

THE COLOSSUS OF PORTO RAPHTI: A ROMAN FEMALE PERSONIFICATION

(PLATE 12)

IN the course of preparing a new edition of a book written a quarter of a century ago on the iconography of Dea Roma and related imperial female personifications, it has seemed appropriate to turn again to the now much-published over-lifesized marble statue atop the conical island at the mouth of Porto Raphti in Attica. In writing about the statue in *Hesperia* (1962) and again in *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor* (1968), I was patently guilty of having assumed too much in drawing conclusions about the Raphti and its place in the iconography of Roman imperial personifications. This short summation attempts to remedy that oversight, in the light of other interpretations evidently worked out by a group of distinguished colleagues and published in these pages.¹ Since there is no need to go over the ground already covered, to begin afresh with a modern description and appraisal of the statue, this article is divided into the topics which have caused the most difficulty or confusion in understanding the iconography and interpreting the meaning of the Raphti.

Perhaps the most basic question to be treated is the sex of the divine or human figure portrayed by the statue. This question revolves around the chest of the statue, alas partly damaged and partly covered by a cloak. It also concerns whether a female in the Roman Imperial period can wear a low-girt chiton, a cloak primarily on one shoulder and down the left side, sandals or sandal-boots or bare feet, and can have the back of the cloak, less likely the same part (hem) of the chiton, or a separate cloth like a blanket spread out over the top one third of the front of the rockwork seat. I shall try to show that all these characteristics fit a female personification of the period roughly A.D. 80 to 200 and that they are uncharacteristic of Roman princes, since male personifications (save river gods) scarcely exist and when they do they wear the scanty costumes of Graeco-Roman gods and heroes.

¹ S. G. Miller, "The Colossus of Porto Raphti Reconsidered," *Hesperia*, 41, 1972, pp. 192–197, pls. 31–34. I had presented my own ideas in the 62nd general meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in Hartford, Conn., December 1960: see *A.J.A.*, 65, 1961, pp. 192–193. It was there that Miss Lucy Talcott made her brilliant explanation of the "tailor's scissors". Mr. Miller might seem to imply (p. 192) that his identifications are more correct because he studied the statue at its own level. So, under varying conditions, did numerous others from Dörpfeld (sitting on the statue in the famous German Institute photograph of 1893) to the present writer, on three occasions in the early 1960's. Since Mr. Miller's article with its splendid photographs, my own contribution in *Hesperia*, 31, 1962, pp. 29 (note 3), 62–81, pls. 24–27, and the books or articles cited below offer ample photographic support for the arguments reiterated here, I do not feel it is necessary to reproduce them once again with this article.

THE UNEMPHASIZED BOSOM

Unless one breast is bare, the ill-defined female bosom is a common feature of over-lifesized, heavily draped cult-statues and related decorative sculptures of the Roman Imperial period. The standing Roma from the temple of Roma and Augustus at Ostia illustrates this perfectly, where the right breast is bare and pronounced while the left is scarcely visible under the tunic and cloak.² The colossal marble statue of Dea Roma enthroned, in the gardens of the Villa Medici at Rome, is in nearly every respect like the personification at Porto Raphti, save that the cloak hangs well over the left shoulder and is not pinned around the upper body. The chiton, on the other hand, is girt precisely at the same "low" level as that of the Raphti. Yet, the treatment of drapery on the chest of this Dea Roma from a small temple on the Quirinal Hill in Rome is such that it would be hard, with more destruction and weathering, to say whether a fleshy older male divinity (like Sarapis or Asklepios) or a Pheidian-type goddess were represented (Pl. 12, a).³

The same lack of emphasis on the bosom can be seen as late as 1895 in a classicizing group, S. Galletti's bronze monument to the Italian statesman Camillo Cavour in the Piazza Cavour, Romè, where the standing Italia and seated Roma are both swathed in classical drapery to the extent that they are more muscular than feminine.⁴ This form of upper body has as its corollary the concave curvature of the area from chest to stomach, an area invariably full and rounded on statues of Roman Emperors wearing tight-fitting cuirasses (the one *seated* example being the much-published "Augustus" of late Flavian date, in the Villa Torlonia-Albani close to Rome). The slab with the seven young, or seemingly so, priestesses from the Great Antonine Altar at Ephesos and the comparable relief of the city-goddesses in the Louvre, from a late Hadrianic triumphal or commemorative arch in Rome, present all aspects of ideal Imperial womanhood draped in the full repertory of Graeco-Roman fashions. Their bosoms are hardly more prominent than those of the Roman imperial males (Hadrian, Anto-

² C. Vermeule, *The Goddess Roma in the Art of the Roman Empire*, Cambridge (Mass.) and London, 1959 and 1974, pl. IX, left; E. Strong, *Art in Ancient Rome*, I, New York, 1928, pp. 163-164, fig. 193 (a bad photograph): dated after A.D. 42 in the reign of Claudius. The Amazon pillars from the Antonine theater at Ephesos offer similar contrasts in de-emphasized female characteristics when placed alongside older, stricter copies of their Pheidian-era prototypes: see B. S. Ridgway, *A.J.A.*, 78, 1974, p. 3, pl. 2, figs. 5, 6, etc. The Amazon Roma of Julio-Claudian to Antonine art is, of course, likewise based ultimately on Amazons of the fifth century B.C.

³ *The Goddess Roma*, pl. IX, right. M. Cagiano de Azevedo, *Le Antichità di Villa Medici*, Rome, 1951, pp. 89-90, no. 142, pl. XL, fig. 75. Sarapis is restored as Dea Roma, statues in the Villa Medici and in the Villa Torlonia-Albani: Cagiano, *op. cit.*, p. 102, no. 239, pl. XLIII, fig. 85.

⁴ *The Goddess Roma*, pl. XII, right. The same applies, for example, to Claudia Antonia Sabina's elegant daughter, circa A.D. 190, reclining on the lid and the two slender females seated and standing on the front of the same sarcophagus: C. R. Morey, *Sardis*, V, i, Princeton, 1924, pp. 8-12, figs. 3, 13, 14.

ninus Pius, and the young Caesar Marcus Aurelius) in the slab near the priestesses and two personifications (Ephesos and Alexandria?) on the Ephesian altar.⁵

BARE FEET OR CONTOURED SANDALS WITH OVERHANGING TOES

Both conditions, or ways of presenting the feet, characterize the monumental marble geographical personifications and female divinities of the Roman Imperial period. The colossal Dea Roma now in the Villa Medici has a bare left foot visible in front of the lower drapery and throne, just on the plinth. Although the end or front of the present foot has been restored, the restoration could hardly be otherwise save that a very small piece of sandal might have covered the ball of the foot. The seated Roma in high relief on the altar of the *Gens Augusta* in Tunis from Carthage wears Amazonian boots or covered sandals with the toes hanging out on the plinth.⁶ In such statues or their immediate reflections in deep relief, the usual "footprint" is like that of the seated Roma on the base of the Column of Antoninus Pius in Rome, a sandal modeled to the shape of the foot like the last made by a London bootmaker. When set in a plinth, this can well look like a bare foot.⁷ The small marble statue identified as Alexandria (standing) in the British Museum leaves two good, perhaps lightly sandaled, footprints on the thick plinth.⁸

All this and lots more, obviously, is by way of stating that what remains on the plinth of the Raphti can be either a bare or a sandaled foot. Like the wishfully prophetic tea leaves in the bottom of Grandmother's cup, the present "bare" print of the left foot may represent a little bit of self-serving thought, aided by fortuitous gouges which occur beside the heel as well as underneath the area of the toes. The presence of bare feet, moreover, is as limiting to identification of the Raphti as determination of whether or not the chest was curved enough to be female. No fully costumed statue of a Roman emperor, save the personal (to Livia) cuirassed Prima Porta Augustus with the divine Eros-Ascanius-Julian grandson at its side, has bare feet, and no image of Zeus or any emperor in the guise of Zeus wears the combination of costumes visible on the Raphti.

⁵ C. Vermeule, *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1968, pp. 107–113, figs. 39–45, where only the goddess or personification on a pile of rocks does manifest plump breasts and a high-girt chiton. Or compare the low-girt or ungirt females on the short end of the Severan Attic Phaedra sarcophagus in S. Nicola, Agrigento, and the similar, submissive geographical Tyche on the left in the Tigris-Euphrates register of the Arch of Galerius at Salonika: R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Rome, The Late Empire, Roman Art A.D. 200–400*, New York, 1971, pp. 300–306, figs. 279, 280.

⁶ *The Goddess Roma*, pl. X, top.

⁷ L. Vogel, *The Column of Antoninus Pius*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1973, pl. 3.

⁸ J. M. C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School, A Chapter in the History of Greek Art*, Cambridge, 1934, p. 42, pl. XXIII, fig. 3. A. H. Smith, *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum*, III, London, 1904, pp. 13–14, no. 1545, from Rome and "probably executed in the time of Hadrian."

THE LOWER LIMBS: BARE OR LIGHTLY CLAD, AND PARTLY COVERED

The end of the cloak falls down the left side and seemingly across the legs. Therefore, the front of the rockwork "throne", partly covered by a bit of garment or cloth, could well have been seen behind the legs, while these legs were partly covered by the cloak or even the front of the tunic. Partly bare legs were also to be expected. These points are perfectly in keeping with female personifications of the Trajanic to Antonine periods, as a number of examples in the imperial series of coins for the provinces demonstrate. Compare, for instance, Dacia seated on a rockwork seat, cloak on her left shoulder in the fashion of the Raphti, and lower limbs bare or nearly so, feet apparently bare or partly covered by high sandals, on large *aes* or sestertii of Trajan and especially Hadrian⁹ (Pl. 12, b). It seems unlikely any such figure would be set up or re-used in eastern Attica, but the Raphti could have been the symbol of some imperial campaign in the East, Parthia, Armenia, or even Judaea being candidates, the last perfectly reasonable if one remembers Hadrian's concern with Attica and the fact two violent wars with the Jews were fought in his reign. This would have made the visual message something like that of the Stoa of the Colossal Figures at Corinth, a type of monument copied in Greece and Asia Minor, as the head in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery in Kansas City, Missouri gives evidence.¹⁰

Britannia, hardly germane here, offers a similar identity of iconographic detail.¹¹ Italia, a popular type of personification circulated throughout the Empire in the minor arts, shows that the most visible attribute, surely in the raised right hand, might have been a cornucopiae, although the right shoulder of the Raphti seems too elevated.¹² In these contexts alone, the iconography of active, almost Amazonian but fully tuniced provinces, the Raphti cannot represent a Roman emperor, the combination of such full, non-heroic costume and sandals or bare feet having no parallel in Greek or Roman imperial art. Even in Hellenistic times the stele of Polybios from Clitor (Kleitor) in

⁹ Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School*, pl. III, nos. 23–26, pl. XIII, nos. 16, 19. Hadrianic sestertius dated ca. A.D. 137; superb specimen, from Prince Waldeck's collection: Münzhaltung Basel, *Sale 3, 4 March 1935*, no. 387, pl. 18; Bank Leu A.G., Zürich, *Auktion 10, 29 May 1974*, p. 20, no. 152, pl. IX.

¹⁰ Inv. no. 32–146. Height: 0.31 m.; in very crystalline "Island" or western Asia Minor marble. T. Hadzisteliou Price, *Arch. Class.*, 24, 1972, p. 49, note 2, pl. XXIX, 2. No. 7 in an article on portraits, real and ideal, in Kansas City, in *Apollo*, N.S. No. 99, May 1974, no. 147, p. 316.

¹¹ Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School*, pl. XI, nos. 24, 25. Britannia's counterpart, the "Gallia" of the trophy-ensemble at Saint-Bertrand de Comminges (Lugdunum Convenarum in southwest France), is sexless, has a long ungirt upper garment, is wrapped loosely in thin drapery to below her ankles, and exhibits bare feet; the monument is Augustan, 27 to 20 B.C.: G. C. Picard, *Les trophées romains*, Paris, 1957, pp. 270–273, pl. IX.

¹² Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School*, pl. XVI, no. 1. If the Raphti were male, the statue would have resembled the effeminate, Anatolian eunuch-deity Attis, as the fourth-century B.C. or Graeco-Roman (copy) marble statue in the Denman collection, San Antonio: H. Hoffmann, *Ten Centuries that Shaped the West, Greek and Roman Art in Texas Collections*, Houston, 1970, pp. 32–35, no. 11. This would never have suited an Attic hilltop.

Arcadia offers little iconographic comfort; although tunic and cloak are of the same general type, and feet are bare, right arm, shoulder, chest, and an expanse of side nearly to the waist are also shown in the heroic nude.¹³

NOT AN EMPEROR, PROBABLY NOT AN EMPRESS

That the right arm was raised, the left lowered and close to the side and leg, is a common factor in many such imperial-cult or, more likely, commemorative statues. Be it noted, however, that such a pose has nothing to do with the Pheidian Zeus, or the early Hellenistic Zeus of the Seleucids at Antioch (Pl. 12, c), or the various versions of the Capitoline Jupiter, including the painting of Jupiter-Hadrian (?) at Eleusis, where, in all cases, the *left* arm is raised holding the scepter-staff and the attribute is in the lowered *right* hand (Pl. 12, d). Emperors in the heroic near-nude do appear with either arm raised, as in the cuirassed statues, but those as Zeus-Jupiter follow the traditional iconography. In these imperial statues clad only in an ample cloak, it is the back end of that garment on which the subject sits and which hangs over the seat behind the legs, these being in turn often very well draped. Since the head and neck, and obviously the arms of the Raphti were made separately, it might be that the lower legs, drapery, and feet were also carved from a separate block of marble and pinned on (at the left side and through the right foot), thus giving leeway for any manner of covering around the lower limbs and representation of a garment or cloth and the rockwork behind.

Being of marble and out in the open, the raised right hand of the Raphti would have had to be supported (like the extended hand of the Athena Parthenos), whether the attribute was ears of wheat, a torch, a spear, a scepter-staff, or a cornucopiae. The choice of attributes for the left hand is extensive, although I had favored an orb. In no way, however, to state again in stronger terms, can the Raphti represent an emperor, Caesar, or high administrator, who are never shown in Roman art seated with sandals or bare feet, lower limbs possibly undraped, and an undergarment of this type. Emperors or *imperatores* in historical and state reliefs may sit cuirassed on curule chairs or camp-stools, or in various formal, civilian or traveling costumes on similar seats, but they, and certainly their consorts, do not favor rocks.¹⁴ The two ancestral figures,

¹³ M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York, 1961, p. 162, fig. 691. Comparison of the Raphti's costume to the little jerkins of the Augustan *camillus* and *victimarius* introduced retrospectively into the Sacrifice of Aeneas on the Ara Pacis Augustae in Rome (Miller, p. 193) seems difficult to sustain in the light of developments in Roman state relief, East and West. See I. S. Ryberg, "Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art," *Mem. Am. Ac. Rome*, XXII, 1955, pp. 40-41.

¹⁴ R. Brilliant, *Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XIV, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art*, New Haven, 1963, pp. 156-157, figs. 3.130 to 3.140, pp. 151-153, figs. 3.114 to 3.119. The most valid of Mr. Miller's parallels on p. 194 (last paragraph) is "Valentinian II" on the silver dish in Madrid, but the prince sits on an elaborate throne, not a rock. Although the Hellenistic "Apotheosis of Homer" relief is built up the slopes of Mount Parnassus (or Helicon), only the Muses in the second register,

one fully clothed and the other heroic, half-draped, in the remaining niches of the Philopappos Monument in Athens, give a good indication of civic and divine costume for Hellenistic princes and Roman emperors in the Greek imperial world.

For what it is worth, emperors after the age of Marcus Agrippa and his rostral crown on coins and in decorative relief do not wear headgear in the form of city battlements. One cannot, therefore, consider the notion of a mural crown used as a beacon light and, at the same time, identify the Raphti as male, the Genius Populi Romani and similar mural-crowned young male personifications being dressed only in the heroic himation or in nothing at all. On the other hand, all this does not preclude the thought that the Raphti once represented a Roman empress in the guise of a geographical personification. It would have been totally in keeping with his honors to women at Olympia and Rome for Herodes Atticus to have erected a statue of Faustina I or II or even Regilla as Oikoumene or Attica or Achaea. Herodes Atticus could have journeyed over to admire the statue from his Marathonian estates, and perhaps it was he alone who made the harbor of Porto Raphti safe and "operational" for his frequent adventures in Asia Minor.

HADRIANIC OR ANTONINE DATE

This period, as opposed to the Severan, seemed more in keeping with an age when Hadrian or Herodes Atticus was setting up such statues from Olympia to Athens to the eastern side of Attica. Stylistic arguments for a Severan or later date weaken when it is observed that the same decisive cutting of drapery first crinkly and then flat occurs in the more worn province reliefs from the podium of the Hadrianeum in Rome, for example the relief in the Palazzo Farnese in Rome.¹⁵ To be sure, the

from semi-nude Zeus down to elaborately enthroned Homer, sit on a clump of rocks like that of the Raphti (compare the good photograph in G. M. A. Richter, *A Handbook of Greek Art*, London, 1969, p. 182, fig. 248). Seatcloths or drapery on the squared blocks and the arrangements of the area behind the legs, especially of Homer, answer visually some of the technical problems posed by carving and piecing together a large, outdoor statue like the Raphti. When Zeus is a mountain-god, in his pose as a cult-image reversed from that of the Raphti, he still prefers a throne and holds the mountain as a symbol on his hand. The Hadrianic-to-Severan Zeus of Caesarea in Cappadocia, Mount Argaeus in his lowered right hand, is a good example, which has a relationship to large bronze statuettes similar to that encountered with the Raphti: *The Museum Year: 1972-73, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, pp. 22, 42. See also A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, ii, Cambridge, 1925, pp. 951, fig. 842, 962, fig. 849; III, ii, Cambridge, 1940, p. 1176, fig. 919; etc., including a bronze Zeus *Olympios* on his throne: *ibid.*, p. 1196, pl. LXXXII. The rather sexless, medium-girt, fully draped, and barefooted Constantinopolis on the dish of Asper, A.D. 434, in Florence offers a Late Antique comparison of a general nature for the Raphti in metalwork; she is standing: W. F. Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, New York, 1961, p. 332, pl. 109.

¹⁵ Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School*, pl. XXXVI, no. 1; K. Stemmer, *Arch. Anz.*, 86, 1971, pp. 564-565, fig. 2. A small, bronze, battlement-crowned male personification from Autun is seated on a rock and holds a cornucopiae; he is, however, bare from the waist up, save for the cloak over his left shoulder: E. Babelon, J.-A. Blanchet, *Catalogue des bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1895, pp. 265-266, no. 624.

captives of the Façade of the Colossal Figures at Corinth appear to belong early in the Severan period, so as between Antonine and Severan one has little quarrel, but the age of long-lived Herodes Atticus provided the perfect climate for such a combination of decoration and function, like the Nymphaeum at Olympia. Such drapery as that of the Raphti occurs at many places and in many forms in the Aegean world, at Smyrna and on Crete for instance, from the first century B.C. to the end of the Julio-Claudian period.¹⁶

THE PERSONIFICATION IN HER PRESENT LOCATION

The arguments in these pages restate my belief that the statue has been in her present, intended position since Classical Antiquity. She, and the statue on the smaller, inner island (the "Raphtopoula"), were no chance erections of a troubled later Middle Ages. Not even lions were dragged to the simple, beachhead "ports" of Attica in such impoverished times. In these days of jet travel and speedy ships we forget that, in times of prosperity (such as the Hadrianic and Antonine periods of the Empire) as well as times of strife, a landlocked harbor on the eastern coast of Attica, looking through the Aegean towards Asia Minor and the Levant, was of considerable use to a pan-Mediterranean economy. Ships not able or willing to round Sounion in summer or winter winds could lay into the harbor the way much larger ships in the days of coal used the great harbor of Kea on their way to Constantinople. That the pedestal of the Raphti was damaged, robbed, and repaired in the Middle Ages (propped up precariously and repaired again in the nineteenth century) is no clue to the statue's relocation in the late Middle Ages. Much of one Dioskouros of Monte Cavallo needed considerable care of this sort to survive *in situ* from Antiquity to modern times.

The horizontal poros blocks at the base of the pedestal, topped by vertical slabs of similar material, and finally surmounted by four marble rectangles under the statue made a very sophisticated installation, far more attractive in its simplicity and from a distance than many of the statue bases in the old shrines of Greece, Delos for instance. The combination of poros and marble had an honorable tradition in Attic art, as the plinths and bases for funerary lions of the fourth century B.C. indicate. I find it hard to believe, in the light of the way monuments of sculpture were set up in Rome in the late Middle Ages, in front of the Lateran or on the Campidoglio for instance, that such a complex installation could have been created in these times on a remote hilltop in Attica.

That the Raphti and its companion statue do not enter the literature of travelers or chroniclers until the waning of the Middle Ages (in Venetian or central Italian terms)

¹⁶ D. Papastamos, Kl. Staehler, *Κρητ. Χρον.*, 24, 1972, p. 96. The general thesis, reaffirmed in these pages (the heroic, half-draped, enthroned god or male personification as contrasted with the heavily draped, relatively sexless female, goddess or personification) has its symbolic, chronological beginning in Athens and Attica in the stele with seated Demos crowned by standing Demokratia from the Agora, 336 B.C.: M. Lang, *Excavations of the Athenian Agora*, Picture Book No. 4, *The Athenian Citizen*, Princeton, 1960, cover and fig. 29; B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, 21, 1952, pp. 355-359, no. 5, pl. 90.

is hardly support for a thesis that the statue was placed there recently. If so, Greece and Asia Minor, not to mention Syria and even Egypt, would parade a host of monuments from giant temples (such as the temple of Hadrian at Cyzicus) to colonnaded harbors (Pompeiiopolis) to Nilotic wonders of all sizes which it would be fair to suggest were placed in use so travelers of the Trecento or Quattrocento could "discover" and record them.

The back of the Raphti, despite centuries of wind and rain, is perfectly finished with curves of drapery and attention to the rockwork pattern of the seat. Such finishing need only be contrasted with the really rough back of the otherwise-sophisticated Primaporta Augustus in the Vatican or most marble cuirassed figures of later-than-Augustan date from Asia Minor to see what happens to a Roman imperial statue when it is destined for a niche.¹⁷ That the back of the Raphti is stiff, rectangular, and close to the flat surfaces of the block of marble from which the drapery and body emerged is fully in keeping with Roman copies or creations after older Greek originals. The many accomplished marble versions of the so-called Venus Genetrix of Julius Caesar, like the statue in the Louvre or the copies adapted as Roman portraits, show how a goddess or lady with an imaginative front, from top to bottom, could be endowed with a draped back as stiff as that which we see in the Raphti.

THE PORTABLE BRONZE IMAGE IDENTIFIED AS OIKOUMENE

Between the Raphti and the large statuette found many years ago on the slopes of Hymettos east of the modern airport and towards the Porto Raphti side of Attica, there are notable differences, which I should have explained in the previous publications.¹⁸ The undergarment of the bronze figure is relatively high girt, and the cloak takes the form of a mantle on right shoulder, left arm and lap, rather than primarily on the left shoulder, down the left side, and across the left thigh. The words "perhaps even a replica" were doubtless too strong for those used to the terms in reference to the work of Myron, Polykleitos, or possibly even Lysippos. Both large marble Raphti and large bronze statuette were varying expressions of the same *type* of geographical personification. So-called replicas of the early Hellenistic Sarapis of Bryaxis show how colossi and their reflections in all media on varying scales differ or can be influenced by other statues and statuettes expressing the same divinity or concept. The Tychai of Antioch and other Eastern cities behave in the same fashion, in marble, small bronzes, and on coins.

¹⁷ H. Ingholt, *Archaeology*, 22, 1969, pp. 308–310. Geographical personifications on the breastplate ("Galatia", p. 313; "Armenia", p. 317), and the "Parthia" from the podium of the Hadrianeum in Rome (p. 316), contribute more examples of the masculinity of female personifications in the Roman imperial world. The defeated geographical personifications on the cuirass of the Primaporta Augustus sit on rocks, which are partly covered by their cloaks (large-scale details: H. Kähler, *Die Augustusstatue von Primaporta*, Cologne, 1959, pls. 19, 18, as Dalmatia and Germania).

¹⁸ Cf. *Hesperia*, 31, 1962, pp. 75–78 and pl. 27; Vermeule, *op. cit.* (above, note 5), pp. 35–36, fig. 15.

The bronze statuette from Attica also shows how, on a large scale in marble, the rockwork could be carved out behind the draped legs and also how the silhouette of sandaled toes on the plinth could look like bare footprints after eighteen hundred or more years' exposure to the Attic and Aegean elements. The seated Tyche, spear once in the raised right hand (so the catalogue says) and small cornucopiae in the lowered left, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, the bronze statuette known as "Felix Ravenna", which was cited in connection with the bronze Tyche from Attica, gives an even better demonstration of how a majestic lady seated in long chiton and himation could have lower limbs and feet set well forward of her seat. Indeed, there is considerable open space between the feet, and on either side of the lower limbs. The end of the himation or cloth on which the personification sits even spreads out at either side, behind the lower legs and thighs.

SUMMATION

This review of the Raphti should emphasize what the statue is, not what a list of scholars past and present have thought it ought to be. The figure is female, of the tough Imperial type best represented by certain provinces on coins of Hadrian and the Antonines. She is probably a geographical personification or possibly an Antonine empress (or leading private female) assimilated to or in the guise of the divine symbol of an area as broad as Oikoumene or as restricted as Achaea or Attica.¹⁹ The statue dates most probably in the Antonine period, and it was set up in an age when Porto Raphti harbor benefited from the prosperity of the Aegean. Evidence external and internal has suggested that the female served as a beacon light at night, a condition best effected if the goddess-personification wore an elaborate version of the mural crown

¹⁹ In conclusion, the badly damaged goddess or princess (Agrippina the wife of Germanicus?) seated on rocks at the left of the Julio-Claudian family relief in Ravenna is, in many respects, the Early Imperial forerunner of the Raphti: H. Kähler, *Rome and her Empire*, London, 1963, pp. 92-93, color plate. She suits the variety of relationships suggested in these pages better than the enthroned personifications and heroic imperial personages on the sardonix cameos.

To return to the ages when standard imperial images were being perpetuated in a variety of media, a significant geographical personification is enthroned in the central tondo of the late second- or third-century mosaic from Carthage, shown at the Paris exposition of 1889, and long stored in the Trocadéro. She is Oikoumene, Mother Earth, or possibly Carthago; Ge or Tellus at this time, however, is usually shown as the half-draped, buxom counterpart of Oceanus or the typical river gods, as on the famous bronze medallion of Commodus: see Bank Leu, *Auktion 10*, 1974, p. 25, no. 201, pl. XII (the Naville—*Ars Classica*, 10, 1925, p. 123, no. 1763, pl. 76 specimen). The personification of the mosaic is evidently female (a point disputed by scholars) and ungirt, raises her right arm (attribute invisible), holds a cornucopiae in the left, has her cloak around her lower limbs, and exhibits lightly sandaled feet. She is, therefore, a nearly contemporary illustration of what the Raphti could have been, the chief exception being the throne of urban cult-images as opposed to the rockwork seat of open-air geographical identities: D. Levi, *The Art Bulletin*, 23, 1941, pp. 252, 290, no. 4, fig. 6; S. Reinach, *Répertoire de peintures grecques et romaines*, Paris, 1922, p. 222. Her head is unfortunately damaged; a partly nude male near her feet ought to be the Ocean.

appropriate to such figures. The Rapti and her surroundings have suffered since she was set up, but she has not been moved from the place intended for her in Antiquity. She has not had to undergo the humiliating double migrations of the lion of Liopesi or the beasts of Porto Leone.

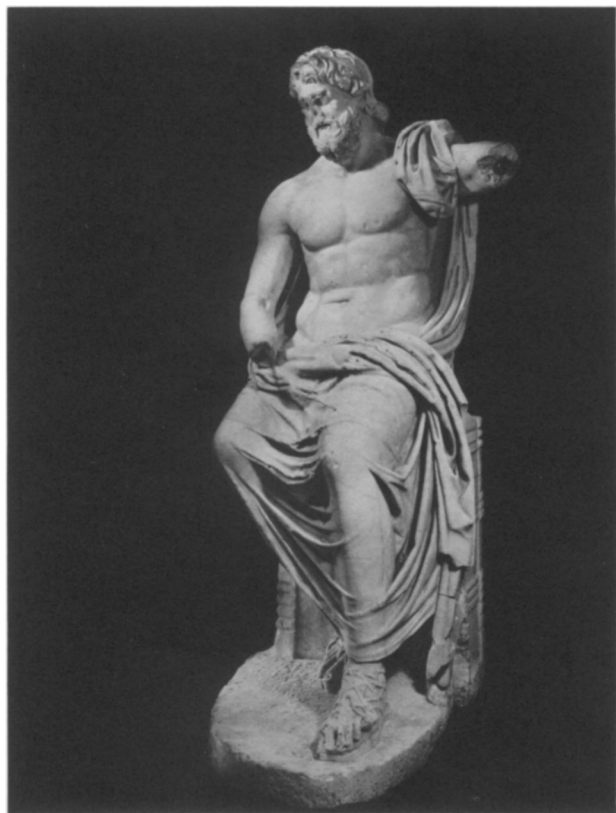
CORNELIUS VERMEULE

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON



b. Dacia. Reverse of a sestertertius of Hadrian. (Photo, Bank Leu A.G., Zürich)

a. Minerva restored as Roma. Paris, Musée du Louvre. (Photo, Musées Nationaux)



c. Heroic-scale Zeus, of Hellenistic type. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum. (Photo, Prof. J. Frel)



d. Zeus of Caesarea in Cappadocia, holding Mount Argaeus. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. (Photo, Hickey and Robertson)