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A Marble Head in California

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once made easy the departure of the Achaean fleet toward the west and the Greek mainland.

Evidently the small plateau at the tip of Cape Phokas is a strong candidate for the Zeus-Hera-Dionysus precinct known to Alcaeus and Sappho. Its elevation renders it visible from miles away at sea; the mainland, Chios, and Psara are readily seen from this vantage point; finally its natural harbor, quite suitable for sheltering a substantial number of ships built on the ancient scale, creates a strong initial presumption in its favor on a coast where the author was unable to discover another like coincidence of circumstances. That as late as 100 B.C. the cult of Dionysus still flourished at this site is indisputable. That there is no inscriptional evidence for the cults of Zeus and Hera can scarcely be surprising when one recalls that only two inscriptions have been recovered at this site and that the more significant of these has vanished. The traces of the large precinct, which the vegetation and the terrace bank seemed to indicate, invite a full investigation.¹⁶ Moreover, the accessibility of the sanctuary by sea, standing as it does on the route from Mytilene to Pyrrha, at a point roughly halfway in any voyage from the east to the west coast of Lesbos, makes the precinct in fact ξῦνον, common to all. When one recalls, finally, that the literary evidence attests only to altars within the precinct, the very emptiness of the sanctuary area as it now stands (with the remains of the much later temple outside of the area), encourages the observer to surmise that the traces of those three altars might yet lie awaiting discovery beneath the earth.

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¹⁶ If in fact G 2 with its "sanctuary of the beauty-contest" described the same site as G 1, one would have expected to find some trace of the *τείχος βασιλῆιον*—the "kingsize" wall—of that poem on the plateau of Cape Phokas. A careful search revealed no such remains. If a guess might be hazarded in the present state of the evidence, one might surmise that G 1 and G 2 describe two devotional stops on the voyage of the exiled Alcaeus to Pyrrha, the first at Cape Phokas with its triple sanctuary, the second perhaps at Apothékai (pl. 128, fig. 2) within the bay of Kalloni, where a massive ancient wall shores up an area which Koldewey surmised was a sacred site (*op.cit.* [supra n. 13] 44).

* The content of this note owes much to Professor Evelyn Harrison's help. I am particularly indebted to her for all her advice and suggestions.

¹ I wish to express here my gratitude to the owners, Mr. and Mrs. Manuel Stolaroff, who not only gave me permission to publish the piece, but also sent it to me and allowed me to keep it as long as I deemed necessary for the compilation of the present article.

² (All the dimensions given below must be considered only as close approximations.)

Maximum height preserved: m.0.334

Maximum width (at locks over ears): m.0.205

Width at temples: m.0.131

Maximum depth preserved (front to back), from upper lip to back of cap: m.0.230

A MARBLE HEAD IN CALIFORNIA*

PLATES 130-131

The head illustrated in pls. 130-31, figs. 1-6, is privately owned and at present in California,¹ but its origin can be traced back to Izmir (Smyrna), whence the piece was brought to the United States in 1915. Nothing more is known about its original location, except that it probably came from the vicinity of Smyrna.

The head is life-sized,² made of white marble, and wears the Phrygian cap typical of Persians, Amazons and other "barbarians." It is preserved from below the tip of the cap to the base of the neck, which ends in a slanting surface; the head was bent toward the proper left,³ and the break from the body must have occurred approximately along the oblique line of attachment of neck to torso. The head is in one piece, but there are several cracks running through it, especially over the right side of the cap. The piece is also extensively damaged.⁴ Face and cap have been carefully finished, their surface being smooth and polished without being glossy; the hair locks, on the other hand, appear of a rougher texture. There are abundant traces of red paint over the strands on the left side.

While the left half of the head has been carefully finished at all points, its right half is only roughly sketched out. For instance, the locks emerging from under the cap (fig. 3) are indicated only in outline, by means of s-shaped slots carved with the drill; no inner details are shown, except for an additional central line marking a rough subdivision in four of the strands. Along the right side of the neck (fig. 2) there are no

Height of face, from throat to forehead: m.0.165

Maximum height of cap preserved (from apex of right curve) m.0.168; (from apex of left curve): m.0.202

Maximum width of neck: m.0.118

Length of eye (left), from exterior: m.0.04 (eyeball: m.0.025)

Distance between eyes: m.0.027

Length of mouth: m.0.038

Distance between inner corner of eye and mouth corner: m.0.063.

The total scale of the figure should be restored as ca. m.1.70.

³ This is indicated by the different treatment of the sternomastoids: the right one is long and tense, the left short and contracted. There are also two incised lines over the throat, slanting upward from right to left. Further confirmation for this pose is perhaps given by the locks that emerge from under the curve between the back side of the cap and the left flap (fig. 4). These strands are mostly missing because the break runs close to the peak of the curve, but it seems that they were not rendered in great detail. This sketchy treatment is in contrast with the accurate finish of all details on that side of the head, and may indicate that at that point the hair was partly hidden by the shoulder on which the head reclined.

⁴ A large break has removed the tip and front part of the tiara, most of the forehead (preserved only at the left temple) and the right eye, ending over the utmost projection of the cheek-bone; the inner corner of the right eye remains, showing the canthus. The bridge of the nose is missing from root to tip, but the left nostril and part of the left side of the nose

detailed locks, as on the left side.⁵ The contour of face and neck is visibly marked by a groove, where the traces of the drill are still discernible in spite of the subsequent smoothing of the surface (fig. 2). Moreover, there is no exact correspondence of details between the two halves of the face: for example, the curve of the cap between the back and the right side-flap is considerably more pronounced and at a higher level than the corresponding curve on the left side (figs. 3-5). All these peculiarities suggest that the right side of the head was not meant to be visible.

This impression is supported by the strong asymmetry of features shown by the face. While the left eye is sunk normally below the level of the bridge of the nose and under the projecting eyebrow, the surviving inner corner of the right eye lies considerably further forward (figs. 1-2). The whole right cheek seems swollen and less carefully modelled than the left one. Also the lobe of the right ear, the line of the locks and the border of the cap on that side are pushed forward as compared to the corresponding elements on the left side. The inner corner of the left eye, moreover, intrudes upon the surface of the nose, forming almost an angle with the rest of the eye (fig. 5); this unusual way of carving the eye must have been adopted in order to make the inner corner visible from a side view. If the head is placed in a three-quarter position the asymmetry of its right half becomes understandable: the projection of the right cheek then becomes visible as a vague outline (fig. 6). This difference between the two halves of the face is responsible for the many, and at times contrasting, impressions the head makes when viewed from various angles: it may look broad or thin, pathetic or expressionless, distorted or perfectly regular, ugly or attractive.

This peculiar treatment raises the question whether

are preserved. A large chip has affected the chin and lower part of the left cheek, from the corner of the upper lip to the beginning of the neck. The right half of the upper lip is damaged, and so is the lower lip. Minor damages involve the locks on either side of the face, especially on the right. Various dents on the cheeks and over the entire surface of the cap do not affect the appearance of the work as a whole.

⁵ The surface is broken, however, and might have lost traces of such work. Some strands do appear along the right cheek, with probable remains of red paint.

⁶ Mithras is usually represented with the bull, but the animal appears under, not behind, him.

⁷ H. Sichtermann (*Ganymed, Mythos und Gestalt in der Antiken Kunst*, dissertation, Berlin, without date) has compiled a list of all the extant representations of the subject, from which it appears that the iconography of the Ganymede myth in ancient sculpture in the round was fairly well defined. Among the group compositions one type can be found, showing the youth standing with the eagle behind him. Ganymede's head is to the right of the bird (spectator's point of view) presenting only its proper left side to the onlooker. This position would explain the rough finish of that part of our piece and at the same time allow for the asymmetry of its features because of

this head was part of a free-standing statue or of a composition in very high relief, perhaps from a pediment or a frieze. The unfinished details of its right side would suggest that the head stood against some kind of architectural background, but a group composition might equally well have hidden that side of our statue from view. The answer lies perhaps in the nature of the piece itself and of the personage it portrays.

A clue to its identity may be found in the Phrygian cap which the head wears. This oriental head-dress was used in art to characterize several persons; it is equally appropriate to Paris, Orpheus, Attis and Mithras, but I am inclined to rule out these identifications because the myths involved do not seem well suited to frieze compositions, nor do they provide cause for close groupings which would explain the treatment of the right side of the California head.⁶ A more likely candidate for the attribution is Ganymede, who is traditionally connected with the eagle in sculptural compositions,⁷ but although this identification would account for all the peculiarities observed in the work, not one of the extant statues known to me provides a close parallel to our piece or can be considered an approximate copy of it. It is true that most of the groups are small-scale compositions of slight artistic value, while our head, for its size and quality, must have been part of an important monument. But if this is so, it is even more to be expected that the copyists of Roman times or the masters in the minor arts would have endeavored to imitate it in their works.⁸

A last possibility remains, perhaps the most likely: the personage represented (in spite of its short overlapping locks which would seem more appropriate to a youth⁹) is not male, but female. The oriental cap, the position of the head inclined toward one shoulder,

the definite angle from which the group was to be viewed. The tilt of the head is equally required by the pose, since the youth is represented looking toward the eagle. Examples of this type of composition are the statuette in the Vatican, Amelung, *Vat.Kat.* I no. 674 A, pl. 82 (Sichtermann no. 104), the statue in Venice from Istanbul, Inv. 145 (Sichtermann no. 108, pl. 8, 1), and the headless statue in Florence, Torrigiani (Sichtermann no. 121, pl. 8, 2). For a recent discussion on sculptural representations of Ganymede and the eagle see also K.M. Phillips, Jr., "Subject and Technique in Hellenistic-Roman Mosaics: A Ganymede Mosaic from Sicily," *ArtB* 42 (1960) 243-62.

⁸ A noticeable difference between the extant works and the California head appears especially in the rendering of the head-dress. In several representations Ganymede is shown with a flapless cap; in others he wears an oriental tiara, but the flaps are pulled up and tied behind the tip of the cap. Our head clearly shows that its flaps were down, almost like the cheek-pieces of a helmet.

⁹ For a somewhat similar hair-style in a woman see however the Hekate of the Pergamon Altar (Lullies, R. & Hirmer, M., *Greek Sculpture* [London 1957] pl. 242) and, to a lesser degree, the dead wife of the Ludovisi Gaul in the Terme (photo Anderson no. 3593, Br.Br. 422).

the slightly open mouth¹⁰ may suggest that the head belonged to a fallen wounded Amazon. We can visualize her as perhaps not very dissimilar in pose from the kneeling figure on the frieze of the Artemision at Magnesia, Humann, *Magnesia am Maeander*, fig. 35, extreme right.¹¹

In a group composition we may conjecture a companion or an opponent, perhaps even a horse, behind our figure, which would justify the unfinished appearance of its right side. But if the California head did in fact belong to a votive or decorative monument, architectural contexts can provide no support to determine its provenience. There are almost endless possibilities for the setting of free-standing statuary in the Hellenistic and Roman towns of Asia Minor.¹² On the other hand, Amazonomachies were among the most popular representations on friezes of temples or other structures. Before looking for an adequate architectural setting for the piece, we should however try first to determine its date.

The good workmanship and the sensitive treatment of the California head, the naturalistic rendering of the hair combined with the vaguely "classicizing" features of the face, may suggest that we are dealing with a Hellenistic original, perhaps of the late 2nd century

¹⁰ Although the lower lip is damaged and preserved only as a rough surface, the distance between this surface and the upper lip shows that the mouth was slightly open. The groove separating the lips is quite visible, especially deep at the left; it was carved with the drill, which has left definite round holes at the corners, the left one again deeper than the right.

¹¹ Also illustrated in Lawrence, A. W., *Greek Architecture* (Penguin Books 1957) fig. 121. This Amazon however bends her head to the right, rather than the left.

¹² A. Schober ("Zur Amazonengruppe des Attalid Weihgeschenkes," *ÖJh* [1933] 102-11) has grouped together several copies of Roman times representing Amazons, and has attributed their originals to the Attalid dedication on the Athenian Akropolis. B. Schweitzer, however ("Späthellenistische Reitergruppen," *Jdl* 51 [1936] 162ff), considers the same statue derivations from a monument set up in Asia Minor. In either case, if the style of the originals can be safely inferred from these Roman copies, it seems to be quite different from that of our head.

¹³ I owe this suggestion to Professor Evelyn Harrison. If our head is really a copy of an earlier work, the possibility of its belonging to a frieze is considerably lessened.

¹⁴ This is especially evident near the cheek-bone in fig. 5.

¹⁵ A strongly marked canthus can be seen for instance in the head of Alcyoneus (Lullies & Hirmer, *op.cit.* pl. 244) and other figures from the Pergamon Altar (*Altertümer von Pergamon* III², pls. xxv-xxvi), the heads of Attalus I and of Alexander the Great also from Pergamon (Bieber, M., *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* [Columbia Univ. Press 1955] figs. 454-57; *Altertümer von Pergamon* VII, pls. xxxi-xxxiii), a Hellenistic male head in the British Museum (Bieber, *op.cit.* fig. 72), etc.

The overlapping eyelid can be found in many Pergamene sculptures (e.g. Schober, A., *Die Kunst von Pergamon* [Wien 1951] fig. 10; or some of the figures from the Great Altar), in the Ptolemaic portraits from Egypt (e.g. Bieber, *op.cit.* figs. 336-39; 361-63) or in the female head with the Isis head-dress in Alexandria (Adriani, *Testimonianze e Monumenti* II, pls. 1-2), in a Late Hellenistic piece from Cyrene (Paribeni, E., *Catalogo delle*

b.c. Some artistic and technical details seem however to indicate that the piece is a Roman work of the Antonine period, probably copying an important monument of Hellenistic date.¹³ Among such details are the strong marking of the canthus, the mannered trait of making the upper lid overlap the lower at the outer corner of the eye, the copious use of the drill, and the practice of carving the face with the flat chisel.¹⁴ It should however be noted that the same characteristics can be found in Hellenistic originals.¹⁵

A search for parallels that would help decide the chronological issue has not proved very fruitful. Among the extant Ganymede groups, for instance, several belong to the Antonine period, yet they seem to have little in common with the California head. Their treatment is more "coloristic," the hair-dos are more luxurious and dramatic, the drill is used not merely as a carving tool but as a means of creating strong effects of light and shadow, and the general execution appears colder and harsher than that of our piece.¹⁶ It is nonetheless true that works executed during the Roman period but in Asia Minor or Greece are often of a quality which ranks them with some of the best creations of the classical age; but even a Ganymede group from Ephesos,¹⁷ in spite of its considerable size, shows in

Sculture di Cirene [Rome 1959] p. 105 no. 285; pl. 138), the Aphrodite of Melos (*Encyclopédie Photographique de l'Art*, Louvre III, p. 203) and other famous monuments.

Locks carved with the drill are seen in many of the figures on the Pergamene Altar and in almost all the examples already cited. The cursory finish of the strands on the right side of the California head may suggest that the running drill was employed, a tool which finds its largest application in Roman times; but where more careful work was required, on the locks of the left side, the common drill was used. Several holes were bored, one next to the other, and then connected to form a continuous groove; however, in some of the curls the outlines of the original holes are still visible and appear considerably smaller in diameter than those left by the instrument used on the right side.

The use of the flat chisel, though greatly favored by Roman copyists, was already introduced in Late Hellenistic times and can be detected in unfinished parts of the Telephos frieze in Pergamon, and in several sculptures in the round from the island of Rheneia (Blümel, C., *Greek Sculptors at Work*, transl. L. Holland [London 1955] 64-65, fig. 50; p. 70. It is interesting to note that in both the Rheneia and the Pergamon monuments the use of the flat chisel is accompanied by that of the running drill).

¹⁶ For instance, in the California head what remains of the left eyebrow shows that it is formed by the meeting of two planes, but the consequent line is not sharp. The eyelids are edged by a tiny ridge to set them off from the eyeball, but the final effect is delicate and gives almost a *sfumato* appearance. The outlines of the lips, as far as preserved, are also slightly rounded, rather than acute, edges.

¹⁷ Sichtermann no. 257, pl. 12,1; Phillips, *op.cit.* (supra n. 7) fig. 22. The statue is headless and it could be assumed that the California piece once belonged to it. Unfortunately its dimensions do not tally with the requirements of our head. The height of the whole monument is given as m.1.70 (Lucas, *ÖJh* 9 [1906] 269ff), but since the eagle towers above the youth,

parts a rather careless treatment of details. On the contrary, if we can surmise the quality of the whole monument from that of the California head, no such superficiality prevailed in our work.¹⁸

If Roman works do not appear very close to our piece, neither do, unfortunately, Hellenistic originals. It is relatively easy to find faces which combine rather cold and smooth facial features with realistic treatment of hair and eyes,¹⁹ but they are not really similar to the California head. Closer, perhaps, is the head of a statue of the *Pudicitia* type from Magnesia: the lady's name is inscribed on the base and helps date the work in the 1st century B.C.²⁰ One possible comparison is controversial and should perhaps be omitted: the Demeter of Cnidus. The latter is generally considered to be a 4th century original, however; as far as I know, only Professor Rhys Carpenter has suggested²¹ that it may date from ca. 100 B.C. On the other hand, it seems unlikely that our piece could belong to the 4th century B.C. This notable lack of cogent parallels enhances the importance and originality of the California head.

The extant architectural monuments of the area around Smyrna do not help in dating our work, even if we leave the chronological problem open and include in our examination structures that range from the Hellenistic period to the 2nd century A.D.

The scale of the California head is so large as to make it unlikely that it might have belonged to a temple frieze, since no building of adequate proportions is known from this area and period; nor do we know of temples adorned with pedimental sculptures. There remains the possibility of a frieze decorating an altar, a stage front or a similar structure. But although such monuments exist at Magnesia, Priene and Ephesos, they do not satisfy the requirements of our head, in scale, subject matter and architectural arrangement of their decorations.²²

Since we are left without external evidence, we can only resort to reasonable suppositions as to original location. Both Pergamon and Ephesos appear as probable candidates: both are geographically close to Smyrna, and their prosperous conditions during Hellenistic and Roman times make them a likely setting for any monu-

ment of importance, whether a structure decorated with an Amazonomachy, or a decorative free-standing group.

To recapitulate: this note presents an unpublished head in a private collection in California. Certain technical details make it evident that one side of the head was not visible to the spectator, hence the piece must have been part of a group or of an architectural decoration in very high relief. Among the various possibilities for an identification of the subject based on the oriental cap, the most likely seems that the head belonged to an Amazon: a companion, an opponent, or a horse might have stood behind our figure, forming the second element of a group, or the California head might have been part of an Amazonomachy frieze. No evidence, architectural or otherwise, is available to determine the original location of the piece. It can only be surmised that, since the head comes from the vicinity of Smyrna, the monument once stood either in Pergamon or Ephesos. The good quality of the work and certain stylistic traits would suggest that it dates from the Hellenistic period, perhaps toward the end of the 2nd century B.C., but the possibility that it is instead a good Roman copy of a Hellenistic original, probably from the Antonine period, cannot be excluded. This note proposes mainly to present all the available evidence and to call attention to this interesting piece in order to promote a more competent and positive study of its problems.

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UNCOVERING THE HISTORY OF THE ROOF OF THE WORLD

For many years archaeological studies have been made in the Eastern Pamirs, a cold and windswept desert between giant mountain ranges at more than 4,000 meters above sea level. But perhaps none of the previous expeditions has so abounded in interesting finds as this year's, when we concentrated on a Stone Age camp situated in the most rigorous area of the North Pamirs, the valley of the River Markan-su. Study

the scale of the human body must be appreciably under m. 1.70 while the California head must have belonged to a figure of that size (see supra, note 2).

¹⁸ The artist even took pains to animate the vast monotonous expanse of the tiara, indicating at the same time that it was made of soft material: he rippled its surface in four large waves over the left side. These waves are clearly visible in fig. 5 which shows the head photographed under strong lighting in order to bring the rippling into evidence; under normal lighting conditions this detail is barely noticeable. Miss Harrison tells me however that this refinement of surface is typical of Antonine portraits.

¹⁹ For instance, the Athena by Eubulides (Richter, G. M., *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* [Yale Univ. Press 1950] fig. 765), dated ca. 130 B.C., or the heads of several statues from Thasos and Kos (*Jdl* 27 [1912] pl. 11a, pp. 12f; R. Horn, *Stehende weibliche Gewandstatuen* pl. 22²; *Clara Rhodos V*² [1932] pls. IX-XIII, figs. 21-25), made ca. 100 B.C.

²⁰ Baebia, daughter of Q. Baebius and mother of the Pro-

consul L. Valerius Flaccus. Humann, *Magnesia*, fig. 198, pp. 198f.

²¹ *MAAR* 18 (1941) 71; Carpenter, *Greek Sculpture* (Chicago 1960) 213f.

²² In the Ephesos theater the eclectic decoration of the *logeion* utilized sculptural types of different epochs, with figures carved in very high relief against square pillars, approximately m.2 high (Eichler, F., "Eine neue Amazone und andere Skulpturen aus dem Theater von Ephesos," *ÖJh* 43 [1956-58] 7-18). However, the sculptures are represented *en face*, while the California head should be viewed from a three-quarter position. Furthermore the figures were set within an architectural frame which required a flattening of their skulls, so that their heads terminate along a horizontal line. On the contrary the cap of our piece came to a very definite peak, now missing because of the damaged condition of the work. (The head-dress should be restored as coming to a point toward the left of the head, and then bending its tip over toward the right, as suggested by the asymmetry of the extant parts of the tiara.)



FIG. 2



FIG. 1



FIG. 3

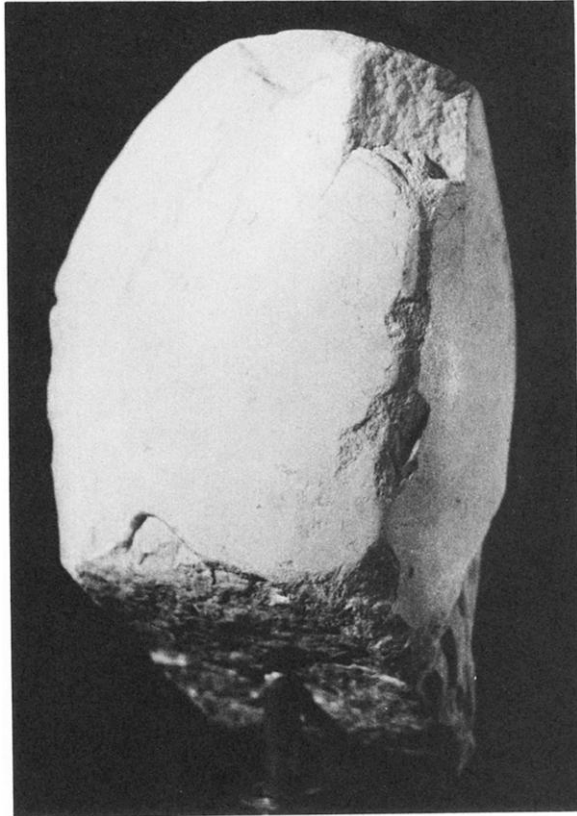


FIG. 4



FIG. 5



FIG. 6