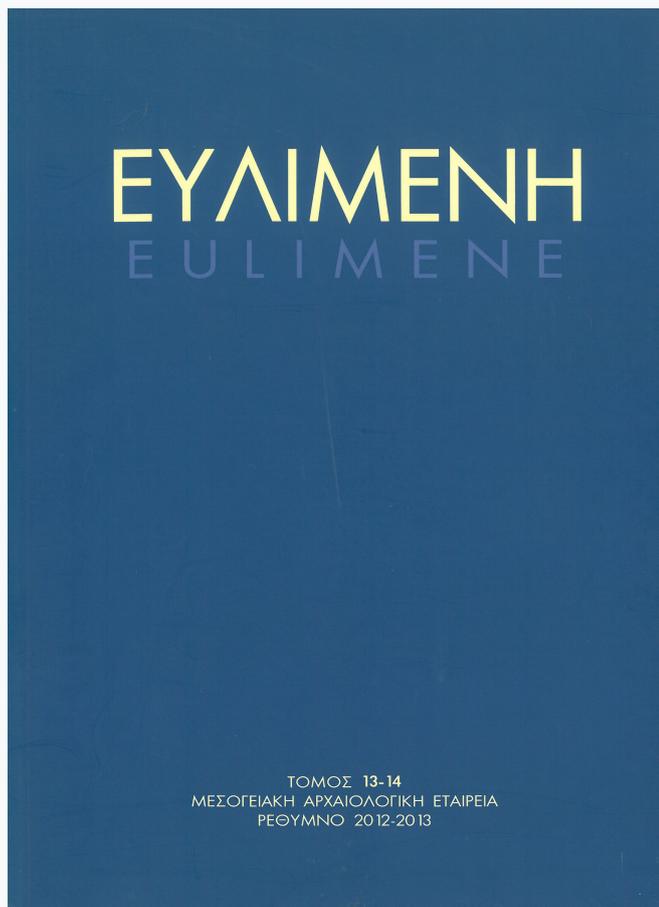


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Sculpture from Eleutherna

Petros Themelis

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ΜΕΛΕΤΕΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΛΑΣΙΚΗ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑ,
ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΙΚΗ, ΤΗ ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΠΥΡΟΛΟΓΙΑ

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Περιεχόμενα
EYΛIMENH 13-14 (2012-2013)

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Περίληψεις / Summaries / Zusammenfassungen /

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Petros Themelis, Sculpture from Eleutherma, *EYAIMENH* 13-14 (2012-2013), 9-44.

Γλυπτική από την Ελεύθερνα. Δημοσιεύονται σε μορφή καταλόγου, χρονολογικά, όλα τα γλυπτά που είχαν έλθει στο φως κατά τη διάρκεια της πανεπιστημιακής ανασκαφής στον ανατολικό τομέα Ι της αρχαίας Ελεύθερνας, μεταξύ των ετών 1985-2003. Κατά την περίοδο των ελληνοιστικών χρόνων η κρητική πόλη παρουσιάζει οικονομική άνθηση και κάνει δυναμικά την εμφάνισή της τόσο στο ιστορικό όσο και στο καλλιτεχνικό προσκήνιο. Η ακμή της συνεχίζεται και στα χρόνια της ρωμαιοκρατίας. Ανάμεσα στα πολυάριθμα περίοπτα, ανάγλυφα και αρχιτεκτονικά έργα γλυπτικής ξεχωρίζουν, χάρη στην ποιότητα και την εικονογραφική τους σπανιότητα, τα εξής: η «Σανδαλίζουσα Αφροδίτη με τον Πάνα», του 2^{ου} αι. π.Χ., το ανάγλυφο ζεύγος «Ερμής και Αφροδίτη», του 1^{ου} αι. π.Χ., και η αμφιπρόσωπη ιανική στήλη που εικονίζει τον Δίονυσο και την Αριάδνη, προϊόν νεοαττικού εργαστηρίου του 2^{ου} αι. μ.Χ. που ανάγεται σε πραξιτελικό πρότυπο.

Γιώργος Μπροκαλάκης, Πρωτοβυζαντινά γεωργικά εργαλεία: Η μαρτυρία των τεχνέργων από την Ελεύθερνα, *EYAIMENH* 13-14 (2012-2013), 45-131.

Strumenti agricoli di età protobizantina. Le testimonianze dall'antica Eleuftherna. Da una casa parzialmente scavata nell'antica Eleuftherna nella Creta centrale proviene un piccolo gruppo di strumenti agricoli, databili con precisione in relazione al sisma del 365 d.C. Per inquadrare questi manufatti in un contesto geografico e cronologico più ampio si è cercato di raccogliere tutte le testimonianze di strumenti analoghi dalla Grecia e dall'Asia Minore, datate tra il IV e la metà del VII sec., enfatizzando il valore dei manufatti archeologici, finora non considerati in modo adeguato dalla ricerca, senza trascurare la capacità informativa, ma anche i limiti, degli altri tipi di documentazione (le fonti scritte e iconografiche, l'etnoarcheologia e l'archeologia sperimentale) per ricostruire la funzione, l'uso e la denominazione di questa classe di materiali. Seguendo questa impostazione, nello studio si è messa in evidenza l'importanza della forma, delle dimensioni e del peso dei manufatti, mostrando che gli strumenti dal contesto chiuso di Eleuftherna erano destinati alla coltivazione dei giardini.

Nonostante ci si sia basati su un campione complessivamente limitato di manufatti di età protobizantina, è stato possibile descrivere la diffusione di certi tipi di attrezzi e il numero finora esiguo degli strumenti specializzati, interrogandosi sul conservatorismo delle forme ed evidenziando anche alcuni miglioramenti tecnologici.

Lo studio si conclude con una riflessione sulla produzione e la circolazione delle parti in ferro degli strumenti, mettendo in luce la rete di relazioni tra i fabbri e gli agricoltori.

Martha W. Baldwin Bowsky, Three New Inscriptions from Late Roman and Early Byzantine Eleutherna, *EYAIMENH* 13-14 (2012-2013), 133-168.

Τρεις νέες επιγραφές από την ύστερη ρωμαϊκή και πρώιμη βυζαντινή Ελεύθερνα. Στη μελέτη παρουσιάζονται τρεις νέες επιγραφές από την ύστερη ρωμαϊκή και πρώιμη βυζαντινή Ελεύθερνα, υπό το φως τεσσάρων άλλων ήδη δημοσιευμένων επιγραφών. Καμία δεν βρέθηκε στην αρχική της θέση, αλλά προσφέρουν σημαντικά στοιχεία για την Ελεύθερνα πριν και μετά τον σεισμό του 365 μ.Χ., που προκάλεσε στην πόλη μεγάλη, αλλά όχι ολοκληρωτική, καταστροφή. Οι ανασκαφές τον Τομέα Ι της Ελεύθερνας έχουν φέρει στο φως τον μεγαλύτερο αριθμό αυτοκρατορικών αφιερώσεων και λατινικών επιγραφών από μία μόνο πόλη στο δυτικό μισό του νησιού. Πέντε επιγραφές που σχολιάζονται στο παρόν άρθρο είναι λατινικές, και μαζί με μία ακόμη αποτελούν το σύνολο των έξι γνωστών λατινικών επιγραφών από την Ελεύθερνα. Οι λατινικές επιγραφές είναι σχετικά σπάνιες στη ρωμαϊκή Κρήτη, και η πιο πιθανή εξήγηση για τον εξαιρετικά μεγάλο αριθμό αυτοκρατορικών αφιερώσεων και λατινικών επιγραφών στην Ελεύθερνα ή οπουδήποτε αλλού στη δυτική Κρήτη φαίνεται να ήταν η ανάπτυξη του ρωμαϊκού οδικού δικτύου.

Σημείωμα των εκδοτών

Ο τόμος 13-14 της *Eulimene* αποτελεί ένα αφιέρωμα στον ανατολικό τομέα Ι της αρχαίας Ελεύθερνας, που ανασκάφηκε συστηματικά από τον καθηγητή Πέτρο Θέμελη από το 1985 έως το 2003. Στα τρία εκτενή άρθρα που δημοσιεύονται παρουσιάζονται από τον ίδιο τον ανασκαφέα, τον Γιώργο Μπροκαλάκη και την Martha W. Baldwin Bowsky, γλυπτά, εργαλεία και επιγραφές αντίστοιχα, που ήρθαν στο φως κατά τις ανασκαφές των παραπάνω ετών και χρονολογούνται από τους ελληνιστικούς χρόνους (2ο αι. π.Χ.) μέχρι και την πρωτοβυζαντινή περίοδο (μέσα 7ου αι. μ.Χ.). Πολλά από αυτά τα αντικείμενα εκτίθενται πλέον στο Μουσείο Αρχαίας Ελεύθερνας, που ιδρύθηκε χάρη στο όραμα και τις προσπάθειες του καθηγητή Ν. Σταμπολίδη και το οποίο εγκαινιάστηκε από τον Πρόεδρο της Ελληνικής Δημοκρατίας στις 19 Ιουνίου 2016.

Οι διευθυντές έκδοσης
Νίκος Λίτινας – Μανόλης Ι. Στεφανάκης

Editorial Note

Volume 13-14 of *Eulimene* is devoted to the east sector (I) of ancient Eleutherna, which was dug systematically by prof. Petros Themelis from 1985 until 2003. In three extensive articles, Petros Themelis, Yorgos Brokalakis and Martha W. Baldwin Bowsky, publish sculptures, tools and inscriptions respectively, found during the excavations conducted during that period and dating from the Hellenistic period (2nd century BC) to the early Byzantine era (mid-7th cent. AD). Many of these artifacts are now exhibited in the Museum of ancient Eleutherna, founded thanks to the vision and the efforts of prof. N. Stampolides and inaugurated by the President of the Hellenic Republic in June 19, 2016.

The publishing directors
Nikos Litinas – Manolis I. Stefanakis

SCULPTURE FROM ELEUTHERNA

A. HELLENISTIC PERIOD

The Historical Setting

At the end of the fourth and for the most part during the third and second centuries B.C. the economic and cultural life of Eleutherna flourished greatly and the city made a dynamic appearance on the historical stage. At this point, it already had frequent contacts with mainland Greece, the islands of the Aegean, Asia Minor, Palestine, and Egypt, and took part in the political events of the era, as inscriptions, *testimonia*, and new discoveries from excavations tell us.

The evidence for Eleutherna's relations with Alexandria, with which Crete had especially close connections since the end of the fourth century BC, makes reference to commerce, industry, and the profession of mercenary soldiering as sources of wealth and incitements for opening the closed Cretan society in the outside world.¹ The last quarter of the third century BC was a period of fairly general disturbances and political strife in the Peloponnesus, with Sparta as their epicenter that affected even the greatest of the cities of Crete. The fact that in 220 BC, two years after the battle of Sellasia, the people of Eleutherna rose up to demand the democratization of the constitution and the extension of citizenship rights to the lower classes is no coincidence.² The mercenaries succeeded in having themselves recognized as possessing limited rights as citizens and being incorporated into the social group of the Neocretans.³ The city's artistic production was no longer limited to the famous musicians of the Archaic period, but found expression through the sculptor Timochares of Eleutherna, who settled in Rhodes after 200 BC and crafted works of art for the cities of Lindos, Knidos, Karpathos, Astypalaia, and Sidon. His son *Pythokritos* and his grandson Simias were sculptors as well, though they held Rhodian citizenship.⁴ In 157/6 BC, Serambos, son of *Heraippos* leased a "workshop" (*ergasterion*) in cosmopolitan Delos with *Hermippos*, son of *Hermippos* of Eleutherna as his guarantor, while on the same island *Heraippos*, son of *Heraippos* of Eleutherna⁵ together with his slave *Aristion* leased a "shipyard" (*naupegeion*).⁶ We cannot determine what sort of *ergasterion*, *Serambos* was leasing because the sense of the word is very generic and can mean a metalworking establishment, a butcher shop, a barbershop, a perfume-shop, or

¹ Griffith 1935, 206-238; Trundle 2004, 132-164.

² Chaniotis 1987, 238.

³ Spyridakis 1976-1977.

⁴ Papachristoudoulou 2000.

⁵ The name ΗΡΑΙΠΠΟΣ, I suspect, represents a misunderstanding of the name ΕΡΜΙΠΠΟΣ, so that the inscription likely has to do with the same person leasing both a workshop and a shipyard.

⁶ *I.Délos* 1416B, col. I, lines 98-101, and col. II, lines 57-60.

even a brothel.⁷ The sense of “shipyard” does not in itself present problems, but the establishment should have rather been a boat repair facility. In any case, this piece of evidence has particular value for us, constituting on the one hand an indication that people from Eleutherna were active in maritime trade, and on the other hand a sign of the regard that the master *Heraippos* had for his trusted slave, admittedly a rare phenomenon.⁸ At the same time, it also shows direct contact of Eleutherna with the trade and art centers of the period. In 144/3 BC people from Eleutherna are certainly attested as taking part in the festival of Apollo on Delos.⁹ During this same period, between 155 and 145 BC or immediately afterwards, it seems logical that an itinerant sculptor (from Athens?) working on Delos could have made the marble sculpture group of the “Aphrodite removing her Sandal” for Eleutherna.¹⁰

1. Marble statuette of “**Aphrodite removing her Sandal**”. Rethymnon Museum, inv. no. 3776. H. 0.814 m, H. of head 0.135 m; base W. 0.12 m, L. 0.22 m, Th. 0.035 m. Fine-grained white marble. The entire work is preserved except for the left foot, the lower right arm and hand, and the entire bent left arm, which was worked separately and attached to the shoulder with an inserted iron dowel (**fig. 1-2**). The figure balances on her right leg and raises her left leg on an attempt to remove the sandal with her right hand. Her body, following the movement of the right hand, bends forward, while at the same time turning slightly toward the left. Her head turns the opposite way, outward and to the right, leading her gaze in an unknown direction. Her missing left arm would have led outward to counterbalance the opposed slant of her body. The goddess’s garment, folded somewhat unnaturally into a cylinder, clings to the lower part of her upraised left thigh and falls downward in loose perpendicular folds to envelop the support for the statue. The support is added to sustain the weight of the mass of marble from which the goddess’ body had been sculpted. Of indeterminate form and placed in an unusual position, the support does not merge organically with the composition despite the artist’s effort to conceal it beneath the folds of the garment. The lost bronze original would certainly not have needed such a prop.

The body of the goddess worked with sensitivity and understanding, exudes an intense aura of sensuality. The flesh is soft, the tender breasts are relatively small and pointed; the folds in the stomach area and the slight swelling of the belly accentuate her femininity (**fig. 2**). The hips and the buttocks are excessively emphasized. The facial features are somewhat diminutive and indistinct: the expression is indefinite and “washed-out”, the gaze without intensity, the mouth small, the outlines unclear, elements that betray a childlike, innocent unconcern incompatible with the language of the succulent flesh. The hair flows in linear waves running toward the back of the head where they form a bun. The right section of the skull is worked from a separate piece of marble and attached using plain plaster, without a metal dowel. This technical detail – obliquely cut attachments of marble pieces worked separately – is characteristic of sculpture of the second to first centuries BC, as the many examples from the Antikythera

⁷ *LSJ*, s.v. *ἐργαστήριον*.

⁸ Holtheide 1982, 13.

⁹ *I.Délos* 2593, line 63.

¹⁰ Themelis 2002, 17-19, figs. 6-7; cf. *Syll.*³ 737; Stefanis 1988, 58, no. 218; Nordquist 1994, 92.

and Mahdia (Tunisia) shipwrecks show.¹¹ The whiteness of the marble and the flawless finish of the surface are striking. Andrew Stewart's comments on Praxiteles' choice of Parian marble for the Aphrodite of Knidos are equally apposite here: "*The luminous radiance of the finely crystal stone both suggested the ethereal, untouchable loveliness of the goddess' snow-white skin and yet beckoned the eye to immerse itself in its subtly modulated, gently glowing surfaces*".¹²

Statuette of Pan made of fine-grained white marble (Rethymnon Museum, inv. no. 3777, H. 0.68 m.). The left goat's leg is missing from approximately the mid-thigh down, as is the right elbow. The god of nature and of mountainous places holds a syrinx in his bent right hand a short distance from his lips, ready to play his orgiastic tune. He wears a short chiton of animal skin (goatskin?) rolled up and held in the crook of his left arm, leaving his entire lower body and the right side of his smooth, powerful trunk bare. Worn diagonally, his short leather garment has its front edge folded, forming a pouch filled with fruit (roses, walnuts and figs), symbols of abundance (**fig. 3-3a**). The same symbolism is shared by the famous horn of Amaltheia, otherwise known as the cornucopia, which usually accompanies divinities of nature and fertility, of life and death. In his left hand, the god holds his own hunting weapon, the shepherd's stick (*lagobolon*) turned upwards.¹³ Pan rests his left arm on the trunk of a tree around which the lower part of the animal's skin (*nebris*) that forms his *chlamis* has wrapped. Mature in years, he wears a beard and moustache, and has long hair. A pair of small round holes (diam. 0.085 m) flanks a square hole above his forehead (0.015 m. by 0.009 m.). This square hole held a metal dowel supporting the missing Aphrodite's left hand (**fig. 4-4a**). He has a short, bushy tail and his ears are sharply pointed, like an animal's, while his facial characteristics are goatish but at the same time fully humanized and serene. The compact mass of the folds of his leather garment falls straight down along his left side and bonds with the support. On the ground in front of his feet hides a young animal with thick hair, probably a kid that turns its head upwards gazing towards its master.¹⁴

The find spot

One of the most significant edifices in eastern sector I of the excavations at ancient Eleutherna is located on the southern terrace, which is supported by a well-constructed retaining wall ca. 4 meters in height (**fig. 5-5a**). Excavations have shown that it includes a complex with a series of at least four barrel-vaulted cisterns, each of which is situated at a lower level than the one preceding in a stepped north-south arrangement. They were filled with water by means of a network of tunnels that begin at the great aqueduct on the acropolis, where reservoirs of gigantic size were quarried into the rock. The barrel-vaulted cisterns in their turn supplied the architectural complex with water; monumental in size, form, and construction, this complex covers the entire expanse of the terrace and is built with well-cut blocks of local limestone.¹⁵

¹¹ Bol 1972, 17, n. 25, pl. 40; Prittwitz und Gaffron 1994.

¹² Stewart 1997, 103; cf. Brinkerhof 1978.

¹³ Jost 1988, 219-224; cf. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 2011, 105-118.

¹⁴ Marquardt 1995.

¹⁵ Themelis 2009, 72-75.

The ground plan of the building is not typical of a bath. It is rectangular in plan and its rooms have an absolutely regular layout. The center is dominated by a large rectangular hall paved with large slabs of local limestone laid with particular care (**fig. 6, no. 106**). Two pillars placed along the long axis supported the roof of this stone-paved area in the building's first phase, which can be dated to the second half of the second century BC. The dating of the first phase is supported by coins, the earliest being a bronze coin of Perseus, King of Macedon (179-168 BC), a lamp of Agora type 51A (last quarter of the second century BC) that came to light in a foundation trench for the north retaining wall of architectural complex.¹⁶ The architectural layout, the arrangement of the rooms and the function of the first phase of the complex can be compared with the analogous Hellenistic bath buildings which have been brought to light in Megara Hyblaea on Sicily, in Gortys of Arcadia and elsewhere.¹⁷

In a second phase, one of slipshod rebuilding and modifications to the arrangement of the rooms, mainly on the north side, the roof seems to have been eliminated. A stone bench was then placed between the two pillars, while the deterioration and partial removal of the floor slabs had already begun. An inscription on a fragmentary anta capital of the western limestone pillar (inv. no. E78: max. H. 0.147 m., max. W. 0.18 m., max. Th. 0.089 m.), bears the following text:

Υ Γ [-----]
 Κ Λ Α Υ [-----]

Line height 0.035-0.045 m. At least one line, if not two, must be missing from the beginning of the text. The letter Γ on the first verse is ambiguous, although the relatively large space to its right excludes a Ι(ota). Whether the word concealed here is related to health (*ὑγ[εία]*) or to a proper name (e.g. *Υγ[ίνοϛ]*) is impossible for us to surmise. The name *Κλαύδιος* in the second line may perhaps be identified with the emperor Claudius or with a benefactor from Eleutherna who spent money to repair the building for the sake of the health of his fellow citizens. The style of lettering, with its elaborate serifs, is comparable to that of inscriptions from the Julio-Claudian period of the first century after 54 AD.¹⁸

Along the south side of the central paved area is a series of three rooms were added during the first/second century AD, of which the two square ones farthest east were heated by hypocausts, whereas the third, a larger rectangular room to the west with an apse on its north side, comprised the *frigidarium*. It is worth noting that these four areas were also roofed with vaulting constructed of large limestone blocks, inwardly convex and externally concave, while along the main axis of each vault narrower stone blocks, trapezoidal in section, were placed as keystones. This expensive and well-built edifice reveals the status and the wealth of the city in the Late Hellenistic and Roman periods.

Along the north side of the central paved area opens a series of auxiliary spaces, not particularly well preserved, whose northern end is bounded by the high retaining wall described above. A stairway, impressive in size and state of preservation, starts at the eastern end of the north stoa and connects the building's courtyard to the main eastern

¹⁶ *Agora IV*, 174-175.

¹⁷ Ginouvès 1954, 310-331, fig. 1; Ginouvès 1959, 135; Nielse 1990, 8-9 and 53-54 with figs. 3 and 6.

¹⁸ Tzifopoulos 2009, 126, no. 16, pl. 16.

road of the city (**fig. 6.** no. 91). The edifice occupies a privileged location with a breathtaking view northward toward the seacoast. The central settlement of ancient Eleutherna spreads out over the lower ground, with the urban villas, the “Small Bath”, the street network, and the Basilica of the bishop Euphratas, while further out, in the valley of the streambed amid the intensely green hills, one’s gaze is led toward the blue of the sky and of the sea, not immediately visible but ever-present.

A thick destruction layer with definite residues of burning and a large quantity of stones from the collapse of the walls covered the floors of the rooms and the main stone-paved area. The image of violent collapse and abandonment of the edifice was striking, while the destruction layer contained a wealth of small finds. Amid the materials of every sort from the building’s superstructure that were contained in the destruction layer, the clay wedges for securing the covering of the vaulted roofs and the vertical interior surfaces of the heated rooms stand out, along with the hundreds of fragments of multicolored marble paneling from the revetments, remains of colored wall plaster, and the limestone architectural elements. In addition, many small objects were uncovered, such as bone pins associated with the bathers’ clothing, bone spoons, and fragments of bone plaques that once covered small boxes.¹⁹ Numerous lamps of Corinthian type with distinctive depictions on their disks, as well as coins, date the edifice’s destruction and abandonment to around the third quarter of the third century AD, in the last years of the reign of the emperor Probus (276-282 AD) or shortly thereafter.

The public character of the edifice is evident not only in the formal elements of its layout, its monumental construction, and its size, but also from the abundance and quality of the movable finds. Besides the great quantities of ceramics, the coins, and the objects of bone, metal, and various other materials, notable works of sculpture were also discovered broken on the stone-paved floor of the north stoa, towards its northern end. Among them the “Aphrodite removing her Sandal”, which belongs to the decoration of first phase of the building and was reset in the second phase with parts of her limbs missing and without the stone base, in which the plinth of the statue was fixed side by side with that of Pan. All types of the naked Aphrodite were popular iconographic subjects for bath complexes.²⁰

Iconography, Technique and Dating

The statue of Aphrodite removing her sandal was particularly popular in the Late Hellenistic and Roman periods. More than two hundred works in the round are preserved in clay, bronze, and marble,²¹ not to count gemstones and representations on mosaic floors.²² A picture of Aphrodite removing her sandal from Pompeii deserves special mention, as it is unique in having been created with the *opus sectile* technique.²³ The number of specimens is increasing with new finds from excavations. According to

¹⁹ Some of these finds are depicted and commented briefly in Themelis 2002 and Themelis 2009.

²⁰ Manderscheid 1981, 120-130, cat. 502, 525, 526, 536, 548; Neumer-Pfau 1982, 488.

²¹ Künzl 1970, 102-192; Künzl 1994, 35-44; Barr-Sharrar 1996. One of the best bronze copies is in the museum at Padua: Adriani 1927, V, 17-38 and 81-82; Zampieri and Lavarone 2000, dust jacket photo.

²² Cf. the unique mosaic of the Severan period with an “Aphrodite Removing her Sandal” from the so-called “House of Aphrodite” at Mactar in Tunisia: *Notiziario della SAIA* II, 1 (2003), 7 with color photo.

²³ Elia 1929; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1980, 54, pl. 6c.

Margaret Bieber, the “Aphrodite removing her Sandal” was a popular dedication, perhaps by sailors, in Aphrodite sanctuaries throughout the Mediterranean basin.²⁴ Statues of this type, however, were not lacking in the decoration of baths and private houses as well.²⁵ Special mention is due to the large (H. ca. 0.47 m.) clay figurines of the goddess removing her sandal from the 1st century BC found in the sanctuary of the Mother of Gods (*Kybele*) and Aphrodite at Pella in Macedonia. Comparable figurines have been found in tombs at Beroia.²⁶ A terracotta figurine of “Aphrodite removing her Sandal” from Centuripe in Sicily (Syracuse, Museo Nazionale Archeologico Regionale, inv. no. 364), is relatively large in size (H. 0.272 m.), albeit half as large as those from Pella, and dated firmly to the second half of the second century BC; it marks the *terminus ante quem* of the lost original that served as a model for the production of variants and copies of the “Aphrodite removing her Sandal” type.²⁷ Equally significant for the dating of the lost original to the third century BC, and by extension of the adaptations, variants, and copies, is another clay statuette from Centuripe (H. 0.267 m.) of 200-150 BC, in the collection of the Foundation Thétis in Geneva. The figure is not nude, but wears a richly pleated long chiton that touches the ground, providing a safe footing for the sculpture. She is taking off her sandals before removing her clothing, in contrast to all the other known works of this type; the Eleutherna Aphrodite has already taken off her garment (which is folded up on top of the support, as noted above).²⁸ The dating of the lost prototype between 230 and 190 BC seems justified.²⁹

In certain copies, mainly those of marble, more rarely of bronze, the bent left arm of the goddess rests on some additional object or figure, such as a herm, an Eros, a Priapos, or a statuette of a priestess or a suppliant.³⁰ In other copies, the goddess’s raised leg rests on a rock, vessel, or even a dolphin, which alludes to her birth from the sea. Unique is a long tapered gold pin that rises to the top of a Corinthian capital supporting the figure of an Aphrodite removing her sandal; the naked goddess rests her left hand on the head of Eros, like our Eleutherna Aphrodite, and her left foot upon a dolphin.³¹

We can be sure that the Pan found alongside the Aphrodite in the courtyard of the Great Bath of Eleutherna served as a support for the goddess’ lost left arm. His size, stylistic affinity with the “Aphrodite removing her Sandal”, his familiarity with the world of Aphrodite, and above all the indisputable technical detail of the dowel hole above his forehead, speak for his connection with Aphrodite.³² In addition, the plinths of the two statues were connected diagonally. As regards the element of the figural support, the Aphrodite of Eleutherna finds the closest parallel in the copy of the “Aphrodite

²⁴ Bieber 1981, 144, figs. 394, 395, 606-607.

²⁵ Kreeb 1988, 309, no. 54:3; Marcadé 1996, 152-153.

²⁶ Lilimpaki-Akamati 2000, 40-41, pl. 38a-b; Tsakalou-Tzanavari 1996, 227. Cf. the second/first-century B.C. statuette in Regensburg; Bentz 1999, 62-63, no. 67.

²⁷ Fuchs 1983, 234-235, pl. 254; Pugliese Carratelli 1996, 436; Anti 1927, 17-38, 81-82.

²⁸ Zimmermann 1987, 83, no. 151, pl. 188; Brinkerhoff 1978, 70; Hornbostel 1980, 185, no. 112.

²⁹ See Havelock 1995, 84-85, for an overview of opinions regarding the dating of the prototype.

³⁰ Machaira 1993, 70, 139-141, pls. 42-43.

³¹ From Myth to life: Images of Waves from the Classical World, Catalogue of an exhibition at Smith College, Northampton MA, 2004, no. 28 (inv. no. G2000.49)

³² The statue was reassembled by Christos Alertas, conservator in the Archaeological Museum of Rethymnon.

removing her Sandal” from Pompeii (H. 0.63 m., Naples, Museo Nazionale, inv. no. 152798); the Pompeii figure wears a sort of two-piece underclothing that resembles a *bikini* rendered in red and gold paint, a characteristic which brings her closer to the world of the *hetairai*.³³ The Aphrodite statues from Pompeii and Eleutherna display similarities in the support beneath their raised left thigh, which is covered by the garment folded into a whorl; nevertheless, they differ fundamentally in respect to their general conception, proportions and movements, that is, in aspects of technique, iconography and style, characteristics of different workshops.

It must be made clear that the Pan of Eleutherna differs radically from the complementary figures of all the preserved copies and variants of the “Aphrodite removing her Sandal” type. He constitutes an independent piece of sculpture that competes artistically with the Aphrodite, standing next to her with equal honor; he does not simply fulfill the secondary function of supporting the goddess’ arm. He is just thirteen centimeters –0.134 m. to be exact– shorter than the goddess. Serene, mature, occupied with his *syrix*, Pan shows no aggressively amorous tendencies toward her, as is the case, for example, with the famous “slipper-slapper” group from Delos or the group of Pan and Daphnis in the Naples Museum.³⁴

Pan generally symbolizes the “*excess of an indomitable desire that operates on the periphery of human communities*”.³⁵ In the group from Eleutherna, as already noted, the element of eroticism is absent from the figure of Pan despite his proximity to Aphrodite. The opposition “Beauty and the Beast” is emphasized in a special way, each one of the two figures acting independently;³⁶ we must admit however that Pan of the Eleutherna group does have a peculiar beauty and exerts especially his own exotic, otherworldly charm. We should recognize that the statues of Aphrodite and Pan, now dazzlingly white, were originally painted in vivid colors.

Pan maintained relations with the goddess that ranged from good to particularly familiar.³⁷ Pan, with his “impious” gaze, provoked the goddess to turn her head towards him. The association of the two divinities in cult practice is not encountered very often. For this reason, the fact that on Kythera, in the first century BC, a man from Eleutherna offered a dedication to [*Aphrodite*] and Pan worshipped there gains special weight, as it enables us to gather that this worship also occurred in the man’s native city.³⁸ A relief of Pan with the Nymphs in the Rethymnon Museum probably comes from Eleutherna.³⁹ In all events, only the cultic association of Aphrodite and Hermes is confirmed for Crete, and specifically for Eleutherna.⁴⁰ The recent discovery of a limestone relief at Eleutherna

³³ Künzl 1970, 125, 160-162, no. M50, pls. 24-25; Machaira 1993, 70; Stemmer 2001, 128, fig. 4.

³⁴ *LIMC* II, 1984, 62, no. 414, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias); Marcadé 1996, 142, no. 61; Marquardt 1995, 184-185 and pl. 19:1, Geneva copy no. 18239.

³⁵ Borgeaud 1979, 130-131, 182-183; Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 462; cf. Blanckenhagen 1987. For Pan in general, with bibliography to 1948, see Helbig 1949.

³⁶ Borgeaud 1979, 117.

³⁷ Cf., e.g. the “slipper-slapper” group from Delos of Pan and Aphrodite, in which the goddess, despite her feigned refusal, clearly accepts Pan’s caresses: Fuchs 1983, 377, pl. 418; Kell 1988, 50-56, pl. 11; Ridgway 2000, 147-149; Andreae 2001, 199-201, pl. 190.

³⁸ *IG* V 1, 939.

³⁹ It is now quite certain that the series of bronze coins which bear the letters EA, a head of Pan, and a shepherd’s stick (not a club) belong to the mint of EL(eutherna) not that of EL(tynia).

⁴⁰ Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 457-458 with bibliography; Themelis 2002, 38-45.

(inv. no. 3618, see no. 7 below) that depicts Hermes and Aphrodite as a couple embracing face-to-face leaves no doubt about the close relationship of the two divinities on Crete generally and at Hellenistic Eleutherna in particular.

One way or another, Pan also belongs in the world of Hermes and the Nymphs as a secondary divinity and son of Hermes, for all that many other gods and demigods claimed to be his father.⁴¹ With the Pan of the Eleutherna sculpture group, the god's image takes on a decidedly bucolic coloring; at the same time the elements of music and abundance come to the fore, expressed by the *syrinx*, the fruit in his arms and the young kid at his feet.⁴² All evoke the agricultural and pastoral wealth in which Crete excelled. Anyhow, the sculptural composition with Aphrodite and Pan, together with the community's luxurious urban villas and the monumental architecture of the Great Bath, reflects the tendencies of the local aristocracy and the ideology of abundance (*copia/abundantia*) and the idyllic natural environment (*locus amoenus*) of the early Roman period.⁴³

The sculptural type of Aphrodite Removing her Sandal constitutes part of iconographic cycle: "Bath of Aphrodite". The goddess of love is depicted not putting on, as some scholars maintain, but taking her sandal off her left foot; she has already taken the sandal off her right leg and has removed her himation in order to take a bath.⁴⁴ The Knidian Aphrodite has taken off her himation at a moment in time prior to that of the Aphrodite removing her sandal type, while the crouching Aphrodite, the original of which is "generally" attributed to Doidalsas, depicts her in the final stage of the process: she is in fact taking her bath.⁴⁵ If we would like to follow the successive stages of the entire process of Aphrodite's bath, we would end with the type of the so-called *Anadyomene*, depicted, in certain variations, drying her wet hair having come out of the bath.⁴⁶ The relationship of the goddess to the water is what justifies, moreover, the displaying of the Eleutherna Aphrodite in a conspicuous place, in the courtyard of the much-visited "Great Bath" of the city.

It is a known fact that Aphrodite, even though she was the goddess of love, and despite the intense aura of sensuality her body emanated, did not want to be seen naked and to be compared to any mortal woman. Transgressors were punished without mercy.⁴⁷ In certain variants of the type, the element of the goddess' surprise at being disturbed by some unwelcome individual is acknowledged more clearly by the marked turn of her head and the perplexity expressed on her face, as for example in the bronze

⁴¹ Rose 1959, 167-170; Borgeaud 1988, 75, 77, 138, 221-222. For Aphrodite and Pan, see also *LIMC* II, 1984, 128-129, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias); Ridgway 2000, 147-149.

⁴² Delivorrias 1969, 220-225, pl. 6 (Pan holding a goat by the horns, in *rosso antico*); cf. Tod and Wace 1906, 139, no. 31.

⁴³ Pleket 1984, 23-29; Grassinger 1991, 150 and n. 12; Hölscher 1994, 875-888.

⁴⁴ For this statue type, see *LIMC* II, 1984, s.v. Aphrodite, 58, nos. 475-480, pl. 46-7 (A. Delivorrias). For the symbolism of taking off the sandal, see Deonna 1936, 11-12; Karouzou 1970, 38-43; Fauth 1985-1986; Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 60-62; Brouskari 1998, 128-134, pls. 5-7, 79; Stemmer 2001, 125-137.

⁴⁵ Linfert 1964; Machaira 1993, 77-78, no. 49, pls. 51-52, with earlier bibliography; Stewart 1997, 222-224.

⁴⁶ See *LIMC* II, 1984, 2-151, no. 1-1570, pl. 6-153, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias) for all the statue types; Geominy 1999.

⁴⁷ Stewart 1997, 6, 100-106, 248-249; Clark 1956, 71-83.

statuette from Paramythia in the British Museum.⁴⁸ The hypothetical viewer, who does not appear, was undoubtedly, first of all, every mortal man who confronted the image of the naked goddess with wonder and hidden desire; the same happened with Praxiteles' famous statue of the Knidian Aphrodite, whose "*definition of femininity became the new representational orthodoxy for the rest of antiquity*".⁴⁹ I agree with Christine Havelock's view that the "*Aphrodite removing her sandal does not seem to strike a pose for the benefit of an observer*".⁵⁰ The group "Invitation to Dance" was broken up into its two components: the Nymph seated on a rock known in many copies, and the standing Satyr who was inviting her to dance, preserved in a few copies. These two statues, the Nymph and the Satyr, have been connected by scholars thanks to a coin of the Severan period from Kyzikos that depicts both figures combined.⁵¹

Aphrodite removing her Sandal from Eleutherna can provide a new example of a freestanding "group in the open" (*Freiluftgruppe*), in which the figures are at some distance from one another and do not necessarily share a common base.⁵² In this category of works "*the relationship has to be worked out by the viewer, who virtually belongs to the same physical environment in which the statues exist, almost as if he had come upon them by chance and could, theoretically, enter the tableau and join the action*".⁵³ In the same way, a bather who was entering the "Great Bath" at Eleutherna would encounter the "Aphrodite removing her Sandal" standing before him, in the broad, stone-paved court (**fig. 6**).

A freestanding monolithic Ionic marble column was found lying next to the fragments of Aphrodite and Pan (**fig. 7**). The shaft and capital are made of fine-grained white marble, whereas the base is of grayish-black marble from Asia Minor, a combination that also occurs in a group of sculptures from Delos dating from the second period of Athenian rule (166-69 BC) and one (of the first century AD) from Kos.⁵⁴ The shaft of the column (H. 2.06 m., lower Diam. 0.275 m., upper Diam. 0.265 m.) sits on the base without a metal dowel. It has a pronounced *entasis* and particularly slender proportions, tapering to a slightly protruding ring. The plinth measures 0.393 by 0.393 m., with a height of 0.065 m., while the base's diameter is over 0.31 m. The volute capital (H. 0.16 m., L. 0.383 m., W. 0.258 m., side of abacus 0.30 m., abacus H. 0.028 m.) rests on the column shaft, again without metal connecting insert. This delicate freestanding marble column may have functioned as an allusion to roofed architecture, to the dwelling in the midst of which the goddess of love was preparing to take her bath. Similar elements indicative of roofed or unroofed space and of the natural environment have their place in vase painting, where abstraction and the allusive indication of space

⁴⁸ Bieber 1981, 144, fig. 607.

⁴⁹ Stewart 1997, 6-7.

⁵⁰ Havelock 1995, 84.

⁵¹ Satyr: H. 1.39 m., seated Nymph: H. 1.07 m. The bronze original has been dated from the end of the third to the middle of the second century BC: Kell 1988, 14-15, fig. 1; Ridgway 1990, 321-324, pls. 159 a-d, 160 a-b, and n. 15; Geominy 1999; Ridgway 2000, 278, n. 31.

⁵² De Luca 1975; Smith 1991, 130; Moreno 1994, 240-244, figs. 309, 310, 312, 314; Ridgway 2000, 283-284; Andreae 2001, 116-118, figs. 88-89. The view concerning the free space around the sculptures has lysippian roots: cf. Pollitt 1972, 176.

⁵³ Ridgway 1990, 321; on 322-324, she voices doubts about the original combination of the two figures (seated nymph and standing satyr).

⁵⁴ Jockey 1998.

constitute a necessity, also in reliefs, in wall paintings, and painted panels.⁵⁵

The large-scale, multi-figure works in their natural environment at Sperlonga, the “Blinding of Polyphemus” and “Scylla with the Ship of Odysseus” could be regarded as works of similar conception.⁵⁶ From the Antikythera shipwreck of the early first century BC come heavily corroded figures of varying sizes that belong to sculpture groups of the *Freiluftgruppen* type analogous to that from Sperlonga.⁵⁷ In the same period, another ship that had left Piraeus laden with works of art was wrecked not far from the port of Mahdia in Tunisia; from its cargo, four seated statuettes of boy-satyrs have been attributed to the same workshop of sculptors that created the Sperlonga groups.⁵⁸

The representation on a neo-Attic marble krater of the 1st century BC known as the Chigi krater, found at Ariccia, now in the Palazzo Chigi in Rome is related to the statue of Aphrodite removing her sandal.⁵⁹ Aphrodite removing her sandal (figure D) leans her left hand on an Ionic column, a nude young woman seated on a tree trunk (?) holds something like a purse in her outstretched right hand (**fig. 8**). Further to the right, behind the seated figure, a young Satyr or Pan (horns on his forehead) approaches stepping on his toes with an animal skin draped over his right arm and a *lagobolon* in his hand. The “Aphrodite removing her Sandal”, the Ionic column, the naked maiden and the young Satyr or Pan are part of the composition on the crater from Ariccia. Grassinger has pointed out that the representation on the krater brings the Classical three-figure reliefs to mind and finds contemporary parallels in the scenes on the Portland Vase and the silver basket at Bonn, concluding: “*Ferner stimmt hier wie dort die Verwendung zusätzlich eingefügter architektonischer Versatzstücke überein; sie sind als späthellenistische Kompositions-elemente miteingeflossen*”.⁶⁰

The workshop

The sculptural group of “Aphrodite Removing her Sandal” from Eleutherna either was the product of a foreign workshop or made by an artist of the period, who made the rounds of the cities of the Mediterranean to fill orders.⁶¹ Adriani hypothesized an Alexandrian origin for the “Aphrodite removing her Sandal” from Pompeii, which nevertheless, as already noted above, shows no stylistic kinship with the Eleutherna Aphrodite.⁶² Alexandria is mentioned as a probable place of origin for another bronze statuette of the “Aphrodite removing her Sandal” type (H. 0.215 m.), now in the J. Paul

⁵⁵ Freestanding groups: Blanckenhagen 1975; Ridgway 1971. Inspiration from painting and reliefs: Himmelmann 1994.

⁵⁶ Kunze 1996. For a synopsis of the various views regarding these sculptures and their dating, see Ridgway 2000, 279-281 and n. 33, who rightly, in my opinion, regards these works as “*original creations of the late first century, only generically patterned after Baroque forms*”. The same holds true also for the first century BC colossal Caserta-type statue of Herakles found at Messene: Themelis 2002a.

⁵⁷ Bol 1972, 103-107, pls. 38-50; see 106 for the term *Freiluftgruppe*, corresponding to the English “group in the open”.

⁵⁸ Andreae 1994. For a diagram of column sizes, see Hesberg 1994, 176 and 177-189, which highlight the monolithic columns’ aesthetic and commercial value as well as the great demand for them at Rome.

⁵⁹ Künzl 1970, 161, no. F16; Grassinger 1991, 99-101, 155-166, no. 1. Froning 1981, 155, no. 1.

⁶⁰ Grassinger 1991, 100.

⁶¹ Themelis 2002a. There were no marble quarries on Crete.

⁶² Adriani 1961, 26, no. 102.

Getty Museum in Malibu, California.⁶³ Crete maintained especially close cultural, economic, and political ties with Egypt and Alexandria.⁶⁴ Still, it seems unlikely that the “Aphrodite removing her Sandal” of Eleutherna came from Alexandria. Scholars have already recognized that there is a lack of correspondence between the evidence for Alexandrian art in literature and the very few surviving works of the Hellenistic period from Egypt generally; among others the lack of marble constituted a serious impediment to the development of a school of sculpture in Alexandria. Problems appear in connection with the artistic production of the islands of Rhodes and Kos as well.⁶⁵ Only Athens and Delos possessed the criteria which would guarantee the existence of workshops that could create a school of sculptors, although the sculptural production on Delos seems to have been served by itinerant artists chronologically limited to the period of Athenian rule from 166 to 88 BC, when the island was plundered by the forces of Mithridates VI, or until 69 BC, when it was seized by pirates.⁶⁶ The “Aphrodite removing her Sandal” group from Eleutherna could have been made by artists working in the second half of the second century BC on Delos, the teeming cosmopolitan center of the Mediterranean, who, for the most part came from Athens, such as Timarchides, son of *Polykles*, *Dionysios*, son of *Timarchides*, *Menandros*, son of *Melas*, and others.⁶⁷ A partly worked statuette of “Aphrodite removing her Sandal” came to light on the north side of the Stoa of Philip (Delos Museum, inv. no. A5124).⁶⁸ Extensive sculptural finds with a prominent decorative role have been made on Delos; most of them were brought to light in sanctuaries, public buildings and private houses.⁶⁹ We have already discussed the combination of two sorts of marble and the joins noted in works of Athenian/Delian manufacture from the cargoes of the Antikythera and Mahdia shipwrecks.⁷⁰ The “Aphrodite removing her Sandal” of Eleutherna shows stylistic characteristic which occur on works of Delian/Athenian provenance, made both of marble and bronze. These characteristic can be summarized as follows: a naked female body, sensitively modeled that emanates an aura of sensuality, broad hips and small conical breasts, small head in relation to body, oval face with small mouth and chin but relatively large and sharp nose, an abstracted expression, delicately modeled wavy locks of hair, deep drapery folds, delicately balanced bodies in motion that sometimes turn daringly (**fig. 1** and **9**).⁷¹ Certain elements of this stylistic analysis have been gleaned from the work of Beryl Barr-Sharrar on the bronzes from the Madhia shipwreck, which offers congenial parallels in support of my proposition to attribute the Eleutherna “Aphrodite removing her Sandal”

⁶³ Mitten and Doeringer n.d., 134-135, no. 135.

⁶⁴ Hellenkemper Salies 1994, *passim*.

⁶⁵ Mattusch 1998; Machaira 1998; cf. Kleiner 1948, 218, 250, who dated the bronze prototype to the 3rd century BC and locates the workshop in western Asia Minor (Pergamon or Knidos); *LIMC* II,1 (1984), 58, no. 471-2, II, pl. 45.

⁶⁶ Jockey 1998.

⁶⁷ Stewart 1979, 65-78, and Appendix: Period IV (160-86 BC).

⁶⁸ Jockey 1998, 180-181, fig. 7. See also the limbless trunk of an “Aphrodite removing her Sandal” on Rhodes: *BCH* “Chronique des fouilles en 1967” (G. Daux), 980, fig. 22.

⁶⁹ Marcadé 1969, n. 30-33.

⁷⁰ Linfert 1994; Fuchs 1963; Marcadé 1969; Barr-Sharrar 1998; Prittwitz und Gaffron 1998.

⁷¹ Jockey 1998, 182-183, fig. 12 of a small statue of Artemis from the House of the Five Statues on Delos (inv. no. 4126) that shows similarities in the treatment of the head, hairstyle, facial features, and clothing.

to sculpture workshops from Delos and Athens: “oval-shaped head”, “angular facial features”, “fleshy shoulders”, “soft, fleshy body modeling”, “small conical breasts”, “complex pose”, “string-like, low relief locks”, “longer ... pointed noses”, “wide nose bridge,” “small dimpled chin”.⁷²

2. Statue of a Muse, 2nd-1st c. BC. Sector I, West Street, inv. no. A 3619. H. 0.50 m., dimensions of plinth 0.155 X 0.125 X 0.016 m. Marble, white, fine-grained. The separately worked and inserted upper part of the shoulders with neck and head, as well as the inserted right hand, from below mid-forearm, are missing. The right foot with part of the plinth is broken (**fig. 10a-c**).

Statuette of a standing female figure. The weight is placed on the left leg, while the right is relaxed and bent behind, and the upper body twists slightly to the left. The right arm hung down along the side, whereas the left is bent to the fore. The figure wears an ankle-length chiton falling in dense, deep drapery upon the integral elliptical plinth and the feet, on which are thick-soled sandals. Cast over the chiton is the himation, which covers the back, the left shoulder and the hand to the inset wrist, turns from the right side forwards, covering the abdomen and the legs to about the middle of the knees, and eventually meets its other edge along the female’s left side, from which point it falls in broad folds. The himation is doubled-over below the bosom, forming a twisted mass obliquely draped. The folds of the himation in front form an inverted triangle, with the apex between the thighs, while lower down, some vertical pleats of the chiton are discernible beneath the himation.⁷³ The height and volume of the lower torso and the legs of the figure are exaggerated, in contrast to the compressed upper part, a characteristic of works of the second-first century BC. Consistent too with this time interval, and closer to the early first century BC, are the technical details of the work, such as the cut and smoothed surfaces of the inserted parts (arms, shoulders-head) and the manner of doweling them with circular mortises. The see-through effect of the garment is a trait characteristic of female statues of the second century BC, from Kos, Asia Minor and other regions.⁷⁴ As a statue type, the figure refers to one of the Muses in a popular statue group of Hellenistic times (late third century BC), of which many copies and variations circulated.⁷⁵

3. a) Thigh of a female statue, 2nd-1st c. BC. Sector I, Hellenistic sanctuary in the south atrium of Basilica, inv. no. A 2052. H. 0.36, W. 0.23 m. White, fine-grained marble. The knee and parts of the folds of the garment are missing. Sediment on certain areas of the surface (**fig. 11**).

Part of the thigh and knee of a life-size statue of a female figure dressed in a short chiton. The leg was bent slightly at the knee. The upper side is smoothed for being

⁷² Barr-Sharrar 1998, 188-191.

⁷³ Cf. the standing Muse, inv. no. 23.229, in Walters Art Gallery: Schneider 1999, 125-26, no. 2, pl. 37a.

⁷⁴ Dillon 2010, 212, n. 424; Höghammar 1997, 131, fig. 244; Kabus-Preishofen 1989, nos. 51-61, 63, 89; cf. Merker 1973, 20; cf. Linfert 1976, 67-80.

⁷⁵ For the Muses: Pinkwart 1965, 55-66; Ridgway 1990, 252-268 with bibliography; Andrae 2001, 47-49. cf. the statue of Klio restored by B. Thorwaldsen, Roman copy of a Hellenistic original of 150 BC, Glyptothek Munich: Andrae 2001, 47-49, 176-178, pl. 170.

joined to the torso of the figure. Preserved on the broken backside is a rectangular dowel hole. Broad, shallow folds of the chiton cover the thigh, with a mass of folds falling freely between the thighs.⁷⁶ The fragment comes most probably from a statue of Artemis to which also the following fragment from the left breast of the same also belongs.

b) Bosom of a female statue, 2nd-1st c. BC. Sector I, Hellenistic sanctuary, south atrium of Basilica, inv. no. Λ 2053. L. 0.25, W. 0.15 m. White, coarse-grained marble with greyish veins bearing traces of burning (**fig. 12**).

Part of the left bosom of a life-size female statue covered by the folds of the chiton.

Fine, vertical folds, particularly dense at the point of transition to the right missing breast, are well preserved. On the left part a mass of markedly curved folds of a himation is preserved.

4. Statuette of a goat, 1st c. BC. Sector I, House 1 room 11 (west side of the *Peristilium*), inv. no. Λ 3616. H. 0.30, L. 0.29 m. Marble, white, fine-grained. The fore legs are missing, while the hind are preserved from below the buttocks. The body of the figure sitting on the animal's back is missing, except for the left hand and part of the hips (**fig. 13a-c**).

Statuette of a shaggy-haired goat leaning to the left and turning its head to the right. The left hind quarter and the rump touch a badly eroded lump of marble with rough drapery. Despite the erosion, the torso of a female figure in himation can be discerned, sited on the goat's back. The right hand of the female figure rests on the goat's horns. Famed in antiquity was the bronze statue of “*Ἀφροδίτης ἐπὶ τράγου*”, a work by Skopas in Elis described by Pausanias (6.25.12 and 1.22.2): “... κρηπίς δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ τεμένους πεποιήται καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κρηπίδι ἄγαλμα Ἀφροδίτης χαλκοῦν ἐπὶ τράγω κάθηται χαλκῶ· Σκόπα τοῦτο ἔργον, Ἀφροδίτην δὲ Πάνδημον ὀνομάζουσι”.

The only surviving sculpture pieces (apart from coins and mirrors), copies or variants of the lost original, are a fragmentarily preserved marble statuette in Lanckoronski Collection in Vienna,⁷⁷ a relief in Sparta⁷⁸ and a marble discus of 375 BC in Louvre.⁷⁹ The fragment of a relief representing Aphrodite on a he-goat came to light in the Asclepieion of Athens (National Museum, inv. no. 2422).⁸⁰ The sculpture piece from Eleutherna acquires exceptional importance not only because of the rarity of the type, but also because of its high quality. The rendering of the goat's head and expression, the thick hair, the movement and the torsion, as well as the fine smooth fingers of the Love goddess, reveal the hand of a competent artist of the Hellenistic period. No copies of Skopas' oeuvre “*Aphrodite upon a goat*” have survived and the image of it on Roman bronze pseudo-autonomous coins struck in Elis –usually badly worn–are

⁷⁶Themelis 2002, 43-44.

⁷⁷Schober, 1922-24, 225.

⁷⁸Dressel und Milchhöfer 1877, 420, op. 261.

⁷⁹Collignon 1894, 143-147, εικ. 2.

⁸⁰Vikela 1997, 198; also, cf. the inscription IG II2 5115 written on a stone seat of the Dionysos' theatre at Athens; Plutarch, Theseus, 18.

not faithful representations of the famous sculptural group.⁸¹ The Hellenistic group from Eleutherna seems to be a variant of the original. The animal's lascivious and "dark" expression, the contrast between the rough shaggy hair of the animal and the smooth feminine flesh of the goddess's hand are equal to the lost classical prototype.

Thus, another praiseworthy sculptural group from Eleutherna is added to that of the Aphrodite removing her Sandal, bearing witness to the prosperity and the high aesthetic taste of the city's inhabitants during the Hellenistic times. Furthermore, it bears witness to the presence of a sanctuary of Aphrodite in Sector I of Eleutherna (cf. the relief of Aphrodite and Hermes, no. 7 below).

5. Thigh of a statue of Satyr, 1st c. BC. Sector I, area of the West Street, inv. no. Λ 2499. L. 0.17, W. 0.087 m. White fine-grained marble. Sediment and a vertical crack on the back of the thigh (**fig. 14a-b**).

Part of the left thigh of a male figure. The limb is preserved from the knee to mid-thigh. On front and back, the ends (tail and leg) of an animal skin (*nebris*) touch the flesh. The thigh belongs to a figure of a Satyr, of a well-known type in the Hellenistic period.⁸²

6. Torso of a male statue, 1st c. BC. Sector I, East Street, inv. no. Λ 1927. H. 0.215, W. 0.185, Th. 0.105. Marble, white fine-grained. Chipped in the area of the scapula. The head, the arms from the top of the shoulders and the legs are missing. Slightly eroded surface (**fig. 15**).

Torso of a marble statue of a nude robust-bodied male, most probably Herakles. The contraction of the muscles on the thorax and the abdomen registers movement and action towards the figure's right, with a simultaneous minor torsion in the same direction. The slight curvature of the left side of the torso follows the motion. The right scapula projects beyond the left, while the right side of the chest is wider than the left. It seems that the legs were apart and in vigorous movement, as were the arms, obviously due to the hero's engagement in one of his labors.⁸³

7. Votive relief of Aphrodite and Hermes, 1st c. BC. Sector I, room 116 of House I, inv. no. Λ 3618. H. 0.37, W. 0.315 m. Made of local limestone. Lower and right part missing. Badly eroded surface (**fig. 16**).

Rectangular votive relief in architectural frame in the form of a niche (*naiskos*). High relief antae left and right, and a heavy epistyle above with cornice decorated with a cyma. Represented, in frontal pose, are Hermes, right, and Aphrodite, left, as a couple in embrace. Hermes wears the usual short chiton, a *petasos* on his head and holds a *kerykeion* (*caduceus*) in his left hand bent towards the waist. His outstretched right hand rests on Aphrodite's shoulders. The goddess is clad in a long chiton and has a tiara on the head. She brings her bent right hand gracefully onto her waist, while her extended left rests on Hermes' shoulders.

⁸¹ On the lost scopadic work: Arias 1952, 125-126, M14, pl. 7, 25-26; Stewart 1977, 93, Appendix I; cf. Mitropoulou 1975, 10f., no. 3.

⁸² Katakis 2002, 1052.

⁸³ Themelis 1994-1996, 267-289; *idem* 2002, 42-43. On the typology of the preserved copies and variations of Herakles' statues, the originals of which are attributed to Lysipp: Krull 1985, *passim*.

The cultic and marital relationship between Hermes and Aphrodite was particularly popular in Crete and is attested from Minoan into Roman times, as testified from the archaeological investigation in the sanctuary of the two deities at Symi Vianou in Crete.⁸⁴ Erotic relation between Hermes and Aphrodite is also attested on the terracotta relief, of 480 BC, from Lokroi in the Archaeological Museum of Munich (inv. no. 5047).⁸⁵ The votive relief of Eleutherna, with its iconographic originality, leaves no doubt concerning the close connection of the two deities in the Cretan town of Eleutherna during the Hellenistic times. The presence of a sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite is thus confirmed.⁸⁶

B. THE ROMAN PERIOD

In 68/67 BC, Eleutherna was captured by the Roman general Quintus Caecilius Metellus, the conqueror of all Crete. The city wall proved inadequate to withstand the enemy. According to a traditional story, preserved by the historian Dio Cassius (36.18.2), the Romans poured vinegar on the brick-built upper courses of the wall, causing them to disintegrate and thus making it easy for the invaders to fight their way in and capture the city. Metellus carried off a large sum of money from Eleutherna, which was then enjoying a period of prosperity.

Under Roman occupation the city continued to flourish. The emperors Augustus, Tiberius, Trajan, Hadrian, Septimius Severus and Caracalla had altar and statues erected in their honour by the Eleuthernians.⁸⁷ There was considerable building activity, probably as a result of population growth. The fortifications and the terrace retaining walls were repaired. The east side of the hill, where the terraces are wider, the slope less steep and the springs of fresh water more abundant, was chosen as the most suitable residential area for the ruling class, as is apparent from the two luxurious urban villas (Houses 1 and 2), the bathhouses and other buildings uncovered in the excavation of Sector I.

1. Head from the statue of a boy, 1st c. AD. Sector I, Small Balneum, room 47, inv. no. Λ 2412. H. 0.22, W. 0.20, Th. 0.081 m. Marble, white and fine-grained. Only the right side of the cranium with part of the forehead and the cheek is preserved. Light chips in places (**fig. 17a-b**).

Part of the head of a life-size portrait-statue in marble. The extant facial traits, the smooth forehead and the puffy cheeks suggest that a child is represented.⁸⁸ Preserved on the back of the cranium is a vertical fold of the mantle (*palla*) that covers the head.⁸⁹ Faint traces of a drill on the curls of the hair dressed in a distinctive style with short, pointed locks framing the brow. It is a high-quality work most probably dating to the reign period of Trajan. The covering of the head (*caput velare*) characterizes a young

⁸⁴ Lempesi 1985.

⁸⁵ Stemmer 2001, 53-54 with earlier bibliography dealing with the aspect of Aphrodite-Persephone in Lokroi Epizephyrioi and her relation to Hermes.

⁸⁶ Cf. the votive relief made of led from Eleutherna: Themelis 2004b, 218, no. 191.

⁸⁷ Themelis 2002, 20, 32, 48.

⁸⁸ Laes 2011, 12.

⁸⁹ Goette 1989, 32-46.

member of the family of an official from Eleutherna honored with a statue set in the agora of the city, unless it represents a child of the royal house.⁹⁰

2. Statue of the Great Herculaneum Woman, 1st c. AD. Sector I, South of the Small Balneum, inv. no. Λ 472. Marble, white fine-grained. The left hand from the wrist, the right index finger and thumb, and the inset head are missing. H. 1.83, dimensions of plinth: 0.74, X 0.48 X 0.05-0.06 m. (**fig. 18**).

Life-size headless female statue in the type of the so-called Matron of Herculaneum. The figure wears sandals and stands firmly on her right leg, while the left is relaxed and drawn to the side. She is attired in a long, amply draped chiton, over which is a himation that covered the back of the missing head and the entire body except for the upper part of the chest. The right hand is bent towards the chest and holds the obliquely arranged edge of the himation, while the left arm, lowered at the side, is covered with the garment. The missing inserted head probably had the features of a mature woman.⁹¹

This statue type was used from the outset for portraits of specific nature, married women (matrons). It was a great favorite in the Roman imperial period, used both for empresses and ladies of the aristocracy. It is a first-century AD copy of a statue type of the mid-fourth century BC considered to be a creation of the great sculptor Praxiteles. Praxiteles himself and his sons had signed a series of some fourteen bases on which portrait statues stood. The signature of Praxiteles appears on two bases in the Agora at Athens, one in Delos, one in Olbia and one from Thespiae in Thebes Museum.⁹²

The Eleutherna statue was part of the sculptural decoration in the halls of the Public Building. It portrays the member of a family, to which the abovementioned head of a child, inv. no. Λ 2412, the statue of a female figure in the type of the Young Herculaneum Woman (no. 3 below), and another badly worn marble male statue of a *palliat* (inv. no. Λ 1546) belonged.⁹³

3. Statue of the Small Herculaneum Woman, 1st c. AD. Sector I, south of the Small Balneum, inv. no. Λ 2412 (Λ 471). H. 1.68, dimensions of plinth: 0.53 X 0.37 X 0.045-0.07 m. Marble, white, fine-grained. The hands from the wrists and the inset head are missing (**fig. 19**).

Life-size statue of a young female in the type of the so-called Maid of Herculaneum. The figure's weight is placed on the left leg, while the right is relaxed. She wears sandals from which only the toes protrude, and a himation covering the body and the arms, except for the bosom. The himation is swathed tightly around the waist, turns behind on the back, falls down from the right shoulder covering the bent right arm, and is arranged in a mass of folds directed obliquely to the left side.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Stavridi, A. *AAA* 12-13, 324 no. 10: head of girl; cf. Kavvadias 1923, 275, no. 462; Themelis 2002, 52; Gross 1940, catalogue no. 42, pl. 14c-d. On the covering of the head: Freier 1963.

⁹¹ Tzedakis, I., *AD* 20 (1965): Chronika 570; Themelis, 2002, 52. On the oeuvre of Praxiteles in general: Corso 1988-1991.

⁹² Corso 1988-1991; Ajootian 1996, 96.

⁹³ Themelis 1991-1993, 257.

⁹⁴ Tzedakis, I., *AD* 20 (1965): Chronika 570; Themelis 2002, 52.

This statue type is used for the depiction of young unmarried women.⁹⁵ One of the best preserved copies of the type has been used to represent a priestess of Artemis in her sanctuary in Aulis of Boeotia (Thebes Museum inv. no. BE 64).⁹⁶

4. Statuette of Aphrodite, 1st c. AD. Sector I, Public Buildings, room 38, inv. no. Λ 2397. H. 0.123, W. 0.055 m. White, fine-grained marble. The head, the calves, the right arm from the shoulder and the left from the forearm are missing. The surface eroded (**fig. 20**).

The missing head with neck was separately worked and inserted as indicated by the circular depression between the shoulders. The figure's weight is placed on the left leg, while the right is relaxed. The left arm, bent at the elbow, holds the himation, which falls downwards in vertical folds. The figure wears a *peplos* that clings to the body, leaving the left breast bare. The backside is flat with the *peplos* indicated faintly.⁹⁷ The statuette is a variation of the *Frejus Venus* type reproduced in small dimensions to serve decorative purposes.⁹⁸

5. Leg of a statue, 1st c. AD. Sector I, Roman House 1, room 11, inv. no. Λ 3563. L. 0.111, W. 0.054 m. Marble, white, fine-grained. Eroded surface (**fig. 21**).

Left lower leg of a female statue wearing a high hunting leather boot (*endromis*) attributed to a statue of Artemis the Huntress.

6. Marble staff of Asklepios, 1st c. AD. Sector I, Small Balneum, room 47, inv. no. Λ 2430. H. 0.07, W. 0.045, Th. of staff 0.027 m. Marble, white, fine-grained (**fig. 22**).

Part of a staff with two elliptical nodules. The back side is roughly worked. Coiled around the staff is a snake whose body becomes gradually thicker towards the top. From a statue of Asklepios.

7. Double-headed herm depicting Dionysos and Ariadne, 2nd c. AD, Sector I, narthex of Basilica (the stele) and Small Balneum (the joining double head).⁹⁹ Inv. no. Λ 2579, H. 1.82, W. 0.34μ - 0.36, Th. 0.38μ.-0.40 m., H of neck 0.183 m. Pentelic, fine-grained, marble. Sediment on one side. Lower edges broken, chipped in places particularly on the upper chest. The cranium of the female head is cut off horizontally and smoothed to receive a marble addition. The false arms are missing. Pairs of hair locks with long spiral ringlets frame the neck on each side, falling towards the anatomically modelled chest. On the narrow sides, traces of red color. The missing genitalia were made of bronze and attached to the cuttings on both sides of the stele (**fig. 23**).

Portrayed on one side is Dionysos (H. 0.41, H. of face 0.290, Th. 0.385 m.),

⁹⁵ Ridgway 1990, 56.

⁹⁶ Ridgway 1990, 92, fig. 56b; cf. Themelis 1998, 37-59.

⁹⁷ Themelis 2002, 75, fig. 83.

⁹⁸ Creeb 1988, 36-40, 200-215, catal. 24; Bartman 1992, 26, 36 ff.

⁹⁹ Themelis 2002, 98-99; Themelis 1994-1996, 267-289; Themelis 2003. The male genitalia found at Eleutherna in 1910 (Rethymnon museum inv. no. L51) and depicted in Stampolidis 2004, 149, no. 4, might belong to our hermaic stele.

youthful, wreathed in ivy and *mitrophoros* (with a *taenia* on the forehead) while on the other side is Ariadne, also with *taenia* on the forehead and wreathes of ivy leaves around. The *taenia* on the first head touches the hair, while on the other is lower. The hair, dressed with wavy tresses and rendered in linear manner, forms a high-relief mass on the temples ending above the ears, from where thick locks with wavy delineation begin. Both heads are high quality products of Neo-Attic workshops dating to the reign of Hadrian or Septimius Severus, like the corresponding double-headed herms found in the Panathenaic Stadium at Athens during excavations carried out by Ernst Ziller in 1869.¹⁰⁰ Double-headed (Janus) herms are absent from Crete and generally uncommon in the rest of Greece.¹⁰¹ The combination of Dionysos and Ariadne on a double-headed stele is rare.¹⁰² Dionysos on stelae is usually represented youthful on the one side and mature and bearded on the other.

The prototypes of both heads should be sought in rather Praxitelian works of the fourth century BC. Of particular interest in the case of the double-headed herm from Eleutherna is the fact that their iconography goes back to a lost classical monumental sculpture in bronze reproduced during the Hellenistic period and used in artifacts of a decorative character, such as the *fulcrum* from Mahdia in Tunisia.¹⁰³ A similar coiffure with a *taenia* on the forehead is observed on the young Dionysos in the Telephos frieze on the altar of Zeus at Pergamon.¹⁰⁴ The youthful head of the Eleutherna Dionysos preserves the freshness and the technical details of the bronze original, attributed most probably, as noted above, to the atelier circle of the great Athenian artist Praxiteles (**fig. 24**). The head of the Eleutherna Dionysos is related to that on the herm of Dionysos Tauros in the Vatican as well as with Dionysos in the Prado Museum in Madrid, although the stylistic traits of our Dionysos refer rather to an earlier Praxitelean work.¹⁰⁵ The head of the young *mitrephoros* Dionysos from Athens (in Berlin, Antikensammlung Sk118) considered to be an original of the late fourth century BC could be also compared with the Eleutherna head.¹⁰⁶ However, the rigid frontality and the cold expression of the head in Berlin is not in accordance with its early date.

Kallistratos (Ἐκφρ. 8) describes as follows a bronze youthful Dionysos he saw in a sacred groove in Elis: “ἦν δὲ ἀνθηρός, ἀβρότητος γέμων, ἰμέρω ρέομενος... κισσὸς δ’ αὐτὸν ἔστεφε περιθέων ἐν κύκλω ... καὶ τῶν βοστρύχων τοὺς ἐλικτῆρας ἐκ μετώπου κεχυμένους ἀναστέλλων”.¹⁰⁷ “*And he was covered with flowers, full of nobility and emanated desire ... and he was crowned with ivy, while from his brow the curly ringlets flowed down*”.

The superbly conceived and executed youthful couple of Dionysos and Ariadne, which dominates the dionysiac representation on the bronze volute crater B1 from tomb B at Derveni of Thessaloniki, are very close in time to the lost praxitelian works in the

¹⁰⁰ Ziller 187; Kastriotis 1908, no. 1693; Papanikolaou-Kristensen 2003, 58-71, figs. 39 and 46.

¹⁰¹ Seiler 1969; Giumblija 1983, 60-72; Wrede 1985, 29-30.

¹⁰² Giumblija 1983, 72-74.

¹⁰³ Horn 1994, 451-467.

¹⁰⁴ Schmidt 1962, fig. 66; cf. Mattusch 1966, 195-198 and 222-231.

¹⁰⁵ Picard 1954, 312-321, figs. 127-132.

¹⁰⁶ Cain 1997, 72, pl. 27.

¹⁰⁷ Overbeck 1868, no. 1222.

round.¹⁰⁸ The Dionysos at Delphi, central figure on the west pediment of the temple of Apollo, is an original work by the Athenian sculptor *Androthenes*, dated circa 330 BC, relating directly to the Eleutherna Dionysos.¹⁰⁹ The Delphic god is young, beardless and wears a *mitra* around his forehead, while his spiraling hair locks flow on the shoulders.¹¹⁰ Despite the fact that the marble pedimental sculpture had a function different from that of the work in the round, the iconographical and stylistic affinity of the head of Dionysos in Delphi to the one from Eleutherna and to the lost praxitelian original is undeniable. Nevertheless, the unknown and “ἄσημος” sculptor *Androthenes* was Athenian and contemporary to the great Praxiteles from whom he was undoubtedly deeply influenced. Pausanias (10.19.4) mentions a completely unknown artist named *Eukadmos* as teacher of *Androthenes*.

Turning to the head of Ariadne on the herm from Eleutherna (**fig. 25**) I would like to point out its close stylistic and iconographical relation to the head of the so-called Dionysos *Melpomenos*, of unknown provenance (in Berlin, Antikensammlung Sk610) and to return to its old recognition as Ariadne on the basis of its pronounced female characteristics, the coiffure and the “rings of Aphrodite” around its neck. The slightly open mouth of the Berlin head accentuates simply the femininity of the figure and has nothing to do, according to my opinion, with singing or reciting as H.-U. Cain suggested in support of his weak arguments that the head should be attributed to the statue of a Melpomenos (singing) Dionysos.¹¹¹

The initial function of the herm at Eleutherna is not known. We presume, on the basis of analogous examples, that it was originally erected either in the *intercolumnium* of a portico or in the precinct and the sacred groove of a deity, as for example the herms standing in the temenos of the Great Goddesses at Megalopolis described by Pausanias 8.31.7). Consequently, the herm of Eleutherna was connected with the sanctuary of the Hellenistic-Roman times uncovered below the south courtyard of the Euphratas' Basilica.¹¹²

ARCHITECTURAL SCULPTURE

1. Fragment of a sima, 1st c. BC. Sector I, Roman House 1, room 2, inv. no. Λ 1366, L. 0.13, H. 0.20, Th. 0.09 m. Local limestone. The larger part of the sima and the right side of the lion head are missing. Light chipping and sediment rests on the surface. The back is worked with a broad chisel (**fig. 26**).

Part of a raking sima with double curvature, terminating above in a projecting fillet (*taenia*) with a waterspout in the form of a lions' head not pierced through. The lion's features are rendered in naturalistic manner. The anatomical details of the eyes, the muzzle, the teeth and the mane are denoted by incisions of differing depth.¹¹³

¹⁰⁸ Themelis and Touratsoglou 1997, 70-72, pls. 13-17 and 73-75.

¹⁰⁹ Themelis 1976, Parartema 8-11, pl. E, a; cf. Marcadé 1977, 389-408.

¹¹⁰ Stewart 1982, 205-215. On Dionysos' iconography and the evolution of his figure: Klejman Bennet 1994.

¹¹¹ Cain 1997, 70 ff., pl. 26.

¹¹² Themelis 2002, 38-45.

¹¹³ Themelis 2002, 32-33, fig. 22.

2. Fragment of a sima with a lion's head spout, 5th c. AD. Sector I, south of Basilica, inv. no. Λ 2594, L. 0.36, H. 0.528, Th. 0.17 m. Local limestone. Mended from two fragments. Oblique fracture on the surface beginning from below the left eye, covers the jaw and most of the mouth. The right cheek of the lion head is chipped and the lower jaw broken. Chips in the nasal area (**fig. 27**).

The front surface is of double curvature and defined above and below by *taeniae-regulae*. In the middle, in high relief, is the lion head with oval face and exaggerated supraorbital arches, which sink into the nasal area. The eyes are almond-shaped with bulbous pupil and the ears tiny. The mane is denoted by deep incisions. The head displays an obvious tendency towards *schematization* and a distancing from naturalistic models. The sima is a product of a local stone-carving workshop, which manufactured not only incorporated architectural members but also moveable artifacts. Characteristic are the deep incisions indicating the lion's dry, wrinkled skin, a trait associated both with the ease with which the local white stone is carved and with the folk vein in which the stone-carvers of Eleutherna were working. These tendencies of the Early Byzantine workshop are obvious also in the stone reliefs of the templum-screen of the Euphratas' Basilica and the stone bases of the candlesticks found in the central aisle of the church.¹¹⁴ There is a similar lion-head sima from Eleutherna, slightly older than ours, kept in the Rethymnon Archaeological Museum.¹¹⁵

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¹¹⁴ Themelis 2009, 86, fig. 61.

¹¹⁵ Davaras, K., ΑΔ 22 (1967): *Chronika*, pl. 374· cf. the crocodile head on a waterspout from late Roman Gortys: DiVita 2000, 10, cover plate; Karetsoy and Andreadaki Vlazaki 2000, 445, no. 514; Stampolidis 2004, 150, no. 6.

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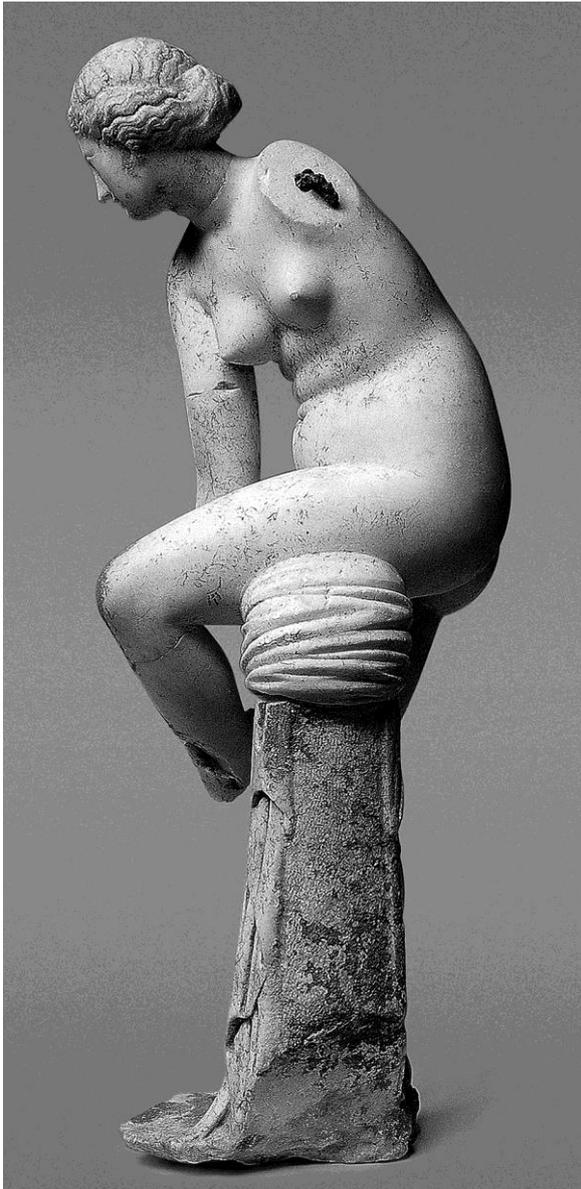


Fig 1. The statue of Aphrodite (left side)

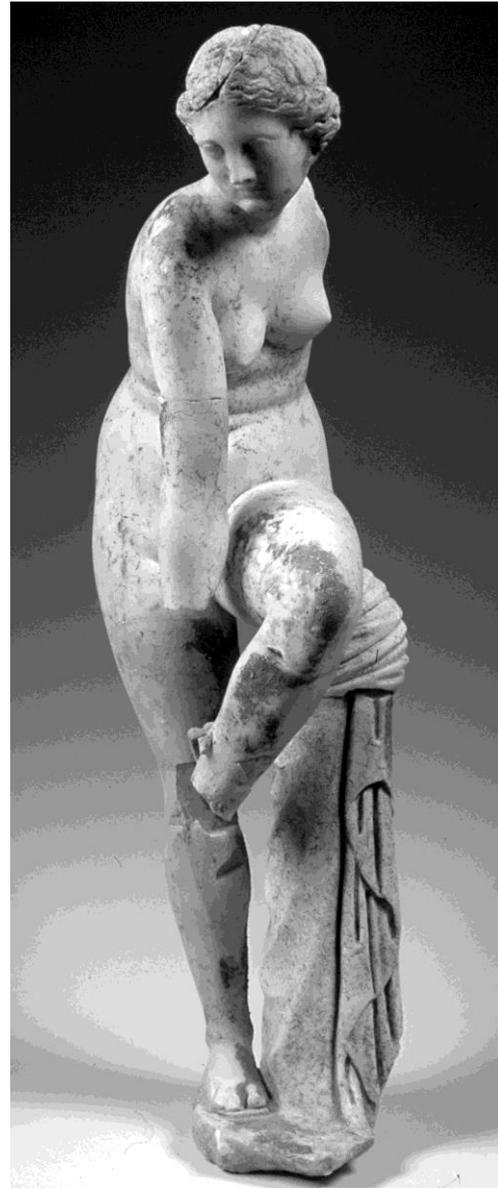


Fig 2. The statue of Aphrodite (right side)



Fig 3. The statue of Pan (front side)



Fig 3a. The statue of Pan (back side)



Fig 4. The statuary group of Pan and Aphrodite

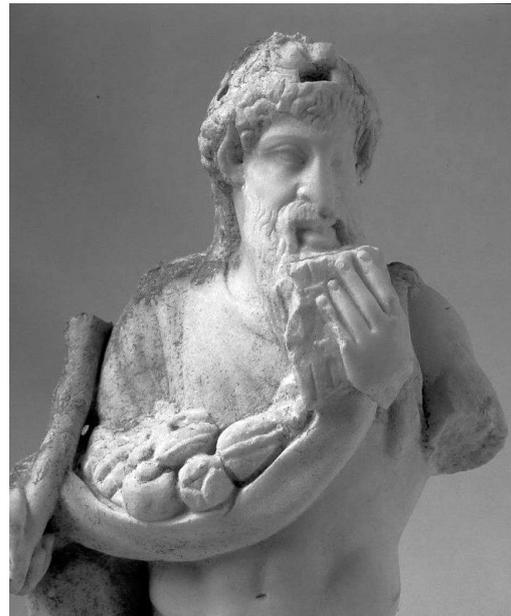


Fig 4a. Statue of Pan (upper torso)



Fig 5. The site of Eleutherna, sector I (air photo)



Fig 5a. The retaining wall of the Bath terrace

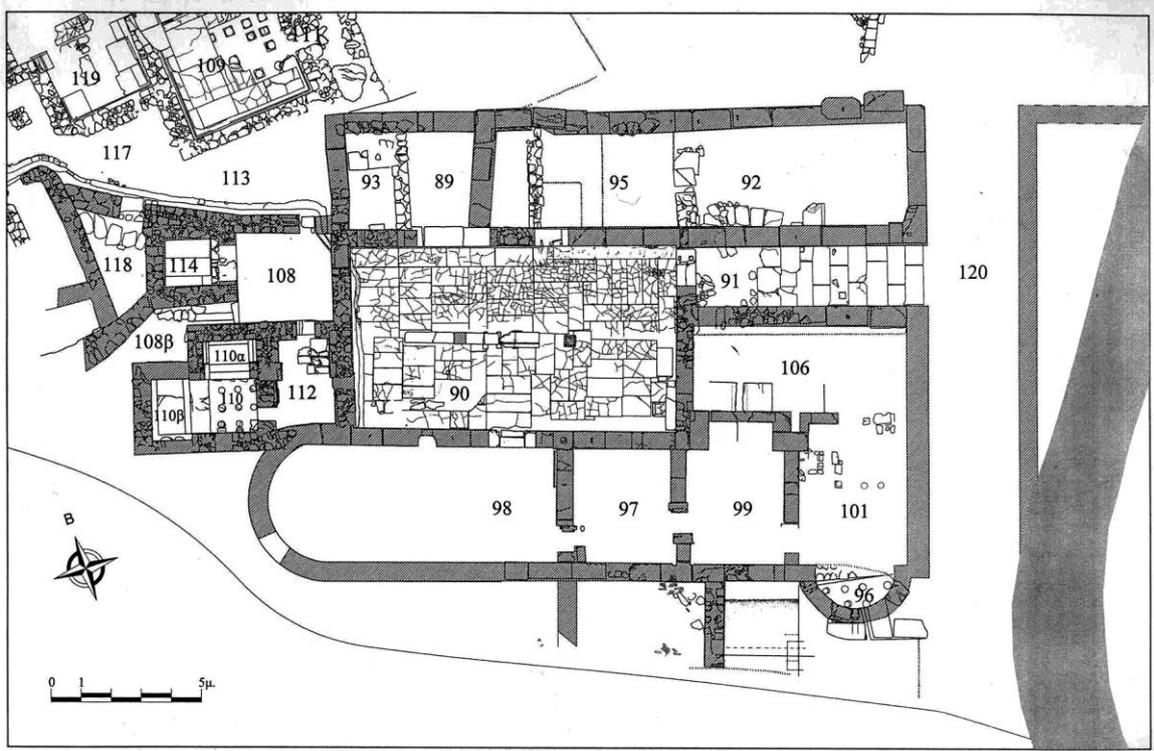


Fig 6. Ground plan of the Great Bath



Fig 7. The ionic column in the court yard of the Bath



Fig 9. The head of Aphrodite

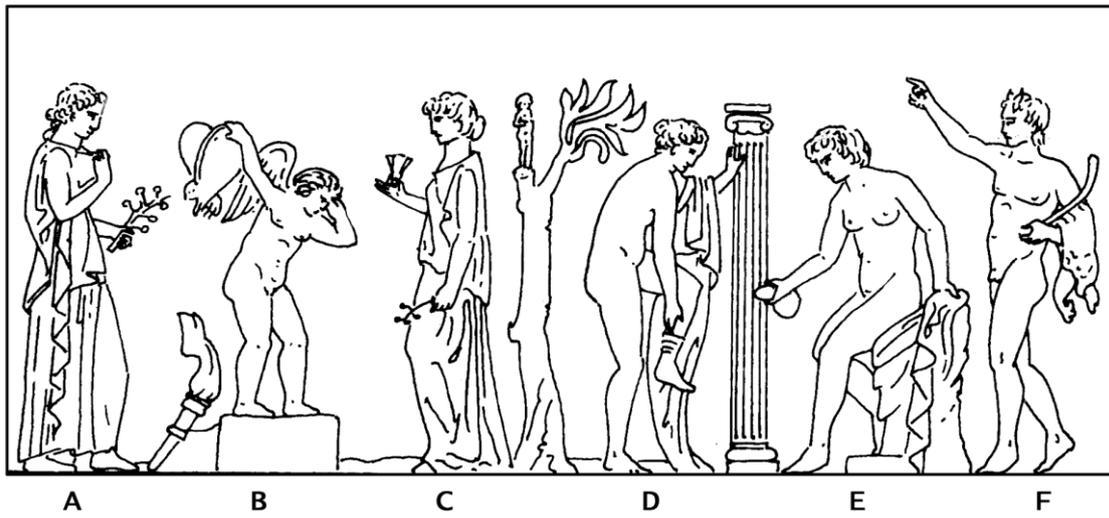


Fig 8. Drawing of the Ariccia krater



a. front side



b. back side



c. side view

Fig 10. Statue of a Muse:



Fig 11. Thigh of a female statue



Fig 12. Bosom of a female statue



Fig 13a. Statuette of a goat, right side



Fig 13b. Statuette of a goat, left side



Fig 13c. Detail of Aphrodite's hand



Fig 14a. Thigh of a statue of Satyr (front side)



Fig 14b. Thigh of a Satyr (side view)

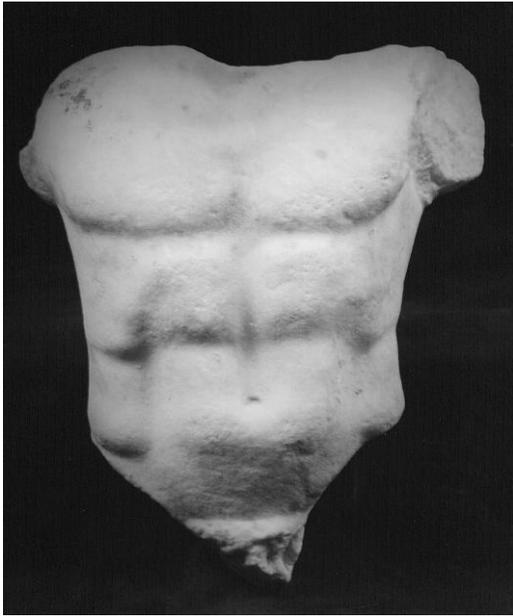


Fig 15. Torso of a male statue



Fig 16. Votive relief of Aphrodite and Hermes



Fig 17a. Head of a boys' marble statue



Fig 17b. Side view of the boys' head



Fig 18. Statue of the great Herculaneum woman



Fig 19. Statue of the small Herculaneum woman



Fig 20. Statuette of Aphrodite



Fig 21. Leg of a statue



Fig 22. Marble staff of Asklepios



Fig 23. Herm of Dionysos and Ariadne



Fig 24. Head of Dionysos

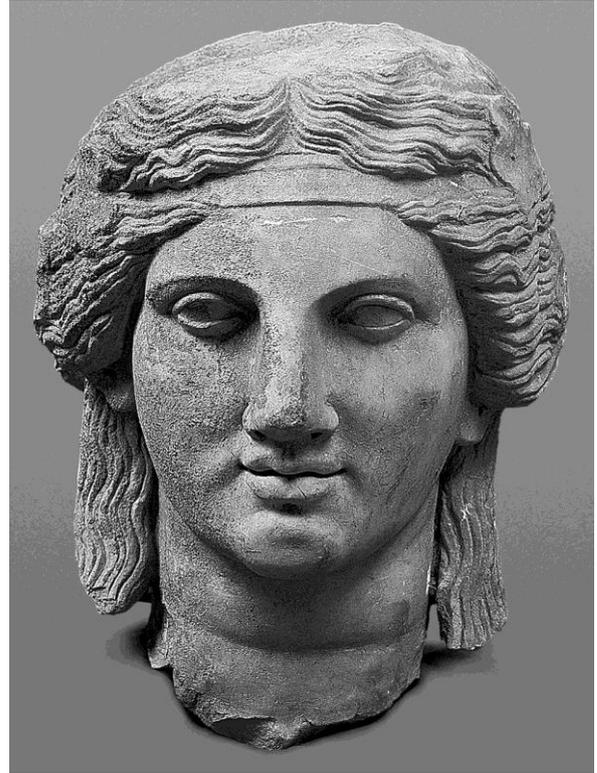


Fig 25. Head of Ariadne



Fig 26. Fragment of a late Hellenistic sima



Fig 27. Fragment of an early Byzantine sima