

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.

half of the fourth century; more often than not it represents Hygieia (PLATE XXI *a-c*).¹⁰ She usually leans on a votive pillar or a sacred tree, her left hand placed on the hip, the legs occasionally crossed. The hair is consistently drawn to the top of the head, sometimes forming a knot. The type is characterised by the clinging chiton fastened under the breast and across the sleeves, and the large himation.¹¹ Closer to ours in stance and drapery comes the middle one of three Nymphs on the relief in the form of a cave dedicated by Eukles at the cave in Vari, Athens National Museum 2012 (PLATE XXII *a*).¹² The Nymph leans against the rock ceiling of the cave, turning her head to the right, the left hand placed on the hip. She wears shoes. From the outline of the head, it seems that she had the hairstyle of Hygieia. Similar Nymphs occur on reliefs of the same type, one on that dedicated by Agathemeros on Mount Pentelikon, Athens National Museum 4466, and another on the relief dedicated by Neoptolemos,

¹⁰ From reliefs dedicated to Asklepios, figures of Hygieia closest to ours are: Athens National Museum 1330 (PLATE XXII *a*): H. K. Süsserott, *Griech. Plast.* (1938), 123, pl. 25, 3; U. Hausmann, *Kunst und Heilum* (1948), no. 144, pl. 9. Athens NM 1335 (PLATE XXII *b*): Hausmann, *op. cit.*, no. 145; J. N. Traulos, *Pict. Dict. Anc. Athens* (1971), fig. 185. Louvre 755 (PLATE XXII *c*): Süsserott, *op. cit.*, pl. 25, 4; Hausmann, *op. cit.*, no. 146, pl. 5. Verona, Museo Maffeianno: Hausmann, *Griech. Weihreliefs* (1960), fig. 39.

¹¹ The type of female figure draped in thin chiton and large himation can be traced back to post-Pheidian creations like the Nemesis of Agorakritos, G. Despinis, *Συμβολή μελ. έργων Ἀγορακρίτου* (1971), pls. 35–53. Later developments include the 'Artemisia' from the Mausoleum, British Museum 1001, W. Fuchs, *Skulpt. Griech.* (1969), fig. 230, the statue in the Metropolitan Museum, Richter no. 126, the colossal fragment from the Athenian Agora S 2370, *Hesperia* xl (1971), 270–1, pl. 56, and countless creatures on fourth century Attic reliefs. By the end of the century the type has become stylised in the Themis of Chairestratos, Athens NM 231, the Aphrodite from Daphni NM 2167, and other early Hellenistic specimens grouped together by R. Horn, *Steh. Weib. Gewand.* (1931), 21. For Roman versions see A. Hekler, *Röm. Weib. Gewand.* (1909), 196–7, 203–4, figs. 23–4.

¹² NM 2012: height 0.47 m, width 0.69 m, height of relief 0.08 m. *AJA* vii (1903), 309–10, 313–15, pl. 8, relief no. 6 (I. C. Thallon). Thallon had observed the similarity of the middle figure to the Muses of the Mantinea base, NM 215–17. The same has been compared to the Themis of Chairestratos and included in the Themis group of Horn, *loc. cit.* See also: *AE* (1905), 134–5 (K. Rhomaïos); F. Studniczka, *Sympos. Ptol. II* (1914), 98, fig. 23; Studniczka, *Art. u. Iphig.* (1926), 96, fig. 78; R. Feubel, *Attisch. Nymphenrel.*, diss. Heidelberg 1935, no. 5, 9–11; J. N. Svoronos, *Athen. Nationalmuseum*, 581–5, pl. 98; Süsserott, *op. cit.*, 119–20; *AM* lxxvii (1962), 248 n. 33 (Fuchs). For a contemporary parallel to the Nymph on the right see Agora S 1530, *Hesperia* xxi (1952), 109–10, pl. 28c, d (H. A. Thompson); for that on the left see the relief dedicated by Agathemeros NM 4466, Hausmann, *op. cit.*, 61–2, fig. 31; *AM* lxxvii (1962), 248 f., pl. 69, 2 (Fuchs); C. M. Havelock, *Hell. Art* (1971), fig. 163.

recently excavated in the Athenian Agora I 7154.¹³

A slightly later version appears on a tantalising fragment of a record relief, Athens National Museum 2958 (PLATE XXII *b*).¹⁴ Eutaxia—the name is inscribed quite clearly on the border above her head—¹⁵ stands next to a hero-like figure, with a tripod on a tripod-stand resting on a column behind him; the lower part of a hoplite on a smaller scale in short chlamys and cloak with a shield at his side survives on their right. Eutaxia holds a tablet in her left hand as the chiton slips from her shoulder; she wears sandals with high soles and her hair seems to have formed a knot at the back of her head. This is so far the only representation of Eutaxia, and the fact that she is carefully named might indicate that she is a newly-invented personification of some sort of public function. The representation of Olympias (i.e. the *Olympic Games*) on the Panathenaic amphora of 340/39, though an old invention, immediately comes to mind.¹⁶ *Eutaxia*, implying 'law and order', is a word with both military and heavy conservative political overtones in the classical period.¹⁷ By the time of Lykourgos, it is one of the few prominent qualities of the ephebes, for which they are consistently praised throughout antiquity;¹⁸ more important still, it forms the subject of a liturgy in IG II²417 of the late 330s involving two sponsors from each tribe:¹⁹ a subscription of 50 *dr.* per head is recorded,²⁰ but it is not clear whether it concerns the *eutaxia* directly (in which case it would have been

¹³ NM 4466, *cf.* n. 12; the two Nymphs on the left of this and NM 2012 form closely related groups. Agora I 7154, *Hesperia* xlii (1973), 168–70, pl. 35c.

¹⁴ NM 2958: height 0.37 m, surviving width 0.36 m; carved in very low relief, of rather good though slightly careless workmanship (note especially the lower end of the staff of the middle figure and the tripod handles); the style is well inside the last quarter of the fourth century. Le Bas, *Mon. Fig.* (1870), pl. 37, 2; *Ann. Inst.* (1870), 219 (Förster); R. Schöne, *Griech. Reliefs* (1872), 34–6, pl. 13, no. 63; *RE* VI 1492 (Waser); *Rh. Mus.* lx (1905), 150 f. (J. Sundwall); Horn, *loc. cit.* (Themis group); O. Walter, *Beschreib. Reliefs* (1923), 39; B. Schröder, *Sport Altert.* (1927), 32, pl. 10b; R. Binnebössel, *Stud. Urkund.*, diss. Leipzig, 1932, no. 64; Svoronos, *op. cit.*, 659, pl. 193; Süsserott, *op. cit.*, 122, 193, pl. 24, 3; *Neder. Kunst. Jaarb.* 1954, 99 (B. Ashmole); *Hesperia* xxxvii (1968), 376–7 (D. M. Lewis).

¹⁵ Svoronos, *loc. cit.*, mistakenly read *Eutaxiou*. As there is a round depression of the right size next to the rather faint A, he was easily misled.

¹⁶ Harvard 1925.30.124, Beazley *ABV* 414, Nikomachos series no. 2.

¹⁷ Th. ii 89, 9; vi 72, 4–5; viii 1, 3–4; Pl. *Alc.* 1 122c; Xen. *Mem.* iv 4, 1; Arist. *Pol.* 1321^a4, 1326^a30.

¹⁸ Chr. Pelekides, *Hist. éphébie* (1962), 38; O. W. Reinmuth, *Eph. Inscr. Fourth Cent.* (1971), nos. 2 (IG II²1156, ll. 31, 40, 58), 9 (Agora 1 3068, ll. 7–8) and 17 (IG II²478, ll. 6, 10); IG II²665, l. 21; IG II²900, ll. 8, 17; IG II²1008, l. 55; IG II²1009, ll. 16, 35; IG II²1011, ll. 18–19, 26; IG II²1039, l. 61.

¹⁹ *Hesperia* xxxvii (1968), 376–7 (Lewis); J. K. Davies, *Ath. Prop. Fam.* (1971), xxi, xxv.

²⁰ Chares of Aixone exceptionally paid 49 *dr.* (line 26).

the cheapest liturgy²¹) or a dedication of *phialai* by those who had performed it. The superintendent of the *eutaxia* was paid 30 *dr.* according to the law.²² At the celebration of the Amphiareia at Oropos in 329/28 that sum was distributed to the festival commissioners,²³ which suggests that the *eutaxia* must have denoted a festival event, perhaps performed there or replaced by one of the games.²⁴ These included gymnastic, equestrian and *apobatic*²⁵ races, only the last of which required hoplite participation. In any event, if the relief NM 2958 is related to the liturgy at all, it might indicate that the *eutaxia* had something to do with a hoplite contest. The period 317/308 in which the festival liturgies were replaced by the *agonothesia* would provide a *terminus ante quem* for the relief.²⁶ Eutaxia is certainly in the right company, for the middle figure frequently appears on Athenian record reliefs of the fourth century as the Demos of Athens,²⁷ sometimes crowning a citizen²⁸ or a hoplite in the venerable presence of Athena.²⁹ On the relief NM 2946 (PLATE XXII c) the scene of Demos crowning a hoplite is almost identical with what is going on next to Eutaxia. Perhaps a similar scene was represented on the fragmentary NM 2954 (PLATE XXII d) where Demos is now missing.³⁰ The pattern suggests that the same scene is enacted on NM 2958, with Eutaxia pointing to the victor, her tablet presumably containing the names of the winning tribe and its team. The tripod in the background seems to me to be the prize rather than a topographical indication. Athena must have stood on the missing part of the relief.

The stance of Eutaxia and the middle Nymph of the Eukles relief is constructed along the same lines

²¹ J. K. Davies, *loc. cit.*

²² SIC³ 298, ll. 41–5.

²³ *Ibid.*; BSA 1 (1955), 34 f. (Lewis); JHS lxxxvii (1967), 39 (Davies). Reinmuth, *op. cit.*, 71, mistakenly interprets the lines 41–5 as implying that the 30 *dr.* were voted for the supervisor of the games. For the celebration of the Amphiareia see *Hermes* lvii (1922), 80 f. (E. Preuner).

²⁴ That *eutaxia*, though an abstract noun, was referred to a cavalry race on the analogy of *euandria* had been suggested in Daremberg-Saglio III 758.

²⁵ SIC³ 298, ll. 16–18. For *apobasis* see RE I 2814 (Reisch); *Boll. d'arte*, xxxi (1938), 348 (Rizzo); *Hesperia* iv (1935), 379–81; H. A. Thompson-R. E. Wycherley, *The Agora of Athens* (1972), 121, pl. 166a; Démosthène, *Discours d'apparat*, ed. R. Clavaud, Belles Lettres (1974), 135–7.

²⁶ Cf. W. S. Ferguson, *Hell. Athens* (1911), 42 f.; Süsserrott, *op. cit.*, 120 n. 36; *Hesperia* xii (1943), 159 f. (Dow and Travis); AJA xlvi (1944), 239 n. 16 (Ferguson); J. K. Davies, *op. cit.*, XIX; S. Lauffer in *Hell. Poleis*, ed. E. C. Welskopf, I (1974), 155 f.

²⁷ Cf. the reliefs in Athens: NM 1482, Süsserrott, *op. cit.*, 67 f., pl. 9, 4; NM 2811, Süsserrott, *op. cit.*, 64 f., pl. 9, 3; NM 2946, Svoronos, *op. cit.*, 657, pl. 190; NM 2985, Süsserrott, *op. cit.*, 86, pl. 5, 4.

²⁸ Cf. NM 2811.

²⁹ Cf. NM 1482, 2811, 2946; 2954, Svoronos, *op. cit.*, 658, pl. 192; Akropolis Museum 3367 + 2542 with Athena, Nike and a hoplite, Walter, *op. cit.*, no. 55.

³⁰ NM 2946, see n. 27; NM 2954, see n. 29.

as that of the Marathon Boy,³¹ and I suspect they should all be referred to a similar source of inspiration. Fuchs has suggested that the standing Nymph of the Eukles relief as well as the Hygieia of the Asklepios reliefs derived from a statue of the 320s.³² It seems to me, however, that the variations of the type indicate the existence of several statuary if not pictorial prototypes adaptable to various purposes, which make their appearance already in the 330s.³³ The Ashmolean torso, being a genuine Attic work roughly contemporary with the Marathon Boy, is good evidence for this hypothesis. Its sadly mutilated condition can only allow us to speculate about the position of the right arm which was presumably outstretched. This is a dramatic gesture, more suitable for male characters,³⁴ meaningless in the Nymphs if taken in isolation, and artificial in Eutaxia where it looks borrowed and recalls the gesture of Demokratia crowning Demos on the relief from the decree against tyranny of 337/6.³⁵ It is rather unlikely that our fragment originally represented Eutaxia. It looks more like part of a group, possibly a Nymph combined with one seated on her right and another leaning on her left shoulder;³⁶ or a Muse airing a musical instrument in the company of her sisters;³⁷ or perhaps Hygieia leaning on a votive pillar in the presence of Asklepios seated.

OLGA PALAGIA

St Hugh's College, Oxford

³¹ Athens National Museum bronze 15118. Height 1.30 m. Commonly dated toward the end of the third and the beginning of the last quarter of the fourth century. Fuchs, *Skulpt. Griech.*, fig. 106.

³² *AM* lxxvii (1962), 248 n. 33.

³³ One version appears on the Apulian pelike in the British Museum F. 309.

³⁴ Cf. the Sisyphos I at Delphi, *Ant. Plastik* vii (1968), 39–40, pls. 30–2 (Dohrn).

³⁵ Agora I 6524. *Hesperia* xxi (1952), 355–9, pls. 89–90 (Meritt); *Hesperia* xxxi (1962), 238 (Raubitschek); Hausmann, *op. cit.*, 42–4, figs. 21–2; K. Schefold, *Class. Greece* (transl. 1967), 188, fig. 56; Thompson-Wycherley, *op. cit.*, 102, pl. 53a; K. Zimmermann in *Hell. Poleis* III, 1258, fig. 38.

³⁶ Cf. NM 4466.

³⁷ Cf. the Mantinea base, slab NM 217, Rizzo, *Prass.* (1932), pl. 132.

A Coan Domain in Cyprus

Coan possession of *chora* in Cyprus is attested, in the Imperial period, by a dedication in honour of a Roman governor of Cyprus, who had retrieved for the Coans their land.¹ The text of the inscription

¹ I should like to thank Mr P. M. Fraser and Dr H. W. Pleket for helpful criticism at various stages. I use the following abbreviations in addition to the usual ones:

PH = Paton and Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*, Oxford, 1891.

HG = R. Herzog, *Heilige Gesetze von Kos*, Berl. Abh., 1928.



(a) (b)



(c) (d)

A DRAPED FEMALE TORSO IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM



(a)



(b)



(c)



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

A DRAPED FEMALE TORSO IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM