

The Antikythera shipwreck

the ship
the treasures
the mechanism





Hublot or the "Art of fusion"

"Hublot? A different way to progress". So say those in the know about this unique Swiss watch company, where each and every moment moves forward to create the future at breathtaking speed. Hublot's reputation dates back three decades: during this era, it was the first Swiss watch luxury brand to fuse precious metals with less conventional materials such as natural rubber. This creative concept, known as the "Art of Fusion", combined with an original design, led to a veritable revolution in the watchmaking industry.

In 2004, Mr Jean-Claude Biver – one of few people to have genuinely left their mark on Swiss watchmaking – took over control of the brand and gave it tremendous momentum, leading to impressive growth. With the launch of the BIG BANG, the multiple award winning chronograph with a contemporary and elegant design, the brand started achieving records, awards and success. After attaining almost a tenfold increase in turnover in four years, the brand was bought by the LVMH Group in 2008. And in 2009, it opened a new high-tech manufacture on the banks of Lake Geneva: 6000 m² dedicated to the watchmaker's art and the creation of the new UNICO movement, a column-wheel chronograph movement integrated into the dial side, dreamt up, developed and manufactured entirely by Hublot.

Through its Big Bang, King Power, Classic Fusion and Masterpiece collections, which house watch complications such as the tourbillon, minute repeater, split second, foudroyante, retrograde date, GMT, to name but a few, Hublot continues to write the story of the Art of Fusion by combining unusual materials such as Magic Gold (unscrachable 18K gold – a world Premiere and a Hublot exclusivity), King Gold (red gold with 5% of platinum), carbon fiber, zirconium, tantalum, tungsten, hublonium (aluminium and magnesium), ceramics and titanium, with more traditional materials like gold, platinum, steel, diamonds and precious stones.

The constancy and consistency of Hublot's development is as remarkable as the brand's need to keep turning received ideas on their heads, as illustrated by its marketing strategy: "Go where potential customers can be found". This approach made Jean-Claude Biver the first to make a luxury brand part of the world of football. In 2008, Hublot became the "Official Timekeeper" for Manchester United and "Official Timekeeper" of the European championship. In 2010, the firm became the historic first "Official Timekeeper" for FIFA and the next two football World Cups, just after having been chosen as the "Official Watch" of Formula 1™. These two masterstrokes offer Hublot exceptional visibility on a global scale. The brand is also the "Official Timekeeper" and "Official watch" of Ferrari and is involved in the sailing world through the Monaco Yacht Club, whose president is H.S.H. Prince Albert II of Monaco and the Real Club Nautico in Palma with the Copa del Rey, as well as in polo and skiing through major competitions or/and friends who act as the brand's ambassadors.

On a commercial level, the network of approved retailers has grown rapidly and currently stands at 650 points of sale and over 40 exclusive boutiques (Geneva, Cannes, Saint Tropez, Paris, Berlin, Moscow, New York, Miami, Beverly Hills, Las Vegas, Singapore, Shanghai, Beijing, Hong Kong, Dubai, Abu Dhabi, Kuala Lumpur, Ginza, Courchevel, Aspen, Gstaad ...). Mr Jean-Claude Biver, Chairman of the board and Mr Ricardo Guadalupe, CEO, run the company. Mr Mathias Buttet is Research & Development and Production Director at the Hublot Manufacture.



As a model student and a qualified engineer,
I had accepted that gear train theories had been devised
during the Italian Renaissance.

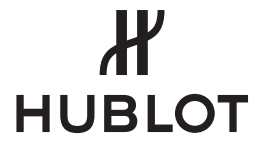
The Antikythera Machine made me question all that.
What better motivation could there be to investigate this Mechanism
Which had re-emerged from the depths of the sea?

This ancient object commands such respect for the level of Knowledge
shown by our predecessors - the engineers and astronomers of
Antiquity - that I did not want to act like a "tomb raider".
I therefore did everything in my power to recreate this Mechanism
in miniature without modifying any of its functions.

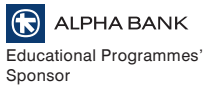
Only a watch tourbillon escapement movement has been humbly
added as a contemporary signature by Hublot.

Mathias Buttet

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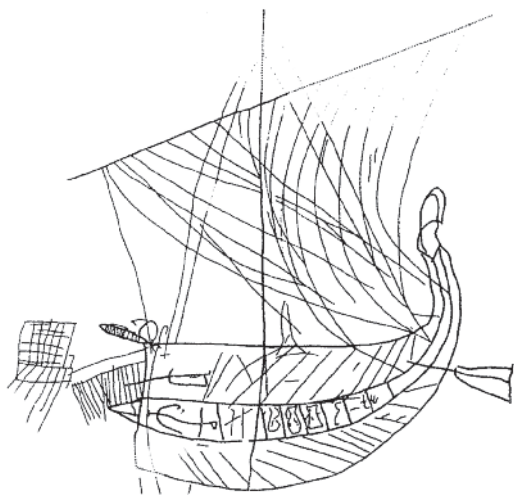


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The Antikythera Shipwreck

the ship, the treasures, the mechanism



HELLENIC MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND TOURISM
NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM

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The cargo



Sculpture

“Gods and heroes from the depths of the sea” *

“Signa Megarica et Hermas, de quibus ad me scripsisti, vehementer exspecto. Quidquid eiusdem generis habebis, dignum Academia tibi quod videbitur, ne dubitaris mittere et arcae nostrae confidito. Genus hoc est voluptatis meae: quae γυμνασιώδη maxime sunt, ea quaero. Lentulus navis suas pollicetur. Peto abs te, ut haec diligenter cures”.

Cicero, *ad Atticum*, 1.9(5).²¹

The sculptures, marble and bronze both, were unquestionably the chief part of the cargo on the ancient ship wrecked off the northeast coast of the island of Antikythera in the decade 70–60 BC², or perhaps better around 50 BC³ as is more often now proposed. They were raised in 1900–1901 from depths of 54 to 60 m., thanks to the superhuman efforts by the sponge divers⁴ from Syme island who had found them. In the second underwater excavation at the site of the wreck, in 1976, carried out by J.-Y. Cousteau’s research team and the Greek Archaeological Service, two more intact bronze statuettes and the head of a third were retrieved, as well as quite a number of fragments from bronze and marble statues⁵.

The bronzes had not suffered major deterioration: they were cleaned chemically to remove the corrosion⁶ that covered them. They⁷ fall into the following groups: a) original, large-scale statues of the Classical and Hellenistic periods and b) Late Hellenistic classicizing works.

The first group contains the slightly larger than life-size “Ephebe”, reassembled into his current form from many pieces⁸, and the “Philoso-

pher”, of whom are preserved only the head, parts of the arms and of the feet wearing leather sandals (τροχάδες), as well as some of his himation.

The “Antikythera Ephebe”⁹ (Cat. no. 23), as it has come to be called, is actually a young man. It is by common consent regarded today as an original work¹⁰ of the Classical period, dating to 340–330 BC, or more broadly to the third quarter of the 4th c. BC. Although scholars do not agree on its attribution to any specific artist, it is yet difficult to doubt an influence from the Polykleitan tradition and also a connection with the Argive-Sicyonian school of sculpture. This latter took shape by about the mid 4th c. BC, not only by the “third generation” successors of the great Sicyonian sculptor Polykleitos¹¹ but also by other, independent artists under his school’s influence¹².

The slightly larger than life-size portrait statue of the “Philosopher” (Cat. no. 24a-g) is likewise considered an original work that reflects the early baroque style: as such it probably dates to the last third of the 3rd c. BC¹³ rather than the first half of the 2nd c. BC¹⁴, since it is still far removed from the dramatic figures on the Great Frieze on the

Altar of Zeus at Pergamon. The figure's right arm, bent at the elbow, was extended in the gesture of an orator, while in the left hand he held a cane¹⁵. Fragments of arms from other similarly-sized bronze statues positioned in gestures comparable to that of the "Philosopher", as well as of legs¹⁶ wearing identical leather sandals (τροχάδες), have led to the conclusion that these belonged to a composition consisting of at least four honorary statues of philosophers, orators, or public officials that would have been set up in some public location outdoors. This deduction is anyway confirmed by the sturdy lead pegs preserved beneath their soles which serve as tenons. The varying quality of these preserved fragments also demonstrates the different artistic renderings of the statues¹⁷.

Other works belonging to the category of original bronzes include fragments from hands and bare feet¹⁸. One fragment from a leg (Cat. no. 34) wears a high sandal (κρηπίς). Beneath the soles of the feet, a lead peg was used to secure them to their stone bases. Among the remaining bits of human limbs, the left arm (Cat. no. 30) from a statue of a boxer may be recognized by the thongs (οξύς πυκτικός ιμάς) wound around the hand.

A lyre (Cat. no. 44) and two sword fragments (Cat. nos 46, 47) also belong to statues; as does, finally, an over life-size and intact bronze crest (Cat. no. 45) with three sockets for fitting it onto a helmet. This came to light in the second campaign of retrieval in 1976.

To the second group of classicizing bronzes belong five statuettes of standing nude males, three of which were retrieved in 1901¹⁹ and two in 1976²⁰, as well as a statuette of a standing female wearing chiton and peplos (Cat. no. 43) that also came to light in 1901. Among the most interesting is the statuette Cat. no. 38 which belonged to the group of athletes offering libations, the statuette Cat. no. 39, displaying clear features of the Polykleitan school and most likely depicting Hermes, the statuette Cat. no. 40 showing the obvious influence of the Lysippean school, and the statuette Cat. no. 42,

which depicts a boxer wearing thongs (οξύς πυκτικός ιμάς) on his hands — he is about to deal a direct blow to an opponent with his left hand, while holding him at a distance with his right. Although only statuettes Cat. nos 40, 41 retain their cylindrical stone bases, we can assume that the others too were set on stone bases, from which they were removed before being loaded on the ship²¹.

Their flat reverse-sides, as well as stylistic similarities in the modelling of hairstyles, lead to the conclusion that they share not only a workshop association, but also a common descent. What is certain is that they do not faithfully copy specific Classical statues, but rather mix and mingle various elements from the 5th and 4th c. BC, including even the "Severe style"²². This shows clearly in the case of the female statuette (Cat. no. 43). These elements remain strong, at least with regard to the frontal viewpoint, despite their adoption into the style of the advanced 2nd c. BC, which is when the pieces were actually made.

Thirty six marble statues²³, based on the number of torsos, were retrieved from the site of the wreck. The original and actual number will remain unknown, since many pieces, both intact and fragmentary, remain in the depths. Their extreme state of corrosion gave divers the erroneous impression that they were "rocks" which, since they made the retrieval of other finds difficult, were pushed aside by the ships of the Royal Navy and got lost in the deeper waters²⁴. It is thus clear that only part of the cargo was retrieved²⁵. No effort was made to map the finds or record the arrangement of objects and the remains of the ship on the sea bed.

All the statues are of exceptionally high quality white Parian marble, clear and bright in those pieces that had remained well buried in the sediment of the sea bed. The erosion caused by stone-eating organisms and marine incrustations which excavate "homes" in the marble is responsible for their "demonic" appearance today. Some items have entirely lost both their volume and shape.

Many of the statues have larger than life-size di-

mensions; some are life-size, while a far lower number are smaller than life-size. They represent gods, heroes, and mortals, standing or seated, nude, semi-nude or dressed, at rest or in motion. None preserves its base, and only a very few preserve their inherent plinth. The cargo included six plain (i.e. without inscriptions) low bases that were hollowed out to receive plinths, as well as many plinth fragments and statue supports²⁶, all also of Parian marble. In addition to statues depicting human figures, there were retrieved three mutilated life-size statues of horses together with parts of their plinths²⁷ that belonged to a four-horse chariot. The body of the fourth horse cut through the securing ropes at the moment it was being lifted and sank even deeper, making its retrieval impossible²⁸.

The marble statues from the wreck may be divided into four categories in accordance with their stylistic characteristics: a) creations that copy or represent variants of famous works of Classical antiquity; b) classicizing creations that combine elements and compositions from the Classical period, enriched by features of Hellenistic art; c) works strongly recalling creations of the Early and Middle Hellenistic period, d) original creations of the Late Hellenistic period.

The first category includes the life-size statue of Hermes (Cat. no. 48) of the Hermes Richelieu type²⁹, whose bronze prototype dates to *ca* 360–350 BC. Its possible creators are believed to have been Argive-Sicyonian “third generation” sculptors, successors in the Polykleitan School such as Kleon, Alypos, and Polykleitos III, all of whom were stylistically “on the path to Lysippos”³⁰. The Antikythera statue, together with the portrait statue from Messene³¹ and the variant from Melos, now in Berlin³² — a work by the Parian sculptor Antiphanes, belongs to the very small group of Late Hellenistic “copies” of this type; the majority date to the first two centuries AD.

On the Antikythera Hermes, the rendering of the curls of his hair in low relief, separated by grooves, is characteristic. The point now is to give

an impression rather than an exact depiction in detail. The Hermes from the shipwreck may be compared as regards the rendering of the hair with the classicizing protome of the youthful god or hero from the Heroon of Calydon³³ and with the head of a youth from Eretria³⁴ of the early 1st c. BC. As regards stance, it may be compared with the classicizing variant of the type afforded by the Hermes of Aigion³⁵ of the late Julio-Claudian period.

The second over life-size statue also belongs to the first category. The statue of Hermes EAM 15521 of the Hermes Andros-Farnese type³⁶ is based on a bronze prototype created around 340 BC³⁷ by an artist in the circle of Praxiteles³⁸ or under his influence. The Antikythera statue and that of the Hermes of Andros³⁹ are the earliest copies of this type. These statues, together with the so-called “Belvedere Antinous”⁴⁰, are also the only ones that preserve their inherent plinth: this gives important evidence for guessing at the original, since evidence for the positioning of the feet is documented on the plinth.

We may recognize in the nude male torso EAM 15522 with its vague twisting movement⁴¹ a variant on the type of the Munich athlete⁴² who is anointing his body with oil. A number of dates have been proposed for its bronze prototype, ranging from 400/390 BC to 320 BC, as well as artist attributions, including Strongylion, Naukydes, and Lysippos⁴³.

The nude male figure⁴⁴ EAM 15523, who would have been supported on his right elbow resting on a tall pedestal covered with cloth, is considered a Late Hellenistic variant of the Anzio Apollo⁴⁵, whose original is dated to the third quarter of the 4th c. BC. The pedestal on which the young god leans recalls one in a palaestra. It is thus very likely that the lost prototype, like the Apollo Lykeios⁴⁶, was set up in a gymnasium. Both the pedestal and the hair, combed high above the parting, suit the appearance of the god.

Despite the eroded surface of the marble, the larger than life-size statue of Heracles⁴⁷ (Fig. 1) may easily be placed in the line of copies connected

1. Statue of Heracles of the Farnese type, no. 5742



to the Heracles Farnese⁴⁸, which itself reproduces the famous bronze work by the Sicyonian sculptor Lysippos set up at Corinth *ca* 330–320 BC⁴⁹. J. Marcadé⁵⁰ was the first to recognize the close relation between the Antikythera Heracles and the late 2nd c. AD statue from Argos, which is slightly smaller than life-size⁵¹. D. Krull⁵² incorporates both statues in the same variant of the Farnese type. The hero from Antikythera, which together with the marble protome from the Heroon of Calydon⁵³ comprises the earliest known large-scale variations on this theme, looks more as if he is merely leaning against his club, rather than supporting himself with his full weight on it. This pose results in a slight turning of the upper body towards the right, which is not found in the colossal statue by the Athenian sculptor Glykon found in the Baths of Caracalla in Rome⁵⁴. The clean, closed lines of the Heracles from the wreck, which as a result stress the frontal viewpoint, are common to other works from the wreck.

Two female statues are most likely Late Hellenistic variants of Classical works. The torso⁵⁵ EAM 15524, recognizable only from its better-preserved back, falls within the series of copies of the famous Aphrodite of Knidos by Praxiteles (364–361 BC). This means it is of the Belvedere type⁵⁶, if the now separated bathing hydria covered by a long piece of clothing (EAM 15525) actually belongs to the statue. It is the oldest “copy” of this type, given that all known copies are of the Roman Imperial period.

The second statue⁵⁷ EAM 15526, made of two pieces connected at the buttocks, belongs to a group of Late Hellenistic statues of Aphrodite. They are variants on the Praxitelean model of the half-nude Aphrodite of Arles type⁵⁸ believed to reproduce the marble Aphrodite of Thespies (370–360 BC). Of the numerous known Hellenistic versions, that of Antikythera appears to be the furthest removed from the original.

The second category of Late Hellenistic classifying creations embraces those pieces that do not



2

recall specific statue types but rather broadly follow works of the Classical period enriched with Hellenistic touches. It includes a number of torsos from standing nude males.

The over life-size statue⁵⁹ EAM 15527 belongs to a series of colossal statues of Heracles. It is typical not only in its size, but also for its vigor and plasticity. The nude hero may have held apples in his right hand, and his club in his left. Without faithfully repeating a specific Classical statue, it recalls a creation of the late “Severe style” from the mid 5th c. BC, like the Cherchel Heracles⁶⁰ or the Oxford/Boston Heracles⁶¹. The posture of the torso, however, is closer to representations on 2nd c. BC coins.

The statue of a nude Apollo (Cat. no. 49) falls in the same group: it displays obvious influences of the Praxitelean style in the twisted pose of the torso. The youthful god resting on his left arm leans on a tripod; this constitutes the earliest known example of a tripod used as a statue support⁶². A second tripod, which was not recognized or depicted by I. Svoronos, probably belongs to a second torso of Apollo⁶³ — a replica of the same statuary type, but on a smaller scale.

Finally, three more statues are of interest: EAM 15528 which may portray Apollo⁶⁴ or an athlete of the discobolus type, EAM 15539⁶⁵ which could be considered a free Late Hellenistic creation based on the Apollo Lykeios⁶⁶, and the statue which may represent Hermes⁶⁷ (Fig. 2). This last rests his right forearm for support on a Herm stele with a square base: a combination of Polykleitan and Praxitelean features are identifiable.

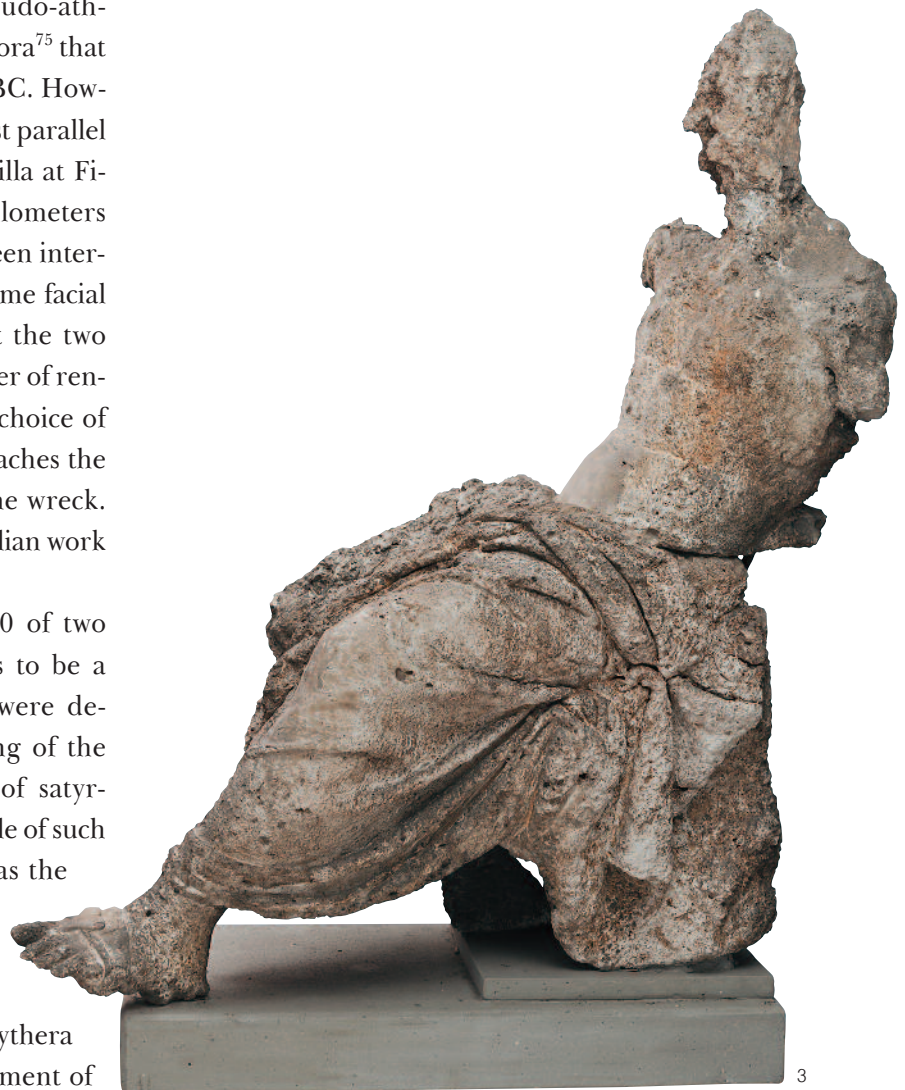
The third category of statues is dependent most probably upon creations of the Early and Middle Hellenistic period. They comprise statue Cat. no. 50, which portrays a boy almost doubled over, just about to straighten up, and which was doubtless part of a statuary group. The figure has been interpreted as a warrior⁶⁸, a small Satyr provoking a nymph⁶⁹, a charioteer⁷⁰, or — more likely — a pancratiast or a wrestler portrayed when as-

suming position at the start of the match⁷¹. Perfectly attuned to the decorative and charming spirit of the Late Hellenistic period, the figure depicts the young athlete in an unnatural fashion. Comparisons as regards stance with the squatting Aphrodite⁷² or with the Scythian sharpening his knife⁷³ demonstrate how the multiple viewpoints of earlier creations have become one-dimensional in the Antikythera statue. The boy from the shipwreck has one main viewpoint — the side — from which the carriage of his body and his facial expression are to be properly perceived.

The spherical cranium with its low forehead, the large and rounded chin together with the fleshy modeling of the face permit comparison with Delian portraits dating to around 100 BC or just afterward, as well as with the “Pseudo-athlete”⁷⁴ or the portrait from the Italian agora⁷⁵ that appears to have been repaired after 88 BC. However, as C. Vorster points out⁷⁶, the closest parallel is the statue of a boy from the Italian villa at Fianello Sabino⁷⁷, approximately 20 kilometers northeast of Rome. This boy, who has been interpreted as a wrestler, not only has the same facial features as the Antikythera statue, but the two sculptures are also similar in their manner of rendering the hair and posture. Even the choice of marble for the boy from the villa approaches the Parian marble used for the boy from the wreck. Indeed, it has been proposed that the Italian work was made on Delos.

Statues EAM 5744 and EAM 15530 of two nude dancers⁷⁸, one of which appears to be a smaller-scale repetition of the other, were designed to impress. The spiral unfolding of the torso upwards is common to statues of satyr-dancers. The most representative example of such is the Satyr from Lamia⁷⁹, considered as the acroterion of a temple, or the Marsyas Borghese⁸⁰, whose bronze prototype dates to the last third of the 3rd c. BC. What is missing however from the Antikythera dancers is a feeling for the actual movement of

3. Statue of seated Zeus, no. 5743



the dance, which is here more reminiscent of a joyful leaping up and down.

Less similar are the five figures⁸¹ seated on a high rocky outcrop or cube-like seat. These fall somewhere between the Hellenistic creations of Pergamene sculpture and the classicizing tendency of the Late Hellenistic works. The stance of the nude “seated” male⁸² EAM 15544 is indicative: only with difficulty can he be told apart from a standing figure, since the seat functions more as a support than as an independent element in the composition. This strongly recalls the momentary

stance of Pan in the well-known Delian group⁸³ from the building of the Association of the Poseidonians in Beirut.

The final category, namely the sculptures of the Late Hellenistic period, includes the seated Zeus⁸⁴ (Fig. 3) and the so-called “Philoktetes”⁸⁵ (Fig. 4). The former incorporates in a unique fashion both Alexandrian and Pergamene influences. Reflecting the baroque appearance of the Chercel “Sarapis”⁸⁶ and the “open” composition of the seated Asklepios of Pergamon⁸⁷ (dated to the second half of the 2nd c. BC), the Antikythera Zeus is portrayed more frontally — so preparing the way for the classicistic statuette of the enthroned Zeus(?) from Rhodes⁸⁸. The proposal by P. Bol⁸⁹ to identify the second nude male figure with the Homeric hero Philoktetes is based on a general resemblance to a statuette of the hero in Katane⁹⁰. Here Philoktetes stands steadily on his right foot and leaning heavily forward supports his wounded left leg on a crutch that he holds in both hands.

The Homeric heroes, as P. Bol has interpreted them⁹¹, are original artistic creations of the Late Hellenistic period, without precedent in Greek art. The intensity of movement conveyed by the postures of these five marble figures, their material and the shared technical details of their construction presuppose not only a common workshop, but their inclusion in one or more groups with a shared theme.

On the basis of their similarity in size, stance and dress, two heroes must have belonged to the same statuary group: the bearded Odysseus (Cat. no. 51) securely identified by his one-sleeved tunic (εξωμίς) and pointed hat (πίλος), and the youthful, muscular Achilles(?) with his unruly hair (Cat. no. 52) who is preparing to draw his sword from its sheath. Both figures, though in forceful forward motion, have their heads turned back in a rather theatrical movement that recalls the Ajax or Menelaus from the “Pasquino” group⁹², the original of which has been dated between the late 3rd–1st c. BC⁹³.

A second statue of Odysseus⁹⁴ EAM 15531 (H.

4. Statue of the so-called “Philoktetes”, no. 5752



4

2.10 m.) depicts the hero retreating in a defensive movement. It would appear to belong to another group, probably together with Diomedes, since Odysseus's stance recalls the relief scene on the "Megiste ossuary"⁹⁵, where the two heroes are the protagonists in the episode of the abduction of the Palladium known from the *Little Iliad*. The dynamic motion of the nude male torso EAM 15532⁹⁶ recalls that of Apollo on the frieze of the temple from Lagina in Asia Minor⁹⁷, dating to the late 2nd c. BC. It would be tempting to identify it with Diomedes, but its smaller size, at just over 1.70 m., prohibits this hypothesis: unless it belonged to a second, smaller-scale group depicting the same theme, as N. Himmelmann proposes⁹⁸.

Comparison with the figures in vigorous motion either on the Great Frieze of the Altar of Zeus at Pergamon or the "Lesser Attalid Group"⁹⁹ shows that the three-dimensionality of mature Hellenistic compositions had now been definitively lost. There are still traces of drama, but these too seem "frozen" and weak as poses. The composition in the figures from Antikythera has run out of vitality. The sole purpose of forceful movements is to impress. The figures do not work in the round, but rather have a main face highlighting a breadth of movement.

The torso of the nude warrior on the attack¹⁰⁰ EAM 15533 differs from the other heroes in its dynamism and three-dimensional conception. Even so, this figure is marked at the same time by both its realistic rendering and its ostentatious pose: in this it recalls works such as the Borghese gladiator¹⁰¹ or the wounded Gaul from the Italian agora in Delos¹⁰², forerunners dated to around 100 BC. The concentrated movement of the helmeted warrior¹⁰³ (Fig. 5) is surely appropriate for a hero, like the one moving to the right on the marble Medici crater¹⁰⁴ dated to the turn of the 2nd–1st c. BC. The statue of the helmeted warrior in New York¹⁰⁵, interpreted as Protesilaus and believed to be a copy of a work dating 440–430 BC, would in many ways suggest chances for a similar interpre-

tation of the Antikythera statue, were it not missing the shield.

The modelling of the figures also shows that they were worked in one plane, with their reverses summarily rendered. Figures stand beside one another in a row without interconnections. But not on a single base — the double presence of Odysseus leads to the conclusion that the hero took part in more than one scene from the Trojan Cycle. We can follow the development in composition, in rendering and even in the size of figures from the statuary groups with a Homeric theme

5. Statue of a helmeted warrior, no. 15534



5

of the early Augustan period at Sperlonga¹⁰⁶. If the Antikythera statues were destined to adorn a luxurious Roman villa, they could function as an exemplar for the decoration of Tiberius's cavernous grotto, where more than one scene from the Homeric cycle was set up in close proximity.

The sources of these noteworthy narrative ensembles cannot be sought in Hellenistic sculpture in the round: no comparable prototypes exist. The literary tradition certainly offered the requisite starting point, particularly with the revival of Homeric studies in the Hellenistic period¹⁰⁷. However, iconographical connections may also be detected in two-dimensional art, such as reliefs, the minor arts and painting¹⁰⁸. An interesting comparison can be made with the statuettes of Parian marble that depict Heracles — also considered as representing Mithridates, shooting an arrow at the eagle torturing Prometheus. These were placed like reliefs along the back wall of the north stoa of the sanctuary of Athena on the Acropolis of Pergamon¹⁰⁹. These statuettes, also dating to the early 1st c. BC, functioned as reliefs, but do not have the “painterly” quality of the contemporary Homeric Antikythera compositions. Thus, this new form of sculptural narrative composition — the Homeric heroes — is seen for the first time in large-scale sculpture in the Antikythera shipwreck¹¹⁰.

The fact that the cargo of that ship wrecked on the North African coast near Mahdia in Tunisia did not include sculptures of a similar nature, as N. Himmelmann noted in a penetrating article¹¹¹, is considered an indication of the modernism of the Antikythera shipment¹¹². It is thus possible that the Homeric groups were from the outset destined to adorn some luxury villa in Italy¹¹³, in accordance with the craze in fashion¹¹⁴ in the Late Roman Republic. In any case, the fact that they were made before the mid 1st c. BC, i.e. shortly before they were loaded onto the ill-fated ship, appears to resolve the question of the provenance of this iconographic theme, since the similar, though slightly later, groups at Sperlonga have been considered

by some scholars to be of Italian inspiration¹¹⁵.

The commercial nature of the cargo on the Antikythera ship is hard to doubt. This is made clear by the presence of both high-quality copies, variants and transformations of Classical works, as well as of repetitions of these same works on a smaller scale, as illustrated by the two statues of Apollo beside a tripod (Cat. no. 49, EAM 15535) or the two statues of dancers (EAM 5744, EAM 15530). Various factors combine to support the mercantile character of the freight: first, the similarity observed in the material, chiefly with respect to typological and workshop relationships, and second the exceptional state of preservation of those fragments. These, well-protected in the sediment of the sea-bed, still carry the traces of workshop tools, without the slightest indication of wear from being on show earlier. Finally, the shipment also included bases of Parian marble¹¹⁶. All this convinces us that the statues came neither from war booty nor through violent acts of looting: both of which should result in a more eclectic assortment¹¹⁷. Very probably, then, we are looking at a commission to a sculpture workshop or art dealer¹¹⁸.

The large-scale original bronze sculptures of the Classical-Hellenistic period may be justified as “second-hand” works, in the sense that they had been removed from their original exhibition site — it is impossible to conjecture where they were originally set up¹¹⁹ — prior to the 1st c. BC. Indeed some parts of the so-called group of “Philosophers” bear traces of repairs. Perhaps in time they had ended up in the storerooms of an art dealer who traded in antiques along with contemporary works, copies and classicizing Late Hellenistic creations, before being loaded around the mid 1st c. BC onto the ship that sank off Antikythera.

The dating of the marble sculptures to the early 1st c. BC demonstrates that they were made not long before they were loaded on the ship destined for Italy. Since their plinths have not been preserved, it is unclear (broadly speaking at least) if they were set up somewhere before they were

shipped, or if they were constructed from the outset to supply Italian markets, as may be said of the group of Homeric heroes.

The exclusive use of Parian marble¹²⁰, however, is a strong indication for their common provenance, and steers the search for their production workshop as within the Aegean. Of the research outcomes proposed to date¹²¹, Delos and Pergamon appear to be the most likely. Paros is also an attractive proposition both because of its long tradition going back to the Archaic period and from a new boom experienced by the island in the 1st c. BC with the neo-Parian marble workshops¹²².

In a monograph which is the sole documented study to date dealing with the entirety of the sculptures retrieved from the shipwreck, P. Bol concludes that Delian workshops are the most probable production site for the sculptures. He was relying on technical, typological, and stylistic criteria. He interprets the ship's cargo as partly the product of a violent pillage, directly connecting the production of the marble sculptures and their enshippment with two important dates in the history of the island — 88 and 69 BC¹²³. H. Hellenkemper concurs with this opinion¹²⁴.

N. Yalouris¹²⁵, P. Moreno¹²⁶, and A. Corso¹²⁷ support a Pergamene provenance for the sculptures. Corso believes that in Pergamon the tradition of collecting original art works and setting them up in the city's sanctuaries that was already known in the Attalid era may have continued into the Late Hellenistic period. During this period, however, when the city came into the shadow of Ephesos, whose fortunes were on the rise, original works were replaced by high-quality copies that were set up in public places in accordance with the spirit of the times.

N. Himmelmann considers Delos, Paros, or Pergamon as possible points of departure¹²⁸. C. Vorster does not take a firm stance, though admitting both the exclusive use of Parian marble for the sculptures, and their technical and stylistic peculiarities. He finds exact parallels in the sculpture

workshops of Delos¹²⁹. Both then are more open on this subject.

Discussion may continue to come without agreement. Some of the works from the wreck's consignment do find their exclusive iconographic parallels in monuments on Delos. Thus the column-support¹³⁰, which sprouts forth like a shoot from an acanthus calyx, and is decorated on its upper surface with stems and flowers: this is preserved atop the plinth of the quadriga EAM 5749. Or again the relief-bridle¹³¹ around the neck of the horse (Fig. 6), on which are depicted in a carelessly-carved fashion an eagle on a bolt of lightning and various arms (a Macedonian helmet with tall crest, a Gallic shield, an axe, a sword?).

However, there is a counterpoint to this, which can be summarized as follows: P. Bol rests his arguments for the Delian provenance of the sculptures on matters like the Parian marble, various technical features and points of construction. The last set includes the working up of sculptures from two or more main pieces of marble¹³², the sizable supports accompanying the figures, the quadrilateral or cylindrical struts¹³³ for joining the upper limbs with the torso or hips, and the lower limbs with their side supports. However, these features invoked are not exclusive to the artistic workshops of Delos. Rather, they were a common practice widely disseminated in the Late Hellenistic world¹³⁴.

In cosmopolitan Delos, a transit station for Mediterranean trade between the East and Italy during the second half of the 2nd and early 1st c. BC, no documented workshop for producing copies of Classical works is known¹³⁵. Neither is monumental sculpture represented to the extent that it would offer automatic support for the local production of the sculptures from the wreck. In works originating from Delos (statues, life-size and smaller than life-size that were destined to adorn interior spaces¹³⁶, votive statuettes in multiple, low-quality replicas from local workshops¹³⁷, portrait-statues¹³⁸, and protomes), there are obvious recognizable references to the Attic or Pergamene tra-

dition, to Rhodian and Alexandrian inspiration, and even to Roman preferences¹³⁹. This is a result of the multi-national character of the island as well as from the presence of the artists¹⁴⁰ who worked there. Consequently, we cannot speak of a Delian “school”¹⁴¹ in the sense of a single style as normally assigned to sculpture workshops. Nonetheless, groups of classicizing works¹⁴² are known: a reflection of the great artistic movements of the age.

On the other hand, it is well known that the kingdom of Pergamon, thanks to its victorious confrontation with the Gauls as well as the personal artistic interests of Eumenes II and Attalus II, offered fertile ground¹⁴³ for the development of classicism and the return to old models¹⁴⁴. However, its artistic production in the Late Hellenistic period, and particularly after 133 BC, when it had definitely become a Roman possession, was so meagre¹⁴⁵ in comparison to the magnificent baroque creations of the previous period that it would be

difficult to support the likelihood of local production of the sculptures from the shipwreck. Perhaps some other economically ascendant city in Asia Minor such as Ephesos is a possible but unsubstantiated candidate¹⁴⁶.

The consignment on the ill-fated ship that sank off Antikythera embraced copies and variants of famous large-scale Classical works, side by side with classicistic creations as well as innovative prototypes and narrative compositions. Together they reflect the artistic production of the Late Hellenistic period, more specifically the first half of the 1st c. BC — one that was not fixedly and exclusively oriented to the requirements of a new art market. The load was perhaps the first of its kind in Western civilization. Its contents, some of them disconnected from any sort of original religious or votive purpose, are treated as objects of admiration and of an exclusively decorative character. The age in which art was fully subservient to itself had now arrived.

6. Detail of the horse statue, no. 5747



7. The marble horse statue, no. 5747

7



NOTES

* The subtitle of this section, enriched with the word “heroes”, is the title of a chapter in a book by H.-W. Rackl 1978, 15–36, dealing with the Antikythera shipwreck.

1. “I am eagerly expecting the Megarian statues and the herms you wrote to me about. Anything you may have of the same sort which you think suitable for the Academy, don’t hesitate to send it and trust my purse. This is how my fancy takes me. Things that are specially suitable for a lecture hall are what I want. Lentulus promises his ships. Please attend to this carefully.” (Shackleton Bailey 2006, 39). Cicero’s letter to his friend Titus Pomponius Atticus, who lived in Athens and purchased art works on his behalf, dates to the spring of 67 BC.

2. Previously, the ship’s sinking was dated to the period 80–50 BC on the basis of the conclusions reached by the American team that studied the objects from the cargo, see Weinberg 1965, 4. Also Bol 1972, 115. The dating of the two Ephesian coins, recognized among the large number of worn bronze ones retrieved in 1976, to the period 70–60 BC dates the sinking of the ship to this decade. This does not rule out the possibility of an even later dating. Thirty-six silver “cistophoric” tetradrachms of Pergamon and Ephesos were recovered with the bronzes: the latest was issued between 85–67 BC, see Yalouris 1990, 136; Parker 1992, 56; Ridgway 1997, 341–342; Kritzas 1998, 44. For further, see Oikonomidou 2001, 541–544; P. Tselekas, in this volume.

3. See the contribution by G. Kavvadias, in this volume, which relies on the study of the red-slipped tableware (ESA) from the wreck.

4. On the difficult conditions involved in retrieval, see *AE* 1902, 147–149; Svoronos 1903, 2–14; Taylor 1965, 36–37; Bol 1972, 7; Rackl 1978, 23–29.

5. For the sole and exceptionally brief reference to the results of the second underwater survey at the site of the wreck, see Rackl 1978, 36 (mention); Yalouris 1990, 135–136; Kritzas 1998, 44 (mention).

6. *AE* 1902, 155–156; Svoronos 1903, 14–15. The chemist O. Rousopoulos was responsible for conservation of the bronzes. It is mentioned above that the black color preserved in places on a number of these, among them the “Antikythera Youth”, was owing to the chemicals employed to remove their coating of corrosion. However, cf. more recent results concerning the deliberately patinated bronze sculptures from the Mahdia wreck (Willer 1994, 1023–1031), as well as remarks by W.-D. Heilmeyer (1994, 803–804, 806) with respect to the black patina of a goodly number of large-scale bronze sculptures of the 5th and 4th c. BC (Zeus of Artemisium, “Antikythera Youth”, “Marathon Youth”, a group consisting of a horse and young rider from Artemision), as well as classicizing works (e.g. the “Youth from Salamis”) of the Late Hellenistic and Roman periods.

7. The first systematic publication of the bronze and marble sculptures from the shipwreck was undertaken by I. Svoronos in 1903; the second and more thorough publication was by P. Bol in 1972. Some individual works were later included in articles or monographs. On the bronze sculptures in particular, see *AE* 1902, 149–156, pls. 7–17; Svoronos 1903, 18–44, pls. I–VIII; Papaspiridi 1927, 219–220; Bol 1972, 11–39, pls. 1–19; Sharpe 2006, 249–253 nos 86–90.

8. For a chronicle of the “Youth’s” reconstruction, see Karouzos 1969, 59–79.

9. For the view that it represents Perseus, see Svoronos 1903,

20–28; Arnold 1969, 207; Palagia 1980, 34 no. 5; Todisco 1993, 102, pl. 202; *LIMC* VII (1994) s.v. Perseus, 336 no. 65, pls. 284 and 345–348 (L.J. Roccas); For the view that it portrays Paris, see Staïs 1905, 60–63; Bieber 1910, 159–173; Houser 1987, 191; Rolley 1999, 294; Kaltsas 2002, 248–249 no. 518.

10. For the view that it was a Late Hellenistic copy, see Bulle 1912, 115; Lippold 1923, 72, 127; Fraser 1928, 308; Lippold 1950, 264; Lullies – Hirmer 1979, 112. Cf. however the counter-arguments by Bol 1972, 22–23 regarding the detailed plastic rendering of the hair, not found in Late Hellenistic works, and counter-arguments concerning the high percentage of lead contained in bronze alloys of the Hellenistic and Roman imperial periods (Caley 1970, 41–46 and pls. III, IX. Tzachou-Alexandri – Andreopoulou-Mangou 2000, 91, 95), which is missing from the “Youth” (Caley 1970, 39 and pl. I).

11. Arnold 1969, 207–210; Bol 1972, 22; Lullies – Hirmer 1979, 112 nos 216–217; Palagia 1980, 34 no. 5, fig. 57; Linfert 1990, 291–292, fig. 172; Moreno 1994, 271–274, figs 336–337, 340; Maderna 2004, 320–321. Many scholars, chief among them D. Arnold, connect this sculpture with the Sicyonian sculptor Kleon, active until the first decade of the third quarter of the 4th c. BC, recognizing parallels in the contemporary work of Scopas and Lysippos. In this light, the innovations (projection/extension of the right arm, slender limbs, and smaller head in relation to the torso) that differentiate the “Youth” from the Classical Polykleitan contraposto stance are justified.

12. Staïs 1905, 55–66; Houser 1987, 179, 181, 190–192; Todisco 1993, 102; Moreno 1994, 273; Ridgway 1997, 340–341; Rolley 1999, 294. Those scholars who interpret the figure as Paris attribute the sculpture to the Corinthian sculptor Euphranor, who worked primarily in Athens from 360 BC until the final decades of the 4th c. BC, but whose art, it is claimed, is distinguished chiefly for its Attic style (Palagia 1980, 6–12, 66).

13. Himmelmann 1990, 16, note 15; Himmelmann 1994, 849; Schraudolph 2007, 227. Cf., however, the opinions of scholars who date the work, on the basis of the sandal type (τροχάδες) to ca 340–330 BC (Morrow 1985, 115, pls. 100a–b; Ridgway 1990, 57; Ridgway 1997, 342). For all the dates proposed until now for this work, which range from 340–330 BC to 100 BC, see Hoff 1994, 152; Mattusch 1996, 92, note 58.

14. Bol 1972, 27, 33.

15. For the reconstruction drawing of the figure, see Svoronos 1903, 30–31, pl. IV.

16. Svoronos 1903, 36–37 nos 4–5, pl. V.1–2; 37 nos 8–10, pl. V.8–10; Bol 1972, 31–34, pls. 13.5–6, 14.1–4, 16.2, 17.1–4.

17. Bol 1972, 32, 33–34. On the possibility that the statues were products of the same workshop, see Hoff 1994, 151.

18. Svoronos 1903, 37 nos 6–7, pl. V.3–5; 37–38 nos 11–13, pl. V.11–13; Bol 1972, 34–37, pls. 15.1–4, 16.1, 16.3 and 18.1–2; Morrow 1985, 115, 126–127, pls. 98a–b, 99a–b, 101a–b, 102a–b (Morrow dates the lower extremities, on the basis of the sandal-type (τροχάδες) to the age of the Great Frieze on the Altar of Zeus at Pergamon). The foot in pl. 100a–b is attributed to the statue of the “Philosopher”.

19. Cat. nos 38–40: Kabbadias 1901, 205, figs 1–2 and 206 nos 1–2; *AE* 1902, 152–154, pls. 14–17; Svoronos 1903, 41–44 nos 18–20, pls. VII–VIII.1–2; Frost 1903, 222–230 nos II–III, figs 1–2; Papaspiridi 1927, 219–220; Bol 1972, 11–17, pls. 1–4; Himmelmann 1994, 850, figs 1–2, 851; Ridgway 2002, 131–132, 141 and note 40, 186–187, pl. 51; Sharpe 2006, 249–252 nos 86–88.

20. From the second underwater investigation, apart from Cat. no. 41 and Cat. no. 42, the right arm of statuette Cat. no. 40, which was joined to the torso, and the badly-worn head of a third male statuette (EAM X 18959) were also retrieved. For illustrations, see Kritzas 1998, 42, 44, 45. They are also mentioned in Rackl 1978, 36.
21. Cf. Ridgway 1997, 311, note 9 and 342 with note 36. For statuette Cat. no. 42, it was concluded that it had a stone base due to the inset quadrilateral plaque of *rosso antico* preserved on its resting surface, according to notes in the 1976 excavation notebooks kept by L. Kolonas.
22. Cf. the observations regarding classicizing works from the Mahdia shipwreck (Geominy 1994, 935).
23. *AE* 1902, 156–160, pls. A-Z; Svoronos 1903, 54–78, pls. XI–XX; Frost 1903, 217–236; Bol 1972, 43–91, pls. 23–54.
24. Bol 1972, 7; Rackl 1978, 28.
25. Rackl 1978, 29. On the suspicion that some of the objects from the cargo on the ship that sank off Antikythera were lost due to illicit activity in the region in the early 20th century, see Throckmorton 1970, 113–168.
26. *AE* 1902, 159, fig. 9; Svoronos 1903, 77, pl. XIV.5; Staïs 1905, 37–38; Bol 1972, 91–93.
27. *AE* 1902, 159–160, pls. B.3–4 and Δ.3–4; Svoronos 1903, 77–78 nos 92–95, pl. XX.1–4; Bol 1972, 84–91, pls. 50.4; 51–54; 56.1–2; Kaltsas 2002, 301 no. 631 and no. 632.
28. *AE* 1902, 159; Svoronos 1903, 7, 78; Bol 1972, 85.
29. For the type, see Arnold 1969, 183–189, 274–279; Vierneisel-Schlörb 1979, 284–289; Maderna 1988, 82–84, pl. 26,3; Maderna 2004, 317–318, 322, 328, 364–365, fig. 289; Gratziou 2010, 168–284, especially 259–273.
30. On the dating of the original and its attribution to a workshop and artist, see Gratziou 2010, 273–276.
31. Themelis 1993, 55–57, pl. 31α-γ; Gratziou 2010, 197–199 no. 7.23, pl. 105γ-δ.
32. Arnold 1969, 274–275 no. 2; Maderna 1988, 225; Maderna-Lauter 1990, 306, figs 185, 186; Gratziou 2010, 221–223 no. 7.38, pl. 113γ.
33. Bol 1988, 36 no. I, pls. 24, 25a-b.
34. EAM 244: Niemeier 1985, 143–146; Maderna-Lauter 1990, 316, figs 192–193; Fittschen 1995, 98–108; Mango 2001, 279–288; Kaltsas 2002, 314–115 no. 655; Gratziou 2010, 255–256, pl. 130α-γ.
35. Maderna 1988, 87–88, pl. 27.2; Kaltsas 2002, 312 no. 653; Gratziou 2010, 253–254 no. 7.57, pl. 128α-δ (with earlier bibliography).
36. *AE* 1902, 158 no. 14, pl. Z.4; Svoronos 1903, 74–75 no. 38, pl. XV.4–4α; Staïs 1905, 45, 53, fig. 21; Lippold 1923, 72; Boehringer 1961, 121 no. 15; Bol 1972, 47–48 no. 38, pl. 24.1–2; Gratziou 2010, 305 no. 9.5, pl. 147α-e. On the type, see Boehringer 1961, 125–128; Maderna 1988, 84–86, pl. 32.3; Geominy 2004, 292–293; Gratziou 2010, 297–334, especially 321–331.
37. Gratziou 2010, 328–331. For an earlier dating to 360 BC, see Geominy 2004, 293.
38. The similarities between the Andros-Farnese Hermes and the Olympia Hermes, both in respect to the S-shaped attitude of the torso as well as face and hair, have led to the later dating of the original to ca 340 BC, and its inclusion among the nude male statues of the Praxitelean style, see Martinez 2007, 306.
39. Boehringer 1961, 119 no. 1; *LIMC* V (1990) s.v. Hermes, 367 no. 950α, pl. 278 (G. Siebert); Gratziou 2010, 302–303 no. 9.3, pl. 145β-δ.
40. Boehringer 1961, 120 no. 7; *LIMC* V (1990) s.v. Hermes, 367 no. 950c, pl. 278 (G. Siebert); Geominy 2004, fig. 253; Gratziou 2010, 303–305 no. 9.4, pl. 146β-γ.
41. Svoronos 1903, 76 no. 56, pl. XVIII.10; Bol 1972, 49–50 no. 56, pl. 26.3–4. On the later mending of a part of the left forearm, see Yalouris 1973–1974, 4(σ), pl. 14ε. Additional joins were later made to the legs, possibly in 1975.
42. Arnold 1969, 240–245, pls. 29b, 30c, 31b, 32b; Vierneisel-Schlörb 1979, 304–314 no. 29; Linfert 1990, 278–280; Todisco 1993, 54, pl. 63; Ridgway 1997, 342; Geominy 2004, 288, fig. 246a-b; Corso 2004, 72–75.
43. For the various artistic attributions that have been proposed, see Corso 2004, 72, note 129.
44. Svoronos 1903, 76 no. 58, pl. XVIII.12; Lippold 1923, 72; Bol 1972, 50–51 no. 58, pl. 27.1–4.
45. For the Anzio Apollo type, see Zanker 1974, 76, 78 (Zanker considers the original to have been a classicizing work dating to the second half of the 2nd c. BC); *LIMC* II (1984) s.v. Apollon, 258 no. 601 (O. Palagia); *LIMC* II (1984) s.v. Apollon/Apollo, 380 no. 56, pl. 303 (E. Simon).
46. For the Apollo Lykeios type, see Milleker 1986, 26–44.
47. *AE* 1902, 158 no. 12, pl. B.1; Svoronos 1903, 55–65 no. 23, pl. XI.1 (the head in the plate is from the statue of Heracles in the Museum of Naples, which has been matched to the body by photographic means); Staïs 1905, 40, fig. 15, and 42; Lippold 1923, 72; Karouzou 1967, 74–75; Bol 1972, 48–49 no. 23, pls. 24.3–4 and 25; Vierneisel-Schlörb 1979, 450, 451, note 8; Moreno 1982, 428–430, 496–497 no. B.2.1, figs 40, 42, 54; Krull 1985, 28–30 no. 3; Moreno 1987, 167–172, figs 100–101; *LIMC* IV (1988) s.v. Herakles, 763 no. 699, pl. 492 (O. Palagia); Bol 1988, 37; Todisco 1993, 122, pl. 271; Moreno 1994, 6, 16, fig. 10; Moreno 1995, 107 no. 4.14.2; Edwards 1996, 147–148; Kansteiner 2000, 100; Kaltsas 2002, 251 no. 522 (fig. on 250); Ridgway 2004, 409.
48. For the resting Heracles type, see Moreno 1982; Krull 1985; Moreno 1987, 163–185; Edwards 1996, 145–149; Kansteiner 2000, 99–102; Himmelmann 2009, 143–147.
49. Various dates have been proposed for the original: Krull 1985, 352–356 (ca 320 BC); *LIMC* IV (1988) s.v. Herakles, 763 (325–320 BC) (O. Palagia); Todisco 1993, 122, pls. 269–273 (ca 325 BC); Kansteiner 2000, 78 (330–315 BC); Himmelmann 2009, 145 (shortly before or during the decade 317–307 BC).
50. Marcadé 1957, 413.
51. Marcadé 1957, 409–413 no. 1, figs 2–5; Krull 1985, 54–57 no. 11; Moreno 1982, 424–425, 493 no. B.1.2, figs 32, 34; Moreno 1987, 164–167, fig. 96; *LIMC* IV (1988) s.v. Herakles, 764 no. 704, pl. 493 (O. Palagia); Todisco 1993, 122, pl. 269; Edwards 1996, 147–148, fig. 88.
52. D. Krull includes the Antikythera statue in the Farnese type (Krull 1985, 301). For a view in agreement with Krull's, see Kansteiner 2000, 100. On the Farnese type, which he distinguishes from the Heracles Caserta type, see Krull 1985, 305–352, especially 335–337, 351. In contrast, P. Moreno classifies the Heracles from the wreck under the Anticitera-Sulmona type (Moreno 1982, 428–435, 496–501 no. B.2) and differentiates it from the Argos type (Moreno 1982, 422–428, 493–496 no. B.1).
53. Krull 1985, 57–58 no. 12; *LIMC* IV (1988) s.v. Herakles, 764 no. 701, pl. 492 (O. Palagia); Bol 1988, 36–37 no. III, pl. 26a-b.

In addition, on Late Hellenistic statuettes belonging to this type, see Edwards 1996, 146, note 99.

54. Krull 1985, 10–22 no. 1, pls. 1–4; Todisco 1993, 122, pl. 272; Edwards 1996, 148, figs 85–87; Maderna 2004, 348–349, fig. 318a–e.

55. *AE* 1902, 158 no. 10, pl. Γ.1; Svoronos 1903, 75 no. 40, pls. XVI.2 and XVI.4; Staïs 1905, 41, fig. 16–16α, and 43; Blinkenberg 1933, 163 no. III.1; Bol 1972, 43–45 no. 40, pl. 23.1–2; Vierneisel-Schlörb 1979, 331–332; *LIMC* II (1984) s.v. Aphrodite, 51 no. 398 (A. Delivorrias); Ridgway 2002, 198; Corso 2007, 78–80. For the hydria covered with a cloth (EAM 15525) and the likelihood of its having belonged to a statue, see *AE* 1902, 158 no. 10α, pl. Γ.2; Svoronos 1903, 75, pl. XVI.4; Bol 1972, 43, pl. 23.3. The left hand holding a himation fold (Cat. no. 59) may also belong to this statue. On the improbability of the hydria EAM 15547 (Svoronos 1903, 75, pl. XVI.3) from the same wreck belonging to the statue, cf. Blinkenberg 1933, 163. On the later mending of the goddess's left arm, see Yalouris 1973–1974, 4(β), pl. 14β.

56. On the Aphrodite of Knidos, see Blinkenberg 1933; Pasquier 2007, 139–142; Corso 2007, 9–187. On the Belvedere type, see Pasquier 2007, 143; Corso 2007, 81–82.

57. Svoronos 1903, 76 no. 45, pls. XVII.5 and XVIII.8; Studniczka 1921a, 334; Bol 1972, 45–47 no. 45, pl. 23.4–5; Yalouris 1975, 1, pl. 1γ; Ridgway 2002, 211–212, note 27; Corso 2004, 262, note 439.

58. On the Aphrodite of Arles type, see Ridgway 2002, 197–198; Corso 2004, 257–270; Pasquier 2007, 134–139.

59. *AE* 1902, 156 no. 1, pl. A.2; Svoronos 1903, 65–66 no. 24, pl. XI.2; Bol 1972, 53–55 no. 24, pl. 28.1–3. It is doubtful whether the bent right arm EAM 15552 and quadrilateral plinth EAM 15551 with remains of the right foot belonged to the state, as I. Svoronos had proposed (Svoronos 1903, 65 no. 24, pl. XI.2α–β respectively).

60. *LIMC* IV (1988), s.v. Herakles, 751 no. 428, pl. 473 (O. Palagia); Kansteiner 2000, 86–89.

61. *LIMC* IV (1988), s.v. Herakles, 751 no. 437 (O. Palagia); Kansteiner 2000, 85–86 and note 663.

62. Muthmann 1951, 21.

63. EAM 15535: Svoronos 1903, 76 no. 48, pl. XVIII.2; Bol 1972, 58–59 no. 48, pls. 31.5 (tripod) and 32.1–2 (torso). Part of the left hand was later mended.

64. *AE* 1902, 157 nos 5–6, pl. Δ.2; Svoronos 1903, 74 no. 37, pl. XV.3; Bol 1972, 55–56 no. 37, pls. 29.1–3 and 30.1–3; Maderna-Lauter 1990, 304, fig. 184, and 305, note 24 (he considers the figure a discobolus, and compares its stance with that of the well-known work attributed to Naukydes).

65. Svoronos 1903, 76 no. 47, pl. XVIII.1; Bol 1972, 59–60 no. 47, pl. 32.3–5. On the later mending of the left arm, see Yalouris 1973–1974, 4(α), pl. 15γ.

66. On the Apollo Lykeios type, see Milleker 1986, 26–44. For its attribution to the circle of Praxiteles, see Kaltsas – Despinis 2007, 146–147 no. 39 (R. Proskynitopoulou). For its possible attribution to Praxiteles' contemporary Euphranor, see Martínez 2007, 308, 338 no. 86.

67. *AE* 1902, 157 no. 4, pl. A.3; Svoronos 1903, 74 no. 36, pl. XV.2; Staïs 1905, 46, 57, fig. 23; Bol 1972, 56–57 no. 36, pl. 30.4–8. For the later attachment of the left forearm to the elbow, see Yalouris 1973–1974, 4(τ), pl. 15β.

68. Svoronos 1903, 66–67 (the part of the forearm depicted in

pl. XII.1 of I. Svoronos does not belong to the statue). While in his first publication V. Staïs (1905, 44) interpreted the figure as a pancratiast or wrestler, in his second (Staïs 1910, 72) he argued that it was someone of barbarian origin (a Gaul?) imploring the magnanimity of his opponent. A comparable interpretation, based however on epic (Homer, *Ilias*, 21, 1–33), is given by G. Nikolaidis (1903, 201–206), who identifies the figure with the next-to-youngest son of Priam, Lykaon, kneeling in supplication before Achilles, who has already thrown his spear before him to intimidate him. On the interpretation of the figure of a young man in the *apokopein* pose, see Kabbadias 1900, 95; Kabbadias 1901, 208, and for its interpretation as a knuckle-bones player (ἀστρογαλιζών), see Frost 1903, 232.

69. Studniczka 1921a, 334; Studniczka 1921b.

70. Ridgway 2002, 74.

71. *AM* 25 (1900) 458; Staïs 1905, 44; *AA* 1925, 209 and 211, fig. 5; Vorster 2007, 310.

72. Pollitt 2000, 90, fig. 50.

73. Schraudolph 2007, 235–237, text fig. 91.

74. EAM 1828: Kaltsas 2002, 312 no. 654; Vorster 2007, 282–284, fig. 251a–g.

75. Michalowski 1932, 39–41, figs 23–24, pls. XXVII–XXVIII; Marcadé 1969, 272, 309, 316.

76. Vorster 1998, 33.

77. Vorster 1998, 30–33, 66 no. 4, figs 13–16, pls. 11–14, 43.3.

78. *AE* 1902, 156 no. 2, pl. A.4; Svoronos 1903, 71–72 no. 30, pl. XIV.3 and 76 no. 50, pl. XVIII.4; Roßbach 1914, 94, note 2; Bol 1972, 72–73 no. 30, pl. 41.1–3 and 73–74 no. 50, pl. 41.4–5; Moreno 1994, 286, fig. 362; 288, fig. 365; 294–295; Kaltsas 2002, 301 no. 630. I. Svoronos proposed that EAM 5744 be interpreted as an archer. A fragment below the left knee was later attached to EAM 15530.

79. EAM 239: Staïs 1910, 76 no. 239; Bulle 1912, 146–148, pl. 78; Lippold 1950, 269; Karouzou 1965, 176–186, pls. I–IV; Karouzou 1967, 166 no. 239, pl. 60; Dierks-Kiehl 1973, 62–66; Kaltsas 2002, 276 no. 577. The Satyr from Lamia has been considered an Early Hellenistic (Bulle, Lippold, Kaltsas) as well as a Late Hellenistic work of the second half of the 2nd c. BC (Karouzou, Dierks-Kiehl).

80. Mandel 2007, 153–155, 182, fig. 160a.

81. *AE* 1902, 157 no. 3, pl. A.5 and 158 no. 15; Svoronos 1903, 75–76 nos 41–46, pl. XVII.1–6; Bol 1972, 62–69 nos 41–46, pls. 35–37, and p. 107.

82. Svoronos 1903, 76 no. 46, pl. XVII.4; Bol 1972, 68–69 no. 46, pl. 37.3–4. On the attachment of a fragment to the legs, see Yalouris 1973–1974, 4(η).

83. EAM 3335: Moreno 1994, 672, fig. 827, and 680–682; Kaltsas 2002, 294–295 no. 617; Vorster 2007, 301, fig. 291.

84. Svoronos 1903, 75–76 no. 43, pls. XVII.2 (upper torso) and XVII.6 (lower torso); Bol 1972, 67–68 no. 43, pl. 37.1–2 (upper torso) and 64–67 no. 44, pl. 36.1–3 (lower torso). On the joining of the upper and lower torso, see Bol 1972, 10 (made after his study was completed), and that of the left foot, which wears a sandal, with the tarsus, see Yalouris 1973–1974, 4(υ). The foot with its sandal is depicted in Svoronos 1903, 77 no. 87, pl. XIX.27.

85. *AE* 1902, 157 no. 8, pl. Γ.3; Svoronos 1903, 72–73 no. 33, pl. XIII.4–4α; Roßbach 1914, 94–95; Bol 1972, 75–76 no. 33, pl. 42.3–5; Kaltsas 2002, 300 no. 627; Ridgway 2002, 74, 98, note 16. The view of O. Roßbach that the statue belonged to the same

- group as the nude male torso EAM 15537 (*AE* 1902, 157 no. 9, pl. Γ.4; Svoronos 1903, 73 no. 34, pl. XIII.3; Bol 1972, 76–77 no. 34, pl. 43.1–4) is not valid due to their different sizes.
- 86.** Landwehr 1990, 101–122, pls. 48–55; Landwehr 2000, 92–95 no. 115, pls. 54–56. The manner of rendering hair and beard is common to fatherly gods from the 4th c. BC to the 4th c. AD, making identification with a specific deity difficult, see Landwehr 1990, 105–107.
- 87.** de Luca 1990, 25–40.
- 88.** *LIMC* VIII (1997) s.v. Zeus, 348 no. 262, pl. 230 (I. Leventi – V. Machaira).
- 89.** Proposals by I. Svoronos to identify the figure either as Heracles aiming his bow at the Stymphalian birds or as Apollo playing a lyre held aloft are contrary to the placement of the arms, and were rejected by P. Bol. Cf. Ridgway 2002, 98, note 16, who proposed that the figure might be pulling on a rope.
- 90.** Andrén 1952, 43, fig. 19. For the iconography of this hero, see *LIMC* VII (1994) s.v. Philoktetes, 380–381 nos 39–40, pl. 323, and the comments on p. 384 (M. Pipili).
- 91.** Staïs 1905, 43–45, fig. 17; 48, fig. 18; 52, fig. 20; Bol 1972, 78–83, 103–107, pls. 44–50.1–3. See also Moreno 1994, 690–691, figs 850–851 (Odysseus – Achilles?); Himmelmann 1994, 852–853, fig. 4; Ridgway 2002, 73–74, pls. 25–26; Kaltsas 2002, 300–301 nos 628; 629 (Odysseus – Achilles?); Ridgway 2004, 743; Vorster 2007, 318–319, figs 323–325.
- 92.** Vorster 2007, 312–314, fig. 311a-b. For all the theories that have been put forward regarding the identification of the two heroes in the “Pasquino” group, see Weis 2000, 117–119. She identifies the two heroes in the group with Aeneas and Lausus (Weis 2000, 119–124). However, cf. the critique by P. Green, who returns to the “Greek” view concerning Ajax and Achilles (Green 2000, 182–183, 185).
- 93.** See for a detailed discussion Weis 2000, 124–125, who on the basis of iconographic parallels believes that the original of this composition cannot pre-date the second half of the 1st c. BC.
- 94.** Svoronos 1903, 71 no. 29, pl. XIV.4; Bol 1972, 80–82 no. 29, pl. 48.1–4; Yalouris 1975, 1, pl. 2α; Himmelmann 1995, 25, 28, 111, pl. 37; Ridgway 2002, 73, 97, note 14; Vorster 2007, 318, fig. 325. The statue is preserved in two pieces. In the plate published in I. Svoronos, the composition has been accomplished by photographic means.
- 95.** EAM 1189: Himmelmann 1970, 5–17, pls. 1–2; Ridgway 2002, 73, 97, note 13; Kaltsas 2002, 350–351 no. 741; Vorster 2007, 318–319, 415, fig. 327; Tsangari 2011, 25 no. 5, fig. 5α-δ (E. Vlachogianni). The ossuary was purchased on the island of Megiste (Kastellorizo), but originated from the coast of Attaleia (mod. Antalya) in Lycia, see Despinis 1996, 306, note 40.
- 96.** *AE* 1902, 158 no. 17, pl. Z.3; Svoronos 1903, 72 no. 32, pl. XIV.1; Bol 1972, 74–75 no. 32, pl. 42.1–2. On the mending of part of the right arm, see Yalouris 1973–1974, 4(γ), pl. 15ε.
- 97.** Smith 1991, 184–185, fig. 207.1.
- 98.** Himmelmann 1994, 854, note 19; Himmelmann 1995, 25, note 38.
- 99.** On the Great Frieze, see recently Schraudolph 2007, 199–203, fig. 175a-l. On the “Lesser Attalid Group”, see Pollitt 2000, 129–135, figs 89–94; von Prittwitz 2007, 267–270, fig. 236a-k.
- 100.** *AE* 1902, 157 no. 7, pl. B.2; Svoronos 1903, 66–69 no. 26, pl. XII.2; Bol 1972, 82–83 no. 26, pl. 49.1–4; Himmelmann 1995, 35, 44; Ridgway 2002, 74. Both N. Himmelmann as well as B. Ridgway claim that the torso could be identified with some companion of Odysseus, forming part of a group whose subject was the blinding of Polyphemos, if the group also contained smaller-than-life-size figures.
- 101.** Vorster 2007, 309–310, fig. 303a-b.
- 102.** EAM 247: Pollitt 2000, 134, fig. 95, and 135; Kaltsas 2002, 295–296 no. 618; Vorster 2007, 309, 310, fig. 305.
- 103.** *AE* 1902, 158 no. 13, pl. Z.2; Svoronos 1903, 72 no. 31, pl. XIV.2; Staïs 1905, 44–45, 52, fig. 20; Bol 1972, 83 no. 31, pl. 50.1–3; Himmelmann 1995, 44; Ridgway 2002, 74.
- 104.** Mansuelli 1958, 189–192 no. 180, fig. 180c; Froning 1981, 143, pl. 54.2.
- 105.** Despinis 1988, 87–90 (who identifies him as Palamedes); Dörig 1994, 68–74, pls. 17.1–2; 18.1.4; 19.4; *LIMC* VII (1994) s.v. Protesilaos, 556 no. 14a, pl. 431 (F. Canciani); Karagiorga 1995, 207–233; Despinis 2008, 264–267.
- 106.** On the Sperlonga groups, see Vorster 2007, 319–327, figs 328–335. On the absence of any connection whatsoever between the Homeric heroes from the Antikythera shipwreck and those of Sperlonga in the many works by B. Andreae on the sculptures from the grotto, cf. the comment by Himmelmann 1995, 42, note 71; 71.
- 107.** Ridgway 2002, 70.
- 108.** Bol 1972, 103–107; Himmelmann 1995, 28, 33, 34, 35; Hollinshead (2002, 149–150) considers the struts evidence for the transference into sculpture of works based on two-dimensional prototypes.
- 109.** Pollitt 2000, 65–66, fig. 30v; Vorster 2007, 311–312, fig. 310a-f.
- 110.** Late Hellenistic compositions with Homeric themes, specifically the episode of the blinding of the Cyclops Polyphemos by Odysseus and his comrades, are known from the terracotta groups in Colle Cesarano (near Tivoli) and Tortoreto (near Chieti), which date to the second half of the 1st c. BC (the second group perhaps dates to the first half of the 1st c. AD) (Ridgway 2002, 70–72 and notes 9–10). Cf. Himmelmann 1995, 35, note 63; 42–43, who dates them to the second half of the 2nd c. BC. The marble group from Ephesos with a similar theme, which originally adorned the pediment(?) of the Temple of Isis in the public agora of the city, belongs to the Late Hellenistic period. It was re-used under the Flavians (69–96 AD) and set in the apsidal niche of the Nymphaeum of Pollion, see Aurenhammer 1990, 168–177 no. 147, pls. 102–109; Ridgway 2002, 27–29, 73, pls. 10–11.
- 111.** Cf. the comparison of the sculptures from the two wrecks by Himmelmann 1994, 849–855.
- 112.** Cf. Ridgway 2002, 69.
- 113.** On the new residential model of luxury villas in the Late Roman Republic and their decoration with sculpture, see Neudecker 1988. Häuber 1994, 911–920; Himmelmann 1995, 36; Vorster 1998, 11–15. On the status possession of Greek art works conferred on their Roman owners, see Hölscher 1994, 881–884.
- 114.** On the “art market” system that had developed between the West and Greece, which included passionate collectors, dealers, conservators, and appraisers who established prices in accordance with demand and changing fashions, see Galsterer 1994, especially 861–862. Zimmer 1994, 867–872.
- 115.** Weis 2000, 112–124; de Grummond 2000, 270–271, 273 (who maintains that the cave’s iconographic program was con-

nected with the topography of the west coast of Italy and Sicily).
116. V. Stais maintained that the marble “ἀβακοειδῆ υπερείσματα”, as he called the low, rimmed bases that were retrieved, served to protect the thin inherent plinths of the statues during transport, and were not the bases on which they were actually set up (Stais 1905, 37–38). This hypothesis cannot be confirmed, since no comparable examples are known from elsewhere. In any case, it is odd that the plinths should have been protected with equally heavy and costly Parian marble constructions — the same material as the plinths themselves.

117. Fr. Gelsdorf, who discusses the factors that determined the character of a consignment, maintains that the cargo from the Antikythera shipwreck was more homogeneous than that of the Mahdia wreck, which was a product of massive and violent pillage (Gelsdorf 1994b, 759–760). Apart from Gelsdorf, the commercial nature of the Antikythera cargo is accepted by: Taylor 1965, 37, 39; Price 1974, 8–9; Parker 1992, 56; Himmelmann 1994, 849; Ridgway 2002, 75; Vorster 2007, 318. Although P. Bol alludes to this possibility, in the end he concludes that the cargo came from violent looting (Bol 1972, 118–120).

118. Cf. the contribution (in this volume) by G. Kavvadias, who arrives at a similar finding as regards the production by the same workshop of the red-slip pottery (ESA) from the wreck.

119. For conjectures put forward regarding the provenance of the group of honorary statues, see Svoronos 1903, 34 (Argos); Karusu 1985, 209–210 (Rhodes); Morrow 1985, 115 (Boeotia).

120. P. Bol 1972, 93 maintains that the marble of the statues from the wreck is *lychnites* (Pliny, *NH* 36.14). Although the precise meaning and correct use of the name are issues still under investigation, the word is understood to refer to the almost white, fine-grained marble with exceptional light transmission properties (0.003–0.0035 m.) extracted from the underground quarries of Pan and the Nymphs on Paros and employed for sculpture. See Herz 2010, 28–29; Korres 2010, 63, 68, 72, 75. However, no marble analyses have been done on the sculptures from the wreck to determine whether in fact the marble was *lychnites* from Marathi.

121. On the ship’s having started from Athens and being en route to Italy, see Kabbadias 1900, 102; Kabbadias 1901, 208; Stais 1905, 29–30. On its having started from Argos and being headed for Constantinople, and sinking in the 4th c. AD, see Svoronos 1903, 84–86. On a Rhodian provenance, see Price 1974, 9 (because of the mechanism); Karusu 1985, 209–210, 211 (because of the bronze head of the “Philosopher”). On a Melian provenance, as claimed by P. Kabbadias, see Bol 1972, 114. For a critique of these views, cf. Bol 1972, 114–116. For the view recently put forward (which is however entirely baseless since it does not take into consideration the provenance of the rest of the consignment), viz. that the ship was carrying the war booty of Licinius Lucullus, including the famous sphere of Billaros, which he identifies with the Antikythera mechanism, and that it sailed from Sinope ca 71 BC, see Mastrocinque 2009, 315–317.

122. Rubensohn 1935, 60–62; Taylor 1965, 39.

123. P. Bol considers the looting of Delos in 88 BC by Mithridates VI Eupator as the *terminus ante quem* for the making of the statues, since after this date there are no known sculptors’ signatures from the island and it would appear that only repairs were done. According to Bol, the buildings that had been decorated with the sculptures from the wreck were destroyed, and

the sculptures abandoned *in situ*, whence they were loaded to be shipped to Italy after the final destruction of the island in 69 BC (Bol 1972, 119–120).

124. Hellenkemper 1994, 158–159.

125. Yalouris 1990, 136 (chiefly due to the finding of Pergamene coins in 1976). In addition, see Houser 1987, 184–185; Parker 1992, 55–56 no. 44; Ridgway 1997, 341; Ridgway 2002, 69.

126. Starting from a base in Pergamon signed by the Sicyonian sculptor Thoinias, atop which was set the bronze statue of a satyr, he considers that the marble statue of a dancer (EAM 5744) from the wreck, which is a Late Hellenistic copy of a bronze original, was also made in Pergamon (Moreno 1994, 294 and 691).

127. Corso 2007, 78–80.

128. Himmelmann 1994, 849.

129. Vorster 2007, 317–318.

130. Svoronos 1903, 78 no. 95, pl. XX.4; Bol 1972, 87–88, pl. 53.1–2. Cf. also another similar column, poorly-preserved, from the same group (Bol 1972, 88, pl. 53.3). On its parallel in Delos, cf. Deonna 1938, pl. 25 no. 174.

131. *AE* 1902, 159 no. 21, pl. B.3; Svoronos 1903, 78 no. 93, pl. XX.1; Bol 1972, 84–85 no. 93, pl. 52.1; Kaltsas 2002, 301 no. 631. For its iconographic parallel on a cylindrical marble base from the agora of Theophrastos in Delos, cf. Marcadé 1969, 367–369, pl. III. The Delian base formed part of the victory monument of the Roman general Metellus for his victory in 147 BC against the Macedonian king Philip Andriskos. Due to this iconographic detail, P. Bol correspondingly considered the four-horse chariot from the Antikythera shipwreck the monument of Mithridates VI in honor of his victory against the Romans in 88 BC, which would have been set up on the island of Delos (Bol 1972, 87, 117).

132. The sculptures’ construction from multiple pieces has been considered as evidence of insufficient raw material (Lippold 1923, 73). Cf. however the counter-arguments of Bol suggesting that this custom was based on more practical considerations (Bol 1972, 95–96). On the transporting of unworked blocks of Parian marble to sculpture workshops, see Lippold 1923, 65.

133. G. Lippold (1923, 43–44, 72–73, 133–134) claimed that struts, which appear in a number of sculptures from the shipwreck, are not evidence of their having been copied from bronze originals, but on the contrary of their having an exclusively practical use. To wit, they ensured the stability of the works themselves during transport, and would have been cut off when they reached their final destination. For the same view, see Stais 1905, 38–39; Bieber 1961, 77. M. Hollinshead (2002, 140, 141) recently argued that struts served to stabilize the statues during any required move, and that they were not evidence par excellence of their transport to another destination. It would appear that the Romans had become accustomed to struts on marble statues (*ibid.*, 142). Among the Antikythera sculptures, there are struts beneath the bellies on all three horses (Fig. 7, Cat. no. 61, EAM 5748) and on horse fragments (Cat. nos 64, 66); on statues (Cat. nos 49, 50, 51, 52, (Fig. 2), EAM 15533, EAM 15544, EAM 15538) and on statue fragments (Cat. nos 53, 54, 58).

134. Cf. Herrmann 1973, 453; Hollinshead 2002, 138, 140. B. Ridgway (2002, 69, 75) recognized technical similarities in the Antikythera sculptures with the protomes from the Heroon of Calydon.

135. Lippold 1923, 34 with note 86, 65. On the Diadoumenos

and the two “Herakleiotisses”, which are the only copies of Classical works found on Delos, see Niemeier 1985, 105–107. However, cf. the observation by J. Marcadé concerning the Didoumenos (Marcadé 1969, 45, note 4).

136. On the decorating of Delian houses with sculpture, see Kreeb 1984, 320–329, 337–340; Kreeb 1988, especially 33–51.

137. Kreeb 1988, 58–60.

138. Kreeb 1988, 69–71.

139. For the artistic influences on the sculptural production of Delos, see Marcadé 1969, 307–467.

140. On the nationalities of artists who worked on Delos, see Marcadé 1969, 56–63; Linfert 1976, 112.

141. Marcadé 1969, 471–483; Jockey 1998, 177–184.

142. Cf. indicatively the classicizing statuettes of Apollo kitharodos (lyre-player), Leto(?), Artemis in a fawn, and two Muses found in the “House of the Five Statues” in the theater quarter on Delos (Mayence – Leroux 1907, 389–419; Linfert 1976, 113, note 444; Niemeier 1985, 147–151). On the classicizing artistic

movement on Delos specifically, see Marcadé 1969, 278–291.

143. The first copies and classicizing works were found in Pergamon and later in areas that were under the direct influence of Pergamene art such as Athens and Tralles (Lippold 1923, 15–21; Niemeier 1985, 110, 154, 157–163). On the reasons favoring the birth of a copyist tradition in Pergamon, see Geominy 1994, 933–934.

144. G. Lippold (1923, 64–65) also refers to Paros, from which copies are known.

145. Linfert 1976, 106. On Pergamene sculptural production from the 2nd c. BC to the Augustan period, see Hübner 1986, 127–145.

146. Lippold 1923, 66. See also the observation of B. Ridgway (2002, 73), who believes that the word “Ephesian” in artists’ signatures from the early 1st c. BC onward is connected with the certification of a work’s high artistic quality given the city’s long tradition in sculpture, and not to the place of origin of a work’s creator.

23. THE “ANTIKYTHERA YOUTH”

Ca 340–330 BC

Bronze

H. 1.94 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901

(27.12.1900)

Athens, National Archaeological Museum,

X 13396

The statue has been mended at the base of the neck, left shoulder, chest area, lower abdomen and upper part of the buttocks. The outside of the ankle of the left leg has been repaired. The greenish color of the bronze is to be seen at only a few points. The objects the figure once held and the inlaid irises of the eyes are missing.

The Greek sculptor P. Kaloudis made the first restoration of the statue in 1901. In 1902, the French sculptor A. André, invited to Greece for this purpose, rejoined the fragments and made numerous restorations with the aid of metal plates, particularly in the chest and abdominal regions, with the goal of improving the statue aesthetically. The result was deemed only partially satisfactory. In 1948 the statue was taken apart and reassembled by a team of specialists. The team included the sculptors A. Panagiotakis and N. Perandinos, in an advisory capacity, master technician I. Bakoulis, painter A. Kondopoulos and chemist V. Zisis from the National Archaeological Museum. The work, beginning from 1952 and continuing until 1953, was conducted under the supervision and ongoing guidance of the National Museum's then-Director, C. Karouzos. This second, wholly successful effort, improved details in the structure of the body as well as in its pose. Thus, the figure's actual height was understood. According to Karouzos, the rosin coat applied by André to the corroded surface of the statue was responsible for worsening the dark, dull appearance the statue had already acquired following the chemical cleaning by O. Rousopoulos.

The young nude male is standing in a frontal pose. He supports himself on his left leg, its foot flat on the ground; his right leg, bent at the knee, is set a little to the side and to the rear, with only the two inner toes resting on the ground. He holds his right arm up, outstretched to the right; the left arm is lowered, relaxed, and held closer to his side. The head is also turned strongly to right, but he does not focus his gaze on the object held in the right hand. The short hair is arranged in wavy, overlapping curls, which are rendered with particular detail and plasticity.

The “Antikythera Youth” has been variously interpreted as Apollo, “Literate” Hermes holding a caduceus and giving a speech, as Heracles holding a club or a lion-skin, as a victorious athlete holding his prize of a spherical lekythion or a sphere, a wreath, a phiale, or an apple. The figure has even been considered as the funerary statue of a young man. Most scholars support one or other of the two most prevalent views. The first opinion, originally proposed by I. Svoronos, identifies the figure as the Argive hero Perseus, displaying in his right hand the head of the Gorgon Medusa, grasping it by the hair, and holding in his other hand the adamantine *harpe* (sickle) with which he beheaded her. This interpretation is based on parallel scenes on vases, but above all on coins and gems from Roman Argos. However, the sculpture is missing necessary identifying elements such as the chlamys, winged sandals and Hades' magical “Helm of Darkness”, which made the hero invisible.

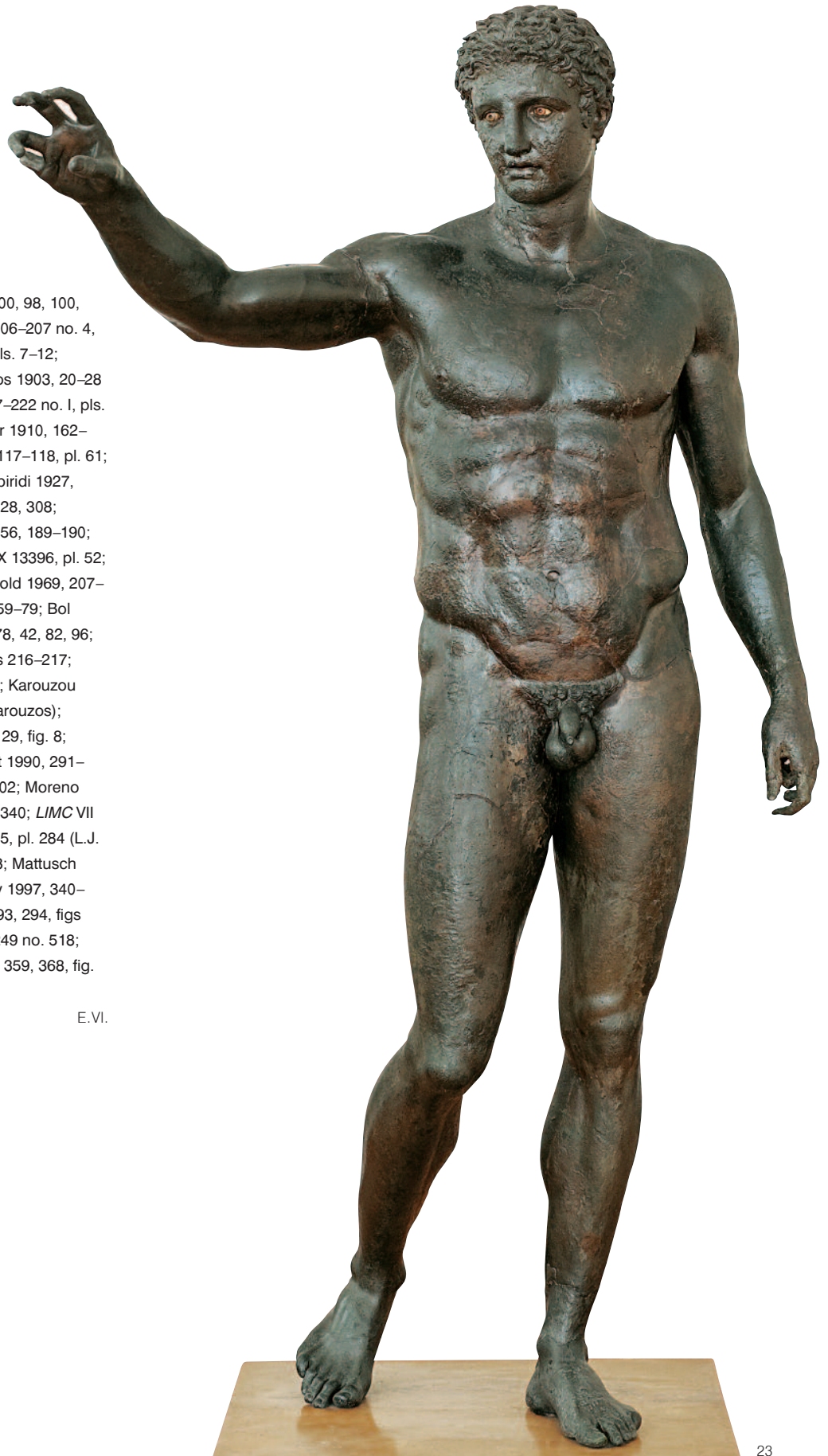
The second interpretation, initially proposed by V. Staïs, identifies the

“Ephebe” as the Trojan hero Paris, holding the Apple of Discord in his extended right hand and the bow — symbol of his killing of Achilles — in his left. The second interpretation focuses on the characteristics that make up the multi-faceted nature of Paris as the judge of the goddesses, lover of Helen, and slayer of Achilles. It is based on the description in Pliny (*NH* 34.77) of a statue of Paris by the sculptor Euphranor. However, here too the argument is challenged by the absence of basic identifying elements of the hero, namely the spear, the mantle (*chlamys*) and the Phrygian cap.

Broadly speaking the figure adopts the Polykleitan pattern of support, which relies on the principles of *contraposto*. However, the right arm, being held up and away from the torso, the turn of the head, towards the side of the relaxed rather than the stable leg, the slenderness of the legs and smallness of the head, in relation to the torso, establish a new proportional relationship, one in contrast to the Polykleitan “canon”. The statue, today widely regarded as an original, dates to the decade 340–330 BC. Its attribution to a specific individual finds scholars divided. An artist from the circle of the Parian sculptor Skopas, or the Corinthian sculptor Euphranor, whose works, however, bear Attic influences, are among the candidates. At any rate, the majority of scholars, in considering the “Antikythera Youth” as a work of the Argive-Sicyonian school of successors to Polykleitos, are inclined to attribute it to the Sicyonian Kleon, a sculptor of the “third generation” of the school's artists, and on “the path towards Lysippos”.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kabbadias 1900, 98, 100, 102, fig. 5; Kabbadias 1901, 206–207 no. 4, figs 3–4; *AE* 1902, 149–152, pls. 7–12; Arvanitopoulos 1903; Svoronos 1903, 20–28 no. 1, pls. I–II; Frost 1903, 217–222 no. I, pls. 8–9; Staïs 1905, 51–66; Bieber 1910, 162–166, fig. 4a; Bulle 1912, 115, 117–118, pl. 61; Lippold 1923, 72, 127; Papaspiridi 1927, 218–219 no. 13396; Fraser 1928, 308; Lippold 1950, 264; Alscher 1956, 189–190; Karouzou 1967, 157–158 no. X 13396, pl. 52; Chamoux 1968, 161–170; Arnold 1969, 207–210, pl. 27c; Karouzos 1969, 59–79; Bol 1972, 18–24, pls. 6–9; Bol 1978, 42, 82, 96; Lullies – Hirmer 1979, 112 nos 216–217; Palagia 1980, 34 no. 5, fig. 57; Karouzou 1981, 86–87, pl. 105a–γ (C. Karouzos); Milleker 1986, 46, 71, 94 no. 129, fig. 8; Houser 1987, 179–196; Linfert 1990, 291–292, fig. 172; Todisco 1993, 102; Moreno 1994, 271–274, figs 336–337, 340; *LIMC* VII (1994) s.v. Perseus, 336 no. 65, pl. 284 (L.J. Roccos); Heilmeyer 1994, 803; Mattusch 1996, 88–90, fig. 3.6; Ridgway 1997, 340–341, pl. 83a–d; Rolley 1999, 293, 294, figs 304–305; Kaltsas 2002, 248–249 no. 518; Maderna 2004, 320–321, 353, 359, 368, fig. 293a–e; Dafas 2008.

E.VI.



23

24a-g. THE STATUE OF THE “PHILOSOPHER OF ANTIKYTHERA”

Ca 230 BC or shortly thereafter

Bronze

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901

Athens, National Archaeological Museum, X 13400, X 15105, X 15108, X 15091, X 15090, X 18932, X 15088

To the cast bronze statue are attributed the head (Cat. no. 24a), the hands (Cat. no. 24b,c), the sandaled feet (Cat. no. 24d,e) and the fragments of the himation (Cat. no. 24f,g). In the reconstruction drawing by I. Svoronos, the “Philosopher” was depicted standing with both feet firmly planted on the ground, wearing a long himation that covered most of his body down to the knees, and which was folded over his left shoulder. He held a staff in his left hand, while his right arm, bent at the elbow, was extended in a gesture characteristic of orators. The fragments attributed to this statue include:

24a. HEAD OF A BEARDED MAN

Ca 230 BC or shortly thereafter

Bronze

H. 0.35 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901

(24.11.1900)

Athens, National Archaeological Museum, X 13400

Despite surface corrosion, the head is in relatively good condition. The greatest damage is found at the top of the skull, to the hair above the forehead, where some curls have broken off, and to the left side of the neck and beard. In contrast, the right side of the head is in much better shape, with the exception of minor damage in the areas of the forehead and of the ear. Traces of “seams” at the base of the neck on both the front and at the left side confirm that the head was cast separately from the body. On the interior of the neck, part of a metal frame used during the casting process is preserved. The eyes were inlaid. Surrounded by a thin metal band, the eyeballs were

originally of a white (now yellowish) material, perhaps alabaster. The irises were fashioned in the same way, i.e. with alabaster and another metal framing; this metal border is still preserved on the left eye. In contrast, the lips, of a red alloy with a higher copper content, appear to have been cast with the face. The heavy mustache and delicate incisions on the beard were done with a very fine chisel. Three rectangular “patches” in the hair and on the neck are due to post-casting repairs. Smaller openings at the same points were never fixed. The statue is a portrait of an elderly, bearded man, whose individual features are realistically depicted. The relatively large head is turned slightly to the left. The skull is nearly square; the neck is short and stocky. The hair is formed in disordered curls, in contrast with the beard, which is more regular and well-combed. The nose is long, with broad wings (*alae nas*), and the lips are thin and hidden beneath the thick mustache. The eyes are small and round, and the eyelids unusually wide. The raised bushy eyebrows and deep forehead wrinkles lend the face expressiveness and liveliness.

The unkempt appearance recalls that of a Cynic philosopher. For this reason, it has been proposed that the head depicted the Athenian Cynic Antisthenes (450/445–365 BC), Diogenes’ teacher. S. Karouzou was the first to assume, in 1985, that the portrait perhaps depicted the famous 3rd c. BC philosopher Bion the Borysthenite, from the Borysthenes River in Olbia, modern-day Ukraine. Bion, who began his career as a student of the Peripatetic Theophrastus (Diogenes Laertius, 4.52), later became famous for his hedonistic cynicism and irony, which perhaps had its source in his disdain for his humble origins (it was said that he was the son of a fisherman and a courtesan). He taught detachment from material things in order to achieve spiritual peace. At the end of his life he became involved

with magic to overcome his fear of death. He left his mark on literature with his satirical works (δῆλατραίβια). However, it is impossible to interpret the figure depicted with certainty, given that the place where the statue was originally set up is unknown. In this work, which is one of the most significant exemplars of psychological depth in portraiture, recognizable elements of the early baroque are detectable. For this reason a date of around 230 or more probably ca 220–210 BC is preferred. However, one in the first half of the 2nd c. BC — the years of the fashioning of the Great Frieze on the Altar of Zeus at Pergamon — has also been proposed because of the statue’s realism, bringing it close to creations of the Middle Hellenistic period. Proposals for an earlier dating, namely to ca 340 BC, are based on the sandal-type depicted (τροχάδες). However, this does not seem acceptable, since the type of footwear is found in art from the 5th c. BC to the Roman period. S. Karouzou believed the head to be a work of the Rhodian school of bronze sculpture. BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kabbadias 1900, 95, 96, fig. 1; AE 1902, 150, fig. 2 and 151, pl. 13; Svoronos 1903, 29–35 no. 2, pls. III–IV; Frost 1903, 233–235 no. V, fig. 4; Hekler 1913, XVIII, pl. 81; Paspaspiridi 1927, 220 no. 13400; Laurenzi 1941, 124 no. 82, pl. 32; Lippold 1950, 293, pl. 103,3; Alscher 1957, 146, 148, 151, 174, fig. 70; Karouzou 1967, 175 no. X 13400, pl. 61; Buschor 1971, 25, 27, 28, 76, no. 94, fig. 20; Bol 1972, 24–31, pls. 10–13.3–4; Lullies – Hirmer 1979, 129 nos 258–259; Karusu 1985, 207–213, pl. 8.1–2; Scatozza-Höricht 1986, 113, 114, fig. 41; Tzachou-Alexandri 1989, 190–192 no. 83 (P. Kalligas); Ridgway 1990, 57, pl. 32, and 70, note 41; Himmelmann 1990, 15–16; Himmelmann 1994, 849; Hoff 1994, 151–154, pl. 41, figs 162–163 and pl. 42, figs 164–165; Moreno 1994, 271–274, figs 336–337, 340; Mattusch 1996, 91, fig. 3.7, 92–94; Schefold 1997, 258–259, figs 142, 519; Ridgway 1997, 342; Kaltsas 2002, 275 no. 575; Katsikoudis 2005, 104 and note 559; Schraudolph 2007, 226–227, fig. text 86a-c.



24b. RIGHT ARM

Bronze

L. of upper arm 0.30 m. (to elbow), l. of forearm (to metacarpus) 0.40 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901 (Easter 1900)

Athens, National Archaeological Museum, X 15105

Missing part of the thumb and two segments from the middle finger. The arm was separately cast and fitted to the body at about mid-armpit height. The opening on the inside of the palm is due to a repair. Traces of ancient repairs, done with smaller or larger rectangular “patches”, are also found on the outside of the hand, the inside of the

wrist, and the back of the upper arm. The arm is slightly bent at the elbow.

The palm is open in a gesture well known from statues of philosophers and orators. The hand is depicted as scrawny and veined. Wrinkles are shown in the region of the wrist and fingers, comparable to those on the forehead of the “Philosopher” Cat. no. 24a. This affinity, and the proportions of the arm, leads to the conclusion that the arm and head do belong to the same statue, as I. Svoronos had proposed early in the 20th century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *AE* 1902, 151–152, fig. 4 (upper row, first from left); Svoronos 1903, 30, 31, note 1, pl. IV; Bol 1972, 27–28, pl. 12.1; Katsikoudis 2005, 117 and note 641.

24c. LEFT HAND

Bronze

L. 0.11 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901

Athens, National Archaeological Museum, X 15108

The hand is nearly intact from the wrist, missing only a part of the little finger. However, the surface of the bronze has peeled away at various points, so that the metal is held together only by its interior coarse clay core, remaining from the casting.

As regards its size, it corresponds to the right arm Cat. no. 24b, but is fleshier. The wrinkles of the skin are softer and flowing in character. The palm was closed around a



24c

cylindrical staff, which was of wood encased in bronze.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *AE* 1902, 151–152, fig. 4 (bottom row, third from left); Svoronos 1903, 30, 31, note 1, pl. IV; Bol 1972, 28, pl. 12.2–3.

24d. RIGHT FOOT WEARING A SANDAL

Bronze

H. 0.30 m., l. 0.32 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901
Athens, National Archaeological Museum,
X 15091

Fragment of the right foot wearing a sandal, together with a small part of the shin and part of the hem of the himation: cast together as a single piece. The sandal's clasp is missing. Beneath the sole (κάπτωμα) is preserved a lead peg (h. 0.04–0.05 m.) to secure the statue to its stone base. On the interior, the foot was also filled with lead up to the ankles. Traces of repairs with square and oval "patches" are found on the left side above the ankle and on the back above the heel. The left side is more noticeably worn. A crack starting from the outside of the big toe runs along the entire length of the sole.

The leather sandal belonged to the type of *trochades* (τροχάδες) with a triple sole. The heel and sides of the foot were protected by tough leather, normally goatskin, leaving only the toes and instep free. The straps passed through oval openings on the sides of the sandal and were tied, after crossing above the instep, slightly above the ankle. The toes were protected by a

separate network of straps, which were secured in the clasp.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *AE* 1902, 151–152, fig. 3 (upper row, second from left); Svoronos 1903, 31, note 1, pl. IV; Bol 1972, 29–30, pl. 13.1–2; Morrow 1985, 115, 127, pl. 100a-b.

24e. LEFT FOOT WEARING A SANDAL

Bronze

H. 0.41 m., l. 0.32 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901
Athens, National Archaeological Museum,
X 15090

Preserved is the left foot wearing a sandal, together with a large part of the shin, and a small part of the himation draped over it. The entire piece was cast as one, separate from the body. The second toe and the sandal's clasp are missing. Beneath the sole of the sandal is preserved a lead peg (h. 0.045–0.06 m.) for securing the statue to its stone base. Traces of repairs are found on the back, the left side and on top of the left ankle. The metal has "opened" on the inner side of the sole and the heel. A second crack on the outside starts from the heel and runs up to the strap where it is bound on the ankle. Two roughly-smoothed repair "patches" may be discerned at two points along this crack. The foot is so similar to the right foot Cat. no. 24d that there can be no doubt that the two belong to the same statue. They were found at the same point on the sea-bed as the head of the "Philosopher" Cat. no. 24a, and are also no different in workmanship from right arm Cat.

no. 24b: these facts make it reasonable to conclude that the head, upper and lower limbs belong to one and the same statue.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *AE* 1902, 151–152, fig. 3 (upper row, third from left); Svoronos 1903, 31, note 1, pl. IV; Bol 1972, 30–31, pl. 13.3–4.

24d

24e



24f-g. PARTS OF THE HIMATION

Bronze

24f: L. 0.36 m., w. 0.12 m.

24g: L. 0.73 m., w. 0.20 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901
Athens, National Archaeological Museum,
X 18932, X 15088

In the fragment 24f is preserved the bottom edge of the himation, falling in parallel, vertical folds.

In the fragment 24g is preserved part of an entire side of a garment. The fragment shows that the himation was gathered up above, so that the lower cloth opened out; it finishes in a hem.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Svoronos 1903, 31, note 1, pl. IV; Bol 1972, 28–29, pl. 12.5–6.

E.VI.

25. RIGHT ARM OF A MALE STATUE

Last quarter of 3rd c. BC

Bronze

L. of upper arm (to elbow) 0.30 m., l. of forearm 0.50 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901
Athens, National Archaeological Museum,
X 15112

This fragment consists of the entire arm, from slightly below the shoulder to the forearm and hand. Part of the elbow is lost. The surface is slightly worn. A longitudinal crack runs along the upper arm and forearm. The arm was cast separately from the torso. On the interior of the hand, remains of the coarse clay core used in casting are to be seen.

This arm belonged to a slightly larger than life-size male statue. It is very slightly bent at the elbow, and the palm closed a little. The ring and little finger are more strongly bent than the others. Delicately modeled, without abrupt transitions in its individual parts. The gesture is very close to that of the right arm of the “Philosopher” Cat. no. 24b, although the quality of workmanship differs between them. It has been assumed that the statue to which the arm



belonged was part of the same group as the “Philosopher”, but created by a different artist.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *AE* 1902, 151–152, fig. 4 (bottom row, second from left); Svoronos 1903, 36–37 no. 5, pl. V.2; Bol 1972, 33, pl. 17.1–2.

E.VI.

26. PART OF THE RIGHT ARM OF A MALE STATUE

Last quarter of 3rd c. BC

Bronze

L. 0.465 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901
Athens, National Archaeological Museum,
X 15113

Upper arm, almost to the shoulder, including the elbow and part of the right forearm; large sections from the inside upper arm are missing. The surface is heavily corroded. The arm was most probably cast separately from the torso. It is very slightly bent at the elbow. On the inside near the elbow joint, a rectangular repair “patch” is preserved.

Although the right hand Cat. no. 27 does not attach to this arm fragment, similarities in cross-section and the striking thinness of the metal make it likely that the two pieces belong together, as I. Svoronos had pointed out. Its general similarity to the bent right arm of the “Philosopher” Cat. no. 24b has led to the hypothesis that the slightly larger than life-size statue to which the arm belonged was part of the same group as the “Philosopher”, though made by a different artist.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Svoronos 1903, 36 no. 4, pl. V.1; Bol 1972, 32–33, pl. 16.2.

E.VI.



25

27. PART OF THE RIGHT ARM OF A MALE STATUE

Last quarter of 3rd c. BC

Bronze

L. 0.42 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901
Athens, National Archaeological Museum,
X 15107

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *AE* 1902, 151–152, fig. 4
(bottom row, first from left); Svoronos
1903, 36 no. 4, pl. V.1; *Bol* 1972, 33, pl.
17.3–4.

E.VI.

The arm has been reassembled from three fragments; it comprises the right hand and wrist, and part of the inner side of the forearm. The surface is heavily corroded. The crack beginning from the root of the fingers runs along the outer edge of the palm, ending at the wrist. The inside of the hand preserves remains of the coarse clay core used in its casting. The inside of the forearm preserves three oblong metal plates used to reinforce the fragments' fitting with one another. The arm belonged to a larger than life-size bronze male statue. The palm was slightly open, like that of the right arm of the "Philosopher" Cat. no. 24b, and so appears to have been making a similar rhetorical gesture. It quite likely belongs with the part of the right arm Cat. no. 26. It has been assumed that it belonged to a male statue that formed part of the same group with the "Philosopher".



26

27



28. LEFT ARM OF A MALE STATUE

2nd c. BC(?)

Bronze

L. 0.57 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901
Athens, National Archaeological Museum,
X 15106

Upper arm from below the shoulder, including the forearm down to the wrist. The arm was cast separately from the torso; it would have been welded to it at shoulder height. Numerous cracks run along the length of the forearm. Traces of repairs exist on the elbow and inner side of the upper arm.

The arm belonged to a slightly larger than life-size bronze male statue. The surface appearance is of a thick and fleshy limb, whose modeling is soft, without abrupt transitions. As regards size, it resembles right arm of the “Philosopher” Cat. no. 24b, though

differing from the latter in the thickness of the metal.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *AE* 1902, 151–152, fig. 4 (top row, second from left); Svoronos 1903, 37 no. 6, pl. V.3; Bol 1972, 35, pl. 16.1; Katsikoudis 2005, 117 and note 642.

E.VI.

29. LEFT HAND FROM A STATUE

2nd c. BC(?)

Bronze

L. 0.30 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901
Athens, National Archaeological Museum, X 15095

The left hand and part of the forearm of a statue are involved. The surface is in places slightly corroded. The large hole in the middle of the hollow of the palm is due to the securing of some object the statue would have held. The modeling of the palm is more careless than that of its back.

The hand belonged to a slightly larger than life-size bronze statue. The palm is slightly open. The figure wears a ring on its ring-finger with an oval silver bezel. The surface of the bezel is so corroded that it cannot be determined whether it carried a representation.

Although the workmanship is rather atypical, from the general impression it may be presumed that the hand belonged to a female.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Svoronos 1903, 37 no. 7, pl. V.5; Bol 1972, 36, pl. 16.3.

E.VI.

30. LEFT ARM FROM A STATUE OF A BOXER

Late 2nd–early 1st c. BC

Bronze

L. 0.765 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901
(24.11.1900)

Athens, National Archaeological Museum, X 15111

Despite oxidation and a number of holes in the thongs (οξύς ιμάς), the entire arm from about the shoulder is in excellent condition. It was cast separate from the torso. Remains of the coarse clay core used in casting, as well as part of an iron repair clamp, are preserved on its interior.

The arm belonged to a larger than life-size bronze statue of a boxer. Heavy, tightly crossed thongs are wrapped around the thumb, wrist and lower forearm. Above these, around the back of the hand, the athlete is equipped with the “iron balls” (σφαίραι) (Plato, *Laws*, 8.2.830B). These are probably to be identified with the thongs (οξύς πικτικός ιμάντας) (Philostratus, *De Gymnastica*, 10), which replaced the soft thongs (Homer, *Iliad* 23.683, μείλιχα, according to Pausanias 8.40.3) used previously in boxing matches. The thong on the statue from the shipwreck was separately cast. It consists of five hard leather thongs held in place by two transverse bundles of narrower ones, forming a sort of “artificial joint” with

28



29





sharp edges; this was wrapped around the root of the four fingers, leaving only the thumb free. Given the reinforcement of the thongs, it would have dealt particularly hard blows to an opponent. It is noteworthy that the athlete from the shipwreck was wearing the thong directly over his hand, without having previously donned the long fur boxing glove that normally covered the entire forearm. The thongs, responsible for the ferocity boxing acquired over time, were already known from the late 4th c. BC, since they are depicted on a Panathenaic amphora dated to 336/5 BC (Himmelman 1989, 157, fig. 61 and 202–203 no. 2).

The delicate modeling of the arm is difficult to associate with an adult athlete. Its discrepancy from the approximately contemporary bronze statue of the boxer in the Museo delle Terme in Rome (Pollitt 2000, 190, fig. 157), one of the most powerful and realistic sculptures of the Late Hellenistic period, is stark. The weak modeling of the muscles in the arm of the Antikythera fragment, better suited to an ephebe than an adult athlete, and at the same time the larger than life-size dimensions, unusual for a

statue of an ephebe, comprise well known aesthetic antitheses present in the Late Hellenistic period, cf. the marble statue of the young wrestler Cat. no. 50.

The fact that the fingers are outstretched and not clenched in a fist as one might have expected suggests that the hand belonged to a statue of a victorious athlete, perhaps set up in a palaestra or gymnasium. It has been maintained that the thong appeared in sculpture for the first time in the bronze statuette of the boxer in the Basel Museum. This is, however, very variably dated — from the late 4th (Walter-Karydi 2006, 141, 142, fig. 7) or early 3rd c. BC (Thomas 1992, 147–148, 150, fig. 153) to the late 3rd (Blome 1999, no. 12) or even the 1st c. BC (Himmelman 1989, 158, fig. 62). If we accept Himmelman's proposal for a dating in the 1st c. BC, then the bronze statue from Antikythera to which the arm in question belonged clearly offers the earliest example.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *AE* 1902, 154 no. 11, fig. 4 (bottom row, far left); Svoronos 1903, 3 no. 2, 35–36 no. 3, pl. V.4; Staïs 1905, 7, 8, fig. 2; *RE* Suppl. 9 (1962) s.v. Pygme, 1320 (E. Mehl) (incorrect dimensions); Bol 1972,

34–35, pl. 18.1–2; Tzachou-Alexandri 1989, 287 no. 175 (P. Kalligas); Himmelman 1989, 156, 158; Thomas 1992, 150; Measham – Spathari – Donnelly 2000, 106 no. 41 (R. Proskynitopoulou); Kaltsas 2004, 219–220 no. 109 (M. Zapheirou); Walter-Karydi 2006, 142, fig. 8; Kaltsas 2008, 191 no. 90 (M. Zapheirou); *Imperium Konflikt Mythos* 2009, 223–224 no. 1.10 (R. Proskynitopoulou).

E.VI.

31. LEFT LEG OF A MALE STATUE STATUE

Last quarter of 3rd c. BC

Bronze

H. 0.44 m., l. 0.32 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901
Athens, National Archaeological Museum,
X 15114

There remains here in excellent condition the greater part of the left shin from a male statue, together with the foot wearing a leather sandal (τροχάδεις) with a triple sole (κάπτωμα). A lead peg (h. 0.02–0.04 m.) is preserved beneath the sole for securing the statue to its stone base.

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The entire foot is protected by the hard leather — normally, goatskin — of the sandal, which entirely covers the heel and sides of the foot, leaving only the instep and toes exposed. The ankle is also left uncovered to facilitate movement. At the back of the foot, the leather of the sandal rises to a point. Thin straps passing through oval slots on the sides of the sandal are crossed above the instep and bound in front of the ankle. A dense network of thinner straps, secured by the sandal's clasp between the two largest toes, protects the front part of the foot. The leg, belonging to a slightly larger than life-size male statue, very much resembles both in size and sandal type the right foot Cat. no. 24d, which is attributed to the statue of the "Philosopher". However, here the workmanship is more careful so that the result appears more natural. The crisscrossed straps are more delicate and thinner, giving the impression of a more flexible design compared to the sturdier version of the "Philosopher's" sandals. There are also differences in the shape of the toes. All this may be explained by the hypothesis that the statue from which the leg derives belonged to the same group as did the "Philosopher".

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *AE* 1902, 151–152, fig. 3 (top row, first from left); Svoronos 1903, 37 no. 10, pl. V.10; Bol 1972, 31, pl. 13.5–6; Morrow 1985, 115, 127, pl. 101a-b; On sandal-type (τροχάδεις), see Morrow 1985, 63–64, 84–86, 114–117; Calcani 1989, 54–55; Corso 2002, 63 and note 74.

E.VI.

32. RIGHT FOOT OF A MALE STATUE WEARING A SANDAL

Last quarter of 3rd c. BC

Bronze

H. 0.29 m., l. 0.314 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901
Athens, National Archaeological Museum, X 15115

The foot, surviving in moderately good condition to a height just above the ankle, is wearing a leather sandal with a triple sole. Beneath the sole is set a lead peg (h. 0.10–0.11 m.) used for securing the statue to its stone base. The inside of the foot as far as the ankles is filled with severely-corroded lead. Corrosion also is present on the back of the foot to its entire preserved height, on the right and left sides of the heel below the ankle, and at right and to the front beneath the straps.

The foot, from a slightly larger than life-size male statue, very much resembles both in size and sandal type the foot Cat. no. 31. But the workmanship is more stilted, which suggests its attribution to a different artist. On the basis of the similarity of footwear, it has been suggested that the statue to which foot belonged was part of the same group as was the "Philosopher".

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BIBLIOGRAPHY: *AE* 1902, 151–152, fig. 3 (bottom row, second from left); Svoronos 1903, 37 no. 9, pl. V.9; *Bol* 1972, 31–32, pl. 14.1.3; Morrow 1985, 115, 126, pl. 98a-b.

E.VI.

33. RIGHT FOOT OF A MALE STATUE WEARING A SANDAL

Last quarter of 3rd c. BC

Bronze

H. 0.21 m., l. 0.305 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901

Athens, National Archaeological Museum, X 15092

The foot, surviving in fairly good condition up to the ankle, wears a leather sandal with a triple sole. It is missing part of the inner sole as well as the sandal's clasp. A crack exists on the outer heel beneath the ankle. Beneath the sole is preserved part of a lead peg (h. 0.055–0.07 m.) used for securing the statue to its stone base. The interior of the foot is filled with lead up to the ankle.

The foot belonged to a slightly larger than life-size male statue. The oval openings on the sides of the sandal through which passed the leather straps, rectangular in section, are inlaid with silver and outlined with

stippling. This foot very much resembles foot Cat. no. 31 in both size and sandal type. The workmanship here, however, is more stilted, a fact suggesting that it belonged to a different statue. It has been assumed that the statue belonged to the same group as the "Philosopher". The differences in workmanship are explained by each statue's attribution to a different artist.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *AE* 1902, 151–152, fig. 3 (bottom row, far right); Svoronos 1903, 37 no. 8, pl. V.8; *Bol* 1972, 31, pl. 14.2.4; Morrow 1985, 115, 126, pl. 99a-b.

E.VI.

34. RIGHT LEG OF A MALE STATUE WEARING A SANDAL

2nd c. BC(?)

Bronze

H. 0.43 m., l. 0.32 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901

Athens, National Archaeological Museum,

X 15116α+β+γ

Reassembled from three pieces. Part of the shin and foot, wearing a sandal of the *krepis* (κρηπίς) type with a triple sole (κάπτιμα), remain. Beneath the foot is a lead peg (h. 0.055–0.06 m.) used for securing the statue to its stone base. Inside the foot is a lead filling, up to 0.015 m. above the sandal's sole. There are repair traces on the back of the foot.

The leg belonged to a slightly larger than life-size statue of a male. The sandal is bound by leather straps, rectangular in section and secured at the sides in openings in the sandal's meshwork. They were then crossed over the instep and criss-crossed six more times around the shin before concluding in a bow at the front of the shin. The meshwork of the sandal also included the heel. A separate netting of narrow straps, secured by an eyelet above the instep, protects the front of the foot. The figure

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appears to have been wearing inside the sandal a type of fitted “sock” also made of leather, the *pellytron* (πέλλυτρον) or *podeion* (ποδεῖον). This garment covered all of the centre of the foot and part of the toes, leaving only the first and middle ones exposed.

This is the only bronze foot from the wreck wearing a *krepis* (κρηπίς); all the others are wearing *trochades* (τροχάδες). This sandal type corresponds to that on the marble fragment of a shin and foot Cat. no. 55.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *AE* 1902, 151–152, fig. 3 (bottom row, first on left); Svoronos 1903, 37–38 no. 11, pl. V.11; Bol 1972, 36, pl. 15.3 (with incorrect no.); Morrow 1985, 104, pls. 91 and 111 (with incorrect no.); Calcani 1989, 54; Katsikoudis 2005, 116, note 638.

On sandal-type (κρηπίδες), see Morrow 1985, 62–63, 73–84, 97, 107–114, 149; Calcani 1989, 53–54; Corso 2002, 60 and note 26; Katsikoudis 2005, 115–116, note 635.

E.VI.

35. LEFT SHIN FROM A STATUE

2nd c. BC(?)

Bronze

H. 0.265 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901
Athens, National Archaeological Museum,
X 18931

Shin up to about knee-height is preserved. Part of the front is missing. The upper surface of the shin is almost entirely covered by metal, suggesting the statue was probably clothed.

The bronze left foot Cat. no. 36, believed to have belonged to the statue of a child, perhaps a girl, may belong with this fragment.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Svoronos 1903, 38 no. 13, pl. V.13.

E.VI.

36. LEFT FOOT FROM A STATUE

2nd c. BC(?)

Bronze

L. 0.23 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901
Athens, National Archaeological Museum, X 15094

The bare left foot remains up to the ankle; it is in poor condition. Part of the instep has been restored with epoxy stucco; some of the inner sole has also been restored. The bronze left shin Cat. no. 35 may belong to this foot.

The owner of the foot stood firmly, with their full weight resting on the sole. The soft, fleshy modeling leads to the belief that it belonged to the statue of a child, perhaps a girl. This is surprising considering that the statue to which the foot belonged must have been slightly larger than life-size.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Svoronos 1903, 38 no. 13, pl. V.13; Bol 1972, 35, pl. 15.4; Katsikoudis 2005, 119, note 649.

E.VI.

37. LEFT FOOT FROM A STATUE

2nd c. BC(?)

Bronze

L. 0.275 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901
Athens, National Archaeological Museum, X 15093

The bare left foot of a life-size statue, with its entire sole flat on the ground. Beneath the sole is a lead peg (h. 0.07–0.08 m.), used for securing the statue to its stone base. The surface is severely corroded. On the inside, the foot was filled to its full surviving height with lead. On the upper surface of this, at the point where the lower part of the shin would have started, there is a square socket (0.015 x 0.015 m., depth of 0.045 m.). This was to accommodate the metal bar that would have served to join the foot with rest of the statue. Circular pieces of solid metal (d. 0.03 m.) have been hammered onto both sides of the foot immediately below the ankle in order to conceal technical imperfections caused during casting. It is surprising that the lead beneath the sole is not carefully finished. Normally in comparable bronze sculptures this is done so that the peg could fit like a dowel into the socket in the statue's stone base. The fact that the “patches” on the foot were not smoothed out is also odd.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY: *AE* 1902, 154 no. 7, fig. 3 (bottom row, third from left); Svoronos 1903, 38 no. 12, pl. V.12; Stais 1905, 9, fig. 3; Bol 1972, 36, pl. 15.1–2.

E.VI.

38. MALE STATUETTE, PROBABLY AN ATHLETE

Late 2nd c. BC

Bronze

H. 0.535 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901

Athens, National Archaeological Museum, X 13397

Intact; surface corroded. The right arm and probably the head and both legs were cast separately from the torso. The eye sockets were once filled with an off-white material, most likely alabaster; some remains are still preserved in the right eye. The irises were of a different material. The inlaid lips and nipples, which not preserved, would have been made of an alloy of reddish copper. Both of the objects once held are missing.

The statuette represents a nude youth, standing in a frontal posture, with both feet planted firmly on the ground. He carries his weight on his left leg, whilst the right leg is set forward and is slightly bent at the knee. In his extended right arm he held a flat object, in all likelihood a

phiale, while in his lowered left he may have been holding a spear, as indicated by his loosely-clenched fist. The head is turned slightly to the left. His short hair, worked in low relief, is held in place by a narrow fillet; it exactly mirrors the outline of the spherical skull. The modeling of the body, flat and soft at the same time, recalls the figure of a youth. The back is also rendered flatly, but here the antithetical movement of the figure is better revealed by his curved backbone.

The statuette's pose belongs to a group of athletes making libations. Although the torso has the proportions of an adult, the head is rather large, even for a grown-up male. In contrast, the pubic area is still that of a child. The hair on the front of the head goes back to models from the "Severe Style" period, while on the back it recalls works of the later Classical period. The figure's antithetical movement, with one stable and one relaxed leg, follows the Attic system of achieving support. The figure has a stern, "severe", expression. It has a main viewpoint, from the front, through which may be perceived the influence of various component sources. Heterogeneous features are harmoniously combined in this classicizing creation of the late 2nd c. BC.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kabbadias 1900, 98, 99, fig. 3; Kabbadias 1901, 205, fig. 1, and 206 no. 1; *AE* 1902, 152–154, pls. 14 and 16a; Svoronos 1903, 41–42 no. 18, pl. VIII.2; Frost 1903, 222–226 no. II, fig. 1; Papaspiridi 1927, 220 no. 13397; Fuchs 1957, 228, note 25, no. 15; Bol 1972, 11–13, 16, pls. 1.1–3 and 4.1–3; Himmelmann 1994, 850, fig. 2 and 851; Ridgway 2002, 131–132, 141, note 40; Ridgway 2004, 286, 291, fig. 9; Sharpe 2006, 249–250 no. 86.

E.VI.

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39. MALE STATUETTE

Late 2nd c. BC

Bronze

H. 0.43 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901

Athens, National Archaeological Museum, X 13398

Intact; severely corroded over the entire surface, above all in the abdominal region. Pronounced chip on chin, nose flaked. Missing much of the extremities: the fingers of the left hand, and on the right the thumb and first segment of the little finger, all the toes of the left foot from the instep, the tips of the toes of the right and the genitals. Cast in separate sections: namely right arm, left arm, with chlamys, head with neck, and legs. The irises of the eyes, the nipples on the chest and probably the genitals were inset.

The statuette represents a young male standing in a frontal pose. He firmly supports himself on his right leg, while the left, slightly bent at the knee, is drawn back and rests on the tips of the toes. The right arm, slightly bent at the elbow, has its hand open to the figure's right. The left arm, which is more pronouncedly bent, is held forward. A chlamys is secured to the left shoulder; hanging down in straight folds, it partly covers the left side of the torso and arm. The man's head is turned slightly to the right. His short hair is held in place on the head by a fillet.

C. Karouzos recognizing personal features in the figure's face maintained that it might depict some Hellenistic ruler at a young age. He completed the statuette with a spear in the right hand and a sword in the left. H.-F. Sharpe identified the figure with Hermes, since in addition to the chlamys, an accoutrement of this god, she discerned on either side of the skull depressions suitably formed to take inlaid small wings of a separate casting. At the same time, she gave to the right hand a caduceus.

The impression created by this statuette with its slightly dramatic

expression recalls Late Classical or possibly Early Hellenistic work. The antithetical movement of the figure echoes the Polykleitan pattern of support (contraposto). However, the head is rigid and in its connection with the shoulders unnatural. Works belonging to the Polykleitan tradition, such as the Hermes from Troizen (Linfert 1990, 267, fig. 137) or Diomedes (Linfert 1990, 288, fig. 171), would certainly have served as models for this statuette's creator. Both the pose and arm movements are in complete agreement with these sources. However, there is an obvious difference in the chlamys. On Diomedes this hangs in a narrow band parallel to the body, while on the statuette from the shipwreck, it completely covers the left side of the figure. The Middle Hellenistic bronze statuette of a youth, probably Hermes, in the British Museum is also related in its pose (Krahmer 1931, 130, pls. 15–16, figs 1–4).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kabbadias 1900, 98, 101, fig. 4; Kabbadias 1901, 205, fig. 2 and 206, no. 2; *AE* 1902, 153, pl. 15 and pl. 16 β ; Svoronos 1903, 42–43 no. 19, pl. VII; Frost 1903, 226–230 no. III, fig. 2; Paspaspiridi 1927, 219 no. 13398; Alscher 1956, 190; Bol 1972, 13–14, 16, pl. 2.1–3 and pl. 4.4–6; Karouzos 1981, 98–99, pl. 127a– δ (C. Karouzos); Linfert 1990, 290, note 157; Leibundgut 1990, 417, fig. 251; Himmelmann 1994, 850, fig. 1 and 851; Ridgway 2002, 131–132, 141, note 40; Katsikoudis 2005, 119, note 648; Sharpe 2006, 250–251 no. 87, fig. 63 (detail of the head).

E.VI.



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40. MALE STATUETTE ON A CYLINDRICAL STONE BASE

Late 2nd c. BC

Bronze

H. 0.25 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901. Right arm retrieved in 1976 (12.11.1976, from a depth of 50 m.)

Athens, National Archaeological Museum, X 13399 + X 18960

Intact. The right arm (X 18960) found in 1976 has been attached at the shoulder. The surface is severely corroded. The arms were separately cast. The nipples on the chest and, most likely, the irises of the eyes were inlaid. The statuette was secured to a cylindrical base (d. 0.14 m; h. 0.09 m.) of red Laconian stone (*rosso antico*) with the aid of bronze dowels and lead. Rectangular projections (left 0.036 x 0.02 m., right 0.037 x 0.019 m.) have been left on the sides of the base.

The statuette depicts a standing nude male in a frontal pose, with the left leg planted firmly on the base. The relaxed right leg, also resting on the ground with its entire sole, projects forward; it is slightly bent at the knee and is set towards the right of the figure. The upper torso does not entirely follow the pose of the lower part; rather, it is rendered as if completely rigid. The left upper arm, bent at the elbow, is drawn back, with its forearm lowered and extended. The right arm is lowered. The figure turns its small, spherical head slightly to the left. It might represent an athlete or warrior who would have held a shield in his extended left hand.

The general similarity in pose to works of the late 4th c. BC is clear, for example to the portrait statue of the orator Aeschines in Naples (Schefold 1997, 192–193, pl. 95). However, both the small, round head and the rendering of its hair, as well as the long legs of the young male, recall Lysippean models. Despite the general similarity with the Apoxyomenos of Lysippos (Maderna

2004, fig. 319a-i), the statuette's head leaves no doubt about its dating to the late 2nd c. BC. In any case, even though not a faithful copy of some Classical original, both the composition and execution are more consistent than the two previous examples Cat. nos 38, 39, exhibiting much more fluidity in the transitions between the individual component parts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kabbadias 1901, 205, figs 1–2 and 206 nos 1–2; *AE* 1902, 154, pl. 17; Svoronos 1903, 43–44 no. 20, pl. VIII.1; Frost 1903, 222–230, figs 1–2; Stais 1905, 31; Hiller 1962, 58, pl. 14,4; Bol 1972, 14–15, 16, pl. 3.1–3 and pl. 4.7–9; Moreno 1987, 38, 39 fig. 4.221; Linfert 1990, 291, note 163; Todisco 1993, 140, fig. 308; Moreno 1994, 42, fig. 40, and 51; Ridgway 1997, 311, note 9, 342, 359, note 36; Kritzas 1998, fig. on pp. 42, 43 (right arm), 44; Ridgway 2002, 131–132, pl. 51, 141, note 40, 186; Ridgway 2004, 286, 291, fig. 8; Sharpe 2006, 251–252 no. 88; Bitsakis 2009, 9 (M. Zapheirou) [with right arm attached].

E.VI.



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41. STATUETTE OF AN EPHEBE ON TWO SUPERIMPOSED BASES

Late 2nd c. BC

Bronze

H. 0.255 m.

From the 1976 retrieval (8.11.1976 statuette and cylindrical base; 11.11.1976 rectangular base, from a depth of 50 m.)

Athens, National Archaeological Museum, X 18957

The statuette preserved in poor condition, is missing all the toes of the right foot from the instep down, as well as its genitals. The left foot has been mended. The lead peg beneath the soles of the feet was

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used for securing the statuette to its marble base.

The statuette depicts a standing nude ephebe, posed frontally. He stands with his right leg solidly resting on the base, while the slightly-bent left leg is drawn back, resting on the tips of the toes. He must have been leaning on a support with the outer side of his left palm: this is suggested by an opening on the upper surface of the base, which is perfectly aligned vertically with the hand. The presence of a support would explain both the raised left shoulder and the extended left arm, bent almost at right angles, as well as the strikingly S-curved of the torso towards the left. In his open, upturned palm, the youth would have held an object upon which his attention was focused, as is indicated by the slight leftward turn of his head. The right arm, pronouncedly bent at the elbow, was drawn up in front of the chest, with the closed palm turned slightly downward. The statuette's short hair follows the contours of the head.

The figure's pose leaves no doubt about its reliance on Praxitelean models. However, the frontality and flat modeling of the body, which is far from detailed in its rendition, are features common to classicism. They are also present in other bronze statuettes from the wreck.

The statuette rests on a cylindrical base of greenish marble (h. 0.055 m.), which was set atop another, quadrilateral base of white marble (0.17 x 0.17 m., h. 0.06 m.). A square plaque (0.125 x 0.125 m.) of red Laconian stone (*rosso antico*), was set in an appropriately shaped recess on the upper surface of the quadrilateral base. A rotation mechanism would have been located in the latter, connected by a dowel to the under surface of the cylindrical base. The wind-up key will have been fitted into the hole on the curved front side of the base.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

Pictured in Kritzas 1998, fig. on 42, 43 (square and cylindrical base), 44.

42. STATUETTE OF A BOXER

Late 2nd c. BC

Bronze

H. 0.244 m.

From the material retrieved in 1976 (11.11.1976, from a depth of 50 m.)

Athens, National Archaeological Museum, X 18958

Nearly intact. The bronze surface has suffered intensive and extensive wear due to the statuette's long sojourn in the sea. Missing the tips of the fingers on the right hand and the ends of the toes on the left foot. Beneath the left sole is a rectangular peg for securing the statuette to its stone base, now lost.

The statuette depicts a nude boxer. He supports himself on his left leg, set prominently forward; while his right, drawn to the sideways and back, just rests on the base with the tips of its toes. Both legs are slightly bent at the knees and apart. The athlete is wearing thongs (οξύς πυκτικός ιμάς) of a purer copper alloy; these were added after the statuette's casting. With his left hand the young athlete is poised to deliver a direct blow to his hypothetical opponent, while keeping him at a distance with his extended right arm. His head is turned to the right and slightly inclined towards the corresponding shoulder. His gaze, however, is directed above his shoulder-line. This pose — with the body rising onto its toes, the head inclined and arms raised — might echo the moment shortly before the start of the match, as described in detail by Virgil, *Aeneid*, 5.426–429, or that stage in the training with the athlete at the punching-bag (κώρυκος), i.e. the hanging leather bag that received the practice blows, normally filled with sand, flour, or even figs (Philostratus, *De Gymnastica*, 57; Antyllos in Oribasios 6.33.1). The athlete's stocky neck and the powerful musculature of his upper arms are characteristics appropriate to a boxer. His short hair is held in place by a narrow fillet.

E.VI. One cannot avoid comparing the



work with the bronze statuette from northern Asia Minor, now in the Basel Museum. A range of dates have been proposed for this: late 4th c. BC (Walter-Karydi 2006, 141, 142, fig. 7), early 3rd c. BC (Thomas 1992, 147–148, 150, fig. 153), late 3rd c. BC (Blome 1999, no. 12) and 1st c. BC (Himmelmann 1989, 158, fig. 62). On the Antikythera statuette, the modeling of the body is flat, without any particular interest in the rendering of detail. The groove created by the spine is soft. Despite the apparently centrifugal movement of the athlete, it is clear that the statuette has a frontal

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viewpoint: an element it shares with other classicizing bronze statuettes from the shipwreck.

Ancient boxing, as it evolved in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, was a particularly brutal sport. Essentially, the athletes exchanged blows until one of the contestants collapsed or surrendered. During the Roman period, boxers normally wore heavy metal reinforcements of lead or iron (*caestus*) sewn onto the leather of their thongs. These were capable of delivering blows that were fatal on numerous occasions. The physical annihilation of the opponent in Roman arenas was what was sought then: the distance from the Greek palaestra and Classical ideals had become enormous.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tzachou-Alexandri 1989, 286 no. 174 (P. Kalligas); Thomas 1992, 149 and note 322, 150; Kritzas 1998, fig. on 42, 45; Sharpe 2006, 253 no. 90; Bitsakis 2009, 9 (M. Zapheirou). On ancient boxing, see *RE Suppl.* 9 (1962) s.v. Pygme, 1306–1352 (J. Jüthner – E. Mehl); Papalas 1984, 65–76; Doblhofer – Mauritsch 1995.

E.VI.

43. STATUETTE OF A FEMALE IN A PEPLOS

Late 2nd c. BC

Bronze

H. 0.40 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901
Athens, National Archaeological Museum,
X 15110

The statuette is in poor condition from about its mid-neck. Extant still is part of the top and back of the head, not attached to the body. Further a large part of the left side of the chiton from the waist, most of the right index finger, and all fingers of the left hand from their base at the palm are missing. The upper and lower parts of the torso, arms, and head were cast separately. On the interior of the statuette are preserved the remains of transverse metal pins used in connecting the various component

pieces of the work. The pin-heads were covered on the exterior with square “patches”. Similar repairs are found at various points, mainly on the left arm.

The statuette depicts a female figure wearing the peplos (*peplophoros*), posed frontally. She would have been standing firmly on the ground with both feet. The statuette’s original height would have been approximately 0.50 m. Her relaxed right arm hangs down alongside her body, with the palm turned inward. Her left arm, bent at a right angle, was extended forward. The opening

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in the palm is to permit the securing of some object, most likely a phiale, which the statuette would have held. The figure is wearing a short-sleeved chiton, and over it a heavy peplos with a short over-fold, secured at the shoulders. Drapery folds, particularly on the sides, fall quite vertically and stiffly. The front of the overfold is completely flat. This severity is disturbed by a single curved fold between the breasts. The figure's hair, parted at the center of the forehead, is combed on the sides into wavy curls, and gathered at the back of the head into a loose bun. In front, as is clear from the small preserved section of the head, the hair was held in place around the head with an inlaid band. This was perhaps of silver — separately cast, with a decoration of circles in metopes. A similar inlaid band surrounded the neck, its ends dangling over the upper arms.

A number of scholars complete the lowered right arm of the figure with an oinochoe. H.-F. Sharpe identifies the figure as Athena, giving the statuette a spear in the relaxed right palm. The statuette belongs to the *peplophoros* type of the "Severe Style" period. It is noteworthy that the figure wears a chiton beneath her peplos, a feature found on a marble statue of the Early Classical age, possibly from South Italy (Tölle-Kastenbein 1980, 202 no. 36c, pls. 144a, 145b). The rough, stiff rendering of the peplos's drapery has an exact parallel in the bronze *peplophoros* — perhaps depicting Aphrodite — from Pindos, produced by a workshop in the northeastern Peloponnese (*LIMC* II [1984] s.v. Aphrodite, 20–21 no. 125, pl. 16 [A. Delivorrias]).

It is not clear whether the statuette is a classicizing creation based on some Severe Style model, or a variation on some Early Classical prototype. The position of the arms is repeated on many original

statues of this type. However, the widely-separated breasts and the stiff, even stilted rendering of the overfold drapery would favor an indirect relationship between the creator here and the *peplophoros* statues of the Severe Style. The statuette's artist doubtless employed one or more models which he did not copy faithfully. The result is an interesting classicizing example from the late 2nd c. BC.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kabbadias 1901, 206 no. 3; *AE* 1902, 155 no. 16, figs 6–7; Svoronos 1903, 39–41 no. 17, pl. VI.1–2; Stais 1905, 5 fig. 1, 7, 31–32; *Bol* 1972, 17–18, pl. 5.1–2; Sharpe 2006, 252–253 no. 89.

E.VI.

44. LYRE FROM A BRONZE STATUETTE

3rd –2nd c. BC

Bronze

H. 0.282 m., w. 0.136 m. (above), 0.085 m. (below)
From the material retrieved in 1900–1901
Athens, National Archaeological Museum, X 15104

The body of the Antikythera lyre, which most probably belonged to a statuette of an Eros figure or Apollo, is hollow. In the lower part of the inside the tailpiece is preserved while in the top part, between the arms, is the crossbar with notches for affixing six strings. On the lateral rib of one arm is a relief head of a bearded Silenus, possibly Marsyas, who, myth has it, was beaten by Apollo in a music contest with the god. On the other arm are traces perhaps of the strap with which the lyre was fastened to the musician's arm, to keep it steady whilst he was playing.

The ancient lyre, a stringed instrument that was attributed principally to Apollo, was however invented by Hermes (*Homeric Hymn to Hermes* 41–54). The musical instrument, which is smaller than an actual musical instrument, displays the features of the lyre in terms of the shape, the body and the arms, and of the kithara in terms of the

soundbox or resonator and the overall form.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *AE* 1902, 155, no. 17, pl. 8; Svoronos 1903, 38–39, no. 16, pl. IX,5; *Bol* 1972, 38–39, pl. 19,3–5; Andrikou et al. 2004, 37 (A. Alexopoulou), 75 (P. Bouyia), 152, no. 45 (R. Proskynitopoulou); *Imperium Konflikt Mythos* 2009, 31, pl. 3, 223, no. 1.9 (R. Proskynitopoulou); Tsangari 2011, 70, no. 135 (P. Bouyia).

P.B.

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45. CREST FROM THE HELMET OF A STATUE

3rd–2nd c. BC

Bronze

H. 0.335 m., w. 0.10 m., th. 0.01 m.

From the material retrieved in 1976 (16.11.1976)

Athens, National Archaeological Museum, X 18961

Intact, and in very good condition. Slight corrosion detectible over entire surface.

The crest, in the form of a horse's mane, is composed of five tufts decreasing gradually in height as they follow the curve of the helmet, before ending in a long tail. The mane is attached to a tri-partite base, the crest support. The termination at the rear hangs freely downwards. In the interior narrow side of the support, three slots have been opened, two oblong and one square: they served to locate the crest support onto the top of the helmet. The crest was unquestionably an attachment from the helmet of some statue, probably of a male and larger than life-size.

The crest (λόφος), a well-known decorative helmet attachment from the Late Mycenaean period, was normally made from a horse's tail (ἵππουρις: Homer, *Iliad* 3.337) which waved threateningly with the forceful movement of a warrior in battle (Homer, *Iliad* 7.469). It was often dyed in a vivid color (Homer, *Iliad* 15.538). In epic, there are references to gold, bronze or metal crests, while those who wore a helmet without a crest were called "crest-less" (ἀλοφοί). A crest made a warrior stand out in battle, while simultaneously arousing fear in his opponent (Homer, *Iliad* 11.42 and 16.138). Sometimes it was placed directly onto the helmet and at other times it was supported or sewn in a more upright position on the crest support. This last was normally made of leather strips or some other perishable material that traversed the helmet either length- or cross-wise. In some cases, such as on the Illyrian type of helmets constructed in two

parts, the weak point where the pieces were joined was strengthened by the crest, which was set in a groove.

Helmets with one or more crests were worn by gods such as Ares or Athena, as the triple crest on the helmet worn by the colossal statue of the goddess in the Parthenon, reproduced in the Athena Varvakeion statuette (Kaltsas 2002, 104–105 no. 187) or by mortals primarily generals or other military officers. Even on metal caps (πίλοι), the par-excellence type of simple, inexpensive helmet, there were notches for the attachment of crests: this attests to the fact that among other things the crest was an element of personal taste. The earliest known example of a crest, in the shape of a horseshoe on a tall support, is preserved on a Late Geometric funerary helmet from Argos (Courbin 1957, 360, 366–367, pl. IV).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

On crests, cf. Frielinghaus 2011, 72–74.

E.VI.

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46. FRAGMENT OF A SWORD IN ITS SHEATH

3rd–2nd c. BC

Bronze

L. 0.405 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901

Athens, National Archaeological Museum, X 15102

Preserved from the handle to about mid-length. Surface intensely corroded.

The sword is slightly curved, like the following example (Cat. no. 47). The last part of the handle is cylindrical and undecorated apart from two incisions above and below: it concludes in a knob. The lower part of the guard is defined by three incised lines, like the upper part of the sheath. The front of the latter is decorated by repoussé heart-shaped volutes arranged horizontally, with an

opposing pair meeting on the back of the sheath. This manner of depiction, in combination with the wide incised band at the circumference of the sheath (interrupted near the top by the system of paired volute that functioned as a clasp), suggests the point at which the strap was suspended. The clearly more complex outfittings of the following sword (Cat. no. 47) are similar in conception.

This sword formed part of the military kit of a slightly larger than life-size male statue. Despite its simpler decoration, its similarity to the previous piece allows us to surmise that the two belonged to statues on the same monument.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *AE* 1902, 155 no. 15; Svoronos 1903, 38 no. 15, pl. V.7; Bol 1972, 37, pl. 19.2.

E.VI.



47. SWORD IN ITS SHEATH

3rd–2nd c. BC

Bronze

L. 0.82 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901
Athens, National Archaeological Museum,
X 15103

Complete; mended from three pieces. Its surface, particularly the lower part, is corroded. The sword was cast with its sheath (κολεός) as a single piece. A shapeless mass of bronze has become attached to the front of the weapon.

The sword is long, narrow, and slightly curved. Its handle, also long, is decorated with a pair of opposing, inward-turning volutes rendered in shallow incision. The very top part of the handle carries on its slightly-concave circumference an incised branch with leaves, below this the upper part is decorated with concave flutes. The guard is outlined by a delicate embossed band finishing lower down in outward-turned volutes.

The sheath ends in a flattened tip.

The three metal protrusions remaining on both of the sides of the sheath were used for the attachment of the straps, also in metal of the

sword-belt from which the weapon was suspended. The upper part of the sheath was encircled by flattened tubular sheets, decorated on one face with repoussé lyre-form S-volutes and supporting a small palmette at their apex. The gap in the composition is filled by a small repoussé floral ornament. On the reverse, the decoration was more summary: the composition was repeated on the handle alone and not on the guard, while on the sheath only a relief band-frame along its long sides may be discerned.

As regards its shape, the sword from the Antikythera wreck follows that form already acquired by swords from the Late Archaic period, as seen on the red-figure amphora by Phintias (*ARV*² 23, no. 5). It became more widespread, however, in Hellenistic times. The closest parallels from this period are the swords depicted inside their sheaths on architectural reliefs of the first half of the 2nd c. BC from the acropolis of Pergamon, such as on the “Weapons Frieze” that adorned the Propylon to the sanctuary of Athena Polias (Webb 1996, 58, figs 18–20; Polito 1998, 91–95, figs 27–31; Schraudolph 2007, 215–218, fig. 182a-d) and on stone 38 of the south

Frieze of Telephos, which adorned the interior courtyard of the Altar of Zeus (Dreyfus – Schraudolph 1996, 70–71, cat. no. 10).

The sword unquestionably formed part of the military equipment of a slightly larger than life-size male statue. P. Bol connects it with one of the honorary statues belonging to the “Philosopher” group, finding common points in its repoussé decoration, executed like that on the sandals worn by some of the figures in this group (cf. Cat. no. 33). However, this detail is not enough to propose such a connection.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *AE* 1902, 153, fig. 5 and 155 no. 14; Svoronos 1903, 38 no. 14, pl. V.6; Bol 1972, 37–38, pl. 18.3 and pl. 19.1.

E.VI.

47





48. STATUE OF HERMES

Early 1st c. BC

Parian marble

H. 1.93 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901

(28.1.1901 the head, 30.1.1901 the torso)

Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 2774

The statue is preserved together with its inherent plinth. The right arm from the mid-upper arm and the left hand from the wrist down are missing, as is the transverse strut between the shins, though part is preserved on the right shin. Three pieces were reattached to the body: the head, right shin, and feet together with the plinth. The surface of the statue, particularly its right side, is severely eroded by its having long been in the sea. Only the head, broken off from the body during retrieval, is in part better preserved, though all of its back is missing. On the lower left side of the back above the buttocks remains the bed of a large Π-shaped clamp, set vertically and most probably ancient. A low, plain base with a depression for the plinth has been considered to belong to the statue.

The figure supports itself firmly on its left leg; the relaxed right leg, turned to the side and bent at the knee, has its entire sole in contact with the plinth. The torso is slightly inclined towards the right, resulting in a stance seemingly more pronounced than it actually is due to the corrosion and loss of marble mass in the lumbar and gluteal regions. Remains of the himation are preserved on the left shoulder. That part of the garment covering the left forearm and falling vertically down to the ankle is in better condition, with the two vertical and parallel folds clearly recognizable. The head is turned to the left and inclined slight-

ly downward. Its right side, with the nose, the entire forehead and a large segment of the hair are in exceptionally good condition. The face is oval: with full chin and thin, slightly-open lips; a long nose with flat bridge and open wings (*alae nosi*); small eyes with narrow lids and very slightly-curved irises. The hair's short curls are crescent- and s-shaped. Even in its corroded state, the statue without doubt belongs among Late Hellenistic variants of the Hermes Richelieu type: even though there is a small difference in their right legs, here set rather close to the left. Both the left upper arm with its garment and the support conjoined with the statue down to the thigh demonstrate that it is less free than other variants of the type. The modeling is careful. The overall appearance reveals a vitality that distances the work from the rigidity of other well-known variants. The rendering of the hair, which focuses creating an impression rather than depicting detail, is characteristic for this period.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *AE* 1902, 158 no. 16, pl. E.1–2; Svoronos 1903, 73 no. 35, pl. XV.1 and pl. XIV.5 (plinth); Stais 1905, 33, fig. 13 and 36, fig. 13a; Lippold 1911, 271–280, fig. 1.3a-b; Lippold 1923, 72; Papaspiridi 1927, 81 (with incorrect no. 3617); Lauter 1966, 55; Arnold 1969, 274 no. N 1; Bol 1972, 51–52 no. 35, pl. 24.5 and 26.1–2; Yalouris 1973–1974, 4(θ), pl. 15a; Zanker 1974, 78; Vierendeel-Schlörb 1979, 284; Niemeier 1985, 143; Bol 1988, 36; Maderna 1988, 85; Maderna-Lauter 1990, 305, figs 182–183, and 307; Maderna 2004, 317, 320, 353, 364, fig. 290; Gratzou 2010, 171–172 no. 7.1, pl. 90a–δ.

E.VI.

49. STATUE OF APOLLO LEANING ON A TRIPOD

Early 1st c. BC

Parian marble

H. 1.69 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901

Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 15487

The statue has been reassembled from many pieces. The front is completely corroded, eaten away to such an extent that its original mass has been greatly reduced. In contrast, the back is preserved in excellent condition from the neck to the buttocks, together with the greater part of the tripod beside the torso. The head, left leg from mid-thigh, left forearm from the elbow, the right hand and part of the right forearm are all missing. The right shin and plinth, together with the right foot and bottom of the tripod foot, were reassembled at a later date.

The young Apollo, securely identified by the tripod beside him, is represented nude. He supports himself securely on his right leg. The relaxed left leg would most likely have been crossed over the right. He rests his left forearm on the tripod, which is connected at three points with the statue's torso. The tripod's basin (*λέβης*) has a tall, conical lid. Of the tripod's three long rod-shaped legs, only the rear one ending in lion's claws, and part of that on the right are preserved. The front of the plinth and the left leg of the tripod are entirely corroded. The figure's right upper arm hangs loosely alongside the body. The upper torso inclines towards the right. The spine is schematically rendered as a linear curve. The head, as may be presumed from the inclination of the neck, was turned upward and to the

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left. At the base of the neck are preserved the ends of five delicate curls from the figure's long hair. At the lower left side of the torso remains part of a relief sword-belt(?) which would have been hewn off. The slightly heavy, refined modeling of the body, more reminiscent of a child than a young man, is impressive. This is a conventional method of representation known as well as from other sculptures from the shipwreck like the statue of the boy wrestler (Cat. no. 50).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *AE* 1902, 158 no. 11, pl. Δ.1; Svoronos 1903, 75 no. 39, pl. XVI, 1; Stais 1905, 45–46, 56, fig. 22; Muthmann 1951, 21; Bol 1972, 57–58 no. 39, pl. 31.1–4; Yalouris 1973–1974, 4(α), pl. 14α; *LIMC* II (1984) s.v. Apollon, 257 no. 596, pl. 228 (O. Palagia); Ridgway 2002, 70.

E.VI.

50. STATUE OF A BOY

Early 1st c. BC

Parian marble

H. with plinth 1.115 m., h. of plinth 0.075 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901 (13.12.1900)

Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 2773

The left side of the statue is corroded, but the right is in exceptionally good condition. Where preserved by being protected from stone-eating organisms in the sediment on the sea bed, the marble skin is uniformly smoothed and polished. The inherent plinth bears traces of finishing with a point and claw chisel. Its original outline is preserved only behind the figure's right leg. The left arm was separately made, as was the upper part of the head and hair. The joint between the right upper arm and forearm, however, seems more likely to be due to a repair immediately following retrieval. Such a means and position for effecting a join was unusual in antiquity, as the other sculptures from the wreck demonstrate. Breaks exist on the right shin directly below the knee and above the ankle, also on the support joining the plinth with the statue's left thigh. A third of the support, as well as the left leg down to the knee, is completely destroyed by sea water. A quadrilateral strut joins the right elbow to the thigh; another such beneath the right knee is fractured in the middle. The middle and ring fingers on the right hand are broken; the gap between the thumb and forefinger is bridged by a very thin strut.

The boy is depicted nude and half bent-over with his head raised. He stands full on his left leg, extended and bent at a right angle at the knee. The right leg, also slightly bent, is drawn back and only the toes rest on the plinth. The upper part of the torso leans sharply forward. The left upper arm, to judge from the small preserved section, was held up and to the front. He turns his head back, with his gaze

following the direction of his arm. The right arm is lowered, its palm slightly open.

The figure is balanced between tension and relaxation. Like a tightly-drawn bow, movement runs from the right leg across to the outstretched left arm; the arrangement of both the head and so the boy's gaze follow the same course. The body reflects this uneven distribution: the tension-filled left side contrasts with the right side "sinking" slowly and languidly downward. One can even discern a difference in the modeling, by comparing the deep groove of the spine with the shallow transitions on the relaxed right side.

Similar antitheses are also found in the facial features. The boy's round head, with its low forehead, soft cheeks, large and round chin and fleshy lips contrast with the angular, raised eyebrows that wrinkles the forehead, and the hard contours of the eyes and eyelids. The wings of the nose are very delicately rendered, while the ears are depicted as large and fleshy, almost swollen. The contour of the face is clearly delineated by the hair, which has been finished with the point and is arranged in zones around the head. Many interpretations have been proposed for the figure. It has been interpreted as a youth in the *apokopein* (ἀποσκοπεῖν) pose, as a warrior, hunter, knuckle-bones player (ἀστραγαλιζων), as a barbarian (Gaul?) imploring the magnanimity of his victorious opponent, as Aktaion hidden among the trees and endeavouring to catch sight of Artemis, as Lykaon, the next-to-youngest son of the Trojan king Priam, fallen on his knee and supplicating Achilles to grant him his life, as a small satyr provoking a nymph, and as a charioteer. However, the most likely interpretation is that of a pancratiast or a wrestler represented at the moment of assuming his position just prior to the match. His stance and expression assume the



presence of a second opposing figure, which would have been his mirror copy. Doubtless he formed part of a group.

The ornamental and charming spirit of the Late Hellenistic period is clearly reflected in this figure of a boy athlete. The rococo group representing the struggle of a boy attempting to strangle a goose, like another Hercules (Pollitt 2000, 171, fig. 132), is very close in spirit to the young wrestler from the wreck. Even so, in the composition of the Antikythera group one also recognises a number of elements from earlier groups of the 2nd c. BC, like that of the “Scythian and the Hanging Marsyas” (Pollitt 2000, 161–162, figs 120–121; Schraudolph 2007, 235–236, fig. text 91) or the “Invitation to Dance” (Pollitt 2000, 175, fig. 139; von Prittwitz 2007, 260–261, fig. 228a-i).

In comparison, however, with these works, the boy from the shipwreck was meant to be seen from the side, from which angle the stance of his body and expression on his face become perceptible. Comparisons of the boy’s face with other sculptures permit this work to be securely dated to the early 1st c. BC: namely with portraits from Delos (Vorster 2007, fig. 251f) dating around 100 BC or immediately after, and specially with the statue of a boy from the Italian villa at Fianelle Sabino near Rome (Vorster 1998, 30–33).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kabbadias 1900, 95–98, fig. 2; *AM* 25 (1900) 457–458; Kabbadias 1901, 207–208 no. 7, fig. 5; *AE* 1902, 156, pl. A. 1; Nikolaidis 1903, 201–206; Svoronos 1903, 66–69 no. 25, pl. XII.1; Frost 1903, 230–232 no. IV, fig. 3; Staïs 1905, 44, 49, fig. 19; Staïs 1910, 71–72; Studniczka 1921a, 334–338, figs 13, 15; Studniczka 1921b; *AA* 1925, 209 and 211, fig. 5; Papaspiridi 1927, 83 (with incorrect no. 2774); Lippold 1950, 336 and note 11; Bol 1972, 69–72 no. 25, pls. 38–40 and pl. 41.6; Hübner 1986, 131, pl. 47.7; Vorster 1998, 33; Ridgway 2002, 74, 98, note 17, pl. 27; Kaltsas 2002, 299–300 no. 626; Vorster 2007, 310, fig. 304.

E.VI.

51. STATUE OF ODYSSEUS

Before the middle of 1st c. BC

Parian marble

H. 2.03 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901

Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 5745



The surface of the sculpture is severely corroded by stone-eating organisms and marine incrustations. The hands and part of the forearm, the left shin from the knee down, the toes of the right foot and most of the plinth are missing. A cylindrical support runs nearly parallel with and touching the statue's right leg. The right elbow was connected to the torso with a strut.

The statue was made in two separate pieces, connected at the loins. The left hand, affixed to an opening in the forearm, was also separately made. The bearded, mature male is shown standing, walking forcefully towards the right with his right leg advanced. His upper torso leans forward and simultaneously turns slightly to the left, as he lifts his head. He wears a one-sleeved chiton (εξωμίς) secured on his left shoulder and so leaving the right part of the chest bare; it falls to about his knee-level. At the left, the garment opens, revealing the hip. A himation is wrapped around the waist instead of a belt, creating a broad overlap above the groin. The right upper arm, bent at the elbow, is drawn up towards the chin in what is probably a movement indicating reflection, while the left is wrapped in the himation. The object in his hand is probably a bow and not the Palladium as is usually proposed. He wears a conical cap (πίλος) on his head. Despite the corroded

face, his frowning countenance and even his teeth are visible.

The identification of the work with the mythical king of Ithaca Odysseus may be considered certain on the basis of the chiton and the cap (πίλος) he wears. The statue has a main viewpoint, namely the front one, from where the movement and width of the figure become perceptible. The back is summarily rendered.

By virtue of its size, movement and similar attire, the sculpture must belong to the same group as Cat. no. 52, which may be identified with Achilles. There is little probability that it represents a scene from the episode of the Doloneia: identifying iconographic elements are absent. Similarly, the possibility that the statue of the hero belonged to a group representing the blinding of Polyphemos, according to M. Bieber, must also be excluded.

The sense of the hero's simultaneous movement both backwards and forwards indicates the intention of the artist to depict an instant between two actions. Perhaps a moment when Odysseus has just escaped and looks back to see whether he is being followed. The hero is totally humanized at this point, entirely in accordance with the realism of the Late Hellenistic period.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *AE* 1902, 158–159 no. 18, pl. E.4; Svoronos 1903, 70 no. 28, pl. XIII.2; Staïs 1905, 43–44, 47, fig. 17; Roßbach 1914, 93; Bieber 1961, 100; Bol 1972, 78–79 no. 28, pls. 44–45; *LIMC* VI (1992) s.v. Odysseus, 956 no. 84 (O. Touchefeu-Meynier); Moreno 1994, 690, fig. 850; Himmelmann 1994, 852; Himmelmann 1995, 35, 110, pl. 36; Ridgway 2002, 73, 75, 97, note 14, pl. 25; Kaltsas 2002, 300 no. 628; Ridgway 2004, 743; Vorster 2007, 318, fig. 323.

E. VI.

52. STATUE OF A MAN, ACHILLES(?)

Before the middle of 1st c. BC

Parian marble

H. 1.47 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901

Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 5746

The sculpture's surface is severely corroded from its long sojourn in the depths of the sea. Part of the left forearm and hand, both shins from the knees down, and the sword blade are missing. Two quadrilateral struts join the statue's right elbow and hand to the torso. On the back, behind the right buttock, the end of a support is discernible.

The statue is composed of two separate pieces, joined at the buttocks. The left hand, missing today, was also carved from a separate piece. The young beardless man is depicted upright and moving forcefully to the right. His upper torso leans forward and simultaneously turns slightly left, while at the same moment he turns his head back and up. His left hand seizes the sheath of his sword, hanging from a belt worn diagonally across his chest, as his right hand is ready to draw the sword. He wears only a himation, which covers his loins and right thigh. On the left side, being wrapped around his left arm, the himation is raised, so revealing the hip.

The statue has a main viewpoint, namely the front one, from where the movement and breadth of the figure are perceived. The back is summarily rendered, as on the statue of Odysseus (Cat. no. 51). Details from the modeling of the body are not preserved, while the eyes and nose can scarcely be made out.

The similarity in pose to that of Odysseus (Cat. no. 51) has already been remarked upon. Both figures share the forceful forward movement, as they simultaneously turn their heads backwards. They were undoubtedly part of a large composition whose theme eludes

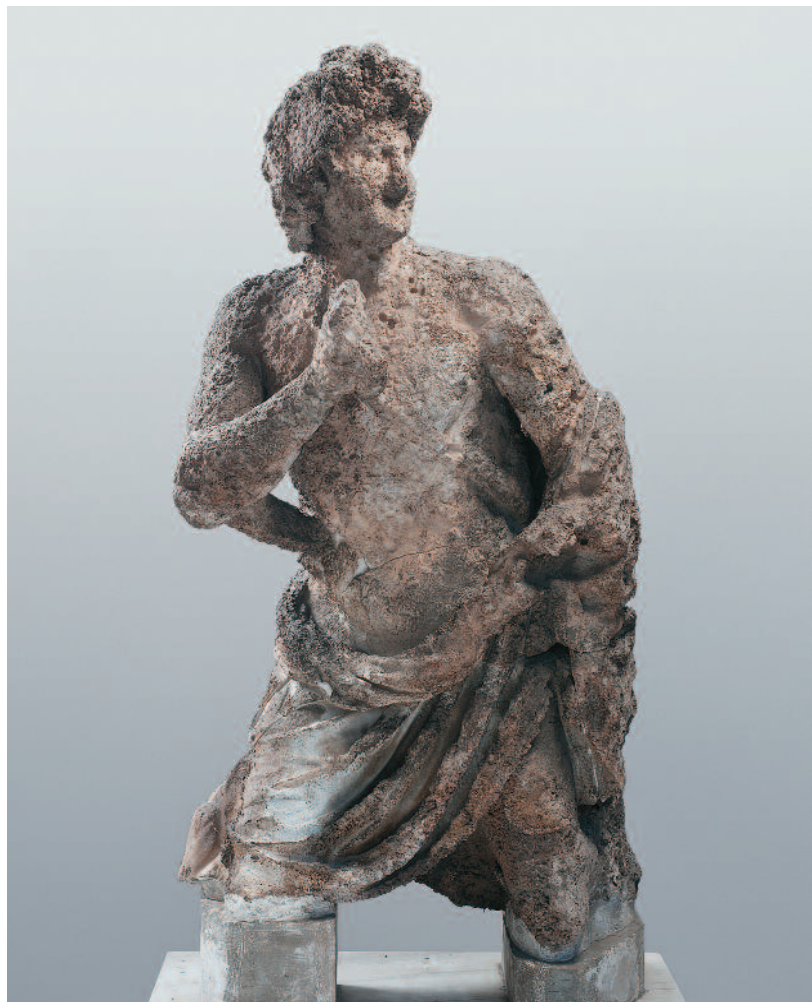
us. Their identification as Odysseus and Diomedes, the two protagonists in the episode of the theft of the Palladium, as proposed by I. Svoronos, is not valid. The present figure is far from the characteristic appearance of Diomedes in Greek art, which is represented with different iconographic features. The strikingly youthful appearance of the heroic figure with its unruly, bushy hair would favor an identification as Achilles. The difference in age and character between Achilles and Odysseus as revealed from the epics is reflected in both the physiognomy and iconography of the two figures.

Odysseus is depicted as bearded, slightly hunched and cautious in his movements, in contrast to the beardless Achilles, standing ramrod straight, impetuous, and ready for action.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *AE* 1902, 159 no. 19, pl. E.3; Svoronos 1903, 70–71 no. 27, pl. XIII.1; Stais 1905, 44, 48, fig. 18; Roßbach 1914, 93; Bol 1972, 79–80 no. 27, pls. 46–47; Moreno 1994, 690, fig. 851; Himmelmann 1994, 852, fig. 4; Himmelmann 1995, 35; Ridgway 2002, 73–74, 75, 98, note 15, pl. 26; Kaltsas 2002, 300–301 no. 629; Ridgway 2004, 743; Vorster 2007, 318, fig. 324.

E.VI.

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53. PLINTH WITH THE LEGS OF A MALE STATUE

Early 1st c. BC

Parian marble

Plinth: L. 0.65 m., w. 0.55 m., h. 0.10 m.; h. of statue leg 0.80 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901

Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 15488

Reassembled from four fragments. The marble skin remains only on the back of the shin, the left foot, and the plinth underneath the raised left sole, where meager traces of finishing with the claw chisel are still discernible. All the remaining surface of the plinth, feet and the support are severely corroded. The right front corner of the plinth is broken off, as are two segments of the middle toe on the left foot. From beneath the statue's raised heel, a quadrilateral strut starts (h. just 0.02 m.; the rest has been restored in plaster). It joined the sole with the plinth, where a trace is still to be seen.

The legs allow us to conjecture that the male figure to which they belonged was depicted frontally, that he was larger than life-size, probably nude, and carried his weight firmly on his right leg, while his left leg, bent at the knee, was drawn back and rested on tiptoe. To the right of the figure, part of the support is preserved on the plinth.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Svoronos 1903, 77 no. 78 (thigh and knee) and no. 86 (shin), pl. XIX.18 and 26, respectively; Yalouris 1975, 1, pl. 1a (shown with all four pieces reattached).

E.VI.

54. PLINTH WITH THE REMAINS OF FEET AND A SUPPORT

Early 1st c. BC

Parian marble

Plinth: L. 0.66 m., w. 0.45 m., h. 0.06 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901

Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 5750/16

The plinth preserves intact its irregular initial outline: rectangular with a beveled back right corner. It has been reassembled from two pieces. The plinth's entire surface is corroded. Some minor exceptions exist: the outer sole of the left foot, the right ankle, the support, and the strut. Here the marble skin is preserved, together with traces of brown oxidation, due to its proximity to metal objects while in the sea. On the upper surface of the plinth behind the support, traces of working with a claw chisel are preserved.

The cylindrical support (h. 0.525 m., d. 0.085 m.) has been reassembled from two pieces. The upper is corroded on the exterior, while it is

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much better preserved on the interior. Part of a transverse cylindrical strut (l. 0.055 m.) is situated on the inner side of the support at a distance of 0.34 m. from its base. It served to connect the base to the statue's shin. From the position of the feet one may conclude that the male figure to which the fragments belonged was presented frontally, was larger than life-size, and stood with his left leg resting firmly on the plinth. The advanced right leg would have been slightly bent at the knee and little raised at the foot: all this may be concluded by the inward turn of the inner side of the ankle.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

On the use of struts in sculpture, see Hollinshead 2002, 117–152.

E.VI.

55. RIGHT SHIN AND FOOT WEARING A SANDAL

Early 1st c. BC

Parian marble

H. 0.46 m., l. 0.24 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901
Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 15549

Reassembled from two pieces. The right foot wearing a sandal survives in excellent condition to the mid-foot. In contrast, the part of the shin, ankle and heel, which must have been reassembled in the 1970s, is severely corroded. Beneath the sole of the sandal, part of the statue's inherent plinth (h. 0.02 m.) remains: here at the sides and below are visible traces of work with a point. Local yellowish-brown oxidation is the result of being in proximity to metal objects while in the sea.

The foot, belonging to a statue of a male, life-size or slightly smaller, wears a high sandal (κηπιός). The sandal is tied with leather thongs, rectangular in section, secured at the sides in openings within the mesh of the straps. The thongs were then crossed three times over the instep and ended, after being crossed four more times, in

a bow at the front of the shin, about 0.10 m. above the ankle. The sandal's network of straps also enclosed the heel, as one may see on this corroded piece. A special network of narrow transverse straps secured by an eyelet protected the mid-foot.

This sandal type is comparable to that worn by the bronze right foot Cat. no. 34, also attributed to a male statue. I. Svoronos's claim that this marble foot belonged to a female statue is wrong, as the thick toe joints demonstrate.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Svoronos 1903, 76–77 no. 59, pl. XVI.5; Bol 1972, 92, pl. 56.5–6; Morrow 1985, 84, 104, pls. 92a-b, 111 (all publications picture only the foot).

On sandal-type (κηπιός), see Morrow 1985, 62–63, 73–84, 97, 107–114, 149; Calcani 1989, 53–54; Corso 2002, 60 and note 26; Katsikoudis 2005, 115–116, note 635.

E.VI.



55



55

56. FRAGMENT OF GARMENT

Early 1st c. BC

Parian marble

L. 0.34 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901

Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 15561

Separately worked and added. The surface is corroded on the lower front and interior. A system of folds from a himation survives. Its slightly convex outer side and slightly concave inner show that it fitted onto a curved surface. The small hole on the inner side is modern.

This is probably part of a himation draped over the shoulder or thigh of a male statue, either seated or in motion.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

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57. RIGHT ARM OF A MALE STATUE

Early 1st c. BC

Parian marble

L. of upper arm (to elbow) 0.38 m., l. of lower arm and hand 0.43 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901

Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 15555

Reassembled from two pieces. Part of the upper arm, below the shoulder, together with the forearm and hand are preserved. The entire surface is severely corroded, particularly the hand, the fingers of which have been transformed into an amorphous mass from the mid-hand down. The marble skin remains only on the inner forearm: it is covered by dark brown oxidation due to its proximity to metal objects while in the sea.

E.VI. The arm belonged to a larger than life-size male statue. It is sharply bent at the elbow, while the forearm is drawn up. The figure would most probably have been holding some object in front of his chest.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Svoronos 1903, 77 no. 61, pl. XIX.1 (only the forearm is pictured).

E.VI.

57



58. RIGHT HAND OF A MALE STATUE

Early 1st c. BC

Parian marble

L. 0.31 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901

Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 15550

Reassembled from two pieces. Extant is the right hand, together with the wrist and part of the forearm. The hand is preserved in excellent condition, as is the inner side of the forearm; in contrast, the outer side is corroded. Yellowish-brown oxidation due to proximity to metal objects while in the sea covers the marble skin in places.

The fingers are bent inwards in a relaxed pose. Very thin transverse struts bridge the small gaps between the thumb and forefinger and between the forefinger and middle finger. On the lower left part of the palm there is a trace of a broken cylindrical strut (d. 0.03 m).

The hand belonged to a larger than life-size statue of a male. It probably hung loosely down and alongside the body. The strut on the lower part of the palm will have connected the hand with the hip.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Svoronos 1903, 77 no. 60, pl. XVI.6 (only the hand is pictured); Bol 1972, 92, note 176.

For the small struts between the fingers, cf. the hand of the boy from the shipwreck Cat. no. 50 and the foot of the Cyclops Polyphemus from the group of this name found in the grotto at Sperlonga (Hollinshead 2002, 149, fig. 6.21).

E.VI.



58



59. LEFT HAND FROM A FEMALE STATUE

Early 1st c. BC

Parian marble

L. 0.24 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901

Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 15548

The left hand below the wrist, holding a draped garment in its loosely-clenched palm, is in good condition. The ring finger, little finger, and outside of the lower palm are severely corroded. The garment, held between the thumb and index finger, is worked in detail.

The fragment belongs to a larger than life-size female statue. Since the hand corresponds in its proportions to the female torso EAM 15524, to which a himation fragment draped over a hydria (EAM 15525) is also attributed, it has been proposed that this could be the left hand of the same statue. It has been identified as a Late Hellenistic variation of the Praxitelean Aphrodite of Knidos of the Belvedere type (cf. above, p. 63).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Svoronos 1903, 77 no. 14, pl. XIX.14; Boi 1972, 44.

E.VI.

59



60. PART OF THE LEFT ARM OF A MALE STATUE

Early 1st c. BC

Parian marble

L. 0.27 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901

Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 15562

Part of the left upper arm, elbow and a small piece of the forearm are preserved. The outer side is in a very good condition, in contrast to the corroded inner one. The rest of the forearm was worked as a separate piece. On the contact surface of the forearm there is a square socket (0.025 x 0.025 m. and with a depth of 0.06 m.) to receive the tenon of the rest of the forearm. Incisions, arranged around the socket in a grid form, served to create a rough contact surface so that the two pieces adhered better with the help of mortar.

The fragment belongs to a slightly larger than life-size male statue. From the preserved piece and the point where the forearm begins, it appears that the arm was bent at the elbow and the forearm raised, as the accentuated biceps of the upper arm would suggest. I. Svoronos had identified the fragment as a part of the thigh and knee.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Svoronos 1903, 77 no. 79, pl. XIX.19.

E.VI.

60



61. BODY FROM A HORSE STATUE

Early 1st c. BC

Parian marble

L. 1.75 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901

(4.3.1901)

Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 15536

The horse's four legs from about their roots, the tail, and the support beneath its belly are missing. While the sides and underside of the animal's belly are severely corroded, its back is preserved nearly throughout its entire length.

Protected by being buried in the sand, it stayed unharmed by lithophagous organisms.

The head and neck were inset. The concave depression on the neck (depth 0.08 m.), is smoothed at the edges, while at the center it carries traces of having been worked with a fine point. In the center of this depression there is a rectangular socket (0.085 x 0.075 m., with a depth of 0.16 m.). Since there are no lead remains or lesions inside the socket, as one would expect, we may assume that ultimately a dowel was not used for connecting these parts. Running around the entire neck is a bridle (w. 0.04 m.) decorated with foliate relief ornament. The centre front was once decorated by a relief gorgon, as seen in the Svoronos' publication, now missing.

The modeling of the body is flat, without individual muscles being differentiated. Those of the sternum and shoulder are depicted in a fluid manner. The spinal column is smooth and without definition. The left front leg is set forward, almost on the horizontal, and the right, drawn back, is vertical. The left rear leg is similarly advanced, with the right drawn back. Beneath the animal's belly are preserved the remains of a vertical support. We cannot, however, be sure about its shape and form. The tail, despite the fact that only its root is discernible on the rear of the body, must have been raised.

The horse is represented as being in

a calm gait. Together with another two horses Fig. 7 and EAM 5748 on display in the inner atrium of the National Archaeological Museum and yet a fourth, which broke away from the securing ropes while it was being lifted from the sea and then sank to a greater depth, they all belong to a quadriga, a four-horse chariot. No fragments from the chariot have been recognized among the materials brought up to date. B. Ridgway 2002, 74, though without any serious supporting arguments, proposed that the statue of the boy from the shipwreck Cat. no. 50 could be identified as the charioteer. Five fragments from plinths with the remains of weapons or horses' legs and columnar supports that have also been retrieved come

from the chariot group. It is not clear whether these were race or war horses. It is at any rate known that four-horse chariots were set up as commemorative victory monuments on battlefields. This possibility has been raised for the chariot from the shipwreck. According to P. Bol, the Antikythera chariot was the commemorative monument for the victory of Mithridates VI Eupator against the Romans, set up on Delos in 88 BC following the island's total destruction. This possibility, however, depends directly on Bol's assumption regarding the workshop provenance of the sculptures; it cannot be confirmed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *AE* 1902, 159 no. 24, pl. B.4; Svoronos 1903, 78 no. 94, pl. XX.3; Bol 1972, 84 no. 94, pls. 50.4 and 51.1.

E.VI.

62. TAIL FROM A HORSE STATUE

Early 1st c. BC

Parian marble

L. 0.44 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901

Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 15553

The lower part of the tail is corroded in comparison to the upper, which is in a good state except for some small chips. A small piece has been reattached at the left, near where the

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tail would have joined the animal's body. The inner side of the tail is summarily rendered.

The tail belongs to one of the four horses, like Cat. no. 61, that were drawing the four-horse chariot. The animal's short, thick tail, curved above, did not hang down freely; its end was bound.

This iconographic detail is repeated: on a horse on the "Alexander Sarcophagus" from the cemetery of Sidon, now in Constantinople (Brinkmann 2007, 140, fig. 253, 141, fig. 262 and 146, fig. 276), on the four gilt bronze horses that adorn the upper part of the façade of St. Mark's basilica in Venice (Toniato 1982, 89, figs 68, 76 and 130–131 nos 2–5; Bergemann 1988, 119, pl. 48.3), and on horses in the famous "Alexander mosaic" from the House of the Faun in Pompeii (Andreae 2003, 62, 65). The binding of the tail does not offer any evidence for dating, since a large time gap separates the aforementioned monuments from the shipwreck's horses. According to P. Bol, this detail could constitute a reference to the Eastern provenance of the chariot, if one relies on the *Babyloniaca* of Iamblichus, where it is mentioned that the horses of the Great King's chariot had their tails bound with scarlet ribbons. This hypothesis, however, cannot be confirmed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Svoronos 1903, pl. XX.4; Bol 1972, 87, 90 no. 7, pl. 54.1–2.

E.VI.

63. PART OF A LEG FROM A HORSE STATUE

Early 1st c. BC

Parian marble

H. 0.33 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901

Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 15558

The metacarpus and joint of the first phalange, probably from the front leg of a life-size horse statue, are in very good condition. Some corrosion exists on the upper part of the fragment. At the back of the joint, the fetlock, the hair covering the root of the phalanges, is seen.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bol 1972, 89 no. 2, pl. 56.1 (at right).

E.VI.

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64. PART OF A LEG FROM A HORSE STATUE

Early 1st c. BC

Parian marble

H. 0.42 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901

Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 15560

Part of the metatarsus and knee joint, probably from the rear leg of a life-size horse statue, remains in excellent condition. Just below the knee joint, part of a strut is preserved, forming a 30°-acute angle with the metatarsus.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bol 1972, 90 no. 6, pl. 56.2 (at right).

E.VI.

64



65. PART OF A LEG FROM A HORSE STATUE

Early 1st c. BC

Parian marble

H. 0.37 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901

Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 15559

Reassembled from two pieces. Part of the metacarpus and joint of the first phalange, probably from the front leg of a life-size horse statue, is extant. On the back of the joint, the hair that covered the root of the phalanges, the fetlock, is preserved (cf. facsimile in Bol 1972, 90 no. 5, pl. 54.9).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

E.VI.

**66. FRONT HOOF FROM A HORSE
STATUE**

Early 1st c. BC

Parian marble

L. 0.465 m.

From the material retrieved in 1900–1901

Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 15554

The raised hoof, bent at the joint of the first phalange, comes from the left front leg of a life-size horse statue. In good condition, except for the outer left side, which is slightly corroded.

A quadrilateral strut (l. 0.225 m.) starts at the front part of the wall of the hoof. Reassembled from two fragments, it is aligned with the lower part of the hoof, probably joining it with the plinth. Its end is corroded. The underside of the hoof has been wrought in detail, rendering the cleavage of the frog in a naturalistic manner. The short, thick hair surrounding the coronary band and the short tuft falling over

the root of the phalanges are worked in an equally naturalistic manner.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Svoronos 1903, pl. XX.4.

Probably to be identified with the hoof pictured in Bol 1972, 89, 90, pl. 54.7–8, to which a small part of the strut was later attached.

On the use of struts in sculpture, see Hollinshead 2002, 117–152.

E.VI.

66

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Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in addition to those of the German Archaeological Institute (www.dainst.org):

AAA	Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα ἐξ Αθηνῶν
ΑΔ	Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον
ΑΕ	Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς
Facta	Facta: A Journal of Roman Material Culture Studies
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
ΠΑΑ	Πρακτικά της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών
ΠΑΕ	Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας
SNG Copenhagen	SNG Denmark, The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum, 22: Ionia, Copenhagen 1945.
SNG Keckman	SNG Finland, The Erkki Keckman Collection in the Skopbank, Helsinki, 1: Karia, Helsinki 1994.
SNG München	SNG Deutschland, Staatliche Münzsammlung München, 20: Ionien, München 1995.
SNG Tübingen	SNG Deutschland, Münzsammlung der Universität Tübingen, 2: Mysien – Ionien, München 1989.
SNG von Aulock	SNG Deutschland, Sammlung von Aulock, Ionien, Berlin 1960.

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

EAM = National Archaeological Museum • Wt. = Weight • D. = Diameter • m. = meter • L. = Length
Th. = Thickness • W. = Width • H. = Height • Max. = Maximum • mm. = millimeters • ca = circa
pres. = preserved • gr. = grams • no. = number • Cat. no. = Catalogue number • inv. no. = inventory number

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