

on the human skeleton was still given to medical students at Alexandria in his own day. But given that human dissection was difficult, and indeed that Alexandria is the only city explicitly mentioned in our ancient sources as a place where human dissection could be carried out,²¹ it is far less difficult to believe that Erasistratus, like Herophilus, did his researches there, than that there was a second centre where such researches were carried out in the third century, namely Antioch. Both suggestions are in the nature of conjectures. But whereas the element of speculation in the Antioch thesis is considerable, there is nothing improbable in the alternative view, that Erasistratus, like so many other third-century scientists, worked for a time in Alexandria—even though direct evidence to put this beyond doubt is lacking.²²

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²¹ Apart from the passage in Galen (K II 220-1) already mentioned, cf. also Fulgentius, *Mitologiarum*, Helm, p. 9.

²² The only sound direct evidence associating Erasistratus with the Ptolemies is the statement in Caelius Aurelianus (*On Chronic Diseases* v 2 50-1, mentioned by Fraser at *RL* pp. 526 f.) that he prescribed a plaster for King Ptolemy's gout. But that report does not necessarily imply either that Erasistratus was, or that he was not, at Alexandria at the time.

Back Views of the Ancient Greek Kithara

(PLATE XIX a)

In an appendix to their article 'Lute-Players in Greek Art' (*JHS* lxxxv [1965], 62-71) R. A. Higgins and R. P. Winnington-Ingram included useful material on the shape of the kithara, with a list of representations that attempt to show the depth and shape of the back of the kithara sound-box.¹ The list includes a mid-sixth-century metope from Delphi, back views from late fifth-century to late fourth-century coins, Hellenistic terra-cottas, and a back view on a late second- or early first-century relief, Athens National Museum 1966. These more-or-less three-dimensional objects show us a characteristic of the kithara that may affect the possibilities of playing technique, one that cannot be guessed by looking at the many front-view paintings: the back of the kithara soundbox bulges out at the top, tapering toward the base; and in examples from the fifth century and later, it rises to a vertical ridge running down the centre of the back.

To this group of objects should be added one more important item from the fifth century: the back view of a kithara which is part of the Parthenon frieze of the Panathenaic procession (447-432 B.C.). On

¹ Side views of the lyre and kithara, also mentioned by Higgins and Winnington-Ingram in connexion with the Mantinea reliefs, are treated in more detail by the present author in *The Galpin Society Journal* xxvii (1974).

slab VIII of the North Frieze (now on display in the Akropolis Museum as plaque 875) two kithara players move to the left. The first player shows the front of his instrument as he looks back toward the player following, but the second player faces forward and so shows us the back of his instrument. The right half of it is partly obscured by the player's arm and the traditional long cloth that hangs from the instrument, but the important features are clear.²

The relief, though probably shallower than an accurate scale model, is deep enough to permit some indication of the ridge down the centre of the back, the angle of the two halves of the back as they rise to this ridge, and the resulting triangular addition to the shape of the base. The upper edge of the body which, in the many kithara representations of the period, normally rises gently to the centre, would not show in this example even if the edge were not broken, as the player's hand and wrist-sling would have been in the way (the horizontal line near the top seems to indicate the wrist-sling). All that remains of the instrument's ornamental arms is the base of the one held against the player's chest.

From the standpoint of playing technique, it is the depth of the soundbox at the top that is of special interest, for the player (it is generally agreed) plucked and damped the strings with his left-hand fingers. It may not have been as easy to do this as we think; for his forearm lay over the bulging back of the soundbox, and this fact must be considered in assessing the possibilities for the use of the left hand.

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² The shape of the instruments is unfortunately not at all correctly represented in the Carrey drawing of this section of the frieze. The drawing does, however, provide information about the original number of players, the directions in which they faced, and so on. See Theodore Bowie and Diether Thimme, *Carrey Drawings of the Parthenon Sculptures* (Bloomington, Ind. and London, 1971), pl. 32.

Meniskoi and the Birds*

For Chick and Weedi

(PLATE XIX b-d)

Mentior at si quid, merdis caput inquirer albis
corvorum, atque in me veniat mictum atque cacatum
Iulius et fragilis Peditia furque Voranus.

Horace, *Satires* I, viii, 37-9.

* I am extremely grateful to Professor Martin Robertson for his advice and encouragement in the preparation of this article, to Mr John Boardman for reading the draft and saving me from many errors, and to Mr Russell Meiggs, Dr C. Sourvinou-Inwood, Mr Michael Vickers and Mr Dyfri Williams for their suggestions and helpful criticism. I am also indebted to the inspired insights of Fr Peter Levi, S.J., and to Mr Andrew Wallace-Hadrill,

The years following the liberation of Greece from Turkish rule in 1833 witnessed what was perhaps the greatest display of industry on the Athenian Acropolis since the Periclean building programme. In 1837 the Greek Archaeological Society was founded for the purpose of carrying out a systematic if unscientific excavation of the Acropolis down to the classical level. The excavators sought first to clear the area of the Turkish buildings and accumulated débris which cluttered the surface, and then to work on the partial restoration of the ancient buildings: the Parthenon, the Propylaea and the Erechtheum.

It was not until the appointment of Kavvadias to ephor-general in 1885 that the decision was made to excavate below the classical surface: he it was who undertook the task of turning over virtually every inch of soil above the native rock, and his efforts were soon rewarded. On two days in February of 1886, fourteen of the finest korai were found buried in a pit north-west of the Erechtheum, and more were uncovered to the east and west of that building near the south wall. These archaic ladies, together with a vast number of small bronze and clay figures, architectural sculpture in marble and terra-cotta, vases, inscribed bases and kouros figures, had formed the decoration of the Acropolis in the sixth century B.C. The Persian sack of the citadel in 480 and again in 479 left them broken and burnt, and the Athenians returning to their city after the defeat of the enemy in 479, elected to bury the archaic monuments on the site they had occupied.

The discovery of this necropolis of inanimate objects in the years between 1885 and 1890 was followed by the prompt publication of the finds. Among the various aspects of archaic sculpture to which these publications were addressed, the curious metal rods (or holes which once held them) protruding from the heads of many of the kouros and korai, became the subject of some controversy.

Not that they had been neglected by the ancient Greeks themselves. The troupe of feathered chorus members in Aristophanes' *Birds* warn the judges that if they fail to award first prize to the play, they had better do as the statues do and wear *meniskoi* for protection against the droppings of enraged birds:

ἦν δὲ μὴ κρίνητε, χαλκεύεσθε μηνίσκους φορεῖν
ὥσπερ ἀνδριάντες· ὡς ὑμῶν ὅς ἂν μὴ μῆν' ἔχη,
ὅταν ἔχητε χλαῖνιδα λευκὴν, τότε μάλισθ' οὐτω δίκην
δώσεθ' ἡμῖν, πᾶσι τοῖς ὄρνισσι κατατιλώμενοι.

(1114-1117).

The ancient writers commenting on this passage are not very generous in their discussions. A scholiast does little more than paraphrase Aristophanes and Suidas and Hesychios repeat what little

Mr Tony Barrett and Mr and Mrs Simon Timms who have brought many flighty and misguided ideas down to earth.

the scholiast has said.¹ All of them, however, use the word *meniskos*.

Although we lack the valuable commentary these ancient writers might have provided, we can learn a great deal from Aristophanes himself: first, that some statues at least wore *meniskoi*; furthermore, since the archaic statues and their *meniskoi* had been buried more than sixty years before the presentation of the *Birds* (414 B.C.), we can presume that enough classical statues were equipped with *meniskoi* to enable Aristophanes' audience to appreciate the joke; then, on etymological grounds, that these *meniskoi* should in some way have resembled a crescent moon;² next, that the nature and size of a *meniskos* must have been such that if one of Aristophanes' judges wore one, he will have been protected from falling bird droppings; and finally, that *meniskoi* probably served to protect statues against the same fouling by birds which threatens Aristophanes' judges.

The diversity of interpretation of these baffling metal spikes by scholars considering them in the late nineteenth century is as varied as the scholars themselves. In 1886 M. Kavvadias suggested that the spikes might once have served to support umbrellas designed to protect statues placed in the open air from the rain and sun.³ He argued that such a precaution was necessary to preserve the colours with which the statues were lavishly painted. He called the spike an *ὄρειχάλκινος ἦλος*, with no reference to Aristophanes and no mention of the word *meniskos*.

In the following year, Studniczka published his somewhat ludicrous reconstruction of Antenor's kore with a lotus flower growing out of the metal spike.⁴ He based the idea of a flower-topped spike on a comparison to small bronzes with flowers sprouting from their heads. Studniczka was the first archaeologist to borrow the word *meniskos* from Aristophanes and his pioneer use of the word to describe the spike is probably the most important point in his article. An interesting aspect of this borrowing was the chain-reaction it set off among contemporary and subsequent scholarship. Following the publication of his article, scholars began calling the spikes on free-standing statues, akroteria, and high relief sculpture

¹ Cited by H. Lechat in 'Observations sur les Statues Archaïques de Type Féminin du Musée de l'Acropole', *BCH* xiv (1890), p. 345.

² *μηνίσκος*, a diminutive of *μείς*, refers to the moon in its crescent phase, in contrast to *σελήνη*, full moon. Presumably the Greeks chose this word to describe the apparatus on account of its resemblance to a crescent moon, just as they called their temple gable *ἀετός* for its resemblance to an eagle, or the spreading member of the Doric capital *ἐχίνος* for its resemblance to a sea urchin deprived of its quills. It is reasonable to suppose that the *μηνίσκος* to which Aristophanes refers must have looked enough like a crescent moon to have earned the name.

³ 'Ἀνασκαφαὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει', *Eph. Arch.* (1886), pp. 74-82.

⁴ *Jahrbuch*, II (1887), p. 141.

meniskoi, but few of them, including Studniczka, paid much attention to the etymology of the word or stopped to consider how a rod, or even a flower-topped rod, could have protected Aristophanes' judges, not to mention the statues themselves, from the droppings of birds.

With the appearance of E. Petersen's article 'Vogelabwehr' in 1889, the problem grew ever more complex.⁵ The major part of his attention was devoted to the problem of birds nesting in and soiling Greek temples and the architectural sculpture that adorned them. He recognised the extent of this problem in antiquity from passages in Euripides (*Ion*, 102 ff.), Pausanias (v. 14.1) and Josephus (*B \dot{J}* v 5.6) and decided that the drill holes which survive on many of the Olympia metopes were originally intended to hold metal devices in the shape of a trident for the prevention of nest-building within the high relief sculpture;⁶ and likewise that the drill holes on the tops of akroteria figures (or the occasionally preserved device) were intended to discourage birds from building nests on roof tops. He concluded that the devices on the akroteria of Greek temples were analogous to the *χρυσέους ὀβελούς* which Josephus (*B \dot{J}* v 5.6, 224) reports to have stood on the gable of the Temple in Jerusalem.

Petersen's panacea to young Ion's complaint—

τίς ὄδ' ὀρνίθων καινὸς προσέβα;
μῶν ὑπὸ θριγκοῦς ἐνναίας
καρφυρᾶς θήσων τέκνοις;
ψαλμοὶ σ' εἴρξουσιν τόξων.
οὐ πείσῃ; χωρῶν δίναις
ταῖς Ἀλφειοῦ παιδοῦργει,
ἢ νάπος Ἰσθμιον,
ὡς ἀναθήματα μὴ βλάπτῃται
ναοὶ θ' οἱ Φοῖβον. (171-8)

—and his solution to the problem of nest-building in and upon temples, consisted in the setting up of *meniskoi* (by this time the word had caught on and was used to describe any metal spike applied to architectural or free-standing sculpture for defensive purposes against the fouling by fowl) within the architectural sculpture and on the akroteria of the temple.⁷ As for free-standing sculpture, he sub-

⁵ *Ath. Mitt.* xiv (1889), pp. 233-9.

⁶ Petersen's idea of a trident as the original shape of the device was inspired by a partially preserved trident on an antefix from Cervetri (*Monum. Inediti del Institut. Supplement*, pl. II, no. 3; whence, Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict.* III, ii, p. 1718, fig. 4901). Treu, on the other hand, thought that the original form of the device was a straight rod (*Olympia III, Die Bildwerke in Stein und Thon* [1897], p. 153 and pl. XLV. For a discussion of the drill holes in the metopes, cf. pp. 158, 160, 162, 164-5, 169-70, 173-4, 176, 178).

⁷ Since we have no evidence that the devices on the akroteria were called *meniskoi* (they were probably not: Josephus at least calls them *ὀβελοὶ*), this article will exclude a discussion of them except to say that in antiquity they would have come under the category of bird-

mitted that *meniskoi* in their original form were metal disks (*Metallscheiben*)⁸ fastened to the metal spikes, and that these served to protect the statues from birds sitting upon and befouling them.

In 1890 Lechat wrote a synoptic article in which he attacked the *meniskos* scholarship of the previous five years.⁹ His objections to Kavvadias' umbrellas were based on considerations of practicality and aesthetics. He argued that umbrellas set directly over the heads of the statues would only have provided protection during the few hours of the day in which the sun's rays fall in a perpendicular line from above; that umbrellas set in this manner would have offered little protection to the statues and would probably have been blown off their supports by the violent winds which besiege the Acropolis; that the Greeks had no more desire to protect the colouring on their statues than the colouring on their akroteria, which we know stood exposed to the elements; and finally, that it would have been an abomination to Greek aesthetics (or perhaps he might have said, to our idea of Greek aesthetics) to plant umbrellas in the heads of statues.

Lechat approved of Petersen's notion of metal spikes as deterrents to nest-building on the Olympia metopes and on akroteria, and he agreed that these were called *meniskoi* in antiquity. But his interpretation of the *meniskoi* worn by statues differed from Petersen's metal disks which would not, he felt, have conformed to the true sense of the word *meniskos* with its connotation of lunar crescents. Lechat believed that the only device that would offer protection to the statues and at the same time be suitable in shape to the demands of the word *meniskos*, was a crescent-shaped 'perchoir'¹⁰ resting horizontally above the head of the statue with the horns of the crescent pointing away from the face. He imagined that these perches provided a kind of public convenience for the birds—'les oiseaux pouvaient sans inconvénient s'y tenir et y prendre toutes les libertés'¹¹—and was not bothered by the fact that while the heads of the statues might have been protected by the perches, other parts of the body could easily have been soiled by birds who did not fancy the sanitation facilities or who chose to relieve themselves while in flight.

At the close of his article, Lechat concluded that 'le *meniskos* et sa tige sur la tête n'étaient pas d'un effet très heureux'. Perhaps part of the unhappiness of that effect is the fault of Lechat's restoration of the *meniskos* as a crescent-shaped perch. His suggestion

protection devices, hence their association by scholars with *meniskoi*. In our own times, a likely analogy are the cages of criss-crossed wire, set over the tops of rain-spouts to prevent clogging by leaves and bird nests.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 235.

⁹ *Op. cit.* Section V 'μηνίσκος', pp. 337-50. See also his article, 'Meniskos' in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict.* III, ii, pp. 1718-20.

¹⁰ *BCH* (1890), pp. 348-9.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 349.

arouses two objections at the very least: first, that a considerable part of the statue—the shoulders, the arms, and particularly an extended arm—would have been exposed to the droppings of birds who refused to play according to the rules; then, on aesthetic grounds, that these statues whose sense of life and loveliness still speak to us in a deep way would have suffered, and the efforts of their carvers have been dashed, by the violation these gauche perches would have committed on the grace and animation which archaic sculptors worked so diligently to portray in their statues.

The practical and aesthetic objections to Lechat's perches would seem to invite a further attempt to restore the *meniskos* to its original state of preservation. An ideal reconstruction should provide ample protection to the statues, and offer a more reasonable alternative to the outrageous flowers, disks and perches previously suggested. What is perhaps needed is an object closer to the everyday life of the Greeks, which would not have been so offensive to the subtle presence of life that animates the finest of the archaic statues in a real way.

The object which seems to me to satisfy the conditions of practicality, aesthetics and etymology is the umbrella suggested long ago by Kavvadias. The remainder of this article will attempt to present a case for umbrellas as the original form of *meniskoi*. If the argument seems in any way reasonable, it will be a splendid piece of irony that the only scholar who had not consulted Aristophanes' *Birds* and had therefore made no attempt to reconcile his restoration with the demands of the word *meniskos*, and who thought that the structure was originally set up as a protection against the rain and sun, should have hit upon a solution to all the questions he never posed.

Aristophanes uses the word *χαλκεύεσθε* ('forge out of bronze') to describe the making of the *meniskoi*, so it is perhaps in the context of the metal adornments with which the Greeks decorated their marble statues that *meniskoi* can best be reconsidered. But first something should be said about the nature of the statues themselves.

The development of the human figure in the sixth century is often described as a steady progression from 'conventional' to 'naturalistic' forms, and it is true that as sculptors gained a greater control over the tools and techniques of their craft, their marble statues began to acquire an increasing resemblance to living people. Yet despite the apparent evolution of life-like qualities in stone—the subtleties of male anatomy, the play of drapery over the increasingly supple forms of the female body, and finally the suggestion of dynamic life within the figure as seen in the shift in weight from one side of the body's axis to the other—the sculptors themselves still seem to have been a little discontented about the extent to which they could suggest life in stone. A sign of this uneasiness and of a desire to bring the archaic marbles a little closer to the world of the living is the existence of drill holes for metal jewellery and

other 'human' accessories which were attached to the body and drapery of the statues. We can see that the korai were lavishly decorated with carved and painted ornaments—bracelets, earrings, fillets, crowns, necklaces and buttons—which together with the richly carved drapery must have created a marvellous vitality, even if somewhat flashy and overdone. But this was not enough. Drill holes within or near many of these relief decorations tell of the metal earring pendants, necklace pendants and ornamented *stephanai* which once embellished the ladies. There are also holes drilled directly into the ear lobe for metal earrings, holes in the carved drapery for the attachment of buttons, and holes on the sandal straps for metal clasps. Some of them must have worn bracelets; one kore has a bronze bracelet entirely preserved.¹² At least fourteen korai and one Nike show traces of *meniskoi*.¹³

The nudity of the kouroi and the fact that they wore no jewellery meant that the Greeks had little excuse for adding the amount of metal decoration to the youths with which they swamped the korai.¹⁴ Fillets (which were sometimes decorated with bronze attachments or entirely of metal), the occasional belt and hair were carved in relief, though a head in Copenhagen¹⁵ has two rows of drill holes above the forehead, presumably for the insertion of bronze curls. Holes appear in the heads of at least fourteen archaic youths for the attachment of *meniskoi*.¹⁶

¹² Acrop. Mus. no. 670; Richter, *Korai*, no. 119, figs. 377-9.

¹³ Korai: Acrop. Mus. no. 669 (Richter no. 109, figs. 228-35); Acrop. Mus. no. 681 (Richter no. 110, figs. 336-40); Acrop. Mus. no. 671 (Richter no. 111, figs. 341-4); Acrop. Mus. no. 679 (Richter no. 113, figs. 349-54); Acrop. Mus. no. 682 (Richter no. 116, figs. 362-7); Acrop. Mus. no. 673 (Richter no. 117, figs. 368-72); Acrop. Mus. no. 672 (Richter no. 118, figs. 373-6); Acrop. Mus. no. 670 (Richter no. 119, figs. 377-80); Acrop. Mus. no. 674 (Richter no. 127, figs. 411-16); Acrop. Mus. no. 661 (Richter no. 131, figs. 426-8); Acrop. Mus. nos. 643 and 307 (Richter no. 128, figs. 417-19); Acrop. Mus. no. 685 (Richter no. 181, figs. 573-7); Acrop. Mus. no. 684 (Richter no. 182, figs. 578-82); Acrop. Mus. no. 660 (G. Dickins, *Cat.*)

Nike: Acrop. Mus. no. 693 (Dickins, *Cat.*)

¹⁴ The Iliosos kouros which is not technically an archaic nude youth, wears a mantle with holes for the attachment of metal brooches and perhaps a chain at the neck (*cf.* B. S. Ridgway, 'Stone and Metal in Greek Sculpture', *Archaeology* vol. 19, no. 1 [1966], p. 38).

¹⁵ Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek no. 12; Richter, *Kouroi* no. 171, figs. 509-10.

¹⁶ Kouroi: Athens Nat. Mus. no. 3858 (Richter, *Kouroi* no. 31, figs. 132-3); Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek no. 2832 (Richter no. 109, figs. 328-9, 334); Acrop. Mus. no. 663 (Richter no. 139, figs. 402-3); Acrop. Mus. no. 653 (Richter no. 140, fig. 415); Boston Museum of Fine Arts no. 34.169 (Richter no. 143, figs. 413-14); Louvre no. MND 890 (Richter no. 163, figs. 490-1); Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek no. 12 (Richter no. 171, figs. 509-10); Acrop. Mus. no. 698 (Richter no. 190, figs. 564-9); Acrop. Mus. no. 689

The tendency to add metal accessories to marble sculpture was not restricted to free-standing statuary nor to the archaic period. The archaic horses on the Acropolis as well as the horses on the Parthenon frieze were enlivened by the addition of bronze bridles and reins which were probably forged at the same workshops which produced the equipment for the stables of rich Athenians. The application of metal weapons to the frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi and to the early classical temple pediments at Aegina and Olympia seems to carry on a traditionally Greek desire to bring art that much closer to life by means of added metal decoration. This desire has its origins in the archaic period, when sculptors first struck upon the idea of animating their marbles with metal objects very similar to the trappings of everyday Greek life. One of these objects was the *meniskos*.

Admittedly whatever the metal spikes held, it was bound to look slightly ridiculous, whether the object had a parallel in real life or not. If the archaic statues had been sculpted in bronze, perhaps they would have been shown holding their *meniskoi* in an extended arm—a gesture appropriate to human beings. But the properties of marble—its low tensile strength—and the skill of the sculptors were such that an extended arm could not have held an object of any great weight without breaking. Sculptors were therefore obliged to attach the *meniskos* to a point they would not otherwise have chosen under technically ideal conditions. If the *meniskos* in its original form had been as crudely unrealistic as the manner in which it was attached, the total effect should have been nothing short of disaster. The flowers, disks and perches of previous scholars would probably have dealt an ultimate death-blow to any sense of life the sculptor had managed to suggest into his figure. If, however, the metal spike held an umbrella, the effect might not have been as unhappy as we suppose.

Representations of people holding umbrellas on Greek vases show that when the umbrella is held vertically above the head, the effect is not all that unlike a statue with an umbrella planted in its head. A skyphos by the Penelope Painter in Berlin¹⁷ shows a satyr holding an umbrella over the head of a draped woman. The satyr stands behind her and holds the umbrella such that her entire head is protected. If we could see this woman from the front, the umbrella would appear to be rising directly from her head. A fragment of a black-figure vase from the Acropolis (PLATE XIXb)¹⁸ shows a woman

in profile who seems to be holding her own umbrella. The pole is held on the left side of her body and is shown rising from her head which is completely covered by the umbrella. This cannot be very far from the way a statue with a *meniskos* would have appeared to visitors on the Acropolis.

It is still difficult to determine whether the Greeks would have been aesthetically offended by umbrellas attached to the heads of their statues. Certainly something was planted there with Greek approval, but we shall never be sure what it was. Closer to our own times, the Victorians had no aesthetic objections to umbrellas held unconventionally over their own heads, as illustrated by Bartine's sunshade hat (PLATE XIXc)¹⁹ which was invented in the same year that Lechat published his article. But then it is hard to imagine that the Victorians had aesthetic objections to anything.

Whatever the original form of the *meniskos* was, the appearance of the statues must have been less than ideal. Although the Greeks were masters at turning a functional element into a thing of beauty—a caryatid or a lion's head rain-spout—the *meniskos* was surely one of their less successful inventions. The passages from Aristophanes, Euripides and Pausanias show that birds presented a real menace to the *σέμν' ἀνάθηματα* (Ion, 107) of the Greeks; the plight of Archbishop Iakovos (PLATE XIXd)²⁰ illustrates that the audacity of birds was not restricted to statues nor to antiquity; and the material remains of *meniskoi* show the extent to which the Greeks were willing to trespass on their own aesthetic sensitivities for the sake of protecting their statues.

Seen in the context of the metal ornaments with which the Greeks enlivened their archaic marbles, the *meniskos* was probably more likely to have been an umbrella than a disk or perch. An umbrella would have offered more protection to the statues than previous suggestions, and its crescent shape as it appeared in profile to spectators viewing the statue, would have given the Greeks every reason to call it a *meniskos*. It would seem then that with no help from Aristophanes and little awareness of any future

also the enthroned commander from the frieze of the Nereid Monument in London (slab no. 879). He is seated beneath a large umbrella held by a boy attendant behind him. The angle of the umbrella is much the same as that on the Acropolis sherd and the pole appears to be rising from the crown of his head (cf. Richter, *The Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans* [London, 1966] fig. 62; A. H. Smith, *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities II* [London, 1900] p. 24).

¹⁹ *Victorian Inventions*, Leonard de Vries (London, 1973), p. 161: reproduced with the kind permission of John Murray Ltd.

²⁰ From *The Philadelphia Inquirer* (January, 1974) and reproduced with the kind permission of Associated Press Ltd. The Archbishop released the dove, a symbol of the soul's ascent to heaven, during the Epiphany celebration in Tarpon Springs, Florida, and soon thereafter the bird flew back and perched on his head.

(Richter no. 191, figs. 570–4); Kansas City, Rockhill Gallery (Richter no. 164, figs. 485–8); Acrop. Mus. no. 606 (Dickins, *Cat.*); Acrop. Mus. no. 623 (Dickins, *Cat.*); Acrop. Mus. no. 624 (Dickins, *Cat.*); Acrop. Mus. no. 633 (Dickins, *Cat.*).

¹⁷ Berlin 2589. *ARV*² 1301, no. 7; *Para*, 475; *Jb* 42, p. 179; *Antike Kunst* 6, pl. 3, 1 and 3.

¹⁸ Graef and Langlotz, *Die Antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen* (Berlin, 1925), I, pl. 46, no. 682. Note

meniskos controversy and all the questions it raised, Kavvadias proposed the most reasonable solution to a problem whose complexities he never imagined.

Somerville College,
Oxford

JODY MAXMIN

**A Draped Female Torso
in the Ashmolean Museum***

(PLATES XX–XXII)

A marble fragment of a draped female figure came to the University of Oxford as part of the James Dawkins collection of marbles, presented by his brother Henry sometime between the owner's death in 1759 and the publication of *Marmora Oxoniensia* in 1763 (PLATES XX *a–d*).¹ The collection was formed during Dawkins's expedition to Palmyra with Robert Wood between 1750 and 1753.² Of the other seven sculptures in it, three came from Attica,³ one from Caria,⁴ one from Cyzicus⁵ and two are of unknown provenance.⁶ Our statue seems to have received little attention since Michaelis saw it. It is now mounted on a limestone base bearing the number 63.⁷

The marble is Pentelic, fine-grained, of creamy colour, and translucent in its polished areas. The extensive weathering of the surface has exposed a series of micaceous streaks at the front and back: these represent the main strata of the marble which are normally in vertical position as the statue is carved, thus offering a clue to the right posing of

* I am most grateful to Mr Michael Vickers of the Ashmolean Museum for permission to publish the torso and for providing all possible facilities for its study; to Dr Nicholas Yalouris of the National Museum, Athens, for permission to examine the relief no. 2958; to Mr John Boardman, Dr John K. Davies and Mr David M. Lewis for advice and suggestions. I owe a particular debt of gratitude to Prof. Bernard Ashmole and Prof. Martin Robertson for their kind attention and guidance. The mistakes are my own.

The photographs of PLATES XX *a–d* are by the Ashmolean Museum; of PLATES XXII *a–d* by the National Museum, Athens; of PLATES XXI *a–c* are by Alinari, nos. 24310, 24313 and 22767.

¹ R. Chandler, *Marm. Oxon.* (1763), no. 41; Michaelis, *Anc. Marb.* (1882), Ashmolean Museum no. 170; no provenance. Actual height 0.71 m. Michaelis had measured 0.74 m.

² Michaelis, *op. cit.*, 115; for the inscriptions see *JHS* lxxi (1951), 172 f. (M. N. Tod).

³ Michaelis no. 117 and *IG* II² 13194; herm of Polydeukion; no. 178 and *IG* II² 3765; herm of Aurelius Appianus Chrestus; no. 203; fragment of a votive relief.

⁴ Michaelis no. 201 and *CIG* 2750; altar of Zeus Labrandes.

⁵ Michaelis no. 236 and *CIG* 3683; fragment of an inscription with a wreath in relief.

⁶ Michaelis no. 211; cippus of Atika; no. 235; fragment of a Corinthian capital.

⁷ Neither the number nor the statue are mentioned in the *Summary Guide* of 1920³, 1931⁴ or 1951⁵.

our fragment. Traces of the original surface remain on the sides protected by pendent drapery which was broken away probably in modern times. Most of the delicately carved edges are badly damaged.

The torso survives from under the breast to a little below the right knee. It was standing on the left foot, the right leg bent forward and the hips thrust back to the left: it is safe to infer that the movement of the shoulders reflected that of the legs; the right upper torso is tense in contrast to the relaxed leg that supports it, while the opposite tension is created on the other side. No trace of the arm is visible on the right side of the torso. It is therefore possible that this arm was extended to the side and upwards, a bold but not impossible feature for a marble statue. There is no indication that the figure was leaning on a support (although she may have done so), as the centre of gravity is not shifted much to one side nor are the legs crossed. Only the draped parts remain: she wears a clinging chiton girt high under the breast; the girdle, appearing from under a small pouch of the chiton on the left, forms an ascending line from left to right. A large himation of thicker material covers the back, falling from the left shoulder as the folds spread fan-wise toward the right and envelop the lower part of the body in front from below the waist; it becomes a precarious 'belt' over the stomach and expands into a triangular overfold reaching to the thighs. The left edge of the himation is caught under the arm and hangs by the side. Enough of the outline of the left forearm survives to indicate that this arm was bent. Presumably the hem of the chiton was visible just above the feet. The back is summarily executed and flattened except for the complete modelling of the right leg.

The workmanship is neither dull nor careless, illustrating the competence of the average carver of the fourth century B.C. The surface of the statue pulsates with life. Details obscuring the basic structure are omitted. The drapery follows closely the contours of the body, carefully avoiding the horizontal or vertical: the slanting hips and the ascending line under the breast are designed as the predominant accents of the torso. The waist is structurally ignored, modelled as a depression of the clinging chiton. The crumpled effect of the himation is due to the familiar conventions of the later part of the fourth century: crease marks, shallow indentations,⁸ serrated edges; loop folds, the descendants of the eye-shaped folds of the late fifth century, abound on the profile leg. All tool marks have been carefully erased on the front part of the statue, while the surface of the rest is marked by rasps.⁹

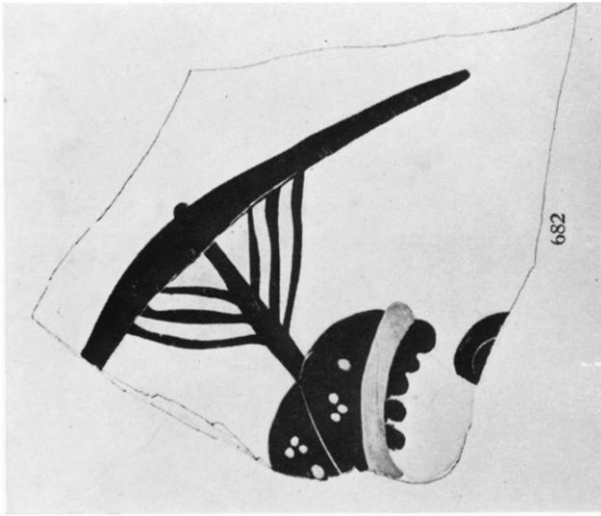
Our statue is a version, smaller than life, of a type which appears on Attic votive reliefs of the second

⁸ What R. Carpenter described as 'fingerprints' in *AJA* xxxv (1931), 252.

⁹ The profile of the himation 'belt' on the right side has been damaged and the edges of the drill furrows smoothed down, probably in modern times.



(d)



(b)



(c)



(a) The Parthenon Frieze:
North Frieze, Slab VIII.

MENISKOI AND THE BIRDS

BACK VIEWS OF THE ANCIENT
GREEK KITHARA