Lysippan Studies 3. Not by Daidalos?*

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Abstract

The Vienna Apoxyomenos from Ephesos is still an object of controversy seventy years after its discovery: opinion remains divided upon whether it is a copy or itself the original of its type, upon the date to be assigned to it, and upon its identification as one of the two *pueri . . . destringentes se* of Daidalos of Sikyon. A study of the three classes of replicas in bronze of Greek originals (freely composed versions, copies made from piece moulds of pointed-off plaster replicas, and castings from piece moulds of the original) shows that if it is a replica, it is probably a direct casting; however, a thorough examination reveals no impressions of *tasselli* that would substantiate this. Further discussion of the composition of the alloy, the dowels used to secure the statue, and the setting of the work indicate that it is more than likely a Greek original, though the alternative still remains a possibility. The motif and style do not accord with what we should expect of Daidalos' statues, and look post-Lysippic; the best parallels are to be found in a group of works of the early third century, including a seated girl in the Conservatori, a bronze head in the Vatican, and, related in motif to the former, the Tyche of Antioch. The athlete is thus probably an original by a member of Lysippos' school, active just after ca. 300 B.C.

Among the many statues that graced the Gymnasium at Ephesos prior to its destruction by the Goths in A.D. 263, the bronze figure of an athlete cleaning his strigil now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (figs. 1-4) occupied a particularly prominent place. It stood on a base about four feet high, in a specially constructed *aedicula* at the eastern end of the great court, immediately to the right of the entrance to an open hall (ill. 1), whose lavishly decorated walls were hosts to a quantity of similar monuments to other successful,

* The following abbreviations will be used:

Arnold	D. Arnold, *Die Polykletnachfolge* (*JdI-EH* 25, Berlin 1969).
Johnson	F.P. Johnson, *Lysippos* (Durham 1927).
Lippold	G. Lippold, *Die Griechische Plastik* (*Handbuch der Archäologie* III.1, Munich 1950).
Marcadé	J. Marcadé, *Recueil de signatures de sculpteurs grecs* (Paris 1953, 1957).
Overbeck	J. Overbeck, *Die Antiken Schriftquellen* (Leipzig 1868).

Supra followed by a page number refers to present or previous installment of "Lysippan Studies" in *AJA* 82 (1978).

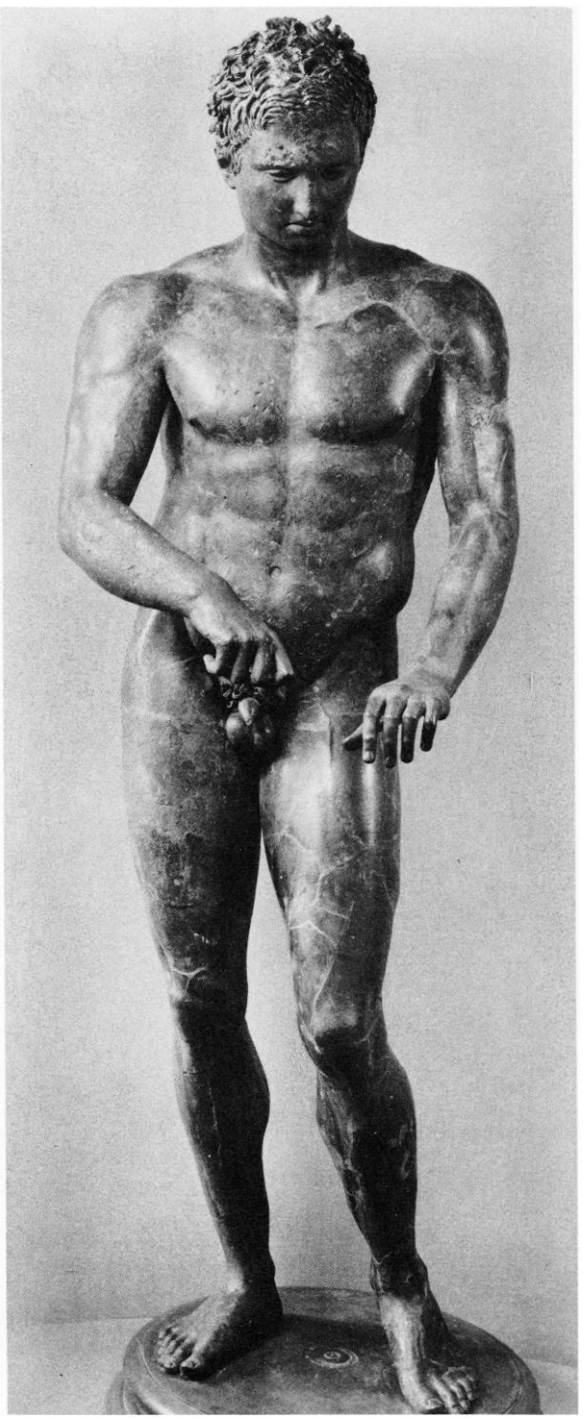


FIG. 1. Athlete, Vienna (frontal).
(Photo Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)

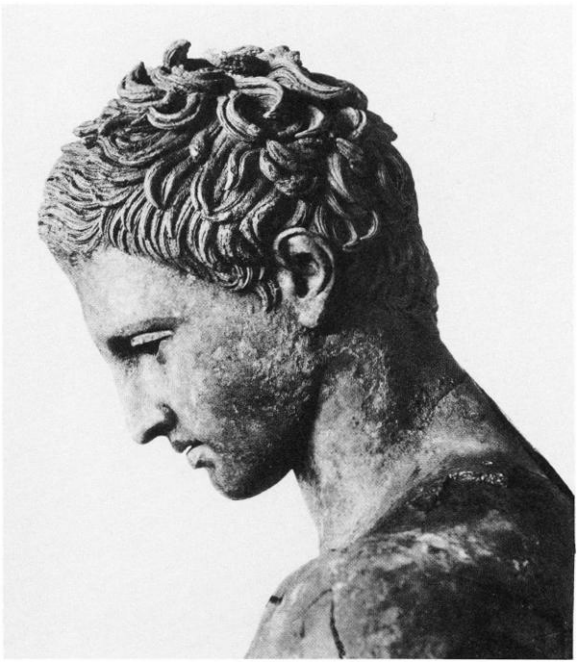


FIG. 2. Athlete, Vienna (head, left profile). (Photo Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)

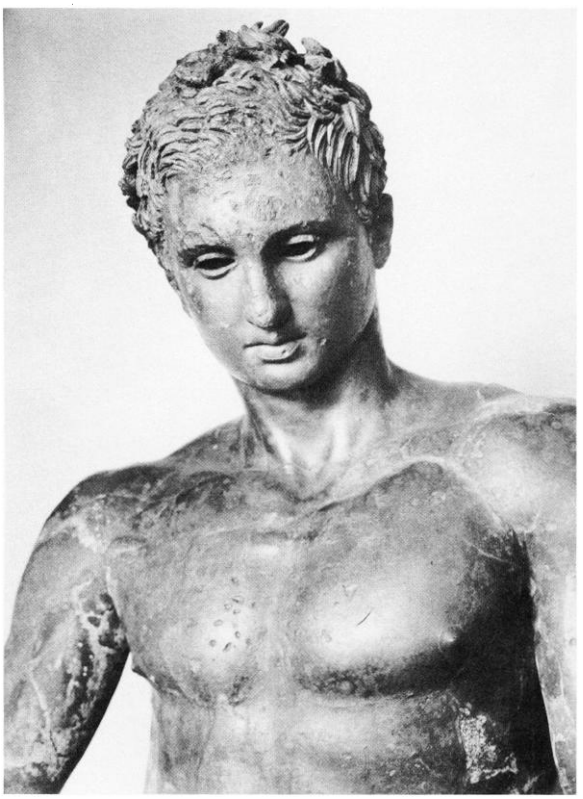


FIG. 3. Athlete, Vienna (head, frontal). (Photo Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)

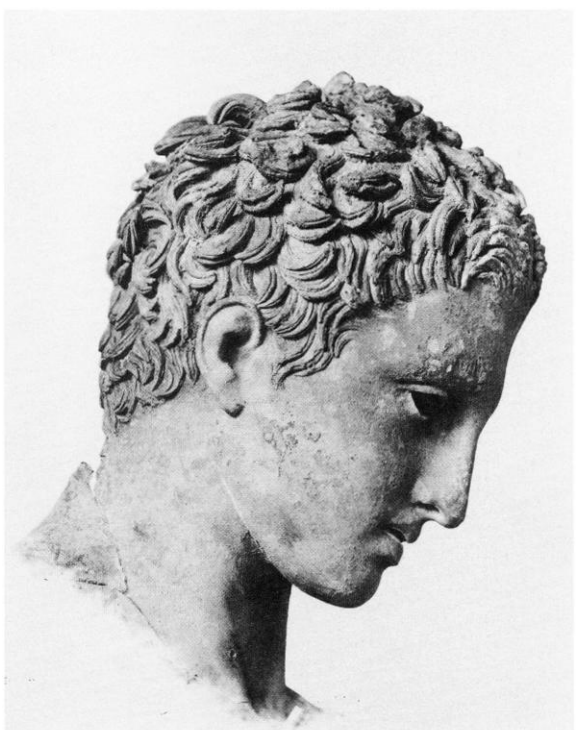


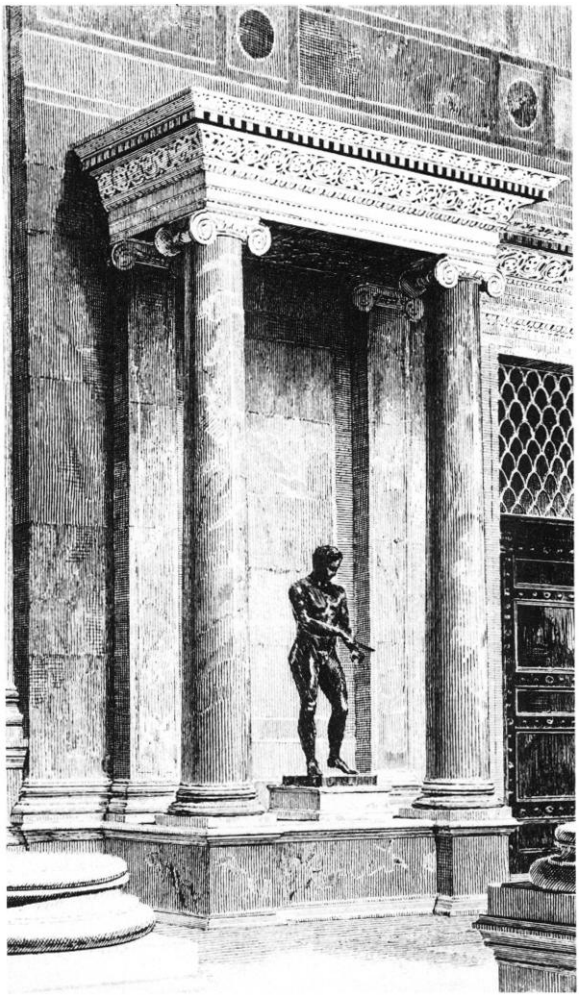
FIG. 4. Athlete, Vienna (head, right profile). (Photo Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)

but presumably less celebrated, young sportsmen. The base, part of which was recovered by the Austrian excavators of the site in the summer of 1896, recorded the fact that the statue was dedicated by one [L. Claudius Ph]rygianus, whose name occurs elsewhere at Ephesos as a gymnasiarch of the late first or early second centuries A.D. The bronze itself was in poor condition, shattered into no fewer than 234 pieces, some of them badly warped and otherwise damaged by the intense heat of the conflagration. To reconstruct the original was therefore no easy task and the result, subject to only one major correction in recent years, fully deserved the praise bestowed upon it in Otto Benndorf's publication, which followed in 1906.[1]

[1] O. Benndorf, *Forschungen in Ephesos* I (Vienna 1906) 181-204 (whence ill. 1). The first restoration showed the athlete as a proper Apoxyomenos, scraping oil off his left forearm; for the correction, see F. Eichler, *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 50 (1953) 15-22. All illustrations prior to this date, as e.g. Johnson pl. 10, are therefore incorrect.

Several other copies and versions of the Ephesos athlete are known, of which the best is a marble head in Leningrad; the statue in the Uffizi, wrongly restored as holding a vase, is both mediocre in quality and blatantly classicistic, accentuating the oval of the face and reducing the volume of the jawbone so as to give the features a smoother and more idealized appearance.[2] Although the Ephesos statue is clearly superior to both of these, opinion remains divided upon whether it is a copy or itself the original of the type, and upon the date to be assigned to it. Today the most widely held view seems to be that it is a copy[3] of one of the two *pueri . . . destringentes se* of Daidalos of Sikyon, a member of the Polykleitan school active in the early- to mid-fourth century B.C.[4] Others ascribe it to Lysippos himself,[5] while one recent study prefers to date it to the early Hellenistic period while remaining undecided upon whether it is an original or not.[6] Clearly, since after more than 70 years of scholarly conflict the lines of battle are still as fluid as ever, to review the evidence for these assertions is desirable, and could eventually be informative.

Replicas in bronze of Greek originals fall, generally speaking, into three classes: freely composed versions, copies, and castings from piece moulds of the original. In this case the first, at least, seems to be out of the question:[7] the bronze is so close in dimensions and pose to the Uffizi statue that we must be dealing either with two copies, or original and copy, of the same type. The other replicas



ILL. 1. Drawing of the athlete in the Gymnasium at Ephesos

[2] Copies: (1) Uffizi 36 (statue): G.A. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi: Le Sculture* I (Rome 1968) pl. 36; BrBr 523-24. (2) Leningrad 140 (head): Waldhauer, *Die Antike Skulpturen der Ermitage* II (Berlin 1931) no. 140; Arnold pl. 32a. (3) Somerset, England (private collection) (head), perhaps formerly Naples (possibly identical with the head mentioned by Paciaudi, *Monumenta Peloponnesiaca* 2 [1815] 69 no. 281 and Lippold, *Kopien und Umbildungen griechischer Statuen* [Munich 1923] 127 n. 11). Bronze. (4) Rome, Museo Torlonia (head): C.L. Visconti, *Les Monuments de Sculpture Antique du Musée Torlonia* (Paris 1883) no. 86 and pl. 22. Heavily restored. (5) Boston 76 (statuette): L.D. Caskey, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture* (Cambridge, Mass. 1925) no. 76. For versions in relief, etc., see Benndorf (supra n. 1) figs. 142-49, and for a youthful variant of the type, Arnold 270, nos. 6-7.

[3] In favor of the Ephesos statue being an original are: F. Hauser, *ÖJh* 5 (1902) 214-16 and 6 (1903) 16; J. Sieveking, text to BrBr 682-85, 2-3; Picard, *Manuel d'Archéologie Grecque* III.1 (Paris 1948) 282-86 and *RA* ser. 6, 45-46 (1955) 48; and, by implication, J. Charbonneaux, *Classical Greek Art* (London 1972) 196 and 289. Against are, among others: Benndorf (supra n. 1) 181; C. Morgan, *Hesperia* Supp. 8 (1949) 228-34; Lippold 218-19; L. Alscher, *Griechische Plastik* III (Berlin 1956) 59; R. Lullies in K. Schefold, *Die Griechen und ihre Nachbarn* (Berlin 1967) 193-94; Dörig in Boardman et al., *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Greece* (London 1967) 434; K. Schefold, *Classical Greece* (London 1967) 216; W. Fuchs, *Die Skulptur der Griechen* (Munich 1969) 114; Arnold 269; Lawrence, *Greek and Roman Sculpture* (London 1972) 198. Johnson (80) considers the piece a "free Hellenistic imitation."

[4] Plin. *N.H.* 34. 76 (Overbeck 992). Hauser, Johnson, Picard, Dörig, Arnold, Schefold, and Lawrence (all supra n. 3), together with A. Linfert, *Von Polyklet zu Lysipp* (dissertation Freiburg 1966) 40-42, all more or less accept the attribution. Against are Lippold, Lullies, and, apparently, Charbonneaux (supra n. 3), together with H.K. Süsserott, *Griechische Plastik des IV. Jahrhundert vor Christus* (Frankfurt 1938) 159-61; cf. infra n. 5.

[5] A. Maviglia, *L'attività di Lisippo ricostruita su nuova base* (Rome 1914) 23; Morgan (supra n. 3).

[6] S. Lattimore, "The Bronze Apoxyomenos from Ephesos," *AJA* 76 (1972) 13-16.

[7] Proposed by Johnson (supra n. 3).

serve only to strengthen this conclusion: the facial features and hairstyle are more or less closely repeated on the three marble heads that survive, and the motif and stance on the Boston statuette and the Campana relief in Vienna.[8]

The majority view, mentioned above, is that the statue is a copy, probably of Flavian or Trajanic date. The technique of copying in bronze, which leaves characteristic traces on the finished product, was to produce a replica of the original in plaster, and then to make piece moulds of this in refractory clay. These were then assembled and cores of the same material suspended inside, leaving a space into which the metal was poured. The result was a thick casting with obvious joins; a great deal of cold work was required to remove the "web" thus formed and to clean up the hair, eyes, lips and other details.[9] Copies produced in this way are at best only as accurate as the original replica, and the extensive contribution of the copyist at both the beginning and end of the work ensures that they are invariably dull and lifeless too, as well as capricious over matters of detail. Good examples are the two bronze herms from Herculaneum in Naples, where the tendency for the chiselling to flatten and reduce the forms to dull stereotypes is particularly marked (fig. 5).[10]

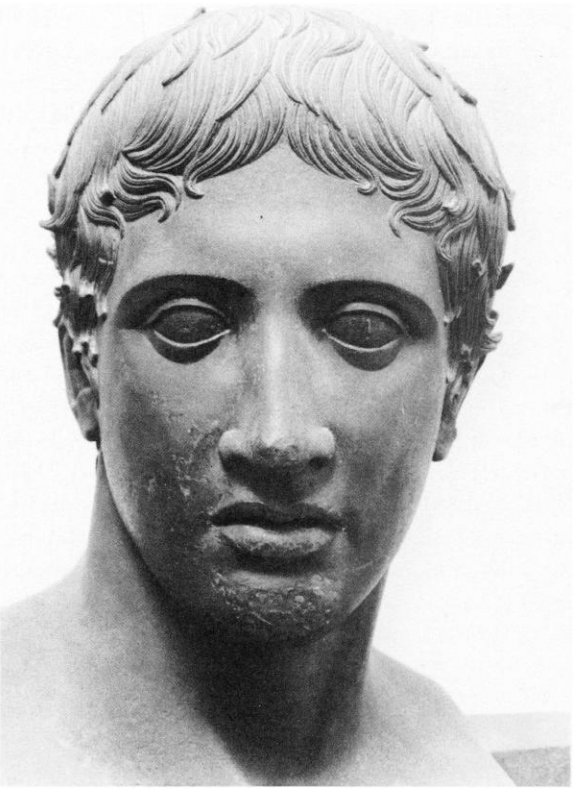


FIG. 5. Doryphoros herm, Naples.
(Photo Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome)

The Ephesos bronze shows none of these characteristics; although it was indeed cast in refractory clay, this was an integral part of Greek bronze casting as well as Roman.[11] The walls of the bronze are remarkably thin (between 3 and 8 mm. thick) and evidence of chiselling is only visible in small patches in the hair.[12] Finally, its quality is high and the general impression it leaves on the observer is utterly different from that communicated by the Herculaneum bronzes and, apparently, the bronze head of the Ephesos type in a private collection in Somerset.[13] In fact, as Lippold and others have remarked, there seems little doubt that on the whole the better Roman bronze workers preferred to make imitations or pseudo-classical pieces (like the Idolino) rather than copies;[14] since our statue seems to be neither of these, this obviously has some bearing upon whether it is likely to be a Roman work at all.

By process of elimination, then, if the athlete is a replica it is probably a direct cast from the original. By this method, piece moulds were taken from the original, assembled, lined with wax, and a clay core poured in afterwards in a liquid or

[8] Cf. supra n. 2 and Benndorf (supra n. 1) for the measurements.

[9] K. von Kluge and K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die Antiken Grossbronzen* I (Berlin 1927) 88-89; Lippold, s.v. Copie, *EAA* 806; cf. Charbonneaux, *Greek Bronzes* (London 1962) 32.

[10] Most recent study, with bibliography: D. Pandermalis, *AthMitt* 86 (1971) 184-85, 191-92, 206.

[11] See especially the chart given by D.E.L. Haynes, "The Technique of the Chatsworth Head," *RA* 1968, 109.

[12] Benndorf (supra n. 1) 188. Unfortunately, no examination was made of the inside, which could prove the point one way or the other, before the statue was filled with plaster.

[13] Information from Dr. D. Haynes and Prof. B. Ashmole. The back musculature is superb—a good index of quality for any statue, and both unusual and unnecessary if the athlete were a copy made for an *aedicula* (cf. e.g. fig. 7 on p. 306 supra).

[14] Lippold (supra n. 9); for such imitations and the whole question of *interpretatio*, *imitatio*, and *aemulatio*, see especially R. Wünsche, "Der Jüngling vom Magdalensberg," *Festschrift L. Dussler* (Berlin 1972) 45-80.

semi-liquid state. The wax was then melted out, and the bronze poured in to form the statue.[15] Such direct castings seem to have been extremely rare: as against the considerable number of bronze copies that survive, only two or three are known, the most important of which is a torso in Florence after an original of the early Severe style; another, in the British Museum, is a clever pastiche.[16] Vestiges of the use of this process are most often to be found on the inside of the casting, in the form of drip marks where the wax was swilled about in the mould, or traces of seams where wax slabs were pressed into the thin layer of wax already in the mould and joined with a hot iron.

Here again, in our case only dissection of the statue and removal of the modern plaster core could help. One therefore has to turn to the outer surface for clues, in the form of imprints left by the little bronze plates, or *tasselli*, used to repair defects in the casting of ancient bronzes of all periods, which would show up as rectangular blemishes in a bronze taken directly from an original in this way. Here, although the Ephesos statue was itself repaired with a very large number of such *tasselli*, a thorough examination has revealed no *impressions* of patches or flaws of this kind; true, the surface is in bad condition, but not so bad as to obscure all traces beyond recognition.

Such, then, is the evidence from the known facts about Roman reproductions of Greek statues in bronze; while not completely excluding the possibility that the athlete in question is a Roman replica (more specifically, a cast taken directly from moulds of the original) it goes far towards rendering it considerably more unattractive than the alternative, that the piece is, in fact, Greek. Certain aspects of the technique and setting, not hitherto discussed, would seem to support this and, more specifically, to point to the very late classical or early Hellenistic period as the time of manufacture. These are:

(1) The composition of the bronze. Impurities apart, the alloy is 89% copper, 6.09% tin and 4.87% lead. Owing to the almost total lack of analyses of Greek statuary bronzes little is known of Greek alloys, but enough of Roman to suggest that these figures are not what one would expect in work of the Imperial period; the copper content is too high and the lead content too low, 65-80% and 10-25% respectively being about the preferred amounts in Roman work.[17] In Greek bronzes, on the other hand, from the little that we do know, the tendency is for the amount of copper to remain relatively constant, at around 89-91%,[18] while the other elements vary considerably. Our alloy is thus more likely to be Greek than Roman.

(2) The dowels. Two dowels of square section were used to secure the athlete to his stone base; as Arnold has remarked, dowels of this kind were not in favor in the early- to mid-fourth century, at least among sculptors of the Argive-Sikyonian school.[19] In the late fourth century, however, and

[15] On the process, see von Kluge and Lehmann-Hartleben (supra n. 9) 76, 90-102; also Haynes, *RömMitt* 67 (1960) 45-47 and *AA* 1962, 803-807. In this context, it seems best to omit the casts from Baiae at the moment, being unpublished and of uncertain use.

[16] G.M.A. Richter, *Kouroi*[3] (London and New York 1970) no. 195 and figs. 585-88; Lippold (supra n. 9); Haynes, *BMQ* 15 (1941) 67; (C. Mattusch, *AJA* 82 [1978] 101-104 [ed.]).

[17] Cf., e.g., the figures given by Haynes (supra n. 11) 110 and E.R. Caley, "Chemical Composition of Greek and Roman Statuary Bronzes," in S. Doeringer et al., *Art and Technology* (Cambridge, Mass. 1970) 37-49, especially 43-46. On the composition of ancient bronzes, see now in particular P.T. Craddock, *Journal of Archaeological Science* 3 (1976) 93-113; 4 (1977) 103-23 (statues 114 and 123). Craddock concludes that leaded bronze was not used for statues until the early, heavily leaded bronze (i.e. 10% and more) appeared in the later Hellenistic period. Since nineteenth century methodology tended to give high tin results (by about 10%; cf. Caley 37), the copper and tin percentages for the Ephesos youth should perhaps read ca. 89.6% and ca. 5.5% respectively. Of the piece itself, Caley (p. 41) concludes: "The results of the analysis do not indicate such an early date (i.e. as the fourth century B.C.) for the tin content is too low and the lead content too high. It may even be Roman, though manufacture in the Hellenistic period is not unlikely."

[18] Aeginetan leg, BM 1905.6-7.1 (ca. 490 B.C.): 90.5% (Craddock 1977 [supra n. 17] 123); "Chatsworth" head, BM 1958.4-18.1 (ca. 470 B.C.): 87.5-91.5% (Craddock 1977, 123); Berber from Cyrene, BM 61.11-27.13 (ca. 340 B.C.): 91.0% (Craddock 1977, 123); Marathon Boy, NM 15118 (ca. 340 B.C.): 88.5% (Charbonneaux [supra n. 9] 23); horses outside St. Mark's, Venice (ca. 330? B.C., cf. J.F. Crome, *BCH* 87 [1963] 209-28 for the date): 91% (von Kluge and Lehmann-Hartleben [supra n. 9] 83). An apparent exception is the Anticythera "Perseus," NM 13396 (ca. 340 B.C.) which has 84.74% copper and 14.29% tin (Caley [supra n. 17] 39), though on correction (see supra n. 17) the deviation is seen to be less serious: copper ca. 86.2%, tin 12.8%.

[19] Arnold 269; Benndorf (supra n. 1) 186-87, fig. 133, whence (incorrectly drawn) Arnold fig. 17. Arnold's drawing is doubly at fault, since not only are the feet too close together as in Benndorf's illustration (noticed by Heberdey, *ÖJh* 19-20 [1919] 247 n. 2) but the dowels are shown with one side curved.

especially after 300 B.C. this uniformity breaks down: in the third century, for instance, we find whole footprints without dowels,[20] footprints with round dowels,[21] with square ones,[22] and even with the two mixed in the same dedication.[23] The period after ca. 330 thus becomes more likely than the period before.

(3) The setting. The statue, as remarked above, was accorded a particularly prominent position in the gymnasium, in its own *aedicula* away from the other athletic bronzes in the open hall—a not inappropriate setting for a Greek original in a gymnasium full of Roman dedications.

To sum up: an analysis of the technique of the Vienna athlete presents us with two possibilities, the greater, that it is a Greek original of perhaps the late fourth or third centuries B.C., and the lesser, that it is a Roman casting from piece moulds of the Greek original, which is now lost. Even if the second of these alternatives should turn out to be the correct one, the statue would, in Lattimore's words, nevertheless be "a copy so accurate that, in stylistic discussion, it may be accorded virtually the status of an original."[24]

At any rate, whether original or not, there seems little doubt that it is not by the Daidalos who, in Pliny's words, *inter fictores laudatus, pueros duos destringentes se fecit*.[25] The use of the term *destringere* in Pliny and his contemporaries is clear: it means to rub or scrape off (sweat and oil) with a strigil, an exact translation of the Greek ἀποξύω.[26] Thus Martial, on the subject of an acquaintance's laundry:

> *Pergamon has misit. curvo destringere ferro:*
> *non tam saepe teret lintea fullo tibi.*
>
> (xiv.51)

and Seneca, primly disapproving of the habits of the young: . . . *immo potent et sudorem quem moverunt potionibus crebris ac ferventibus subinde destringant* (*Ep.* 122.6). In short, Daidalos' two statues were *apoxyomenoi*, whereas ours is not. Secondly, and even more damaging, is the evident fact that neither is he, by any stretch of the imagination, a *puer*—that is to say, a boy of 16 years of age or under.[27] I would guess him to be about twenty.

One reason why our statue has remained shackled to Daidalos and the earlier fourth century for so long, even though its association with the followers of Polykleitos has been uneasy at best, is the difficulty of finding convincing analogies for its style elsewhere. Various critics have called attention to the marked individuality of the face, the apparent specialization of the physique, with its massive shoulders and bicepses, yet comparatively slender neck and legs,[28] the realism of the hair, rough and matted with oil, and, since the new restoration, the motif of cleaning the strigil, which gives "the impression of a straining for novelty and variety, as though the basic motif of the apoxyomenos had become rather hackneyed (hence, perhaps, the *perixyomenos* of Daippos)."[29] None of these features is particularly at home in the early fourth century, and especially not in the world of the Polykleitan school, where the general and the ideal are paramount, and individuality plays so small a part. Taking both the style and evidence of technique into account, it would seem that the Vienna athlete should be later, in other words rather after the *akme* of Lysippos than before it.

It is not, in fact, till the early decades of the third century that one may discover a parallel, albeit only in copy, for the style we are seeking, in the little seated girl in the Conservatori (figs. 6-8).[30] In frontal view there is the same low focus

[20] E.g., Marcadé II, 82, 95, 98.

[21] Marcadé I, 65, 89.

[22] Marcadé I, 95; II, 19.

[23] Marcadé I, 92-93.

[24] Lattimore (supra n. 6) 13.

[25] Supra n. 4; a base by this sculptor was discovered at Ephesos in 1840 (Marcadé I, 24) but is now lost.

[26] The equation is given in *N.H.* 34. 62, describing the Apoxyomenos of Lysippos (fig. 2 on p. 169 supra), where the term is appropriate (Overbeck 1502).

[27] J. Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*[2] (Leipzig 1886) 123-24. That Pliny (or his informants) were perfectly capable of distinguishing between *pueritia* and *iuventus* in sculpture is shown by *N.H.* 34. 55: *Polyclitus . . . diadumenum fecit molliter iuvenem . . . et doryphorum viriliter puerum* (Overbeck 952-53).

[28] Summary in Lattimore (supra n. 6) 15; cf. especially Maviglia and Morgan (supra nn. 3, 5); also Eichler, *Mitteilungen der Vereinigung der Freunde des humanistischen Gymnasiums* (*Wien*) 2.ii (1957) 3-5, and s.v. Daidalos, *EAA* 990 (G. Cressedi).

[29] Lattimore (supra n. 6).

[30] H. Stuart Jones, *The Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori* (Oxford 1926) 146 no. 31 and pl. 53; Lippold 297; Lawrence (supra n. 3) pl. 60a. Some students prefer to date this statue to the second century B.C., but without, as far as I can see, any particularly compelling reasons other than a desire to assign everything that shows signs of the "antike

FIG. 6. Seated girl, Conservatori. (Photo DAI Rome)

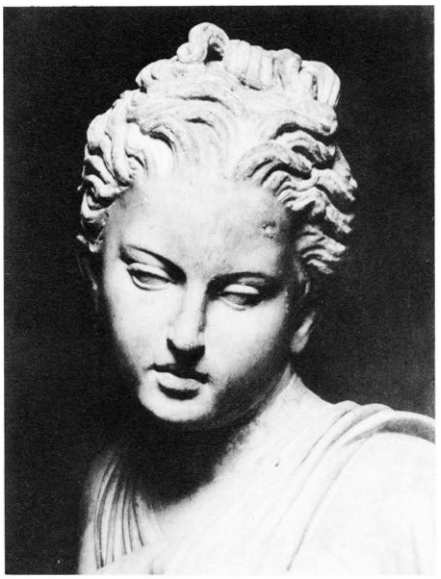


FIG. 7. Seated girl, Conservatori (head, frontal). (Photo DAI Rome)

FIG. 8. Seated girl, Conservatori (head, right profile). (Photo DAI Rome)

of interest in the face, the same tight, pointed chin and wide jaw, the same short mouth, delicate nose and small eyes with wide, high-swinging brows, the same high forehead. The two share a common mannerism: the eyes are sunk quite deeply into their sockets at the outer corners, creating a little dimple there, which gives the expression a rather petite and delicate look. The girl is a little fuller in the cheeks, but that is to be expected—she is only nine or ten, and our man a superbly trained athlete of twenty or so with no spare flesh on him at all. The profile views, too, are very close, even down to such details as the curve of the

Rokoko" to the late Hellenistic period (bibliography in Helbig 1480, to which add R. Lullies in Schefold [supra n. 3] 201-202).

upper lip and its relation to the lower, the modelling of the ear, and the run of the hairline. To complete the group, there is a small bronze head of a girl in the Vatican,[31] almost certainly a Roman copy, though the possibility of its being simply a version of the head of the Conservatori girl is not to be discounted. The style owes its inspiration to the Eros of Lysippos, of which perhaps the best copy is in the British Museum (figs. 9-10),[32] and finds its immediate successor in the head of a boy strangling a goose, known in several copies and attributed by some to Boethos on the evidence of Pliny (figs. 11-12).[33]

FIG. 9. Eros, London (head, frontal). (Photo British Museum)

FIG. 10. Eros, London (head, left profile: reversed). (Photo British Museum)

FIG. 11. Boy and goose, Munich. (Photo Koppermann)

[31] Museo Profano, Armarium vii, Inv. 6234; Alinari 35640.

[32] Lippold pl. 100,4; M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*[2] (New York 1961) figs. 87-89; most recent study by H. Döhl, *Der Eros des Lysipp* (dissertation Göttingen 1968).

[33] Lippold pl. 117,2; Bieber (supra n. 32) 81-82 and fig. 285 (Museo Capitolino); for the date, see especially E. Künzl, *Frühhellenistische Gruppen* (dissertation Köln 1968) 77-83. On the various Boethoi see especially A. Rumpf, *ÖJh* 39 (1952) 86-89 and s.v. Boethos (1)-(5), *EAA*; if the original of the boy and goose group belongs around 250 B.C., its sculptor cannot have been the Boethos responsible for the "Agon" from Mahdia (W. Fuchs, *Der Schiffsfund von Mahdia* [*Bilderhefte des deutschen archäologischen Instituts Rom* II, 1963] 11-12 and pls. 1-8); Bieber, (supra n. 32) figs. 286-89, which should belong late in the second century, to judge by the similarity of

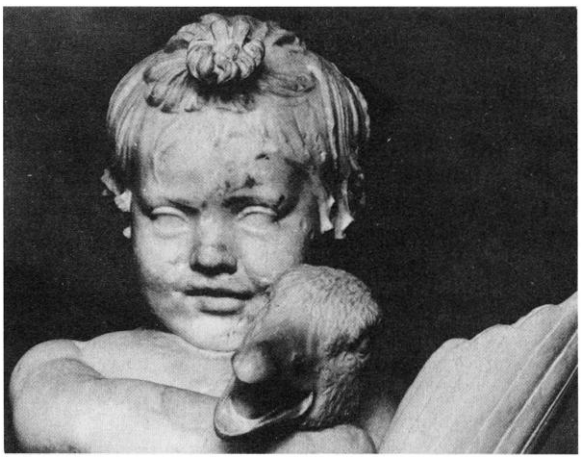


FIG. 12. Boy and goose, Munich (head, frontal)

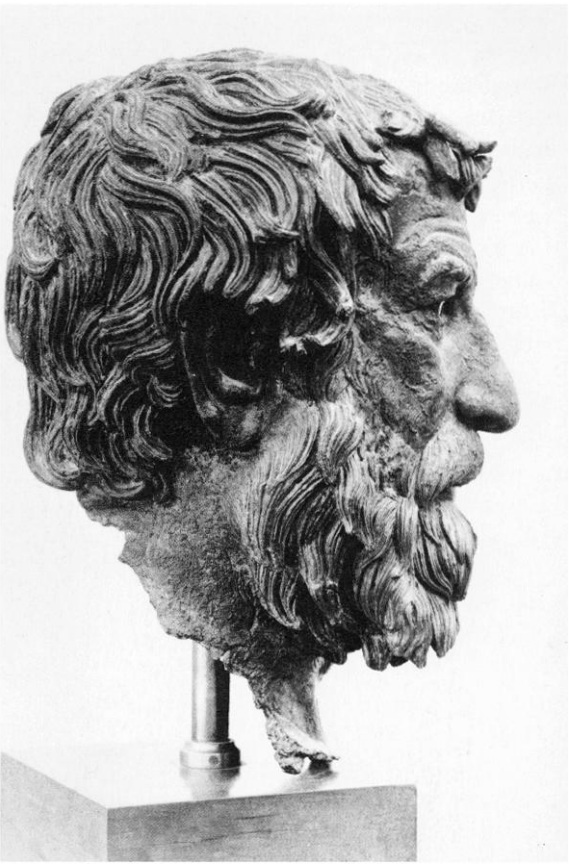


FIG. 13. "Philosopher," Athens (head, right profile). (Photo DAI Athens)

As for original bronzes of this period, they are few indeed, though there is one that shows some kinship with our piece, albeit only in the hair. This is the head of the "philosopher" from the Antikythera wreck, now NM 13400 (fig. 13)[34]: in both each lock is precisely yet plastically formed to stand out strongly from the surface of the skull, divided into a number of fine strands, and clearly demarcated from its neighbor, a style that requires great skill in moulding and casting, and which is not found in the few fourth century bronzes that survive.

Returning to the Conservatori girl, although she is seated and the athlete standing, the poses of the two do nevertheless have two basic elements in common: a remarkable richness and divergence in the axes of the body, and a tendency even so to relate every movement strongly to the frontal plane, so that the statue retains, albeit only notionally, much of the frontality of more truly classic art. With the athlete this reconciliation of opposites is so subtle that only when actually standing before him does one realize that to obtain a genuinely frontal view is simply impossible: taking the left side, the knee projects forward, the hip is slightly withdrawn, the chest and shoulder advanced again, and the face, finally, turned rather away. Each movement away from the spectator is rather greater than the one before, and each towards him rather smaller, in all giving the statue a slow twist round to its left. In elevation, the approach is similar: the angles of the various parts of the torso and the head to the horizontal are only very slight, enough just to lend a hint of movement and diversity. Of the triumphant openness of the stance of the Apoxyomenos (supra fig. 2 on p. 169) and the swing of his body back and forth from one foot to the other, hardly a vestige remains.

In essence, the same compositional scheme was

its hairstyle to that of the "Worried Man" from Delos, NM 14612 (Boardman et al. [supra n. 3] pl. 51; Bieber [supra n. 32] fig. 700).

[34] Most recent study by P.C. Bol, *Die Skulpturen des Schiffsfundes von Antikythera, AthMitt-BH* 2 (Berlin 1972) 24-27 and pls. 10-11. Lattimore (supra n. 6) attributes the bronze "lady from the sea," now in Izmir, to the same workshop as the Ephesos athlete; since I have not seen the piece it would be idle to comment in detail on this, save to say that from the single photograph he publishes the suggestion would appear to have some plausibility.

used for the Conservatori girl, though in rather more obvious fashion—the movement is more cramped and the *contrapposto*, in particular, much more blatant.

This retreat from the open, decisive rhythms of the ripe late classic period, together with increasing emphasis on a notional frontal plane as the unifying element in the composition, seems to begin during the last quarter of the fourth century: the Berlin-Terme youth,[35] for instance, has a similarly cramped pose and delicate, rather portrait-like face, though is as yet not so introverted as the Ephesos athlete. The Adorans in Berlin,[36] though more mawkish, ought to be roughly contemporary with the youth or a little later, as should the smaller of the two Herculaneum women.[37] Here, one might perhaps think of a reaction on the part of a section of Lysippos' pupils or their patrons against the extreme spatial freedom of work ascribed to Lysippos himself or to his circle. From the first decade of the third century we have the Tyche of Antioch (where the tension of interior diagonals is particularly pronounced)[38] and, by association, the Conservatori girl; the Ephesos athlete, quieter and rather less mannered, could perhaps belong between the two groups. Thenceforth the activity of the Lysippan school becomes difficult to follow, as our number of copies declines drastically, the various trends begin to diverge more sharply, and more eclectic styles make their appearance. Simple axial rotation emerges as the basic principle of one particularly "progressive" group,[39] whereas most group sculpture takes its cue from the Tyche, as Künzl has shown.[40] Here compact, closed contours, combined with great inner tension and a steadily increasing viewing angle seem to remain standard until well after the middle of the century: the bronze wrestlers from Alexandria in Baltimore[41] and the boy with the goose mentioned earlier (figs. 11-12) are typical of this trend, which eventually terminates in the completely open, centrifugal composition of the Suicidal Gaul around 230.[42]

Many of the sculptors of the pieces just mentioned probably considered themselves "pupils" of Lysippos, who seems to have lived at least until 316 B.C.,[43] but ascriptions are, for the most part, hopeless: only the Adorans and the Tyche can be attributed with any certainty, to Boedas and Eutychides respectively.[44] Euthykrates worked in Ephesos, as we know,[45] and it would be tempting to suggest his name as a candidate for the sculptor of the Vienna athlete, were its stylistic affiliations not closer to his fellow pupil, Eutychides. At any rate, the heavy, muscular torso and restrained movement would certainly rule Teisikrates, or any pupil whose style was very close to Lysippos', out of court.[46] More than likely, it seems, our artist will continue to remain anonymous.

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[35] Lippold pl. 97,3; Picard, *Manuel d'Archéologie Grecque: La Sculpture* IV.2 (Paris 1963) figs. 184-90 bis.

[36] Lippold pl. 105,2; Bieber (supra n. 32) fig. 93; Lawrence (supra n. 3) pl. 59a. The Rhodian provenance of this statue (for which see M. Perry, "A Greek Bronze in Renaissance Venice," *Burlington Magazine*, April 1975, 204-11) indicates that either it is not an original (Boedas's bronze apparently stood in Byzantium; cf. Lippold 296 for the evidence) or that it is not by Boedas, or both.

[37] Lippold pl. 86,2; J.D. Beazley and B. Ashmole, *Greek Sculpture and Painting* (Cambridge 1932) fig. 157.

[38] Lippold pl. 106,2; Bieber (supra n. 32) fig. 102; Lawrence (supra n. 3) pl. 59b, c.

[39] Cf. e.g. the Berlin dancer, Borghese Satyr and Budapest girl (Lippold pls. 101,4; 104,3; 121,2), the Aphrodite Kallipygos (G. Säflund, *Aphrodite Kallipygos* [Stockholm 1963] passim) and the satyr looking at his tail (Beazley and Ashmole [supra n. 37] fig. 165). On the trend, see R. Carpenter, *Greek Sculpture* (Chicago 1960) 182-85.

[40] (Supra n. 33) 43-69.

[41] (Supra n. 33) 49-52; Bieber (supra n. 32) fig. 643.

[42] Lippold pl. 122,1; Lawrence (supra n. 3) pl. 63b; most recent study by Künzl, *Die Kelten des Epigonos von Pergamon* (Würzburg 1971).

[43] Ath. 11 p. 784 (Overbeck 1449).

[44] Plin. *N.H.* 34. 73 (Overbeck 1521); Paus. 6. 2. 6, etc. (Overbeck 1530-32).

[45] Tatian *c. Graecos* 52 p. 114 (Overbeck 1523).

[46] Cf. Plin. *N.H.* 34. 67 (Overbeck 1525).