

WEST GREEK ACROLITHS

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Brian T Aitken
Worcester College
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This thesis deals with West Greek acroliths, of which twenty-five examples are here presented. Within this sequence three morphological types, each based on a differing treatment of the head, may be recognized. These same types, with the possible exception of the second variety, are similarly recognizable in acroliths from other parts of the Greek world. It is argued that the acrolithic convention is archaic in origin and that it derives from that of the chryselephantine, a demonstrably older form of sculpture which was introduced to Greece from the Near East. Contrary to the common claim that they represent an economic alternative to marble sculpture, it is here maintained that acroliths owed their popularity both in West Greece and elsewhere to their traditional function as cult statues which were designed to wear robes.

Table of Contents

Preface	i-ii
Chapter 1	1-11
Chapter 2	12-39
Chapter 3	40-59
Chapter 4	60-76
Chapter 5	77-84
Appendix 1	85-89
Appendix 2	90-99
Appendix 3	100-21
Notes	122-64

Abbreviated Titles

- Ashmole, Greek
Sculpture in Sicily
& South Italy
- B Ashmole, Late Archaic & Early
Classical Greek Sculpture in Sicily
& South Italy, PBA 20, 1934, 91-123.
- Benndorf,
Metopen
- O Benndorf, Die Metopen von Selinunt,
1873.
- Blümel, Archaisch
Skulpturen Berlin
- C Blümel, Die archaisch griechischen
Skulpturen der Staatlichen Museen
zu Berlin, 1963.
- Blümel, Klassisch
Skulpturen Berlin
- C Blümel, Die klassisch griechischen
Skulpturen der Staatlichen Museen
zu Berlin, 1966.
- Gercke & Norden,
Einleitung
- A Gercke & E Norden, Einleitung in
die Altertumswissenschaft, 1932 (4).
- Hafner,
Apollonkopf
- G Hafner, Ein Apollonkopf in Frankfurt,
Deutsche Beiträge zur Altertumswissen-
schaft 17, 1962.
- Helbig,
I-IV
- W Helbig, Führer durch die öffentlichen
Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in
Rom, 1963-72.
- Herdejürgen,
Thronende Göttin
- H Herdejürgen, Die thronende Göttin
aus Tarent in Berlin, 1968.
- Holloway, Influences
& Styles
- R R Holloway, Influences & Styles
in the Late Archaic & Early Classical
Greek Sculpture of Sicily and Magna
Graecia, Publications d'histoire et
d'archéologie de l'Université
Catholique de Louvain 6, 1975.
- Kaschnitz-Weinberg,
Sculpture magazzino
Vaticano
- G Kaschnitz-Weinberg, Sculpture del
magazzino del Museo Vaticano, 1937
- Langlotz,
Bildhauerschulen
- E Langlotz, Frühgriechische
Bildhauerschulen, 1927.
- Langlotz, in Studies
D M Robinson
- E Langlotz in Studies Presented to
D M Robinson I, 1951, 638-47.
- Langlotz & Hirmer,
Westgriechen
- E Langlotz & M Hirmer, Die Kunst
der Westgriechen, 1963.
- Langlotz,
Phokaia
- E Langlotz, Die kulturelle und
künstlerische Hellenisierung der
Küsten des Mittelmeers durch die Stadt
Phokaia, Arbeitsgemeinschaft für
Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-West-
falen 130, 1966.

Langlotz,
Studien

Lippold,
Handbuch

Lippold, Skulpturen
Vaticanischen Museums

Marcadé,
Delos

de Mertzenfeld,
Ivoires phéniciens

Orsi,
Templum

Paribeni,
Cirene

Picard, Manuel
Manuel

Poulsen,
Strenger Stil

Pryce, British
Museum Sculpture

Richter, MMA
Greek Sculptures

Ridgway,
Severe Style

Romano,
Cult Images

Schefold,
Meisterwerke

Smith, British Museum
Greek Sculpture

Wuilleumier,
Tarente

E Langlotz, Studien zur nordost-
griechischen Kunst, 1975.

G Lippold, Handbuch der Archäologie,
im Rahmen des Handbuchs der Alter-
tumswissenschaft III, 1, 1950.

G Lippold, Die Skulpturen des
Vaticanischen Museums III, 1-2,
1936-56.

J Marcadé, Au Musée de Delos, 1969.

C Decamps de Mertzenfeld, Inventaire
commenté des ivoires phéniciens et
apparentés découverts dans la proche-
orient, 1954.

P Orsi, Templum Apollinis Alaei,
1933.

E Paribeni, Catalogo delle sculture
di Cirene, 1959.

C Picard, Manuel d'archéologie grecque
I-IV, 1935-66.

V H Poulsen, Der strenge Stil,
ActaA 8, 1937, 1-148.

F N Pryce, Catalogue of Sculpture in
the Department of Greek & Roman
Antiquities of the British Museum,
I, 1-2, 1928-31.

G M A Richter, Catalogue of Greek
Sculptures in the Metropolitan Museum
of Art, 1954.

B S Ridgway, The Severe Style, 1970.

I B Romano, Early Greek Cult Images,
1980, (diss. University of Pennsylvania).

K Schefold, Meisterwerke griechischer
Kunst, 1960.

A H Smith, A Catalogue of Greek
Sculpture in the Department of Greek &
Roman Antiquities, British Museum,
I-III, 1892-1904.

P Willeumier, Tarente des origines
à la conquête romaine, 1939.

Preface

This thesis, which grew out of a broader study of West Greek sculpture, is the direct result of the opportunity I was given three years ago to study the pair of Sicilian acroliths which are at present in a private collection in New York <I:1>. Not only did these sculptures cause considerable excitement, but, by virtue of their having survived with the greater portion of their extremities, they allowed one to identify as acrolithic a quantity of stray heads both from West Greece and elsewhere which, with but few exceptions, had not been previously recognized as such. Additionally, while three of the pieces in this study, the Ludovisi <II:1> and Vatican <II:2> heads and the Ciro acrolith <II:3>, have long served as text book examples of acroliths, it is now possible to set the number of West Greek acroliths at twenty-five.

A further justification of this study is that acroliths have received but a scant and sporadic treatment in the handbooks and encyclopedias devoted to Greek art. The one apparent exception, a recent monograph by G Despinis, *Akrolitha* (1975), has a misleading title in that the two sculptures with which the book is directly concerned, a copy of the Athena Medici and a fragmentary cuirass statue, are not true acroliths, but rather composite marble images which display the curious technique of having been constructed in sections about a wooden core. Accordingly it has been considered a positive exercise to attempt a reasoned argument as to the origin, nature, and function of acroliths in the Greek world.

In the course of this project I have incurred debts of gratitude to

numerous individuals, both for permission to study pieces under their jurisdiction, and for photographs. Apart from the fragment from Pizzica Pantanello in the Metapontine <I:11>, and the ex Ars Antiqua <II:4> and Malibu <III:2> heads, I have been fortunate to examine directly each of the West Greek pieces in this thesis. My first and foremost thanks are to those private collectors who have allowed me to include various unpublished pieces in their possession. Much gratitude is likewise due to Elena Lattanzi, the late Giuseppe Foti, Silvana Luppina, and Roberto Spadea of the Soprintendenza Archeologica della Calabria, to Fausta Manera of the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Lazio, to Ettore de Juliis of the Soprintendenza Archeologica della Puglia, to Werner Johannowsky of the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Salerno, and to George Daltrop of the Musei Pontifici del Vaticano; to Alain Pasquier of the Musée du Louvre; to the Landgraf von Hessen; to Jette Christiansen of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek; to Cornelius C Vermeule and John and Ariel Herrmann of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, to Jiri Frel of the J Paul Getty Museum in Malibu, and to Joseph C Carter of the University of Texas at Austin. I must also thank the committee of the Arnold Archaeological Fellowship of Brown University for grants towards the cost of the first two years of my research, as well as in Oxford the committees of the Meyerstein and Craven funds and of the Amphlett fund of Worcester College for travel grants to Italy, Germany, and Denmark. Profound thanks are also due to John Boardman, who has supervised this thesis, to my parents, and to J Robert Guy, Carlos A Picon, and Ariel Herrmann for their constant encouragement.

Chapter 1

Acroliths are a curiosity of Greek sculpture (1). The term ἀκρόλ.θος means "having extremities of stone", and refers to statues of which the heads, hands, and feet have been carved of stone, and the remainder of an unspecified secondary material. The term, however, is scarce in the sources, and first occurs in the accounts of the Athenian administrators of Delos. These accounts, which are of the second century BC, give repeated reference to several acroliths on the island: two of Demeter and Kore within the Thesmophorion (2), two of Hera within the Heraion (3), three of unidentified type within the *Πόριος ναός* (4), and four, like-wise unidentified, within the *οἶκος πρὸς ᾧ ὁ Διόσκουρος* (5). Apart from the Delos accounts, there are but four occurrences of the term: an inscription of the second century BC from Argos mentions an acrolith of Dionysos with a golden robe (6); an anonymous epigram of the Palatine Anthology uses the word in the context of a metaphor (7); Vitruvius cites a colossal acrolith of Ares by Leochares or Timotheos within the god's temple at Halikarnassos (8); and Trebellius Pollio speaks of a gilded acrolith of Calpurnia, the wife of the pretender Titus, in the Temple of Venus at Rome (9).

Despite the late appearance of the term in the sources, it may be shown that acroliths had a long and distinguished history in Greek sculpture. Pausanias, for example, clearly saw a number of acroliths in the course of his rambles throughout Greece. Although he fails to label them accordingly, there can be little doubt that his descriptions of statues with stone extremities, the hands and feet of which are

frequently referred to as *ἄκραι χεῖρες* and *ἄκραι πόδες* or *ἀκρόποδες* are of acroliths. Of the twelve securely identifiable acroliths described by Pausanias, four are by known and important sculptors: these are the Athena Areia at Plataea by Pheidias (10), the Eileithyia at Aegium (11), and the Kore Soteira and Aphrodite Machanitis at Megalopolis (12), the last three being the creations of Damophon of Messene. The remaining eight of his acroliths are anonymous: the Athena Chalinitis at Corinth (13), the three Charites and the Tyche at Elis (14), the Aphrodite at Patras (15), and the Demeters Erinys and Lousia at Onkion in the territory of Thelpousa (16). Moreover, each of these acroliths served as the cult image, either singly or as part of a group, of its particular temple or sanctuary.

Pausanias' descriptions are brief and formulaic, but are nevertheless invaluable in that he furnishes direct evidence as to the appearance and technical format of an acrolith. Since each of his descriptions follows a standard pattern, it is possible to select one as a paradigm of the others. To take, for example, the Athena Areia at Plataea by Pheidias, Pausanias records it in the following manner:

τὸ μὲν δὴ ἄγαλμα ξύανόν ἐστιν ἐπίχρυσον,
πρόσωπον δὲ οἱ καὶ χεῖρες ἄκραι καὶ
πόδες λίθου τοῦ πεντελίου εἰσὶ (17).

Accordingly one is granted the clear vision of a statue composed of two distinct sections: a wooden torso, which Pausanias distinguishes in eight cases as the xoanon (18), in the remaining four as the wooden section (19), and the appended stone extremities. Furthermore, in the event that Pausanias specifies the stone of which the extremities, the feet, the hands and the head were carved, it is always marble: a white

variety (20), Pentelic (21), or Parian (22).

That the core of an acrolith was traditionally of wood, and not of some other medium such as plaster or stucco, finds additional support in the sources. For example, the Lindos Temple Chronicle lists the late sixth-century dedication by Deinomenes of Acragas of a Gorgon fashioned of cypress wood with a stone face (23). More apposite is the mention in the fourth-century inventory of the Heraion of Samos of a female acrolithic statue ἐπὶ βήματος ὀλίγου which designation seemingly refers to the torso and not to any plinth upon which the statue may have stood (24). And finally, the epigram of the Palatine Anthology provides an example of ἀκρόλ. ἰσ. qualified by ὀλίγου used adjectivally (25).

The hybrid technique of the acrolith is to all appearances thoroughly archaic, and indeed the convention may be shown to have been firmly rooted within the traditions of archaic Greece. The earliest extant acroliths are a pair of virtually intact examples from Sicily of ca. 530 <I:1>, while three additional acrolithic heads, one from Cyrene (26), and two from Paestum <I:2-3>, may be dated to the end of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth centuries. Furthermore, it is quite conceivable that certain of the anonymous acroliths mentioned in the sources were of the archaic period (27).

With respect to form, moreover, there is an undeniable similarity between the acrolithic and chryselephantine techniques, and the two must be viewed as essentially parallel phenomena (28). The difference lies in the materials used: ivory as opposed to marble for the extremities, and gilded wood for the torso, although it is evident from the sources that even some acroliths had gilded torsoes (29). Indeed, this proximity of form is readily clear from a direct comparison of the ivory

remains of chryselephantine statues, for example those of the mid sixth-century group from Delphi (30), with the corresponding elements of acroliths. Just how close the two techniques were may be demonstrated by their sharing of idiosyncratic formulae for the rendition of heads and feet. Acroliths of the first of three distinguishable classes share with chryselephantine sculpture a form of head which, in contrast to being fully worked in the round, is but a face, while common to both conventions is a variety of foot which is but a half-foot.

It is equally clear that the Greeks themselves regarded the two as parallel forms of statuary. Not only does Pausanias speak of chryselephantine works in terms identical to those of his descriptions of acroliths, referring to the extremities in three cases as *ἀκραὶ χεῖρες* and *ἀκραὶ πόδες* (31), but no less a sculptor than Pheidias is reported to have recommended marble instead of ivory for the construction of the Athena Parthenos, this on the twofold basis of economy and easier maintenance (32). Certainly Pheidias could have argued from experience for, apart from his famed chryselephantine statues at Athens and Olympia, he created at least one acrolith, the Athena Areia at Plataea (33).

While there is no evidence to suggest that the acrolithic was anything other than a Greek technique, that of the chryselephantine, or what is more appropriately labelled the acroelephantine (34), is known to have enjoyed a considerable vogue in the earlier civilisations of the Near East. Furthermore, it can be shown that the shared head type of the two conventions is an oriental form with a pedigree which can be traced as far back as the second millennium. Additionally, the half-foot type, although its pedigree is perhaps not quite as ancient,

may as well be traced to the Near East.

Accordingly one may argue that the acrolithic technique resulted from the Greeks' adaptation of the oriental chryselephantine or acroelephantine tradition, which itself was likely introduced or reintroduced to Greece in the orientalizing phase of the eighth and seventh centuries. Indeed, while the Delphi statues date only to the mid sixth century (35), three of the ivory heads to be discussed in the following chapter are imports of the late eighth and early seventh centuries (36). One may only speculate as to the date of this Greek adaptation, but very possibly it occurred in the mid seventh century, at a time roughly coincident with the adoption of stone for the purposes of monumental sculpture. As for the reasons for such an adaptation, these are readily intelligible in view of the absence and consequent expense of ivory in Greece in contrast to the local abundance of fine white marble, a suitably opulent and more durable surrogate. Moreover, it would have been uncharacteristic of the Greeks to adopt a foreign convention without adapting and transforming it to suit their own particular needs and vision.

If, however, it be accepted that acroliths stem from and parallel the chryselephantine tradition this does little to account for the sustained popularity of so bizarre a sculptural convention. To be sure, acroliths are represented in every phase of Greek art from the archaic to the hellenistic, and continue well into the Roman era. Traditionally acroliths have been explained as abbreviated forms of stone sculpture which owed their genesis either to the need or desire to economize in the use of marble. While this argument would appear to be supported by the incontrovertible fact that the greatest concentrations of extant

acroliths are from the marble-scarce areas of West Greece and Cyrenaica (37), it is just as apparent that acroliths were a widespread phenomenon in the Greek world. Indeed, acroliths are additionally known from Atrax (38), Plataea (39), Corinth (40), Argos (41), Patras (42), Bassae (43), Pheneos (44), Elis (45), Aegium (46), Megalopolis (47), and Onkion (48) on the mainland, from Aegina (?) (49), Thera (50), Delos (51), and Samos (52) among the islands, and from Priene (53) and Halikarnassos (54) in Asia Minor, not one of which sites, and least of all the islands, lacked direct access to marble. Moreover, acroliths like chryselephantine statues appear to have functioned primarily as cult images, and according to Pausanias and Vitruvius were frequently the creations of major sculptors (55). And while it is true that a wooden sculpture with marble extremities would cost considerably less than a complete marble figure, common sense precludes that any economizing of this sort would occur in the case of a cult statue. Even in West Greece the imported stone was not so costly and rare that it could not have been afforded for such luxurious purposes as architectural sculpture (56).

Furthermore, this traditional view of the acrolith as merely a shorthand version of stone sculpture is substantially countered by one piece which can only bear interpretation as an economic acrolith. This is a complete set of terracotta extremities in Copenhagen - a head, two hands, the left with its palm open, the right clasped to hold a lost attribute, and two sandalled feet - which are of south Italian origin, and to be dated within the fourth quarter of the fifth century (57). The extremities, all of which are extant, are hollow, and presumably were so designed to be mounted on some form of wooden armature.

If the essential form of an acrolith were considered worthy of

translation into the lesser combination of terracotta and wood, one may well argue that the type of statue enjoyed a specific role in antiquity. Indeed, there is considerable evidence in the sources to suggest that acroliths traditionally were robed statues. Pausanias, for example, notes that two of his acroliths, the Tyche at Elis (58) and the Athena Areia at Plataea (59), had gilded xoana, that the Kore Soteira at Megalopolis (60) had wooden drapery, but that the three Charites at Elis (61) and the Eileithyia at Aegium (62) were robed, the first with gilded draperies, the second from head to toes in a fine garment. The Delos accounts and the inscription from Argos supply further evidence: the Delian acroliths of Demeter and Kore had a rich wardrobe of purple garments, linens, a chiton, a peplos (?), a veil (ἐθόρη), two flax cloths (κάρπασοι), and other fine cloths (σινδόναι) (63), the two of Hera of the same island had linens (64), and the Argive Dionysos a cloak of gold (65). Furthermore, on the basis of the epigram in the Palatine Anthology, it may be suggested that acrolith and robe were a natural association in popular thought. The verse treats of Antiphilos, an ageing beauty, who attempts to dissuade an eager suitor by the admonition:

μὴ 'κδύσῃς, ἄνθρωπε, τὸ χλαῖνιον,
ἀλλὰ θένει οὕτως ἀκρολίδου κἀνέ
τρόπον θόανου (66).

Robing of statues was a common and widespread practice in Greece (67). The custom, which appears to have been intimately connected with the xoanon tradition, may be traced as far back as the geometric period, the first reference to the practice being Theano's dedication of a peplos to the seated image of Athena in Book VI of the Iliad (68). Moreover, some estimation of the importance of the custom may be had

from the consideration that robed statues account for the major portion of the famous and venerable cult images of Greece: the Apollo Amyklaios, the Artemis of Brauron, the Artemis of Ephesos, the Artemis Orthia, the Athena of Argos, the Athena Alea at Tegea, the Athena Lindia, the Athena Polias at Athens, and the Heras of Argos, Olympia, and Samos (69).

While the dressing of statues may have partially arisen from the desire to create a more naturalistic image, the convention more pointedly reflects the Greek view of the cult image as a vital and pregnant force. Thus cult statues of varied type, and notably those of high antiquity, were frequently treated as though alive, and honoured with a service appropriate to their divine status; statues were accordingly bathed, clothed and given a full toilet - a kosmesis or epikosmesis - fed, restored, and their temples and sanctuaries cleansed and purged (70). The scope of this elaborate ritual, which would occur on the annual feast of the god or goddess, was the assured potency of the image, and in this respect the robe played the central role. Indeed, it may be argued that the robe was credited with much power, and its dedication or rededication a direct means of renewing the force of the god.

Although extant acroliths not surprisingly show no trace of the wearing of robes, it is nevertheless apparent that a good number were the recipients of some form of kosmesis or ritual adornment. Many of the heads, for example, have drilled earlobes for the attachment of rings, while some bear holes on their crowns and necks for the fastening of diadems, chains, and necklaces. That acroliths were adorned with jewellery is also evidenced by the sources. The Delos accounts specify earrings and crowns of gilded wood for the acroliths of Demeter and Kore (71), and the inventory of the Samian Heraion describes its acrolith as

wearing gilded tettiges and earrings (72).

From the combined evidence of the sources and extant pieces it therefore appears that acroliths were a form of statue traditionally, although not perhaps exclusively, utilized for the purposes of kosmesis. Indeed, in view of the importance the Greeks attached to the robing of statues, it is the contention of this thesis that acroliths owed their popularity and longevity to this argued function, and little to any reasons of economy with respect to marble. One may well speculate whether the type was specifically tailored for such a role, or whether it adopted it from the parent chryselephantine or xoanon traditions. Certainly xoana were frequently robed, while there is at least some evidence for the robing of chryselephantine statues. The Delphi sculptures, for example, wore mantles of gold (73), and Lewis has argued that the ceremony of robing the Athena Polias was transferred to the chryselephantine Athena Parthenos upon its dedication in 438 (74). However, if the last question must remain open, it is nevertheless apparent that the acrolith with its persistent combination of a wooden torso with marble extremities was admirably suited to the role of a temple mannequin.

The Greeks of West Greece and Egypt did however practise a form of acrolithic technique, which may be referred to as the pseudoacrolithic, as a direct response to their marble-scarce environments. The technique involved a similar grafting of marble extremities, although to a torso fashioned usually of local limestone, and is best exemplified by the architectural sculpture of Temple E at Selinus, the limestone metopes of which bear insets of Parian marble for the heads, hands, and feet of the female figures (75). Other examples of this practice, which was not

confined to a particular genre of sculpture, are two funerary statues of women from Taranto, each composed of a limestone body with a marble head (76), and a stray marble head of Tarentine style from another female statue of similar type (77). The Alexandrians, on the other hand, responded to the limitations of their landscape by the creation of composite statues fashioned, it would appear, of wood and stucco, and frequently completed with a head or face of imported marble (78).

Extant acroliths are rare, a condition which is hardly surprising in view of the perishable nature of roughly seventy percent of the figure. Moreover, uncertainty in the past as to the formal characteristics of the stone sections of an acrolith has tended to obscure the identification of certain secure examples, and conversely to allow the inclusion of sculptures which by no means qualify as such. The confusion has essentially arisen from the fact that most acroliths have survived only as heads, and without the otherwise identifying features of feet and hands. Thus it has been at times difficult to distinguish between acrolithic heads and those designed to be pieced to a stone torso. However, the Greek lands of Sicily and South Italy have yielded a rich sequence of twenty-five acroliths, among which are three, the two New York acroliths <I:1>, and the Ciro acrolith <II:3>, which have survived with the greater portion of their extremities intact. On the basis of these fortuitous finds it becomes possible to classify other members, which exist only as heads or as fragments thereof, into three morphological categories. In each case the classification is based upon a differing treatment of the head: in type I the head is conceived as a face, and is trimmed of the back section of its head and neck, and frequently a portion of its crown: in type II the head is fully carved, and has a distinctive flat base of

circular or rectangular shape; in type III the head, although otherwise fully carved, is trimmed of its crown, and the resultant surface designed to secure an added headpiece. While some members of the last two types have long been recognized as acroliths, although the classification is my own, the first variety is new, its recognition made possible by the discovery of the two New York acroliths <I:1>.

If this study will focus upon West Greek acroliths, it may be seen that acroliths from other parts of the Greek world essentially conform to the three categories here established. Since a comprehensive account of Greek acroliths is beyond the scope of this enquiry, it is hoped that the present research will provide criteria for the recognition and study of other members of this class of sculpture.

Chapter 2

Class I

1 New York: Private Collection (79) (Plates 1-7)

from Sicily

A head: 34.5 cm

B head: 31.5 cm

left hand: 19 cm

left hand: 13 cm

right hand: 19.5 cm

right foot: 17 cm

left foot: 20 cm

right foot: 19.5 cm

Greek Island Marble

ca. 530

Damages to A: the base of the neck, the tips of the thumb and index finger of the left hand, the outer left wrist, the first digit of the index finger of the right hand, the tips of the first and third toes of the left foot, the tips of the third and fourth toes of the right foot.

Damages to B: the first digit of the index finger and the wrist of the left hand, the tip of the big toe of the right foot. Chips to the base of the neck. The right hand and left foot are not extant. Surfaces are fresh and sharp, despite a dense encrustation. Portions of the face and left foot of A appear to have been summarily cleaned. Traces of ochre paint are visible on the left foot of A.

This remarkable pair of acroliths was found together in Sicily. Although distinguished by a slight difference in scale, the two are, apart from minor variations, identical in format and style. In contrast

to the larger A which has survived with all extremities extant, the smaller B has lost its right hand and left foot.

The heads have been carved as faces which perch on long, flaring necks, each with a deep, convex base. Both have been trimmed at the back by a transverse cut which neatly bisects both head and neck, and at the crown by two oblique cuts which shelve from either side of the apex of the forehead to the rear edge, thereby forming the outline of the brows. Owing to the different shape of the foreheads, that of A having a greater peak, that of B being broader and higher at the sides, the trimmed surfaces of the crowns present a correspondingly varied profile. All the trimmed areas, those of the crown, the back, and the base have been roughly tooled, and are free of dowel holes. A difference may be noted in the treatment of the necks: that of A has a more exaggerated flare, that of B a smoothly tooled flange at either side. Both heads are free of ears, and have had their eyes hollowed out for insets. Moreover, the two are fully frontal, and appear to be female.

The three preserved hands are clasped, and, as the channels worked through the curled fingers show, once held attributes. In each case one hole above is countered by two below. The virtually intact hands of A have been carved to include a short section of the adjoining forearm. Here each has been trimmed by a roughly tooled, transverse cut, and the inner portion of arm and wrist fitted with a deep, rectangular dowel hole to receive a tenon from the arms of the torso. Additionally, the inner wrist of the left hand has a smooth hole which, in view of its penetration to the inner cutting, probably held a pin to secure the graft of marble to wood. The extant hand of B has lost its wrist, but the hole in the center of the break suggests a like format.

The three feet are flat, have extended toes, and roughly tooled soles. Each has been trimmed of its rear half by a roughly tooled, transverse cut through the arch. While the resultant surfaces are free of dowel holes, the sections of arch adjacent to each cut have been bevelled to form rough shoulders. On the feet of A these have a shallow, crescent shape, on the extant foot of B the shoulder is a simple, oblique edge. Furthermore, traces of ochre on the left foot of A suggest that the two had painted sandals.

The sculptures share an aggressive and exuberant style, and were doubtless carved by the same hand. As with much of archaic art in West Greece, the marbles show a marked East Greek influence. The eyes are undulate and tapering, and have large, squared tear ducts (80). The broad noses have wide, fleshy wings, and the elastic, bowed lips tuck deeply into the surrounding cheeks. Moreover, the cheeks show an exaggerated modelling of surface, from the swollen to the dimpled, which inflects the heads with a particular West Greek accent. The extremities have been more summarily carved. The fleshy, almost pudgy hands have stiff fingers with dry, linear nails of trapezoidal shape. The feet show a more spare treatment, and have similar nails.

A date may be argued on the basis of East Greek parallels, of which the closest are the ivory heads from the chryselephantine dedication at Delphi (81). Further parallels are the veiled kore head from Miletos in Berlin (82), and a fragmentary female head from the Artemisium at Ephesos in London (83). For a local piece one may compare the fragmentary terracotta head from Metauros in New York (84). While the Delphi group may be dated to the mid sixth century, and the Miletos and Ephesos sculptures within the following two decades, a date ca. 530 is

suitable for the present sculptures, allowing as it does for the frequent time lag evident in West Greek art.

On account of the female appearance of the heads, and the noted difference in size, one may suggest that the two sculptures were of Demeter and Kore. Accordingly the larger and more matronly A would be Demeter, and the smaller B Kore. Since the feet are flat and without inflection, the acroliths would have had a static pose. While a standing position is possible, the strong tradition in West Greece of seated goddesses, the majority of whom must be connected with Demeter and Kore, favours the restoration of throned figures. In keeping with this solution, the arms would most likely have rested on, or have been held slightly above, the knees. As for attributes, ears of wheat, pomegranates, and torches are all appropriate to the Eleusinian pair (85).

2 Paestum: Museo Archeologico (86) (Plates 8-9)

from Paestum

16.5 cm

Greek Island marble

ca. 500

Damages: a chip from the apex of the hairmass, a second from the edge of the reserved platform of the trimmed crown. The fresh surfaces have little encrustation.

This small head was found along with the two following examples within the third votive pit to the north of the Temple of Hera II at

Paestum. Since these heads do not form a conscious triad, they will be treated individually.

Like the New York acroliths <I:1>, the present piece has a long, flaring neck with a deep, convex base, and has been trimmed of its back by a flat, transverse cut. The crown has been trimmed to form an oblique platform of semicircular shape, which is slightly recessed from the front of the head. All the trimmed surfaces show a rough, although careful, tooling, and are free of dowel holes. The start of the hairmass is indicated by a smooth band above the brows, and the ears have been carved with a pair of large, globular rings. The head is female, and is fully frontal.

Elements of both the sensitive and the robust combine in this compact and forceful head. Of particular grace are the narrow, elongated eyes with slight, pointed tear ducts and thick, soft lids, the upper creased by an incised line. To these subtle features an effective counterpoint is provided by the dominant, fleshy physique: the generous nose with flared nostrils, the broad, outturned lips, and the stocky jaw. A dry, summary carving distinguishes the ears. Close parallels are the heads of Theseus and Antiope from the pedimental group of the Temple of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria of ca. 510 or later (87). The present head may be dated ca. 500.

This particular head has been variously interpreted as a marble inset to an otherwise limestone metope or relief (88), as a votive head of a type more frequently encountered in terracotta (89), or as a head to be completed in limestone, sandstone, or wood (90). Although the marble lacks its hands and feet, its role as an acrolith is vindicated by the evidence of the New York acroliths <I:1>.

Owing to its discovery within a votive pit in the vicinity of the Temple of Hera II, it is not impossible that the head is from an acrolithic image of the goddess.

3 Paestum: Museo Archeologico (91) (Plate 10)

4851

15.5 cm

Greek Island marble

ca. 490

Damages: the right half of the face and neck, the nose, and portions of the band of the hairmass. Surfaces are worn and heavily pitted, especially the area of the left cheek.

This small and highly fragmentary head is from the same context as the preceding and following pieces. Although at first glance the marble appears to be but a profile, it becomes clear that the entire right half of the face and neck has split away from the head. Not only does the section corresponding with the break have a rough, uneven surface, but the inner corner of the right eye is still evident. Unlike the previous piece, the present head has been trimmed of its back, its crown, and the base of its neck in such a manner that the resultant surface forms an unbroken curve. The neck is long and straight, and has a convex base with a slight collar. The trimmed surfaces have been roughly tooled, show numerous traces of the point, and are free of dowel holes. The start of the hairmass is again indicated by an offset band above the brows, but the ears have not been carved. The head is fully frontal,

and appears to be female.

Stylistically the head is comparable to the last piece, and shows a similar sensitive ebullience. A more spare and austere quality, however, informs this head which would be the work of a later and more restrained hand ca. 490.

Due to a misunderstanding of the head as a profile, the marble has been frequently categorized as an inset to a limestone metope or relief (92). The head has also been argued to be a marble votive (93).

On the basis of its context, this head may also be tentatively identified as a Hera.

4 Paestum: Museo Archeologico (94) (Plates 11-12)

from Paestum

13 cm

Greek Island marble

second quarter of the fifth century

Damages: the face has been totally mutilated, and chips are present on the base of the neck. Surfaces are worn and much encrusted.

This small, heavily damaged head is from the same context as the two previous pieces. The head has been trimmed of its back, its crown, and the base of its neck to form three flat, angled surfaces. The neck is short, has flanged sides, and finishes in a convex base. Each of the trimmed surfaces has been roughly tooled, and is free of dowel holes. Neither hairmass nor ears have been indicated, although a stubby projection of the right face may be the vestige of an ear. The head is

not frontal, but shows a considerable inclination to its left. In keeping with this asymmetry, the right section of the trimmed crown is of greater depth than that of the left. Owing to the damage, it is not possible to determine the sex of a head, although its association with the two preceding examples suggests that it too is female.

Since the face is devoid of all features, with the exception of a trace of the left eye, a stylistic analysis is excluded. It is likely, however, that the head is close in date to the two previous examples by virtue of the common context of the votive pit. The torsion of the head suggests that the marble is of a later date, but probably not beyond the mid fifth century.

The head has been adequately published only by Holloway, who interprets it, along with the other two, as a marble votive (95).

Like its two companions, this head may bear the tentative identification of Hera.

5 Boston; Museum of Fine Arts (96) (Plates 13-14)

00.307 (ex Warren)

from Taranto

14.5 cm

Parian marble

ca. 470

Damages: the forehead, nose, and entire back section of the head which, along with the neck, has split away from the face on an oblique line.

Surfaces are clean and sharp.

Although this female head has lost the telling features of the back of its head and neck (97), the trimming of its crown to form two oblique surfaces, which shelve to either side from the apex of the forehead, argues strongly that it is acrolithic. Indeed, a parallel treatment is to be found in the New York acroliths <I:1>, the third of the Paestum heads <I:4>, and the Paris head <I:9> of this group. The trimmed surfaces, which show a slight concavity, have been finely tooled, and are free of dowel holes. The head appears to have been fully frontal.

The head is a highly stylized creation, and has a sensitive, mask-like treatment of the face. The preserved features have been skillfully drawn: the two waves of zigzag tresses which crest each temple, the eyes with slight tear ducts and thick, non overlapping lids, and the full, segmented lips. A similar refined austerity is to be encountered in another marble from Taranto, the Berlin Goddess (98). A pair of more distant relations are the Ludovisi <II:1> and Adolphseck <I:6> heads, with the latter seconding the rendition of the hair and lips. The Boston head is an early classical work of ca. 470.

Owing to the trimming of its crown, this head has been traditionally restored with a helmet and accordingly identified as an Athena (99). There are no grounds, however, for the assumption that the head was capped with a helmet.

6 Adolphseck: Schloss Fasanerie (100) (Plates 15-16)

217

from Rome

43 cm

Greek Island marble

ca. 460

Damages: the nose, the left ear, the chin and left cheek, the tresses below the right ear, and the base of the neck. Along with the left ear and the underlying tresses a large wedge has broken away from the lower section of the back of the head. Chips from the right brow and the helix of the right ear. Despite numerous abrasions and a mild encrustation, the surfaces are in good condition.

This large female head has suffered considerable damage, and its technical features are as a result somewhat obscured. The base of the neck has broken away, and a break has shorn off a large wedge from the lower section of the back of the head, along with the left ear and the underlying locks of hair. Nevertheless, the essentially flat surface of the back, despite a certain roughness of handling, appears to be original, and allows the piece to be classified as an acrolith. That the head was carved as a face is apparent from a consideration of the clean, vertical edge behind the right ear. No traces of dowelling are evident at the back, and the crown has not been otherwise trimmed. The head is not strictly frontal, but is turned to its right. Moreover, despite the damage to the left rear section, it seems that the right side had a greater depth, and that the head was in this respect asymmetrical.

The marble breathes a heavy sensuality, an effect achieved by the skillful combination of a graceful and decorative hairstyle with the heavy, brooding quality of the face. A broad and smooth fillet binds the hair, and divides it into three masses: ten rows of centrally parted

zigzag tresses frame the forehead, a series of thick and roughly carved locks lie above the fillet, and similar, more plastically modelled strands fall behind and below each ear. The face is broad, almost stocky, and the cheeks hang with a marked bulge. The eyes are large and tapered with puffy, non overlapping lids, the extant right ear is small and spare, the nose is broad, and the lips have an abstract, architectural quality, with a thin, elastically carved upper topping a full and pouting lower. A curious feature is the vertical ridge dividing the philtrum, a mannerism which appears to be paralleled only in two warrior heads from the east pediment of the Aphaia temple on Aegina (101).

The opulence of the head would have been enhanced by jewellery. The lobes of the ears bear tiny holes for rings. Additionally, a pair of large holes, set one above the other, occupies the central part of the forehead. Two pairs of similar holes, set side by side, perforate the tresses directly above each ear, and seem to have worked in conjunction with the central pair. An elaborate chain of silver or gold, which followed the looping fall of the hair, is a possible restoration.

Although the head is said to be from Rome (102), its stylistic features point unequivocally to Magna Graecia. Schefold attributed the head to a Tarentine master, and dated it to the decade of 470-60 (103). Herdejürgen, who notes a strong influence from Aegina, sustains the Tarentine attribution (104), as have Langlotz and Ridgway (105). More recently Holloway has chosen to assign the work to an Agrigentine sculptor (106). Of these two arguments, that of Taranto would hold the upper hand, if only because the Adolphseck head bears a striking

affinity, with respect to the rendition of hair and lips, to the head in Boston from Taranto <I:5>. A date ca. 460, or shortly thereafter, may be argued on the basis of a stylistic proximity, especially in the treatment of the eye, to the sculpture from the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. Further West Greek parallels are the Ludovisi head <II:1>, the Athena (?) in New York (107), and the helmeted head in Agrigento (108).

Because of the torsion in the head, Langlotz suggested the identification of a sphinx, a monster commonly portrayed with face turned outwards from a profile body (109). However, the present classification of the head as one of an acrolith, and accordingly of a cult figure, renders the sphinx solution inappropriate. Schefold's suggestion of a Persephone is more suitable, although still hypothetical (110).

7 Palermo: Museo Nazionale (111) (Plates 17-21)

A 3927: 25.2 cm

B 3884: 26 cm

C 3925: 17.5 cm

from Temple E at Selinus

Parian marble

ca. 460

Damages to A: a large vertical section from the right face, the left half and much of the right base of the neck. The head has been recomposed from five fragments, and the large gaps filled in with plaster. Chips to the diadem, the ends of the snail-locks, the curls before the right ear, the right eye, the nose, and the helix of the

right ear. Surfaces are heavily worn.

Damages to B: the tresses above the right eye and below the left ear, the left and right edge of the neck. Chips to the right eye, and the helix of the right ear. The surfaces, although clean are heavily worn.

Damages to C: the crown of the head behind the diadem, the tresses above the left eye, the left eye, the nose, the mouth, the chin, and the entire neck. Chips to the diadem, and portions of the hair. Surfaces are considerably worn.

These three heads were discovered in the course of the excavation of Temple E at Selinus; heads A and B were found by Villareale in 1831, respectively in the adyton and pronaos (112), and head C was uncovered by Cavallari and Holm in 1865 in the adyton (113).

The heads are female, and share the common attribute of a broad, smooth fillet which binds the hair. Heads B and C wear their tresses centrally parted, and waved in loose strands behind the ears, while head A displays the more sophisticated style of centrally parted curls which end in snail-locks. An idiosyncrasy common to A and B is the combination of a merely roughed out left ear and a fully carved right. And while both ears of C have been carved, the left is smaller and worked in a more cursory fashion than the right. The small hole drilled into the neck below the left ear of C probably served to fasten an added section of marble curls, if it did not secure a piece of jewellery.

The heads are of early classical style, and are close in character to the other sculptured material from Temple E. By virtue of this fact and that of their certain discovery within the temple, the heads have been assigned almost without exception to the architectural decoration

of E, the limestone metopes of which were fitted with marble insets for the heads, hands, and feet of the female figures (114). However, while two of the stray heads found at the site clearly served such a purpose, the technical features of the three under discussion suggest that they be identified as acrolithic heads (115).

Heads A and B are frontal, have a smooth, transverse cut behind the ears, and a flaring neck which, in the case of the better preserved B, has a convex base with a shallow collar. Head C has a similar finish to the rear, but has the asymmetrical feature of a greater depth to the left half of the face. Moreover, although heads A and B are frontal, asymmetries within the left portion of each face and the roughly sketched left ears suggest that the two were mounted with a considerable turn to the left. C has unfortunately lost its neck, although the drawing in Benndorf's publication shows it to have had one in the nineteenth century (116). The illustrated neck fragment flares in a similar way to those of A and B, but its lower section has broken away. The backs of A and B have been roughly tooled, that of C is smooth and appears to have been planed with a drove. Aside from that of the rear edge, the crowns show no trimming, and differ only in that the hair of B and C has been carved behind the fillet, but left smooth in A. Taking into consideration the missing neck of C, each of the heads is of approximately the same size.

In contrast to other acroliths of this group, the present heads were clearly mounted by means of tenons. While the back of A is damaged to the point of obscurity, those of B and C have a horizontally drilled channel, on a level with the center of the forehead, which links with a second drilled into the crown directly behind the diadem. These would

have held a looped tenon, the traces of which, in the form of a ferrous stain, are visible in the channel of C. Furthermore, Benndorf noted in his description of C that the base of the now vanished neck was fitted with a vertically drilled socket for a pin (117). Unfortunately the necks of A and B are broken in this area, and one can only surmise that they were also so equipped. An explanation for the neck pin and looped tenon may be sought in the technical fact that each of the heads requires an inclined mount to correct an otherwise backwards tilt (118).

Temple E has been securely identified as a Heraion (119), and it is logical to suggest that the three acrolithic heads are from cult images of Hera contemporary with the dedication of the temple ca. 460 (120). In this respect it is relevant to note that heads A and C were discovered within the adyton. That several cult statues of a goddess should coexist in a temple is not without parallel; the fourth-century inventory of the Heraion on Samos appears to mention two images of the goddess (121), and the hellenistic accounts of Delos specify two acroliths of Hera in the Heraion of the island (122).

8 New York: Private Collection (123) (Plates 22-23)

ex Langlotz

11.5 cm

Greek Island marble

ca. 460

Damages: the right eye, the nose, the right cheek, and the base of the neck. Chips to the forehead and the left eye. Surfaces are heavily weathered.

This miniature head has been trimmed of its back by a neat, transverse cut. The resultant surface is flat, and, unlike the backs of the other heads of this group, shows a smooth, polished finish. Furthermore, the upper portion of the trimmed back has a shallow, ovoid groove, which has been roughly tooled, and, although located slightly off axis to the right, appears to be ancient. The neck is of standard length, and flares into a broad base with a convex profile. The bottom has been roughly tooled, and in modern times fitted with a small hole for mounting purposes. The crown has not been trimmed, but above the line of the brows has been left as a roughly tooled surface with no indication of hair. The ears have not been carved. The head is not fully frontal, but shows a slight turn to its right. Additionally, the right half of the face has a collapsed, almost unfinished, quality which suggests that the piece was mounted at an angle. The head is of indeterminate sex.

Despite its worn condition, the marble projects a forceful austerity. The broad head is ovoid, and its bold features have been carved with a simple economy of means. The long, shallow-set eyes sit high in the face, have wide tear ducts, and puffy, non overlapping lids. The mouth is compact but fleshy, being composed of a thin, bowed upper and a full, pouting lower lip. The modelling of the cheeks and jaw is spare and restrained. While the head is without a provenance, its stylistic features argue strongly in favour of its being West Greek. Indeed, the head shows a marked similarity to those which Langlotz attributed to the style of Pythagoras (124). Closest is the Vatican head <II:2> but a favourable comparison may also be made with the

Ludovisi Discobolus (125). A small head of a maiden which, despite its discovery in the Forum at Rome, is generally accepted as West Greek, has a similar mouth (126). The present piece may be dated ca. 460.

9 Paris: Private Collection (127) (Plates 24-25)

from south Italy

15.5 cm

Greek Island marble

ca. 420

Damages: apart from the tip of the nose, the head is free of breaks.

Surfaces are fresh and only mildly encrusted.

This small female head has a long, sinuous neck which ends in a rounded base with a considerable displacement to its left side. The rear portion of the head and neck have been trimmed, and the resultant surface flows smoothly into the base. In the manner of the New York acroliths <I:1>, the third of the Paestum heads <I:4>, and the Boston head <I:5>, the crown has been trimmed to create two oblique surfaces, which slant from either side of the apex of the forehead to the rear edge. As with the Paestum head <I:4> the trimming is asymmetrical, the left section being broader and more steeply inclined than the right. Furthermore, while the back and base have been roughly tooled, the crown shows a finer tooling. Each of the trimmed surfaces is free of dowelling. The ears, although summarily carved, bear large holes in the lobes for rings. The head is not frontal, but, along with the displacement of the neck and crown, shows a turn to its left. Finally,

like the three Selinus heads <I:7>, the piece requires an inclined mount.

The head is a charming, slightly aggressive work of the advanced fifth century. The lengthy eyes with pointed tear ducts and thick, non overlapping lids compare well with those of the Copenhagen head <III:1>. The long nose has pert, fleshy wings, and the broad mouth a pair of full, rather stubby lips. The slight scoring of the neck with Venus rings adds a touch of the voluptuous. On the basis of the treatment of its mouth, the head may be dated ca. 420.

10 Croton: Museo Archeologico (128)

RC 19.12 1975

from Croton

life-size

Greek Island marble

fourth century

Damages: the entire face, and the base of the neck. The bright, glossy surface of the marble is due to cleaning and consolidation.

This female head is a recent discovery from excavations in the Via A. Tedeschi, an area within the confines of the ancient city. Although the piece has lost both its face and the base of its long neck, the rough trimming to the back of the head and neck identifies it as acrolithic. The trimmed surface, which is restricted to the extreme rear of the head, is free of dowelling, and shows a slight curve. The crown has not been additionally trimmed, but is distinguished from the

face by its rasped surface. The two large holes set in the crown above either temple show that the marble was fitted with a supplementary headpiece. Only the lower halves of the ears have been carved, and the lobes drilled with holes for rings. The head appears to be fully frontal.

Although the head has lost its face, a general date within the late classical period of the fourth century may be argued on the basis of the opulent neck with its generous Venus ring. The form of the headpiece cannot be identified, although the relatively smooth surface of the crown and the large holes suggest that it was of metal. As with the Vatican head <II:2>, which was capped in a similar fashion, the simplest solution of a bronze wig is the safest. In this piece the headgear would have obscured the uncarved upper portions of the ears.

- 11 Metaponto: Soprintendenza Archeologica (129) (Plate 26)
from Pizzica-Pantanello
19 cm
coarse-grained white marble
fifth century (?)

Damages: the left wing of the base, a large wedge from the upper section of the back of the neck, and the entire head which has broken away at the top of the neck. Surfaces are heavily encrusted.

This piece is the fragmentary base of an acrolithic head of almost colossal size. The entire head has broken away leaving but the neck and its broad flaring base. The back of the neck has been roughly trimmed

by a flat, transverse cut, while the flat bottom of the base has been more crudely tooled. Each of the trimmed surfaces is free of dowel holes. A curious feature is the marked concavity, possibly the result of a break, which is evident at the front of the base.

Although the fragment itself affords no clue as to its date, the piece was discovered in the context of a rural sanctuary in the Metapontine which dates to the fifth and fourth centuries (130). Accordingly it is likely that the original acrolith served as the cult statue of this particular shrine.

Indications of this first type of acrolith are a flat, angled, or curved trimming of the rear sections of both head and neck and a long, often flaring neck with a rounded or flat base. The trimmed backs and bases, with the exception of the lone New York head <I:8> which has a smooth back, are roughly tooled, and, apart from the three Selinus heads <I:7>, are free of dowering. An additional trimming of the crown, which occurs in varying format in some of the heads, is an arbitrary feature.

The two New York acroliths <I-1>, which are the oldest acroliths known, form the nucleus of this group. Preserved with virtually complete sets of extremities, they not only give evidence as to the structure of acrolithic statues, but more importantly permit the correct interpretation of certain isolated faces both in West Greece and in other parts of the Greek world.

The major problem in the reconstruction of an acrolith of this type is the manner whereby the head was integrated with the body. The most

plausible solution is that each was mounted with its broad base set within a cradle in the wooden torso, and its back against a spur which, projecting upwards from the torso, completed the trimmed sections of the head and neck. Furthermore, in the case of the New York acroliths <I:1> and the heads in Paestum <I:2-4>, Boston <I:5>, and Paris <I:9>, all of which have trimmed crowns, it is likely that the wooden spur extended to finish the tops of the heads. Consequently the inset faces would have been tightly gripped both from above and below. A second possibility, that the heads were capped with stucco additions, may be excluded on the technical grounds that the majority of the trimmed crowns, not one of which shows any trace of stucco, have been designed as if to be inserted. This is especially clear in the first of the Paestum heads <I:2>, where the recessed platform of the crown can only have been intended to slip into a corresponding socket. While the three Selinus heads <I:7> were secured by a looped tenon in the back and a neck pin, the remaining heads, in that they lack any form of dowelling, would appear to have been fastened by glues, for which purpose their roughly trimmed backs and bases are admirably suited. In the case of the lone New York head <I:8>, the roughly tooled ovoid groove on its otherwise smooth back would have provided a suitable surface for adhesion. As for the wooden sections of the head, one may imagine them as carved in a finished fashion, and supplying any omitted features, for example the ears of the New York acroliths <I:1>.

Of the fourteen pieces within this group, the heads in New York <I:1>, two of the three in Paestum <I:2-3>, that in Boston <I:5>, and possibly the damaged examples in Croton <I:10> and Metaponto <I:11> are fully frontal. The remainder show either singly, or in varying

combination, an inclination of the head and neck, a slightly greater depth to one side of the face, or simply facial asymmetries to suggest that each was mounted at an angle. Moreover, the three Selinus heads <I:7> and the Paris head <I:9> share the necessity of an inclined mount, a convention which will be noted for the acroliths of Class II and for some of those of Class III.

Since the other heads lack their extremities, evidence for the mounting of the hands and feet comes exclusively from the New York acroliths <I:1>. With regard to the former, the deep, rectangular cuttings within the wrists of the better preserved hands of A were clearly designed to receive spurs from the wooden arms. Moreover, this simple graft was, at least in the left hand of A, seemingly secured by a pin connecting the inside wrist with the wooden strut. By contrast the three extant feet are free of dowelling, but were presumably fastened to the adjacent portions of the wooden legs/feet by glues, and further anchored by a lip from the wooden section which would have fitted the bevelled shoulder of each arch.

Apart from the suggested identifications of Demeter and Kore for the New York acroliths <I:1> and Hera for the respective triads from Paestum <I:2-4> and Selinus <I:7>, the remaining heads are inscrutable. Nevertheless, with the exceptions of the lone New York head <I:8> and the Metaponto fragment <I:11>, all others may be recognized as female, either on the basis of association, hairstyle, or the wearing of jewellery. Although the first of the Paestum heads <I:2> has had its ears carved with a pair of large, globular rings, the standard practice appears to have been to apply actual jewellery as part of the kosmesis of the acrolith. Accordingly the heads in Adolphseck <I:6>, Paris

<I:9>, and Croton <I:10> have pierced ears, while the first has an additional set of holes for the attachment of an ornament, possibly a chain of silver or gold, to its crown. Furthermore, it has been suggested that the hole drilled into the neck below the left ear of head C of the Selinus triad <I:7> may have fastened a piece of jewellery. On the other hand, the bald crown of the Croton head <I:10> has been fitted with two holes for the attachment of a metal headpiece, a solution which will be noticed for the Ludovisi <II:1> and Ciro <II:3> heads of the second group. While the form of this addition is obscure, it clearly was designed to cover the tops of the ears, of which but the lower halves are carved. The New York acroliths <I:1> are alone in having eyes hollowed out for insets.

With respect to size, the examples in this group display a complete range: the Metaponto fragment <I:11> verges on the colossal, the New York acroliths <I:1> and the Adolphseck head <I:6> are big, the Croton head <I:10> of approximately life-size, the Boston <I:5> and Selinus <I:7> heads slightly thereunder, with the Paestum <I:2-4>, lone New York <I:8>, and Paris <I:9> heads being of a reduced scale. Provenance is equally varied with single heads from Rome <I:6>, Croton <I:10>, Metaponto <I:11>, and Taranto <I:5>, and three each from Paestum <I:2-4> and Selinus <I:7>. The New York acroliths <I:1> have the general provenance of Sicily, the head in Paris <I:9> has that of south Italy, while the lone head in New York <I:8> has been attributed to West Greece on stylistic grounds. Chronologically the heads span three centuries: the New York acroliths <I:1> may be dated ca. 530, the Paestum heads <I:2> ca. 500, <I:3> ca. 490, and <I:4> ca. 490-50, the Boston head <I:5> ca. 470, the Adolphseck <I:6>, Selinus <I:7>, and lone New York

<I:8> heads ca. 460, the Paris head <I:9> ca. 420, and the Croton head <I:10> to the fourth century. The Metaponto fragment <I:11> has been tentatively assigned to the fifth century.

A number of acrolithic heads of this type may be recognized from other parts of the Greek world. A series of four such heads are from Cyrene; one each of the late archaic and early classical periods, both of which are said to have been found in cemeteries, and two of the high classical period (131). A further three examples of the early classical period are from Atrax in Thessaly (132), Samos (133), and Thera (134), this last having been found in the vicinity of a late hellenistic or early Roman Heroon near the church of Evangelismos. All the heads are of approximately life-size or slightly thereunder, and, with the possible exception of the Thera head which is too fragmentary to permit identification, are securely female. The four heads from Cyrene and the Samos head have pierced ears, while the last piece and two of the Cyrene examples (135) also had inset eyes.

Additional acroliths of this type may be recognized in the sources. Indeed, the isolation of this first class clarifies a hitherto unexplained feature of Pausanias' descriptions of acrolithic statues, namely his almost invariable use of the word *πρῶτον* when referring to the marble portions of the head (136). That Pausanias did make a precise distinction between *κεφαλή* and *πρῶτον* is readily clear from his description of the acrolithic Eileithyia at Aegium, in which he specifies that the statue was draped from head (*κεφαλή*) to foot in a robe, and that its face (*πρῶτον*) was of Pentelic marble (137). Accordingly it may be argued that all of Pausanias' acroliths, with the

possible exception of the Kore Soteira at Megalopolis (138), were of this variety. Another acrolith which the sources mention as having a face of stone is the female tettigophoros within the Samian Heraion (139). Finally, although the cypress-wood Gorgon dedicated by Deinomenes of Acragas to Athena Lindia may not be classified as a true acrolith, it too had a face of stone (140).

It may be additionally suggested that the cult statues of Hilaeira and Phoibe, which Pausanias noted at their sanctuary in Laconia, were acroliths of this first class (141). Pausanias unfortunately omits a description of these images, but he does nevertheless relate the intriguing anecdote wherein a priestess replaced the face of one of the statues with a contemporary substitute, while refraining from a restoration of the second owing to a forbidding dream. Removable faces, however, would be equally suited to both acrolithic and chryselephantine sculpture, and, in the absence of any description of materials, it should not be excluded that the two statues were in this latter technique.

Actual remains of chryselephantine or acroelephantine sculpture are few, being restricted to the fragments of at least eight statues from the deposit beneath the Sacred Way at Delphi (142), and a series of miniature heads from Perachora (143), Lefkadia (144), Vergina (145), Samos (146), and Corfu (147). Nevertheless, out of this handful of examples, all of the heads have been conceived as faces, and have technical features essentially identical to those of the present acrolithic heads. Each has been trimmed of its back, its crown, and the back of its neck, and was clearly designed to be set within a wooden frame. Moreover, this unequivocal archaeological evidence is seconded

by Pausanias who uses the word *ἰσοκύματα* with respect to the ivory sections of the head, in the course of his descriptions of five chryselephantine statues: the Zeus at Megara by Theokosmos (148), the Athena at Megara (149), the Dionysos at Olympia (150), the Athena at Aegeira (151), and the Mother Dindymene at Cyzicus (152).

Furthermore, the curious half-feet of the New York acroliths <I:1> likewise appear to have been common to chryselephantine sculpture. While the feet of the Delphi statues have survived mainly in the form of isolated toes, there is at least one semi intact pair of half-feet which, like the acrolithic examples, have been trimmed across the instep (153). Other examples of such half or fragmentary feet are yielded by two acroliths from the Temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassae (154), the Athena Polias from Priene (155), the Roman acrolith from Temple B of the Largo Argentina (156), and two acrolithic copies of the Athena Medici (157).

Such coincidences of form cannot be purely accidental, but argue that the acrolithic and chryselephantine techniques were intimately related. Of these two conventions, moreover, the chryselephantine is demonstrably the older, and has a long pedigree in the civilisations of the Near East. Although one may hypothesize that acrolithic sculpture existed in Greece from the mid seventh century onwards, from the time that is when stone was first adopted for monumental sculpture, there is no evidence to suggest that the tradition as such had precedents either in Greece or in the Orient. On the other hand, three of the above mentioned ivory heads, one of two examples from Perachora (158), and two of three from Samos (159), are clearly imports from Eastern workshops, and date to the late eighth and early seventh centuries. Moreover, that

these heads belong to a long standing tradition in the Orient is shown by similar examples from Tell ed Duweir (160), Beth-Shan (161), and Megiddo (162), of the second millennium, and Nimrud (163), Sendschirli (164), and Sardis (165), of the first millennium. If it be objected that the majority of these miniature heads, including a number of those from Greece (166), were used as furniture appliques, it is clear from the evidence of the Delphi fragments and Pausanias' descriptions that heads of this type were also used for chryselephantine statues. Furthermore, the evidence of a life-sized ivory half-foot of possibly eighth-century date from an unknown site in the Near East argues that this variety of foot was also an eastern type. The foot, which very likely comes from a cult statue, has been trimmed through its instep, and bears a multi-faceted spur perforated with a large hole by which the ivory was attached to its wooden stock (167). For these reasons it may be argued that the acrolithic technique was a Greek adaptation of the oriental tradition of chryselephantine and acroelephantine sculpture.

Of some relevance here are the reports of isolated faces in the sources. Pausanias, for example, mentions a face of Akrotos, one of the attendant party of Dionysos, which he saw immured in the house of Poulytion at the outskirts of Athens (168). Secondly, Athenaeus speaks of the face of Dionysos at Athens with which the countenance of Peisistratos, who was known for his cruelty, was popularly compared (169). Although it is quite possible that this last face was but a part of a complete statue of the god, mention should be made of the effigies of Dionysos which appear on certain of the red-figured Athenian vases associated with the Lenaia festival (170). Essential features of these images are a mask, mounted on a shaft or pillar, and an enveloping

cloak, from which neither arms nor legs protrude. If, however, the composite technique and the robing suggest that these be identified as acroliths, it is not certain of what material the masks were fashioned. Indeed, the series of marble "masks" of Dionysos which Wrede has connected with this particular image are nothing more than the frontal halves of otherwise complete heads, designed to be rabbeted to a posterior section by means of a large dowel hole, and the whole pieced to a stone torso (171). To be sure, the Dionysos head from Ikaria, which is the focal piece of his study, has now been unequivocally restored to its body, a large seated figure of the god which was discovered in the same context (172). Accordingly, on the basis of their schematic appearance, it is perhaps wiser to view the vase images as those of temporary, make-shift effigies which were constructed expressly and solely for the Lenaia festival (173).

Chapter 3

Class II

1 Rome. Museo Nazionale delle Terme (174) (plates 27-28)

8598 (ex Ludovisi)

83 cm

Greek Island marble

ca. 470

Damages: the helix of the left ear, the left and right edge of the base, the lower left section of the hair at the rear, and one of the fillet ends. Restorations: the tip of the nose, and the lower left eyelid with underlying area. The similar patina of the marble additions and the adjacent surfaces suggests that the restorations are ancient. Surfaces vary from the smooth, waxen finish of the cheeks, chin, and neck to the more weathered state of the brows, eyes, portions of the nose, and lips.

In common with the other acroliths of the second group, this colossal female head betrays none of the characteristic trimming of the first and third classes. The head has a long, slender neck which flows into a rounded base. At the front and sides the base has a shallow collar, at the back the carving of the hair is flush with the lower edge. The present mount obscures the center of the bottom of the base, but the surrounding surface is flat and, like the collar, has been roughly tooled (175). The head is rigidly frontal, and requires an inclined mount to correct an otherwise backwards tilt.

The head wears an elaborate hairstyle composed of three distinct sections: five rows of snail-locks rim the forehead, finely striated lines radiating from the apex define the crown, and flatly carved ribbon-locks fall down the neck to the base. A smooth, wide fillet, which tightly encircles the crown, delimits each section. The rounded ends of this fillet, looped one over the other, hang loosely at the rear. The face has been modelled with rounded, swelling contours, and displays broad, rather primly carved features. The shallow-set eyes have a lengthy sweep, thick, sharp lids with non overlapping corners, and slanted tear ducts. The restored nose is long and narrow, and the mouth hesitant with slightly pursed lips, the corners of which tuck into the flesh of the cheeks. The small ears have been fastidiously carved, and the lobes fitted with holes for rings.

In addition to the earrings, the head was considerably embellished with other metal additions. The smooth expanse which interrupts the central section of the lowest span of snail-locks bears sixteen small holes for the attachment of presumably similar bronze locks. Traces of the lead fastenings for such are still visible within the holes. The two larger holes drilled into the hairmass behind each ear possibly fastened a necklace. A similar function may be imagined for the four holes, symmetrically arranged two to a side, on the lower portion of the neck. More difficult to explain are the two holes on the right side of the crown, directly above the fillet, which have nothing corresponding on the left side. Petersen suggested that these secured a metal veil which, being held out "before the cheeks" by the left hand, failed to touch the left portion of the crown (176). The same solution would also explain the absence of the central curls from the upper row of

snail-locks, insofar as a veil might have obscured this portion.

Nevertheless, the scrupulous articulation of the hair of the crown tends to preclude such an addition, and one may suggest that the stray holes served to fasten hair ornaments. Apart from the bronze locks of hair, these metal accoutrements were probably of silver or gold.

The head has no provenance, but is generally assumed to have been found in Rome. Platner was the first to mention the piece, which as early as 1834 was in the collection of the Villa Ludovisi (177). With the acquisition of the Ludovisi marbles by the Italian state in 1901, the head was transferred to the Museo Nazionale delle Terme and its present location in the Chiostro Ludovisi.

While Kekulé's initial study treated the head as an Attic work in the style of the tyrannicide group by Kritios and Nesiotes (178), subsequent opinion, with the exception of the odd claimant for a Peloponnesian school (179), or even a late hellenistic or Roman date (180), has viewed the piece as a West Greek marble of the early classical period. The head has been variously attributed to Selinus (181), Agrigento (182), Syracuse (183), Locri (184), and Taranto (185). A fanciful theory of Petersen combined the head with the Ludovisi Throne into a seated cult statue of Aphrodite from the temple of the goddess at Eryx (186).

That the head is West Greek is evident. Its broad, fleshy features and the graceful combination of a complex, archaic hairstyle with an early classical face reflect an eclectic western hand. For a contemporary and similarly hieratic conception one may compare the Apollo Towneley (187), or a fragmentary head from Massalubrense on the Sorrentine peninsula (188). Close parallels to the striated "skull-cap"

treatment of the crown are provided by a head fragment in Potenza, ascribed by Langlotz to the same atelier (189), the Agrigento kouros (190), and the Apollo Chiaramonti (191). The Adolphseck head <I:6> shows a like treatment of the eyes and ears, and a similar combination of an archaic hairstyle and early classical face. The Ludovisi head may be dated ca. 470.

The head has been identified as an Aphrodite (192) an Artemis (193), a Hera (194), and a Persephone (195), although any such identification can only be hypothetical. Owing to its colossal size, and its frontal, hieratic pose, the piece has always been recognized as the head of a cult image. Petersen was the first to describe the work as acrolithic, on the twofold basis of the flat base of the neck, and the lack of the spur customarily encountered in heads designed to be mounted on stone bodies (196). One variant theory regards the head as a cult image in and of itself, on the analogy of the Sicilian practice of dedicating terracotta busts of goddesses (197).

2 Vatican City: Musei Pontifici del Vaticano (198) (Plate 29)

905

Saletta degli Originali Greci II

44.5 cm

Greek Island marble

ca. 450

Damages: slight chips from the eyebrows, the bridge of the nose, the lips, the chin, and the helices of the ears. Some restorations have been added in plaster. Surfaces are sharp and free of encrustation.

This fully carved female head has a long, cylindrical neck which ends in a base of roughly rectangular form and of wedge-shaped profile. The anterior section of the base, its upper surface finished as if it were a portion of naked breast, shows a marked projection, while that of the rear is flush with the fall of the neck. The bottom of the base is flat, free of dowel holes, and has been roughly tooled. The sides have been tooled in similar fashion, with the exception of the rear portion of the right edge, which has been abruptly and smoothly angled to the back of the head. While the front half of the crown is smooth, its rear section and the back of the neck have a rough surface. The three large holes of the forehead, two symmetrically paired above each eye, the third at a lower angle on the left brow, and the four small holes at the back, two spaced widely on a level with the tips of the ears, the others vertically, one above the other, on the lower portion of the neck, served to fasten a headress. The eyes still bear the original chalcedony (?) insets, and traces of the surrounding bronze lashes. The pupils and irises, which would have been added in a contrasting material, are missing, although a fragment of the lead fastening for them is visible in the right eye. The lobes of the ears have been drilled with large holes for rings. Like the Ludovisi head <I:1> the present example is rigidly frontal, and requires an inclined mount to compensate for an otherwise backwards tilt and the exaggerated protrusion of the base. Owing to its powerful appearance, and the postulated addition of a bronze or wooden helmet to its crown, this head has usually been interpreted as an Athena (199).

The ovoid head displays a taut, abstract construction, and its

forceful features have been carved with a brutal simplicity. A curious mannerism is the rather flat contour of the back of the head and neck. The expansive, slanted eyes have rounded tear ducts, and rather thinly defined lids with non overlapping corners. The nose is broad and spare, the lips dry and terse. The long, flat ears have been more rudely fashioned, and probably were somewhat covered by the headdress.

The head has been in the Vatican collections at least since 1834, when it was first cited by Platner (200). In common with the Ludovisi piece <I:1>, the Vatican head has no provenance, but is commonly assumed to have been found in Rome.

The head has always been recognized as a work of the early classical period, and, apart from the hesitation of Arndt (201), has always been attributed to West Greece. Although initial speculation focused upon analogies with the sculpture of Temple E at Selinus (202), the recent tendency has been to endorse Langlotz's attribution of the work to the style of Pythagoras, because of qualities the head shares with certain sculptures which group about the bronze athlete from Aderno (203). A precise ambience has been argued by Hafner, who claims that the head is that of the cult image of Juno Sospita in Lanuvium (204). According to this ambitious theory, the Vatican head was carved by a West Greek artist, and served as the head of the statue until its replacement in the late fourth century.

The presumed Roman findspot and the unorthodox, rather alien character of the head have naturally contributed much to its assignment to a West Greek hand. Nevertheless, Langlotz's comparison with the Aderno Athlete and the sculptures of his Pythagoras group is valid, especially with respect to the idiosyncratic shape of the head. The

Ludovisi Discobolus, which additionally echoes the ovoid geometry of the face, is another apt parallel from this set (205), while the lone New York head <I:8> represents a new addition to this stylistic group. It remains, however, an open question whether the artist responsible for this unequivocally western style was Pythagoras. The Vatican head may be dated ca. 450.

Restorations of the added headgear range from a wooden or bronze helmet, with locks spilling out beneath, of an Athena (206), or a simple bronze wig (207), to Hafner's ingenious proposal of a goat-skin mantle of terracotta in accordance with his Juno Sospita theory (208). However, apart from the fact that the crown and the back of the neck were covered, as both the placing of the holes and the rough surfaces indicate, there is no indication of the form of the presumably metal addition. As with the similarly treated Croton head <I:10>, the simplest and safest solution is the restoration of a bronze wig.

3 Reggio Calabria: Museo Nazionale (209) (Plates 30-39)

6499 (head), 6501 (left hand),

6502-04 (three finger fragments), 6506 (left foot),

6505 (right foot), 6500 (bronze wig), 6565-66 & 6576

(three wig fragments)

from Punta Alice, near Cirò Marina

head: 38.5 cm

left hand with finger: 23 cm

left foot: 30.5 cm

right foot: 31 cm

Greek Island marble

ca. 420

Damages: two chipped sections, seemingly intentional, on either temple, the helix of the left ear, a large chip from the upper lip, now filled in by plaster, and odd breaks to the base of the neck, especially the left side. The fragmentary left hand has been broken at the wrist. A small section of the outer wrist has been reattached. Four of the fingers, broken at their bases, are missing. The fourth finger, which was found separately, has been attached through the clean fracture at its base. The tip of the finger has been recomposed from two broken fragments. Bits of three other identifiable fingers, one with extensive ferrous stains, have survived. The feet are virtually intact. The left foot has had its big toe reattached, and displays a large chip from the base of the fourth toe. A large wedge from the inner shank of the right foot has been reattached. Despite some wear and staining to the head, surfaces are fresh and sharp.

The acrolith was discovered during the excavation in 1923-24 of the Doric temple, plausibly identified as that of Apollo Alaios, at Punta Alice in Calabria (210). The statue was without any doubt the cult image of the temple, and as such would have stood within the adyton (211). Apart from the New York acroliths <I:1>, this is the only West Greek acrolith to have survived with its extremities, in this case the fragmentary left hand, portions of three stray fingers, and the two feet.

The head has been fully carved, and is mounted on a thick, cylindrical neck which finishes in a rounded base with a deep collar.

The flat bottom of the base is free of dowel holes, and like the collar has been roughly tooled. The surface of the crown has been similarly tooled, and displays a series of sixteen holes, three at the center of the forehead, two on the left temple, one on the right, two above the left ear, two above the right, and six arranged in two groups of three at either side of the back of the head, for the fastening of a headpiece. Two additional holes, one behind the lobe of the left ear, the other in the back of the right ear, appear to have served a different function. Two curious features of the crown are the ringed, layered treatment of the occiput, and the two large, chipped zones, each distinguished by a reddish stain, above either temple. The eyes have been hollowed to receive insets. Again the head, despite the considerably greater depth of the collar at the back, requires an inclined mount to offset an otherwise backwards tilt. Unlike the Ludovisi <II:1> and Vatican <II:2> heads, the Cirò example is not frontal: the neck betrays a marked tilt to the right, and the head itself is inclined slightly to its left. Moreover, the greater width of the right half of the face suggests that the head was turned considerably to its right, and that the principal and intended view was one of the left face.

The preserved left hand is fragmentary, and has lost its fingers, with the exception of the reattached fourth, its lower wrist, and any portion of the forearm that was carved with the hand. That this may have been considerable is suggested by the absence of any dowelling in the broken portion of the wrist. The hand is posed in an open, relaxed fashion, with the extant finger slightly curved. By contrast, the feet are in a virtually mint state. Each has been fully carved, along with a

considerable section of the adjoining calf above the ankles. The height of the calf portion of the right foot is considerably greater than that of the left. The calves have been trimmed by roughly tooled transverse cuts, that of the right being horizontal, that of the left oblique, the angle slanting from the outer to the inner side of the leg. Moreover, each of the trimmed edges bears a deep, rectangular cutting for the securing of wooden struts from the legs. Conversely, the roughly tooled soles of the feet reveal how each was fitted to the plinth: the right foot has a deep, rectangular hole slightly before the heel, a small hole before the toe, the left a small hole at the heel, and a second at the forepart of the sole. These holes and the configuration of the various muscles show that the flat right foot served to anchor the statue, while the relaxed left was positioned with its heel slightly raised. The sequence of small holes on the toes, the arch, the flanks, and the back of each foot indicate that the acrolith wore sandals, which, if not of leather or bronze, were presumably of precious metal (212).

The disquieting style of the head is due to the marked asymmetry of the face and its disproportionately broad neck. The features have been modelled by a direct, slightly uncontrolled hand, and display a fleshy, voluptuous accent. The wide, arching eyes have squared tear ducts and thick upper lids, the outer corners of which do not overlap those of the lower. The nose has a high, slender bridge ending in a full tip, the mouth a pair of sharply defined, full and pouting lips. In the fashion of the Vatican head <II:2>, the flat, more summarily worked ears hug the sides of the head, and possibly were to be partially obscured by the headdress. The surface of the taut, muscular neck has been scored by a series of fine lines or Venus rings. The extremities

have been carved in a more exaggerated fashion. The hand has a fleshy palm, deeply furrowed with creases, and a long delicate finger. The bulky feet are a superb example of the veristic element often encountered in West Greek work.

Orsi, who excavated the sanctuary, made a hesitant attribution of the statue to Pythagoras, along with the Vatican head <II:2> and the Chatsworth Apollo, and suggested a date in the decade 470-60 (213). A number of scholars have supported this early date and the Pythagoras attribution (214), and the piece has been viewed as the quintessential expression of a realistic, anticlassical Italic spirit (215). Indeed, owing to its secure provenance, little doubt has been expressed concerning a western pedigree (216). More recently the tendency has been to endorse a later date. Schneider-Hermann, for example, has compared the head with a group of Tarentine terracottas of the second half of the fifth century, and argues for a date in the middle of the century, as well as an attribution to a Tarentine hand (217). A still later date has been advocated by de Franciscis on the basis of close parallels with Pheidonian works, such as the Athena Carpegna of the Athena Medici type, which date to the late fifth century (218). He suggests a point after 440, in the aftermath of the Athenian foundation of Thurium in 446. Langlotz has further downdated the piece to the end of the century (219). An extreme theory by Schuchhardt dates the sculpture to the Hadrianic period (220).

The closest parallel to the acrolith is the high classical "Apollo" from the Temple of Apollo Sosianus in Rome, a piece which is certainly West Greek and which has been frequently attributed to Taranto (221). Features such as the eyes, the nose, and the ears, as well as the marked

asymmetry of the face are so similar in this earlier piece that one may suggest a common hand for the two sculptures. An attribution to a Tarentine sculptor is tempting, although the appearance of a general Tarentine koine in much of south Italy in the late fifth century should make one cautious. A date of the acrolith ca. 420 is not inconsistent with the history of the sanctuary (222).

Orsi restored the statue as a standing Apollo with the right leg tensed, the left relaxed, and postulated as attributes a bow in the right hand, a phiale in the left, on the analogy of a gold figurine of the god discovered within the adyton (223). However, this restoration has since been refuted by Turano, who has convincingly demonstrated that the acrolith had a seated pose (224). Through an insertion of wooden staves within the dowel holes of the calves, it becomes clear that the legs were widely spaced as could only occur in a seated, and not a standing figure. Additionally, Turano restores the Apollo as a citharode, on the analogy of the seated Apollo citharode in the Vatican (225), and argues that the left hand held a plectrum, and the missing right a lyre. Nevertheless, while Turano's reconstruction of the Apollo as a seated figure may be accepted without reserve, his restoration as citharode falters due to a misconception of the convention of lyre playing in Greek art. Lyres are held by the left hand, and played by a quill held in the right. Moreover, the left hand of the statue reveals no trace of a lyre, nor the fastening for such, and appears rather to have been posed in a relaxed fashion. Since it is unlikely that Apollo as Far Darter would have had a seated pose, one may hazard an identification of the god as Apollo Iatros, and suggest that the right

hand held one of the bronze laurel boughs found within the sanctuary, with the left extended in an open, welcoming gesture (226).

Restoration of the headgear is complex. Fragments of a massive, bronze wig with a chignon, braids and ribbon tresses were discovered within the temple area (227). However, much to Orsi's chagrin, the wig fails to fit the head, and he felt forced to conclude that while the piece was originally designed for the Apollo, the lack of a fit caused it to become a separate dedication in the adyton. The chipped, slightly concave sections above each temple, which indeed correspond to the two prominent lugs within the anterior portion of the wig, would reflect an attempt to force the head to accept the cramped dimensions of the bronze. This is hardly implausible, especially since the two relevant areas have been fitted with a reddish compound, interpreted by Orsi as a type of cement, which has subsequently petrified (228). One possible solution is that with the realization of the wig's deficiencies, the large holes were filled with the fixative, and the lower section of the crown then drilled with holes for the attachment of a golden laurel wreath, a diadem, or a set of bronze curls in the manner of the "Apollo" from the Sosianus temple (229). Indeed, the rather casual allotment of the holes suggests that they were added more as an afterthought. The two stray holes behind the lobe of the left ear and in the back of the left ear are inscrutable. The roughly tooled crown may have been simply painted, or capped with a layer of stucco modelled into curls (230).

4 ex Ars Antiqua, Lucerne (231) (Plate 40)

15.5 cm

white marble with fine crystals

ca. 400

Damages: the forehead curls, the nose, and the beard. Surfaces are worn.

This small, fully carved head of a bearded, male divinity is mounted on a long, flaring neck which finishes in a flat, circular base with a shallow collar. The bottom of the base is free of dowelling. The collar appears to have been roughly tooled, as was presumably the bottom of the base. The large hole drilled into the center of the occiput is an anomalous feature, and possibly served to fasten a metal tenon connecting the statue with a rear wall (232). A considerable displacement of the apex of the forehead to the left suggests that the head was turned to its left. Again the piece requires an inclined mount.

The slight, although charming head wears a thin fillet, and has short, spiralling locks which radiate in a concentric pattern from the center of the occiput. The lengthy eyes have thick, non overlapping lids and pronounced tear ducts. The lips are full and soft, and the ears have a characteristic crescent shape. The dreamy, abstracted expression of the face and the rather Polykleitan formula of the hair are indicative of the advanced classical period, and the head may be dated ca. 400, if not slightly later in the fourth century. Close West Greek parallels are the bearded head of a man on the reputedly south Italian stele in Berlin (233) and the bronze head of a god recently fished out of the Sele river near Paestum (234).

10.142.1

"from Taranto"

55.2 cm

Greek Island marble

ca. 350

Damages: the left eyebrow, the nose, and odd chips. Missing are two sections of the hairmass which were separately pieced to the head: a top-knot fastened by means of three holes, and a triangular bit at the back secured by a single hole. Surfaces are slightly weathered.

This large, fully carved head of a female deity has a bulky, muscular neck which finishes in a flat, rounded base with a deep collar. The surfaces of the collar, which is of a slight concavity at the back, have been roughly tooled. The bottom likewise shows a rough tooling, and is free of dowelling. The hairmass has been carved, although in a cursory manner at the back, and the lobes of the ears fitted with holes for rings. The head is gently inclined to its left, and requires a pitched mount.

The head is a sensitive, although ebullient, creation of the late classical period. The hair has been drawn up in a series of loosely waved strands to the top of the head, to which was added a separately worked top-knot, in the fashion of the well known melon coiffure (236). The eyes are lengthy with thick, non overlapping lids. The nose is long with relatively fleshy wings, the mouth narrow but full, and with slightly parted lips. The fastidiously carved ears are tiny with respect to the other features of the head.

Apart from its reputed provenance, the head may be attributed to West Greece on the basis of the pieced treatment of the hair, a technical procedure which is shared by a number of Tarentine heads (237). Furthermore, the full, voluminous contours of the face and neck appear to be the continuation of a stylistic trait much in evidence in some West Greek works of the fifth century, for example the "Apollo" from the Temple of Apollo Sosianus in Rome (238) and the *Cirò* acrolith <II:3>. A late classical head from Taranto in a private collection in New York has a similar coiffure, and provides a contemporary parallel (239). The present head may be dated ca. 350.

This piece has never been identified as acrolithic, but instead viewed as a head which was pieced to a stone torso. Nevertheless, the flat, collared base, which is identical to that of the *Cirò* acrolith <II:3>, and the necessity of an inclined mount, argue strongly that the head is of an acrolith. Robinson and Richter have both proposed the identifications of Persephone and Hygieia for the head on the basis of its youthful character and hairstyle (240). While either identification would be appropriate, the lack of any secure attributes renders any such argument hypothetical.

5 Metaponto: Soprintendenza Archeologica (241)

30042

from San Biagio della Venella

12 x 13 cm

Greek Island marble

fifth century (?)

Damages: the left and rear sections of the base, and the entire head. Surfaces are worn and encrusted.

This piece is the fragmentary base of a large acrolithic head. Preserved are a part of the front and right portions of the base, and the lower section of the fully carved neck. The front edge is curved and has been smoothly tooled, while the straight right edge and flat bottom show a rougher tooling. There is no trace of dowelling. The complete base would have had an approximately rectangular shape and a deep collar, and would concur with the type of base common to acroliths of this group (242).

The absence of the head precludes any dating on stylistic grounds. Nevertheless, the fragment comes from another rural sanctuary in the Metapontine, the titular deity of which was Zeus Aglaïos, and one may accordingly suggest that the original acrolith served as its cult statue (243). While the shrine of the precinct dates to the sixth century, a considerable restoration or enlargement occurred in the later fifth century. The more classical look of the fragment argues that it belongs to this second phase.

Elements of this second class of acrolith are a fully carved head, and a long neck which finishes in a flat, collared base of rectangular or circular shape. The bottom of the base is free of dowelling (244), and along with the collar has been roughly tooled. A curious and constant mannerism is the marked backwards tilt of the head when the base rests on a horizontal surface, and the consequent necessity of an

inclined mount. The Cirò acrolith <II:3> is the sole member of this group to have survived with its extremities, in this case the left hand, odd fingers, and two feet.

Since the heads require an inclined mount, each must have been anchored with its base snugly centered within a cradle in the wooden torso to avoid a downwards slide or topple. For this purpose the deep collar of the Vatican <II:2>, Cirò <II:3>, and Metropolitan <II:5> heads would have been well suited. It is strange, nevertheless, that the bases show no traces of dowelling, since this would have served to bind the heads more effectively to the torso. However, that additional reinforcement occurred in particular cases is implied by the large hole drilled into the occiput of the ex Ars Antiqua head <II:4>. This was possibly designed to secure a pin which would have connected the piece to a rear wall or support. It is curious, however, that so small, and consequently so light a head should require such supplementary support, and the larger heads none.

Unfortunately the extant hand of the Cirò acrolith <II:3> has lost much of its wrist, and the preserved portion shows no trace of dowelling. This being the case, it is not impossible that a considerable section of the forearm was carved along with the hands. The feet, on the other hand, are virtually intact, and have been carved to include the lower portions of the calves, the central sections of which have been fitted with deep, rectangular cuttings to hold wooden struts from the legs. Moreover, the soles have a rectangular cutting and holes by which the feet were secured to the plinth. Similar feet are known from two acroliths from Pheneos (245), and an acrolithic Athena of Roman date in Copenhagen (246).

The Cirò acrolith <II:3> may be identified as an Apollo on the basis of its discovery within the sanctuary of Apollo Alaios, of which it served as the cult statue. Furthermore, it has been suggested that the Metaponto fragment <II:6> is from a cult image of Zeus Aglaïos, the titular deity of the sanctuary wherein the piece was found. Of the four remaining heads, none of which are identifiable, the Ludovisi <II:1>, Vatican <II:2>, and Metropolitan <II:5> examples are female, and the ex Ars Antiqua head <II:4> male.

Both the Ludovisi <II:1> and Vatican <II:2> heads are fully frontal, while the Cirò <II:3> and ex Ars Antiqua <II:4> heads show facial asymmetries which suggest that they were mounted at an angle. Additionally the Cirò <II:3> and Metropolitan <II:5> pieces show a slight inclination to their left. In contrast to the carved hair of the Ludovisi <II:1>, ex Ars Antiqua <II:4>, and Metropolitan <II:5> heads, the Vatican <II:2> and Cirò <II:3> examples have bald crowns which, drilled with various holes, were designed to support some form of headdress. Moreover, the Ludovisi head <II:1> was fitted with sixteen bronze snail-locks to intensify the curls above its forehead. Both the Ludovisi <II:1>, Vatican <II:2>, and Metropolitan <II:5> heads were adorned with actual earrings, the first having been further embellished with necklaces and possibly hair ornaments, to judge from the holes drilled into its neck and crown. The Vatican <II:2> and Cirò <II:3> heads had inset eyes. In the case of the former, the chalcedony (?) insets and traces of the bronze eyelashes are extant.

The heads within this group range from the colossal, the Ludovisi head <II:1>, and big, the Vatican <II:2>, Cirò <II:3>, and Metropolitan <II:5> heads, to the miniature ex Ars Antiqua head <II:4>. The

Metaponto fragment <II:6> would also be from an acrolith of big dimensions. The Cirò acrolith <II:3>, the Metropolitan head from Taranto <II:5>, and the Metaponto fragment <II:6> are the sole pieces to have West Greek contexts, the others having been attributed to the area on stylistic grounds. Of these the Ludovisi <II:1> and Vatican <II:2> heads appear to have surfaced in Rome in the nineteenth century, while the ex Ars Antiqua head <II:4> has no provenance. The chronological span of the acroliths includes the greater part of the fifth and the first half of the fourth centuries: the Ludovisi head <II:1> may be dated ca. 470, the Vatican head <II:2> ca. 450, the Cirò Apollo <II:3> ca. 420, the ex Ars Antiqua head <II:4> ca. 400, and the Metropolitan head <II:5> ca. 350. On the basis of its archaeological context, the Metaponto fragment <II:6> may be tentatively assigned to the fifth century.

A possible acrolithic head of this class is the early classical de Vogue head from Aegina in the Louvre (247). This approximately life-sized head, which may be identified as an Athena owing to its helmet, has a pair of fully carved eyes, originally edged with lashes of bronze, and pierced ears. Unfortunately, however, a secure identification of the piece as acrolithic is not permissible on account of the damaged condition of the base of the neck.

Chapter 4

Class III

- 1 Copenhagen: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (248) (Plates 43-44)

3393

from South Italy

27.2 cm

Greek Island marble

ca. 450

Damages: the left temple, and the major part of the base. Small chips to the eyebrows, the left upper eyelid, the tip of the nose, and the lower lip. Apart from the odd stain, surfaces are smooth and clean. Traces of stucco are apparent on the lower right section of the trimmed crown and the right temple.

This frontal head has a short, stocky neck, banded with a single Venus ring, which has unfortunately lost the greater part of its base. However, the flare of the neck and the broken portions indicate that the base had lateral extensions and a considerable depth. At the back the upper section of a slightly curved, roughly tooled collar is extant. A pin, by which the piece is presently mounted, has been set into the damaged bottom of the base. As with the other acroliths of this group, the crown has been trimmed by means of an oblique cut from the apex of the forehead to the back of the head. The resultant surface is slightly concave, has been coarsely tooled, and has a small, circular hole, asymmetrically placed in the upper left section, for the fastening of a

headpiece. Furthermore, the apex of the forehead is marked with a broad, shallow cavity, located slightly off axis to the left. The ears have not been carved, but probably were added, if meant to be seen, along with the headpiece. Although frontally positioned on the neck, the distorted left face and the noted asymmetry of the forehead suggest that the head was turned to its left. The Venus ring and the soft, benign expression argue that the head is female.

A striking combination of the spare and the robust is encountered in the Copenhagen head. While the brows, eye, and nose have been carved in a flat, colourless fashion, the cheeks, chin, jaw, and mouth show by contrast an indulgent, puffy modelling of surface. The consequent veristic effect may be compared with a similar accent in the feet and left hand of the Cirò acrolith <II:3>. With regard to the individual features, the lengthy, shallow-set eyes have thick, non overlapping lids and slight tear ducts. The nose is broad with wide wings, the pert mouth has a pair of flat, stubby lips.

Although the exaggerated treatment of the lower portion of the face would by itself suggest a date in the advanced fifth century, the individual features are more firmly rooted in the early classical period. Close parallels to the sleepy eyes may be seen in the Paris head <I:9>, the Berlin Goddess (249), and a female head in the Museo Barracco (250), while a similar flat delineation of the lips is evidenced, for example, by the heads from Temple E at Selinus <I:7>. Nevertheless, the bowed profile of the right eye and the incipient development of the lower lip indicate that the head is a hybrid, transitional work of ca. 450.

The crudely tooled surface of the oblique cut and the traces of

stucco on its lower right section and the right temple argue that the head was completed in stucco. While a pin set into the circular hole would appear more suited to a wooden addition, the same may have provided a core to the stucco, or anchored a further addition to the headdress. In addition to the ears, the stucco would have modelled the hairmass and any possible headgear, or provided the base for the addition of such. The cavity at the apex of the forehead suggests that the hair was centrally parted.

2 Malibu: J Paul Getty Musuem (251) (Plates 45-46)

74AA33 (ex Schweitzer, Arlesheim)

from Taranto

23.3 cm

Parian marble

ca. 440

Damages: the right temple, the right ear, the nose, the mouth, the fore and right sections of the base. Small chips from the upper right eyelid, the cheeks, and the base of the neck. With the exception of traces of stucco on the temple, cheek, and neck of the left side, the surfaces are smooth and clean.

This tautly constructed head is mounted on a sleek, cylindrical neck, scored with lines or faint Venus rings, which flares into a flanged base with a pronounced collar. While the front and right sections have broken away, the straight back and the curved left edge suggest that the base had an approximately rectangular shape. The two

preserved edges and the slightly concave bottom of the base have been roughly tooled. Additionally, the bottom has a rectangular dowel hole set into its center. The crown has been trimmed by an oblique cut from the apex of the forehead to the back of the head. Behind the ears, of which but the lower halves are represented, the cut has been stepped, and shelves at a deeper angle to the top of the neck. Both surfaces have been roughly tooled, and the upper fitted with a rectangular dowel hole for the fastening of a headpiece. While there is no articulation of hair, the series of drilled holes, five on the right, four on the left, which follow the contour of the brows, presumably secured a corresponding number of bronze curls. Despite the absence of indicative attributes, the head appears to be female.

The head is not strictly frontal, but betrays a subtle turn to its left. In harmony with this torsion, the muscles of the left neck display a gentle bulge, while the right shoulder can be seen to have a greater height than that of the left. Furthermore, asymmetries such as the more emphatic left eye, the greater extent of the lines on the left portion of the neck, and the rough patch behind the right ear suggest that the head was turned considerably to its right. The higher right shoulder would also indicate that the corresponding arm of the underlying torso was similarly raised. Moreover, the head appears to require an inclined mount to offset an otherwise backwards tilt.

The piece is impressive on account of a certain opulent austerity in the assured carving of its form and features. The eyes are shallow-set, have crisply etched, non overlapping lids, and lengthy downturned tear ducts. The mouth is fleshy, and its short lips fold into a pout. The preserved left ear has a roughly sketched, crescent

shape.

Schefold has aptly called the work a younger sister of the Berlin Goddess, and suggested the restoration of a throned image of Persephone, whose raised right arm and hand would have held a sceptre, and the outstretched left a phiale (252). He argued a date in the mid fifth century, and, in keeping with its reputed provenance, attributed the head to Taranto. More recently Olbrich has eschewed Schefold's comparison with the Berlin Goddess, and finds a closer parallel in the head of a youth in Hannover, a work which is generally accepted as West Greek (253). Owing to the advanced quality of the mouth, Olbrich dates the head to the decade 450-40, but endorses the dubious claim that the piece comes from Metaponto.

While a date as low as 440 is likely, there is no reason to dissociate the head from Taranto. Indeed, resemblances to the Berlin Goddess are enough to suggest that both are products of the same sculptural tradition. Moreover, the head may be favourably compared with other Tarentine sculptures; the acrolithic head of Athena in Taranto <III:5> shows a like outer profile of the eye, and the head of a veiled goddess from Taranto in Kansas City has a similar etched treatment of the eyelids (254). The smooth, metallic finish and the restrained vitality of the head find a suitable echo in the acrolithic St Omobono head, an Augustan work which mirrors West Greek mannerisms of the classical period (255).

The clean finish and the dowel hole of the stepped, oblique cut suggest that the crown was completed with a wooden extension, which would have been secured by means of a short tenon. Moreover, traces of stucco on the temple, cheek, and neck of the left side argue that the

completed head was at least partially capped by a layer of stucco modelled to form a hairmass, the lower section of which would have been accented by the restored bronze curls. Although Schefold's argument that the head is of Persephone is plausible, there is no secure evidence for the identification of the piece (256).

3 Paris: Musée du Louvre (257) (Plates 47-48)

MA 3405

from Selinus

24.5 cm

Greek Island marble

ca. 430

Damages: the tip of the nose, and the front of the base. A gouge rakes the left temple and cheek. While the back of the neck displays the original, smooth patina, the entire front section of the head shows considerable wear.

The technical features of this female head essentially conform to those of the Copenhagen <III:1> and Malibu <III:2> examples. The head is mounted on a long, sinuous neck which finishes in a circular base with a shallow collar. Instead of a dowel hole, the flat bottom has a broad, rounded spur of 4.5 cm length which projects at a slightly forward pitch (258). Otherwise the bottom and collar have been finished with rough tooling. The crown has been obliquely trimmed from the apex of the forehead to the back of the head, and the resultant surface roughly tooled. No dowel hole has been set into the trimmed portion of

the crown. While the forehead and brows are free of hair, the lower section of the hairmass has been crudely chiselled about the ears and at the back of the head, where a marked groove delimits it from the neck. The lobes of the ears bear small holes for rings. Moreover, the head displays a slight inclination to its left, and requires an inclined mount.

The head is a slight, disconnected work with etiolated proportions and casually applied features. The forehead is abnormally high, and would have been partially obscured by the added headdress. The drooping eyes have little indication of tear ducts and thick, non overlapping lids. The nose has a slender, brittle bridge, the mouth a pair of full, pouting lips. The ears, partially covered by the hair, have been carved in a dry, summary fashion.

While the reputed provenance of Selinus may be questioned, there can be little doubt that the head is West Greek (259). Langlotz in a footnote labelled the piece as Selinuntine, and thought to attribute it to his Artemis-Meister, one of the hypothetical Parian masters responsible for the marble insets of Temple E (260). However, despite an outward similarity of the Louvre head to these sculptures, the more rounded profile of the eye and the high classical form of the mouth show it to be a later work of ca. 440.

With regard to the completion of the head, the lack of any dowelling on the trimmed portion of the crown suggests an addition of stucco. While this may have supported an added headdress, the stucco was likely modelled into a hairmass in conformity with the roughly sketched curls at the back and sides of the head. A considerable portion of the stucco hair probably covered the upper portions of both

forehead and brow.

4 London: Private Collection (261) (Plates 49-51)

from south Italy

16 cm

Greek Island marble

ca. 430

Damages: the left rim of the crown, the tip of the nose, and the left and rear portions of the base of the neck. Chips to the left cheek, and scattered abrasions. Surfaces are good, although considerable encrustation, especially on the left side, is present.

This graceful female head shows a certain independence in its technical features. Instead of having a base, the short neck ends in a simple, oblique edge with a forward slant, and has had its central section hollowed out to receive a peg from the underlying torso. The resultant hole is deep and broad, has roughly tooled surfaces, and a flat, surrounding rim with a correspondingly smoother finish. As with the three previous heads, the crown has been obliquely trimmed, although at a more shallow angle, from the apex of the forehead to the back of the head. By way of difference, however, the inner portion of the head has been hollowed out to form a deep, rounded cavity in the manner of the neck (262). A flat, smoothly tooled rim delimits the cavity, the surfaces of which have been more roughly finished. Furthermore, the head bears two long, rectangular slots, one to each temple, which penetrate to the inner cavity, and a series of seven, more superficial

holes, two above the left eye, two above and before the left ear, one each above the right eye and before the right ear, and one in the fore section of the crown rim, all of which appear to have acted in some combination with the cavity in anchoring an added headpiece. The hairmass is smooth, and has been offset from the head. The eyes have been hollowed out for insets, and the lobes of the merely blocked out ears bear large holes for rings. The head is not frontal, but is slightly inclined to its right. Furthermore, the distorted right face suggests that the head was turned to its right.

The London head is a hesitant, charming work of the developing high classical style in Magna Graecia. In common with much western sculpture in marble, the structure of the face has an undefined, boneless quality as if the artist were more accustomed to shaping terracotta than carving stone. The individual features indicate a skilled but cautious hand. The almond eyes have squared tear ducts, and thin upper lids, the outer corners of which fail to overlap those of the scarcely defined lower lids. The slender nose with fleshy wings is similar to that of the Louvre head<III:3>, the bow-shaped mouth has a pair of soft, generous lips, the corners of which tuck into the surrounding cheeks. The Ciro Apollo <II:3> provides a favourable comparison, especially in profile view, and the head may be dated as a slightly earlier work of ca. 430.

The reconstruction of the added headpiece is problematic. On the basis of the hollowed out interior and the surrounding rim, one may suggest that the head was completed by means of a wooden extension, a rounded foot of which would have fitted snugly within the inner cavity. A pin set within the hole in the fore section of the rim would have additionally secured this wooden addition. Moreover, to account for the

two slots and the six holes in the temples, one may also suggest that the wooden crown was further topped with a bronze headdress which extended to cover part of the marble section. Rivets within the slots would have fastened the bronze to the wooden core, and pins within the holes the metal to the marble. Since both the hairmass and ears have been summarily worked, it is likely that they were intended to be obscured by the headdress. One may be tempted to restore a bronze helmet and identify the head as of Athena, but, as with the Croton <I:10> and Vatican <II:2> heads, the piece could equally have worn a simple bronze wig.

5 Taranto: Museo Nazionale (263) (Plates 52-53)

3885

from Taranto

43 cm

Greek Island marble

ca. 400

Damages: the hair above the right ear, the lower left eyelid and underlying area, the nose, the chin, and the base of the neck. The face and neck have been much defaced by numerous pick marks. Surfaces are worn and mildly encrusted. Traces of stucco are visible on the trimmed surface of the crown.

This big female head has rather hybrid technical features. In the manner of the acroliths of Class I, the stocky, slightly flaring neck has been trimmed of its back portion, whereas the crown has been

obliquely trimmed from the apex of the forehead to the rear, and the resultant surface prepared to secure a headpiece. While a break has destroyed the base of the neck, its trimmed rear has been fitted with a wedge-shaped groove (264). The bottom of this groove has been drilled to hold the pin by which the piece is presently mounted. The eyes have been hollowed out for insets, and the lobes of the ears bored with small holes for rings. The lower section of the hairmass has been carved with the head. The head is not fully frontal, but is turned slightly to its left. Furthermore, the unfinished curls below the left ear in conjunction with the distorted left face suggest that the head was mounted with a turn to its left.

The treatment of the trimmed crown is of a greater complexity than usual. The top of the head has been smoothly tooled to form a narrow platform, bounded at either end by two broad grooves which parallel the fall of the hair, and behind by a slightly recessed area with a small groove in each corner. The center of the trimmed surface has been fitted with a large, crudely tooled dowel hole. Furthermore, two large, curved grooves have been tooled behind the section of hair below each ear. The trimmed surfaces of both the crown and neck have been roughly tooled.

The head is an imposing creation, and displays a set of forceful, fleshy features within a rounded face. The hair is centrally parted, and waved in loose, spiralling tresses behind the ears. The shallow set eyes are high in the forehead, have squared tear ducts, and well defined, non overlapping lids. The long nose and narrow mouth have been much damaged, although for the last the outlines of the thin upper and the full, pouting lower lips are evident. The visible parts of the ears

have been carved in a dry, competent fashion. The neck adds an element of opulence with its incipient rolls of fat.

The rounded face, the softly waved hair, and the full mouth all indicate the advanced high classical period. Langlotz suggested a date at the beginning of the fourth century, and pointed to the pedimental sculptures from the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros as contemporary parallels (265). Although of later date, a close relation is the mid fourth-century head of a goddess from Taranto in Kansas City (266). Furthermore, a resonant echo of this type of cult head is afforded by the colossal acrolith of Temple B of the Largo Argentina in Rome (267). The Taranto head may be dated ca. 400.

The traces of stucco on the trimmed section of the crown suggest that the head was completed in this medium. Although the large dowel hole is perhaps more suited to anchoring an addition in wood, the rough, uneven tooling of the cut precludes this possibility. Furthermore, the upper platform, its flanking grooves, and the grooves below each ear argue that an additional headdress, which presumably was of bronze, capped this stucco addition. A clue to the identity of this second element may be sought in the lower pair of grooves, the curved contours of which appear to chart the inferior corners of a helmet. Such a helmet could have been shoed onto the head by means of the upper grooves, and additionally fastened by pins set within the recessed area behind the platform. Restored with such a helmet, the head would have been of Athena.

The salient feature of this type of acrolith is an oblique trimming of the crown from the apex of the forehead to the back of the head. In each case the trimmed area has been prepared to support some form of

added headpiece. In other respects the heads have been fully carved, the one exception being the Taranto head <III:5> which, in the manner of an acrolith of Class I, has been trimmed of the back section of its neck. There is considerable variety in the format of the bases. The Malibu <III:2>, Louvre <III:3>, and seemingly the Copenhagen <III:1> heads have a base similar to that common in the second class of acrolith, the major difference being that the bases of the first two heads have been fitted respectively with a rectangular dowel hole and a prominent spur. The Taranto head <III:5> has lost the base of its neck, but its trimmed back has been channelled to form a wedge-shaped groove. The London head <III:4> has no base as such, but rather its neck has been trimmed on a simple, oblique line. Not one of the heads has survived with its extremities.

In keeping with the differing conventions of their bases, the heads of this group would have been mounted in various ways. The Malibu <III:2>, Louvre <III:3>, and seemingly the Copenhagen <III:1> heads must have been mounted similarly to those of the second class, with the added reinforcement of a dowel for the first and a spur for the second. Furthermore, both the Malibu <III:2> and Louvre <III:3> heads require the inclined mount which is so characteristic a feature of the second class. As for the Taranto head <III:5>, one may imagine that it was mounted in the fashion of an acrolith of Class I, and that the wedge-shaped groove anchored a projection from the wooden spur completing its trimmed neck. Finally, the London head <III:4> must have been simply pegged on to a rounded spur from its wooden torso. Of the five heads, the Copenhagen example <III:1> is frontal with respect to its neck, and the remaining four show a slight inclination to one side.

Moreover, facial asymmetries suggest that all were mounted at an angle.

On the basis of the varied treatment of the trimmed crowns, it has been inferred that each head was completed with an addition fashioned of wood or stucco. Moreover, it appears that both the London <III:4> and Taranto <III:5> heads were further capped with a bronze headdress, which in the case of the latter may be identified as a helmet. The Malibu head <III:2> is singular in having a series of holes about its temples, which presumably served to fasten bronze curls. Moreover, while the last piece was most likely completed with a wooden crown, it would appear from the traces of stucco that a portion of its visible hairmass was modelled by means of this medium. With regard to the missing ears of the Copenhagen head <III:1> and the uncarved upper part of the ears of the Malibu head <III:2>, these would have been fashioned, completed, obscured or partially obscured by the additions.

Although all of the heads may be recognised as female, only the Taranto head <III:5> permits an identification, and that as an Athena. The Louvre <III:3>, London <III:4>, and Taranto <III:5> heads were fitted with earrings, and the last has had its eyes hollowed out for insets.

While the Taranto head <III:5> is big, the Copenhagen <III:1>, Malibu <III:2> and Louvre <III:3> heads are slightly under life-size, and the London head <III:4> is small. In respect to provenance, two of the heads <III:2 & 5> are from Taranto, one <III:3> from Selinus, while two <III:1 & 4> are from south Italy at large. Chronologically the heads fall within the second half of the fifth century: the Copenhagen head <III:1> dates to ca. 450, the Malibu head <III:2> to ca. 440, the Louvre head <III:3> to ca. 430, the London head <III:4> to ca. 430, and

the Taranto head <III:5> to ca. 400.

Two other heads merit discussion here in that both have been incorrectly labelled as of West Greek acroliths. The first is a head which was discovered in 1939 in the Via della Consolazione near the church of St Omobono in Rome (268). The piece has been tentatively identified as the head from a cult statue of Ops, which would have stood within her temple on the summit of the Capitoline hill. The head appears to be that of an acrolith, and the oblique trimming of its crown allies it with the members of this third class. Nevertheless, despite Fuchs' assertion to the contrary, the head is hardly from a West Greek acrolith of the fifth century, restored and reutilized in Roman times (269), but an eclectic Roman work of the Augustan era which, like the Largo Argentina acrolith (270), reflects a West Greek type of the high classical period.

The second is an Athena head in the Museo Barracco, a piece which was acquired in the nineteenth century from an Englishman resident on Capri (271). The head is a crude, forceful work which has been interpreted as an Attic predecessor of the Athena Parthenos, but most recently by von Steuben as from a West Greek acrolith of the high classical period (272). The piece, however, while technically similar to the members of the third class, is clearly a Roman work, if it is not actually a fake (273), and but a provincial version of the Athena Medici type (274). Indeed, certain details, namely the carving of the lower section of the helmet, and the groove set within the trimmed surface of the crown, are purely Roman, and not to be encountered in Greek heads (275). Additionally, the neck finishes in the rounded spur typical of heads which were pieced to a stone torso.

Belonging to this third class are the fragments of two late hellenistic acroliths, identifiable as Asklepios and Hygieia, which are known from the site of Pheneos in Arcadia (276). The fragments - two pairs of sandalled feet, odd fingers, and a female head - are of colossal scale, and were discovered within a building in conjunction with a base signed by the Athenian sculptor Attalos, the son of Lachares. The head has preserved its inset eyes of agate and glass and the greater portion of its bronze eyelashes.

A seemingly Roman copy of an acrolithic head of this class is provided by a marble from Cyrene in the British Museum (277). The head, which would copy a prototype of the early classical period, is noteworthy for its drilled earlobes and the prominent tenon, like that of the Louvre head <III:3>, on the bottom of its flat, rounded base. Also of this class would be a second head from Cyrene identified by Paribeni as a copy of an acrolith of the early classical period (278). The head is demonstrably of Roman date on the basis of the grooved channel, identical to that of the Barracco Athena, which has been set into the trimmed surface of its crown (279). Nevertheless, the broad, bust-like finish of the base with its curved lower edge argue that the head, rather than being acrolithic, was pieced to a stone torso.

Indeed, it should be noted that an oblique trimming of the crown is to be encountered with some frequency in Greek and Roman heads which were pieced together from different sections of marble, and cannot by itself be used as the identifying feature of an acrolith of this type (280). Additional examples of non acrolithic sculptures which display this feature are the heads of Anytos and Artemis from the colossal group at Lykosura by Damophon of Messene (281), and the head of the Zeus of

Aigeira by Euklides (282). However, if it is clear that these heads are from composite marble figures, some confusion does reign over a pair of late hellenistic heads of similar type from Rome. The heads, the first being of Herakles (283), the second of a goddess (284), are colossal, and by virtue of their stylistic bravura clearly belonged to statues of some importance. Coarelli has in fact brilliantly argued that the former is from the statue of Herakles by Polykles, mentioned by Cicero as being on the Capitoline, and that the latter is a remnant of the Juno created by Polykles and Dionysios for the Temple of Juno Regina in circo (285). Both heads have obliquely trimmed crowns, and like those of Anytos and Artemis, have had the central portion of their heads hollowed out. Nevertheless, it does not follow for these reason that the heads are acrolithic, as Coarelli and other scholars have argued. Indeed, the smooth surfaces of the trimmed edges of the crowns and their carefully hollowed interiors suggest rather that the heads were completed with neatly morticed marble additions, and that accordingly the heads are from composite marble statues (286). However, since both pieces have lost the greater portion of their necks, one must suspend a final judgement.

Chapter 5

West Greek acroliths fall neatly into three morphological categories, each of which may be defined by a particular treatment of the head. The three types, however, are not peculiar to West Greece, but, with the possible exception of the second variety, are also known from other parts of the Greek world (287).

Of the three types, the first is the most heavily subscribed, having fourteen pieces in contrast to the mere six of the second and five of the third classes. Additionally, the first group has the oldest extant acroliths, the pair in New York <I:1> which may be dated ca. 530, and is the sole of the three, either in West Greece or elsewhere, to have examples from the archaic period. In addition to the last mentioned pieces, two of the three heads from Paestum <I:2-3> as well as a head from Cyrene (288) are of the late archaic period. That this type may be the oldest form of acrolith is also suggested by the fact that it shares its head format with the chryselephantine convention, from which it has been argued that the acrolithic technique derives. Certainly it appears to have been the commonest and most traditional form of acrolith; in keeping with the statistics of West Greek examples, extant acroliths of this class from elsewhere in the Greek world considerably outnumber those of the other two (289). Furthermore, insofar as they are described as having faces of stone, eleven out of the twelve acroliths in Pausanias and the tettigophoros of the Samian Heraion would have been of this type (290).

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de Vogue head from Aegina of the early classical period (291) and the two hellenistic colossi from Pheneos in Arcadia (292). While this admittedly fragmentary evidence suggests that the two types were creations of the classical period, it does not follow that they supplanted the earlier first type. Indeed, fifth and fourth century examples of the first group are known from West Greece and elsewhere, while Pausanias' descriptions of the Eileithyia at Aegium and the Aphrodite Machanitis at Melagopolis by Damophon of Messene (293) show that the type continued its vogue in the hellenistic period. Nor may a chronological succession be established for the second and third types, since the two at least in West Greece appear to have existed side by side. For that matter, apart from the trimming of the crown, there is little difference between acroliths of the second and third types.

Two varieties of foot have appeared in this study: the half-feet of the New York acroliths <I:1> and the complete feet of the Cirò acrolith <II:3>. Although the two pertain to acroliths of different classes, it is not possible to state, in the absence of more complete evidence, whether the type of extremity was defined by the particular class of acrolith. It may be argued, however, that the half-foot variety, in that it is identical to the type encountered in the earlier chryselephantine convention, is the oldest form of acrolithic foot. Furthermore, while half-feet are additionally known from the Bassae acroliths (294), the Athena Polias from Priene (295), the Largo Argentina acrolith (296), and two acrolithic copies of the Athena Medici (297), only the Cirò acrolith <II:3>, the Pheneos colossi (298), and an acrolithic Athena of Roman date (299), have provided examples of complete feet. As for the hands, both those of the New York <I:1> and

Cirò <II:3> acroliths are fully carved, with the possibility that the hands of the latter also included a considerable section of the adjacent forearms. Similar hands are likewise known from one of the Bassae acroliths (300). Although the Athena Polias from Priene is the sole Greek acrolith to have arms fully carved of marble (301), the Largo Argentina acrolith also had a pair of complete arms (302). It would appear, however, from the accounts of Pausanias, who not once refers to marble arms, that but the hands were traditionally carved of marble (303).

The distribution of acroliths in West Greece is widespread, the greatest number having been yielded by the various centers of south Italy. Acroliths are known from Paestum <I:2-4>, Croton <I:10>, Punta Alice near Cirò Marina <II:3>, the Metapontine <I:11 & II:6>, Taranto <I:5, II:5 & III:2 & 5>, and Selinus <I:7 & III:3>. Additionally the two New York acroliths <I:1> are from an unknown site in Sicily, while the heads in Paris <I:9>, Copenhagen <III:1>, and London <III:4> have the general provenance of south Italy. The lone New York <I:8> and ex Ars Antiqua <II:4> heads lack provenances, but stylistic features favour their attribution to West Greece. In similar fashion, the Adolphseck <I:6>, Ludovisi <II:1>, and Vatican <II:2> heads, all of which appear to have surfaced in Rome, may be assigned to West Greece.

The majority of the acroliths lack an archeological context, but the nine that do are from the site of either a temple or a sanctuary: <I:2-4> from the third votive pit to the north of the Temple of Hera II at Paestum; <I:7> from the pronaos and adyton of Temple E at Selinus; <I:11> from the sanctuary of Pizzica-Pantanello in the Metapontine; <II:3> from the Temple of Apollo Alaios at Punta Alice; and <II:6> from

the sanctuary of Zeus Aglaïos in the Metapontine. It has been argued in the introduction that acroliths appear to have served primarily as cult statues, and the discovery of the last pieces in sacred contexts would support this claim.

Nor is this picture effectively challenged by the contexts of non West Greek acroliths, or the evidence of the sources. Of the five such acroliths with contexts, the two from Bassae were discovered within the Temple of Apollo Epikourios (304), the Pheneos colossi were found on and about an inscribed base within an Asklepeion (305), while the remains of the Athena Polias are from her temple at Priene (306). Furthermore, all of the acroliths described by Pausanias and the colossal Ares at Halikarnassos cited by Vitruvius were clearly the cult statues of their particular temple or shrine (307). The same may likewise be affirmed for the acroliths of Demeter and Kore and the two of Hera on Delos, and, in view of its having worn a golden robe, the Dionysos of Argos (309). More problematic, on the other hand, are the three acroliths within the *Πόριος ναός* and the four of the *Οἶκος πρὸς τῷ ὁ Διὰ δούμενον* on Delos, all seven of which are without identification (310). While it was admittedly possible for a given temple to have more than one cult statue (311), the location of two of the acroliths of the *Πόριος ναός* in the pronaos, with the third in the cella, suggests the possibility that the porch pair were votives. A similar interpretation may be adopted for the four within the *Οἶκος πρὸς τῷ ὁ Διὰ δούμενον*, although it is not clear whether the building had a sacred or a secular, private character. As for the Heraion acrolith, this would appear to be a clear case of a votive by reason of its inclusion among the dedications inventoried in the left

section of the temple (312). Furthermore, in the light of this second role of acroliths, one must also admit the possibility that, by virtue of their numbers, certain of the pieces mentioned above, namely the respective triads from Paestum <I:2-4> and Selinus <I:7> and the pair from Bassae (313), were also votives.

It should be additionally observed that two of the Cyrene heads, which were consigned to the authorities by Arabs, are said to have come from cemeteries (314). While such a provenance would suggest that acroliths were also used as funerary statues, it must be noted that the relevant heads possess all the characteristic traits of heads from cult statues. Indeed, the two are fully frontal, have drilled earlobes, while one of the two had inset eyes.

The identification of actual divinities is possible only with respect to a few of the West Greek acroliths: the Ciro acrolith <II:3> as Apollo; the San Biagio fragment <II:6> arguably as Zeus; the New York acroliths <I:1> possibly as Demeter and Kore; the Paestum <I:2-4> and Selinus <I:7> heads possibly as Hera; and the Taranto head <III:5> as Athena. The remaining acroliths are all mute as to their identity. Nevertheless, out of a total of twenty-five pieces, twenty are almost certainly female (315), three are of indeterminate sex (316), while but two are securely male (317). This curious disproportion in favour of the female is also evidenced by acroliths outside West Greece. Apart from the Bassae acroliths (318), which arguably were of Apollo, the Ares at Halikarnassos (319), the Asklepios of the Pheneos pair (320), and the Dionysos at Argos (321), all other acroliths which allow identification are female: the Aphrodite Machanitis at Megalopolis (322), the Aphrodite at Patras (323), the de Vogue head as Athena (324), the Athena Areia at

Plataea (325), the Athena Chalinitis at Corinth (326), the Athena Polias at Priene (327), the Charites at Elis (328), the Demeters Erinys and Lousia at Onkion (329), the Demeter and kore on Delos (330), the Eleithyia at Aegium (331), the Heras on Delos (332), the Hygieia from Pheneos (333), the Kore Soteira at Megalopolis (334), the Tyche at Elis (335), and the tettigophoros of the Samian Heraion (336). Furthermore, the single heads from Atrax and Samos (337), and the four from Cyrene (338), may be recognized as female on the basis of their hairstyles or drilled earlobes. So striking a predominance of the female type cannot be purely coincidental, but may possibly be explained by the cosmetic ritual which appears to have focused upon acroliths. A similar predominance of female divinities may in fact be encountered in those statues, whether acrolithic or otherwise, which the sources identify as having worn robes (339). Indeed, the practice of kosmesis would appear to be far better suited to a female rather than a male deity.

If the evidence for the robing of acroliths comes exclusively from the sources, it is nevertheless clear that many extant acroliths were designed to wear jewellery and other trappings. Drilled earlobes for the fastening of earrings are most frequent, and are displayed by the Adolphseck <I:6>, Paris <I:9>, Croton <I:10>, Ludovisi <II:1>, Vatican <II:2>, Metropolitan <II:5>, Louvre <III:3>, London <III:4>, and Taranto <III:5> heads, as well as by three of the four heads from Cyrene (340), the head from Samos (341), and the de Vogue head from Aegina (342). Furthermore, the Adolphseck <I:6> and Ludovisi <II:1> heads both wore hair ornaments, while the latter appears to have been fitted with a double strand of necklaces. The holes about the crown of the Ciro acrolith <II:3> probably served to bind a diadem of precious metal.

Additionally the Delian acroliths of Demeter and Kore wore crowns and earrings of gilded wood (343), while the acrolith within the Samian Heraion was adorned with gilded tettiges and earrings (344). Eyes hollowed out for insets are also a common feature of acroliths, and are displayed by the heads of the New York <I:1> and Ciro <II:3> acroliths, by the Vatican <II:2>, London <III:4>, and Taranto <III:5> heads, as well as by the heads from Samos (345), two of the four from Cyrene (346), and the head of Hygieia from the Pheneos pair (347). Both the Vatican <II:2> and Pheneos heads have preserved their insets, of chalcedony (?) and agate and glass respectively, and a good portion of their bronze eyelashes.

The question of size merits some consideration. West Greek acroliths show a considerable variety in size, and range from the colossal <I:11 & II:1> and big <I:1, 6, II:2-3, 5-6, & III:5> to the small <I:2-4, 8-9, II:4, & III:4>, while the middle range of approximately life-size, or a little thereunder, <I:5-7, 10, & III:1-3> is well represented. A similar spread of sizes is displayed by acroliths from elsewhere, with the one exception that no small examples are known. The Athena Polias and the Pheneos acroliths are of colossal scale (348), the Bassae acroliths big (349), while the remaining heads from Atrax (350), Aegina (351), Samos (352), Thera (353), and Cyrene (354) are all approximately life-size or slightly thereunder. Additionally the Ares at Halikarnassos (355), the Athena Areia at Plataea (356), the Kore Soteira at Megalopolis (357), and the Tyche at Elis (358) were colossal acroliths. While colossal, big, and life-size proportions are all appropriate to statues serving as cult images, the smaller dimensions of some of the West Greek heads are less so.

Although cult statues of a reduced scale are not an inconceivable solution, it is possible that a number of these heads were from votives.

By way of summation and conclusion it may be stated that acroliths were a sculptural form which arose as the result of a Greek adaptation of the oriental chryselephantine and acroelephantine traditions. This assertion can be proved by the fact that the two conventions share an identical form of head and foot, both of which may be traced to the Near East. Although the earliest acroliths are the two Sicilian pieces in New York <I:1> of the later sixth century, it is likely that the convention was older, and that it appeared as early as the mid seventh century, when stone was first adopted for monumental sculpture. Acroliths are known from virtually every part of the Greek world, but are best represented by the twenty-five examples from West Greece which have permitted the classification of acroliths into three types. While such a concentration of acroliths in the marble-scarce western colonies would appear to support the traditional view of the acrolith as an economic form of sculpture, there is stronger evidence to argue that the popularity of the convention rested in the specific function of this statuary type. If acroliths could serve as votives, it appears that their primary role was that of cult statues which were traditionally used for the purposes of kosmesis. This ritual involved the adornment of the image with jewellery and with a ceremonial robe, and was designed to renew the potency of the divinity. Accordingly any explanation of the frequency of acroliths in West Greece is to be argued more convincingly on the grounds of local religious practice rather than those of economy.

Appendix 1

Acroliths in Written Sources

1 Athena Areia at Plataea by Pheidias

Pausanias IX 4, 1

An acrolith of gilded wood with face, hands, and feet of Pentelic marble. Both the shrine and image of Athena were financed by the Plataean's share of the booty from Marathon. The statue was slightly smaller than Pheidias' Athena Promachos on the Athenian acropolis. The type known as the Athena Medici has been plausibly associated with the Athena Areia. This is supported by the fact that two of the copies, those in Vienna and the Vatican (supra, note 157), are in the acrolithic technique. For the type cf. W Amelung, JOI 11, 1908, 169-211; Amelung, RM 40, 1925, 137-38; G Libertini, RM 40, 1925, 125-35; & Despinis, Akrolitha.

2 Eileithyia at Aegium by Damophon of Messene

Pausanias VII 23, 5-6

An acrolith within the Sanctuary of Eileithyia at Aegium. The statue had a face, hands, and feet of Pentelic marble, and was draped from head to foot in a fine garment. In one of the two outstretched hands was held a torch.

3 Kore Soteira at Megalopolis by Damophon of Messene

Pausanias VIII 31, 1-2

An acrolith within the Sanctuary of the Eleusinian Goddesses at the west end of the stoa of the agora of Megalopolis. Pausanias

describes the statue as having wooden drapery in contrast to the accompanying Demeter, also by Damophon, which was completely of stone. Both statues had a height of fifteen Greek feet.

- 4 Aphrodite Machanitis at Megalopolis by Damophon of Messene
Pausanias VIII 31, 6

An acrolith within the Temple of Aphrodite, which was situated within the Sanctuary of the Eleusinian Goddesses at Megalopolis. The face, the hands, and feet of the statue were of an unspecified stone.

- 5 Athena Chalinitis at Corinth
Pausanias II 4, 1

An acrolith within the Sanctuary of Athena Chalinitis at Corinth. The face, the hands, and feet of the image were of white marble. G Daux (BCH 90, 1966, 749-50, fig 3, pl 11) suggests that a large female head from the Anaploga district is perhaps a Roman reflection of the Athena Chalinitis. While its inset eyes, drilled earlobes, and big proportions argue that the head is the copy of a cult image, the piece itself is not acrolithic. Indeed, the rounded bottom of its base suggests that the head was pieced to a stone torso. For an added reference to this acrolithic identification cf.

C Carpenter, AJA 72, 1968, 162-63.

- 6 The Charites at Elis
Pausanias VI 24, 6

Three acroliths within the Sanctuary of the Charites in the agora

of Elis. Each had gilded garments and faces, hands, and feet of white marble. The first bore a rose, the second a die, and the third a sprig of myrtle.

7 Tyche at Elis

Pausanias VI 25, 4

A colossal acrolith of gilded wood with face, hands, and feet of white marble within the colonnade of the Sanctuary of Tyche at Elis.

8 Aphrodite at Patras

Pausanias VII 21, 10

An acrolith within the Temenos of Aphrodite near the harbour of Patras. The face, the hands, and feet of the image were of an unspecified stone.

9 Demeter Erinyes & Demeter Lousia at Onkion

Pausanias VIII 25, 6-7

Two acroliths with faces, hands, and feet of Parian marble within the Temple of Demeter at Onkion in the territory of Thelpousa. The first carried a basket, and torch, and had a height of approximately nine Greek feet. The second was of slighter build, and appeared to Pausanias to have a height of six Greek feet.

10 Ares at Halikarnassos by Leochares or Timotheos

Vitruvius II 8, 11

A colossal acrolith by Leochares or Timotheos within the Temple of

Ares on the acropolis of Halikarnassos

11 Demeter & Kore on Delos

ID 1417 A I, 49-52; 1425 II, 14; 1442 B, 16-18

Two acroliths within the Thesmophorion on Delos. The statues were throned, had crowns and earrings of gilded wood, and were dressed in purple and linens. The accounts also mention a chiton, a peplos (?) (ID 440 A, 41), a veil (ἐθόνη), two flax cloths (κάπταροι), and fine cloths (σινδόνες) as part of the goddess' wardrobe.

12 Hera on Delos

ID 1417 A II, 22; 1426 B II, 22; 1442 B, 44-45

Two acroliths of Hera, which were dressed in linens, within the Heraion on Delos.

13 Acroliths within the *Πόριος ναός* on Delos

ID 1403 Bb I, 80-81

Three acroliths of undesignated type. Two were located in the pronaos, the third in the cella of the temple.

14 Acroliths within the *οἶκος πρὸς ᾧ ὁ Διαδοῦμενος* on Delos

ID 1403 Bb I, 59-60

Four acroliths of undesignated type.

15 Dionysos at Argos

IG IV 558, 14

An acrolith of Dionysos with a golden robe.

16 Acrolith on Samos

C Michel, Recueil d'inscriptions grecques, 1900,
no 832, 51-53

An acrolithic statue of a woman wearing gilded tettiges and
earrings within the Heraion of Samos.

17 Calpurnia at Rome

Scriptores Historiae Augustae: Tyranni Triginta 32

A gilded acrolith of Calpurnia, the wife of the pretender Titus,
in the Temple of Venus at Rome.

Appendix 2

Non West Greek Acroliths

Class I:

1 ex Art Market

from Atrax, Thessaly

27 cm

ca. 470

A frontal female head. The piece has not been adequately described, but, to judge from the published photographs, it appears to have been trimmed of its back by a smooth, transverse cut, with the resultant surface showing a slight concavity. The neck finishes in a convex base with a gentle flare. The hair is centrally parted, bound by a fillet, and waved behind the ears. A loop or rosette of hair hangs from beneath the fillet before the ears. Above the fillet the hair appears not to have been carved.

H Biesantz, *Die thessalischen Grabreliefs*, 1965, 29, no 9, 122, 147, pl 30.

2 Samos: Vathy Museum, 76

from Samos

23.5 cm

ca. 460

A fragmentary female head from an unknown location on the island. The head, which is frontal, has been trimmed of its back by a smooth, transverse cut, and the resultant surface is free of dowelling. A curious feature is that the head has no neck. The hair, which is

smooth on the crown, is combed before the ears in broad, loose bangs, the eyes were hollowed out for insets, and the lobe of the extant right ear has been fitted with a large hole for an ornament. Buschor suggested that the piece was from a possibly acrolithic cult statue of Hera, and attempted to explain the smooth crown by proposing that the image was designed to wear a mantle, in keeping with the annual ritual of bathing and dressing the Hera of Samos. More recently Freyer-Schauenburg has discounted an acrolithic solution, precisely on the basis of the flat trimming of the back, and proposes instead that the present state of the head is the result of the reworking of a damaged statue.

T Wiegand, AM 25, 1900, 152-53, no 5; E Buschor, *Altsamische Standbilder II*, 1934, 42, figs 144-45; Poulsen, *Strenge Stil*, 84; F Willemsen, *Frühe griechische Kultbilder*, 1939 (diss. Munich), 15, note 22; Lippold, *Handbuch*, 126, note 5; H Hiller, *AA*, 1972, 59-60, figs 10, 12; B Freyer-Schauenburg, *Samos XI*, 1974, no 142.

3 Thera: Thera Museum, 28

from Thera

life-size

ca. 460

A fragment of a head of indeterminate sex from the vicinity of the late hellenistic/early Roman Heroon near the church of Evangelismos. The fragment comprises the forehead, the eyes (outer corner of the left eye is missing), and the root of the nose. Although no adequate description of the piece exists, the head appears to have been trimmed of its back by a flat, transverse

cut. The crown has been trimmed, and the brows have two holes for the attachment of an addition. There is no articulation of hair. Paribeni classified the head as a face, while Langlotz identified it as acrolithic.

H Dragendorff, *Thera II*, 1903, 249-50, fig 440; E Paribeni, *AMSMG* 2, 1958, 63; Langlotz, *Studien*, 148, 152, pl 47: 1-2.

4 Cyrene: Museum, 14.412

from El Agar (?)

18 cm

ca. 500

A frontal female head. There appears to be some confusion as to provenance; Paribeni (1958) states that the head was said to have been found in the area of a cemetery, but later (1959) claims that the piece was consigned by Arabs with the declared provenance of El Agar, while Goodchild affirms it to be from the eastern necropolis of Cyrene. The head has been trimmed of its back by a roughly tooled, transverse cut, and of its crown by a smooth, oblique cut. The surface of the trimmed crown bears an iron pin, which presumably served to bind the wooden section of the head. The portion of the forehead directly below the trimmed crown has been rasped, possibly for the adhesion of a hairmass separately added in stucco. The neck has broken away. The eyes have been hollowed out for insets, and the lobes of the ears drilled for rings. Paribeni has classified the head, along with the following three examples, as a face, while Langlotz correctly identified it as acrolithic. The latter further proposed that the

head be from a Meter statue, or from an early copy of the Ephesian Artemis.

E Paribeni, AMSMG 2, 1958, 63-66, no 1, pl 15; Paribeni, Cirene no 25; Langlotz, Phokaia, 42, note 115; Langlotz, RA, 1968, 99-100, figs 6-7; R G Goodchild, Kyrene und Apollonia, 1971, 169, fig 135; Langlotz, Studien, 131, 175, pl 37: 3, 5-6.

5 Cyrene: Museum, 14.413

from the area of El Bogara

25 cm

ca. 460

A frontal female head said to have been found in the area of a necropolis. The head has been trimmed of its back and crown in the manner of the preceding example. Like the head from Atrax, the surface of the trimmed back shows a slight concavity. The neck finishes in a flared base with a convex profile. The lobes of the ears have been drilled for rings. Langlotz identified the piece as acrolithic. Paribeni argues that the head comes from a statue of a small, isolated sanctuary, or from a funerary bust.

E Paribeni, AMSMG 2, 1958, 63-66, no 2, pl 16: 1; Paribeni, Cirene, no 26; Langlotz, Studien, 152, pl 47: 3-4.

6 Cyrene: Museum, 14.019

from Cyrene

16 cm

ca. 430

A fragmentary female head which has been trimmed of its back and

crown in the manner of the two preceding pieces. The section of the forehead directly below the trimmed crown has been roughly tooled. The neck has broken away. The lobe of the preserved right ear bears a hole for a ring.

E Paribeni, AMSMG 2, 1958, 63-66, no 3, pl 16:3; Paribeni, Cirene, no 28.

7 Cyrene: Museum, 14.414

from Cyrene

7 cm

ca. 430

A fragmentary head catalogued by Paribeni as female. Preserved are the forehead, the upper half of the left eye, and the inner portion of the right eye. The crown and back have been trimmed in the manner of the three preceding pieces. The eyes have been hollowed out for insets.

E Paribeni, AMSMG 2, 1958, 63-66, no 4, pl 16: 2; Paribeni, Cirene, no 27.

Class II:

1 Paris, Musée du Louvre, 3109

ex M le Marquis de Vogüé

from Aegina

20 cm (chin to top of head)

ca. 470

A helmeted head of Athena. The head is frontal, and has been fully

carved. The base of the slender neck has broken away. While the eyes have been fully carved, the eyelashes were added separately in bronze, a convention usually to be encountered with inset eyes. The lobes of the ears bear holes for rings. Various elements of the helmet - the crest, the cheek pieces, and the neck guard - were added in bronze, and fastened to the head by means of holes. Orsi suggested that the head was acrolithic on the grounds of a presumed analogy between its base and that of the head of the *Cirō* acrolith <II:3>. However, the present base of the *de Vogüé* head is totally modern. Ridgway independently admits the possibility of the head's being acrolithic, but refrains from a conclusion due to the damaged state of the neck. While its frontality, bronze eyelashes, and added ear ornaments suggest that the head is of a cult statue, it must remain an open question whether the piece is acrolithic.

M Collignon, *MonPiot* 13, 1906, 167-74, pls 16-17; Langlotz, *Bildhauerschulen* 99, no 12, 102, pl 56; J Charbonneaux, *La sculpture grecque au Musée du Louvre*, 1936, pl 10; Orsi, *Templum*, 162, note 1; Lippold, *Handbuch*, 100; Ridgway, *Severe Style*, 39, no 1, 147; Langlotz, *Studien*, 148.

Class III:

- 1 Pheneos
from Pheneos
colossal
second century BC

Fragments of two colossal acroliths of Asklepios and Hygieia. The fragments comprise two pairs of feet, the first sandalled, the second bare, some fingers, and a female head. The head (80 cm) finishes in a rounded base with a deep, roughly tooled collar, and has been trimmed of its crown by an oblique cut. As with the London head <III:4>, the central section of the head has been hollowed out, and the surrounding rim fitted with a series of small holes for the fastening of a headpiece. The eyes bear their original insets of agate and glass and much of the bronze eyelashes. The lower section of the centrally parted hairmass and a circlet have been carved with the head. The ears have been carved, but it is difficult to judge from the photographs whether the lobes were drilled. The various fragments were found on and about a large base within a building which may be identified as an Asklepeion. The base bears an inscription signed by the Athenian sculptor Attalos, the son of Lachares, possibly to be identified with the Attalos of Athens, whom Pausanias (II 19, 3) cites as the sculptor of the Apollo Lykeios at Argos. Stewart places Attalos within his Period IV (ca. 160-86 BC).

G Daux, BCH 83, 1959, 625-26, fig 14; E Vanderpool, AJA 63, 1959, 280-81, pl 76: 12-13; E Protonotariou-Deilaki, ADelt 17/2,

1961-62, 57-59, pls 63-64; N D Papahadzis, *Παυσανίου*

Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις IV, 1980, 230-34, figs 204, 208;

A Stewart, Attika, 1979, 54, 62, note 90, 139, 141, 151, note 34, 163, 172, note 52.

Class Uncertain:

- 1 London: British Museum, Reg. nos 1815, 10-20, 42-52

from the Temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassae

hellenistic

Fragments of two big acroliths. Preserved of the first are the sandalled right foot (42), the palm of the left hand (43), the unattached second through fourth fingers of the same hand (45-46), the wrist of the right hand (44), and bits of five stray fingers (47-50, 52). The second acrolith is represented solely by a portion of a sandalled foot (51). The feet, which clearly belong to two different statues by virtue of their differing sandal types, are of the half-foot variety, and have been trimmed through the arch. While the foot of the second acrolith is free of any dowelling, that of the first bears a deep, rectangular dowel hole in the middle of its trimmed section. The right wrist of the first acrolith preserves its original trimming, and displays a deep, circular dowel hole. That this extended deeply into the hand is shown by the palm of the left hand where the end of an analogous channel, which bears considerable traces of lead, is clearly visible. Additionally, the curled fingers of the left hand are linked by an indeterminate strap-like object which has been perforated by a single hole.

According to Pausanias (VIII 30, 3) a bronze statue of Apollo Epikourios stood before the Sanctuary of Zeus Lykaeos at Megalopolis, whither it had been brought from Bassae. If this was the original cult statue of the temple, it is likely that the two

acroliths postdate the foundation of Megalopolis (ca. 368). The indentation of the sandal between the first and second toes of the first acrolith would suggest a date after the end of the fourth century, the time at which this convention is thought to first appear. cf. E Touloupa, *Adelt* 28, 1973, 116-37; & M Bieber, *AJA* 45, 1941, 62-63 who argues for an earlier date in the fifth century.

O M von Stackelberg, *Der Apollotempel zu Bassae in Arcadien und die daselbst ausgegrabenen Bildwerke*, 1826, 98-101, pl 31;
A Blouet, *Expedition scientifique de Moree* II, 1833, pl 23:5;
C R Cockerell, *The Temples of Jupiter Panhellenius at Aegina, and of Apollo Epicurius at Bassae near Phigaleia in Arcadia*, 1860, 59, pl 16; Smith, *Catalogue Greek Sculpture* I, nos. 543-44;
J G Frazer, *Pausanias' Description of Greece* IV, 1898, 399.

- 2 London: British Museum, Reg. nos 1870,3-20,136, 208, 210, 305
& 1972,4-25,4

from the Temple of Athena Polias at Priene

ca. 150 BC

Fragments of the colossal Athena Polias which Pausanias (VII 5,5) cites as a work of considerable beauty. Extant are the left foot (136), the fragmentary right foot (305), the left upper arm (208), the fragmentary left hand (210), and a fragment of the face with the mouth (1972 4-25 4). The intact left foot, which has grooves and a hole for the attachment of sandals, has been obliquely trimmed through the instep, and the resultant surface fitted with a dowel hole. The lower portion of the left arm has a big dowel hole for

the fastening of the forearm. For the bronze wings of a possible Nike which may have been supported by a hand of the statue. cf.

H B Walters, Catalogue of the Bronzes, British Museum, 1899, no 1728. The date of the statue may be established by the discovery of six tetradrachms of Orophernes II (158 BC) under the foundation blocks of the statue's base.

Antiquities of Ionia IV, 1881, 31, fig 17; O Rayet & A Thomas, Milet et le golfe Latmique II, 1880, 21, pl 15: 19; Smith, Catalogue Greek Sculpture II, no 1150; T Wiegand & H Schrader, Priene, 1904, 110-11.

Appendix 3

The Draping of Statues

In a familiar passage of the Iliad, Theano, the priestess of Athena, places a folded peplos on the knees of the seated image of the goddess, the Palladion of Troy, and with the added promise of twelve oxen invokes her aid to stay the onslaught of Diomedes (359). The moment is one of considerable peril for the city, and the rite is enacted as a last resort, on the urging of Helenos, by Theano, Hecuba, and the elder women of Troy. As for the peplos, this is no ordinary garment, but the choicest of those within the chambers of Hecuba, the very finest of the Sidonian embroideries brought back by Paris.

This is the earliest account of a custom, that of dedicating a robe to a divinity, which was of crucial importance in Greek religious practice. Throughout every phase of Greek civilisation certain statues of the gods, namely those which served as cult images, were robed at frequent intervals, or had garments dedicated to them (360). The custom was clearly an ancient one, and, as the reference in Homer would suggest, may have had its roots in geometric ritual (361).

Statue robing is a common enough phenomenon, and is one that may be encountered in cultures both ancient and modern (362). Moreover, that the Greeks should have seen fit to robe the images of their gods is only in keeping with their anthropomorphic conception of divinity. As an illustration of this Xenophanes' remark is appropriate: ἄλλ'

οἱ βροτοὶ θεόεσσιν γένναι δαίθεός
τὴν σφετέρην δ' ἑσθῆτα ἔχειν

φωργὴν τὴν δέμει τε

(363). Possibly the convention

developed in the primitive stages of Greek art from a desire to create a more naturalistic image, and that cloaking the arguably rude form of a xoanon was one means of achieving this end. However, this would be but a partial explanation, for it is equally apparent that Greeks, at least those of the archaic period, regarded cult statues as living embodiments of a particular godhead, and as such deserving of the services and needs of exalted beings. This view of the cult statue as a vital and pregnant force manifested itself in numerous ways: statues were bathed, clothed and given a full toilet - a kosmesis or epikosmesis - restored when the need arose, even at times fed, while their temples and sanctuaries were regularly cleansed and purged (364). The scope of this elaborate ritual, which generally would occur on the annual feast day or days of the god, was doubtless to stimulate or regenerate the divine power of which the statue was the tangible and visible manifestation. Moreover, the role played by the robe was central. Of this there is no better illustration than the Homeric passage; the priestess dedicates a peplos to Athena at a time of impending doom for the city, and by means of this gift and the vow of twelve oxen sways the goddess to shift the balance of the war.

The most celebrated example of a robed statue was the Athena Polias, the olive-wood image of the goddess which reputedly fell from the sky in ancient times, and which was later housed in the Erechtheum (365). This particular statue, the most sacred of all that Athens could boast, was honoured every four years with a new peplos at the culmination of the Greater Panathenaia. About this peplos we possess a

certain knowledge: it appears to have been woven by two of the four Arrephoroi, in conjunction with the priestess of Athena, and the Ergastinai (366), to have been saffron-coloured and embroidered with a Gigantomachy (367), and to have been draped about the goddess by attendants known as the Praxiergidai (368). It is this robing ceremony which is commemorated, or rather alluded to, at the eastern end of the Parthenon frieze.

The antique pedigree of the Athena Polias is not without relevance, for it is evident that the custom of statue draping tended to focus upon the venerable and time-hallowed images of major sanctuaries, or rather survived with them as the vestige of a more widespread archaic practice. Other famous statues of the archaic period that were so honoured were the Apollo Amyklaios, the Artemis at Brauron, the Artemis of Ephesos, the Artemis Orthia, the Athena of Argos, the Athena Alea at Tegea, the Athena Lindia, the Heras of Argos, Olympia, and Samos, and possibly the Hera Lakinia at Croton (369). About the Apollo Amyklaios and the Hera of Olympia Pausanias tells us that the robe of the first was woven by women in a building known as the Chiton, and was changed annually, while that of the Hera was renewed every four years, its weaving being entrusted to the Sixteen Women of Elis (370). Moreover, the practice appears to have included the later versions that were so often made of a given cult image (371).

Apart from the continued robing of archaic cult images and their various offspring, testimony is slim for statues of the classical period. However, there is a certain amount of evidence to argue that the ceremony of robing the Athena Polias was extended to include, if it was not actually transferred to, the Athena Parthenos upon its

dedication in 438 (372). For hellenistic times there is more documentation. The accounts of the Athenian administrators at Delos list a number of draped statues: acroliths of Demeter and Kore, two acroliths of Hera, a xoanon of Leto, an Aphrodite, an Eileithyia, an Isis, statues of the Charites, an Artemis, and a Dionysos (373). Moreover, Pausanias informs us that the Demeter at Bura of Eukleides and the acrolith of Eileithyia at Aegium of Damophon of Messene were both robed (374). And Lucian in his description of the temple of Hieropolis makes note of the xoanon of a bearded Apollo which wore garments (375). Inscriptions supply further evidence: one of the second century from Argos mentions an acrolith of Dionysos with a golden robe (376), a second of a century later from Mantinea honours Nikippe, the daughter of Paseas, for her services to Kore, one of which was the dedication of a robe (377). Also of the second century is an inscription from Magnesia on the Meander which records details of the festival of Zeus Sosipolis, on which occasion xoana of the Twelve Gods, clad in the finest vestments, were paraded in the agora (378).

The practice is also well documented in the contexts of republican and imperial Rome. Pliny relates that Servius Tullius draped a statue of Fortuna, upon its dedication with his toga regia, a garment woven by the famed Tanaquil (379). A gold statue of Caligula was daily dressed according to the changing attire of the same emperor (380), while Nero, operating within a more traditional role, offered a golden crown and purple robe to the Hera of Argos (381). Furthermore, the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* bear three accounts of an emperor's accession to the purple by means of a cloak torn from

the nearby statue of a god (382).

Robes could be worn by statues of various types: xoana, acroliths, and statues fashioned of materials as diverse as bronze, marble, and ivory (383). Of these, moreover, acroliths, as argued in the introduction, appear to have been traditionally utilized for the purposes of robing, and one may well ask whether the type was not specifically designed for such a role. Certainly the maintained combination of a wooden body with marble extremities is most satisfactorily explained if one is to imagine the torso as supporting a ceremonial robe. Indeed, one may readily suggest that the most potent aspect of a vested statue, whether acrolithic or not, was the robe it carried on its shoulders.

As for the power of such divine robes, this is readily clear. Mention has already been made of the peplos given to Athena by Theano in Book VI of the Iliad. This particular peplos, however, was a dedication out of the ordinary, and not necessarily a normal feature of the goddess' attire. More telling is the passage in Plutarch wherein Kallippos, suspected of treachery, is made to perform *τὸν μέγαν ὄρκον* ; he descends into the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Syracuse, dons the purple cloak of the maiden, and, with burning torch in hand, swears an oath of good faith towards Dion, the tyrant of the city (384). The Delos accounts provide further evidence: an entry for the year 146 cites the dedication of a new robe, purple and embroidered with gold, to Artemis, and the transfer of her previous garment to Dionysos (385). The reason for this switch is obscure, but, apart from a purely utilitarian or economic motive, may have been due to the presumed potency of the

goddess' robe. Possibly the Artemis had been particularly effective and providential in the recent past, and her robe, although perhaps of advanced wear, considered as highly impregnated with the aura of the goddess, and hence worthy of donation to another divinity. Indeed, while it seems apparent that the dedication of a new robe was viewed as a means of renewing the force of a cult image, one must not underestimate the additional sacred lustre that would have accrued to a garment once worn by a god.

The robes worn by many statues were doubtless of restrained cut and pattern, but those presented to the major cult image of a city or sanctuary could be of a high extravagance and luxury. Homer is quick to stress the exclusive quality of the peplos chosen by Hecuba for the Palladion: *ὅς κ' ἀλλεῖστος ἐστίν*

*ποικίλμασιν ἣ δὲ μέγιστος ἀστὴρ δ' ὧς
ἀπέλαμπεν. ἔκειτο δὲ νεῖάτος ἄλλων* (386).

The Athena Polias, as has already been stated, was dressed in a saffron peplos embroidered with a Gigantomachy (387). Furthermore, the statue of Zeus within the Olympieion at Syracuse was granted a gold himation, to the value of eighty-five talents, by Gelon after the battle of Himera in 480. While this was clearly intended as a permanent dedication, Dionysius I removed the cloak and substituted one of wool, reputedly defending his sacrilegious move with the jest that gold was too cold in winter and too heavy in summer (388). Likewise a certain sophistication is suggested for the robe of the Apollo Amyklaios, if only because Pausanias says that its weaving was conducted in a building especially allocated for that purpose (389). The robe of the Hera of Argos was known as a patos,

but no description of this is extant (390).

The robes worn by statues were, apart from any decoration they may have carried, of varying type: the sources commonly mention peploi, himatia, chitons, and, in Roman contexts, togae and pallia. Additionally these primary elements of clothing could be supplemented by numerous ancillaries, including an impressive array of jewellery, all of which would have formed the kosmos of a particular god or goddess. Just how extensive such a wardrobe could be is indicated by a mid fourth-century inscription from Samos which inventories the *κόσμος τῆς θεῶς* along with the general contents of the Heraion (391). Listed are an unspecified number of Lydian chitons (at least nine), five simple chitons, two chitoniskoi, two upper garments (*πρόσλημμα*), one wrap (*περίβλημα*), one *παράλασις* (?), two head-bands (*εφενδόνας*), one hair-net (*κεκρύφαλος*), one hair-piece (*τρίχαπτεν*), eight veils (*κρήδεμνα*), one girdle (*περίσωμα*), five mitrai, one strip of fine cloth (*σινδονίσκη*), and three little compresses (*σπληνίσκην*) (392). Additionally the temple account lists a number of garments belonging to images other than the principal statue of Hera: a white himation of the goddess behind (*ἡ ὀπίθε θεῶς*), and a total of thirty-eight chitons and forty-eight himatia of a Hermes and a Hermes in the Temple of Aphrodite (*οἱ ἐν Ἀφροδίτῃς*) (393). Moreover, of this well stocked wardrobe, which doubtless represents the accumulated dedications of the sanctuary (394), the goddess is designated as actually wearing (*ἡ θεῶς ἔχει*), or as having in her more immediate possession, at least six chitons, one mitra, and one upper garment (*πρόσλημμα*). As for the other three

images, the goddess behind, presumably a second and later cult statue of Hera, wears the aforementioned himation, the Hermes a combination of one himation and one chiton, and his second in the Temple of Aphrodite two himatia (395).

It is important to make a distinction between garments presented to a god or goddess for actual wear and those simply dedicated as votive offerings, albeit for a special purpose. Examples of the latter class are the numerous articles of clothing, documented by a series of inscriptions of fourth-century date, which were dedicated by private women to the Artemis of Brauron (396). While these records specify the existence of at least two cult images of Artemis, both of which were amply draped, these particular dedications, which were often of a used nature and inscribed with their owner's name, were probably vowed to the deity in her capacity as a fertility and birth goddess (397). Other instances of the private dedication of clothing are known from inscriptions: one of the mid third century from Thebes lists a number of garments dedicated by women to an unspecified goddess (398), another of the advanced third century from Tanagra enumerates the clothes dedicated by the local women to Demeter and Kore (399). In this respect one should mention Pythagoras' successful exhortation to the ladies of Croton to remove their costly attire and dedicate it to Hera Lakinia (400).

The frequency with which statues were robed must remain on hypothetical grounds. We do at least know that the Athena Polias received a new peplos every four years, and Pausanias informs us that the Apollo Amyklaios and the Hera at Olympia had a regular change of clothes, the first every year, the second every four years. It is

likely, however, that in archaic ritual cult images were granted robes on a random basis, which may have coincided with a crisis, as in the Homeric passage, concerning warfare, a poor harvest, or an inauspicious oracle. Later the continued robing of such venerable images, as too the dressing of newly created ones, would have presumably assumed a more regularized pattern in step with the increasing formalization of religious practice, and come, for example, in a yearly or quadrennial cycle, on the occasion of the festival of the particular deity.

Greek statues which were robed:

1 Aphrodite: Delos

ID 1442 B, 30

A stone statue of Aphrodite within the Aphrodision which is recorded as having a new (garment ?) cf. ID 1412 A, 35; 1417 A II, 21; & 1442 B, 30. The chiton of white wool and the three other chitons here mentioned may have been simple anathemata, since they are recorded separately from the Aphrodite.

2 Aphrodite Morpho: Sparta

Pausanias III 15, 10-11

A seated image of cedar-wood, equipped with a veil and with fetters on the feet.

3 Aphrodite Pandemos: Athens (?)

IG II 2 659, 26-27

A probouleuma of 287/86 provides for the purchase of purple, possibly

to be used for a robe of the statue.

4 Apollo Amyklaios: Sparta

Pausanias III 16, 2

An annual robe was woven for the bronze by women in a building known as the Chiton.

5 Apollo: Hieropolis

Lucian: De Dea Syria 35

A bearded xoanon of Apollo.

6 Artemis: Aegina

Pausanias II 30, 1

7 Artemis: Brauron

IG II 2, 1514, 22-23, 26-28, 34-39, 41-43; 1515, 14-15, 17-19, 26-31; 1516, 2, 6-7, 12-17; 1517, 140-43; 1522, 28-29; 1524, 202-07, 215-16, 224.

Six formulae are used to designate the statues in the inventories:

- (1) τὸ ἕδος , (2) τὸ ἕδος τὸ ἀρχαῖον ,
(3) τὸ ἕδος λίθινον , (4) τὸ ἕγαλμα ,
(5) τὸ ἕγαλμα τὸ ὀρθόν , (6) τὸ ἕγαλμα τὸ ἐστῆκός.

It is likely, however, that but two images existed, the archaic xoanon (nos 1-2) and a later marble statue (nos 3-6). It was for years thought that the inscriptions recording the inventory of Artemis Brauronia, by virtue of their discovery in Athens, referred to the sanctuary of the goddess on the Athenian acropolis.

Excavation at Brauron has now revealed inscriptions, as yet unpublished, which duplicate the Athenian examples, and suggest that all refer to the main sanctuary at Brauron. cf. T Linders, op.cit., note 394. In addition to the various robes worn by the statues, the records are full of the dedications of clothing on the part of private women to Artemis. Their quantity and often aged condition suggest that they were intended as simple anathemata, and not destined for wear by the statues.

8 Artemis: Delos

ID 1442 B, 55-56: 1443 B I, 162-63; 1444 Aa 38, 46-47

The image within the Artemision was granted a new robe, purple and embroidered with gold, while its old garment was transferred to the statue of Dionysos.

9 Artemis: Ephesos

Etymologicum Magnum 252, 11-29

An entry in the EM defines Daitis as both epithet of Artemis and the place on Ephesos to which Klymene, the daughter of the king, and her playmates brought the image of Artemis, which they thereupon honoured with a bed of parsley and a meal of salt. An inscription of the first century BC records the commemorative cult of Daitis, and mentions as participants a kosmos-bearer (κοσμοφόρος) and a cloth-bearer (σπειροφόρος):
cf. R Heberdey, JOI 7, 1904, 210-15 & Beiblatt 43-45; & E Weiss, JOI 18, 1915, Beiblatt 285-89.

10 Artemis Orthia: Sparta

Alcman: Partheneion 60-63

A *φάρος*, which is curiously interpreted by the Scholiast as a plough, is brought to the goddess *Ὀρθία*. cf. D L Page, Alcman, The Partheneion, 1951, 69-82.

11 Asklepios: Patras

Pausanias VII 20, 9

A stone image with the exception of its drapery.

12 Asklepios: Titane

Pausanias II 11, 6

An image virtually obscured, save for the face, hands, and feet, by a chiton of white wool and a himation.

13 Athena: Argos

I Bekker, Anecdota Graeca I, 1814-21, 231, 30

The image of Athena was robed by the Gerarades, the wives of the nobles of Argos.

14 Athena: Troy

Iliad VI 297-310 (86-100, 269-78, & 286-98)

Theano places a folded peplos on the knees of the seated goddess.

15 Athena Alea: Tegea

Pausanias VIII 5, 3

A robe was sent by Laodike from Paphos to Athena Alea in Tegea,

the goddess of her mother sanctuary.

16 Athena Lindia: Lindos

C Blinkenberg, Die lindische Tempelchronik, 1915, C 1-2, 80-83;
D 33-36; IG XII 1, 764

The accounts specify the dedication on different occasions of golden crowns, necklaces, along with *τὰς ἄλλας κόσμου*, as well as the presentation by the Persian Daitis of his robe, necklace, bracelets, tiara, and short sword. IG XII 1, 764 provides a list of donors for a subscription towards the restoration of the kosmos of Athena, which must date after the period 407-330 during which time the temple was burned.

cf. Blinkenberg, commentary on C 80 & D 40. For the linen corselet dedicated by Amasis cf. Herodotus II 182, III 47; Aelian: VH IX 17; Pliny: NH XIX 2; & Blinkenberg, C 36-55.

17 Athena Polias: Athena

A Michaelis, Der Parthenon, 1871, 328-29; L Deubner, Attische Feste, 1932, 29-34

A saffron robe embroidered with a Gigantomachy was presented every four years to the olive-wood Athena at the culmination of the Greater Panathenaia. The robing ceremony was possibly extended or transferred to the Athena Parthenos of Pheidias upon its dedication in 438. cf. infra, note 372.

18 Charites: Delos

IG XI 2 159 A, 15

Garments are listed for the Charites.

19 Charites: Elis

Pausanias VI 24, 6

Three acroliths with gilded garments. Appendix 1, no 6.

20 Demeter: Bura

Pausanias VII 25, 9

An image of Pentelic marble by Eukleides of Athens.

21 Demeter & Kore: Delos

ID 1417 A I, 49-52; 1424 B, 3-4; 1425 II, 14; 1442 B, 17-18;

440 A, 41

Enthroned acroliths within the Thesmophorion which were dressed in purple and linens. Other garments mentioned are a chiton, a peplos (?), a veil (ὀδόνη), two flax cloths (κάπασοι), and fine cloths (σινδόναι). Appendix 1, no 11.

22 Dione: Dodona

Hyperides: Pro Euxenippo III 24-25

The Athenians, in response to an oracle of Zeus, restored the image of Dione, refurbishing the face and lavishing a general

κόσμον πολὺν καὶ πολυτελῆ. This may have included a robe.

23 Dionysos: Aegina

Pausanias III 30, 1

24 Dionysos: Argos

IG IV 558, 14

An acrolith of Dionysos with a golden robe. Appendix 1, no 15.

25 Dionysos: Delos

ID 1442 B, 55-56; 1444 Aa, 38

A statue, which may well have stood in the Artemision, to which the old robe of Artemis was transferred. cf. supra, no 8 & infra note 385.

26 Eileithyia: Aegium

Pausanias VII 23, 5-6

An acrolith by Damophon of Messene which was draped from head to foot in a fine robe. Appendix 1, no 2.

27 Eileithyia: Athens

Pausanias I 18, 5

Pausanias describes at least three wooden images of the goddess, two of which came by repute from Crete, and the third from Delos. Each was draped to the tips of its toes in accordance with a particular Athenian custom.

28 Eileithyia: Delos (?)

ID 1442 B, 57

Two garments, *ἐνδύματα φερέμενα* (?) *ἄλλα περιήματα*, are mentioned in the inventory of the Eileithyion, but with no reference to a statue.

29 Endymion: Olympia

Pausanias VI 19, 11

An ivory statue within the Metapontine treasury.

30 Hera: Argos

Plutarch: De Mus. 1134c; Hesychius s.v. **πάτος** ; Callimachus:

Aetia III fr. 66, 3 (ed. R Pfeiffer, 1949); Pausanias II 17, 6-7

Plutarch refers to an Argive festival known as the **Ἐνδομάτια**, and the references in Hesychius and Callimachus suggest that the robe of the Argive Hera was specifically called a patos. Pausanias relates of the dedication by Nero of a purple peplos and a golden crown to the Hera.

31 Hera: Delos

ID 1417 A II, 22; 1426 B II, 22; 1442 B, 44-45; IG XI 2 154 A, 22; 287 A, 120-21

Two acroliths of Hera within the Heraion which were wrapped in linens. ID 1442 B, 46 mentions a hair-piece (**τρίχαπτον** ?) in the prodomos. Appendix 1, no 12.

32 Hera: Olympia

Pausanias V 16, 2 & 6

A peplos was woven for Hera every four years by the Sixteen Women of Elis.

33 Hera: Samos

C Curtius, Inschriften und Studien zur Geschichte von Samos,

1877, no 6; C Michel, Recueil d'inscriptions grecques, 1900, no 832; D Ohly, AM 68, 1953, 46-49

An inscription of 346/45 inventories the *κόσμος τῆς θεῆς* of the Heraion. The major portion of the garments cited belong to a second image of Hera and to two images of Hermes. cf. infra, notes 391-95.

34 Hera Lakinia: Croton (?)

Justin XX 4

Pythagoras incited the women of Croton to remove their golden raiment and other objects of luxury, and to dedicate them instead to Hera. No reference, however, exists as to the actual draping of the image. For the lavish purple himation of Alkimenos of Sybaris which was on display in the Heraion cf. Aristotle: De Mirab. Auscult. 96 = Athenaeus XII 541.

35 Hermes: Samos

supra, no 33

The Heraion inventory also cites two statues of Hermes as having certain garments allotted to them. Of these, one appears to have stood within the Heraion, while the other is qualified as being in the Temple of Aphrodite. cf. infra, note 393.

36 Hygieia: Titane

Pausanias II 11, 6

A statue which was virtually obscured by offerings of womens' hair and swatches of Babylonian cloth.

37 Isis: Delos (?)

ID 1442 A, 52-53

A stone statue within the Temple of Isis which may have worn the chitoniskos, chlamys, and girdle (Σωρίδιον) which are mentioned in the next entry. The garments, however, were the dedications of a certain Hierokleias to Harpokrates.

38 Leto: Delos

ID 1417 A I, 100-02; 1425 II, 16-18; 1426 B I, 26-28: IG XI 2 203 A, 73; 204, 75-76

A xoanon within the Letoon which was dressed in a linen chiton, odd linens, and equipped with a pair of sandals. The entries (IG XI 2 203 & 204) refer to purple and wool for the himation of Leto. An elaborate chitoniskos of purple and gold, which belonged to Leto, was stored in the Temple of Apollo. ID 1428 II, 53-58; 1429 B II, 2-4; 1430 F, 16-18; 1433, 3-7; 1443 A II, 54; 1450 A, 200-01.

39 Leto: Didyma

CIG 2860 coll. 2, 7 ff (attributed to Didyma)

A number of garments - fine cloths (σινδώνες), a gold chiton, and a chiton and veil of linen - are mentioned for at least three statues. The building involved appears to have been a Letoon.

40 Kore: Mantinea

P Le Bas & W H Waddington, Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure, 1853-70. cf. Inscriptions II, no 352h; IG V 2

265, 20

An inscription of 61 BC honours Nikippe, the daughter of Paseas, for her services to Kore, one of which was the presentation of a robe. cf. Pausanias VIII 9, 2 & 6 who mentions a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Mantinea, as well as a statue within the ruins of the Temple of Aphrodite Symmachia which was possibly dedicated by the same Nikippe.

41 Kore: Syracuse

Plutarch: Dion 56 = Cornelius Nepos: Dion VIII 5

Kallippos descends into the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, dons the purple cloak of the maiden, and with burning torch in hand swears an oath of faith in his dealings with Dion, the tyrant of Syracuse.

42 Poseidon/Satrap: Elis

Pausanias VI 25, 5-6

A bronze statue of a beardless youth which, although locally referred to as the Satrap, was supposedly a Poseidon. The image wore cloths of three fabrics: wool, coarse linen, and the finest linen.

43 Zeus: Syracuse

Diodorus fr. X 28; Cicero: De Natura Deorum III 34, 83; Val. Max.

I 1, ext. 3; Aelian: VH I 20; Lact.: Instit. II 4, 17; Ambros.:

De Virg. II 36; Clem. Alex.: Protr. IV 52, 2; Arnob. VI 21; I Myth.

Vat. 218; Oracl. Deor. Gr. 71 (K Buresch, Klaros, 1889, 119-20)

A gold himation to the value of eighty-five talents was dedicated by Gelon to the Zeus within the Olympieion after the victorious

Battle of Himera in 480. The robe was removed by Dionysius I, who substituted one of wool, jesting that gold was too heavy in summer and too cold in winter.

44 Twelve Gods: Magnesia on the Meander

O Kern, Die Inscripten von Magnesia am Meander, 1900, no 98

An inscription of the second-century BC records that during the feast of Zeus Sosipolis xoana of the Twelve Gods, clad in the finest robes, were paraded in the agora.

This list augments and considerably modifies that compiled by F Willemssen, Frühe griechische Kultbilder, 1939 (diss. Munich).

Miscellanea:

1 Daidala: Plataea

Pausanias IX 3, 1-5

The Greater and Lesser Daidala of Plataea commemorated the reconciliation of Zeus and Hera through the ruse of a false bride, a wooden statue which was wrapped in veils. The focal element of the festival was the procession of a daidalon, a wooden image which presumably imitated the original by wearing clothes.

2 Dionysos Lenaios: Athens

W Wrede, AM 53, 1928, 66-95; supra, notes 170-73

Certain Athenian vases which illustrate scenes of the Lenaia festival depict a schematic image of Dionysos, the essential features of which are a mask and cloak from which neither arms nor legs protrude. Rather than representing actual statues of the gods, the vases may depict temporary, make-shift effigies which were in all probability only made for the festival.

3 Leukippos: Phaistos

Anton. Lib.: Metamorph. 17

The festival of *Ἐκδύσις* was celebrated at Phaistos in commemoration of Leukippos, the daughter of Galatea and Lampros, whom Leto had transformed into a boy upon the entreaty of the mother. Lampros, who desired a son, had threatened to kill the child were it to prove to be a girl. The term *Ἐκδύσις* implies

a ritual involving the removal of drapery from a statue, which in all probability was that of the male Leukippos attired in female garb.

- 4 Plynteria festivals, which involved the washing of the garments of a cult image and possibly also the image itself, are known from Athens, with respect to the Athena Polias, from Paros, and from Chios.

Athens: L Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 1932, 17-22; H W Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians*, 1977, 152-55

Paros: IG XI 4 1065, 25

Chios: B Haussoullier, *BCH* 3, 1879, 49, lines 10-11.

Notes

- 1 Although references to acroliths are in the majority of the handbooks, the more specialized bibliography is slim.
J Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums*, 1764, I 1, 2 (ed. W Senff, 1964, 29-30); A C Quatremere-de-Quincy, *Le Jupiter Olympien*, 1815, 333-34; J H Schubart, *RheinMus* 15, 1860, 108-15; H Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* III, 1884, 210-11; A Mau, *RE* I, 1, 1198-99 (s.v. akrolithon); Daremberg-Saglio, *DAI* 35-36 (s.v. acrolithus); W Amelung, *JOI* 11, 1908, 169-211; Amelung, *Ausonia*, 1908, 115-19; Amelung, *Ausonia*, 1910, 109; H Lechat, *MonPiot* 23, 1918-19, 27-43; Amelung, *RM* 40, 1925, 137-38; G Libertini, *RM* 40, 1925, 125-35; G Marchetti-Longhi, *MemPontAccad* 3, 1933, 133-203; Orsi, *Templum*, 135-70; M Squarciapino, *BC* 70, 1942, 83-93; D Mustilli, *EAA* I, 48-50 (s.v. acrolito); E Paribeni, *AMSMG* 2, 1958, 63-66; C Carpenter, *AJA* 72, 1968, 162-63; Ridgway, *Severe Style*, 121-23, 125-26; Despinis, *Akrolitha*.
- 2 Appendix 1, no 11.
- 3 Appendix 1, no 12.
- 4 Appendix 1, no 13.
- 5 Appendix 1, no 14.
- 6 Appendix 1, no 15.
- 7 *Anth. Pal.* XII 40.
- 8 Appendix 1, no 10.
- 9 Appendix 1, no 17.

- 10 Appendix 1, no 1.
- 11 Appendix 1, no 2.
- 12 Appendix 1, nos 3-4.
- 13 Appendix 1, no 5.
- 14 Appendix 1, nos 6-7.
- 15 Appendix 1, no 8.
- 16 Appendix 1, no 9.
- 17 Appendix 1, no 1.
- 18 With respect to the Athena Areia, the Eileithyia at Aegium, the Aphrodite Machanitis, the Athena Chalinitis, and the Charites and Tyche at Elis. cf. Appendix 1, nos 1-2, & 4-7.
- 19 With respect to the Kore Soteira, the Aphrodite at Patras, and the Demeters Erinyes and Lousia. cf. Appendix 1, nos 3, & 8-9.
- 20 For the Athena Chalinitis, and the Charites and the Tyche at Elis. cf. Appendix 1, nos 5-7.
- 21 For the Athena Areia and the Eileithyia at Aegium. cf. Appendix 1, nos 1-2.
- 22 For the Demeters Erinyes and Lousia. cf. Appendix 1, no 9.
- 23 C Blinkenberg, Die lindische Tempelchronik, 1915, 22-25, XXVIII, c 29-35.
- 24 C Michel, Recueil d'inscriptions grecques, 1900, no 832, 51-53. cf. Appendix 1, no 16.
- 25 supra, note 7. Although no wooden core of an acrolith is extant, J Overbeck and A Mau (Pompeii, 1884, 107) claim that the disintegrated remains of one such were found with its marble extremities in the Temple of Isis at Pompeii.
- 26 Appendix 2, Class II, no 4

- 27 Appendix 1, nos 5-9, & 11-16.
- 28 For chryselephantine work cf. A C Quatremere-de-Quincy, op.cit., note 1; H Blumner RE V, 2362-64 (s.v. Elfenbein); & C Albizzati, EAA II, 939-41 (s.v. crisoelefantina).
- 29 The Athena Areia, the Tyche at Elis, and the Calpurnia in the Temple of Venus at Rome. cf. Appendix 1, nos 1, 7, & 17.
- 30 Delphi: Archaeological Museum
P Amandry, BCH 63, 1939, 86-119, pls 19-42.
- 31 In his accounts of the Athena at Megara (I 42, 4), the Dionysos at Olympia (VI 19, 10), and the Athena at Aegira (VII 26, 4).
- 32 Valerius Maximus I 1, ext. 7. cf. J Overbeck, Die antike Schriftquellen, 1868, no 654.
- 33 Appendix 1, no 1.
- 34 For the use of the term acroelephantine cf. the Delos accounts (ID 1409 Ba II, 47) which refer to the chryselephantine images within the Temple of the Athenians as *ἱερὰ ἀκρ-ελεφάντινα ἐπίχρυσα*. A possibly chryselephantine Palladion with *ἀκρωτήρια ἐλεφάντινα* is mentioned in the Lindos Temple Chronicle. cf. C Blinkenberg, op.cit., note 23, 26-27, XXX, c 56-59.
- 35 supra, note 30.
- 36 infra, notes 158-59.
- 37 For acroliths from Cyrene cf. Appendix 2, Class I, nos 4-7.
- 38 Appendix 2, Class I, no 1.
- 39 Appendix 1, no 1.
- 40 Appendix 1, no 5.
- 41 Appendix 1, no 15.

- 42 Appendix 1, no 8.
- 43 Appendix 2, Class Uncertain, no 1.
- 44 Appendix 2, Class III, no 1.
- 45 Appendix 1, nos 6-7.
- 46 Appendix 1, no 2.
- 47 Appendix 1, nos 3-4.
- 48 Appendix 1, no 9.
- 49 Appendix 2, Class II, no 1.
- 50 Appendix 2, Class I, no 3.
- 51 Appendix 1, nos 11-14.
- 52 Appendix 2, Class I, no 2.
- 53 Appendix 2, Class Uncertain, no 2.
- 54 Appendix 1, no 10.
- 55 The Athena Areia by Pheidias, the Eileithyia at Aegium, the Kore Soteira and Aphrodite Machanitis at Megalopolis, all by Damophon of Messene, and the Ares at Halikarnassos by Leochares or Timotheos.
cf. Appendix 1, nos 1-4 & 10.
- 56 The Ionic temple in the Contrada Marasa at Locri and the Temple of Hera Lakinia at Croton, both of which date to the late fifth century, had architectural sculptures of marble. For the Locri material cf. A de Franciscis, RM 67, 1960, 1-28, pls 1-8; & G Foti, Il Museo Nazionale de Reggio Calabria, 1972, 71-72, pls 22-23; for that from Croton cf. Langlotz in Studies D M Robinson, 638-47, pls 63-66; & G Spadea, Klearchos 16, 1974, 5-42.
- 57 Copenhagen: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 3499
The terracotta, which is unpublished, entered the collection in 1974.
- 58 Appendix 1, no 7.

- 59 Appendix 1, no 1.
- 60 Appendix 1, no 3.
- 61 Appendix 1, no 6.
- 62 Appendix 1, no 2.
- 63 Appendix 1, no 11.
- 64 Appendix 1, no 12.
- 65 Appendix 1, no 15.
- 66 *supra*, note 7.
- 67 This practice will be treated at greater length in Appendix 3.
- 68 *infra*, note 359.
- 69 cf. nos 4, 7, 9-10, 13, 15, 30, & 32-33 of Appendix 3.
- 70 *infra*, note 364.
- 71 Appendix 1, no 11.
- 72 Appendix 1, no 16.
- 73 P Amandry, *op.cit.*, note 30, 96-99, 115-16, pls 23-28. The Delphi statues were also adorned with golden diadems, earrings, necklaces, and bracelets, and had tresses of gold. cf. Amandry, 99-103, pls 29-34.
- 74 *infra*, note 372.
- 75 Benndorf, *Metopen*, 53-63, pls 7-11; L Giuliani, *Die archaischen Metopen von Selinunt*, 1979, 77-80, pls 23-24.
- 76 a Taranto: Museo Nazionale, 7803
 Wuilleumier, *Tarente*, 287, pl 8:4.
- b ex J Hirsch
 ibid., 287, pl 8:3; *Ars Antiqua*, (Collection J Hirsch),
 Dec 7 1957, no 68.
- 77 *Münzen und Medaillen* 40, 1969, no 164; *Art of Ancient Italy*,

(André Emmerich Gallery: New York), 1970, no 87.

- 78 Lippold, Handbuch, 310; V M Strocka, JdI 82, 1962, 122-31;
R Tefnin, AntCl 36, 1967, 89; H Kyrieleis, Bildnisse der
Ptolemaer, 1975, 130-31.

- 79 The acroliths are unpublished.

- 80 The eyes betray a striking similarity to those of the female head
apparent on a series of late sixth-century coins of Phokaia.

Langlotz has persuasively argued that this variety of eye and a
markedly spherical head with a shallow brow and prominent nose
are the characteristic features of a Phokaian type which was widely
disseminated throughout the Greek world, and especially in the
west.

Langlotz, Phokaia; Langlotz, Studien, 27-44.

- 81 supra, note 30. Langlotz (Phokaia, 42, fig 50) attributed one
of the Delphi heads to a Phokaian artist.

- 82 Berlin: Staatliche Museen

Blümel, Archaisch Skulpturen Berlin, no 58.

- 83 London : British Museum, B89

Pryce, British Museum Sculpture I, 1, 50.

- 84 New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 22.139.57

G M A Richter, Handbook of the Greek Collection, 1953, 30, pl 19c.

- 85 Particularly effective would be a clutch of golden wheat stalks,
such as the Metapontines dedicated at Delphi on the occasion of
their first harvest (Strabo VI 264 = L 15), and such as have
survived in several examples.

a Collection J W Hambuecher

H Hoffmann & P F Davidson, Greek Gold, 1965, no 137.

- b Collection C Kempe, 137-38
ibid., no 138.
- c Richmond: Virginia Museum, 68-70
Ancient Art in the Virginia Museum, 1973, no 120.
- d Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 67.13
Brooklyn Museum Annual 8, 1966-67, (frontispiece).
- e Leningrad: Hermitage, P1835, 2
A A Peredolskaja, AK, Beiheft 2, 1964, pl 16: 4.
- f Collection Hoek
Sotheby Parke Bernet & Co (London), Feb 24 1964, no 48.
- 86 P C Sestieri, Nuova Antologia 1853, May 1955, 74: Sestieri,
BdA 11, 1955, 201, note 9; B Neutsch, AA, 1956, 423-25, fig
141; P Zancani Montuoro, EAA V, 837, fig 1019 (s.v. Paestum);
L von Matt & U Zanotti-Bianco, Grossgriechenland, 1963, pl 63;
Langlotz & Hirmer, Westgriechen, 67-68, pl 45; P Noelke & U
Rüdiger, AA, 1967, 371; M Napoli, Il Museo di Paestum, 1969,
66-69, pl 24; Holloway, Influences & Styles, 1-11, figs 1-4.
- 87 Chalkis: Archaeological Museum, 4
K Kourionotis, Praktika, 1900, 53-56; R Lullies & M Hirmer,
Greek Sculpture, 1960 (2), pls 66-68.
- 88 M Napoli, B Neutsch, P C Sestieri, P Zancani Montuoro, & U
Zanotti-Bianco, op.cit., note 86.
- 89 Holloway, Influences & Styles, 1-11.
- 90 Langlotz & Hirmer, Westgriechen, 67-68, pl 45.
- 91 U Zanotti-Bianco & P Zancani Montuoro, Heraion alla foce del
Sele I, 1951, 178, note 8; P C Sestieri, Nuova Antologia 1853,
May 1955, 74; Sestieri, BdA 11, 1955, 201, note 9; B Neutsch,

- AA, 1956, 424-25, fig 142; L von Matt & U Zanotti Bianco, Grossgriechenland, 1963, pl 64; P Zancani Montuoro, EAA V, 837 (s.v. Paestum); Langlotz & Hirmer, Westgriechen, 67-68 (pl 45); M Napoli, Paestum, 1970, 39-40, fig 46; Holloway, Influences & Styles, 1-11, figs 7-8.
- 92 M Napoli, B Neutsch, P C Sestieri, P Zancani Montuoro, & U Zanotti-Bianco, op.cit., note 91.
- 93 Holloway, Influences & Styles 1-11.
- 94 P C Sestieri, Nuova Antologia 1853, May 1955, 74; Sestieri, BdA 11, 1955, 201, note 9; P Zancani Montuoro, EAA V, 837 (s.v. Paestum); Holloway, Influences & Styles, 1-11, figs 5-6.
- 95 Holloway, Influences & Styles, 1-11.
- 96 E Robinson, MFA Annual Report, 1900, 26-27; W Dorpfeld, AA, 1901, 165; H N Fowler, AJA 5, 1901, 361; L D Caskey, Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture, 1925, no 6; Langlotz, Bildhauerschulen, 102, 186, note 5 (for page 102); P Zancani Montuoro, AMSMG, 1930, 174; A Rumpf in Gercke & Norden, Einleitung, 26; Ashmole, Greek Sculpture in South Italy & Sicily, 14, fig 17; K A Neugebauer, AA, 1935, 718; Poulsen, Streng Stil, 105-06; Willeumier, Tarente, 275, pl 4: 3; T J Dunbabin, The Western Greeks, 1948, 292; H Niemeyer, MadrMitt 3, 1962, 36, note 23; J Boardman, J Dörig, W Fuchs, & M Hirmer, Die griechische Kunst, 1966, 127; Herdejürgen, Thronende Göttin, 27-28; Holloway Influences & Styles, 3, fig 16; M B Comstock & C C Vermeule, Sculpture in Stone, 1976, no 26.
- 97 For a face which has broken away in similar fashion from its head cf. the Athena (?) in New York (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 42.11.43). The face appears to have been reattached in antiquity.

- Richter, MMA Greek Sculptures, no 29.
- 98 Berlin: Staatliche Museen
Blümel, Archaisch Skulpturen Berlin, no 21.
- 99 B Ashmole, L D Caskey, M B Comstock & C C Vermeule, T J
Dunbabin, H Herdejürgen, & P Wuilleumier, op.cit., note 96.
- 100 Schefold, Meisterwerke, 59, 218, no VI 244; Hafner, Apollonkopf,
46, note 9; Herdejürgen, Thronende Göttin, 27-28, 30; E Langlotz,
ACSMG 10, 1970, 228, pl 3; Ridgway, Severe Style, 39, no 3;
Holloway, Influences & Styles, 30, figs 165-66; G Konstantinopoulos,
AAA 6, 1973, 118-19, 124, fig 7.
- 101 Herdejürgen, Thronende Göttin, 27. For the philtrum in the
Aegina sculptures cf. F I Rainer, Ephem, 1937, 221-22.
- 102 H Herdejürgen, Thronende Göttin, 27; E Langlotz, op.cit., note
100. The latter specifically stated that the head was found in
Rome.
- 103 Schefold, Meisterwerke, 59.
- 104 H Herdejürgen, Thronende Göttin, 27.
- 105 E Langlotz, op.cit., note 100; Ridgway, Severe Style, 39, no 3.
- 106 Holloway, Influences & Styles, 30.
- 107 supra, note 97.
- 108 Agrigento: Museo Civico
E de Miro, CASA 7, 1968, 143-56; Holloway, Influences & Styles,
27-29, figs 158-59.
- 109 E Langlotz, op.cit., note 100.
- 110 Schefold, Meisterwerke, 59.
- 111 Benndorf, Metopen, 60-63, pl 11: 2, 3, 5; W Fuchs, RM 63, 1956,
102-21, pls 45-46; & L Giuliani, Die archaischen Metopen von

- Selinunt, 1979 who cites all previous literature.
- 112 The findings of Villareale are reported by E Gabrici in ArchStorSicOr 16/7, 1919-20, 119 ff. cf. the commentary by S Stucchi in W Fuchs, op.cit., note 111, 119-21.
- 113 S Cavallari & A Holm, BullCommAntichBellArtSic 4, 1871, 36-37.
- 114 The exception is Holloway who noted the technical features shared by the three Paestum heads <I: 2-4> and the present head A, and accordingly classified the Selinuntine piece as another marble votive. He makes no mention of heads B and C in this respect. Holloway, Influences & Styles, 3, figs 13-14.
- 115 Palermo: Museo Nazionale, 3883 & 3926
- Benndorf, Metopen, 60, pl 11: 1; Langlotz & Hirmer, Westgriechen, 82-83, pls 109-11. The heads designed for the metopes are markedly different, and have been carved as minimal faces with their crowns obliquely trimmed from the forehead to the back. Additionally, the trimmed crowns have been fitted with a dowel hole whereby each was fastened within its niche. While Fuchs recognized the differences between heads A, B & C and the regular metope heads, he nevertheless argued that the former were from a metope of the Charites, which was inspired by the relief on the Athenian acropolis by the Theban sculptor Socrates. W Fuchs, op.cit., note 111.
- 116 Benndorf, Metopen, pl 11: 2.
- 117 ibid., 60.
- 118 In support of this one may cite the acrolith from Temple B of the Largo Argentina in Rome, the head of which requires a similarly inclined mount. Four tenons, set within holes in the back of the head and neck, and a large neck pin were used to anchor this

colossal marble.

Rome: Palazzo dei Conservatori, 2779-82

G Marchetti-Longhi, *op.cit.*, note 1, 133-203, pls 1-3; Helbig II, no 1673 (H von Steuben).

119 cf. W Fuchs, *op.cit.*, note 111, 102-03, note 1 for a summary of the evidence.

120 Cavallari and Holm also discovered within the adyton the heavily eroded limestone head of a goddess wearing a polos. This head (Palermo: Museo Nazionale, 3889) dates to the mid sixth century, and is of approximately life-size. The two additionally found the remains of a base and altar, and accordingly suggested that the head was from the cult image which stood on the former. If this is correct, the early classical Temple E, which appears to have had no direct predecessor, would have focused upon a preexisting archaic image. Heads A, B, & C would therefore be from ancillary cult images created contemporaneously with the dedication of E. cf. S Cavallari & A Holm, *op.cit.*, note 113, 37, pl 2; 7; & R Koldewey & O Puchstein, *Die griechische Tempel in Unteritalien und Sicilien I*, 1899, 129, fig 109 who argue that the altar of Cavallari and Holm was in fact the actual base of the image. This altar/base was apparently covered by an elaborate baldacchino, the elements of which are no longer extant. For the marble head cf. R Forster, *AZ* 29, 1871, 129-30; & Holloway *Influences & Styles*, 16, fig 105.

121 Appendix 3, no 33.

122 Appendix 1, no 12.

123 The head is unpublished.

124 For Langlotz's charting of the career of Pythagoras cf.

Bildhauerschulen, 147-52, pls 88-91.

- 125 Rome: Museo Nazionale delle Terme, 8689
E Paribeni, *Sculture greche*, 1953, no 9. A replica of the head is in the Galleria Geografica in the Vatican (2886), and one of the torso is in Side (Side Museum, 92). Helbig I, no 594 (W Fuchs); J Inan, *Roman Sculpture in Side*, 1975, no 1.
- 126 Rome: Antiquario Forense, 1642
Helbig II, no 2048 (T Dohrn).
- 127 The head is unpublished.
- 128 The head is to be published by Roberto Spadea of the Soprintendenza Archeologica della Calabria.
- 129 This unpublished fragment was discovered by the excavation team of the University of Texas at Austin. I am grateful to Joseph C Carter for permission to include this piece.
- 130 The sanctuary focused upon a natural spring, but its titular deity is not known.
- 131 Appendix 2, Class I, nos 4-7.
- 132 Appendix 2, Class I, no 1.
- 133 Appendix 2, Class I, no 2.
- 134 Appendix 2, Class I, no 3.
- 135 Appendix 2, Class I, nos 4 & 7.
- 136 Appendix 1, nos 1-2, & 4-9. The one exception is the description of the Kore Soteira at Megalopolis. Appendix 1, no 3.
- 137 Appendix 1, no 2.
- 138 *supra*, note 136.
- 139 Appendix 1, no 16.
- 140 *supra*, note 23.

- 141 Pausanias III 16, 1.
- 142 supra, note 30.
- 143 a Athens: National Museum, 16520
T J Dunbabin (ed.), *Perachora II*, 1962, 406-07, pl 173 (A9).
b Athens: National Museum
ibid. (A10).
- 144 A series of twenty-one heads, many of which are male portraits,
and some pertaining arms and legs from a hellenistic tomb.
K Rhomiopoulou, *AAA* 6, 1973, 92, figs 3-4.
- 145 Thessalonike: Archaeological Museum
Five portrait heads with some hands and feet from the royal tomb
at Vergina. M Andronikos, *AAA* 10, 1977, 59-60, figs 16-20; *The
Search for Alexander*, 1980, nos 170-71.
- 146 a Samos: Vathy Museum, E5 (lost)
B Freyer-Schauenburg, *Elfenbeine aus dem samischen Heraion*,
1966, no 16.
b Samos: Vathy Museum, E46
ibid., no 17.
c Samos: Vathy Museum, E133
H Kyrieleis, *AA*, 1980, 348, fig 18; U Sinn, *AM* 97, 1982, 35-55,
pls:11: 1-3 & 12: 1-2.
- 147 Corfu: Archaeological Museum, MR 710
G Dontas, *ADelt* 22, 1967, 364, pl 272b-c; J Boardman, *The Greeks
Overseas*, 1980 (2), 63, fig 38. cf. the miniature ivory head of
like type and its fragmentary forearm in the Museo Profano in the
Vatican which are from a chryselephantine copy of the Athena Medici
type. C Albizzati, *JHS* 36, 1916, 378-402, pls 8-9; Helbig I, no

- 475 (T Dohrn). For the Athena Medici cf. Appendix 1, no 1.
- 148 Pausanias I 40, 4.
- 149 Pausanias I 42, 4.
- 150 Pausanias VI 19, 10.
- 151 Pausanias VII 26, 4.
- 152 Pausanias VIII 46, 4.
- 153 J Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: The Archaic Period*, 1978, pl 127.
For the other toes cf. P Amandry, *op.cit.*, note 30, 96, fig 9.
For a pair of ebony half-feet of Roman date from Villa Patrizi
(Rome: Museo Nazionale delle Terme) cf. C Albizzati, *op.cit.*,
note 147, 379, fig 7.
- 154 Appendix 2, Class Uncertain, no 1.
- 155 Appendix 2, Class Uncertain, no 2.
- 156 G Marchetti-Longhi, *op.cit.*, note 1, 146-50, figs 11-12, pl 3b.
- 157 a Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum
W Amelung, *JOI* 11, 1908, 176-77, fig 64.
- b Vatican City: Musei Pontifici del Vaticano
Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Sculture magazzino Vaticano*, no 347.
- Additionally, J Overbeck & A Mau, *op.cit.*, note 25, 107
mention two half-feet of an acrolith found within the Temple
of Isis at Pompeii. Feet sectioned in various ways appear to
have been commonly pieced to marble sculptures, and in the case
of stray feet it is not always possible to distinguish between
pieced and acrolithic feet. Good examples of the former are the
pair from Priene in London (British Museum, Reg. nos 70, 3-20,
307-308) wherein the scoring of the trimmed sections is indicative
of an original graft to a second piece of marble. cf. C A Picon,

- AA, 1983, 100-01, figs 7-8. For other strays cf. Picon, 96 ff., figs 1-6; Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Sculture magazzino Vaticano*, no 348; & H Stuart Jones, *The Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*, 1912, 152, no 34 (Sala delle Colombe).
- 158 supra, note 143, a.
- 159 supra, note 146, a & b. Three similar heads are known from the Tomb Barberini at Palestrina. C D Curtis, *MAAR* 5, 1925, 31-32, nos 47-49, pl 10: 10-12.
- 160 O Tufnell, C H Inge & L Harding, *Lachish II*, 1940, 60-61, nos 2-3, & 5, pl 16; de Mertzenfeld, *Ivoires phéniciens*, nos 13-15.
- 161 A Rowe, *The Four Canaanite Temples of Beth-Shan I*, 1940, X, pl 70A: 6; de Mertzenfeld, *Ivoires phéniciens*, no 258.
- 162 G Loud, *The Megiddo Ivories*, 1939, 18, 195-96, pl 44; de Mertzenfeld, *Ivoires phéniciens*, nos 289-90.
- 163 M E L Mallowan, *Iraq* 13, 1951, 16, pl 5; R D Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*, 1975 (2), nos C 39-41, K 1, S 342 & 344.
- 164 F von Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli V*, 1943, 130, 133-34, pl 69: e-f; de Mertzenfeld, *Ivoires phéniciens*, nos 1118-19.
- 165 C D Curtis, *Sardis XIII*, 1925, no 87.
- 166 Two of the Samian heads (supra, note 146, a-b) and the heads from Lefkadia and Vergina (supra, notes 144-45) appear to have been used in this capacity.
- 167 London: British Museum, 127074
- R D Barnett, *op.cit.*, note 163, no V 2.
- Barnett, who wrongly questioned his identification of the ivory as a foot, states that the piece is similar to a number of large bits of ivory, found in the 'Room of the Bronzes' in the north-west palace

of Nimrud, which are datable to the eighth century. The foot measures 15 cm in length. Another Near Eastern ivory from a probable cult statue is the left hand which was discovered in the eighth-century Urartu Temple of Haldi at Toprak Kale near Van in E Turkey. The hand, which is 4.5 cm long, has been trimmed at its wrist, and its clenched fingers once held an attribute. (British Museum, 123889) Barnett, no W 7.

168 Pausanias II 16, 1.

169 Athenaeus XII 533c.

170 A Frickenhaus, Lenäenvasen, BerlWinck 72, 1912, For the Lenaia Festival cf. L Deubner, Attische Feste, 1932, 123-34.

171 W Wrede, AM 53, 1928, 66-95, pls 1-4.

172 Athens: National Museum, 3072 & 3897
Romano, Cult Images, 316-34.

173 Maximus Tyr. (VIII 1), for example, relates how farmers worshipped Dionysos by setting up simple tree stumps:

καὶ γεωργοὶ Διόνυσον τιμῶσι,
πήσαντες ἐν ἀρχαῖς αὐτοφύεσι
πρέμνοι, ἄγροισι κὲν ἄγαν.

174 E Gerhard & E Platner, Beschreibung der Stadt Rom II, 1834, 2, 578, note 4; G Abeken, AnnInst 10, 1838, 21-22; F Capranesi, Indicazioni delle sculture esistenti nella galleria della villa di sua Eccellenza il signor principe Don A B Ludovisi, 1842, 11, no 20; F G Welcker, RheinMus 3, 1845, 460; Welcker, AltDenkm 1, 1849, 430-31 (same as last); J Overbeck, Griechische Kunstmythologie III, 1873, 22-23, 187-88, note 18; R Kekulé, AnnInst 46, 1874, 38-45*; Kekulé, MonInst 10, 1874, pl 1; H Brunn, AZ 34, 1876,

26-28; A Milchhofer, AM 4, 1879, 76, note 2; T Schreiber, Die antiken Bildwerke der Villa Ludovisi in Rom, 1880, 59-60, no 23; J Overbeck, Geschichte der griechischen Plastik I, 1881, 184-85, 237, notes 130-32; K Lange, AM 7, 1882, 209; H Brunn, AM 7, 1882, 117-18; A Baumeister, Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums I, 1885, 337, fig 352; B Graef, AM 15, 1890, 11, 13, note 1; E Petersen, RM 7, 1892, 61-80*; A Furtwängler, Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik, 1893, 76, note 3; Furtwängler, Roscher I, 411; L Preller, Griechische Mythologie I, 1894 (4), 383, note 2 (C Robert); A Joubin, La sculpture grecque, 1901, 154-56, figs 49-50, 202, note 2; S Reinach, Recueil de têtes antiques, 1903, 17-18, pls 20-21; W Klein, Geschichte der griechischen Kunst I, 1904, 380-81, 394; E Petersen, Vom alten Rom, 1911 (4), 142, fig 107a-b; W Helbig, Führer II, 1913 (3), no 1288 (W Amelung)*; C Albizzati, JHS 36, 1916, 394, note 55; W Amelung, JdI 35, 1920, 57, fig 4; E Buschor & R Hamann, Olympia, 1924, 38; E Pfuhl, JdI 41, 1926, 50; A W Byvanck in Antike Plastik (Festschrift W Amelung), 1928, 60; A Rumpf in Gercke & Norden, Einleitung, 32; R Paribeni, Le Terme di Diocleziano e il Museo Nazionale Romano, 1932, no 129; Orsi, Templum, 136, note 1; Ashmole, Greek Sculpture in Sicily and South Italy, 26 figs 66 & 74; B Pace, Sicilia antica II, 1938, 48, fig 48; S Ferri, Le Arti 18, 1939-40, 162; Poulsen, Streng Stil, 106; E Langlotz, CdA 7, 1942, 91, 105, pl 33: 1; Langlotz, AuA 2, 1946, 122, fig 6; P Mingazzini & F Pfister, Surrentum, 1946, 203-04; Lippold, Handbuch, 129; Langlotz, in Studies D M Robinson, 646; E Paribeni, Sculture greche, 1953, no 1*;

R Lullies, *Griechische Bildwerke in Rom*, 1954, pls 7-8; D Mustilli, *EAA I*, 50 (s.v. acrolito); A de Franciscis, *EAA I*, 116-17, fig 171, (s.v. Afrodite); W Fuchs, *RM* 65, 1958, 3-4; K Schefold, *AK* 3, 1960, 48; Hafner, *Apollonkopf*, 12, note 3, 46, note 91; S Aurigemma, *Le Terme di Diocleziano e il Museo Nazionale Romano*, 1963 (5), no 191, pl 28; Langlotz & Hirmer, *Westgriechen*, 71, pls 62-63*; Herdejürgen, *Thronende Göttin*, 28, 30; Helbig III, no 2342 (W Fuchs)*; Ridgway, *Severe Style*, 121-23, 125, note 7, 129, fig 157*; Holloway, *Influences & Styles*, 29-30, figs 163-64; C M Robertson, *A History of Greek Art*, 1975, 202.

(Works distinguished by an asterisk are the major publications.)

- 175 E Petersen (op.cit., note 174, 1892, 76-77) assumed that the bottom of the base was fitted with a large dowel-hole. E Langlotz (Langlotz & Hirmer, *Westgriechen*, 71) maintained that the bottom was smooth and free of dowelling. Both E Paribeni (op.cit., note 174) and G Hafner, (*Apollonkopf*, 12, note 3) claim quite incorrectly that the base of the neck is the result of modern trimming.
- 176 E Petersen, op.cit., note 174, 1892, 73-74.
- 177 E Gerhard & E Platner, op.cit., note 174.
- 178 R Kekulé. An attribution to the Attic school was also supported by J Overbeck and W Amelung. op.cit., note 174.
- 179 A Baumeister & H Brunn, op.cit., note 174.
- 180 B S Ridgway (*Severe Style*, 121-23) suggests that the head is a classicizing work of the first century BC, while R R Holloway (*Influences & Styles*, 29-30) believes it to be a Roman copy of an acrolith of the Agrigentine school.
- 181 B Graef, R Lullies, & A Milchhofer, op.cit., note 174.

- 182 supra, note 180.
- 183 K Lange, *op.cit.*, note 174.
- 184 Poulsen, *Streng Stil*, 106.
- 185 Herdejürgeⁿ, *Thronende Göttin*, 28.
- 186 E Petersen, *op.cit.*, note 174, 1892, 61 ff.
- 187 London: British Museum, 208
Smith, *British Museum Greek Sculpture I*, no 208.
- 188 Naples: Museo Nazionale, 129181
A Ruesch, *Guida*, 1911 (2), no 96; P Mingazzini & F Pfister, *Surrentum*, 1946, 128-29, 203-04, pl 37. This little known fragment of an early classical original was discovered by E Pais while searching for the Temple of the Sirens in the area of Fontanella at Massalubrense. The fragment is of the crown and back portion of the head of a slightly over life-size god or goddess.
- 189 Potenza: Museo Archeologico
Langlotz & Hirmer, *Westgriechen*, 71 (pls 62-63); M Sestieri-Bertarelli, *Il Museo Provinciale di Potenza*, 1957, 10. The fragment was discovered in Metaponto, and possibly combines with the torso of a kouros, also now in Potenza, from the same site. cf. G de Luca, *AP* 3, 1964, 47-52, no 3, pls 49-53.
- 190 Agrigento: Museo Civico
E Langlotz, *RM* 58, 1943, 204-12, pls 15-18; Langlotz & Hirmer, *Westgriechen*, 69-70, pls 54-55.
- 191 Vatican City: Musei Pontifici del Vaticano, 1826
Helbig I, no 362 (W Fuchs). Two other copies of the type exist, one in a Milanese collection, the other formerly in the Sangiorgi

Collection in Rome. cf. Mostra di sculture antiche, Bergamo, 1958, no 9 (E Paribeni); L Curtius, JdI 59/60, 1944-45, 3.

For the type cf. W H Schuchhardt in Festschrift Carl Weickert, 1955, 59-66, figs 1-4.

- 192 W Amelung (possibly), A de Franciscis, W Fuchs, A Furtwangler, A Joubin (possibly), R Kekulé, W Klein (possibly), D Mustilli, E Petersen, & C Robert, op.cit., note 174.
- 193 T Schreiber (possibly), & F G Welcker, op.cit., note 174.
- 194 G Abeken, A Joubin (possibly), J Overbeck (possibly), & T Schreiber (possibly), op.cit., note 174.
- 195 The identification suggested by W Fuchs in Helbig III, no 2342. Earlier (RM 65, 1958, 3-4) he had discussed the head as one of Aphrodite.
- 196 E Petersen, op.cit., note 174, 1892, 76-77.
- 197 A W Byvanck, G Lippold, & R Lullies, op.cit., note 174.
- 198 E Gerhard & E Platner, Beschreibung der Stadt Rom II, 1834, 282, no 47; W Helbig, BdI, 1870, 13; H Bulle & P Arndt, BrBr, 1900, 501*; F Studniczka, JdI 2, 1887, 139, note 13; W Helbig, Führer I, 1912 (3), no 400 (W Amelung)*; C Albizzati, JHS 36, 1916, 376, note 11, 394, note 55; E Buschor & R Hamann, Olympia, 1924, 38; Langlotz, Bildhauerschulen, 147, 149-50, pls 92, 93c*; Orsi, Templum, 160-70, pl 23*, A Rumpf in Gercke & Norden, Einleitung, 32; Ashmole, Greek Sculpture in Sicily and South Italy, 21, 25-26, figs 43-44; P Marconi, Historia 9, 1935, 582; Poulsen, Strenge Stil, 112; Kaschnitz-Weinberg, Sculpture Magazzino Vaticano, 26 (no 41); Picard, Manuel II, 124, note 3; S Ferri, Le Arti 18, 1939-40, 162, 167, 171; B Pace, Sicilia antica II, 1938, 61, fig 65;

L Quarles van Ufford, *Les terres cuites siciliennes*, 1941, 132;
M Squarciapino, *BC* 70, 1942, 88 ff; E Langlotz, *CdA* 7, 1942, 93;
Langlotz *AuA* 2, 1946, 123; Lippold, *Handbuch*, 127; Langlotz in
Studies D M Robinson, 645, note 12; R Lullies, *Griechische*
Bildwerke in Rom, 1954, pl 13; Lippold, *Skulpturen Vaticanischen*
Museums 2, 514-16, pls 234-35*; S Stucchi, *BC* 75, 1956, 42, note
154; J Charbonneaux, *Gnomon* 29, 1957, 459; D Mustilli *EAA* I, 50
(s.v. *acrolito*); W Fuchs, *RM* 65, 1958, 4; K Schefold, *AK* 3, 1960,
48; Hafner, *Apollonkopf*, 12, note 3; Langlotz & Hirmer, *Westgriechen*
76, pls 86-87*; Helbig I, no 870 (W Fuchs)*; W Schuchhardt, *RM* 70,
1963, 5, note 3 (B1); E Langlotz, *ACSMG* 5, 1965, 274-75, pls
86-87; G Hafner, *JdI* 81, 1966, 186-205*; E Paribeni, *ACSMG* 8,
1968, 85, no 26; Ridgway, *Severe Style*, 125, no 6*; F Canciani,
ArchCl 23, 1971, 237-38, note 5.

(Works distinguished by an asterisk are the major publications.)

- 199 W Amelung, P Arndt, H Bulle, W Fuchs, E Langlotz, G Lippold
(possibly), B Pace, & R Lullies, *op.cit.*, note 198.
- 200 E Gerhard & E Platner, *op.cit.*, note 198.
- 201 P Arndt (*op.cit.*, note 198), although tending towards a workshop
on the mainland, preferred to leave the question of school open.
- 202 W Amelung, G Lippold, & R Lullies, *op.cit.*, note 198.
- 203 Syracuse: Museo Nazionale
Langlotz & Hirmer, *Westgriechen*, 75-76, pls X, 84-85.
For Langlotz's reconstruction of the career of Pythagoras cf.
Bildhauerschulen, 147-52, pls 88-91.
- 204 G Hafner, *op.cit.*, note 198, 1966, 186-205. The fourth-century
replacement would be the acrolithic (?) head discovered by

- K Lehmann and G Kaschnitz-Weinberg in the Villa Bonelli at Lanuvium. cf. G Kaschnitz-Weinberg in Festschrift Carl Weickert, 1955, 1-5 who believed it to date to the Antonine period
- 205 supra, note 125.
- 206 For a possibly acrolithic head of Athena cf. the de Vogue head from Aegina in the Louvre. Appendix 2, Class II, no 1. The acrolithic head in Taranto <III:5> may be identified as an Athena.
- 207 Lippold, Skulpturen Vaticanischen Museums 2, 514-16.
- 208 G Hafner, op.cit., note 198, 1966, 186-205.
- 209 P Orsi, Atene E Roma, 1925, 28-30, pl 1; C Albizzati, RendPontAccad 3, 1925, 321, note 16; K Lehmann-Hartleben, AA, 1926, 164; E Boehringer, AA, 1929, 140, fig 38 (138); A della Seta, Italia antica, 1928 (2), 152; P Orsi, AMSMG, 1932, 7-182, pls 1-24; Orsi, Templum (same as last)*; A Rumpf in Gercke & Norden, Einleitung, 50; Ashmole, Greek Sculpture in Sicily and South Italy, 25, 27-28, figs 60-63; P Marconi, Historia 9, 1935, 574-85; P Ducati in Paolo Orsi (Festschrift), 1935, 153-54; G Schneider, BBSch 12 (1), 1937, 3-8; Poulsen, Streng Stil, 112; C W Lunsingh Scheurleer, CdA 2, 1937, 212-23; G Schneider, BBSch 13 (1), 1938, 6-9; Picard, Manuel II, 65, note 2, 117-18, 124, 138, note 3, 148, note 1, 156, note 1, 310, 664, note 2, 911, fig 59 (123); Willeumier, Tarente, 277-78, 287, 400; C Picard, REG 52, 1939, 127; S Ferri, Le Arti 18, 1939-40, 165, 171; L Quarles van Ufford, Les terres cuites siciliennes, 1941, 108, 132-34; E Langlotz, CdA 7, 1942, 90, note 11, 94, note 35; L Curtius, JdI 59, 1944, 40, note 8; E Langlotz, AuA 2, 1946, 118, note 13, 124, note 39; T J

Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks*, 1948, 175-76, 286; G Schneider-Hermann, *BBSch* 24-26, 1949-51, 16-17, fig 5*; G M A Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, 1970, (4), 157, note 61; Lippold, *Handbuch*, 126; Langlotz in *Studies* D M Robinson, 646; Lippold, *Skulpturen Vaticanischen Museums* 2, 515; A de Franciscis, *RM* 63, 1956, 96-101*; S Stucchi, *BC* 75, 1956, 34-38, 42, note 154, fig 8; E Paribeni, *AMSMG* 2, 1958, 65; W Fuchs, *RM* 65, 1958, 3-4; D Mustilli, *EAA* I, 50, figs 71-72 (s.v. acrolito); L Rocchetti, *EAA* II, 694 (s.v. *Ciro*); A de Franciscis, *Agalmata*, 1960, 27-28, pl 15; K Schefold, *AK* 3, 1960, 48; F Mosino, *Klearchos* 9-10, 1961, 48; A de Franciscis, *ACSMG* 1, 1961, 220 (illustrated between 216-27); L von Matt & U Zanotti-Bianco, *Grossgriechenland*, 1961, 166, pls 160-62; W H Scuchhardt, *AJA* 66, 1962, 317-18, pl 85*; Hafner, *Apollonkopf*, 12, note 3, 46, note 90; A de Franciscis, *ACSMG* 3, 1963, 205; Langlotz & Hirmer, *Westgriechen*, 84, pls 118-19*; G Foti, *ACSMG* 4, 1964, 145-46; C Turano, *Klearchos* 23-24, 1964, 61-72*; G Hafner, *JdI* 81, 1966, 188, 201, note 65, 204, note 80; K Schauenburg, *StJ* 1, 1967, 62, note 78; G Foti, *Klearchos* 41-44, 1969, 142; Ridgway, *Severe Style*, 84, 91, 122-123, 125, note 7, 129, fig 158*; E Langlotz, *ACSMG* 10, 1970, 229-30, 234, pls 6-7; F Canciani, *ArchCl* 23, 1971, 237-39; G Foti, *Il Museo Nazionale de Reggio Calabria*, 1972, 38-39, 63, 76, pls XXIV, 47; Holloway, *Influences & Styles*, 9, figs 65-66; C M Robertson, *A History of Greek Art*, 1975, 202; G Ölbrich, *JPGMJ* 5, 1977, 29, fig 14.

(Works distinguished by an asterisk are the major publications.)

210 For the publication of the sanctuary cf. Orsi, *Templum*, 7-182,

pls 1-24 (pp 135-70 & pls 16-20 deal specifically with the acrolith). For further work at the temple site cf. G Foti, *op.cit.*, note 209, 1964, 145-46; & Foti, *op.cit.*, note 209, 1969, 142. That this temple was dedicated to Apollo is proved by a fragmentary inscription bearing the first three letters of the god's name, and the numerous figurines of the god in gold, silver, bronze, and terracotta. For the inscription cf. Orsi, *Templum*, 131, fig 102; for the figurines 82-87, 90-94, 99-107, 120-21, figs 46, 51, 61, 84, pls 10-13.

The discovery of the temple occurred in the course of a government project designed to drain the malarial marshes in the reaches of *Cirò Marina*, and accordingly much destruction ensued prior to the arrival of an archaeological team. Nevertheless, some documentation of the findings of the various parts of the statue is available. Giuseppe Parilla, the head of the responsible *Impresa della Bonifica*, discovered the head in the SW angle of the cella, the end nearest the adyton. The remaining bits appear to have come from the adyton, other parts of the cella, and from without the temple. The left hand and two stray fingers, the big toe of the left foot, and five fragments of the bronze wig surfaced within the cella. Other fragments of the wig were recovered by Orsi and his crew from some of the workmen, who had taken the odd fragment home. Two large wig fragments, one of these with the chignon, were found in the fill to the east and south of the temple. Since the surrounding swampy area was heaped with fill from the temple mound, it seems a likely supposition that these wig fragments

originated in the cella or adyton. While Orsi fails to mention the discovery of specific fragments from the adyton, he does remark that this area produced the "principali scoperte dei resti dell'idolo".

Orsi, *Templum*, 28-30, 35, 37-39, & 77.

- 211 Orsi also discovered within the adyton the traces of three pilasters and the imprint of a fourth in a quadrangular arrangement. These he identified as the remains of a baldacchino for the cult image. Orsi, *Templum*, 77-78.
- 212 The left foot has eight holes, the right foot ten.
- 213 Orsi, *Templum*, 155-70. For the Chatsworth head (London: British Museum, Reg. no 1958, 4-18, 1) cf. A J B Wace, *JHS* 58 1938, 90-95, pls 8-9; & D Haynes, *RA*, 1968, 101-12.
- 214 T J Dunbabin, P Marconi, C Picard, L Quarles van Ufford (style of Pythagoras/second half of fifth century), A della Seta, S Stucchi, & P Wuilleumier (slightly post 450), *op.cit.*, note 209.
- 215 P Marconi, *op.cit.*, note 209.
- 216 P Ducati (*op.cit.*, note 209) for some reason attributed the head to the youthful phase of Myron.
- 217 G Schneider-Hermann, *op.cit.*, note 209. While initially advocating a date in the middle of the century, she later suggested a date ca. 440.
- 218 A de Franciscis, *op.cit.*, note 209, 1956, 96-101. For the Athena Carpegna (Rome: Museo Nazionale delle Terme, 55051) cf. E Paribeni, *Sculture Greche*, 1953, no 101.
- 219 Langlotz & Hirmer, *Westgriechen*, 84, pls 118-19.
- 220 W H Schuchhardt, seconded by K Schauenburg, *op.cit.*, note 209.

Schuchhardt's argument is based upon a highly personal interpretation of stylistic criteria, and totally ignores the archaeological context of the sculpture.

221 Rome: Palazzo dei Conservatori, 2768

Helbig II, no 1642 (W Fuchs); Langlotz & Hirmer, *Westgriechen* 83-84, pls 115-17. G Hafner, (*Apollonkopf*) has published a similar head in the Archaeological Institute of Frankfurt, subsequently condemned by H Jucker (MH 21, 1964, 191) in a review of Hafner's essay. Also close are a number of large terracotta heads which seem to be Tarentine. cf. the fragmentary heads in Sotheby Parke Bernet & Co (New York), May 19 1979, no 183, & May 20 1982, no 124.

222 The chronology is obscure, and Orsi's remarks in this respect are frustratingly vague. Nevertheless, a recent investigation by D Mertens has at least clarified the evolution of the temple. Mertens distinguishes two phases, the first being a late archaic naos consisting of an open fronted cella and a wooden peristasis, the second an enlargement of the last with the addition of a further row of columns at either end, and the substitution of stone for wood in the peristasis. On the basis of the stone capitals, which are close to those of the theatre at Metaponto, Mertens dates the second phase of the temple to the beginning of the third century. Orsi himself had distinguished two similar phases, but he dated the enlargement to the fifth century. Both the temple and the "abitazioni dei sacerdoti", a group of insulae ca. thirty meters distant from the SW angle of the former, appear to have met with violent destruction. Orsi placed this destruction at an indistinct point in the hellenistic period, somewhere between 280 BC, the

advent of Pyrrhus in south Italy, and the third Slave War of 73-71 BC. The site is free of Roman coins with the exception of an aes romanum of the third/second centuries BC. While the temple furnishes no indication of a later subphase, the "abitazioni" seem to have experienced a thin period from the end of the third to the first centuries BC. Traces of a church, the odd Byzantine tomb, as well as the local name of "Mesola di San Pietro e Paolo" testify to a small settlement in the Byzantine and medieval periods. For the chronology cf. Orsi, *Templum*, 176-79. D Mertens' findings have as yet to be published.

- 223 Orsi, *Templum*, 82-87, fig 46. For the reconstruction cf. 157, figs 109-10.
- 224 C Turano, *op.cit.*, note 209.
- 225 Vatican City: Musei Pontifici del Vaticano, 579 Helbig I, no 135 (W Fuchs).
- 226 Orsi, *Templum*, 113-14, figs 70-71. Two sections of one or more laurel branches and a number of leaves were found.
- 227 Orsi, *Templum*, 143-55, figs 107-08, & pl 20. For the discovery of the various fragments of the wig cf. *supra*, note 210.
- 228 Orsi, *Templum*, 139. The compound is described as a "durissimo cemento antico di speciale composizione". A marble head of a woman in the Museo Nazionale at Taranto (without inventory number) has a hole in its crown filled with a similar reddish substance.
- 229 While it is true that the wig appears to be slightly earlier in style than the head, a hybrid combination of advanced and retardataire elements is common in West Greek art. With respect

to hairstyles, the Adolphseck <I:6> and Ludovisi <II:1> heads would illustrate the same phenomenon. For the "Apollo" from the Sosianus temple cf. supra, note 221. A quantity of gold and silver diadems were discovered within the adyton. cf. Orsi, *Templum*, 87-88, 94-98, & figs 48-58.

- 230 Ridgway, (*SevereStyle*, 122, note 19) mentions the ringed treatment of the crown, and suggests that the head was covered with gold foil.
- 231 *Ars Antiqua* 4, Dec 7 1962, no 51 (E Berger).
- 232 As suggested by E Berger, *ibid.* The Lindos Temple Chronicle mentions the case of a suicide by hanging from one of the horizontal struts connecting the fourth-century statue of Athena Lindia to the rear wall. C Blinkenberg, *Lindiaka I*, 1917, 38; Blinkenberg, *op.cit.*, note 23, 38, D 60 ff.
- 233 Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 1834
Blümel, *Klassisch Skulpturen Berlin*, no 120.
- 234 Paestum: Museo Archeologico
M Napoli, *ACSMG* 14, 1974, 241, pl 1.
- 235 E Robinson, *MMA Bull* 5, 1910, 276-78, figs 2-4; G H Chase, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in American Collections*, 1924, 97-98, fig 114; A W Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, 1927, 30-31, 134, pl 56a; G M A Richter, *Handbook of the Classical Collection*, 1930 (6), 268, fig 189; J Cossio-Pijoan, *Summa Artis, Historia general del arte IV*, 1932, 379, fig 504; H A Thompson, *HSCP*, 1940 (suppl.vol. 1), 184; G M A Richter, *BBSch* 24-26, 1949-51, 45, fig 5; Richter, *Handbook of the Greek Collection*, 1953, 106, 85b; Richter, *Metropolitan Museum Greek Sculptures*, no 141; Richter, *The*

- Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks, 1970 (4), 123, fig 482.
- 236 For the melon coiffure cf. C Anti, Die Antike 5, 1929, 11-12;
G Kleiner, Tanagrafiguren, 1942, 15; Picard, Manuel III 2,
809-10; M Renard, AntCl 17, 1948, 501-07; A Andren, OpusRom 2,
1960, 21-22; K Schauenburg, StJ 1, 1967, 58, note 2.
- 237 a Taranto: Museo Nazionale, 3897
Wuilleumier, Tarente, 280-81, pl 5: 1.
- b Taranto: Museo Nazionale, 3893
Wuilleumier, Tarente, 279-80, pl 5: 2; Langlotz & Hirmer,
Westgriechen, 88, pl 132.
- c Taranto: Museo Nazionale
W Hermann, AA, 1966, 282, 286, fig 28.
- d Kansas City: William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, 33-3/4
Langlotz & Hirmer, Westgriechen, 90, pl 135.
- 238 supra, note 221.
- 239 The head is unpublished.
- 240 E Robinson & G M A Richter, op.cit., note 235.
- 241 E Paribeni (ACSMG 13, 1973, 147) makes a passing mention of the
fragment, which is otherwise unpublished.
- 242 The fragment has been classified in Class II, although it is possible
that it may have belonged to Class III since some of these acroliths
share the base type of Class II.
- 243 D Adamesteanu, La Basilicata antica, 1974, 55-65.
The sanctuary of San Biagio della Venella is situated some six
kilometers from Metaponto in a valley of natural springs near
the Basento river. The site, which has seen continuous occupation
since the Neolithic, essentially mirrors the development of

Metaponto, and spans the period from the second half of the seventh century through the beginning of the third century, with a subphase thereafter. The acme of the sanctuary appears to have been the first half of the sixth century. The focus of the sanctuary was a triad of springs about which a building was constructed. The dedication of the sanctuary to Zeus Aglaïos is known on the testimony of an inscribed stone cippus (illustrated in Adamesteanu, 65).

244 One possible exception would be the Ludovisi head <II:1>, of which the bottom of the base is obscured by its mount. *supra*, note 175.

245 Appendix 2, Class III, no 1.

246 Copenhagen: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 101 & 101a
F Poulsen, Catalogue of Sculpture in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1951, no 101; Despinis, *Akrolitha*, 29, no 6, pls 20, 23: 1.

247 Appendix 2, Class II, no 1.

248 V H Poulsen, *Führer*, 1969 (2), 33; Poulsen, *Guide*, 1973 (16), 29-30 (revised by F Johansen); G Franceschi & F Johansen, *Et hundrede fire og tyve fotografier*, 1969, no 41.

The head entered the museum in 1968 as a gift of the Ny Carlsberg Foundation.

249 *supra*, note 98.

250 Rome: Museo Barracco, 81
Helbig II, no 1860 (W Fuchs).

251 K Schefold, *Basler Nachrichten* vom 15 März 1950, no 113;
Schefold, *AK* 3, 1960, 48, pl 16; Schefold, *Meisterwerke*, 79-80, 238-39, no VII 293; Hafner, *Apollonkopf*, 12, note 3;

- I Racz, *Antikes Erbe*, 1965, no 65; G Hafner, *JdI* 81, 1966, 188, note 9; G Ölbrich, *JPGMJ* 5, 1977, 21-32; H P Laubscher in *Tainia* (Festschrift R Hampe), 1980, 230, note 20.
- 252 K Schefold, *op.cit.*, note 251, 1960, 48. For the Berlin Goddess cf. *supra*, note 98.
- 253 G Ölbrich, *op.cit.*, note 251. For the head in Hannover (Kestner Museum, 3524) cf. W Amelung, *JdI* 35, 1920, 49-59; & Schefold *Meisterwerke*, 59, 217-18, no V 245.
- 254 *supra*, note 237, no d.
- 255 *infra*, note 268.
- 256 K Schefold, *op.cit.*, note 251, 1960, 48.
- 257 L Quarles van Ufford, *Les terres cuites siciliennes*, 1941, 109, note 2; E Langlotz, *AuA* 2, 1946, 117, note 10; L Giuliani, *Die archaischen Metopen von Selinunt*, 1979, 78, note 383. Apart from these brief references, the head remains unpublished.
- 258 An acrolithic head of Roman date from Cyrene has a similar spur projecting from the bottom of its flat, circular base. *infra*, note 277.
- 259 L Quarles van Ufford (*op.cit.*, note 257) mistakenly thought that the head was a classicizing work.
- 260 E Langlotz, *op.cit.*, note 257.
- 261 The head is unpublished.
- 262 The acrolithic head of Hygieia from Pheneos has a similarly hollowed crown with its surrounding rim fitted with three holes. Appendix 2, Class III, no 1.
- 263 Langlotz & Hirmer, *Westgriechen*, 84 (pls 118-19); P Noelke & U Rudiger, *AA*, 1967, 375, note 38; E Langlotz, *ACSMG* 10, 1970,

- 235, pl 10: 1. Aside from these passing references, the head is unpublished. The sole information yielded by the museum archives is that the head appears to have been found in Taranto between 1915 and 1919.
- 264 The head of the Largo Argentina acrolith has a deep, rectangular groove in the trimmed section of its neck. *supra*, note 118.
- 265 E Langlotz, *op.cit.*, note 263, 1970, 235.
- 266 *supra*, note 237, no d.
- 267 *supra*, note 118.
- 268 Rome: Palazzo dei Conservatori, 2447
M Squarciapino, BC 70, 1942, 83-93, pls 1-2;
Helbig II, no 1653 (W Fuchs).
- 269 W Fuchs, *op.cit.*, note 268.
- 270 *supra*, note 118.
- 271 Rome: Museo Barracco, 93
Helbig II, no 1873 (H von Steuben).
- 272 *ibid.*
- 273 E Paribeni, (Sculpture greche, 1953, 69) considers the head to be a fake.
- 274 For the Athena Medici cf. Appendix 1, no 1.
- 275 Despinis, Akrolitha, 27-39.
- 276 Appendix 2, Class III, no 1.
- 277 London; British Museum, 1411
Smith, British Museum Greek Sculpture II, no 1411; J Huskinson, Roman Sculpture from Cyrenaica in the British Museum, CSIR Great Britain II, 1, 1975, no 124.
- 278 Cyrene: Museum, 14.018

- E Paribeni, *AMSMG* 2, 1958, 64, no 6, pl 18, Paribeni, *Cirene*, no 29; Ridgway, *Severe Style*, 125, no 8. Ridgway admits the possibility that the head is from an early classical acrolith.
- 279 *supra*, notes 271 & 275.
- 280 For the convention of occipital piecing cf. H de Villefosse, *Mon Piot* 1, 1894, 71-72, note 1; P Gauckler, *CRAI*, 1910, 393-404; J R Crawford, *MAAR* 1, 1915-16, 103-19; K Schauenburg, *StJ* 1, 1967, 62, note 62; & P C Bol, *Die Skulpturen des Schiffundes von Antikythera*, 1972, 95-96.
- 281 Athens: National Museum, 1735 (Artemis), 1736 (Anytos)
G Dickins, *BSA* 12, 1905-06, 109-36; Dickins, *BSA* 13, 1906-07, 357-404, pls 12-14; Dickins, *BSA* 17, 1910-11, 80-87. Good photographs of the two heads are in G Becatti, *RIASA* 7, 1940, 40-41, figs 18, 20-21.
- 282 Athens: National Museum, 3377 & 3481 (left arm)
O Walter, *JOI* 19-20, 1919, 1-14, pls 1-2; Walter, *JOI* 27, 1932, 146-52.
- 283 Rome: Palazzo dei Conservatori, 2381
D Mustilli, *BC* 58, 1930, 125-47, pls 1-2; Mustilli, *Il Museo Mussolini*, 1939, 69-70, no 11, pl 44: 177-78; G Becatti, *RIASA* 7, 1940, 38-39, figs 16-17; Helbig II, no 1710 (H von Steuben); F Coarelli, *StudMisc* 15, 1969, 83-84, pls 18-19, 20: 1; M Cima in *Prima Italia*, 1981, no 139. cf. the similar head of Herakles in Basel (*Antikenmuseum*, 203) from Cyrene. Paribeni, *Cirene*, no 474; E Berger, *Kunstwerke der Antike (Sammlung R Kappeli)*, A 18.
- 284 Rome: Museo Capitolino, 253

- H Stuart Jones, *The Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*, 1912, 122-23, no 499, pl 31; G Becatti, *RIASA* 7, 1940, 50-51, fig 27; Helbig II, no 1235 (H von Steuben); F Coarelli, *op.cit.*, note 283, 84-85, pls 20: 2-4, 21.
- 285 F Coarelli, *op.cit.*, note 283, 83-85.
- 286 Mustilli, followed by von Steuben and Cima (*op.cit.*, note 283), argued that the head of Herakles was finished in stucco, a solution which is illogical in view of the smooth finish of the edges. cf. V M Strocka, *JdI* 82, 1967, 132-33.
- 287 Appendix 2. The second type is only represented by the possibly acrolithic de Vogüe head in the Louvre (Class II, no 1).
- 288 Appendix 2, Class I, no 4.
- 289 Appendix 2.
- 290 Appendix 1, nos 1-2, 4-9, & 16.
- 291 Appendix 2, Class II, no 1.
- 292 Appendix 2, Class III, no 1.
- 293 Appendix 1, nos 2 & 4.
- 294 Appendix 2, Class Uncertain, no 1.
- 295 Appendix 2, Class Uncertain, no 2.
- 296 *supra*, notes 118 & 156.
- 297 *supra*, note 157.
- 298 Appendix 2, Class III, no 1.
- 299 *supra*, note 246.
- 300 Appendix 2, Class Uncertain, no 1.
- 301 Appendix 2, Class Uncertain, no 2.
- 302 G Marchetti-Longhi, *op.cit.*, note 1, 141-46, figs 4-10.
- 303 Appendix 1, nos 1-9.

- 304 Appendix 2, Class Uncertain, no 1.
- 305 Appendix 2, Class III, no 1.
- 306 Appendix 2, Class Uncertain, no 2.
- 307 Appendix 1, nos 1-10.
- 308 Appendix 1, nos 11-12.
- 309 Appendix 1, no 15.
- 310 Appendix 1, nos 13-14.
- 311 supra, notes 121-22.
- 312 Appendix 1, no 16.
- 313 Appendix 2, Class Uncertain, no 1.
- 314 Appendix 2, Class I, nos 4-5.
- 315 nos I: 1-7, 9-10; II: 1-2, 5; & III: 1-5.
- 316 nos I: 8, 11; & II: 6. The Metaponto fragment <II:6>, however,
has been tentatively identified as a fraction of the cult statue
of Zeus Aglaïos.
- 317 nos II: 3-4.
- 318 Appendix 2, Class Uncertain, no 1.
- 319 Appendix 1, no 10.
- 320 Appendix 2, Class III, no 1.
- 321 Appendix 1, no 15.
- 322 Appendix 1, no 4.
- 323 Appendix 1, no 8.
- 324 Appendix 2, Class II, no 1.
- 325 Appendix 1, no 1.
- 326 Appendix 1, no 5.
- 327 Appendix 2, Class Uncertain, no 2.
- 328 Appendix 1, no 6.

- 329 Appendix 1, no 9.
- 330 Appendix 1, no 11.
- 331 Appendix 1, no 2.
- 332 Appendix 1, no 12.
- 333 Appendix 2, Class III, no 1.
- 334 Appendix 1, no 3.
- 335 Appendix 1, no 7.
- 336 Appendix 1, no 16.
- 337 Appendix 2, Class I, nos 1-2.
- 338 Appendix 2, Class I, nos 4-7.
- 339 Appendix 3, nos 1-3, 6-10, 13-22, 26-28, 30-34, & 36-41.
- 340 Appendix 2, Class I, nos 4-6.
- 341 Appendix 2, Class I, no 2.
- 342 Appendix 2, Class II, no 1.
- 343 Appendix 1, no 11.
- 344 Appendix 1, no 16.
- 345 Appendix 2, Class I, no 2.
- 346 Appendix 2, Class I, nos 4 & 7.
- 347 Appendix 2, Class III, no 1.
- 348 Appendix 2, Class III, no 1 & Class Uncertain, no 2.
- 349 Appendix 2, Class Uncertain, no 1.
- 350 Appendix 2, Class I, no 1.
- 351 Appendix 2, Class II, no 1.
- 352 Appendix 2, Class I, no 2.
- 353 Appendix 2, Class I, no 3.
- 354 Appendix 2, Class I, nos 4-7.
- 355 Appendix 1, no 10.

- 356 Appendix 1, no 1.
- 357 Appendix 1, no 3.
- 358 Appendix 1, no 7.
- 359 Iliad VI 297-310. cf. also 86-100, 269-78, & 286-96.
- 360 The literature on this subject is not vast.
- K Boetticher, *Die Tektonik der Hellenen* II, 1874 (2),
423-27, 498-500; T Schreiber, *AZ* 41, 1883, 292-95; J G Frazer,
Pausanias's Description of Greece II, 1898, 574-76; W Rouse,
Greek Votive Offerings, 1902, 275-77; F Poulsen, *JdI* 21, 1906,
191-93; A W Persson, *Staat und Manufaktur im römischen Reiche*,
1923, 117-28; F Willemsen, *Frühe griechische Kultbilder*, 1939
(diss. Munich), 1-17, 36-43; Marcadé, *Delos*, 96-98; Romano,
Cult Images, 411-19.
- 361 Pausanias (VIII 5, 3) mentions a robe sent by Laodike, a
descendant of Agapenor, from Paphos to Athen Alea at Tegea,
the goddess of her mother sanctuary. While he fails to specify
the era, the text implies that it was not long after Agapenor's
foundation of Paphos, which occurred as a result of his thwarted
return to Arcadia from Troy. cf. Aeschylus (*Agamemnon* 918-25,
944-49) wherein Agamemnon, finding upon his return the passage
to his palace strewn with purple, slips off his sandals, having
first rebuked Clytemnestra for showing him honours fit for the
gods. This last, however, is but a literary creation, inspired
no doubt by contemporary ritual, and not a specific allusion to
any convention of honouring the gods in the Heroic Age.
- 362 Precedents for the practice, which has a decidedly oriental
flare, are known from the ancient Near East.

- cf. W F Leemans, *Ishtar of Lagaba and her Dress*, 1952; & A Leo Oppenheim, *JNES* 7, 1949, 172-93. For references to the practice in primitive cultures cf. J G Frazer, *op.cit.*, note 360, II, 575, III, 593. For an impressive photograph of a contemporary draped statue cf. that of Nandin, the bull mount of Shiva, bedecked in a saffron robe in the catalogue, *In the Image of Man*, Hayward Gallery, 1982, 23.
- 363 H Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* I, 1951 (6), 132, no 14.
- 364 K Boetticher, *op.cit.*, note 360, 552-57. For a recent discussion of kosmesis cf. Marcadé, *Delos*, 98-102.
- 365 no 17 of the appended list.
- 366 Suida s.v. *χαλκεῖα* ; Harpocration s.v. *ἀνθηφόρεον* ; Hesychius s.v. *ἑργαστῖναι* . For the ancient sources concerning the peplos cf. A Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, 1871, 328-29; & L Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 1932, 29-34.
- 367 Euripides: *Hecuba* 466-74 & Scholia.
- 368 Hesychius s.v. *πρᾶξι-εργῖσαι*.
- 369 nos 4, 7, 9-10, 13, 15-16, 30, & 32-34 of the appended list.
- 370 nos 4 & 32 of the appended list.
- 371 Inscriptional evidence shows that secondary images of the Artemis of Brauron and the Hera of Samos were robed. *infra*, note 393 and nos 7 & 33 of the appended list.
- 372 H W Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians*, 1977, 39; D M Lewis, *Scripta Classica Israelica* 5, 1979/80, 28-29.
- 373 nos 1, 8, 18, 21, 25, 28, 31, 37, & 39 of the appended list.
- It is of course possible that a number of these statues were of archaic or classical origin. For example, *Athenaeus* (XIV 614b)

relates how Parmeniskos of Metapontum regained his ability to laugh upon seeing the shapeless xoanon of Leto within her temple on Delos.

374 nos 20 & 26 of the appended list.

375 no 5 of the appended list.

376 no 24 of the appended list.

377 no 39 of the appended list.

378 no 44 of the appended list. Athenaeus (V 195, 198) describes the baroque processions of Antiochus Epiphanes and Ptolemy Philadelphus of which statues of the gods, demigods, and heroes wearing sumptuous robes were a conspicuous feature. cf. Suida (s.v. *κλέαρξος*) for Klearchos, the tyrant of Heraclea Pontica, who had the temerity to outfit himself in robes appropriate to images of the gods.

379 Pliny: NH VIII 74.

380 Suetonius: Caligula 22.

381 no 30 of the appended list.

382 The emperors are Celsus, Probus, and Saturninus.

Scriptores Historiae Augustae: Tyranni Triginta 29; Probus 10: & Saturninus 9. cf. Achilles Tatius (Leucippe & Clitophon II 11, 4) who speaks of the peplos of Aphrodite as being customarily dyed of Tyrian purple; and Pollux (VII 69) for a purple *εὐλγυμυ* with which the statues of the gods were robed. Both writers are of the second century BC.

383 cf. the appended list of draped statues.

384 no 41 of the appended list.

385 nos 8 & 25 of the appended list. cf. R Vallois, BCH 45, 1921,

262-63; & Marcadé, Delos, 97-98, 190-92. Marcadé concludes that the Dionysos was sheltered within the Artemision, and suggests that it was an archaic xoanon.

386 Iliad VI 294-95.

387 An exception to this design was the addition of the portraits of Demetrius Poliorcetes and his father Antigonos Gonatas for the peplos of 302. The result was divine disfavour, and the peplos in the course of its progress through the Kerameikos was torn in two by a violent tempest. cf. Plutarch: Demetrius X 5, XII 3-7; & Diodorus, XX 46, 2.

388 no 43 of the appended list.

389 no 4 of the appended list.

390 no 30 of the appended list. For Klearchos of Heraclea Pontica who dressed himself in robes appropriate to divine images cf. supra, note 378. The richly figured himation of Demeter on a skyphos by Makron in London (British Museum, E 140/ ARV 459, 3) and the fragment of Kore's garment from the Lykosura group by Damophon (Athens: National Museum) may give an impression of the quality of these divine robes. G Dickins, ABSA 13, 1906-07, 392-95, figs 11, 14-15, pl 14. For the golden mantles worn by the Delphi chryselephantine statues cf. supra, note 73.

391 C Curtius, Inschriften und Studien zur Geschichte von Samos, 1877, no 6; C Michel, Recueil d'inscriptions grecques, 1900, no 832; D Ohly, AM 68, 1953, 46-49.

392 The inventory of the Heraion also lists several items which clearly served to decorate the sanctuary: a fine cloth which was stretched before the goddess (σινδών... ἱερὴν αὐτῆς)

[τῆς θεῶς παραπινῶσι), three cushions

(ὑποκεφάλαια), one tablecloth (καταπέτασμα
τῆς τραπέζης), four curtains (παραπετάσματα
& ὑλαῖαι), three carpets (χλάνδια) two of which
are stretched before Hera, and four birds (εἶδη).

- 393 Presumably "the goddess behind" was a later cult image of Hera, whose relative lack of sanctity with respect to the xoanon is indicated by its allotment of but one garment. D Ohly (op.cit., note 391, 25-50) suggests that the second image was created for the "Rhoikos Temple" of the first half of the sixth century. Of the two statues of Hermes, the first with no indication of place was probably within the Heraion, just as the Hermes and baby Dionysos of Praxiteles was in the Temple of Hera at Olympia (Pausanias V 17, 3). cf. supra, note 385 with regard to a Dionysos possibly sheltered within the Artemision of Delos. For the chitoniskos of Leto which was stored within the Temple of Apollo on Delos cf. no 39 of the appended list.

- 394 A number of the articles of dress are qualified as ragged, fragmentary, or ancient: περίβλημα ... ῥάκινον;

περίβλημα ... ῥάκινον; κ. θῶνος ... τόμος;

τρίχαιπτεν παλαιόν

. Arguably these are the

remnants of archaic or earlier dedications, preserved for reasons

of piety. The adjective ῥάκος is frequently encountered in

the inventory of garments of the Sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron.

cf. T Linders, Studies in the Treasure Records of Artemis

Brauronia Found in Athens, AIARS 19, 1972, 58-59.

- 395 Additionally, a person by the name of Euangelis, plausibly

identified by E Buschor (AM 55, 1930, 3) as the priestess of Hera, is listed as having two of the goddess' chitons and one of her veils. Presumably these were to be used in the performance of her duties. The cult images of Samos were not the only ones to be clad in so exaggerated a manner. Pausanias, for example, describes the Asklepios and Hygieia at Titane (nos 12 & 36 of the appended list) as being so laden, the one with a chiton and a himation, the other with offerings of womens' hair and strips of Babylonian cloths, that he was unable to ascertain the material of which each was made. For an image of Ino in Laconia which was rendered invisible by the number of obscuring garlands cf. Pausanias III. 26, 1.

396 no 7 of the appended list.

397 cf. Euripides: Iphig. Taur. 1466; & Anth. Pal VI 271.

For Chitone as an epithet of Artemis cf. Callimachus: Hymni I 76-77; III 225-27; Hesychius s.v. *κ.θ.ω.ν.ε.α* ; Athenaeus XIV 629; Epicharmus frag. 127 (G Kaibel, ed., Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta I, 1899, 114); Steph. Byz. 694 (ed A Meineke). For inscribed garments cf. T Linders, op.cit., note 394, 12-13; & Demosthenes XXV 1 (hypoth.) where a man has been accused of temple robbery by the incriminating evidence of garments inscribed with gold letters. The robe sent by Laodike to Athena Alea (supra, note 361) bore a dedicatory inscription.

398 IG VII 2421; O Rayet, BCH 5, 1881, 264-66.

399 T Reinach, REG 12, 1899, 74-76, 89-102 (inscription B).

cf. the Scholia to Aristophanes: Plutus 842-49 (the passage treats of the dedication of an aged tribonion and a pair of

shoes to Plutus by the Just Man) which mention the custom of dedicating the white robe worn by initiates into the Mysteries of Eleusis either to the Goddesses or to a god of one's choice. The robe could also be used to swaddle a newly born child.

400 no 34 of the appended list.

Index of Plates

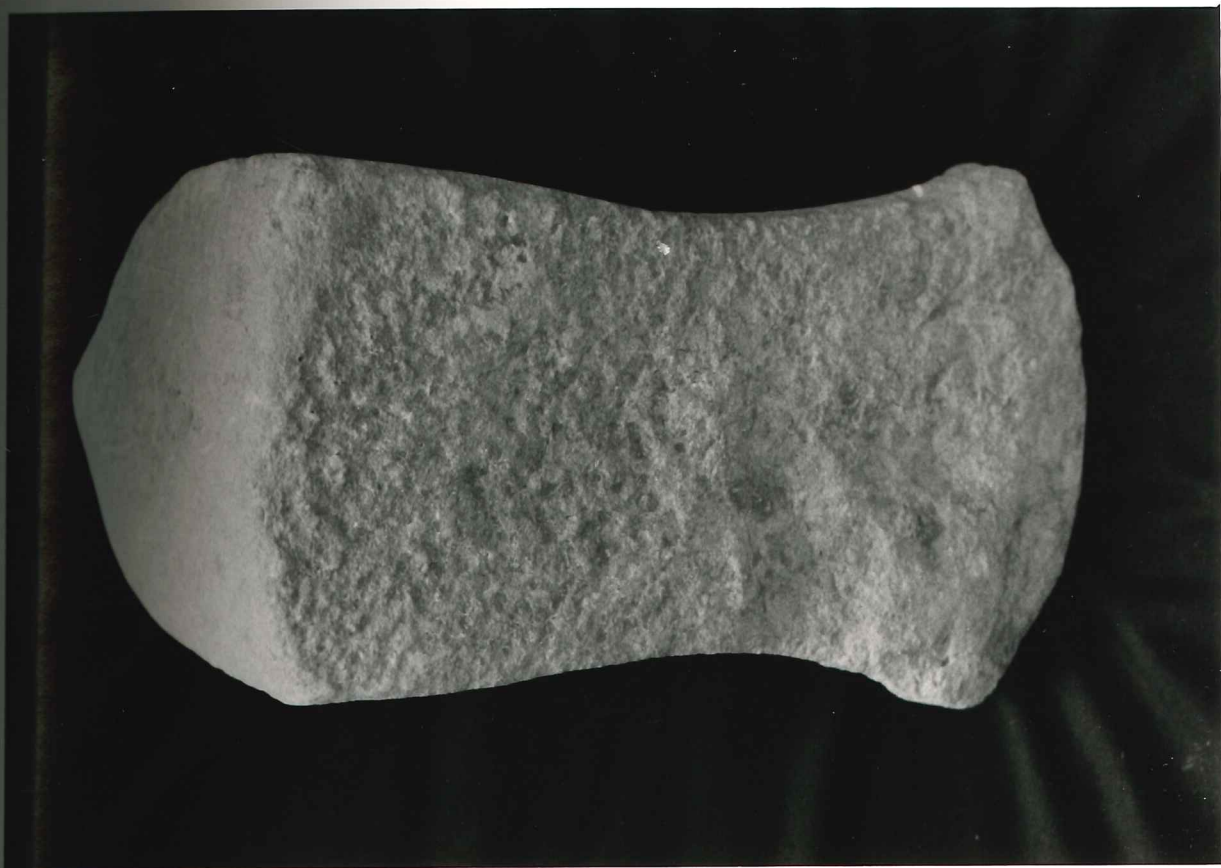
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- Plates 8-9 = I:2 (Paestum: Museo Archeologico).
- Plate 10 = I:3 (Paestum: Museo Archeologico, 4851).
- Plates 11-12 = I:4 (Paestum: Museo Archeologico).
- Plates 13-14 = I:5 (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 00.307).
- Plates 15-16 = I:6 (Adolphseck: Schloss Fasanerie, 217).
- Plates 17-18 = I:7 A (Palermo: Museo Nazionale, 3927).
- Plates 19-20 = I:7 B (Palermo: Museo Nazionale, 3884).
- Plate 21 = I:7 C (Palermo: Museo Nazionale, 3925).
- Plates 22-23 = I:8 (New York: Private Collection).
- Plates 24-25 = I:9 (Paris: Private Collection).
- Plate 26 = I:11 (Metaponto: Soprintendenza Archeologica).
- Plates 27-28 = II:1 (Rome: Museo Nazionale delle Terme, 8598).
- Plate 29 = II:2 (Vatican City: Musei Pontifici del Vaticano, 905).
- Plates 30-39 = II:3 (Reggio Calabria: Museo Nazionale, 6499-6506,
6565-66, & 6576).
- Plate 40 = II:4 (ex Ars Antiqua, Lucerne).
- Plates 41-42 = II:5 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 10.142.1).
- Plates 43-44 = III:1 (Copenhagen: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 3393).
- Plates 45-46 = III:2 (Malibu: J Paul Getty Museum, 74AA33).
- Plates 47-48 = III:3 (Paris: Musée du Louvre, MA 3405).
- Plates 49-51 = III:4 (London: Private Collection).
- Plates 52-53 = III:5 (Taranto: Museo Nazionale, 3885).





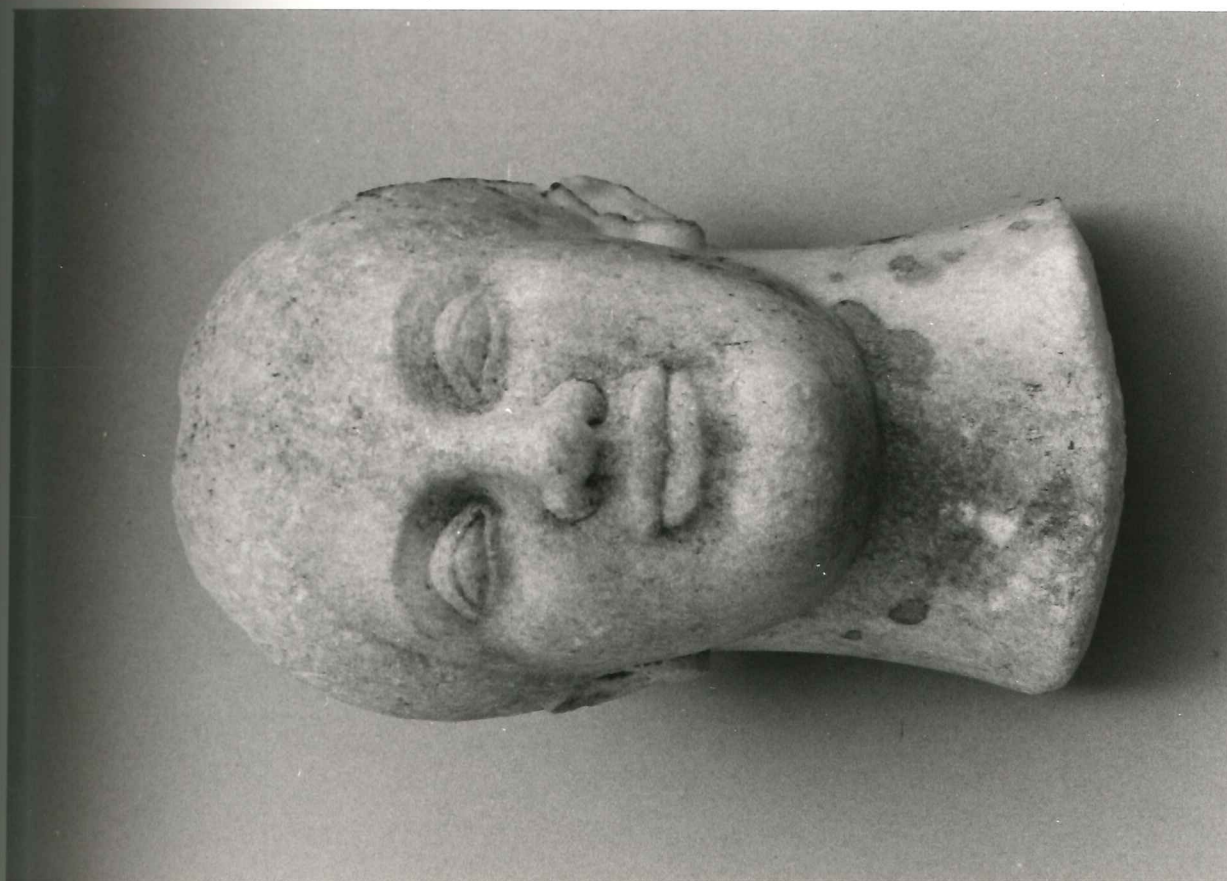




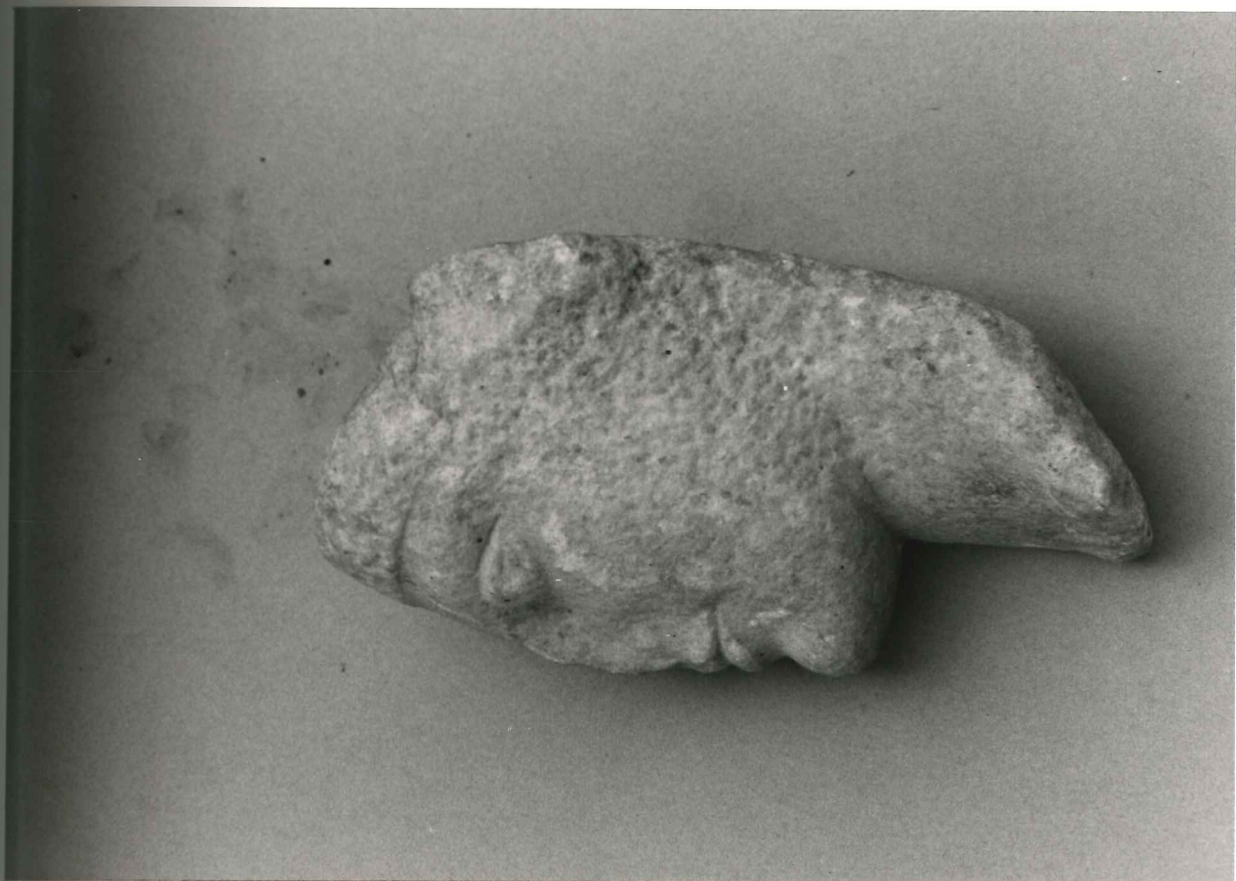


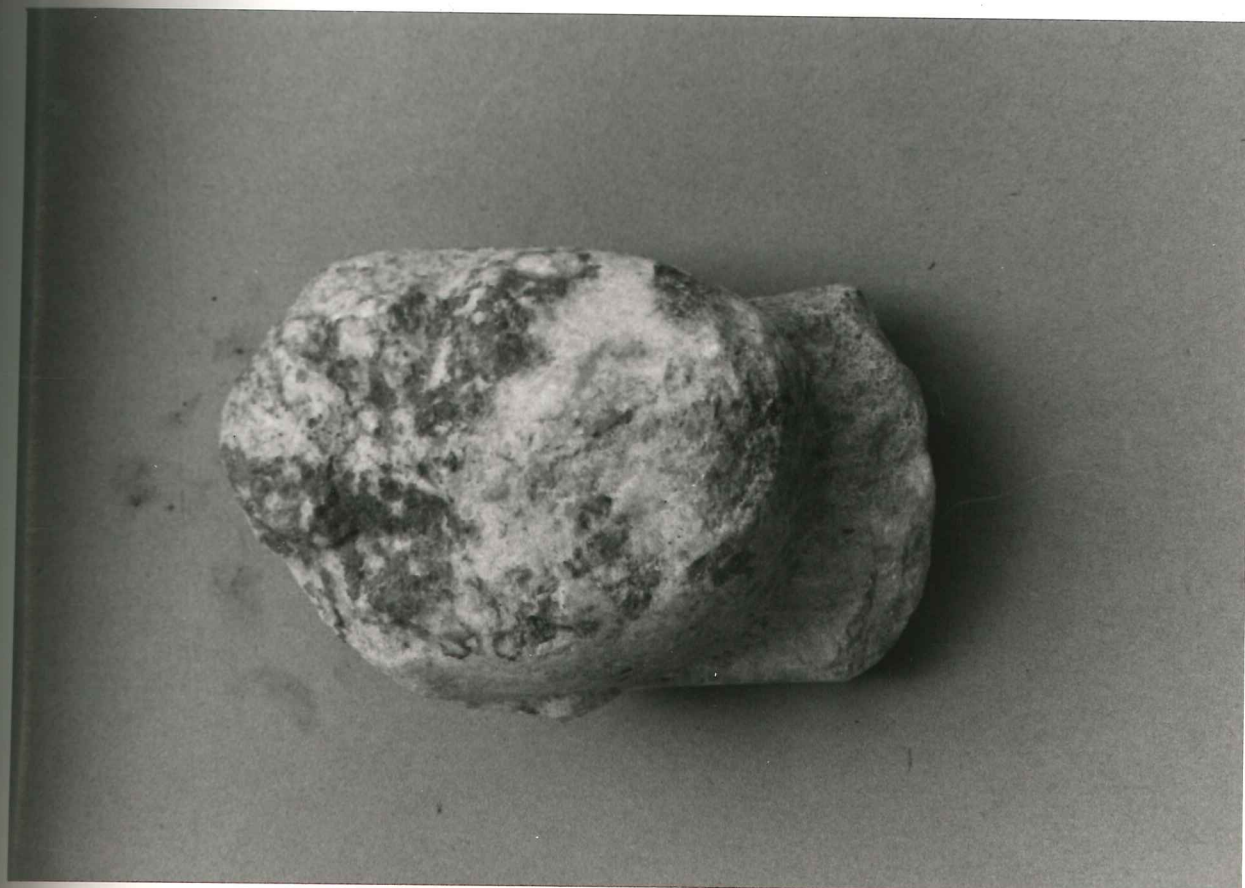
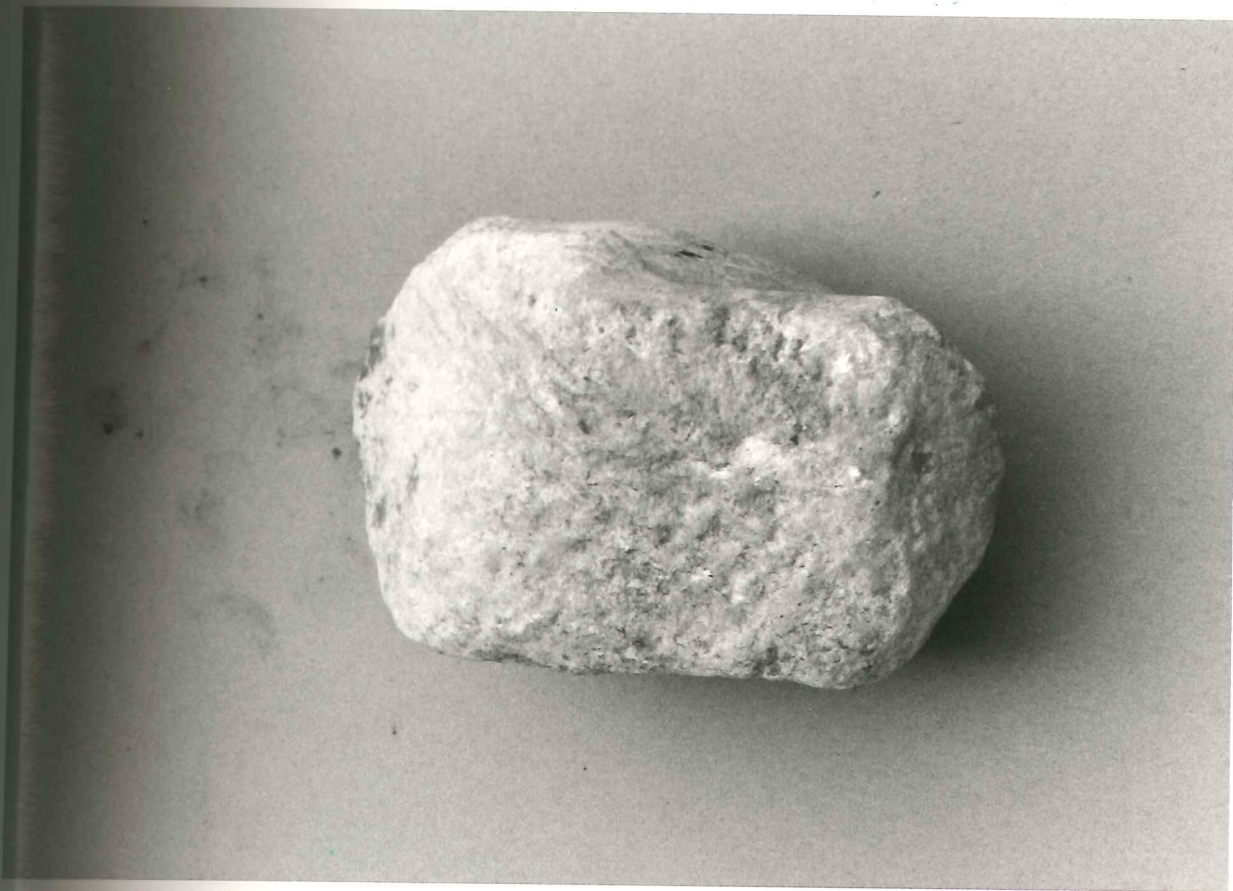


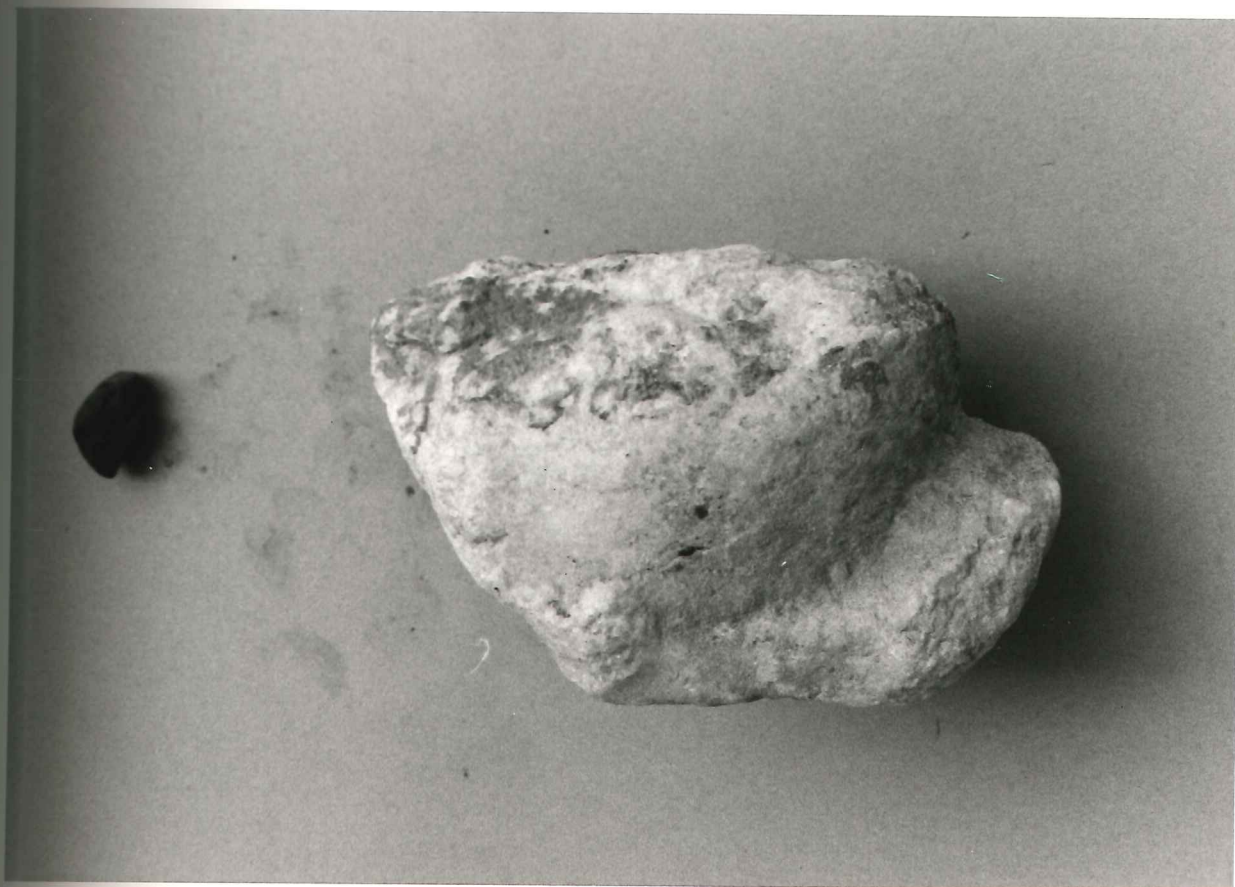
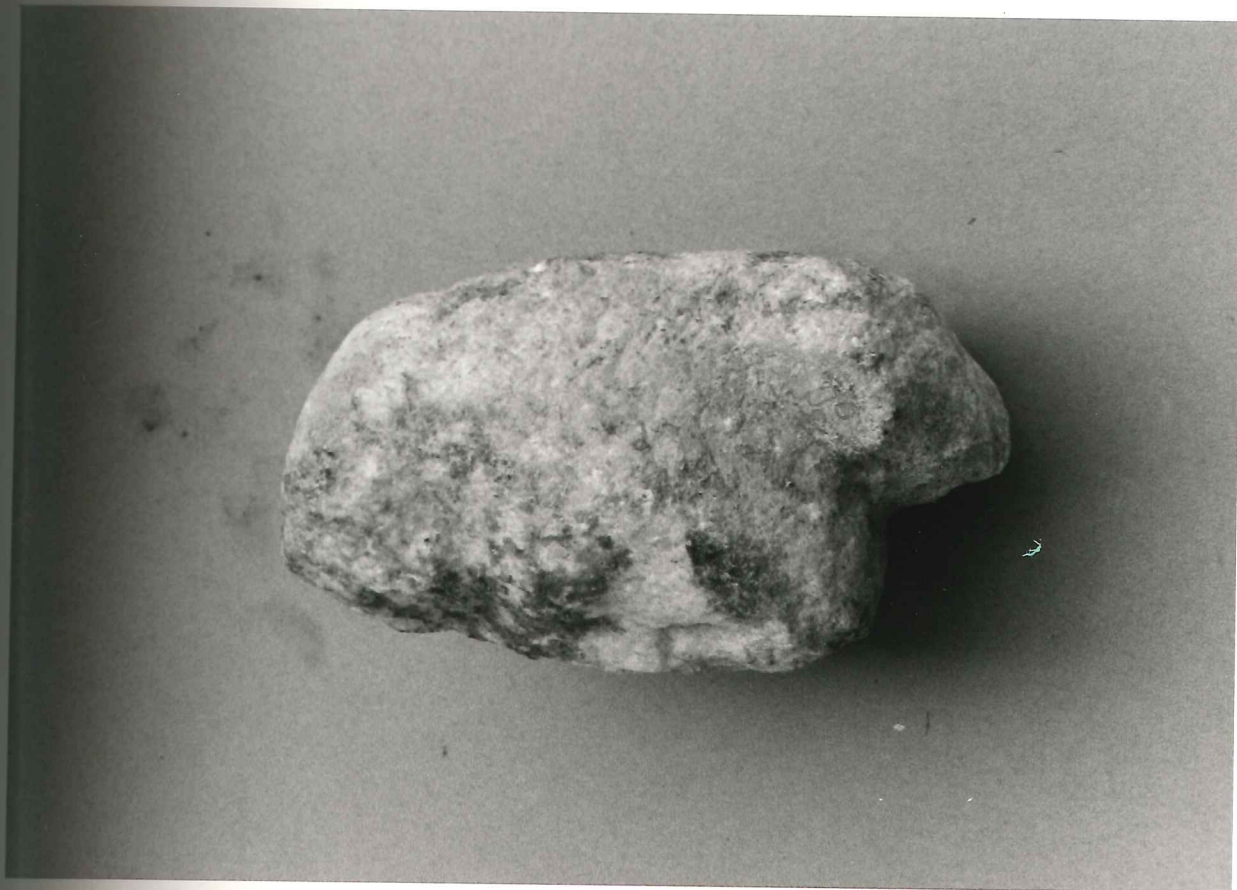




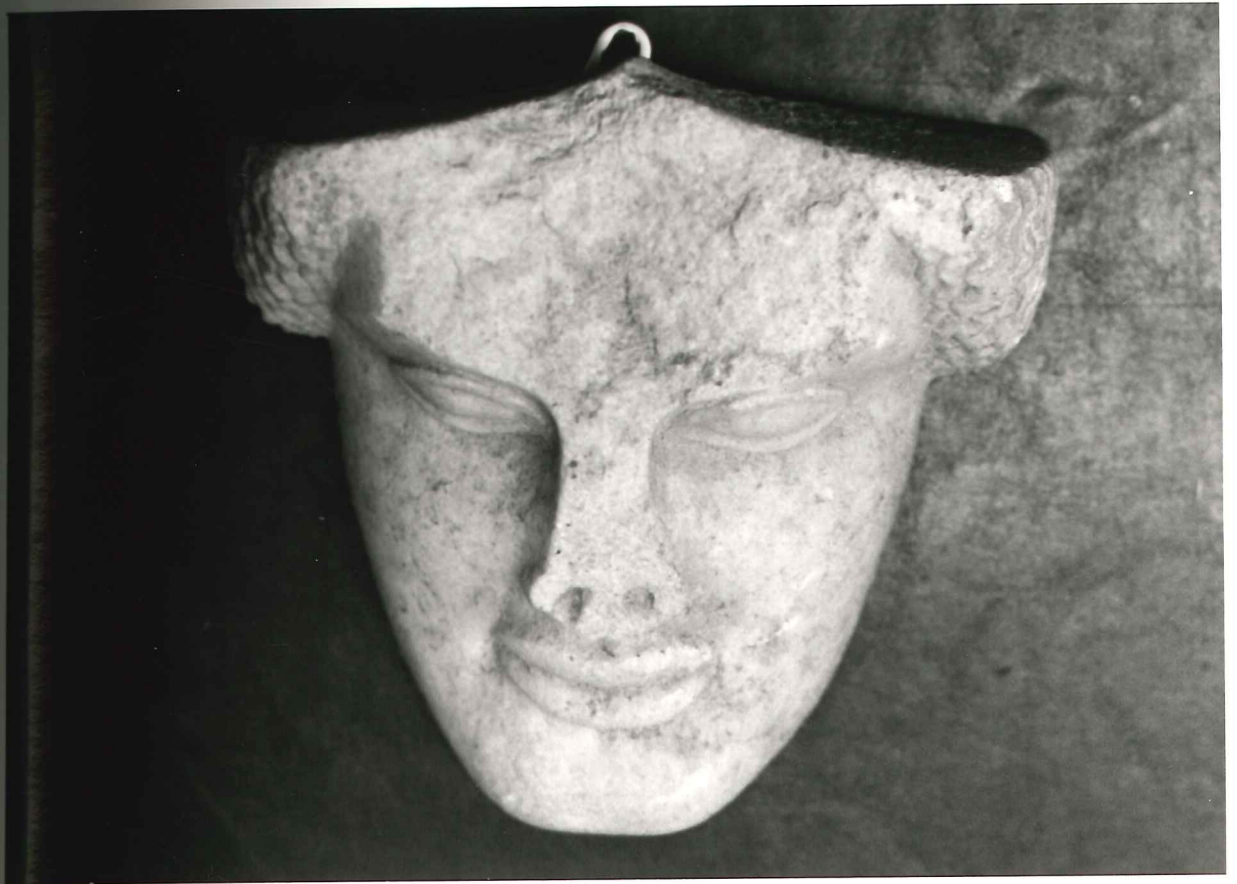


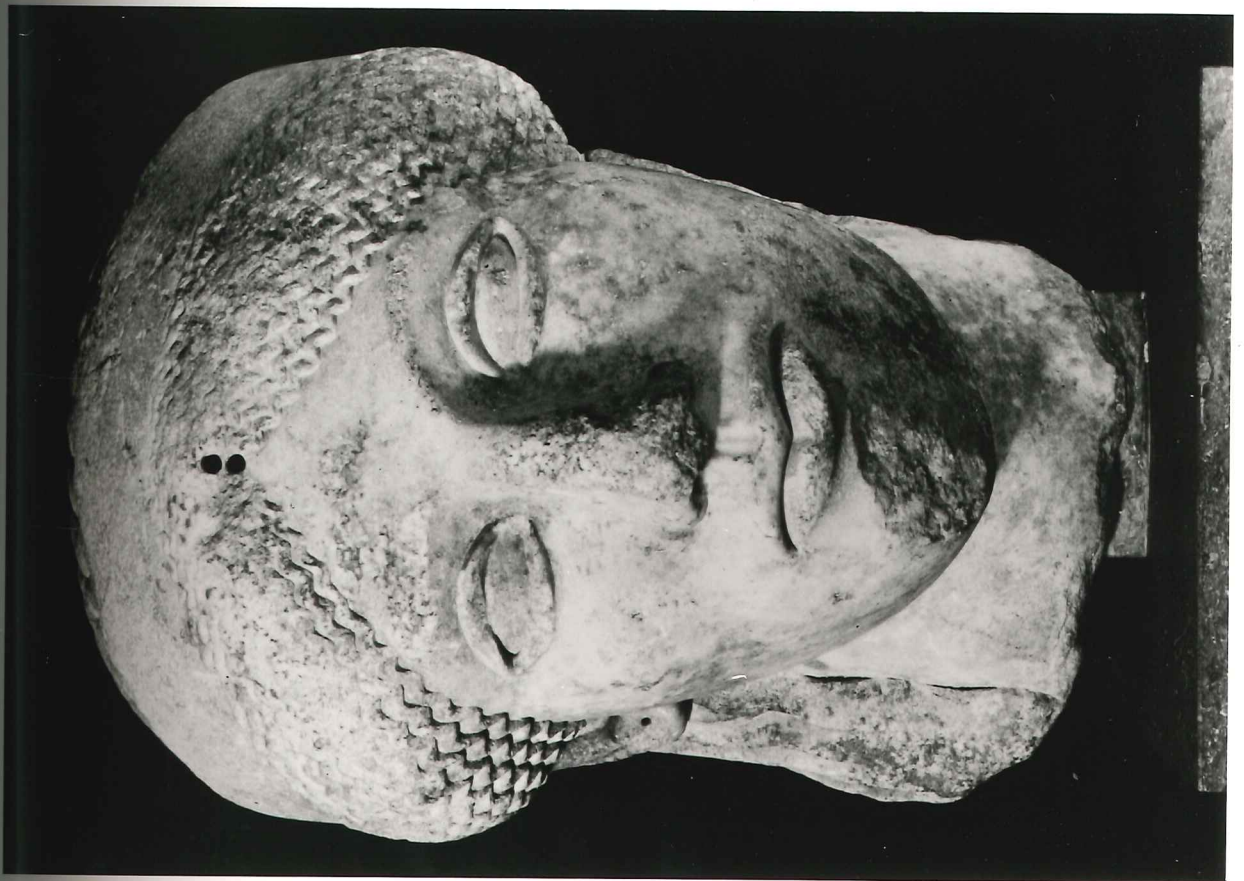


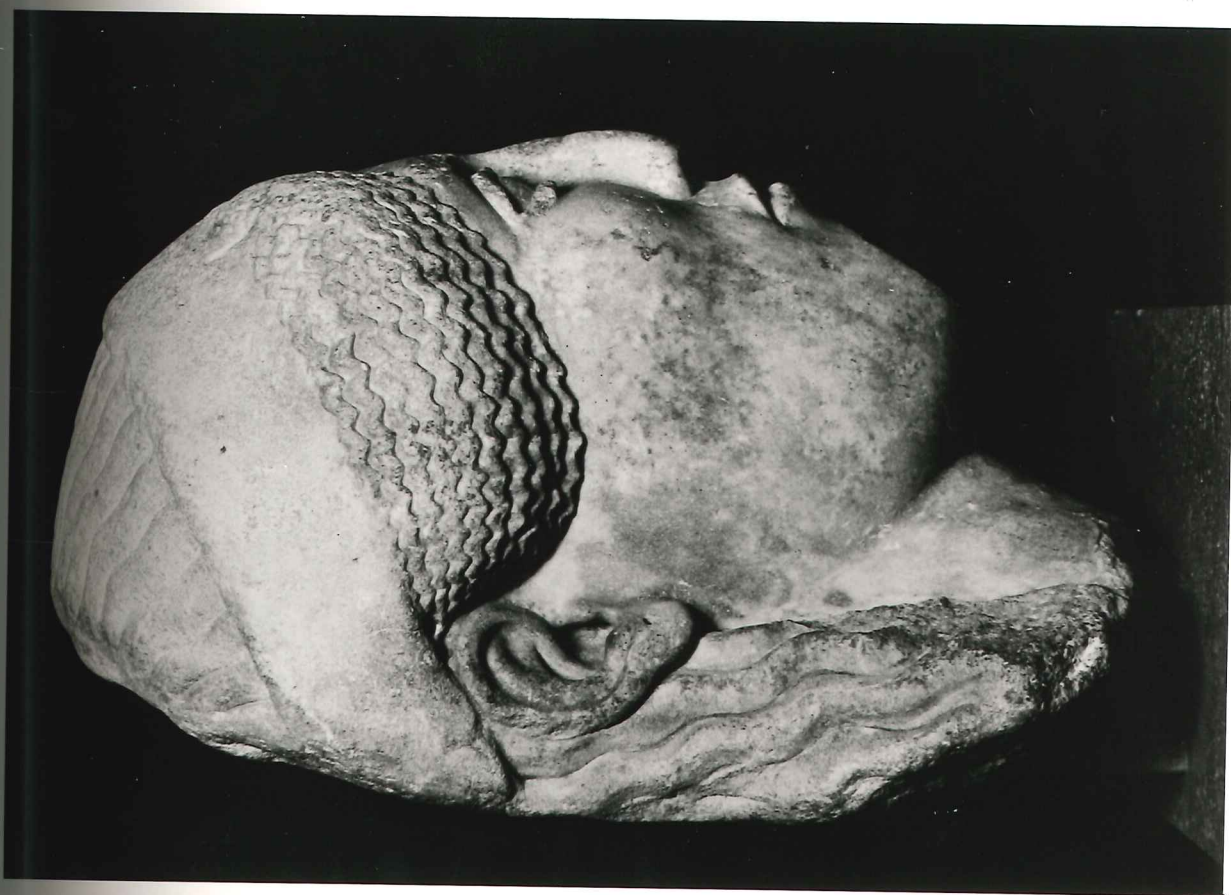






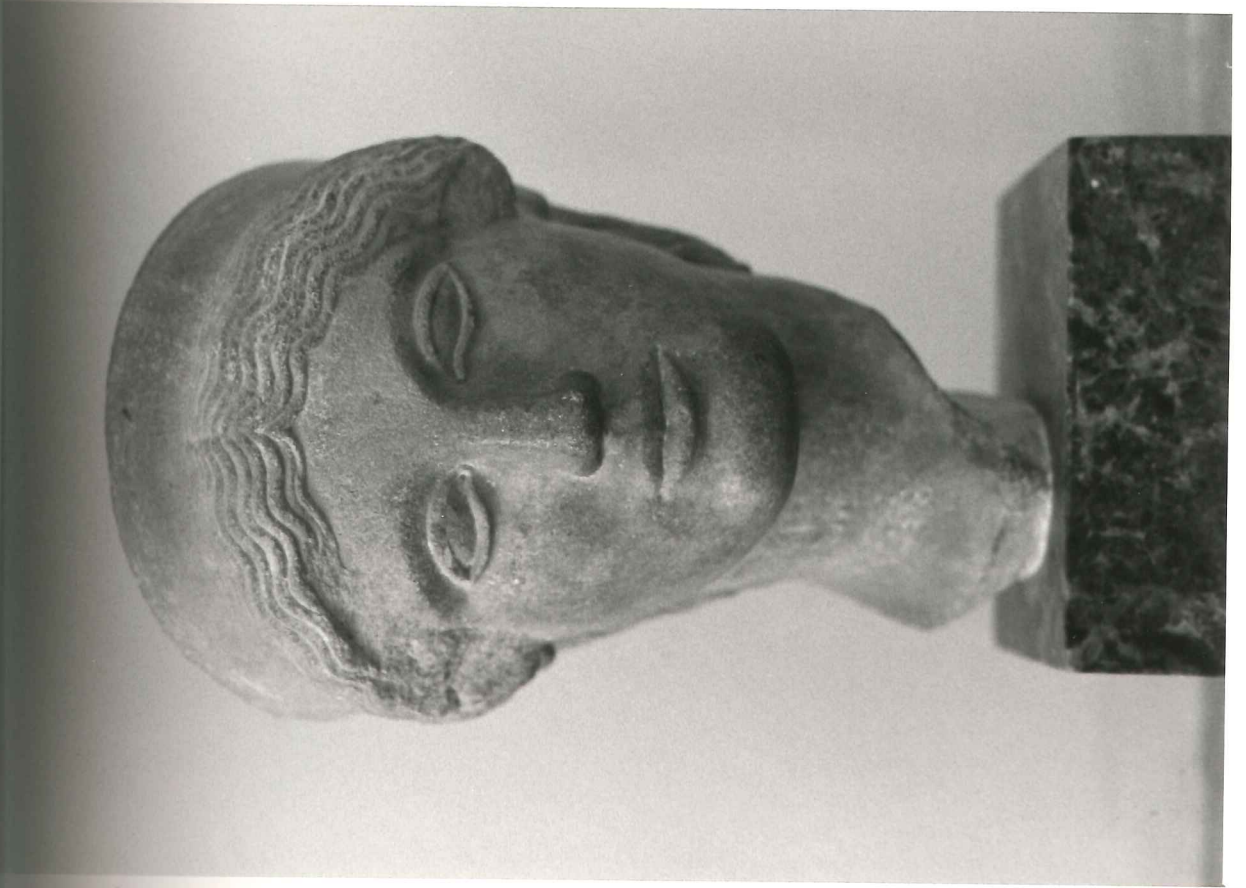


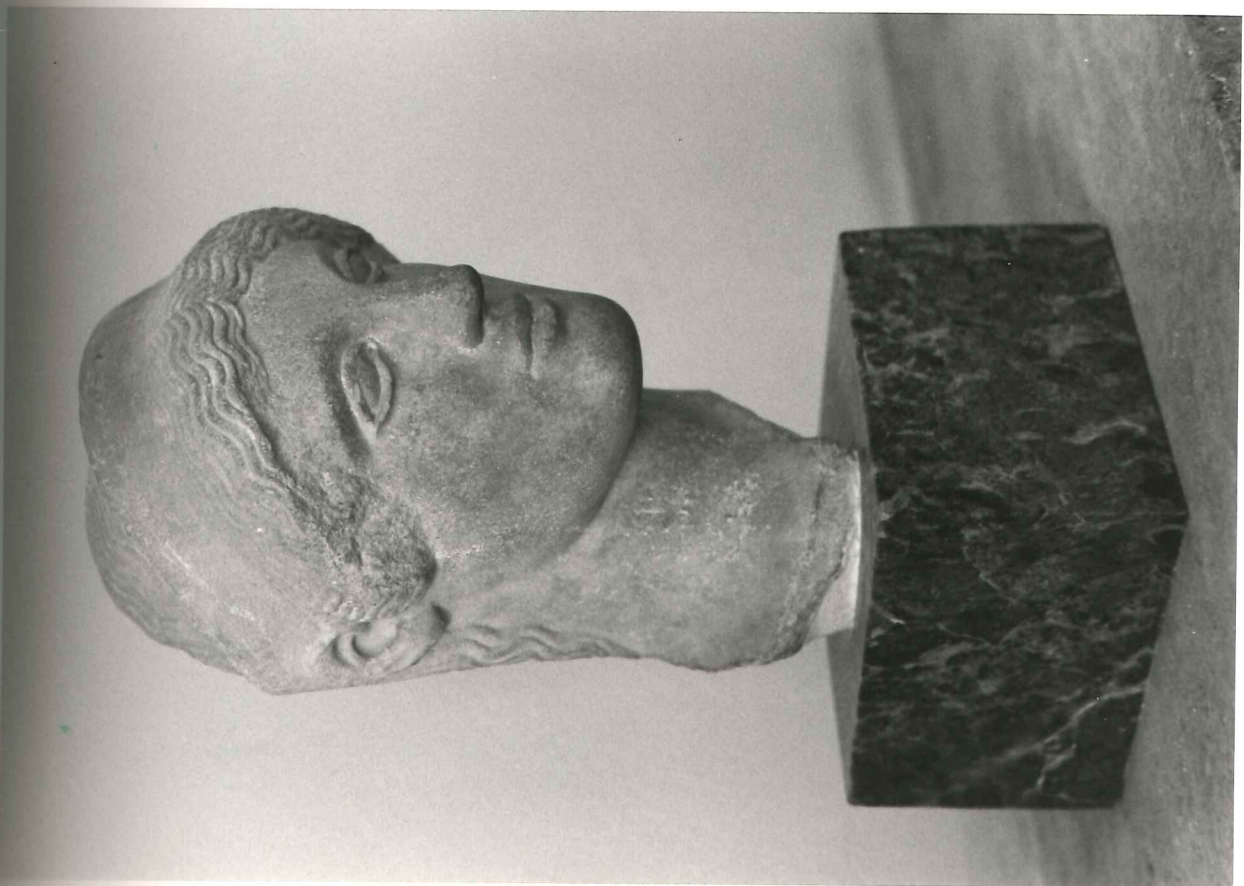
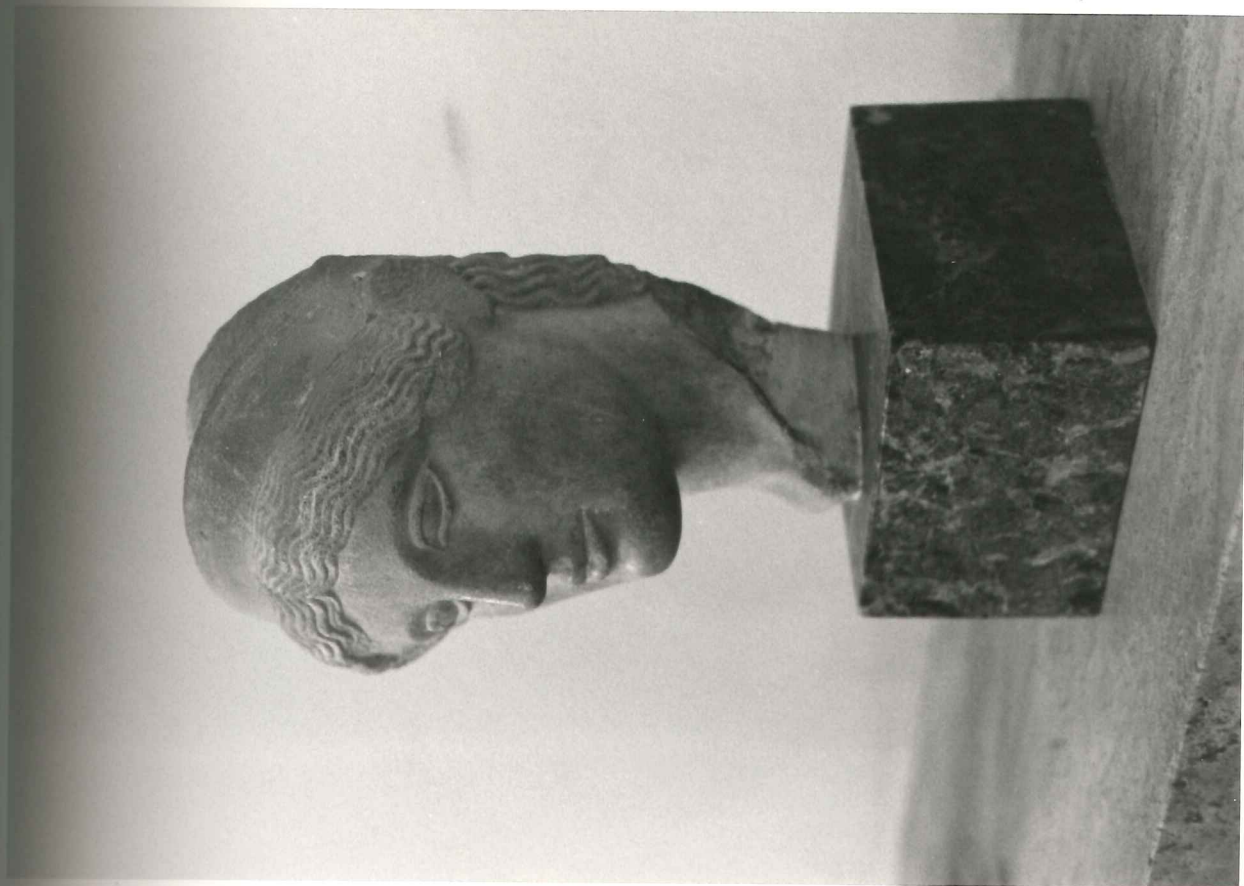


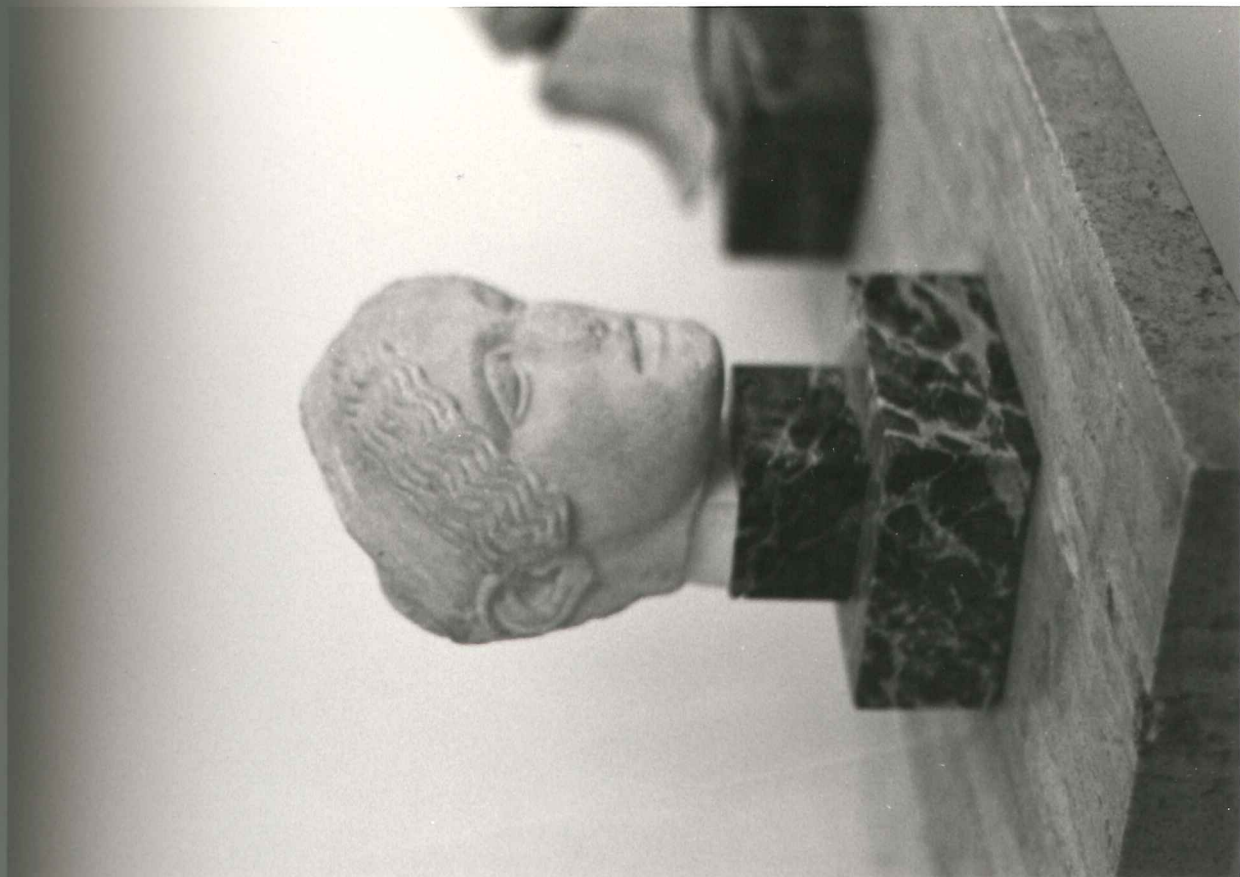


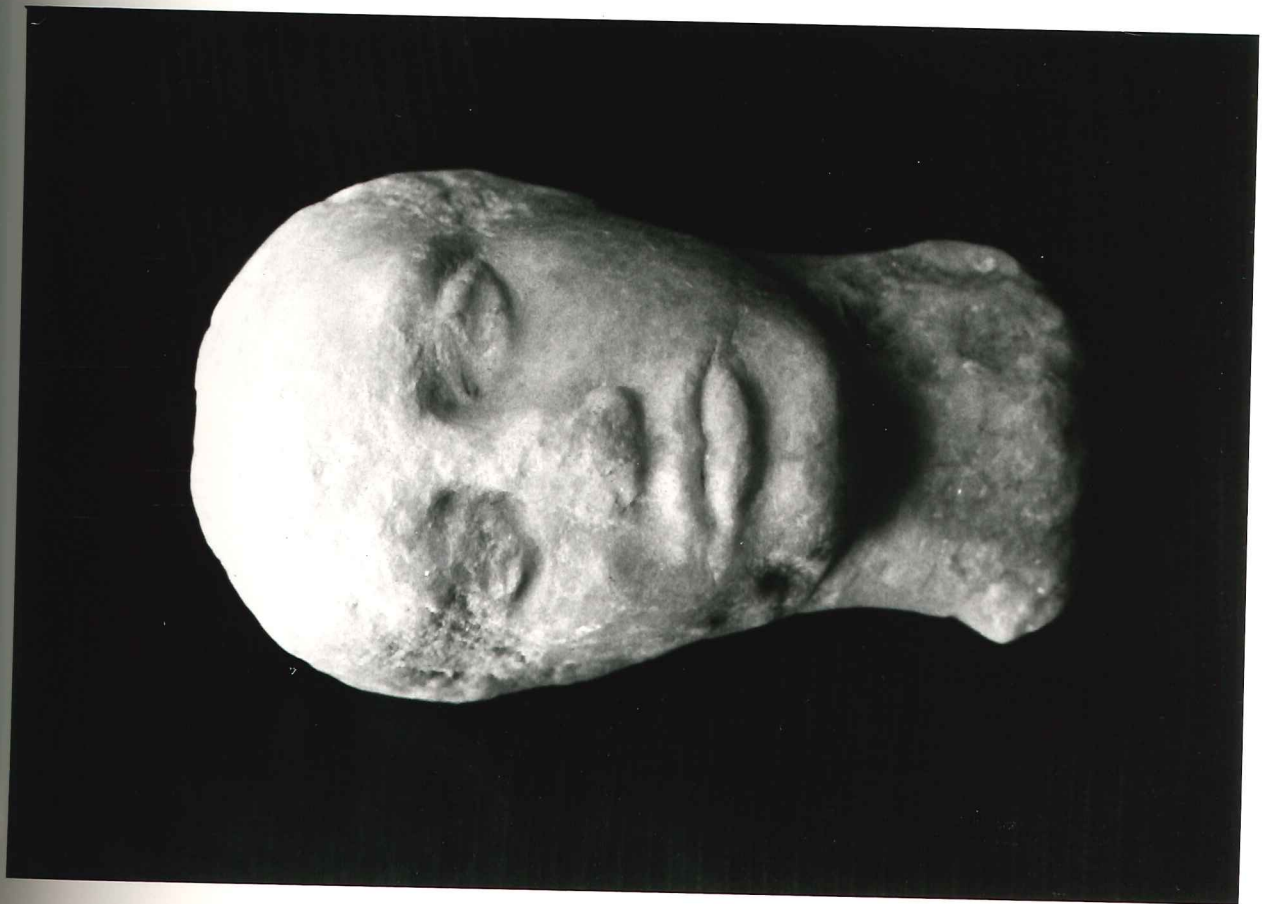




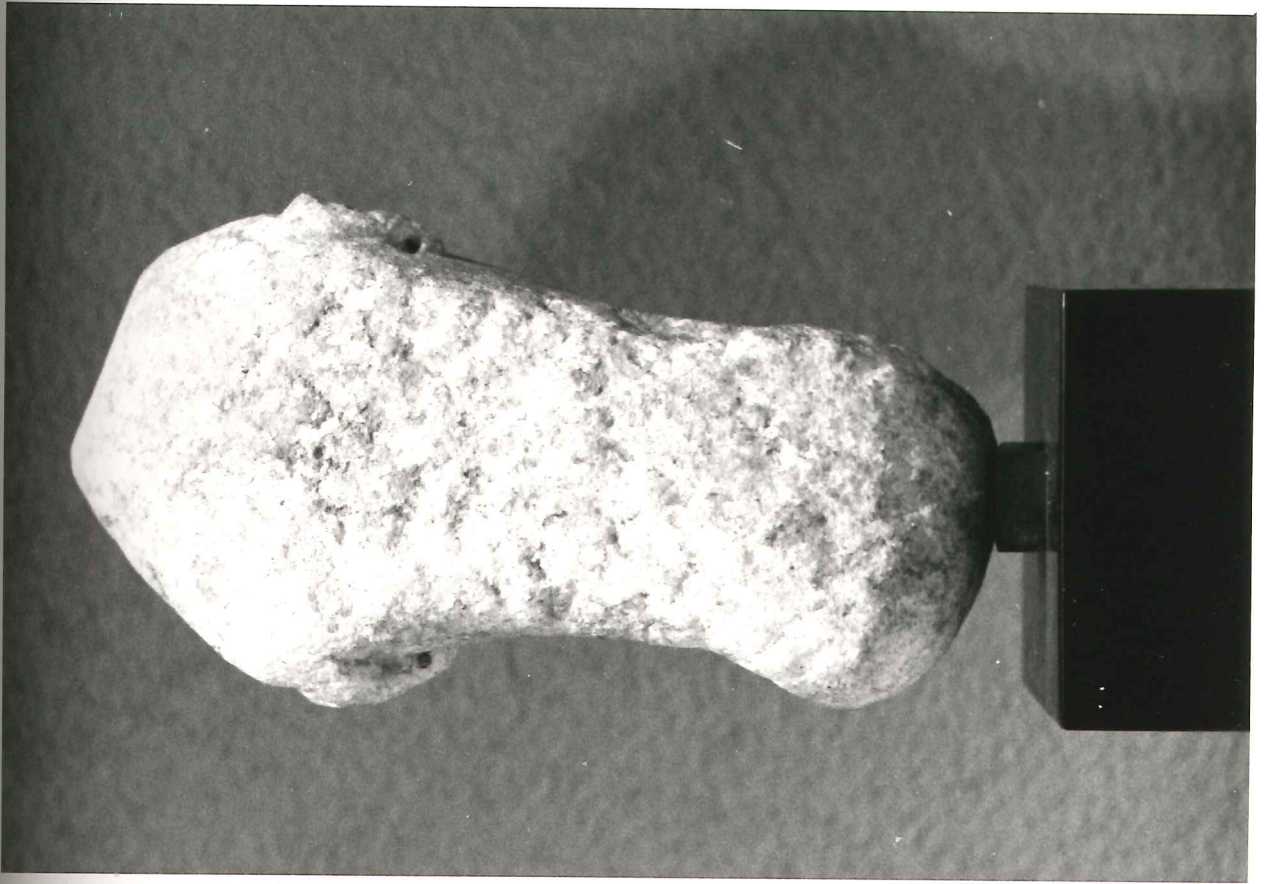


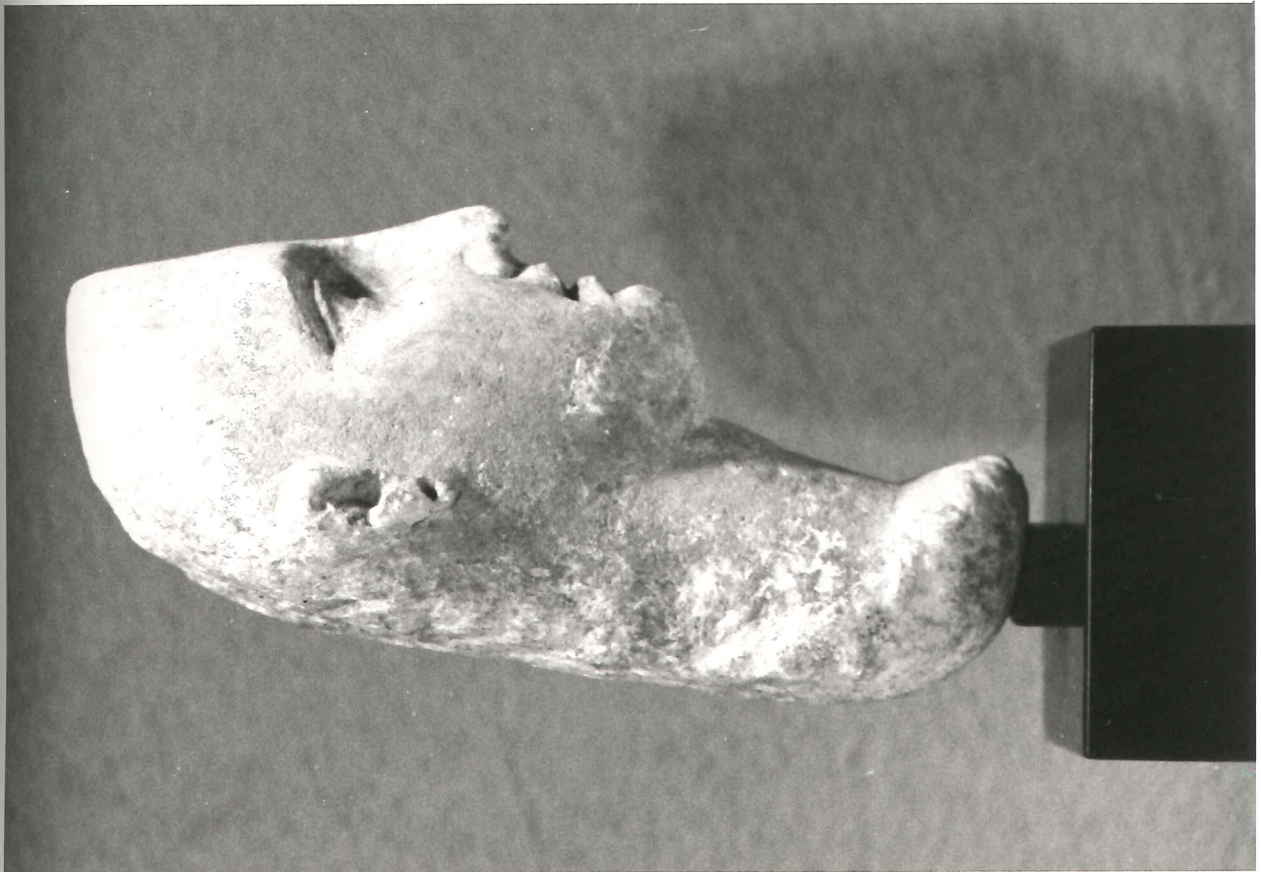
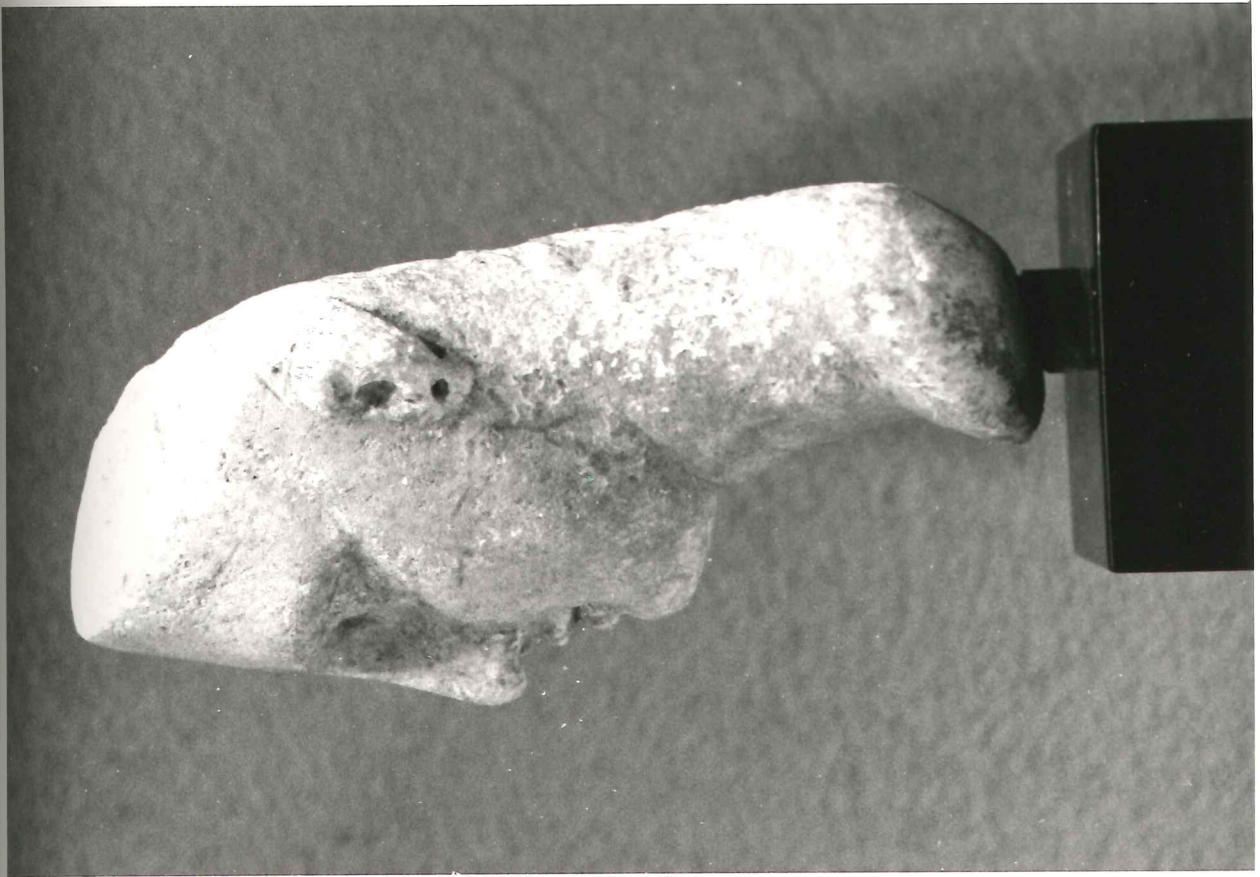


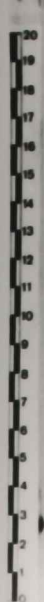




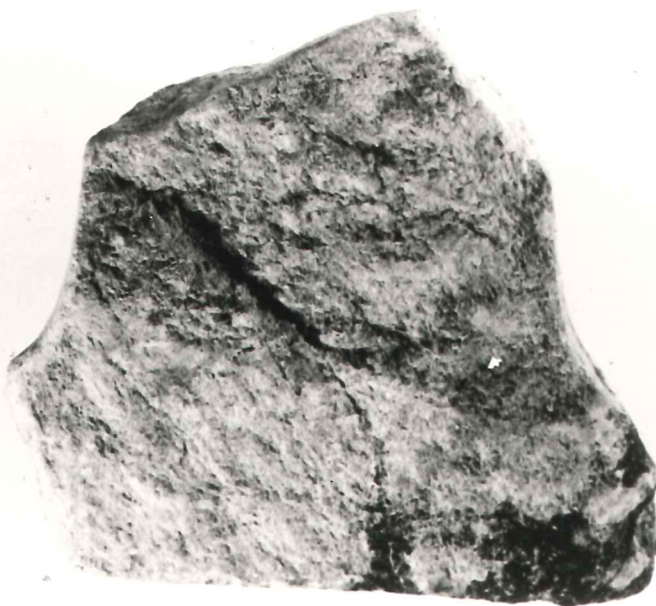
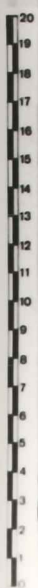








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