

# Delos and the Late Hellenistic Art Trade: Archaeological Directions

BRIAN MARTENS

This article identifies a group of marble statuettes of Aphrodite that were probably carved on Delos during the late second and first centuries BCE. The statuettes date to a critical period in the history of Graeco-Roman art when the production of classical-looking forms in marble was intensifying amid growing demand from private consumers. By gathering these statuettes and documenting their findspots, it is possible to reconstruct the responses of one group of Greek sculptors to the contemporary art trade. The emergence of a wide market for statues based on earlier works is usually attributed to the appetites of a wealthy clientele based on the Italian peninsula; however, this group of statuettes demonstrates a different pattern: consumption centered exclusively in the eastern Mediterranean basin. Long-held views that frame the copy industry as a phenomenon of Roman influence and demand have focused narrowly on ancient authors such as Cicero and on shipwrecked cargoes that lack certainly identifiable destinations. Italian buyers undoubtedly played a pivotal role in the expansion of the Late Hellenistic marble-carving industry, but local and regional communities in Greece also formed a substantial consumer constituency. The article concludes by reconsidering the artistic relations between Delos and Athens during the Late Hellenistic period.<sup>1</sup>

## INTRODUCTION

Excavations on Delos have produced an archaeological cross-section of marble sculptures that richly document religious, civic, and private life on the Cycladic island. Much of the excavated material dates to the later second and early first centuries BCE, when Delos was a prosperous commercial city connecting Rome with the Greek East and the Levant. In 167/6 BCE, after the Third Macedonian War, the Roman republic granted Delos duty-free status and placed the port under Athenian administration.<sup>2</sup> In the decades that followed, the commercial importance of the island increased rapidly, spurred

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<sup>1</sup>This research was carried out while in residence at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York; I thank the curatorial staff of the Department of Greek and Roman Art and the librarians of the Onassis and Watson Libraries for their support. My ideas on the material emerged as part of my ongoing study of divine statuary from the Athenian Agora; I owe special thanks to John Camp and the staff of the excavations for their guidance and encouragement. I extend my deep gratitude to Sheila Dillon, Bert Smith, Trevor Van Damme, the anonymous reviewers for the *AJA*, and the editorial staff of the *AJA* for their advice. For permission to examine the statuettes gathered here, I thank Dimitris Athanasoulis, John Bennet, Stamatia Eleftheratou, Alexandre Farnoux, Sophia Moschonissioti, Dimitrios Pantermalis, Christopher Pfaff, and Jutta Stroszeck. All material from Delos in this article was found during excavations conducted by the École française d'Athènes, and all material from the Athenian Agora in this article was found during excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (ASCSA); other institutions responsible for excavation are mentioned in association with particular objects. These statements are required in accordance with the AIA Policy on the Publication and Citation of Unprovenanced Antiquities.

<sup>2</sup>On the Delian *emporion*, see Rauh 1993, 1–74; with regard to recent archaeological research, see Zarmakoupi 2015.

by the destruction of Corinth in 146 BCE and by the establishment of the Roman province of Asia after 133 BCE.<sup>3</sup> Sculptors, many of whom were Athenian, relocated to Delos in pursuit of this newly lucrative marketplace. No fewer than 25 makers of bronze and marble statues, mostly honorific portraits, are documented in the epigraphic record of the Late Hellenistic island, and at least two certainly identifiable workshop spaces have been excavated.<sup>4</sup> Delos remained a center of artistic production and innovation until the period of the Mithridatic Wars, when it was sacked by the forces of the Pontic king Mithridates VI in 88 BCE and again by allies of the same king in 69 BCE. The devastating raids curtailed and eventually ended the island's intense mercantile activities.

Sculptors working on Late Hellenistic Delos played a leading role in the development and expansion of a market for marble statuary based, to varying degrees of faithfulness, on older works. The excavated evidence demonstrates that the repertoire chiefly comprised small-format versions, such as a statuette of the Farnese Herakles (fig. 1).<sup>5</sup> The range of production was wide, however, and also included full-scale copies of the highest tier. One rare and remarkable work is the Diadoumenos, a representation of a nude athlete tying a fillet around his head (fig. 2).<sup>6</sup> The marble statue, once completely gilded, aimed to replicate with exacting precision a bronze figure by the fifth-century BCE sculptor Polykleitos.<sup>7</sup> Dating to ca. 100 BCE, the

Diadoumenos from Delos is the earliest identifiable marble copy of a classical statue.

As a result of the important position that Delos occupies in the history of Late Hellenistic art, the patrons of the island's sculptures have drawn considerable interest,<sup>8</sup> and perhaps none more than the buyer of the Diadoumenos. The statue was found in the so-named House of the Diadoumenos in the Lake Quarter, a predominately residential neighborhood.<sup>9</sup> The structure's large footprint (ca. 900 m<sup>2</sup>) has invited comparisons with establishments on the island that were used as meeting places for private religious associations. Unfortunately, neither the architectural setting nor the associated finds clarify the identity of the buyer.<sup>10</sup> There is, in fact, good reason to disassociate the Diadoumenos from the building altogether, at least in the sculpture's first phase of use. It is sometimes overlooked that the exceptionally well-preserved statue does not retain its base, which could mean that it was transported from elsewhere.<sup>11</sup> Given the uncertainty, previous researchers have sought to identify the patron by situating the Diadoumenos within the wider social landscape of Late Hellenistic Delos. It has been claimed that the Diadoumenos was carved for an Italian client who belonged to the large Roman population then living on the island.<sup>12</sup> The inference echoes a commonly held view about the contemporary marble-carving industry in the wider Greek East: that new Roman desires were propelling the production of figured marbles, especially those based on classical and Hellenistic models.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>3</sup>Habicht 1997, 250, 258.

<sup>4</sup>For the signatures, see Marcadé 1957; 1969, 56–61. Bronze was the preferred medium for the named sculptors. For the archaeologically attested workshop(s) at the Agora of the Italians, see *infra* n. 31.

<sup>5</sup>Delos, Archaeological Museum A 5458, found before 1910; see Marcadé 1969, 456 n. 6, 457, pl. LXII; *LIMC* 4:763–64, no. 700, s.v. “Herakles” (O. Palagia); Marcadé et al. 1996, 164, no. 72 (P. Jockey).

<sup>6</sup>Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1826, excav. 1894; see Couve 1895, 484–85, no. 12, pl. 8; Marcadé et al. 1996, 82, no. 31 (P. Jockey); Kaltsas 2002, 111–13, no. 201. Ridgway (1984, 50) raises the possibility that the Diadoumenos was sculpted in Athens and exported to Delos; this seems unlikely because the statue is carved from island marble and the quiver hanging on the supporting tree trunk seems to identify this particular representation as Apollo, appropriate for Delos.

<sup>7</sup>For the traces of gilding, see Bourgeois et al. 2009, 645. For the existence of a replica series with precisely corresponding measurements, cf. the fragments of the Diadoumenos in New York, which were joined perfectly to a cast of the torso of the Delian statue: Metropolitan Museum of Art 25.78.56, acq. 1925;

see Richter 1954, 30–32, no. 38, pls. XXXVII, XXXVIII.

<sup>8</sup>E.g., Sanders 2001.

<sup>9</sup>For the House of the Diadoumenos, see Couve 1895, 509–16, pl. IV; Chamonard 1924, 426–31; Kreeb 1988, 155–60; Trümper 1998, 196–202, figs. 11–13; Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 236–37, no. 61; Queyrel 2008.

<sup>10</sup>Other marble finds from the House of the Diadoumenos have invited a range of interpretations regarding the character of the building: unfinished works have suggested a place of marble carving (Couve 1895, 515–16; Marcadé 1969, 103–6; Jockey 1995, 88–89; 1998, 179); portraits in Roman modes of representation suggest Italian occupants (Dillon 2013, 216); an inscribed base recalls the palaestra (Couve 1895, 510–11).

<sup>11</sup>Chamonard (1924, 427) and Marcadé (1969, 103) suggested that the Diadoumenos was moved from a nearby palaestra or from the Agora of the Italians.

<sup>12</sup>E.g., Smith 1991, 259. For Italians on Delos, see esp. Hatzfeld 1912.

<sup>13</sup>E.g., Palagia 2006, 267; Stewart 2014, 240; Stansbury-O'Donnell 2015, 357; Katakis 2019, 621; La Rocca 2019, 592.



FIG. 1. Unfinished marble statuette of the Farnese Herakles from Delos, late second or early first century BCE, ht. 17 cm. Note the use of measuring bosses for close reproduction from a model. Delos, Archaeological Museum A 5458, found before 1910 (P. Collet; courtesy École française d'Athènes, neg. R 4335-012).

The making and trading of statues based on earlier works was not, of course, driven exclusively by Roman interests, and, in this article, I draw attention to a substantial group of consumers in the eastern Mediterranean basin, many of whom were presumably Greek. My evidence comprises a humbler, and much more representative, tier of production than that of the Diadoumenos: small marble images of the gods. On the basis of shared iconographic, stylistic, and technical features, I have attributed 54 statuettes of Aphrodite, some tentatively, to a workshop or a group of workshops that operated on Delos during the Late Hellenistic period. The statuettes adapt the Knidian and Capitoline Aphrodites, and, while none is an exacting copy like the Diadoumenos, these figures have much to offer in reconstructing the consumption and trade of Delian-made sculpture. As the evidence presently stands, the Aphrodite statuettes have been found exclusively in the region of the Greek East, especially on Delos and other nearby Cycladic islands, and at



FIG. 2. Marble statue of the Diadoumenos from Delos, ca. 100 BCE, ht. 1.95 m. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1826, excav. 1894 (E.-M. Czakó; courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Athen, neg. D-DAI-ATH-NM 5321).

Athens. The distribution emphasizes the importance of local and regional consumers in the Delian marketplace and suggests that other contemporary centers of marble-carving in Greece, namely Athens and Rhodes, may also have been working primarily to fulfill similar sources of demand.

This article has three aims. The first is to identify the output of local marble-carving workshops through close autopsy and formal analyses. In doing so, it is possible to refine further a methodological framework for the attribution of works to a group of sculptors who operated at a given location and within a shared tradition. The second aim is to propose that the making of classical-looking forms in marble, an industry that intensified during the second and first centuries BCE amid rising demand from private individuals, has been too emphatically linked with the emergence of the Italian villa market. The Delian Aphrodites are archaeological counterbalances that refocus our attention on a substantial consumer constituency in the Greek

East. Finally, because the Athenians formed the largest group of buyers of the Aphrodites after the residents of Delos themselves, the third aim is to reconsider the artistic relations between Athens and Delos during the Late Hellenistic period, which must have been considerably closer than has been previously acknowledged.

#### ASSEMBLING A CORPUS OF DELIAN APHRODITES

The 54 marble statuettes catalogued in the appendix (cat. nos. 1–54) share iconographic, stylistic, and technical features.<sup>14</sup> The coherence of the material makes it possible to attribute works found at different sites to a group of sculptors who operated on Delos.<sup>15</sup> Each of the uniting features is discussed in turn below. Of the 54 statuettes, 16 are assigned to the group on a tentative basis (cat. nos. 39–54).

#### Iconography

A statuette found at Halai in eastern Locris, Greece, is one of the most fully preserved figures from the group and serves to illustrate the iconographic model that was preferred by most consumers (cat. no. 25; fig. 3). The statuette adopts the pose of the famous statue of Aphrodite carved by Praxiteles and erected at Knidos in the mid fourth century BCE.<sup>16</sup> For the general outline of the now-lost Knidian statue, we can turn to the so-called Braschi Aphrodite in Munich (fig. 4), considered by some researchers to be a work of the late first century BCE:<sup>17</sup> the right leg is engaged, the right hand would have covered the pubic region, and the left hand holds a mantle at the side of the body over a small vessel. The figures in our group modify the Praxitelean image type by adding an ankle-length

himation around the legs (cat. nos. 1–33, 39–47). The garment adheres to the shape of the legs, even though the oblique, closely spaced folds imply a bulky material that is at odds with the tightly fitted arrangement. The right hand is open and pressed over the pubic area, pinning the himation against the body; the gesture consciously quotes the shielding hand of the Knidia. The taut drapery forms an inverted V shape over the thighs, emphasizing the concealed pubic region. Folds of fabric sag between the figure and the uplifted drapery, an assurance to the viewer that a single garment is intended, even if the arrangement is awkwardly conceived. A strut, considered in antiquity to be a requisite component of the Knidia, connects the left thigh to the drapery. Other statuettes in the group lack the strut, but in these instances, the viewer was to imagine the feature beneath the sagging fabric that adjoins the left leg (e.g., cat. no. 1; fig. 5). At the back, the buttocks are uncovered. The break at the neck of the Halai statuette shows that the head was turned to the left. The feet are flat on the ground, somewhat large for the scale of the figure, and touch the front edge of the plinth.

A smaller number of statuettes employ a second model (cat. nos. 34–38, 48–51), the Capitoline Aphrodite, named after a statue in Rome (fig. 6).<sup>18</sup> These statuettes reverse the pose of the Knidia and position the right hand below the left breast, a more closed posture. A statuette found on Delos illustrates the local interpretation of the form (cat. no. 34; fig. 7). Again, a himation is wrapped around the legs, with an edge pulled to the pubic region. The head is missing, but a stray lock of hair falls over the shoulder, demonstrating a loose coiffure. In this particular example, Aphrodite is accompanied by Eros, whose hands are bound behind his back. The implication is clear: Aphrodite controls sexual desire (*erôs*). Depictions of a captive Eros are not numerous in ancient sculpture, so it is notable that this motif was repeated in at least two other figures in our group (cat. nos. 10, 24).<sup>19</sup> Two statuettes

<sup>14</sup> Information regarding the provenance and publication of each statuette is recorded in its catalogue entry. These statements are provided in accordance with the AIA Policy on the Publication and Citation of Unprovenanced Antiquities.

<sup>15</sup> For the approach, see, e.g., Smith 1998.

<sup>16</sup> Literature on the Knidia is extensive; see *LIMC* 2:49–54, nos. 391–408, s.v. “Aphrodite” (A. Delivorrias), with the earlier literature; Smith 1991, 79–83, fig. 98:1, 98:2; Havelock 1995; Ajootian 1996, 98–103; Ridgway 1997, 263–65, pls. 66, 67; Bol 2004, 328–30, figs. 297–300 (C. Maderna); Ridgway 2004, 713–25; Seaman 2004; Corso 2007, 9–187; Pasquier and Martinez 2007, 139–46, 172–95; Zimmer 2014. For the Delian adaptation presented here, see Marcadé 1969, 231, 234.

<sup>17</sup> Munich, Glyptothek 258, found Rome, acq. 1811; see Vierneisel-Schlörb 1979, 323–48, no. 31, figs. 158–64; *LIMC* 2:49, no. 399, pl. 37, s.v. “Aphrodite” (A. Delivorrias, dated to the end of the first century BCE).

<sup>18</sup> Rome, Musei Capitolini 409, found Rome, ca. 1670–76, acq. 1752; see Haskell and Penny 1981, 318–20, no. 84, fig. 169; *LIMC* 2:52, no. 409, pl. 38, s.v. “Aphrodite” (A. Delivorrias) with additional earlier literature; Ridgway 1990, 355–56, pl. 181; Smith 1991, 80, fig. 99; Havelock 1995, 74–75, fig. 18; Stewart 2010.

<sup>19</sup> I am aware of two additional statuettes with a captive Eros that belong to the group. The provenances of these pieces could not be established for this article; one is from the art market and another is in a local museum in the Cyclades. Late Hellenistic



FIG. 3. Marble statuette of Aphrodite from Halai, half-draped Knidia model (cat. no. 25), two views, ht. 30 cm. Thebes, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. n/a, excav. 1911–14, ASCSA (© ASCSA Archives, Halai Excavation Records).

substitute a dolphin, referencing the marine powers of the sea-born goddess (cat. nos. 38, 50).

The sculptors of our statuettes exalted old forms while at the same time making adjustments to meet the needs of new consumers. The models of the Knidian and Capitoline Aphrodites, both deployed over a wide geographic extent, were used because they ensured ready identification of the goddess. Attributes, such as Eros or a dolphin, provided the viewer with further visual cues, while at the same time announcing specific aspects of the goddess. Half-draped depictions of Aphrodite were popular in Late Hellenistic art, but a large-scale statue that corresponds precisely to the figures

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clay sealings found in the House of the Seals on Delos, which depict Eros with his hands bound to a pillar, highlight the popularity of the motif on the island; see Stampolidis 1992, 123–32, pls. XXIII–XXVI. For representations of Eros bound, see also Bruneau 1977, 252–57, no. 32; *LIMC* 3:966–7, nos. 67–76, pl. 683, s.v. “Eros/Amor, Cupido” (N. Blanc and F. Gury).

described here is not known. The statuettes are essays on earlier works, positioned somewhere between a reduced-scale copy and an altogether new creation.

#### *Style*

The most distinctive stylistic feature of the group is the simplistic handling of the drapery. The folds of the himation were rendered as closely spaced parallel incisions, often deeply carved. The schematic conception of the drapery continues on the back, where folds run diagonally, or on some figures horizontally, in uninterrupted bands (e.g., cat. no. 14; fig. 8). The overall effect of this drawn-on or scored style is a highly abstracted garment that is lifeless, without movement. For those statuettes that adapted the Knidia, the stylistic mannerism was carried over to the column of drapery at the left side of the body, where, above the small vessel, a single vertical line is drawn through the center, bordered by a pattern of wide zigzags (see figs. 3, 8). The incision-like treatment of the drapery is reminiscent of



FIG. 4. Marble statue, the so-called Braschi Aphrodite, a version of the Knidia, found in Rome, ht. 1.63 m. Munich, Glyptothek 258, acq. 1811 (© Vanni Archive / Art Resource, NY).

terracotta sculpture, from which our carvers may have taken inspiration.

#### *Technique*

While the group has substantial iconographic and stylistic unity, technical details provide the most persuasive suite of evidence for a shared origin. One conspicuous technical mannerism is an eagerness to employ the drill for the removal of stone. The tool was applied consistently across the group to free appendages from the matrix, separating the arms from the body or clearing the space between and around the feet and under the himation (e.g., cat. no. 8; fig. 9). The channel of the drill remains visible, typically measuring around 0.5 cm in diameter. The use of the drill in this manner is attested on Late Hellenistic Delos (see



FIG. 5. Marble statuette of Aphrodite from Delos, half-draped Knidia model (cat. no. 1), ht. 28.7 cm. Delos, Archaeological Museum A 1619, excav. 1907 (J. Marcadé; courtesy École française d'Athènes, neg. 16983).

Production on Late Hellenistic Delos, below). In fact, Jockey considers it to be a peculiar technical trait of a Delian workshop that specialized in carving statuettes of Aphrodite.<sup>20</sup>

The undersides of the plinths of our statuettes were sometimes leveled with short strokes of a tooth chisel (e.g., cat. no. 16; fig. 10). In the Greek East, the tooth chisel was not often employed by figural marble-carvers. The tool was instead reserved for dressing flat planes. Delos, however, was an exception; unfinished sculptures from the island preserve abundant traces of the tooth chisel applied during an intermediary stage

<sup>20</sup>Jockey 1998, 181.

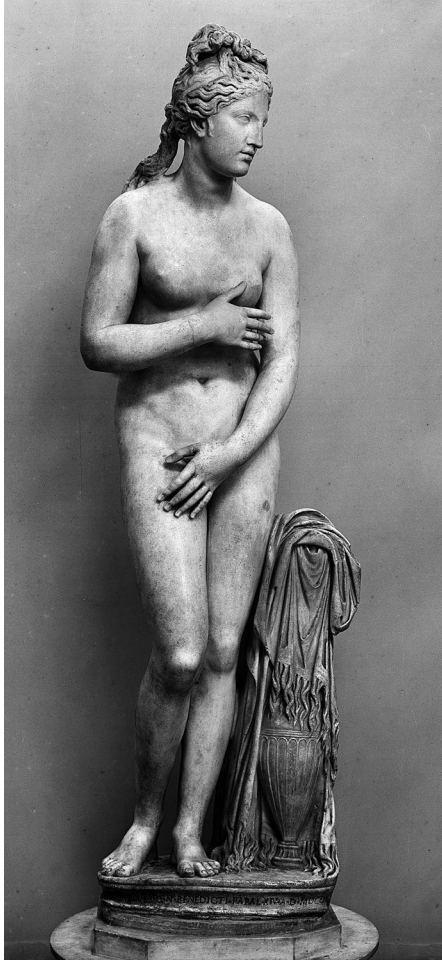


FIG. 6. Marble statue, the so-called Capitoline Aphrodite, ht. 1.87 m. Rome, Musei Capitolini 409, acq. 1752, found in Rome, ca. 1670–76 (R. Sansaini; © Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom, neg. D-DAI-ROM-57.720).



FIG. 7. Marble statuette of Aphrodite from Delos, half-draped Capitoline model, accompanied by captive Eros (cat. no. 34), ht. 31.5 cm. Delos, Archaeological Museum A 5430, excav. date n/a, see cat. entry (J. Marcadé; courtesy École française d'Athènes, neg. 18301)

between roughing out and finer modeling.<sup>21</sup> The tooth chisel, though not obviously used to carve the form of our figures, provides further evidence for production on Delos.

#### Marble

Our statuettes were carved from white marbles, predominately Cycladic in origin (e.g., cat. no. 23; fig. 11). While planned scientific analyses will establish the exploited quarries with certainty, a comparison with marble samples of known origin provides room for informed speculation. Most of the examined statuettes visually match marbles from Paros, including the

medium- to coarse-grained, translucent *lychnites* variety from the underground quarries at Marathi and the coarse-grained, grayish-white variety from the open-pit quarries at Lakkoi.<sup>22</sup> The size of the required block was not large. Fully preserved, the statuettes each stand about 25–45 cm high and have thin profiles measuring about 6–8 cm deep (e.g., cat. no. 14; see fig. 8). The reduced depth is oftentimes noticeable at the lower body, where the left thigh is carved too narrowly for a naturalistic form. A rectangular block cut to about 35 x 12 x 8 cm would have sufficed for most works.

<sup>21</sup> Moureaud 2015, 231–37.

<sup>22</sup> For characterization of the stones from these quarries, see Herz 2000.



FIG. 8. Marble statuette of Aphrodite from Athens, half-draped Knidia model (cat. no. 14), ht. 28.6 cm, four views. Athens, Agora Excavations S 2004 and S 3140, catalogued 1957 and 1978 (C. Mauzy; courtesy ASCSA: Agora Excavations).



FIG. 9. Marble statuette of Aphrodite from Thira (Santorini), half-draped Knidia model (cat. no. 8), ht. 22.4 cm, four views. The surface is badly weathered. Note the use of the drill around the feet. Athens, British School at Athens S 44, acq. 1899 (J. Vanderpool; reproduced with the permission of the British School at Athens).

### Heads

Although the sizes of the statuettes fall within a limited range, there was no standard measurement or ratio used for their production. Sculptors took frugal advantage of whatever materials were available. For many of the figures in this group, the heads were carved separately and then attached to the body by means of a

dowel. The method, called piecing, offered two advantages: to make use of leftover fragments of marble and to protect against damage when carving more delicate facial features. Far from being a shortcut, the method required additional effort in order to achieve a proper fit, as well as additional materials, such as lead or iron, to solidify the join. Piecing was sometimes required





FIG. 10. Marble statuette of Aphrodite from Athens, half-draped Knidia model (cat. no. 16), ht. 12.6 cm, front and underside views. Note the use of the tooth chisel on the underside. Athens, Agora Excavations AS 60, excav. 1937 (C. Mauzy; courtesy ASCSA: Agora Excavations).

as a means of repair; however, among our Aphrodite statuettes, it was regularly planned from the earliest stages of carving.

The head of one figure (cat. no. 33), having been carved in one piece with the body, is preserved intact. This statuette, acquired in Alexandria, depicts the goddess with her hair parted at the center and swept back into a bun. Wide locks of hair were created by means of deep incisions that recall the coarsely rendered folds of the himation discussed above. The total height of the figure is about eight times the height of the head, giving an elongated body. The gaze is lifted to the left. It is noteworthy that the Alexandrian statuette wears a bracelet on her upper left arm, the only example in the group that preserves this attribute. Others were probably furnished with a painted or gilded armband.

Candidates for heads belonging to statuettes in the group are identifiable among the fragments. The piecing method, coupled with style and marble origin,



FIG. 11. Marble statuette of Aphrodite from Athens, half-draped Knidia model (cat. no. 23); ht. 14.5 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 2673, acq. 1863 (T. Ollivier; © Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais).

helps to isolate several possible examples. A head of a female figure found in the Athenian Agora presents one suitable option (cat. no. 52; fig. 12). A dowel hole in the neck indicates that it was attached separately to the body. The hair is pulled back into a bun, which was itself added as a separate piece by means of an adhesive. The locks of hair are separated by deep incisions, as on the figure from Alexandria. The head, with its broad chin, swept-back coiffure, and turned gaze, is appropriate for a figure inspired by the Knidia. A head in New York (cat. no. 54; fig. 13), once attached to a body from our group (cat. no. 32; fig. 14) in order to improve the sale price on the art market, is a close parallel that utilizes the same distinctive piecing of the bun with adhesive. Even though the New York head does not belong with the body to which it was formerly joined, the fragments may nevertheless have been acquired by the dealer from the same site.



FIG. 12. Head of a marble statuette of Aphrodite from Athens (cat. no. 52), ht. 4.4 cm, four views. Note the flat, rasped surface at the back of the head for attachment of the bun with an adhesive. Athens, Agora Excavations S 1922, excav. 1955 (C. Mauzy, courtesy ASCSA: Agora Excavations).

#### PRODUCTION ON LATE HELLENISTIC DELOS

The statuettes described above were most probably carved on Delos, for three reasons. (1) More statuettes were found on Delos than at any other single location (20 statuettes, or 37% of the examples in the catalogue). (2) The statuettes are carved from island marble and exhibit technical details, such as a heavy reliance on the drill and the employment of the tooth chisel, that are characteristic of Delian workmanship. (3) Four unfinished statuettes were excavated on Delos (cat. nos. 5, 36, 37, 43; no. 36 is illustrated in fig. 15).

Other contemporary centers of figural marble-carving in the Aegean region, namely Athens and Rhodes, can be ruled out as sources. One out of four statuettes in the catalogue was found at Athens, but Attic manufacture is improbable because no unfinished examples are known among the hundreds of semi-worked pieces from the city.<sup>23</sup> If Athens had been a locus of production for these figures, then one would

<sup>23</sup> Stewart (2017, 106) concluded that cat. no. 52 is unfinished; however, the head is simply missing the chignon, which was attached by means of an adhesive (as also for cat. no. 54).



FIG. 13. Head of a marble statuette of Aphrodite, probably from Greece (cat. no. 54), ht. 5.0 cm, two views. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 24.97.88b, acq. 1924 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund; public domain).

expect to find a frequent use of Pentelic marble.<sup>24</sup> Rhodes seems to be the least likely source because only one example from our group has been found there (cat. no. 28), despite the thorough publication of sculpture from the island.<sup>25</sup>

Based on the presumed marble origins, Paros should be considered as a possible place of production. Paros is no more than 20 nautical miles from Delos, and Parian sculptors were active in the Cyclades during

<sup>24</sup> Palagia (2000, 351) has found that Parian marble was not often used for figural carving at Athens between the close of the fifth century BCE and the beginning of the Roman period; see also Palagia 2021, 284.

<sup>25</sup> For marble sculpture from Rhodes, see esp. Merker 1973; Gualandi 1976; Machaira 2011; 2019.



FIG. 14. Marble statuette of Aphrodite probably from Greece, half-draped Knidia model (cat. no. 32), ht. 20.3 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 24.97.88a, acq. 1924 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund; public domain).

the first century BCE, including on Delos.<sup>26</sup> The archaeological remains of a first-century BCE sculptor's studio near the Parian city of Paroikia confirm that figural marble-carving, including the production of statuettes of Aphrodite, occurred on the island.<sup>27</sup> Detoratu has wondered if the sculptors working in this atelier had relocated from neighboring Delos following the decline of the *emporion*, an attractive hypothesis.<sup>28</sup> Still, no statuettes belonging to our group have yet been made known from Paros.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Rubensohn 1935.

<sup>27</sup> Detoratu 2012; 2013; 2020.

<sup>28</sup> Detoratu 2013, 147.

<sup>29</sup> For the types of Aphrodite statuettes found on Paros, see Detoratu 2020.



FIG. 15. Unfinished marble statuette of Aphrodite from Delos, half-draped Capitoline model (cat. no. 36), ht. 12.5 cm. Delos, Archaeological Museum A 5062, excav. date n/a, see cat. entry (J. Marcadé; courtesy École française d'Athènes, neg. 18281).

### Placing Production

There is abundant archaeological evidence for figural marble-carving on Late Hellenistic Delos.<sup>30</sup> The surest testimony was found at the south side of the Agora of the Italians in two adjacent but nonadjoining rooms, where sculptors were busily engaged in carving and selling a range of marble products.<sup>31</sup> The activities of the workshops are dated relative to the construction phases of the building. The Agora of the Italians was probably built during the 120s BCE and seems to

<sup>30</sup> For marble carving on Delos, see Deonna 1948, 58–63; Marcadé 1969, 102–15; Jockey 1993; 1995; 1998; Nolte 2005, 79–110, 275–89; Palagia 2006, 267–69; Karvonis 2008, 174–75.

<sup>31</sup> For the workshops in Rooms 103 and 106 of the Agora of the Italians, see Holleaux 1904, 732–33; 1905, 775–76; Bizard and Roussel 1907, 468, no. 73; Lapalus 1939, 62–63; Deonna 1948, 61; Marcadé 1969, 102–4; Jockey 1993, 443–45; 1995, 87, 89–90, 93; Marcadé et al. 1996, 164, no. 72, 186, no. 83; Jockey 1998, 179–80; Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 222; Nolte 2005, 277–80; Trümper 2008, 285, 289–90; Van Voorhis 2018, 47–48.

have fallen out of use sometime after the sack of the island in 69 BCE.<sup>32</sup> The shops were added in a second phase of construction, probably not long after the 120s BCE. If sculptors occupied the spaces soon thereafter, we can expect that marble-carving occurred there for a maximum of about 50 years, or two generations. Some 30 unfinished works are reportedly associated with the establishments, and excavators encountered layers of working debris. The output included statuettes, among other items such as table supports, figural reliefs, and architectural elements.<sup>33</sup> An unfinished statuette that represents the Farnese Herakles is of particular interest because it bears small bosses used for the transfer of measurements from a model (see fig. 1). A bronze instrument found nearby, identified as a proportional divider used to scale measurements up or down, is therefore highly suggestive.<sup>34</sup> Finds such as these, coupled with the Diadoumenos (see fig. 2) discussed above, place Delos among the earliest locales where the systematic production of marble sculptures based on earlier classical and Hellenistic models can be documented.

Another workshop on Delos is more difficult to pin down among the archaeological remains, but it is of special relevance to our group. Jockey has proposed the existence of a workshop near the Stoa of Philip V on the basis of a concentration of unfinished statuettes with homogeneous features.<sup>35</sup> The unfinished figures—more than 30 in number, Jockey has reported—represent Aphrodite, and at least two depict the goddess half-draped in a pose that fits the iconography of our group (cat. nos. 36, 37; see fig. 15). The sculpting refuse is suggestive of one place of manufacture for our Aphrodite statuettes. At a minimum, the debris found here demonstrates the great demand for Aphrodites in the Delian marketplace.<sup>36</sup> The chronological range of the proposed workshop cannot be established with certainty. We are, unfortunately, without stratigraphic information, and, since the unfinished

statuettes cannot be anchored to a structure, dating is based on intrinsic analyses of the works themselves and on a wider understanding of the Delian sculptural industry. As we will see, the output of local sculptors was greatly diminished following raids on the island in 88 and 69 BCE, hence it is reasonable to propose that the bulk of the unfinished statuettes excavated around the Stoa of Philip V are contemporary with the production activities at the Agora of the Italians; that is, they would date around the late second to early first centuries BCE.

#### *Dating Production*

The find context of one Aphrodite from Delos certifies that our statuettes were being produced during the first half of the first century BCE (cat. no. 2). The Aphrodite was found shattered inside the House of the Herm, a lavish private residence above the Inopos River valley that was abandoned sometime after 69 BCE.<sup>37</sup> The findspot of the statuette in the peristyle of the house, with a joining fragment from the cistern, suggests that the Aphrodite had fallen from an upper story. Wherever its place of display, the statuette was not alone in the residence; the House of the Herm was appointed with other statues, including figures of Artemis, Tyche, a nymph, a satyr, and several herms.<sup>38</sup> A base bearing a restored signature of one Praxiteles ([Πραξι]τέλης ἐποίησεν) is suggestive of a household with art historical interests.<sup>39</sup> An inscribed herm base found in the house connect the owners with the gens Paconii, a family of wealthy Italian traders.<sup>40</sup> In this case, it seems certain that the buyer of our statuette was Roman.

A head from the Athenian Agora (cat. no. 52; see fig. 12), which, as discussed above, can be provisionally connected to the output of Delian workshops even though it is without its body, furnishes another fixed

<sup>32</sup> On the chronology and building phases, see Trümper 2008, 351–59.

<sup>33</sup> Trümper 2008, 289.

<sup>34</sup> Delos, Archaeological Museum B 1241-8695, excav. before 1938; see Deonna 1938, 214, fig. 246, pl. 578; Jockey 1995, 90.

<sup>35</sup> For the workshop, see Jockey 1995, 87, 90–93; Marcadé et al. 1996, 150, no. 65 (P. Jockey); Jockey 1998, 180–82; 2000; Zimmer 2014, 2–3.

<sup>36</sup> Marcadé 1969, 235; Kreeb 1988, 58–60; Hadjidakis 2003, 277.

<sup>37</sup> For the residence, see Delorme 1953; Marcadé 1953; Kreeb 1988, 37–40; Rauh 1993, 219–31; Trümper 1998, 234–41, no. 35; Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 263–67, no. 89.

<sup>38</sup> For the sculptures (excav. 1948–49, now in the Archaeological Museum on Delos), see Marcadé 1953, 500–74; Harvard 1982, 184–91, nos. 61–77; Kreeb 1988, 200–13; Sanders 2001, 43, 72–74; Hardiman 2005, 201–13.

<sup>39</sup> Delos, Archaeological Museum E 831, excav. 1949; see Marcadé 1953, 567–68, no. 12, figs. 58, 59, pl. LVIII:1.

<sup>40</sup> Delos, Archaeological Museum E 830, excav. 1949; see Marcadé 1953, 510–12, fig. 14 (SEG 13, 425); Bruneau 1968, 666. On the Paconii at Delos, see Hatzfeld 1912, 62–64; Rauh 1993, 223–31.

chronological point for our group. The fragment was excavated northwest of the Temple of Ares. A relief lamp and two Knidian amphora handles date the fill around the late second to first centuries BCE.<sup>41</sup> The date is in agreement with the context of the House of the Herm.

It is more difficult to establish a lower temporal limit for the activities of our statuette carvers. As we have observed in the case of a studio operating near the Stoa of Philip, the chronological range of sculptural production on Delos is not straightforward. The historical events of Delos provide a skeleton framework for building a chronology of the local marble-carving industry, but for most individual works we are without firm dating criteria. The fundamental difficulty remains that very few sculptures from the island have stratigraphic information.

Delos remained at the heart of bustling Aegean trade until the early first century BCE, when sacks by troops of Mithridates VI of Pontos in 88 BCE, and by Athenodoros in 69 BCE, severely disrupted life on the island. According to Strabo (10.5.4) and Pausanias (3.23.3–4, 8.33.2), Delos was pillaged and its residents relocated elsewhere, leaving the island nearly deserted.<sup>42</sup> However, the archaeological evidence suggests that the port, rather than experiencing an abrupt and final end, suffered an extended period of decay over the course of the mid first century BCE<sup>43</sup> and that sculptors continued to operate sporadically.<sup>44</sup> Figural marble-carving was throttled severely after 69 BCE, but that date cannot be presumed to be a *terminus ante quem*.

A statuette from Corinth may offer a clue regarding the uncertain fate of our carvers after 69 BCE (cat. no. 26; fig. 16). The votive figure was excavated as two fragments in the Asklepieion; one piece was found in fill dating to the second century CE. Probably, as



FIG. 16. Marble statuette of Aphrodite from Corinth, half-draped Knidia model (cat. no. 26), ht. 27.5 cm. Corinth, Corinth Excavations S 1464 and S 1516, excav. 1931–32 (P. Dellatolas; courtesy ASCSA: Corinth Excavations).

was normal practice, the statuette stood in the sanctuary for some time before it entered the archaeological record, but for how long? According to Melfi, the Asklepieion was one of the first sanctuaries to be revived after the Mummian destruction of Corinth in 146 BCE; perhaps it was operational again as early as 42 BCE.<sup>45</sup> It would seem reasonable to conclude that the Aphrodite was placed in the precinct after this date, either in the late first century BCE or in the early first century CE. The Corinthian statuette does not provide a lower chronological limit for the activities of the workshop since heirloom works could be dedicated, but it is suggestive of continued production in the generation or two after the second raid on Delos in 69 BCE.

The statuettes bear some intrinsic chronological markers beyond assessments of style. Three figures are supported by plinths with molded faces (cat. nos. 17, 31, 38; no. 38 is illustrated in fig. 17), a decorative embellishment that has been interpreted as evidence for manufacture during the Imperial period.<sup>46</sup> While plinths with moldings do seem to have been infrequent before the first and second centuries CE, it is probable that they were already in use during later Hellenistic

<sup>41</sup> All excav. 1955. Lamp: Athens, Agora Excavations L 5211; cf. Howland 1958, 177–78, nos. 693, 694, pl. 50. Amphora handles: Athens, Agora Excavations SS 14060 and SS 14061.

<sup>42</sup> See Bruneau 1968, 671–73 for the ancient sources; 673–88 for determining the extent of the destructions in the archaeological record. The number of inhabitants on Delos in the decades following 69 BCE remains an open question; certainly, there was a large population contraction. During the Roman Imperial period, recent scholarship has demonstrated, there was a more substantial population than has previously been acknowledged; see Le Quéré 2015, 165–73; 2018.

<sup>43</sup> Bruneau 1968, 690–91.

<sup>44</sup> Marcadé 1969, 34–37.

<sup>45</sup> Melfi 2014.

<sup>46</sup> Muthmann 1951, 120–28; Marcadé 1969, 35.



FIG. 17. Marble statuette of Aphrodite from Athens, half-draped Capitoline model, with a dolphin (cat. no. 38), ht. 20.5 cm, four views. Note the molding on the front face of the plinth. Athens, Agora Excavations S 3095, catalogued 1978 (C. Mauzy; courtesy ASCSA: Agora Excavations).

times. Terracotta figurines, for example, could stand on molded plinths already by the third century BCE,<sup>47</sup> so there is little reason, in my view, to exclude their early presence in marble. Statuettes of a Knidian Aphrodite (fig. 18, left)<sup>48</sup> and of an Aphrodite bending forward to remove her sandal (see fig. 18, right),<sup>49</sup> both found on Delos, have moldings on their plinths. The statuettes were catalogued as stray finds, so they do not have secure lower chronological limits, but their resemblance to the moldings on statuettes in our group does offer additional evidence for Delian production. In each instance, the moldings curiously terminate partway across the lateral faces.

The iconography of the statuettes does not contradict this chronological framework. One of the earliest datable adaptations of the Knidia gesture comes from Delos. The well-known statue group representing Aphrodite raising her sandal to Pan was excavated in the Establishment of the Poseidoniasts of Berytos (fig. 19).<sup>50</sup> Aphrodite, slightly under-life-sized and fully

nude, reverses the pose of the Knidia: the left hand is placed in front of the genitalia, and the right hand is raised. The belonging base was found at the same location. It bears a votive inscription informing us that the benefactor, Dionysios of Berytos, dedicated the statue group to his ancestral gods. The inscription and the context date the group to the years around 100 BCE. Dionysios' dedication is therefore contemporary with the Diadoumenos, demonstrating the complex artistic environment that existed on Delos, where copies and adaptations coexisted freely.

An architectural relief depicting the Knidian Aphrodite was found in the House of Fourni on Delos (fig. 20).<sup>51</sup> The goddess stands at the center of the scene. To her right is Eros, attending with an alabaster in the right hand and an unknown object in the other, and, to her left, a herm. As Marcadé recognized, the spirit of the image recalls the group dedicated by Dionysios of Berytos; here, the ithyphallic herm has replaced lustful Pan.<sup>52</sup> The relief dates to the late second

<sup>47</sup>E.g., Merker 2000, 275–76.

<sup>48</sup>Delos, Archaeological Museum A 4409, found 1904; see Chamonard 1924, 221, 224, fig. 101; Marcadé 1969, 35 n. 5, 233 n. 6, 460 n. 1, pl. XLVI; 1973, 347, fig. 25; Marcadé et al. 1996, 146, no. 63 (P. Jockey); Hadjidakis 2003, 309, 436, no. 567; Corso 2007, 62, 72, 74, figs. 44, 45 n. 8, no. 53; Zimmer 2014, 35–40, 68–69, 170, no. AvK-ms 8, pl. 7, figs. 28–30.

<sup>49</sup>Delos, Archaeological Museum A 1790, found 1907; Marcadé 1969, 236 n. 3, 237, nn. 1, 4, 460 n. 1, pl. XLVII; Kreeb 1988, 309, no. S 54.3; Marcadé et al. 1996, 152, no. 66 (P. Jockey); Sanders 2001, 93, 225, no. Ste 10; Zimmer 2014, 1 n. 4, 33 n. 200.

<sup>50</sup>Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3335, excav.

1904; see Bulard 1906; *ID* 1783; Marcadé 1969, 393–96, pl. L; *LIMC* 2:62, no. 514, pl. 50, s.v. “Aphrodite” (A. Delivorrias); Stewart 1990, 227, fig. 834; Smith 1991, 242, fig. 314; Havelock 1995, 55–58, fig. 12; Marcadé et al. 1996, 142, no. 61 (P. Jockey); Kaltsas 2002, 294–95, no. 617; Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 106, 230, fig. 64; Zimmer 2014, 113–22, pl. 29, figs. 131–33.

<sup>51</sup>Delos, Archaeological Museum A 4017, excav. 1934; see Marcadé 1969, 402; 1973, 342, 346–49, no. 9, fig. 22; *LIMC* 2:51, no. 400, pl. 37, s.v. “Aphrodite” (A. Delivorrias); Corso 2007, 62, fig. 43; Stampolidis and Tassoulas 2009, 90, no. 18 (P. Hadjidakis); Zimmer 2014, 35–40, 177–78, no. AvK-mr 20, pl. 49, figs. 49, 50.

<sup>52</sup>Marcadé 1969, 402.



FIG. 18. Two statuettes from Delos with moldings on the plinths: *left*, marble statuette of the Knidian Aphrodite, ht. 45 cm. Delos, Archaeological Museum A 4409, found 1904 (P. Collet; courtesy École française d'Athènes, neg. R4335-007); *right*, marble statuette of Aphrodite removing her sandal, with foot supported on a dolphin, ht. 34 cm. Delos, Archaeological Museum A 1790, found 1907 (P. Collet; courtesy École française d'Athènes, neg. R 4335-009).

or early first century BCE when the house was constructed and was part of a wider decorative program of relief sculptures.

We can conclude that the Delian carvers responsible for our Aphrodite statuettes were active in the early first century BCE and were probably already established toward the end of the preceding century. It seems likely that one or more workshops continued to function in a reduced capacity in the generation or two after 69 BCE.

#### TRADE NETWORKS: AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL APPROACH

The catalogue identifies 54 statuettes of Aphrodite that probably or possibly belong to the Delian workshop or workshops reconstructed above. Their

findspots are summarized in the distribution map and table (fig. 21; table 1); the inclusion of the tentatively assigned works ensures the capture of the widest possible range of evidence. As with any distribution of archaeological material, we should recognize at the outset that there could be gaps or overrepresentations in the data that have resulted from preservation biases in antiquity or from scholarly interest today. As the evidence is presently known, we find that the people who used the statuettes were located exclusively in the eastern Mediterranean basin. The residents of Athens, where one quarter of the statuettes were found, were among the primary purchasers. Their interest in Delian sculpture has, until now, been little explored (see Delos and Athens, below). The map shows a maritime corridor stretching from southern Asia Minor to



FIG. 19. Marble statue group of Aphrodite, Pan, and Eros from the Establishment of the Poseidoniasts of Berytos, Delos, ca. 100 BCE, ht. with base 1.55 m. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3335, excav. 1904 (Nimatallah / Art Resource, NY).

mainland Greece, with Delos at the nexus. The statuettes found along the south coast of Asia Minor and in northern Mesopotamia (cat. nos. 28–30, 46)<sup>53</sup> are located along routes that were used for the trafficking of captured peoples to Delos, where they were sold into slavery in huge numbers. According to Strabo (14.5.2), the collapsing Seleucid Empire, which then comprised Cilicia and Syria, was the primary source of captive people for the Delian slave trade.<sup>54</sup> On the west coast of Asia Minor, there is a single statuette (cat. no. 27, fig. 22), from Ephesos, a leading city of the Roman

<sup>53</sup> Two more statuettes in a local archaeological museum in southern Turkey are known to me; their provenance could not be certainly established for this article.

<sup>54</sup> Rauh 1993, 43–52.



FIG. 20. Marble relief of Aphrodite Knidia, accompanied by Eros and a herm, from the House of the Fourni, Delos, Late Hellenistic, ht. 32.5 cm. Delos, Archaeological Museum A 4017, excav. 1934 (J. Marcadé; courtesy École française d'Athènes, neg. 42600).

province of Asia that was connected to Italy through Delos. One statuette (cat. no. 13) is known at Gortyna, the capital of the Roman province of Crete and Cyrenaica and an important commercial node facing North Africa. Among the most distant destinations is Alexandria (cat. no. 33), a center of Hellenic culture, whose merchants and traders were active on Delos.<sup>55</sup>

Marble is a durable and prized material. For this reason, our statuettes had long lives that bridged generations. Some of the findspots on our distribution map may therefore represent secondary markets or relocations. No doubt the portable nature of statuettes facilitated their reuse and resale. It is possible, for example, that following the decline of Delos, some Aphrodites were carried away by their owners who fled the island. Residents of Delos relocated throughout the eastern Mediterranean basin including to Athens and cities along the west coast of Asia Minor.<sup>56</sup> In the case of Athens, however, there seem to be too many pieces to

<sup>55</sup> For Alexandrians on Delos, see *ID* 1526, 1528, 1529.

<sup>56</sup> Salomies 2007, 1274–77.





FIG. 21. Map of the central and eastern Mediterranean with location of sites discussed in the text. Findspots of statuettes included in this study are indicated by larger dots, sized proportionally to the number of pieces from that location (cf. table 1) (drawing by T. Ross).

represent only emigration or later relocation processes. Some Delian residents returned to Italy, and, as the evidence now stands, no statuettes from our group have been found there. It is reasonable to conclude that the majority of the Aphrodite statuettes were originally shipped in a completed state from Delos to the destinations on the distribution map and that the map is a meaningful indicator of the primary sources of demand. The makers of our statuettes were working to fulfill the needs of local and regional clientele.

Consumers used the marble figures of Aphrodite in domestic and religious contexts. While most of the statuettes were probably intended for household spaces, only two can be connected to a residence with certainty, and none was found in a context of primary display.<sup>57</sup> As discussed above, an Aphrodite (cat. no. 2) was excavated from the peristyle of the House of the Herm on Delos, apparently having fallen from an upper story. Another statuette (cat. no. 9) was found in

the Phallos House at Thira, but no meaningful context was recorded. Figures of Aphrodite were highly sought after in Greek houses, where the images could perform roles in ritual, while also being valued as works of art.<sup>58</sup> There is no need to separate a religious function from an aesthetic one; to do so is to force a modern categorization onto the ancient evidence.

Other statuettes were consecrated in sanctuaries, as in the case of the Aphrodite from the Corinthian Asklepieion (cat. no. 26; see fig. 16) or another from the Sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesos (cat. no. 27; see fig. 22). Three statuettes found at Athens may also have been dedicated in a sacred precinct (cat. nos. 14, 16, 18; see figs. 8, 10). These figures were found on the north slope of the Acropolis near the open-air shrine of Aphrodite and Eros, where worship of the goddess flourished during the Hellenistic period.<sup>59</sup> By the first century CE, material evidence for the cult at the site fades, although Pausanias (1.27.3) was aware of the

<sup>57</sup> For sculpture in Hellenistic houses, see Harward 1982; Hardiman 2005; 2016; Queyrel 2016, 323–34. With special focus on Delian assemblages, see Kreeb 1988; Sanders 2001.

<sup>58</sup> Hardiman 2016, 615.

<sup>59</sup> On the precinct, see Travlos 1971, 228–32; Glowacki 1991, 46–64; Machaira 2008, 101–26.

TABLE 1. Frequency of statuettes by location.

Location	Statuettes Attributed to Workshops (n)	Statuettes Tentatively Attributed to Workshops (n)	Total
Cyclades			
Delos	11	9	20
Andros	2	0	2
Melos	1	0	1
Thira (Santorini)	2	0	2
Crete			
Gortyna	1	0	1
Mainland Greece			
Athens	11	4	15
Corinth	1	0	1
Halai	1	0	1
Rhamnous	1	0	1
Asia Minor and Levant			
Ephesos	1	0	1
Kos	2	0	2
Rhodes	1	0	1
Zeugma	0	1	1
Egypt			
Alexandria	1	0	1
Probably from Greece	2	1	3
Unknown	0	1	1



FIG. 22. Marble statuette of Aphrodite from the Sanctuary of Artemis, Ephesos, half-draped Knidia model (cat. no. 27), ht. 12.5 cm. London, British Museum 1874,0710.238, acq. 1874 (© Trustees of the British Museum).

location.<sup>60</sup> If the three statuettes come from this precinct, then they were probably offered not long after their production in the late second or first century BCE.

#### DELIAN APHRODITES IN CONTEXT: THE LATE HELLENISTIC ART TRADE

Greek art was coveted by affluent consumers on the Italian peninsula, who were drawn to objects such as Corinthian bronzes, old master paintings, and carved gemstones as statements of wealth or taste, as curiosities from the distant past, or as objects of religious significance. Their familiarity with Greek art had been gained primarily through the spoils of war.<sup>61</sup> Following the conquest and plunder of Hellenic lands—Sicily in 212 BCE and the Greek mainland in the following

<sup>60</sup> Broneer 1932, 50–52.

<sup>61</sup> Welch 2006; Zanker 2010, 1–9. For interactions before the third century BCE, see Ridgway 1984, 19–20; La Rocca 1996, 609, 612–13; Leventi 2007.

century—artworks, especially statues, were brought to Rome in large quantities and displayed prominently. Soon thereafter, private individuals in Italy sought out Greek-made marble and bronze figures for domestic display, and demand accelerated. By the late second century BCE, and probably earlier, the arrival of Greek statuary to Italy was no longer solely the result of Roman looting but, more often, of a complex network of artists, dealers, agents, and middlemen, who sold, acquired, and dispersed new and old works alike. As demand expanded over the course of the first century BCE, Greek sculptors such as Arkesilaos and Pasiteles established workshops in Rome to fulfill commissions.<sup>62</sup>

The letters of Cicero to his friend and agent Atticus are remarkable documents for revealing the specific desires of a first-century BCE Roman for Greek-made art.<sup>63</sup> In his correspondence (written 68–65 BCE), Cicero excitedly writes about the procurement of statues and herms from Attica and Megara that would be suitable for the gymnasium complex in his sprawling villa estate at Tusculum. Cicero's greatest concern was that the iconography and format of his purchases would fit the intended display environment. He was thus exceedingly pleased to acquire a herm of Athena for his gymnasium, a building modeled on the Academy at Athens, where Plato had taught philosophy. Of course, contextual appropriateness was by no means an interest new with the Romans; it had long occupied Greek consumers as well.

Contemporary shipwrecks illustrate the sorts of artworks that were being transported over maritime routes during Cicero's time. Important sculptural cargoes were found off the coast of Tunisia near Mahdia (ca. 80–60 BCE)<sup>64</sup> and off the northeast coast of Antikythera (ca. 75–50 BCE),<sup>65</sup> an island located between Crete and the Peloponnese (see fig. 21). The marble and bronze sculptures salvaged from these wrecks are diverse. In addition to heirloom pieces, the cargoes included freshly carved figures. Some of the statues from the Antikythera wreck, such as the Farnese Herakles (fig. 23, left)<sup>66</sup> and the Knidian Aphrodite (see fig. 23,

right),<sup>67</sup> were based on old models that would have long lives under the Roman empire. The massive candelabra and kraters from the Mahdia wreck, on the other hand, were new creations that reflect contemporary tastes for more purely decorative works.

The Mahdia and Antikythera shipwrecks are cited regularly as evidence of the burgeoning demand for Greek-made art by a new Roman clientele. A prevalent view is that both merchant vessels carried freight destined for the Italian villa market, eventually to be offloaded at Ostia or Puteoli.<sup>68</sup> The Mahdia wreck does indeed seem to have been sailing toward the Italian peninsula: the ship floundered far beyond Aegean waters and was carrying ornate decorative items that answered special, if not exclusive, demand in Italy.<sup>69</sup> It is less certain that we can reconstruct the same destination for the ship that sank near Antikythera. In this case, intra-Aegean trade should be seriously considered.

The sculptural cargo of the Antikythera wreck, only part of which has been recovered from the seabed, comprised at least 36 marbles and perhaps a dozen bronzes in a range of styles and scales. The large size of many of the marble statues—the Farnese Herakles would have stood at least 2.75 m high (see fig. 23, left), and a four-horse chariot group is life-sized—seem unfit for contemporary Italian villa contexts, where, on the whole, smaller-format images predominated.<sup>70</sup>

1900; see Svoronos 1903, 55–65, no. 23, pl. XI:1; Bol 1972, 48–49, no. 23, pls. 24:3, 24:4, 25; Kaltsas 2002, 251, no. 522; Vlachogianni 2012, 64–65, fig. 1, with additional literature in n. 47.

<sup>67</sup> Athens, National Archaeological Museum 15524 and 15525, found 1900; see Svoronos 1903, 74, no. 40, pl. XVI:2–4; Bol 1972, 43–45, no. 40, pl. 23:1–3; Vlachogianni 2012, 65, with additional literature in n. 55.

<sup>68</sup> Regarding the Mahdia ship, there seems little doubt that Italy was the destination, though North Africa cannot be excluded outright; for the widely accepted view, see Geominy 1994; Hellenkemper 1994. For the Antikythera ship as possibly bound for the Italian villa market, see, e.g., Ridgway 2002, 69–70; Vlachogianni 2012, 70; Fulton 2018, 208, 212.

<sup>69</sup> Geominy 1994.

<sup>70</sup> E.g., the small-scale sculptures from Fianello Sabino, infra n. 84; though several limb fragments found there are over-life-sized. Consider also the Late Republican statuary found at Praeneste, often around 1 m high; see Agnoli 2002, 17. Coarelli (1983, 52) suggests that the lower sum paid by Cicero for his Megarian statues might indicate that they were of reduced scale. The largest statues of divinities from the Villa dei Papiri at Herculaneum (two pieces) are life-sized or slightly larger (ca. 1.80–2.00 m). Researchers have reported different heights for the Herakles from the Antikythera wreck ranging between 2.38 and 2.58 m; for the lower measurement used here in reconstructing the total height, see Kaltsas 2002, 251, no. 522.

<sup>62</sup> Fuchs 1999. This would correspond with Wallace-Hadrill's (2008, 356–440) second wave in patterns of emerging Roman luxury culture.

<sup>63</sup> For discussion of the letters, see esp. Neudecker 1988, 8–18; Marvin 1989.

<sup>64</sup> Fuchs 1963; Hellenkemper Salies 1994.

<sup>65</sup> Svoronos 1903; Bol 1972; Kaltsas et al. 2012.

<sup>66</sup> Athens, National Archaeological Museum 5742, found



FIG. 23. Two marble figures from the Antikythera shipwreck, ca. 100–50 BCE, found 1900: *left*, statue of the Farnese-type Herakles, ht. 2.38 m, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 5742; *right*, statue of the Knidian Aphrodite, ht. 1.05 m, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 15524 (National Archaeological Museum, Athens; © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports, Archaeological Receipts Fund).

Moreover, bronze appears to have been the preferred medium for villa furnishings in the first century BCE,<sup>71</sup> so it is significant that marbles considerably outnumber bronzes (3:1) in the cargo. Herms and busts are strikingly absent from the wreckage, despite being in high demand among Italian buyers such as Cicero or the owner of the opulent residence at Herculaneum known as the Villa dei Papiri.<sup>72</sup> Wherever the Antiky-

thera ship was headed, its sculptures were probably intended for public, not private, viewing environments.

The ports of origin of the Mahdia and Antikythera ships are debated, and probably both had called at several cities prior to catastrophe. It is certain that most of the stone sculptures in the Mahdia wreck were made at Athens, particularly given the use of Pentelic marble;<sup>73</sup> its bronzes, on the other hand, could be Delian products.<sup>74</sup> Regarding the Antikythera wreck, I consider the hypothesis that the sculptural cargo originated in Delian workshops to be compelling.<sup>75</sup> The sculptures

<sup>71</sup> Hallett 2015, 142–44.

<sup>72</sup> Cicero, *Letters to Atticus*; see supra n. 63. For the Villa dei Papiri, see Mattusch 2005; Lapatin 2019. A total of 89 sculptures have been found at the villa, most of which were probably commissioned in the mid to late first century BCE. Of these, 33 busts and 32 freestanding figures are bronze, while 15 herms and 8 freestanding figures are marble.

<sup>73</sup> Geominy 1994.

<sup>74</sup> Barr-Sharrar 1998.

<sup>75</sup> Bol 1972, 114–18. Privitera's (2016) study of the bronze coins supports a Delian origin.

are carved exclusively from Parian marble and exhibit technical and stylistic traits that are paralleled on Delos. The date of the shipwreck is ca. 75–50 BCE, and probably, given the numismatic evidence,<sup>76</sup> in the decade after the second sack of Delos in 69 BCE. This date does not exclude Delian production because, as explained above, measured inhabitation continued on the island, and sculptural production may have suffered an extended decay rather than an abrupt and total halt. It is probable that part of the marble cargo represents the resale and dispersal of works that were already in existence before 69 BCE. Some of the bronze statues from the wreck have lead pegs for attachment to stone bases, indicating that they had already been displayed before the ill-fated voyage.<sup>77</sup> On account of the marble origin, a workshop on the nearby island of Paros should also be given consideration. Parian sculptors were active in the Cyclades during the first century BCE,<sup>78</sup> and the carving of large-scale statuary is easy to envision near the source quarry. While the Antikythera ship seems to have docked earlier along the west coast of Asia Minor,<sup>79</sup> proposals for the making of its sculptures at Pergamon and Ephesos lack evidence because our knowledge of contemporary sculptural workshops at these cities is limited.<sup>80</sup>

The Mahdia and Antikythera shipwrecks are widely cited as participants in the intense westward traffic of art in the Late Hellenistic / Late Republican Mediterranean basin. In truth, the evidence is fragile; many questions remain regarding their routes and the producers and buyers of the sculptures they carried.

By focusing narrowly on literary sources such as Cicero and on underwater finds, researchers have overlooked other evidence, including the group of statuettes reconstructed above. It would seem that the neglect of our Aphrodites is due in part to modern-day negative evaluations of their size and execution.<sup>81</sup>

The modest quality of our Aphrodite statuettes in fact makes them useful archaeological documents. First, the simplified style would seem to validate the methodology used above to attribute the statuettes to Delian workshops. The detectable mannerisms are more likely to belong to a specific group of sculptors than to a wider Aegean koine actively replicating stylistic and technical details of a prototype. Second, the small dimensions of the statuettes have reduced their fragmentation and have thereby facilitated their identification. Finally, and most critically, our little Aphrodites were produced in large quantities and have frequently entered the archaeological record. In the aggregate, they permit the reconstruction of trade and consumption patterns that otherwise would remain shadowy by focusing solely on rare, full-scale statues.

#### DELIAN-MADE STATUARY IN ITALY?

It is notable that not one of our Aphrodites was found on the Italian peninsula or in Sicily (see fig. 21). This striking absence deserves consideration. Do our statuettes reflect wider patterns in the contemporary art market, or were these half-draped Aphrodites a regional taste?

Delos, with its thriving community of Italian businessmen, bankers, and merchants, was a central node in trans-Mediterranean trade during the late second and early first centuries BCE. Luxury commodities, such as perfumes, dyes, and bronze couches, made their way from the harbors of the Delian *emporion* to the shores of Italy and other destinations overseas. Along with Athens and Rhodes,<sup>82</sup> Delos was a supplier of marble statuary to the Romans. Indeed, Delian-made sculptures have been identified on the Italian peninsula.<sup>83</sup> For example, Vorster has proposed that a group of marble statuary from a Late Republican villa at Fianello Sabino in northern Latium was most

<sup>76</sup> Tselekas 2012.

<sup>77</sup> Vlachogianni 2012, 62–63, 70.

<sup>78</sup> Rubensohn 1935, 60–61.

<sup>79</sup> A hoard of silver coins minted at Pergamon and Ephesos was found in the wreckage; see Tselekas 2012.

<sup>80</sup> On Pergamon and Ephesos as possible production centers, see Vlachogianni 2012, 70–72, with earlier literature. At Pergamon, Late Hellenistic sculpture is thin on the ground; see Kunze 2011, 319.

<sup>81</sup> See, e.g., Stewart 1990, 226; Ridgway 2002, 262–63. Toward a more inclusive and flexible definition of the Greek objects collected by Romans, see Adornato 2020; Cirucci 2020.

<sup>82</sup> A group of eight statuettes from Paestum (Paestum, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Paestum, excav. 1950s) were probably imported in the first century BCE from Athens and Rhodes; see Pedley 1998. For Rhodian-made works, consider the sculptures from the Sanctuary of Diana Nemorensis at Lake Nemi (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum MS 3446–84, MS 4034–38, MS 6012a and b, all acq. 1897); see Guldager Bilde and Moltesen 2002, 17–18; Romano 2006, 83.

<sup>83</sup> In addition to the examples cited here, note also a marble funerary relief (Catania, Museo Civico di Castello Ursino, found 19th century), possibly carved on Delos and traded to Sicily; see Privitera 2009, 429–32, fig. 4.

probably carved on Delos in the years around 100 BCE.<sup>84</sup> In Vorster's view, the sculptures were commissioned as an ensemble, comparable to the collective purchases laid out by Cicero in his letters to Atticus. The group comprises large- and small-scale works, with a clear preference for freestanding figures around 0.75–1.25 m high. Dionysiac subjects are most frequent, but figures such as Aphrodite, Herakles, and Artemis are also represented. Decorative marble furnishings, including lamps and a table support, were also found at the villa and could, too, come from Delos. Collins-Clinton has shown that a first-century BCE marble table support of a bearded herm at Cosa, on the coast of southern Tuscany, was most probably sent in a completed state from Delos.<sup>85</sup> In addition to sharing iconographic and technical similarities with Delian products, the herm is carved from marble quarried at Lakkoi, Paros, a probable source of stone for some of our statuettes. There are also sculptures of possible Delian workmanship at Praeneste, located southeast of Rome. The Late Republican inhabitants of this city had a clear preference for statuary carved from Parian marble, and several pieces resemble works from Delos and Fianello Sabino.<sup>86</sup> Agnoli has therefore raised the possibility that several small-scale statues may have been shipped from Delos ready-made in the early first century BCE.<sup>87</sup> Inhabitants of Praeneste are documented in the epigraphic record of Late Hellenistic Delos, and at least one family from Cosa may have had business dealings on the island.<sup>88</sup>

Among the sculptures found at Pompeii, there is at least one plausible candidate for Delian production. A statuette from House VI.14.27 (House of Memmius Auctus) represents a half-draped Aphrodite pressing water from her hair.<sup>89</sup> The figure wears separately added gold bracelets and a necklace. Statuettes found

on Delos provide close parallels for the iconographic model and workmanship.<sup>90</sup> One peculiar shared feature is the method of wrapping the mantle around the lower body (cf. fig. 24). Rather than being knotted over the pubic region, the garment cascades perilously between the legs without any visible means of securing it around the body. Finds from House VI.14.27 suggest that the owner may have been a wine merchant.<sup>91</sup> In this regard, it is worth pointing out that Delos was a major distribution center in the Mediterranean wine trade<sup>92</sup> and that Campanians formed a sizable group on Delos during the Late Hellenistic period.<sup>93</sup> While a direct connection between the wine seller and Delos would be anachronistic, it is possible that the merchant had inherited the statuette from an ancestor, since marble images of the gods were often passed down through the generations.<sup>94</sup> The household's admiration of Greek culture is evidenced by a set of philosopher portraits found in a back room of the residence.<sup>95</sup> Using the same methodology described above, I have reconstructed a wider group around the Pompeii statuette. The findspots of this second group of statuettes form a distribution pattern similar to the half-draped Knidia-Capitoline group presented above: a clustering in the Greek East, including at Athens (see fig. 24)<sup>96</sup> and Delos,<sup>97</sup> and one example from the region of the Black Sea.<sup>98</sup>

To judge by the handful of probable examples of Delian-made statuary on the Italian peninsula, including small images of Aphrodite, it is reasonable to conclude that our group was not solely of interest to consumers in the eastern Mediterranean basin. It is clear, however, that Italy was not a primary source of demand.

<sup>84</sup> Vorster 1998, 55–56; 1999, 188 (Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, found 1950). More cautiously, Ridgway (2002, 262) raises the possibility of Rhodian manufacture.

<sup>85</sup> Cosa, Antiquarium C68.10, excav. 1968; see Collins-Clinton 2020, 143–47, no. T-Supp 1, figs. 167–71.

<sup>86</sup> E.g., the head of a male youth; see Palestrina, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Palestrina 573, excav. 1907; see Agnoli 2002, 78–80, no. I.16, fig. 16:a–d.

<sup>87</sup> Agnoli 2002, 15–21.

<sup>88</sup> Agnoli 2002, 18; Collins-Clinton 2020, 25.

<sup>89</sup> Naples, Archaeological Museum 110602, excav. 1875; see Ruesch 1908, no. 1863; Boyce 1937, 53 n. 2, no. 6; *LIMC* 8:202, no. 85, pl. 137, s.v. "Venus" (E. Schmidt); Carrella et al. 2008, 93, no. B 27, pl. III.

<sup>90</sup> Delos, Archaeological Museum A 5070, A 5071, A 5072, A 5434, dates found n/a, doc. Marcadé 1969, 232 n. 2, pl. XLVIII.

<sup>91</sup> Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 213.

<sup>92</sup> Hadjidakis 2003, 54–55; Lindhagen 2013.

<sup>93</sup> Hatzfeld 1912, 130–31.

<sup>94</sup> Martens 2018a, 580.

<sup>95</sup> Naples, National Archaeological Museum 110872 (Epicurus) and 110873 (Pseudo-Seneca), both excav. 1875; Carrella et al. 2008, 93–94, nos. B 28, B 29.

<sup>96</sup> Athens, Agora Excavations S 2306, excav. 1970; see Martens 2018b, 2:131, no. 129. Athens, Kerameikos Excavations P 86, excav. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Athen before 1940; see Riemann 1940, 117–19, no. 172, pl. 37.

<sup>97</sup> *Supra* n. 89.

<sup>98</sup> A statuette in a local archaeological museum in southern Ukraine is known to me; its provenance could not be certainly established for this article.



FIG. 24. Marble statuette of Aphrodite from Athens, half-draped Anadyomene model, ht. 12.3 cm, four views. Athens, Agora Excavations S 2306, excav. 1970 (C. Mauzy; courtesy ASCSA: Agora Excavations).

#### RETHINKING SOURCES OF DEMAND

It was under the aegis of Roman patrons such as Cicero that the making of new versions of older classical-looking forms on a large and organized scale, sometimes referred to collectively as the copy industry, has been thought to have begun in the late second and first centuries BCE.<sup>99</sup> The distribution of our Aphrodite group indicates that a more nuanced view is in order. The demand for classical-looking statues was certainly high among the emerging markets of Italy, and Greek-based artists stepped forward gladly to satisfy their demands; however, consumers in the Aegean region were just as eager to purchase such works and had been for some time.<sup>100</sup> Critical here is the position of sculptural style within a religious framework. Classicism, as Smith has pointed out, had remained present in Greek art as a preferred stylistic language for representing divinity.<sup>101</sup> Image types of the fifth and fourth centuries BCE had crystallized as the identifiable schemata for representing the gods. For divine figures at least, style *is* iconography, and the styles chosen for the gods, exalted and deeply meaningful, never disappeared over the course of the Hellenistic period. To speak, then, of a retrospective classical style

seems, from a Greek perspective, misguided.<sup>102</sup> In my view, too much emphasis has been put on understanding Greek-made art of the Late Hellenistic period and later through Italian eyes. Rather than driving a new type of production, the Romans participated in what was already an established and thriving Greek marketplace for statuary of the gods.

The prevailing opinion that Greece was merely a supplier, and not a consumer, has led to some misleading interpretations of the archaeological evidence. Let us briefly turn away from Delos in order to consider how this paradigm has been applied elsewhere. In 1959, a cache of bronze and marble sculptures was excavated at Piraeus, the port town of Athens, beneath the rubble of a burned-down building. It is frequently asserted that this impressive group of sculptures—which includes the well-known statues of Apollo, Artemis, and Athena—awaited shipment to Italy.<sup>103</sup> A bronze coin of Mithridates VI of Pontus, issued in 87/6 BCE and excavated with the Apollo, is evidence

<sup>99</sup> La Rocca (2019, 592) summarizes a widely held view. Greek sculptors engaged in the duplication or reproduction of statue forms and compositions as early as the sixth century BCE; see Ridgway 1984, 6–9. Seriality was inherent in the production of bronze (Mattusch 1999) and terracotta sculptures.

<sup>100</sup> In Greece, archaeological evidence for the private consumption of marble statues for household display can be traced back to the fourth century BCE, with early examples at Olynthos and Eretria; see Harward 1982.

<sup>101</sup> Smith 1991, 241.

<sup>102</sup> For important discussions of classicism and other forms of retrospection, see Fullerton 1998; 2004.

<sup>103</sup> Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 4645 (Apollo), 4646 (Athena), 4647 (large Artemis), 4648 (small Artemis), all excav. 1959. For the sculptures, see esp. Paraskevaïdis 1966; Palagia 1997; Fuchs 1999, 9–22; Steinhauer 2007; Palagia 2016. For shipment to Italy, see, e.g., Hood 1959, 23; Vanderpool 1960, 265; Coarelli 1983, 49; Stewart 1990, 228; Hellenkemper 1994, 156; Fuchs 1999, 10; Bounia 2004, 298; Marvin 2008, 14; Harris 2015, 400; Hemingway 2015, 65–66; Queyrel 2016, 255. Dontas (1982, 32–33) suggested that the cache was loot from Delos, had been presented to the Athenians by agents of Mithridates, and was unknown to Sulla at the time of the sack of Piraeus (see also Harrison 1965, 127 n. 149); however, the Pentelic marble herms complicate a Delian origin (see Palagia 1997, 189).

for the deposition of the statues during or near the time of the siege of Piraeus by the Roman general L. Cornelius Sulla (87–86 BCE).<sup>104</sup> Unfortunately, the find context of the Piraeus group has never been fully published, and notebooks recording the discovery may not exist.<sup>105</sup> The area where the statues were found seems to have functioned primarily as a residential and industrial quarter.<sup>106</sup> It is plausible that the sculptures belong to nearby workshops that were responsible for storing, reusing, or perhaps even making, some of the statues.<sup>107</sup> The reasons for packing these sculptures together in groups, whether an act of temporary storage or hurried concealment, must, for the time being, remain an open question. It is hoped that recent excavations in the area will sharpen our knowledge of this important discovery.<sup>108</sup>

Identifying the patron or, more probably, patrons of the Piraeus assemblage is problematic. Palagia has emphasized that shipment to Italy would hardly have been possible when Athens was at war with Rome.<sup>109</sup> As an alternative destination, Palagia has suggested the west coast of Asia Minor. In support of this hypothesis, she has drawn attention to a small-scale, Pentelic marble statue from the cache that represents an Anatolian goddess, either Artemis Kindyas, whose cult was located near Bargylia in Caria, or Artemis Eleuthera, whose cult was located at Myra in Lycia.<sup>110</sup> Still, it cannot be excluded that this goddess was worshipped at Piraeus, a cosmopolitan entrepôt where foreign cults thrived and where Artemis in particular was one of the most prominent deities.<sup>111</sup> The Milesians, themselves from Caria, formed the largest group of foreigners in Late Hellenistic Athens, and probably some of them were

from the greater region of southern Asia Minor rather than the city of Miletos itself.<sup>112</sup> There is good reason to reconstruct the uses (or reuses) of these statues, including the Artemis Kindyas or Eleuthera, in local contexts. The group of bronze and marble statuary from Piraeus does not provide sufficient evidence for an export market, let alone one in Italy.

#### DELOS AND ATHENS

Since the Athenians formed the largest group of buyers of our Aphrodite statuettes after the residents of Delos themselves, I close by briefly reconsidering the artistic relations between Delos and Athens during the Late Hellenistic period. The Athenian administration of Late Hellenistic Delos is documented in the rich epigraphy of the island, which records a bustling cosmopolitan community that had coalesced around this trading center. The island's mercantile successes brought renewed prosperity to Athens.<sup>113</sup> In the context of close political, religious, and commercial relations between Delos and Athens, it is thus surprising that there would be a wide gulf between sculptors working in the two cities, but this interpretive framework has long remained unchallenged.

In his study of the sculptor's signatures, Stewart observed that portrait sculptors working on Delos, though many were Athenian, are not known to have taken up commissions elsewhere (with but one exception). The opposite also holds true: sculptors working at Athens are hardly known on the island. Stewart concluded that "the cleavage between the two centres is, in other words, almost total."<sup>114</sup> Stewart's suggestion of "a dissident faction"<sup>115</sup> on Delos that rejected Athenian "classicism" has been challenged recently by Dillon, who, in redating several marble portraits from Athens, including the head of a man carved from Pentelic marble, has raised critical questions for this proposed scenario.<sup>116</sup> Dillon has shown that Athens-based sculptors, for their part, embraced modes of representation that were popular on Delos, demonstrating an exchange of artistic styles based more on the demands

<sup>104</sup> Athens, Numismatic Museum 2075/1970, excav. 1959; see Varoucha-Christodouloupoulou 1960, 500, no. b, pl. X:5. For the historical situation, see Habicht 1997, 305–13; for the archaeological record, see Parigi 2019.

<sup>105</sup> Steinhauer 2007, 327.

<sup>106</sup> Steinhauer 2007, 328, 330; Palagia 2016, 238–39. Grigoriopoulos (2016) provides a sketch of post-Sullan Piraeus in light of rescue excavation data.

<sup>107</sup> For a nearby metalworking establishment, see Paraskevaïdis 1966, 48.

<sup>108</sup> Psaraki 2017.

<sup>109</sup> Palagia 1997, 189.

<sup>110</sup> Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 3857, excav. 1959; see Paraskevaïdis 1966, 43–45, pls. 20, 21; Palagia 1997, 179, fig. 3; Fuchs 1999, 21–22, pl. 19:1–6.

<sup>111</sup> Garland 2001, 101–38.

<sup>112</sup> Vestergaard 2000; Gray 2011.

<sup>113</sup> Habicht 1997, 287–89.

<sup>114</sup> Stewart 1979, 66. More mildly, Stewart 1990, 227.

<sup>115</sup> Stewart 1979, 67.

<sup>116</sup> Dillon 2018, 133–35, on Athens, Agora Excavations S 1182, excav. 1939.



of consumers than on the location of the makers. Furthermore, Stewart's observations seem to me less striking when it is acknowledged that, apart from a few leading personalities, contemporary sculptors seldom traveled for commissions. Larson's network theory analysis of signed statue bases demonstrates that the norm for Hellenistic-period sculptors was to work at one location. Notably, Larson's analysis also suggests that sculptors working on Delos were connected to the wider Aegean sculptural network principally through Athenian mediation.<sup>117</sup>

In addition to stylistic exchanges, iconographic motifs and compositions passed between Delos and Athens. To provide but one example, a marble relief depicting a procession of archaic gods, recovered in three fragments spread between the Acropolis and the Agora (fig. 25, top),<sup>118</sup> finds a smaller-scale counterpart from the House of the Lake on Delos (see fig. 25, bottom).<sup>119</sup> The reliefs show, from left to right: Hermes; Athena, who is now missing on the fragmentary relief from Athens; Apollo; and Artemis. The Athenian relief is carved from Pentelic marble, so it was very probably carved in Athens. The combination of gods nevertheless "strikes a Delian note," as Harrison explained: "Hermes the patron of businessmen, Athena of the Athenians who presided over Delos during a large part of the second century BCE, and Apollo and Artemis, gods of the island."<sup>120</sup> Perhaps an individual who conducted business on Delos, maybe an Athenian, was the patron and dedicant of the sculpture. The substantial size of the relief, originally measuring approximately 1.25 m wide, perhaps 1 m high, and some 14 cm thick, suggests that it was a prominent local monument, possibly displayed somewhere on the Acropolis.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>117</sup> Larson 2013, 251–52, fig. 7c.

<sup>118</sup> Athens, Acropolis Museum 4902, S 245, and S 1726; the first fragment was catalogued from the Acropolis before 1923; the latter two fragments, formerly in the Agora Museum, were found in 1933 and 1953. The three fragments are now catalogued as Athens, Acropolis Museum 7224; see Harrison 1965, 81–84, no. 129, pl. 29; Fullerton 1990, 10.

<sup>119</sup> Delos, Archaeological Museum A 9, excav. 1894 and 1906; Couve 1895, 477–79, fig. 5; Marcadé 1969, 212, 250, 292–93, pl. LIV; Fullerton 1990, 10; 1998, 94, fig. 2; Marcadé et al. 1996, 184, no. 82 (P. Jockey); Hadjidakis 2003, 257, 432, no. 398; Bru-neau and Ducat 2005, 239, fig. 68.

<sup>120</sup> Harrison 1965, 83–84.

<sup>121</sup> Harrison (1965, 83) points out that the findspot may not

Our archaeological data set demonstrates that the artistic relations between Delos and Athens were complex and that a simple narrative of division cannot suffice. Athens was a prosperous Late Hellenistic city, in large part because of its possession of Delos, and was surely connected with wider trends in contemporary sculptural production. Sculptors based at Athens participated in modes of visual representation first popularized on Delos because consumers demanded them. Imports into Athens, namely our statuettes of Aphrodite, also demonstrate the movement of physical items between the two cities.

## CONCLUSION

By assembling these statuettes of Aphrodite, and by charting their destinations, I have endeavored to offer a small contribution to our understanding of the multi-layered art trade of the Late Hellenistic Mediterranean basin. The discussion of material here—not of the great works in museum galleries but of the abundant fragments—illustrates the value of close, contextualized study of art as archaeologically significant material and offers new directions for the study of the trade and economy of ancient sculpture.<sup>122</sup>

It seems a needed corrective to reorient our approach to Late Hellenistic art by considering more seriously the role of consumers in the Greek East. The view that from the second century BCE onward Greek artists were working primarily for Italian patrons must be critically reconsidered. This assumption seems to have originated in art historical narratives that prioritized the textual record. In his highly influential *History of the Art of Antiquity* (1764), Johann Winckelmann laid out the primary contributions of the Romans to ancient art, the greatest of which, he argued, was their embrace of Greek sculpture. Citing Cicero's letters to Atticus, Winckelmann attributed a final renewal of art in Greece to the Romans: "Art thus began once more to take its place in Greece and to flourish, for the Romans themselves were patrons of art among the Greeks and commissioned statues from Athens for their country

be meaningful, since the Acropolis became a repository for sculpture in the nineteenth century. The size of the Athenian relief seems to me appropriate only for votive display in a major sanctuary context, however.

<sup>122</sup> On building finer-grained archaeological data sets, especially from households, for the study of the Roman economy, see Bowes 2021.



FIG. 25. Archaistic marble reliefs showing a procession of gods: *top*, three fragments from Athens, with Hermes, Apollo, and Artemis, Late Hellenistic, reconstructed ht. 1 m; Athens, Acropolis Museum 7224, found 1933 and 1953 (J. Vanderpool; © Acropolis Museum); *bottom*, from Delos, with Hermes, Athena, Apollo, and Artemis, Late Hellenistic, ht. 50 cm; Delos, Archaeological Museum A 9, excav. 1894 and 1906 (P. Collet; courtesy École française d'Athènes).

estates.<sup>123</sup> With a new perspective from the eastern Mediterranean basin that integrates the accumulated evidence from excavation trenches, it is clear that the demand generated by local and regional Greek clientele during the second and first centuries BCE for classical-looking works of art should not be taken as secondary to the demands of Italian buyers. Moving forward, we must decentralize Italy and Rome as the primary market for art in this period. Consumers in

the eastern Mediterranean basin propped up the contemporary Greek marble-carving industry and thereby created market conditions that enabled the westward trade of figured marbles.

Brian Martens  
 Agora Excavations  
 American School of Classical Studies at Athens  
 Athens, Greece  
 brian@agathe.gr

<sup>123</sup>Winckelmann 2006, 327–28.

## Appendix: Catalogue of Statuary

STATUARY ATTRIBUTED TO THE DELIAN  
WORKSHOP(S)*Half-draped Knidian Aphrodite*

CAT. NO. 1: Delos, Archaeological Museum A 1619, excav.  
Delos 1907 (see fig. 5).

Findspot: east of the Hypostyle Hall.

Description: nearly complete, with plinth; missing head  
and left arm.

Dimensions: ht. 28.7 cm; est. original ht. 33 cm.

References: Marcadé 1969, 231 n. 6, 460 n. 1, pl. XLV;  
Hadjidakis 2003, 309, 436, fig. 569; Zimmer 2014, 1 n.  
6, 33 n. 202; Konstantinidis 2016, 80.

CAT. NO. 2: Delos, Archaeological Museum A 5631, excav.  
Delos 1949.

Findspot: peristyle and cistern of the House of the Herm.

Description: torso and thighs.

Dimensions: ht. 25.0 cm; est. original ht. 40 cm.

References: Marcadé 1953, 563–64, fig. 53; 1969, 231 n.  
6, pl. XLV; Harward 1982, 185, no. 63; Kreeb 1988, 201,  
no. S 24.1; Havelock 1995, 106; Sanders 2001, 43, 73,  
93, 229, no. Ste 36; Hardiman 2005, 210; Tang 2005, 50;  
Zimmer 2014, 1 n. 6, 33 n. 202.

CAT. NO. 3: Delos, Archaeological Museum A 5064, found  
Delos, date n/a.

Findspot: n/a.

Description: torso and thighs.

Dimensions: est. original ht. 32–35 cm.

Reference: Marcadé 1969, 231 n. 6, pl. XLV.

CAT. NO. 4: Delos, Archaeological Museum A 5065, found  
Delos, date n/a.

Findspot: n/a.

Description: lower torso and thighs.

Dimensions: n/a.

References: Marcadé 1969, 231 n. 6, pl. XLV; Zimmer  
2014, 1 n. 6.

CAT. NO. 5: Delos, Archaeological Museum A 1674, found  
Delos, date n/a.

Findspot: n/a.

Description: lower torso and thighs; unfinished.

Dimensions: est. original ht. 32–35 cm.

References: Marcadé 1969, 231 n. 6, pl. XLV; Jockey 1993,  
84–85, no. 50, pl. 60:1–4; Zimmer 2014, 1 n. 6.

CAT. NO. 6: Delos, Archaeological Museum A 5097, found  
Delos, date n/a.

Findspot: n/a.

Description: lower legs and feet on plinth.

Dimensions: n/a.

References: Marcadé 1969, 231 n. 6, pl. XLV; Zimmer 2014,  
1 n. 6, 33 n. 202.

CAT. NO. 7: Delos, Archaeological Museum A 5102, found  
Delos, date n/a.

Findspot: n/a.

Description: feet and drapery on plinth.

Dimensions: n/a.

References: Marcadé 1969, 231 n. 6, pl. XLV; Zimmer 2014,  
1 n. 6, 33 n. 202.

CAT. NO. 8: Athens, British School at Athens S 44, found  
Thira (Santorini), acq. 1899 (see fig. 9).

Findspot: n/a.

Dimensions: ht. 22.4 cm; est. original ht. 26 cm.

Description: nearly complete, with plinth; head (now miss-  
ing) was attached separately.

References: Schöll 1843, 91, no. 53; Seaman 2004, 577, no.  
173; Corso 2007, 106, 216 n. 8, no. 144; Di Napoli 2016,  
314–15, no. 1, fig. 19.5.

CAT. NO. 9: Thira (Santorini), Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. n/a, excav. Thira 1900.

Findspot: Phallos House.

Description: lower torso and thighs.

Dimensions: ht. 11.5 cm; est. original ht. 33 cm.

Reference: Hiller von Gaertringen and Wilski 1904, 176,  
fig. 174.

CAT. NO. 10: Melos, Archaeological Museum A115, found  
Melos, date n/a.

Findspot: area of the ancient city.<sup>124</sup>

Description: nearly complete, with plinth; missing head and  
left arm; to left of figure, captive Eros, missing shoulders  
and head.

Dimensions: ht. 28.5 cm; est. original ht. 33 cm.

References: qual. pub. Konstantinidis 2016, 33, 79–80, no.  
19, figs. 186, 187; 2019, 490.

<sup>124</sup>Konstantinidis 2016, 79.

CAT. NO. 11: Andros, Archaeological Museum 158, found Andros, date n/a.<sup>125</sup>

Findspot: n/a.

Description: lower torso and thighs.

Dimensions: ht. 11.5 cm; est. original ht. 35–40 cm.

Reference: qual. pub. Palaiokrassa 1980, 21, no. 8, pl. H:α.

CAT. NO. 12: Andros, Archaeological Museum 159, found Andros, date n/a.<sup>126</sup>

Findspot: n/a.

Description: lower torso.

Dimensions: ht. 6.0 cm; est. original ht. 25–35 cm.

Reference: qual. pub. Palaiokrassa 1980, 21, no. 9, pl. H:γ.

CAT. NO. 13: Aghii Deka, Gortyna Excavations 2386, excav. Gortyna, Crete, date n/a, Scuola archeologica italiana di Atene.

Findspot: Praetorion.

Description: feet on plinth with drapery and jar; reversed Knidia.

Dimensions: ht. 8.0 cm; est. original ht. 35 cm.

Reference: Ghedini 1985, 206–8, no. 51, fig. 97.

CAT. NO. 14: Athens, Agora Excavations S 2004 and S 3140, found Athens, catalogued 1957 and 1978 (see fig. 8).

Findspot: lower legs and plinth from an unstratified context along the north slope of the Areopagos; upper body from uninventoried marbles along the north slope of the Acropolis.<sup>127</sup>

Description: lower torso and legs, with plinth; missing upper body and right arm.

Dimensions: ht. 28.6 cm; est. original ht. 35–40 cm.

Reference: Martens 2018b, 2:60, no. 59.

<sup>125</sup>Palaiokrassa (1980, 21) notes that the findspots of cat. nos. 11 and 12 on Andros are unknown (“προέλευση άγνωστη”). Earlier, Palaiokrassa (1980, 18) explains the general collection history of the sculptures that she publishes, most of which were accessioned during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. If the inventory numbers are a meaningful indicator of the order of accessions, then both statuettes were found before 1925, the year when Paschalis (1925) published objects with higher inventory numbers than our statuettes. Additional information is presently not available because of museum closures associated with the COVID-19 pandemic; it has not been possible to confirm that these statuettes were found before 30 December 1973. This information is provided in accordance with the AIA Policy on the Publication and Citation of Unprovenanced Antiquities.

<sup>126</sup>Supra n. 125.

<sup>127</sup>Uninventoried sculptures from the Agora were catalogued from marble piles that, during earlier ASCSA excavations, had been stored on-site. In general, these are pieces that had been built into the walls and foundations of modern houses.

CAT. NO. 15: Athens, Agora Excavations S 3208, found Athens, catalogued 1978.

Findspot: uninventoried marbles from the area south of the Kolonos Agoraios.<sup>128</sup>

Description: lower legs with plinth.

Dimensions: ht. 19.0 cm; est. original ht. 25–30 cm.

Reference: Martens 2018b, 2:61, no. 60.

CAT. NO. 16: Athens, Agora Excavations AS 60, excav. Athens 1937 (see fig. 10).

Findspot: near the Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros on the north slope of the Acropolis.

Description: lower legs with plinth.

Dimensions: ht. 12.6 cm; est. original ht. 25 cm.

References: Glowacki 1991, 54, no. 1, 106, fig. 34; Seaman 2004, 578, no. 179; Corso 2007, 81, 211, no. 85; Machaira 2008, 112–13, no. 5, pl. 47:α; Konstantinidis 2016, 80.

CAT. NO. 17: Athens, Agora Excavations S 3511, found Athens, catalogued 2002.

Findspot: uninventoried marbles from the Agora.<sup>129</sup>

Description: feet and drapery with plinth.

Dimensions: ht. 7.4 cm; est. original ht. 25 cm.

Reference: Martens 2018b, 2:64, no. 63.

CAT. NO. 18: Athens, Acropolis Museum AS 185, excav. Athens 1939.

Findspot: near the sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros on the north slope of the Acropolis.

Description: lower torso and upper thighs; missing right hand and forearm.

Dimensions: ht. 8.0 cm; est. original ht. 30 cm.

References: Glowacki 1991, 54–55, no. 2, 116, fig. 35; Seaman 2004, 578, no. 180; Corso 2007, 81, 211, no. 86; Machaira 2008, 116, no. 9, pl. 47:δ.

CAT. NO. 19: Athens, Agora Excavations S 3028, found Athens, catalogued 1978.

Findspot: west side of the South Square in the Agora.

Description: lower torso and upper thighs; missing right hand.

Dimensions: ht. 8.4 cm; est. original ht. 25–30 cm.

Reference: Martens 2018b, 2:62, no. 61.

CAT. NO. 20: Athens, Agora Excavations S 3142, found Athens, catalogued 1978.

Findspot: uninventoried marbles from the area southwest of the Agora square.<sup>130</sup>

<sup>128</sup>Supra n. 127.

<sup>129</sup>Supra n. 127.

<sup>130</sup>Supra n. 127.

Description: mid-section with right arm and thighs; reversed Knidia.

Dimensions: ht. 10.4 cm; est. original ht. 18–22 cm.

Reference: Martens 2018b, 2:65, no. 64.

CAT. NO. 21: Athens, Agora Excavations S 3000, found Athens, catalogued 1978.

Findspot: Agora.

Description: lower torso and upper thighs; missing right hand.

Dimensions: ht. 9.8 cm; est. original ht. 25–30 cm.

Reference: Martens 2018b, 2:63, no. 62.

CAT. NO. 22: Bucharest, National Archaeological Museum L 1360, acq. 1842.

Findspot: probably Athens.

Description: lower legs and drapery with plinth.

Dimensions: ht. 9.3 cm; est. original ht. 27 cm.

References: Tocilescu 1902, 560, no. 26, fig. 26; Bordenache 1969, 29–30, no. 36, pl. XIX; Zagdoun 1978, 316 n. 101; Ghedini 1985, 207 n. 414.

CAT. NO. 23: Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 2673, acq. 1863 (see fig. 11).

Findspot: Athens.

Description: torso and thighs; missing right hand.

Dimensions: ht. 14.5 cm; est. original ht. 25 cm.

Reference: Fröhner 1869, 196, no. 162.

CAT. NO. 24: Rhamnous, Archaeological Museum 2170, excav. Rhamnous 1998, Archaeological Society at Athens.

Findspot: fortress.

Description: lower body with plinth. Accompanied by captive Eros.

Dimensions: ht. 11.5 cm; est. original ht. 35 cm.

Reference: Petrakos 1998, 17, pl. 1:β; 2020, 192, no. 77, fig. 86.

CAT. NO. 25: Thebes, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. n/a, excav. Halai 1911–14, ASCSA (see fig. 3).

Findspot: East Shops.

Description: nearly complete; missing head and left forearm.

Dimensions: ht. 30.0 cm; est. original ht. 34 cm.

References: Walker and Goldman 1915, 437; Goldman 1940, 487, 490, fig. 210.

CAT. NO. 26: Corinth, Corinth Excavations S 1464 and S 1516, excav. Corinth 1931–32, ASCSA (see fig. 16).

Findspot: Asklepieion.

Description: torso and thighs; head, now missing, was attached separately; arms, and lower legs.

Dimensions: ht. 27.5 cm; est. original ht. 45 cm.

References: Roebuck 1951, 145, no. 10, pl. 59; Soles 1976, 154–55, no. 37, fig. 54.

CAT. NO. 27: London, British Museum 1874,0710.238, found Ephesos, acq. 1874 (see fig. 22).

Findspot: Sanctuary of Artemis.

Description: lower legs on plinth, with drapery and vessel.

Dimensions: ht. 12.5 cm; est. original ht. 35 cm.

References: unpublished.

CAT. NO. 28: Rhodes, Archaeological Museum Γ 1138, found Rhodes 1967.

Findspot: n/a.

Description: feet on plinth with drapery and vessel.

Dimensions: ht. 9.8 cm; est. original ht. 30–40 cm.

Reference: Machaira 2019, 51, no. 189, pl. 31.

CAT. NO. 29: Kos, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. n/a, found Kos, date n/a.

Findspot: n/a.

Description: torso and upper thighs; missing head and left arm.

Dimensions: ht. 31.0 cm; est. original ht. 45 cm.

Reference: Laurenzi 1955–56, 82, no. 20.

CAT. NO. 30: Kos, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. n/a, found Kos, date n/a.

Findspot: n/a.

Description: lower torso and thighs.

Dimensions: ht. 12.0 cm; est. original ht. 45 cm.

Reference: Laurenzi 1955–56, 82, no. 21.

CAT. NO. 31: Athens, Paul and Alexandra Kanellopoulos Museum Δ 897 and 1160; acq. before 1972.<sup>131</sup>

Findspot: probably from Greece.

Description: nearly complete, with plinth; missing head (previously restored with a head that did not belong) and right wrist.

Dimensions: ht. 24.9 cm; est. original ht. 28 cm.

References: qual. pub. Zagdoun 1978, 315–16, no. 22, fig. 27; Zarkadas 2013, 265, 267, figs. 22–23.

CAT. NO. 32: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 24.97.88a, acq. 1924 (see fig. 14).

Findspot: probably from Greece.

Description: torso; missing head, arms, and lower legs (previously attached to cat. no. 54).

Dimensions: ht. 20.3 cm; est. original ht. 33 cm.

References: Richter 1954, 85, no. 151, pl. CIX:d–f; Bieber 1961, 133, fig. 526.

<sup>131</sup> For the history of the collection of the Kanellopoulos Museum, see Choremi-Spetsieri and Zarkadas 2006, 11–12.

CAT. NO. 33: Alexandria, National Museum 26027, said to be from Alexandria, acq. date n/a.

Findspot: n/a.

Description: complete.

Dimensions: ht. 36.5 cm (complete).

References: Adriani 1961, 21, no. 77, pl. 53, fig. 153; Ghedini 1985, 207–8, fig. 98; Corso 2007, 211 n. 8, no. 78.

### *Half-draped Capitoline Aphrodite*

CAT. NO. 34: Delos, Archaeological Museum A 5430, excav. Delos, date n/a (see fig. 7).

Findspot: between the Dodecatheon and the Hypostyle Hall.

Description: nearly complete, with plinth; missing head, left arm, right forearm, and part of the drapery; accompanied at left by captive Eros with hands bound behind back.

Dimensions: ht. 31.5 cm; est. original ht. 35 cm.

References: Marcadé 1969, 231 n. 5, 440, pl. XLV; Bruneau 1977, 253, no. 1, fig. 2; Machaira 1993, 52, 118, no. 18, pl. 23; Stampolidis and Tassoulas 2009, 95, no. 26 (P.J. Hadjidakis); Zimmer 2014, 1 n. 6; Konstantinidis 2016, 225 n. 427.

CAT. NO. 35: Delos, Archaeological Museum A 81 and A 347, excav. Delos, date n/a.

Findspot: Northwest of the House of Dionysos.

Description: lower torso and legs; accompanied by captive Eros.

Dimensions: ht. 19 cm; est. original ht. 34 cm.

References: Marcadé 1969, 231 n. 5, 460 n. 5, pl. XLV; Kreeb 1988, 297–98, no. S 53.6; Sanders 2001, 228, no. Ste 34.

CAT. NO. 36: Delos, Archaeological Museum A 5062, excav. Delos, date n/a (see fig. 15).

Findspot: Stoa of Philip V.

Description: lower torso and legs; unfinished.

Dimensions: ht. 12.5 cm; est. original ht. 30 cm.

References: Marcadé 1969, 231 n. 5, pl. XLV; Jockey 1993, 48–49, no. 20, pl. 23:1–4; 1998, 181–82, figs. 8, 9; 2000, 79, 86, fig. 5; Zimmer 2014, 1 n. 6.

CAT. NO. 37: Delos, Archaeological Museum A 5063, excav. Delos, date n/a.

Findspot: Stoa of Philip V.

Description: torso; missing head and lower body; unfinished.

Dimensions: ht. 10.7 cm; est. original ht. 30 cm.

References: Marcadé 1969, 231 n. 5, pl. XLV; Jockey 1993, 47–48, no. 19, pl. 22:1–4; 2000, 78, 86, fig. 4; Zimmer 2014, 1 n. 6, 33 n. 198.

CAT. NO. 38: Athens, Agora Excavations S 3095, found Athens, catalogued 1978 (see fig. 17).

Findspot: uninventoried marbles southwest of the Agora square.<sup>132</sup>

Description: lower body with plinth; dolphin at figure's left.

Dimensions: ht. 20.5 cm; est. original ht. ca. 35–40 cm.

Reference: Martens 2018b, 2:89, no. 88.

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#### *Half-draped Knidian Aphrodite*

CAT. NO. 39: Delos, Archaeological Museum A 5066, excav. Delos, date n/a.

Findspot: n/a.

Description: n/a.

Dimensions: n/a.

References: Marcadé 1969, 231 n. 6; Zimmer 2014, 1 n. 6.

CAT. NO. 40: Delos, Archaeological Museum A 5067, excav. Delos, date n/a.

Findspot: n/a.

Description: n/a.

Dimensions: n/a.

References: Marcadé 1969, 231 n. 6; Zimmer 2014, 1 n. 6.

CAT. NO. 41: Delos, Archaeological Museum A 5068, excav. Delos, date n/a.

Findspot: n/a.

Description: n/a.

Dimensions: n/a.

Reference: Marcadé 1969, 231 n. 6.

CAT. NO. 42: Delos, Archaeological Museum A 5069, excav. Delos, date n/a.

Findspot: n/a.

Description: n/a.

Dimensions: n/a.

References: Marcadé 1969, 231 n. 6; Zimmer 2014, 1 n. 6.

CAT. NO. 43: Delos, Archaeological Museum A 5100, excav. Delos, date n/a.

Findspot: n/a.

Description: lower legs on plinth; unfinished.

Dimensions: ht. 11.1 cm; est. original ht. 25 cm.

References: Marcadé 1969, 231 n. 6; Jockey 1993, 82–83, no. 48, pl. 58:1–3; Zimmer 2014, 1 n. 6.

<sup>132</sup>Supra n. 127.

CAT. NO. 44: Delos, Archaeological Museum A 5101, excav. Delos, date n/a.  
 Findspot: n/a.  
 Description: n/a.  
 Dimensions: n/a.  
 References: Marcadé 1969, 231 n. 6; Zimmer 2014, 1 n. 6.

CAT. NO. 45: Athens, Agora Excavations S 3099, found Athens, catalogued 1978.  
 Findspot: uninventoried marbles southwest of the Agora.<sup>133</sup>  
 Description: lower torso and upper thighs, no trace of drapery; right arm broken away.  
 Dimensions: ht. 12.3 cm; est. original ht. 40–45 cm.  
 Reference: Martens 2018b, 2:38, no. 37.

CAT. NO. 46: Zeugma, Zeugma Archaeological Project Δ3899, found Zeugma 2000.  
 Findspot: surface find.  
 Description: lower legs on shallow plinth.  
 Dimensions: ht. 34.5 cm; est. original ht. 50 cm.  
 Reference: Dieudonné-Glad et al. 2013, 173, no. 968, pl. 42.

CAT. NO. 47: St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum A 515, acq. 19th century.  
 Findspot: n/a.  
 Description: lower legs with plinth.  
 Dimensions: ht. 20 cm; est. original ht. 45 cm.  
 Reference: Waldhauer 1931, 64, no. 186, fig. 71.

#### *Half-draped Capitoline Aphrodite*

CAT. NO. 48: Delos, Archaeological Museum A 5829, excav. Delos, date n/a.  
 Findspot: n/a.  
 Description: n/a.  
 Dimensions: n/a.  
 Reference: Marcadé 1969, 231 n. 5.

CAT. NO. 49: Delos, Archaeological Museum A 5722, excav. Delos, date n/a.  
 Findspot: n/a.  
 Description: n/a.  
 Dimensions: n/a.  
 Reference: Marcadé 1969, 231 n. 5.

CAT. NO. 50: Delos, Archaeological Museum A 1649, excav. Delos, date n/a.  
 Findspot: n/a.  
 Description: accompanied by a dolphin.  
 Dimensions: n/a.  
 Reference: Marcadé 1969, 231 n. 5.

CAT. NO. 51: Athens, Agora Excavations S 3046, found Athens, catalogued 1978.  
 Findspot: uninventoried marbles in the Agora.<sup>134</sup>  
 Description: torso; missing head, arms, and lower body.  
 Dimensions: ht. 8.0 cm; est. original ht. 26 cm.  
 Reference: Martens 2018b, 2:83, no. 82.

#### *Detached Heads*

CAT. NO. 52: Athens, Agora Excavations S 1922, excav. Athens 1955 (see fig. 12).  
 Findspot: northwest of the Temple of Ares, Agora.  
 Description: detached head, once doveled to body; chignon missing, was attached with adhesive.  
 Dimensions: ht. 4.4 cm; est. original ht. 30 cm.  
 Reference: Stewart 2017, 106, 109, no. 9, fig. 19.

CAT. NO. 53: Athens, Agora Excavations S 3157, found Athens, catalogued 1978.  
 Findspot: uninventoried marbles southwest of the Agora square.<sup>135</sup>  
 Description: detached head, once doveled to body.  
 Dimensions: ht. 5.0 cm; est. original ht. 35 cm.  
 Reference: Martens 2018b, 2:535, no. 528.

CAT. NO. 54: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 24.97.88b, acq. 1924 (see fig. 13).  
 Findspot: probably from Greece.  
 Description: detached head, once doveled to body; chignon missing, was attached with adhesive.  
 Dimensions: ht. 5.0 cm; est. original ht. 35 cm.  
 References: Richter 1954, 89, no. 163, pl. CXXVI:f–h; Bieber 1961, 133, fig. 526.

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<sup>133</sup> Supra n. 127.

<sup>134</sup> Supra n. 127.

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