: 1908) pl. 33, no. 15.

¹⁰⁶R. Carpenter, The Sculpture of the Nike Temple Parapet (Cambridge, Mass.: 1922) pl. 4, is the closest parallel, although there are other examples in the parapet sculpture.

Museum.¹⁰⁷ Inspiration derived from classical Athens provides another link with Pergamene sculpture, and it is not impossible that the sculptor of the statue in Athens participated in some way in the transmission of Attic ideas to Pergamon. Perhaps he worked on the Altar of Zeus, and if this were the case, the Athenian statue should be of second-century date, roughly contemporary with the Altar.

The Rhodian replicas adopt fifth-century motifs as well, such as the arrowhead fold at the back of the leg of the weight-bearing leg. But they also seem to reflect a different emphasis, although following the same compositional scheme as the Athenian figure. The transparent chiton, clinging to the body as if wet, and rendered as a series of narrow ridges, suggests the drapery treatment of the later fifth century, especially the drapery style of the Nike Balustrade. However, the elongated, slender proportions of the torso are those usually associated with the late Hellenistic period, suggesting that the Rhodian figures may be derived from a prototype of the late second or early first centuries B.C., which was itself a further stylistic development of a type already known in Athens. The creator of the original of the Rhodian replicas may have known the second-century Athenian

¹⁰⁷ Helbig⁴, Vol. II, pp. 106-107, no. 1254. In the Leda, the chiton rather than the mantle falls over the thigh.

statue, and may have translated it into the idiom of his day. The superficial resemblance of the Rhodian figures to the Nike of Samothrace (the transparent chiton girded high, the fall of the mantle between the legs) is actually overridden by the much stronger differences. In place of the muscular body, the tension and swift movement of the Nike, the Rhodian figures show a strict frontality, a softness of body, and a languid quality that place them in a different world of sculpture.

All the other replicas listed above seem to follow the Rhodian rather than the Athenian prototype, because of their slender proportions and transparent, high-girded chitons. Taken all together, the replicas differ in three respects: first, the right arm is either outstretched to the side or is held downward with the hands resting on a support; second, the left hand either rests on the front of the hip with the fingers outspread or is placed at the side of the hip, with either the palm of the hand or the back of the wrist resting against the body; third, the drapery over the right thigh falls either in a rounded arch or in an angular fold. These differences are not distributed among the replicas in any discernible pattern, so that it is not possible to define further prototypes. Certainly, the last two variations, the position of the hand and the treatment of the drapery over the thigh, do not seem very meaningful, since most of the

replicas are of indifferent quality. Perhaps technical expediency is behind these variations, since outspread fingers are probably more difficult to carve than a closed hand half-hidden at the side of the figure, and a fully rounded arch of drapery may be more difficult to execute than an angular fold. However, the differing treatment of the right arm is more significant, since the basic composition of the type is concerned. The Athenian statue must originally have had a right arm outstretched to the side, although its exact function has never been explained. Of the five replicas from Rhodes cataloged here, only one (number 7) definitely had an arm outstretched to the side. The other four replicas do not preserve the right shoulder, and therefore the position of the arm is unknown. To the evidence of number 7 should be added the evidence of the recently found replica in Rhodes (see above, p. 54), which preserves the outstretched arm. Perhaps the evidence of the originally outstretched arm of replica 2 in the British Museum may be added, since this piece is probably from Rhodes. On the other hand, the terracotta figurine from the Sanctuary of Apollo (replica 19) clearly had a lowered arm. Study of the additional replicas whose existence was reported by Laurenzi would probably clarify this problem. On the whole, the evidence now available from Rhodes suggests that the right arm was outstretched to the side. Of the remaining, non-Rhodian

sculptural replicas, only replica 4 had an outstretched arm. While it is possible that the replicas with lowered arms reproduce a variant of the type, there may be a technical reason for this difference in composition, since in a stone figure a lowered arm is more easily supported than an outstretched one. This consideration may have been important for works of mediocre quality. Replica 13, with its very sharply raised right arm, is unique, and need not suggest the existence of still another prototype.

At present, it seems reasonable to infer that a figure of this type existed in Rhodes during the late Hellenistic period, and was sufficiently well-known to have inspired numerous small-scale replicas found in Rhodes and elsewhere, some varying in the composition of the arms. None of the non-Rhodian sites known to have yielded replicas has produced more than two examples; because of the repetition of the type on Rhodes, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the type was of Rhodian origin.

The identification of the type is still to be considered. Several of the Rhodian replicas are carved from a greyish marble which may be of local origin.¹⁰⁸ Replicas of mediocre quality in the rather poor local stone may have been carved

¹⁰⁸Laurenzi once identified this stone as island marble, Sculture, p. 187, but it does not seem to be sufficiently white and luminous to be so identified.

for purchase by those who could not afford better, and the type may therefore have had a particular meaning for a segment of the Rhodian populace. It may have represented a locally worshipped deity. Laurenzi suggested that the outstretched right arm of catalog number 7 held a scepter,¹⁰⁹ and Adriani made the same suggestion for replica 4.¹¹⁰ Without more certain attributes it is difficult to know which deity is intended, but one is tempted to seek an answer among the three female deities most widely worshipped in Rhodes: Aphrodite, Artemis and Athena. The type could not represent Athena because, although the right hand could have held a spear, neither an aegis nor a helmet is worn. Laurenzi¹¹¹ suggested that the type represents Artemis, a very popular deity in Rhodes in many manifestations,¹¹² in her special chthonian relationship to Hekate. He cited as evidence the terracotta replica (number 19) discovered in a votive deposit in a building within the Sanctuary of Apollo on Monte S. Stefano.¹¹³ The building cannot be securely iden-

¹⁰⁹loc. cit. (see note 108).

¹¹⁰loc. cit. (see replica 4).

¹¹¹Rilievi, pp. 56-57.

¹¹²H. van Gelder, Geschichte der alten Rhodier (The Hague: 1900) pp. 310-312.

¹¹³Op. cit. (see note 111) p. 56. The deposit is still unpublished, to my knowledge.

tified, but Laurenzi pointed to the nature of the deposit (which included, in addition to the terracotta figurine here discussed, numerous terracottas of draped men and women and a seated or standing female type wearing the kalathos, and amulets, including phalloi) as an indication that the deity here worshipped was chthonian in nature. Since the building is within the temenos of Apollo, Laurenzi believed it to be dedicated to the worship of Apollo's sister Artemis, in her aspect of Artemis-Hekate. He suggested that the terracotta reproduces her cult image. Unfortunately, Laurenzi did not publish his entire argument for his identification of the type.¹¹⁴ One would like to know the contents of the deposit in much greater detail before accepting his theories. Moreover, a unique terracotta in a votive deposit need not be a replica of the cult statue of the recipient deity. Pending further clarification of the evidence, it is probably best to consider Laurenzi's identification tentative, and to seek other possibilities.

There are several indications that the type represents Aphrodite. Two of the replicas (numbers 5 and 8) have small figures of Eros seated on the shoulder. Replica 11 is supp-

¹¹⁴In Sculture, p. 187, Laurenzi promised a fuller discussion of his reasons for his identification of the type, to appear in the ASAtene. To my knowledge, this discussion has not yet appeared in any publication.

orted by a statuette of Pan. The statue in Athens has been called Aphrodite on the basis of comparison with replica 5, which is also from the Athenian Agora and carries Eros on the shoulder, and by association with Pausanias I.8.5, which mentions two statues of Aphrodite in the Sanctuary of Ares in the Agora.¹¹⁵ Lawrence mentions the use of this type as Aphrodite on Roman sarcophagi of the second century A.D.¹¹⁶ Moreover, the languid, erotic character of the Rhodian figures suggests Aphrodite more than any other goddess.¹¹⁷

If the identification of the type as Aphrodite is acceptable, it may be possible to discover the more specific function of the type in Rhodes. It is interesting to note that of all the replicas following the Rhodian type listed above, none is larger than somewhat over 2/3 life size. The prevalence of rather small replicas suggests that the prototype may also have been smaller than life size. The principal cult of Aphrodite on Rhodes was centered at her temple in the city of Rhodes.¹¹⁸ It is a small structure, and presum-

¹¹⁵ See above, replica 1.

¹¹⁶ Op. cit. (see note 97), p. 103.

¹¹⁷ J.J. Bernoulli included the type in his study of Aphrodite iconography, op. cit. (see note 56), p. 109, no. 6.

¹¹⁸ Clara Rhodos I, p. 46. It is most unfortunate that the publication of this building is confined to one paragraph and an illustration.

ably its cult statue was of a suitably small size. It is tempting to relate our replicas to this cult statue, but the temple is dated to the third century B.C., and it is unlikely that it lacked a cult statue until the late Hellenistic period. Moreover, although the exact provenances of the Rhodian statuettes have not been published, the most recent finds have come from scattered salvage excavations. Since there have been no major sanctuary excavations in Rhodes since World War II, the numerous replicas known to Laurenzi in 1956, but not in 1939 (see above, p. 54), were probably finds of a similar nature, and not votive figures discovered in a sanctuary.

There is another possible explanation for the popularity and the scattered distribution of this sculptural type. Beginning in the third century B.C., numerous religious societies were founded in Rhodes, to serve the many foreign residents of the island in place of the indigenous Rhodian institutions. Among these societies, which flourished particularly in the second and first centuries B.C., are a number of brotherhoods of Aphrodiastes.¹¹⁹ Some of the groups of Aphrodisiastes may have had cult statues in their meeting places, as was the case with the Poseidoniastes of

¹¹⁹G. Pugliesi-Caratelli, "Per la storia delle associazioni in Rodi antica," ASAtene n.s. 1-2 (1939-1940) 147-200, esp. pp. 176-200.

Berytos on Delos.¹²⁰ The statuettes found in Rhodes may therefore have been replicas of one such cult statue, in the private possession of members of that society which used the type as its cult image. This suggestion is put forward very tentatively, since further study of the many replicas on Rhodes is necessary.

¹²⁰The Poseidoniastes had four chapels, for statues of Poseidon, Roma, and two national deities. C. Picard, L'Etablissement des Poseidoniastes de Bérytos (Exploration archéologique de Delos, Vol. VI, Paris, 1921) pp. 55-76.

CATALOG NUMBER 10 -- Aphrodite (?)

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. 3635. Clara Rhodos V, pt. 1, no. 2, pp. 16-22, pl. 2, figs. 9-12 (Jacopi).
 Jacopi, Spedale, p. 51, pl. 4. P. Lévêque, "Sur un statuette de nymphe rhodienne," Mélanges Henri Grégoire Vol. 4 (Brussels: 1953), pp. 283-288. H. Sichtermann, "Ninfe," EAA Vol. V, pp. 503-504, fig. 645. AJA 68 (1964) 120, 125. On view in Museum, photographed (see fig. 7). Accidental find, September 7, 1927, in a suburb of the city of Rhodes, half-way between the city walls and S. Anarghiri. P.H. - 0.875m. (almost life size). White crystalline marble, with slight rusty surface discoloration, called Parian marble by Jacopi. Head, right forearm, front part of right foot, fingers of left hand originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. Drapery folds in front, area of chest between neck and right breast, right upper arm abraded. The back is fully rounded and finished, although the drapery folds are less detailed than in the front. The workmanship is of very good quality.

The statue represents a semi-draped female figure. The right foot is raised high and rests on a rock; the torso is bent forward and slightly turned so that the right elbow rests on the right knee and the left forearm rests on the horizontal right thigh. A heavy mantle is draped around the legs. One end of the mantle is draped from the rear over the right

thigh, where it cushions the left forearm. It forms a panel in the front which falls in a series of angular catenaries almost to the hem. The cloth is stretched around the straight left leg in a series of arrowhead folds, which continue in long diagonal lines up to the raised thigh; it is richly divided by many rather angular and shallow folds. The treatment emphasizes the surface; the few deep shadows are created by undercutting around the panel and beneath the hem. There are also small subsidiary wrinkles in the cloth, especially on the right lower leg. The upper edge of the mantle is twisted into a roll around the thighs, and falls just below the buttocks in the rear. The roll of cloth frames the back of the torso, which is as expertly modelled as the front. The torso is long and the breasts placed high (the figure is actually much more slender than it appears in photographs). The contours of the right leg are hidden in the heavy drapery, but the outer contour of the left leg is clearly outlined under the cloth. In the rear, the drapery is schematized, in contrast to the careful modelling of the torso; the lower edge of the mantle is not differentiated from the plinth. However, the long zig-zag fold behind the raised knee is carved, even though it would not have been visible. The feet are shod in high-soled sandals, which are shaped around the largest toe; the straps were probably originally painted, but no traces of paint remain. The right

foot originally projected well beyond the edge of the rock, which is rendered as a heap of small stones. The fingers of the left hand must have drooped loosely at the rear of the figure. Since the preserved stump of the right forearm is almost vertical, the right hand may have been held near the head, perhaps touching or even supporting it. The position of the head cannot be determined with certainty. As in the so-called Jason type (see note 121 below), it could have been turned toward the spectator, who best views the figure by standing parallel to its flank. The graceful curve of the torso, and the parallel diagonal lines of the torso and mantle hem, are best seen from a central position before the flank of the figure, although it is possible to understand the composition from the entire side. The composition is therefore probably best considered one-sided.¹²¹

The pose is rather awkward for a female, but in this case it is achieved with a lack of strain, and even with a certain nonchalant grace. The motif of the raised foot is very common in later Greek sculpture.¹²² There are several more or

¹²¹In Helbig⁴ Vol. I, p. 423 (Fuchs), a replica of this type is also considered one-sided. On the one-sidedness of figures with the raised foot, see B.S. Ridgway, "The Date of the So-called Lysippean Jason," AJA 68 (1964) 113-128.

¹²²The type was first discussed by K. Lange, Das Motif des aufgestützten Fusses in der antiken Kunst und dessen statuarische Verwendung durch Lysippos (Diss. Leipzig:

less faithful replicas of this motif as it appears in Rhodes, that is, as a female with nude torso and draped legs, and both arms held in or near the raised thigh. All are smaller in size than the example in the Rhodes Museum and inferior in quality. They are the following:

1. The "Aphrodite of Taman." N.I. Sokolsky, "[Sanctuary of Aphrodite at Kepoi]," Sovietskaia Arkheologiia 1964, pt. 4, 101-118, esp. pp. 111-116. Idem, "Excavations on the Taman Peninsula: The City of Cepi," Archaeology 18 (1965) 181-186. ILN, Jan. 25, 1965, p. 129. Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, no. 210, p. 20.¹²³ This statuette differs from the figure in Rhodes in several respects: the entire pose is reversed, with the left leg raised rather than the right; the pose is contorted rather than graceful, and the right knee is bent even though it is the weight-bearing leg; the left forearm is horizontal, not erect; the mantle does not fall over

1879). It has been frequently discussed since, because of its connection with Lysippos; the most recent contribution is Ridgway, op. cit. (see note 121). More germane to the present problem is B. Neutsch, "Weibliche Gewandstatue im romischen Kunsthandel," RömMitt 63 (1956) 46-55, which deals specifically with the female versions of this type.

¹²³ P.H. - 0.45m. (somewhat more than 1/2 life size). Island marble. Head, right arm, left wrist and hand originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. Left foot, front part of right foot, part of garment hem and much of support broken off.

the thigh in a long series of catenaries, but forms a relatively short and rather square panel, which is carried all around the knee to the rear, and is broken with deep vertical and V-shaped folds; in the rear, the drapery does not frame the buttocks, but crosses over them diagonally. The figure is approximately half the size of the Rhodian. The Cepi statuette has been dated by excavation context to the middle of the second century B.C. It has been identified as Aphrodite since it was found in the temple of that goddess. Because of its counterpart in the Rhodes Museum, it has been tentatively attributed to a Rhodian sculptor.

2. Conservatori Museum, Inv. no. 996. Helbig⁴ Vol. II, no. 1462, pp. 288-289 (von Steuben). H. Stuart Jones, ed. A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures Preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome: The Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori (Oxford: 1926) p. 226, no. 29 and pl. 85.¹²⁴ This statuette differs from the one in Rhodes in the following respects: the pose is reversed; the right arm rests on the left arm rather than on the thigh; the drapery over the raised thigh is a rectangular

¹²⁴Restored H. - 0.72m. (somewhat more than 1/2 life size). Restored: Head, right hand and wrist, left wrist, feet, most of rock and lower edge of drapery (restored portions are now removed, but Jones' illustration includes them. Pentelic marble.

panel brought around the knee to the rear, with still another edge of the mantle brought over the thigh on top of it; it is approximately half the size of the Rhodian statue. In general, it resembles the Cipi figure more closely than the one in Rhodes. The provenance is unknown. It is a rather poor work, dated to the second century A.D., and tentatively identified by Stuart Jones as a Muse. Von Steuben suggests that it represents a nymph or Aphrodite, and considers it a replica of an original of the second century B.C.

3. Vatican, Galleria dei Candelabri, Inv. no. 2587. G. Lippold, Die Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums, Vol. III, pt. 2 (Berlin: 1956) p. 234, no. 11 and pl. 108. Helbig⁴ Vol. I, no. 530, pp. 422-423 (Fuchs).¹²⁵ This statuette differs from the Rhodian figure in the following respects: the pose is reversed; the panel over the thigh is rectangular; the hands hold a garland and fillet; the right arm rests on the left arm, rather than on the thigh; the support for the foot is a hydria on its side, not a rock. The figure is about half the size of the Rhodian. In this case, the type has been utilized for a fountain figure, and is clearly intended as a nymph. Fuchs notes

¹²⁵ Restored H. - 0.74m. (somewhat more than 1/2 life size).
Restored: head and neck, right hand, most of garland.

that this replica is particularly one-sided and hence not Lysippan. Lippold places it in a Lysippan context through comparison with the so-called Jason type and the Aphrodite of Capua. However, J. Charbonneaux¹²⁶ disputes this attribution, since the Aphrodite of Capua shows much more torsion than the Vatican figure, which he considers a second-century B.C. transposition of a fourth-century type.

4. Broadlands, no. 12. A. Michaelis, Ancient Marbles in Great Britain (Cambridge: 1882) p. 220, no. 12. EA 4855a (Lippold). C. Picard, La Sculpture, Vol. IV (Paris: 1963) p. 612 and fig. 264 On p. 618.¹²⁷ This replica differs from the figure in Rhodes as follows: the pose is reversed; the panel of drapery over the thigh is rectangular in shape. The figure is about half the size of the Rhodian. Michaelis tentatively identified the figure as a Muse. Both Lippold and Picard considered it Lysippan in inspiration.
5. Istanbul Market, present whereabouts unknown. EA 1353 (Arndt). Reinach, RSGR, Vol. III, p. 103, 6.¹²⁸ This

¹²⁶Gnomon 29 (1957) 456.

¹²⁷ Restored H. - 0.62m. (somewhat less than 1/2 life size). Restored: head and part of neck, right arm, left forearm and part of upper arm. Greek marble.

¹²⁸ P.H. - 0.60m. (somewhat less than 1/2 life size). Left

statuette differs from the figure in Rhodes as follows: the pose is reversed; the right arm did not rest on the thigh but on the left arm; the panel of drapery over the thigh is rectangular and is carried all around the knee to the rear; the pose is rather contorted, with the right knee bent and the left breast much higher than the right; a small puff of drapery protrudes from the mantle at the right thigh. The figure is about half the size of the Rhodian. The statuette is said to have come from Cyzicus. Arndt identifies it as Aphrodite.¹²⁹

In addition to the above statuettes, there are six terracottas listed by F. Winter¹³⁰ which repeat the raised foot and the drapery arrangement. Although similar in general scheme, there are differences in details among the terracottas: the pose may be directed either to the left or the right; the foot may rest on an object other than a rock,

hand, right forearm originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. Head broken off. Traces of the right hand on the far side of the thigh.

¹²⁹ Arndt, in the text to EA 1353, mentions a similar statuette in the Antiquarium of the Münchener Neuen Pinakothek, but I have been unable to find other references to it.

¹³⁰ Op. cit. (see p. 68), Vol. II, p. 103, no. 3a-f. J.J. Bernoulli, op. cit. (see note 56), p. 168, lists another in the British Museum, case 58.59. See also J. Sieveking, Die Terrakotten der Sammlung Loeb, Vol. II (Munich: 1916) pp. 31-32 and pls. 91-92; F. Eckstein, "Ephedrismos-Gruppe im Konservatorena Palast," Antike Plastik Vol. VI (Berlin: 1967) fig. 11 and p. 86, note 43.

e.g. a chest or footstool; the mantle may cover rather than expose the hip. The terracottas are interesting mainly because several preserve the heads, which reveal a hairdo like that of the Knidia, parted in the center and waved back from the temples. The figurines are one-sided in composition; the head is in three-quarter view when seen from the flank of the figure. It is difficult to know if the head can be reconstructed in the same way on the stone figures, since the work of coroplasts often followed its own development, even when inspired by monumental sculpture. The raised right forearm of the statue in Rhodes could indicate either that the head was supported by the hand and in three-quarter view,¹³¹ or in profile, as in the Muse sometimes called Polyhymnia.¹³² Of the stone figures, only the one in Rhodes raises the arm toward the head; in all five replicas listed above, both arms are held horizontally across the raised thigh.

In the absence of attributes, it is very difficult to identify the Rhodian statue. During the Hellenistic period, the pose with raised foot was used for a number of very different types, and even when the discussion is confined to

¹³¹Several terracottas have the propped arm raised toward the head, although not touching it, as the figurine in the British Museum (see note 130) and a fully draped Muse (?) from Myrina--S. Mollard-Besques, *op. cit.* (see note 65), p. 88, no. MYR 246 and pl. 107d.

¹³²Lippold, *Handbuch*, pl. 120, 1.

semi-draped females, there are several possibilities. Bernoulli included the type in his study of the iconography of Aphrodite,¹³³ but admitted the possibility that it represents a nymph. Lévêque suggests that the statue was meant as a nymph, and decorated a nymphaeum. The Vatican replica (number 3) is certainly a nymph because the foot rests on a hydria, but it must be remembered that it is a Roman replica adapted for a specific use as a fountain figure, and it may therefore not reflect the original intention. In a very much modified form, the type is used to represent Venus, in the grouping with Mars in the Capitoline Museum.¹³⁴ The so-called Aphrodite of Taman should be our best source of iconography, since it is Hellenistic and its provenance is known. The figure was found inside the Temple of Aphrodite at Cegi, and is thought to have been placed against a wall, probably near the entrance.¹³⁵ It was, presumably, a votive gift to the goddess. The excavator believes the statuette to be of very high quality, the work of a foreign sculptor brought in for the purpose, perhaps from Rhodes. But when compared with its counterparts, the Cegi statuette seems to

¹³³Op. cit. (see note 56), pp. 167-168.

¹³⁴E.E. Schmidt, "Die Mars-Venus-Gruppe im Museo Capitolino," Antike Plastik Vol. VIII (Berlin: 1968) pp. 85-94.

¹³⁵Sokolsky, Archaeology (see p. 86), p. 186.

be a small adaptation, of fair quality, of an already known type, rather than an original creation. The contorted pose supports this idea, since the sculptor may not have fully understood the muscular implications of the pose. The Capi figure could have been, not an especially commissioned work, but more simply an import which did not necessarily carry attributes of Aphrodite, but was deemed an appropriate dedication to her.

The suggestion has been made that the type represents a Muse,¹³⁶ because the upraised foot is a feature of statues clearly characterized as Muses.¹³⁷ But Muses in this pose are always either completely draped, or have only small portions of the torso uncovered.¹³⁸ The semi-nudity of the Rhodian type points rather to its identification as a nymph or Aphrodite.

The minor arts utilized the semi-draped female figure with raised foot to represent more than one goddess. She appears as Hygeia, with a snake, on a late Hellenistic gold ring from Pompeii.¹³⁹ An earlier Hygeia from Epidauros, with

¹³⁶Replicas 2 and 4 above.

¹³⁷Especially the Melpomene type in the Vatican, Lippold, op. cit. (see p. 88), Vol. III, pt. 1, no. 499.

¹³⁸Neutsch, op. cit. (see note 122), *passim*.

¹³⁹Naples, National Museum, no. 25222; Neutsch, op. cit. (see note 122), vignette on p. 55.

a partially exposed torso, a raised foot and a snake,¹⁴⁰ shows that there was a tradition for representing Hygeia in such a pose, but neither the statue in Rhodes nor any of its counterparts have a snake as an attribute. The figure appears again on a gem,¹⁴¹ representing Venus Libitina, with the foot propped on a grave monument in the form of a Corinthian capital, reading from the scroll of fate. A fourth-century Campanian bell-krater by the CA Painter shows a very similar figure placing a dish of fruit and a wreath on an altar.¹⁴² Of the terracotta versions of the type mentioned above, none clearly suggests an identification, although it may be worth noting that none of those with heads preserved wears the stephane, which is often associated with Aphrodite. The surface of the Rhodian figure shows no signs of weathering; the statue was therefore probably displayed indoors. The fact that all the replicas listed above reverse the pose might be taken as an indication that the type was at some time used decoratively in facing pairs. If this were the case, it is more likely that the type represented a nymph than a deity.

¹⁴⁰EA 710-711.

¹⁴¹E. Gerhard, Gesammelte akademische Abhandlungen und kleine Schriften, Vol. I (Berlin: 1866) p. 284; Vol. II (Berlin: 1868) p. 561 and pl. 56, no. 11.

¹⁴²Hesperia Art Bulletin 48, no. 31.

Suggested dates for the Rhodian statue and its counterparts have ranged through the entire Hellenistic period. The earliest date proposed is the fourth century, connecting the type with the Jason, which is sometimes considered to date from the time of Lysippos.¹⁴³ In addition, the female type has been compared to the fourth-century Aphrodite of Capua,¹⁴⁴ in which the raised foot (although in a much less exaggerated pose), the bared torso, and the panel of drapery over the raised thigh are repeated. Jacopi¹⁴⁵ considered the type post-Lysippan, but gave only a very general dating of the third to the first centuries B.C. Gullini¹⁴⁶ stands alone in preferring a date in the second half of the third century B.C. Recently, the validity of including the Jason within the Lysippan sphere has been questioned, and the piece placed in the late Hellenistic period because of its combination of one-sided composition with echoes of late fourth-century sculpture.¹⁴⁷ The Rhodian figure, which is compositionally very similar to the Jason, except in the position

¹⁴³Lippold, Handbuch, p. 283, note 7.

¹⁴⁴Lippold, op. cit. (see p. 88), Vol. III, pt. 2, p. 234.

¹⁴⁵Op. cit. (see p. 83).

¹⁴⁶"Su alcune sculture del tardo ellenismo," Arti Figurative 3 (1947) 65.

¹⁴⁷Ridgway, op. cit. (see note 121).

of the arms, should be of comparable date. Several scholars have, in fact, already suggested that the female type belongs to the second century B.C., or more particularly, is a second-century variant of a fourth-century type.¹⁴⁸ Certainly the details of the drapery, the realistic rendering of the torso, and the proportions of the figure do not contradict a second-century date. The Aphrodite of Taman has been dated by the discovery of coins in the excavation to the mid-second century B.C.¹⁴⁹ It seems likely, for reasons given above, that this statuette is an adaptation of an already existing type. On the basis of the chronology derived from the Cegi excavation, its prototype would date before the middle of the second century B.C. The prototype may well have been carved in marble, for the composition is well suited to an original conception in stone. The drapery around the legs provides a very solid support, and the limbs are not daringly extended. The Rhodian statue is probably not itself the prototype of the smaller replicas, since the position of the arms and the direction of the pose are not repeated in any of the smaller figures. Moreover, it might

¹⁴⁸Charbonneaux, op. cit. (see note 126); Neutsch, op. cit. (see note 122), p. 54; Fuchs, in Helbig⁴ Vol. I, p. 423; von Steuben, in Helbig⁴ Vol. II, p. 289; Léveque, op. cit. (see p. 83).

¹⁴⁹Sokolsky, Archaeology (see p. 86), p. 186.

be expected that a type originating in Rhodes, and sufficiently well-known to be repeated in sculpture and the minor arts, would leave traces in Rhodes itself in the form of additional replicas or representations in the minor arts. On the basis of presently available evidence, the Rhodian statue is probably best considered a well executed variant of the same original which inspired the smaller replicas. Since it does not differ in material and technical details from most of the material in the Rhodes Museum, it may have been a locally carved work.

CATALOG NUMBER 11 -- Aphrodite Anadyomene

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. Clara Rhodos IX, p. 50, fig. 31 (Laurenzi). Exhibited in Museum, photographed (see fig. 8). Accidental find during construction of a stadium in S. Anastasia, a suburb of Rhodes. P.H. - 0.66m. (about life size). White crystalline marble, with rusty surface discoloration. Preserved from shoulders to about the middle of the thighs. Head and neck originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. Left elbow and forearm, shoulders and upper part of bust, most of left breast broken off. The stump of the right arm seems not to have been broken, but to have been prepared for the joining of a separately carved limb, although there is no dowel cutting. The arm and hand may therefore have been cut in one piece with the locks of hair at the right side of the head (see description of type below), and attached to the arm stump only with adhesives. The back is fully rounded and quite well finished. The modelling is summary. The workmanship is of fair quality.

Although much of the figure has been lost, enough of the composition remains to identify the type. The right shoulder is much higher than the left, and therefore the right arm must have been raised very high. The left upper arm is held obliquely forward; just above the elbow it is attached to a protruding fold or knot of drapery on the strongly

out-swung left hip. The weight of the figure seems to have rested on the right leg. The torso is nude and is framed by a heavy mantle, the upper edge of which is twisted into a roll around the hips. The garment rests across the torso at an angle, revealing more of the body at the proper right side, where it falls to the upper thigh, than at the left, where it reaches as high as the top of the hip. At the left hip the mantle seems to be tied into a large knot, which, as mentioned above, serves as a strut to support the arm; a cascade of cloth springs from the knot and falls along the thigh. The stone is deeply undercut between the cascade and the body, framing the thigh in shadow. Between the thighs, the cloth is defined by a few V-shaped folds.

The composition indicates that the figure is of the type usually called the Aphrodite Anadyomene, after a painting by Apelles showing Aphrodite emerging from the sea, wringing the foam from her hair; the name has been extended to figures which probably do not represent Aphrodite, but which nevertheless employ the compositional motif of hands grasping long strands of hair.¹⁵⁰ The type is sometimes connected with early Hellenistic Alexandrian sculpture, because the cult statue of Arsinoë II, venerated as Aphrodite, is thought

¹⁵⁰ Literary references and a basic list of the variations of the type can be found in J. J. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* (see note 56) pp. 17, 284-299. References to more recent work on the general type can be found in Helbig⁴ Vol. I, pp. 155-156, no. 211.

to have taken this form, and because a number of replicas of this type have been found in Egypt.¹⁵¹ In addition to the raised arms, the general characteristics of the type are nudity, or a nude torso with draped legs, an out-swung hip, a chiastic arrangement of arms and legs, and a frontal pose. When the legs are draped, several different schemes of arranging the cloth are known.¹⁵² The garment may be knotted at the center of the torso, or, as in the case of the Rhodian figure, at the side. Three other representations are known to me of Anadyomene figures with the drapery knotted at the side, covering one hip and revealing the other. They are as follows:

1. Istanbul. T. Wiegand and H. Schrader, Priene (see note 32), pp. 371-372, fig. 467. Mendel, Catalogue, Vol. II, pp. 103-104, no. 362. Reinach, RSGR, Vol. IV, p. 201, 7.¹⁵³ As already noted by Laurenzi, this figure is the clearest parallel to the Rhodian one, although it is much

¹⁵¹Bieber, Sculpture, pp. 98-99; Adriani, Repertorio, Ser. A, Vol. II, p. 23, no. 85; p. 25, nos. 95 and 97.

¹⁵²Bernoulli, op. cit. (see note 56) lists examples with draped legs on pp. 295-299, type b.

¹⁵³P.H. - 0.425m. (somewhat more than 1/4 life size); the measurement quoted is Mendel's, but in Priene it is 0.46m. White crystalline marble. Right arm from deltoid, strands of hair at right side broken off. Back is summarily worked. Carved in two parts and joined without a dowel at the upper edge of the drapery.

smaller in size. It is similar in the position of the arms, the strong swing of the left hip, the use of a knot of drapery as support for the left arm, and the cascade of drapery falling from the knot along the side. It is useful because it preserves the head. The workmanship is summary, but the sculptor seems to have intended to carve the face in a classicizing style. The hair is not bound with a fillet or stephane, as in many replicas of the Anadyomene type, but waves down loosely from a central part. One thick strand of hair falls down into the left hand, while the right hand originally lifted another strand at a much higher level. This arrangement of the hair can be seen more easily on a head in Leningrad.¹⁵⁴ Presumably, the hair of the Rhodian figure was similar, since the pose of the arms is suitable. Mendel dates the figure from Priene to the third or second century B.C. It was found in the thalamos of house XIII, the contents of which are listed in Priene, pp. 321-322. A further study of these objects might

¹⁵⁴O. Waldhauer, Die antiken Skulpturen der Ermitage, Vol. III (Berlin: 1936) pp. 66, 68, no. 324, and fig. 68 on p. 65, and pl. 43 = EA 1936-1938, formerly in the Pourtales collection. The head is mentioned here only to clarify the head type; it is not considered a parallel because the form of the torso is unknown.

- clarify the date, but cannot be undertaken here.¹⁵⁵
2. Paris. Inv. no. MND. 1000. E. Michon, "Nouvelles statuette d'Aphrodite provenant d'Egypt au Musée du Louvre," MonPiot 21 (1913) 163-171, pl. 16. N. Himmelman-Wildschütz, "Ein römische Bronze in Oxford," MarbWPr 1958, p. 3 and fig. 3 on pl. 2.¹⁵⁶ From Horbeit, Egypt. Only the head and nude torso are preserved, but the bottom edge of the torso slants upward from the right thigh to the left hip, as if it had originally been attached to a piece of drapery with a corresponding slant, as in the statuette from Priene (see note 153), which it closely resembles in the head, hair and arms. Himmelman-Wildschütz dates the figure in Paris to the turn of the second to the first century B.C., on the basis of style.
3. Painting from Pompeii. Brendel, "Weiblicher Torso in Oslo," Die Antike 6 (1930) 41-64, esp. fig. on p. 54.

¹⁵⁵ Several of the finds are illustrated on p. 345, fig. 406, and p. 423, fig. 540, no. 200.

¹⁵⁶ P.H. - 0.32m. Head and torso preserved. Left hand and locks of hair at left side missing. Right arm from shoulder to wrist broken off and mended. The right upper arm is almost horizontal; the left upper arm is vertical, the elbow is held near the hip, and the lower arm is bent upward at a sharp angle. The workmanship seems rather summary.

K. Schefold, Die Wände Pompejis (Berlin: 1957) p. 169, Regio VII 2, 14, and references there cited. The subject of the painting is the Judgement of Paris, in which Aphrodite is represented as an Anadyomene type; she arranges her hair, while Eros, standing in front of her, holds a mirror. The arrangement of the drapery corresponds with that of the figures from Rhodes and Priene. However, the pose is reversed.

In parallel number 3 above, the Pompeian painting, a type very close to that from Rhodes definitely represents Aphrodite. It is possible that the Rhodian figure was intended to represent Aphrodite as well, although the same type could also have been used to show a mortal woman arranging her hair. The date suggested by Himmelman-Wildschütz for the figure from Horbeit, the turn of the second to the first century, is probably applicable to the Rhodian figure as well. The exaggerated proportions of the torso, narrow at the shoulders and much wider at the hips, and the very strongly out-swung hip do indeed suggest a late Hellenistic date. The drapery scheme may be traceable to the earlier Hellenistic period, however, since a female figure from the Kos Asklepieion,¹⁵⁷ attributed on the basis of literary evidence to the sons of

¹⁵⁷M. Bieber, "Die Söhne des Praxiteles," JdI 38-39 (1923-1924) 242-275, esp. pp. 246-247 and pl. 7.

Praxiteles, wears a mantle swinging upward, baring only one hip. Laurenzi considered the type a cold, academic conception, utilizing the type of the entirely nude Anadyomene for the top of the figure, and the Aphrodite of Arles for the lower part. The drapery of the latter type does not swing diagonally across the hips, as in the Rhodian figure, but the general concept of framing the nude torso is similar, and a bunch of cloth acts as a support for the arm in the Arles figure as well as the Rhodian. Laurenzi proposed a date in the first century B.C. for the prototype of the Rhodian figure. Unless many more replicas of the type are found in Rhodes in the future, it should not be considered specifically Rhodian. The present evidence seems rather to point to Alexandria as its original home.

CATALOG NUMBER 12 -- Aphrodite Anadyomene, Head

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unknown to author. Unpublished. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (not illustrated here). Circumstances of discovery unknown to author; the condition of the surface suggests that the sculpture may have at some time come into contact with water. P.H. - ca. 0.25m. (about life size). White crystalline marble, with heavy rusty surface discoloration; the surface is very badly eroded and incrustated. Head and neck preserved. Part of bun of hair at back of head originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. Nose, lower portions of both ears, locks of hair at both sides of head broken off. The head may have been carved separately for attachment to a torso, but this cannot be definitely determined, since the lower surface of the neck is badly eroded and partly hidden by the Museum mounting. Originally, the workmanship appears to have been of good quality.

The head is that of a female, with oval face, triangular forehead, eyes set deeply at the inner corners, and parted lips. The ears were deeply cut, and the hair around them undercut, creating dark shadows. The eyes are opened fully, and both upper and lower lids clearly defined. The rigidly frontal pose of the head may not have been its original position, but the severe erosion of the neck obscures any musculature which may once have been carved. The hair waves

downward and back from a central part, the crown is smooth, and thick strands are looped up over the ears at either side. The subject is probably a woman in the act of arranging her hair, lifting a now missing strand from each side to the top of her head to form a bow. The bun at the back of the head, although not completely preserved, was probably already fastened, on the analogy of an Anadyomene head in the Hermitage, which shows a coiffure in a similar state of preparation.¹⁵⁸ At the proper right side of the head, the end of a broad fillet can be seen, descending from beneath the broken strands of hair, and resting, untied, over the crown. The arrangement of the fillet at the proper left side of the head and at the front is unclear, perhaps because the lifted locks of hair originally concealed much of it from view.

The head seems to have belonged to a figure of the so-called Aphrodite Anadyomene type, representing Aphrodite or a mortal woman arranging her hair.¹⁵⁹ The torso to which this head belonged probably has both arms held high, unlike catalog number 11, since the locks at both sides of the head were lifted upward. The head should probably be late Hellenistic in date, because of its classicizing face, combined with deep undercutting around the ears and hair to form shadows.

¹⁵⁸Waldhauer, op. cit. (see note 154), pl. 43.

¹⁵⁹On the Anadyomene type, see above, catalog number 11.

CATALOG NUMBER 13 -- Aphrodite Pudica

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. 13634. Clara Rhodos V, pt. 1, pp. 5-15, no. 1, figs. 1-8, pl. I (Jacopi). G. Jacopi, "L'Afrodite Pudica del Museo Archeologico di Rodi," BdA ser. 2, vol. 9 (1930) 401-409, figs. 1-9. Idem, Spedale, pp. 49-51, pl. 3. A. di Vita, "L'Afrodite Pudica da Punta delle Sabbie ed il tipo della Pudica drappegiata," ArchCl 7 (1955) 9-23. P. Lévêque, "Notes de sculpture rhodienne," BCH 74 (1950) 62-69, esp. pp. 65-69. Bieber, Sculpture, p. 133 and fig. 527. Exhibited in Museum, not photographed (see fig. 9 -- "Hannibal" photograph). Found in March 1929, in the sea about 50 meters from the Punta delle Sabbie, near the ancient harbor of the city of Rhodes.

P.H. - 1.94m. (about one and one-fifth times life size).

White crystalline marble, called Parian by Jacopi; surface worn away and glossy from the action of the sea. Arms from deltoids, nose broken off. Head broken off and mended; its exact position is uncertain because the original edges of the break are worn away. Two dowel cuttings on top of the head, behind the fillet, may have held a bowknot of hair. Details of facial features and hair no longer preserved. The back of the figure is fully rounded and worked in detail. Despite its poor condition, the sculpture probably was originally of very good workmanship.

The statue is a standing, semi-draped female figure of

colossal size. The weight is carried by the left leg; the right knee is slightly bent, and the right foot seems to rest on the plinth only at the ball. The left hip is slightly swung outward. The right shoulder is somewhat raised. As now restored, the head is turned to the proper left. The entire torso is nude. A garment is closely draped around the thighs and legs. Its upper edge, which falls just below the buttocks in the back, is twisted into a roll. The hem trails over the plinth. The garment was originally held in place at the center front by one of the hands, probably the left. From this fastening, the open edges of the cloth cascade to the plinth. The contours of the legs can be seen clearly through the cloth, and are accentuated by the folds. A cluster of folds radiates from the center back, forming catenaries around the legs to the center front.

The hair is parted at the center and waves back from the temples, framing a triangular forehead and covering most of the ears. The locks are gathered into a knot at the nape. A fillet worn around the crown passes under the strands which wave back from the temples. Originally, a bowknot of hair was fastened at the top of the head. Two locks of hair escape from the knot and trail over the left shoulder. Although the facial features are poorly preserved, some details remain clear. The eyes are deeply set, the upper lids strongly arched and delineated, the lower lids slightly raised and

more gently modelled. The eyes are slightly slanted downward at the outer corners. The lips are parted; the drill holes at the corners of the mouth can still be seen.

The numerous replicas of the Pudica type cannot be listed in this catalog; they have recently been collected and discussed by di Vita.¹⁶⁰ The action of the water in which the Rhodian statue was submerged seems to have obscured the original strong modelling, and has substituted a misleadingly soft surface for the originally dramatic effect of the figure. Of the scholars who have studied this statue, only di Vita recognized the sculptor's original intention. On the basis of the supposed gentle modelling, Jacopi dated the statue to the second half of the fourth century, considering it an original piece created under Praxitelean influence. He compared the figure to the Capitoline and Medici Aphrodites. Lévêque followed a similar train of thought, but dated the statue to the beginning of the third century B.C. Pointing especially to the sculptor's linear and decorative treatment of the drapery, di Vita suggested a late Hellenistic date. He considered the Rhodian figure a copy of a prototype dating a little after the middle of the second century B.C., this prototype being a re-elaboration of the Dresden Capitoline Aphrodite type. Bieber also dates the figure to

¹⁶⁰Op. cit. (see text above). Professor B.S. Ridgway has kindly told me of another replica in Tripoli.

the late Hellenistic period, citing its elongated proportions. A further indication of a late Hellenistic date may be the symmetrical arrangement of the drapery, with its catenaries looped around the legs between the central groups of folds at the front and back. This treatment is reminiscent of the drapery of some Graeco-Egyptian figures, and also of female figures in the archaizing style known in Asia Minor.¹⁶¹

Since its discovery, this fine piece of sculpture has naturally been hailed as an example of the work of the Rhodian school. Jacopi believed that it was being exported from Rhodes, presumably during the Roman period, and was lost at sea. However, we cannot be certain that it was not rather an import, lost before it ever reached its Rhodian destination.¹⁶² Jacopi's suggestion that the figure was the cult statue of the Temple of Aphrodite in the Piazza dell'Arsenale in the city of Rhodes agrees neither with the small size of the temple, which could not be expected to house a colossal statue, nor with the third-century B.C. date assigned to it.¹⁶³

¹⁶¹ See catalog number 46 below.

¹⁶² The general question of the importation of sculpture to Rhodes is discussed in the conclusions to this chapter.

¹⁶³ The temple is briefly published in Clara Rhodos I, p. 46.

CATALOG NUMBER 14 -- Aphrodite, Crouching

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. Clara Rhodos I, pp. 22-25, figs. 5-6 (Jacopi). Jacopi, Spedale, pp. 41-42, pl. 2. A. Maiuri, "Afrodite al Bagno - statuetta del Museo Archeologico di Rodi," BdA ser. 2, vol. 3 (1923-1924) 385-390. S. Reinach, "Deux nouvelles statues d'Aphrodite," Mon Piot 27 (1924) 119-132 and pl. 12. Idem, "Courier de l'art antique," GBA 68, pt. 1 (1926) 175-191, esp. pp. 182-185. G. Battaglia, "L'Afrodite di Doedalses," BdA ser. 2, vol. 10 (1931) 406-416. A. Adriani, "L'Afrodite al Bagno di Rodi e l'Afrodite di Doedalses," ASAE 44 (1944) 37-70, pl. 1. L. Laurenzi, "La personalità di Doidalses di Bitinia," ASAtene n.s. 8-10 (1946-1948) 167-180. G. Gullini, "Su alcune sculture del tardo ellenismo," Arti Figurative 3 (1947) 61-72, esp. pp. 66-67 and pl. 32, 2. R. Lullies, Die kauernde Aphrodite (Munich: 1954) pp. 84-85 and fig. 51. Lullies and Hirmer, Greek Sculpture, pl. 257. Bieber, Sculpture, p. 83 and figs. 294-295. J. Boardman et al., The Art and Architecture of Ancient Greece (London: 1967) p. 518 and pl. 315 (Fuchs). Exhibited in Museum, photographed (see figs. 10-11). Accidental find in 1923, in the garden of the Governor's villa. H. - 0.49m. (about 1/2 life size). White crystalline marble, called Parian by Jacopi. The base on which the figure is exhibited in the Museum is ancient, but probably did not belong to the Aphrodite. The figure is almost intact, except for

chips in the locks of hair in the rear, and abrasions on the toes, particularly of the left foot. The figure, carved from a single piece of marble, is completely rounded and modelled in detail at the rear. The workmanship is careful and the surface is highly polished all around.

The statuette represents a nude, kneeling female figure. The left leg is bent sharply, causing the thigh and lower leg to be pressed closely together. The right thigh and lower leg are almost horizontal; the knee rests on a cylindrical box with a flat lid, presumably a container for toilet articles. Only the ball and toes of the right foot rest on the plinth. The principal view of the figure shows the profile of the legs and lower torso. However, the upper half of the torso is sharply turned toward the spectator in three-quarter view, and the shoulders and head are frontal. The upper part of the torso, the arms and the head are tilted toward the proper left side. The arms are raised; the hands grasp the long, waving locks of hair at either side of the head. The locks which fall from the right hand to the shoulder serve as struts to support the hand. Similarly, at the left side, the locks falling from the hand to the thigh act as a support for both the hand and the head. The hair is parted at the center and bound around the crown with a wide fillet. The face is oval, with delicate, expressionless features; the lips are closed. The boundaries of the features are very

softly defined, but the surface is finished to a brilliant polish. The anatomical features of the torso are also blurred. The strongest modelling appears in the hair, in which the locks are thick and separated from one another.

Mainri first published the statuette as a contemporary variant of the third-century B.C. crouching Aphrodite of Doidalses of Bithynia; Reinach and Lullies concurred with this opinion. However, the Rhodian figure is quite different from Doidalses' Aphrodite in composition. The latter has a closed structure which brings the arms to the front in a space-enclosing gesture. On the other hand, the arms of the Rhodian figure are thrown back to reveal the upper torso, resulting in a composition of open, one-sided type, usually associated with the late Hellenistic period rather than the third century. Battaglia suggested a fusion, by a late Hellenistic sculptor, of two different types, the third-century crouching Aphrodite, and the standing Aphrodite Anadyomene, whose arms are raised toward the head (see catalog number 11). Jacopi's analysis was similar; he dated the Rhodian figure to the second to first centuries B.C. Gullini agreed with this date, and considered the sculpture a creation of the Rhodian school. Fuchs believes the figure to be an original of about 100 B.C., a neo-classical variant of Doidalses' Aphrodite. Certainly the thick, serpentine locks, reminiscent of the treatment of hair in the great frieze of the

Pergamon Altar, suggest that the type was created not earlier than the second century B.C.

To my knowledge, the Rhodian figure has always been considered a Hellenistic original. This opinion may have been fostered by the available published photographs, most of which misleadingly represent a softly modelled surface, of the kind characteristic of some Hellenistic sculptures. The photographs submitted with this paper show more accurately the actual appearance of the surface. Figure 11 especially shows that in truth a brilliant surface polish overlies the blurred modelling, and that for all the care taken with the finish of the piece, the facial features, hair and hands are really clumsily modelled, the transition at the armpit is unusually harsh and angular, and the pressure of the right thigh against the lower leg bent under it is rendered by means of a hard line, without the subtle reaction of the flesh to pressure which is usually seen in Greek originals. Moreover the Rhodian figure was carved entirely from a single block of marble, which is very different from the practice of piecing generally found in Rhodian Hellenistic work. The figure may therefore be a Roman copy of a late Hellenistic prototype.

It is quite clear that this prototype was not a Rhodian creation. Adriani has collected 28 representations of this Aphrodite type, in different media, including sculpture, of

Egyptian provenance.¹⁶⁴ He has convincingly argued that these representations were derived from a prototype which was completely different from the Aphrodite of Doidalses, and which was created in Alexandria in the second half of the second century B.C. This attribution is accepted by de Miro,¹⁶⁵ who, however, prefers a date in the first century B.C.

¹⁶⁴Op. cit. (see text above), and Repertorio, ser. A, vol. II, pp. 27-28, nos. 106-111 and pls. 60-61. Additional bibliography, not directly related to the Rhodian figure, has been collected by Adriani. See also Helbig⁴ Vol. I, p. 227, no. 288.

¹⁶⁵"Statuetta di Afrodite accoccolata al Museo di Agrigento," ArchCl 8 (1956) 48-52.

CATALOG NUMBER 15 -- Aphrodite Untying Sandal

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. G. Konstantinopoulos, "Δωδεκάνησα," Deltion 20 (1965) Χρόνικα, p. 602, pl. 779b. Not exhibited in Museum (not illustrated here). Found in the city of Rhodes. Dimensions and material not published. Head, right arm and elbow, legs from knees downward, broken off. The left arm would seem from the photograph to have been originally carved separately and attached, now missing. Left shoulder and breast, stump of left thigh abraded. From the photograph, the workmanship appears to be of fairly good quality.

This piece of sculpture is known to me only in the photograph cited above. It represents a nude, standing female figure. The upper part of the torso leans forward. The left shoulder is higher than the right; the right upper arm is held downward. The left thigh is raised toward the front, to a horizontal position.

Konstantinopoulos correctly identified the type as Aphrodite untying her sandal. In better preserved examples of this very common Hellenistic type, which is sometimes associated with Alexandria,¹⁶⁶ the composition shows the right hand untying the sandal on the raised left foot; the left arm is lifted.

¹⁶⁶Bieber, Sculpture, p. 99. For further bibliography, see Adriani, Repertorio, Ser. A, Vol. II, pp. 26-27, nos. 102-105, pls. 58-59.

CATALOG NUMBER 16 -- Aphrodite and Eros

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. 14808. Clara Rhodos VI-VII, pt. 1, p. 272, no. 4, and figs. 59-60 on pp. 266-267 (Jacopi). Not exhibited in Museum (not illustrated here). Found at Cameiros. P.H. - 0.40m. (about 1/4 life size). Material not described in publication. Aphrodite preserved from shoulders to hem of garment; head, right arm originally carved separately and inserted into appropriate cavities, now missing. Left wrist and hand broken off. Eros' left arm, both legs from knees broken off. His face is badly abraded. From the photographs, the workmanship seems to be summary.

This sculpture is known to me only in the poor published photographs. It represents Aphrodite, standing with her weight on the left leg, the left hip swung outward, the right knee bent, and the right foot drawn to the side. Eros, shown as a young boy rather than as an infant, has enormous wings reaching from his head to his knees, and leans against her left side. The photograph shows no carved detail on the wings; feathers may have been added in paint. Eros' right arm hangs downward; the position of his left arm is not clear. Aphrodite's right arm was originally lifted, as the raised shoulder seems to indicate. Her left upper arm falls vertically downward, with the elbow bent ^{slightly} and the forearm brought forward a little; her left hand may have

rested on Eros. Her transparent chiton clings to the torso, giving an impression of nudity because of the paucity of folds. A V-shaped chiton fold is visible under the right armpit, and folds are also visible below the mantle hem. Around the chiton is wrapped a mantle, which covers the left shoulder and arm, is draped around the back to the right shoulder, and is brought to the front again in a roll around the right hip. The roll curves upward to the left hip, whence the cloth falls along the left side of the figure.

Jacopi does not attempt to date the statuette, but suggests that it copied the cult statue of a third-century sanctuary of Aphrodite at Cameiros, which is known from inscriptions. Unfortunately, the exact find spot of the statuette is not indicated in the publication. A late Hellenistic date may be preferable, because of the elongated proportions, the high placement of the breasts on the narrow torso, and the exaggerated swing of the hip. The pose and arrangement of the mantle are generally similar to catalog numbers 35 and 36. The closest parallel for the composition and drapery seems to be a group from Daphne,¹⁶⁷ which is different in the pose of the left hand and the smaller size of the Eros.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁷S. Wide, "Τὸ ἐν Δαφνίῳ ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης," ArchEph 3 (1910) 47, fig. 6; Reinach, RSGR, Vol. II, pt. 1, p. 164, 5. P.H. - 0.83m.

¹⁶⁸For erotes with very large wings grouped with Aphrodites, see Reinach, RSGR, Vol. I, p. 320, 6 and 327, 1.

CATALOG NUMBERS 17-19 -- Artemis

Catalog numbers 17-19 represent the same or very similar Artemis types, and will therefore be discussed together:

17. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. 1224. Clara Rhodos II, no. 3, pp. 16-18, fig. 6 (Maiuri). Exhibited in Museum, photographed (see fig. 12). Accidental find from a suburb of the city of Rhodes. P.H. - 0.65m. (about 2/3 life size). White crystalline marble with slight rusty surface discoloration, called island marble by Maiuri. Head and neck originally carved separately and set into cavity between shoulders, now missing. The cavity for the insertion of the nude parts follows the upper edge of the chiton. Arms originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. One of the two dowel cuttings in the stump of the right arm is cut through to meet the cavity between the shoulders. Part of the left shoulder in the rear, both legs below the knees broken off. The back is rounded and the major folds are carved, but are much less detailed than the front folds. The workmanship is of fair quality.
18. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. 1224 bis. Clara Rhodos II, no. 4, pp. 16-18, fig. 7 (Maiuri). Exhibited in Museum, photographed (see fig. 13). Accidental find from a suburb of the city of Rhodes. P.H. - 0.49m. (about 1/2 life size). White crystalline marble

with slight rusty surface discoloration, called island marble by Maiuri. Right arm, left arm from biceps, right leg from knee, left leg from mid-thigh broken off. Head originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. The figure is shallow in depth, and may therefore have been intended for display in a niche or against a wall. However, the back has rounded contours and the major folds are indicated. The workmanship is summary.

19. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. K. Fatourou, "Ἀρχαιότητες καὶ Μνημεῖα Δωδεκανήσου," Deltion 19 (1964) χρονικά, p. 467, pl. 550a. G. Daux, "Chroniques des Fouilles," BCH 91 (1967) 768-769, fig. 5. Not exhibited in Museum (not illustrated here). Circumstances of discovery not published. P.H. - 0.38m. (about 1/2 life size). Marble, not further described in publication. Preserved from shoulders to just above knees. Arms missing. The method of attachment of separately carved members, if any, is not described. From the photograph, the workmanship appears to be summary.

The type represents a standing female figure, resting the weight on the right leg. The left leg is bent at the knee and drawn a little to the side. None of the three figures preserves the arms fully, but in catalog number 18 the left upper arm is clearly held downward. This replica does not preserve the right arm, but since it was carved in one

piece with the torso, it was probably not outstretched very far from the body. The downward slope of the right shoulder in the same replicas suggests that the right arm was lowered rather than raised. Since there are no traces of the attachment of arms or hands to the drapery, the forearms were probably held somewhat away from the body.

The figure wears a chiton, open along the right side, and shortened to knee length by drawing up a pouch which falls to about the top of the thigh. A mantle is worn over the left shoulder, carried diagonally across the chest to cover the left breast, and wrapped around the torso, a little above the waist, in a thick roll. The mantle ends are brought around to the front, tucked under the roll, and allowed to hang in front of the chiton skirt. The skirt and pouch are both lifted slightly at the center front of the figure. Although the drapery scheme is very similar in all three replicas, there are differences in detail. Number 17, the best of the replicas in quality, has a crinkly drapery treatment, created by a series of very shallow and closely spaced vertical and V-shaped folds. The repetitive surface pattern covers both garments, not differentiating the chiton from the mantle. Several stiff arrowhead folds indicate the movement of the left leg to the side. A broad vertical fold between the legs stands out prominently from the skirt. In contrast, the drapery of catalog numbers 18 and 19 is carved in a few

very broad, summary folds. In number 19, the chiton is girdled beneath the breasts, and the mantle is rolled around the torso at a much lower level, almost at the hips. The sculptor of this figure did not fully understand the tying of the mantle around the torso, and the result is a hodgepodge of folds. In number 17, the mantle ends fall only to the bottom of the pouch, but in numbers 18 and 19 they fall almost to the chiton hem. The proportions of all three figures are rather matronly.

The differences between the three Artemis figures discussed here are probably great enough to show that they were not replicas of the same prototype. Nevertheless, within the context of Hellenistic Artemis types, they show strong similarities to one another in pose and costume. They are stationary in pose, with the weight of the figure carried on one leg. The costume consisting of a short chiton and a mantle tied around the torso is, however, that usually worn by the hunting or fighting Artemis in strong movement.¹⁶⁹ The type is well known in Roman copies, and it is not impossible that the three Rhodian figures are Roman in date, although based upon Hellenistic prototypes. This general Artemis type may have enjoyed some vogue in Rhodes during the Hellenistic period,

¹⁶⁹E.g. the Artemis of Versailles (hunting), Bieber, Sculpture, fig. 201; the Artemis of the frieze of the Pergamon Altar (fighting), Lullies and Hirmer, Greek Sculpture, pl. 243.

although there is no evidence that it was an original Rhodian creation. In the publication of the Palatine Artemis type, Floriani Squarciapino¹⁷⁰ has dealt also with its variations, discussing the quietly standing, short-chitoned Artemis in general terms. Of the three Rhodian figures, catalog number 19, with its high girdle and mantle rolled below it, is the closest to the Palatine type. Catalog number 17 is similar in the crinkly treatment of the cloth. Floriani Squarciapino proposed that the prototype of the Palatine Artemis was a late Hellenistic Pergamene creation. Maiuri did not discuss the chronology of the Rhodian figures, but suggested that they were cult figures of small rural shrines, or, as is more likely, household decorations.

¹⁷⁰"L'Artemide del Palatino," BdA ser. 4, vol. 38 (1953) 105-111.

CATALOG NUMBER 20 -- Artemis

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished.

L. Laurenzi, "Sculture di scuola rodia dell'ellenismo tardo," Studi in Onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto

Paribeni, Vol. III (Milan: 1956) pp. 183-189, esp. p. 189

and fig. 5 on p. 188. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (see fig. 14). Circumstances of discovery not published.

P.H. - 0.675m. (about 1/2 life size). White crystalline

marble, with slight rusty surface discoloration. Left

arm, left foot originally carved separately and attached,

the arm with a dowel, the foot with adhesives, now missing.

Head, right shoulder and arm, top of left shoulder broken

off. Right hip abraded. Two round cuttings at the center

of the girdle may have held tenons to attach a separately

made knot, perhaps of another material, such as bronze.

The back of the figure is quite flat and summarily finished.

The workmanship is of fairly good quality.

The statuette represents a standing female figure, heavily draped. The weight is carried on the right leg. The costume consists of a peplos, with an overfold reaching to the top of the thighs, and a mantle. The peplos is open along the proper right side, where the cloth falls in a series of zig-zag folds. One corner of the overfold shows a small lump which may be identified as a tassel. A narrow girdle is bound beneath the breasts; the cloth puffs out

at the proper right side. A narrow baldric is worn diagonally across the chest, over the now missing right shoulder and under the left arm. Just beneath the left breast, the baldric merges with the girdle. A mantle falls behind the figure like a heavy curtain. Although the mantle falls freely at the right side, it is illogically bound by the girdle at the left side. The merging of the baldric into the girdle probably represents the sculptor's misunderstanding of the prototype, in which the baldric must have continued around the left armpit, where it, and not the girdle, held the mantle against the body. The strong vertical folds of the heavy, opaque peplos accentuate the quiet stance of the figure. The right leg, which carries the weight, is shrouded in the cloth, its outer contour expressed only by a deeply cut vertical fold. The left leg, the contours of which are much more revealed, is drawn back and to the side, and is bent at the knee. Probably only the ball of the left foot rested on the ground. The left leg is framed by deeply cut folds. The peplos hem trails over the ground, hiding the ~~right~~ foot except for the front of the sandal, with its high, double-layered sole, shaped around the largest toe. The apparent lack of movement in the pose and the inert peplos is contradicted by the backward drift of the mantle, possibly caused by the movement of the arms. Unfortunately, the original pose of the arms is not known. The preserved

stump of the left upper arm seems to indicate that it was held downward. The proportions of the figure are rather matronly.

Laurenzi, without offering parallels, identified the Rhodian statuette as a Muse, presumably on the basis of the baldric. Although variously named Muses who carry a lyre or kithara in the left hand wear the baldric, in the manner of the Apollo Kitharodos in the Vatican,¹⁷¹ other female types also wear it. The personification of Tragedy from Pergamon wears a baldric from which hangs a sword, but the baldric is very wide, and the elaborate handling of the drapery is stylistically very different from the Rhodian figure. Aphrodite sometimes wears a sword hung from a baldric, as in the fourth-century statue from Epidauros, and a probably second-century Aphrodite or nymph in Milan,¹⁷² but these figures are partially nude and erotic in quality, unlike the heavily draped, rather matronly statuette in Rhodes. Moreover, the Rhodian figure shows no trace of a sword.

The remaining possibility is that the Rhodian piece

¹⁷¹Adriani, Repertorio, ser. A, vol. II, p. 34, no. 131 and pl. 69, fig. 223; C. Panella, "Iconografia delle Muse sui sarcofagi romani," Studi Miscellanei 12 (1967) pp. 11-44, esp. pls. 10, 2 and 5 (Erato) and 11, 8 (Terpsichore); M. Wegner, Die Musensarkophage (Berlin: 1966) Beilage 3e (Melpomene).

¹⁷²EA 629-630 (Aphrodite from Epidauros); A. Frova, "L'Afrodite-Musa di Milano," BdA 39 (1954) 97-106.

represents Artemis, wearing the baldric to hold a quiver behind her right shoulder. Artemis is sometimes shown wearing a peplos with a long overfold, girded high, as in the Artemis of Larnaca in Vienna.¹⁷³ Unfortunately, the Rhodian figure does not preserve the right shoulder, so that the presence of a quiver can never be proven. However, there appears to be, in the British Museum, another replica of the same type, which is reportedly from Rhodes and supports the identification of the figure in question as Artemis.¹⁷⁴ The workmanship of the British Museum replica, which is preserved only from the shoulders to the waist, is summary, but the remaining compositional elements are very close to the statuette in Rhodes. The baldric merges with the girdle in the same way; the pattern of the peplos folds above the girdle is very similar; a small portion of the mantle is preserved, falling like a curtain behind the left shoulder. Two deep dowel cuttings behind the right shoulder, one of which still contains its dowel, could well have served to attach a quiver, and

¹⁷³G. Rizzo, Prassitele (Milan: 1932) pp. 12-14, pl. 15.

¹⁷⁴Smith, British Museum, Vol. III, p. 207, no. 2083. Possibly from Rhodes. Dated to the Hellenistic period. P.H. - 0.18m. (about 2/3 life size). Head and neck originally carved separately and dowelled into cavity between the shoulders, now missing. Arms broken off. The piece is not illustrated in the publication, but I was able to examine it in the storerooms of the British Museum.

therefore suggest that the figure represented Artemis. One cutting is located a few centimeters below the topmost preserved edge of the right shoulder, the other a few centimeters above the girdle. The upper and front surfaces of the left shoulder are prepared for the attachment of separately carved pieces; there are three small cuttings in a triangular group at the front of the shoulder. It is possible that a separately carved short fold of the mantle was attached here, in a drapery arrangement similar to that of the Artemis of Larnaca.

A fourth-century Artemis type, known in a number of replicas,¹⁷⁵ is similarly clad in a peplos with a long overfold, and also has the baldric hung from the right shoulder. The girdle, however, is worn at the natural waistline rather than just beneath the breasts. It is possible that the Rhodian type, with the course of its baldric interrupted by a high girdle, is a Hellenistic re-creation of such a fourth-century type. Laurenzi dates the Rhodian figure to the second century B.C.

¹⁷⁵The replicas are listed in C. Blümel, Römische Kopien griechischer Skulpturen des vierten Jahrhunderts v. Chr. (Berlin: 1938) p. 26, no. K241. Another fourth-century long-skirted Artemis type, wearing a mantle around the back and over the arms, is EA 603, in Corfu.

CATALOG NUMBER 21 -- Athena

Istanbul, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished.

Mendel, Catalogue, Vol. III, pp. 13-14, no. 810. Lindos III, pt. 2, pp. 547-551, no. 7, figs. 18-19 (Poulsen).

Halil Édhem bey, "Archäologische Funde im Jahre 1907. Türkei," AA 23 (1908) col. 113. H. Thiersch, "Die Nike von Samothrake," GöttNachr (1931) pt. 2, pp. 337-378, esp. pp. 369-370, fig. 20. Lippold, Handbuch, p. 361, note 2. See fig. 15 (photograph after Lindos III, loc. cit.). From Lindos. P.H. - 1.15m. (about twice life size). White, slightly crystalline marble. Preserved from shoulders to hips; the break at the lower edge runs obliquely across the abdomen from the upper part of the right hip to the lower part of the left hip. Head originally carved separately and dowelled into a rectangular cutting in a shallow cavity between the shoulders, now missing. Right arm from shoulder, left arm from biceps downward originally carved separately and dowelled into place, now missing. The dowel cuttings for for the attachment of the arms are large and rectangular. Knot of girdle and snakes bordering aegis originally carved separately and attached with very small tenons (to judge from the size of the holes), now missing. The cuttings for the snakes continue behind the left arm. Surface abraded on left upper arm, abdomen, drapery folds, gorgoneion. The back is quite flat; the contours of the torso are only vaguely

indicated here and a few folds roughly carved. Mendel reports two large rectangular cuttings at the top of the back, which could not be examined in the museum, since the statue has been placed directly against a wall. Poulsen describes the back as having a large depression, placed diagonally, in which there is a large, deep cutting. The right side, just beneath the arm stump, was smoothed into a flat, rectangular joining surface, with a rectangular cutting at the level of the girdle. This surface, hidden from the front view by a peplos fold, was probably meant for the attachment of a support (see below). Mendel records traces of a helmet on the back of the neck. The workmanship is good.

The colossal figure represents Athena, clad in a peplos girdled beneath the breasts by one or two snakes knotted at the center front. The small size of the dowel cutting for the serpentine knot suggests that it was made of a relatively light material, perhaps bronze. An aegis, originally bordered by attached serpents, perhaps also of bronze, lies across the top of the bosom. The gorgoneion, in three-quarter view, is tilted obliquely. Its features, although abraded, clearly are in the "pathetic" style typical of many fourth-century and Hellenistic heads; large, deeply set eyes slant downward at the outer corners, and the lips are slightly parted.

The weight appears to have been carried on the left leg, since the left hip swings outward. The left upper arm is almost vertical; enough of the right shoulder is preserved to show that the right upper arm was outstretched to the side. A side view of the statue reveals its remarkable thinness in relation to its other dimensions. In its matronly proportions, the high girding of the chiton, and the type of aegis and gorgoneion, the Rhodian figure is very close to the Athena of the Pergamon altar.¹⁷⁶ The Rhodian figure is more frontal in pose, however, does not move as violently as the Pergamene Athena, and does not have its dynamic quality. The Rhodian figure may be an adaptation of the narrative, relief type as a free-standing figure, and as such should perhaps be dated soon after the Pergamon altar. It is interesting that, while the altar seems to the viewer to be decorated with a series of statues in the round flattened against the background, the Rhodian figure, with its reduced depth and large cuttings in the back, probably for supportive struts attached to a wall, seems to be such a statue.¹⁷⁷ Certainly the shallow depth of the Rhodian statue in relation

¹⁷⁶The best photograph of the Pergamene Athena appears in Lullies and Hirmer, Greek Sculpture, pl. 241.

¹⁷⁷Although it is possible that the Rhodian figure decorated a structure such as a monumental altar, no suitable architectural remains at Lindos have been recorded.

to its great height precludes its standing without very strong supports. The flat joining surface and cutting below the right arm, hidden from the front view by the peplos, may have been intended to secure the figure to a vertical, flat-sided support, such as a pillar, which strengthened the joint of the extended arm to the shoulder.

Poulsen dated the statue to the second century B.C., on the basis of the comparison with the Pergamon altar. Lippold¹⁷⁸ placed the figure in his chronological period 200-150 B.C. Thiersch compared it to the Pergamon altar Athena and found the workmanship less fine, but did not indicate how this factor might affect the date. A very similar Athena appears together with Enkelados in one of the metopes of the Temple of Athena at Troy, but the chronology of this monument is disputed.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁸ Handbuch, p. 361, without, however, relating it to the Pergamene Athena.

¹⁷⁹ The most recent comprehensive study of the metopes of the temple is B. Holden, The Metopes of the Temple of Athena at Ilion (Northampton, Mass.: 1964). The close similarity of the Trojan Athena group to that of the Pergamon altar is admitted; an early third-century date for the temple is maintained on the grounds that the baroque style already existed at Rhodes before the existence of the Pergamon altar (pp. 29-30). The Athena from Lindos is not brought into the discussion. For evidence of a first-century date for the Ilion temple, see F. Goethert and H. Schleif, Der Athenatempel von Ilion (Berlin: 1962).

CATALOG NUMBER 22 -- Athena

Danish National Museum. Inv. no. 12200. Lindos III, pt. 2, p. 559, no. 2, figs. 38-39 (Poulsen). Not illustrated here. From Lindos. P.H. - 0.33m. (about 1/5 life size). White crystalline marble with slight rusty surface discoloration. Figure is broken in two at knee level and mended. Tail of serpent originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. Head and neck, both forearms, head of serpent broken off. There is a dowel cutting, of unknown purpose, at the center back of the plinth. The back is flat; a few very rigid folds are indicated. The workmanship is rather summary.

The statuette represents Athena, standing with her weight on the right leg, and accompanied by a serpent coiled on the plinth at her proper right side. She wears a peplos with a long, girdled overfold, an aegis, and a mantle, which falls behind her like a stiff, flat curtain. The mantle has an overfold at the top, which falls as far as the natural waistline. A small flap of the mantle is brought forward over either shoulder, where it apparently was fastened, the pins having probably been added in paint. The feet are sandalled. The serpent's head rests on the plinth beside the right foot.

Poulsen has compared the statuette to the Athena Parthenos, with which it shares a similarity in the stance and the arrangement of the peplos. The serpent, however, is at

the opposite side from that of the Parthenos. Poulsen does not attempt to date the statuette, but considers it a later adaptation of the fifth-century Pheidian Parthenos theme. A date earlier than the late Hellenistic period would seem to be precluded by the style of the vertical folds of the peplos skirt, which are very deeply cut, rigid, and mechanical in effect. It is not impossible that the statuette is of Roman date. To my knowledge, there are no exact parallels for the type, and it is probably best to consider it not a small copy of a large-scale adaptation of the Parthenos theme, but one of many small pieces of sculpture with indirect references to well-known sculptural themes, created for the votive or decorative needs of the average man. This statuette may have been a dedication to Athena Lindia.¹⁸⁰

¹⁸⁰Inscribed bases for small marble statuettes of Athena were found in Lindos, e.g. Lindos II, no. 323.

CATALOG NUMBER 23 -- Athena

Danish National Museum. Inv. no. 12201. Lindos III, pt. 2, p. 560, no. 3, fig. 40 (Poulsen). See fig. 16 (photograph after Lindos III, loc. cit.). From Lindos. P.H. ~ 0.205m. (about 1/5 life size). White crystalline marble with slight rusty surface discoloration. Preserved from the shoulders to about the middle of the calves. Head and neck broken off. The back is flattened, the contours of the torso only vaguely indicated. Marks of the toothed chisel are visible on both the front and back of the figure. The workmanship is summary.

The statuette represents Athena, standing in a rigid, frontal pose. The left leg moves stiffly forward. The position of this limb, and its bulbous knee and swelling thigh visible through the garments, are reminiscent of the legs of archaic statues. The costume consists of a chiton or peplos, a transparent mantle draped over the shoulders, and an aegis. The upper edge of the mantle is twisted and folded across the waist. It completely covers the left hand and arm, which hangs down along the side. The hand clenches the edge of the mantle, which then cascades along the left leg. The mantle also covers the right arm, which is bent at the elbow, with the forearm crossing the chest diagonally. The aegis is composed of two breastplate-like pieces; a gorgoneion would be expected to link the two pieces, but the right hand covers this spot. The thumb and forefinger are curved together as

if to hold a small object (a flower?) which may have been painted. A twisted lock falls over each shoulder, and a flat curtain of hair is visible at the back.

The hair, the leg, the gesture of the right hand and the stiffly frontal pose appear to be deliberate archaisms. These features are curiously combined with such Hellenistic stylistic traits as the clenched hand swathed in the transparent mantle,¹⁸¹ and the arrowhead folds over the right hip. The combination of archaizing and Hellenistic elements is known in other Rhodian Hellenistic sculptures.¹⁸² Like most of these, the Athena lacks clear parallels for the type as a whole, although the individual features are not unusual. The figure may have been a humble dedication to Athena Lindia, as catalog number 22. If this were the case, the archaizing traits may have carried with them a suggestion of venerability appropriate to a votive object. Poulsen considered the Athena probably late Hellenistic, a date which is supported by the eclectic mixing of styles.

¹⁸¹On the Hellenistic transparent mantle, see catalog number 34. The mantle-covered hand is known both in the third century (as in the Baker dancer, D.B. Thompson, "A Bronze Dancer from Alexandria," *AJA* 54 [1950] 371-385) and in the first century B.C. (as in the female figures from Herculaneum, Bieber, *Sculpture*, figs. 748-753, which are thought to reflect early Hellenistic work).

¹⁸²See catalog numbers 46-49.

CATALOG NUMBER 24 -- Athena (?)

Istanbul, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished.

Mendel, Catalogue, Vol. II, pp. 111-112, no. 374. Lindos III, pt. 2, pp. 552-553, no. 10, figs. 25-26 (Poulsen).

See fig. 17 (photograph after Lindos III, loc. cit.). From Lindos. P.H. - torso 0.09m., base 0.055m. White marble with yellowish patina and slight rusty discoloration on portions of back. Traces of red paint on the band across the chest. The torso is preserved from the base of the neck to the knees. The rectangular base does not join the torso directly, but it is of the same material and of a suitable size, and has therefore been reconstructed as the base of the statuette. Right arm, originally carved separately and attached, without a tenon, to an oval cutting in the torso, 0.02 x 0.13m. in size, now missing. Head, left hand broken off. Left shoulder and upper arm, right breast abraded. At the left deltoid is a small round cutting which Mendel suggests served to attach a metal ornament. An abraded, oval protrusion at the top of the base may be the remains of the hem of the garment. The back is finished all around, but the workmanship is summary.

The statuette represents a standing female figure. The weight is carried on the left leg and the right knee is bent. The left elbow is bent, and the back of the left hand rests on the hip. The figure wears a peplos with a long overfold,

girdled at the natural waistline. A small mantle is worn over the peplos; it falls over the left arm, across the back, under the right arm, and over the right shoulder; the end of the mantle hangs down the back at the right side. A wide band runs diagonally from the left shoulder to the waist. The band is wider at the shoulder than at the waist, and does not appear at all at the back of the figure. Poulsen suggests that it is a rudimentary aegis,¹⁸³ and that the figure therefore represents Athena, although there are no clear parallels for an Athena of this type.

The base unfortunately is not inscribed, but it is possible that the statuette was a humble dedication to Athena Lindia (see catalog number 22). It is difficult to date closely such a poorly worked piece on stylistic grounds. There is a classical reminiscence in the arrangement of the peplos, which is similar to that of the Athena Parthenos.

¹⁸³The aegis may be of the narrow type, worn diagonally - cf. for example Praschniker, "Aus dem Depot des Akropolis - museums I. Athene-Gestalten," ÖJh 37 (1948) Beiblatt, pp. 5-30, nos. 12-14. However, the aegis is much more detailed in these, and similar, figurines. Professor B. S. Ridgway has suggested to me that the diagonal band may be a misunderstanding for the crossband of an archaic diagonal mantle.

CATALOG NUMBER 25 -- Athena, Head

Istanbul, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished.

Mendel, Catalogue, Vol. III, pp. 14-15, no. 811. Lindos

III, pt. 2, pp. 551-552, no. 8, fig. 20 (Poulsen). M.

Bieber, "Späthellenistische Frauenstatuen aus Kos," Antike

Plastik, Walter Amelung zum sechsigsten Geburtstag (Berlin:

1928) p. 17, fig. 2. R. Horn, "Hellenistische Köpfe II,"

RömMitt 53 (1938) 82 and note 1. H. Thiersch, "Die Nike von

Samothrake," GöttNachr (1931) pt. 2, pp. 337-378, esp. p.

369. Lippold, Handbuch, p. 361. See fig. 18 (photograph after

Lindos III, loc. cit.). Found near the east boundary of

of the stoa on the acropolis of Lindos. P.H. - 0.55m. (more

than twice life size). White crystalline marble with rusty

surface discoloration. Head and neck preserved. Although

it is not so recorded in any publication, the photograph

shows the lower surface of the neck to be so regular that

it may have been the surface which joined directly to the

torso; this surface was unfortunately not visible in the

museum display. The upper part of the head, from the right

temple to the left eye, is broken off diagonally and mended.

An irregular strip of stone is missing between the two pre-

served edges of the break. Back of head, portions of helmet

at lower left and right sides originally carved separately

and attached, now missing. Nose, lips, left ear, most of

right ear, outer part of left eye, locks of hair below ears

broken off. Surface badly chipped and abraded. Top of head restored in plaster. There are two rows of small round dowel cuttings across the forehead, perhaps to secure a metal wreath. Mendel thought the workmanship summary, but the very large size of the head and the poor condition of the surface must be taken into account. Originally the head must have given an impression of considerable power, and delicacy of carving should perhaps not be expected in a work of this size and nature. The statue as a whole was probably of good quality.

This colossal head is identified as Athena by the helmet, which is Corinthian. Above the right eye-hole are the front paws of a feline animal in relief. Poulsen has suggested that the helmet was decorated with griffins. The head is turned to the proper right on a shapely, powerful neck. The face is a long, smooth oval; the eyes are deeply set at the inner corners and slant downward at the outer corners, where they are accentuated by overhanging folds of flesh; the lips are parted. The front hair is parted in the center and waves down and back over the ears; the forehead is high and is ogival in shape.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁴The exaggeratedly ogival forehead shape appears also in the girl's head from Chios in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (the best photograph is in Lullies and Hirmer, pl. 229), which is usually dated to the fourth century, but which Carpenter dates to the late second century, Greek Sculpture, pp. 248-249.

The head, with its "pathetic" expression, and the rather generalized modelling of the features (which may be more apparent than real, because of the erosion of the surface), is closely comparable in style to catalog number 60, the colossal head of Helios. Poulsen has compared the Athena to second-century Pergamene sculpture. It is unfortunate that the head of the Athena of the Great Altar of Zeus is not fully preserved. The Rhodian Athena is similar in expression to other heads of the Pergamene altar, but the generalized modelling, if indeed it is intentional and not the result of erosion, sets the head somewhat apart from the more detailed Pergamene work. Perhaps the difference is due to the fact that both the Rhodian Athena and the Helios are about twice the size of the Pergamene figures. Certainly the inspiration seems to be the same, and the Rhodian head of Athena is probably best considered part of a colossal statue erected during the second century B.C. in the sanctuary of Athena Lindia, perhaps, because of its large size, as a public dedication. Some of the surface abrasion may be due to weathering, and the figure may therefore have been standing in the open air. The suggestion that the head may once have belonged to the colossal torso of Athena from Lindos¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁵Lippold, Handbuch, p. 361, note 2; Thiersch, loc. cit.
(see text above).

(catalog number 21) cannot be correct, since the head is too large for the torso, and the flat lower surface of the neck (if it is a joining surface and not a break) does not correspond to the concave cutting for the head in the top of the torso. Lippold placed the head in his chronological period 200-150.¹⁸⁶ Bieber¹⁸⁷ compared it to a female head from Kos in the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul, and to the colossal head of Helios in Rhodes, and dated it to the late Hellenistic period.

¹⁸⁶loc. cit. (see note 185).

¹⁸⁷loc. cit. (see text above).

CATALOG NUMBER 26 -- Athena, Head

Istanbul, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. Not included in Mendel's catalog of sculpture in the Istanbul Museum. Lindos III, pt. 2, p. 546, no. 5, fig. 15 (Poulsen). Not illustrated here. From Lindos; found near the stoa on the acropolis. P.H. - 0.19m. (about life size). White crystalline marble with rusty surface discoloration. Only the head is preserved. Upper part of helmet originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. The surface is very badly eroded. The head is so poorly preserved that the original quality of its workmanship is no longer clearly perceptible.

The head can be identified by its helmet as Athena. The point of the helmet, which is Corinthian, is deeply undercut, forming a shadow over the forehead. The face is almost rectangular in shape, but the jawline is rounded. The eyes are deeply set, the lips parted. Stylistic comparisons are difficult to make because of the poor state of preservation. Poulsen has compared the head to fourth-century Athena types.¹⁸⁸ While the deep setting of the eyes and the parted lips do find fourth-century parallels, these features appearing

¹⁸⁸He cites Blümel, Römische Kopien griechischer Skulpturen des vierten Jahrhunderts v. Chr. (Berlin: 1938) pp. 29-30, no. K247, related to Br.Br. 608 (replicas there listed).

together with the use of dramatic shadowing between the helmet and forehead may point rather to a second-century date. The rectangular shape of the face may be compared to the Alkyoneus of the Pergamon Altar,¹⁸⁹ or the colossal head of Helios from Rhodes (catalog number 60).

¹⁸⁹Lullies and Hirmer, Greek Sculpture, pl. 244.

CATALOG NUMBER 27 -- Athena, Head

Danish National Museum. Inv. no. 12205. Lindos III, pt. 2, p. 560, no. 4, fig. 41 (Poulsen). See fig. 19 (photograph after Lindos III, loc. cit.). Found at Kopria. P.H. - 0.085m. (less than 1/2 life size). White crystalline marble with slight rusty surface discoloration. Head and neck preserved. Lower part of face, including most of nose, mouth and chin, portion of hair at proper right side, cheek pieces of helmet broken off. The surface is very badly eroded. The back is completely rounded and the surface is finished, although without much detail. The workmanship is summary.

The head can be identified as Athena by the helmet, which is of the Athenian type. A puff of hair protrudes from the helmet at either side, covering the ears. Part of an undetailed mass of hair falling down the back is preserved. The helmet is also carved without detail. The surface is rather softly modelled, but this quality, which is very obvious in the published photograph, may be in part due to the erosion of the surface combined with the generalized nature of the modelling, and may not have been so pronounced in the original. The eyes, classical in style, have well defined upper and lower lids and clearly arched brows. Poulsen does not attempt to date the head. It is without clear parallels, and could be either fourth century in date, or a late Hellenistic derivation of classical work.

CATALOG NUMBER 28 -- Athena, Head (?)

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. Clara Rhodos VI-VII, pt. 1, p. 268, no. 2 and fig. 55 on p. 263 (Jacopi). Not exhibited in Museum. Not illustrated here. Found in Cameiros, near the stoa. P.H. - 0.24m. (about life size). White marble. Lower part of head and neck preserved. Upper part of head from about the level of the ears, proper left side of face, nose broken off. The lower surface of the neck was prepared for joining to a torso. The quality of the workmanship is not clear in the photograph.

The head is known to me only in the poor published photograph. It is set on an extremely long and powerful neck, ^{and} wears an Athenian helmet. The only facial feature preserved to any extent is the mouth, which has parted lips. The nape of the neck is covered by the collar of the helmet, from the bottom of which protrudes another small protective neck-piece. From beneath the latter a lock of hair escapes. Jacopi identified the piece as a head of Athena on the basis of the helmet. It is not impossible, however, that the head is that of a male warrior. Below the helmet there are no signs of the luxuriant locks of hair on the nape, which are usually found on figures of Athena wearing this type of helmet, such as the Athena Parthenos. The very powerful neck, comparable to that of the colossal head of Helios (catalog number 60), also suggests that the head may have belonged to a male figure. The

exaggerated length of the neck should place the head in
the Hellenistic period.

CATALOG NUMBER 29 -- Muse

Istanbul, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no unpublished.

Mendel, Catalogue, Vol. III, pp. 11-13, no. 809. Lindos III, 2, pp. 542-544, no. 3, figs. 10-11 (Poulsen). M.

Bieber, "Späthellenistische Frauenstatuen aus Kos," Antike Plastik, Walther Amelung zum sechzigsten Geburtstag (Berlin: 1928) pp. 16-24, esp. pp. 19-21, fig. 7. Bieber, Sculpture, p. 128 and fig. 499. D. Pinkwart, Das Relief des Archelaos von Priene und die "Musen des Philiskos" (Kallmünz: 1965) pp. 99-101, 192-194, replica no. 7, pls. 3b, 4c and d.

Reinach, RSGR, Vol. V, pt. 1, p. 131, 3. See figs. 20-21 (photographs after Lindos III, loc. cit.). P.H. - 0.72m. (about 3/4 life size). White crystalline marble, covered with light red-brown patina. From Lindos. Figure is preserved from neck to feet. The neck and upper part of the bust, carved separately and still preserved, are set into a cavity cut between the shoulders. The upper edge of the chiton coincides with the edge of the cavity. Head, right arm from biceps, left arm from middle of forearm, front of left foot broken off. Right foot, plinth, hem of garment badly abraded. The back is flattened, so that the contours of the body are modelled in reduced depth, and is finished only with the punch. The workmanship is of good quality.

The statuette represents a draped female figure. She stands with her weight on the right leg; the left leg, bent

at the knee, is drawn back and to the side. The pose is strictly frontal. The profile views are almost meaningless compositionally, since the forms are merely blocked out at the sides; the figure was therefore probably displayed in a niche. In the profile view, it is apparent that the abdomen protrudes and the shoulders are pulled back (see fig. 21); these elements of the pose are not visible in the front view. The preserved stump of the right arm indicates that the upper arm was vertical; the position of the lower arm is unknown. The left arm is held vertically, but drawn back and to the side.

The costume consists of a chiton and mantle. The chiton is almost transparent over the right shoulder and bosom, but falls in voluminous, deeply cut and shadowed V-shaped folds around the legs. A transparent mantle is worn over the chiton, draped over the left shoulder and under the right arm. It falls to knee level at the right side, is drawn up to the left hip where it is fastened, and then falls in a brief cascade. The overfold of the mantle covers the left shoulder and arm with a distinctive, wing-like fold. The mantle is drawn taut over the chiton skirt in a series of diagonal curved arrowhead folds. The feet are poorly preserved, but the height of the stumps suggests that they were shod in high-soled sandals.

This female figure, preserved in numerous replicas,

repeats the Muse type, usually named Klio, standing at the proper right of Apollo in the relief representing the Apotheosis of Homer by Archelaos of Priene,¹⁹⁰ The Muses depicted in the relief have been associated with the Rhodian sculptor Philiskos, but in a recent study D. Pinkwart has argued convincingly that the Muses, which are not uniform in style, are to be disassociated with Philiskos.¹⁹¹ She has suggested that the Muse from Lindos should be grouped with two other Muse types pictured in Archelaos' relief, the "aufgelehnte" Muse, of which catalog number 30 is a Rhodian replica, and the Muse with the small kithara, on the basis of similarities in costume and style, and because the three appear together in other Muse cycles. She dates the group ca. 160 B.C., on the basis of stylistic comparisons with the Cleopatra from Delos, the standing female figure from the Priene altar, and the Telephos frieze.¹⁹² If these views are correct, the fact that the only two identifiable

¹⁹⁰The most recent listing and discussion of the replicas appears in Pinkwart, op. cit. (see text above), pp. 192-194.

¹⁹¹The arguments for and against the attribution of Muse types to Philiskos cannot be summarized here. See Pinkwart, op. cit. (see text above).

¹⁹²Op. cit. (see text above), pp. 103-107. However, for an earlier date for Archelaos' relief, ca. 220-170, based on the evidence of the inscription, see G.M.A. Richter, Portraits of the Greeks (London: 1965) Vol. I, p. 54.

replicas of Muse types found on Rhodes are members of Pinkwart's grouping of three might be additional supportive evidence that such a group did exist. The two Rhodian replicas could not have belonged to the same set of statues, however, since they differ in scale.

CATALOG NUMBER 30 -- Muse, Head

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. 533. L. Laurenzi, "Piccole sculture inedite di Rodi," ArchCl 10 (1958) 177-179, pls. 60-61. D. Pinkwart, Das Relief des Archelaos von Priene und die "Musen des Philiskos" (Kallmünz: 1965) pp. 187-192, replica no. 17. Not exhibited in Museum (not illustrated here). Accidental find in the city of Rhodes, during construction of a military installation on Monte S. Stefano, September 1941. P.H. - 0.11m. (about 1/2 life size). Marble, not further described in publication. Head and portion of neck preserved. Most of nose broken off, chin abraded. Incrustation mars right side of face. Clump of hair at back of head, originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. Dowel cutting in lower surface of neck for attachment of head to missing torso. The head is fully detailed all around. In the photograph, the workmanship appears to be of fairly good quality.

The head is known to me only in the published photograph. It represents a youthful female. The face is oval, and is framed by locks of hair waving back from the temples to the crown; the hair does not cover the ears. The lips are closed. The eyes are deeply set and slant downward slightly at the outer corners, but the expression of the face is nevertheless serene rather than "pathetic." Laurenzi identified the head as a replica of one of the Muse types which appears on the

relief representing the Apotheosis of Homer by Archelaos of Priene.¹⁹³ The Muse in question stands at the proper right of Apollo in Archelaos' relief, and is sometimes called Polyhymnia. The Rhodian head is used by Laurenzi as confirmation of his theory that the Muse group represented in Archelaos' relief copied an original group of insular-Asiatic origin, executed by the Rhodian sculptor Philiskos. Such a group is mentioned by Pliny, who records that Philiskos created a group of Apollo, Leto, Artemis and the Muses, which was on view in the Temple of Apollo in Rome.¹⁹⁴ The problem of the relationship of the Muse group of Philiskos to the relief of Archelaos has recently been reconsidered by Pinkwart, whose general conclusions and views on the date and stylistic place of the "Polyhymnia" have been summarized in the discussion of catalog number 29.

¹⁹³The type is the "aufgelehnte Muse" of D. Pinkwart, op. cit. (see text above) pp. 187-192. This Muse also appears on the Muse base from Halicarnassos in the British Museum, Pinkwart, op. cit., p. 191, no. 23.

¹⁹⁴Hist. Nat. xxxvi.34

CATALOG NUMBER 31 -- Nike (?)

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unknown to author. Unpublished. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (not illustrated here). Circumstances of discovery unknown to author. P.H. - ca. 0.90m. (somewhat over life size). White crystalline marble, with slight rusty surface discoloration. Preserved from hips to ankles. Front of figure badly abraded. Left lower leg and foot originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. The figure was difficult to examine in the Rhodes Museum because of the circumstances of display, but the mantle folds seemed to be carved all around the back. The workmanship is fairly good.

The very badly preserved figure probably represents a female striding forward on the left leg, most of which is now missing. The unusually strong forward movement of the stride suggests that the figure may have been partially in flight and may therefore represent Nike, although no traces of wings are preserved at the back. The garments consist of a chiton, and a mantle, rolled at the upper edge and slung loosely across the abdomen from hip to hip. The statue is so poorly preserved that the arrangement of the mantle at the left hip, where it was probably fastened in place, is uncertain. A protuberance at the upper left side may once have been part of the left forearm pressed against the body. From under the protuberance issues a cascade of mantle folds

which falls along the left leg. The mantle may therefore have been held in place under the left forearm. At the center front, just beneath the mantle roll, the cloth is carried from thigh to thigh in several broad arrowhead folds. The cloth, which is swept back over the left leg by the movement of the figure, is carved as a series of long, smooth parallel folds blown one against the other, a stylistic device reminiscent of fifth-century moving drapery, as in the figure of "Iris" in the east pediment of the Parthenon.¹⁹⁵ A Hellenistic date is indicated by the arrowhead folds between the thighs and by a deeply cut groove at the left between the body and the mantle folds, which outlines the hip and thigh in shadow. If the execution of the moving drapery is considered an intentional reminiscence of classical style, the statue could be dated in the late Hellenistic period.

If this statue is a representation of Nike, it is not clearly paralleled in Hellenistic sculpture. It is strongly dissimilar from the Nike of Samothrace in the uniform opacity of the garment and in the smoothness of the motion lines. The closest iconographic parallel appears in the second to

¹⁹⁵F. Brommer's figure G, op. cit. (see note 104), pp. 12-14, pls. 38-42. A parallel closer in date to the Nike, and perhaps derived from a similar source, is the Helios of the Pergamon altar frieze.

to first-century B.C. coinage of Side in Pamphylia,¹⁹⁶ on the reverse of which a Nike, wearing a mantle draped across the hips, strides forward on the left leg. The coin type may reflect a late Hellenistic sculptural type known in the eastern Mediterranean. A figure of Nike from Kos is similar in the general arrangement of the mantle around the hips, but the right leg moves forward, rather than the left, and the handling of the drapery folds is dissimilar.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁶ British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Lycia, Pamphylia, and Pisidia (London: 1897) pp. 146-150, nos. 20-61, pls. 26-27.

¹⁹⁷ Clara Rhodos II, pp. 9-10, no. 1, fig. 1.

CATALOG NUMBER 32 -- Nymph

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. 5228. Clara Rhodos II, pp. 23-24, no. 7, fig. 10 (Maiuri). Exhibited in Museum, photographed (see figs. 22-23). Accidental discovery, during construction in 1922 of the Italian Women's School, beside the east slope of Monte S. Stefano. P.H. - 0.70m. (about 1/2 life size). White crystalline marble, called island marble by Maiuri, with reddish patina over entire surface. Upper part of torso very badly preserved. There seem to have been at least three separately carved pieces which are now missing: the left shoulder and arm, probably held in place by a partially preserved iron dowel, which originally slanted diagonally toward the rear; the front of the torso, including the bosom and the front portions of the shoulders, which may have been either cemented in place or dowelled to the now missing left shoulder; and the top of the right shoulder, which must have been cemented on, since there is no dowel cutting. Feet, portion of right arm from wrist to biceps, small piece of torso just beneath the bosom broken off. The back is fully rounded, but only the most important features are carved, without detail. The workmanship is of very good quality.

The statuette represents a draped female figure perched on a high rocky seat. When viewed from the proper left side, the figure appears to sit firmly on the rock, while at the

right, the rock seems to offer a much more precarious support, against which she leans rather than sits. This apparent compositional discrepancy is due to the fact that the woman has been portrayed at the moment of stretching her right leg down toward the ground, while bracing herself against the rock with her left heel. The right hand grasps the edge of the rock behind the right hip. The composition is an interesting study of balance, a combination of movement and arrest, juxtaposing the downward stretch of the right leg against the braking action of the right hand and the bent left leg. The position of the left arm is unknown, but since both the garment and the rock lack any trace of it, it probably was held free of the body.

The figure wears a thin chiton, with very narrow and shallow folds, girded below the breasts. All traces of the girdle have been lost in the front, but it is sketchily indicated around the sides and back. A mantle is draped around the hips and over the legs. The upper edge of the mantle is rolled down and placed around the hips, with the two mantle ends crossing in the front. One mantle end falls beside the left thigh, while the other end forms a pouch at the center of the figure and then falls in a long, zig-zag fold between the legs. The cloth of the mantle is heavy and opaque, clearly differentiated from the thin chiton, except where it covers the legs. Here it is transparent, revealing beneath

it a few delicately carved vertical chiton folds. The contours of the legs are clearly outlined even under the double layer of chiton and mantle; in fact, the cloth is molded around the legs almost as if it were wet. The mantle is stretched over the right leg in a series of arrowhead folds, and then falls gracefully over the rock. The arrangement of the drapery frames and emphasizes the legs, while deep undercutting at either side of each leg creates deep shadows which contribute even more in calling attention to the lower part of the figure. In contrast, there is very little detail in the preserved portion of the torso, perhaps to draw the viewer's attention to the movement of the legs.

The rocky seat is composed of a series of wedge-shaped stones placed one upon the other at varying angles. When seen from the proper right side, the stones are grouped into two large triangles, placed apex to apex, creating a picturesque, jagged outline. The triangular motif is repeated in the drapery falling over the rocks, the empty space between arm and body, the triangle formed by the right leg and the mantle folds framing it, and the implied triangles of space formed by the jagged outlines of the rocks. The sculptor must have intended the right side to be the principal viewing point, for when seen from the proper left side, the rocky seat has less interesting contours and seems much too large in relation to the size of the figure. Moreover, on this

side the figure and drapery are modelled without subtlety, the drapery is not clearly differentiated from the rock, and the movements of the legs cannot be seen at all. While the figure is attractive from the frontal viewpoint, it is the proper right side that most fully reveals the entire composition.

Maiuri suggested that the statuette represents a nymph stretching her right foot toward a pool of water. Since the even patina over the entire surface of the figure suggests continual exposure to the elements over a period of time, the figure may have adorned the edge of a pool in a natural setting, so placed that the awkward left side was masked by a structure or perhaps by plants.

The type appears to lack clear parallels. Lippold¹⁹⁸ suggested that it might have been a free rendition of a seated female figure known in several replicas, one of them in the Vatican.¹⁹⁹ This type is generally similar to the Rhodian in the shape of the high, rocky seat, the arrangement of the garments, and, to some extent, the pose. The right hand rests on the rear of the seat, the thighs slant obliquely downward, and the right foot points down, but the figure is

¹⁹⁸Handbuch, p. 323, note 13.

¹⁹⁹The replicas are listed and the type briefly discussed by von Steuben in Helbig⁴ Vol. I, p. 68, no. 87.

nevertheless firmly seated, and does not seem to slip off the rock, as does the Rhodian figure. Von Steuben,²⁰⁰ in a discussion of the Vatican replica, suggests that the high seat, hanging legs, and arm stretched to the rear place the original of the type in the late Hellenistic period, probably as a product of the Rhodian school,²⁰¹ although he does not specifically connect the Vatican replica to the statuette in Rhodes.

The Rhodian figure contains an indication of late Hellenistic date in its use of elements of late classical drapery style. This can be seen particularly in the emphasizing of the legs by framing them with heavily shadowed folds, while covering them with transparent, clinging, wet-looking cloth.²⁰²

²⁰⁰Op. cit. (see note 199).

²⁰¹Lippold (op. cit., see note 198) connects the type with the Pan and Daphnis group, which is characterized by a high seat and thighs strongly slanted downward, and which has been attributed to the Rhodian sculptor Heliodoros. Lippold's dating of the above-mentioned types to the third century is probably too early.

²⁰²Good comparisons can be found in the reliefs of the Nike Temple parapet (see especially Carpenter, op. cit. (see note 106), pls. 25 and 28 left) and the Nereids of the Nereid Monument (see especially the photograph taken in frontal view in Collignon, Statues funéraires dans l'art grec [Paris: 1911] p. 178, fig. 107; Mon Inst Vol. X, pl. 11, no. 81 left).

CATALOG NUMBER 33 -- Female Figure, Draped

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unknown to author. Unpublished. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (not illustrated here). Circumstances of discovery unknown to author. P.H. - ca. 0.75m. (about 1/2 life size). White crystalline marble with slight rusty surface discoloration. Head and neck, right shoulder and arm, left foot and portion of mantle around it, support at left side originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. The dowel cutting for the attachment of the right arm extends all the way into the deep cavity cut between the shoulders to receive the neck and head. Outer portion of left upper arm probably originally carved separately and cemented in place, now missing. A dowel cutting in the back below the left elbow probably served for the attachment of the figure to a support. A row of tiny holes along the preserved edge of the left upper arm probably held bronze pins, the fastenings of the chiton sleeve. Left forearm, mantle folds below left elbow broken off. The upper part of the back is roughly blocked out; in the lower part, only the major folds of drapery are carved. The workmanship is quite competent.

The statuette represents a standing female figure, who crosses her left ankle over the right, and leans her left elbow on a now missing support at the left side. The missing left forearm was probably extended forward horizontally.

The posture is both careless and elegant. The legs are drawn slightly to the proper right of the torso, creating some torsion. The profile views are unsatisfactory because the figure is somewhat flattened in depth, and leans toward the back and the proper left side. The left shoulder is higher than the right, and the torso is correspondingly tilted. The right hip swings outward strongly.

The figure wears a thin, although not transparent, chiton, girded below the breasts, with a row of tiny holes for inserted fastenings on the left upper arm. A mantle, the upper edge of which is twisted into a roll, is draped from the right hip to the top of the support, where it forms a pouch to cushion the left elbow. From here it cascades downward, in a wide sweep of parallel, curving, deeply cut grooves which fill the triangular space between the tilted body and the vertical support.²⁰³ The support was probably nothing more than a simple pillar, since much of it would have been hidden behind the mantle folds. The mantle cloth seems heavy in the voluminous cascade at the left side, but thin where it is molded around the legs, almost as if wet. The mantle is further defined by a few broad arrowhead folds at the sides of the legs, and a pocket of V-shaped folds at the juncture

²⁰³In a manner similar to the drapery of the Aphrodite d'Este in Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, no. 1192; Lippold, Handbuch, pl. 104, no. 2.

of the thighs. The mantle folds are clearly differentiated from those of the chiton. The latter is elaborated with groups of high and narrow, rather mechanical, parallel vertical ridges, which radiate upward from the girdle between the breasts, and downward, at abrupt angles, over the abdomen.

The style in which the figure is executed shows late Hellenistic elements, that is, the arrowhead folds of the mantle, the deep shadowing which accentuates the contour of the body at the left side, and the exaggerated tilt of the body. The standing pose with crossed legs first appeared in the fourth century, for example, in the Praxitelean satyr *Anapauomenos*,²⁰⁴ in Attic funerary reliefs,²⁰⁵ and in the possible copy of a fourth-century Artemis on the Sorrento base.²⁰⁶ In the Hellenistic period, the pose is perhaps best known among female figures as a Hygeia type.²⁰⁷ Because of the lack of attributes, it is not possible to specifically

²⁰⁴G. E. Rizzo, Prassitele (Milan: 1932) pp. 34-37 and pls. 48-56.

²⁰⁵For example, Lullies and Hirmer, Greek Sculpture, pls. 219 and 226. The youth of the Ilissos relief (pl. 218), whose ankles are crossed, is actually seated.

²⁰⁶Picard, Manuel, Vol. III, p. 361, fig. 140.

²⁰⁷Helbig⁴ Vol. I, p. 102, no. 137. There are many Hellenistic female figures of unknown identity and varying costume, with ankles crossed. They are unfortunately too numerous to be collected in this catalog. To my knowledge, there are no close parallels to the Rhodian figure in costume and style among them.

identify the Rhodian figure as a known type. Because of its shallowness, lack of finish at the back, and awkwardness at the sides, the statuette may have originally been displayed in a niche, and was perhaps fastened to the wall by means of the dowel cutting behind the left elbow. The mechanical aspect of the workmanship, particularly in the drapery folds, suggests that we have a replica of a type that had already been repeatedly copied. It was perhaps used for decorative purposes, without reference to a specific deity or mythological figure.

CATALOG NUMBER 34 -- Female Figure, Draped

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unknown to author. Unpublished. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (not illustrated here). Circumstances of discovery unknown to author. P.H. - ca. 1.00m. (about life size). Greyish-white crystalline marble. Preserved from waist downward. Feet, chiton hem, folds of chiton below knee level broken off. Surface of right forearm and left leg badly abraded. The upper surface, back, and proper left side were flattened and roughly finished with the punch, perhaps for an architectural reuse. The workmanship is of very good quality.

The statue represents a draped, standing female figure. The weight is carried on the right leg, and the right hip is somewhat swung outward. The left knee is slightly bent; the now missing left foot was drawn to the rear. The costume consists of a heavy chiton overlaid with a transparent mantle down to knee level. The right forearm and hand, completely enveloped by the mantle, are pressed diagonally across the abdomen. The curved fingers rest at the top of the left thigh, where they grasp the mantle very lightly. The transparency of the cloth is indicated by a series of widely spaced, fairly straight diagonal ridges, while an occasional curved ridge breaks the repetition by forming an arrowhead fold. The vertical folds of the chiton are faintly visible beneath the mantle.

The stance of the Rhodian figure, as far as preserved, is very close to that of statues of the Pudicitia type, of which the best known and dated example is the Cleopatra from Delos.²⁰⁸ However, in the Pudicitia type, one forearm is always held horizontally across the torso to support the opposite elbow. A better parallel for the diagonal position of the arm of the Rhodian figure is a statuette of a dancing woman in Budapest,²⁰⁹ who reaches diagonally across the torso and lightly grasps part of the mantle. However, the Rhodian piece is clearly standing, rather than dancing. Since it is about life size, it is possible that it was originally a portrait statue, for which a stock body type somewhat deviating from the Pudicitia, and perhaps influenced by dancing types, was used.

The transparent mantle worn over a heavier garment is frequently seen on Hellenistic female statues, particularly from Asia Minor and the islands, and has been much discussed.²¹⁰

²⁰⁸For the Cleopatra, see École Française d'Athènes, Exploration archéologique de Délos, Vol. VIII, pt. 1 (Paris: 1922) pp. 218-219, fig. 95. For the group as a whole, see R. Horn, op. cit. (see p. 62), pp. 63-66 and passim.

²⁰⁹Budapest, Museum der Bildende Kunst, no. 76; A. Hekler, op. cit. (see note 80), pp. 84-88. Lippold, Handbuch, pl. 121, 2. A terracotta figurine of similar type has been found in Rhodes, BCH 92 (1968) p. 976, fig. 12.

²¹⁰The problem of the Hellenistic transparent mantle, its chronology and the many different female types on which it appears, cannot be fully discussed in the

While the device of transparency was known to Hellenistic sculptors as early as the third century, a second-century date is indicated for the Rhodian statue by its parallel with the Delian Cleopatra, which is dated on epigraphic grounds to 138/7 B.C., and by the dramatic handling of the chiton folds below knee level. The carving of these folds in long, almost rectangular U-shaped loops down to the ankles, and the deep undercutting and consequent heavy shadowing at the sides of the legs, appear also on second-century female figures, particularly from Pergamon.²¹¹ The Rhodian statue is, in fact, one of the few in the Rhodes Museum which repeat the technical characteristics of the Pergamene baroque sculptural style.

present context. This garment has been recognized in works of art dating to or deriving from the third and second centuries B.C., and has been identified as the Koan vestis known from literary sources. Bieber, Sculpture, p. 129; idem, Entwicklungsgeschichte der griechische Tracht (Berlin: 1934) p. 35; Carpenter, Greek Sculpture, pp. 209-210; D.B. Thompson, "A Bronze Dancer from Alexandria," AJA 54 (1950) 371-385; D. Pinkwart, op. cit. (see catalog number 29), pp. 115-118, and sources cited in these works. One might question the frequent attribution of this drapery style to the Rhodian artistic sphere on the basis of the Koan origin of the cloth. The sculptural relationship between Rhodes and Kos during the Hellenistic period may have been overemphasized by scholars (see above, p. 19). Moreover, even if the garment represented is indeed the Koan vestis, its use was probably widespread, and its appearance on a statue need not place that piece in any particular artistic sphere.

²¹¹E.g. Pergamon VII, pt. 1, pp. 88-89, no. 54, pl. 21.

CATALOG NUMBERS 35 and 36 are replicas of the same type, a draped female figure, and will therefore be discussed together.

CATALOG NUMBER 35 -- Female Figure, Draped

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. A. Maiuri, "Sculture del Museo Archeologico di Rodi," ASAtene 4-5 (1921-1922) 233-248, esp. pp. 242-244 and fig. 5 on p. 241. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (see fig. 24). Purchased in the city of Rhodes, and believed to have come from the ancient town. P.H. - 0.55m. (about 2/3 life size). White crystalline marble, with slight rusty surface discoloration. Torso preserved from hips to hem of garment. Upper part of torso, feet, portions of vertical chiton folds, portions of hem, cascade of mantle folds at proper left side broken off. Front surface chipped and abraded. The back is quite flat and summarily finished. The carving has a facile quality, but the folds are rather mechanically executed.

CATALOG NUMBER 36 -- Female Figure, Draped

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unknown to author. Unpublished. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (not illustrated here). Circumstances of discovery unknown to author. P.H. - ca. 0.70m. (about 2/3 life size). White crystalline marble with slight rusty surface discoloration. Torso from girdle upward originally carved separately and attached with with one large and two small dowels to lower part of figure, now missing; the girdle originally concealed the joint.

Feet, portions of vertical chiton folds, portion of mantle cascade at proper left side broken off. Front surface somewhat chipped and abraded. At the side of the right ankle, and well hidden from the front view by the drapery, is a large rectangular cutting containing the remains of a dowel; a similar cutting appears at the side of the left ankle. Portions of the vertical chiton folds and the cascade of the mantle at the proper left side broken off. The back is quite flat and summarily finished. The quality of the workmanship is comparable to that of catalog number 35.

Both statues represent draped, standing female figures; the weight is carried by the left leg, the left hip is strongly swung outward, and the right knee is bent. Catalog number 35 is sufficiently preserved at the lower edge to show that both feet rested flat on the ground; the right foot was turned to the side at a rather sharp angle. The arrangement of the garments is best viewed in catalog number 36. A transparent chiton, girdled high above the natural waistline, is worn under an equally transparent mantle. The arrangement of the mantle above the girdle is not known, and it is not defined at the back. Both the upper and lower edges of the mantle are twisted into rolls; the cloth is draped around the right thigh and knee and is then gathered up at the left hip, from which it falls in a cascade beside the left leg. Unfortunately, the folds at the left hip are broken, and therefore

the method of fastening the mantle at the hip is not clear; the hand may have held the cloth in place, but there are no traces of fingers. Behind the left side of the figure falls a flat curtain of folds; the folds are strictly vertical and appear to have fallen from the left shoulder.

The mantle folds consist largely of curved ridges and arrowheads, with a pronounced arrowhead at the side of the bent right knee. The chiton clings to the abdomen as if wet, and is rendered in a series of arrowhead folds radiating downward from the girdle, and several lightly carved catenaries around the navel. At the right side, the torso is framed in shadow, created by the cutting of a deep channel between the torso and an adjacent chiton fold; the latter terminates in a mannered loop just above the mantle roll. The chiton skirt consists of numerous vertical folds visible through the transparent mantle; in both replicas these folds are rigidly drilled, with no regard for the continuity of the folds as they appear from beneath the mantle. The chiton is opaque over the left leg, where it is carved in a series of lifeless U-shaped folds. The hem trails over the insteps.

The drapery is distinctive in style, and is remarkably similar in the two figures, although not all the folds correspond exactly. There seems little doubt that the two figures are replicas of the same prototype, perhaps even carved in the same workshop. If they were reproduced by the

pointing technique, all traces of the puntelli were removed. The differences in such features as the angle of the bent knee, and the angle at which the mantle moves toward the left hip, could be explained by a difference in the number and location of points taken. Or, the statues may rather have been free-hand copies carved within a short span of time. I cannot see the "freschezza" of execution which Maiuri attributes to catalog number 35, nor can I agree with him that the figure is a Hellenistic original of the Rhodian School. The derivative quality of both replicas, especially as seen in the repetitious execution of the drapery, precludes the possibility that either one is an original creation.

Maiuri cited the roughness of the back of catalog number 35 as evidence that the figure was one of a group (presumably catalog number 36 had not yet been discovered). He related the transparency of the drapery to Philiskos of Rhodes, and believed that the Rhodian statue was one of a set of replicas of the Muse group of Philiskos which was taken to Rome, carved by a disciple of Philiskos. Alternatively, he suggested that the figure was a funerary statue inspired by a Philiskan Muse.²¹²

Perhaps the evidence for the identification of the figures

²¹²On the subject of transparent drapery, see catalog number 34. On the Philiskan Muses, see catalog number 29.

can be interpreted differently. The flatness and roughness of the backs of both statues, combined with the ankle cuttings of catalog number 36, suggest that the figures were intended for display in niches. The large tenons at the ankles, hidden from the viewer by "screens" of drapery, could have been a means of securing the large, flat piece of stone to the sides of the niche. The type must have been popular and often copied, judging from the derivative quality of the carving. It could indeed have represented a Muse, but lacking attributes or close parallels for the drapery among known Muse types, such an identification should remain tentative. There are numerous variations of the elaborate, transparent drapery style popular in the late Hellenistic period, and the style was used for statues of Muses, portraits, and female types of uncertain identity. It is possible that the Rhodian statues are stock torsos meant to receive portrait heads. The dedicatory portrait statue of Megiste, preserved with its inscribed base, found in the Piraeus and now in the National Museum, Athens, is quite similar in pose and dress to the Rhodian figures.²¹³ The left hand holds the mantle at the hip, and a loop of the mantle appears on the left shoulder.

The Rhodian statues are difficult to date closely. They bear a certain similarity, in the arrangement of the mantle

²¹³EA 724 (Arndt).

and the interest in surface detail, to a late Hellenistic female figure in the Louvre,²¹⁴ although the pose of the latter is much more exaggerated, and the style of drapery more ornate. The emphasis on the surface patterns of the drapery folds, and a lack of depth in the modelling, are very obvious in the Rhodian statues, but may not have characterized the prototype from which they are derived. These elements could have been the result of thoughtless and repeated copying. The deep undercutting of the folds of the chiton, and the dark shadowing emphasizing the contour of the torso at the right side, are devices reminiscent of second-century sculpture, but are here executed very stiffly. The prototype may have been a work of the second century, but the dryness of the replicas may rather place them in the first century B.C. A similarly late date was given to a fragmentary female figure from Magnesia,²¹⁵ which is somewhat different in pose, but shows a very similar, rather mechanical execution of the numerous narrow folds. The mantle of the statue from Magnesia is also transparent, and rolled at both the upper and lower edges. The above-mentioned portrait of

²¹⁴Bieber, Sculpture, fig. 519. E. Harrison has suggested that this piece is rather a first-century A.D. imitation of Periclean style, AJA 61 (1957) 302.

²¹⁵C. Watzinger, Magnesia am Maeander. Die Bildwerke. (Berlin: 1904) p. 197, fig. 197.

Megiste has the remains of a puntello, and is considered by Arndt to be a copy of a Hellenistic prototype.

CATALOG NUMBER 37 -- Female Figure, Draped

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unknown to author. Unpublished. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (not illustrated here). Circumstances of discovery unknown to author. P.H. - ca. 0.90m. (somehwat more than 1/2 life size). Greyish-white marble, possibly the local Lartos marble. Preserved from base of neck to hem of garment. Shoulders originally carved separately and dowelled to joining surfaces which slant downward from the base of the neck at a 45 degree angle, now missing. Arms from biceps downward originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. Front portions of feet originally cemented in place, now missing. Right breast broken off. The back is finished only with the punch. The workmanship is rather summary.

The statue represents a draped female figure, who stands with her weight on the left leg. The right knee is bent and the right foot drawn back. The left hip is strongly swung outward. The costume consists of a heavy chiton, which trails over the insteps and onto the ground, and over it a transparent mantle, which is open along the left side. At the right side, the mantle hem falls to the middle of the lower leg; at the left side, it is somewhat higher. The arrangement of the mantle is not entirely clear, but it seems to have been wrapped around the body, over the bosom, but under both arms, the open edges meeting at the left side.

One end was then brought from the back over the left shoulder and dropped down to cover the left breast. The mantle was then girdled under the breasts with a flat belt. At the right side, a pouch of cloth drops over the girdle. The vertical folds of the chiton are visible beneath the diagonal arrowhead folds of the transparent mantle. Two corners of the mantle, one at the left side and one at the front, show small lumps which may be identified as tassels. The chiton folds around the legs are deeply cut, forming dark shadows. A vertical clump of folds between the legs is accented by a few pockets of shadow; the space between this clump and the right leg is filled with curved pockets of shadow; the left leg is covered by U-shaped folds, and is framed by more pockets of shadow.

When the figure is viewed frontally, the position of the feet seems quite normal, but the profile views reveal that they are attached to the legs at impossible angles. The joining surface for the right foot has no reasonable relationship to the right ankle, and the rendering of the folds over the left ankle and foot is very awkward. The figure was clearly meant to be viewed from the front only, and was therefore probably placed in a niche or against a wall.

The dress of the figure gives no real clue to its subject, except that, since the style of dress is not distinctive of any known deity or mythological figure, the statue

probably represents a mortal woman. The figure may have served a decorative function, since it is rather small for a portrait dedication. The chronological implications of the transparent mantle are briefly discussed under catalog number 34. Although the transparent garment first appears in sculpture in the third century, other elements in the execution of this figure seem to indicate a later date. The rendering of the transparency has a rather dry, uninspired quality, perhaps indicating that by the time this statue was carved, transparency was already a much repeated device. However, a certain dryness and superficiality of modelling may be the inevitable corollary of the use of the poor local marble. The juxtaposition of a transparent mantle, finely folded, with a heavily shadowed, deeply fold chiton, is also seen in another Rhodian figure, catalog number 34. The latter is dated to the second century B.C., and this date should probably also be given to the figure here discussed.

The arrangement of the mantle does not find clear parallels. In one respect, the drawing of the mantle end over the breast to tuck it under the belt, the drapery is reminiscent of some Artemis figures (see, for example, catalog numbers 17-19). However, there are no further indications that this type could represent Artemis.

CATALOG NUMBER 38 -- Female Figure, Draped

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unknown to author. Unpublished. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (not illustrated here). Circumstances of discovery unknown to author. P.H. - ca. 0.05m. (less than 1/2 life size). White crystalline marble, with rusty surface discoloration. Left hand originally carved separately and attached with three dowels, now missing. Head, feet, portion of garment hem broken off. Folds at front of garment somewhat abraded. The back is quite flat and summarily carved. The workmanship is of rather mediocre quality.

The statuette represents a heavily draped female figure, standing with the weight on the right leg, and the left leg drawn back and to the side. The costume consists of a chiton and mantle. Only the skirt of the heavy chiton is visible; its folds are deeply cut and fall vertically from the thighs to the hem. A mantle of thinner cloth completely covers the upper part of the body. It is wrapped around the right side of the figure down to the level of the knee. It completely covers the right arm and hand; the arm is bent at the elbow, and the back of the wrist rests against the hip. The mantle is then draped around the back of the figure, brought forward to cover the left arm completely, and then carried diagonally upward across the front of the torso, covering the right shoulder once again. The only exposed portion was the left

hand, now missing, which grasped the hem of the mantle and lifted it to the top of the left thigh. Few body contours show through the thick drapery. The folds of the mantle are relatively few; there are several curved arrowhead folds over the slightly protruding abdomen, and a triangular group of folds running from the left shoulder to the right upper arm. The bunching of the folds at the base of the neck suggests that the head was also covered by the mantle.

The type is unusual in stone sculpture, but is quite commonly known in the repertory of Hellenistic coroplasts.²¹⁶ It is usually a genre type, representing a mortal woman who often holds an object in the left hand, such as a fan or a jug. The Rhodian figure may well have held a fairly large object, since three tenon holes have been provided for its attachment. Although it is believed that inspiration more usually proceeds from the major to the minor arts, rather than the reverse, the Rhodian statuette is perhaps best understood as a relatively rare copy in stone of a smaller-scale terracotta type.

²¹⁶For example, F. Winter, op. cit. (see p. 68), pp. 24-29, esp. p. 25, no. 1, from Tanagra.

CATALOG NUMBER 39 -- Female Figure, Draped

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. G. Konstantinopoulos, "Ἀρχαιοτήτες καὶ Μνημεῖα Δωδεκανήσου," Deltion 21 (1966) χρόνικόν, p. 455, pl. 489 b. Not exhibited in Museum (not illustrated here). Found in the city of Rhodes. Dimensions and material not published. Preserved from below breasts to feet. Right hand, right foot broken off. Left hand originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. From the photograph, the workmanship appears to be of fair quality.

This piece of sculpture is known to me only in the photograph cited above. It represents a draped female figure, standing with the weight on the right leg, and the left leg drawn back and to the side. The right arm is bent at the elbow, and the forearm pressed against the side of the chest. The drapery consists of a chiton and mantle, the latter completely covering the preserved upper part of the torso and most of the thighs. It is of thin cloth, and is marked by curving arrowhead folds. Only the skirt of the heavier chiton is visible. A heavily shadowed U-shaped fold emphasizes the right lower leg; deeply cut folds form shadows from the left knee to the foot.

Konstantinopoulos dates the figure to the late Hellenistic or early Roman periods, but it is not made clear whether this date is based upon the context in which the

sculpture was found or on style. The figure appears to be a variant of catalog number 38, and, like it, to be dependent upon a terracotta prototype.

CATALOG NUMBER 40 -- Female Figure, Draped

Rhodes Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unknown to author. Unpublished. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (not illustrated here). Circumstances of discovery unknown to author. P.H. - ca. 1.00m. (about 2/3 life size). Greyish-white marble, with fairly coarse crystals. Left wrist and hand originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. Head originally carved separately and set into cavity between shoulders, now missing. Most of right arm, part of mantle roll across torso, portion of mantle beside left leg, feet, part of chiton hem broken off. Breasts, left leg badly abraded. The back is somewhat flattened, but the general body contours are indicated. The workmanship is rather summary.

The statuette represents a draped standing female figure. The right leg carries the weight; the left knee is slightly bent. The figure stands with the abdomen slightly protruding, but this characteristic is visible only in the profile views. Although most of the right arm is missing, it seems likely, from the position of the preserved stump, that it was bent at the elbow and the forearm horizontally extended. The costume consists of a chiton and mantle. The mantle falls over the left shoulder and arm to a length slightly above the ankles. It is carried around the back and brought forward to cover the right shoulder and upper arm; its upper

edge is rolled up and carried horizontally across the waist, and is then draped over the horizontally extended left forearm. The cloth is then tucked under the elbow and allowed to fall along the side, as far as the ankle. It is possible that the mantle covered the head. The right forearm was probably free of the mantle. A narrow strip of the chiton is visible below the mantle hem. The chiton folds consist mainly of coarsely cut groups of parallel vertical grooves. A few diagonal, curved pockets of shadow cross the mantle from the right hip to the left leg. A deeply cut groove at the left side from waist to ankle separates the long lateral fall of the mantle from the body, and defines the body with shadow. A waving lock of hair falls over each shoulder at the front.

Although the original position of the right forearm is not known, the figure appears to be a variant of the so-called femina orans type, in which both forearms were extended in front of the body in a pose of adoration. The type was frequently utilized in Roman times for portrait statues, but its origins are usually traced back to the fourth century B.C., when it appeared in such works as a votive relief to Zeus Stratios found in Tegea.²¹⁷ The Rhodian figure, however,

²¹⁷ Now in the British Museum; illustrated in J. Jongkees, "New Statues by Bryaxis," JHS 68 (1948) p. 33, fig. 6. The most recent general discussion of the femina

would appear to date to the late Hellenistic period, rather than the fourth century. Its drapery arrangement and style are a more summary version of that of the so-called Artemisia from Halicarnassos, which is probably a late Hellenistic work.²¹⁸ The Rhodian figure could have been either a portrait statue, or a more generalized female votive type.

orans type is by R. Kabus-Jahn, Studien zu Frauenfiguren des vierten Jahrhunderts vor Christus (Darmstadt: 1963) pp. 65-70. See also Helbig⁴ Vol. I, pp. 134-135, no. 183; Vol. II, p. 511, no. 1733; C. Bertelli, "Orante," EAA Vol V, pp. 704-708.

²¹⁸On the date of the Artemisia, see Carpenter, Greek Sculpture, pp. 214-215, 264.

CATALOG NUMBER 41 -- Female Figure, Draped

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. G. Konstantinopoulos, "Ἀρχαιότητες καὶ Μνημεῖα Δωδεκανήσου," *Deltion* 21 (1966) *Χρονικά*, p. 450, pl. 486 b. Not exhibited in Museum (not illustrated here). Found in the city of Rhodes. Dimensions and material not published. Preserved from waist to plinth. Left foot and portion of hem broken off. Drapery folds abraded. From the photograph, the workmanship appears to be of fair quality.

This piece of sculpture is known to me only in the photograph cited above. It represents a draped female figure, standing with the weight on the right leg; the left leg is bent at the knee, and the foot drawn back and to the side. The garment has a long overfold reaching to the thighs, and a trailing hem. The right foot is shod in a high-soled sandal shaped around the largest toe. A cascade of folds at the right side suggests that the garment may have been open here. The overfold shows a cluster of pleats at the center and catenaries at either side. This treatment is similar to the drapery of catalog number 46, an archaizing figure, and the Aphrodite Pudica, number 13. The skirt also has a cluster of heavy folds at the center; deeply cut folds outline the legs. Although the top part of the figure is missing, it is still clear that the proportions were slender and elongated.

Konstantinopoulos dates the piece simply to the

Hellenistic period, but the exaggerated proportions and the symmetrical drapery folds suggest a date late in the Hellenistic period, probably the first century B.C.²¹⁹

²¹⁹On the dating of female figures with elongated proportions to the first century B.C., see Bieber, Sculpture, p. 166 and note 40.

CATALOG NUMBER 42 -- Female Figure, Draped

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. G. Konstantinopoulos, "Ἀρχαιότητες καὶ Μνημεῖα Δωδεκανήσου," Deltion 21 (1966) χρονικά, p. 455, pl. 490 a. Not exhibited in Museum (not illustrated here). Found in the city of Rhodes. Dimensions and material not published. Head, left foot broken off. Drapery folds abraded. From the photograph, the workmanship appears to be of fair quality.

This piece of sculpture is known to me only in the photograph cited above. It represents a draped female figure seated on a rock. The upper torso is frontal, while the legs are stretched to the viewer's right. The right hand is placed on the rock behind and to one side of the hip, and the left hand rests on the lap. The figure is clad in a chiton, only the hem of which is visible, and a thin mantle, which envelops almost the whole body. The mantle drops from the right shoulder, leaving it bare. One edge is secured under the right hand; the cloth is pulled tight from this hand diagonally to the left shoulder. The end is tucked under the right thigh, from which it cascades over the rock. The other end is clutched in the left hand, and forms a small fan of folds at the knees.

Konstantinopoulos dates the figure to the late Hellenistic period. The contours of the body are so smoothly rendered, and the mantle folds so delicately indicated by

light ridges, that the sculpture is rather reminiscent of Hellenistic terracotta figurines.²²⁰

²²⁰For example, see S. Mollard-Besques, op. cit. (see note 65), p. 110, no. MYR 658, which is dated to the beginning of the second century B.C.; Winter, op. cit. (see p. 68), p. 120, no. 2.

CATALOG NUMBER 43 -- Seated Female Figure, Perhaps Funerary
Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unknown to author.
Unpublished. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (not illus-
trated here). Circumstances of discovery unknown to author.
P.H. - ca. 0.60m. (somewhat less than 1/2 life size). White
crystalline marble, with slight rusty surface discoloration.
Left wrist and hand, right arm, right foot originally carved
separately and dowelled in place, now missing. Head, part of
right shoulder, part of mantle on right side of chest, left
foot broken off. Left knee abraded. A dowel cutting in the
center of the proper left side of the seat indicates that it
was originally attached to another block. Still another
block must have been attached to the seat at the left side
since, although there is no dowel cutting, the drapery fall-
ing over the seat is cut away as if to accommodate a joining
slab. The back is fully rounded and the drapery folds well
articulated all around the figure. The front surface of the
torso, originally hidden by the now missing right arm, was
finished with the punch. The workmanship is of good quality.

The statuette represents a seated, heavily draped female
figure. She crosses her left ankle over her right one, and
leans forward from the waist, resting her left forearm on
her left thigh. No definite evidence remains for the posit-
ion of the right arm. The figure wears a long-sleeved chiton
of heavy cloth. She sits on an equally heavy mantle, which

is brought over the right shoulder from behind, falls loosely over the bosom in a diagonal direction, and drapes over the now missing left wrist. A small piece of stone protruding from the center of the lap may be the remains of the lowest fold of the mantle which rested on the lap. A curtain of mantle folds from the shoulder to the lap would surely have been needed to cover the deep, unfinished cavity of the torso. Probably some of these mantle folds also fell across the now missing right upper arm. After it falls over the left wrist, the mantle is tucked under the left forearm to serve as a cushion; it then falls over the left thigh, under which it is tucked before finally falling over the seat in a brief cascade. The stone is daringly cut away behind the mantle folds over the bosom, creating deep shadows and causing the folds to appear to fall forward naturalistically, in response to the forward bend of the torso. The neck stump is covered with folds of cloth, apparently belonging to a veil which covered the now missing head. One end of the veil can barely be seen falling over the left shoulder and down the left side of the back. The feet were probably shod in high-soled sandals, judging from the height of the preserved stump of the right foot. The stone is completely cut away between the outstretched feet and the seat. The long hem of the garment arches gracefully over the insteps.

Although the original position of the right arm is unknown,

the preserved stump and the unfinished front surface of the torso suggest that the upper arm was held downward and slanting forward. Perhaps the elbow rested on the thigh, although there is no trace of its attachment there. Since the arm was attached to the front of the torso with a large dowel, there may not have been any need for additional attachment to the thigh. In any case, the position of the right arm does not seem to contradict the essentially closed composition of the statuette, a compositional form generally considered characteristic of sculpture of the third century B.C. However, there are stylistic elements in the figure which suggest a later date. The system of folds, particularly in the skirt, is basically a series of deeply cut and shadowed diagonal, curved V-shaped folds, which bring out the contours of the legs even through the opaque cloth. This system is reminiscent of late fifth-century drapery techniques, as seen, for example, in the Balustrade of the Temple of Athena Nike in Athens, and in the Aphrodite from Epidauros.²²¹ The use of a stylistic device reminiscent of the late fifth century, combined with a strong emphasis on light and shadow achieved by the employment of very deep undercutting, suggests a date

²²¹ Particularly in the sandal binder (Acropolis Museum 973) and in the seated Athenas (Acropolis Museum 989 and 991); R. Carpenter, *op. cit.* (see note 106), pls. 21 detail 3, 24 and 27. The Aphrodite, *EA* 629-630.

not earlier than the second century B.C.²²²

The subject of the statuette is not immediately clear because the figure lacks attributes, but certain features suggest a funerary purpose. Several earlier funerary statues are of a similar type, that is, a seated female with ankles crossed and arms resting on the thighs, the relaxed posture suggesting grief.²²³ The arrangement of the veil is paralleled on a Rhodian funerary relief.²²⁴

The seat of the Rhodian statuette takes a rather unusual shape, since it shows a raised ledge along the front, just beneath the knees, which could not have existed in an ordinary chair. A shelf, serving as a footrest, originally protruded from the bottom of the seat; its remains are now barely visible. Since additional blocks were once attached to either side of the seat, it is possible that the figure was seated on a kind of parapet, which may have been part of

²²²Carpenter, Greek Sculpture, chapter 6, discusses the second-century use of classical drapery forms in general terms. The specifically Rhodian manner of adapting classical traits will be discussed in the conclusions to this chapter.

²²³Athens, National Museum 825; EA 621; M. Collignon, op. cit. (see note 202), p. 210, fig. 136. Two figures from Acharnai in Berlin, EA 908-912; Br.Br. 534; C. Blümel, Die klassisch griechischen Skulpturen der Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Berlin: 1966) pp. 44-45, no. 45 and pls. 62-69.

²²⁴Catalog number 45.

a funerary monument. Unfortunately, the method of mounting the statuette in the Museum has obscured the rear and lower surfaces of the seat, which might have yielded more information. The figure is fully rounded and worked in detail in the back, and was therefore probably intended for viewing from any angle.

The Rhodian statuette does show some resemblance to a Muse type, known as the Frankfurt Urania, but the Muse crosses her legs at the knees rather than the ankles.²²⁵ Otherwise, the block-like composition and the heavily shadowed drapery treatment are similar.²²⁶ The Rhodian figure bears no attributes which would support her identification as a Muse.

²²⁵D. Pinkwart, op. cit. (see catalog number 29), pp. 140-143, 157, 205-207.

²²⁶Pinkwart has dated the Urania ca. 160/50 B.C. (op. cit., p. 157), but for an earlier date for Archelaos' relief, on which the Urania type appears, see note 192.

CATALOG NUMBER 44 -- Female Bust

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. 4661. Clara Rhodos II, pp. 27-29, figs. 12-13 (Maiuri). R. Bianchi Bandinelli, "Ritratto," EAA Vol. VI, p. 707, fig. 818. Not exhibited in Museum. See fig. 25 (photograph after Clara Rhodos, loc. cit.). Accidental find on Monte S. Stefano. H. - 0.23m. (about 1/3 life size). Sandstone, similar to the material of small Cypriot sculptures, according to Maiuri. Very well preserved, apparently in its entirety.

This piece of sculpture is known to me only in the published photograph. It is a draped female bust, fully carved and detailed to the middle of the abdomen, at which point the figure merges with a rectangular plinth. The costume consists of a chiton, visible only at the sleeves and neckline, a peplos over it, girded beneath the breasts, and a mantle. The mantle is worn over the left shoulder, is carried over the stephane which crowns the head, falls down the back and is brought around the front of the torso to drape over the left arm. If the figure had been completed to the bottom, the mantle would probably have been draped over a horizontally extended left forearm. The hair is parted at the center and falls downward at either side of the triangular forehead in tight waves; a lock of hair falls vertically at the left side of the neck. The head is cocked slightly to the proper left. The facial expression is pensive, even

melancholy, which led Bianchi Bandinelli to suggest that the piece was a funerary bust. However, Miss Mary Sturgeon of Bryn Mawr College, who is at present studying funerary busts, has informed me that she knows of no other bust as small as this one. Moreover, the bust was found on the acropolis of the city of Rhodes, and not to the south of the city, where the cemetery, a more likely provenance for a funerary work, was located.²²⁷

Maiuri considered the sculpture a votive object dedicated in a small, but unknown, sanctuary on the acropolis. He suggested that the bust represents the goddess Hera, whose worship is known on the island. However, the mournful facial expression may instead denote Demeter (if the sculpture does indeed represent a deity), whose worship on Rhodes is also known.²²⁸ Maiuri's suggestion that this piece, in both form and technique, is more closely related to terracottas than to stone sculpture is quite convincing. Certainly the closely crimped hair and the fluid treatment of the surface do give an impression similar to that of the coroplast's art. The uniqueness of this sculptural technique and the use of sandstone on Rhodes suggest that the sculpture was an import,

²²⁷The sculpture shows no signs of the reworking or battered condition often associated with the removal of a sculpture from its original site for architectural reuse.

²²⁸H. van Gelder, op. cit. (see note 112), pp. 329-330.

perhaps, if Maiuri's identification of the material is correct, from Cyprus.²²⁹ Perhaps it was a dedication of one of the many foreign residents or visitors to Rhodes. Whatever the source, the deep undercutting at the sides of the neck and behind the ears suggests a late Hellenistic date.

²²⁹ Despite his identification of the stone as Cypriot, Maiuri offers South Italian terracottas as stylistic parallels.

CATALOG NUMBER 45 -- Female Bust (From Grave Relief)

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. 13636. Clara Rhodos V, pt. 1, pp. 23-27, no. 3, figs. 13-14, pl. III (Jacopi); Jacopi, Spedale, pp. 53-54, pl. V. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (see figs. 26-27; fig. 27 after Clara Rhodos, loc. cit.). Found in excavations in the suburbs of the city of Rhodes, at a site occupied in 1932 by a tobacco factory. P.H. - 0.70m. (slightly more than life size). White crystalline marble with slight rusty surface discoloration. Head and bust preserved. Nose, most of right hand, front portion of chest, left shoulder and upper arm, portion of back at proper left side broken off. Although the breaks at the front and side are fairly flat, they are not prepared joining surfaces, but may have been levelled for a later architectural reuse. Dowel cutting in front at lower preserved edge; its purpose may be connected with the reuse of the block, since it is not clear what portion of the figure it could have served to attach. Chin and lips abraded. The workmanship is of very good quality.

The figure is that of a young woman of idealized type, wearing a mantle around her shoulders. Over her head is a veil, the end of which was drawn across the front of the figure from the right side and thrown over the left

shoulder.²³⁰ Remains of the fingers of the right hand can be seen gently grasping the veil at the right side, at the level of the chin. The entire bust is bent forward; the head is tilted forward, toward the proper right side. Originally, the figure may have been seated, leaning on the right elbow. The face is a smooth oval; the hair is parted in the center and waves down and back, framing a triangular forehead and covering the tops of the ears. The outlines of a bun at the back of the crown can be seen through the veil. The eyebrows are clearly defined, and the eyes rimmed above and below with clearly marked lids. The transition from the neck to the veil at the left side is gradual, without deep shadows, but at the right side a deeply drilled groove frames the neck in shadow. The ear cavities are also drilled deeply, as are a few locks of hair adjacent to the right eye. The lips are closed and slightly turned upward at the corners. The facial expression is calm and somewhat sad. The figure is strongly reminiscent of female types in Attic funerary reliefs, and it is possible that this figure has been broken from a very high funerary relief of the late classical period. It would have been seen in three-quarter view from

²³⁰ Jacopi believed that the mantle was worn over the head, but when viewed from the rear, the garment over the head seems to be clearly differentiated from the principal garment.

its completely rounded and finished proper right side. The scheme may have been similar to the stele of Polyxena, in which the central seated figure leans forward toward a child, and bends her right arm to grasp the edge of the mantle with her right hand.²³¹

Jacopi has dated the figure to the middle of the fourth century, citing as a parallel the Mourning Women Sarcophagus from Sidon.²³² The Rhodian relief, like the earlier funerary stele of Krito and Timarista in the Rhodes Museum,²³³ is closely based on Attic work. This need not be surprising, since the earliest non-Rhodian sculptors of whom we have a record in the inscribed statue bases from Lindos are early and middle fourth-century Athenians.²³⁴ The Rhodian relief could have been the work of an Attic sculptor active in Rhodes during the middle of the fourth century.

²³¹H. Diepolder, Die attischen Grabreliefs des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. (Berlin: 1931), pl. 40; Lippold, Handbuch, pl. 80, no. 4.

²³²For the mid-fourth century date of the sarcophagus see Picard, Manuel, Vol. IV. pp. 208-236, esp. 233-234.

²³³Lullies and Hirmer, Greek Sculpture, pl. 183.

²³⁴For the inscriptions, see Lindos II, nos. 30, 31 and 43.

CATALOG NUMBERS 46 to 49 are female figures of archaistic style, or with an admixture of archaistic stylistic features. Since the archaistic material is used in a different way in each figure, the statuettes will be described separately in the catalog, and their contribution to our understanding of archaism in Rhodian Hellenistic sculpture discussed in the conclusions to this chapter.

CATALOG NUMBER 46 - Female Figure, Archaistic

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. Laurenzi, "Rodia, arte ellenistica," EAA Vol. VI, pp. 760-763, esp. p. 763, fig. 886. A. Di Vita, "L'Afrodite Pudica da Punta delle Sabbie ed il tipo della Pudica drappeggiata," ArchCl 7 (1955) p. 13 and pl. VIII, 2. H. Herdejürgen, Untersuchungen zur thronenden Göttin aus Tarent in Berlin und zur archaischen und archaistischen Schrägmanteltracht (Bayern: 1968), p. 84 b) 6 and p. 85. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (see fig. 28). Circumstances of discovery not published. P.H. - ca. 0.60m. (somewhat less than 1/2 life size). White crystalline marble. Both arms broken off below biceps. Head originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. Front portion of left foot originally carved separately and cemented in place, now missing. Statue is broken into five fragments and mended; the breaks occurred horizontally across the deltoids, diagonally across the left breast, diagonally across the left shoulder, and

horizontally under the left arm. Two fragments are missing from the front of the torso, one at the right deltoid, and one at the center of the chest. Some of the drapery folds slightly abraded. The back is flat and lacks detail, but the workmanship is otherwise of very good quality.

The statuette represents a draped female figure standing in a stiff, frontal pose. The figure has certain traits characteristic of archaic Greek sculpture, particularly elements of the costume and the pose, in which the feet are parallel and close together, and the left foot is placed slightly in advance of the right. A sleeved chiton is covered by a long mantle fastened at the right shoulder (not along the arm, as in archaic figures), and draped diagonally across the chest, covering the right breast only. Across the chest, the upper edge of the mantle is folded over into a narrow cross-band, which is arranged in a rather confused pattern of zig-zag pleats. From this band a fan of folds spreads downward to the lower edge of a long overfold, which reaches to the thighs; the central pleat of the fan is quite prominent. The hem of the overfold is raised at the center front in an inverted V, but it does not form the swallow-tails characteristic of much archaistic sculpture. The fan pattern is repeated in the skirt of the mantle, where an almost perfectly symmetrical system of folds separates and frames the legs. The central folds of this fan are also very

prominent and stand well away from the body. The hem of the mantle is lifted at the center front into an inverted V, which allows a bit of the chiton skirt to show between the feet, and repeats the inverted V of the overfold. The mantle does not cover the right chiton sleeve. It is open along the right side, where it falls from the shoulder in a double cascade of stiff zig-zag folds.

The sculptor of this figure knew archaic korai in Ionic dress well enough to imitate the diagonal draping of the mantle across the chest, with a narrow band of zig-zag pleats, the stiff fans of folds at the center, and the inverted V's at the hems. However, he was clearly not trying to copy a kore, since the mantle falls to the feet, and is not heavily massed around the top of the figure, and the skirt is not drawn by the hand to one side. Moreover, the drapery is handled in a patently Hellenistic manner, using techniques of light and shadow known in second-century work. The stone is cut away drastically from both sides of the legs, surrounding them in deep shadow. At the proper right side, the line of shadow framing the outside of the leg is carried upward to emphasize the contour of the entire torso. The framing of the legs is strongly reminiscent of another, non-archaistic, Rhodian statue, catalog number 32, which is probably datable to the second century B.C. Another late Hellenistic element in our archaistic statuette is the sandal,

the high sole of which is composed of several layers, and is shaped around the largest toe.²³⁵ The hems of both the chiton and the mantle trail over the insteps onto the ground; small accents of shadow are drilled between the toes and at several points beneath the hem. Di Vita compared the drapery treatment over the legs with that of the Aphrodite Pudica, which he believes to be based on a prototype dating a little after the middle of the second century B.C.

Although the chronological difficulties usually involved in the study of archaistic sculpture are not of concern here,²³⁶ since the Rhodian figure has clear late Hellenistic elements, a very real difficulty lies in the identification of the figure. The statue was clearly meant to be viewed from the front only. The sides are compositionally meaningless and the back is flattened. The right upper arm is held straight downward, but the left upper arm is pulled sharply back,

²³⁵This sandal type is seen in a number of the free-standing figures from Pergamon, e.g. Pergamon, Vol. VII, pt. 1, pp. 88-89, no. 54, pl. 21. The same sandal is worn by the Artemis from Rhodes, catalog number 20.

²³⁶The most recent comprehensive work on the subject of archaistic sculpture is E. Harrison, The Athenian Agora, Volume XI, Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture (Princeton: 1965). On the Asiatic archaistic style, see esp. pp. 56-57, 66. In addition to the references there cited, see also an Athena in Hamburg, H. Hoffmann, Kunst des Altertums in Hamburg (Mainz: 1961) p. 7, pls. 20-21; E. Paribeni, Catalogo delle sculture di Cirene (Rome: 1959) p. 152, no. 443, pl. 191; R. Heidenreich, "Bupalos und Pergamon," AA 50 (1935) pp. 668-702.

suggesting that the arm was bent at the elbow, and the forearm perhaps extended forward, holding an attribute, or perhaps an offering, if the figure had a votive purpose. The figure does not preserve any of the attributes of Athena, who usually wears the aegis in archaic representations. Neither does she wear the baldric of Artemis, and there is no provision in the back for the attachment of a quiver. The statuette, of course, need not have represented a deity, and, in fact, need not have had any votive of religious purpose, although Herdejürgen suggests that they^r represented "Kultdienerinnen."²³⁷ The archaisms could as well be attributed to a decorative purpose, and the figure, which was intended for viewing from the front, could have been displayed in a niche in a late Hellenistic secular structure, perhaps a private dwelling, to be enjoyed for the sake of its "antique" qualities. Its style, which is plastic rather than linear, and lacks such exaggerated mannerisms as swallow-tail folds, is closely related to two archaistic figures from Pergamon,²³⁸ although these figures represent

²³⁷ Op. cit. (see text above), p. 85.

²³⁸ F. Winter, Pergamon, Vol. VII, pt. 1, pp. 63-69, nos. 43-44. Winter's description, p. 68, of the style of the Pergamene figures emphasizes their similarity to the Rhodian statuette, "...das Gewand, albertümlich stilisiert in Stoff, Schnitt und Anordnung, doch ganz modern 'pergamenisch' erscheint..."

dancers. Their purpose is believed by Winter to have been the decoration of the palace, in the ruins of which one of the figures was found.²³⁹ Comparable figures from Miletos were discovered in the theater, which they are thought to have decorated.²⁴⁰

²³⁹Op. cit. (see note 238), p. 67.

²⁴⁰Reinach, RSGR, Vol. II, p. 403, 5-7=Louvre, Inv. nos. 2793, 2795, 2796; Pergamon, Vol. VII, pt. 1, pp. 67-69, figs. 43a-b; H. Bulle, Archaisierende griechische Rundplastik (Munich: 1918) p. 21, no 42 and pl. 5.

CATALOG NUMBER 47 -- Female Figure, Archaistic

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unknown to author. Unpublished. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (not illustrated here). Circumstances of discovery unknown to author. P.H. - ca. 0.75m. (excluding columnar support, of which ca. 0.60m. is preserved; about 1/2 life size). Red limestone, very similar to the material of catalog number 69. Entire upper portion of figure, including head, shoulders and bosom, missing. At the proper left side, the preserved upper surface is somewhat indented, suggesting that a part of the upper torso was carved separately and inserted here. However, since this surface is very badly weathered, the technical details are obscured. Right arm missing; the lumpy abraded surface at the right side may be the remains of the arm, perhaps originally held vertically against the body. Left wrist and hand, probably originally cemented in place, now missing. Feet and hem of garment badly abraded. The back is fairly well rounded, but finished only with the punch. The figure stands on a fluted columnar support, with which it was worked in a single piece. It is broken from the support just below the feet and mended. The channels of the column are separated by flat fillets and are squared off at the top; above them is a smooth band, ca. 0.15m. in height. Between this band and the juncture of the figure with the column, is a narrow sloping strip, finished only with the

punch. Probably a molding was added along this strip, but since the surface is rather uneven, it is probable that the molding was of stucco rather than stone. A molding seems aesthetically required at this point, and other representations of statues on columns show the column crowned by a capital or molding.²⁴¹ The workmanship seems to be of fair quality, but the weathering of the surface makes evaluation difficult.

The Rhodian statuette wears a chiton, and a mantle draped over the left shoulder and under the right arm. Both garments are of heavy cloth, their voluminous folds concealing the body, except for the barely visible contours of the legs. The mantle is irrationally arranged with two overfolds.²⁴² The lower overfold, which should logically be a pouch, falls at each side to about the middle of the thighs, but is pulled up at the center, forming an inverted V. The hem of the upper overfold is also lifted into an inverted V at the center, and drops as far as the waist at either side. A wide, flat fan-like group of folds appears at the center of the mantle skirt. The mantle hem is raised at the center

²⁴¹For example, a votive relief in Munich--L. Laurenzi, "Rilievi e statue d'arte rodia," RömMitt 54 (1939) 42-65; U. Hausmann, Griechische Weihreliefs (Berlin: 1960) pp. 89-97, esp. fig. 55 on p. 90.

²⁴²cf. Herdejürgen, op. cit. (see catalog number 46), p. 86 b) 3, pl. 15a.

into another inverted V to reveal a triangle of chiton skirt between the feet. The upper edge of the mantle, which crosses the chest diagonally, is folded down into two flat cross-bands, the upper cross-band folded diagonally over the one below. The mantle is open at the proper left side. Its exact arrangement over the left shoulder is unknown, but it covers the upper arm, and then cascades down in zig-zag folds along the side of the figure. The sleeve of the chiton is just visible at the left elbow and there are a few chiton folds between the feet. While the folds of the skirt are quite strictly symmetrical, the treatment of the overfolds seems to be a clumsy imitation of the asymmetrical mantle arrangement of some archaic korai. There are several rather peculiar features in the upper overfold: its hem is interrupted at the left side, as if it were not continuous across the front of the torso; at the center of the torso, a narrow, curving strip of stone extends from the hem of this overfold to the hem of the lower one; the fold just beneath the left breast seems unfinished. Perhaps this portion of the figure was not visible, and both the curving strip of stone and the seemingly unfinished fold represent the remains of an object of unknown type held against the body. The hems of both chiton and mantle trail over the feet and onto the ground. The feet are poorly preserved, but their relatively great height suggests that they were shod in high-soled sandals.

The figure is a hybrid of archaic and Hellenistic features of somewhat the same type as catalog number 46. The features borrowed from the archaic kore are the arrangement of the upper part of the mantle, the zig-zag folds, and the frontal pose with parallel feet. Of clearly Hellenistic date are the high-soled sandals, the trailing hem, and the probable use of added stucco. Like catalog number 46, the work does not employ exaggerated stylistic tricks, but it is much less plastic, the folds being rather flat and unmodulated. In this case, the erection of the statuette on a column may indicate a religious purpose. Small archaistic figures on columnar supports represented in other monuments have been interpreted as cult statues; in particular, a Hellenistic votive relief in Munich illustrates a small outdoor enclosure, which must be a sanctuary, with a pair of such figures within it.²⁴³ The weathering of the Rhodian figure suggests that it was displayed outdoors, although the poorly finished back may have been hidden to some extent, perhaps against a wall. This factor, combined with the columnar support, suggests that the figure was a cult statue in a small sanctuary. It is also possible that the figure may have served an architectural purpose, as a caryatid. Unfortunately, the attributes which the figure may have held have been lost,

²⁴³See note 241.

and its identification is therefore uncertain. The use of the red limestone, which was probably a local material, does not seem to have any recognizable significance. It was also used sculpturally for a head of Silenos (catalog number 69), and for four statue bases from Lindos.²⁴⁴

Although the material may have been relatively rare, it was apparently not confined to any single purpose.

²⁴⁴Lindos II, nos. 91, 111, 154, 192.

CATALOG NUMBER 48 -- Female Figure, with Archaistic Traits
Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unknown to author.
Unpublished. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (not illustrated here). Circumstances of discovery unknown to author.
P.H. - ca. 0.60m. (somewhat more than 1/3 life size). White crystalline marble, with slight rusty surface discoloration. Head originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. Outer portion of left forearm originally carved separately and cemented in place, now missing. Right shoulder, feet, garment hems, edges of drapery folds abraded. The back is somewhat flattened, but the principal contours are indicated. The workmanship is summary.

The statuette represents a draped female figure, standing in a stiff, frontal pose. The right arm is held rigidly at the side, and the hand is clenched. The left elbow is bent and the forearm raised and held against the side of the torso. The figure wears a chiton, a few folds of which are visible just below the hem of an overlying peplos, which has an overfold but no pouch. The peplos is open at the proper right side, and is girded below the breasts. The open side of the overfold is rendered as a cascade of flat zig-zag folds. The lower edge of the overfold reaches the top of the thighs, where it is raised at the center to form an inverted V. At the center of the overfold is a wide, flat, fan-shaped fold. A similar fold and an inverted V

also appear in the skirt. A transparent shawl is worn over the shoulders and arms, covering the hands completely. The clenched right hand grasps an edge of the shawl. The body contours are outlined in deep shadow at both sides, from arm-pits to feet, by deeply cut grooves. The legs are further outlined at each side by a prominent fold curving from thigh to foot.²⁴⁵

Insofar as this statuette is a combination of archaic forms and Hellenistic stylistic motifs, it is a member of the same species as catalog numbers 46 and 47. However, the Hellenistic elements (the high girdle, the framing of the body in shadow, and the covering of the hands with a transparent veil) are much more obvious in the present statuette than in the other two. The drapery, in spite of the zig-zag and fan-shaped folds, is strongly three dimensional, and very far from archaic drapery style. Apparently the sculptor attempted to create an impression of archaism merely by stiffening into a frontal pose an otherwise thoroughly Hellenistic type. It is hard to believe that this statuette could have

²⁴⁵These two folds, which make the figure appear elliptical in shape, may have been derived from the long U-shaped folds which frame the legs of some Hellenistic female figures--see catalog number 34. Similar folds, and a general similarity to the peplos arrangement of the Rhodian figure, may be noted in some Hekataia, e.g. E. Harrison, *op. cit.* (see note 236), pl. 34, nos. 139-140; T. Kraus, *Hekate* (Heidelberg: 1960) pls. 7, no. 1, and 5, no. 3.

been an original creation, since the poor quality of the workmanship is clearly evident in the misdirected and coarsely cut channels in the drapery, and in the unarticulated right hand and arm. There are no attributes by which to identify the figure, and it is uncertain whether it was intended as a decorative piece, or as a modest votive, perhaps imitating a more elaborate votive type.

An even more summarily carved replica of the type, with more voluminous drapery, but very similar in the stance, the position of the arms, the size, and the arrangement of the garments, is recorded in a private collection in Munich.²⁴⁶ This replica is said to have come from Kos. It probably preserves the head, which is frontal in pose.²⁴⁷ The face is oval, and the features are very summarily rendered in what seems to be an imitation of the very soft modelling characteristic of many Hellenistic heads. The hair is parted in the center and waves down and back, covering the tops of the ears. It seems from the photograph to be bound with a fillet.

²⁴⁶ EA 1043 (Arndt). In the collection of Julius Naue. P.H. - 0.53m. (about 1/3 life size). Head broken off and mended. Front parts of feet broken off. This figure is more pyramidal in overall shape than the Rhodian figure, which has a generally elliptical form.

²⁴⁷ The head is broken from the torso, and the color of its stone has darkened, but it is believed to belong to the torso because the workmanship is similar, and the remains of locks of hair on the shoulders seem to correspond with the broken locks at the side of the head.

At either side, a long lock falls from behind the ears down to the front of the shoulders.²⁴⁸ The head is without archaistic traits, unless the locks of hair over the shoulders may be so considered.

²⁴⁸There are no clear traces of a long hair lock on the left shoulder of the Rhodian figure; the right shoulder is badly abraded.

CATALOG NUMBER 49 -- Female Figure, with Archaistic Traits

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unknown to author. Unpublished. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (not illustrated here). Circumstances of discovery unknown to author. P.H. - ca. 1.40m. (about life size). White crystalline marble. Head, feet, part of garment hem broken off. Right arm originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. The entire left surface of the figure has been deliberately levelled, perhaps for an architectural reuse. The drapery folds at the right side and front of the figure, and the right breast are badly abraded. The back is flattened, but the principal contours of the figure are indicated. The workmanship is of good quality.

The statue represents a standing female figure. The weight is carried on the right leg, and the right hip is slightly swung outward. Although most of the left leg is missing, the few remaining drapery folds near it indicate that it was slightly drawn back. The figure wears a peplos; the pouch and overfold fall to the top of the thighs. Over the peplos is a transparent scarf, or perhaps a small mantle, which covers the left flank, is carried diagonally up across the right breast and shoulder, and is then brought around the back of the neck and draped over the left shoulder; presumably the garment originally covered the left arm as well. The narrow, vertical folds of the peplos can be seen through

the transparent cloth.

This statue clearly belongs to the Hellenistic period. The transparent overgarment, articulated by a series of curved arrowhead folds, the trailing hem of the peplos, and the cutting of deep grooves to frame the legs in shadow are all Hellenistic stylistic figures. Had the statue been lost from the middle of the thighs downward, one would never have guessed that the lower part of the figure exhibited a curious archaism in the form of a very stiff and flat central fold which is, in purely Hellenistic style, separated from the legs by deep undercutting at either side. Deep pockets of shadow also appear inside the long, stiff, U-shaped fold that accentuates the right leg.²⁴⁹ The diagonal draping of the scarf or mantle is reminiscent to some extent of the upper part of the Ionic himation, although this feature, if present alone, without the above-mentioned stiff central fold, could be explained as one of the numerous variations of Hellenistic female drapery. The archaism of the central fold is not carried through to the pose of the figure, which is not frontal, but rotates slightly on the waist, with the upper torso a little twisted to the proper left. In this figure, the archaism is so slight, and is such a secondary element, that it is probably best considered a stylistic

²⁴⁹cf. catalog number 34, note 211.

fashion without a special hieratic function. In the absence of attributes or iconographic parallels, the identity of the figure cannot be ascertained.

CATALOG NUMBER 50 -- Male Head (Apollo Belvedere?)

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. Clara Rhodos II, p. 103, fig. 28 (Jacopi). Not exhibited in Museum (not illustrated here). Found in the area of the Temple of Apollo Eretimios. P.H. - 0.10m. (about 1/2 life size). Marble, not further described in publication. Head and neck preserved. Nose broken off. Surface badly abraded, especially lips and hair. From the photograph, the workmanship appears to be of fair quality.

The head is known to me only through the poor published photograph. The face is long and rather rectangular in shape; the forehead is triangular and the cheeks flat. The eyes are deeply set at the inner corners. The lips may have been parted; drill holes are visible at the corners of the mouth. The surface of the hair is so badly worn that only the general outlines can be seen, but it seems to have been arranged at the top of the head in a bow-knot typical of heads both of Aphrodite and Apollo. In this case, the head seems to be masculine. Jacopi suggested a comparison with the Apollo Belvedere.²⁵⁰

²⁵⁰The latest study on this subject is R. Tölle, "Zum Apollon des Leochares," JdI 81 (1966) 142-172, esp. 168-170.

CATALOG NUMBER 51 -- Asklepios

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. 13648. Clara Rhodos V, pt. 1, pp. 74-75, no. 15, fig. 47 (Jacopi). Exhibited in Museum, not photographed (see fig. 29, after Clara Rhodos, loc. cit.). Accidental find from the area of the Turkish cemetery, in the region below Cimenlik, which is not far from the presumed location of the Asklepieion. P.H. - 1.28m. (about life size). White crystalline marble, with rusty surface discoloration. Torso from hips downward, left arm from biceps preserved. The upper preserved surface of the torso curves from the left bicep to the right hip; the upper part of the torso, now missing, was carved separately and dowelled to the center of this surface. Fingers of left hand originally carved separately and individually dowelled in place, now missing. Left ankle and foot, staff and most of snake which encircled staff broken off. The remains of two struts to support the staff can be seen at the bottom of the tree stump support and just below the left hand. The back is fully rounded and fairly well finished. The surface of the torso shows some traces of the toothed chisel; the plinth is finished only with the punch. The workmanship is of fair quality.

The fragmentary torso is that of a standing draped male figure, clearly identifiable as Asklepios by the remains of a coiled snake at the proper left side. The weight is

carried on the right leg. The left knee is bent; the remains of the ball of the left foot can be seen at the rear of the plinth. The figure wears a voluminous mantle, which is folded over at the top to form a triangular panel over the abdomen and thighs. The mantle hem falls to the right ankle, but is raised slightly at the left side. At the proper left side, the mantle is looped under the bent arm like a sling. A cascade of folds falls from the left armpit to the hem; the cascade is supported by a low tree stump. The right foot is sandalled. On the basis of comparison with similar figures (see below), a staff on which the figure leaned may be reconstructed, slanting from the left armpit to the plinth. The staff appears to have been attached to the mantle cascade at only a few points; the remains of two struts are preserved (see above), and the snake which originally encircled the staff may have served as a third point of attachment.

The most recent collection and discussion of Asklepios types is that of G. Heiderich.²⁵¹ Unfortunately, none of the figures of Asklepios found in Rhodes have been included in his study, but the present type is related to his group 4 of the fourth century B.C. and later, best exemplified by a statuette from Epidauros (Athens, National Museum,

²⁵¹Asklepios (Inaugural-Diss., Freiburg i. Br., 1966).

266).²⁵² In addition to the snake-entwined staff propped under the left arm and the triangular panel of drapery in front, the type is characterized by the right hand propped on the hip. Unfortunately, there is no evidence preserved for the position of the right hand of the Rhodian figure.

²⁵²op. cit. (see note 251), pp. 70-72, 149-150; Ath. Mitt 17 (1892) pl. 2.

CATALOG NUMBER 52 -- Asklepios

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unknown to author. Unpublished. On view in Museum, photographed (not illustrated here). Circumstances of discovery unknown to author. P.H. - ca. 1.25m. (about 3/4 life size). White crystalline marble; preserved surface of face and upper part of torso disfigured by rusty surface discoloration. Figure preserved to entire height, but broken into five pieces (upper part of head, lower part of head and chest, central portion of torso, legs, right foot) and mended. Small portion of right buttock and hip restored in plaster. Face originally carved separately and cemented to the vertical surface of the rear part of the head, now missing. Right arm, left forearm and drapery covering it originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. Left ankle and foot missing--a plaster strut now supports the figure at the lower left and obscures the remains of the leg; it is therefore uncertain whether the ankle was carved separately and attached, or was broken off. The back is fully rounded, but only the major folds are carved. The workmanship is of fairly good quality.

The figure is that of a standing, semi-draped male. The weight is carried on the right leg, and the left leg is bent at the knee. A mantle is draped around the lower part of the torso and the legs. It is folded down at the top to form a triangular panel over the thighs. The upper edge of the

mantle is twisted into a roll which frames the massive chest; the roll slants across the torso from the right hip to the left armpit. The mantle covers the left upper arm, although its precise arrangement is uncertain because most of the arm is missing. The figure leans slightly toward the proper left side, suggesting that it may originally have leaned on a now missing staff propped in the armpit, as in catalog number 51. The drapery folds consist of a group of curved ridges around the right leg, several taut folds stretching from the right ankle to the left knee, and a groove cut between the legs to separate them with shadow. Although the face is missing, the outlines of a beard can be seen. The short, compact mass of hair waves down to the middle of the neck. The triangular front panel of the mantle, the possibility that the figure leaned on a staff propped under the arm, and the presence of a beard suggest that the statuette may represent Asklepios, and may be a variant of the same Asklepios type as catalog number 51. However, the usual cascade of folds down the proper left side does not appear in the present statuette.

CATALOG NUMBER 53 -- Asklepios

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished.

K. Fatourou, "Ἀρχαιότητες καὶ Μνημεία Δωδεκανήσου," Deltion 19 (1964) χρονικά, p. 467, pl. 551a. G. Daux, "Chroniques des Fouilles," BCH 91 (1967) 768, fig. 3. Not exhibited in Museum (not illustrated here). Found in the city of Rhodes. P.H. - 0.49m. (about 1/3 life size). Marble, not further described in publication. Preserved from base of neck to feet. Head, right arm (excluding right hand), part of right foot missing. It is not known if the missing portions have broken off or were carved separately and attached, since technical details are not published. From the photograph, the workmanship appears to be summary.

The statuette is known to me only in the photograph cited above. It represents a standing, semi-draped male figure. The weight is carried on the right leg. The left leg is bent at the knee, and the ball of the left foot rests on the plinth. The right hip is swung outward; the right hand rests on it. The left arm is held downward at the side; the hand presses a snake-entwined staff against a pillar, on which the figure leans. The snake clearly identifies the type as Asklepios. A mantle, folded over at the top into a triangular panel, is draped around the hips and legs, as far as the ankles. Its upper edge is twisted into a roll, framing the nude torso. The garment also covers the left shoulder and

most of the arm.

In the stance, the arrangement of the mantle, and the placing of the right hand on the hip, the statuette is related to Heiderich's fourth-century (and later) group 4,²⁵³ as is catalog number 51. In the present instance, however, the figure does not seem to lean on the staff, but on a pillar, against which the staff rests.

²⁵³See note 252.

CATALOG NUMBER 54 - Asklepios

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. E 520. L. Laurenzi, "Piccole sculture inedite di Rodi," ArchCl 10 (1958) 172-179, esp. pp. 175-177 and pl. 59, 1. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (see fig. 30). Found in the city of Rhodes. P.H. - 0.60m. (somewhat less than 1/2 life size). Crystalline marble, white with a slightly greyish cast. Partially covered with rusty surface discoloration. Head, right arm from biceps down, part of the fall of drapery at the left side broken off. Left hand originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. Right foot, left ankle and foot missing--the mounting of the statuette in the Museum obscures the undersurface of the figure, and therefore the method of attaching the feet is uncertain; they may have simply been broken off. The back is fully rounded, and a few of the major drapery folds are indicated. The workmanship is of good quality.

The statuette represents a standing, semi-draped male figure. The weight is carried on the right leg, the left leg is bent at the knee, and the left foot was probably originally placed slightly forward of the right. The pose is frontal, but the right hip is swung outward. The left arm is bent at the elbow and the forearm brought slightly forward. The right upper arm appears to have been held downward, but there is no evidence for the position of the forearm. The

upper part of the torso leans slightly backward. The figure wears a heavy mantle, which is draped around the hips to frame the nude chest. It is carried diagonally across the back, over the left shoulder, falls over the left arm, and cascades down the left side. The hem dips upward slightly toward the left side. Over the thighs, the mantle is folded down to form a triangular panel. The lowest corner of the triangular piece ends in a lump which may be identified as a tassel. The upper edge of the mantle is twisted into a roll across the abdomen. A deeply cut channel separates the torso and legs from the cascade of drapery at the left side; there is also deep undercutting beneath the hem. The skilfully carved drapery folds are strongly three-dimensional, and are accentuated by two curved pockets of shadow across the triangular panel, and several pockets around the sides and across the front of the legs. Only the folds at the left side, which were probably hidden from the viewer, are flat, with coarsely drilled grooves. The torso, which is that of a mature male, is idealized and strongly, but subtly, modelled.

Laurenzi has identified the statuette as a representation of Asklepios, although attributes of any kind are lacking. He considered it a second-century B.C. re-elaboration of

the Asklepios Campana type,²⁵⁴ carved for the decoration of a wealthy home, and related it stylistically to the "Zeus-Hero" from Pergamon. The massive torso, dramatic handling of the drapery, and deep undercutting along the left side of the torso do indeed suggest a date not earlier than the second century B.C., and the idealization and maturity of the nude portions are appropriate to Asklepios.

²⁵⁴This type has been most recently discussed by Heiderich, op. cit. (see note 251), pp. 7-16, 143-144. For an illustration see, e.g., AJA 63 (1959) pl. 78, a replica in London, Soane Museum.

CATALOG NUMBER 55 -- Asklepios (?)

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. 4649. Clara Rhodos II, no. 14, pp. 37-38, fig. 18 (Maiuri). Exhibited in Museum, photographed (see fig. 31, photograph after Clara Rhodos, loc. cit.). Accidental find in the area of the city of Rhodes. P.H. - 1.00m. (about life size). Greyish white crystalline marble. Preserved from hips to ankles. Left ankle and foot broken off. Right foot originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. Round hole cut into front of left thigh. A roughly pyramidal support, finished with the punch, is attached to the back of the right leg. Two round holes are cut into the front surface of the support, one directly below the other, ca. 0.20m. apart.²⁵⁵ The back of the figure is summarily finished. The workmanship is of fairly good quality.

The statue represents the lower part of a standing, draped male figure. As far as it is preserved, the pose is frontal. The weight is carried on the right leg, the left leg is bent at the knee, and the left foot was originally placed slightly in advance of the right. There is a very slight suggestion of an archaistic stiffness in the stance. The figure is draped in a mantle. The arrangement of the

²⁵⁵ Maiuri noted the presence of three holes in the support, but I was unable to locate the third.

upper part of the garment is unknown, but since there is a triangular panel over the thighs and a cascade of folds along the left side, the entire garment may have been draped in a manner similar to catalog number 51. A deeply cut groove of shadow separates one leg from the other. Parallel loops and arrowhead folds articulate the drapery over the right leg, and there are arrowhead folds on the triangular panel. The hem is deeply undercut. At the side of the left knee two curved horizontal folds meet in an open V, which is reminiscent of a similar mannerism in some fifth-century sculpture.²⁵⁶ The folds are in general rather flat, and rigidly modelled.

Maiuri identified the figure as an honorific portrait statue. This identification may well be correct, but it is here suggested that the figure may rather represent Asklepios, on the basis of the characteristic arrangement of the drapery (see catalog number 51) and the fact that the two holes in the support could have been intended for the attachment of a serpent, perhaps of bronze. In the Campana type,²⁵⁷ snake and support are on the proper right side. However, it should be noted that the triangular panel in the present figure is

²⁵⁶To use an example from Rhodes, compare this mannerism in the funerary stele of Kriton and Timarista, Lullies and Hirmer, pl. 183.

²⁵⁷See note 254.

higher than that of the other examples in Rhodes. The mild archaic and classical reminiscence in the pose and drapery, overlaid on a sculpture which is clearly Hellenistic in its use of light and shadow, suggests that the figure may be dated to the late Hellenistic period.

CATALOG NUMBER 56 -- Attis (?)

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unknown to author. Unpublished. Exhibited in Museum, not photographed (not illustrated here). Circumstances of discovery unknown to author. P.H. - ca. 0.90m. (about life size). Grey-white mottled marble. Preserved from shoulders to just below knees. Left hand originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. Head, legs from knees downward, right arm broken off. The back is quite flat, but splays out somewhat toward the chiton hem. The workmanship is summary.

The statue represents a rather fleshy male figure, wearing a short chiton. The garment falls to the middle of the thigh, and is girded well above the natural waistline. The cloth of the long pouch is so voluminous that the abdomen seems to protrude when the figure is viewed from the side. A mantle falls over the shoulders and behind the figure, like a flat curtain. It is fastened at the base of the neck with a round clasp. The lappets of the Scythian cap are visible on the shoulders. The modelling is rather broad.

Although the use of a mottled marble suggests that the statue is of Roman Imperial date,²⁵⁸ the high girdling of

²⁵⁸The marble is similar, although not identical, to that of the torso of the Ganymede from Sperlonga, which is considered Flavian--Giulio Jacopi, L'Antro di Tiberio a Sperlonga (Rome: 1963) p. 117.

the chiton and the visual impression of a protruding abdomen in the profile views²⁵⁹ suggest that a Hellenistic type may have inspired the sculptor. The fleshiness of the figure is somewhat comparable to that of the so-called Mausollos from Halicarnassos, and it is not impossible that this statue is a Roman copy of a Hellenistic Attis type perhaps introduced to Rhodes by foreign residents.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁹A similarly protruding abdomen is noticeable in other Rhodian figures, e.g. catalog number 29.

²⁶⁰On the many foreign residents on Rhodes, see D. Morelli, "Gli Stranieri in Rodi," Studi Classici e Orientali 5 (1956) 126-188.

CATALOG NUMBER 57 -- Dionysos (?)

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. Clara Rhodos I, p. 27, fig. 8 (Jacopi). A. Maiuri, "Sculture del Museo Archeologico di Rodi," ASAtene 4-5 (1921-1922) 234-236, fig. 1. Jacopi, Spedale, pp. 42-43, fig. 20. W.-H. Schuchhardt, rev. A. Levi, Sculture greche e romane del Palazzo Ducale di Mantova, GGA 196 (1934) 316-318. L. Laurenzi, "Rilievi e statue d'arte rodia," RömMitt 54 (1939) 42-65, esp. p. 50 and pl. 14. L. Borelli Vlad, "Una scuola di manieristi dell'ellenismo rodioasiatico," RendLinc ser. 8, vol. 4 (1949) 336-351, esp. p. 340, fig. 3. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (see fig. 32, "Hannibal" photograph). Accidental find in 1914 during the digging of a well in the village of Soroni, in the territory of ancient Cameiros. P.H. - 0.65m. (less than 1/2 life size). White crystalline marble with slight rusty surface discoloration. Left forearm originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. Right arm from biceps, front portion of right foot, left ankle and foot, lower row of curls at right side of head, nose, portions of drapery folds at front center of figure broken off. Head broken at level of chin and mended. Many small abrasions over entire surface. The back is fully rounded, but is finished only with the toothed chisel. The workmanship is of fairly good quality.

The statuette represents a standing, draped male figure.

The weight is carried evenly on both legs; the legs are stiff and straight, the left one advanced. The posture is basically frontal, but the torso is turned very slightly toward the proper right. The left shoulder is considerably higher than the right. The pose is slouched, so that the abdomen protrudes, and the chin and beard are sunk down on the chest. The head is tilted slightly toward the proper right side. The costume consists of five elements. The first garment is a long, thin, sleeved chiton which trails over the ground in the back and is lifted in an inverted V to uncover the ankles in the front. A peplos-like garment is worn over the chiton; it is fastened at the shoulders, and has a long pouch which is very irregular at the bottom. The hem of the peplos is drawn up at the center front into an inverted V, echoing the hem of the chiton and revealing a small part of it. Both chiton and peplos skirts have stiff, fan-shaped central pleats which protrude considerably from the front of the figure. An animal skin, fastened at the left shoulder and draped under the right arm, is worn over the peplos. Over the skin is a broad, flat girdle, wrapped high above the natural waistline. A scarf-like garment is draped around the back of the figure and over the left forearm. The drapery has a peculiarly ragged appearance, as a result of the asymmetry and irregularity of the folds. Some of the folds are deeply cut, others are shallow; most are

diagonal in direction, and there is little rational movement in the lines of the drapery. Each leg is framed by a deeply undercut U-shaped fold. The stone is also deeply cut under the beard, between the left arm and the torso, and between the ankles, creating pockets of deep shadow. The beard is very long, and is straight-sided and curtain-like, rather than full. It consists of long, wavy strands, which are divided into two sections at the bottom. The moustache droops at either side of full, closed, faintly smiling lips. The facial features are very gently modelled. The nose, now broken off, appears to have been fairly broad. The eyes are half closed, and the facial expression rather dreamy. The hair is parted at the center and drawn away from the temples to form a triangular, almost ogival forehead. At each side, the locks are drawn up to form a hanging cluster of sausage-shaped curls; each cluster originally consisted of two rows of three curls each. The bottom of each cluster reaches the bottom of the ear. The back hair is swept up into a roll which is fastened at the crown. Two fillets are worn, one around the crown, and one horizontally across the forehead; the latter fillet disappears under the curl clusters. The crown fillet is ornamented at the center front with a rectangular, box-shaped piece covered with rows of small lumps, which Maiuri describes as "a forma di pettine

testudinato."²⁶¹

This statuette, like other Rhodian figures (catalog numbers 46-49), combines archaistic and Hellenistic iconographic and stylistic traits. The characteristics which are reminiscent of archaic sculpture are the position of the legs and the stiff central drapery folds. The Hellenistic motifs are the high girding of the garments, the use of deep pockets of shadow as accents, and the general irrationality of the drapery. In the case of the present statuette, Laurenzi has described the combination of traits, which he notes also in the Isis from Cataio, as a blending of baroque dynamism and a measure of naturalism with the ornamentality of an archaistic statue. Maiuri suggested that the statuette is derived from a third to second century bronze re-elaboration of the Sardanapalus type, which is dated to the fourth century. He considered it probably the cult statue of a small shrine, and recognized in this figure and its prototype Dionysos Thyonidas, a deity known to have been worshipped on Rhodes.²⁶² Schuchhardt compared the statue to a maenad in Mantua, and based both on late third century B.C. prototypes. Borelli Vlad incorporated the figure into her late Hellenistic grouping of "manneristic" statues; the group also includes a Priapos

²⁶¹For the fillet across the forehead combined with clusters of curls over the ears, see an archaistic bearded herm in Rome, EA 2183-2184.

²⁶²Van Gelder, op. cit. (see note 112), pp. 322-324.

in Rome,²⁶³ which bears a definite similarity to the Rhodian figure in its archaistic traits and especially in the handling of the drapery. The Rhodian figure may, in fact, represent Priapos rather than Dionysos.

²⁶³Helbig⁴ Vol. II, pp. 484-485, no. 1699.

CATALOG NUMBER 58 -- Eros (?)

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. 530. L. Laurenzi, "Piccole sculture inedite di Rodi," ArchCl 10 (1958) 172-179, esp. pp. 172-175 and pls. 57-58. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (see fig. 33). Accidental find, 1941, during the excavation of a house on the Via Duchi di Genova in the city of Rhodes. Exact dimensions not published ("alto poco più di mezzo metro" - somewhat more than 1/2 life size). White crystalline marble (called island marble by Laurenzi) with rusty surface discoloration, particularly over proper right side. Preserved from shoulders to left knee. Head, right arm from shoulder, left arm from deltoid, right leg from middle of thigh, left leg from just above knee broken off. The torso is broken in two, just above the pubes in front, and below the buttocks in back, and mended. The surface is slightly abraded. The torso is fully rounded and modelled in back. There is a small round cutting at the right shoulder blade. The workmanship is of fairly good quality.

The statuette represents a youthful, nude male figure. The weight is carried on the right leg, the right hip is strongly swung outward, and the left leg is drawn to the side, the knee bent. The arm stumps indicate that the right upper arm was raised sharply and the left upper arm held vertically downward. The proportions of the figure are slender, and

its posture languid. The modelling is soft in outline, and the musculature generalized.

Laurenzi has identified the figure as a Hellenistic replica, in smaller scale, of an Eros carved by Praxiteles, for which our only evidence is a passage of Kallistratos.²⁶⁴ He recognizes this statue in an Eros which is pictured on coins of Pergamon dating to the reign of Commodus.²⁶⁵ However, the passage in Kallistratos describes the Eros as lifting the bow with his left hand, while the Eros represented on the coins holds the empty left hand near the hip. Laurenzi interprets this discrepancy as Kallistratos' confusion of two statues. Moreover, the Rhodian torso has a cutting on the right shoulder blade, which may have supported a wing, even though it seems very small for such a purpose, but there is no corresponding cutting on the left shoulder blade for the other wing. Laurenzi's identification has been retained in this catalog, although it is questioned. Since so little is known of the Eros of Praxiteles, it may be preferable to consider the Rhodian torso a Hellenistic derivative of a male type of uncertain identification, carved in the style usually ascribed to Praxiteles.

²⁶⁴ Εκφρασεις, 3 = J.A. Overbeck, Die antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildende Künste bei den Griechen (Leipzig: 1868) no. 1265.

²⁶⁵ Illustrated by Laurenzi, op. cit. (see text above), pl. 57, 2.

CATALOG NUMBER 59 -- Eros, Head

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unknown to author. Unpublished. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (not illustrated here). Circumstances of discovery unknown to author. P.H. - ca. 0.30m. (about life size). White crystalline marble, with slight rusty surface discoloration. Head and neck preserved. Base of neck is splayed and slightly convex, as if intended for insertion into a shallow, rounded cavity. Nose, portion of hair below left ear lobe broken off. Mouth, chin, right cheek badly abraded. Forehead, base of neck slightly abraded. The workmanship is of good quality.

The head is that of a youthful male, tilted toward the proper right on a long neck. The face is oval in shape. The eyes, the only well preserved facial feature, are very softly modelled. The upper lids are clearly indicated, but the lower lids are only vaguely outlined and are slightly lifted, giving the glance a "melting" quality. The ears are much more strongly modelled; deep drill holes, still separated from one another by bits of stone, can be seen in the left ear. The drill was also used to cut a hole in each ear lobe, presumably for the insertion of earrings. The gentle modelling of the face contrasts strongly with the dramatic treatment of the hair. A cluster of thick, waving, individually carved locks springs from either side of a central part. Parallel locks wave downward at each side, covering

the tops of the ears. Below the ears, the hair appears to be gathered into a tight horizontal roll which encircles the nape. At the right side, the roll is punctuated by a horizontal hole drilled through its center. There may have been a corresponding hole in the now missing left side of the roll of hair. Each lock of hair is separated from the next and deeply undercut to surround it with shadow. Deep undercutting separates the roll of hair from the nape, darkly shadowing the neck at both sides. The hair is bound with a flat fillet; the crown hair is indicated by lumps.

It seems likely that the head represents Eros. The roll of hair below the ears is known on other Eros types, notably the Eros with a Bow attributed to Lysippos,²⁶⁶ although in other respects the hair is quite different. Moreover, if the holes in the ear lobes originally held earrings, the only youthful male type which could wear them is Eros. The languid quality imparted to the head by its gentle tilt and the melting glance add to the possibility that the piece represents Eros.

The derivation of the dramatic rendering of the front hair style from heroic types of the second century, such as those of the Pergamon altar, and the eclectic combination

²⁶⁶F.P. Johnson, Lysippos (Durham, N.C.: 1927) pp. 104-113, pls. 17-19.

of this style with the widely different sfumato of the face, suggest that we have here a work of the late Hellenistic period.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁷ A similar combination of hair and facial styles can be seen in the head of Asklepios from Melos in the British Museum--Smith, British Museum, Vol. I, pp. 289-290, no. 550.

CATALOG NUMBER 60 -- Helios, Head

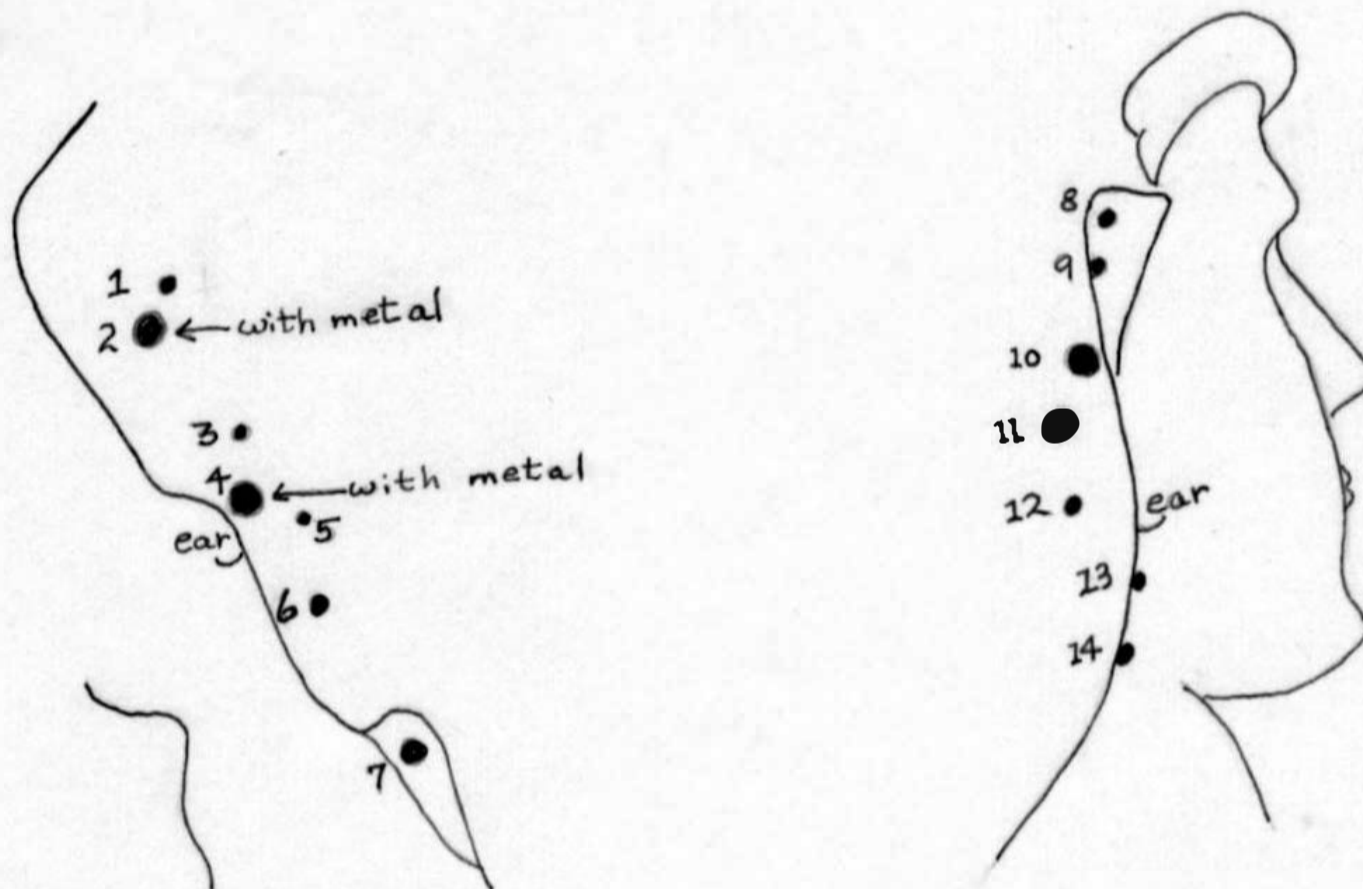
Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. L. Laurenzi, "Un'Immagine del dio Sole rinvenuta a Rodi," Memorie 3 (1938) 19-26, pls. 23-25. R. Lullies and M. Hirmer, Greek Sculpture, pl. 249. B.M. Holden, The Metopes of the Temple of Athena at Ilion (Northampton, Mass.: 1964) pl. 19. J. Boardman et al., The Art and Architecture of Ancient Greece (London: 1967) p. 514 and pl. 304 (Fuchs). V.M. Strocka, "Aphroditekopf in Brescia," JdI 82 (1967) 133, no. 1. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (see figs. 34-36). Found May, 1938, during reconstruction of the Via dei Cavalieri, built into a mediaeval wall. P.H. - 0.55m. (almost twice life size). White crystalline marble, with slight rusty surface discoloration, called island marble, perhaps Parian, by Laurenzi. Head and neck preserved. Lock of hair above right temple originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. Other locks of hair at top and sides of head, left side of nose broken off. Back of head perhaps originally added in stucco, now missing; the surface at the back is deeply scored, and a large hole, 0.15m. deep, may have held a large tenon to hold the stucco in place. A series of smaller holes around the crown is interpreted by Laurenzi as the cuttings for a crown of rays (see below). The surfaces of the sides and top are badly abraded. The workmanship is of good quality.

The head is that of a youthful male, with long, flowing hair. It is turned toward the proper right on a long, powerful neck. The face is rather broad and square in shape, the jaw heavy. The forehead is low and wide, the brows protruding over deeply set eyes. The eyes are opened wide; the upper lids are clearly modelled, and a fold of flesh overhangs the outer corner of each eye; the lower lids are more softly modelled. The lips are parted and slightly upturned at the corners. The modelling of the facial planes is simplified, with little detail. The thick, individually carved, serpentine locks of hair wave across the head from proper right to left as if wind-blown. The locks continue to wave downward at either side, covering all but the lobes of the ears. At the back, traces of the hair can be seen as far down as the middle of the neck.

Laurenzi recorded fifteen evenly spaced holes, all slanting inward, which he believed originally held metal rays. He plausibly observed that since some of the holes fall in the furrows between locks of hair, they could not have held a flat fillet. His publication is accompanied by a photograph of the front of the head with the metal rays reconstructed. Since the rays have since been removed for the Museum display, it is not possible to examine the cuttings again. My observations, which were somewhat different from Laurenzi's, are recorded in the following paragraph. The head could be

examined easily, except for a small portion of the topmost surface, which was above my field of vision.

The holes, of three different diameters, are cut in a broken rather than continuous line, are seldom evenly spaced from one another, and do not all slant or face in the same direction. The rough, unmeasured sketch below indicates the relative size and position of the cuttings:



At the proper left side, holes 1, 3 and 6 are of the same diameter, seem to face in the same direction, and are evenly

spaced. Holes 2 and 4, which still contain traces of metal, seem to face in the same direction as 1, 3 and 6, but are almost twice as large in diameter, and are cut further toward the front of the head. Number 5 is aligned between 3 and 6, and faces in the same direction, but is much smaller in diameter. Since number 7 faces in an entirely different direction, toward the front of the head, it probably held a tenon for the attachment of a lock of hair. On the proper left side, therefore, only three holes, numbers 1, 3 and 6, are likely candidates for rays. This is considerably less than the total of seven rays to each side required for Laurenzi's total of fifteen. On the proper right side, the number of holes is equal to that on the left side, but again, there is no discernible pattern. Numbers 8 and 9 are cut into a small flattened surface bordered by furrows, and therefore may have been intended to attach a lock of hair. Numbers 10 and 11 are larger in diameter, and are cut into the back surface of the head rather than the side. They could not, therefore, have held rays. Number 12 is very small and is also cut into the back surface. Numbers 13 and 14 are also very small, and since they face the front of the head, they could not have held rays, but more probably locks of hair. There is therefore not a single cutting on the proper right side which could qualify as a support for a metal ray. Altogether, I was able to locate fourteen cuttings around the crown, al-

though Laurenzi speaks of fifteen. There may be another cutting at the very top of the head, but I was unable to verify this detail. In any case, either fourteen or fifteen is a suitable number for a crown of rays for Helios,²⁶⁸ but the pattern of cuttings is not appropriate. While the sides of the head may have suffered further damage since the original publication in 1938, obliterating some of the cuttings which Laurenzi may once have seen, the frontal photograph which he published shows the same state of preservation of the front of the head as at present. Although Laurenzi's observation and analysis of the evidence have been questioned here, his identification of the head as Helios could well be correct. All the cuttings now visible may have held locks of hair rather than rays, resulting in a Helios type without a crown, which is admissible iconographically.²⁶⁹ Or, perhaps some of the locks of hair at the sides were added in stucco, and metal rays were imbedded in the stucco, so that all traces have now disappeared. Perhaps a combined technique of

²⁶⁸ An examination of the Rhodian coins with Helios obverse in the American Numismatic Society collection showed that the total number of rays was usually thirteen.

²⁶⁹ The Rhodian coinage has unfortunately not yet been thoroughly studied, but some show the Helios head without a radiate crown, e.g. B.V. Head, Catalogue of Coins of Caria and the Islands [in the British Museum]. (London: 1897) pl. 39, nos. 1-3.

attaching some rays to the stone and imbedding others in stucco was used, so that some of the holes in the proper left side of the head did indeed once hold rays. Or, perhaps holes 1, 3 and 6 at the left side held rays, but the corresponding three holes at the right have been obliterated, giving, with the addition of a possible hole at the top of the head, a total of seven rays, as known on a head in the Capitoline Museum identified as Alexander-Helios.²⁷⁰ The possibility that the Rhodian head can be identified otherwise must nevertheless be taken into consideration, since some of the cuttings may have served to fasten an entirely different type of headdress. Specifically, the possibility should be explored that the head is an idealized representation of Alexander the Great. Fuchs, while considering the head a possible mid-second century B.C. copy of the head of the Colossus of Rhodes, noted that the features of the Helios are "faintly reminiscent" of those of Alexander the Great, and illustrated the Helios on the page facing the Alexander from Pergamon.²⁷¹ Laurenzi also noted the relationship of the Rhodian head to Alexander portraits, but pointed out that it could not have represented Alexander as Helios, since in Rhodes Alexander was connected with Dionysos. The head might also be compared

²⁷⁰ Helbig⁴ Vol. II, pp. 229-230, no. 1423.

²⁷¹ Boardman et al., op. cit. (see text above), pls. 303-304.

to several Alexander portraits from Egypt, which had the back of the head added in stucco.²⁷² It is not impossible that the Rhodian head, if it indeed represented Alexander, was finished with a lion or elephant skin headdress,²⁷³ although locks of hair are preserved above the right temple which presumably would have been hidden by an animal skin. The large cutting at the back could have served the purpose of reducing the weight of the colossal head by disposing of some of the stone.²⁷⁴ If this were the case, a headdress could have been added in a light-weight material such as bronze, rather than stucco, covering the cutting in the back, and secured by means of tenons in the smaller cuttings around the crown. Another possibility is that the head was attached to a background by a tenon in the large cutting at the rear; however, the fact that the rear surface is not really flat, and the neck is finished almost completely in the round makes it unlikely that the head belonged to a relief.

The forceful, dramatic rendering of the Rhodian head, and

²⁷²M. Bieber, Alexander the Great in Greek and Roman Art (Chicago: 1964) pl. 24, figs. 50-52, and pls. 26-27, figs. 54-55.

²⁷³Cf. Bieber, op. cit. (see note 272), e.g. pl. 21, fig. 33 (lion skin, allowing front locks of hair to show); pl. 22, fig. 42 (elephant skin).

²⁷⁴A Hellenistic colossal bearded head from Pergamon is hollowed out in the back, perhaps for the same purpose, AJA 71 (1967) p. 170 and pl. 56, fig. 9.

the treatment of the hair as thick, separately waving locks, comparable to heads of the Pergamon Altar, suggest that it should be dated not earlier than about the middle of the second century B.C.

CATALOG NUMBER 61 -- Helios (?) Relief

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. 13612. Clara Rhodos V, pt. 2, pp. 24-26, no. 35, fig. 15, pl. II (Jacopi). H. Maryon, "The Colossus of Rhodes," JHS 76 (1956) 68-86, esp. p. 72 and fig. 1 on p. 71. Exhibited in Museum, not photographed (see fig. 37, photograph after Clara Rhodos, loc. cit.). Accidental discovery at Camari, in the interior of Rhodes, about three hours from Alaerma. P.H. - 0.78m. Marble, with heavy rusty surface discoloration. Broken in two fragments vertically and mended. Preserved to hips of figure. Face, hair, right arm mutilated. Large chip missing from upper left corner. The background is roughly finished with the punch. The workmanship is summary.

A nude, youthful, standing male figure is carved on the block in high relief. Enough of the torso is preserved to show that the left hip swung sharply outward. The left upper arm falls obliquely at the side; a few summarily carved folds of drapery are visible over the forearm. The right arm is raised and bent at the elbow, and the hand is held near the head, which is turned three-quarters to the proper right. Although the face is badly mutilated, the eyes appear to have been deeply set. The back hair reaches almost to the shoulders. The head is small in relation to the size of the torso.

Although this catalog is for the most part confined to sculpture in the round, this relief is included because

Jacopi has identified the male figure as Helios. The evidence used is the rather mutilated hair, in which he has discerned ray-like locks standing up from the forehead. In addition, the right arm is raised, like that of the Apollo Lykeios, whom Jacopi relates to Helios. On the basis of ^{small size of the} the head in relation to the torso, he has furthermore seen the influence of Lysippos in the figure, and therefore considers it a replica of the colossal statue of Helios made by Chares of Lindos, the pupil of Lysippos.

However, the right hand does not actually rest on the head, as does that of the Apollo Lykeios. Rather, the fingers approach the head, as if placing there something that was painted in, and Jacopi acknowledges that this gesture could also be associated with an athletic type. The relief may, in fact, represent an athlete crowning himself, and may be an athlete's modest votive, probably of Hellenistic date.

Maryon has accepted the Helios identification, proposing that it reflects the Colossus of Chares, showing Helios looking at the sun, shielding his eyes with his raised right hand.

CATALOG NUMBER 62 -- Herakles, Head

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. G. Konstantinopoulos, "Δωδεκανησα," Deltion 20 (1965) χρονικά, p. 594 and pl. 750 left. G. Daux, "Chroniques des Fouilles," BCH 92 (1968) 976 and pl. 32 right. Not exhibited in Museum. (not illustrated here). Found in the city of Rhodes in 1967. Dimensions not published. Marble, not further described in publication. Head and part of neck preserved. Technical details not published. End of nose broken off. Right temple, locks of beard abraded. From the photograph, the workmanship appears to be of fairly good quality.

The head is known to me only in the rather poor published photograph. It probably represents Herakles, with a full beard and a hairstyle consisting of short, upright waves framing the forehead. The beard is divided vertically at the center into two sections. At either side of the part falls a single thick corkscrew curl; the remainder of the beard consists of thick wavy locks, separated from each other by undercutting. The cheekbones are prominent, the lips parted. The eyes are round, protruding, and without clearly defined lids.

The head type, and particularly the arrangement of the locks of the beard, is generally similar to the head of the

Herakles from Alba Fucens.²⁷⁵

²⁷⁵D. Ridgway, "Archaeology in Central Italy and Etruria, 1962-67," ArchRep (1967-1968) pp. 31-32, fig. 2; F. de Visscher, "Herakles Epitrapezios," AntCl 30 (1961) 67-129; idem, Herakles Epitrapezios (Paris: 1962).

CATALOG NUMBER 63 -- Hermes, Head

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unknown to author. Unpublished. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (not illustrated here). Circumstances of discovery unknown to author. P.H. - ca. 0.15m. (about 2/3 life size). White crystalline marble, with rusty surface discoloration. Head and neck preserved. The base of the neck is convex, for insertion into a rounded cavity. Broken into two fragments diagonally through the neck and mended. A small portion of the back of the head behind the left ear is restored in plaster. Most of nose broken off. Crown of head, back of neck, lower edge badly abraded. The workmanship is of fair quality.

The head is that of a youthful male, tilted to the proper right on a strong neck. The face is oval in shape, with a pronounced chin, full cheeks, and prominent eyes overhung, but not deeply shadowed, by protruding brows. The upper lid is strongly arched and defined, while the lower lid is much less clearly articulated. The parted, fleshy lips are slightly turned up at the corners. The ears are swollen. The hair is arranged around the forehead in two rows of erect waves. Behind the waves, at the top of the head, is a raised flat surface. The crown of the head is somewhat flattened, and is finished only with the punch, suggesting that the entire head was originally covered. However, the raised flat area at the top would seem to be the only

possible joining surface at which a headdress could have been attached, perhaps with adhesives, since there are no dowel cuttings. The swollen ears and cropped hair style are suitable only for a representation of an athlete or Hermes. Since athletes are generally shown bare-headed, or, at most, wearing a fillet or wreath, the conclusion seems inescapable that the head represents Hermes, and that it was covered by a petasos. The unfinished surfaces of the crown suggest that the petasos was applied in one curved piece, with its main point of attachment at the top of the head. Since it is extremely unlikely that a piece of marble would have been separately carved and attached in this way, the petasos must have been made of another, lighter and more flexible material, perhaps bronze or even gilded wood.

The general composition and facial expression of the head, but not its mannered elegance, are paralleled by a Hermes head in Budapest, a Roman work thought to be based upon a fourth-century Skopasian original.²⁷⁶ The mannered quality of the Rhodian head should place it in the late Hellenistic period. The profile, particularly the protrusion of the brow and the formation of the chin and neck, may be compared to catalog number 60, the Helios head. The front hair is comparable to the athletic head, catalog number 97.

²⁷⁶A. Hekler, op. cit. (see note 80), p. 45, no. 35, fig. on p. 47.

CATALOG NUMBER 64 -- Satyr, Sleeping

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. 1160. Clara Rhodos II, pp. 53-54, no. 23, fig. 27 (Jacopi). Exhibited in Museum, photographed (see fig. 38). Purchased in the city of Rhodes. P.L. - 0.53m. (about 1/2 life size). Greyish-white crystalline marble, with slight rusty surface discoloration; called local marble by Maiuri. Torso preserved from neck to middle of thighs. Right knee and lower leg originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. Right arm originally carved separately and attached with three small dowels, now missing. A large, roughly rectangular cutting beneath the right thigh may have served to attach the missing lower part of the rocky slab. Head, left lower arm, left leg from middle of thigh broken off. Surface of figure somewhat weathered; rocky support abraded. The workmanship is of fairly good quality.

The statuette represents a nude male figure reclining on a rocky slab. The upper part of the body is propped up and tilted slightly toward its proper left side by a full wineskin. Traces of the missing head, which must have been thrown back in sleep or drunken stupor, are visible on the wineskin. The left upper arm hangs diagonally against the vessel, while the forearm seems originally to have rested horizontally along the rocky slab. The musculature of the torso suggests that the missing right arm was thrown back

beside the head. The right thigh is raised, indicating that the leg was probably bent at the knee, with the foot resting against the rock. The original position of the left leg is uncertain. The edge of an animal skin hangs over the broken edge of the right thigh. At the top of the rocky slab, between the left thigh and the wineskin, is drilled a large, deep hole. It could not be determined if the hole was cut completely through the slab. Just below the hole, a deep, irregular channel was cut. It could not be determined if the hole and channel are connected beneath the surface of the slab. The torso is strongly modelled; the external oblique muscles are pronounced, the navel is deep, and a deep groove cut along the proper left side of the torso frames it in shadow. The rocky slab is carved naturalistically.

In the original publication, the piece was misunderstood as a standing figure. It has since been properly exhibited reclining in the Museum. Maiuri suggested that the slab decorated a fountain, the hole and channel serving as an outlet for water. Placed horizontally, with the channel vertical, the slab is even more clearly suited to this purpose.

Maiuri identified the figure as a satyr; the absence of the outlines of a beard on the preserved upper edge of the torso and the muscular body suggest that the satyr is young. The sleeping satyr type, both youthful and old, is well documented for the Hellenistic period, and was a

common type for the decoration of fountains.²⁷⁷ The best known example is the sleeping satyr in the Glyptothek, Munich, the so-called Barberini Faun.²⁷⁸ This statue and the Rhodian figure correspond in the way the right arm and head are thrown back, the position of the thighs, the strong modelling of the torso, and the lean of the torso toward the proper left side. The Munich satyr is, however, a work of far better quality. None of the sleeping satyr figures illustrated in the scholarly literature parallel the Rhodian figure exactly in the angle at which the body reclines, the positions of the limbs, and the style of the modelling. The Rhodian piece is probably an adaptation in local stone of a well-known type suitable for the decoration of a fountain. Maiuri and Bakalakis consider the piece a work of the second century B.C., comparing the forceful modelling of the torso

²⁷⁷ G. Bakalakis, "Satyros an einer Quelle gelagert," Antike Kunst 9 (1966) 21-28, refers on p. 23 to an unpublished dissertation by B. Kapossy which collects material on fountain figures, including satyrs. This would appear to be the most comprehensive recent work on the subject. Bakalakis reproduces excerpts from Kapossy's work.

²⁷⁸ The basic publication is A. Furtwängler and P. Wolters, Beschreibung der Glyptothek König Ludwigs I (Munich: 1910) pp. 209-216, no. 218. Additional bibliography can be found in Lippold, Handbuch, p. 330, note 6. The best photograph, including the 17th-century restorations, is Lullies and Hirmer, Greek Sculpture, pl. 234. In the summer of 1967, the statue could be seen in Munich with these restorations removed; to my knowledge, it has not yet been re-published.

to that of the great frieze of the Pergamon Altar.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁹ Bakalakis, op. cit. (see note 277), pp. 23 and 27; he seems unaware that the Rhodian piece is now displayed horizontally in the Rhodes Museum, and, following Maiuri's original publication, still considers it an upright relief slab.

CATALOG NUMBER 65 -- Satyr, Head

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. 6256. Clara Rhodos II, pp. 33-34, no. 12, fig. 16 (Maiuri). Not exhibited in Museum (see fig. 39 - photograph after Clara Rhodos, loc. cit.). Circumstances of discovery not published. P.H. - 0.19m. (about life size). Material not described in publication. Head and neck preserved. Portion of nose and chin broken off. Base of neck chipped. Surface very badly abraded. The workmanship seems from the photograph to be of fair quality.

The head is known to me only in the published photograph. It represents a smiling boy, and is published as a portrait. However, the features which Maiuri interpreted as the individualized features of a portrait are actually those of a young satyr. The nose is broad and the cheeks plump. Thick, separate locks of hair wave up from the forehead; a curled lock lies against the cheek in front of the left ear. The crown of the head is bound with a fillet. The photograph shows that the ear is that of an animal, and that the head should therefore represent a satyr. It is quite similar, in the smiling expression, formation of the features, and the lock of hair before the ear, to the satyr of the group called the "Invitation to the Dance."²⁸⁰ The principal difference

²⁸⁰ For the most recent comprehensive treatment of this group,

between the two heads is the fillet worn by the Rhodian satyr. It is not impossible that the Rhodian head is all that remains of a replica of the satyr of this group, the original of which has been traced to Cyzicus on the basis of numismatic evidence.

see D. M. Brinkerhoff, "New Examples of the Hellenistic Statue Group, 'The Invitation to the Dance,' and their significance," AJA 69 (1965) 25-37. In this article, the group is dated on stylistic grounds to the late third century B.C.

CATALOG NUMBER 66 -- Satyr (?)

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. G. Konstantinopoulos, "Δωδεκάνησα," Deltion 20 (1965) χρονικά, p. 594 and pl. 751 top. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (see figs. 40-41). Found in the city of Rhodes. Dimensions not published; estimated P.H. - ca. 0.90m. (ca. 3/4 life size). White crystalline marble, with slight rusty surface discoloration. Preserved from shoulders to plinth. Head, right arm, left leg from middle of thigh broken off. Right thigh broken into two pieces and mended, right lower leg broken off at knee and mended.²⁸¹ Fingers of right hand preserved, attached to rock. Traces of feet preserved on plinth. The back is fully rounded, but not well finished. The workmanship is summary.

The statuette represents a youthful male figure, seated on a rock. The pose is strictly frontal; the feet were placed close together and almost parallel on the plinth. A feline skin is draped over the left forearm and covers the rocky seat, its head and front paws hanging at the proper left side. Another paw appears at the front of the seat, just below the right thigh. The remains of the fingers of the right hand show that the right arm was held downward, and

²⁸¹As exhibited in the Museum, and therefore as illustrated here, the right lower leg is entirely missing.

that the hand rested on the edge of the seat. The left arm was bent at the elbow, and the forearm was held horizontally beside the thigh. The left hand holds what appears to be a set of reed pipes bound with a cord. The pipes are a suitable attribute for either a satyr or a representation of Pan, but since the legs are human rather than those of a goat, the former identification seems the most likely. The feline skin unfortunately covers the lower back of the figure, so that a tail is not apparent.

The figure could be of Roman rather than Hellenistic date, but seems to be based upon a Hellenistic type. Two fragmentary nude male figures seated on skin-covered rocks, reportedly from Rhodes, and probably of Hellenistic date, are preserved in the British Museum.²⁸² One of them is identifiable as a satyr because the tail is preserved. However the figures are not exact parallels for the statuette in the Rhodes Museum, since they are seated in a more relaxed, less frontal pose. A seated Pan in Mecklenburg,²⁸³ holding a syrinx in the left hand, is similar to the figures in the British Museum, and is pierced at the end of the footrest, perhaps for a jet of water. The Rhodian figure could also have been a garden ornament.

²⁸²Smith, British Museum, Vol. III, p. 56, nos. 1653 and 1654 and pl. 23.

²⁸³EA 1944.

CATALOG NUMBER 67 -- Silenos
Rhodes, Archaeological Museum.

Inv. no. unknown to author. Unpublished. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (not illustrated here). Circumstances of discovery unknown to author. P.H. - ca. 0.40m. (somewhat more than 1/2 life size). White crystalline marble, with slight rusty surface discoloration. Head and neck, right arm and drapery attached to it, legs from middle of thighs and genitalia broken off. Left elbow abraded. The back is fully rounded, and modelled with some care. The workmanship is quite good.

The statuette represents a bearded, nude male figure. The weight rested on the left leg; the left hip swings outward strongly. The right thigh appears to have been somewhat more forward than the left. The right shoulder is much higher than the left. The torso is well developed and mature, but the pectorals are flabby and the abdomen protrudes, lending an impression of obesity and somewhat advanced age to an otherwise vigorous figure. At the upper preserved edge are the remains of the lowest locks of a beard falling over the chest. Each thick, wavy lock is separated from the next by a pocket of shadow. The left arm is bent at the elbow; the hand is hidden behind the hip. The left elbow and forearm are covered with drapery. The garment does not cover the front of the torso at all, but seems to have been stretched from arm to arm across the back of the figure.

The corpulence, advanced age and nudity of the figure suggest that it represents Silenos. A similar Silenos type appears on the Borghese krater in the Louvre, and on the two replicas of this vessel recovered from the Mahdia shipwreck.²⁸⁴ Although the Silenos of the reliefs is drunken and is part of a group, the beard and the proportions of the torso are very similar. Also of similar type is a Silenos in Munich,²⁸⁵ which is considered a copy of a fourth-century original, and one in an English private collection,²⁸⁶ which is thought to be either "later Hellenistic," or a Roman copy of a Hellenistic original.

²⁸⁴W. Fuchs, Die Vorbilder der neuattischen Reliefs (Berlin: 1959) chapter 8, pp. 108-118; idem, Der Schiffsfund von Mahdia (Tübingen: 1963) pl. 70 (better illustration).

²⁸⁵A. Furtwängler and P. Wolters, Beschreibung der Glyptothek zu München (Munich: 1910), pp. 221-223, no. 221.

²⁸⁶C. Vermeule and D. von Bothmer, "Notes on a New Edition of Michaelis, Part Three:2," AJA 63 (1959) 329-348, esp. p. 340, no. 2 and pl. 81, fig. 19

CATALOG NUMBER 68 -- Silenos, Head

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. 13642. Clara Rhodos V, pt. 1, no. 9, pp. 50-53, figs. 29-30 (Jacopi). Jacopi, Spedale, pp. 47-48, fig. 24. Idem, "Attività del Servizio Archeologico a Rodi," BdA ser. 2, vol. 7 (1927-1928) 514-526, esp. pp. 518-519, fig. 9. Not exhibited in Museum (see fig. 42, photograph after Clara Rhodos, loc. cit.). Recovered from the excavation of a private house behind the Women's Institute of Rhodes, beside the Viale dei Colli. P.H. - 0.135m. (somewhat more than 1/2 life size). Material called Parian marble by Jacopi. Head and part of neck preserved. Left side of beard and cheek abraded. Jacopi does not comment on the workmanship, which appears to be of fairly good quality in the published photographs. The back seems to be fully rounded, but the surface less finished than the front. From the photograph, the workmanship seems to be of fair quality.

The head, known to me only in the published photograph, represents Silenos. The hair is cut short across the nape of the neck. A turban-like cloth is stretched tightly across the forehead and tied at the back of the head. The cloth is slightly puffed up around the crown. A few wavy locks fall over each cheek in front of the fleshy animal's ears. The beard consists only of side-whiskers, the small, pointed chin being clean-shaven. The moustache, which droops from either side of the upper lip to join the side-whiskers,

leaves the central portion of the upper lip bare. The lips are fleshy and strongly arched. The nose is short, broad and snubbed; the cheeks are fleshy. The slanting, wide-opened eyes are topped by frowning, arched brows, accentuated by two curved vertical furrows over the bridge of the nose.

The head lacks clear parallels for the cloth headdress and the chin-baring arrangement of the beard. Jacopi, noting that its serious expression set it apart from comic Silenos types, dated the head to the beginning of the third century B.C. However, the head may well date later in the Hellenistic period. In the frowning of the brows, the form of the features and the intensity of the expression, the head is somewhat reminiscent of a Hellenistic portrait of Socrates in the Villa Albani.²⁸⁷ It is also similar to a head, identified as that of a centaur, in the Conservatori Palace.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁷Richter, Portraits, Vol. I, p. 111, no. 3, figs. 458, 460.

²⁸⁸Helbig⁴ Vol. II, pp. 303-304, no. 1483.

CATALOG NUMBER 69 -- Silenos, Head

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. 13641. Clara Rhodos V, pt. 1, pp. 47-49, no. 8, figs. 27-28 (Jacopi). G. Jacopi, "Attività del Servizio Archeologico a Rodi," BdA ser. 2, vol. 7 (1927-1928) 514-526, esp. pp. 518-519, fig. 9. Idem, Spedale, pp. 56-57, fig. 28. Exhibited in Museum, not photographed (see fig. 43 - "Hannibal" photograph). Purchased in the city of Rhodes. P.H. - 0.195m. (about life size). Purplish-red stone, called limestone from Mount Ataviros by Jacopi. Most of head preserved. Chin, portion of moustache and beard at proper left side, part of back of head broken off. Nose, locks of beard at right side abraded. The back of the head, although only partially preserved, seems to have originally been fully rounded. The workmanship is careful.

The head is that of a bearded male with a round, plump face and short, broad nose. The lower part of the forehead projects over deeply set, half-closed eyes; both eyelids are clearly delineated. The cheeks are high and rounded; the wide, smiling mouth has a full lower lip and is slightly parted. The moustaches spring from the side of each nostril, and fall to either side of the chin in thick waves. Only part of the beard is preserved, and its length is unknown, but the locks are thick and wavy. The front hair is parted in the center, and waves down over the temples; at each

side, only four thick strands are clearly marked off. The rendering is linear and classicizing. Around the head is a wreath of ivy. Attached to the wreath, at the top of the head, are two small clusters of berries. The modelling is broad, perhaps because of the relative softness of the material, but the surface is finished with care.

Jacopi identified the type as Dionysos in the original publication, but in 1932 (Spedale) suggested Silenos as a possible alternative. The latter seems a preferable identification, because of the plump cheeks and the thick, curling moustache springing from the sides of the nose. The Silenos carrying the infant Dionysos, often attributed to Lysippos,²⁸⁹ has comparable facial features, and wears a similar wreath with berries. The facial type is even more closely paralleled by the Silenos on a neo-Attic relief on a marble vase in Pisa, which is dated to the late second century B.C.²⁹⁰ This similarity, and the classicizing quality of the hair, suggest that the Rhodian head is late Hellenistic in date. The half-closed eyes are probably an indication of drunkenness, and suggest that, even though the

²⁸⁹For the best known replica of the type, see W. Amelung, Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums, I (Berlin: 1903), p. 16, no. 11, pl. 2.

²⁹⁰W. Fuchs, Vorbilder (see note 284) p. 28, no. 85e; Schiffsfund (see note 284), pl. 75.

head is strictly frontal as now displayed in the Museum, the figure may originally have been reclining, leaning, or perhaps supported by another figure. The use of a material which has been traced to a local Rhodian source indicates that the head is definitely a locally produced sculpture.

CATALOG NUMBER 70 -- Zeus

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. Clara Rhodos IX, pp. 41-42, figs. 22-23, pls. 2-3 (Laurenzi). L. Laurenzi, "La Personalità di Doidalses di Bitinia," ASAtene n.s. 8-10 (1946-1948) 167-179, esp. pp. 168-172 and fig. 2 on p. 169. Bieber, Sculpture, p. 161, note 16. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (see fig. 44, photograph after Clara Rhodos, loc. cit.). Found at Cameiros, near the sacred square. P.H. - 0.57m. (about 1/3 life size). White crystalline marble, with some rusty surface discoloration, called island marble by Laurenzi. Right arm from biceps, left arm from shoulder, originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. Locks of hair at right side of head abraded. The surface is well finished around the right side, but the back is finished only with the punch. The workmanship is of fair quality.

The statuette represents a mature, semi-draped, bearded male of idealized type, standing with the weight on the right leg; the left knee is slightly bent, and the foot placed somewhat forward of the right, with the toes turned outward. The right hip is swung outward. The garment is a heavy mantle, draped around the hips and over the left shoulder. The upper edge of the mantle is twisted into a roll, which frames the nude torso. The open edges of the mantle cascade down from the left shoulder to the plinth in zig-zag folds. The cas-

cade, which is attached to the left foot, serves as a support for the figure. At the right hip, a small puff of drapery emerges vertically from beneath the roll of the mantle. The feet are shod in low-soled sandals. The roughly rectangular plinth is completely preserved; its upper surface is finished with the punch. The idealized head is turned toward the proper right, and is slightly inclined forward. The short beard is composed of thick, tightly curled, separate locks, divided at the center into two vertical sections. The hair waves down in similarly thick locks to the base of the neck. The front hair may be parted at the center, but the exact arrangement is unclear, because of the abrasion of the surface. The drill is used to some extent on both hair and beard to accentuate the inner curve of some of the locks. What appears to be a round tenon hole in the hair beside the right temple, is in reality such a drill hole with the surrounding lock of hair worn away. The crown hair is simply rendered in a series of vertical wavy lines. There is no sign of a fillet. A channel was cut at either side between the face and hair, framing the face in shadow. The prominent forehead is triangular in shape and overhangs the eyes. The eyes are set deeply and are somewhat slanted downward at the outer corners. The cheekbones are prominent. The expression is very calm, and slightly, almost ironically, smiling. The features have a certain

refinement and elegance; in spite of the overhanging brow and deeply set eyes, the "pathetic" expression is entirely absent from this head. The torso is strongly modelled, with clearly marked anatomical divisions. The carving of the drapery is far more mechanical in appearance than that of the head and torso. In addition to the roll and zig-zag cascade mentioned above, the folds consist of curved arrow-heads around the legs, and pockets of shadow to indicate the stretching of the cloth from the left thigh to the right ankle. The stone is completely cut away between the ankles, and is partially undercut beneath the hem of the mantle.

The statuette could at first glance represent any one of the three deities customarily pictured with beards: Zeus, Poseidon or Asklepios. The head alone cannot identify the figure, since it is of a type suitable for all three, and therefore parallels must be sought for the pose and the arrangement of the drapery. The raised left shoulder with an almost vertical surface for the attachment of the arm indicates that this arm was probably outstretched in a generally horizontal direction, probably to hold such a long object as a scepter or trident. This factor eliminates the possibility that the statuette represents Asklepios in spite of the close relationship of the head to the Asklepios from

Melos,²⁹¹ because that deity is usually shown with his arms close to the body to lean on the serpent-entwined staff. In his original publication of the Rhodian figure, Laurenzi understood it as a reflection of the Lysippan tradition, and compared it to a relief of Zeus Dorios in Istanbul,²⁹² in which the god is pictured leaning on a scepter held in the left hand, and holding a phiale in the right hand. The general pose and the arrangement of the mantle are similar. In his later study in the ASAtene, Laurenzi considered the Rhodian figure a replica of the bronze statue of Zeus Strattios by Doidalses of Bithynia, which is mentioned in literary sources and has been recognized in representations of Zeus on coins of Bithynia from the reigns of Prusias I to Nicomedes IV (i.e. 228-74 B.C.).²⁹³ Laurenzi dates Doidalses' statue between 250 and 240 B.C. Bieber compares the Rhodian figure in general terms to the Poseidon from Melos in the National Museum, Athens, although she does not specifically identify it as Poseidon. The rendering of the torso is rather similar

²⁹¹Smith, British Museum, Vol. I, pp. 289-290, no. 550. Although only the head is preserved, it can be identified as Asklepios because it was found in a sanctuary of that deity.

²⁹²Mendel, Catalogue Vol. III, pp. 42-43, no. 838.

²⁹³For examples of the numismatic Zeus type, see Laurenzi, op. cit. (see text above) p. 168, fig. 1; W. Wroth, Catalogue of Greek Coins [in the British Museum], Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, and the Kingdom of Bosphorus (London: 1889) pls. 37-39.

in the two figures, as is the treatment of the mantle folds, and the general texture of the hair and beard, but the pose of the Rhodian figure is quite different and lacks torsion; the arrangement of the mantle also differs. Although the numismatic parallels differ from the Rhodian figure in one major element, the pose of the right arm,²⁹⁴ and the stylistic elements cannot be compared, they are nevertheless the closest available parallels of known identification. The Rhodian statuette is therefore probably best considered a representation of Zeus, and may be ultimately connected with third-century work in Asia Minor, whether or not the coins reflect the Zeus of Doidalses. There may also be connections with Cycladic work, if the stylistic comparisons with the Asklepios and Poseidon from Melos are correct. The strong shadows framing the face and the deep undercutting beneath the hem suggest a late Hellenistic date for the carving of the Rhodian figure.

²⁹⁴The arm is raised high on the coins to crown with a wreath the inscribed name of the king, but seems from the preserved stump on the statuette to have been lowered.

CATALOG NUMBER 71 -- Male Figure, Seated (Zeus?)

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. 5299. Clara Rhodos II, pp. 19-20, no. 5, fig. 8 (Maiuri). Exhibited in Museum, photographed (see fig. 45). Accidental find at the extreme northwest limit of the fortifications of the city of Rhodes. P.H. (including plinth) - 0.55m. (somewhat less than 1/2 life size). White crystalline marble, with slight rusty surface discoloration, called island marble by Maiuri. Head and neck, left ankle and foot, right knee, part of drapery beside left thigh broken off. Right arm from deltoid, left arm from biceps originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. The back is fully rounded, but is finished only with the punch. The workmanship is of fairly good quality.

The statuette represents a seated, semi-draped male figure of idealized type. The pose is frontal, except for a slight torsion at the level of the shoulders. Only the ball of the right foot, shod in a sandal shaped around the largest toe, rests on the plinth. The left foot, most of which is missing, was placed forward of the right, its entire length resting on the plinth, the toes extending over the edge. The stump of the right upper arm indicates that it was held obliquely forward. The stump of the left arm indicates that it was originally outstretched to the side. The garment is a heavy mantle draped over the legs and lap. The open edges

fall in a cascade down the left side. The mantle is draped diagonally across the back, and brought forward over the left shoulder to fall over the upper arm. The upper edge of the mantle is twisted into a roll which lies across the lap, framing the torso. The roll is looped into a pouch (now broken off) beside the left thigh, and the end of the cloth is then brought back over the thigh to fall between the knees. The rendering of the drapery is rather lifeless and perfunctory, in contrast to the carefully modelled torso, with its detailed musculature. The back of the torso is completely undercut from the mantle in the rear, and the right hip is similarly separated from the curve of the mantle which surrounds it. A deeply cut channel also separates the left side of the torso from the drapery. The torso has therefore been conceived completely in the round, although the lack of surface finish at the sides shows that the statuette was meant to be viewed only from the front. Similarly, the right ankle is completely cut and finished all around, although the foot was viewed principally from the front. The mantle hem is deeply undercut, forming a pocket of shadow between and around the ankles. The peculiar discrepancy between the attention and skill given to the nude and draped portions might be explained by the possibility that more than one sculptor executed the piece, or by the generally greater interest in the drapery of female figures during the

Hellenistic period. The rendering of the musculature is probably best compared to that of the Belvedere torso in the Vatican,²⁹⁵ although the latter has much greater torsion. There are no traces of a beard on the upper preserved edge of the torso, but the nature of the break does not preclude a short beard. There are no traces of hair locks on the back or shoulders, indicating that the hair was worn short.

The seat consists of a curving, backless, rather irregular formation, finished only with the punch. It was clearly not meant to be seen. In contrast, the footrest is carefully carved, apparently in imitation of a wooden footstool. The stool is rectangular in shape, and is placed so that one of the narrow ends faces the viewer. It consists of a flat plank at the top, supported at each long side by a horizontal strip. The sculptor attempted to give an impression of empty space below these strips, by slanting the stone inward at the bottom. The front of the stool shows a pair of animal's legs between which are a pair of incised volutes with a cluster of ivy leaves hanging at the center. The details of the stool were probably painted. The upper surface of the footrest, behind the feet, was finished only with strokes of a narrow chisel or point.²⁹⁶

²⁹⁵ Helbig⁴ Vol. I, pp. 211-213, no. 265.

²⁹⁶ For a generally similar footrest in a representation of a seated male deity, see G.M.A. Richter, The Furni-

Maiuri suggested that the statuette represents Zeus, leaning on a long scepter in the left hand, and holding a thunderbolt in the right. He believed that the figure could have been a modest cult image for a small naiskos in the vicinity of the city of Rhodes, and dated it to the first century B.C. Generally similar seated, semi-draped male deities, among which many variations are to be found, are discussed by Bertocchi in connection with a statuette from Cyrene.²⁹⁷ Unfortunately, none of these figures exactly parallels the Rhodian. For the time, it is probably best to accept Maiuri's suggestion that the piece represents Zeus. The pronounced use of undercutting and shadowing does suggest a late Hellenistic date.

ture of the Greeks and Romans (London: 1966) fig. 129, a detail of a votive relief in Munich. The same type of footstool appears repeatedly in sculptural representations, from as early as the Severan period (see Richter's plates, passim). The Rhodian sculptor turned the footstool around, so that its decorative side faces the viewer.

²⁹⁷ "Statuetta di un dio in trono dal Santuario di Apollo," Sculture greche e romane di Cirene (Padua: 1959) 149-168.

CATALOG NUMBER 72 -- Male Head, Bearded (Zeus?)

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. 13647. Clara Rhodos V, pt. 1, pp. 71-73, no. 14, figs. 43-46 (Jacopi). Clara Rhodos I, pp. 88-91. G. Jacopi, "Attività del Servizio Archeologico a Rodi," BdA ser. 2 Vol. 7 (1927-1928) 514-526, esp. p. 526, fig. 22. R. Herbig, "Archäologische Funde in den Jahren 1927-1928," AA 43 (1928) 633-634, fig. 27. Lippold, Handbuch, p. 323, note 6. Not exhibited in Museum (not illustrated here). From excavations in the temenos of Zeus Atabyrios, 1927. P.H. - 0.04m. Bronze. Head and part of neck preserved.

The tiny head is that of a mature, bearded male crowned with an olive wreath. The eyes are the most unusual feature, being small, slanted and closely set. The forehead is triangular in shape and projects over the eyes. The lips are parted and the expression agitated. The moustaches droop from the outer corners of the nostrils and do not cover the upper lip. The beard is short and curly, and projects forward below the chin. Two locks of hair stand upright at the center of the forehead. The hair covers the ears completely. At the back of the head, the hair falls over the crown in horizontal waves; the locks are tied into a bun at the nape, above a fringe of short locks.

The type is quite unlike any of the idealized types usually associated with Zeus, and had it not been discovered

in the sanctuary of Zeus Atabyrios, it might have been taken for a representation of a satyr or Silenos, because of its strange eyes, tufted hair and moustache springing from the sides of the nose. Jacopi explained the unusual characteristics of the face on the grounds that the very ancient cult of Zeus Atabyrios was not native to Rhodes, but was of foreign origin.²⁹⁸ He considered the head a Hellenistic adaptation of an earlier, unidentified representation of the pre-Hellenic deity. He mentions the discovery of fragments of other bronze statuettes of Zeus Atabyrios, which indicate that the representations took various forms, sometimes seated, and sometimes standing and thundering. The attributes of eagle, scepter and thunderbolt were found among the fragments. If the bronze statuettes are indeed representations of Zeus Atabyrios, they would parallel the votive statuettes found in another Rhodian sanctuary of great antiquity, that of Athena Lindia, in the use of varying representations, rather than a specific image, to express the deity locally worshipped. The bronze head should therefore not necessarily be considered a reflection of the cult statue of the shrine. Jacopi derives the head from the school of Lysippos and dates

²⁹⁸H. van Gelder, *op. cit.* (see note 112), pp. 299-300, where a Phoenician or Carian origin is suggested.

it to the third century B.C. He compares it to the bronze head of a boxer from Olympia.²⁹⁹ Lippold places it in the period 280-230 B.C.

²⁹⁹ Lullies and Hirmer, Greek Sculpture, pls. 224-225.

CATALOG NUMBER 73 -- Male Head, Bearded (Zeus?)

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. not published.

K. Fatourou, "Ἀρχαιοότητες καὶ Μνημεῖα Δωδεκανήσου," Deltion 19 (1964) *χρόνικα*, p. 467, pl. 55lb, center. G. Daux, "Chroniques des Fouilles," BCH 91 (1967) 767, fig. 1, center. Not exhibited in Museum (not illustrated here). Found in the city of Rhodes. P.H. - 0.14m. (about 1/2 life size). Marble, not further described in publication. Head and neck preserved; nose broken off. From the photograph, the workmanship appears to be summary.

The head is known to me only in the photograph cited above. It represents a mature, bearded male, and is tilted slightly to the proper right. The hair is long, and the curls are carved as large lumps. The curly beard is divided in the center into two vertical sections. The eyes are deeply set at the inner corners, and slant downward slightly toward the outer corners. The lips are parted. The surface appears to be very softly modelled.

The head, with its soft surface and lumpy treatment of the beard, may be compared to a small Hellenistic head in the Alexandria Museum,³⁰⁰ which is, however, thought to represent Asklepios or Poseidon. The Rhodian head is identified as Zeus in the publication.

³⁰⁰Adriani, Repertorio, ser. A, vol. II, p. 49, no. 182, pl. 85, fig. 283.

CATALOG NUMBER 74 -- Male Figure, Draped

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unknown to author. Unpublished. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (not illustrated here). Circumstances of discovery unknown to author. P.H. - ca. 1.25m. (somewhat under life size). Greyish-white crystalline marble. Preserved from base of neck to ankles. Head, right foot, left ankle and foot broken off. Right shoulder and arm, lower part of left forearm and hand originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. The back is fully rounded and the major drapery folds indicated. The workmanship is of fair quality.

The statue represents a fully draped male figure, standing with the weight on the left leg. The left hip is swung outward. The right leg is bent at the knee and the foot drawn slightly back. The left arm is held down along the side of the body; the position of the missing right arm is unknown. The garments consist of a thin chiton or tunic, which is just visible covering the right breast, and a mantle, draped over the left shoulder and under the right arm. The upper edge of the mantle is gathered into a roll diagonally across the chest, and is then folded, to fall over the left shoulder like a cape, completely covering the left arm. A long, vertical fold is held against the side of the body by the left arm; a deep channel is cut between that fold and the arm to form a pocket of shadow. The system of

drapery folds is simple, consisting of catenaries and shadow pockets across the torso, and a group of parallel, diagonal folds from the left hip to the right lower leg. The modelling of the folds is quite flat and mechanical in appearance.

The cape-like arrangement of the mantle across the left upper arm is paralleled by several male figures, notably the Sardanapalos type³⁰¹ and the portrait of Aischines.³⁰² It is also known in the early third-century statue of the priestess Nikeso from Priene.³⁰³ In its flat, linear drapery rendering, however, the Rhodian figure does not parallel any of the above, but is similar to another statue from Rhodes, catalog number 75. Both statues are probably best considered portrait statues of the late Hellenistic period.

³⁰¹See Helbig⁴ Vol. I, p. 392, no. 496, for a recent summary of the literature.

³⁰²Richter, Portraits, Vol. III, p. 213, no. 6, fig. 1369.

³⁰³T. Wiegand and H. Schrader, Priene (see note 32), pp. 147-150, figs. 118, 120; p. 200, fig. 196.

CATALOG NUMBER 75 -- Male Figure, Draped

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. 1167. Clara Rhodos II, no. 16, pp. 40-41, fig. 20 (Maiuri). Exhibited in Museum, photographed (see fig. 46, photograph after Clara Rhodos, loc. cit.). Circumstances of discovery not published. P.H. - 0.85m. (somewhat over lif size). Greyish-white crystalline marble, identified by Maiuri as local marble, probably from Lartos. Preserved from shoulder to middle of thighs. Upper portion of torso, including the right shoulder, upper arm and the right side of the chest, originally carved separately in one piece and dowelled in place, now missing. Both legs from above knees, part of right thigh, front part of the left forearm and hand broken off. The back is fully rounded; the surface is smoothed, without drapery folds. The workmanship is of fair quality.

The statue represents a draped, standing male. The weight appears to have been carried on the right leg; the right hip is slightly swung outward and the left leg brought forward. The right arm is held down along the side of the body; the left arm is bent at the elbow, and the forearm pressed diagonally across the chest. The figure is swathed in a transparent mantle which closely follows the contours of the body, and entirely covers the lightly clenched right hand. The left hand may have been free of the garment (although it is too poorly preserved for certainty), and grasps

the upper edge of the mantle near the neck. The stone is cut away between the arms and the torso, framing the arms in shadow. The system of mantle folds is simple, consisting of a radiating fan of diagonal ridges from the right breast to the knees, and a series of curved arrowhead folds down the left side of the figure. A deep cleft is carved between the folds at the center of the torso, to accentuate the separation of the legs. Maiuri noted a flatness and rigidity in the modelling, which can also be seen in other figures made of the local marble. The flatness may be the result of working in a relatively poor material, rather than a stylistic device, or is perhaps a combination of both factors.

Maiuri believed the figure to be a funerary or honorary statue, and dated it not earlier than the middle of the first century B.C. In pose (reversed), the arrangement of the drapery and the pattern of the folds, the Rhodian figure is quite similar to the portrait of Dioskourides, the husband of Cleopatra, in Delos.³⁰⁴ This portrait group can be dated by the name of the Athenian archon Timarchos (138/7 B.C.) which appears on the base. The Dioskourides differs, however, in the position of the arm, which is less sharply bent than in the Rhodian figure, and in the fact that the drapery folds do not continue under the forearm. This palliatus

³⁰⁴J. Boardman et al., op. cit. (see catalog number 60), pl. 311.

type, which is thought to be ultimately derived from fourth-century portrait statues, is also known in a Hellenistic figure of a youth from Eretria, in the first-century B.C. portrait of L. Valerius Flaccus, and in a number of other Roman portrait statues.³⁰⁵ The Rhodian statue should probably not be dated more closely than the middle of the second century through the first century B.C., because of the use of the type for portraits over a long period. In the linearity of its drapery style it is reminiscent of catalog number 74, with which it is probably contemporary.

³⁰⁵M. Bieber, "Roman Men in Greek Himation," ProcAmerPhilosSoc 103 (1959) 374-417.

CATALOG NUMBER 76 -- Male Figure, Draped

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. 4684. Clara Rhodos II, no. 15, pp. 37-39, fig. 19 (Maiuri). A. Di Vita, "L'Afrodite Pudica da Punta delle Sabbie ed il tipo della Pudica drappeggiata," ArchCl 7 (1955) p. 14, note 1, pl. IX, 2. Not exhibited in Museum. See fig. 47 (photograph after Clara Rhodos, loc. cit.). Accidental find in the city of Rhodes. P.H. - 1.78m. (somewhat over life size). Material not described in publication. Preserved from shoulders to ankles. Head originally carved separately and inserted into cavity between shoulders, now missing. Left arm missing, probably originally carved separately and dowelled in place, although publication does not so specify. Right foot, left ankle and foot, part of mantle hem broken off. From the photograph, the workmanship seems to be of fair quality.

The statue is known to me only in the published photograph cited above. It represents a standing, draped male figure. The weight is carried on the right leg; the left leg is drawn slightly to the side. Maiuri suggested that the missing left arm was held down along the side of the body. The right arm is bent at the elbow, the forearm pressed horizontally across the waist. The garments are a chiton, which is visible only at the throat, and a mantle draped around the torso, and over the right arm like a sling. The right hand grasps one edge of the mantle which has been brought from

the rear over the left hip. The mantle is elaborated with numerous ridges and arrowhead folds, most of which radiate from the right hand at the center of the torso.

The figure is a variation of the palliatus type, differing in the manner in which the hand grasps the end rather than the top of the mantle. The position of the right hand is similar to that of a female portrait statue, the Cleopatra from Delos.³⁰⁶ Maiuri considered the figure an honorary portrait statue of the Hellenistic period. Di Vita sees neo-classical tendencies in the drapery, and dates it a little after the middle of the second century B.C.

³⁰⁶See note 208.

CATALOG NUMBER 77 -- Male Figure, Semi-Draped

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. A. K. Orlandos, "Ἀνασκαφὴ τῆς Ρόδου," Ergon 1957 (1958) p. 81, fig. 80. Not exhibited in Museum (not illustrated here). Found in the city of Rhodes. Dimensions not published. Marble, not further described in publication. Preserved from neck to middle of thigh. No information is given on the attachment of separately carved members. Right arm from deltoid, left arm from just above elbow, right leg from hip, left leg from middle of thigh missing. Head appears to have broken off. From the photograph, the workmanship appears to be summary.

The figure is known to me only in the published photograph cited above. It represents a standing, semi-draped, youthful male. The torso is nude, except for a mantle draped around the neck and over the left shoulder and upper arm; its lower edge crosses the chest diagonally. The weight is carried on the right leg. The stump of the right arm suggests that it was originally outstretched to the side. The left upper arm, confined by the mantle, seems to have been held down along the side.

Orlandos dates the torso to the second century B.C., but does not discuss the type or offer parallels.

CATALOG NUMBER 78 -- Male Figure, Semi-draped

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unknown to author. Unpublished. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (not illustrated here). Circumstances of discovery unknown to author. P.H. - ca. 0.50m. (about 1/2 life size). White crystalline marble, with rusty surface discoloration. Preserved from shoulders to mid-calf of right leg. Head originally carved separately and inserted into cavity between shoulders, now missing. Right arm from deltoid originally dowelled in place, now missing. Left arm, left leg from middle of thigh, right leg from middle of calf, part of drapery at right side between shoulder and hip broken off. Drapery at left side, genitalia abraded. The back is quite flat and the general contours of the drapery are barely indicated. The workmanship is summary.

The statuette represents a nude, standing youthful male figure. The weight is carried on the right leg; the right hip is strongly swung outward. The left thigh is brought forward; the leg may originally have been bent at the knee and the foot drawn back. The right upper arm was held down along the side of the body. The break at the left shoulder indicates that the arm was raised, but its precise position is unknown. A mantle, fastened around the neck, falls behind the nude figure like a curtain; the manner in which it was fastened is not clear, but there are traces of a fold at the

base of the neck at the right side. The stone is cut away deeply behind the torso, separating it from the mantle and framing it in shadow. The drapery folds are few and summarily rendered; there are a few parallel catenaries which would have been hidden by the now missing left leg, and a long zig-zag fold down the left side. More attention is paid to the carving of the torso, which is modelled softly, but with a very harsh rendering of the navel. The rather ungainly proportions of the torso and the handling of the lower abdomen suggest that the figure is that of a very young male. The languidness of the pose suggests Eros, although, lacking attributes, the statuette cannot be identified with certainty. In proportions and pose (reversed), it is somewhat similar to the bronze figure of a boy crowning himself found in the Mahdia shipwreck, and sometimes identified as the Agon of Boëthos of Chalcedon.³⁰⁷ On the basis of the deep undercutting behind the torso, the Rhodian piece is probably datable to the late Hellenistic period.

³⁰⁷ The literature most recently has been summarized, and the piece discussed, by W. Fuchs, Schiffsfund (see note 284), pp. 12-14 (reviewed by Charbonneaux in Gnomon 37 (1966) 523-526.

CATALOG NUMBER 79 -- Male Figure, Semi-draped

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. K. Fatourou, "Ἀρχαιότητες καὶ Μνημεῖα Δωδεκανήσου," Deltion 19 (1964) χρονικά, p. 467, pl. 550b. G. Daux, "Chroniques des Fouilles," BCH 91 (1967) 769, fig. 4. Not exhibited in Museum (not illustrated here). Found in the city of Rhodes. P.H. - 0.29m. (about 1/3 life size). Marble, not further described in publication. Preserved from base of neck to middle of thighs. Lacking head, legs and forearms; no information is given on the attachment of separately carved members, but from the photograph they appear to be broken off. From the photograph, the workmanship appears to be of poor quality.

The figure is known to me only in the published photograph cited above. It represents a nude, standing male. A mantle, fastened at the base of the neck with a round clasp, falls behind the nude torso like a curtain. The weight is carried on the right leg; the right hip is strongly swung outward. The left shoulder is much higher than the right. The pose is extremely exaggerated, and the figure poorly proportioned. The execution is not of good quality, and the piece may well be Roman in date. However, the intention of the sculptor seems to have been to carve a statuette of a type better represented by catalog number 78.

CATALOG NUMBER 80 -- Male Figure, Semi-draped

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unknown to author. Unpublished. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (not illustrated here). Circumstances of discovery unknown to author. P.H. - ca. 0.50m. (about life size). Greyish-white marble, perhaps the local stone from Lartos. Preserved from base of neck to top of thighs. Head broken off. Right arm from biceps, left forearm originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. The back is fully rounded, but is finished only with the punch. The workmanship is summary.

The statue represents a standing, semi-draped male figure. The weight seems to have been carried on the right leg, since the right hip is swung outward. The right upper arm was held down at the side, but the position of the forearm is unknown. The left arm is bent at the elbow; the now missing forearm was originally outstretched, somewhat to the side. A mantle covers the left upper arm and the back, and is draped around the right hip. The upper edge of the mantle is twisted into a roll, which frames the nude torso and is thrown over the left forearm. The mantle arrangement over the arm is not clearly articulated, in keeping with the summary workmanship of the piece; one end of the cloth seems to spring from the arm just beneath the elbow. The stone is deeply cut away between the torso and the left upper arm. Two deep channels are cut between the folds beside the left hip,

forming lines of dark shadow. The torso is rather fleshy, which suggests that the statue may have been a portrait of a man somewhat past his prime. A funerary statue similar to this figure ^{is} size and drapery arrangement, but dating to the Roman Imperial period, was found on Rhodes in the necropolis of Acandia.³⁰⁸ Our figure could have been a late Hellenistic, or perhaps early Roman funerary statue, but the body type is equally suitable for a votive or honorary portrait statue.

³⁰⁸Clara Rhodes IX, fig. 18.

CATALOG NUMBER 81 -- Male Figure, semi-draped

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. G. Konstantinopoulos, "Ἀρχαιοτήτες καὶ Μνημεῖα Δωδεκανήσου," Deltion 21 (1966) χρονικά, p. 449, pl. 486a. Not exhibited in Museum (not illustrated here). Found in the city of Rhodes. Dimensions and material not published. Head, portion of drapery at left side broken off. Arms, feet now missing; it is not clear in the photograph if they have broken off, or were originally carved separately and attached. From the photograph, the workmanship appears to be of fair quality.

This piece of sculpture is known to me only in the photograph cited above. It represents a semi-draped male figure, standing with the weight on the right leg; the left leg strides forward. The figure is clad in a mantle, the upper edge of which is rolled and draped diagonally across the abdomen. The cloth is brought from the back to fall over the left shoulder in a cape-like arrangement; the end hangs down at the front to about knee level. Arrowhead folds are carved diagonally across the legs. The roll of cloth is deeply grooved and shadowed. Heavy shadowing also appears along the left side of the figure. Press folds are visible at various points, especially at the garment hem.

Konstantinopoulos dates the figure to the late Hellenistic period; it is not clear in the publication if this date is based upon the context in which the sculpture was

found, or on style. If the latter is the case, the grooving of the mantle roll could indicate that an early Roman date is more correct. In general terms, but not in the specific arrangement of the drapery over the shoulder, the figure is similar to catalog number 80, and could have been a votive or honorary portrait statue.

CATALOG NUMBER 82 -- Male Figure, Nude

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. Clara Rhodos IX, p. 35, figs. 16-17 (Laurenzi). B. Holden, The Metopes of the Temple of Athena at Ilion (Northampton, Mass.: 1964) pl. 30, fig. 57. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (see fig. 48, photograph after Clara Rhodos, loc. cit.). Accidental discovery in the city of Rhodes, near the Men's Institute. P.H. - 0.42m. (about 1/2 life size). White crystalline marble, with slight rusty surface discoloration, called island marble by Laurenzi. Preserved from shoulders to right knee. Although there is a slight cavity at the neck, the break seems to have been accidental, and the head carved in one piece with the torso. Right arm from biceps, left arm from shoulder originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. Right leg from knee, left leg from middle of thigh broken off. Genitalia abraded. Figure was broken in two horizontally across the abdomen, and is now mended. The back is fully rounded and very well finished. The workmanship is of good quality.

The statuette represents a standing, nude, youthful male. Laurenzi pointed out that the stance is Lysippan in character, and in fact, the figure is basically a mirror image of the Agias at Delphi.³⁰⁹ The weight is on the left leg, the left

³⁰⁹T. Dohrn, "Die Marmor-Standbilder des Daochos-Weihgeschenks in Delphi," Antike Plastik, Vol. VIII, pp. 33-54, esp. pls. 10-20.

hip is swung outward, and the right leg is placed forward and to the side. In the profile view it can be seen that the abdomen protrudes slightly and the shoulders are drawn back. The right upper arm was held down at the side and slightly drawn back. The left shoulder stump and the muscular tension of the back at the left side of the figure indicate that the left arm was raised toward the rear. The modelling of the torso is very subtle; the rectangular pattern of the pectorals, rib cage, and rectus is overlaid with a softly modelled surface.

Laurenzi dated the figure to the late Hellenistic period on the basis of its eclecticism, which combines the Lysippan tradition in its design with the soft modelling usually associated with the Praxitelean tradition. Lacking attributes, the figure cannot be identified with certainty, but it is not impossible that it originally represented an athlete. The composition is also reminiscent (in reverse) of a type associated with Praxiteles, the Apollo Lykeios.³¹⁰

³¹⁰G. Rizzo, op. cit. (see note 173), pp. 79-85.

CATALOG NUMBER 83 -- Male Figure, Nude

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unknown to author. Unpublished. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (not illustrated here). Circumstances of discovery unknown to author. P.H. - ca. 0.40m. (somewhat less than 1/2 life size). White crystalline marble with rusty surface discoloration, heavy over right hip and side of right leg. Preserved from base of neck to knees. Head, legs from knees, left arm from below biceps broken off. Right arm from biceps originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. Large rectangular chunk broken from left hip. Statuette was broken into three pieces (upper torso; right hip, abdomen and leg; left leg) and is now mended. The back is fairly well rounded but is not finished very carefully. The workmanship is of fair quality.

The statuette represents a standing, nude, youthful male. The weight is carried on the right leg; the left leg is placed somewhat forward and drawn to one side. Both upper arms were held down at the side, the left arm at a slight distance from the torso. The right hip is swung outward exaggeratedly. The very slender, S-curving torso is somewhat similar to that of the Apollo Sauroctonos attributed to Praxiteles,³¹¹ although the position of the legs is not the

³¹¹G. Rizzo, op. cit. (see note 173), pp. 39-41.

same. The modelling of the torso is very soft and shallow. It is not known whether the statuette represents a youthful deity or a mortal. It is probably best considered a late Hellenistic piece based on a prototype in the Praxitelean tradition.

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CATALOG NUMBER 84 -- Male Figure, Nude, Reclining

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. G. Konstantinopoulos, "Δωδεκάνησα," Deltion 20 (1965) *Χρόνικα*, p. 594, pl. 751b. Not exhibited in Museum (not illustrated here). Found in the city of Rhodes. Dimensions and material not published. Head, legs, right wrist and hand broken off. Left forearm originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. From the photograph, the workmanship seems to be of fair quality.

This piece of sculpture is known to me only in the photograph cited above. It represents a nude male figure, reclining on its proper left side. The stump of the right leg suggest that the thigh may have been somewhat raised. The right forearm rested on the thigh. The surface on which the figure reclines is covered with drapery, a few folds of which can be seen under the left elbow. The torso is strongly modelled, and although the pose is not identical, the figure can be compared to the sleeping satyr, catalog number 64. Like the satyr, it probably dates to the late Hellenistic period. In pose, but not in the rendering of the anatomy, it is reminiscent of Hellenistic and Roman representations of the personification of the Nile.³¹²

³¹²Adriani, Repertorio, ser. A, vol. II, pp. 52-59, nos. 194-202, pls. 89, 92-95.

CATALOG NUMBER 85 -- Female Head

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. Clara Rhodos IX, pp. 29-30, figs. 11-12 on pp. 26-27 (Laurenzi) -- lower fragment only published. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (see fig. 49, photograph after Clara Rhodos, loc. cit.). Accidental find during construction of the Men's Institute of Rhodes. P.H. ~ 0.19m. (about life size). White crystalline marble, with slight rusty surface discoloration, called Parian marble by Laurenzi. Head and neck preserved, in two fragments, the break running diagonally across the face from the right jowl to the left temple. A large piece is broken from the lower fragment, including part of the left temple and most of the left eye. The right ear is also broken off. Much of the chin and the right half of the nose are broken off; the right cheek is badly abraded. A dowel cutting in the lower surface of the neck served to attach the head to another block. At the back and right side of the head the crown is flattened and smoothed, and has a large square dowel cutting for the attachment of the back hair. The workmanship is of very good quality.

The head is that of a youthful female. It is bent backward and twisted to the proper left side on a strong neck. The shape of the face is a very full oval. The large eyes glance upward. The upper eyelid is arched and strongly articulated, while the lower lid is slightly raised and is

delicately carved. The eyes are rather prominent, since the forehead does not protrude to overshadow them. The fleshy and strongly curved lips are turned up at the corners and are parted. A very intense expression results from the twisted pose of the head and the great emphasis given to each facial feature. The hair is parted at the center and is bound with a narrow fillet; the locks, slightly waving and rather linear in execution, frame a triangular forehead, and cover the tops of the ears. A lock of hair escapes from the coiffure and curls on the cheek in front of the missing right ear. The left ear is very deeply cut, forming a small pocket of shadow in contrast to the shallow carving of the hair. The style is rather mannered, but quite forceful. The photograph in Clara Rhodos IX, fig. 11, was taken from a frontal viewpoint, as if the neck of a torso in profile view were turned to bring the head into front view (e.g. in the Sandal-binder type³¹³). However, with the addition of the upper fragment, including the upcast eye, the head has been mounted differently in the Rhodes Museum, and probably more correctly. To my knowledge, there are no technical reasons for the change in position, but the direction of the glance seems to require a more twisted pose.

In the intense expression, strong articulation of the

³¹³Cf. AJA 68 (1964) pl. 37, fig. 1.

upper eyelid, and rather linear rendering of the hair locks sweeping down over the ears, the Rhodian head resembles a colossal head from Kos dated to the second century B.C. and thought to represent a goddess because of its size and elaborate headdress.³¹⁴ The second-century B.C. seems the earliest possible date for the Rhodian head. The lock of hair escaping in front of the right ear is reminiscent of similar details in the female heads of the frieze of the Altar of Zeus at Pergamon.³¹⁵

³¹⁴M. Bieber, "Späthellenistische Frauenstatuen aus Kos," Antike Plastik, Walther Amelung zum sechzigste Geburtstag (Berlin: 1928) pp. 16-24, esp. pp. 16-17, fig. 1 and pl. 3.

³¹⁵For example, compare the head of Nyx, Lullies and Hirmer, Greek Sculpture, pl. 245.

CATALOG NUMBER 86 -- Female Head

Istanbul, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished.

Mendel, Catalogue, Vol. III, p. 608, no. 1397. Lindos III, pt. 2, pp. 544-546, no. 4, figs. 12-14 (V. Poulsen). F.

Poulsen, "Gab es eine alexandrinische Kunst?" From the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek 2 (1938) p. 25, fig.

26. See fig. 50 (photograph after Lindos III, loc. cit.).

P.H. - 0.41m. (somewhat more than life size). White crystalline marble with slight rusty surface discoloration.

Head, neck and part of bust preserved. Nose and part of crown of head at the back broken off. Lips, left eyebrow, earlobes abraded. The piece is bowl-shaped at the bottom, for insertion into a rounded cavity. A triangular area at the lowest point of the bust is levelled off, probably as an adjustment to accommodate the upper edge of the garment on the block to which it was attached. The back of the head is fully rounded but lacks detail. The workmanship is of fairly good quality.

The head is of an idealized female type. It is slightly turned to the proper left on a slender neck. The hair is parted at the center and waves down and back from the temples, covering most of the ears. The locks are swept away from the face and are loosely twisted together at the nape of the neck. The face is oval, and the forehead ogival in shape. The facial expression is calm. The eyes are deeply set at

the inner corners; the upper lids are clearly defined, while the lower lids are softly modelled. The lips are closed.

The head is classicizing in style, reminiscent in the carving of eyes and hair of fourth-century work, particularly in the Praxitelean tradition, although no single work dated to the fourth century is entirely comparable. F. Poulsen related the Rhodian head to the sons of Praxiteles; V. Poulsen suggested that it is perhaps a late Hellenistic reminiscence of fourth-century stylistic traits, and that it may represent a goddess because of its idealization.

CATALOG NUMBER 87 -- Female Head

Danish National Museum. Inv. no. 12206. Lindos III, pt. 2, p. 560, no. 5, fig. 42. See fig. 51 (photograph after Lindos III, loc. cit.). From Lindos, P.H. - 0.075m. (about 1/3 life size). White crystalline marble with slight rusty surface discoloration. Head and neck preserved. Intact, but for slight surface abrasion. The workmanship is of fair quality.

The head is that of a very young woman. The face is oval in shape and the forehead triangular. The coiffure is similar to that of the Knidia.³¹⁶ The hair is waved down and back at either side from a central part. A broad fillet is wrapped around the head just a few centimeters from the forehead; it passes under the wavy locks at the temples and continues around the back of the head just above the nape of the neck. It is wrapped once again around the crown. The locks are gathered at the back into a small chignon. The eyes are deeply set at the inner corners; the lips are slightly parted. The surface is very softly modelled; the definitions of the features, especially the eyes, are very blurred. There is almost no detail in the carving of the ears.

The head is probably best considered a late Hellenistic

³¹⁶Br.Br. 371.

adaptation of fourth-century iconography. In addition to the similarity of the hair style to that of the Knidia, the Rhodian head is related to a head in Stuttgart said to be from Kos, and connected with the Praxitelean tradition.³¹⁷ In the youthfulness of the features and the extreme softness of the modelling, the Rhodian head is related to the head of a girl in Boston,³¹⁸ said to be from Chios, although the composition of the features is quite different.

³¹⁷Bieber, Sculpture, fig. 33.

³¹⁸L.D. Caskey, Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture (Boston: 1925) pp. 71-77, no. 29. For the dating of the Boston head to the late Hellenistic period, see Carpenter, Greek Sculpture, pp. 248-249.

CATALOG NUMBER 88 -- Female Head

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. K. Fatourou, "Ἀρχαιοότητες καὶ Μνημεῖα Δωδεκανήσου," Deltion 19 (1964) p. 467, pl. 551b, left. G. Daux, "Chroniques des Fouilles," BCH 91 (1967) 767, fig. 1, left. Not exhibited in Museum (not illustrated here). Found in the city of Rhodes. P.H. - 0.13m. (about 1/2 life size). Marble, not further described in publication. Head only preserved. Part of top of head, including right eye, and part of nose broken off. From the photograph, the workmanship appears to be summary.

The head is known to me only in the published photograph cited above. It is a female head, and seems to be very softly modelled. The hair, as far as it is preserved, is swept back over the ears. The lips are closed and slightly smiling. The head seems generally similar to catalog number 86, and is probably best considered a late Hellenistic, classicizing work.

CATALOG NUMBER 89 -- Female Head

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. K. Fatourou, "Ἀρχαιοτήτες καὶ Μνημεῖα Δωδεκανήσου," Deltion 19 (1964) χρονικά, p. 467, pl. 551b, right. G. Daux, "Chroniques des Fouilles," BCH 91 (1967) 767, fig. 1, right. Not exhibited in Museum (not illustrated here). Found in the city of Rhodes. P.H. - 0.08m. (about 1/3 life size). Marble, not further described in publication. Head preserved to base of neck. Nose and chin abraded. From the photograph, the workmanship appears to be summary.

The head is known to me only in the published photograph cited above. It is a female head, and appears to be very softly modelled. The face is very youthful and is oval in shape. The eyes are half-closed, the lips are closed and slightly smiling, and the expression is dreamy. The hair is parted at the center and waves down and back over the temples, framing a triangular forehead; a fillet may be visible at the top of the crown. The head is generally similar to catalog number 88, and is probably best considered a late Hellenistic, classicizing work.

CATALOG NUMBER 90 -- Female Head

Istanbul, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. Not included in Mendel's catalog. Lindos III, pt. 2, pp. 547-548, no. 6, figs. 16-17 (Poulsen). Not illustrated here. From Lindos. P.H. - 0.225m. (about life size). White crystalline marble, with slight rusty surface discoloration. Head and part of neck preserved. Nose, lips, part of chin broken off. The surface is very worn and pitted, and the facial features scarcely visible. Part of crown of head missing, originally carved separately and attached. The original quality of the workmanship cannot be determined.

The head appears to be that of a female. The remains of a veil can be seen at the sides. The face is oval and the forehead triangular in shape. The hair is parted in the center and waves down and back from the temples at either side. Although the remains of the features are slight, it seems that the eyes were deeply set at the inner corners, with pads of flesh overhanging them at the outer corners. The lips are parted. Deep shadows frame the face at the left side, separating the cheek and neck from the hair and veil. Although it is poorly preserved, there seems little doubt that the head is a work of the Hellenistic period, as Poulsen suggested. He believed that the head might originally have belonged to a portrait statue similar to that of Baebia at

Magnesia.³¹⁹

³¹⁹R. Horn, "Hellenistische Köpfe II," RömMitt 53 (1938)
pl. 18, no. 2.

CATALOG NUMBER 91 -- Female Head

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unknown to author. Unpublished. Exhibited in Museum, not photographed (not illustrated here). Circumstances of discovery unknown to author. P.H. - ca. 0.10m. (about 1/2 life size). White crystalline marble, with slight rusty surface discoloration. Head and neck preserved. The workmanship is of fairly good quality.

The head is tilted to the proper left on a graceful neck. The facial expression is rather intense, with upcast eyes and parted lips. The hair waves down and back from a central part, framing a triangular forehead, and is gathered together at the back of the head. The modelling of the surface is soft. In style, the head is not far from a head said to be from Kos, now in Stuttgart, which has been connected to the Praxitelean tradition.³²⁰ While a fourth-century date would be appropriate for the Rhodian head, it could be of late Hellenistic date, executed in a classicizing style.³²¹

³²⁰Bieber, Sculpture, p. 20 and fig. 33.

³²¹Cf. Carpenter, Greek Sculpture, pp. 212-213, on the subject of Hellenistic statues with classicizing heads in a style reminiscent of the fourth century B.C.

CATALOG NUMBER 92 -- Female Head

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. G. Konstantinopoulos, "Δωδεκάνησα," Deltion 20 (1965) χρονικά, p. 585 and pl. 743 right. G. Daux, "Chroniques des Fouilles," BCH 92 (1968) 975-976, fig. 9. Not exhibited in Museum (not illustrated here). Found in the city of Rhodes. Exact dimensions not published, but the head is called small. Marble, not further described in publication. Head and neck preserved. From the photograph, the workmanship seems to be of fairly good quality.

The piece is known to me only in the photograph cited above. It represents a female head of idealized type. The illustration shows the neck in profile and the head turned sharply to the proper right, to face the viewer. The torso of the original statue may have been in profile, and only the head frontal. The face is oval and the forehead triangular. The hair waves down from a central part, covering the tops of the ears. A fillet may be visible behind the front strands. The modelling is well defined. The eyes are deeply set at the inner corners and opened wide; the lower lids are strongly marked, and are almost pouches. The lips are parted. The head could be fourth-century in date, but is more probably a late Hellenistic, classicizing work.³²²

³²²See note 321.

CATALOG NUMBER 93 -- Female Head

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. G. Konstantinopoulos, "Δωδεκάνησα," Deltion 20 (1965) χρονικά, p. 585 and pl. 743 left. G. Daux, "Chroniques des Fouilles," BCH 92 (1968) 975-976, fig. 8. Not exhibited in Museum (not illustrated here). Found in the city of Rhodes. Exact dimensions not published, but the head is called small. Marble, not further described in publication. Head and neck preserved. From the photograph, the workmanship seems to be of fairly good quality.

The piece is known to me only in the photograph cited above. It is an idealized female head, tilted to the proper left. The face is oval. The hair waves back from the temples in a style reminiscent of the melon coiffure. However, the divisions are not as clearly defined, and the locks wave more loosely than is usual in this hairstyle. The forehead is triangular. The eyes are deeply set under the brows, and slant downward to the outer corners. The lips are closed and smiling. The surface is softly modelled.

In the general arrangement of the front hair, the shape of the face, the closed but smiling lips, and the slanting eyes, the head is reminiscent of the portrait of the poetess Corinna by Silanion.³²³

³²³Richter, Portraits, Vol. I, p. 144, figs. 780-782.

CATALOG NUMBER 94 -- Female Head

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. 13637. Clara Rhodos V, pt. 1, p. 28, no. 4, fig. 15 (Jacopi). Exhibited in Museum, photographed (see fig. 52). Found in the so-called nymphaeum on Monte S. Stefano. P.H. - 0.24m. (about life size). White crystalline marble, with slight rusty surface discoloration. Head, neck and part of bust preserved. The lower surface is bowl-shaped, for insertion into a rounded cavity. Nose originally carved separately and cemented in place, now missing. Lips, cheeks and folds of veil near bottom abraded. The workmanship is of fair quality.

The head represents a female of idealized type, in a strictly frontal pose. The face is oval and the jaw-line strong. The eyes, set deeply behind the now missing nose, have strongly articulated eyebrows and upper lids, and much more softly modelled lower lids. The lips are fleshy, slightly parted, and turned up at the corners. The cheeks are quite flat, and the surface of the face scarcely modulated. The front hair is parted at the center and waved back, framing a triangular forehead and covering the tops of the ears. The hair is bound with a flat fillet, and is covered with a veil or the end of the mantle. The cloth may have been a separate veil, since both sides point inward at the bottom,³²⁴

³²⁴ However, the mantle itself could be arranged in this way, as in the female figure from Trentham, E.A. Gardner,

as if they were crossed over the bosom. There are no signs of locks of hair at either side of the neck, which is bordered by deeply carved pockets of shadow. The piecing of such an obvious feature as the nose is known in another head from Rhodes, catalog number 105. It may have been the result of an accidental break in the stone while the head was being carved.³²⁵

Certain characteristics of the face, the lack of surface modulation, the treatment of the eyes, the parted lips, and the arrangement of the hair and its covering, are reminiscent of the head of the Demeter of Knidos.³²⁶ Jacopi, although he does not compare the Rhodian head with the Demeter, dates it to the fourth century. It could, however, be a late Hellenistic work of classicizing style.³²⁷ Jacopi suggested that the head belonged to a funerary figure. It does indeed find

"A Statue from an Attic Tomb," JHS 28 (1908) 138-147.

³²⁵ Piecing of the nose is also known in a Hellenistic head in the Vatican, attributed to the Alexandrian school, in which, however, the nose was attached with a dowel, rather than adhesives, as in the two Rhodian examples -- A. Giuliano, "Sculture alessandrine in marmo dei Musei Vaticani," RendPontAcc 27 (1952-1954) 216-217, no. 3 and figs. 9-10.

³²⁶ Smith, British Museum, Vol. II, p. 203, no. 1300. B. Ashmole, "Demeter of Cnidos," JHS 71 (1951) 13-28.

³²⁷ Cf. Carpenter, Greek Sculpture, pp. 173, 213-214, on the late Hellenistic, rather than fourth-century, dating of the Demeter of Knidos.

general parallels in fourth-century sculpture, for example in a head in Berlin.³²⁸ However, since the Rhodian head was discovered on the acropolis of the city of Rhodes, far from the cemeteries to the south of the city, it may have been a dedication erected in one of the sanctuaries on the acropolis. Although the figure was originally approximately life size, the idealization of the face is not appropriate to a portrait dedication, and if the figure served as a votive offering, it may rather have represented a deity. Lacking attributes, a definite identification cannot be made.

³²⁸C. Blümel, op. cit. (see note 223), pp. 22-23, no. 12, figs. 19-20; W. Fuchs, "Zur Rekonstruktion einer weiblichen Sitzstatue in Chalkis," JbBerlinerMus 8 (1966) 30-49.

CATALOG NUMBER 95 -- Female Head

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. G. Konstantinopoulos, "Δωδεκάνησα," Deltion 20 (1965) χρόνικα, p. 594 and pl. 750 left. G. Daux, "Chroniques des Fouilles," BCH 92 (1968) 976 and pl. 32 left. Not exhibited in Museum (not illustrated here). Found in the city of Rhodes in 1967. Dimensions not published. Marble, not further described in publication. Head, neck and bust preserved. Most of nose, parts of veil at both sides broken off. Lips, chin, right temple, bottom of bust badly abraded. The lower surface of the bust is bowl-shaped for insertion into a rounded cavity. From the photograph, the workmanship appears to be of fairly good quality.

The piece, which represents a veiled woman, is known to me only in the published photograph cited above. Unfortunately, it appears to have been photographed at an incorrect angle. Apparently not propped up sufficiently, the sculpture leans too far toward the left side of the photograph, and as a result, the head is tilted toward that side. In fact, if the bust were placed upright, the head would rather be tilted slightly toward the right. The face is a full oval in shape. The hair is parted at the center and pulled down tightly over the temples at each side, covering the tops of the ears. The features are strongly modelled. The eyes are long and narrow, and slant downward slightly at the outer corners.

Both the upper and lower lids are very clearly defined, and the lower lids seem even rather swollen. The lips seem to have been slightly parted; the drilling at the corners of the mouth is still visible. The stone is undercut between the sides of the neck and the veil, framing the neck in shadow.

The features are not idealized, and the tautness of the hair over the temples is unusual. The swollen lids and rather mournful expression suggest that the head may originally have belonged to a funerary figure, probably of late Hellenistic date.

CATALOG NUMBER 96 -- Female Head (From Grave Relief)

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. 13640. Clara Rhodos V, pt. 1, pp. 42-46, no. 7, figs. 23-24 (Jacopi). L. Laurenzi, "Immagini di divinità rinvenute a Rodi," Memorie 3 (1938) 19-26, esp. p. 22. B. Holden, The Metopes of the Temple of Athena at Ilion (Northampton; Mass.: 1964) pp. 13-14, p. 38, n. 34, pl. 12, fig. 20. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (see fig. 53). Found in the city of Rhodes. P.H. - 0.24m. (about life size). White crystalline marble, with rusty surface discoloration, called Parian marble by Jacopi. Front part of head and small portion of neck preserved. Crown of head, part of hair at proper right side, nose broken off. The surface is abraded. The workmanship is of good quality.

The head appears to be that of a female, with a large mass of hair waving back from the temples and curling in ringlets, unbound, at the top of the head. The face is rather square in shape; the forehead seems low and rectangular because it is partly covered by the front hair which is not combed into the usual central part. The eyebrows are strongly marked and sweep downward toward the outer corners of the eyes. The eyes are rimmed with clearly defined lids which follow the downward curve of the brows. The lips are slightly parted.

On the basis of the fullness of the face, Jacopi

identified the head as Helios, although he noted that the hair did not have the flame-shaped locks usually associated with that deity. He explained the discrepancy by placing the head in the first half of the fourth century, and calling it a pre-Lysippan Helios type, different from other Helios heads, which are derived from the Lysippan tradition. As the head is now exhibited in the Rhodes Museum, the break at the crown can be clearly seen, and the head seems to have originally been part of a relief, as Laurenzi recognized. The head was carved in three-quarter view toward the proper left. As now displayed, it is slightly tilted downward, in conformity with the angle of the break, while the photographs in the original publication show the head facing the viewer squarely. From the new viewpoint, the grief-stricken facial expression is much more obvious and the hair is clearly cut short, justifying Laurenzi's opinion that the head belonged to a grave relief. Holden, working solely from Jacopi's publication, considered the head a representation of Helios, but noted its resemblance to late classical Attic work.

CATALOG NUMBER 97 -- Male Head

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. 5280. Clara Rhodos II, no. 10, pp. 30-31, figs. 14-15 and pl. 1 (Maiuri). Exhibited in Museum, photographed (see figs. 54-55). Accidental discovery (with other small sculptures, unidentified) during construction of the foundations of the Italian Women's School, beside the east slope of Monte S. Stefano. P.H. - 0.375m. (about one and one-third times life size). White crystalline marble with rusty surface discoloration, called island marble by Maiuri. Head preserved to base of neck. Front and left side of nose broken off. Locks of hair at top center of head and nape abraded. The back of the head is fully rounded, and all the crown hair is carved, although more summarily than the front hair. The workmanship is of good quality.

The head is that of a youthful male, in a strictly frontal pose on a strong neck. The face is somewhat oblong in shape, with a heavy jawline, and a low, wide forehead terminating at the top in a very distinctly marked off, arched hairline. The eyes are fully open and the gaze direct; the upper and lower lids are modelled with equal clarity. The eyes are deeply set below a prominent forehead. A thick fold of flesh overhangs the outer corner of each eye. The lips are fleshy, parted and slightly upturned at the corners. The modelling of the cheeks is broad and flat. The ears are large and strongly modelled, with no trace of the swelling sometimes

seen in the ears of youthful athletic types. Both ears are cut completely around in back and separated from the hair behind them by channels of shadow. The hair is worn short, curling over the crown and nape in thick, prominently carved, individual ringlets. Deep channels are drilled at the sides of some of the locks, accentuating them with shadow. Around the forehead, two, or sometimes three rows of waving locks stand upright, forming a "tiara" of flame-like locks around the head. Although there is no provision for the attachment of a fillet, there is nevertheless a division between the prominently modelled front locks and the somewhat flatter locks covering the crown. A lock curls on each cheek in front of the ear. At the front of the neck the mastoid muscles are very prominent, but at the back the neck is rigid and lifeless. The impression of rigidity may be due to the abrasion of the stone at the nape, but nevertheless, the gentle slope at the base of the neck into the shoulders seen in most statues is missing.

The Rhodian head is related to the type of youthful male best known in the Agias at Delphi.³²⁹ The two heads are similar in the wide-opened eyes, deeply set with overhanging folds of flesh at the outer corners, the shape of the mouth, the oblong face with flat, broadly modelled cheeks, and the

³²⁹See note 309.

prominent mastoids. To this type, the Rhodian sculptor seems to have added a certain archaism, in the strict frontality of the pose, and the stiff rendering of the curls in rows around the forehead.³³⁰ Without citing the Agias specifically, Maiuri related the head to the work of Lysippos, and considered it the remains of a portrait statue of a victorious athlete, erected between the end of the fourth century and the first decades of the third century B.C. He believed that the muscular development of the neck precluded the possibility that the head belonged to a herm or bust. However, this may be the best possible explanation for the rigidity of the neck. A statue of a victorious athlete would presumably have been nude, and therefore the neck could not even have been concealed in the back by drapery. The head is, moreover, more idealized than one might expect in a portrait. Several herms of similar type, but much poorer quality, resembling the Rhodian head in the stiffness of the neck and the lumpy curls over the crown, have been found at Delos.³³¹ They are dated to the first century B.C. The Rhodian head is probably best considered a herm of the late Hellenistic or early Roman period, utilizing an athletic type

³³⁰For the use of partial archaism in Rhodian Hellenistic sculptures, see catalog numbers 46-49.

³³¹C. Michalowski, "Les Hermès du gymnase de Délos," BCH 54 (1930) 131-146; cf. esp. pls. 5-6.

for decorative purposes, in the manner of the herm of Polykleitos' Doryphoros by Apollonios, found in Herculaneum.³³² However, the hairstyle, consisting of flame-like locks framing the forehead, is known in representations of Hermes and the youthful Herakles, and it is therefore not impossible that the Rhodian head was intended as a herm of either of these deities, rather than an athlete. A similarity may also be noted to the Skopasian Meleager³³³ in the formation of the facial features and the peak to which the locks rise at the top of the head.

³³² Naples, Museo Nazionale, no. 6412. A. Ruesch, Guida Illustrata del Museo Nazionale di Napoli (Naples: [1908]) pp. 51-52, no. 147; EA 509. The mastoids are as clearly marked as in the Rhodian head.

³³³ G.M.A. Hanfmann and J.G. Pedley, "The Statue of Meleager," Antike Plastik, Vol. III, pp. 61-66.

CATALOG NUMER 98 -- Male Head

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unknown to author. Unpublished. Exhibited in Museum, not photographed (not illustrated here). Circumstances of discovery unknown to author. P.H. - ca. 0.10m. (about 1/2 life size). White crystalline marble, with slight rusty surface discoloration. Head and neck preserved. Nose broken off. The back of the head is fully rounded, but the hair is not finished in detail. The workmanship is of fair quality.

The head is that of a youthful male. The face is oval in shape, and has a strongly projecting lower forehead, deeply set eyes and parted lips. The hair is bound with a thick, rolled fillet. Small, flame-like locks frame the forehead; over the crown the locks are summarily indicated in lumps. The modelling of the surface is quite soft. The idealized quality of the features precludes the identification of the head as a portrait. The hair style resembles that often seen in representations of Herakles and Hermes, and in youthful athletic types of the fourth century B.C. and later.³³⁴ The lack of finish of the crown hair suggests that the statuette was originally placed in a niche or against a wall, and it could well have decorated a palestra, or perhaps even a private dwelling. Although the facial features,

³³⁴ See catalog number 97.

hair style, and soft modelling of the surface are all appropriate for a fourth-century date, the head could as well have belonged to a statuette of the late Hellenistic period, executed in a classizing style.

CATALOG NUMBER 99 -- Male Head

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. A.K. Orlandos, "Ἀνασκαφαὶ 32. Ρόδος," Ergon 1958 (1959) 172-175, esp. p. 174, and fig. 181 on p. 173. Not exhibited in Museum (not illustrated here). Found during excavations of houses located at the crossing of Sophoulis Street and ancient street Pl5 in the city of Rhodes. Exact dimensions not published, but the piece is called small. Marble, not further described in publication. Head and neck preserved. End of nose broken off. There seems to be a crack in the marble across the left temple and cheek. Surface, especially lips and chin, abraded. From the photograph, the workmanship appears to be of fair quality.

This sculpture is known to me only in the published photograph cited above. It represents a youthful male head. The face is a broad oval in shape. The hair is short, and the curls over the crown seem to have been rendered as lumps. The eyes are deeply set at the inner corners. The lips are closed and unsmiling, and the face is essentially expressionless. The modelling of the surface appears to have been soft. Although the photograph is not very clear, the ears, particularly the left one, may have been swollen, and if this were the case, the head may have belonged to a statuette of an athlete. It does not have clear iconographic parallels among well-known Hellenistic athletic types. Orlandos dated

the head to the second century B.C., but did not indicate whether this date is derived from the context in which the head was found. On stylistic grounds, a late Hellenistic date seems probable.

CATALOG NUMBER 100 -- Male Head

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. Clara Rhodos VI-VII, pt. 1, p. 272, no. 3, and figs. 56-58 on pp. 264-265 (Jacopi). Not exhibited in Museum (not illustrated here). From Cameiros. P.H. - 0.15m. (about 3/4 life size). Material not described in publication. Head and neck preserved. Base of neck is bowl-shaped, for insertion into a rounded cavity. End of nose abraded. Jacopi describes the quality of the workmanship as very fine.

The head, representing a youthful male, is known to me only in the published photograph cited above. The face is oval in shape, the forehead triangular. The eyes are deeply set; the lower lid is less pronounced than the upper. The lips are closed and slightly curved into a smile. The facial expression is sweet. The surface is very softly modelled, and the boundaries of the features blurred. The hair is bound with a fillet. The long locks stem from a central part, and wave down to frame the face and neck. Jacopi compared this hair style to that of the bust of a youth from Eleusis, the so-called Eubouleus, which has, however, no similarity to the Rhodian head in the formation of the facial features or the treatment of the surface.³³⁵ On the basis

³³⁵The most recent summary of the problem of the identification and dating of the Eubouleus, with bibliography, can be found in Helbig⁴ Vol. II, pp. 93-94, no. 1240.

of this comparison, Jacopi considered the Rhodian head post-Praxitelean. It is similar, in the soft modelling of the surface and the gentle expression, to several small female heads from Rhodes (e.g. catalog number 89), which seem to belong to the late Hellenistic period.

CATALOG NUMBER 101 -- Male Head

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. not published.

Clara Rhodos IX, pp. 48-49, figs. 29-30 (Laurenzi). Not exhibited in Museum (not illustrated here). Found in the city of Rhodes, in the S. Giovanni quarter. P.H. - 0.10m. (about 1/2 life size). White crystalline marble. Head and neck preserved. Nose, chin, temples, front hair abraded. From the photograph, the workmanship seems to be of fairly good quality.

The head is known to me only in the published photograph cited above. It is that of a male, in a strictly frontal pose. The crown of the head is high. The hair is bound with a flat fillet; the forehead is framed by upright locks of hair, and lumpy curls cover the crown. The face is a broad oval in shape. The forehead projects over deeply set eyes. The lips are closed and slightly turned up at the corners. The modelling of the surface is soft. The strict frontality of the pose supports Laurenzi's suggestion that the head originally belonged to a herm. Comparison is made with herms from the Gymnasium at Delos,³³⁶ which are dated to the first century B.C. This head is probably similar in intention to catalog number 97, under which the type is briefly

³³⁶See above, note 331.

discussed. Several similar herm heads of Roman Imperial date have been found in the Athenian Agora.³³⁷

³³⁷ E. Harrison, *op. cit.* (see note 236), pp. 161-162, nos. 207-209 and pls. 54-55.

CATALOG NUMBER 102 -- Portrait, Female

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. Clara Rhodos IX, pp. 54-55, fig. 34 (Laurenzi). Not exhibited in Museum (see fig. 56, photograph after Clara Rhodos, loc. cit.). Accidental find, shortly before 1938, during construction of an aqueduct in the S. Giovanni quarter of the city of Rhodes. Less than life size, exact dimensions not published. Crystalline marble, called island marble by Laurenzi. Head and neck preserved. Upper part of head, from eyelids to crown, broken off. Locks of hair at right side of head and at nape originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. Nose, chin and neck badly abraded. Laurenzi indicates that the piece was carved with finesse.

The head is known to me only in the published photograph cited above. It is that of a female, and is clearly a portrait. The cheekbones are prominent, the lips are thick and turned up at the corners, and the nose seems short and broad, although its severe abrasion may contribute to this impression. Laurenzi believed the facial features to be those of an Egyptian, but the thick corkscrew curl which hangs vertically behind the ear is perhaps a better reason for so identifying the subject. The curl was probably part of a coiffure consisting of clusters of long curls, which sometimes appears on Hellenistic heads. Some of these heads can be identified as Isis by the attributes on the headdress. The dowel cutting

at the right side of the Rhodian head could have served to attach a cluster of curls hanging from the crown. Since the ear is very well finished, the cluster may have left the ear partially exposed. Laurenzi did not cite an exact parallel for this sculpture among the numerous heads wearing the "Egyptian" coiffure, but the original effect may have been similar to the hair style of a distinctive group of heads, one of them in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.³³⁸ In this group, the ear is left exposed by the curls. The proportions of the mouth, which is relatively narrow in width for the thickness of the lips, and is upturned at the corners, are paralleled on a head from Alexandria, although the two heads do not otherwise correspond.³³⁹

The conclusion might be drawn that the head is of Egyptian, and more specifically Alexandrian, rather than Rhodian origin. However, Laurenzi expected more illusionism in Alexandrian sculpture, and preferred to consider the head a product of a local Rhodian sculptor, working during the first century B.C. in a classicizing style. He suggested that the portrait was commissioned by an Egyptian resident in Rhodes.³⁴⁰

³³⁸ G.M.A. Richter, Handbook of the Greek Collection (New York: 1953) p. 122, pl. 100c.

³³⁹ A. Adriani, Documenti, II (see note 3) pp. 5-29, pls. 1-2.

³⁴⁰ On Egyptian residents in Rhodes, see D. Morelli, op. cit. (see note 260). Known residents are listed, esp. on pp. 143 and 178-179.

It is difficult to accept the assumption that a Rhodian sculptor could so closely approximate Hellenistic Egyptian work purely by means of a realistic representation of his Egyptian subject, and if the portrait was locally carved, it is likely that the sculptor was familiar with Alexandrian work. The possibility that the portrait was imported should not be discarded, since the above-mentioned Alexandrian parallels have no trace of illusionism. Egyptian sculptors could also have been working in Rhodes, although there is no record of them on the preserved signed statue bases.

CATALOG NUMBER 103 -- Portrait, Male

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. Clara Rhodos X, pp. 3-11, figs. 1-3 (Laurenzi). L. Laurenzi, Ritratti greci (Florence: 1941) pp. 122-123, no. 78 and pl. 31. Idem, "Il ritratto dei greci," Critica d'arte 5 (1940) 5-14, esp. pp. 11-12, pl. 9, no. 14. G. Hafner, Späthellenistische Bildnisplastik (Berlin: 1954) pp. 22-23, no. R17. E. Buschor, Das hellenistische Bildnis (Munich: 1949) pp. 47, 50, fig. 39. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (see fig. 57, "Hannibal" photograph). Accidental find in a light-well in the ancient aqueduct of Rhodes. P.H. - 0.26m. (about life size). White crystalline marble, called island marble by Laurenzi, who noted that it contained blue veining. Head, neck and bust preserved. Bust is bowl-shaped at the bottom, for insertion into a rounded cavity. End of nose broken off. Surface of face slightly pitted. A curving crack running from the left ear down through the neck appears to be a fault in the marble. The locks of hair are indicated all over the crown. The workmanship is of good quality.

The head is that of a lightly bearded, mature male. It is tilted slightly to the proper right on a slender neck. The face is oblong in shape; the forehead is high, with a widow's peak of waves combed forward at the center. The crown of the head is covered with broad, flat waves, rather summarily carved. A groove is cut over the crown, from ear to ear,

presumably for the addition of a fillet or wreath in another material. The groove does not continue below the ears around the back of the head. A clump of waves is carved in front of the groove at each temple. The nape of the neck is bordered by a fringe of parallel waves. The brow is furrowed, giving an anxious expression to the face.

The face is rather sensitive, but has a certain force because of the exaggerated carving of the eyes. The lower eyelid is almost horizontal, the upper one very strongly arched; the tear duct is very clearly defined, and the entire eye is rimmed by thick, fleshy lids. The overhanging fold of flesh at the outer corner of each eye, a common feature on heads of the fourth century B.C. and later, is here emphasized by deep undercutting behind the entire semicircle of the upper lid, throwing the whole eye into very high relief. The effect is dramatic, but totally unnaturalistic, and therefore surprising in a head that is clearly a portrait. This rendering of the eye is strongly reminiscent of the eyes of the head of Odysseus from Sperlonga,³⁴¹ and the Alkyoneus of the Pergamon altar.³⁴² The ears are

³⁴¹G. Jacopi, L'Antro di Tiberio a Sperlonga (Rome: 1963) p. 70, fig. 57.

³⁴²The best photograph is Lullies and Hirmer, Greek Sculpture, pl. 244.

fleshy; the sensitive lips are parted and slightly upturned at the corners. The cleft chin is covered by a lightly incised beard. The slightly sagging skin of the cheeks is shown by a fold running from each nostril to the corner of the mouth. A few folds of drapery can be seen on the left shoulder.

As it is now displayed in the Museum, the bust is tilted slightly backward, so that the glance turns upward. However, the beginning of the chest, at the bottom of the bust, should be more nearly vertical, and probably the head was originally tilted slightly forward. A profile view of the Demosthenes of Polyuktos suggests the approximately correct angle of the head.³⁴³

In the original publication of the head, Laurenzi identified it as a portrait of a Hellenistic prince because of the furrow cut around the head, which he believed once held a diadem. In his later discussion in Ritratti greci, he suggested its possible identification as Prusias I of Bithynia, on the basis of parallels with numismatic portraiture. The "Hannibal" photograph sold at the Rhodes Museum tentatively identifies the head as a portrait of Apollonios the Rhodian, although to my knowledge, no evidence has been published to

³⁴³ Bieber, Sculpture, fig. 220, shows the Demosthenes in profile.

support this identification. Laurenzi compared the light rendering of the beard of the Rhodian head to that of the portrait of Poseidonios,³⁴⁴ having connected the portrait of the latter with Rhodes because of his long residence on the island. Buschor, in fact, identified the Rhodian head as a portrait of Poseidonios, an attribution which Hafner convincingly denies, although he admits a stylistic similarity, and accepts Buschor's dating of the Rhodian head to the middle of the first century B.C. Another portrait head, now in the British Museum and of reported Rhodian provenance,³⁴⁵ is also brought into the comparison.

³⁴⁴Richter, Portraits, Vol. III, p. 282, fig. 2020.

³⁴⁵See chapter III, part 4, no. 52.

CATALOG NUMBER 104 -- Portrait, Male

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. 13645. Clara Rhodos V, pt. 1, pp. 63-67, no. 12, figs. 36-37 (Jacopi). Jacopi, Spedale, pp. 57-58, fig. 29. G. Hafner, Späthellenistische Bildnisplastik (Berlin: 1954) pp. 24-25, no. R21. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (see fig. 58). Found in the so-called nymphaeum on Monte S. Stefano. Exact dimensions not published, but described as life size. White crystalline marble, with slight rusty surface discoloration. Head and small portion of neck preserved. Nose broken off. Left eye, mouth, chin badly chipped. Abrasions over cheeks, forehead, ears. The back of the head is fully rounded, but the locks of hair are summarily worked; the surface of the crown is finished only with the punch. The workmanship is of fairly good quality.

The head is a portrait of a mature male, tilted slightly to the proper right. It is rather broad and rounded in shape, with a low crown. The forehead is crossed by two horizontal furrows, and overhangs the deeply set eyes. The treatment of the eyes is somewhat similar to that of catalog number 103: the eyes are rimmed all around by clearly marked lids, and there is some undercutting behind the upper lids, throwing the eye into relief, but the eye is much rounder and the overall effect of the modelling is softer. The eyebrows slant downward slightly at the outer corners. The lips are parted, and are slightly upturned at the corners. Very

lightly modelled locks of hair are combed forward over the receding hairline. A fringe of parallel locks, similar to that of catalog number 103, lies along the nape of the neck. Two rows of round cuttings, spaced about 0.03m. apart, encircle the crown; the rows are spaced at about the same distance from one another. Jacopi suggested that the holes originally held a wreath in place. It does not seem likely, however, that the attachment of a wreath, presumably of metal, would have required so many relatively large cuttings, nor is it clear why there are two, rather widely spaced, rows of holes, unless there were two wreaths. The crown of the head, particularly beyond the second row of holes, is finished only with the punch, and may therefore have been concealed. It is possible that the holes held tenons to attach a more substantial headdress than a wreath, perhaps a helmet. The sketchy rendering of the hair around the forehead might be explained by the assumption that the locks were partially hidden by the overhanging visor of a helmet.

On the basis of a comparison with numismatic portraits, Jacopi suggested that the head represents Julius Caesar. However, the evidence derived from a comparison of a sculptured head, the profile of which is almost entirely destroyed, with a coin portrait in profile, cannot be considered conclusive. Moreover, the possibility that the head was not originally adorned with a wreath raises doubts as

to its identification as Julius Caesar, who is always pic- 1?
tured wreathed. The Rhodian head need not represent a person
known to history, and may rather be an honorary or votive
portrait of a private person, perhaps, if he originally wore
a helmet, a soldier. On the basis of the hair style, the
head probably dates to the Augustan period. Hafner thought
the subject may have been a Roman, although not Julius
Caesar.

CATALOG NUMBER 105 -- Portrait, Male

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. 13644. Clara Rhodos V, pt. 1, pp. 58-62, no. 11, figs. 34-35 (Jacopi). Jacopi, Spedale, pp. 54-55, fig. 27. G. Hafner, Späthellenistische Bildnisplastik (Berlin: 1954) p. 25, no. R22. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (see fig. 59). Found in the so-called nymphaeum on Monte S. Stefano. Exact dimensions not published, but described as life size. White crystalline marble, with slight rusty surface discoloration, called Parian marble by Jacopi. Head and most of neck preserved. End of nose originally carved separately and cemented in place, now missing.³⁴⁶ Ears, chin, temples, preserved surface of nose slightly abraded. The back of the head is fully rounded, and the locks of hair fully carved over the crown. The workmanship is of fairly good quality.

The head is a portrait of a mature male, tilted slightly to the proper right. The face is broad, with smooth, flat cheeks and a heavy, rounded jaw line. The forehead is smooth and unfurrowed. The eyes are level and expressionless; the lips are closed. The hairline has receded to the top of the crown so that no locks are visible on the forehead. A few locks curl forward over the temples, and a few small, lightly

³⁴⁶On the separate carving and attachment of the nose, see catalog number 94, note 325.

carved locks fall in front of each ear. At the back, the hair lies against the crown in flat locks; the nape is bordered with a fringe of flat, parallel locks. The ears are sharply defined, but the modelling of the other features is very soft. Jacopi's identification of the head as a portrait of C. Cassius is rejected by Hafner.

CATALOG NUMBER 106 -- Portrait, Male

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. 6248. Clara Rhodos II, pp. 35-36, no. 13, fig. 17 (Maiuri). G. Hafner, Spät-hellenistische Bildnisplastik (Berlin: 1954) p. 23, no. R18. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (see fig. 60). Accidental find in 1923 in the city of Rhodes. P.H. - 0.32m. (somewhat more than life size). White crystalline marble, with slight rusty surface discoloration, called island marble by Maiuri. Lower portion of head and neck preserved. At the front, the head is broken at the bridge of the nose; the break rises toward the rear, so that much of the back of the head is preserved. Tip of nose, outer parts of ears broken off. The surface is slightly abraded. There are a few traces of the toothed chisel on the surface. The locks of hair are only lightly carved over the back of the head. The workmanship is of fairly good quality.

The head is a portrait of a mature male, turned to the proper left on a strong neck. The jaw is heavy, and the neck is creased into two horizontal folds of flesh. The sagging cheeks are indicated by a fold of flesh carved from each nostril to the outer corner of the mouth. Just below the break, the pouches beneath the lower eyelids are visible; from the scanty remains, the eyes seem to have been rather prominent. The lips are slightly parted. Behind the ear, flat locks of hair wave horizontally toward the front; the nape is bordered

with a fringe of flat, parallel locks. In front of each ear, a wavy lock lies against the cheek. The Rhodian head can be compared to the male portrait head in bronze from Delos, usually dated to the early first century B.C.³⁴⁷

The musculature of the Delian head is much more subtly modelled, but the heads are otherwise comparable, especially in the turn of the head on the neck and the shape of the mouth. Maiuri compared the hair style to that of another portrait found on Rhodes, catalog number 105. Hafner compared it to catalog number 103, and the head in London there cited.

³⁴⁷ Athens, National Museum 14612. C. Michalowski, Exploration archéologique de Délos, Vol. XIII (Paris: 1932), pp. 1-5, figs. 1-2, pls. 1-6. The best illustration is Lullies and Hirmer, Greek Sculpture, pl. 258.

CATALOG NUMBER 107 -- Portrait, Male

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. Clara Rhodos IX, p. 56, fig. 35 (Laurenzi). Not exhibited in Museum (see fig. 61, photograph after Clara Rhodos, loc. cit.). Accidental find of uncertain provenance. P.H. - 0.28m. (about life size). White marble with a large grain, called island marble by Laurenzi. Front of head and part of neck preserved. Back of head originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. Nose and crown of head broken off. The surface is badly abraded. From the photograph, the workmanship appears to have been of fair quality.

The head is known to me only in the published photograph cited above. It is a portrait of a man of advanced years. The sagging cheeks are indicated by folds of flesh carved from the nostrils to the corners of the mouth. The forehead overhangs deeply set eyes with pouches under the lower lids and "crow's feet" at the corners. The mouth is wide and the jaw line heavy and prominent. The hair is largely destroyed, but appears to have been cut short; a few tight curls are preserved beside the right temple. Although the poor preservation of the surface may be at fault, there now seems to have been little modelling of details, and a generally smooth and schematic effect is the result. Laurenzi dated the head to the early part of the first century B.C., comparing it to

the bronze portrait from Delos.³⁴⁸ Although this comparison may not be entirely convincing, a first-century B.C. date seems probable.

³⁴⁸See note 347.

CATALOG NUMBER 108 -- Portrait, Male

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. G. Konstantinopoulos, "Ἀρχαιοότητες καὶ Μνημεῖα Δωδεκανήσου," Deltion 21 (1966) χρονικά, p. 456 and pl. 489 right. Idem, "Rhodes: New Finds and Old Problems," Archaeology 21 (1968) 115-123, esp. p. 123. Not exhibited in Museum (not illustrated here). Found in the city of Rhodes. Exact dimensions not published, but described as almost life size. Marble, not further described in publication. Head and neck preserved. End of nose broken off. The workmanship is of good quality.

The head is a portrait of a very young man, slightly tilted to the proper left. The surface is very softly modelled, blurring the definitions of the features. The face is oval in shape. The eyes are deeply set behind the bridge of the nose, and slant downward toward the outer corners; the lower lids are raised. The most individualized feature is the mouth; the upper lip is rather thin, the lower lip relatively fleshy. The ears and hair are more strongly modelled than the other features. The hair is short; the thick locks, shaped like curved arrowheads with a line down the center, are combed forward from the crown to the forehead. Konstantinopoulos saw in the head a classical austerity, overlaid with a Hellenistic plasticity and pathos, and suggested a late Hellenistic date. The hairstyle is remin-

iscent of Julio-Claudian portraits, and a comparison may be made with such youthful types of the period as the portraits thought to represent Lucius or Gaius Caesar.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁹ For example, F. P. Johnson, op. cit. (see p. 61, no. 8), pp. 72-76, nos. 135 and 136.

CATALOG NUMBER 109 -- Portrait, Male

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. I.D.

Kondis, Ἀνασκαφικὰ ἔρευνα εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῆς Ῥόδου, Praktika 1955

(1960) pp. 267-283, esp. pp. 272-273 and pl. 105b. Not exhibited in Museum (not illustrated here). Found in excavations in the city of Rhodes, but out of context, above remains of the mediaeval period. Dimensions not published. Material not described in publication. Head and neck preserved. From the photograph, the workmanship appears to be of fair quality.

The portrait, representing a young man, is known to me only in the published photograph cited above. The short hair is bound with a thick, rolled fillet. Upright, flame-like locks frame the rectangular forehead. The hair style is typical of youthful, athletic types (compare catalog number 97), but the head is individualized by a small, straight nose, very small ears, and a strong jaw with a rather prominent chin. The forehead overhangs deeply set eyes; the lips are closed. The modelling is very soft and the definition of the facial features blurred. Kondis dates the head to the late Hellenistic period. The hair style has its origins in the fourth century (for example, it appears on the youth in the Ilissos relief, without the fillet³⁵⁰), but it is usually not

³⁵⁰A good photograph is Lullies and Hirmer, Greek Sculpture, pl. 218.

associated with very softly modelled facial features, as in the Rhodian head. A date in the late Hellenistic period seems probable, in view of this mixture of stylistic traits.

CATALOG NUMBER 110 -- Portrait, Male (Augustus)

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. K. Fatourou, "Ἀρχαιότητες καὶ Μνήμεια Δωδεκανήσου," Deltion 19 (1964) χρονικά, p. 465, pl. 547b. G. Daux, "Chroniques des Fouilles," BCH 91 (1967) 768, fig. 2. Not exhibited in Museum (not illustrated here). Found in the city of Rhodes. Dimensions not published. Marble, not further described in publication. Head and neck preserved. Nose abraded. From the photograph, the workmanship appears to be summary.

The head is known to me only in the published photograph cited above. It is a very harshly rendered portrait of Augustus.

CATALOG NUMBER 111 - Portrait, Male (Augustus?)

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. A.K. Orlandos, "Ἀνασκαφαὶ 32. Ρόδος," Ergon 1958 (1959) 172-175, esp. p. 173, fig. 180. Not exhibited in Museum (not illustrated here). Found in excavations of Hellenistic and Roman houses near Pindos Street in the city of Rhodes. Head and bust preserved. Dimensions and material not published. From the photograph, the workmanship appears to be of poor quality.

The head is known to me only in the published photograph cited above. The hair falls closely over the crown in very flat, short, waving locks. Across the forehead lies a row of similarly flat, parallel waves. A single lock waves on the left cheek in front of the ear. The features are very clearly, and rather harshly, rendered. The prominent eyes are opened wide, and are rimmed with strongly marked lids. The lips are closed. Orlandos dates the head to the Julio-Claudian period, and suggests that it might represent Augustus. Although this identification is somewhat tenuous, the head seems in any case to be a portrait dating to Julio-Claudian times.

CATALOG NUMBER 112 -- Figure of Child, Draped

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. 3072. Unpublished, except for postcard and slide by "Hannibal," Athens. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (not illustrated here). Circumstances of discovery unknown to author. P.H. - not estimated, but about life size. White crystalline marble. Figure is broken in two diagonally, at about waist level. Front portions of both feet, parts of garment hem, half of right forearm and right hand, parts of left upper arm broken off. Crown of head, originally carved separately and cemented in place, now missing. Left forearm and hand originally carved separately and dowelled in place, now missing. The head seems to have been carved separately and attached to the torso, since the line at which they join is below shoulder level, which would be unlikely if the break were accidental. Center of forehead, nose, lips, chin, left cheek and right side of neck abraded. The back is quite flat, and is finished only with the punch. The workmanship of the torso is summary, of the head of good quality.

The statue represents a draped female child, perhaps six years old, standing in a frontal pose, with her head slightly bent forward. The weight rests lightly on the right leg; the left knee is slightly bent. The garment is a voluminous ungirdled tunic which reaches to the ankles and slips off the left shoulder. The feet are shod in sandals. The right

arm is bent at the elbow, and the forearm, as far as it is preserved, is raised and pressed against the torso. An object, or perhaps a small animal, may have been held in the right hand. The left upper arm was held down against the torso, but the forearm could not have continued straight down because of the presence of a pouch of drapery below the level of the elbow. The lower surface of the elbow is flat; below it a hollow was carved into the hip, and in this cavity is the dowel cutting for the attachment of the forearm. This suggests that the arm was held away from the body. This method of attaching a forearm is quite different from the technique otherwise seen in sculpture in Rhodes, where the forearm was attached directly to the upper arm.

The carving of the drapery folds is very clumsy, although the general contours of the body are indicated beneath the cloth, and the proportions are correct. The folds are few and consist mainly of a series of awkwardly arranged pouches at the lower left side, and a few broad arrowhead folds. A clumsily cut slit at either side below the knees may be an attempt to show that the garment was open at the sides, while a row of horizontal indentations cut across each slit may have been intended to indicate the selvage. The sandalled feet are disproportionately large, and no attempt has been made to conceal the poorly finished piece of marble left attached to the left heel. This support may have been left

in place to compensate for the cutting away of the stone between the ankles and the deep undercutting beneath the garment hem.

A much greater skill and attention to detail can be seen in the carving of the face. The expression is lively, the lips closed and smiling, the cheeks rounded, and the surface subtly modelled. The hair is unbound and parted in the center. Thick, strongly modelled locks wave downward, framing the face and covering the ears. The locks reach the base of the neck at the sides and back, where the hair is deeply undercut, framing the neck in shadow. The locks are fully carved over the preserved part of the crown, although the back of the torso is flat and poorly finished, indicating that the back of the figure was never seen. At either side of the central part, two locks of hair curl toward one another on the forehead, like pincers. Unlike the face, the surface of the hair is not softly modelled.

It seems likely that the head was carved by a different hand than the torso. The statue is probably made up of a portrait head added to a stock body type, and may well have been a dedication in a sanctuary, perhaps part of a family monument.³⁵¹ The face is somewhat idealized, but probably

³⁵¹A number of bases of family dedicatory monuments in Lindos have cuttings in the shape of small feet for the attachment of bronze statues of children. See, for example, Lindos II, no. 56.

individual characterization is more difficult to achieve in a portrait of a child than of an adult. In a child's portrait, age and sex may have been the important iconographical features.

Had the torso alone been discovered, it is likely that it would have been thought Roman in date, because of its awkward rendering. A spirit of naturalism is evident in the representation of a child dressed in too large a garment, which slips from one shoulder and drops into great gaps at the sides.³⁵² According to the presently accepted chronology, such naturalism would be appropriate to a conception originating not earlier than the third century B.C., probably in bronze, in which the weight of a voluminous garment would not have required additional support behind the feet. It is not impossible that the figure is a stone adaptation of a type known in Rhodes in earlier portrait dedications of children. The treatment of the hair in thick, separate wavy locks, and the eclectic combination of this hair with a softly modelled face, suggest that the Rhodian figure was carved in the late Hellenistic period. Smiling children were favorite subjects of Hellenistic sculptors.

³⁵²For a boy in an oversize garment, see Waldhauer, op. cit. (see note 154) pp. 66-68, no. 194, fig. 77.

CATALOG NUMBER 113 -- Figure of Child, with Animal

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unknown to author. Unpublished. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (not illustrated here). Circumstances of discovery unknown to author. P.H. - ca. 0.60m. (about life size). White crystalline marble, with rusty surface discoloration. Head originally carved separately and dowelled into bowl-shaped cavity cut between shoulders, now missing. Lower legs, most of support behind left thigh broken off. Front surface, especially animal's face and rump, abraded. The workmanship is summary.

The statue represents a nude child, less than five years old, standing with the legs apart. He grasps to his chest a small woolly animal. Behind the left buttock and thigh can be seen the remains of a support, which may have been made necessary by the naturalistic representation of a toddler's unsteady stance (or by the top-heavy composition). Also naturalistic, although not very detailed, is the rendering of the anatomy. The child's sex is not clear. The animal's face has a slightly leonine look, but is probably a dog. A small bell can be seen hanging between its front paws, which rest on the child's left forearm.

A similar figure in the National Museum, Athens,³⁵³ also

³⁵³No. 3305. K. Kourouniotis, "Ἀνασκαφὴ ἐν Νύσῃ τῇ ἐπι Μαριάνδρῳ 1922," Deltion 7 (1921-1922) 242-245, figs. 12-15.

clutches a small, woolly animal, identified as a dog, and has a support behind one leg, but wears a hooded cape. Like the Rhodian figure, it is summarily rendered, but has a certain charm, and is considered a Roman copy of a Hellenistic prototype. Catalog number 114, another variant of this type, has been dated to the late Hellenistic period. Unless the date of catalog number 114 is based upon the context in which it was found, it may be best to consider the Rhodian figures Roman renderings of Hellenistic prototypes.

CATALOG NUMBER 114 -- Figure of Child, with Animal

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished. G. Konstantinopoulos, "Ἀρχαιότητες καὶ Μνημεῖα Δωδεκανήσου," Del-tion 21 (1966) χρῶνικα, p. 455, pl. 489a. Not exhibit ed in Museum (not illustrated here). Found in the city of Rhodes. Dimensions and material not published. Child's head, lower legs, drapery folds at bottom, animal's head broken off. Child's right hand, animal's front paws abraded. From the photograph, the workmanship appears to be summary.

This sculpture is known to me only in the photograph cited above. It represents a child standing with the left leg forward, and clutching an animal, called a dog, to its chest. The right arm is bent, and the forearm is held against the chest; the hand is clenched. The dog is held in the child's left arm; its paws rest against his chest. The animal is partly covered by one end of the child's garment, which falls diagonally across the left hip and right thigh. The stone is undercut between the cascade of cloth on the left side and the child's leg.

Konstantinopoulos considers the piece late Hellenistic, but it is not clear if this date is based on excavation context or style. Catalog number 113 is similar in general type, and may be Roman in date, on the basis of its workmanship and a parallel in Athens.³⁵⁴

³⁵⁴See note 353.

CATALOG NUMBER 115 -- Head of Child

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no unknown to author. Unpublished. Exhibited in Museum, photographed (not illustrated here). Circumstances of discovery unknown to author. P.H. - ca. 0.10m. (about life size). White crystalline marble, with slight rusty surface discoloration. Most of head and small part of neck preserved. The head is broken in half vertically; a long wedge of stone is missing from the center front, destroying the center of the forehead, the nose, the proper right side of the mouth, and the right side of the chin and jaw. The back of the head is fully rounded, but the hair is worked summarily in back. The workmanship is of good quality.

The head is that of a child, perhaps a year old; it is slightly tilted backward. The deeply set eyes are cast upward; the lower lids are slightly raised, and a thick fold of flesh overhangs the outer corner of each eye. The lips are parted and smiling. The round face and the hair are very softly modelled, and the definition of the facial features blurred, except for the ears, which are more strongly articulated. The hair is combed forward from the crown into a short cap of very gentle waves. The backward tilt of the head, and the expectant facial expression, suggest that the child originally looked and perhaps reached upward, and may have been seated, like a marble figure of a child with a fox

goose from Ephesus, now in Vienna.³⁵⁵ The Rhodian head is probably later in date, however, because of the very soft modelling of the face, which approaches in degree that of the girl's head from Chios in Boston.³⁵⁶

³⁵⁵The Ephesian statue is dated to the third century B.C., on the basis of a description by Herodas, Mimiamb. iv. 30-34, of a similar figure, in the course of his description of the votive sculpture in the sanctuary of Asklepios on Kos. R. Herzog, "Das Kind mit der Fuchsgans," ÖJh 6 (1903) 215-236; Bieber, Sculpture, fig. 534.

³⁵⁶For a late Hellenistic dating of the Chios head, see Carpenter, Greek Sculpture, pp. 248-249.

CATALOG NUMBER 116 -- Horse, Head

Istanbul, Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. unpublished.

Mendel, Catalogue, Vol. III, p. 15, no. 812. M. Schede,

Meisterwerke der türkischen Museen zu Konstantinopel, I

(Istanbul; 1928), p. 5, pl. 7. Lindos III, pt. 2, p. 552,

no. 9, figs. 21-24 (Poulsen). H. Édhem, AA 23 (1908) 113.

See fig. 62 (photograph after Lindos III, loc. cit.). Found

on the acropolis of Lindos, near the exedra of Aglochartos.

P.H. - 0.62m. (about life size). White crystalline marble,

with slight rusty surface discoloration. Upper part of

horse's head and part of neck preserved. Right ear missing,

originally carved separately and cemented in place. Muzzle,

several locks of mane broken off. The remains of a cutting,

perhaps for a tenon to attach the muzzle, are visible at the

preserved lower edge of the face. The surface is abraded at

the proper left side of the head. The lower half of the pro-

per left side is finished only with the punch. The workman-

ship is of fairly good quality.

The horse's head has a flowing mane of long, thick locks,

and a forelock falling over the forehead. The neck is arched

and the head held down almost vertically. Around the fore-

head is an olive wreath, the center of which is hidden

beneath the forelock. The wreath terminates at each side

in a long, beaded fillet with a tassel at the end. The fillet

falls vertically at the proper left side, but forms a double

curve over the neck at the right side. This may be an indication that the horse was in movement. The headstall is joined at the center of the face, over the nose, with an oval plate. The prominent eyes are almost round, and are ringed with strongly marked lids; the tear ducts are indicated. The proper right side of the head seems to have been the principal view, since the left side is not fully finished, and the fillet is not curved. The horse's left side may have been hidden in some way, perhaps by another horse standing beside it. Poulsen suggested that the horse was originally part of a victory monument because it wears an olive wreath. He dated the head to the second century B.C., on the basis of a comparison with the great frieze of the Pergamon Altar.³⁵⁷ The Pergamene horse wears a similar olive wreath with a floating end, and its head is similarly bowed down; however, the mane is cropped rather than flowing, and the rendering is less detailed. The Rhodian horse could either have been part of a chariot team, or an equestrian statue.

³⁵⁷ Pergamon, Vol. III, pt. 2, pp. 48-49, no. 14, and pl. 10, right. The horse referred to is the third one of the team.

CHAPTER III

THE MATERIAL EVIDENCE

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4. List of Hellenistic Sculpture
of Reported Rhodian Provenance

The typological arrangement of this list follows that of the preceding catalog. Since many of the sculptures listed here are modest in size and quality, or are fragmentary, there are often no published illustrations. The availability of illustrations is specified in each entry.

1. Aphrodite

Smith, British Museum, Vol. III, p. 210, no. 2091 and pl. 23. Examined in British Museum; photograph not obtainable there. Discussed with catalog numbers 5-9.

2. Aphrodite

Smith, British Museum, Vol. III, pp. 209-210, no. 2090. Not illustrated in publication. Examined in British Museum; photograph not obtainable there. Discussed with catalog numbers 5-9.

3. Aphrodite

D. K. Hill, Catalogue of Classical Bronze Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore: 1949) pp. 90-91, no. 198, and pl. 42.

4. Aphrodite (?)
Smith, British Museum, Vol. III, p. 35, no. 1591. Not illustrated in publication. Examined in British Museum; photograph not obtainable there.
5. Aphrodite (?)
Smith, British Museum, Vol. III, p. 35, no. 1593. Not illustrated in publication. Examined in British Museum; photograph not obtainable there.
6. Aphrodite (?)
Mendel, Catalogue, Vol. II, pp. 104-105, no. 363, with drawing.
7. Aphrodite Anadyomene
G.M.A. Richter, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Catalogue of Greek Sculptures (Cambridge, Mass.: 1954) p. 85, no. 152.
8. Aphrodite Untying Sandal (?)
Smith, British Museum, Vol. III, p. 32, no. 1582. Not illustrated in publication. Examined in British Museum; photograph not obtainable there.
9. Artemis
Smith, British Museum, Vol. III, p. 22, no. 1562 and pl. 23; ArchCl 7 (1955) pl. VIII, 3. Examined in British Museum; negative number C 906 unavailable for printing, August 1967.

10. Artemis
Smith, British Museum, Vol. III, p. 207, no. 2083. Not illustrated in publication. Examined in British Museum; negative number C 901. Discussed with catalog number 20.
11. Athena
Smith, British Museum, Vol. III, pp. 208-209, no. 1573. Not illustrated in publication. Examined in British Museum; negative number C 3312.
12. Female Figure, Draped
Smith, British Museum, Vol. III, pp. 208-209, no. 2087. Not illustrated in publication. Examined in British Museum; photograph not obtainable there.
13. Female Figure, Draped
Smith, British Museum, Vol. III, p. 207, no. 2081. Not illustrated in publication. Examined in British Museum; photograph not obtainable there.
14. Female Figure, Draped
Smith, British Museum, Vol. III, p. 206, no. 2078. Not illustrated in publication. Examined in British Museum; photograph not obtainable there.
15. Female Figure, Draped
Smith, British Museum, Vol. III, p. 208, no. 2086. Not illustrated in publication. Examined in British Museum; negative number C 911 unavailable for printing, August 1967.

16. Female Figure, Draped
Smith, British Museum, Vol. III, p. 209, no. 2089 and pl.
23. Examined in British Museum; negative number C 900.
17. Female Figure, Draped and Seated
Smith, British Museum, Vol. III, p. 211, no. 2095 and pl.
23. Examined in British Museum; negative number C 899.
18. Female Figure, Draped and Seated (?)
Smith, British Museum, Vol. III, p. 207, no. 2080. Not
illustrated in publication. Examined in British Museum;
negative number C 902.
19. Female Figure, Semi-draped
Smith, British Museum, Vol. III, p. 208, no. 2085 and pl.
23. Examined in British Museum; negative number C 905.
20. Female Figure, Draped, Archaizing
Smith, British Museum, Vol. III, p. 207, no. 2082. Not
illustrated in publication. Examined in British Museum;
negative number C 908.
21. Female Figure, Draped, with Archaizing Traits
Smith, British Museum, Vol. III, p. 208, no. 2084. Not
illustrated in publication. Examined in British Museum;
photograph unobtainable there.
22. Dionysos
Smith, British Museum, Vol. III, p. 42, no. 1607. Not
illustrated in publication. Examined in British Museum;
negative number C 909.

23. Dionysos, Seated
G. Treu, Die Bildwerke von Olympia in Stein und Thon (Olympia III, Berlin: 1897) p. 222, fig. 248 (perhaps Hellenistic?).
24. Dionysos (?), Head
Berlin, Königliche Museen, Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen, mit Ausschluss der pergamenische Fundstücke (Berlin: 1891) pp. 216-217, no. 560.
25. Eros, Sleeping
G.M.A. Richter, "A Greek Bronze Eros," AJA 47 (1943) pp. 365-378.
26. Harpocrates (?), Head
Smith, British Museum, Vol. III, p. 90, no. 1724. Not illustrated in publication. Examined in British Museum; negative number LXII C 44.
27. Helios, Head
B. Gräf, "Helioskopf aus Rhodos," in Strena Helbigiana (Leipzig: 1901) pp. 99-110.
28. Helios, Head
P. Hartwig, "Testa di Helios," RömMitt 2 (1887) 159-166;
F. Poulsen, Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek (Copenhagen: 1951) no. 262.
29. Helios (?), Head
T.L. Shear, "Head of Helios from Rhodes," AJA 20 (1916) 283-298.

30. Herakles, Head
Smith, British Museum, Vol. III, p. 96, no. 1740. Not illustrated in publication. Examined in British Museum; negative number CXIX C 9.
31. Herakles, Mask
F. Hiller von Gärtringen, "Heraklesmaske aus Lindos," in *Strena Helbigiana* (Leipzig: 1901) pp. 137-138.
32. Hermaphrodite
In collection of Piero Tozzi, New York. Bieber, Sculpture, p. 125 and fig. 492.
33. Pan, Head
Berlin, Königliche Museen, op. cit. (see no. 24), p. 104, no. 237, with drawing.
34. Satyr
Karl A. Neugebauer, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Die griechische Bronzen der Klassischen Zeit und des Hellenismus, Vol. II (Berlin: 1951) p. 74, no. 65.
35. Satyr, Seated
Smith, British Museum, Vol. III, p. 56, no. 1654 and pl. 23. Examined in British Museum; negative number XV C 36. Discussed with catalog number 66.
36. Satyr, Seated
Smith, British Museum, Vol. III, p. 56, no. 1653 and pl. 23. Examined in British Museum; negative number XV C 37. Discussed with catalog number 66.

37. Male Figure, Semi-draped
Smith, British Museum, Vol. III, p. 195, no. 2033. Not illustrated in publication. Examined in British Museum; photograph unobtainable there.
38. Male Figure, Nude
Berlin, Königliche Museen, op. cit. (see no. 24), p. 203, no. 518.
39. Female Head
Smith, British Museum, Vol. III, p. 124, no. 1801. Not illustrated in publication. Examined in British Museum; photograph unobtainable there.
40. Female Head
T.L. Shear, "A Marble Head from Rhodes," AJA 24 (1920) pp. 313-322.
41. Female Head
L.D. Caskey, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture (Cambridge, Mass.: 1925) pp. 77-78, no. 30.
42. Female Head
Berlin, Königliche Museen, op. cit. (see no. 24), p. 242, no. 627.
43. Female Head
Berlin, Königliche Museen, op. cit. (see no. 24), p. 42. Not illustrated in publication.

44. Female Heads (Three from a Relief)
EA 896-898, ser. III (1897) p. 49 (Hiller von Gärtringen and Arndt).
45. Female Head
Caskey, op. cit. (see no. 41), pp. 79-80, no. 32. (In Boston Museum, labelled a Hygeia type of the fourth century B.C.).
46. Male Head
Smith, British Museum, Vol. III, p. 118, no. 1781. Not illustrated in publication. Examined in British Museum; photograph unobtainable there.
47. Male Head
Smith, British Museum, Vol. III, p. 69, no. 1681. Not illustrated in publication. Examined in British Museum; negative number C 1619.
48. Male Head
Mendel, Catalogue, Vol. II, p. 135, no. 425, with drawing.
49. Male Head
D.M. Robinson, "Three Marble Heads from Anatolia," Anatolian Studies Presented to William Hepburn Buckler (Manchester: 1939) pp. 249-268, esp. pp. 260-265, and pls. 7-9.
50. Male Head
Danish National Museum, Copenhagen. Inv. no. 5623.
Unpublished?

51. Male Head
G.M.A. Richter, op. cit. (see no. 7), p. 72, no. 118 and pl. 91, and references there cited.
52. Portrait, Male
Smith, British Museum, Vol. III, p. 180, no. 1965; G. Hafner, Späthellenistische Bildnisplastik (Berlin: 1954) pp. 21-22, no. R16; EAA Vol. III, p. 1051, fig. 1338. Examined in British Museum; negative number LC 3 unavailable for printing, August 1967.
53. Portrait, Male (Kleobulos Lindios)
L. Laurenzi, "Statuetta acefala di Cleobulo Lindio," Clara Rhodos X, pp. 15-24, figs. 1-2.
54. Herm, Female
Smith, British Museum, Vol. III, p. 220, no. 2140 and pl. 23. Examined in British Museum; negative number XXXII B 38.
55. Funerary Relief of Hieronymos
Br.Br. 579. Bieber, Sculpture, p. 127 and fig. 490. Lippold, Handbuch, p. 361, note 3, and references there cited.
56. Gaul, Head
T. Schreiber, Der Gallierkopf des Museums in Gize bei Cairo (Leipzig: 1896); E. Pfuhl, "Ikonographische Beiträge zur Stilgeschichte der hellenistische Kunst," JdI 45 (1930) 3, note 1.

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5. Summary of the Evidence of the Preserved Sculpture

When the evidence derived from the sculpture is added together, some technical and stylistic patterns emerge which may be useful in determining whether a Rhodian sculptural school with definable characteristics existed. The sculpture will be discussed according to the following outline:

QUANTITY OF SCULPTURE PRESERVED

MATERIALS USED

WORKMANSHIP

Quality of Carving

Technical Features

Scale

Treatment of Rear Portions

Piecing

Surface Finish

Undercutting

TYPES

STYLISTIC CHARACTERISTICS

Composition

Treatment of the Figure

Drapery

Heads

STYLISTIC CHARACTERISTICS (continued)

Archaism

DEGREE OF ORIGINALITY AND NON-RHODIAN CONNECTIONS

CHRONOLOGY OF THE PRESERVED RHODIAN SCULPTURE

QUANTITY OF SCULPTURE PRESERVED

Taking into account the three-century time-span of the Hellenistic period, the amount of sculpture found in Rhodes does not seem large. Considering also the commercial activity of the island, which presumably created a degree of wealth, and the presence of a number of major and minor sanctuaries, the amount of preserved sculpture seems small indeed. Three possible reasons may be suggested for this phenomenon. First, the loss of bronze votive and honorary statuary, of which the numerous empty bases are the evidence (see part 6 of this chapter), is to be expected, since visible ancient bronzes were often melted down for their material in later times, throughout the Mediterranean world. Second, the looting activities of the Romans in Rhodes, documented by literary evidence,³⁵⁸ may also have been a contributing factor to the loss of sculpture. Third, the largest

³⁵⁸ See the commentary on Pliny, Hist.Nat. xxxiv.36 in the Jex-Blake and Sellers edition, p. 29, note 18. The literary sources are not consistent concerning the actual extent of the looting. Pliny, opposed to other sources, seems to imply that the Romans took relatively little from Rhodes.

quantity of decorative sculpture, either of bronze or marble, must have been located in the city of Rhodes, the center of island administration and its largest, most populous and commercially active town; unfortunately the city has been as yet excavated comparatively little, because very large mediaeval structures and the modern town immediately overlie it. It is interesting that recent salvage excavations, made necessary by the building boom, have turned up a number of small marble sculptures, some of very good quality. The quantity of sculpture preserved in Rhodes may therefore someday approach our expectations more closely. For the present, the extant body of Rhodian sculpture can probably be considered fairly representative of Hellenistic sculptural activity on the island, since it includes a rich assortment of types and styles.

MATERIALS USED

In spite of the clear evidence from statue bases that bronze statues were very numerous in Rhodes, there is only one preserved bronze of secure Rhodian provenance. It is a small bearded male head, thought to represent Zeus (catalog number 72).³⁵⁹ The material most frequently preserved is a

³⁵⁹The head was not exhibited in the Rhodes Museum, and since I was not able to determine its present location, I was not able to examine it. Bronzes of reported, but not secure Rhodian provenance are listed in part 4 of this chapter, numbers 3, 25, 34.

marble of non-Rhodian origin. It is a glowing, white crystalline stone of fine texture, sometimes marred by uneven patches of rusty discoloration, presumably caused by contact with the soil. One statue, catalog number 32, is evenly covered with a fine, reddish-gold patina, perhaps caused by continued contact with the elements. The material of the published sculptures is sometimes called island, and sometimes more specifically Parian, marble.³⁶⁰ The local Rhodian marble, quarried from Mount Lartos (Lardhos) about 10 kilometers west of Lindos,³⁶¹ was seldom used for sculpture, although almost all the statue bases at Lindos were cut from it. It is a dull, greyish-white in color, and is coarse in texture. In fractures, the large crystals tend to break away from the surface in large, flat flakes. This peculiarity of the stone must have frustrated attempts at cutting deep, narrow channels, or modelling the surface of a figure with subtlety. The few sculptures in the Rhodes Museum which are carved from this stone or a very similar one (e.g. catalog numbers 37, 80) are very superficially modelled, as if the sculptor had to cut with more than usual care.

Two sculptures in the Rhodes Museum (catalog numbers 47,

³⁶⁰ On the difficulties inherent in distinguishing Greek stones from one another, see G.M.A. Richter, Korai (London: 1968)p. 15.

³⁶¹ Lindos II, col. 15.

69) are carved from a dark red limestone. A similar material was used for several statue bases in Lindos.³⁶² The reconstructed mediaeval fortifications in the city of Rhodes incorporate here and there a block of this stone, perhaps reused ancient blocks. I also noted a few red limestone bases at Cameiros. The use of this material for bases, which in Hellenistic Rhodes were usually not made of the finest stone, may indicate that the material was of local origin,³⁶³ perhaps available only in limited quantities, and therefore used peripherally. Colored stones were favored by Roman sculptors, but the two pieces in the Rhodes Museum do appear to be Hellenistic.

The conclusion to be derived from the evidence of the material of the preserved sculpture is that Hellenistic Rhodian sculptors functioned without a supply of good local stone, relying largely on imports of a fine white marble, probably originating in the Cyclades.

WORKMANSHIP

Quality of Carving

It is difficult to formulate criteria by which to evaluate the quality of Rhodian Hellenistic sculpture with regard to both conception and technique. In Hellenistic stone sculpture

³⁶²Lindos II, nos. 117, 205.

³⁶³Lindos II, col. 351, no. 117. "Calcaire rouge de Lartos."

in general, the tendency toward forcefulness of style seems on the one hand to have fostered an extreme elaboration of some forms, as in the case of drapery, but on the other hand seems sometimes to have led to a simplification and stylization of forms, particularly in the modelling of heads, which can lead the viewer to incorrectly consider the workmanship of such pieces summary or derivative. A few of the sculptures from Rhodes show the delicacy of carving and attention to detail characteristic of the best Greek sculpture. At the other extreme, a few are awkwardly proportioned and carelessly carved. On the whole, however, the general level of craftsmanship seems to have been neither great nor poor, but competent, capable of producing works of pleasant aspect and probably some originality. There are occasionally variations in the level of competence in different parts of the same statue, a phenomenon which will be discussed later.

Technical Features

Scale - The dimensions of approximately one hundred pieces of sculpture in the catalog are known. Of these, 5 are colossal, about 35 are of approximately life size, about 25 are less than 1/2 life size, and the remainder are between 3/4 and 1/2 life size. Most of the sculptures from Rhodes are therefore statuettes,³⁶⁴ few of which, however, are very

³⁶⁴The definition of statuette used consistently in this study is a figure of 3/4 life size or less.

much less than 1/2 life size. This predominance of marble sculpture of small scale contrasts markedly with the scale of the many bronze portrait statues known to have been erected in Rhodes, most of which were of life size (see part 6 of this chapter). There are several possible explanations for the generally small scale of the marbles. First, the discrepancy in scale between the bronze and marble figures may have been due in part to their differing functions. Most of the bronzes of which we have material evidence were portraits, and were therefore naturally of approximate life size. Most of the marbles seem rather to have served decorative or votive functions, for which size would not have been an urgent factor. Second, most of the marbles are carved from imported stone, which may have been scarce and expensive. Relatively small figures may therefore have been more practical economically, or the smallest pieces may have been carved from scraps of marble left over from the creation of larger figures. The use of scraps in the piecing technique will be discussed below. Third, small pieces of marble sculpture could easily have been imported into Rhodes. While this is a possibility, the general homogeneity of the sculpture found on Rhodes suggests that there were local sources of supply; the problem of importation will be discussed further below.

Treatment of Rear Portions - Few of the sculptures from Rhodes, even those of relatively good workmanship, are fully finished all around. The torso of catalog number 10 has careful surface finish in the rear, but the drapery folds below the torso are much more summarily worked. Some pieces show the proper body contours and the major drapery folds in the rear, but are finished only with the punch. The backs of a few are completely flattened. Frequently, the basic contours of the back of the figure and the main drapery folds were maintained while the statue was reduced in depth. It is possible that this expedient, which I have not noticed in Hellenistic sculpture other than that from Rhodes, was adopted to conserve the imported stone, while still giving the viewer the impression of a fully rounded figure. All the sculptures which are so treated are quietly standing single figures which may have been intended for decorative display in niches, where the rear of the statue would not have been seen directly, or against such a background as a wall.

Piecing - The most noticeable technical characteristic of the extant Rhodian sculpture is the extensive piecing together of individual parts, in fine work as well as poor. This practice is carried to such an extreme that even such small portions as fingers (catalog numbers 10, 51) or the limbs of small statuettes were carved separately and

attached, usually with metal dowels, but occasionally with an adhesive substance. The attachments occur at regular, predictable points. The head, when carved separately, was always attached to the torso at the base of the neck or a little below it; sometimes the joining surfaces were flat, but more often a bowl-shaped depression, sometimes very deep, was hollowed into the top of the torso between the shoulders to receive the base of the neck, which was finished in a corresponding convex protrusion. Sometimes the head was still more securely fastened in place by means of a dowel inserted into a cutting at the very bottom of the depression. The arms were pieced at various points: the shoulder, just below the biceps, just below the elbow, or just above the wrist. The front portion of the foot, from the instep to the toes, was also often carved separately. Sometimes, surprisingly large pieces were held in place only with adhesives, evidence for this practice is a surface smooth for joining but lacking a dowel cutting (e.g. catalog number 48). It is relatively rare for a joint to fall at a logical, easily concealed point, such as the girdle (catalog number 35) or the neckline of a chiton (number 17). More often the joints fell in places which could not be hidden by intervening drapery or limbs. One must assume considerable technical skill on the part of sculptors who joined sections of shoulders and bosoms at the very fronts of statues, or sections of

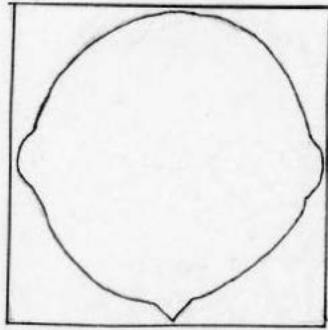
arms bare of sleeves, and who presumably, at least partially still managed to conceal the joints.

The piecing of marble statues is known from as early as the archaic period, but by the Hellenistic period it had become a very common technique. Since piecing must have required a good deal of careful engineering and coordinating of measurements to be successful, workshops which adopted the procedure must have had good reasons for doing so. One of the principal reasons for piecing in earlier periods of Greek sculpture seems to have been safety. A protruding limb carved separately and attached eliminated the risk of breakage at a weak point during carving. However, this consideration does not seem to have troubled the Rhodian sculptor in other instances, since he sometimes undercut so drastically, even at the very bottom of a statue (as in catalog number 1), that he does not seem to have feared accidental breakage. Moreover, limbs which did not protrude at all were also pieced. Last-moment necessity must have been a factor in some cases: a piece could have been attached to rectify a mistake or a flaw discovered in the marble. The attached noses of catalog numbers 94 and 105 may fall into this category.

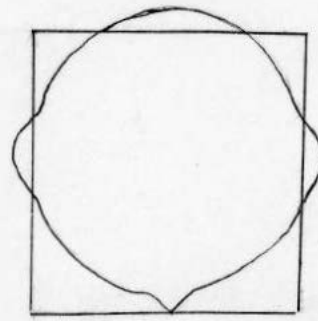
Another reason for piecing, and possibly a very influential one in Rhodes, was the need for economy in the use of material, in this case imported stone. The practice of

piecing would have allowed a workshop to use scraps of marble left over from larger works, and to utilize blocks of smaller size, odd shape, or even with breaks or flaws. A head in the Rhodes Archaeological Museum may be an illustration of the clever employment of piecing to save marble. Catalog number 85, a female head, is carved from good material with considerable skill. Yet two large sections of the crown, now missing, were carved separately and attached. The joining surfaces for the attachment of these pieces meet at the back of the head at an angle. This particular example of piecing may be the result of the way the block of unworked marble was utilized. Theoretically, a head can be accommodated in a smaller block of stone if the corners of the block are made to coincide respectively with the nose and ears (the points of greatest projection) and the back of the head. With this method, the greatest dimension of the head, from the tip of the nose to the crown, corresponds to the greatest dimension of the block, diagonally from corner to corner. A larger piece of marble is instead required if the head is carved with its four main sides parallel to the surfaces of the block.

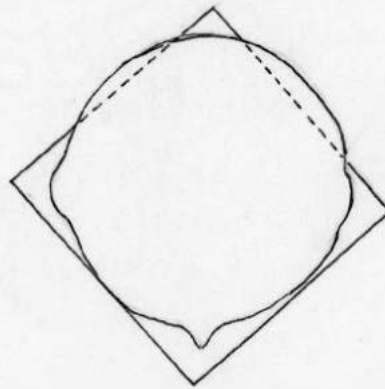
The following schematic drawing illustrates this principle in the case of a frontal head, not twisted on the neck, for simplicity:



Head, viewed from above, cut from block without piecing.

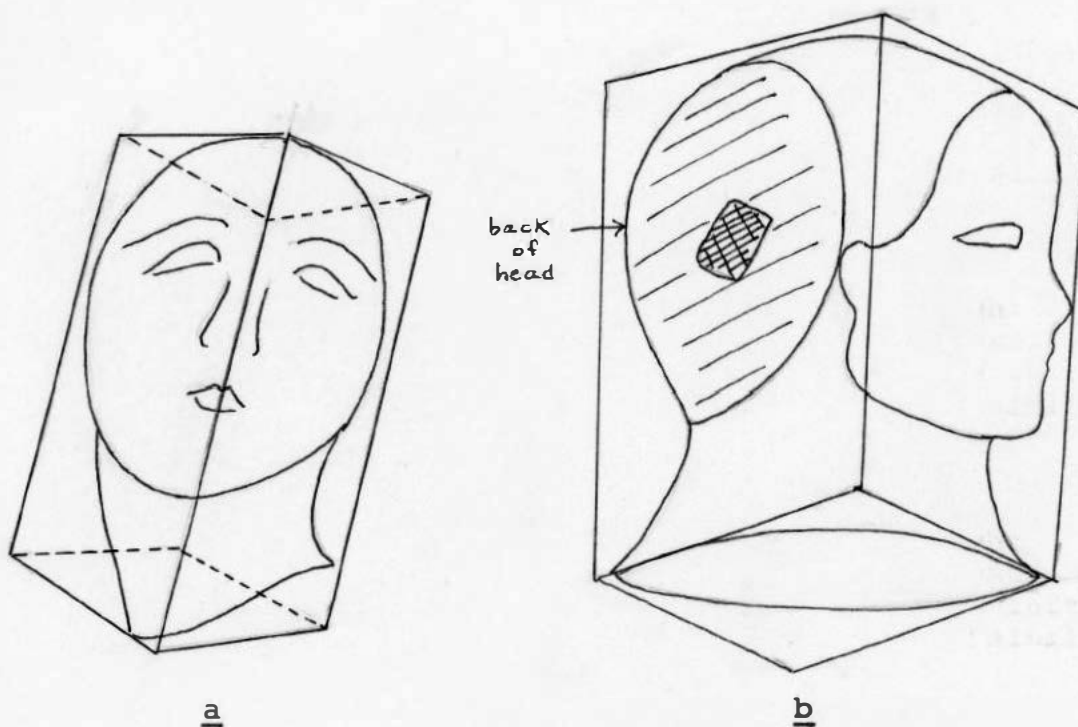


Same head cut from smaller block; three added pieces necessary, two of them visible from front view.



Same head cut from smaller block held diagonally; only two added pieces necessary, concealed at back of head.

A head which is not frontal, but is tilted on the neck, as catalog number 85, could have been similarly accommodated in a diagonally set block which was tilted in the desired direction (drawing a). If catalog number 85 was indeed cut in this fashion, the two joining surfaces at the back of the head would have coincided with two of the original surfaces of the block (drawing b):



(the proper right side of the head is shown; the left side would be similar)

The above suggestion is offered tentatively, as an example of the kind of technical study that could be pursued to discover the practical considerations that may underlie the

technique, and, indirectly, the style of Hellenistic sculpture. Detailed measurements of sculptures would be required, if such studies are to be valid.³⁶⁵

Catalog number 33 is another example of piecing apparently for the sake of economy. The sweeping pose of the leaning figure extended it beyond the boundaries of the block of stone from which it was cut, and therefore the feet and part of the

³⁶⁵ Constructing a statue by carving various sections separately and then assembling them by means of tenons or adhesives, seems inconceivable without the use of a model. Literary references to the use of models by Greek sculptors are unfortunately confused. The problem cannot be considered in detail here; a good summary of the basic literature can be found in Richter, Sculpture and Sculptors, pp. 140-143; see also idem, Three Critical Periods in Greek Sculpture (Oxford: 1951) chapter 3, esp. pp. 42-43. It is often assumed that on the whole the Greek sculptor approached his block directly and carved free-hand, without reference to a model. It is difficult to believe that this was universally true of Hellenistic sculpture, since piecing must have required careful calculations regarding not only the relative sizes of the individual parts, but also the angles at which the limbs were attached to the body, and the relationships of the drapery folds in different parts of the figure. To approach many small blocks of stone individually, without a pre-arranged scheme, would probably have had chaotic results. Moreover, it is difficult to believe that the technique of mechanical copying by means of pointing from a full-scale model could have appeared in the first century B.C. without a preceding period of experimentation with the use of such models. A problem is the lack of close copies among preserved Hellenistic sculptures, similar to the Roman (Richter, "Another Copy of the Diadumenos by Polykleitos," AJA 39 (1935) 46-52); for, if models were available in Hellenistic workshops, why were they not used repeatedly for the same type? Instead, Hellenistic copies seem to be free-hand, although they are not always "adaptations," which implies modification for specific purposes.

garment hem were carved separately, possibly from the portion of stone removed from higher up on the block, next to the upper right side of the figure. Two sculptures, catalog number 60, the head of Helios, and number 47, an archaistic female figure, seem to have had portions added in stucco. The stuccoed parts would have been painted over. This technique has been, perhaps erroneously, associated with Alexandrian sculpture.³⁶⁶

Although none of the bronze dedicatory statues originally erected on the bases preserved in Rhodes is now extant, it is possible that they too were worked in a number of pieces. This practice has been observed in other Hellenistic bronze statues.³⁶⁷ The practice of piecing will be discussed further

³⁶⁶The use of added stucco, particularly for the hair, can be seen in a number of sculptures described and illustrated in Adriani, Repertorio, ser. A, vols. I-II. It has been particularly associated with the Hellenistic sculpture of Egypt. However, V.M. Strocka, "Aphroditekopf in Bregenzia," JdI 82 (1967) 110-156, esp. pp. 118-136, has collected all examples known to him of heads with hair and/or headdresses added in stucco, and finds no evidence that the technique was confined to Alexandria (pp. 131-132). On the stucco technique, see also E. Paribeni, "Volti, teste calve e parrucche," AttiMGrecia n.s. vol. 2 (1958) 63-66; C. Blümel, "Stuckfrisuren an Köpfen griechischer Skulpturen des sechsten und fünften Jahrhunderts vor. Chr.," RA (1968) pt. 1, 11-24.

³⁶⁷B.S. Ridgway, "The Lady from the Sea: A Greek Bronze in Turkey," AJA 71 (1967) 329-334. A bronze sleeping Eros, reportedly of Rhodian provenance, was also cast in pieces, Richter, op. cit. (see chapter II, part 4, no. 25), esp. pp. 365, 370.

below, in its relationship to the evidence of the literary sources, and as a possible manifestation of mass production of sculpture in Hellenistic Rhodes.

Surface Finish - In most of the sculptures from Rhodes, only the front surfaces and perhaps a portion of the sides were brought to a complete finish. The backs of figures were usually finished only with the punch. When the material used was the imported white marble of fine quality (see discussion of materials above), the completed surfaces often have the glowing, but not highly polished, finish which is usually seen in Greek sculpture of good quality. Tool marks, other than the punch marks in the back, are seldom clearly visible. In three figures, the surface has a noticeably high polish: catalog numbers 1 (the largest replica of the seated Aphrodite type), 14 (the crouching Aphrodite), and 13 (the Aphrodite Pudica). The most pronounced polish is that of the crouching Aphrodite, and it is one of the indications that this figure is probably of Roman date. The gloss of the Pudica is probably attributable, at least in part, to the action of the sea in which it was found.³⁶⁸ In the seated Aphrodite, the high polish is confined to the nude portions of the figure, and seems to have been intended to emphasize the contrast

³⁶⁸ However, sea water is also known to dull or pit the surface of marble statues; see, for example, Fuchs, Schiffsfund (see note 284), pls. 53-65.

between flesh and drapery. Figures carved from the greyish marble thought to be of local origin appear dull to the eye, even when the surface is carefully finished, as in catalog number 37. The sfumato technique, in which the linear definition of the facial features is blurred, will be discussed below, under Stylistic Characteristics.

Undercutting - Undercutting of the stone, ranging from the outlining of small details to drastic cutting even at physically vulnerable parts of statues, is one of the most prevalent technical features of the Rhodian sculptures. To some extent, the fearless use of undercutting can be attributed to the general technical competence attained by sculptors by the Hellenistic period. It is also possible to point to the influence of bronze statuary, particularly in Rhodes, where we know that large numbers of bronze statues existed.³⁶⁹ Even if the marble carvers were not producers of bronze figures as well, they were nevertheless continually able to observe the effects which a worker in bronze could achieve. For example, the upper part of a bronze veiled female figure recently found off the southwestern coast of Turkey³⁷⁰

³⁶⁹R. Carpenter, "Observations on Familiar Statuary in Rome," MAAR 18 (1941) 70-73, suggests that the undercutting of the Antium girl's hem indicates that she must originally have been conceived in bronze.

³⁷⁰Ridgway, op. cit. (see note 367), esp. pp. 332-334.

shows the deeply shadowed modulation which the sculptor was able to create by constructing his figure of relatively small, separately cast pieces. The marble worker used the piecing technique extensively (see above), but the nature of his material did not encourage the addition of thin, flat pieces, such as drapery folds, under which pockets of shadow could naturally form. Note, for example, the ~~dark~~ shadows framing the face and left shoulder of the bronze female figure in Turkey, and especially the vertical line of shadow framing the right breast, which resulted from the piecing of the flanking vertical drapery fold. The Rhodian sculptures frequently show the framing of the torso with lines of shadow, but the effect is achieved by undercutting rather than piecing. Deep shadows beneath the hems of garments, which occur incidentally in a bronze statue through the insertion of separately cast legs below the flat, sheet-like forms of the garment hem, can be achieved in a marble statue only by deeply undercutting the hem, whether or not the legs are pieced. The fact that the weight of the stone statue was thereby supported only by the slender ankles seems not to have deterred the Rhodian sculptors from this practice. To some extent, the marble sculptors may also have been influenced by a desire for naturalism, to depict the cloth as it really appeared on the human body. However, naturalistic effects could probably have been achieved with much less drastic undercutting.

Catalog number 43, a seated female figure, is heavily cut away behind the swag of drapery which crosses the chest, seemingly much more than necessary. If the same figure had been worked in bronze, using the piecing techniques noted in the female figure from Turkey, that very swag would probably have been an excellent candidate for separate casting and attachment. Catalog number 9, a rather undistinguished replica of the standing Aphrodite type with her hand on her hip, and carved from the relatively poor local stone, shows a remarkable undercutting of the projecting left hand, the stone being very deeply cut away between and around the individual fingers. Such sheer virtuosity is understandable in a work of the stature of the Pergamon Altar, in which Alkyoneus' waving strands of hair are similarly separated, but it is much more difficult to accept a passage of virtuosity for its own sake in a sculpture of otherwise indifferent workmanship. It may rather be that the type was either originally conceived in bronze, or was at least influenced by work in bronze.

The practice of undercutting the stone behind the upper eyelid, presumably for dramatic effect, should also be mentioned (see catalog number 103).

TYPES

A wide variety of types is preserved among the limited number of sculptures with assured Rhodian provenance. It may be instructive to point out first the negative characteristics of the sculptural types. They are seldom heroic. No narrative sculpture of the kind usually associated with Pergamon is recognizable. There is no identifiable architectural sculpture. Nor are there identifiable remains of group compositions, unless the horse's head, catalog number 116, is the only preserved part of a chariot group. In many cases, the types are peculiar to Rhodes, general parallels from other areas being available for single elements of the iconography or style of a type, rather than for the type as a whole. The types are clustered around religious and genre themes. A relatively large number of deities are recognizable with some certainty. Some of these figures may have been used as cult statues in small shrines about the island, as has been suggested in the literature for the Artemis type, catalog numbers 17-19.³⁷¹ The standing Aphrodite type, catalog numbers 509, may possibly have served as the cult figure of a religious society (see pp. 81-82). But if some of the types may have been

³⁷¹ However, by the Hellenistic period, some deity types, such as Artemis, may have served merely decorative purposes, as genre types were used.

ultimately derived from cult statues, most of the sculptures seem to have served, in practical terms, two basic functions, votive or honorary, and decorative. There are also a few examples of funerary sculpture, which could, of course, be expected anywhere in the Greek world.

Votive or honorary sculpture - The best examples of votive sculpture from Rhodes are the figures of Athena found in the sanctuary of Athena Lindia on the acropolis of Lindos (catalog numbers 21-27), whose votive purpose cannot be doubted.³⁷² Since they are all of different types, there is no possibility of seeing in any of them a reflection of the cult statue of Athena Lindia.³⁷³ This does not necessarily mean that a cult statue did not exist, however, since votive figures of Athena found on the Athenian acropolis are not always of the Parthenos type.³⁷⁴ The most elaborate, and apparently preferred, form

³⁷²There are also a number of small bases from Lindos which once held small marble statuettes, thought to have been representations of Athena, Lindos II, e.g. nos. 21, 24, 38, 323, 371; a few other bases are thought to have held life-size or colossal bronze figures of Athena, e.g. nos. 30, 33, 45, 57.

³⁷³The Temple of Athena Lindia is small, and could not have housed a cult figure of any great size. On the cult statue see C. Blinkenberg, "L'Image d'Athana Lindia," Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-Filologiske Meddelelser I (1917-1918) pt. 2, pp. 3-59.

³⁷⁴C. Praschniker, "Aus dem Depot des Akropolismuseums I, Athene-Gestalten," ÖJh 37 (1948) Beiblatt, pp. 5-30.

of dedication at Lindos known to us was the bronze statue, usually a portrait, but occasionally a figure of a deity. Perhaps the marble Athenas, which are for the most part small and of rather uninspired quality, should be understood as the dedications of those not in financial circumstances to erect a bronze statue by themselves, and who did not belong to any of the organizations which, according to the evidence of the bases, erected such statues collectively. The statuettes may be a reflection of larger and better marble or bronze dedications to Athena Lindia, of which fragments of only two in marble remain, catalog numbers 21 and 25. The statue bases indicate that types other than Athena also served as dedications at Lindos; among the sculptural remains of such types are catalog numbers 86 and 87, which are too idealized to have been portraits, yet do not seem to be representations of Athena.

Since the precise find spots of the unpublished sculptures from Rhodes are not known to me, it is not possible, at present, to determine if any of them were found in or near sanctuaries, although some, such as the figure of a child, catalog number 112, would have been appropriate subjects for dedications. Among the sculptures of known provenance other than Lindos, the only ones which were found in sanctuaries, and can therefore be considered dedications with some confidence, are the head connected with the Apollo Belvedere

(catalog number 50) from the sanctuary of Apollo Eretimios, and the small bronze head of Zeus (catalog number 72) from the sanctuary of Zeus Atabyrios.

The marble portraits, few of which can be identified with certainty as known historical figures (such as Augustus, catalog numbers 110 and 111),³⁷⁵ are probably best considered the heads of honorary statues of person of standing in Rhodes, who are unknown to history. Since the published examples were not found in sanctuaries, they probably did not serve, as did the bronze portraits in Lindos, a votive as well as an honorary function. To the portrait heads may be added the marble torsos, male and female, which are thought to have carried portrait heads.

Decorative sculpture - A decorative purpose can be assigned to a few pieces of sculpture from Rhodes. The four replicas of the seated Aphrodite type (catalog numbers 1-4) may well have decorated private homes, since their counterparts in Priene were found in dwellings. It has been suggested in the catalog that another Aphrodite type (numbers 5-9) graced the homes of members of a religious society devoted to her worship. The seated nymph, catalog number 32, whose surface is beauti-

³⁷⁵Bases for a few ruler portraits were found in Lindos: Lindos II, nos. 161 (Ptolemy IV and Arsinoë III), 385 (Drusus, Tiberius and Julia), 386 (Augustus) and 388 (Gaius and Lucius Caesar).

fully weathered to a rosy patina, was probably erected outdoors, perhaps at the side of a pool, in a garden or nymphaeum. The sleeping satyr (catalog number 64) is a fountain figure, and is also weathered; it too must have been an outdoor decoration. Pompeian gardens such as those of the House of the Vetii or the House of M. Lucretius were decorated with small sculptures, and may be used as an analogy. The seated satyr (catalog number 66) is weathered, and is also an appropriate type for garden display.

The female figures of genre type closely associated with terracottas (numbers 38 and 39) are probably examples of decorative sculpture of secular subject. The probable herm of athletic type (number 97) would have served well in the decoration of such a building as a gymnasium. Sculptural decoration has been suggested for the recently excavated nymphaea on Rhodes, although to my knowledge no sculptures have actually been found in association with them.³⁷⁶

STYLISTIC CHARACTERISTICS

As in the case of the types of the Rhodian sculptures, the outstanding characteristic of the sculptural style is its great diversity within a limited number of pieces. Many of the stylistic traits known in Hellenistic sculpture in general

³⁷⁶G. Konstantinopoulos, op. cit. (see note 28), pp. 118-119.

can be found here, at least to some degree.

Composition

Almost all the statues are single figures; the only suggestion of a group composition is the horse's head (number 116), which could originally have been part of a chariot group.

A large proportion of the figures are quietly standing types, carved with little or no torsion. The most interesting compositions appear among the seated female types, in the almost-spiralling Aphrodite (numbers 1-4), the nymph half-seated on a high rock (number 32), and the possible funerary figure (number 43), with her closed compositional form.

Several of the standing figures, particularly numbers 29 and 57, show a slouching posture when viewed in profile. That is, the abdomen is pushed forward, while the shoulders recede, giving the pose a languid quality. The positions taken by the arms are usually unknown, since these limbs are often lacking, but the remains indicate that they were frequently held well away from the body. In composition, the Rhodian figures do not seem to have been innovative in any respect.

Treatment of the figure

The female figures tend to show the elongated proportions of the torso usually associated with sculpture of the late Hellenistic period. Although these proportions are never exaggerated, the torso is often long, the shoulders and rib-cage narrow, and the abdomen and hips relatively wide.

The breasts are fairly small and placed high on the torso. These proportions are most clearly seen when the figure is nude, as in catalog numbers 1-4 and 10. The broad, stocky proportions characteristic of Pergamene female figures are seen only once in Rhodian sculpture, in the Athena, catalog number 21, which seems to be closely related iconographically to the Athena of the Pergamon altar. The handling of the nude portions of the female figures is characterized by a distinct lack of surface modulation; even as fine a work as the Aphrodite with her foot raised (number 10) shows a definite restraint in modelling.

The treatment of the nude portions of the male figures shows no single trend, but varies from the slender proportions, languid pose, and gentle transition in modelling from one plane to another (catalog number 58), characteristic of works associated with the Praxitelean tradition, to more athletic, "Lysippan" proportions and modelling of the nude (number 82), to a still more three-dimensional modelling of such figures as the seated deity (number 71). The last mentioned figure approaches Pergamene work in its exaggeration of anatomical details, as in the musculature of the external oblique.

Drapery

A great variety of garment types and methods of draping can be seen in Rhodian sculpture. The only persistent element

is the high girding of female garments, just below the level of the breasts. The handling of the cloth itself also varies greatly. Three female figures show a drapery style derived from late Classical Attic work: the nymph seated on a high rock (number 32), the possibly funerary seated figure (number 43), and the striding Nike (number 31). All are clearly Hellenistic in date, yet show a quite accurate rendition, without distortion, of the classical method of using curving ridges and pockets of shadow to mold cloth over the human form,³⁷⁷ and sweeping lines of drapery to indicate motion. These pieces are more closely related in style to the reliefs of the Nike Temple Parapet and to the free-standing figures of the Nereid Monument than to other Hellenistic sculptures.

A more characteristically Hellenistic drapery treatment seen in a number of Rhodian sculptures is the carving of a transparent layer of cloth over an opaque one. The technique does not have clear chronological implications, since its use is known, on the basis of external chronological evidence, both in the latter part of the third century and at least as

³⁷⁷That such thorough understanding and imitation of classical drapery forms could have existed in the Hellenistic period without being adapted for dramatic or emotive purposes, as in the Pergamon Altar, seems to have been denied by Carpenter, who dated the seated Cybele in Boston to the classical period, in spite of the clearly late Hellenistic proportions of her torso and the high girding of her chiton, Greek Sculpture, pp. 153-155. The Cybele may rather be, like the three Rhodian figures, an example of a Hellenistic tendency to simply copy, with great skill, elements of earlier sculpture which were particularly admired.

late as 137 B.C.³⁷⁸ The Rhodian sculptures on which this technique was employed show several actual methods used to achieve it. Catalog number 34, the best in quality of the figures with transparent drapery, shows irregular diagonal ridges, some of them curved, in almost unbroken sweeps across the front of the figure. Number 29, the Muse from Lindos, shows a much richer, more broken use of folds, in the form of groups of arrowheads sweeping downward over the abdomen, and upward over the thighs. A somewhat similar handling can be seen in the poorly preserved transparent mantle of catalog number 49. A more subtle, but far more mechanical effort is the result when the ridges become long tubular folds of uniform width, curving smoothly across the figure, as in catalog numbers 35-37. In two figures in which the hand is enveloped in transparent cloth, the transparency is shown by means of incised grooves rather than ridges, a procedure reminiscent of archaic rather than Hellenistic sculpture. Several of the female figures with transparent mantles (numbers 34-37 and 49), show an accompanying mannerism in the treatment of the heavy undergarment: the cloth covering the leg on which the weight of the figure is carried is shown as a long, U-shaped, fold, framing the legs at the sides, and ending across the ankle.³⁷⁹

³⁷⁸ See catalog number 34.

³⁷⁹ This pattern is seen also in Pergamene sculpture, Pergamon, Vol. VII, pl. 21.

A shallow, rather linear rendering of the drapery is characteristic of two female figures, probably portrait statues (numbers 35 and 36). The two appear to be products of the same workshop, and possibly of the same hand. They were carved in a fine white marble, but can be connected in the linearity of their style with a group of four figures carved from the greyish stone believed to be of local Rhodian origin. The group consists of two male figures (numbers 74 and 75), probably originally portrait statues, and two female figures, one a replica of the Aphrodite with her hand on her hip (number 9), and the other of uncertain purpose and unparalleled drapery arrangement (number 37). Number 74 has a light network of arrowhead folds over the chest similar to that over the abdomen of number 35. Catalog number 37 is connected to numbers 35 and 36 in the manner in which the transparency of the mantle is rendered (see above). It is possible, on the basis of a similar rendering of the drapery, that the six figures mentioned above were products of the same workshop.

A highly plastic drapery treatment appears in only a single figure, the Asklepios, catalog number 54. Another rendering which appears only once is the "crinkly" treatment of the chiton of the Artemis, number 17. A rather picturesque, "ragged" effect is given to the garments of the bearded Dionysos, number 57, by the piling of layer of cloth upon

layer, and the persistent irregularity of all the horizontal edges.³⁸⁰ There are two mannerisms repeated in figures which otherwise may be quite different: the cascade of zig-zag folds, and the insertion of a vertical arrowhead fold, pointing downward, within another larger one, to form a double V. The zig-zag cascade³⁸¹ is used most richly on the Artemis, catalog number 20, but can be seen on almost all the draped figures from Rhodes, the most notable exception being the nymph with raised foot, number 10, whose drapery treatment is not paralleled on any of the other sculptures from Rhodes. The double arrowhead fold is most obvious on the Muse from Lindos, number 29; a whole row of such folds has been carved on her chiton skirt just below the lower edge of the transparent mantle. The mannerism also occurs just beneath the center of the girdle of number 48, at the joint of the legs of number 33, and between the right leg and the central cascade of folds on numbers 5-7

The cutting of long, deep channels was frequently

³⁸⁰A somewhat similar effect can be seen on an archaistic Priapos in the Conservatori, Helbig⁴ Vol. II, p. 484, no. 1699, which has been connected with Rhodes by Laurenzi, EAA Vol. VI, p. 762 and fig. 885.

³⁸¹Carpenter mentions the zig-zag mannerism in the course of his study of the Hermes in Olympia, AJA 35 (1931) p. 252, "The drapery of the main frieze of the Pergamon altar is riddled with this mannerism. As far as I know, this is its first occurrence as a stereotyped formula."

employed, particularly separating the body from the folds of cloth that flanked it, to frame the entire figure or portions of it with shadow.

On the whole, the drapery styles of the Rhodian sculptures seem never to have been aimed at exaggerated effects or elaborate arrangements in which the cloth seems to have a life of its own, as in some of the free-standing female sculptures from Pergamon. In no case does the drapery ever dominate the composition, even when the folds are highly detailed. Nor does any impression of experimentation or innovation ever come through.

Heads

A number of heads from Rhodes are carved in the common Hellenistic technique by which the linear definitions of facial features and musculature were deliberately blurred. This technique, to which the terms "sfumato" and "morbidezza" have been applied,³⁸² has been connected with the Praxitelean

³⁸²This technique cannot be discussed fully here. It is often mentioned in the literature, but its purpose and the precise way in which it was used are still not fully clear. In particular we need to explore the relationship between blurred modelling and the customary use of colored paints and a waxed finish (ganosis) over them on the skin and facial features. Would not the linear definitions have been re-defined by the paint, offsetting the purpose of the blurring? Or had the technique of statue painting become so subtle in the Hellenistic period that the effect of the blurring could still be maintained? Did the sculptural blurring under the paint decrease the harshness of painted

tradition and also with so-called Alexandrian illusionism.³⁸³
 In Rhodes, the technique is not confined to heads of any one particular type. In the archaistic bearded Dionysos, catalog number 57, the softly modelled head is combined with a body in which there is no trace of blurring. Similarly, the head of Eros, number 59, which shows an extreme blurring of the facial features, has in contrast very strongly modelled and shadowed locks of hair. The locks are wavy and separated from one another, almost in the manner of the frieze of the Pergamon Altar. The blurring technique is used for the face of the crouching Aphrodite, who also has well defined, snaky

features and make the face seem more naturalistic and less doll-like? Was ganosis alone used (but see the summary of the evidence in Richter, Sculpture and Sculptors, pp. 152-158)? If blurring was intended to reflect light (Carpenter, Greek Sculpture, pp. 248-249), would not the colored finish have largely defeated this purpose also? The technique of polishing the sculptured surface to a shine, as in the torso of catalog number 1, also enters the question for, if paint was applied and then wax to protect the colors and provide highlights, why would the sculptor have bothered to perfect and polish the sculptured surface?

³⁸³The chronological place of the technique has not been definitely determined. It is known to have been used in the first century B.C., as is demonstrated by catalog number 108, which is Julio-Claudian on the basis of its hairstyle. But just how early the technique appeared is an as yet unanswered question. If the Hermes in Olympia is not a fourth-century original, the blurring of facial features need not be connected with the Praxitelean tradition.

locks of hair, but the blurring is here combined with a very high surface polish. It is also used, for example, in a portrait of a youth (number 108 and two heads of children (numbers 112 and 115). Two of the above pieces can be dated with probability to the late Hellenistic or early Roman period: the portrait should be Julio-Claudian on the basis of the hairstyle, and the Eros, also on the basis of the rendering of the hair, should be no earlier than the latter part of the second century. The archaistic bearded Dionysos is probably also late Hellenistic in date.

Several of the female heads of idealized type (e.g. numbers 12, 86 and 94) are classicizing in style, but are not closely related to one another. Number 12 probably belongs to a representation of the Aphrodite Anadyomene, and the other two may also have represented deities. The tormented "Skopasian" facial style, with the head twisted on the neck, lips parted, eyes cast upward, and brow furrowed, appears in two female heads, numbers 85 and 25, the latter representing Athena. Among the male types, it is used for the Helios (number 60) and for two portrait heads of probably unknown persons (numbers 103 and 104). The imposition of this heroic style upon ordinary portraits is known in other examples, such as the bronze portrait head from Delos.³⁸⁴

³⁸⁴Lullies and Hirmer, Greek Sculpture, pl. 258.

Although the sculptors of portraits were probably influenced by contemporary stylistic preferences (just as all the ladies in 18th-century English paintings bear a certain resemblance to one another), the use of this style, complete with the unnaturalistic undercutting behind the upper eyelids, may also be attributed to the fact that it adds a dimension of liveliness to a head, as can be seen by comparing either of the two above-mentioned portraits with the relatively lifeless catalog number 105. The two heads may well have been fashioned in the same workshop, but were in any case products of the same tradition of portraiture.

Archaism

A tendency to copy stylistic and iconographic motifs of archaic sculpture can be seen in some of the Rhodian works.³⁸⁵ As noted in the discussion of catalog number 46, the Rhodian manner of using archaic features is related to their use in Asia Minor. The Asiatic tendency to submerge archaic features in truly Hellenistic style can be more clearly seen by comparing our catalog number 46 with such a statue as the Artemis of Pompeii, in which not only the form of the dress, but also the mannerisms of rendering the folds are strongly

³⁸⁵To the figures in Rhodes should probably be added still another, in the British Museum, said to have been found near Cameiros, Smith, British Museum, Vol. III, p. 207, no. 2082.

reminiscent of archaic sculpture. The Rhodian use of sixth-century forms ranges from a thorough transformation of a figure, such as numbers 46 and 47, which the viewer understands to be archaizing at the first glance, to a seemingly casual use of a single archaic feature, which is not immediately obvious. The latter usage may take the form of simply stiffening the pose of the legs (number 55), or of a passage of drapery folds in which archaic motifs are imitated (number 49), or of the clenching of the hand at the side (number 75). Pre-Hellenistic motifs of varying periods may be combined in a single figure, as in number 55, where a stance reminiscent of that of the archaic kouros is combined with a horizontal V-shaped fold at the side of the left knee, which is reminiscent of classical sculpture. This almost incidental use of archaic forms reminds one of the so-called Artemisia from Halicarnassos, with her snail-shell curls framing her forehead, above her thoroughly Hellenistic drapery. It is certain that at least one of the Rhodian archaizing figures, number 47, is of local origin, since it is carved from the distinctive local red stone.³⁸⁶ The free manner of mixing archaic and Hellenistic traits suggests a

³⁸⁶The probably Rhodian figure in the British Museum (see note 385) is carved from a greyish-white stone which may be the local Lartos marble.

considerable familiarity with archaic sculpture. In this regard, B.S. Ridgway's recent suggestion that the Apollo Piombino is a late Hellenistic forgery by Rhodian sculptors is of considerable importance.³⁸⁷ For, if Rhodian sculptors were engaged in such work with any regularity, the forgery of archaic pieces would have involved detailed study of their forms. The familiarity engendered by such study could well have resulted in an almost casual introduction of archaic motifs into the usual sculptural repertoire. Certainly older sculptural forms appealed to the tastes of the late Hellenistic period, as is witnessed by neo-Attic work. Another possible influence, which may have affected the style of the female figures, is that of Graeco-Egyptian sculpture. Catalog number 41 in particular resembles the Egyptian figures in the slender, sinuous proportions of the body beneath the closely clinging garments, the prominently emphasized breasts, the very narrow hips, the linear folds looped over the legs, and the general symmetry of the whole composition.³⁸⁸

DEGREE OF ORIGINALITY AND NON-RHODIAN CONNECTIONS

The fact that relatively few of the sculptures from Rhodes find full, close parallels among Hellenistic sculptures of

³⁸⁷"The Bronze Apollo from Piombino in the Louvre," Antike Plastik Vol. VII, pp. 43-75.

³⁸⁸Compare, for example, catalog number 46 with such figures as Bieber, Sculpture, figs. 350-353.

different provenance suggests a strong strain of local sculptural originality. This fact, taken together with the frequent presence of non-Rhodian parallels for single stylistic or iconographic features, seems to suggest that the Rhodian sculptors, while working within and reflecting general Hellenistic sculptural trends, produced works aimed at satisfying mainly local needs and tastes. The precise form and the quality of their output seems to have been tempered by such local technical problems as the lack of a fine local marble. We seem to be dealing, not with reflections of the great sculptors and works mentioned in the literary sources, but with a substratum of sculpture produced for the votive and decorative wants of the ordinary person able to afford sculpture.

If general parallels to non-Rhodian sculpture are to be drawn, the sculptural group closest to the Rhodian is probably the Alexandrian. In both groups, there is a similar emphasis on small-scale marble sculpture and a similar tendency to piece together small parts of statues. These factors, however, need not be due to specific influence in either direction, but could rather have resulted from the lack of good sculptural marble in both places. The possible influence of Graeco-Egyptian style on Rhodian archaizing sculpture has been mentioned above. The presence of Egyptian residents on Rhodes is documented by the portrait, catalog

number 102. Replicas of two probably Alexandrian types have been found on Rhodes, the crouching Aphrodite (number 14) and the Aphrodite Anadyomene (numbers 11 and 12). Konstantinopoulos has called attention to the possibility that the Rhodian contribution to the so-called "rococco" style, usually associated with Alexandria, may have been underestimated by scholars.³⁸⁹

The participation of Rhodian sculptors in the carving of the great frieze of the Pergamon altar³⁹⁰ has frequently led to the association of Rhodes with the so-called "baroque" style. When the Rhodian sculpture is compared to the free-standing marble sculpture from Pergamon, there seems to be relatively little similarity. The Pergamene sculpture shows, on the whole, a much larger scale, a more heroic, monumental style, and frequently a greater technical competence. The reason for this may be the simple fact that the wealthy Pergamene monarchy could command a greater supply of good material and the best craftsmen. Rhodian wealth, on the other hand, probably deriving largely from commercial activities, must have been distributed among many individuals. The strongest stylistic and iconographic connections with Pergamene sculpture

³⁸⁹Op. cit. (see note 28), p. 118.

³⁹⁰See especially D. Thimme, "The Masters of the Pergamon Gigantomachy," AJA 50 (1946) 345-357; A. von Salis, Der Altar von Pergamon (Berlin: 1912) esp. pp. 11-17.

are to be found in the relatively few pieces of colossal size from Rhodes: the head of Helios (number 60), the head of Athena (number 25), and the torso of Athena (number 21), which so closely resembles the Athena of the Pergamon Altar frieze. Beyond this, the relationship consists of similarities in certain aspects of drapery style, as in the bag-like fold over the weight leg noted on figures with transparent mantles (see above), or in a generally dramatic emphasis on light and shadow, or in the handling of locks of hair (number 59). The tension in the body of the sleeping satyr (number 64) is reminiscent to some extent of the stylistic tension of the Altar frieze. Several heads (numbers 85, 103, 104) in the "Skopasian" tradition are related to Pergamene heads, but it is not clear to what extent this relationship is due to actual influence or more simply to the use of similar source material. It might be said that the "baroque" motifs are used with greater restraint in Rhodes than in Pergamon; this may be due to the fact that the "baroque" style can only find its full expression in large-scale works, of which we have so few from Rhodes. Or did the large quantity of portrait sculpture produced in Rhodes tend to enforce a measure of sculptural restraint?

It is interesting that the influence of classical Attic sculpture manifests itself differently in Pergamon and Rhodes. In Pergamon, the influence took the form of a deliberate,

antiquarian study of classical types, and a complete re-interpretation of Attic iconography and drapery techniques. In Rhodes, the Attic influence, which was accepted much more literally (as seen in the drapery of catalog numbers 31, 32 and 43), may have been almost continually available through the presence of Athenian sculptors and may have been thoroughly implanted in the Rhodian sculptural tradition.³⁹¹

However, some of the sculptors who worked on Rhodes must have seen Athenian work either in Athens itself, or transplanted abroad from Athens, as in the Nereid monument, or in the form of adaptations of classical works in Pergamon.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE PRESERVED RHODIAN SCULPTURE

The bulk of the marble statuary found in Rhodes is dated, almost entirely on stylistic grounds, to the late Hellenistic period. Two fragmentary funerary monuments appear to belong to the fourth century; for the third century there is the same gap in the Rhodian remains that exists for Hellenistic sculpture in general. Either our understanding of Hellenistic sculptural stylistic development is faulty³⁹² or late Hellen-

³⁹¹In addition to the two fragmentary funerary reliefs, numbers 45 and 96, which must be the work of Attic craftsmen, and also the stele of Kriton and Timarista (Lullies and Hirmer, Greek Sculpture, pl. 183, a substantial number of signatures of Athenian artists appear on the statue bases from Lindos; in fact, Athenians are the first recorded foreign sculptors there.

³⁹²Much material previously thought to date to the fourth

istic social or artistic developments on Rhodes created a demand for marble statuary which did not previously exist. For example, an increase in individual wealth coupled with an elaboration in the style of private dwellings might have created a demand for small decorative sculptures. Or perhaps the greatly renewed interest and development in marble sculpture in second-century Pergamon created secondary "waves" of interest in marble work elsewhere. The Rhodian marbles may be a part of this trend, the principal third-century interest in Rhodes having been in bronze-casting. Statistically, the amount of bronze dedicatory statuary erected, as evidenced by the preserved statue bases, does not show a decline in the third century.

century is now being called "eclectic" and placed in the late Hellenistic period; perhaps this trend does not make sufficient allowance for the possibility of sculptural continuity through the third century.

CHAPTER III

THE MATERIAL EVIDENCE

6. The Statue Bases

In this chapter, the preserved inscribed statue bases will be examined for the information they yield about the statues which they originally held. The sculptors who signed the bases will be treated later, in chapter IV. The Hellenistic statue bases found on the island of Rhodes total about 600, with the greatest concentrations from the city of Rhodes and the acropolis of Lindos. Those from Lindos are the most useful for the present purpose for three reasons. First, they have been published in detail,³⁹³ with measurements and

³⁹³C. Blinkenberg, Lindos, Fouilles de l'Acropole 1902-1914, II, Inscriptions (Berlin: 1941). Hereafter cited, Lindos II. Bases from Lindos and other sites on the island of Rhodes are also published in the following works, but with much less detail: Inscriptiones Graecae, Vol. XII, pt. 1, nos. 37-124, 677-759, 805-865, 883-955, 1462-1463; Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum, Vols. XII, nos. 359a-365, XIII, nos. 431-432, XIV, nos. 506-515, XV, nos. 496-505; A. Maiuri, Nuova silloge epigrafica, Rodi e Cos (Florence: 1925); idem, "Nuovi supplementi al 'Corpus' delle iscrizioni di Rodi," ASAtene 8-9 (1925-1926) 313-322; G. Jacopi, "Esplorazione archeologica di Camiro, II, epigraphica," Clara Rhodos VI-VII, pt. 1, pp. 367-439; Clara Rhodos II, pp. 104-111, 169-255; G. Pugliesi Caratelli, "Tituli Camirenses," ASAtene n.s. vols. 11-13 (1949-1951) 141-318; idem, "Tituli Camirenses, Supplementum," ASAtene n.s. vols. 14-16 (1952-1954) 211-246; idem, "Nuovo supplemento epigrafico rodio," ASAtene n.s. vols. 17-18 (1955-1956) 157-181; idem, "Epigrafi rodie inedite," La Parola del Passato 5 (1950) 76-80; G. Konstantinopoulos, "Ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐκ Ρόδου," Deltion 18 (1963) 1-36.

drawings illustrating the cuttings in the upper surface of each base to secure the statue. These cuttings are very important because they usually indicate the material of the statue, its approximate size and general type, as explained below. Second, the Lindian bases can often be dated on prosopographical grounds, by reference to the partially preserved list of priests from Lindos, rather than on the usually less accurate basis of letter forms. Third, the bases may give a reasonably accurate reflection of the amount of sculpture erected at Lindos at various times throughout the Hellenistic period, since the disturbances caused by post-antique building were not as great at Lindos as in the city of Rhodes. Any conclusions in this chapter will therefore, of present necessity, be drawn from the Lindos bases alone.

The numerical distribution of the bases from Lindos, divided for convenience into fifty-year periods from about 400 B.C. to the end of the series, about A.D. 20, is as follows:

ca. 400 - ca. 350	.....	20 bases
349 - 300	.....	25
299 - 250	.....	25
249 - 200	.....	47
199 - 150	.....	50
149 - 100	.....	41
99 - 50	.....	48
49 - 20	.....	56

The twofold increase in the number of preserved bases in the period 249-200 and thereafter may reflect an increased use of the sanctuary of Athena Lindia, which is also suggested

by the building of the stoa in the first half of the third century. Apart from this increase, the number of bases preserved from period to period is quite constant, and may indicate that we do indeed have a reasonably accurate reflection of the number of statues erected on the acropolis of Lindos.

The materials of which the statues were made are usually indicated by the nature of the cuttings in the upper surfaces of the bases: marble figures ended at the bottom in a plinth, and therefore the base for a marble statue has a single large, shallow cutting to receive the plinth; bronze statues, on the other hand, were attached at the feet only, and therefore "footprints" were cut into the bases to receive them; bronze statues with trailing garments were attached at several points along the hem into small cuttings in the bases. The bases from Lindos indicate that most of the statues erected there were of bronze. This information should be accurate, since there is no reason why a greater number of bases for bronze statues than for marble ones should be preserved; both types were equally subject to re-use or destruction in the lime kilns.

It is possible to estimate the size of a bronze statue through the size of the "footprints" cut into its base. A foot length of about 0.20-0.30m. should indicate that the statue was of approximately adult life size.³⁹⁴

³⁹⁴The method of attachment of the statue to the base would

The bases provide two means of identifying the types of the lost statues: the dedicatory inscription, and, again, the nature of the cuttings in the upper surface. The inscriptions generally follow the most common Greek dedicatory pattern.³⁹⁵ In the simplest known form of the inscription at Lindos, the dedication consists of the name of the dedicator of the statue in the nominative case, with priestly or secular titles, the name of the deity to whom the statue was dedicated in the dative case, and the name of the sculptor, if the base was signed. For the most part, the statues seem to have been portraits of the dedicators, a type of votive offer-

have some effect upon the size and nature of the cuttings. The feet of a statue placed flat on a base need not have been attached at their entire length, but at a few points only. In such cases, the bases should show small cuttings to receive nail-like projections on the soles of the feet. However, in the bases from Lindos, the feet seem to have been secured at their entire length, since such small cuttings are never seen. Instead, a shallow platform may have been appended to the sole of the foot, somewhat smaller than the foot but following its shape; the platforms may have been set into the "footprints" and secured with adhesives. The foot itself would then have concealed the joint because it overlapped the edges of the "footprint." If this method was indeed used, the size of the cutting would be slightly smaller than the foot of the statue. Another factor to be considered is the possibility that bronze statues may have had slightly oversized feet for stability. However, for the present purpose, the variation in size would not be significant, since only an approximation has been sought.

³⁹⁵ A.G. Woodhead, The Study of Greek Inscriptions (Cambridge: 1959) pp. 41-43.

ing well known in the Hellenistic period, rather than figures of deities or mythological persons. When the name in the nominative case is that of a man, the cuttings for two feet in the base indicate that the statue was most probably a male figure whose garment did not touch the ground;³⁹⁶ when the name in the nominative is a woman's, the cuttings indicate a trailing garment, regardless of the name of the recipient deity. Moreover, the statue was often dedicated to two or more deities, or to all the gods, and it seems unlikely that only one of them would have been represented. In a few cases, the inscription does indicate quite clearly that a figure other than a portrait statue was dedicated.³⁹⁷ In the case of marble figures, the large, shallow cutting for the plinth gives no clues to the type. Judging from the small dimensions of most of the bases for marble figures, they seem generally to have been statuettes. When the dedication is offered to Athena alone, it is possible that the base carried a marble statuette of that goddess, several of which were found at Lindos (e.g. catalog number 22).

³⁹⁶ A female statue wearing a short garment, such as Artemis, would have been similarly attached at the feet only, but the repeated association of masculine names with "footprints" suggests that such bases usually carried male portrait statues.

³⁹⁷ E.g. Lindos II, no. 177, which seems to have been a representation of Herakles.

The following summary of dedications at Lindos, divided into fifty-year periods for convenience, is based upon the evidence just described. From about 400—350 B.C., approximately half of the dedications are life-size, bronze male portraits. There are no cuttings in the bases for attributes, and the dedicators in this period seem from the inscriptions to have been private individuals, unconnected with any religious or public office. Presumably, the dedicators were mature men, since the act of dedicating an expensive statue without a specific reason (such as an athletic victory), suggests wealth and position more appropriate to mature age. It is to be expected that the style of dress of dedicatory portraits followed the prevailing fashions of the times. In this period there is one base (Lindos II, number 33), with cuttings for a striding figure, which could have been Athena in a fighting attitude. The few marble figures of this period include one dedicated to Hermes, which was probably a herm (number 20), and several to Athena, which may have been statuettes of the goddess (numbers 21, 24 and 38).

Approximately the same number of bases is preserved for the period 349-300 B.C., but the sculptural types are more varied. Several of the bronze portraits are only half life-size or less. There are no indications of marble figures, although this may be due to an accident of preservation, since marble dedications resume in the next period. As before,

there is a possible striding Athena (number 45). The first family monument appears, consisting of six figures arranged in a row, and including a child (number 56). Other kinds of groups also appear for the first time. One (number 61) is a standing male figure with an animal at his side, as four small cuttings, probably for an animal's feet, seem to indicate; since this group was dedicated by a priest, it may have been his portrait with a sacrificial animal. The rather complicated cuttings on another base (number 55) suggest the possible presence of an altar, a standing male figure and an animal; the base may therefore have held a sacrificial scene. However, the dedicators of this group were private individuals rather than priests. A priest of Zeus Polieus, Athena Lindia and Apollo Pythios dedicated three statues, two of which were of colossal size and may have represented two of the recipient deities (number 57); a cutting at the left side of one of the colossal figures could have held the edge of the shield of Athena. Although the standing male figures of this period were often dedicated by priests, it does not seem likely that the portraits were identified as priests by attributes or a particular form of dress, since the dedications were often made after the term of priesthood had expired. The priest-hoods specified are those of Zeus, Athena and Apollo mentioned above.

During the period from about 299-250 B.C., the general

trends of the earlier periods continued. The dedications are in the main life-size bronze male portrait statues; a few are somewhat under life size. There are three marble dedications in the group; one may have been a statuette of Athena, since it is dedicated to Athena Lindia (number 72), but the others are dedicated to the gods in general and their types are therefore unknown. The only group in this period consists of two standing male figures erected side by side (number 85). One statue was dedicated by a victorious charioteer (number 68); there are no indications in the cuttings that the figure wore a long robe. Priests continue to dedicate statues, and the cult of Artemis Kekoia may now be added to the priesthoods represented. The most interesting base of this period is in the form of a ship's prow (number 88). It was originally placed directly against the east wall of the stoa, with the inscription on the port side. The dedication celebrated a naval victory, dated about 265-260 B.C. on prosopographical grounds; a bronze figure of Nike is thought to have stood on the prow, by analogy with the Nike of Samothrace, which stands on a prow base of similar form. Cuttings for the attachment of the statue were noted on the topmost block of the base, but unfortunately are not described in detail in the publication. The dedication was addressed to Athena Lindia, by several hundred members of the naval crews involved in the battle.

A similar pattern of dedications continues into the period from about 249-200 B.C. The information derived from the bases unfortunately begins to decrease, for from this period onward, the topmost part of many bases, including the molding, was cut from a separate piece of marble. When this portion of the base is separated from the central part, which bears the inscription, our evidence is incomplete. In addition, the molding at the bottom of the base, on which the sculptor's signature was often carved, was also sometimes cut separately and attached to the central portion, leading to a further decrease in the amount of evidence available. The most common type in this period was, as before, the life-size, standing bronze male figure. Family monuments, including figures of children, increase in number (e.g. number 129). There is evidence of one bronze athletic type (number 123). As before, portraits of priests predominate; three new priesthoods are mentioned, of Poseidon Hippios, Helios and Dionysos. Only one base is known to have held a marble statuette, the type of which cannot be determined. In this period, a standing bronze female figure appears alone for the first time, rather than as part of a family group (number 132). One inscription suggests that its base held a life-size figure of Zeus (number 101).

Information regarding the types in use during the second and first centuries B.C., and the early first century A.D.,

continues to be fragmentary because of the cutting of bases in several pieces. The evidence indicates that the general pattern of dedications continued unchanged to the end of the series. The life-size, bronze, standing male portrait is the predominant type; a few bronze female figures are noted; marble statuettes, probably of Athena, appear occasionally; there are some unusual types: an eagle (number 221), Herakles (number 177), portraits of Ptolemy IV and Arsinoë III (number 161), Drusus, Tiberius and Julia (number 385), Augustus (number 386), Gaius and Lucius Caesar (number 388). There is a tendency toward dedications by large groups, such as religious societies or demes, but these were simply bronze portrait statues of an honored individual. For example, a portrait statue erected on a rock-cut base in the form of a ship (number 169) represented a person honored by the Lindians for his services, presumably naval, although the inscription does not specify.

Ideally, the evidence of statue bases from other parts of the island of Rhodes should also be collected and studied. If their dedicatory patterns should prove to be similar, we would understand fairly well the Rhodian sculptor's limits in regard to one of his most important sources of work.

CHAPTER III

THE MATERIAL EVIDENCE

7. Correlation of the Evidence of the Sculpture
and the Statue Bases

The statue bases from Lindos, most of which supported bronze figures, are a body of evidence of a completely different nature from that of the preserved marble sculpture. Their evidence does not contradict that of the sculpture, but provides information on another aspect of the Rhodian sculptor's craft, the production of bronze votive and honorary statues. The types are different from the marbles in that the dedications were almost always portrait statues, usually of men, either the dedicator himself, or an honored individual mentioned in the inscription. The occasional types other than portraits, now lost, but suggested by the forms of the cuttings on the bases and the inscriptions (figures of Athena, Zeus, Nike, Herakles, Apollo and a herm), do not show any significant deviation from the known repertoire of the marble sculpture. The proportion of female figures is much larger among the marbles than the bronzes, probably because of the honorary purpose of the bronzes, which would naturally honor more men than women. Compositionally, the bases show the same emphasis on single standing figures as do the extant marbles. The dedications of groups of figures seem to have consisted simply

of several of the usual portrait statues placed side by side or in a semi-circle. For the purposes of this study, the most important piece of information given by the bases is that, from the beginning of the fourth century B.C. right through to the first century A.D., bronzes were produced continuously in Rhodian workshops. If the chronology of the marbles is correct, the bronze production was not accompanied by a substantial marble production until the second and first centuries B.C. The information to be derived from the sculptor's signatures will be discussed in chapter IV.

CHAPTER III

THE MATERIAL EVIDENCE

8. Correlation of the Material Evidence with the
Ancient Literary Sources

The evidence given in the literary sources will be repeated point by point (see chapter II), and the pertinent evidence of the material remains will be considered for each point.

1. The only period referred to in detail in the sources is the Hellenistic period. This is confirmed by the statue bases from Lindos, very few of which are earlier than the fourth century, and most of which do indeed belong to the Hellenistic period. It is also confirmed by the sculptural remains, the bulk of which can be dated on the basis of style to the late Hellenistic period.
2. Rhodes was the home of a large number of sculptures in the first century A.D. The number of published Hellenistic statue bases preserved from all sites in Rhodes reaches a total of about 600, which does suggest that there was a great deal of votive and honorary sculpture in the island, at least by the late Hellenistic period.
3. Rhodes was the home of several works famous in antiquity and employed several well-known, highly skilled artists. One base from Lindos bears the signature of Lysippos (Lindos II,

number 50). The sculpture it carried seems to have been a votive figure of normal size. One base (Lindos II, number 42) is signed by Aristonidas, perhaps the artist mentioned in Pliny, Hist.Nat., xxxiv, 140-141. While a generally high level of competence has been observed, few of the preserved sculptures show the hand of an artist of really extraordinary skill.

4. Colossal statues and complex groups are emphasized in the literary sources. The bases indicate a few works of colossal size (e.g. Lindos II, number 57) in bronze. There are a few preserved colossal works in marble (e.g. catalog number 60). On the whole, the bases show an emphasis on works of life size, and the preserved sculptures an emphasis on statuettes. There is no evidence of complex group composition in the bases, which for the most part show single standing figures, or simple groups of standing figures, or occasionally standing figures with an animal. Similarly, there is no evidence of group composition in the preserved sculpture. Neither complex groups nor colossal statues seem to have been part of the usual production. It is understandable, however, that spectacular works would have been emphasized by ancient writers.

5. Rhodian sculptors worked in both bronze and marble; they produced tours de force in both media - bronze statues of colossal size and marble groups cut from one piece of stone.

Rhodian sculptors did indeed work in both bronze and marble; the preserved sculptures are marble, and the bases belonged to bronze statues. There is evidence of a few bronze statues of colossal size, but there is no material evidence of any work even approaching in size the great colossus of Chares. As for cutting statues from one piece of stone, the evidence of the preserved sculpture points to the opposite procedure, the piecing together of many parts. The sculptors' reputations may have arisen from their skill in concealing, rather than eliminating, joints.

6. Rhodian sculptors carried out commissions outside Rhodes, and non-Rhodian sculptors worked on Rhodes. The bases are confirmatory evidence, for there are many signatures of non-Rhodian sculptors on the Lindian statue bases. This study does not take into account sculptors of Rhodian nationality who worked elsewhere, but bases have been found outside Rhodes bearing the names of Rhodian sculptors.³⁹⁸

³⁹⁸For example, the base of the Are from Thasos in Istanbul, signed by Philiskos of Rhodes - Mendel, Catalogue, Vol. I, pp. 345-346, no. 136.

CHAPTER IV
THE SCULPTORS

The evidence of the preserved Rhodian sculpture and statue bases seems to point to local production of sculpture in both bronze and marble. The lost portrait statues of Lindos, representing Rhodian residents, and making up the bulk of the bronzes known through the evidence of the statue bases, must have been local products because of their very nature. The presence of multiple replicas of several types in marble (as catalog numbers 1-9) also suggests local production. The figures cut from marble quarried from Mt. Lartos, or from the local red stone, were without question from Rhodian workshops; since they do not differ basically in either style or technique from many of the sculptures carved from the imported marble, it may be assumed that at least some of the latter were also manufactured on Rhodes, from imported raw material. Possible workshop groupings have already been suggested above, in chapter III, part 5. One piece of sculpture, catalog number 44, a small female bust, seems clearly to have been an import, since neither its material, iconography, nor style find Rhodian parallels. The Aphrodite Pudica, catalog number 13, found in the sea off the coast of Rhodes, could have been in the process of export, but the possibility cannot be entirely discounted that it was being imported to Rhodes, and was lost

before the ship reached harbor.

Since it is reasonably certain that sculptural activities were carried out on Rhodes, it seems in order to examine the evidence relating to the sculptors, for what can be learned of their national origins and the organization of their craft. The names of many sculptors are preserved on statue bases found in Rhodes.³⁹⁹ Although only one of the bases was signed by a "great" sculptor (Lysippos),⁴⁰⁰ and few of the sculptors are known from bases found outside Rhodes,⁴⁰¹ their signatures constitute an interesting body of economic and sociological evidence. Information may be derived from the presence or

³⁹⁹The publications of bases found on Rhodes are listed in note 393. Signatures of sculptors of all nationalities found on Rhodes, as well as those of sculptors of Rhodian nationality found outside Rhodes, are included in the following publications: E. Loewy, Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer (Leipzig: 1885); J. Marcadé, Recueil des signatures de sculpteurs grecs, 2 vols. (Paris: 1953, 1957); F. Hiller von Gaertringen, "Die Zeitbestimmung der rhodischen Künstlerinschriften," JdI 9 (1894) 23-43; idem, "Die in und um Rhodos tätigen Künstler," RE Suppl. V (Stuttgart: 1931) cols. 827-832. In addition, Lippold, Handbuch, passim, includes many Rhodian signatures in the appropriate chronological sections of his work. Morelli, op. cit. (see note 260), includes names of sculptors in his list of foreign residents in Rhodes. A fine contribution to the study of Rhodian sculptors from the point of view of the present chapter is S. Dow, "A Family of Sculptors from Tyre," Hesperia 10 (1941) 351-360.

⁴⁰⁰Lindos II, number 50.

⁴⁰¹E.g. Phyles of Halicarnassos, Marcadé, op. cit. (see note 399), Vol. II, pp. 89-100.

absence of signatures on bases, the ethnics and the chronological patterns in which they appear, the combination of signatures on individual bases, and the signatures of sculptors belonging to the same families.

In the following pages, a statistical summary will be given of the information derived from the signatures on the statue bases from the acropolis of Lindos,⁴⁰² beginning with ca. 400 B.C. For convenience, the material is divided into fifty-year periods. Unless otherwise indicated, the signed statues were of bronze. The base numbers cited are references to their publication in Lindos II.

ca. 400 - ca. 350 B.C.⁴⁰³

Total number of bases preserved = 20

Number not signed = 12

Number signed = 3

 ethnics recorded: Athens - 2 bases, 1 sculptor

 ethnics not given or unreadable - 1 base, 1 sculptor

Twelve of the bases without signatures are sufficiently well preserved to show that they definitely were never signed at all. Unless the signature was sometimes engraved on the statue itself, a practice which is not otherwise known until the late Hellenistic period, it appears that in the first

⁴⁰²The information is derived from the publication of the bases in Lindos II. The chronology there given is accepted.

⁴⁰³In the tables provided in this chapter, exact mathematical correlation should not be expected in the numbers, since the information given is subject to the degree of preservation of the bases.

half of the fourth century B.C. it was not usual for a sculptor who had created a statue for the Lindos sanctuary to sign it. The lack of an ethnic may sometimes indicate that the sculptor was a Rhodian.⁴⁰⁴

ca. 349 - ca. 300 B.C.

Total number of bases preserved = 25

Number not signed = 18

Number signed = 7

 ethnics recorded: Rhodes - 1 base, 1 sculptor

 Athens - 1 base, 1 sculptor

 [Sikyon] - 1 base, 1 sculptor

 ethnics not given or unreadable - 3 bases, 4 sculptors

All the bases belonging to this period are sufficiently well preserved to show whether or not they were signed. As in the preceding period, it appears to have been more usual for sculptors not to sign their work. The Sikyonian signature belongs to Lysippos; since the base is not fully preserved, it is not known whether or not his ethnic was appended to his name. One base (Lindos II, number 56) bore two signatures, but carried several statues.

⁴⁰⁴This is definitely true in one example: Lindos II, number 57, without ethnic, is signed by Mnasitimos, the son of Aristonidas, who styled himself a Rhodian on base number 42. However, Phyles of Halicarnassos signed sometimes with and sometimes without his ethnic. On signatures without ethnics, see Pinkwart, op. cit. (see catalog number 29), pp. 45-46.

ca. 299 - ca. 250 B.C.

Total number of bases preserved = 25

Number not signed = 8

Number signed = 11

ethnics recorded:	Rhodes - 2	bases,	2	sculptors
	Athens - 2	"	2	"
	Sidon - 1	"	1	"
	Nisyros- 1	"	1	"
	Chios - 1	"	1	"
	Ephesos- 1	"	1	"
	Sinope - 1	"	1	"
	Halicar-			
	nassos- 1	"	1	"
	Samo-			
	thrace- 1	"	1	"

ethnics not given or unreadable - 2 bases, 2 sculptors

In this period, the proportion of signed bases has increased, as has the variety of ethnics. The family of Aristonidas, first known in his base, Lindos II, number 42 (ca. 340 B.C.), and then in the base of his son Mnasitimos, number 56 (ca. 313 B.C.), continues to produce statues by the latter's son Timagoras (number 75, ca. 275 B.C.). Number 80 (ca. 266 B.C.) is signed by Mnasitimos and Teleson, without patronymics. Three bases bear double signatures: one of them carried more than one statue; the second, number 80, is signed by two members of the same family; on the third, number 84, one of the signers, Agathon of Ephesos, styles himself the caster.⁴⁰⁵ There is evidence of one signed marble figure, by an Athenian sculptor (number 60).

⁴⁰⁵ The formula for the signature of a caster is as follows:
[name of sculptor] εχάλκουργησε.

ca. 249 - ca. 200 B.C.

Total number of bases preserved = 47

Number not signed = 8

Number signed = 29

ethnics recorded:	Rhodes	- 6	bases,	2	sculptors
	Athens	- 4	"	3	"
	Halicar-				
	nassos-	9	"	1	"
	Samos	- 3	"	2	"
	Eleu-				
	therna-	3	"	1	"
	Kos	- 1	"	1	"
	Soloi	- 2	"	1	"
	Argos	- 1	"	1	"

ethnics not given or unreadable - 3 bases, 2 sculptors

A problem arises in this period and continues to the end of the series of bases, with the practice of assembling the bases from several separately cut parts. Since the signature was sometimes carved at the molding at the bottom of the base, some of the bases which appear to be unsigned may actually have been signed on the missing molding. In spite of this possible loss of evidence, the practice of signing seems to have continued to grow. Most of the work of the prolific Phyles of Halicarnassos falls in this period.⁴⁰⁶ Three of the bases bear double signatures. Two of these include the name of a caster (numbers 119 and 137). This form of signature does not occur again after this period. It is interesting that the three known examples of double signatures involving casters refer to completely different pairs of craftsmen, suggesting that such cooperative efforts were not unusual. The family

⁴⁰⁶ Marcadé, loc. cit. (see note 401).

of Aristonidas persists in the persons of Mnasitimos, the son of Teleson (numbers 99, 109, 119 and 133, ca. 244-215 B.C.), and Teleson, the son of Mnasitimos (number 138, ca. 210 B.C.). There is no further record of this family at Lindos after this period, unless the Teleson of base number 247, dated almost a century later, is a descendant.

ca. 199 - ca. 150 B.C.

Total number of bases preserved = 50

Number not signed = 21

Number signed = 21

ethnics recorded:	Rhodes	-	14	bases,	3	sculptors
	Ephesos-	1	"	1	"	
	Antioch-	2	"	1	"	
	Chios	-	1	"	1	"
	Herak-					
	leia	-	1	"	1	"
	Tyre	-	1	"	1	"

During this period, a greater proportion of the bases are signed by Rhodians than in previous periods. This phenomenon may indicate that the migration of sculptors of other nationalities to Rhodes had slackened somewhat by the second century B.C. From this period on, there are no records of Athenian sculptors in Lindos. The first evidence of a Tyrian family appears,⁴⁰⁷ in a base signed by Artemidoros, son of Menodotos (number 216). There appear to be other examples of families of sculptors as well. Demetrios, son of Diomedon of Rhodes (number 167), may be the father of Demetrios, son of

⁴⁰⁷Dow, op. cit. (see note 399).

Demetrios of Rhodes (number 205); Leon son of Menippos of Rhodes (numbers 157 and 164) may be the son of the caster Menippos of Kos (number 119); Pythokritos son of Timocharis of Rhodes (numbers 147, 148, 150, 155, 159, 169, 199, 203) may be the son of Timocharis of Eleutherna (numbers 123-125).⁴⁰⁸ The relatively large number of unsigned bases in this period may be attributed in part to the loss of moldings. From this period on, although the total number of bases preserved remains stable, the number of extant signatures unfortunately decreases sharply.

ca. 149 - ca. 100 B.C.

Total number of bases preserved = 41

Number not signed = 8

Number signed = 16

ethnics recorded:	Rhodes	-	5	bases,	4	sculptors
	Antioch	-	3	"	3	"
	Soloi	-	6	"	1	"
	Tyre	-	2	"	3	"
	Lycia	-	1	"	1	"

The proportion of bases signed by Rhodians continues to be large. Epicharmos of Soloi indicates in his signature that he was awarded ἐπιδαμία,⁴⁰⁹ and his son styles himself a Rhodian. Since the Tyrian family of sculptors, which continues from the preceding period, has apparently also become Rhodian

⁴⁰⁸The awarding of a form of Rhodian citizenship is epigraphically attested in the bases of Epicharmos of Soloi and his Rhodian son, see note 409.

⁴⁰⁹The formula for this type of signature is: *Ἐπιχαρμος Σολεὺς
ὡς ἐπιδαμία δέδοται* (number 32). On ἐπιδαμία, see Morelli, op. cit. (see note 260), pp. 128-132.

in citizenship (see number 285), it is fair to say that the Lindian sculpture of this period is dominated by Rhodian craftsmen.

ca. 99 - ca. 50 B.C.

Total number of bases preserved = 48

Number not signed = 5

Number signed = 16

ethnics recorded:	Rhodes	-	7	bases,	5	sculptors
	Lycia	-	1	"	1	"
	Antioch-		2	"	2	"
	Laodi-					
	ceia	-	2	"	1	"

ethnics not given or unreadable - 4 bases, 3 sculptors

The material relating to signatures is now very fragmentary. However, more bases are definitely known to have been signed than not. The Laodiceian sculptor listed above became a Rhodian citizen (number 327), and the dominance of Rhodian sculptors seems to have continued into this period. The Rhodian sons of the Tyrian Artemidoros, Menodotos and Charmolas, and the latter's son Menodotos, carry on the family sculptural traditions.

ca. 49 B.C. - end of series, ca. A.D. 20

Number of bases preserved = 56

Number not signed = 2

Number signed = 6

ethnics recorded:	Rhodes	-	1	base,	1	sculptor
	Myndos	-	2	"	1	"

ethnics not given or unreadable - 3 bases, 3 sculptors

In spite of the large number of bases preserved for this period, the evidence is much too fragmentary to be useful. One base is signed by Athanodoros the son of Agesandros, presumably

a member of the family connected with the Laocoon.⁴¹⁰

The pattern of ethnics known from the bases preserved at Lindos points to a predominance in Rhodes of foreign sculptors from Asia Minor, the Aegean islands, the Pontic regions and the Levant. The Athenians form the largest group of sculptors from mainland Greece, but left no evidence of their presence after ca. 220 B.C. (number 130). Lysippos of Sikyon signed a base ca. 325 B.C. (number 50), and a single Argive sculptor is recorded ca. 210 (number 137). The only other western sculptor is Timocharis of Eleutherna, who was active ca. 225 B.C. Many of the non-Rhodian sculptors signed more than one base, and several are known to have been granted a form of Rhodian citizenship, which perhaps suggests that some of them were part of the large colony of more or less permanent residents on Rhodes, rather than travelling sculptors seeking occasional employment. The factor is of some importance, since it may indicate that the non-Rhodian sculptors were an integrated part of the Rhodian sculptural "establishment" and tends to diminish their role as bearers of outside influences.

It is not clear why some of the statue bases from Lindos bear signatures and others do not. The underlying reason for a signature is presumably an artist's pride in his creation,

⁴¹⁰As recorded by Pliny, see chapter II above.

and his desire to have admiration of it reflected upon himself. The personality and reputation of the sculptor may have had a part in determining if a sculpture would be signed, as well as its quality or degree of elaboration. The Greek sculptor was usually thought of not as an artist but as a craftsman, who sometimes learned his trade from his father and passed it on to his son. He may often have considered the completion of a statue the natural result of his labor, rather than an artistic event to be commemorated by his signature. It is interesting that the practice of signing bases was at first rather unusual at Lindos, and that the first signatures preserved, dating from ca. 400 B.C., are those of an Athenian (numbers 29-30). Very little fifth-century sculpture is preserved on Rhodes, and it may have been left for an Athenian, aware of the triumphs of his craft at home, to introduce signing to Rhodes, which previously lacked a local sculptural tradition. Many of the sculptors known from their signatures at Lindos are not known outside Rhodes or through the literary sources. It is possible, nevertheless, that they enjoyed a measure of local fame, and their signatures may have conferred some status on the dedicator.

Thirteen bases from Lindos bear double or triple signatures.⁴¹¹ In two examples (numbers 93 and 203), the bases

⁴¹¹Numbers 56, 84, 93, 119, 137, 154, 203, 245, 246, 281a, 281b, 293c, 305.

carried more than one portrait statue, and it is therefore understandable that the commission was shared by two sculptors. However, when a base with more than one signature holds only a single statue, it is more difficult to understand how the work could have been shared. On three bases (numbers 84, 119, and 137), one of the pair signs specifically as a caster.⁴¹² This may indicate that the sculptor provided only a model, perhaps of clay or plaster, which was then entrusted to a second craftsman for casting. The Rhodian figures may have been cast in a number of pieces, a procedure which has been observed in other Hellenistic bronze figures,⁴¹³ and if this were the case, the division of the model into sections for casting, the actual casting process, and the assembling of the completed parts and the finishing, would all have been the task of an individual other than the sculptor, and a second signature should not be surprising.⁴¹⁴ It is not impossible that labor was often divided between sculptor and caster, but that casters, like sculptors, did not always sign.

⁴¹²See note 405.

⁴¹³See note 367.

⁴¹⁴A good, general descriptive article on a modern bronze casting foundry is J. Brody, "The Nicci Foundry," Craft Horizons 28 (May/June 1968) 50-53. Although the article is not scholarly in intent, it clearly describes the piece-casting process, the skill required to carry it out, and the monumental equipment necessary.

Eight bases, each holding a single figure, were signed by two sculptors, neither of whom signed as caster. It is possible that one of the craftsmen was the caster, but did not so specify. In five of these cases, the two sculptors are members of the same family. Since four of these five pairs are fathers and their sons, it is possible that some of the double signatures imply a master-apprentice relationship between the sculptors. Otherwise it is difficult to understand how two craftsmen could have shared the labor of a single bronze statue, unless one was responsible for the portrait head, and the other for the body.

Thus far only the manufacture of bronze statuary has been considered. For the stone sculpture, there is only a single signature (number 86), from which no information can be gathered, and it is necessary to turn to the sculpture itself for information on how the sculptors might have worked. The technique of piecing statuary may have some significance in this regard. In addition to serving the end of economy in the use of material (see above, chapter III, part 5), piecing may also have allowed more hands to work on a sculpture simultaneously, than if a single block were carved. Varying degrees of skill in marble working may have been more readily utilized, allowing experienced craftsmen to carve without interference the more difficult anatomical portions, such as the face, while assistants worked separately on other parts. Differences in

the quality of the carving within individual figures can be seen in the seated Zeus (catalog number 71), in which the subtle working of the musculature of the torso contrasts with the rather clumsy handling of the drapery, and in the standing child (catalog number 112), where the contrast is between the fine, separately carved head and the awkward drapery. Unfortunately, the various parts of pieced statues are seldom preserved together, and so their quality cannot be compared.

CHAPTER V

CAN A RHODIAN HELLENISTIC SCHOOL OF SCULPTURE BE DEFINED?

A consideration of whether or not a Rhodian sculptural school with identifiable characteristics existed, should first take into account the definition of an artistic school. The dictionary meaning of "school" as it is generally applied to the arts of post-antique periods is as follows:

"A group, as of painters, sculptors, or musicians, under a common local or personal influence producing a general similarity in their work. ... The artists or art of a country or region." 415

When this definition is applied to the Rhodian material remains, as analyzed in chapter III above, it must be concluded that a Rhodian school of sculptors, working under a common local influence and producing generally similar sculpture, did not exist. The dictionary meaning of "school" may be applied to Rhodian sculpture only in its broader connotation of regional sculpture.

It is possible, however, that the term "school" should not be applied to Hellenistic sculpture at all. Several factors speak against the presence of local sculptural schools in the Hellenistic period. First, much of the sculpture does not consist of works of art in the modern sense, to which the

⁴¹⁵ Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language, 2nd ed. (Springfield, Mass.: 1960) s.v.

term "school" is more readily applicable, but rather of artifacts, that is, votive objects or decorations for general use. Second, the continual travelling of sculptors, documented by literary and epigraphic evidence, left each region open to varied artistic influences. Third, votive sculpture, especially portrait statuary, which appears to have been a mainstay of the sculptor's career, may well have been marked by a universality of type and style, leaving little scope for specialized artistic development. Fourth, in the case of marble sculpture, we do not know how much, if any, preliminary work was done in the quarries from which stone was exported.⁴¹⁶ If finished, or partially completed figures were regularly exported to Rhodes and elsewhere, it seems unlikely that local schools could have developed.

With specific reference to Rhodes, a negative answer to the question of whether or not a local school existed is reinforced by the lack of a monumental work, comparable to the Pergamon Altar, which would have served to fuse the talents and techniques of sculptors of varied backgrounds to form a characteristic style. A tradition of architectural sculpture is, in fact, lacking in Rhodes. Also absent is a wealthy

⁴¹⁶The rock-cut votive relief of Adamas in Paros, consisting of a dedication to the nymphs and several registers of carved figures, suggests the presence in the quarries of a competent sculptor, *IG XII, 5, 245*. A considerable variety of Hellenistic types and styles are represented in this relief.

monarchy, such as that of Pergamon, to encourage the development of local style through the commissioning of large-scale works. It is interesting that the Rhodians responded to their one opportunity to erect a great commemorative monument, the repulsion of Demetrios' siege, by erecting neither a large building decorated with sculpture nor a complex group of figures, but a single, standing bronze figure, the colossal Helios of Chares.

On the other hand (and this would reinforce a positive answer to the question of a Rhodian school), the presence in Rhodes of sculptors of many nationalities may not actually have produced a diversity of influences hindering the formation of a regional style. It has been noted above, in chapter IV, that some of the non-Rhodian sculptors were, in fact, permanent residents. Moreover, one can question whether, in the case of portrait statues, the sculptors maintained distinctive styles. If we compare the Are from Thasos by Philiskos of Rhodes with the unsigned statues standing beside her,⁴¹⁷ we are struck, not by any distinctively Rhodian style in the Are which sets her off from her companions, but by the essential similarity of them all. Travelling sculptors in Rhodes may have produced what was asked of them, valuing their own inclinations less

⁴¹⁷T. Macridy, "Un Hiéron d'Artemis Πωλί à Thàsos. Fouilles du Musée Impérial Ottoman," JdI 27 (1912) 1-19, esp. pp. 11-18.

than the preferences of their clients. Moreover, it seems likely that permanent bronze casting establishments existed, to accommodate the large and complex equipment necessary for the casting process. If non-Rhodian sculptors were employed by such workshops, any distinctive stylistic, iconographic or technical preferences they brought with them may well have been overcome by the prevailing customs and taste.

The types, styles and technical characteristics of the sculpture of definite Rhodian provenance have been discussed in chapter III above. In summary, several types may be isolated and considered specifically Rhodian creations. In regard to style, however, the extant Rhodian sculpture includes examples of virtually the whole range of Hellenistic styles and eclectic tendencies. Rhodian sculptural technique is "local" in the sense that it seems to have been in part dependent upon the availability of materials. When all the evidence is taken into account, Rhodian Hellenistic sculpture may perhaps be best understood not as a school in the artistic sense, but as the production of craftsmen skilled in the techniques of their time, shaped by local needs, tastes and limitations.

APPENDIX

Sculpture Connected with Rhodes

This list includes a number of sculptures which have been associated with Rhodes either through literary or epigraphic evidence, or through stylistic or iconographic connections with works known or thought to be Rhodian.⁴¹⁸ Comment regarding the likelihood of these attributions cannot be undertaken here, nor has any attempt been made to make the list complete. Bibliographic references are given either to the basic or most recent publication of each piece, or to a work in which the attribution to Rhodes has been discussed.

I. Sculpture Connected with Rhodes through Literary Evidence:

1. Colossus of Rhodes, by Chares of Lindos. J. Overbeck, Die antike Schriftquellen zur geschichte der bildende Künste bei den Griechen (Leipzig: 1868), nos. 1539-1554. H. Maryon, "The Colossus of Rhodes," JHS 76 (1956) 68-86. D.E.L. Haynes, "Philo of Byzantium and the Colossus of Rhodes," JHS 77 (1957) 311-312.
2. Chariot of the Sun, by Lysippos. Pliny, Hist. Nat. xxxiv.63. F.P. Johnson, Lysippos (Durham, N.C.: 1927)

⁴¹⁸The many pieces from Kos which have been connected with Rhodes, particularly in Clara Rhodos, have not been included in this list.

pp. 73, 152-153.

3. Group of Muses, Apollo, Artemis and Leto, by Philiskos of Rhodes. Pliny, Hist. Nat. xxxvi.34. D. Pinkwart, Das Relief des Archelaos von Priene und die "Musen des Philiskos" (Kallmünz: 1965).
4. Laocoon, by Hagesandros, Polydoros and Athenodoros of Rhodes. Pliny, Hist. Nat. xxxvi.37. F. Magi, "Il Ripristino del Laocoonte," MemPontAcc 9 (1960) 5-59. P.H. von Blankenhagen, "Laocoon, Sperlonga, and Vergil," paper presented at the Seventy-first General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, December 29, 1969.
5. Farnese Bull group, by Apollonios and Tauriskos of Tralles. Pliny, Hist. Nat. xxxvi.33-34. Bieber, Sculpture, pp. 133-134.

II. Sculpture Connected with Rhodes through Epigraphic Evidence:

6. Are, signed by Philiskos of Rhodes, from Thasos. Mendel, Catalogue, Vol. I, p. 345, no. 136; Vol. III, pp. 557-561, no. 1352.
7. Sculpture representing shipwreck found in the grotto at Sperlonga, signed by Athanodoros, Hagesandros and Polydoros of Rhodes. G. Säflund, Fynden i Tiberius-grottan (Stockholm: 1966).
8. Rhodian Chariot of the Sun at Delphi. J.F. Crome,

"Die goldene Pferd von San Marco und der goldene Wagen der Rhodier," BCH 87 (1963) 209-228.

9. Nike of Samothrace. H. Thiersch, "Die Nike von Samothrake, ein rhodisches Werk und Anathem," GöttNachr (1931) pt. 2, 337-378. A. di Vita, "Statua di Nike da Coò," ASAtene n.s. vol. 25-26 (1963-1964) 25-38.
10. Apollo Piombino. B.S. Ridgway, "The Bronze Apollo from Piombino in the Louvre," Antike Plastik, Vol. VII, pp. 43-75.
11. Gigantomachy Relief of the Altar of Zeus at Pergamon. D. Thimme, "The Masters of the Pergamon Gigantomachy," AJA 50 (1946) 345-357.

III. Sculpture Connected with Rhodes on Stylistic, Iconographic or Other Grounds:⁴¹⁹

12. Polyphemos group found in the grotto at Sperlonga. Säflund, op. cit. (see no. 7 above).
13. Portrait of Poseidonios. See notes 344-345.

⁴¹⁹Bieber, Sculpture, chapter 9, brings into her discussion of Rhodian sculpture a number of works, such as the Helios metope of the Temple of Athena in Troy, which she believes reflect Rhodian style or iconography, although she does not definitely attribute them to Rhodes. Since the suggested connections are very tenuous, these works are not included in the present list. The attributions of G. Dickins, Hellenistic Sculpture (Oxford: 1920) which were made very early in the study of Hellenistic sculpture and are often without sufficient grounds, have also been omitted.

14. Group of Eros and Psyche from Baia. M. Napoli, "Gruppo di Eros e Psiche da Baia," RendNap n.s. vol. 24-25 (1949-1950) 81-94.
15. Votive relief in Munich. L. Laurenzi, "Rilievi e statue d'arte rodia," RömMitt 54 (1939) 42-65.
16. Hermaphrodite from Pergamon. Bieber, Sculpture, pp. 124-125, 133.
17. "Ariadne" type. Laurenzi, op. cit. (see no. 15).
18. Cleopatra from Delos. Bieber, Sculpture, p. 131.
19. Pan and Daphnis group, attributed to Heliodoros [of Rhodes?]. L. Laurenzi, "Problemi della scultura ellenistica, la scultura rodia," RivIstArch 8 (1940) 25-44.
20. Seated female figure. Helbig⁴ Vol. I, p. 68, no. 87.
21. Draped female figure. B. Neutsch, "Weibliche Gewandstatue im römischen Kunsthandel," RömMitt 63 (1956) 46-55.
22. Centaur group, Aristeas and Papias. Helbig⁴ Vol. II, pp. 203-204, no. 1398.
23. Aphrodite-Muse. A. Frova, "L'Afrodite-Musa di Milano," BdA ser. 4, vol. 39 (1954) 97-106.
24. Isis in Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Laurenzi, op. cit. (see note 15 above).
25. Nymph and satyr group in London. Laurenzi, op. cit. (see no. 19 above), pp. 38-40.

26. Pan removing thorn from Satyr's foot. Laurenzi, op. cit. (see no. 19 above), pp. 38-41.
27. Portrait of Homer. Laurenzi, op. cit. (see note 19 above), pp. 40, 42.
28. Male figure. E. de Miro, "Torsetto efebico marmoreo del quartiere ellenistico-romano di Agrigento," ArchCl 10 (1958) 94-96.
29. Female figure. M. Floriani Squarciapino, "Una Statua fittile ostiense," Arti Figurativi 3 (1947) 3-11.

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- _____, Lo Spedale dei Cavalieri e il Museo Archeologico di Rodi (Rome: 1932).
- Laurenzi, L., "Monumenti di scultura del Museo Archeologico di Rodi, III, e dell'Antiquarium di Coo (sculture di Coo)," Clara Rhodos, Vol. V, pt. 2 (Rhodes: 1932) pp. 59-189.
- _____, "Monumenti di scultura del Museo Archeologico di Rodi - IV e dell'Antiquarium di Coo - II," Clara Rhodos, Vol. IX (Rhodes: 1938) pp. 9-121.
- _____, "Piccole sculture inedite di Rodi," ArchCl 10 (1958) 172-179.
- _____, "Problemi della scultura ellenistica: la scultura rodia," RivIstArch 8 (1940) 25-44.
- _____, "Rilievi e statue d'arte rodia," RömMitt 54 (1939) 42-65.
- _____, "Sculture di scuola rodia dell'ellenismo tardo," Studi in onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni, Vol. III (Milan: 1956) pp. 183-189.
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VITA

I, Gloria Saltz Merker, was born in New York City on August 27, 1936, the daughter of Estelle and Irving Saltz. I was graduated from Forest Hills High School in New York City in 1952. I received the A.B. from Queens College, New York City (1957), and the M.A. from the University of Missouri (1963). I was resident at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens in 1963-1964 and 1966-1967, and at Bryn Mawr College in 1964-1966. Academic distinctions include Department of Archaeology Fellowships, University of Missouri (1961-1963); American Numismatic Society Summer Seminar Fellowship (1962); Department of Archaeology Fellowships, Bryn Mawr College (1964-1966); Fanny Bullock Workman Travelling Fellowship, Bryn Mawr College (1966-1967). Positions held include Museum Assistantship, University of Missouri (1961-1963); Assistant Editorship, Archaeology Magazine (1967-1968); International Editorship, Numismatic Literature (1968-date). I have published the following articles: "A New Homeric Illustration," Muse 1 (1967) 11-18; "The Rainbow Mosaic at Pergamon and Aristotelian Color Theory," AJA 71 (1967) 81-82. My preliminary examinations were taken in February 1966; the major subject was Classical Archaeology, with one seminar in Latin. Chief work has been done under Professors Brunilde S. Ridgway, Kyle M. Phillips and T.R.S. Broughton.

Several people have given invaluable aid in the preparation of this paper. To Professor Brunilde S. Ridgway I am indebted for patient guidance. To my husband, Irwin L. Merker, I owe all the photographs taken in the Rhodes Archaeological Museum, without which this study could not have been completed. Dr. Gregory Konstantinopoulos, Ephor of Antiquities of the Dodecanese, courteously allowed me to study closely unpublished sculptures in the Rhodes Museum, and to photograph them for the purpose of the present study. Dr. Marie-Louise Buhl, Director of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the Danish National Museum, Copenhagen, kindly gave me access to the small pieces of sculpture from the Lindos excavation, which are kept in storage. Mr. D.E. Strong of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum gave me permission to study the numerous statuettes of reported Rhodian provenance in the storerooms of that Museum. The European travel necessary for this study was made possible by the Fanny Bullock Workman Travelling Fellowship, awarded by Bryn Mawr College for the academic year 1966-1967. Any original contribution made in this dissertation is owed to this grant, without which direct observation of the sculptural evidence could not have been undertaken.



CATALOG NUMBER 1

FIGURE 1



CATALOG NUMBER 1

FIGURE 2



CATALOG NUMBER 1

FIGURE 3



CATALOG NUMBER 5

FIGURE 4



CATALOG NUMBER 5

FIGURE 5



CATALOG NUMBER 7

FIGURE 6



CATALOG NUMBER 10

FIGURE 7



CATALOG NUMBER 11

FIGURE 8



3075. ΜΟΥΣΕΙΟΝ ΡΩΔΟΥ - ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΑΣ ΑΡΧΟΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ
MUSEUM OF RHODES - STATUE OF MARINE VENUS

Photo "HANNIBAL"

CATALOG NUMBER 13

FIGURE 9



CATALOG NUMBER 14

FIGURE 10



CATALOG NUMBER 14

FIGURE 11



CATALOG NUMBER 17

FIGURE 12



CATALOG NUMBER 18

FIGURE 13



CATALOG NUMBER 20

FIGURE 14



CATALOG NUMBER 21

FIGURE 15



CATALOG NUMBER 23

FIGURE 16



CATALOG NUMBER 24

FIGURE 17



Fig. 90.

CATALOG NUMBER 25

FIGURE 18



CATALOG NUMBER 27

FIGURE 19



CATALOG NUMBER 29

FIGURE 20



CATALOG NUMBER 29

FIGURE 21



CATALOG NUMBER 32

FIGURE 22



CATALOG NUMBER 32

FIGURE 23



CATALOG NUMBER 35

FIGURE 24



FIG. 12.

CATALOG NUMBER 44

FIGURE 25



CATALOG NUMBER 45

FIGURE 26



CATALOG NUMBER 45

FIGURE 27



CATALOG NUMBER 46

FIGURE 28



CATALOG NUMBER 51

FIGURE 29



CATALOG NUMBER 54

FIGURE 30



CATALOG NUMBER 55

FIGURE 31



307B ΜΟΥΣΕΙΟΝ ΡΟΔΟΥ - ΑΓΑΛΜΑ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΥ
ΜΟΥΣΕΙΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΡΟΔΟΥ - ΣΤΑΤΥΗ ΤΗΣ ΒΑΧΧΟΥΣ

Photo "HANNIBAL"

CATALOG NUMBER 57

FIGURE 32



CATALOG NUMBER 58

FIGURE 33



CATALOG NUMBER 60

FIGURE 34



CATALOG NUMBER 60

FIGURE 35



CATALOG NUMBER 60

FIGURE 36



CATALOG NUMBER 61

FIGURE 37



CATALOG NUMBER 64

FIGURE 38



CATALOG NUMBER 65

FIGURE 39



CATALOG NUMBER 66

FIGURE 40



CATALOG NUMBER 66

FIGURE 41



FIG. 42 — TESTA DI SILEZIO

CATALOG NUMBER 68

FIGURE 42



3066. ΜΟΥΣΕΙΟΝ ΡΟΔΟΥ - ΚΕΦΑΛΗ ΣΙΛΗΝΟΥ
MUSEUM OF RHODES - HEAD OF SILENUS

Photo "HANNBAE"

CATALOG NUMBER 69

FIGURE 43



CATALOG NUMBER 70

FIGURE 44



CATALOG NUMBER 71

FIGURE 45



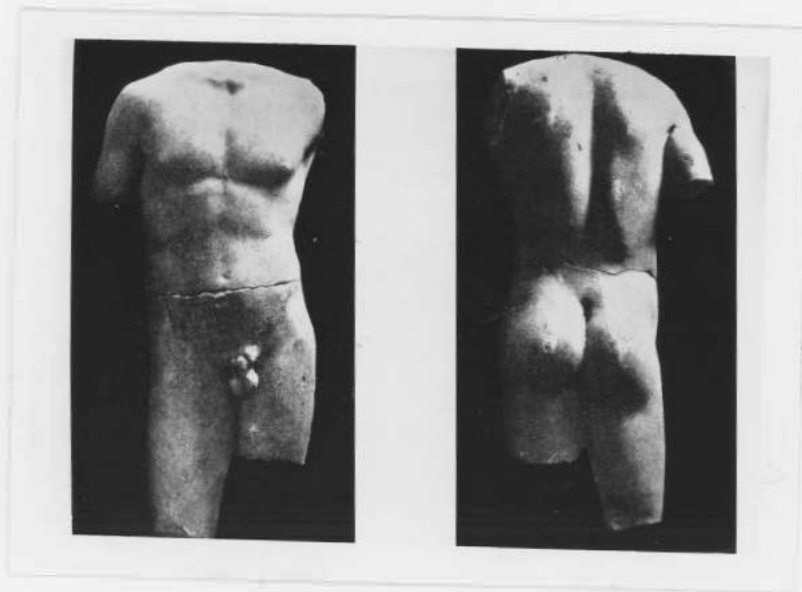
CATALOG NUMBER 75

FIGURE 46



CATALOG NUMBER 76

FIGURE 47



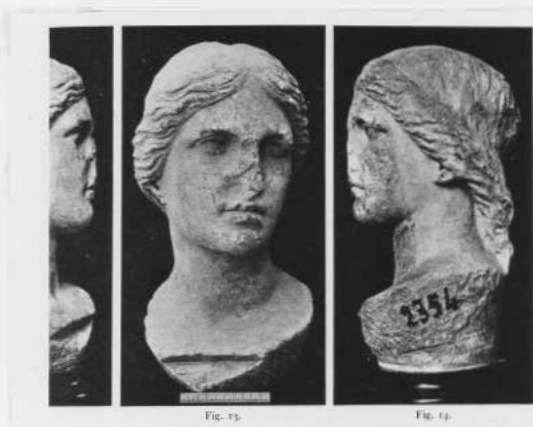
CATALOG NUMBER 82

FIGURE 48



CATALOG NUMBER 85

FIGURE 49



CATALOG NUMBER 86

FIGURE 50



CATALOG NUMBER 87

FIGURE 51



CATALOG NUMBER 94

FIGURE 52



CATALOG NUMBER 96

FIGURE 53



CATALOG NUMBER 97

FIGURE 54



CATALOG NUMBER 97

FIGURE 55



CATALOG NUMBER 102

FIGURE 56



3073. ΜΟΥΣΕΙΟΝ ΡΟΔΟΥ - ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ ΡΟΔΙΟΣ;
MUSEUM OF RHODES - APOLLONIUS THE RHODIAN?

Photo MANNING

CATALOG NUMBER 103

FIGURE 57



CATALOG NUMBER 104

FIGURE 58



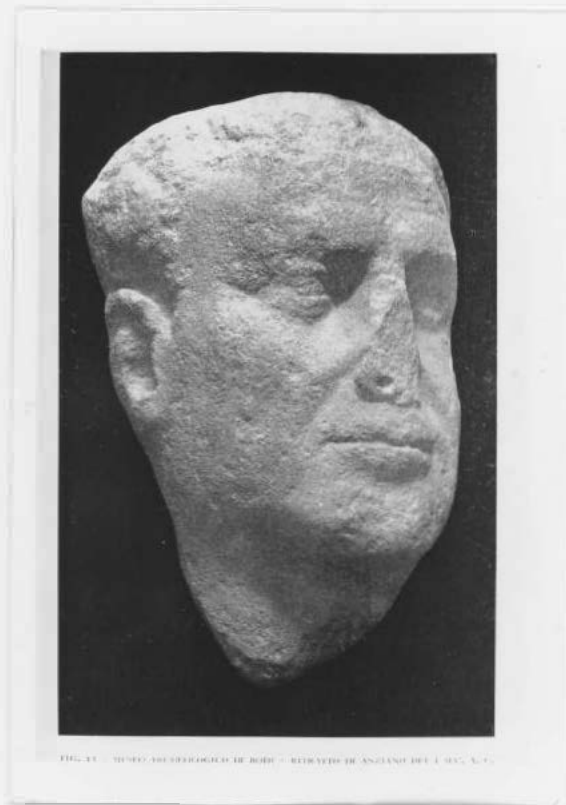
CATALOG NUMBER 105

FIGURE 59



CATALOG NUMBER 106

FIGURE 60



CATALOG NUMBER 107

FIGURE 61



CATALOG NUMBER 116

FIGURE 62