

THE COLOSSUS OF PORTO RAPHTI IN ATTICA

(PLATES 24–27)

IN the summer of 1960, while excavations were taking place on the promontory of Koroni, the excavators asked me to join them in a study of the colossal statue set on a high base atop the conical island at the mouth of Porto Raphti's spacious bay. Accordingly, an expedition to the island was made in July 1960.¹

THE STATUE

A woman (Pl. 24), headless and armless, wears a girt chiton, or chiton in the form of a peplos, and sits on a rectangular throne of rocks, terminating in a slightly uneven plinth. Her right arm was raised and extended, and her left arm rested on her left thigh, or just above it. Her left leg was drawn back, raising her left knee; her right leg was relaxed, as the lower limb and foot were extended. These are both missing from just below the knees. Traces of the right foot are visible on the plinth. The cloak or himation falls down the back in tight zigzag folds. It is also arranged over the raised right arm, around the shoulders from right to left (pinned with a brooch on the right shoulder?), down the left side and over the left leg to the plinth.

The head and upper part of the neck were worked separately and inset. The statue may possibly have been knocked off its base at some time and damaged on the bottom. The bottom is uneven, as the view from the back bears out. The base has been reinforced with stonework and is now held by a pair of iron bands bolted at front and back (Pl. 25, a, b, e). The marble of statue and base is Pentelic, that of the latter being much coarser than the block of the sculpture. The remains of holes for clamps, two of which are visible in the front view, indicate that some of the smaller blocks of the base were set in new positions when the modern repairs took place.

¹ James McCredie prepared the photographs shown here except as indicated below. Eugene Vanderpool has offered numerous helpful observations in the investigations of the statue. In the summer of 1935 Sterling Dow visited the island, took the photograph reproduced on Plate 25, a, and likewise pursued the saga of the "Raphti" on his return to Athens. His notes made at that time and his evaluation of the early travelers have proven invaluable as source for and corroboration of what appears here. The Photographic Library of the German Institute in Athens supplied the visual counterpart, shown here (Pl. 25, e), to the testimonia of topographers working in Greece in the three decades from 1870 to 1900; José Dörig identified the travelers of 1893. Plate 26, a and b are also from German Institute photographs. Lucy Talcott made the identification of the "scissors." After this study was completed, Friedrich Matz suggested the other two travellers of 1893 were Alfred Brückner (bearded, wearing hat) and Paul Wolters (not visible in Pl. 25, e, but seen in another German Institute photograph of the Raphti).

Dodwell's view (Pl. 25, d) shows these lying on the ground in the early nineteenth century.

The statue is 2.35 m. high. The width at the seat is 1.40 m. and at the back of the base 1.77 m. The base is 2.00 m. high.

On the basis of style it is easy to date the carving in the second century after Christ. The rounded depth of the cutting and the drillwork in the drapery are signatures of this century. The sharp-edged flatness of the cloak as it falls down the back finds parallels in cuirassed statues of Hadrian, the example set up in the middle of the Athenian Agora serving as a prime illustration.² For details of treatment in general, the seated figures and the reliefs of the monument to Philopappos on Mouseion Hill in Athens³ provide points of comparison, remembering that the size of the statue at Porto Raphiti and its extreme weathering, particularly on the front (facing seaward), make the carving seem coarser.

Notwithstanding the damage, the statue has many points of aesthetic power and forceful beauty. The posture still evokes a feeling of formal majesty, and the view of the right side shows the rhythmical transitions from cloak to body to rockwork seat and plinth, conveyed in the bunching of drapery and the depth of cutting. The fact that the statue portrayed a woman can be stated without question. Just enough of the modelling of the chest below the breaks at the neck remains to show this (Pl. 26, c). The left breast is covered by the folds of the cloak, but the right breast is clearly visible beneath the chiton just below the break. Furthermore, no statue of a man surviving from the Greek and Roman worlds wears the chiton girt in this fashion and hanging in loose overfolds almost to the lap. The drapery goes back to that used for statues of female divinities in the late Pheidian periods, and in fact the whole concept of the statue recalls sculptures of the West Pediment of the Parthenon. The manner in which the Pheidian freedom of dignity and graceful nobility have been transformed into an image endowed with thematic formality can be paralleled in various cult images and personifications of the Roman imperial period. These Roman statues will be taken up again, when the identification and function of the colossus of Porto Raphiti are discussed.

THE PROBLEMS

So large a statue was not dragged up so steep a hill (Pl. 26, b) at the entrance of a large harbor (Pl. 26, a) for little or no reason. The statue must have had an identity, and perhaps a function, important in Attica of the imperial age. The purpose of this

² E. B. Harrison, *Athenian Agora, I, Portrait Sculpture*, Princeton, 1953, pp. 71-74, no. 56; Vermeule, "Hellenistic and Roman Cuirassed Statues," *Berytus*, XIII, 1959, p. 55, no. 183; E. Rosenbaum, *A Catalogue of Cyrenaican Portrait Sculpture*, London, 1960, p. 77, under no. 100.

³ M. Santangelo, "Il monumento di C. Julius Antiochos Philopappos in Atene," *Annuario*, III-V, 1941-1943, pp. 153-253, especially pp. 200-205.

paper is to supply the identity and to suggest the function of the colossus. Much has been written about the statue in centuries past. Among visitors to Porto Raphti before 1880, only Ludwig Ross (1843) made near-correct identifications, and earlier misidentifications have persisted down to the most recent editions of the standard guides to Greece.

The common misapprehension is that the statue represents the Attic hero Erysichthon, since Pausanias made vague reference to his tomb at Prasiai (I, 31, 2). This identification will be discussed at a number of points in the following pages. Since some time in the very remote past, the seated posture of the statue and the ample drapery bunched on the lap have inspired local inhabitants to call it the "Tailor" (Ῥάφτης). Thus, in the discussions to follow the statue can immediately shed part of its anonymous character and appear as the Raphtis or Raphti. It would be superfluous to add that, the Greeks having conferred the name Raphti on the statue, the Raphti repaid the kindness by conferring its misnomer on the harbor. Since the Raphti can now be clearly recognized as a lady, it seems only fitting that the name of Porto Raphti be changed to Porto Modistra!

EARLY TRAVELERS

INTRODUCTION

A glance at the map of Attica, particularly at the map made before 1800⁴ when towns were fewer, reveals the importance of Porto Raphti as a port of access to Athens. When weather or political conditions prevented ships from using the Piraeus complex, Porto Raphti's spacious and relatively secure harbor on the eastern coast provided an alternative landing place (Pl. 26, a). From Porto Raphti it was slightly less than a day's journey overland by the back route to Athens. The Ptolemaic fort at Koroni (see above, pp. 26-61) is evidence that the successors of Alexander the Great in the third century B.C. grasped the strategic implications of the harbor. From the island of Keos (Kea) fleets or single ships could jump off either around Sounion to the Piraeus or up the east coast to Koroni, depending on weather and hostile maneuverings.

These conditions of antiquity carried on with equal force in the Middle Ages and later, when Byzantine galleys, Italian traders, Arab and Turkish warships, or the vessels of western powers sought to visit or blockade Athens for various reasons. Porto Raphti, then, was traversed by persons who might have noticed the statue. Their numbers appear to have been quite out of proportion to the attention lavished

⁴ The Venetian geographer Marco Coronelli's map of Attica, ca. 1686, shows "Porto Raphte o Rapheta" as the only port on this coast; see J. R. Wheeler, *Harv. St. Cl. Phil.*, VII, 1896, pp. 177 ff.; D. Sicilianos, *Old and New Athens*, London, 1960, pp. 169 f. In volume III of J. Stuart, N. Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, London, 1794, there are Rochette's comprehensive map of Attica (ca. 1790, after the Introduction) and Stuart's own survey (1753, before p. 1).

in early descriptions on isolated monuments removed from the centers of Mediaeval and Renaissance Greece. As a result, a number of early travelers saw or mentioned the statue and another statue on the smaller island slightly farther in the harbor. In the recorded accounts lie many clues to the nature and purpose of the colossus. Since these accounts focus on a single object in a relatively deserted area, they can be collected and compared very neatly. The testimonia contain accuracies, inaccuracies, phantasies and deliberate falsehoods which form a telling footnote to *how* the different early travelers looked at antiquity, and consequently to their reliability when dealing with sites more important than Porto Raphti.

TESTIMONIES AND COMMENT

Niccolò da Martoni, 1395. *Liber Peregrinationis ad Loca Sancta*, Paris, Bibl. Nat., MSS, Fonds lat. 6521, fols. 67-103 (J. M. Paton, *Mediaeval and Renaissance Visitors to Greek Lands, Gennadeion Monographs*, III, p. 31; Judeich, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXII, 1897, pp. 425, 431-432).

In February 1395, Niccolò, returning to Italy from Jaffa, found himself on the island of Kea or Zea, where his ship took refuge to avoid the Turkish pirates said to be in the area. After midnight on the night of the twenty-second to the twenty-third of February, they began the run to the Piraeus, but headwinds forced them to double back and take the alternate route to Porto Raphti. They reached the harbor in the evening of the twenty-third, and Niccolò arrived in Athens the following morning after a nocturnal trip through mountains and deserted places in the rain. He writes (in Latin) only the following about the port.

On a certain mountain not far distant from this port are two images in marble, a man and a woman. Here it is related concerning these that the aforesaid man once lived and chased the aforesaid woman, who was a virgin, for the purpose of knowing her in carnal fashion. She fled through these mountains not wishing to submit to his will. When, at length, the woman saw that she could not escape the clutches of this man, she directed her prayers to God, that they both be turned into images of marble. Her prayers were heard and thus they remain to the present day.⁵

These chance comments of late Mediaeval travelers can be notoriously sketchy, and it is a mistake to try to read too much into them. Nonetheless, Niccolò appears to have sailed between the Koroni headland and the Raphtis island on a windy night, when no doubt his as well as the crew's minds were on other things. He may have

⁵ *De viro et muliere conversis in statuas marmoreas.*

Prope quem portum non multum longe in quodam monte, sunt due ymagines de marmore, viri et mulieris, de quibus hoc recitatur quod dictus vir existens homo sequebatur dictam mulierem, que erat virgo, causa ipsam carnaliter cognoscendi. Ipsa fugiebat per dictos montes nolens se consentire voluntati sue. Tandem videns mulier quod non poterat evadere de manibus dicti viri suas preces fundit Deo ut converterentur ambo in ymagines marmoreas et exaudite fuerunt preces sue, et sic manent usque in hodiernum diem.

seen one or both of the statues and asked about them. Perhaps they were described to him by the locals during his short stay on shore, before hastening on to Athens. On the other hand, his account of them reads more like one of those legends, of *Mirabilia* type, that Mediaeval voyagers delighted in recording. His geography is inaccurate only in the sense that from the shore at certain angles the islands of Porto Raphti merge into the mountain landscape and become mountains themselves. He or his informants begin the long tradition of identifying one of the statues as a man. No mention is made of the "tailor," and Porto Raphti is called only "alium portum distantem ab Acthenis milearia XXIII or."

Itinerarium Maritimum, after 1571. Florence, Laurenziana, Cod. Medic. Palat. 54 (Paton, *Gennadeion Monographs*, III, p. 40).

The author mentions the course from Zia (or Zea) to Sounion under the heading, "Da Coranto al cavo delle Colonne m. 60 per levante." He continues,

Dicontra à Cavo delle Colonne per Scilocco m. 5 e l'isola di Rafti, che ha da ponente un buon porto, e per tutto intorno ad essa a buon surgitore, ma è bisogna havere buon Piloti per le secche, che sono intorno à detto Cavo.

Then, having named the island, he describes the "tailor" as *holding a pair of scissors* in its hand!

La conoscenza dell'Isola di Rafti è una Statua grande di Marmo, che tiene in mano un paio di forbice, e si vede lontano m. 30 in mare.

This estimate of how far the Raptis could be seen at sea is important in the light of the suggestion to be put forth here that the statue served as a lighthouse in antiquity. I shall return to the detail of the scissors (below, p. 78).

"Sr. de la Guilletière, February 1669." André Georges Guillet (or Guillet de St. Georges), *Athenes ancienne et nouvelle (en 1669) et l'estat present de l'empire des Turcs*, Paris, 1676 (third ed.), p. 105.

A. G. Guillet *never visited Greece*, but, using others' accounts, he produced this book, attributing the travels to a fictitious brother, Guillet de la Guilletière (S. H. Weber, *Catalogues of the Gennadius Library*, II, pp. 82-83, no. 364). What is particularly annoying about this useful description is the reference to drawings of *both* the statues. The author may have had such things in his possession, or he may have mentioned them merely to give authenticity to his "brother's" account. He writes,

Le Port de Raphti est un des plus asseurez de toute la Grece. On y mouille sur sept & huit brasses d'eau, fond de vase, meslé d'herbes marines, & de bonne tenuë. Mais ce qui en fait l'excellence, c'est qu'il est couvert presque de tous côtez par une petite Isle qui laisse à droit & à gauche ce qu'il faut d'espace pour entrer dans le Port. Sur la pointe de cette Isle il y a une grande figure de marbre, dont je vous porteray le dessein, aussi bien que celuy d'une autre Statuë placée sur un

petit écueil qui est tout auprès. L'écueil est rond par en bas, & fort aigu par en haut. Le meilleur mouillage est auprès d'une petite Isle fort basse, qui est dans le Port.

From Roman times to the present the best anchorage has been in the area indicated by Guillet, and there are many Roman and Byzantine sherds on the small island near the innermost shore of the harbor, not to mention amphorae in the waters surrounding. Guillet's mention of the second statue and his knowledge of the best anchorage must be based on a discerning eyewitness account.

Wheler, 1675/76. G. Wheler, *A Journey into Greece*, London, 1682, p. 447.

Wheler visited Porto Raphiti without the company of his travelling companion Jacob Spon. His account is succinct, but among these early reports, it finally gets down to giving the reason for the harbor's name.

(The harbor is)—divided into two little Baies, by a sharp point, that runneth into the middle of it, and it hath two little islands, or Rocks toward the Mouth: the biggest of which lieth East South-East off from the middle point, and giveth the name to the Harbour, from a Colossal Statue of White Marble representing a Taylor cutting Cloth; which the Greeks call *Raphiti*.

Wheler obviously did not explore the islands very closely.

Perry, 1740. Ch. Perry, *A View of the Levant . . .*, London, 1743, p. 487.

Perry of Penshurst's account is in many respects the most complete to its date. He is certainly the first early traveler who stopped at the larger island and climbed it to study the statue.

On the Right-hand, entering Port Raffti, is a very high and steep island: Its Figure is a true Cone, and the Circumference of its Base, as we judge, about a Mile. Upon the Summit of this Island we see a very ancient and curious Marble Statue of one Raffti. The Head and Arms are broken off, but the Trunk is yet pretty intire. This Statue seems to have been an exquisite Piece of Workmanship; it is in a sitting Posture, and we judge might have been, when the Head was on, about 12 Feet high, and is placed upon a Pedestal of near 8 Feet high.

The Tradition goes, that when Apollo reigned King of Greece, one Raffti had deserved well of the Commonwealth; wherefore Apollo caused his Statue to be placed here. The People report, that in After-times a Beacon was placed upon the Head of it, to give Light to such Ships as might be bound into that Port in the Nighttime.

On another small Island, farther within the Harbour we see another Marble Statue of the said Raffti's Wife; but this likewise is broken and injured by Time, much in the same manner as the other.

The first important point in this account is the evidence of a tradition that the head of the Raphiti served as support for a beacon-light, turning the statue into a pharos. The second noteworthy addition is the description of the second statue, indicating its state as comparable to the Raphiti. The whole report indicates an effort to observe (dimensions, for instance) and to listen. Apollo no doubt enters because some one has read Pausanias or another source on the connections between Athens,

Prasiai and Delos. The business of the beacon could at the least have been based on the memories of some one who saw the head lying near by or in the water. A turreted Tyche-crown would immediately be taken as the vehicle for a light.

Stuart, 1753. J. Stuart, N. Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens, Measured and Delineated by . . .*, II, London, 1787, pp. 43-44.

James Stuart, who wrote the text to this volume, appears to have visited Porto Raphti alone. Nicholas Revett will be revealed, in an annotated edition of Chandler, as making a mistake about the Raphti so basic that he could hardly have seen the statue. Stuart's descriptions of Porto Raphti and Prasiai fall under the heading of explanations of the vignettes in this second volume. The vignette in question shows various Greek coins. He writes,

On the eastern coast of Attica, looking towards the Cyclades and the Aegean sea, is the entrance of a spacious haven, which, by a long narrow ridge of rock, stretching nearly east and west, is separated into two commodious harbours. That towards the north, into which you first enter, is called Porto Raphti, probably the ancient Alai Araphonides. The other harbour, now called Prassa, was apparently the ancient Prasiae: some scattered fragments of ruin on the southern shore, point out its former situation.

Stuart then relates what Pausanias said about Apollo, Delos and Prasiai. He returns to the main purpose of his essay,

In the left-hand corner of the vignette is the face of a medal which I suppose coined at Prasiae: on it is a head of Cybele crowned with towers, whence I am induced to believe, that a temple of this goddess also was here, although Pausanias has omitted to mention it. On the reverse of this medal, which is in the right-hand corner, is impressed a ship, probably the the (*sic*) Theoris: over it are the characters ΠΡΑΞ apparently meant to express the name of this demos.

I might have observed in the beginning of this article, that on entering the northern harbour our attention was excited by two small insulated rocks, on each of which is a mutilated statue of pure white marble; indeed so mutilated and defaced, that I was unable to satisfy myself what divinities they were intended to represent. The largest, which is really of colossal size, has probably been a Neptune, or an Apollo, although at present it is ridiculously called O Raphti, or the Taylor. The figure on the other rock is much less: it represents a female, but whether a Thetis or a Diana, it is called E Raphti Poula, or the Taylor's Daughter; and both probably owe their present name to the demos Araphen, formerly situated, I suppose, on the shore of this harbour.

Stuart is no less inaccurate in his numismatics than he is in his topographical philology. The vignette on the title page of volume II, his whole excuse for the digression on Prasiai, includes the so-called medal of the city, with "medals" of two other Attic "demos's or townships." These demes are Marathon and Rhamnous. The Prasiote medal is nothing else than a coin of Ascalon in Judaea, a bronze fraction of A.D. 76 to 77! The obverse type of the city-Tyche and the reverse of the prow are standard designs of Ascalon for many years. The letters ΑΞ of Stuart's ΠΡΑΞ are the first two letters of the city's name, and the letters ΠΡ are the date according to

the local era, reckoned from 104 B.C. The so-called coin of Marathon appears to be an Athenian bronze of 393 to 322 B.C., with the reverse letters ΗΘ Α read as MA. Athena's crested helmet is turned into a "Pan cap" in the vignette, and Stuart identifies Athens' patron goddess as the rustic divinity who frightened the Persians at Marathon. The coin of Rhamnous is perhaps the misunderstanding of some patterned incuse reverse, as on coins of Aegina where by imagination one could squeeze the monogram for PAM out of the design. An alternative, suggested by Margaret Thompson, is that Stuart has read the monograph of Rhamnous in a reverse of one of the fourth century tesseræ of Athens. As is well known, Athens never allowed her demes, with the exception of Eleusis, to coin independently. Eleusis received this favor as a pan-Hellenic religious sanctuary.

Otherwise, Stuart rejects the "Tailor" legend and attempts identification of the Raphti on the basis of its being male. He gives important information about the size and sex of the second statue on the island still named for it.

Chandler, 1765. R. Chandler, D. D., *Travels in Asia Minor and Greece*, 3rd ed., London, 1817, pp. 177-178. The edition of 1825 has "corrections and remarks by Nicholas Revett, Esq." Chandler writes,

A sharp point of land, running out into the middle, divides the bay; and toward the mouth are two little islands or rocks. One of these, on the right hand sailing in, is high and steep. . . . On the summit is a white marble colossal statue, * the posture sedent, the head and arms broken off. It is supposed to have been twelve feet high, when unmutilated, and is placed on a pedestal near eight feet high. On the other island, which is farther in, is seen a maimed marble statue of a female. These images perhaps represented Apollo and Diana, and were placed as sea-marks, or, holding lights, served each as a pharos to assist vessels in finding the port in the night-time.

Revett's "correction," coming where the * appears, consisted of noting, "The statue is destroyed or carried away." He has confused the two statues and was either misinformed in later life, or more likely, did not accompany Stuart on this particular excursion. Chandler never visited Porto Raphti, and his account is cleverly pieced together from Wheler and Perry. He must have taken the identifications of Apollo and Diana from Stuart's notes, although guesses such as these would not be difficult from Pausanias and Perry.

Leake, 1802 or later. W. M. Leake, *The Demi of Attica*, 2nd ed., London, 1841, pp. 72-73.

Leake was in Greece four times from 1802, but he does not say just when he visited Porto Raphti. He belongs at the head of the list of more observant travelers after the interludes of the French Revolution and the early Napoleonic wars. Leake's account adds new elements,

The harbour of Prasiae takes its modern name of Rafti from the remains of a colossal statue of white marble, seated on a chair, up a steep conical island in the entrance of the harbour, and which is vulgarly supposed to bear some resemblance to a tailor (*ράφτης*) at work. The statue, which was originally about twelve feet high, is of a workmanship which appears to indicate the decline of the arts and was probably that of a Roman emperor.

For the first time a stylistic judgment of the Raphti is attempted, and although the mistake about the sex persists the dating implied is correct, the second century A.D. or later. The rockwork seat could be mistaken for a chair, especially from the statue's left side (Pl. 24, d). The smaller statue on the smaller island has evidently disappeared.

Dodwell, 3/4 Sept. 1805. E. Dodwell, *A Classical and Topographical Tour Through Greece, During the Years 1801, 1805 and 1806*, I, London, 1819, p. 532 and *PLATE* (Pl. 25, d).

Dodwell quit Athens on 2 September 1805 with Sir Charles Monck and Mr. William Gell. They spent the night of 3/4 Sept. at Porto Raphti.

It happened fortunately for us that a boat from Tenos had just arrived here, and the sailors were employed in cutting wood to carry to their island. We gave them some paras to row us to the furthest island in the port, which we were an hour in reaching. It is a hill of a conical form, extremely steep, difficult of ascent, and covered with the lentiscus and small pine. The summit contains a headless statue of white marble, on a pedestal of stone; it is draped but much mutilated. The pedestal and statue are nearly of equal height, both together being fifteen feet. It is in a sitting posture, and faces the entrance of the port; the style appears not to be very good; it may be the statue of Apollo. The offerings which the Hyperboreans made to the Delian Apollo, were embarked for the island of Delos from Prasiai; where the god had also a temple. Part of the pedestal has fallen, and the whole is in a state of impending ruin. It is difficult to imagine how such a large mass was drawn up so precipitous an eminence.

The word Raphtes, or Raptas, in modern Greek, signifies a tailor; and the statue is called Raphtou-Poula, "the Tailor's Daughter."

On another island which we visited is a niche of white marble, placed upon a rock; it probably once contained a statue, which however must have been of small dimensions.

Dodwell's great contribution is the earliest published view of the Raphti on the summit of its island (Pl. 25, d). He is also the first to record the disappearance of the Raphtopoula, whose name he mistakenly gives to the larger, "male" statue. The problem of whether or not Dodwell actually saw a niche on the second island will be taken up presently (below, p. 81).

Gell, 3/4 Sept. 1805. Sir W. Gell, *The Itinerary of Greece, Attica, etc.*, London, 1819 (2nd ed. 1827, cited here but similar), pp. 77 ff.

Gell's account, naturally, contains nothing not reported by Dodwell, but he prefers Leake's conclusions (or vice versa) about the identity of the Raphti. He writes,

On one of the islands in it (the "excellent port") is a niche of white marble; and on another pointed rock, at the entrance, is the colossal statue, apparently of a Roman emperor.

The only hint of what might have happened to the smaller statue, the Raphtopoula, occurs in *The Letters of John B. S. Morritt of Rokeby, Descriptive of Journeys in Europe and Asia Minor in the Years 1794-1796* (edited by G. E. Marindin, London, 1914), pp. 171 ff.

Morritt describes the "activities of a Frenchman established here for the last eight years and a painter" (Fauvel), who was ranging all over Attica in search of antiquities for his patron Choiseul-Gouffier and, later, for his own house in Athens, on the site of the Agora. Fauvel was then digging in the plain of Marathon, where Morritt reports, he "found three busts of Hadrian, Antoninus and L. Verus in another part of the plain." These are, of course, the busts of Herodes Atticus and Marcus Aurelius, now in the Louvre, and the pendant Lucius Verus, formerly in the Cook collection at Richmond and now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. The whole tone of Morritt's account suggests *if* anyone carried off the smaller statue from the relatively accessible island it was Fauvel. Purely speculating, perhaps it perished in Athens during the War of Independence or perhaps it lies unnoticed in some French chateau. The busts of Herodes Atticus and Marcus Aurelius were "lost" in the latter fashion for a number of years.⁶

Hobhouse, 1809/10. J. C. Hobhouse (Lord Broughton), *A Journey through Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia to Constantinople During the Years 1809 and 1810*, London, 1813 (Philadelphia, 1817), I, p. 348.

Byron's companion Hobhouse has little to add. He combined a view from the shore with researches in Chandler. ". . . in the mouth of the whole harbour, is a steep rocky island, on which we saw very plainly a colossal statue." He repeats the notion that the Raphthi "once served the purpose of a Pharos." "Farther in to the north, is a small low green island, and on this there was once another statue of a female, serviceable, perhaps, in pointing out the mouth of the larger harbour. A narrow range of rocks divides the two ports." He had originally stated that "It (Porto Raphthi) has a double port, and one basin is called the little, the other the great Raphthi."

Wordsworth, 1832/33. C. Wordsworth, D. D., *Greece: Pictorial, Descriptive, and Historical*, 2nd ed., London, 1844, pp. 124-125, Woodcut (Pl. 25, c). The Preface is dated 1839, and the first edition appeared in 1840.

The Head Master of Harrow School, Canon of Westminster and later Bishop of Lincoln, had also mentioned the statue briefly in his *Athens and Attica: Journal*

⁶ Ph.-E. Legrand, "Biographie de Louis-François-Sébastien Fauvel, Antiquaire et Consul," *Rev. Arch.*, XXX, 1897, p. 58; the busts were found "dans les ruines des tombeaux des Athéniens."

of a *Residence There* (2nd ed., London, 1837, p. 221). From the description in his later book, Wordsworth may be classed as the last of the early travelers, in the sense that they are different from the nineteenth-century scholars. The woodcut, by the British artist Copley Fielding (1787-1855), is inaccurate and romantic, with donkeys and piles of marble near the statue and the masts of ships visible to the right, as if the Raphthi dwelt beside the London docks instead of on a lonely island visited only by those interested in the statue. The vignette gives every sign of having been embroidered from the plate provided by Dodwell.

It is a distance of ten miles, in an easterly direction, from this spot (the "Cave of Bari") to the bay of Prasiae, one of the best harbours on the coast of Attica. At the centre of its entrance, which is a mile broad, is a small island, on which, at an elevation of three hundred feet from the level of the sea, is a sitting statue of white marble, from the attitude of which, resembling that of a tailor at his work, the harbour derives its modern name of Port Raphte,—an appellation not very complimentary to its sculptor, who is supposed to have intended to represent by it a Roman Emperor.

Bröndsted, 18 Dec. 1811. P. O. Bröndsted, *Reisen und Untersuchungen in Griechenland*, Paris, 1826, p. 4, note 1.

The Danish archaeologist Bröndsted can be considered the first of the modern critics of the statue. Since his observations were followed by the German topographers of the second half of the century and since his remark about Erysihton was unnoticed by his British contemporaries, Bröndsted has been placed slightly out of his chronological sequence.

Auf einem der Felseninselchen in dieser Bucht befindet sich noch ein, zwar sehr gemisshandeltes aber doch leicht erkennbares Fragment einer kolossalen marmoren Statue, die eif bei zwölf Fuss Höhe gehabt haben muss, und eine *sitzende* männliche Figur war. (Nach *Pausan* . . . könnte man geneigt seyn zu vermuthen, dass sie den *Erysihton* vorgestellt habe.) Diese Bild schien dem Volke einem mit seiner Arbeit beschäftigten *Schneider* ähnlich, und veranlasste den neueren Namen *Ραφτηλιμάνι* (des Schneiders Hafen).

He goes on to quote Wheler and point out that the figure is not represented "cutting cloth." He adds that Chandler never visited Raphthilimani.

Ross, 1843 or earlier. L. Ross, *Reisen auf den griechischen Inseln des ägäischen Meeres*, II, Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1843, pp. 9 ff.

Ross provides a masterly description of the statue, giving full and complete measurements in meters, made during a half-day's visit to the island. His conclusions ought to have been read more closely by later scholars. He suggested the head might have tumbled into the sea and in his description of the pose noted that the raised right arm perhaps held a scepter and the left was placed on the knee. His great contribution was to realize that the statue was *without doubt female*.

Die Drappirung, die Verhältnisse, die weiche Form des Leibes und die Andeutung der Brüste unter dem Gewande lassen keinen Zweifel, dass die Figur weiblich ist. Besonders zeichnet sich die zweite Untergärtung des Gewandes, deren Bausch (κόλπος) auf dem Schoosz herabfällt, sehr deutlich und unverkennbar ab.

The "seat" or "chair" of earlier visitors was correctly classified as "ein natürlicher Felsblock."

Having once realized the sex of the statue, Ross offered three groups of very plausible identifications. First of all he suggested the statue might have been commissioned by Hadrian or Herodes Atticus. He mentioned the monument to Philopappos as a stylistic parallel. His first group of identifications comprised an empress (Plotina, Sabina, Faustina Sr., Faustina Jr. or Lucilla) or Regilla, Herodes' wife. His second group included the goddesses, that is Hera, Demeter or Athena. His final thought lay in the realm of personifications, that the statue represented "der heiligen Theorie (Θεωρία),," which the Athenians sent from Prasiai to Delos.

Finally, Ross criticizes Gell and Leake, the first for calling the Raphti a Roman emperor and the latter for following him, "aber ich bezweifle, dass einer der beiden Reisenden die Statue in der Nähe gesehen, da man in Porto Raphti selten eine Barke findet." Ross obviously visited Porto Raphti at least a decade after the liberation of Greece. Commerce through the port had all but ceased when its strategic value as the "back door" to Attica disappeared with the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Navarino. His estimate of traffic could not have applied in the decade of Gell and Leake, when Greek enterprise used all avenues to avoid Turkish taxations. Thus, the British travelers probably saw more boats at Porto Raphti than Ross did or one does now.

The three topographers Lolling, Milchhoefer and Judeich wrote about the Raphti in various connections. Judeich's contribution, the last of the three by a decade, has been mentioned in connection with his publication of Niccolò da Martoni's visit in 1395. H. G. Lolling ("Prasiae," *Ath. Mitt.*, IV, 1879, pp. 355-356) tried to reconcile the views of Ross and Brøndsted by suggesting the Raphti was the monument to Erysichthon mentioned by Pausanias and that it was a new version of an older statue, the present creation dating from the time of Hadrian or Herodes Atticus. The costume, if really that of a woman, could be explained by the fact that the old Attic hero was dressed as the sacred Theorie of the Athenian mission to Delos.

A. Milchhoefer's observations appeared on two occasions. In an article "Antikenbericht aus Attika" (*Ath. Mitt.*, XII, 1887, p. 292, no. 237), he rehearsed the old and recent identifications and concluded, "Wahrscheinlich ein Grabdenkmal oder Kenotaph aus der Zeit des Hadrian und Herodes Atticus." In the text to E. Curtius, J. A. Kaupert, *Karten von Attika* (III, Berlin, 1889, pp. 8 f.), he pointed out that

the monument mentioned by Pausanias (I, 31, 2) could hardly have been on an island in the harbor. "Zuversichtlicher darf man behaupten, dass die Gründung einer monumentalen Liebhaberei in Geiste Hadrians oder des Herodes Atticus ihren Ursprung verdankt."

Frazer, Dec. 1894. J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, II, Commentary on Book I, London 1913, pp. 403-404.

The last visitor to the island whose published record is important has left us a beautifully written summation of the opinions since Ross. He favors the theory of Lolling and Brøndsted, but the suggestion that the statue of Hadrianic or Antonine date marks the traditional site of Erysichthon's grave is another effort at compromise, while sticking to the connection between the Raphthi and Pausanias' vague reference.

Right in the middle of the entrance, breaking the force of the waves when the wind blows from the east, a rocky islet in the shape of a sugar-loaf or pyramid rises abruptly from the sea to the height of about 300 feet. Its sides, clothed with lentisk bushes and dwarf pines, are so steep that it can be scaled only on one side, the north. On its summit, looking seaward, sits a colossal but headless and armless statue of white marble on a high pedestal, the blocks of which were falling to ruin at the time of Dodwell's visit but are now held together by iron clamps. This statue, which, to judge from its style, dates from the time of the Roman empire, is popularly supposed to resemble a tailor (*raphthi*) seated at his work; hence it has given its present name (*Porto Raphthi*) to the bay. H. G. Lolling plausibly conjectured that this is the monument described by Pausanias as the tomb of Erysichthon who died at sea on his way home from Delos. The striking monument, looking out from its high lonely isle across the blue sea, may have been erected on the traditional site of the hero's grave by some wealthy patron of art in Roman days, perhaps by Herodes Atticus himself.

Although there is the evidence of Erysichthon's tomb at Prasiai, one might ask why, if the statue is taken to be a man, Pyrrhakos has never been mentioned as a candidate? He was a contemporary of Erysichthon, who went from Athens to Delos and there set up the first wooden statue of Apollo.

Frazer's mention of the restorations to the base of the statue is corroborated by a photograph (Pl. 25, e) showing the German topographers at the site in the previous year (1893). Dörpfeld sits on the statue; Conze seems to be the gentleman in the flat, black cap, and the man in the white suit is perhaps Puchstein. The repaired base was held together by two sets of iron bands fastened by screw clamps at front and back. The photographs of the statue taken by S. Dow on a visit in the summer of 1935 show the bands still in place (Pl. 25, a). There were also wooden reinforcements, vertically behind the iron bands, at the corners. At present (Pl. 25, b) the wooden strips have vanished, causing the upper set of bands to slide down and rest on top of the lower. The statue, however, seems in no danger of toppling over, although it is hoped the Archaeological Service will check the monument from time to time.

CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THE STATUE(S) BASED ON THE TRAVELERS' OBSERVATIONS

To a date at some time after James Stuart's visit in 1753 a second statue (of a woman) existed on the smaller island farther in the harbor. This statue was called traditionally the Raptopoula, and by Dodwell's visit in 1805 only "a niche of white marble, placed upon a rock" remained.

Of the Raphti Perry writes in 1740, "The People report, that in After-times a Beacon was placed upon the Head of it, to give Light to such Ships as might be bound into that Port in the Nighttime." This crucial legend or memory of what the head might have looked like, plus the iconographic type of the larger statue, suggest the head wore a Tyche crown which served as a pharos. The location of the two statues on the two islands would have made them admirable guides from the standpoint of navigation for ships entering the harbor by the old channel, which ran between the peninsula with the Ptolemaic fort and the Raphti island. The modern steamers no longer use this route, the one by which early travelers entered the harbor; vessels now skirt the Raphti on the seaward side.

Early travelers agree (and not merely because of the legend of the woman pursued or the "tailor's daughter") that the smaller statue was female. It must have been more obviously so than the Raphti, for Stuart says of it "whether a Thetis or a Diana." This suggests a half-draped figure or, like Diana, a figure in the short Amazon chiton of many geographical personifications ranging from Asiatic provinces to the pre-Hadrianic and early Hadrianic Dea Roma.

IDENTIFICATION

AS A GEOGRAPHICAL PERSONIFICATION, PROBABLY OF OIKOUMENE, ACHAEA (ATTICA) OR EVEN DEA ROMA.

Several years ago my attention was called to a large bronze statuette (0.223 m. high) of a goddess or personification seated on a rockwork throne (Pl. 27). The piece was at that time in the art market in Switzerland and then in a Sotheby's sale on 14 November 1960 (it appears as the frontispiece in the catalogue). I did make a note, when shown the photograph, that it was certainly a very fine bronze of the imperial period and no doubt a representation of some geographical area. It was only after visiting the Raphti that I realized the statuette gave all the clues to the identity of the colossus and was perhaps even a replica. The photographs explain this latter suggestion admirably.⁷

⁷ Early in 1961 the present owner sent the bronze to Boston where I had ample opportunity to study its every aspect. The statuette is of the highest quality in bronzes of the imperial period, monumental in detail as well as in reflecting the concept of its prototype. A Roman imperial, even

The bronze makes allowances for the vast difference in scale. It exhibits in the arrangement of the drapery the freedom allowed in transition from a monumental marble to a work on a relatively minor scale. The only question remaining was the provenience, if known, of the bronze. Great was my joy to learn that it was found years ago "north of the Hellenikon airfield, near Athens." This would be practically a third of the distance between ancient Athens and Porto Rapti, going by the road toward Sounion and then through the hills. Better additional evidence for connection between the Rapti and the statuette could hardly be desired.

The Junoesque lady of the bronze holds five ears of grain (like a torch or a pair of scissors) in her raised right hand. Her outstretched left hand is now empty, save for the remains of an attachment which has been taken in the Sotheby catalogue (wrongly) for a pomegranate. This hand held some additional object, more likely a small orb than a short scepter or staff. There is a circular groove in the palm, where the back of the orb was fitted (Pl. 27, upper right). The headgear is particularly fascinating, consisting of a large Tyche crown pierced with window-like openings at regular intervals. The normal effort to reproduce the turreted and crenelated walls of a city has been avoided in the interests of producing this functional crown only superficially like those worn by Cybele and geographical personifications. The answer is that the artist has copied a crown which has been designed to encompass a large beacon-light, with the "windows" increasing the horizontal distance of that light and the "walls" either side and above serving as a windscreen. The difference between this Tyche crown and the orthodox type can be understood in the relationship of a small bronze to a large statue by comparing one of the several bronze variants of Eutychides' (now lost) Tyche of Antioch.⁸ In a statue like the Rapti, the light was undoubtedly a large oil lamp which could be easily refilled by climbing up on the base and the plinth once or twice a day. The ascent would have posed no problem with the aid of a block beside the statue or a small ladder. Even without the light, the white

a Hadrianic or later, date for the bronze would have been apparent even without knowledge of the Rapti as the prototype. The rockwork seat and the area beneath the feet, faithful reflections of the comparable parts of the Rapti, are set on a platform-like base which replaces the pedestal of the colossus and which is typical of Graeco-Roman sculptures of the second century after Christ and later.

The bronze statuette can be compared very instructively with the so-called "Felix Ravenna" in the Metropolitan Museum, a bronze Tyche ten inches in height, personification of an unidentified city, made in the fourth or fifth century after Christ. As befitting its later date, the New York Tyche is stiffer and more schematized in its reflection of a Pheidian prototype; the left foot is placed on a tiny stool and the platform has become a low podium with mouldings, suggesting a copy from a large original which stood indoors or in a city square (Metropolitan Museum Accession no. 47.100.40; *Small Sculpture in Bronze, A Picture Book*, New York, 1950, fig. p. 21; Vermeule, *The Goddess Roma in the Art of the Roman Empire*, London, 1959, pp. 96, 100, note 96 and bibliography; Walters Art Gallery, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, Baltimore, 1947, no. 205, pl. XXXV).

⁸ Cf. T. Dohrn, *Die Tyche von Antiochia*, Berlin, 1960, pls. 8-23.

marble statue set off from the green and brown of the conical island formed a conspicuous aid to daytime navigation.

Students of the vast literature on ancient harbors and their trappings can well ask for parallels in identification of the Raphti as a pharos. The answer is partly that few if any such colossi have survived to modern times at the entrances of ancient harbors. Coins show pharoi of the structural types at Alexandria and Ostia, the former having a statue on top.⁹ In many cases where coins or reliefs show harbors, they present the city Tyche or similar figure with *corona muralis* near by. Coins of Laodiceia in Syria couple the Tyche's bust with the portus-pharos on the reverse.¹⁰ It seems simply common sense to suppose in cases other than at Porto Raphti the ancients followed their love of combining decoration, symbolism and function in a pharos. Many ancient pharoi were of tower form simply because the harbor did not have the natural tower afforded by the conical island on which the Raphti sits. At Corinth, for example, coins of the period of Marcus Aurelius show the pharos in the form of a large cone surmounted by a statue (of Poseidon?).¹¹

The differences in the drapery of the Raphti and the bronze lie in the lessened emphasis of the cloak on the left shoulder, down the back and on the lap of the bronze. The overfold of the chiton is preserved in the small replica, but the folds around the breasts are more lifelike and varied in the bronze than they are in the massive marble. The statuette shows details such as the buttons on the chiton at the left shoulder, details which cannot be verified owing to the mutilated condition of the Raphti. Naturally, the posture of the bronze is less stiff and formal, less like a cult image and more like a lady dressed up with attributes. The face and hair show that, as mentioned in describing the drapery of the Raphti, the bronze (and the colossus) have their artistic sources in Attic art of the period 440 to 420 B.C. The face of the bronze is a Roman version of a standard Attic type, one that went far afield in the art of Athens' Golden Age. The statuette has a countenance very like the Amazons attributed to Kresilas and Polykleitos.¹²

What does the bronze personify? She seems hardly a goddess, in the sense of a divinity of the rank of Cybele, Demeter or Persephone. In such a case she would

⁹ The references are conveniently collected and the coins illustrated by A. A. Boyce, "The Harbor of Pompeiopolis. A Study in Roman Imperial Ports and Dated Coins," *A.J.A.*, LXII, 1958, pp. 67-78, pls. 10-15, especially pl. 14.

¹⁰ H. Seyrig, "Le phare de Laodicée," *Syria*, XXVIII, 1952, pp. 54-59.

¹¹ Ch. Daremberg, E. Saglio, *et al.*, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, IV, "Pharus," p. 430, fig. 5626.

¹² G. M. A. Richter, *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Catalogue of Greek Sculptures*, Cambridge, Mass., 1954, pp. 29-30, under no. 37, where the Lansdowne Amazon is ascribed to Polykleitos and the Capitoline Amazon to Kresilas. For Sir John Beazley's and B. Ashmole's view that the reverse is true, see D. von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art*, Oxford, 1957, pp. 220-222, who gives the history of the identifications. I follow Miss Richter.

have more identifying attributes.¹³ Ears of grain, a Tyche crown and an orb(?) suggest Oikoumene (Orbis Terrarum), a major region (such as Achaea or Attica), or the goddess Roma as she appears in Greece and Asia Minor.¹⁴ Any of these concepts would be appropriate on a lofty, conical island at the entrance to the principal Attic harbor facing the Aegean and looking ultimately toward Asia Minor and the frontiers of the Roman Empire.

Several points remain to be clarified by the evidence of the bronze. The ears of grain in the raised right hand look like a pair of scissors. The *Itinerarium Maritimum* of 1571 or later described the Raphti as holding a pair of scissors in the hand (above, p. 66). This would surely be the ears of grain copied in the statuette. The evidence of connection between Raphti and bronze receives further support. Furthermore, since a raised arm and attribute were mentioned, the Raphti must have been in a good state of preservation in the latter part of the sixteenth century. Therefore, the tradition of the head having served as a beacon, related by Perry in 1740, need not have had to reach back to the Middle Ages for its evidence. Finally, the "scissors" as well as the posture and bunching of drapery in the lap contributed to give the colossus its traditional name.

The Raphti was carved and set up in the period of Attic prosperity brought about by the phil-Hellenism of Hadrian and fed by the riches of Herodes Atticus. The peculiarly Roman combination of ornament and function took the form of a geographical personification serving as a lighthouse. This was the period when the taste for such personifications was greatest. Hadrian's coin die designers evolved a complex iconography for provinces new and old, and the Hadrianeum in Rome was to have these provinces in relief against the podium.¹⁵ At the end of his reign Hadrian dedicated the great temple of Venus Felix and Roma Aeterna near the Colosseum, the first and only temple to Roma in the imperial capital.¹⁶ Antoninus Pius continued

¹³ Or be a replica of a well-known type, such as the Demeter of Cherchel: G. Lippold, *Handbuch der Archäologie*, III, 1, Munich, 1950, p. 181, pl. 63, no. 4. At the same time the colossus was being carved for Porto Raphti, the Demeter of Cherchel, a type going back to the generation after Pheidias, was used for Faustina I (died A.D. 141) on Slab O of the great Antonine altar from Ephesos, in Vienna; even without her cornucopia she would be easily recognized from other copies.

¹⁴ On the great Antonine altar from Ephesos, Slab X, however, shows a Dea Roma modelled on the cult-image of the Hadrianic temple in Rome. The twenty-five slabs of this major document of Roman art in Greek Asia Minor, a monument in form similar to the Hellenistic altar of Zeus Soter at Pergamon, have not been published in their full, correct arrangement; for date (*ca.* 138-141) and bibliography, see I. S. Ryberg, *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art, M.A.A.R.*, XXII, 1955, pp. 133-134.

¹⁵ J. M. C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School*, Cambridge, 1935, pls. XXXIV-XXXVI; S. B. Platner, T. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Oxford, 1929, p. 250.

¹⁶ G. Lugli, *Roma antica. Il centro monumentale*, Rome, 1946, pp. 237-240; D. E. Strong, "Late Hadrianic Architectural Ornament in Rome," *P.B.S.R.*, XXI, 1953, pp. 122-123, 127-130, who suggests that the architect of the Trajaneum in Pergamon designed this temple and that the main order was carved in Proconnesian marble by Greeks from Asia Minor.

Hadrian's policy of honoring cities and provinces in the arts, and the nine hundredth anniversary of the founding of Rome, celebrated in A.D. 148, brought these efforts at creating an iconography for the Roman Empire to a zenith of organized perfection.¹⁷ The Raphti was part of this whole climate of creativity.

Of the personifications suggested, I most favor the notion that the Raphti represented Oikoumene (or Orbis Terrarum). Attica as a personification does not exist in imperial art, her personality being submerged into that of Achaea. Achaea, of course, symbolized the whole of Greece, not just a section of the Peloponnesus. On Hadrianic coins she is the usual post-Pheidian lady in chiton and himation. Her attributes are athletic, the Panathenaic amphora and the victor's crown.¹⁸ The Raphti and its bronze replica give no hints of these attributes, but they would not be suited to the colossus in any case and only appear on the coins to make Achaea look different from other majestic provinces. Still, anyone with the imagination to commission or create the Raphti and drag it up to its present location could perfectly well have chosen his own attributes for Achaea, or created a statue of Attica, without worrying about the coin cutters' copy books. In arguing for the Raphti's identification as Attica, the resemblance to the Arcadia in the Herakles and Telephos painting from Herculaneum provides a telling bit of parallel evidence.¹⁹

Greek artists had begun creating monumental representations of Roma as early as the early first century B.C., when she appears in Amazon garb with other personifications of cities in the north frieze of the temple of Hekate at Lagina.²⁰ At the same time, about 90 B.C., the Poseidoniasts of Berytus set up a standing statue of Roma in their shrine on Delos.²¹ This is the truly Hellenistic Tyche-type Roma, who wears chiton and ample himation and who, if she were seated, might look very much like the Raphti. This standing figure, with cornucopia as attribute, must have been the cult image of the temple of Roma and Augustus at Ephesos; she appears within her temple on Ephesian cistophori of Claudius.²² The pan-imperial popularity of the seated Athena or Tyche-type Dea Roma, however, dates entirely from the years 135-136, when the colossal cult statue of Roma Aeterna was set in Hadrian's new temple in

¹⁷ J. M. C. Toynbee, "Some 'Programme' Coin Types of Antoninus Pius," *Classical Review*, 1925, pp. 170-173; *idem*, *Roman Medallions*, New York, 1944, pp. 143-144, and Part V; also *J.H.S.*, LXXVII, 1957, pp. 293-298.

¹⁸ Toynbee, *Hadrianic School*, pp. 25-28.

¹⁹ J. D. Beazley, B. Ashmole, *Greek Sculpture and Painting*, Cambridge, 1932, pp. 98-99, fig. 210; M. Gabriel, *Masters of Campanian Painting*, New York, 1952, pp. 27-30, especially note 6.

²⁰ M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York, 1955, p. 165, fig. 705.

²¹ Ch. Picard, *Exploration de Délos*, VI, Paris, 1921, p. 7, fig. 6, pp. 56-60, figs. 52-53; R. Horn, *Stehende weibliche Gewandstatuen in der hellenistischen Plastik*, Berlin, 1931, p. 77.

²² Vermeule, *The Goddess Roma*, pl. V, no. 18; C. H. V. Sutherland, *Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy*, London, 1951, pp. 135, 209, pl. XIII, no. 1.

the capital.²³ The Raphti cannot copy this statue, for the positions of raised and lowered arms are reversed. With attributes of grain, an orb and a mural crown, there is a slight chance the Raphti presented a Greek imperial concept of Roma as the Tyche of the imperial world.

On coins of Hadrian's geographical or travel series, Orbis Terrarum wears a mural crown and a long chiton covered by an ample himation, and supports a large globe on her left knee. In her *Hadriatic School*, J. M. C. Toynbee pointed out that this globe is the very symbol of Orbis Terrarum herself. Toynbee goes on to note (p. 24) that, in the imperial age, "the term was applied to the Roman Empire as comprising within its boundaries the civilized earth and the cities thereof, as being, in fact, the final development of the Hellenistic conception of a universal kingdom of civilized humanity."²⁴ On the Gemma Augustea in Vienna, Oikoumene or Orbis Terrarum in Tyche costume stands behind Augustus and crowns him with an oak wreath.²⁵ A statue base from Hierapytna in Crete describes Marcus Aurelius as *κύριος τῆς οἰκουμένης*.²⁶ In the Raphti and its likely replica in bronze, ears of grain would fit the notion of universal or world-wide prosperity perfectly. Whether erected under Hadrian or his successor, whether by imperial order or by a wealthy patron such as Herodes Atticus, the Raphti as Oikoumene would have made a perfect symbol of imperial policy in the Greek world. Like the inscription at Hierapytna, the statue would have embodied the type of compliment to the emperor which Greek minds in the second century after Christ regarded as the ultimate in a successful political policy.

SEARCH FOR THE SECOND STATUE

REMAINS ON RAPHTOPOULA AND PRASONISI ISLANDS

On 26 August 1960 Arthur Steinberg and I made a thorough investigation of the two smaller islands, the Raptopoula island and Prasonisi, in search of traces of the second statue. We took a boat to the former, walked the island, and searched the

²³ Vermeule, *op. cit.*, pp. 89 ff., 107.

²⁴ *The Hadriatic School*, p. 24, where the parallels are collected.

²⁵ A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1900, I, pl. 56, II, p. 257; E. S. Strong, *Cambridge Ancient History, Volume of Plates IV*, pp. 156-157, where the wreath is identified as the *corona civica*.

²⁶ *C.I.G.*, II, 2581; Toynbee, *op. cit.*, p. 25, note 2, gives the text. The statue may have shown the emperor in the pose of Virtus, with foot placed on the orb; such a pose is employed for the cuirassed Hadrian from Hierapytna, although the orb is replaced by a youthful Jewish captive; see *A.J.A.*, LXI, 1957, pp. 232-237, especially note 73. There was a pendant statue of Lucius Verus, dating in the years 163-165, *I.G.R.R.*, IV, 1015, 1016. Other variations of this title are found in statues of the Antonines and the Severans from Idebessus in Lycia (Commodus, *I.G.R.R.*, III, 644), Moulassa in Pisidia (Septimius Severus, *I.G.R.R.*, III, 384) and Milyas in Pisidia (all rulers of both families, *I.G.R.R.*, III, 386-390).

waters immediately around the island, both with a glass-bottomed bucket from the boat and with diving equipment in the water. Despite rough weather, we were also able to swim to the smaller island and to explore the harbor bottom in the immediate vicinity. The results were disappointing. There are cuttings and a flat, rectangular platform near the peak of the Raphtopoula island which suggest setting for a base similar to that supporting the Raphti. Fragments of white marble, not related to the geological formations of the island, were found in the immediate area (Pl. 26, d). We also found several large limestone blocks lying under water just to the west of the island, at the point where small boats land and depart.

Dodwell refers to the statue having been removed before his time and states that only "a niche of white marble" remained. We found no such aedicula. The alternative is that Dodwell, sailing past, mistook one of the very rectangular natural niche-like inlets on the south and north side of the island for the niche in which the statue stood. In certain light some of the rocks do look bleached, from the crushed pebbles and shells thrown on them by the sea. On the other hand, there is no reason to think that if Dodwell saw a marble naiskos it was necessarily the niche which contained the statue seen by earlier travelers. Travelers such as Stuart are explicit in describing the second statue, but no one mentions a niche with it. Maybe the "niche" was all that remained of the base blocks of the Raphtopoula in the early nineteenth century.

On the southwest slope of the Raphtopoula island we found traces of wall or house foundations. They could be Roman or Byzantine. Sherds on this island cover the principal periods represented on the surrounding mainland: Mycenaean, early Hellenistic, and Roman. We also found obsidian. On Prasonisi we saw house (foundations) walls on the southeast side, walls like those excavated on the Koroni peninsula. The Roman and Byzantine pottery on this island is very abundant, particularly near or at the southwest corner. This was, as now, the area where small boats could tie up in complete safety and larger ones could be hauled up on the sand.

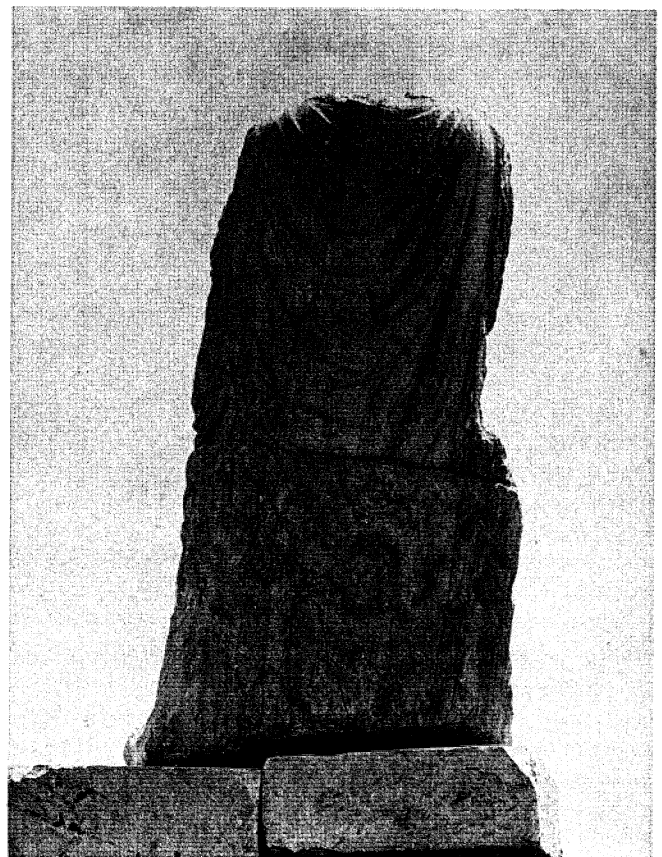
The abundance of Roman pottery fragments on the Raphti and Raphtopoula islands stem no doubt from a variety of reasons. Continuous settlement cannot have been among these, for both islands offer nothing except security in times of trouble. If, on the other hand, the conjecture that the two statues also served as light-houses or beacons is admissible, then there must have been provisions for lighthouse keepers to be in residence on each island. The distances from the harbor are just a bit too great and the sea very frequently too rough to permit the lightkeeper to live on the mainland and look after his lights.

CORNELIUS C. VERMEULE

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS
BOSTON



a. Front



b. Rear

The Raphti



c. Right Profile



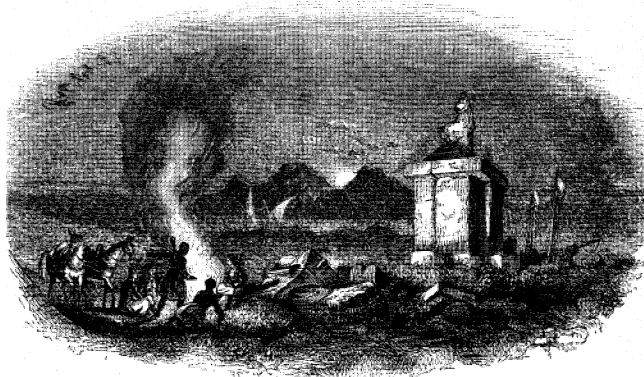
d. Left Profile



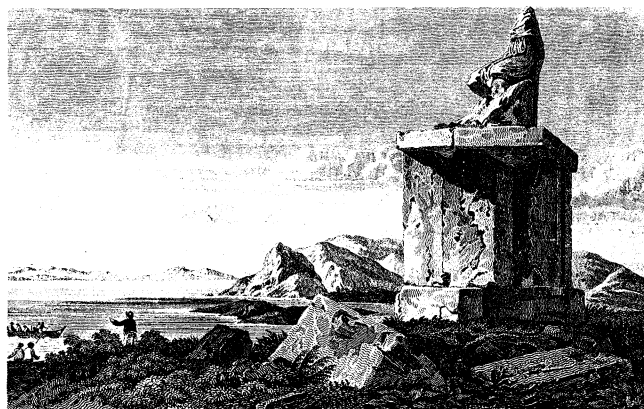
a. The Raphti and Base, 1935



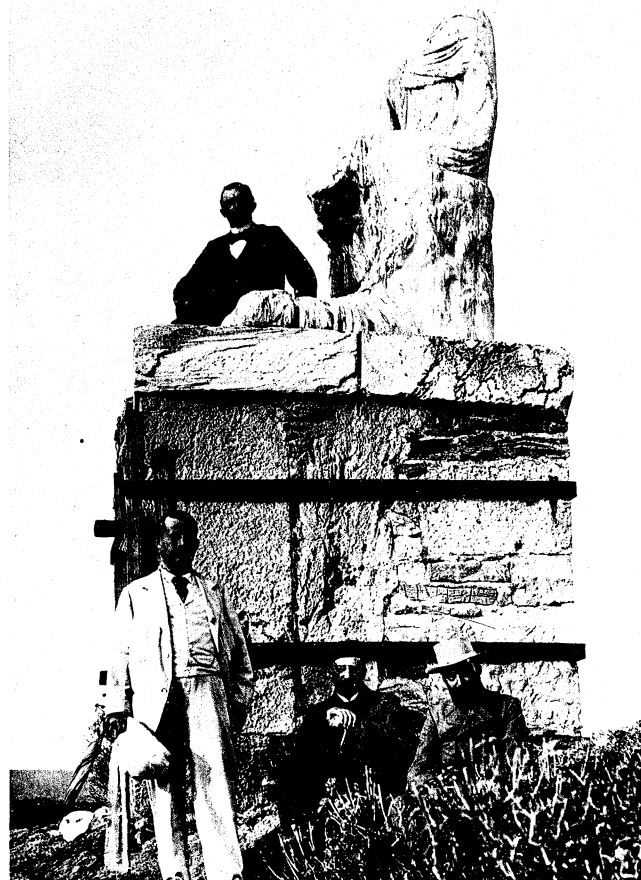
b. The Raphti and Base, 1960



c. The Raphti, from Wordsworth's *Greece*, 1840



d. The Raphti, from Dodwell's *Tour Through Greece*, 1819



e. The Raphti with German Travellers, 19th century



a. Raphti and Raptopoula Islands from Ptolemaic Camp on Koroni



b. Raphti Island from Entrance to Porto Raphti Harbor



c. The Raphti, Detail



d. Raptopoula Island, Cuttings for Base and Possible Fragments of Statue

CORNELIUS VERMEULE: THE COLOSSUS OF PORTO RAPHTI IN ATTICA



With Orb Restored



Bronze Statuette of Oikoumene. Private Collection