

Naxos and its Contribution to Greek Sculpture

When literary authorities give practically no information about the style or works of sculptors of a certain locality, much less name the artists themselves, it is exceedingly difficult to form any kind of a precise opinion or to make a definite statement concerning the artistic development of that locality. This is exactly the case with the island of Naxos. A few authors like Pliny, Stephen of Byzantium, Athenaeus and Diodorus Siculus give some passing remarks as to the agricultural products and early history of the island and Herodotus in places narrates briefly some episodes in its later history, but Pausanias is the only ancient author come down to us who refers to a Naxian artist and his works¹, and even here an emendation of the text is necessary to make the meaning clear. It happens that a great many statues of Naxian marble exist, either on the island itself or on other islands or in various museums, and authorities today, seemingly without being able to come to a common and definite agreement, have selected each one a group of these, varying in the number of statues, which they claim as representative of the art of Naxos. It therefore is my purpose in this paper to try to reconcile their theories as much as possible and to determine whether a Naxian school of sculpture actually existed, keeping in mind the political status of the island, which always plays an important rôle in influencing art.

Pliny tells us that Naxos was the largest of the Cyclades, that it was formerly called Strongyle and later, Dia, Dionysia, from its cult of vines, and Little Sicily, a reference to its natural fertility, and that the city of Naxos was called Callipolis². Athenaeus relates how

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V, 10, 3.

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N. H., IV, 12, 22.

Archilochus compares Naxian wine to nektar¹ and says that Dionysus was called the god of the fig harvest and vine and was worshipped as Dionysus Meilichius². // This, as we shall see later³, points to an important worship of the god in the island. Herodotus also tells us that Naxos surpassed all other islands in prosperity, thus bearing out Pliny's view of its great productiveness. LaCroix in his "Iles de la Grèce"⁴ states that Naxos in the sixth century was the richest and most powerful of the Cyclades, possessing Andros and Paros and a good fleet, though poor harbors. The latter part of this statement would seem almost incompatible were it not for the fact that Clarke⁵ emphasizes its lack of good harbors as being due to no deep indentations of the coast.

Before proceeding to an examination of the sculptural remains of the island, a brief summary of its history may not be out of place. Rochette⁶ states that the first inhabitants of Naxos mentioned by history were Thracians who united themselves to the Pelasgians there. Later came an Elean colony and then a Carian one, related doubtless to the Cretans. The Carian king, Naxus or Naxos, gave his name to the island. Stephen of Byzantium⁷ mentions two possibilities of the island's name, either from Naxos, the Carian leader, or from Naxos, the son of Endymion, the leader of the Elean colony. We know from Diodorus that Naxos, then called Dia, was an early habitation of pirates under Butes, a son of Boreas, the leader of the Thracians,⁸ and that later the Carians came under Naxos⁹. It was under the rule of this prince's successors that Theseus abandoned Ariadne on the island, to be found presently by Dionysus. The last colonists to settle on the island were Ionians in the

¹ I, 30, f. ² III, 78, c. ³ V, 28. ⁴ p. 461
⁵ Travels, VI, p. 112, note 1. ⁶ Col. Grecq. II, 54.
⁷ s.v. Naxos. ⁸ V, 50. ⁹ V, 51.

ninth century B.C.

According to Herodotus¹, Pisistratus is said to have conquered Naxos and to have given it over to Lygdamis, though from another source² we are given to understand that the revolution in Naxos was of home growth and had no foreign interference; a faction arose over an insult offered by aristocrats to a man beloved by the people and Lygdamis, overcoming the aristocrats, became king. This would seem to show that Naxos changed from an oligarchy to a tyranny. Later, upon Pisistratus' second expulsion, Lygdamis was able to repay his debt to the Athenian by sending him men and money for the recovery of Athens³. In 504 B.C. certain Naxian nobles, being ousted from power at home, fled to Aristagoras, the regent of Miletus, and besought his aid. The latter sent a Persian fleet to besiege the island, but the inhabitants warned in time made⁴ adequate preparations and nothing was accomplished by the invaders. In connection with this event the writer mentions the great amount of treasure and slaves on Naxos and, moreover, causes Aristagoras in reply to the Naxian nobles to say that the islanders have at hand eight thousand soldiers and a great many ships. From this it may be seen that Naxos at this time was at the zenith of her power and must have maintained great commercial and industrial relations with other countries. We also see that the island continually seethed with the strife of factious parties, first an oligarchy, then a tyranny and finally a democracy being in power.

We are also informed by Herodotus⁵ that, when the Persian fleet sailed for Greece about 491 B.C. during the first invasion by Darius, it captured Naxos on the way and took vengeance for its former repulse by burning all the temples and the town. However, most of the inhabi-

¹ I, 64.

² Athenaeus, VIII, 348.

³ Herod. I, 61.

⁴ Herod. V, 30-34.

⁵ VI, 96.

tants fled to the hills and thereby escaped. We shall later see how this wanton destruction seriously affected Naxian art. Just before the battle of Salamis in 480 B.C. four Naxian ships appeared among the other reënforcements to help the Athenians¹. They were originally sent to join the Medes, which probably indicates that Naxos remained under Persian domination since 491 B.C., but the sailors voted to fight with the Greeks and Herodotus ends the statement with the patriotic explanation = *Νάξιοι δὲ εἰς Ἴωνες ἀπὸ Ἀθηνέων γεγορότες* =; thus anticipating the statement of Aelian² that the Ionian colonists were the last ones received by Naxos.

Later we learn³ that Naxos was besieged and captured by Cimon in 469 B.C. because the Naxians had revolted and tried to withdraw from the Delian League, and that thenceforth for a time at least the inhabitants lost their autonomy. Two other sources⁴ describe the sending of a cleruchy of five hundred Athenians under Tolmides to Naxos in 447 B.C. during the rule of Pericles that Athens might be somewhat alleviated of its burden of the lazy and idle classes. The last reference to Naxos in ancient times that is preserved to us is by Appian⁵ who says that Antony gave Naxos together with some other islands to Rhodes and later took them away because Rhodes ruled them too harshly.

All our evidence at hand points to Naxos as a very old seat of the worship of Dionysus in particular, though other gods also received homage there. That this is true is shown by the statements of the ancient authors who mention especially the unsurpassed wine of the island and its cult of the vine. We have seen how there existed in Naxos from early times a worship of Dionysus Mellichius. Diodorus⁶ relates that

¹ Herod. VIII, 46. ² Hist. Var., VIII, 5. ³ Thucyd., I, 98.
⁴ Plut. Pericles, XI; Paus. I, 27, 6. ⁵ Bellum Civile, V, 7. ⁶ V, 52.

the babe Dionysus was reared there at Zeus' command. According to Farnell¹, Dionysus was an important divinity of Thrace and Crete which, as has been stated before, furnished the first populations of Naxos. Finally, actual remains testify to the worship of the god in the island; medals, gems, coins and signets have been found in Naxos with representations of the bearded god, often accompanied by his rout of satyrs,² and also a fragment of his bust crowned with ivy has come to light. At Komiaki a huge, unfinished colossus is to be seen lying in a stone quarry; this will be discussed later, but it may be said now that the partial presence of a beard indicates that the figure represents Dionysus, not Apollo. On an insular rock just off the port of Naxos and close to the shore stand the few remains of a temple to Dionysus, consisting of the frame of the door and part of the foundations with a Doric capital lying nearby.³

Travelers today in Naxos may see boundary stones with inscriptions which testify that other gods were also worshipped there and may have had sanctuaries. Two stones referring to Zeus bear the words = Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου⁴ = and = ὄρος Διὸς Μηλωσίου⁵; the latter designates Zeus as "guardian of flocks". Another stone with the inscription = ὄρος Ἀπόλλωνος⁶ = was found in the quarry where the huge colossus lies. In connection with this last may be mentioned both the statement of Stephen of Byzantium⁷, that at Tragea, a town of the island, Apollo was

¹ Cults of the Greek States, V, chap. iv, p. 85 ff. Clarke,
 Travels, VI, p. 104 ff. ³ Clarke, op. cit., p. 107-110; Expédition
 Scientifique de Morée, III, pl. 24.
⁴ C.I.G., 2417. ⁵ C.I.G., 2418. ⁶ C.I.G., 2419.
⁷ s.v. Tragea.

worshipped under the epithet of "Tragean", and a stone with the inscription = ὄρος τεκένους τοῦ ὕτου καὶ Ἐφιάλτου¹ -, reminding us of Pindar's reference to Otus and Ephialtes, slain in Naxos by Apollo².

Unfortunately, it cannot be determined whether these stones are in situ but, as no temple or sanctuary remains have been discovered as yet, the chances are that they are not in their original positions.

Pliny tells us that Naxian emery was long used by the ancients and was the best of all the stones to be used as a whetstone for sharpening blades and polishing gems and marble³. Lepsius, in his "Griechesche Marmorstudien", has successfully tested and classified the various kinds of Naxian marble according to their source, and it is practically certain now that the marble of Paros and Naxos was the best and that most commonly used in the sixth century and the quarries of Pentelicus were not extensively worked until the fifth century; even then Parian marble had a wide circulation, but Naxian marble seems by that time to have ceased to be used. In general Naxian marble is very coarse-grained, what the German critics call "ganz grobkörnigen Inselmarmor", Pentelic marble is very fine-grained and Parian occupies a position midway between them; however, it must be understood that there are exceptions to these three classes and in parts of Naxos, especially in the north at Tragea, there is a finer-grained marble to be found. Sauer, in his article on "Altnaxische Marmorkunst"⁴, although recognizing the wide exportation of Naxian marble to other islands and countries and admitting that it is not safe to explain the sculptures of this material found outside of Naxos or at least the district of the Cyclades as

¹ C.I.G., 2420.

² Pyth., IV, 88.

³ N.H., XXXVI, 6, 9; 7, 10;

22, 47; XXXVII, 8, 32.

⁴ Ath.Mitth. XVII, p. 37-79.

products of Naxian art on account of their marble alone¹, nevertheless bases his large group of sculptures of so-called Naxian workmanship on the mere fact that they are made of Naxian marble, either coarse or fine-grained. Sauer is right in saying that we must get information from the monuments themselves since literary remains fail us, but, to me at least, he seems to make a mistake in beginning with the characteristic of material which he acknowledges to have a subordinate rôle in most similar cases, due to the fact of its wide exportation and the chances that other schools of sculpture might also use it. For instance artists of Chios might use Naxian marble for their works and we would fall into a great error if we attributed their works to Naxian artists by reason of the marble alone.

According to Sauer², if we group a considerable number of sculptures within the given mass of them as stylistically similar and prove that they are of certain Naxian workmanship, we can assert that these sculptures represent the Naxian work in marble. He also claims that all the monuments included in his long list take their origin from Naxos and that among them large and small groups are bound together by similar traits and call attention to the fact that certain peculiarities of type and style are found in places distant from one another and in works of similar material³. Most of these sculptures are of the coarse-grained marble mentioned above, but the fact that Naxos produced finer-grained marble as well allows us, he says, to include in the list those of the finer-grained stone. Lastly Sauer claims⁴ that, since the Hera of Samos figure in the Louvre and the female torso and the bust of the female figure in the Acropolis Museum stylistically belong together, form a

¹ op. cit., p. 45.

² op. cit., p. 45.

³ op. cit., p. 46.

⁴ op. cit., p. 47.

group by themselves apart from all other archaic female figures and without opposition have been explained as Samian since the Hera figure comes from Samos and bears a Samian inscription and all three figures are un-Attic in style, he has the right to repeat the grounds for the relationship of his list of monuments and under a changed point of view designate this group of marble statues as Naxian. The one flaw in his argument which unfortunately shatters his whole theory is that, with the exception of the Alxenor stele, which being a relief and somewhat later than the other sculptures can be safely left out of the reckoning, we possess no work definitely known to be Naxian which we can use as an example of Naxian art and which at the same time is well enough preserved to show distinctive characteristics^c of face and hair; similarity of anatomical details is never a sure basis of assigning a statue to a school, but it is generally agreed that an artist will bring out the special traits of his school in modeling the face and treating the hair. Therefore it may be seen from the very nature of the case that Sauer bases his listing a large group of sculptures as Naxian upon the material and, to a lesser degree, upon the similarity of details in the modeling of the body. Just as most artists succeeded in portraying feet better at an earlier stage than the rest of the body and portrayed them in the same way, so we find that on most of the nude female statues the bodies are represented in general with the same contour and proportions and development of muscles, but each face differs in some particulars from the others. Hence the treatment of the mouth, eyes, ears and hair must play the major rôle in deciding the style of the statue.

Let us first examine the works that, according to Sauer¹, directly or indirectly show Naxian origin and, according to Deonna², are surely

¹ op.cit., p. 45.

² Les Apollons Archaiques, p. 309.

Naxian. In doing this we must remember that both these critics are somewhat vague in distinguishing between "made in Naxos" and "made by Naxian artists", terms which by no means have the same connotation. Deonna employs the word "origine" and Sauer, "Herkunst", which literally mean "the place where an article is made", but they seem in many places to expand the word into "workmanship", so we must be on our guard and distinguish the one from the other.

There exist today in Naxos three colossi or fragments of colossi at Flerio, Pharangi and Komiaki and there are also two torsos in private possession on the island. The Flerio colossus is unfinished and represents the archaic nude "Apollo" figure as do also the others; it is 5m. 50 in height and lies on its back, but the head is merely rough-hewn and shows no details of modeling so that it is impossible to discern the style. At Pharangi there is a fragment of a roughly-worked colossus with the head and legs missing; its length is about 2m. The third is the well-known colossus seen and described by Ross, Bent and Clarke; it measures 10m. 50 in length with the left foot slightly advanced, the conventional pose of the "Apollo" figures, and the arms joined to the body as far as the elbows and then extended in front. Locks of hair remain around the forehead and the fact that it is bearded and shows traces of clothing proves that it represented Dionysus, and was not an "Apollo". Deonna would also claim Naxian origin for the two torsos in private possession on the island. One of these is only 28cm. long and the other is 1m. 55; the latter has the head preserved but

¹ Sauer, op. cit., p. 44, no. 45; Deonna, op. cit., p. 221, no. 120.

² Deonna, op. cit., p. 221, no. 121; Sauer, op. cit., p. 44, note 2

³ Ross, Inselreisen, pl. opp. p. 208; Sauer, op. cit., p. 46, no. 47.

⁴ op. cit., p. 39.

⁵ Cyclades, p. 361.

⁶ op. cit., p. 107.

⁷ op. cit., p. 311

badly mutilated, and the former lacks the head so that it is altogether impossible to draw any conclusions from that member. Here might be mentioned also the unfinished statue transported from the quarries of Naxos to Athens and now in the National Museum¹; again it is in such an incomplete state that no details can be made out. In regard to the statues so far mentioned and in defence of the theory that they are Naxian, we can adduce the material, the coarse-grained marble of Naxos, and the fact that they were found on the island itself; but the features are so indistinct due to the unfinished state of the works and so often the head and other parts are entirely missing that we cannot be sure but that artists other than Naxian might have done the preliminary cutting and then have left the statues because of some fault in their work. At any rate we cannot positively call them the work of Naxian sculptors, but we may say that in all probability Naxian artists worked on them.

On the island of Delos there still lie two large pieces of a huge colossus of Naxian marble dedicated by the Naxians to Apollo², which has been described by such travelers as Tournefort³ and Dapper⁴. Deonna gives a good description of the two pieces of the torso and also of the base which lies near the remains of the temple of Apollo; suffice it here to say that one inscription on the base in very early sixth cen-

¹ Sauer, op.cit., p.46, no.48; Gardner, J.H.S., 1890, p.129ff.fig.1; Deonna, op.cit., p.219, no.116; Collignon, Sculp.Grecq., I, p.115, fig.57.

² Sauer, op.cit., p.42, no.34; Deonna, op.cit., p.191, no.81; B.C.H. 1893, p.129ff., pl.V.

³ Relation d'un Voyage dans le Levant, I, pl. at page 111.

⁴ Description exacte des Iles de l'Archipel, pl. at page 368.

tury letters records that the statue and base were made of the same
 stone and that another inscription of later date records the Naxians
 as dedicators¹. The head is entirely missing although we can see from
 remains on the back that the hair was treated in a series of curls end-
 ing in spirals and at the waist of both fragments one can distinguish
 a row of small holes which Furtwaengler² and Homolle supposed supported
 a girdle; with two exceptions that we shall notice later, this colossus
 is the only statue of the "Apollo" type that shows traces of a girdle.
 On Delos also was found the Nicandra statue which is now in the Nation-
 al Museum at Athens³. This represents a female figure of the *ξόανον* type
 made of Naxian marble in the simplest possible form and comparable to
 a flattened column. The inscription on the figure states that a Naxian
 woman, Nicandra, dedicated it to Artemis on Delos and the character of
 the inscription can put the date back as far as the end of the seventh
 century. This statue can teach us as little of the Naxian style as the
 Naxian colossus since it is plank-like in shape with no attempt at
 modeling though it greatly resembles a torso in the Delos museum to be
 mentioned later. Indeed, it is not certain that either the Naxian co-
 lossus or the Nicandra figure were the works of Naxian artists; they
 were merely dedicated by Naxians. However, we may safely suppose that,
 if the Naxians dedicated such things, they would employ Naxian artists,
 especially if their island was the seat of an important school of ar-
 tists. In a corner of the precinct of Apollo at Delos stands a large,
 triangular base ornamented with Gorgons' heads at two corners and a

¹ C.I.G., 10.

² Arch. Zeitung, 1882, p.329.

³ Brunn-Bruckmann, Denkmäler, pl.57a; Ath.Mitth., 1892, p.43, no.36;
 B.C.H., 1879, p.99ff., pl.I; Collignon, Sculp.Grecq., I, p.120, fig.59.

ram's head at the third and bearing on top the remains of the feet of the statue which formerly stood on it¹; from the position of the feet it may be inferred that the figure was of the "Apollo" type with the left foot advanced. The inscription on the base records that Iphicartides, the Naxian, made and dedicated the statue and the character of the letters assign it to the last part of the seventh century, thus emphasizing Collignon's statement that this is the oldest signature of a Greek artist preserved to us. Alas! we possess the signature of a Naxian artist, but the statue is lost save for the feet which indicate its probable position; however, the inscription is important in helping us to date the beginnings of Naxian art.

To turn from the Cyclades to the mainland of Greece, we find that among the great number of statues discovered on the Acropolis in 1886-1887 two occupy an isolated position by reason of their coarse-grained marble and the style of the drapery. These represent two female figures, one lacking the head and feet², the other having only the head and upper part of the body preserved³. The first figure by reason of the incised lines indicating the drapery, the style of the drapery itself, the position of the arms and its form in general, the *Ξόανον* type, greatly resembles the Hera of Samos figure, dedicated by Cheram-

¹ B.C.H., XII, p.463ff., pl.XIII; Collignon, *Sculp.Grecq.*, I, p.130, fig. 65; Sauer, *op.cit.*, p.43, no.35.

² Eph.Arch., 1888, pl.VI; B.C.H., 1890, p.136ff.; Dickins, *Cat.of Acrop.Museum*, no.619; Sauer, *op.cit.*, p.40, no.20.

³ Gardner, *Greek Sculpture*, I, p.115, fig.12; Collignon, *Sculp.Grecq.*, I, p.165, fig.75; B.C.H., 1890, p.132ff; Sauer, *op.cit.*, p.40, no.19; Dickins, *Cat.of Acrop.Museum*, no.677.

yes and now in the Louvre¹. All three of these figures are similar in that the position of the left arm and the marble is identical and the treatment of the drapery is almost the same. In each case the left hand is placed on the breast and holds some votive offering, probably a pomegranate, if we may judge from other similar statues. The consistency of the drapery is shown by the incised lines being nearer together or farther apart and, since its treatment on the two Acropolis figures is almost exactly the same, we may conjecture that the head now lost of the one resembled closely the preserved head of the other. Moreover, it may be noticed that on the head now preserved the eyelids are indicated merely by incised lines and the hair is parted in the middle and drawn across the forehead in parallel grooves. A band tied in a knot in back holds the hair in place; the mouth is quite devoid of expression with a downward curve at each end, and on the whole the face shows surprisingly shallow modeling and a lack of character, for the surface is treated only in a broad manner and details are left out. In fact the face seems to form three planes represented by the front and the two sides; the ears are placed somewhat too high and lie close against the head. According to Furtwaengler² and Lechat³, all three of these statues are Samian because one of them, the Cheramyas figure, was found in Samos and the incised lines indicate the influence of the Samian bronze technique which was highly perfected in that island. It must be noticed that the assignment of these works to Samos bears no certainty for it does not follow that because a statue was found in Samos, the artist was Samian. Recently two statues were

¹ B.C.H., 1880, p. 483, pls. XIII, XIV; Collignon, op. cit., p. 162, fig. 73; Sauer, op. cit., p. 44, no. 42; Brunn-Bruckmann, Denkmäler, pl. 56.

² Meisterwerke, p. 714.

³ Au Musée de l'Acropole, p. 403.

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found in Samos, one with an inscription recording its dedication to Hera by Aeacus, the father of Polycrates of Samos; it does not necessarily follow that the artist was Samian, but the fact that in the treatment of the drapery and anatomical details they greatly resemble the statues of Miletus and the seated figures of Branchidae leads Deonna to attack the former theory that Samian art differed widely from that of Miletus and to form instead a Samo-Milesian school. Both these last-named statues exhibit the same heaviness and massiveness that we notice in the Branchidae figures, and a description of the Aeacus figure would almost exactly fit the statue of Chares, ruler of Teichioussa. Through this discovery and the fact that their heads bear no resemblance to that of the so-called "Samian" statue of the Acropolis Museum, Deonna and Klein³ revert to Sauer's belief that these last-named statues are Naxian.

Perhaps the strongest reason for assigning the Acropolis female head to Naxos is its great likeness to the head of the Naxian Sphinx at Delphi⁴. This resemblance is admitted by most authorities and, as Deonna says, Lechat's description of the female head on the Acropolis can easily be applied to the Sphinx⁵. The special points of likeness appear in the treatment of the hair, eyelids, mouth and cheeks; the same flatness of modeling and lack of expression is evident. We know from the inscription on the base that the Sphinx was dedicated by the Naxians at Delphi, although this does not prove it a work of Naxian artists. We may reasonably suppose that it is the work of a Naxian sculptor, however, and if we assign the female head to that island on

¹ Ath. Mitth., 1906, p. 87-88, pls. X-XII, p. 151 ff. pl. XIV. ² op. cit., p. 289.

³ Gesch. der Griech. Kunst, I, p. 136.

⁴ Fouilles de Delphes, IV, pls. V, VI, VIa.

⁵ Au Musée, p. 393 ff.

the basis of its resemblance to the Sphinx, we must also include the other female statue on the Acropolis and the figure in the Louvre, which, as we have said before, are closely akin to the Acropolis bust by reason of similarity of drapery.

If the Acropolis head resembles that of the Sphinx, so also does it resemble that of an archaic "Apollo" statue of Naxian marble found at Ptoion in Boeotia and now in the National Museum at Athens¹. Gardner was the first to state the similarity² and his belief is favored by Furtwaengler³ and Lechat⁴. The Ptoion figure exhibits the same treatment of hair and facial features that we noticed in the case of the Acropolis head and in the mouth in particular we see the same downward curve. Sauer would refer this statue along with the Acropolis head to the Naxian school, while Furtwaengler and his associates, standing on the belief that the female head is Samian, are obliged to claim the Ptoion figure as also a product of that island; Furtwaengler⁵ even goes so far as to recognize Egyptian influence in the latter, and this is not surprising since Samos was known to be in close relations with Egypt. Most of these critics also recognize the close resemblance between the head of the Sphinx, the female head and the head of the Ptoion statue, but, whereas Klein refers the last two to Naxian art through the inscription on the base of the Sphinx, Furtwaengler remains fast by his Samian theory and makes the two last products of Samos. Collignon⁶ goes in another direction and places the Ptoion figure as

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, Denkmäler, pl. 12 (right); B.C.H., X, pl. IV; J.H.S., 1887, p. 189, fig. 6; Sauer, op. cit., p. 39, no. 5; Deonna, op. cit., p. 153, fig. 28; Gardner, Greek Sculpture, I, p. 150, fig. 24. ² J.H.S., 1890, p. 132

³ Meisterwerke, p. 714. ⁴ B.C.H., 1890, p. 138, note 1.

⁵ op. cit., p. 713. ⁶ Sculp. Grecque, I, p. 196.

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a product of Boeotian art and in this he is supported by Overbeck¹.

Of the works so far mentioned, the base signed by Iphicartides is certainly the work of a Naxian artist, while the others, with the exception of the Acropolis statues, the Louvre and Ptoion figures, may in all probability be assigned to Naxian sculptors since they either lie or once lay on the island itself or bear inscriptions to the effect that they are dedications of the Naxians. We may also reasonably claim Naxian workmanship for the Acropolis, Louvre and Ptoion statues on the ground of their close resemblance among themselves and, more especially, to a work known to be dedicated by Naxians. The works that we are to consider hereafter can be connected with Naxian art only by their resemblance to certain other sculptures already described, which in turn have been compared to works whose attribution to Naxian artists cannot be fixed with certainty. It is evident, therefore, that this "second-hand" comparison will reduce by a third at least the chances that the sculptures about to be treated can be of Naxian workmanship, for the remoter the relationship of certain works to others, the greater the probability that traits and characteristics foreign to that particular school may appear in the work.

In the Berlin Museum there is an archaic "Apollo" torso found on Naxos with the head,² left arm and lower part of the legs from the knees downward lost. This statue is of Naxian marble and bears a strong resemblance to the Ptoion figure in anatomical details, especially in the representation of the chest and arm muscles, and the tendency to treat the surface only in a general way and to omit details.

¹ *Gesch. der Griech. Plastik*, I, p. 209.
no. 117, figs. 147, 148; Sauer, *op. cit.*, p. 44, no. 44; Kekulé, *Die Griech. Skulptur*, fig. at p. 49-50.

² Deonna, *op. cit.*, p. 220,

The museum at Eleusis contains an "Apollo" statue found at Eleusis itself which is made of Naxian marble and lacks the front part of the face and the legs below ¹the knees as well as having the upper part of the legs badly battered. The slender form of the statue, the anatomical treatment ^{and} again the tendency to general modeling with omission of details reminds us of the Ptoion and Berlin figures. The most striking thing is the great resemblance in the treatment of its hair to the Ptoion figure and the Acropolis head; it is portrayed in straight lines around the forehead and temples and on top, while over the neck and on the shoulders we notice horizontal and vertical lines crossing each other and making small squares.

The Louvre possesses two torsos of archaic "Apollo" figures found at Actium ²; they both lack the head and the legs below the knees, but the one with the lower half of the left arm missing is of a finer-grained marble than the other which is made of the coarse-grained marble of Naxos. Deonna would claim the former as of Naxian workmanship because in form and in the general treatment of muscles and the chest it resembles the Berlin statue. Sauer claims both torsos and defends his choice of the former by the discovery of marble at Tragea which is quite fine-grained. However, it should be noticed that the treatment of the hair on the statue chosen by Deonna bears little or no similarity to that of the Berlin figure for the hair on the Berlin "Apollo" forms a straight, horizontal line as it terminates on the shoulders and on the Actium torso it forms a curved line except between the shoulders where it seems to end in a sort of queue. On the other hand, the Ptoion figure in respect to the curved line formed by the

¹ Deonna, op.cit., p.142, no.19, figs.19-21.
² Brunn-Bruckmann, Denkmäler, pl.76; Deonna, op.cit., p.127, nos.1,2, figs.1,2,3; Sauer, op.cit., p.39, nos.2,3.

hair on the shoulders is quite similar to the Actium torso, except that the hair of the former ends in no queue. Furtwaengler¹ and Collignon² admit that the two Actium torsos resemble each other very much and, if we remember that the material of both statues came from Naxos and believe that treatment of hair plays a major rôle in characterizing a school of artists, it would seem that by the comparisons just made both torsos might very reasonably be attributed to Naxian workmanship. Other authorities would assign them to Boeotian or Peloponnesian artists, but the general slenderness and comparative length of the upper and lower parts of the body seem to put them at least in an island school of the Aegean and not the Peloponnesian or Boeotian class where the nude, male form is often very stocky and shorter in proportion.

The Delos museum possesses three torsos found on that island which are made of Naxian marble. They range from 56cm. to 85cm. in height and two of them are so frayed and weathered that it is very difficult to speak of style in relation to them. The first torso, possessing the head and body as far as the waist but lacking the arms, represents a female figure, according to Sauer, probably on account of its great resemblance to the Nicandra statue. Deonna recognizes it as masculine and would willingly attribute it to a Naxian artist because it is made of Naxian marble, resembles the Nicandra figure and its waist, as well as that of the second torso, bears a girdle in relief; the only other statue bearing evidence of a girdle is the Naxian colossus and, since this is quite possibly Naxian, it forms the grounds for

¹ Arch. Zeitung, 1882, p. 52.

² B.C.H., 1881, p. 320.

³ Deonna,

op. cit., p. 199, no. 82, figs. 91-93; Sauer, op. cit., p. 48, no. B.

⁴ Deonna, op. cit., p. 201, no. 83, figs. 94-96.

assigning the two torsos to Naxos. The third torso¹ which lacks the head greatly resembles the first one in the flatness of the modeling and the plane-like appearance of the front and back.

The mention of two other works will complete our list of the remains which may be attributed to Naxian art and one of these works bears the signature of a Naxian artist. The first² is a bronze statuette found on Naxos and now in the Berlin Museum. By the inscription on the base we learn that a certain Deinagores dedicated it to the "far-darter" Apollo, and according to authorities the alphabet is probably Naxian since several of its letters resemble those of the Alxenor stele. In this statuette we see the nude, male form far advanced, for the arms entirely separated from the body extend to the front and while the right hand holds an oil-flask, the left was thought to hold a bow. The modeling of the body, too, is greatly improved, except that the calves of the legs are too massive, and the hair falls in curls over the chest. As a whole, the figure seems rather massive for the Aegean schools and yet in proportion to its size the length of the entire body is quite great.

The other work is a grave stele³ found at Orchomenos in Boeotia and now in the National Museum at Athens. It represents a bearded man, standing and draped, who leans on his staff and extends a grasshopper, held in his fingers, to a dog. The most remarkable thing about the stele is that on the bottom it bears the inscription - "Alxenor, the Naxian, made me: just look at me". The whole technique and style of

¹ Deonna, op.cit., p.209, no.93, figs.123-124.

² Fraenkel, Arch.

Zeitung, 1879, pl.VII, p.84; Collignon, Sculp. Grecque, I, p.253, fig.122.

³ Brunn-Bruckmann, Denkmäler, pl.41b; Collignon, op.cit., p.255, fig.124.

this work are far advanced over any of the previous ones that we have studied so far. In spite of the artist's mistakes in the modeling of the right shoulder and his inability to show correctly foreshortening in the case of the right foot, we must admire the theme of his subject, a scene from every-day life. Unfortunately, since this stele is in relief, we can learn little from it to enable us to make a comparison with our other works in the round. The stele of Alxenor represents a type, not a portrait, and while the archaic "Apollo" figures also represent a type, they are so different in technique, style and appearance from the Alxenor figure that no comparison can be made between them.

Let us try to arrange the works treated above in some kind of chronological order. At this point we must take into consideration the sole statement of an ancient author concerning a Naxian artist. Pausanias¹, in describing the temple of Zeus at Olympia, says that the tiles of this temple were made of Pentelic marble, not terra-cotta, and that this use of marble tiles was an invention of Byzes, a Naxian, who made images in Naxos with the inscription - *Νάξιος Εὐεργός με γένευ, Αητοῦς πόρε Βύζεω παῖς, ὃς πρῶτιστος τεύξε λίθου κέραμον*. To make the meaning clear, the emendation = *Νάξιος Εὐεργου με γένευ, Αητοῦς πόρε, Βύζης παῖς* - has been suggested. Pausanias goes on to say that this Byzes lived in the time of Alyattes, the Lydian, and Astyages, the Mede. Since we know that Alyattes reigned from 625-568 B.C., this may furnish us with criteria for the date of Byzes. Sauer, beginning with the date of Byzes as at the end of the seventh century, would place the Iphicartides base, the Nicandra figure, the remains of the three colossi in the Naxian quarries, the figure taken

¹ V, 10, 3.

from the Naxian quarries to the National Museum at Athens and the torso of the Delos museum with head and girdle preserved between 650 and 540 B.C. To the period between 540 and 500 B.C. he would assign the two Actium torsos, the Ptoion figure, the two female figures of the Acropolis Museum, the Cheramyxes statue, the colossus of the Naxians, the Berlin bronze and the Berlin "Apollo". The Alxenor stele he places at about 500 B.C. Deonna thinks the Nicandra statue, the Iphicartides base and the three Delian torsos the oldest and assigns them to the last part of the seventh century. The Naxian colossus he believes to be later both by its more advanced modeling and by the inscription, and accordingly he dates it at the beginning of the sixth century. Since the Ptoion figure must be the contemporary of the Acropolis statues and the Sphinx, he assigns them to about 550 B.C. since the inscription on the base of the Sphinx is of that period. At the same time he disapproves of Lechat's statement that the Acropolis statues are of the period during the last thirty years of the sixth century since, according to the latter, the Acropolis statue with the head preserved is earlier than the Louvre figure, which by the inscription is placed at about 500 B.C., Deonna believes that the style of the Acropolis head and the Sphinx does not suffer them to be placed before 550. Since Deonna considers the Berlin and Eleusis figures and the Actium torso of finer-grained marble to be later than the Ptoion statue by their more precise and exact modeling, he assigns them to the second half of the sixth century.

From a study of Sauer's list of statues that he would assign to Naxian art, it will be seen that none are later than the archaic period. Roughly speaking, they date from the end of the seventh century to the end of the sixth, a period of a little more than a hundred years. To explain this Sauer suggests that the long-used, coarse-grained marble was discarded for a better kind at the end of the sixth

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century. However, there may be another explanation. We know that Athens under Pisistratus became a famous resort, not only for poets and literary men but also for sculptors and other artists. As a witness to this fact, we have preserved a great number of male and female figures in the Acropolis Museum which certainly date during the last half of the sixth century. We have seen how Pisistratus helped Lygdamis to the tyranny of Naxos and how the two men mutually aided each other in keeping their power. Polycrates of Samos was a third tyrant of great power and these three must have formed a mighty force on the Aegean Sea. Now there are no literary references preserved to us at least which mention Lygdamis as a patron of art, but, as tyrants of that time were wont to attract artists for the adornment of their court and land, we may conjecture that Lygdamis was no exception. From our list of works which we would like to attribute to Naxos, by far the majority fall within or immediately after the reign of Lygdamis; just as we might expect the prosperity of the island to continue after his rule ended, so we see the Persian fleet repulsed in 504 B.C. and Naxos still very prosperous and wealthy and powerful. Indeed, there is no reason to suppose that the god's fortune of the island ceased until it was captured and utterly sacked by the Persian expedition to Greece in 491 B.C. After this date it is very likely that Naxian artists migrated to other parts of Greece; for instance we have the stele of Alxenor, the Naxian, which is made of either Boeotian or Hymettian marble and was found in Boeotia. This stele has been placed at about 500 B.C., but it is perfectly possible to assign it to a date ten years later, especially if the artist were not as advanced as others of the same period. It is safe to assume that Naxos ceased to have any importance in the field of sculpture following the Persian Wars; if it had made a new start in this field, as occurred at Athens after 480 B.C., we should expect to receive

some mention of this from the ancient authors, as well as references to Naxian artists and their works and even some remains of the works themselves. The Naxian artists that continued to work after the capture of their island by the Persians probably either were scattered in various parts of Greece, in which case their peculiar characteristics of style might soon be blended with those of the country in which they lived, or continued to inhabit the island with their technique in a rapidly-declining state. At any rate, from the fifth century on, Naxos disappears from our view as an artistic center.

In the second place we observe that nearly all the statues mentioned by Sauer are of the nude, male type. Deonna states that Sauer¹ has ranged in his group nearly all the known "Apollo" figures. From this we see that the Naxian artists had a strong predilection for the nude, male form and, comparatively speaking, spent little time on the draped, female figure which was the favorite of the Chian school. Collignon² goes so far as to say that the two types of archaic sculpture, the nude, standing, male figure and the draped, seated, female figure, were created by the schools of Naxos and Chios respectively. There is a very great difference in technique and modeling, especially in respect to the body, between the Ptoion figure and the Acropolis and Louvre female figures; the understanding of the anatomy and the ability to portray it successfully is far more advanced in the case of the male figure. Also the huge statues or remains of statues in the Naxian quarries and the Delphian Sphinx testify to the love of the Naxian artists for the colossal, and the last-named shows a certain tinge of oriental influence.

Finally we may expect the style and technique of the works attri-

¹ op.cit., p.316, note 2.

² Sculp. Grecque, I, p.253

buted to Naxian art to correspond with their size. Authorities agree that these works exhibit a shallowness of modeling and a tendency to omit details that are especially striking at the first appearance. The surface of the body is treated in a broad way and often the various parts of the anatomy seem to be somewhat misunderstood. In the case of the Acropolis figure, the Sphinx and the Ptoion "Apollo", we notice that the eyelids are indicated merely by incised lines, the ears lie close to the skull and on the whole the face has an oval shape, quite different from the Peloponnesian or Attic style. The face, too, seems to be quite devoid of expression and is of a melancholy aspect. The length and slenderness of the torso from shoulders to hips in proportion to the entire height of the body is quite great, a trait very characteristic of the islands of the Aegean and quite in contrast to the stockier and shorter torsos of the mainland schools. In respect to the artistic characteristics of Naxian art, Sauer says - "Sorglose Arbeit, eilfertige Produktion, Unsicherheit den höheren künstlerischen Anforderungen gegenüber sind ihre auffallendsten Merkmale. Ihre naive Sucht, durch Masse und Grösse ihrer Werke zu imponiren, hätte sie gänzlicher Zuchtlosigkeit verfallen lassen, wenn nicht eine plötzliche Erweiterung ihres Horizontes and die Berührung mit anderen Kunst-richtungen ihr die Notwendigkeit ernsteren Studiums und besonnener Arbeit klar gemacht hätte"¹.

It is a pity that we cannot attach such works as the Ptoion "Apollo", the Sphinx and the Acropolis and Louvre female figures to certain Naxian workmanship. If this were possible, we would have a basis for comparison with other works which we would like to assign to Naxos and, moreover, the existence of a great and important Naxian

¹ op.cit., p.68.

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school of sculpture during the archaic period would be established. As it is, we must content ourselves with the belief that the Naxian work in marble was of great antiquity and that later artists of the Peloponnesian, Argive and Attic schools of Greece proper owed much to the sculptors of this island for their efforts to model and represent the human form more freely. We cannot point out works of definite Naxian workmanship from which we may derive characteristics and traits that will teach us something about that school. We may only speculate as to the great importance and contribution to art of that comparatively small island which once was a conspicuous power in the Aegean.