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P. J. HADJIDAKIS



# DELOS

















**On the little island** of Delos, a unique body of evidence has accumulated that sheds light on Hellenic history from the 3rd millennium BC up to the 7th cent. AD. Its monuments, which have been designated part of the World Cultural Heritage and are protected by UNESCO, have always been the object of special attention and concern on the part of the Ministry of Culture. Despite the difficulties on the island, a significant effort is under way in recent years to conserve and restore this unique site, gradually making it more "legible" and friendly to its many visitors.

Poets from Homer and Pindar through Antipater of Thessaloniki to George Seferis have praised the island that was the birthplace of Apollo, the "most Greek" of all the gods, to whom was attributed all those special characteristics that the Hellenic culture bequeathed to humanity: light, moderation, balance, harmony. Every year, pilgrims from all Greek cities would flock to the god's Panhellenic Sanctuary where they soon became conscious of their national identity, the "same blood, same language and same religion" that drew them together, as Herodotus states succinctly. In the city that grew up around the Sanctuary in the 2nd cent. BC, all the peoples of the Mediterranean co-existed in peace, absolutely free to work and worship their own ancestral gods, thus constituting an especially salutary example for our times.

The international bibliography includes hundreds of studies by experts on various aspects of the Delian monuments. For the first time, thanks to the Latsis Group, EFG Eurobank Ergasias and Mr P.J. Hadjidakis, the culture that developed on the island is made accessible to the general public, and representative older and recent findings, characteristic of the daily public and private life of the inhabitants, have been gathered together in this elegant book. It is my pleasure to preface it and to congratulate all those who contributed to it for the significant scholarly and aesthetic result.

EVANGELOS VENIZELOS

*Minister of Culture*







The very first time I visited Delos, I felt its magic enveloping me, and the dazzling light that shone on the island bringing the ancient marbles to life, lending them an almost unearthly radiance.

I imagine that this feeling of timelessness was also the reason why the ancient Greeks selected it as the birthplace of Apollo, god of light and the Hellenic sky, god of the beauty and harmony of the Greek landscape, and god of poetry and music.

The priceless findings in the Museum of Delos – the city whose vestiges thousands of visitors and pilgrims encounter in their every footstep, with its splendid public buildings, its luxury dwellings, its theatre, temples and ports – give the place a singular magnificence and a sacred aura that permeates everything.

It is this sacredness, this singularity and above all this eternal light which continues to brighten and purify our world that the Latsis Group and EFG Eurobank Ergasias wanted to capture in this book.

To the author, Mr P.J. Hadjidakis, as well as to all those who contributed to this publication in any way, I extend sincere congratulations and the hope that this handsome volume will be a vehicle bringing us closer to the mortals and gods who lived there.

MARIANNA LATSI







This book aspires to be a voyage in space and time, a voyage of acquaintanceship with the gods and men who walked on the little island of Delos and made it unique. For this reason, the usual distinctions of "Archaeological Site" and "Museum" were not applied, nor was a strict chronological order adopted. The exhibits were "taken out" of the Museum, seen either in conjunction with the sites on which they were found, thus filling in the picture created by the remains of the buildings, or forming thematic units that illuminate the character of the people who created them, their activities, concerns and fears. References to stylistic aspects of the findings or their place in art history are minimal, both because such studies have been done frequently in the past, but primarily because our interest has focused on the creator, not the creation, on the message carried, not the carrier, and on the text not the font type or paper. Thus objects are presented not as works of art, nor simply as the admirable achievements of our ancestors, but rather as the occasion, starting point and means of approaching and understanding the people who created and used these objects and the age they lived in.

This voyage would never have been possible without the generosity of the Latsis Group and EFC Eurobank Ergasias, without Marianna Latsi's personal interest and affection for Delos, or without the enthusiasm, constant encouragement and support of Vangelis Chronis. Photographer Yannis Patrikianos, with his well-known conscientiousness and persistence, worked in the Museum for many days and nights in order to achieve the desired result. Dimitris Kalokyris, with the sensitivity and patience that distinguish him, was able to tame the heterogeneous material and give form and shape to the book. Irene Louvrou, assisted by her years of experience, coordinated the entire effort with her characteristic decisiveness and innate cordiality. Dionysis Plessas and his associates worked tirelessly to ensure the aesthetic quality of the illustrations. I thank them all warmly.

P.J. HADJIDAKIS







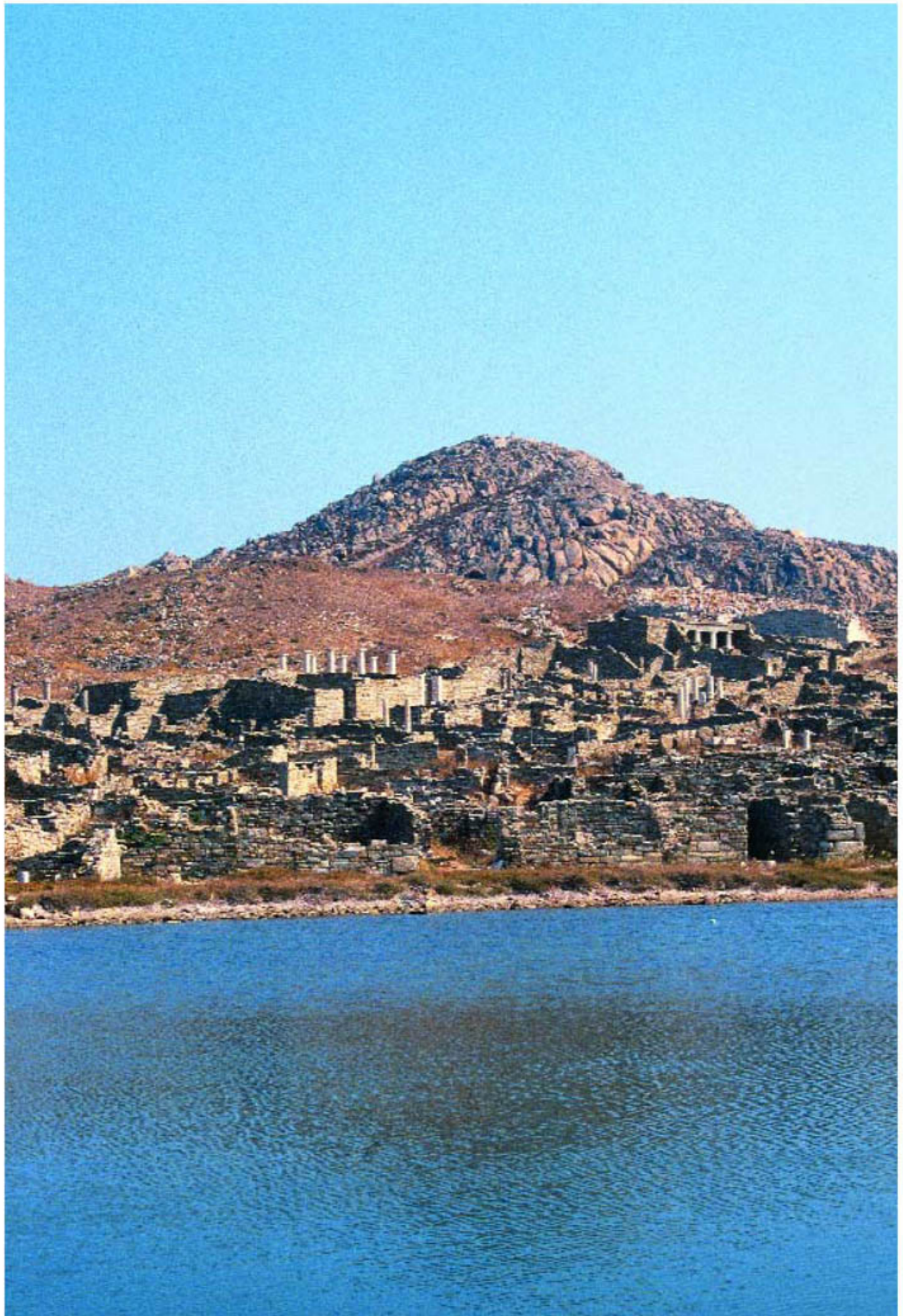
Χαῖρ', ὦ θεοδμάτα, λιπαροπλοκάμου, παί-  
δεσσι Λατοῦς ἡμεροέστατον ἔρνος,  
πόντου θύγατερ, χθονὸς εὐρείας ἀκί-  
νητον τέρας, ἄν τε βροτοὶ  
Δᾶλον κικλήσκουσιν, μάκαρες δ' ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ  
τηλέφαντον κυανέας χθονὸς ἄστρον.

PINDAR, *Odes*, 78 - 79 (5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC)

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**H**ail to thee, isle built by the gods, beloved bloom of the children of the fair-tressed Leto, daughter of the sea, thou unmoved wonder of the wide earth, whom mortals call Delos, but whom the blessed gods living high on Olympus call the black earth's far-seeing star.







Τὴν ἱερὴν, ὦ θυμέ, τίνα χρόνον ἢ ποτ' αἰεῖσαι  
Δῆλον, Ἀπόλλωνος κουροτρόφον; ἢ μὲν ἅπασαι  
Κυκλάδες, αἱ νήσων ἱερώταται εἰν ἀλλὶ κεῖνται,  
εὖυμνοι. Δῆλος δ' ἐθέλει τὰ πρῶτα φέρεσθαι  
ἐκ Μουσέων, ὅτι Φοῖβον ἀοιδάων μεδέοντα  
λοῦσέ τε καὶ σπείρωσε καὶ ὡς θεὸν ἤνεσε πρώτη.  
Ὡς Μοῦσαι τὸν ἀοιδὸν ὃ μὴ Πίμπλειαν αἰεῖση  
ἔχθουσιν, τὼς Φοῖβος ὅτις Δῆλοιό λάθηται.  
Δῆλω νῦν οἴμης ἀποδάσσομαι, ὡς ἂν Ἀπόλλων  
Κύνθιος αἰνήσῃ με φίλης ἀλέγοντα τιθήνης.  
.....  
Ἴστίη ὦ νήσων εὐέστιε, χαῖρε μὲν αὐτῇ  
χαίροι δ' Ἀπόλλων τε καὶ ἦν ἐλοχεύσατο Λητώ.

CALLIMACHUS, *To Delos* (3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC)

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**M**y soul, in what year and when will you sing of sacred Delos, Apollo's nurse? And even though all the Cyclades are celebrated in hymns and most sacred of all the islands in the sea, to Delos must go the first gifts of the Muses, because it was she that first bathed and swaddled Phoebus, teacher of songs, as an infant and honoured him as a god. As the Muses are enemies of any singer who does not praise Pimplea, so Phoebus abhors anyone who forgets Delos. This is why I now dedicate this hymn to Delos, so that Cynthius Phoebus, of whose beloved nurse I sing, will praise me... hearth of islands, beautiful hearth, hail to thee and to Apollo and to her whom Leto brought forth.







ON LETO'S UPHILL PATHS

(lines from a poem)

*Two crickets take root in the eyes [...] (words of the future  
legends of the future)*

*– when shall we go to Delos?*

*two north winds of May two north winds of April  
and the wind-tossed leaf uncovered two stars*

*– when shall we two go to Delos?*

*At times you'll see the rocks at times I'll see the wave  
on Leto's uphill paths*

*and we shall hear the two-stringed footstep of our hearts*

*I'll be ending or beginning a poem*

*for the primeval cockerels to recite to each other*

*on Leto's uphill paths.*

*I'll give you the eyes [...]*

*– When shall we two go to Delos?*

*I'll give you parts*

*the north winds of May the north winds of April.*

*And if some other wind-bent leaf hides us*

*how shall we two go to Delos?*





6



7

*No other god, writes Callimachus, has ever loved a place as much as Apollo loves Delos. The epiphanies of the god on his beloved island are multiform, varied and unexpected.*



# *Delos, birthplace of light*

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Even though it is one of the smallest islands in the Aegean, Delos was the most famous and sacred (νησάων ἀγιωτάτη) of all islands in antiquity, since, according to the legend, it was there that Apollo-Helios, god of daylight, and Artemis-Selene, goddess of night light, were born – it was, in short, the birthplace of Light, which the Greeks always regarded as the most precious good. In this seemingly deserted city that follows the gentle slopes of the hills down to the sea, in the sanctuaries of the gods and in its harbours, every little piece of marble, every stone and every rock radiate, ever explaining and recalling that on this island, which is but a dot in the Aegean, “the Great, the Most Beautiful Apollo” was born, and his twin sister Artemis.

Homer relates the charming myth. Leto, pregnant by Zeus, wandered from Thrace to Imbros, Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Cos, Euboea and Attica searching desperately for a place of refuge in which to give birth. But no place would receive her; they all feared the rage of Hera, the wife whom Zeus had betrayed. Only one unimportant and invisible (*adelos*) bit of rock that floated around the Aegean, disdained by all, agreed hesitantly: “And what if the god when he is born sees me thus arid, and scorns me? What if he goes to another land, many-treed, to build his temple and kicks me to the depths of the sea, to become a nest for black seals and octopuses?” The desperate Leto vowed “by the earth and the broad sky and the waters of the Styx, that the Sanctuary and the altar of Phoebus will be here forever and he will honour you above all other places.” Poseidon or Zeus anchored the windswept, barren, floating rock to the sea floor with diamond columns, and from *adelos*, the little island thus became “what mortals call *Delos*, but what the blessed gods on Olympus,” who see the world from on high, “call the black earth’s far-seen star” (Pindar). Although the wanderings of Leto, who by then was about to give birth, stopped on Delos, her pain did not, because Hera detained Ilithyia, goddess of childbirth, on Olympus. After Leto suffered nine days and nights of torment, the other goddesses intervened and dispatched Iris to Olympus, who by promising Ilithyia a nine-cubit necklace of gold and amber, convinced her to hasten to Delos.

As soon as Ilithyia arrived on the island, the exhausted Leto “embraced a palm-tree with her arms, knelt on the soft meadow” and gave birth first to Artemis and then to Apollo. As soon as the fair-haired god was born, “the earth smiled, Delos was inundated with golden light and became a flower-bedecked meadow, swans began singing and the dazzled goddesses cheered.” Themis, Dione, Rhea, Amphitrite and other goddesses wrapped the divine infant in swaddling clothes and fed him nectar and ambrosia, while Zeus himself watched the birth of his children from the top of Mt Kynthos. This great gathering of otherworldly powers, who cooperated in harmony and contributed to the birth of Light, charged Delos with positive energy forever. Even today, the followers of the Hindu religion regard Delos as a site no less sacred than Benares.

Delos is situated in the heart of the Aegean, in the centre of the Cyclades that form a dance circle around it, “hearth of the islands” as Callimachus calls it, i.e. shrine and centre of the islands. Even though it is just 3.5 km from Mykonos, and 1 km from Rheneia, the atmosphere on the island is different, as is the light – the choices of the ancient Greeks were never random.

1,799

What we regard as myth today was considered history in antiquity and none of the ancient authors ever wondered why this insignificant rock was selected as the birthplace of the most important god in the Hellenic Pantheon, a theme of great interest to modern scholars. In the Syros newspaper *Patris* on 10 March 1901, we read the following news item:



“For some days the ephor of antiquities on Delos, Mr Stavropoulos, has been engaged in making observations at the equinox with respect to the position of Syros and Delos in relation to the ancient mythology and the Homeric Syrie. To this end, together with the secondary school principal Mr Gaïtanos and the teacher Mr Baxevanakis, he made a trip the day before yesterday – the day of the equinox – to Netes, from the top of which to observe the rising and setting of the sun. And although it was not possible to see it owing to the misty weather, it was nevertheless confirmed that Delos lies due east of Syros, and Kythnos due west of it. According to Mr Stavropoulos, in very ancient times, there was a centre of the Phoenician civilisation on Syros, in a place called Phoenikas today, and because the Phoenicians were sun-worshippers, they placed the cult of Apollo on Delos, the island to the east.”

Contemporary scientific measurements have shown that Delos is one of the sunniest spots in the world. For those of us who live on the island, this is a fact, as is the positive charge, the sacredness and the very special nature of the place.

The same god was worshipped both at Delphi and on Delos. The wild, imposing landscape of Delphi prepares the visitor to approach the dark, mysterious god with awe, the god who drove Croesus to disaster and Orestes to matricide. The Delian landscape, on the contrary, like the human body, has soft curves and no hard lines. The low hills, the little valleys, the distances, the temples – all are on a human scale, nothing is oppressive or prohibitive. All these features give the site an amazing gentleness and serenity; they make it humanly warm, familiar as an embrace, and it is not at all accidental that the other aspect of the god is worshiped here: the Apollo of light and colour, the god who represents all those qualities that make the Hellenic civilisation special (light, moderation, harmony, balance), the god of poetry and music, the Musagetes and life-giver; the “ever beautiful, ever young, he on whose tender cheeks no down e’er showed and from whose locks fragrant oil drops upon the ground”. (Callimachus) The difference between the god’s two cult centres is expressed in lines from Pantelis Prevelakis’s poem “Young Erotokritos”:

*You did not rend my flesh like a lightning bolt to enter  
but like the reflected glow of a star you shine within my soul*

The dramatic Delphic landscape bursts upon the visitor with the force of lightening. Delos is “like the reflected glow of a star” that shines eternally in the soul of those who visit it. “Anyone who has not come here,” wrote the Mykonian poet P. Kousathanas, “hasn’t been anywhere.” And later: “The twin islands, Delos with the tumult of bygone life and Rheneia with the silence of death, are not places for strolling around in. Many layers of our History have accumulated on their ruins. They are places of self-knowledge, harsh places, that whirl and eddy, places that devour:

*This island, I’m telling you, is little by little eating me up and I am beginning to resemble it.”<sup>1</sup>*

The silent city with its deserted houses imposes itself on you and makes you silent too, bathes you with light that strips you of matter and spreads you out in infinity; you feel lost, but at the same time you exist as you never existed before. Delos is not just a destination; it is also a point of departure for other, interior voyages, a place of discovery and revelation. The epithets by which the god is worshiped describe the stages of this revelation. He is *Loxias* to those who are not ready to accept him; *Pythius* to those who can formulate questions and expect answers, *Delius* and *Phanaeus* to those to whom he reveals himself and who are beginning to distinguish the truth, *Ismenius* to those who have learned the truth and finally *Leschenorius*, to those who live in the Truth by philosophising.<sup>2</sup>

Martin Heidegger wrote: “Reflections that have concerned me for some time regarding the truth, references to revelation and concealment found the desired confirmation during the sojourn on Delos. They ceased to be something apparently imaginary, they were fulfilled, they were paid for in presentness, they were filled with the ‘clearing’ of the past that had first granted presentness to the Greeks. With the experience of Delos alone, the journey to Greece became a sojourn of ‘clearing’, a sojourn near whatever the truth is...”<sup>3</sup>

Walking through the once busy streets, entering the warm, welcoming houses in the deserted city, strolling through its sanctuaries and markets, one gradually comes to perceive its inhabitants as neighbours and friends. Some are known by name alone, others are known only from the particularly expressive portraits that have been found in their houses; most of them are nameless and unknown, but the presence of all is strongly felt on the island and to talk about spirits would be an oversimplification.



When holding a cup that another person warmed in his hands and raised to his lips to quench his thirst two thousand one hundred years ago, you inevitably think how relative is the concept of time, and how little human nature changes. The two thousand years that have elapsed seem like just yesterday. You feel that even the door-jambs and the stones of the houses still retain the warmth of the people who lived here. You can almost see their shadows still lengthening over the walls of the atrium in the afternoon. You can feel them walking beside you, stooping to look sadly at the ruined walls and empty rooms that once resonated with voices. You can touch them in the broken roof tiles, in the overturned wine cups, in the lamps that once lighted nights of love, or nights of solitude and sorrow.

*Ah, this room, how familiar it is,  
Near the door here was the couch...  
In the middle was the table he wrote at  
and the three big wicker chairs.  
Here sat people who dreamed great dreams  
like you, and like me for that matter,  
and now they are resting under the ground  
without being disturbed by the rain or the moon.  
For all men are as plants  
and every human glory a flower...*

(C.P. CAVAFY – YANNIS RITSOS – PSALMS)









# The Island\*

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**Strabo**, who was born a few years after the destruction of Delos, describes this little island in a few words: “the city of Delos is in a valley where the Sanctuaries of Apollo and Leto may be found. Kynthos, a bald rocky mountain, stands above the city. The Inopos River, which is not very large, crosses the island.”<sup>4</sup> The total area of Delos is just 6.85 km<sup>2</sup>; neighbouring Rheneia is 17 km<sup>2</sup> and Mykonos is 89.7 km<sup>2</sup>. The monuments excavated to date cover an area of some 0.9 km<sup>2</sup> – approximately 1/7 of the total area – in the middle of the island. The island is a granite mass 11-15 million years old (Miocene epoch) with sporadic intrusions of metamorphic carbonate rock (marble) that is more than 150 million years old. In some areas one can find younger strata of poros stone up to 1 million years old from the Pliocene or Pleistocene epochs. As a result of tectonic activity, the small-scale erosion of the rock, the morphology of the terrain and the climatic conditions, most of the surface of Delos is rocky. In some parts of the island, particularly in the little valley of the Sanctuary of Apollo, there is land suitable for the growth of vegetation, but even there the alluvial soil layer is thin.

The valley of the Sanctuary is surrounded by low hills: Skardanas on the north west (32.3 metres high), Gamela on the north (52.8 metres), Plakes (38.4 metres) and an unnamed hill (73.4 metres) on the east, Kynthos (Kastro) on the south east (112.6 metres), Glastrope on the south (35.7 metres) and Kato Vardia (82.8 metres) farther south. Kynthos, despite the fact that it is not very high, dominates the island. From its summit one can see the whole of Delos and the surrounding islands. The Cyclades were thus named because they form a circle around Delos (Cyclades is derived from the Greek word κύκλος = *kyklos* meaning circle). Almost all the eastern coast consists of sheer rock dropping precipitously into the sea. The north and west coasts taper off more softly into many small coves and sandy beaches (Phournoi).

Delos has a temperate island climate. Winters are mild with rare frosts and even rarer, short-lived snow-falls; it last snowed in March of 1987. Summers are fresh and rainless, but it is often humid in the early morning. Strong north winds (*meltemia*) of up to 6-9 on the Beaufort scale blow during July and August. Even for the most modern and well-equipped vessels, the journey to Delos can be difficult during the *meltemia* and, at times, impossible. “*Travelling by sea is no laughing matter*”, writes Cicero<sup>5</sup> to Atticus in July of 51 BC, “*particularly in the month of July. We reached Delos six days after departing from Athens. On the 6<sup>th</sup> of July we set out from Piraeus and reached Sounion with difficult winds which made us tarry there until the next day, but on 8 July the journey to Kea was pleasant. From there we reached Gyaros with a strong wind in our sails despite the fact that it was not contrary to our course. Then on to Syros and thence to Delos, covering the distance faster than we would have wished. The open Rhodian boats, as you well know, are the worst in the world when there is a tempest. After all this, I shall be in no hurry to leave and shall not budge from Delos unless I can see the mountain tops of Tinos clearly.*” Even today, Aegean sailors and fishermen look closely at the Tsiknia mountain top on Tinos; if it can be seen clearly on the horizon it is “*well-omened*”, but if it is covered by clouds, they do not set sail.

The island has no natural sources of water, but in the granite substrata, despite the many tectonic cracks in the terrain, there is a limited ground water horizon at a relatively shallow depth, which is significant for the island. From antiquity to modern times, the island’s drinking water comes from the same wells (Well of

\* The numbers in the margins refer to the photographs, which are not uniform in scale. The size and description of each item in the photographs can be found in the Catalogue on pages 425-441.





Ancient farmland and a modern farmhouse on the south part of Delos. The picture was probably not much different in antiquity.<sup>10</sup>

Cleopatra, Well of Maltezos) in the atriums of the ancient houses. In antiquity, in addition to these private wells, there were many public wells and fountains and all houses had large cisterns below their atriums in which they collected rainwater from their roofs. It has been estimated, perhaps over-optimistically, that the public and private cisterns of Delos could contain 280,000 cubic metres of water, provided the rainfall was as heavy as that of February 2003, in which the reservoirs and cisterns were filled to overflowing for the first time in living memory. It seems that there was never enough water. In the early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC a slave living in the Lake House incised some lines on the wall of his little room, full of nostalgia for his homeland Antioch, “*which has green figs and abundant water*”.



<sup>11</sup>

Rainwater in antiquity created the famous Inopos River which flowed from the northeastern foothills of Kynthos, and its waters were channelled into an artificial reservoir, the Inopos Fountain, from which, by means of extensive irrigation works, it was directed to the city and the port. The rainwater that collected in the lowest part of the island, north of the Sanctuary, formed the celebrated, round Sacred Lake, “*the lake where water turns in a circle, where melodious swans honour the Muses*.”<sup>6</sup>

In the southern part of Delos, on neighbouring Rheneia and on Mykonos, there were farms that supplied the inhabitants of Delos with fresh vegetables – as is the case today. Many of these farms belonged to the Sanctuary and were rented to individuals. They had grapevines, grew wheat and barley, raised goats, sheep, cattle and swine and kept bees. Inscriptions inform us that in the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC on one of the approximately 24 farms on Mykonos there were: *37 fig trees, 2750 grapevines, 25 wild olive trees, 2 myrtles, 3 walnut trees, 56 apple trees, 1 palm tree, 1 laurel tree.*<sup>7</sup> The small valleys and hills of Mykonos were covered by extensive vineyards; Mykonian wine was famous in antiquity and, for centuries, grapes were the symbol of Mykonos. The patron god of Mykonos was Dionysus who was portrayed on the coins of the city nude and crowned with ivy. Two months of the Mykonos calendar, *Lenaion* and *Bacchion*, were named in his honour. Lenaion (January – February) was the most important month in terms of the island’s feasts. On the 10<sup>th</sup> of that month, Demeter, Persephone and Zeus were honoured, while the 11<sup>th</sup> was dedicated to Semele, the unfortunate mother of Dionysus. On the 12<sup>th</sup> of the month, possibly at Leno, where the official sanctuary of the ancient city was perhaps located, the Sanctuary of Dionysus Leneus, sacrifices were made to Dionysus Leneus, Zeus





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Chthonius and Gaea Chthonia in a festival exclusively for Mykonians in which foreigners were not allowed to participate. This three-day festival of Lenaion was organised by the city's rulers and priests; the cost of the sacrifices and feasts was covered by public funds. In the month of Lenaion, the new wine, the blessed gift of Dionysus, was tasted. Outside the city, in the still largely unknown rocky region of Deiras (=row of hills) was the rural temple to Dionysus Baccheus, which held a festival on the 10<sup>th</sup> of Bacchion (March – April). At that time, an unblemished goat was sacrificed, followed by a feast at public expense.

Until at least the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC, there must have been on Delos farms and gardens with trees, that were gradually supplanted by public and private buildings. In the Hellenistic age there were only a few trees in the Sanctuary, east of the Monument of the Bulls, as all the surrounding area had become lots on which the wealthy merchants, shipowners and bankers who had settled on the island built their luxurious houses. In the densely populated Hellenistic city, there was no room for gardens or even for interior gardens in the atriums of homes, as in Pompeii. It is, however, likely that in the colonnaded areas (peristyles) that did not have mosaic floors, there were ornamental plants.

The climatic conditions and varied terrain (low hills, valleys, rocky land, seacoasts) create suitable habitats for the development of vegetation with different requirements. The cisterns of the ancient houses and the natural and artificial hollows that exist in many parts of the island are full of rainwater until June or



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July and provide favourable conditions for the growth of aquatic plants. What does not seem to have changed on the island from antiquity up to the present day is the presence of flora that make Delos a huge natural botanical museum with a large variety of plant life, in addition to being an important archaeological site. To date, 537 species have been recorded, many of which have medicinal properties and have been used from antiquity to modern times for healing purposes. Some plants that have survived in limited numbers and in specific places may possibly be descendants of species that were imported to the island in antiquity for the production of medicines or attars. Medicine was highly developed in the densely populated and wealthy city of ancient Delos.<sup>8</sup> Findings include medical instruments, vessels containing medicines made from plants, clay heating bottles used to induce hyperaemia for the relief of pain, statues of Asclepius, and votive offerings to Apollo, the Graces, Isis, Aphrodite, Demeter and the Hero Doctor for the cure of affected parts of the body. On the south side of the island is an *Asclepeion*; but there must have been other treatment centres on neighbouring Rheneia, to which Delians with more serious illnesses or women ready to give birth would be brought, as it was forbidden for anyone to give birth or die on Delos. Inscriptions found on Delos have preserved the names of many doctors, some of whom had studied at the renowned Asclepeion of Cos. The Delian doctor Antiphanes was the first to introduce the theory that illnesses were caused by diet.



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Vase that contained an unguent of *Centaurea* (knapweed) made by the doctor (?) Apollonides son of Dexandros. *Centaurea*, the herb with which the centaur Cheiron relieved the incumber wound inflicted on him by one of Heracles' poisoned arrows, still grows on Delos.



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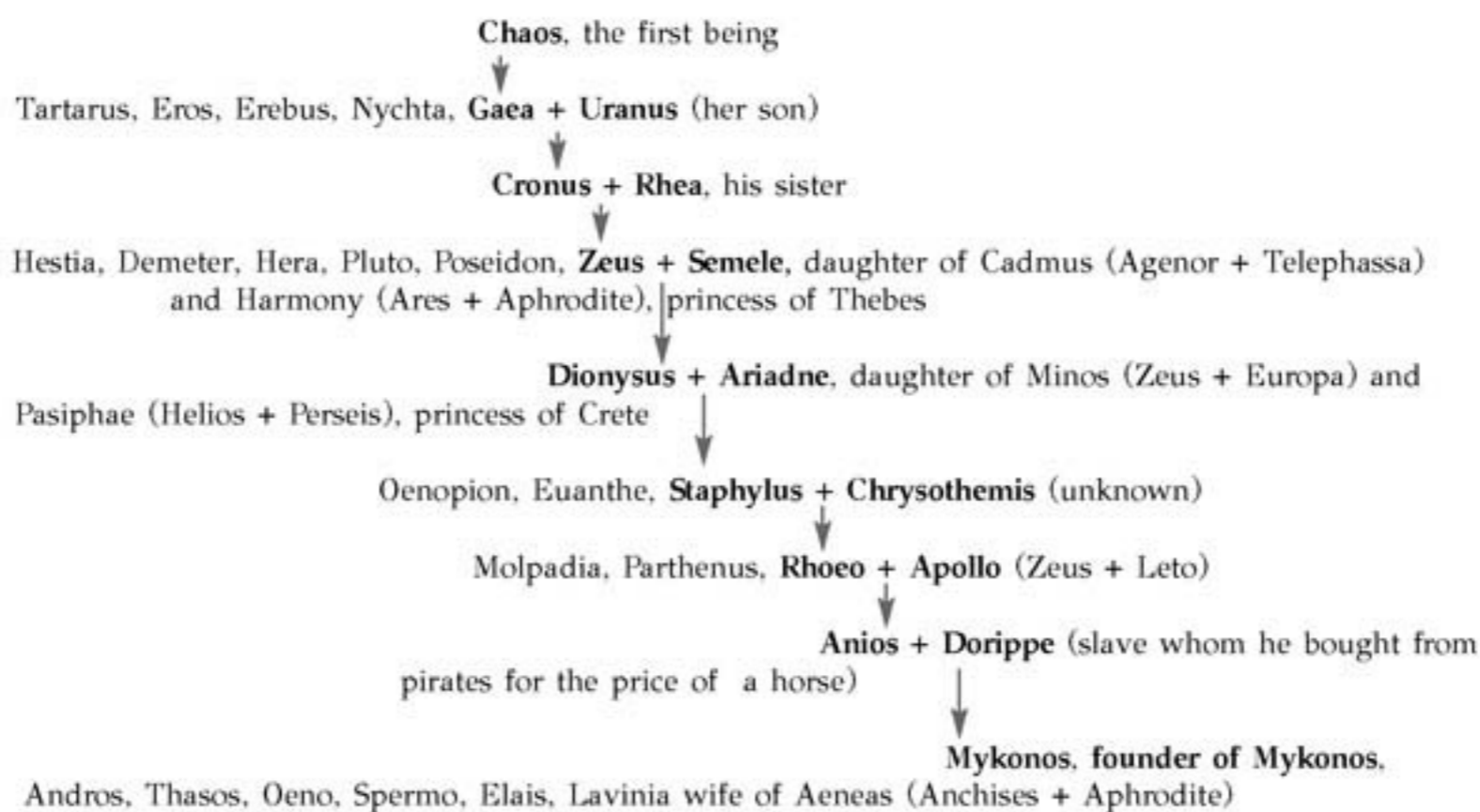


# From Myth to History

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The oldest vestiges of human presence on the island date to the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC. Traces of a prehistoric settlement were found on the summit of Kynthos, a naturally fortified position from which people could easily monitor the small valley and the sea around it, in those troubled and insecure times. Myths indicate that Minoans settled on the island, but nothing has yet been found to document their presence. The Myceneans who came to the island in the late 15<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, having already established their sovereignty over the Aegean, felt safe enough to settle in the small valley by the sea. Anios, the mythical Mycenaean king of Delos, son of Apollo and great-grandson of Dionysus, established relations with several neighbouring states in an effort to preserve neutrality in the conflicts of the age. He played host to the ruler of Troy, Anchises, and to the Achaeans and later to Aeneas, son of Anchises, who had managed to escape from burning Troy. During the Trojan campaign – the first expedition to unite the Greeks in a common struggle, ostensibly to avenge the honour of Menelaus and punish the violation of the precepts of hospitality – the Achaeans anchored at Delos with their fleet and, committing the same crime in triplicate as that of which they accused Paris, seized their host's three daughters. The three princesses of Delos, Spermo, Oeno and Elais, the *Oenotropoi*, had been given the gift by their great-grandfather Dionysus of causing the earth to bear fruit without ploughing, so that their mere presence was a guarantee that the expeditionary force would have the necessary supplies (wheat, wine, olive oil). These three princesses may possibly have been pre-Hellenic divinities who were relegated to a position of secondary importance after the establishment of the patriarchal society and the coming of Apollo, who, together with Athena, was one of the most fanatic supporters of male authority.

Anios also had three sons: Thasos, founder of Thasos, Mykonos, founder of Mykonos, and Andros, founder of Andros. In the genealogy of Anios there are hints of the origin of the Delians and their inter-relationships. Thus from whichever point of view one looks at history, Delians and their descendents the Mykonians came down from gods and princes and were children born of passion and illicit liaisons, not of conventional relationships.









Αὐτὸς δ' ἀργυρότοξε ἄναξ ἑκατηβόλ' Ἄπολλον,  
 ἄλλοτε μὲν τ' ἐπὶ Κύνθου ἐβήσαο παιπαλόεντος,  
 ἄλλοτε δ' ἂν νήσους τε καὶ ἀνέρας ἠλάσκαζες.  
 πολλοὶ τοι νηοὶ τε καὶ ἄλσεα δενδρήεντα,  
 πᾶσαι δὲ σκοπιαὶ τε φίλαι καὶ πρόνες ἄκροι  
 ὕψηλῶν ὀρέων, ποταμοὶ θ' ἄλαδε προρέοντες.  
 ἀλλὰ σὺ Δήλῳ Φοῖβε μάλιστ' ἐπιτέρπεαι ἦτορ,  
 ἔνθα τοι ἔλκεχίτωνες Ἴάονες ἠγερέθονται  
 αὐτοῖς σὺν παιδεσιν καὶ αἰδοίης ἀλόχοισιν.  
 οἱ δέ σε πυγμαχίῃ τε καὶ ὀρχηθμῶ καὶ ἀοιδῇ  
 μνησάμενοι τέρπουσιν ὅταν στήσωνται ἀγῶνα.  
 φαίῃ κ' ἀθανάτους καὶ ἀγήρως ἔμμεναι αἰεὶ  
 ὅς τὸτ' ἐπαντιάσει' ὅτ' Ἴάονες ἀθρόοι εἶεν·  
 πάντων γάρ κεν ἴδοιτο χάριν, τέρψαιτο δὲ θυμὸν  
 ἄνδρας τ' εἰσορόων καλλιζώνους τε γυναῖκας  
 νῆας τ' ὠκείας ἠδ' αὐτῶν κτήματα πολλὰ.  
 πρὸς δὲ τόδε μέγα θαῦμα, ὅου κλέος οὐποτ' ὀλεῖται,  
 κοῦραι Δηλιάδες Ἐκατηβελέταο θεράπναι·  
 αἶ τ' ἐπεὶ ἄρ' πρῶτον μὲν Ἀπόλλων' ὑμνήσωσιν,  
 αὐτίς δ' αὖ Λητώ τε καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ἰοχέαιραν,  
 μνησάμεναι ἀνδρῶν τε παλαιῶν ἠδὲ γυναικῶν  
 ὕμνον ἀείδουσιν, θέλγουσι δὲ φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων.  
 πάντων δ' ἀνθρώπων φωνὰς καὶ κρεμβαλιαστὸν  
 μιμεισθ' ἴσασιν· φαίῃ δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος  
 φθέγγεσθ'· οὕτω σφιν καλὴ συνάρηρεν ἀοιδή.

HOMER, *Hymn to Apollo*, 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC

“And you, O lord Apollo, god of the silver bow, far-shooter, once walked on craggy Kynthos, and once wandered about the islands among the people. Many are your temples and wooded groves, and all hills and towering peaks of lofty mountains and rivers flowing to the sea are yours, Phoebus, yet 'tis Delos that most delights your heart; for there the long robed Ionians gather in your honour with their children and chaste wives: they delight in boxing and dancing and song, and honour you when the games begin, so often as they hold their gathering. A man would say that they were as deathless and ageless as gods, were he to come upon the Ionians thus met together. For he would see the grace of them all, and would be pleased at heart to behold the men and well-girded women, their swift ships and great wealth. And there is this great wonder besides – whose renown shall never perish – the girls of Delos, hand-maidens of the Far-shooter; for when they have praised Apollo first, as well as Leto and Artemis who delights in arrows, they sing, telling of men and women of past days, and charm the tribes of men. Also they can imitate the tongues of all men and their clattering speech: each would say that he himself were singing, so close to truth is their sweet song.”







# *The Sanctuary and its History*

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As early as the Mycenaean period, the history of the island coincides with the history of the Sanctuary that gradually developed in the little valley in the middle of the western shore. Much later, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC, the centre of gravity moved to the bustling port and cosmopolitan city. That was where the decisions were made that determined the fate of the island, whereas the Sanctuary had been transformed into a historic landmark for visitors and a place where Hellenistic rulers flaunted their power and wealth.

The cult of Apollo was established on Delos at least as early as Homeric times. By about the 9<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, the island was already considered the birthplace of the God and his sanctuary had been built in the valley. In the *Odyssey*, when the beleaguered Odysseus saw the willowy Nausicaä, she reminded him of the young palm tree that he had once seen on Delos, next to Apollo's altar. The Homeric "Hymn to Apollo" (circa 700 BC) describes the glorious festivals of the Ionians, when they went to Delos with their wives and children in order to worship the god with hymns, dances, athletic and musical contests and to hear the Delian maidens chanting old hymns "*Imitating the sounds and rhythms of all peoples so well that not one of them would doubt that he himself was singing.*" It is possible that this ability was due to the fact that the chorus consisted of captives who taught hymns in their local idiom to the others. In Euripides' *Hecabe*<sup>9</sup> the captured Trojan women wail: "*O breeze, breeze of the sea, that wafts swift galleys, ocean's coursers, across the surging main! where will you bear me, the sorrowful one? To whose house shall I be brought, to be his slave and chattel? to some haven in the Dorian land, or in Phthia, where men say Apidanus, father of fairest streams, makes fat and rich the soil? Or to an island home, sent on a voyage of misery by oars that sweep the brine, leading a wretched existence in halls where the first-created palm and the bay-tree put forth their sacred shoots for dear Latona, a memorial of her divine birth-pains? and there with the maids of Delos shall I hymn the golden head-band and bow of Artemis, their goddess?*"

According to tradition, Homer himself recited the "Hymn to Apollo" standing beside the *Keraton*, the ancient altar made by Apollo when he was just four years old from the left horns of the goats he had hunted on Kynthos. Ionians, enchanted with the hymn, incised the verses on a stele, which they placed in the temple of Artemis - Apollo did not yet have a temple, just an altar. This altar was built without mortar and was considered one of the Seven Wonders of the World. "*There for the first time did Apollo learn to lay foundations and by Phoebus' example people learnt to lay towns. For Apollo*" the god of civilisation, "*delights when cities are built and he himself lays the foundations*" (Callimachus). When Theseus was returning from Crete, he stopped at Delos and, together with the youths and maidens who accompanied him, danced the *geranos* around the altar, a dance re-enacting their escape from the Labyrinth.

As early as the Archaic period, the Sanctuary of the twin gods Artemis and Apollo occupied a large area and was renowned and respected amongst all Ionians. It included temples, buildings and statues dedicated by the powerful cities of the time in an effort to take advantage of the god's prestige. North of the Sanctuary was the shrine to Leto, mother of the two gods, while in the foothills of Kynthos, some distance away, was the temple of her rival, Hera, who had become reconciled to these fruits, too, of her husband's illicit love.

Every year starting on the 7<sup>th</sup> of the month of Ieros (February-March), "*when the sweet spring begins and the nightingale builds its nest*"<sup>10</sup>, the Greek cities used to send formal deputations and gifts to celebrate the birth of the god. These festivals included a sacrifice, athletic games, concerts by professional musicians, the boys' dance, the dance of the Delian maidens, and various other entertainments, and were particularly splendid as testified by the proverb "*you sing as though you were sailing to Delos*".



Naxos, and later Paros, tried to assert itself by taking advantage of some of the Sanctuary's glory. From the mid-7<sup>th</sup> cent. to the mid-6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, most of the buildings and statues on Delos were dedicated by the Naxians (the Portico, and the *Oikos* of the Naxians, the Sacred Way with the Lion Terrace, the colossal *kouros* etc.); later, the island of Paros followed a similar policy. However, the city that ultimately prevailed was distant Athens, justifying her presence there with various myths. Between 540-528 BC, Peisistratus tyrant of Athens, upon instruction from the Delphic oracle, conducted the first *catharsis* or purification of Delos, removing the graves around the Sanctuary. Apollo was the god of light and death was darkness – thus the dead were a taint on such a holy site. *“The one god is called Apollo and the other Pluto; the one is Delius and the other Aidoneus; the one is Phoebus [the sun] and the other is Scotius [darkness]; the companions of the one are the Muses and Mnemosyne and the other is accompanied by Lethe [Oblivion] and Siope [Silence]. The one is Phaneus of the Light and the other ‘lord of the dark Night and of Sleep’. The one is ‘the god most hated by mortals’, and the other, as Pindar nicely states, ‘was accused of being too lenient on mortals’. Thus Euripides rightly said ‘golden-haired Apollo does not accept libations for the dead and dirges.’ And before Euripides, Stesichoros had commented that ‘Apollo loves song and laughter very much indeed, while sadness and sighs are the legacy of Hades’ ”.*<sup>11</sup>

During the reign of either Peisistratus or his sons, the Poros Temple of Apollo was built and housed a larger-than-life statue of the god, a work by Tectaeus and Angelion. After Peisistratus' death, the Athenians seem to have temporarily abandoned their effort to gain control of this strategic point in the Aegean, and another tyrant, Polycrates of Samos, appeared on the scene. In about 630 BC, Polycrates, who gained the upper hand in the Aegean owing to his strong naval force, *“having prevailed with his navy, exerted his authority over the other islands, conquered Rheneia and dedicated it to Apollo of Delos, attaching it to Delos by a chain.”* (Thucydides)

Delos emerged unscathed from the turmoil of the Persian Wars because the Persians too considered the island sacred and did not sack it, as they did the other islands in the Cyclades. Herodotus<sup>12</sup> narrates that Datis, the admiral of the Persian fleet, did not allow the ships to approach Delos, but anchored at Rheneia and from there sent a message to the “holy men”, who had taken refuge on the mountains of Tinos, to return to Delos, because not only would he not harm them, but his Great King had also ordered him to respect this island where the two gods had been born, as well as its inhabitants. After having burnt incense worth 300 talants on the altar of the god, he left a gold-plated statue of Apollo to be returned to the temple at Delion in Boeotia, whence it had been stolen, and then departed for Eretria.

In 478 BC, after the end of the Persian Wars, the Delian League of Greek cities was formed in order to deal with future threats. The headquarters of the League was on Delos, which was where the enormous sums contributed by the city-states were kept and where their representatives met. Very soon the Delian League evolved into an Athenian hegemony, and the allies became subjects of the Athenians. The funds from the common treasury were moved to the Acropolis in Athens in 454 BC, ostensibly for reasons of security; in reality, however, they were intended to finance Pericles' ambitious building programme.

In 476 BC the second temple of Apollo, the Great Temple, or Delian Temple was begun. Its construction was interrupted because the League's funds had been moved to Athens. Building was resumed during the Period of Independence (314-166 BC), but the temple was never completed.

During the early years of the Peloponnesian War, the Athenians, crowded within their city walls, were in desperate straits due to the plague that killed off many inhabitants *“like sheep”*, as Thucydides<sup>13</sup> writes. In 429 BC, Pericles died a saddened man, having buried even the son born to him by Aspasia; political life was then dominated by demagogues, ruthless professionals who profited from the war. A year later, in 428 BC, Mytilene revolted and was punished harshly by the insecure Athenians; there is evidence of threatening moves on the part of Delos as well. It is estimated that in 427/6 BC the victims of the plague numbered 30,000. Thucydides reports that the Athenians had reached such a state of shamelessness that: *“neither fear of the gods nor the laws of men restrained them any longer, because they believed that it was one and the same whether they respected the divine or not, seeing that all were equally doomed; and as for criminal behaviour, they did not expect to live until they were tried and punished, believing that the doom which had been meted out to them and was now hanging over their heads, was greater. Thus, before their doom befell them, it seemed natural to try and enjoy life as best they could.”*<sup>14</sup> In such an atmosphere of despair and insecurity they committed a heinous crime, the “purification” of Delos, supposedly for reasons of piety. They opened up all the graves on the island, even the most recent ones, and moved the bones and funerary offerings to Rheneia, where everything was buried in a common pit. At the same time, they decided that no one could be born or die on Delos; and that women close to



delivery and the seriously ill should be transferred to Rheneia.<sup>15</sup> From that time on, no one was born, no one died, and no one was buried on the holy island; and the inhabitants of Delos, as was the intention of the Athenians, were left without a homeland. So when the Delians later requested help from the Spartans, this fact enabled the latter, ever reluctant to venture far from Sparta, to claim that Delos could not be their homeland as they themselves had neither been born there, nor were their ancestors buried there.

We can imagine the despair and frustration of the Delians during those winter days, helplessly watching the slaves of the Athenians opening the graves of their loved ones and throwing the bones and funerary offerings onto boats in order to transport them across the water and dump them into the common grave. This pit, the "purification pit", was discovered and excavated by Dem. Stavropoulos<sup>16</sup> in 1898-1900. This exceptionally significant discovery is described in her own inimitable way by the Mykonian author Melpo Axioti.<sup>17</sup>

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"The crows are going to roost on Deles – which means that it's already darkening... A long-lived winged creature is the crow, and throughout its long life, this same journey through day and night is what it has to remember. But just once a man appeared to disturb the deserted hollows of Delos, the peaceful nights: Demetris Stavropoulos. Ephor of Antiquities of the Cyclades toward the end of the last century, he used to read Thucydides, the ancient, and saw it written that the Athenians proclaimed Delos to be sacred,

*Giorgis Polykantriotis, bending over the fragments found in the Purification Pit in 1900 (photograph by Dem. Stavropoulos, Mykonos on 22<sup>nd</sup> July 1900) and in about 1940 with his young assistant Demetris Solomos.*



*Nuptial lebes from the Purification Pit showing nymphs with their arms intertwined dancing to the music played by Apollo. Drawing by Giorgis Polykandriotis.*





and not only forbade burying or bearing mortals on this land, but that they also dug up the graves in the year 424, unearthed the bones with whatever else was left, and took them opposite, to Megales Deles, which was called Rheneia. And now, this same job was done again by Demetris Stavropoulos: to dig on Megales Deles, to disturb the solitary birds... Because there, he had got to find the “the purification pit”. What jewellery there was to be found, what vases, what vessels, in the jumble of that pit, plates and dishes and oil jars, oil lamps, whatever things could be found in the households of the rich and the poor, their ornaments, which the living person needed and wanted, they wanted to accompany them to the underworld. And all the small and large things were found in smithereens, a mountain of broken shard ... but the learned person will never call anything a broken pot, but rather calls it a “shard”... And the other result of the “purification pit” discovered with the help of his great brain, was that the name of the Ephor, Demetris Stavropoulos, has remained in history, the island acquired a great museum, Greece enriched its collections, humanity filled in some gaps in its knowledge of ancient civilisations and Georgis Polykandriotis, the tailor from Mykonos who stuck them all together, went blind after spending his whole life stooping over these vessels, gluing them together.”

Georgios Polykandriotis laboured to join together fragments of pots from 1898 until 1946, when he retired. By 1931, from the mounds of thousands of fragments that used to arrive in baskets from Rheneia, he had managed to piece together and reconstruct some 2,500 vessels. In later years, virtually blind, he worked with the help of two magnifying glasses, one on top of the other, and until his death in 1965, continued to visit his beloved museum on an almost daily basis and to offer his valuable advice. His daughter Hecate later tells Stavros Manesis<sup>18</sup>: “*Me father went blind at 55 years old. Before he got blind ‘e ‘ad diziness! And the doctors said to him that t’was his heart – t’was glaucoma...*” She also described how he made the acquaintance of D. Stavropoulos: “*Father must have been no older than 18 and working as a gentlemen’s tailor. At that time, there were no hotels and me Nan, from me father’s side, ran the upper ‘ouse in the Castle as an inn. Then Stavropoulos came as Ephor of Antiquities to Mykonos, young, around thirty-ish to 35 years old. He used to see my father on the balcony, drawin’ whatever he seed. So Stavropoulos came, still single, and stayed at this inn that me Nan had. Father had a pencil and drew all what he seed, and Stavropoulos observed the lad. And he said to me Gran – me Lala, as we say in Mykonos: Missus Katerno, your son is an artist born. Not a teacher, nor a gentlemen’s tailor. Sez me Nan: So m’dear, what am I to do? He says: I’ll take him to the Museum to draw the vases and later... they truly took him on. And all the little bits he used to put together, then he’d look at their decoration and drawings and fill them in...*”

The findings from the purification pit were hundreds of valuable vases of exceptional quality, but there were no objects of precious metal, except for a few leaves from gold wreaths. It seems that together with the purification, the graves were looted and plundered. None of the other cities reacted to this terrible act, which today would cause an international outcry, and none of the contemporary (Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Xenophon, Plato etc.) or later writers referred to it. Thucydides<sup>19</sup> alone described the event in two sentences, without further commentary. A few years later these same people condemned six of the ten victorious generals of the naval battle of Arginouses to death because they showed disrespect for the dead and failed to collect the bodies of shipwreck victims for burial. This time the dead were their own.

In 490 BC the “barbarian” Persian admiral Datis respected and honoured the Delians as “holy men”.<sup>20</sup> In 422 BC the Athenians considered them impure, unsuitable to serve the god, and completed the “purification” by exiling all of the local population.<sup>21</sup> The Delians took refuge at Adramyttium in Asia Minor, having been invited there by Pharnaces, but were betrayed and massacred by Arsaces. The few who survived were allowed to return to Delos after the intervention of the Oracle of Delphi.<sup>22</sup>

Immediately after the purification, and despite the fact that they were still at war, the Athenians, out of remorse or fear, began the exceedingly costly task of constructing yet another temple to Apollo, this time of white Pentelic marble, and established the *Delia*, or Delian Games a festival in honour of Apollo. The *Delia*, together with the *Pythia*, the other great festival in honour of the god, coincided with the third year of every Olympiad. This third temple, the Temple of the Athenians, was splendidly inaugurated during the *theoria* or deputation to Delos, that was funded and led by the moderate Nicias, in 417 BC. The deputation was one of the obligations that wealthy Athenians had to shoulder, and entailed funding a delegation to travel to the Delian Games. The deputation travelled on the thirty-oared military vessel (*triakontoron*) that Theseus had used to sail to Crete, an ancient and sacred boat, which by means of careful repairs and maintenance, was in service until the early 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, according to Plutarch, or until the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC, according to Callimachus.<sup>23</sup> Until the sacred boat returned from Delos, public executions were forbidden, and it was for



this reason that the execution of Socrates<sup>24</sup> was postponed in 399 BC. The wealthy Nicias dazzled the crowds gathered at Delos for the celebration with an impressively contrived arrival: “When he led his deputation, he disembarked at Rheneia with the chorus, the sacrificial victims and the rest of his preparations, as well as with a bridge constructed in Athens of the exact dimensions (that had previously been taken) and luxuriously decorated with gilding, bright colours, garlands and curtains. That night he bridged the passage between Rheneia and Delos, which is not great, and at first light he crossed the bridge, leading the procession and the chorus, which was luxuriously adorned and singing, towards the god.”<sup>25</sup> This festival in 417 BC at Delos was one of the last joys that Nicias took part in. Four years later, in October of 413 BC, he was slaughtered by the Corinthians in Sicily during the disastrous expedition on which the Athenians had embarked, led by the handsome but ruthless Alcibiades and by their own boundless arrogance. Describing the misfortunes that befell the Athenians, in one of the most powerful anti-war texts in human history, Thucydides<sup>26</sup> momentarily forgetting the strict objectivity of the historian, comments that “of all contemporary Greeks, Nicias was the one who least deserved such an end”.

After the death of Alexander the Great, the Aegean suffered almost forty years of upheaval due to the wars between the ambitious generals who succeeded him. In 314 BC Antigonos declared Greece free and proclaimed a return to Alexander’s policy of democratic governance. His fleet reached the Aegean where Lemnos, Imbros and Delos had already revolted against Athens and the Cyclades against Cassander. Even though Athens still retained the prestige of being the intellectual centre, it was a city of no strategic or geopolitical importance at that time and played no substantial role in developments. Antigonos and his son, Demetrius Poliorcetes (the “Besieger”), established the Commonwealth of the Islands, with Delos as its religious centre, whereupon Delos was declared free and independent (314-166 BC).

After the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, the only significant construction activity on the site of the Sanctuary was the partial completion of the Temple of the Delians and the building of a new temple to Artemis. During the Period of Independence, however, the rulers of the Hellenistic states vied with each other in constructing magnificent buildings on Delos, where all Greeks could gaze upon and marvel at the wealth and power of the cities that had built them. The kings of Pergamum built (mid-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC) a large *stoa* or portico on the east side of the Sacred Way that led from the Hellenistic port to the entrance of the Sanctuary. Across the Way an even larger portico was built at a later date (c. 210 BC) by Philip V, as attested by the inscription on the epistyle: PHILIP KING OF THE MACEDONIANS, [SON OF] KING DEMETRIUS, TO APOLLO. As was to be expected, the presence of the ruling Macedonians was strong at this pan-Hellenic sanctuary. Antigonos III Doson (Gonatas), Philip’s grandfather had built another portico (c. 250 BC) which demarcated the northern boundary of the Sanctuary. Late in the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, Philip’s great-grandfather Demetrius Poliorcetes built the *Neorion*, a large building that housed a trireme dedicated to Apollo.

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The entire site of the Sanctuary was studded with hundreds of marble and bronze statues, costly votive offerings from cities or wealthy individuals; unfortunately, only their inscribed pedestals survive.



# Gods and Mortals

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As early as the 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, Xenophanes of Colophon (580-484 BC) points out that “if oxen or horses or lions had hands and could draw and make things like men do, horses would make their gods like horses, oxen like oxen, and would draw their forms and mould their bodies just like the bodies they each have themselves.”<sup>27</sup> In this way it is noted that it is not God who creates mortals but, instead, man who creates God “in his own image and likeness”. Heraclitus was similarly down-to-earth: “This world, which is the same for all, no god nor man did create, but always was and is and will be: ever-living fire, kindling in measures and being quenched in measures.” In the early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC, Euhemerus of Messene gave vent to the intense scepticism in vogue in those troubled times, further undermining what little remained of traditional faith. In his work *Iera Epigraphi* (Sacred Inscription) he claimed to have seen an ancient inscription in a temple of Zeus referring to the origins and acts of the gods. According to this inscription, Zeus was a man who had been a distinguished king and conqueror, and when he died, his subjects, in gratitude, honoured him as a god. The same was true for Apollo, Aphrodite and all the other gods: they were mortals who had died centuries before and had been deified by the people. In reality, they had died as all mortals do, and existed no more.

The gods who are worshipped in a place are a reflection of its inhabitants, revealing their needs, concerns and hopes. This is even more manifest in the case of the Greek gods, who were always very close to human nature. Homer and the tragic poets depict the gods displaying their passions, while Aristophanes does not hesitate to bring them down onto the stage, to share a joke and laugh with them. Xenophanes<sup>28</sup> criticises Homer and Hesiod for ascribing to the gods all human faults such as stealing, promiscuity and deceit.

With the transition from a matriarchal to a patriarchal society, female deities were relegated to a position of secondary importance. Hera became the wife of Zeus; and on Delos, Leto and Artemis simply became the mother and sister of Apollo. Uranus, Cronus and later Zeus swallowed the children of female deities in an attempt to replace them, even in reproducing life. Gaea reacts by castrating Uranus; her daughters would later do the same. This could be considered a kind of matriarchal original sin, and ever since then castration (whether real, psychological or symbolic) has been men’s eternal, unutterable fear, since the quintessence of masculinity is condensed in the phallus.

It was the primeval god *Phobus* (Fear), generator and moving force of all, as well as the need to name things, that recast traumatic human memories into charming myths and hymns to the omnipotence of the gods. These gods, at least in historic times, were fashioned in such a way as to be held up as models, protectors and supporters of every governing authority seeking to prevail over furious revolutionary movements. The Olympian gods were the omnipotent gods of Order and Civilisation who always defeated anarchy and challenges to the status quo. Among the violent, uncivilised and anarchist beings in mythology who sometimes threatened the heavenly or earthly ruling class were the Cyclops, Hecatoncheires, Titans, Giants, Centaurs, and the surrounding “barbarian peoples”; there, too, were women such as the Amazons, Danaïds and the women of Lemnos, up to and including Antigone and Clytemnestra. By threatening the Order instituted by male rule through similar acts of revolution and murder, all of these committed *hubris* and were fiercely punished for it by Nemesis, who, although a woman, was directed by a man, Zeus.

Apollo, the pre-eminent advocate and supporter of patriarchy,<sup>29</sup> appeared to rule the island up to the end, promoting the ideals and values that served the city-state and the aristocracy, but that were especially harsh on the common people. His dominion, undisputed in archaic and classical times, was visibly shaken in the Hellenistic period when, following the conquests of Alexander the Great, the narrow but secure boundaries of cities were abolished, long voyages became possible for many more people, human horizons were broad-



ened, and standards, values and ideals were subject to change. The impersonal superego of the city that demanded uniform behaviour from everybody and fanatically persecuted anyone who stood out, whether for good or bad, began to give way to the ideals of individual success and happiness and people felt freer to follow the desires of their hearts and their passions. The gods who corresponded most to the demands of those times were Aphrodite, Dionysus, Heracles and the Eastern gods who came to Delos with the new inhabitants and soon acquired splendid sanctuaries.

The ancient Greeks were never imbued with the fanaticism or intolerance towards other religions that came with the later, monotheistic religions. They were always willing to accept that the neighbour's god was also a god, perhaps even one of their own under a different name, "just as the sun and the moon and the heavens and the earth and the sea are common to all, but are called by different names by different peoples."<sup>20</sup> Apollo, after some initial misgivings, was forced to share his native land with Sarapis, Isis, Harpocrates and Anubis, with the God of Israel and the gods of the Arab nations, with Atargatis and Hadad, with the gods of Ascalon and Iamnia and all the other gods who accompanied the new inhabitants.

G O D S	TOTAL	STATUETTES	STATUES	RELIEFS	MASKS	BUSTS	STELAE	FIGURINES	SYMBOLS	WALL PAINTINGS	MOSAICS	JEWELLERY	VASES
Aphrodite	499	438	5	1	-	-	-	55	;	-	-	+	+
Eros	111	32	1	3	-	-	-	69	;	3	3	+	+
Hermaphroditus	15	3	-	3	-	-	9	-	8	-	-	-	+
Heracles	133	46	8	9	2	-	18	16	;	24	(2)	+	+
Dionysus	23	6	2	2	2	-	-	6	-	-	5	-	+
Silanoi, Satyrs	41	9	5	13	-	-	7	6	-	-	1	-	+
Masks	18	-	-	-	18	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+
Actors	7	-	2	-	+	-	-	4	;	1	+	+	+
Artemis	66	43	9	11	-	-	-	3	;	-	-	-	-
Isis, Isis-Tyche	56	35	5	9	-	-	-	6	-	1	-	+	+
Athena	55	33	2	1	-	-	-	18	-	-	1	+	+
Cybele	35	17	-	11	-	-	-	7	1	-	-	-	-
Hermes	30	-	-	3	-	-	24	-	-	1	1	+	+
Apollo	27	15	5	6	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Sarapis	20	3	1	3	-	6	-	7	-	-	-	+	-
Asclepius	15	5	-	6	-	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	-
Harpocrates	14	2	-	1	-	-	4	7	-	-	-	+	+
Hecate	11	-	-	3	-	-	8	-	9	-	-	+	-
Dioscuri	10	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lares	10	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	-
Nike	9	3	1	1	-	-	-	3	-	1	-	+	+
Muses	8	4	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	+
Poseidon	8	4	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	(3)	-	-
Mounted Hero	6	1	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Priapus	6	-	-	-	-	-	5	1	-	-	-	-	+
Zeus	5	4	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nymphs	5	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Pan	5	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	+
Attis	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Agathodemon	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Anubis	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hera	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hephaestus	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Leto	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Gods worshipped on Delos during the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.



By counting how often each god is referred to or depicted in Hellenistic Delos, we can see who were the most popular and thereby gain insight into the preferences, needs, worries, fears and generally the psychology of the inhabitants of Delos during the late Hellenistic period. The most popular, with a percentage of 39.7, is loving Aphrodite, goddess of “utmost sensuality”. Heracles comes second although with a significant difference (popularity 10.5%). By always obeying the wishes of Zeus, he lived a difficult life full of toil and troubles, but gained immortality. The qualities he personified paved the way for the Christian religion, especially the idea of a reward in heaven. Dionysus and his merry band show the Delians’ love for entertainment, while the strong presence of Isis reveals the need for solace and hope. Apollo, “*the far shooter, the silver-bowed, long-tressed, golden-haired*” had already fallen to ninth place (with a percentage of only 2.1) as he was somehow too perfect, cold and cerebral and could no longer reassure people or assuage their fears. The fact that the majority of gods were female (59.3%) and that Artemis was in fourth place shows that the social position of women had improved. This is further borne out by dedicatory inscriptions.

538 The insecurity that people felt in those days drove them to seek help not only from the gods but also from the powers of darkness, chiefly in matters of revenge or of the heart, as is the case today. The Jews – Delos has the oldest synagogue of the Diaspora – sought the help of Almighty God and of the angels to exact revenge on whoever poisoned Heracleia and Marthine:<sup>31</sup> “*I invoke and request the almighty God, the Lord of spirits and all flesh, against those who foully murdered or poisoned long-suffering Heracleia before her time, shedding her innocent blood unjustly, that those who murdered or poisoned her and their children be punished in the same way...*” Others, however, believing that the gods listen only to prayers which stem from fair and pure desires, resorted to white or black magic, the use of which had taken on alarming dimensions as early as the time of Plato: “*Charlatan priests and fortune tellers go chiefly to the houses of the rich and convince them that they have the god-given power to wash away their sins or the sins of their ancestors with incantations and sacrifices. They even maintain that they can, for a small fee, harm the enemies [of their clients] with spells and curses, whether [their client] because they say they can force the gods to obey them.*”<sup>32</sup> The inhabitants of Hellenistic Delos frequently followed such paths. T. Paconius incised the names of his adversaries on a sheet of lead and attached it to a grave on Rheneia with five bronze nails, obviously on the grave of someone taken young, someone taken before his time, whose uneasy spirit still wandered this earth. This tablet contained more than 21 names including many members from the Paconius family, several other Romans and Greeks and the Athenian governor of Delos, Serapion. Another person, a woman this time, incised a terrible curse against the person who stole her snake bracelet and dropped the sheet of lead down the well of the neighbourhood in which she suspected the thief lived: “*Supreme Sykonian gods, Lady goddess Syria Sykona, avenge me and punish; I curse whoever took, whoever stole my snake bracelet, I curse those who knew it and I curse those who were accomplices; I curse the brain, the soul and the nerves of the person who stole the bracelet and of those who knew and of those who cooperated; I curse the genitals and hands of the person who took the bracelet; I curse him from his head to the toenails on his feet, both the thief and those who knew, whether a man or a woman.*”<sup>33</sup> In rituals of sympathetic magic, bronze figurines of men, bound hand and foot, were used to “bind” errant lovers. With magic chants and potions, while turning lead wheels in the moonlight, they would attempt to bring back a wayward lover:<sup>34</sup>

*Where are the laurels, Thestylis? Bring me the philtres  
Throw a red woollen cloth over the cup  
So that I may bind the man who resists me...  
Turn O magic wheel and bring him to me  
Delphis has set me alight and I burn laurels for him  
And just as they crackle and sparkle alight  
And suddenly burn, leaving no ashes behind  
So must Delphis’ body melt away with passion  
Turn, O magic wheel and bring him to me...*

513 It is typical of those times that Mindia, an interpreter of dreams, makes so much money from her occupation that she is able to contribute large sums to the Sanctuary of the Egyptian Gods. Everybody is afraid of envy and the evil eye, which is why amulets are worn in the shape of a phallus or a fist with the thumb clenched between the index and the middle finger. People draw protecting divinities on the outside walls of their houses to keep evil away, mainly Heracles Alexikakos [= who wards off evil], and deterrent symbols such as the caps of the Dioscuri, Heracles’ club, a representation of the moon, or the all-powerful phallus. The power of the phallus over the evil eye is displayed in a relief from the House of Inopos<sup>35</sup> where the figure of a lion-shaped phallus strikes an open eye with its phallus. In their workshops and in their houses,



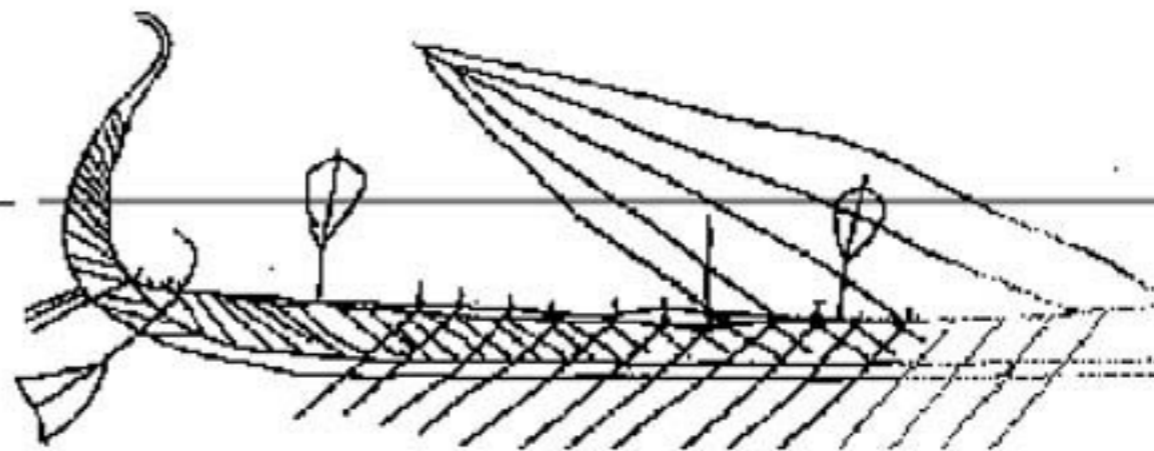
Delians also placed *provaskania*,<sup>36</sup> strange figurines of males sitting with their legs open exhibiting their enormous phalluses. Their stance was similar to the usual stance of the Egyptian god Bes or Besa, a good-hearted, pot-bellied chap who averted evil influences, neutralised sorcery, brought good cheer and soothed anxieties. He was often depicted on amulets joining his powers with those of other gods to combat envy. Vases in such shapes were placed on the table – Aristotle writes that magic can be worked even on food – or hung in a conspicuous spot to protect the inhabitants of the house. Their unusual, grotesque appearance drew visitors' attention, mitigating the effects of the evil eye, and by displaying their genitals they also combated envy. Ithyphallic herms (squared pillars with a male head at the top and an erect male organ half-way up) were placed in the atriums of houses, at crossroads, and on out-of-the-way streets and squares to protect passers-by from evil spirits and bad intentions. The point at which three roads met was considered the realm of the terrible Hecate, chief goddess of witches, and such places were carefully avoided by everybody at night. A successful (if the money she left behind is any indication) prostitute was so frightened of envy that she wore all the amulets together on one bracelet: the phallus, Heracles' club, three-faced Hecate, the hand, Harpocrates, a herm, an axe and a hammer.





## The Ports

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### The Period of Independence

came to an end when the Macedonians were defeated by the Romans at Pydna in 168 BC. In 166 BC, the Romans granted Delos to the Athenians who once again exiled the Delians – this time permanently – and installed their own settlers on the island. The Romans, who were thenceforth to regulate the fate of the Mediterranean, proclaimed Delos a free port aiming thus to precipitate the financial ruin of the rival Rhodians. The fact that Delos was exempted from tax (*ateleia*) by the Romans, as well as its exceptionally favourable geographical location and the destruction in 146 BC of Corinth, hitherto an important commercial centre, resulted in Delos becoming the hub of the transit trade between East and West, North and South. Powerful Rhodes was economically ruined, as revenues from her port dropped from one million to 150.000 drachmae,<sup>37</sup> while Delos soon became the *maximum emporium totius orbis terrarum* (Festus), the greatest commercial centre in the world. “Notwithstanding the fact that Delos was already glorious”, writes Strabo<sup>38</sup> at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC, “the total destruction of Corinth by the Romans made it even more glorious. Importers moved their businesses to Delos because the Sanctuary provided asylum and because the port was in a good position for people travelling from Italy and Greece to Asia. The feast of the god is a sort of commercial festival and the Romans, more than other people, frequented the island even before the destruction of Corinth. When the Athenians got the island they looked after both the religious festivals of the Sanctuary and the importers.”

A natural by-product of the island’s growing wealth was the sharp increase in population and intense construction activity. The city grew larger, new districts sprang up and many private residences and public buildings were constructed.

The archaic port in the northwest of the island was small and could no longer serve the increased commercial activity, so the necessary new harbour installations were gradually built on the more favourable western part of the island.<sup>39</sup> While in previous centuries the city was an offshoot of the Sanctuary, henceforth the city and the Sanctuary were to become subordinate to the port. In addition to the Sacred Port, there were four other commercial ports for the large merchant vessels of the time. It has been estimated that 150 *myriophoroi* (merchant ships with a 250-ton capacity) and 100 smaller passenger and fishing vessels could anchor simultaneously in these harbours (which were approximately 1500 m. long). On the noisy wharves where the light, airy Greek tunics or *chitons* mixed with the colourful, exotic apparel of foreigners, ships from all over the Mediterranean were constantly loading and unloading tons of merchandise and thousands of slaves. “Delos”, writes Strabo<sup>40</sup> at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, “in one day could import and export tens of thousands of slaves; that is why there was a saying ‘merchant come to the port, unload and all is sold’. The reason for this is that the Romans, who grew rich following the destruction of Carthage and Corinth, needed many servants”.

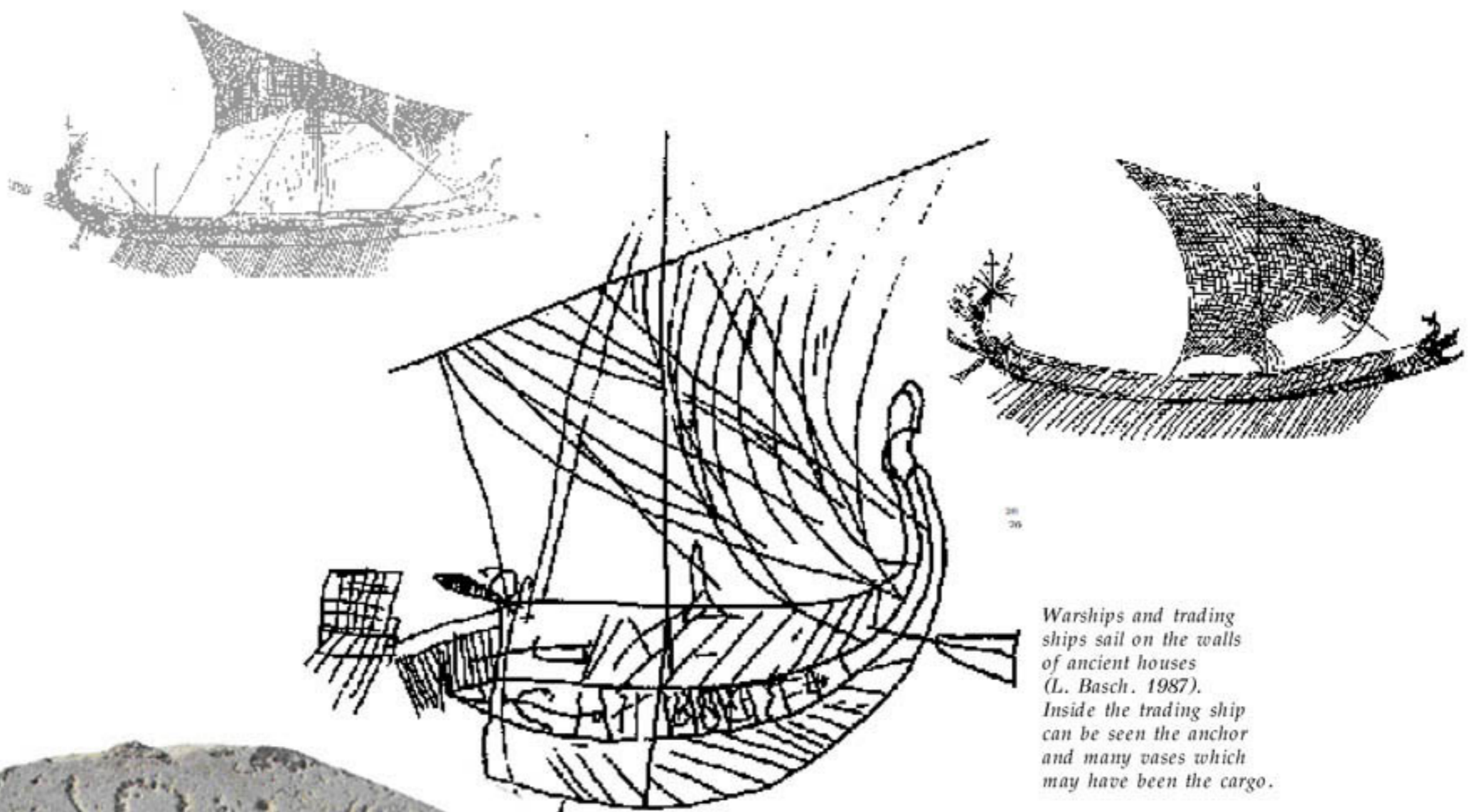
The seafaring inclination of the island’s inhabitants, the majority of whom were employed in the maritime trade, is evident in both the Sanctuary and the city. Marine motifs were very popular: mosaic floors were frequently decorated with anchors, tridents and Tritons; children played with boats and anchors and drank from bottles shaped like fish or dolphins and the nights were lit by ship-shaped lamps.

Dolphins were often depicted on mosaic floors, on jewellery, on marble *exedrae* (bases of a group of statues with a bench in front) in the Sanctuary and on statues of Aphrodite. Since ancient times, Aegean fishermen and sailors have been familiar with these charming mammals who appear when the sky is clear and the sea is calm, and follow ships, cavorting and playing on the surface of the sea. Because these friendly companions of lonely sea voyages usually appeared after the storms of the spring solstice, which was when



sea voyages would begin again after the winter, they were associated with Apollo-Helios (Delphinios), the god who could pass through the dark of storms, dissolve black clouds and calm stormy seas. According to the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*, the god himself, transformed into a dolphin, led Cretan sailors to Crissa and to Delphi to become his first priests there. The *Delphinia*, a festival in honour of Delphinios Apollo, protector of sailors, and celebrated on 6 Munychion (March-April), was the official start of sea voyages. As the harbingers of good weather, dolphins were symbols and companions of the maritime deities (Poseidon, Amphitrite, Nereids), and protectors and helpers of sailors. In mythology and in the modern folk tradition, dolphins have been associated with the miraculous rescue of shipwrecked sailors (Telemachus, Arion, Phalanthus, Coeranus) and with ferrying the bodies of the dead back to land for burial (Melicertes, Hesiod).

Dozens of pictures of ships were found incised on the walls of ancient houses. Fishing boats, warships, and merchant vessels are depicted showing their rigging and equipment in great detail, making these walls a unique illustrated encyclopedia of the ships that sailed the Mediterranean in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.<sup>41</sup> Many of these drawings were made by sailors passing through after the destruction of Delos. The custom was continued in later years, possibly in the belief that the image of a ship on the holy island would put that ship under the protection of the god – similar to the modern custom of hanging silver votive offerings under icons. Many ships and the names of sailors have been incised on marble in the Sanctuary, while carved on the base of the Colossus of the Naxians can be seen some of the earliest evidence of the presence of the American fleet in the Aegean: *Captain M. C. Perry, U.S.N., 1826*.



Warships and trading ships sail on the walls of ancient houses (L. Basch, 1987). Inside the trading ship can be seen the anchor and many vases which may have been the cargo.



Graffiti incised by travellers on the base of the Colossus of the Naxians.



# The City

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In fertile southern Rheneia (Ambelonas), an ancient city was discovered that had been abandoned in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC when part of the hill on which it was built broke away and tumbled into the sea. It is possible that at the period when Delos still retained its exclusively sacred character, this may have been the original city where people lived who were not directly involved in the operation of the Sanctuary. It seems that following this disaster, some people settled on Delos. By the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, in addition to the priests and servants who were required to run the enormous Sanctuary, there were also many other inhabitants on the island. Ancient inscriptions inform us that the Sanctuary owned many houses which were rented to people. The few surviving place names indicate that these houses were located in the region of the Inopos River, near the Hippodrome, but chiefly near the port, as trade had begun to flourish on the island. Indicative of the number of residents on the island is the fact that by the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, when the theatre was still dominated by men (playwrights, sponsors, actors and audiences were all male), a theatre with a seating capacity of 6,500 persons was built.<sup>42</sup>

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The city seen by the modern visitor spread over the slopes of the six low hills surrounding the small valley of the Sanctuary within a few decades after 166 BC, when the *ateleia* was declared. The result of this rapid growth was a haphazardly built city with no town plan and no regular street layout. This is especially evident in the Theatre Quarter, the oldest quarter of the city, inhabited mainly by the descendants of the Athenian lot-holders who had settled on Delos; they were small landowners who constituted a sort of gentry which was desperately trying to exist alongside the financial oligarchy that ran the island. They engaged in commerce, while cultivating grain and vines on their land and keeping bees, cattle and swine. Their homes are well-organised manors with wine presses to crush grapes and cellars and storerooms with large clay jars for storing must and cereals.

4, 755-774

The Theatre Quarter was the most expensive neighbourhood in the city which is why all those who succeeded in having a house there tried to take maximum advantage of their land, and as a result, there is great variety in the ground plan of houses, and the streets are narrow and irregular. Wealthy and average houses are side by side, with no class distinctions. In many cases, two small houses were joined together to better serve the needs of new owners. This is what a certain Cleopatra did, adding a luxurious marble peristyle to a court that was too small for such a structure. But, the neighbours' houses had such peristyles and obviously Cleopatra thought it *de rigueur* for her family's social standing.

8

773, 774

In front of the houses, connected to the main building by a door, there are small shops in which slaves would sell their master's products. When shops were rented to a merchant, the connecting doors were sealed off. Tall houses did not allow the sun to penetrate through to the narrow (1.45-3 m. width) irregular streets, which must therefore have been dark, damp and full of mud during the winter. With its lack of planning and crooked, sunless lanes, the Theatre Quarter resembled a medieval town.

In the newer quarter of Skardanas, inhabited mainly by well-to-do Italians and foreign merchants, it is evident that there were attempts to follow a city plan and build on city blocks, but it was not always adhered to. The streets in this region are much wider (4.50-9 metres) but gradual encroachments kept being made in order to enlarge the houses and create new shops. The shops built to the east of the House of the Diadumenos and the Establishment of the Poseidoniasts decreased the width of the avenue leading from the port of Skardanas to the Sanctuary by 3 metres and the owners of the Lake House similarly appropriated 3 metres of the public road, narrowing it from 4.50 to 1.50 metres. In every unexploited nook and cranny in the already densely populated city centre, new little shops, craftsmen's workshops and houses kept spring-

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ing up. It is obvious that the wealthy new residents did not see Delos as their homeland but as a temporary seat for their professional activities.

However, the city had a complete drainage system: each house's drains were connected to the main network that ran along all the streets. Wastes were dumped into the sea.

Owing to the contour of the terrain, the narrow, stone-paved streets of the Theatre Quarter and the dirt roads in the other districts were all fairly steep, and steps had to be built in some places. Naturally, carts and carriages could not use these roads and neither could pack animals because there were shops on either side of the street with heavy pedestrian traffic throughout the day. So the transport of heavy items and the re-stocking of shops probably took place between sundown and dawn.

None of the shops in the city have a latrine, nor are there any public latrines in the four large markets or within the Sanctuary. There were few women to be seen in these areas, and the men who frequented them had few inhibitions, as the behaviour of Blepyrus and Pheidippides in the comedies of Aristophanes indicates. Typically, the site on which the first Sarapieion was built is described as "*a place full of faeces*", while in the financial reports of the Sanctuary, reference is made to sums of money allocated for cleaning and the removal of faeces. It seems that there were no other provisions made for cleaning the city or for dealing with refuse. One street north of the Avenue of the Lions, which was excavated in recent years, was found to be full of heaps of rubbish (remains of food, broken vessels, useless tools) and it seems that streets and public spaces generally were in a similar condition. At the Minoan Fountain, as early as the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, there was an inscription forbidding washing, bathing or throwing rubbish into the water. Another inscription from 201 BC, which still stands in its original place, prohibits the throwing of ashes or dung near the shrine of Leto and the Temple of Dionysus, while a third inscription stipulates strict fines for anyone allowing pigs and other animals to graze in the Sanctuary.<sup>43</sup> Such prohibitions would have been meaningless if pilgrims, transit merchants and inhabitants had respected the city's public spaces.

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Compared to other contemporary cities and particularly to Alexandria, "*which is crossed by wide avenues so that horses and carts can pass; indeed there are two streets which have a width of over thirty metres*",<sup>44</sup> Delos was little more than a small, haphazardly built, dirty commercial city. The only thing that made it different was the existence of the ancient Sanctuary and the myths surrounding it.





# The Inhabitants

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**The Athenians** who settled on Delos were poor landless peasants or adventurers and opportunists with no particular education who agreed to live on this isolated island because they had no better alternative. According to Athenaeus<sup>45</sup> (2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD), most Delians were cooks and waiters who grew rich serving the pilgrims: “Some of them to this day are named (because of they work they or their ancestors did) *Choiraki* (*choiros* = pig), *Amnoi* (*amnos* = lamb), *Artysilaoi* (*artyno* = to prepare or flavour food), *Sesamoi* (*sesame*), *Artysitragoi* (*artyno*+*tragos* = goat), *Neokoroi* (*temple servant*) and *Ichthyvoloi* (*fishermen*); many women are named *Kyminanthai* (*cumin flower*), while all Delians are nicknamed *Eleodytai* (*table-divers*) because when they serve at public symposia they pass underneath the tables.”

The multitude of sacrifices and the symposia that followed them made Delos the ideal place for hangers-on [*parasitoi*]. According to Criton (2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC)<sup>46</sup> the Delians themselves were called the “god’s *parasitoi*”: “In the port I convinced a rich and naïve Phoenician captain to weigh anchor and put two boats to sea, as I wished to go from Piraeus to Delos, because everyone kept telling me that this place had three necessary prerequisites for a hanger-on that no other place had: a market where you can find anything you want, crowds of people from all over, and the Delians, who are themselves the god’s hangers-on.”

535 Gradually, merchants from other places settled on the island, and when, as a result of the *ateleia*, Delos became the hub of the eastern Mediterranean transit trade, a host of architects, contractors, builders, engineers, craftsmen and labourers flocked to the island to serve the wealthy merchants, bankers and shipowners. It is estimated that in 90 BC, this little island, a mere dot on the map of the Mediterranean, was home to some 30,000 people. In addition to the permanent residents, there were always many merchants and seamen passing through and a large number of visitors during the festivals. Embassies, mercenaries, actors, musicians, teachers, artists and merchants would arrive on the island continuously, bringing their specialised skills and knowledge and the latest trends in art and fashion, all of which were anxiously followed by the wealthy residents. Many stayed with friends, while merchants in transit stayed at their club houses. The rest could find accommodation in the large hotel adjacent to the theatre, or in a cheaper inn below the stadium, which had benches on which customers could either lay out their bedding or sleep wrapped in their cloaks. On the ground floor were a dining hall and latrines, possibly stables for animals and a few small rooms which housed all those who could afford to pay a bit extra for some privacy. There were more private bedrooms on the upper floor overlooking the inner courtyard.

The dedicatory inscriptions in the sanctuaries and the names incised on the grave stelae on Rheneia show that apart from the Athenians and Italians, who constituted the majority of the population, people also lived on Delos who originated from the Peloponnese, central and western Greece, Macedonia, the Aegean Islands, Thrace and the Black Sea, the Tauric Chersonese, Troas, Mysia, Aeolis, Ionia, Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Pontus, Cappadocia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, Cilicia, Syria, Medea, Cyprus, Egypt, Cyrene and Arabia.

371 Despite their varying origins, all these people coexist peacefully. They adopt the Greek way of life, they speak and write in Greek, live in Greek style houses, and build temples where they worship their own gods without fear of intolerance; they work and entertain themselves together. Their children attend the same *gymnasia*, they play and exercise together in the same *palaestrae*. The list of young people graduating from the Palaestra of Staseas<sup>47</sup> –an expensive private school similar to modern English public schools where the children of wealthy families had the opportunity to develop useful social contacts– in 126-125 BC gives an idea of the composition of the population of Delos. The youths who officially came of age in that year were:



Iason son of Epicratos from Myrrinous (Athens), Philemon son of Philemon from Miletus, Alypos son of Apollonius Angelithen (Athens), Maarkos son of Leucius from Rome, Gaius son of Gaius from Rome, Protogenes son of Protogenes from Paeania (Athens), Polemon son of Dionysios from Alexandria, Gaius son of Aulus from Rome, Diodotus son of Dositheus from Aradus, Leucius son of Cointus from Rome, Parmenon son of Eirenaeus from Sidon, Iason son of Iason from Antioch, Theophilos son of Theophilos from Corfu, Hermogenes son of Philodamos from Paros, Gaius son of Gaius from Rome, Diodotus son of Dionysios from Antioch, and Antidotus son of Antiphonus from Laodicea.

Thus, perhaps for the first time in history, people from almost all the lands of the Mediterranean coexisted peacefully on this little Aegean island. In the ports and on the streets many different languages could be heard. In the markets goods could be purchased from the remotest corners of the world and many different currencies were in use. The ships constantly arriving at the Delos port brought not only goods to be traded, but also people and ideas and news from most coastal cities, so that the whole world seemed like a small neighbourhood around the Mediterranean.

With such a cosmopolitan ambience, life in the city was intense and full of opportunities for business transactions and financial agreements, but also for all manner of entertainments. Song and dance never stopped on Delos: “*the surrounding islands encircle you as if they were a dancers’ circle*”, Callimachus chants, “*curly-haired Hesperus never saw you silent and quiet, but always abuzz. The boys sing ancient hymns softly and the girls dancing beat their feet in time to the rhythm.*” In addition to the Sanctuary sites, a visitor could browse in the markets, jostle with the crowds in the port, attend athletic events or go to the theatre. Anyone not invited to a symposium at a friend’s house could eat at the inn or buy food from street vendors or from makeshift outdoor cookhouses. A visitor could also go to the baths or one of the brothels or spend time slowly sipping a drink, talking and playing dice at a tavern.

The realistic portraits found in some houses show a number of faces from those times. The few “portraits” of Greeks still depict idealised faces displaying a pervasive sensuous melancholy. Rich Roman freedmen, Levantines and African merchants posed unsmiling, serious and aloof, but the Roman *gravitas* that they are trying to emulate sits like a mask on them, a mask worn for so long that it can no longer be removed – it has become one with the face beneath. Their pinched and anxious expressions recall Cavafy’s taciturn “Prince from Western Libya” who:

380-391

*Was neither profound in his thought, nor anything else.  
An ordinary, laughable man.  
He took a Greek name, dressed like the Greeks,  
learned to behave more or less as Greeks do;  
and he quaked in his boots lest  
he ruin the passable impression  
by speaking Greek with crude mistakes...  
Which was why he limited himself to few words,  
taking especial care over his declensions and his accent:  
and he was not a little bored, having  
so many unuttered words heaped up inside him.*

Strange or deformed human types are portrayed with the same realism in terracotta figurines. These works by minor artists and craftsmen of no particular repute record –in the manner of a modern photoreporter– the average man on the street, the masses of have-nots and the odd-looking people wandering through the city. Ethiopians, hunchbacked dwarves, dancers, drunk old ladies, jesters, street performers and vendors, beggars, priests, exhausted slaves who have dropped off to sleep, and people of visibly different ethnic origins give a vivid picture of the real population of the city, which was of course not populated solely by privileged, well-heeled *bon vivants*.

392-396

In statues, wall paintings and figurines, women are portrayed as particularly elegant, aloof, proud, dignified, and almost always in the same stance – one which emphasises the torso and breasts. In contrast to classical art in which young maidens with adolescent breasts are preferred, in the Hellenistic period there is a clear preference for well-developed womanly bodies. The ideal female body can be seen in the nude statues of Aphrodite: full curves, small breasts and shapely derriere – the part of the female and the male anat-

328-334

571



my which, as the literature and the sculpture of the time attest, was the focal point of attention. Athletic Artemis might be portrayed dressed in a short *chiton* and Aphrodite nude; mortal women, however, are covered from head to foot in long chitons and *himatia* that leave nothing exposed to the eye of the viewer. For girls of good families at least, there was obviously a strict code governing both behaviour and appearance. However, the draped chitons and the fine transparent *himatia* are worn in such a way as to highlight and emphasise the curves of the body.

Cosmetics, initially used only by *hetaerae* (courtesans), were now used by women of all social classes. After all, even goddesses use cosmetics. Modest Hera, a married lady and mother of four children, does not hesitate to use Aphrodite's arts in order to attract Zeus' attention. In fact she went into a towering rage when her daughter Angelos stole her face cream and gave it to Europa, Zeus' mistress. The pedantically conservative Xenophon condemns these cunning practices by women. In *Oeconomicus*, when the thirty-year-old Isomachus sees that his fifteen-year-old wife has "smeared her face with a lot of *psimythio* so that she would look whiter and used rouge to look rosier and worn high shoes to look taller", he draws a cynical analogy: "Tell me, wife, what you would think if I pretended I was wealthier than I am, and if I deceived you by showing you plated coins, gilded wooden necklaces, and faded purple garments, and told you that all these were real?" Aristophanes and the comic poets, satirizing women's efforts to look more beautiful, thus provide information about their daily habits; however, one should bear in mind that all the information we have about women in antiquity is provided by men. Lucian,<sup>48</sup> who seems quite familiar with the process, describes a lady's morning toilette: "If someone were to see a woman in the morning when she wakes up, he would think her uglier than a monkey. That is why women shut themselves up in their rooms and allow no man to see them. They are surrounded by old hags and a host of servants as ugly as themselves who daub their harassed faces with various potions...each servant holds something different, silver bowls, ewers, mirrors, many little boxes which are reminiscent of a pharmacy, vessels full of pathetic things to whiten their teeth and darken their lashes. But most hours of all are devoted to their coiffure. Some of them, rejecting nature, put substances on their hair that turn it red as the midday sun, others dye it blonde. Those of them, on the other hand, who are happy with their black hair, spend their husbands' fortune on scents so that their hair is redolent of all the perfumes of Araby. With metal instruments heated on a low fire, they force their hair to curl and make complicated coiffures which reach down to their eyebrows, hiding their foreheads, while the back curls are free to flow down their backs. Coloured sandals follow, so small that the straps dig into their flesh, and then gossamer dresses which supposedly cover their nakedness. But all is outlined through the sheer fabric, even better than their faces, except for their flabby breasts which they strap up tightly like prisoners. And need I refer to the most expensive of evils? The stones from the Red Sea that cost a fortune and hang heavily from their ears, the snake-shaped golden bracelets on their wrists and arms. On their heads they wear chaplets dusted with precious stones from India, on their necks hang expensive necklaces, gold hangs down to their toenails and winds around any part of their ankles as yet unadorned. Then, when all of their body shines with false beauty, they apply rouge to their cheeks to highlight their pale skin..."

335-367

As testified by the archaeological findings and iconography, the elegant and vain women of Delos did all of the above. *Psimythia*, many copper beauty instruments and much jewellery have been found. Their hair is impeccably coiffed in elaborate styles held with ribbons and diadems – but always modestly off the face, at the back or on top of the head, never left loose like the *korae* of Archaic times.

It seems that although modesty imposed some limits on women, this was not the case for men. The Greeks, deifying the human body, believed that the athletic nudity of their men, the mark of a higher civilisation, differentiated them from the "barbarians", who covered their bodies with sleeved *chitons* and *anaxyrides* (trouser-like hose). Following the example of the gods, young men do not hesitate to display their well-muscled bodies and their assets, which are much in evidence as they do not wear underclothes. They wear short *chitons* and a *himation* thrown over their shoulders, or simply a *himation*, which older men use to cover their bodies with dignity. Older and younger men alike are portrayed shaven, with short hair and harmoniously exercised bodies. Statues of Heracles demonstrate the ideal male form, while affection for the tender Ionian boys who are extolled in the poems of the time, and again centuries later in the poetry of Cavafy, is apparent in the statues of Apollo and Dionysus. Homosexuality however has lost its aristocratic moral idealisation and is simply a personal sexual choice. The youths who inspire such passions are no longer the virtuous, pure youths of the Platonic dialogues. Eros, languid and bittersweet, is worshipped in the *gymnasium* alongside muscular Heracles and the ideally beautiful Hermes. The marble benches of the Gymnasium – like today's wooden ones – are full of teenagers' incised graffiti declaring their friendships and crushes (among the dozens of names written, only one is a female name, Calliste).

704-706

183, 492





"Brings delight". Image of a winged phallus smiling craftily, boasting of its potency. (Thera, IG. 1658).

Throughout the entire city, on the streets and in houses, a diffuse eroticism is prevalent in a strongly playful mood. The relief phalluses found on the walls of homes are not always deterrents of evil or symbols of fertility, but are sometimes depicted as instruments of punishment and coercion. This is also clear from the fact that it is not the small elegant phalluses of Greek statuary that are presented, but large, "barbaric" phalluses that have been circumcised, a practice which the Greeks abhorred and never adopted. These images do not provide a promise of enjoyment but constitute a not too subtle threat of torment and humiliation. Often the phallus is combined with a club, making it even clearer what a would-be invader would suffer; a message surviving in stereotyped modern Greek verbal threats. In the Sanctuary there are huge erect phalluses, votive offerings to Dionysus. In a lighter vein are the relief phalluses decorating the walls of houses and bearing the inscription: "ONE FOR YOU AND ONE FOR ME" which gives them a totally different meaning. On another relief a naked male protects his buttocks with his hand from the incursion of a winged phallus aiming at precisely that part of his anatomy. Another relief depicts a male figure with two phalluses, holding up a winged phallus. Many lamps and wine cups are decorated with erotic scenes: a nude Aphrodite or beautiful adolescent Dionysus, while on others Satyrs hold baskets full of phalluses. A series of *rhyta* made on Delos constitute tongue-in-cheek variations of the ceremonial cup; the finial bust of the sacred animal has been replaced with couples kissing or making love, while on the horn part are ithyphallic Satyrs pursuing Hermaphroditus.

515

507-508

506

505

523-525

489, 512

Many marble and terracotta phalluses of varying sizes have been found in the small temple of Dionysus, in shrines and in private houses. Most likely, there were many more phalluses made of perishable materials such as wood, leather and cloth, which have not survived. From the words of Aristophanes in *Lysistrata*, it seems that phalluses were not always solely votive offerings – sometimes they could be used. Herondas (3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC) in *Philiazouses* records a dialogue between two women, neighbours and friends, talking about a phallus made of red leather and showing the solidarity of women in such matters:

**MITRO:** Now, please, don't lie to me my dear Koritto, who sewed the red phallus for you?

**KORITTO:** Kerdon, a short, bald fellow, sent to me by Artemis, the shoemaker's daughter. He came to me, holding two in his hands and when I saw them I just gaped; men's penises – we're alone, eh? – well, they're never *that* erect! And that's not all! Soft as sleep and the straps like down, not leather. But where did you see it, Mitro?

**MITRO:** The day before yesterday. Nossis, Errina's daughter, had it – ah what a lovely gift! Euboule, Vita's daughter, gave it to her and told her no one must know.

**KORITTO:** Women! Just you see, she will be the death of me. She begged it of me and I gave it to her, Mitro, even before I used it. And she – you'd think she's the one who found it, the way she acted – grabbed it and gave it to some who don't deserve it. Well, to hell with her, let her find another friend. To give something of mine to Nossis! May the gods forgive me for saying more than is fit for a woman to say, but even if I had a thousand of them, I wouldn't give one to her, not even a rotten one!



These phalluses are often equipped with eyes, like the prows of ships. Eyes were as necessary for phalluses as they were for ships; because both have to find their way in the dark to enter the port.

Seeing things from a distance, chronological or geographical, one tends to idealise. It is likely, however, that the lives and attitudes of most of the inhabitants of Delos did not differ greatly from the life and attitude of Trimalchio in *Satyricon*. In many houses the anxiety of the *nouveaux riches* is evident as, pressured by the fact that they were *sine nobilitatis*, they attempted to carve out a social niche for themselves by ostentatious and wasteful spending.

When people are not happy with the present, they become nostalgic and tend to believe that their great grandfathers were happier, more virtuous and had achieved more important things. In the Hellenistic period, the notion of the “classic” was created. Phidias, Praxiteles, Polyclitus, Plato, Sophocles, and Euripides became “classics” and anything new seemed inferior to their works. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC a strong tendency can be seen to return to the patterns and models of the classical and archaic periods. Then, as today, people would more readily buy copies of a work by an established dead artist than an original work by a restless, progressive contemporary. Wealthy Romans wanted to have something “classic” in their houses, because they believed it lent them dignity and good taste. Thus, gifted artists exhausted their talent mass producing well-known statues or variations of them. The same happened on Delos. Everybody’s house contains some more or less successful copies of “classic” works that they probably did not understand and may not even have liked, but at least they could say: “It’s exactly the same as the one the proconsul has in his house.”

One of the main characteristics of the cosmopolitan population living in Delos at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC is their tendency to imitate and copy, and the mass production of cheap imitations: the plaster on houses is an imitation of the marble masonry of more luxurious buildings; complex relief decorations do not differ greatly from today’s plaster ornamentation, columns made of cheap material, granite or poros stone are faced to resemble marble. Clay wine cups are copies of more expensive gold and silver ones; mosaic floors emulate expensive carpets; most jewellery is made of “coloured glass”, while rings, sometimes even those offered to the gods, are made of gold-plated bronze or iron. Clay and marble statues are likewise often gilded. Portraits or copies of famous statues are placed in conspicuous positions in people’s houses. The Athenian Cleopatra put her statue and that of her husband right opposite the main entrance to her house boasting in the inscription that: “*Cleopatra, daughter of Adrastus from Myrrinous (somewhere near Porto Rafti) dedicates...*”. All of these very human foibles make Delians more familiar and bring them closer to us.

Their role model was certainly not Athens, which at that time was little more than a provincial town living on the memories of past glory, but rather Alexandria, an amazing city with more than half a million inhabitants, a city where one could find everything he desired: *riches, palaestrae, power, pleasant climate, glory, spectacles, philosophers, gold jewellery, young men, the temple of the Sibling Gods, an excellent king, the Museum, wine, every pleasure you might yearn for and so many women that, by Persephone, the sky cannot boast that it has as many stars, and beautiful as goddesses...*<sup>99</sup> In Alexandria, however, there were not only riches and pleasures; there was also intense intellectual and artistic activity similar to that of Paris in the interwar period. Delos never had anything comparable; it had no intellectual institutions like Alexandria’s Museum or Library, and in artistic and technical terms, nothing original was ever achieved there.



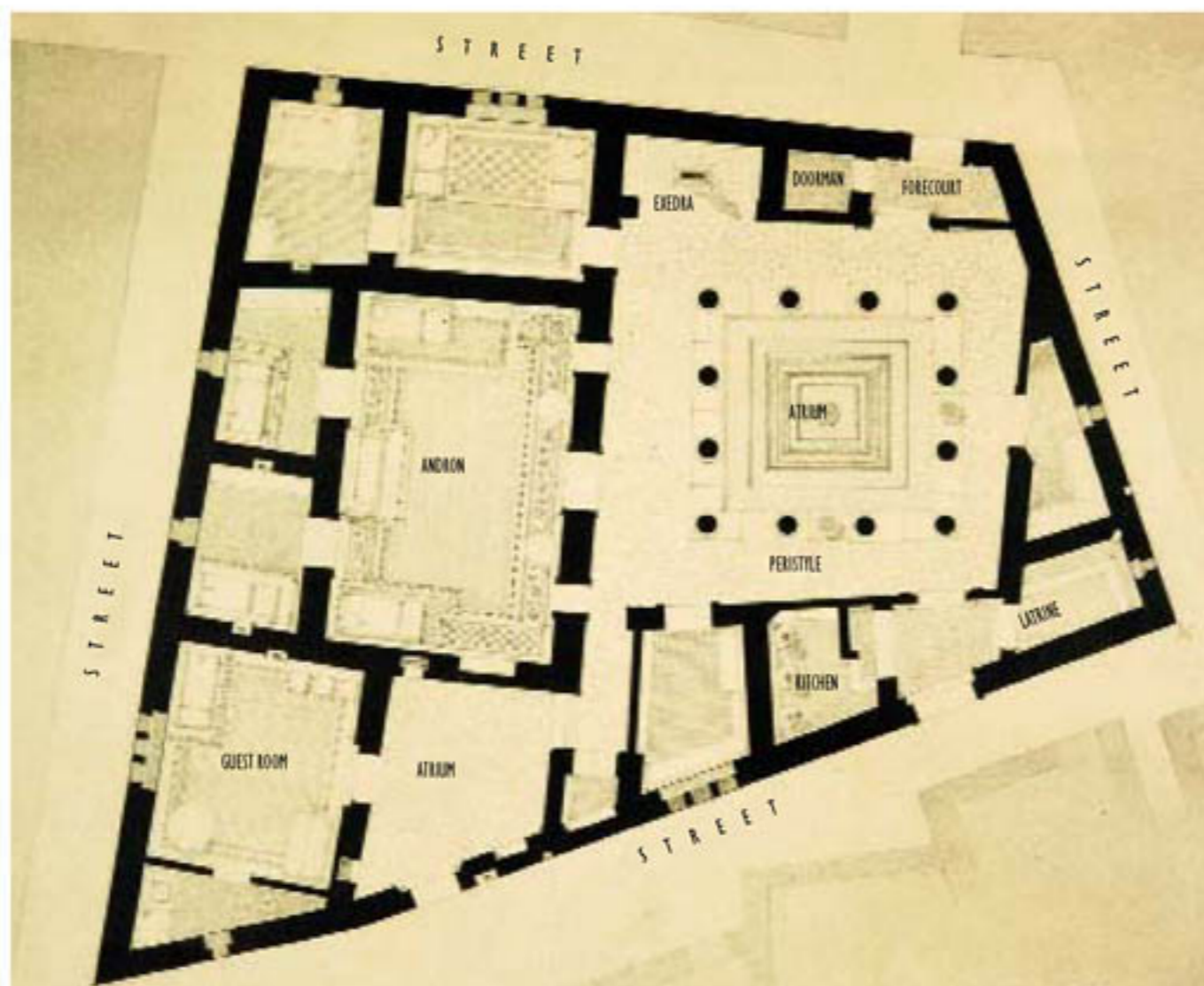
# The Houses

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The houses of Delos, like modern houses, vary greatly in their floor plan, which was determined by the shape and size of the lot, the wishes of the owner, how much he was willing to spend, and the changes made by later generations. A common feature is that they all look inward: the rooms are built around a square central court from which they receive light and air, and there are no exterior windows on the ground floor. In this way, the buildings were safer, cooler, quieter and protected from the noise of the city, while the private life of the residents was sheltered from the ceaseless activity on the busy streets. The houses are generally spacious and comfortable. There are very few whose ground floor has an area of less than 120 square metres; many cover more than 500 square metres, an area which is doubled if one takes into account that most houses had more than one floor; there were some that occupy three or four levels.

From the street, a double door, the right side of which is left open, leads into a small square or rectangular space, the forecourt (*cleision* or *proauleion*) to the right of which is the *thyroreion*, the room occupied by the *thyroros*, or doorman. The *thyroros* was a trusted servant whose job was not only to open the door for visitors, but also to monitor the comings and goings of the household. Across from the main entrance there

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Floor plan of the Lake House.  
(J. Chamouard - A. Gabriel, 1922).



is a second door kept closed, leading to the *aule*, the central open-air atrium surrounded by colonnades, the *peristyle* or *peristoon*. Underneath the central part of the courtyard is a large cistern that collects rainwater from the roof. The roof of the cistern rests on arches of poros stone and is covered by a mosaic floor at a level lower than the floor of the peristyle. In the summer months, this was probably filled with water, which highlighted the colours of the mosaic and evaporated slowly to create a feeling of coolness. Around the atrium are the reception rooms, the ancillary areas, the slaves' rooms and the storerooms. On the ground floor is also the *exedra*, a summer room open in front, the *andron* or *oikos* –the formal reception room in which symposia were held, in which women did not participate– as well as men's bedrooms. Usually the bedrooms are at the back of the house so that strong sunlight and noise would not disturb people's sleep, and they are small enough to be easily heated in the winter. The andron usually faces south to receive maximum light in winter and shade in summer. In some cases, the colonnade of the peristyle in front of the andron is higher than the other three sides, so that this official room can receive more light.

Next to the secondary entrance, far from the main rooms, is the *apochoreterion* (latrine) and the *mageireion* (kitchen, or cookhouse). A closed door isolates these two areas from the atrium to keep the masters of the house from being disturbed by any unpleasant smells.

The latrines were fairly roomy and could be used by many people at the same time. The seat of both public and private latrines, which Hippocrates called a *thranos*, was a closed, wooden bench with holes in the upper, horizontal surface, built over a ditch connected to the main drainage system. In private latrines there were usually spaces for three to five people – public latrines had room for more. Public latrines with a bench of granite or marble have been found in Ephesus, Athens and Amorgos. Such seats would undoubtedly have been pleasantly cool in the summer but extremely uncomfortable on cold winter days; in such cases, a slave would warm the seats before use by placing a clay vessel full of lit charcoal on them.

The baths were in a separate room with clay bathtubs. In the House of the Herms, two marble bench supports in the shape of lions' feet were found next to the bathtub. Clearly the upper part was wooden and bathers used it either to sit or rest their clothes on. Marble benches were also found in the Lake House and the House of the Seals, but a furniture item as simple, useful and cheap as this must also have been used in other houses, so it is virtually certain that most houses had wooden benches perhaps in the peristyle.

From the ground floor, a wooden or stone staircase led up to the top floor (*hyperoon*), where visitors were not admitted. This was usually where the women's and children's rooms were, as was the *isteon* (the weaving room with the loom) and other richly decorated and furnished private rooms. In some cases the hyperoon is an independent apartment, accessed by an outer staircase.

The stone walls of the houses were covered inside and outside by plaster. Outside, the plaster was usually left white, while inside – by incising, relief and painting – it would imitate the marble masonry or architectural members of more sumptuous buildings. The walls of the secondary rooms were left white but those of the main rooms were coloured in warm earthy tones (ochre or red) and had a narrow frieze decorated usually with a geometric design, stylised floral motifs or, more rarely, human figures. Even the ceilings were colourfully decorated, requiring many hours of hard labour.

The secondary rooms have beaten earth floors, frequently reinforced with broken seashells – waste from the porphyry workshops. These floors were difficult to clean, and when the situation became insufferable, another layer of earth was spread on top and levelled with stone cylinders. Some rooms, particularly on the upper storeys, may have had wooden floors; the open-air rooms, like certain city streets, were sometimes paved with granite slabs. But the most common method of covering floors, especially in houses but in public buildings as well, was with mosaics made from a variety of stones set in strong bed of mortar on top of a specially prepared sub-stratum. Mosaic floors are durable, impressive, but also practical as they can easily be cleaned and washed. The simplest versions were made of pebbles or cheap, recycled materials: marble chips, waste from other buildings or from stonemasons' workshops, or fragments of broken wine jars. In atriums and main rooms, quite luxurious floors were made with especially cut square tesserae (the width of each side was 0.08-0.001 metres). A variety of stones and other materials were used to construct these floors that often resemble colourful carpets or paintings. The decorative themes are limited usually to geometric designs or stylised floral motifs, but there is also a definite preference for marine motifs (dolphins, anchors, tridents, Tritons, fish), which is only natural as the owners of the houses make a living from maritime trade. Theatrical masks and themes taken from the Dionysian myths are also quite popular. Despite the length of



time required to create a floor with these tiny tesserae, since the materials used were cheap and recycled, and the labour was also cheap, mosaics must have been less expensive than the silk carpets they imitated, and much cheaper than marble floors.

In winter, rooms were kept warm with portable braziers in which coal was burned. The few windows on the upper floors were shut tight with curtains of leather or pieces of waterproof oiled linen cloth. The doors also had leather or woven curtains to keep out draughts. Since such methods never truly warmed the large, high-ceilinged rooms, it is likely that these luxurious houses were built for summer residence alone.

#### FURNISHINGS

The only furnishings to have survived from ancient houses are clay pots and pans, since it was difficult and expensive to transport them. Valuable bronze, silver or gold vessels were either looted by pirates or taken by the inhabitants when they left. Wooden furniture was either burned or disintegrated. Wall paintings, reliefs and figurines often depict types of chairs, tables and couches, giving an idea of what they must have looked like. These three items of furniture, along with stools and benches, constituted the main furniture of ancient houses. Wooden chests of various sizes were used to store clothing; wooden shelves and *kylikeia* (sideboards) were used to store utensils, but most of them were simply hung on walls. Compared to modern houses, the houses of Delos would have looked quite empty, because in ancient times people did not need or have the number of decorative objects that fill contemporary homes. The few items of furniture used were plain, useful and functional but always, and this is true even for the cheapest objects, nicely designed and decorated. Even so, the large rooms, despite being sparsely furnished, did not look cold or bare. Colourful woven bedspreads and cushions, curtains and rugs, clay, bronze and silver vessels, decorated walls and mosaic floors created a warm and pleasant atmosphere, without smothering or stifling the inhabitants by their volume or number. In *Oeconomicus*, Xenophon remarks that even pots can create an aesthetically harmonious picture when they are attractively arranged.

#### COOKHOUSES AND COOKING VESSELS

The surrounding sea provided abundant fish and seafood, which were favourite foods. Farms in the south part of the island, on Mykonos and on Rheneia supplied the city with fresh vegetables and meat; large quantities of imported foodstuffs (wine, oil, cereals, salted meats and fish, nuts and spices) were also sold in the local markets. In the city's major markets (*agores*) or in the smaller shops that lined both sides of the streets, one could buy the best products of the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, Asia and Egypt.

Cooking was done in the *optaneion* (roasting room) using charcoal or wood. Wood was cheaper but gave off oppressive smoke that blinded the slave who tended the fire and caused the ordinary cook to “reek of smoke”, which was unacceptable to the professional cook: “*It is typical of a master cook to supervise only, rather than scrub pots and reek of smoke. I do not even enter the optaneion; I sit somewhere nearby and supervise, telling the others what to do: ‘chop the meat, build up the fire, make sure it is roasting evenly, the first pot is at a fuller boil than the others’...*”<sup>50</sup>

The professional cook, before agreeing to be hired, made certain there was a *katastegon* (roofed) cookhouse and that it had a *kapne* (chimney) that did not smoke, something that could not be taken for granted. In Delian houses, the *optaneia* are small, windowless rooms, next to the secondary door, which remained open in order to let smoke, fumes and cooking smells out. “*As soon as I pick up the necessary items and begin to cook,*” a cook of those times boasts, “*no one can pass this narrow alley. Instead, he stands, speechless and open-mouthed at the door, until a friend, who is holding his nose, comes to fetch him.*”<sup>51</sup> The atmosphere must have been stuffy in the narrow streets of the city when food was being prepared for dinner and houses must have been permanently blackened by the smoke. In the 5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, Sicily was famous for its advances in the art of cooking and Sicilian cooks were highly sought after. During the 2<sup>nd</sup> and early 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC, Delos was the culinary capital of the Mediterranean, as it was inhabited by wealthy, cosmopolitan inhabitants who were known for their conspicuous consumption. Its markets and Delian cooks and hosts also contributed to this fame.



Without going to the gastronomic extremes of the Roman Empire, the cuisine of that period was adventurous and excessively *recherché*. Professional cooks combined rare and costly ingredients in an attempt to unite many flavours, creating complex recipes in which no single ingredient could be identified. The comic writer Euphron (3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC), for instance, admires the achievement of the chef Sotirides who prepared a dish of *aphyas* (sardines) with kohlrabi for King Nicomedes in Scythia. In most of Apicius' recipes, anywhere between ten and forty-five different ingredients were used. He has left a recipe for the preparation of a salted fish dish that contained no fish,<sup>52</sup> whereas in another similar recipe he concludes "*ad mensam nemo agnoscet quid manduset*"<sup>53</sup> – at table no one will recognise what they are eating.

410-412

The remains of food from an *epithopoleion*, a semi-outdoor cookhouse that sold boiled meats and seafood, situated on the road north of the Terrace of the Lions give an idea of the dietary preferences of the inhabitants of Delos in the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. It appears that during this shop's latter years, the following approximate quantities of food were consumed: 203 goats and sheep, 119 pigs, 24 cows, 40 fowl, 2 ducks, 2 deer, 10 hares, large quantities of snails, large fish and seafood. The picture of what people ate is supplemented by inscriptions and references in ancient texts and chiefly from the clay cooking vessels (bronze ones were looted) found in Delian houses.

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These pots, even the ones found in wealthy households, are generally small. In daily life, it seems that only small quantities were cooked, both because they had no means to preserve cooked food and because people seem to have preferred a wide variety of dishes rather than a large quantity of the same one. Besides, the number of dishes served at a banquet was so great<sup>54</sup> that one could only "pick" at each one, since good manners required that the guest try everything so as not to offend his host. The table below gives an example of three different menus from different periods: the wedding reception of Karanos of Macedonia in the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC,<sup>55</sup> the Lenten meal eaten by two monks in the 12<sup>th</sup> century AD, as described by Ptochoprodromos, and a meal for six people prepared in March 2003 on Mykonos.

Three Greek Meals		
<i>Hippolochos-Karanos Wedding</i> 3 <sup>rd</sup> century BC (20 men)	<i>Ptochoprodromos</i> Lenten meal for two monks 12 <sup>th</sup> century AD	<i>Vangelio's meal, Mykonos,</i> March 2003, (6 people)
Silver bottles of wine Bread Fowl Duck Wood pigeon Goose Hare Kid Pigeons Turtledoves Partridge Roast pork Thrush Flycatchers Oysters Scallops Boiled kid Wines from Thasos, Mende and Lesbos Roast fish Breads Boar Nuts Sweet pies	Pie Bread Lobsters Crab Crayfish Fried prawns Cabbage Lentils Oysters and mussels Scallops Clams Split peas Rice and honey Black-eyed beans Olives Caviar Roe Apples Dates Dried figs Nuts Chios raisins Cretan, Samian and Ganitiko wine	First bread Hand-kneaded bread Wine Sardines Lettuce salad Pig lard, ears and feet Wild green vegetables Squabs in sauce Offal and sweetbreads Pork cooked with lemon Roast potatoes Pork sausage fried with eggs Onion pie Spicy fresh cheese Boiled cheese Fresh sour cheese Buttermilk Honey pie Sweet potatoes Apples

The shapes of cooking vessels and references in ancient texts indicate that most foods were *epitha* (boiled) and fewer were *opta* (roasted), as the ancient Greeks preferred their food "*soft, with all its juices*". *Opta* means something like today's pot roasts rather than food grilled on charcoal; furthermore, there were no fried foods



as we know them today. In a recipe by Sotades (4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC)<sup>56</sup> sardines were “fried” in one cup of water, plenty of oil and chopped greens, the result of which must have been similar to the modern Greek dish *plaki* (baked fish with vegetables).

To make food tastier and to help preserve it, many condiments, liquid, fresh or dried, aromatic herbs, nuts and fruits were used. The liquid condiments most used were *garon*, oil, honey, vinegar and wine. *Garon*, or *garum*, a special sauce used in everything including wine, was made from fish placed in heavy brine and allowed to ferment in the sun for several days. The best *garum* was made from tuna, mackerel and eel, while the poor classes and slaves used *garum* made from sardines and other small fish.

In addition to liquid condiments, many seeds and nuts were used, chiefly pepper corns, which were added to everything including sweets, as were cumin, mustard, celery, dill, fennel and poppy seeds. They are all small, and in antiquity they must have been more expensive than they are today. They were sold then, as now, in small quantities packed in small cheap narrow-mouthed clay containers to protect them from humidity and to control the amount used. Seeds were ground in a stone mortar with pestle. In similar utensils of different sizes, pigments were also ground for painting, as were medicines and the powders used for women’s cosmetics.

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Only large houses had *optaneia*. In most cases, cooking was done on portable braziers (*eschares*) in which coal or sticks were burned (*anthrakia*). The simpler ones were like the braziers still used in neighbouring Mykonos and all over the Greek countryside. In a child’s grave on Rheneia a beautiful miniature *eschara* was found together with a miniature pan (*lopas*); these were toys with which the dead little girl in her short life would have become familiar with cooking, considered “the greatest of skills for man and for woman alike.”<sup>57</sup> The complex braziers for cooking food over coal had places for many different cooking vessels according to whether the food needed to boil or simmer or simply be kept warm. Ornate braziers with coal were also used in the winter months for heating, because the smoke from a wood fire would have been suffocating in windowless ground floor rooms.

408-409

402

The shapes of cooking pots found in Delos are limited to a few common types, established through long use; these types were used centuries before and after, up to the present day. The basic pots were *chytres* (cooking pots), *lopades*, *tegana* (pans) and *eschares*.

*Chytres* were used to boil split peas, water, meat, broad beans, gruel, greens etc. For boiling large quantities, bronze or clay *lebetes* (cooking pots) were used. Such large cooking vessels were needed only for sacrifices or festivals and would not have been a necessary item in an ancient household, as they could be borrowed from a neighbour. Often one *lebes* or one handmill would serve an entire neighbourhood, as is still the case today in the provinces. The *lopas* was used to cook spicy, delicious foods, mainly fish, which was then served in the same pan so that the diners could dunk in the sauce. It was closed on top with a lid and the opening at the rim was sealed shut with either plaster, dough or ash so that fatty meats could be cooked without water, either in the oven or by covering the vessel with coal. The *lopas* was thus very similar to today’s clay baker. Fish, cuttlefish, octopus and other seafood was cooked in the *tagenon* or *teganon*, a pan similar to the *lopas*, and served hot in it. The consumption of fried foods, which even in those days were considered unhealthy, was the sign of a sybaritic and profligate existence. *Tegana*, like *chytres* and *lopades*, are always found in three sizes (large, medium, small). They are vessels similar to the Byzantine *stegnata* and today’s *saganakia*.

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The *seison* is a light clay pan similar to a modern frying pan. Its handle is hollow so that a wooden rod could be inserted in it to allow the cook to roast nuts slowly by shaking it constantly over the fire without getting burnt. On winter nights, people would huddle around the fire and roast broad beans and nuts in the *seison* over the *anthrakion* to accompany their wine. The *seison* was an essential utensil in the cookhouse because, before using pinenuts, cumin and other seeds, cooks would roast them lightly to bring out the flavour. The word *eschara* was used for both the brazier and a metal or clay mesh with four feet, similar to the modern gridiron, that was placed over heat to cook bread, meat, sausages or fatty seafood, such as eel.

402

Although the utensils of an ancient kitchen might seem few and poor by modern standards, they were highly prized and could even be used as collateral on a loan in time of need. In Aristophanes’ *Ecclesiazouses*, a neighbour of Chremis, seeing the latter’s cooking utensils outside his house, asks him: “Why have you brought them out, are you moving or are you taking them to be pawned?” In the wealthier homes on Delos, clay



plates and pots were found that had been broken and repaired with lead joints. People had a different sense of economy in those days; broken things were not thrown out, they were repaired and put to a different use or given to the slaves. Such vessels did not, of course, ever appear at banquets because they constituted a sign of abject poverty.<sup>56</sup>

#### WINE – TABERNULA VINARIA

The wine trade was particularly important to the island's economy as every year thousands of tons of Bacchus' beverage were bought and sold, large amounts of which were channelled into the local market. Wine was sold in large clay jars (0.90-1 metre high with a capacity of 22-45 litres) that were pointed at the bottom. This shape facilitated transport on ships, as large numbers of amphorae could be placed sideways in rows, one on top of the other. The long narrow shape helped in storage when the amphorae were placed in *pithones* or *oenones* (wine cellars), in which they were half buried in the ground so that the contents could be kept at a constant temperature; the shape was also useful in decanting the wine into smaller containers using the pointed bottom as a third handle. With the help of a funnel (*choni*) identical to modern ones, wine was poured into *lagynoi*, jugs used at table with a long narrow neck so that the flow could be regulated. For the sale of wine and other liquids such as oil and garum, *prochoi* were used, clay jugs that were exact copies of the official bronze units of measurement. Each region favoured a certain shape of amphora and seals were stamped on the handles or rim before firing to inform the buyer about the maker of the amphora, or the owner of the vineyard, the town of origin, and year of bottling, indicated by the name of the annual local ruler. Thus, the buyer knew at a glance where the wine was from and how old it was. Amphorae, which had an interior coating of resin or wax, were then hermetically sealed with a clay stopper. Oil, garum, salted fish, nuts such as almonds and hazelnuts, olives, even cherries, wheat, flour, broad beans and other pulses were all stored and transported in these well closed containers, thus protected from moisture, insects and mice. An inscription on the vessel indicated its contents.

*Oenos* or wine, like song and dance, was an essential companion to all events in private and public life; its quality and the way it was served were decisive factors in the success of a sacrifice, a business meeting or a friendly symposium. The modern Greek word for wine, *krasi*, is derived from the ancient verb *keranynmi* which means "to mix". Other words from the same root are *krater*, the vessel in which wine was mixed with water, *krama* (alloy), *krasis* (blend) and the modern Greek words *kerno* (to treat), *kerasma* (a treat) and *krasi* (wine). Wine that had been mixed with water was called *kekramenos oenos*, while *akratos oenos* was strong, un-watered wine. The Greeks believed that only Scythians and barbarians drank *akratos oenos*. They themselves always drank wine tempered with water so that they would not get drunk and that the enjoyment of drinking would last longer and drink would contribute to the merrymaking and conversation. Getting drunk was a sign of bad manners, which is why at the bottom of wine cups, the evil effects of intoxication were depicted as a warning to drinkers. The comic writer Eubulus (4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC) has Dionysus saying: "I fill only three kraters for the temperate: the first for health, the second for love and pleasure, the third for a good sleep and when they have drunk that, the wise go home. The fourth is not from me, it comes from abuse, the fifth brings rowdiness, the sixth drunkenness, the seventh blows, the eighth brings the police, the ninth rage, the tenth brings madness and throws you down unconscious."

Identical advice can be seen even today hanging on the walls of taverns; but there, because wine is drunk *akratos*, the references are to glasses not to kraters:

*The first brings appetite*  
*The second health*  
*The third brings joy*  
*The fourth happiness*  
*The fifth brings tears*  
*The sixth garrulousness*  
*The seventh teasing*  
*The eighth trouble*  
*The ninth brings arguments*  
*The tenth police.*



Conservative Hesiod recommends three parts water and one part wine, but the more usual proportion of water to wine was 3:2, 4:2, or 5:2 and Greek wines were strong enough to take three parts of water without being considered weak. The 4:2 mixture was generally accepted, but if one watered the wine down more, guests would tease their host that his wine was suitable only for frogs. Often, particularly in the winter months when hot wine was imbibed, herbs and spices were added. The ancient authors mention wine flavoured with rose, violets, thyme, dill, myrtle, pine, cypress, saffron, valerian, cinnamon, pepper, honey, garum and many other things. At symposiums, guests wore wreaths of ivy, myrtle or roses, the scent of which helped them stay sober and avoid hangovers and vomiting.<sup>59</sup>

In the cellars of Delian houses, dozens of amphorae were found containing wine from all over the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. In wine shops and taverns one could sample the best wines that the international market had to offer: the superb wines of Chios and Cos, wines from Rhodes, Cnidus, Thasos, Apulia, Campania, Carthage and Pontus. Such a *tabernula vinaria* (=small wine shop or tavern) was found a few years ago close to the little temple of Dionysus, in an exceptional location for such an enterprise: a few minutes away from the port and a few metres away from the eastern and northern exits of the Sanctuary from which pilgrims would emerge tired and thirsty. The male population of all ages walked frequently along this road leading to the palaestrae, the hippodrome, the gymnasium and the stadium, and the surrounding area was full of shops and workshops. On the other side of the road were the public latrines, another temple and the Agora of the Italians, a meeting place for all the island's Italian businessmen. The tavern opened at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC, chiefly to cater to foreign visitors, as Greeks did not frequent them, preferring friendly gatherings in private houses. Although the tavern and its cellar are quite small (the total area is just 16 square metres), 26 amphorae were found in it containing approximately 900 litres of wine, mainly from southern Italy and Cos. The quantity of wine is indicative of the success of this tavern. There were 140 clay cups for serving wine, in four different shapes, each of which held a specific quantity (from 0.3-0.9 litres). Amongst these cups 40 *scyphoi* (a type of clay cup) can be singled out for their relief decoration. They were made using moulds, many of them from the same mould, and were cheap imitations of Alexandrian silver cups. At the time the wine shop was destroyed, 38 cups had been in use and were found thrown on the earthen floor of the tavern. The remaining 102 cups were found stacked, one inside the other, along with many burnt pieces of the wooden furniture on which they were kept.

451-454

The tavern served only wine, hot or cold with nuts, which the customers consumed standing either in front of the wooden counter or out on the street whenever the weather permitted. The tavern had a loft in which a woman lived, either the owner or a prostitute – or both – since even in those days of individual freedom, no respectable woman would condescend to live above such an establishment. Athenodoros' pirates set fire to the tavern and totally destroyed it during the 69 BC raid. The customers left their wine and fled in a panic, the *tabernarius* did not even have time to collect the day's takings, and the woman in the loft left behind not only her cheap jewellery and *psimythia*, but also her savings. Some 300 coins were found, proving that her customers were chiefly merchants and sailors from many Mediterranean cities (Ephesus, Bithynia, Colophon, Aradus, Seleucia, Antioch, Kyme, Myrina, and Italy). Currency from most cities was accepted and it appears that she had no problem being paid for her services in foreign currency, which she could easily exchange it at one of the nearby banks. What is remarkable, but also characteristic of those times, is the fact that the owners of such a shop were familiar with the value of so many different currencies. Globalisation seems to have been accomplished many centuries before our time.

366, 367, 452

#### SHOPS AND WORKSHOPS

Many craftsmen and labourers were drawn to this growing city because of the jobs to be found there. Workshops and industries transformed imported raw materials from all over the Mediterranean into luxury items for both the local market and export. The bronze couches and perfumes<sup>60</sup> from Delos were famous and much sought after.

A district with markets, shops and workshops was soon created to the north and northeast of the Sanctuary, producing clay and bronze vessels, statuettes and figurines for pilgrims, toys, jewellery and clothes. Apart from the markets, there were many retail shops on the main street of the Theatre Quarter and in the porticos flanking the main road to the east and north of the Sanctuary. Workshops were located main-



ly to the north and east of the Sacred Lake, apart from workshops such as the ones producing porphyry which were some distance from the city because of their unpleasant smell. Porphyry, an indelible dye ranging from yellow to deep purple extracted from the mollusc *Murex*, was a symbol of power and perpetuity. Purple garments could be worn only by statues of the gods or by powerful people. After gold, it was the most valuable and sought after symbol of power.

83,356

To the east and north of the Lake, in addition to the popular athletic establishments, there were also dozens of shops in which sculptors, bronze workers, lamp makers and potters worked as well as workshops manufacturing terracotta figurines and vases in the shape of animals or other figures, and shops that made lead objects. A little farther north, in the Insula of the Bronzes<sup>61</sup> (41) there was a workshop specialising in bronze couches with rich relief decoration. The moulds and the relief decoration that were found there justify the reputation<sup>62</sup> enjoyed by this item of furniture in ancient times. In about the same district there were sculptors' workshops in which many craftsmen mass produced miniature copies of famous works of art to be sold to the local people and pilgrims. Many such shops were located to the west of the Dodekatheon, in the Agora of Theophrastos, in the Stoa of Philip, south of the Delian Agora, in the Agora of the Competaliasts and elsewhere. Just before the disaster the most popular statuettes were those of Aphrodite, Heracles, Artemis, Harpocrates and Sarapis.

457

480

Workshops employed some free craftsmen but mainly slaves, and labour accidents were not infrequent. Nineteen slaves belonging to Protarchus were killed in such an accident, among whom were Ammonia from Cyrene and her daughter Apollonia. The stele erected on their grave in Rheneia<sup>63</sup> is indicative of the origins of the slaves on Delos: "*Isidor of Maiotis, Dama of Maiotis, Isidor of Apamea, Bithy of Istria, Calliope of Odessa, Omonoia, Hermolaos of Rossi, Antipater of Mazaca, Asclepiades of Sidon, Apollonides of Marissos, Nicephorus of Joppa, Menelaos of Marathous, Posis of Marathous, Heraclides of Maiotis, Nicias of Maiotis, Ammonia and her daughter Apollonia from Cyrene, Niceratos of Apamea, Laodice of Apamea, Damon of Myndos, Zaidos of Nabataea, Dama of Istria, virtuous (slaves) of Protarchus, fare thee well.*" The place names show that these slaves had come from the Black Sea, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Cyrene and Arabia.





# Encountering Gods and Mortals

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## BRIEF TOUR OF THE SITE

### FROM THE PORT TO THE SANCTUARY

**The visitor** arriving today disembarks between the *Sacred Port* (1) and the *Commercial Ports* (2) on a narrow strip of land created at the beginning of the last century by the rubble resulting from the French Archeological School's excavations. At that same period the Sacred Port was completely filled in, the coastal outline changed and a peninsula was created, dividing what was previously one bay into two. The earlier archaic harbour was farther north, in *Skardanas Bay* (42), while smaller port facilities existed to the southwest, at the Asclepeion, and to the northeast, below the Stadium. 106

A paved asymmetric square known as the *Agora of the Hermaists* or *Competaliasts*<sup>64</sup> (3) begins immediately after the quay. As early as the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC, Italians began settling on Delos, their presence becoming stronger after the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC with Rome's rise to predominance. Most were bankers and merchants from South Italy and Sicily. These Italians were organized in various professional societies, each under the patronage of a god, whether Apollo (*Apolloniasts*), Poseidon (*Poseidoniasts*) or Hermes (*Hermaists*). In this square, the center of their commercial activities, they dedicated many monuments and altars. Most of them lived in the town's new quarters north of the Sanctuary, where, towards the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC, they built the so-called *Agora of the Italians* (33), the meeting place for the members of the Italian community. In about 100 BC, the Society of the Competaliasts made its appearance in the square that now bears its name; its members were largely free men and slaves under the protection of the *Lares Compitales*, the gods of the crossroads. This square is studded with small temples dedicated to Hermes, the god of trade, many cylindrical votive altars, as well as a marble exedra that once held bronze statues. In the Sanctuary there are many such rectangular or semi-circular statue bases (*exedrae*) with marble benches for worshippers to rest. 111

The great main avenue (4), measuring 13 meters in width, begins at the square and leads to the Sanctuary of Apollo. To the left it flanks the *Portico of Philip* (5), built circa 210 BC by King Philip V of Macedonia. A few years later, behind the Portico of Philip, another stoa was added, the *West Portico*, open to the dock and the harbor, and used for commercial purposes. 114

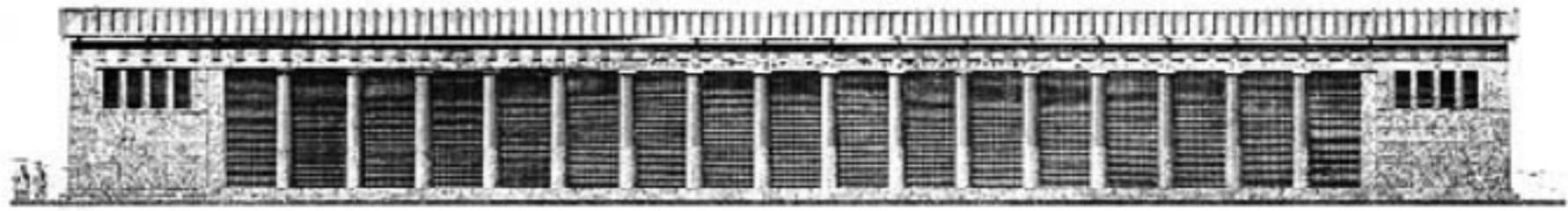
The *South Portico* (6) on the east side of the road was constructed after the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC by the Kings of Pergamum. Behind the Doric colonnade were 14 small commercial shops and workshops. Through an entranceway in the middle of the building it communicated with the *Agora of the Delians* (7), the earliest *agora* or marketplace in the city.

Along both sides of the road, in front of the colonnades, stood dozens of marble and bronze statues; only their inscribed bases remain today.

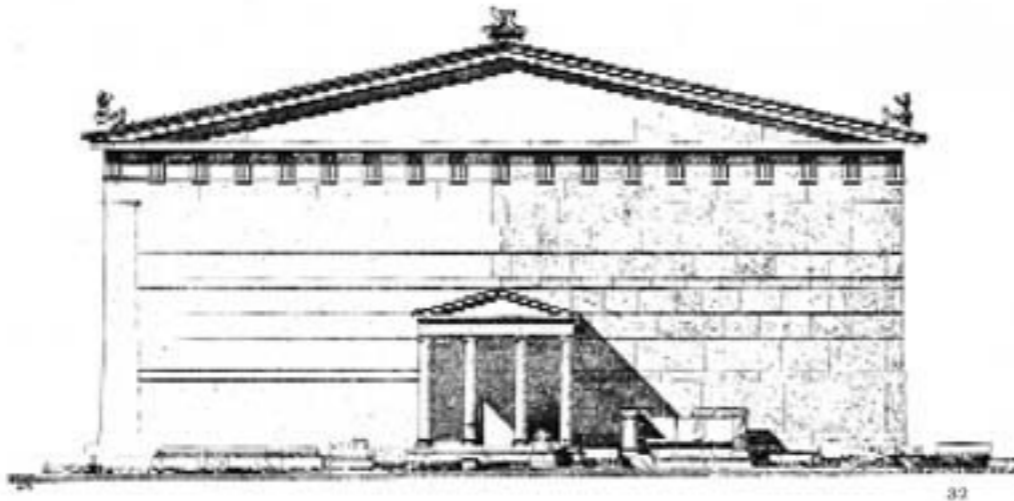
115

\* The numbers in parentheses in bold type within the text refer to the map of the Delos site on pages 136-137.





Reconstruction of the Stoa of Philip  
(G. Poulsen, 1910).



The *Propylaea* (8), the main entrance to the Sanctuary, was built during the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC, by the Athenians upon an earlier Propylon built in about 570 BC by the Naxians. Around the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, the impressive building complex comprising the *Oikos of the Naxians* (9) and the *Propylaea* was supplemented by an L-shaped Ionian colonnade, the *Portico of the Naxians*. The circular marble base of the bronze palm tree that was dedicated in 417 BC by the Athenian general Nicias is still visible near the colonnade's interior corner.

119

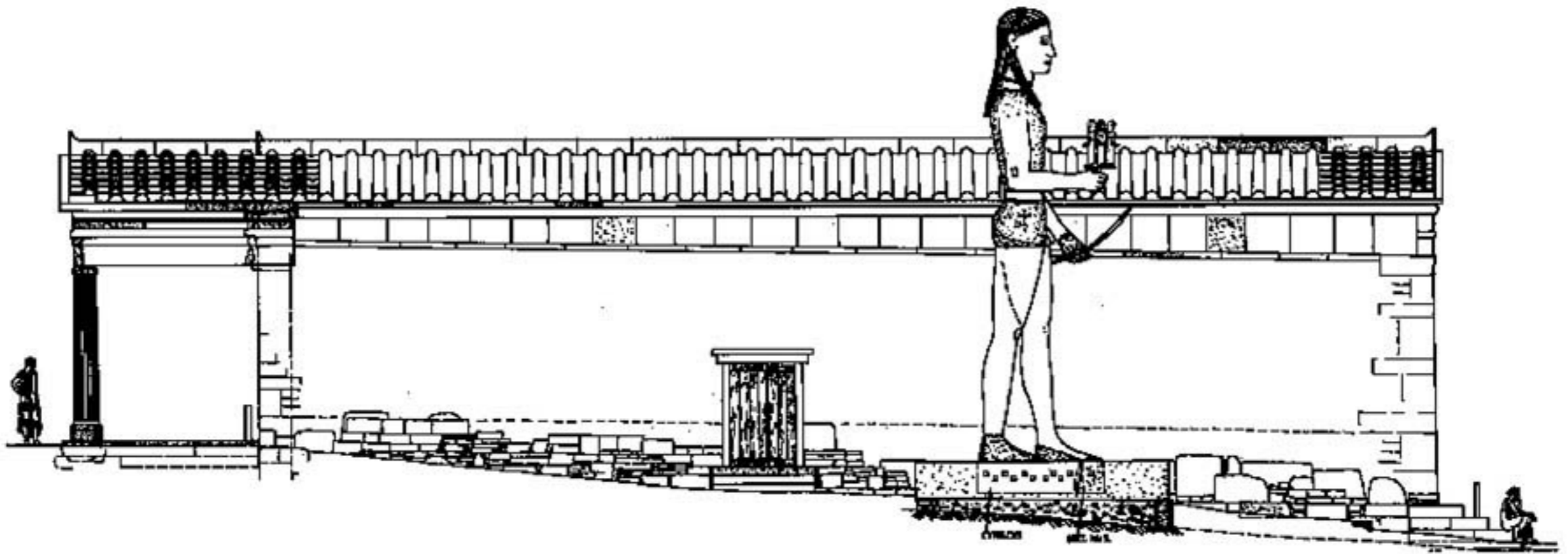
The *Oikos of the Naxians* was built in the early 6<sup>th</sup> cent. of large granite blocks. The portico on the west side had three columns between the ends of the long walls. During the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, a second entrance with a marble porch was added on the east façade. The pitched marble roof was supported by eight slim Ionian columns that divided the interior of the building into two aisles. There are different theories about the use of the building: some hold that it was the earliest temple of Apollo, others that it was used to store sacred vessels and votive offerings, or yet others that it was a dining hall.

124, 158

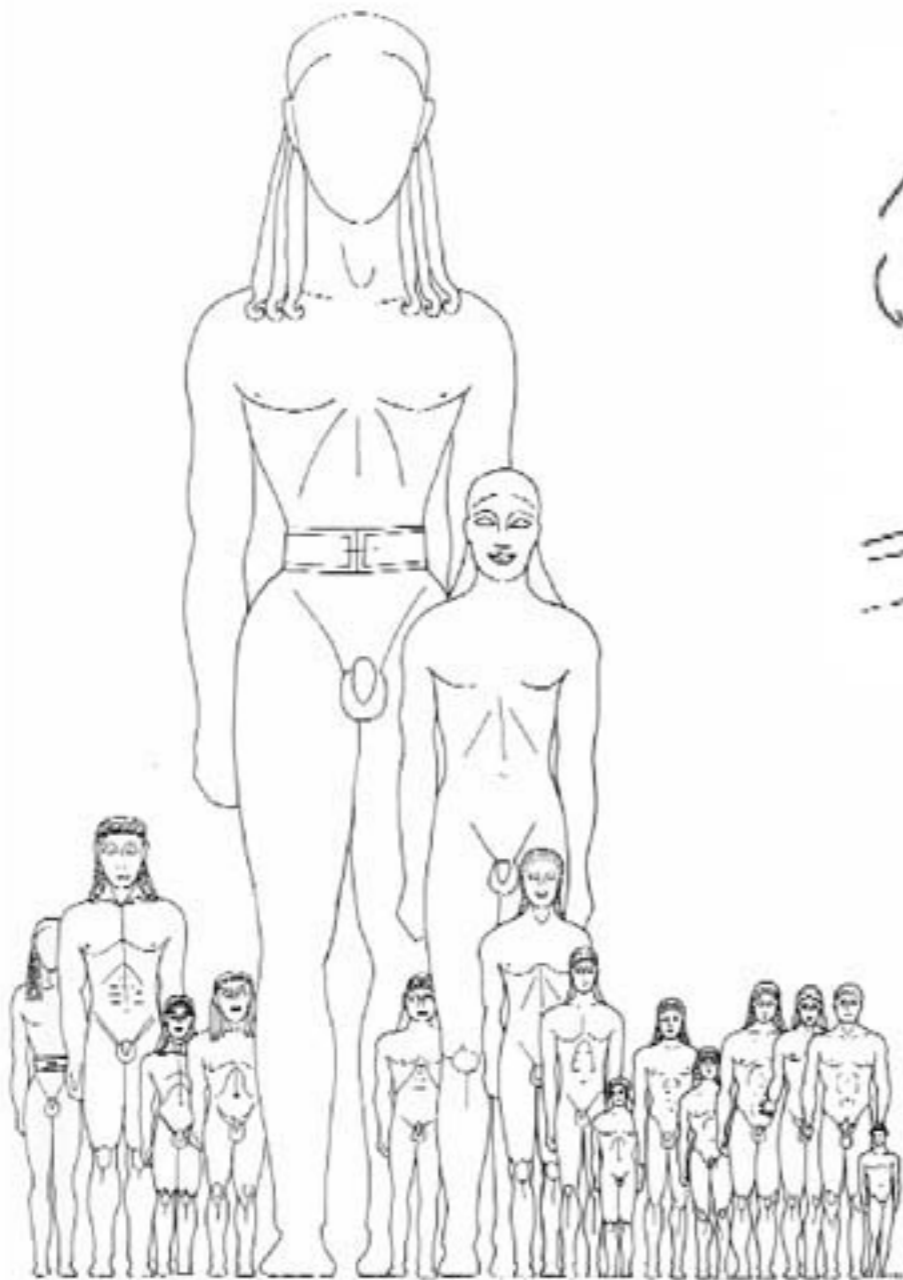
Outside the northwest corner of the building is the huge marble base weighing approximately 32 tons that supported the towering Colossus of the Naxians, a statue of Apollo approximately 9 metres in height, dating to the early 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. The god was depicted in the *kouros* type, nude, frontally, with long hair, sturdy shoulders, and the left foot placed slightly in front of the right. In his hands he held either a bow and arrows, or the Three Graces. The surviving pieces bear the holes that served to fasten the statue's bronze locks and belt. The god's bright hair was visible from the sea, and the broad Avenue of the Lions ended at its base. Even when the Sanctuary was covered with buildings, the head of Apollo was visible from all sides.

The statue had a tumultuous history as early as ancient times. According to Plutarch, at one point the bronze palm tree of Nicias fell over and knocked down the statue. The Naxians restored it to its base and it was apparently then that they inscribed the west side of the base: *To Apollo from the Naxians* (ΝΑΞΙΟΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ). The east side bears one of the earliest Greek inscriptions: «ΤΟ ΑΥΤΟ ΛΙΘΟ ΕΜΙ ΑΝΔΡΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΣΦΕΛΛΑΣ», i.e., "statue and base, I am made of the same stone." In more recent times, the statue's impressive size drew the attention of travellers, as well as "collectors" of antiquities, who as far back as the 17<sup>th</sup> century, carried off sections. In 1416 the Florentine Cristoforo Buondelmonti<sup>65</sup> reports that he and his comrades attempted to raise the colossus: "we also saw upon a plain on Delos an old sanctuary constructed of many columns and a huge statue fallen upon the ground, so enormous that though we were over a thousand men and had all the equipment and ropes from our ships we were unable to raise it. Thus we despaired and left it at the same location. We also saw a surfeit of other statues, created with amazing skill, some cast down upon the earth, others covered with mounds of earth."





33



Reconstruction showing the Oikos of the Naxians and the Apollo of the Naxians (G. Gruben, 1997), the largest Hellenic statue (A. Stewart - C.A. Smith, 1990), which according to the drawing by Cyriacus of Ancona (1445) was facing north.

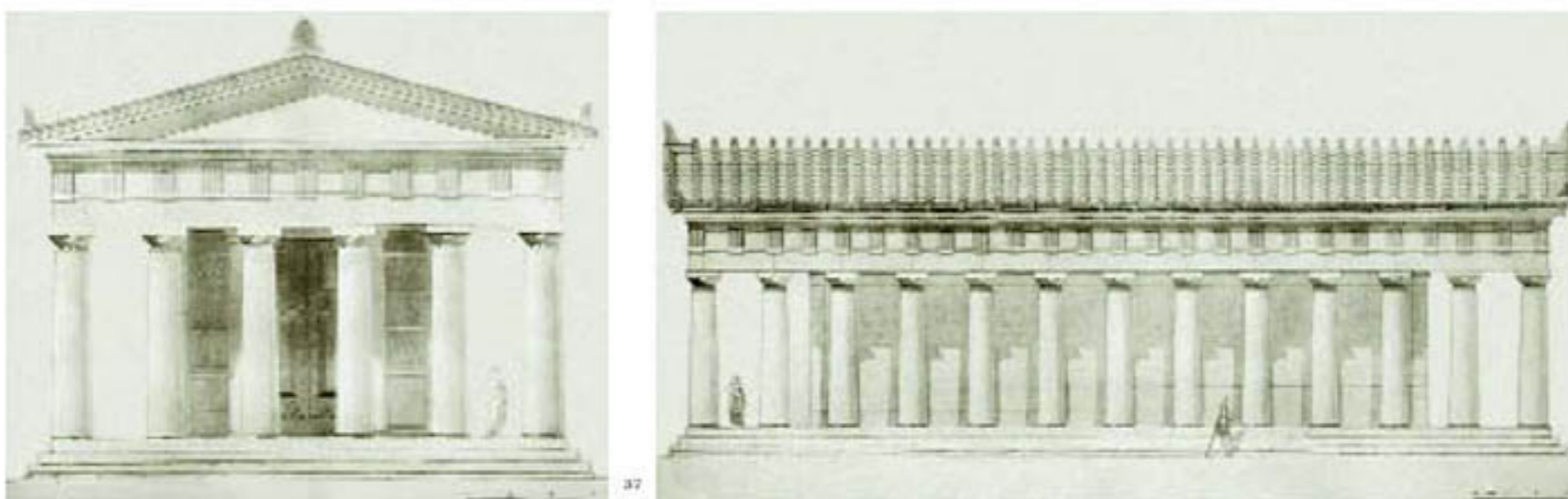
34



The Apollo of the Naxians before being beheaded. Seger de Vries, 1673.

35





The Great Temple or Temple of the Delians (F. Courby - G. Poulsen, 1931).

In 1445 Cyriacus of Ancona sketched the surviving sections of the colossus which, according to the sketch, was facing north (and not west) looking towards the pilgrims who disembarked in Skardanas bay and walked down the Avenue of the Lions to reach its base and Keraton, the final point of their pilgrimage. In 1636 the French Ambassador De la Haye mentions that he observed the British sawing the statue in two. Around 1675, either a British captain or the Venetian Governor of Tinos cut off its head, all trace of which has since disappeared. At one time an attempt was made to haul away the remaining sections, but was unsuccessful because of their weight, and the parts were abandoned in front of the *Artemesion* (15). The statue's torso and pelvis are still there; the British Museum has a section of the left leg, and the Delos Museum has the left hand. In 1913, Demosthenes Pippas recorded a Mykonian tale associated with the Apollo of Naxos, as narrated by Frangiskos Nazos:

*"Apollo was King of Axia (Naxos) and the secret lover of the princess, daughter of the King who reigned on Deles, which was then a great kingdom. Every night he would don his waxen wings and fly from Axia and come to Deles to find her. Now as time went by the secret was revealed. And her father did not accept this, and cast her out and took her to Mykonos and on that island, which had no houses then and was simply a barren isle, he built a small castle in which he imprisoned her. And Mykonos took on the name of Moichionos [Μοίχωνο=adultery], after the adulterous princess whom they imprisoned there. Apollo, when leaving Deles, was caught by the day and his waxen wings melted in the sun and he fell into the sea and drowned. And behold, the princess' deception was revealed."*

161-168

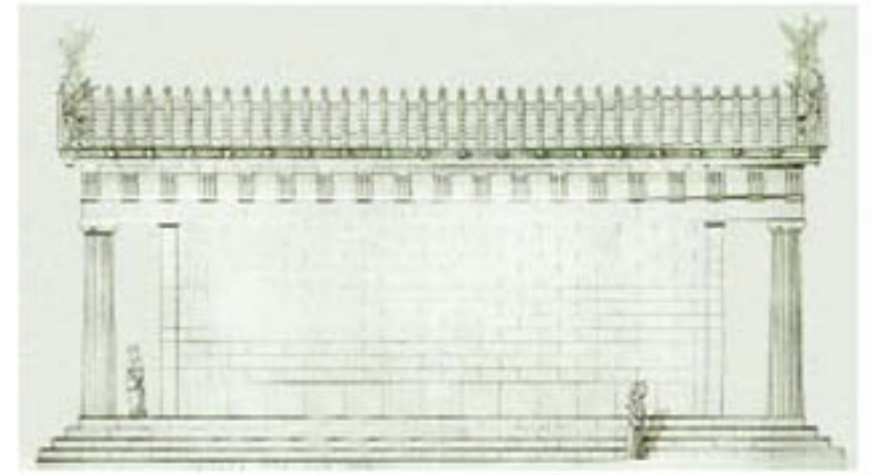
Many *kouros* type statues of young men were found in the Sanctuary, votive offerings to Apollo from the inhabitants of Naxos and Paros. In the earlier museum catalogues they are listed as "archaic Apollos" and it is indeed difficult, unless they are holding some symbol, to distinguish whether they represent the god himself, heroes, dead youths elevated to the status of heroes, victorious athletes, or simply young worshippers. These athletic youths display their well-trained bodies confidently under the pitiless Cycladic light with a distant, enigmatic smile. This smile suggests they inhabit a superior world, to which common mortals will never have access.

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Immediately after the Oikos of the Naxians are the three temples of Apollo. The first, which was also the largest, was dedicated by the Delians and is therefore known as the *Great Temple*, or *Temple of the Delians* (10). It is the only peripteral temple on Delos, with six Doric columns on each narrow side and 13 on each long side. Its construction coincided with important events in the island's history. Construction, which was funded by the Treasury of the Delian League, began in about 476 BC but the building process was interrupted in 454 BC when the Treasury was transferred to Athens. Work began again during the Period of Independence, after 314 BC, but was never completed and the columns (scattered around the temple) were never finished. Inside the temple was the cult statue of the god and many centuries' worth of precious offerings, which transformed it into a kind of Museum of the Sanctuary's history.

Next to it is the temple referred to in the inscriptions as the *Temple of the Athenians* (11). For its con-





*The Temple of the Athenians  
(F. Courby - G. Poulsen, 1931)  
and a reconstruction of  
the acroteria by A. Furtsch.*

struction, Athens sent valuable white Pentelic marble and the required experienced craftsmen, who probably worked under the supervision of Callicrates, the master craftsman of the Temple of Nike. Built between 425-420 BC, and probably inaugurated circa 417 BC by General Nicias, it was an amphiprostyle temple in the Doric order, with 6 columns on each narrow side. Inside the cella, seven statues were placed upon a horse-shoe-shaped base of grey-blue Eleusinian marble, hence the inscriptions referring to the temple as the *House in Which stand the Seven Statues* (Οἶκος ἐν ᾧ τὰ ἑπτὰ). The excavations unearthed many sections of the temple's wonderful acroteria. The east side's central acroterion depicts Boreas, King of Thrace, the personification of the north wind, abducting the young princess Oreithyia, daughter of the Athenian King Erechtheus and Praxithea. According to the legend, Boreas seized the princess as she was dancing on the banks of the Ilissos River and took her to Thrace. Their offspring were the winged brothers Calais and Zetes and two daughters, Cleopatra and Chion. The central acroterion on the west side depicts Eos (Dawn) carrying off the handsome Cephalus, another Athenian hero, son of Hermes and princess Erse, sister of Oreithyia. On January 14, 1881, Panagiotis Kavvadias, the Ephor of Antiquities of the Prefectures of the Cyclades and Euboea gave a very lively description of the former group in the *Catalogue of the Delian Museum on Mykonos*; but he misinterpreted the scene.

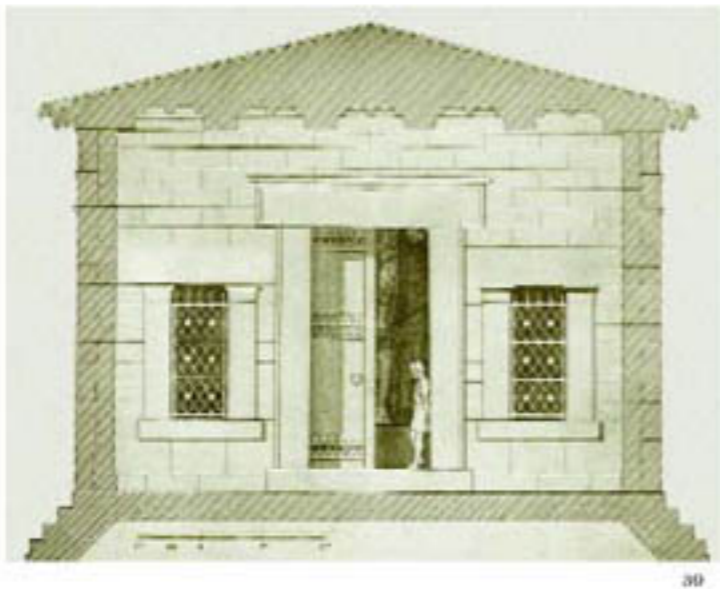
*"The group depicts Persephone abducted by Hades, who bending the left knee and thus seizing his prey by the waist with his left arm, is now rising while looking to his right; grasping the reins of the steeds drawing his chariot he is preparing at the same time to mount with his right foot. Persephone, however, resisting the abduction tries to remain on the ground and extends her arms, as if seeking help. This group is undoubtedly related to sculptures number 27-41, not so much because they were discovered together on the same site, but because these pieces belong to the same School and indeed are by the same hand. They are also linked as regards the action depicted because number 41 also depicts a woman seizing a youth, while the four female figures (numbers 37, 38, 39, 40) undoubtedly belong to one of these two abductions, most probably that of Persephone seized by Hades, since we know from other works of art, that she was playing with her attendant nymphs. Thus we have a composition depicting the abduction of Persephone where the nymphs who were playing with her are rushing around terrified to and fro, or possibly to assist the abducted maiden. This must have been exhibited in front of a wall because the backs of the surviving pieces have not been worked on at all and bear large*



holes to assist in mounting them upon a wall, most probably the tympanum of some temple pediment, possibly that belonging to the Temple of Apollo, since the stance of the figures portrayed, their greatest and smallest dimensions and their movements and, indeed, the placement of the raised and lowered arms are most suitable for filling the expanse of a pediment. Persephone herself wears a long sleeveless chiton, fastened at the shoulders with a clasp, a girdle binding her waist. A bronze chaplet rests on her hair, which is drawn back to form a knot. Hades' head adheres to the well-known and distinct type and the detail of the torso is anatomically correct, although not exceeding that standard set by the art of the most glorious years, having neither exaggerated muscular tension, nor a detailed depiction of each muscle. Persephone, although lacking the majesty and absolute ideality and bold depiction of the works of the School of Phidias, attracts the viewer through a distinguished expression of human feeling, of grief and virginal modesty, and through the skilled representation of the beauty of her form, in particular of the tender and melting flesh and the simple and graceful folds of the chiton along the entire length of the body. To this one might add the lively and charming expression of the nymphs, running to and fro reminding us of the Nereids of the so-called monument of the Nereids of Xanthus. Considering the above I think that this piece is a product of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC created by an artist who was a member of the Attic School of Scopas and Praxiteles. The marble is very badly damaged. Persephone is missing her left arm from the shoulder, her right from the middle of her forearm and her lower extremities. Hades lacks his right arm and both limbs from the pubic area while his torso has been cut off (bearing number 26) and fits precisely. Hades measures 0,75 from the pubic area to the crown of his head, while Persephone measures 1,23 from the lower end of her leg."

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The third temple, the *Poros Temple* or *Porinos Oikos* (12) was built of poros stone during either the period of the Athenian tyrant Peisistratus, or that of his sons, in the late 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. The famous statue of Apollo created by the Athenian sculptors Tectaeus and Angelion originally stood in this temple and was later transferred to the Great Temple. It consisted of a wooden core to which sheets of hammered gold or gilded bronze were attached. The god was depicted in the kouros type, holding a bow in one hand and the Three Graces or three Muses in the other. The Graces, according to Plutarch, were holding musical instruments, the lyre, aulos, and syrinx.



195-203

The Poros Temple or Porinos Oikos (F. Courby - G. Poulsen, 1931). Through the half-open entrance the statue by Tectaeus and Angelion is just distinguishable.

The beauty and grace of the god is further emphasized by the frequent presence of his companions, the Graces, Nymphs and Muses who supplement and accentuate the picture of eternal youth. The Graces symbolize ideal grace and perfection in mortal beings and mortal works. The Nymphs, deities of the waters, lived in springs, forests, meadows and mountains and were the embodiment of mature maidenly youth and the beauty of nature. The Muses, like the nymphs, had the gift of prophecy; they knew "what is, what is to come and all that has been", as Hesiod writes, who, in common with other poets, begins his hymn by invoking their aid. It was Hesiod who in the *Theogony* first specified their number and gave them the names by which they were worshipped to the end. Most important was Calliope, the goddess of epic poetry and later of rhetoric, who was depicted seated and pensive holding a tablet and stylus. Cleio, patroness of history, was represented holding a scroll, Euterpe holding a double flute (*aulos*), while Thaleia, goddess of pastoral poetry and later of comedy, holds a theatre mask. Melpomene is the goddess of musical harmony and song, and later of tragedy, Terpsichore was originally the patroness of dance, and later lyric poetry, Erato of marriage, Polyhymnia of hymns to the gods and

heroes, and Urania of the study of heavenly bodies. Many statues of the Muses were found on Delos, copies of the famous works by the sculptor Philiscus, son of Polycharmus, from Rhodes.

In contrast to most other ancient Greek temples, whose entrance is on the eastern façade, the entrance in all three temples of Apollo is situated on the west side. This feature, which is unique to the Delian temples, may perhaps be attributed to the fact that to the west lay the famous *Horn Altar*,<sup>66</sup> an altar that, according to tradition, had been built by Apollo himself from the left horns of the goats that he or Artemis had killed on Mount Kynthos. The foundation of an apsidal structure (13) discovered in front of the temples has been identified as the *Keraton*, the building that protected this most ancient and venerated altar.



During the archaic period, to the west and especially to the north of the temple were many dozens of statues of *kouroi* and *korae*, votive offerings from private individuals or cities, many of which survived because they had already been covered over in antiquity. On the contrary, all that remains of the hundreds of marble or bronze statues dedicated in the Sanctuary during later centuries are their inscribed bases. These votive offerings were in plain sight and were either looted, used as construction material, or burned in lime kilns.

The large square building (14) near the *Keraton* was constructed in 345 BC by the Athenians and may be the *Pythion*,<sup>67</sup> the sanctuary of Pythian Apollo.

The *Artemesion* (15) is a separate, smaller sanctuary, within the Sanctuary of Apollo, separated from the rest by an L-shaped Hellenistic stoa. The temple was built by the Delians during the Period of Independence and its foundation of large granite blocks is still visible. Its façade, in contrast to the temples of Apollo, was on the east side, and it had a portico with six Ionian columns. A small rectangular structure dating from the early 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC located inside the cella is thought to be the earlier *Artemesion*. Also inside the cella are the surviving sections of a larger building dating to the Mycenaean era, which has been associated with the worship of *Potnia Theron*, a female deity, later identified with Artemis. In the northeastern corner of the temple, gold, ivory and other Mycenaean artifacts were found, which may have originated from the neighboring tomb of the Hyperborean Maidens. Amongst the 2533 ivory fragments is the famous plaque with the Mycenaean warrior, possibly the work of a Cypriot workshop. It is probable that Delos, or neighboring Mykonos, where a Mycenaean royal grave was discovered, had ivory workshops. Near the *Artemesion*, the statue of Nicandra, and the Nike of Archermos, as well as *korae* statues were found. Here is the very vivid and refreshingly prejudiced description of the Nicandra statue by Panagiotis Kavvadias:

*“An ancient and colossal statue of Artemis shaped like an oval stele, which through little and crude work acquired human, indeed female form, as is evident from the hair and of course the hint of breasts on the chest area. The lower half of the body follows precisely the shape of the elliptical, almost squared stele, having only two wedge-shaped protrusions to indicate the feet, yet the upper half demonstrates some art and ability on the part of the craftsman and constitutes a great contrast to the lower half, being wonderfully instructive on the subject of the art of ancient statues and xoana. The head has a somewhat natural oval shape and the hair in the back, falling below the shoulders, is a mass of unworked marble, while in front, it forms four plaits on either side. The arms lie along the length of the body and are attached to it. Although the marble is damaged, it is possible to distinguish the eyes and nose and especially the ears, forward angled, according to the Egyptian fashion. This work is unique and precious, because on the left side of the body, under the hand it bears a most ancient inscription, written boustrophedon, [alternatively from right to left and left to right], stating that this work was dedicated to Artemis by Nicandra, a woman whose family comes from Naxos. It stood next to a wall, since the back is totally unworked. Although unfinished and crude, the piece succeeds in affecting the viewer strongly and eliciting a deep religious feeling. It is broken into two sections, at the belt, joining together perfectly. It is approximately 2 meters high.”*

The statue of Nicandra is the earliest, large-scale female statue. With its daring inscription, the statue speaks directly to the viewer, leaving not the slightest doubt as to who dedicated it: *“Nicandra, distinguished amongst women, daughter of Deinodices of Naxos, sister of Deinomenes and wife of Phraxus, dedicated me to her whose arrows fly far.”* Artemis, or Nicandra herself, is depicted clad in a long dress that covers her flat body. The next statue of a slightly later *kore* has curves and a sense of the body, but her garments remain a lifeless surface upon a lifeless body. Later *kores* were depicted richly and elegantly dressed and bejeweled, but never with any hint of sensuality or eroticism. These archaic *kores* and those shown in contemporary vase paintings are the last examples of women with their hair loose. Hair is an intensely erotic feature and only a husband was allowed to see it loose. In later centuries, women are portrayed with their hair severely pulled up or back or frequently covered, as was the case in Greece until just a few decades ago and still is in rural areas, constituting a sign of submission and the recognition of the man's sovereign right. Women would cut their own hair at the funeral of their beloved as a sign of complete resignation and the denial of any joys of life. The severest punishment and humiliation of errant women would be to cut their hair, a practice still followed today in many prisons. Perhaps that is why a woman's first gesture of revolution has always been to cut her hair.

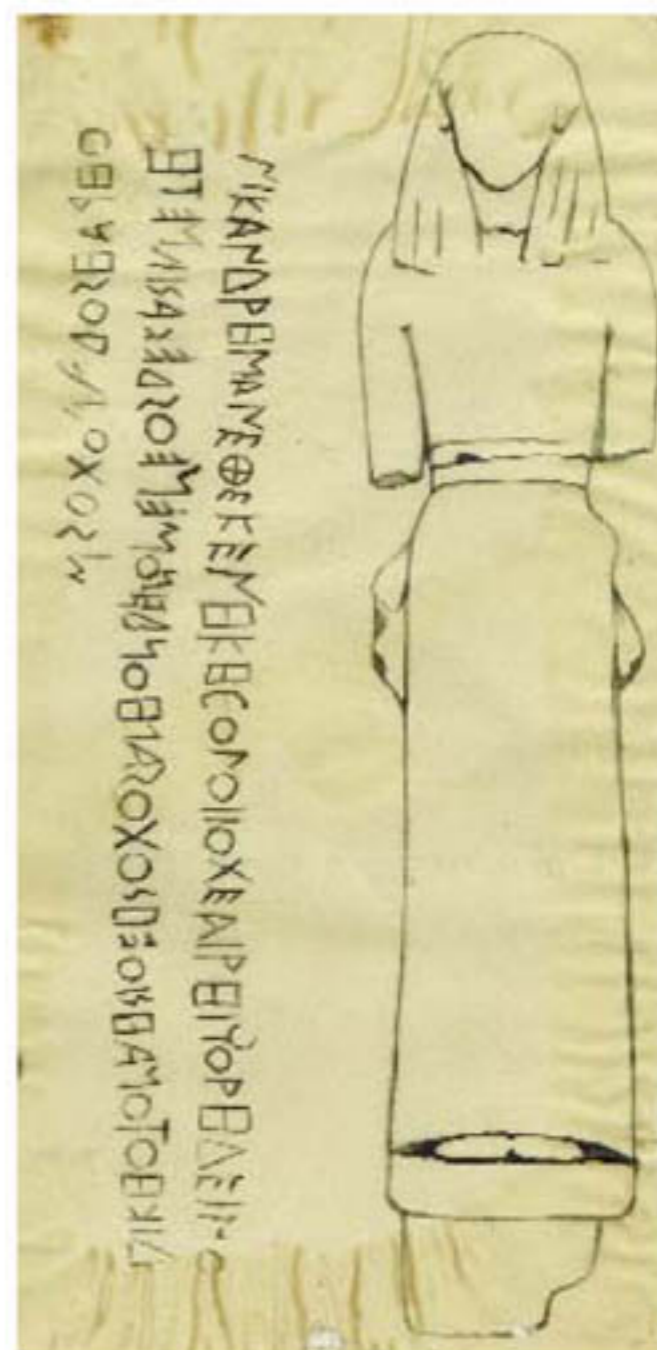
Nicandra, a woman with a strong and militant personality, as her name indicates, may have been financially independent, enabling her to make this costly offering and to dare mention her name in the inscrip-





The base of the Archermos statue and the Nicandra, drawn by D. Stavropoulos.

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tion, but she nevertheless defines her identity through her closest male relatives, in order of their power: her father first, then her brother and last her husband. As early as the archaic era women had been relegated to second place. Hesiod frequently cites the myth of Pandora, from whom sprang all the ills of the human race, as would later be the case with Eve. Created by Hephaestus, and endowed with all the graces by Athena, Aphrodite and the Graces so that no one could resist her, Pandora was sent by Zeus to Prometheus or Epimetheus to punish them for stealing fire. Prometheus gave fire, until then the prerogative of the gods, to man, and fire (knowledge) became the beginning of civilization. Eve, who was also given to Adam by God, gave Adam to eat of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, resulting in his loss of Paradise and from then on being obliged to eat bread *by the sweat of his brow*. Thus woman became the source of evil, the means by which the gods, or God, punishes humanity in general and men in particular; their love is represented as a trap by which they destroy men. In Christianity a woman became the means of redemption, but this was unavoidable because the Christian God, being the ultimate patriarchal prototype could not, unlike Zeus, give birth.

205-218

On Hellenistic Delos, however, Artemis was much more popular than her twin brother, and after Aphrodite and Isis, the most beloved goddess. Approximately 85 statues, statuettes, and reliefs, or fragments thereof, have been found, usually depicting the goddess in a short chiton and close fitting leather boots, garments that perfectly suit the vibrant and energetic goddess of the hunt, while her cult statues depicted her dressed in a long chiton. In a statue of Artemis Elaphobolos discovered in a house in the Theatre Quarter, a cold, soulless academic work, the goddess is portrayed with her spear raised, ready to administer the fatal blow to a kneeling deer. Her divinely cold and expressionless face is in contrast to the dramatic moment and the pain of the fallen animal. This particularly cruel work would have seemed even crueler in the urban environment of Delos, where people were not accustomed to such hunting scenes. In the despair of the deer many spectators would have perceived their own despair and would have seen humanity's tragic fate and

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the gods' indifference to human pain in the composition as a whole. Artemis, the goddess of nature and motherhood, in later years replaced Hecate as goddess of the moon. There was another sanctuary of the goddess on Rheneia where she was worshipped as Artemis-Hecate. Hecate, daughter of Zeus and Hera or of Tartarus and Asteria, goddess of moonlight, was originally the divinity who brought happiness, victory, wisdom in court, and a successful outcome to sea voyages and hunts. The tragic poets depicted her as a chthonic deity, mistress of wicked spirits who, accompanied by the spirits of the dead, roamed over graves and places where three roads met. Witches invoke her assistance to make their spells work:<sup>65</sup>

224-228

| 45

*But now I will bewitch him with my enchantments!  
Do thou, Selene, shine clear and fair, for softly, Goddess,  
to thee will I sing, and to Hecate of hell.  
The very whelps shiver before her as she fares  
through black blood and across the barrows of the dead.  
Hail, awful Hecate! to the end be thou of our company,  
and make this medicine of mine no weaker than the spells of Circe,  
or of Medea, or of Perimede of the golden hair...  
Thestylis, hark, 'tis so; the hounds are baying up and down the town!  
The Goddess stands where the three ways meet!  
Hasten, and clash the brazen cymbals.*

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A few meters past the last temple of Apollo, the surviving foundations of five *Oikoi* or *Treasuries* of the Classical Era (16-20) are arrayed in a semi-circle. These small temple-shaped structures, votive offerings by various Greek cities, were originally used as lodgings or dining halls for pilgrims, and later, when the temples were overflowing, they served to store precious objects and offerings.

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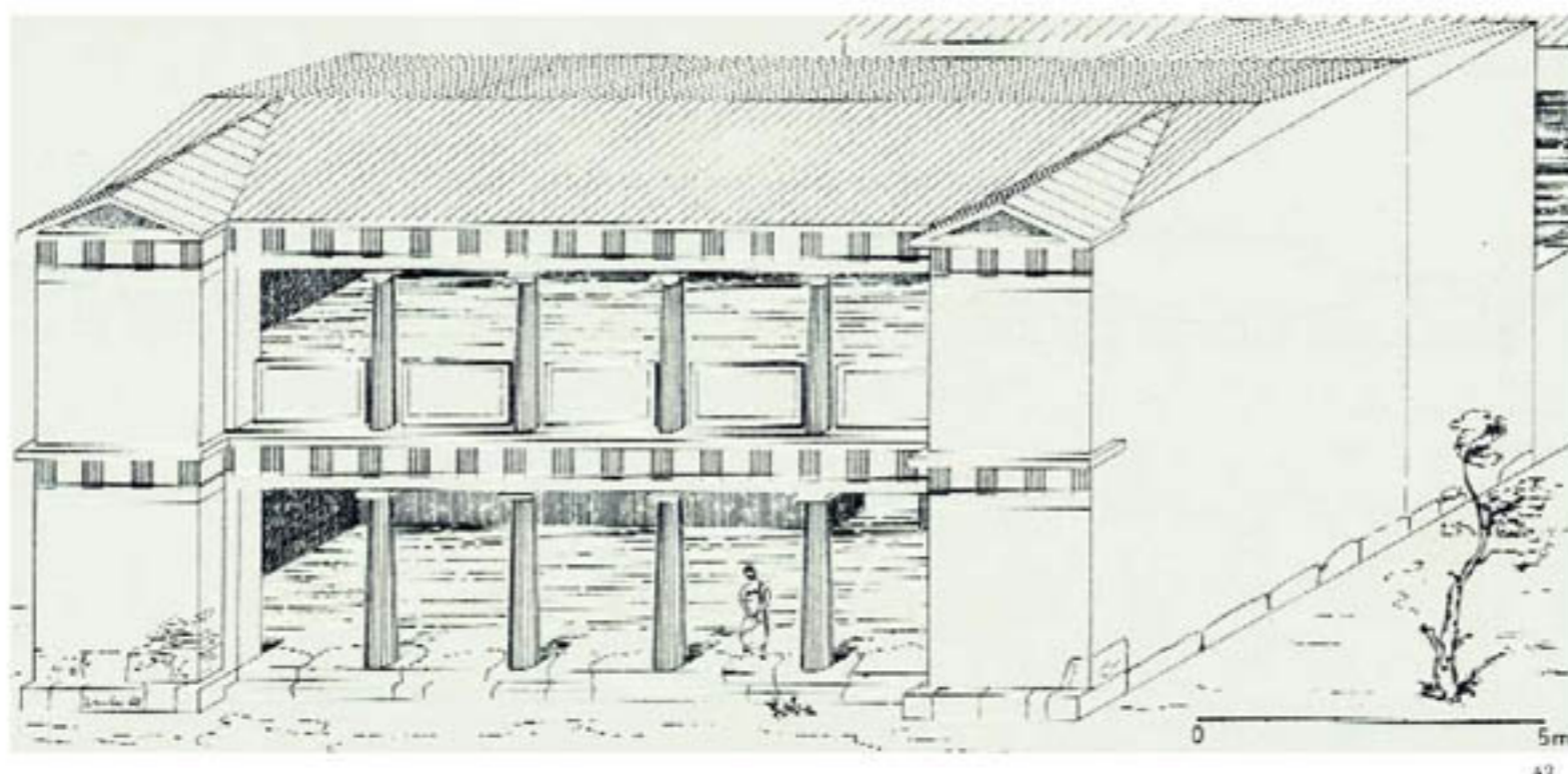
South of the *Treasury* (20) is an oblong building dating to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC that has been tentatively identified as the *Bouleuterion* of the Delians (21). Behind it are the ruins of the *Prytaneion* (22), i.e., the seat of the *prytaneis* or archons of Delos. City records were kept in *prytaneia*, public buildings that correspond to our present-day city halls. At the same time they were religious centres dedicated to the worship of the goddess Hestia (known as Vesta to the Romans, who considered her an earlier and much more important goddess), protectress of the family hearth as well as of the city hearth. The city's sacred fire was kept permanently alight there; the building also housed a dining hall, where the *prytaneis* and all who had rendered the city great service dined at public expense. Banquets honoring foreign ambassadors, victorious athletes and other honored personages were also held there. The *Prytaneion* of Delos was constructed in the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC and completed in the late 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. The entrance was on the south side where there was a portico with four Doric columns and a paved courtyard. A wall divided the remaining building into two halls, each with its own vestibule. The foundation of Hestia's altar can still be seen in one of the halls, while in the other were two small chambers, where the city archives and the vessels used to serve meals to the *prytaneis* were stored. The city archives were under the protection of Cybele, the Great Mother of the gods, whose sanctuary, the *Metroon* may have been in the *Sarapieion C*. The great Phrygian goddess Cybele was introduced early into the Greek Pantheon and identified with Rhea, Gaea, and Demeter. She is the deified earth, the mother of the gods, whose throne is on mountain peaks and in impenetrable forests. Wild beasts obey and accompany her. Her progress was preceded by the noisy Curetes and the Corybantes, inventors of drums.<sup>66</sup> The death and resurrection of her beloved Attis was celebrated with cries, ululations and frenzied passion, accompanied by the sounds of drums and rattles. The drum was the characteristic musical instrument of her wandering priests.

233-239

230-231

To the east of the last two buildings stands one of the strangest architectural monuments of antiquity, known by the conventional name *Monument of the Bulls* (23). It is a long, narrow building 69,40 m. long and 10,37 m. wide divided into three parts: a vestibule with portico to the south, a huge oblong hall in the centre with a marble floor and benches against the walls, and a smaller hall to the north with a trapezoidal statue base. Three entrances led into this latter hall; the central one was flanked by two unique supports, a combination of pilaster and semi-column, with twin busts of bulls on the upper sections of the piers. The surviving sections of the monument's sculptural decoration depict dolphins leaping amongst frothing waves and a Nereid mounted on a sea-monster. The building's central hall may have been the "Neorion", which housed a trireme, possibly an offering of Demetrius Poliorcetes, on the occasion of his victory at Salamis on the island of Cyprus (306 BC). The building dates to the later years of the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC.





Reconstruction  
of the Prytaneion  
(H. Lauter, 1968).

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At the southeast end of the Monument of the Bulls stands the altar of Zeus Soter and Polieus, and immediately after that is the wall separating the Sanctuary from the noisy commercial area.

The *Portico of Antigonos* (24), 120 metres long and 20 metres wide, takes up about two thirds of the north side of the Sanctuary. It was built in c. 250 BC by Antigonos Gonatas, King of Macedonia as declared on the architrave: *King Antigonos son of King Demetrius of Macedonia to Apollo* (*Βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος Βασιλέως Δημητρίου Μακεδῶν Ἀπόλλωνι*). The portico, which was not used for commercial purposes, was in the shape of a Π with 25 poros stone Ionic columns in the interior, and 47 grey-blue marble Doric columns on the façade. On the Doric entablature triglyphs alternated with reliefs of bulls' heads. At the east end, the mutilated statue of the Roman pro-consul Gaius Villienus, dedicated around 100 BC by his friend Midas son of Zenon, is still standing, near three marble exedrae.

In front and approximately at the center of the portico, amongst the bases of various statues and enclosed by a semi-circular wall is a Mycenaean tomb. This was considered to be the *Tomb (Theke)* of two Hyperborean maidens *Arge and Ope*, who according to Herodotus, after coming to Delos to assist Leto in giving birth, remained on the island as priestesses. The tomb was considered sacred and, therefore, left untouched during the Purification of 426 BC. During the Hellenistic era the low wall served to protect its status as an *abaton*, a sacred area where no one was allowed to set foot. Another semi-circular building in extremely bad condition southeast of the Artemesion has been identified as the *Tomb (Sema) of Laodice and Hyperoche*, another two Hyperborean maidens. Customarily, young brides-to-be would come here to offer locks of their hair wound around a spindle, and youths their first beard wrapped in grass, gifts symbolizing the traditional roles they would assume in the family.

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A building on the northwest corner of the Sanctuary (27), which was identified for many years as the *Thesmophorion* dedicated to Demeter and Persephone, was recently thought to be the *Banquet Hall (Estiatorion) of the Keians*. Next to the Thesmophorion is the *Ekklesiasterion* (26) where hearings would take place. A small Roman temple and sections of an early Christian basilica erected upon its ruins have survived within the precinct. The Sanctuary's north entrance is situated between the Ekklesiasterion and the *Graphe* (25), a late 5<sup>th</sup> century building, where paintings were exhibited.

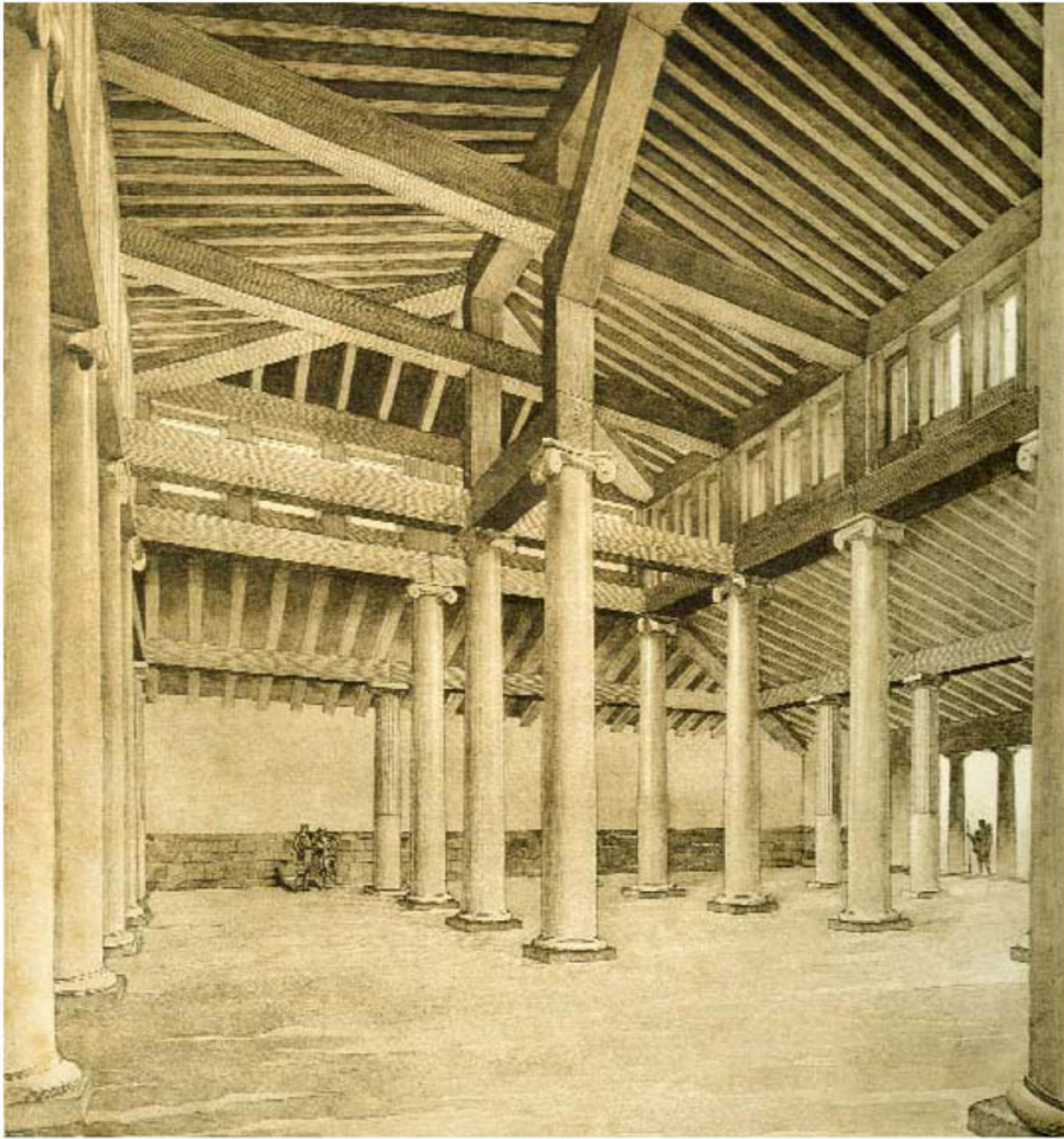
#### THE AREA NORTH OF THE SANCTUARY

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**Northwest** of the Sanctuary is the *Agora of Theophrastos* (28), the Athenian *Epimeletes* or administrator of Delos, who in 126/5 saw to the development of the site. The large base that bore his statue has been preserved in the centre of the square next to the ruins of the *Posideion*, the sanctuary of *Poseidon Naucularius*. Poseidon is associated with Delos, since it was he who anchored the wandering islet to the bottom of the sea with diamond columns, changing it from *adelos* (invisible) to Delos, and giving Leto a place to bring forth the twin gods of light. The personification of the power of nature (storm,

249-251



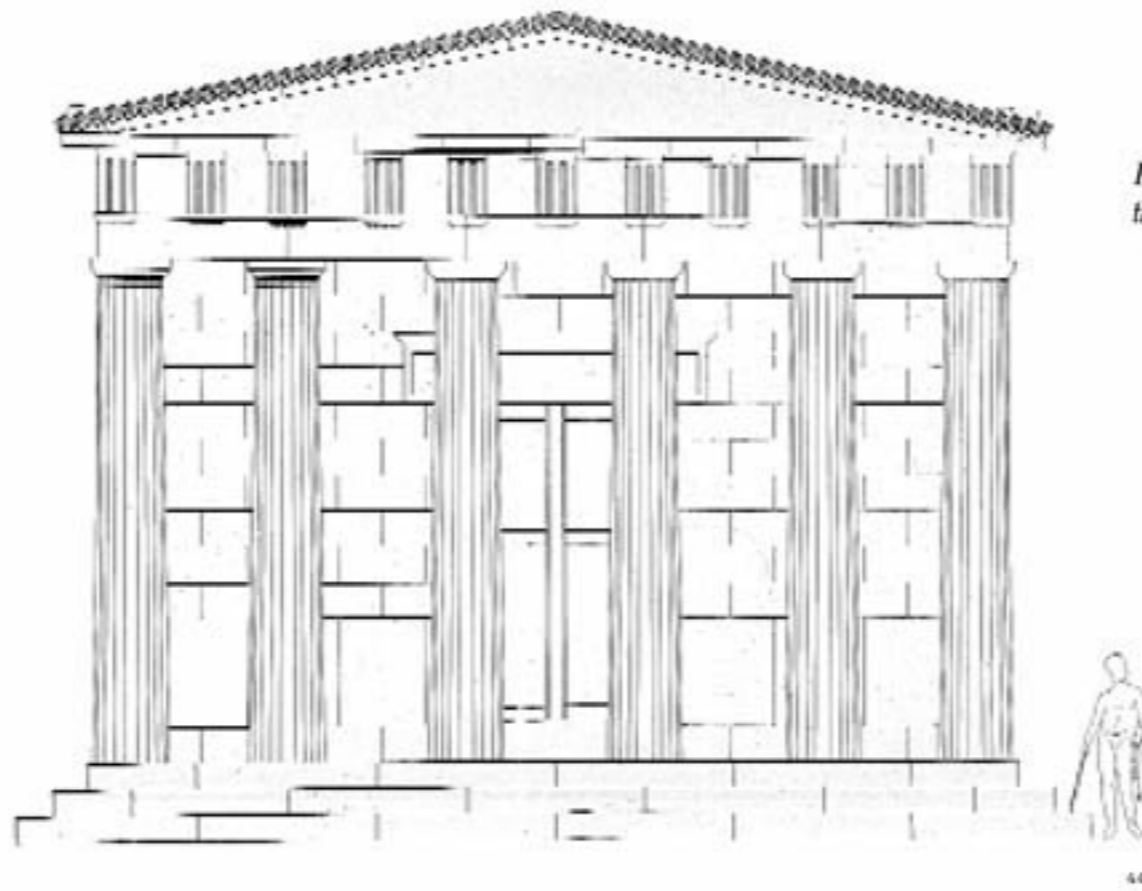


*Reconstruction of the Hypostyle Hall (G. Leroux - A. Gabriel, 1909).*

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earthquake, raging horses), Poseidon was worshipped on Delos under the appellations Naclarius (protector of ships and sailors) Asphalius, Orthosius, Themeliouchos (protector of the city's stability), Aesius and Hippegetes (leader of horses). The merchants, bankers and warehouse owners from Tyre, Ascalon and Berytus (present day Beirut) who resided on the island worshiped Poseidon as one of their ancestral gods, while the Romans worshiped him as Neptune. As early as Homeric times, Poseidon is presented as the god of the sea. In the *Iliad*, enraged, he proclaims himself equal to Zeus and defines his domain:





Reconstruction of  
the Dodekatheon.

*But the glorious god of earthquakes shook in anger:  
 "What outrage! Great as he is, what overweening arrogance!  
 So force me, will he, to wrench my will to his?  
 I with the same high honors?  
 Three brothers we are, all sprung from Cronus,  
 all of us brought to birth by Rhea – Zeus and I,  
 Hades the third, lord of the dead beneath the earth.  
 The world was split three ways. Each received his realm.  
 When we shook the lots I drew the sea, my foaming eternal home,  
 And Hades drew the land of the dead engulfed in haze and night  
 and Zeus drew the heavens, the clouds and the high clear sky.  
 But the earth and Olympus heights are common to us all."<sup>70</sup>*

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The *Hypostyle Hall* (29) is an odd building dating to the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC, 56.45 m. long by 34.30 m. wide. On the long south side, where the entrance was also situated, was a colonnade with 15 poros stone Doric columns with marble capitals. The architrave bore the inscription "*Dedicated to Apollo by the Delians*" (ΔΗΛΑΙΟΙ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΑΝ ΤΩ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ), but after 166 BC, the word Delians was replaced by Athenians. The interior had 44 columns, the peripheral being Doric and the rest Ionic. The roof was higher in the centre with large openings around it, admitting light. The function of the building is unknown. Houses and a monastery complex were later erected (1 - 7 cent. AD) on the ruins of the building. The recent structures around it were built at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to house the members of the French School.

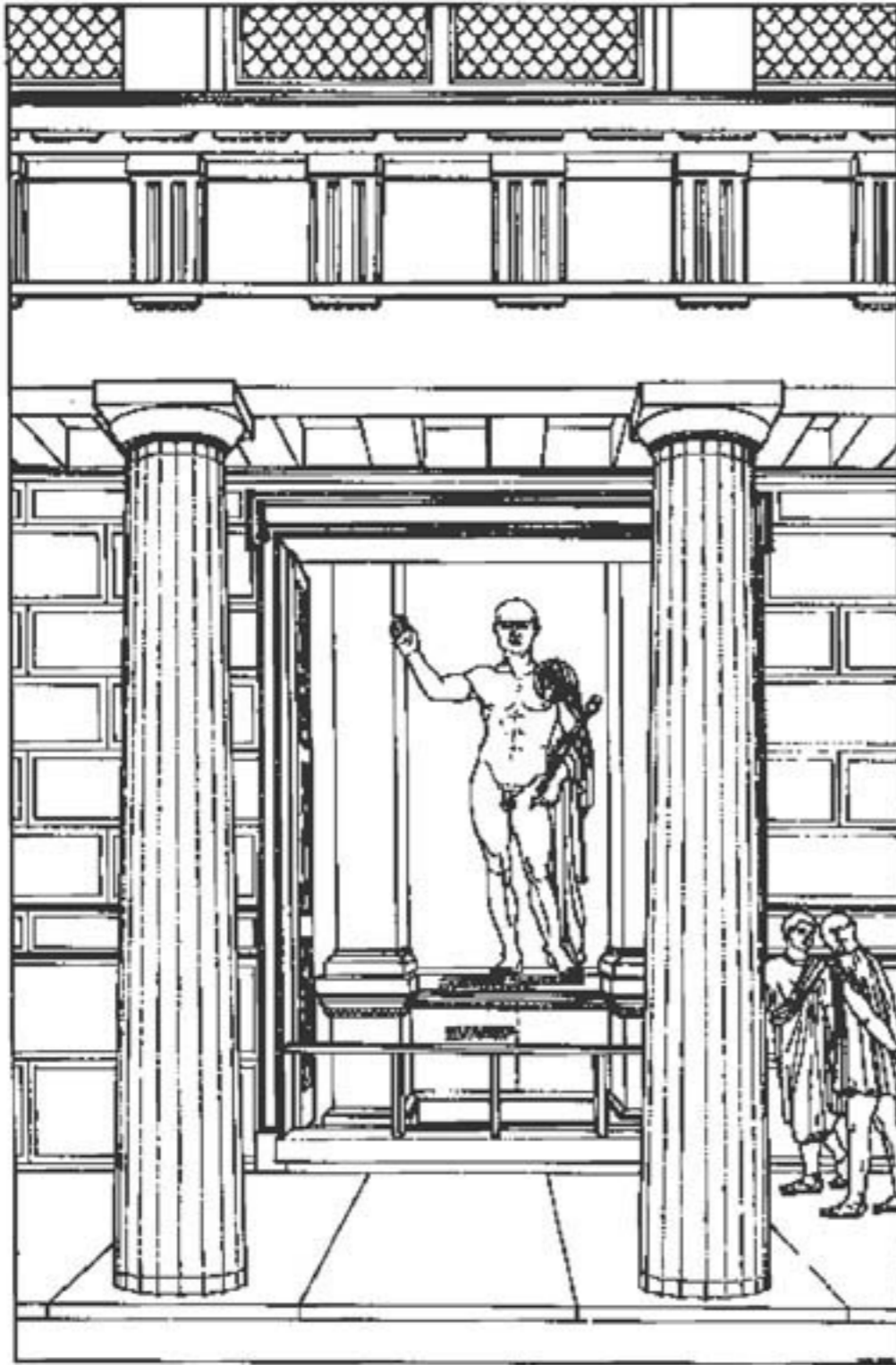
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East of the Hypostyle Hall is the *Dodekatheon* (30), a sanctuary dedicated to the Twelve Olympian Gods, which originally contained only altars. The small Doric amphiprostyle temple was built early in the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC. At the rear of the cella the base on which the cult statues stood can still be seen. Parts of the archaic statues of the twelve gods<sup>71</sup> created by Parian artists and dating to 500 BC have been found on the Dodekatheon site. This strange family appears to be reconciled: Hera, sister and lawful wife of Zeus sits on his right on a throne, and beside her stand some other goddesses. To the left of Zeus stands Athena, his daughter exclusively, and Leto his mistress between their two children, Apollo and Artemis. The statues of Zeus and Hera that stood against the wall and were not visible from behind, are hollow to reduce their weight and facilitate their transportation.

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On the same site a wonderful head was found from the colossal statue of a deified Demetrios Poliorcetes.





Reconstruction of the exedra and statue of Gaios Ophellios Pheros (A. Stewart - C.H. Smith, 1990).

He is depicted with the features of Alexander, in order to emphasize his right of succession. Demochares, a nephew of the orator Demosthenes, mentions that the corruption and obsequiousness of the Athenians was such that even Demetrios furiously remarked that among his contemporary Athenians there was no great or brave-spirited man. An Athenian hymn describes Demetrios as the nearest and fairest god.<sup>72</sup>

North of the Dodekatheton is the *Granite Monument* (31) a building dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC, which probably housed a Society, and opposite was the *Leteon* (32), a 6<sup>th</sup>-century temple dedicated to Leto. Worshippers would use the bench outside it to rest. Votive monuments, public buildings and shrines frequently had such benches where passers-by might sit to rest, chat and enjoy the view. On another marble bench, which ran down the interior of the temple's cella, the faithful would leave their offerings and dedications. The cella contained the archaic wooden statue (*xoanon*) of Leto, seated on a throne, clad in a linen chiton and purple himation, a work so strange to the eyes of the Hellenistic era that, as the historian Semus the Delian notes, the melancholy philosopher Parmeniscus of Metapontion<sup>73</sup> burst out laughing as soon as he saw it. Leto and Hera, exceptionally important deities during the archaic period, who received many offerings, are pushed aside during the Hellenistic period by Aphrodite and Isis and no one pays much attention to them.

The goddess's *temenos* (sacred precinct) was sacrificed around 130 BC to allow for the construction of the flamboyantly luxurious *Agora of the Italians* (33), the largest building on Delos. With the construction of this defiantly massive building on the holy isle, the Superpower of the age made an explicit statement of its presence, its power and the regulating role it was determined to play in the Aegean. There were many small shops and workshops around its exterior. A marble gate on the southwest side led into a large open-air space surrounded by two-storied colonnades with Doric columns on the ground floor and square pilasters on the upper floor. The architrave was inscribed with the names of the donors in both Greek and Latin. Behind the ground floor colonnades were niches and exedrae with honorific statues. In one such exedra

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258-262





*The Sacred Lake in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, before being filled in.*

stood the larger-than-life statue of Gaios Ophellios Pheros, created by the Athenian sculptors Dionysus and Timarchides, as indicated by the inscription on the base. Gaios Ophellios, a wealthy merchant from Campania who had business interests on Delos, paid for the construction of the Agora's west colonnade, perhaps under the condition that he would be granted a spot in which to place his statue. Naturally he paid not only for the construction of the alcove but for the statue as well. He is depicted nude, his himation flung over his left shoulder, with a youthful vigorous body, in the manner of works by Polyclitus and Praxiteles. Standing, his raised right hand braced upon a long spear and his left holding a small sword, imitating the stance of statues of Alexander the Great, he may possibly draw a parallel between his commercial successes and the conqueror's achievements. Both conquered the world. The exedra representation, along with the Pseudo-Athlete and the bankers from the House of the Seals, give an idea of the incongruity of presenting a mature man with the body of a young athlete.

The annoying insistence of these rich businessmen on the precise depiction of their face recalls C.P. Cavafy's Lanis, son of Rametichos,<sup>76</sup> who, firmly opposing the famous Kyrenean painter who tried to convince him that he must absolutely portray him as Hyacinth, told him to present:

*neither Hyacinth nor anyone else  
but Lanis, son of Rametichos, the Alexandrian.*

262, 378

Lanis, like Gaios Ophellios, the Pseudo-Athlete and the bankers, displays with disarming innocence and unconscious honesty exactly what they have: the former his beauty, the latter their riches and power. However, all the faces had to be immediately recognizable by the viewer, otherwise nothing was gained from the outlay. Gaios, the Pseudo-Athlete, and the bankers, who were not of Lanis's age, did not hesitate to borrow another body, oblivious to the bizarre and unnatural result. And if anyone had dared to remark upon it in their presence, they naturally would have paid no attention. The artist himself confirmed that this was what noble Romans of the day did. The head from the equestrian statue of a man in a cuirass, erected in another of the Agora's niches, reflects the same circumstances. The expressionless face with its stern fixed glance and tight lips reveals someone accustomed to giving orders. The highly polished marble further accentuates the cold expression of the military man.

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Above: One of the lions immediately after they were found (1906). Right: A Delian lion in front of the Arsenal of Venice, unrecognisable after the addition of an atrocious modern head.

Two statues of Gauls from the same site are quite different. They were probably related to the victories of the Kings of Pergamum against the Gauls, or the slaughter of Celtic mercenaries by the soldiers of Ptolemy II Philadelphus in 276 BC. The first statue, exhibited today in the National Archaeological Museum, depicts a wounded Gallic warrior, fallen onto his right knee but continuing to fight raising the characteristic shield he grasps in his right hand.<sup>75</sup> Only the striking head of the second statue, with its wild “barbaric” features survives. Both statues emphasize the fierce nature of the Gauls in order to make the achievement of the victors even more admirable. In these works, as on the altar of Pergamum and the Parthenon, the victories of the Greeks against the “barbarians” are presented as victories of Civilisation over Barbarism, of Order against Anarchy, of Law against Violence, achievements comparable to those of the Olympian Gods (battle against the Giants), raising the victorious kings to the level of Divine Saviours.

On the west side of the road, opposite the *Sacred Lake* (35) is the *Terrace of the Lions*. (34) The original number of lions dedicated by the Naxians to the Sanctuary is unknown, but is estimated at between nine and nineteen.

During the Hellenistic era, when the island’s sanctity gave way to an intensely commercial and cosmopolitan atmosphere, it is very likely that the statues were moved farther south so that the new inhabitants could build their ostentatiously luxurious houses. The terrace was probably destroyed early in the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC, since parts of the lions were used as construction material on the wall built in 67 BC by the Roman Gaius Triarius to protect whatever had survived the attack of Athenodoros’ pirates.

Early travellers’ testimony shows that parts of the lions were visible up to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In 1716 Venetian travellers saw the headless statue of a lion that reminded them of the lion of St. Mark, the symbol of the Most Serene Republic of Venice. They therefore transported the headless lion to Venice, where it can still be seen in front of the Arsenal, with an exceptionally ugly added head. Parts of the lions were discovered in 1886 and 1894, although most of the pieces were found in 1906; it was then that they were placed on high bases by Demetrios Stavropoulos so that they would be on the original level of the terrace. In October 1999, the sculptures were transferred to the Delos Museum and replicas were erected in their place.

A circular wall indicates the position of the *Sacred Lake* (35) during the Hellenistic era. It was drained in 1925 by the archaeologist Demosthenes Pippas to address a serious malaria problem that risked causing the guards and excavators to abandon Delos. The palm tree in the centre was planted in 1933 by Pippas, in remembrance of the palm tree Leto embraced to give birth.<sup>76</sup>

Four columns northwest of the Lions mark the building that housed the *Establishment of the Poseidoniasts of Berytus* (37). It was built in the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC as a religious and commercial centre, as well as a meeting place and club house for merchants, shipowners and warehouse owners from Berytus (Beirut) the great com-

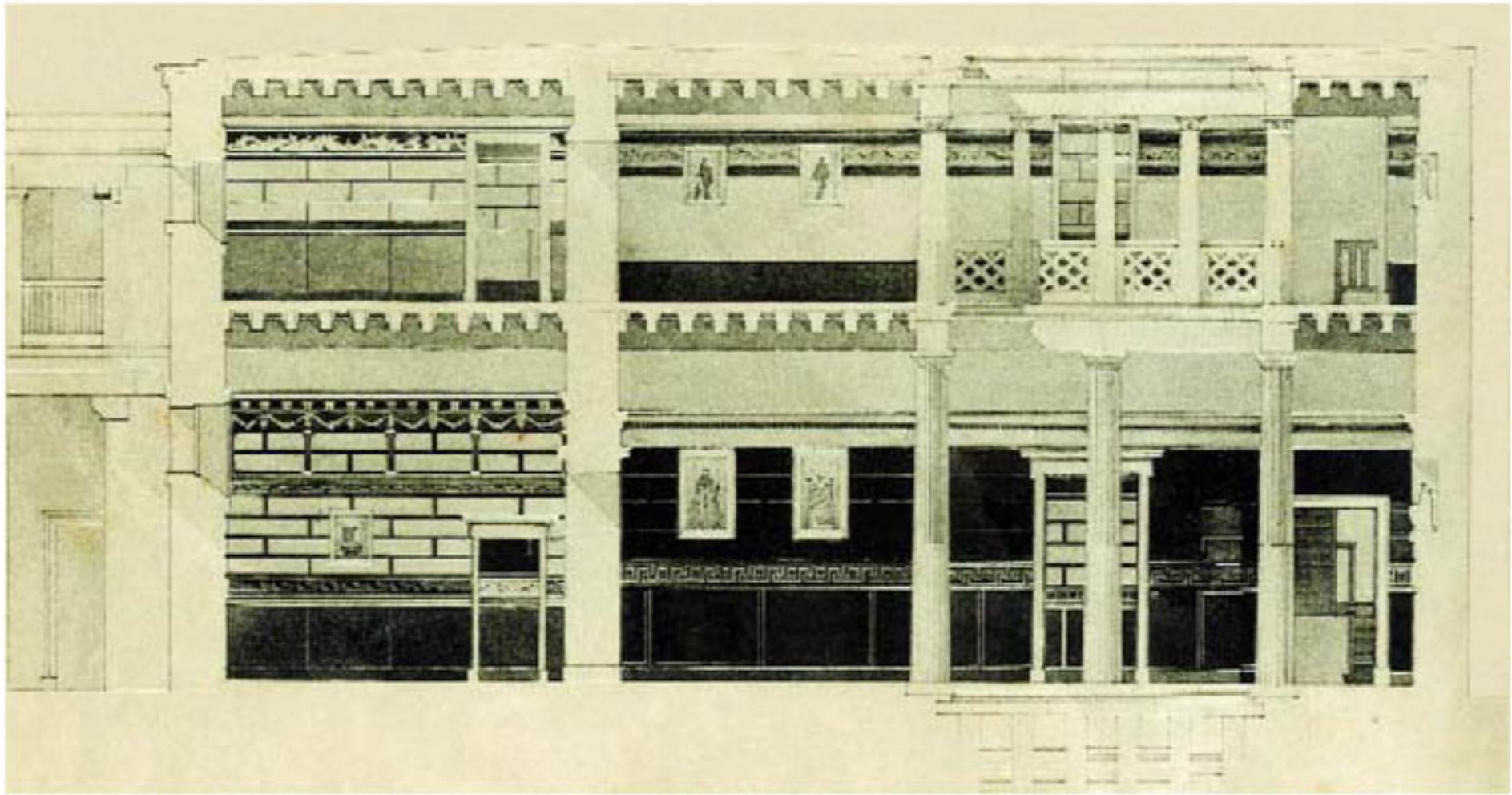
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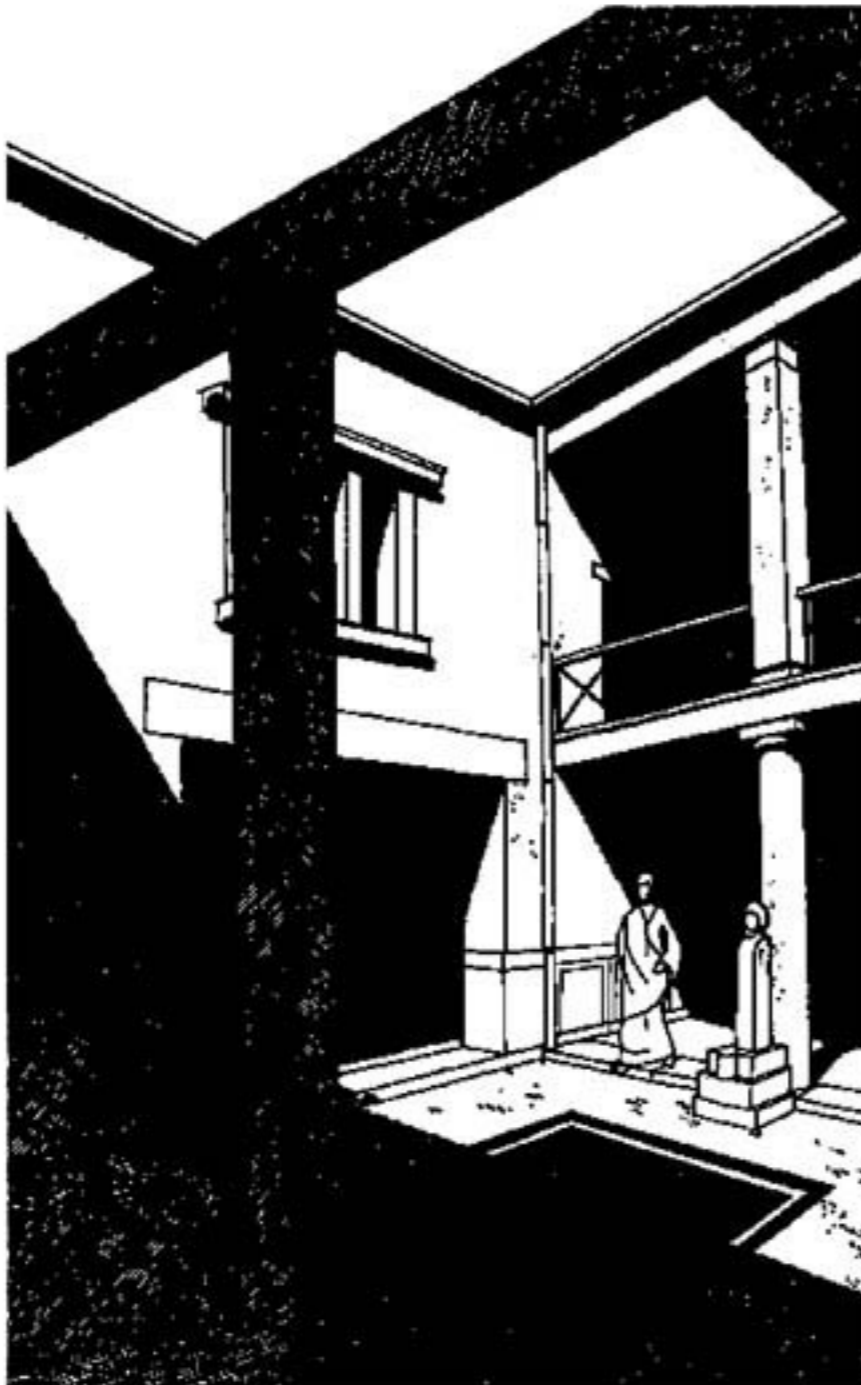
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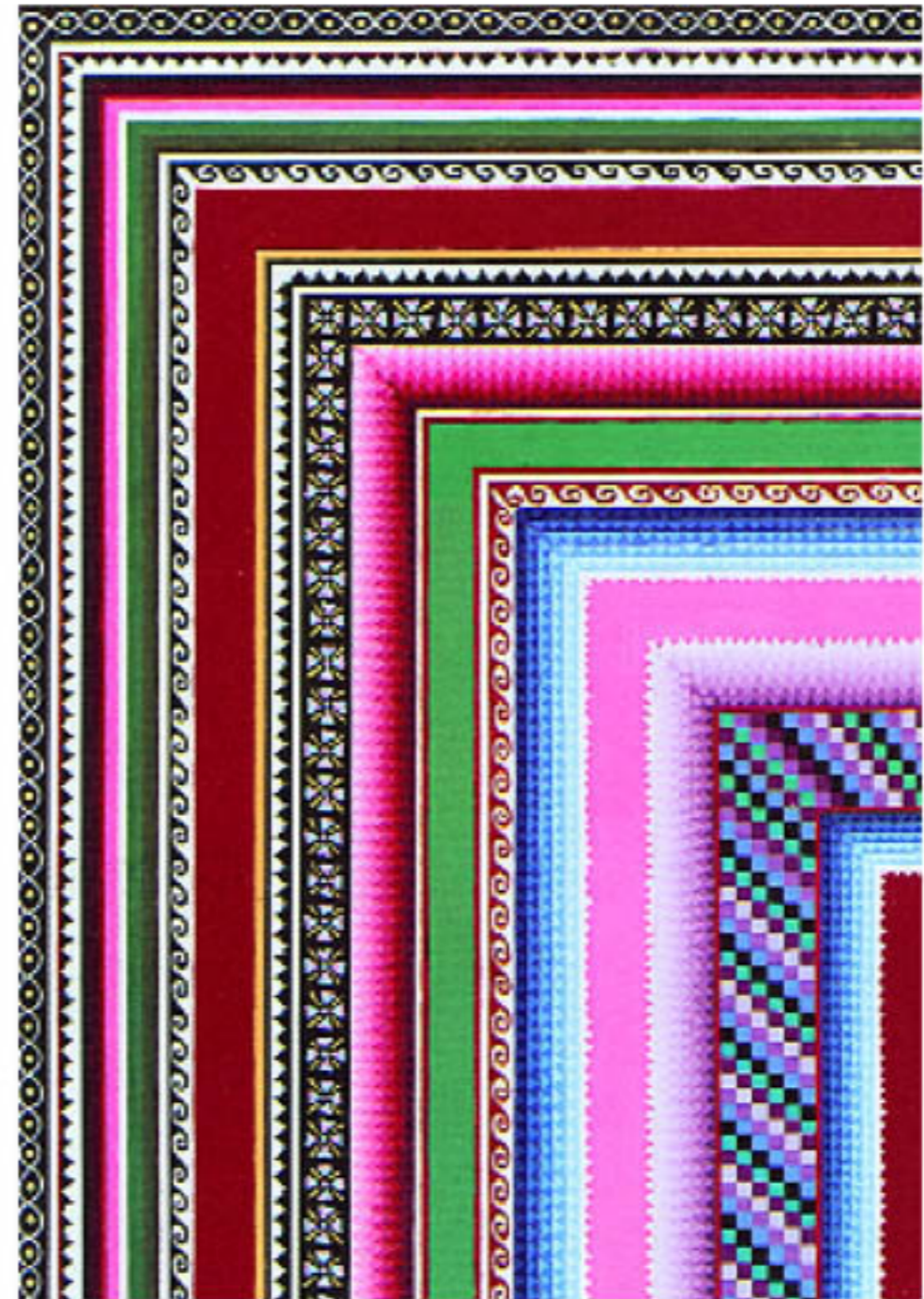




Reconstruction of the interior of the House on the Hill (J. Chamonard - A. Gabriel, 1922).

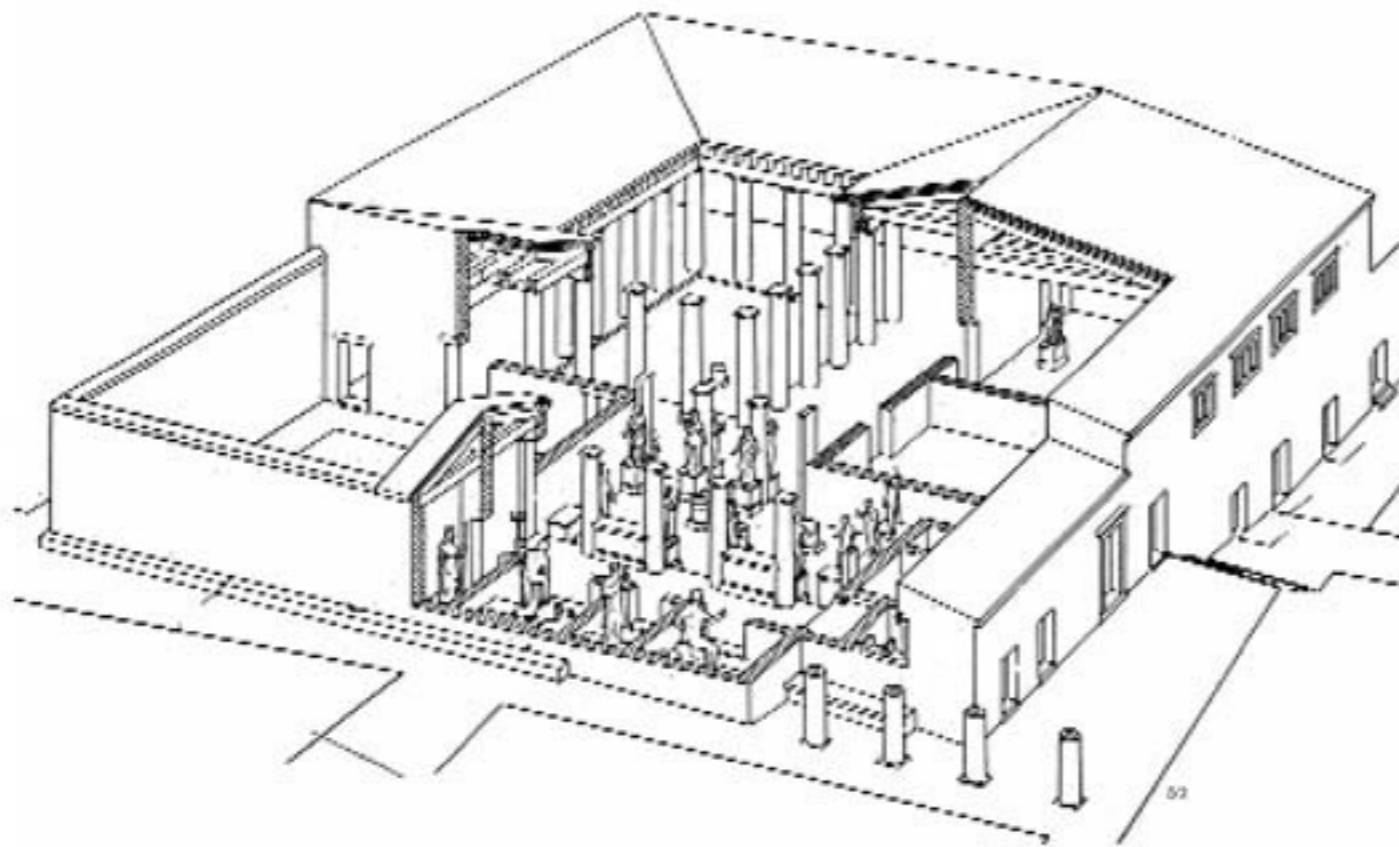


Reconstruction of the atrium in the House of the Seals (Ger. Siebert, 2001).



Reconstruction of the ceiling decoration in the House of the Sword (Fr. Alabe - N. Sigalas, 2002).





*The Establishment (Koinon) of the Poseidoniasts of Beirut (Ch. Picard - A. Frederiksen 1920).*

mercial city of Syria. A large peristyle courtyard with an underground cistern is in the centre of the complex, and there are many rooms on its south side. On the southwest side stood altars and small temples where Baal-Poseidon, Astarte-Aphrodite, Esmun-Asclepius, as well as the goddess Rome, whose headless cult statue survives in place to this day, were worshipped. The famous statue of a nude Aphrodite ready to strike goat-footed Pan with her sandal was found in one of the rooms on the south side. Demosthenes Pippas described the group very vividly in his characteristically long sentences:

270

“Nude Aphrodite, with her hair covered, wearing her right sandal, standing; a standing goat-footed Pan, his intentions licentious, leans on a pillar and accosts her, grasping her with both hands, whose right horn is being held by Eros hovering over Aphrodite’s left shoulder (the wings were separately worked but are missing). Aphrodite covers her genitals with her left hand, while her right hand holding her left sandal threatens Pan. Here and there certain extremities of the entire group are missing. Traces of red colour are visible especially on the lower parts. On the base is the inscription:

548

*Dionysius, son of Zenon, son of Theodoros  
A benefactor from Berytus dedicates this for himself  
and his children to the ancestral gods.”*

The same erotic spirit imbued another group found here, interpreted as the encounter between the nymph Amymone-Beroe and Poseidon, according to a local Beirut myth. Poseidon surprised the beautiful Beroe, daughter of Adonis and Aphrodite, at a spring while she was drawing water. Beroe was pictured on coins of Beirut, but she is not unknown on Delos, since it seems she also had been Apollo’s mistress. Only the female figure and the male hand that is undressing her by pulling at her himation have been preserved from this piece.

272

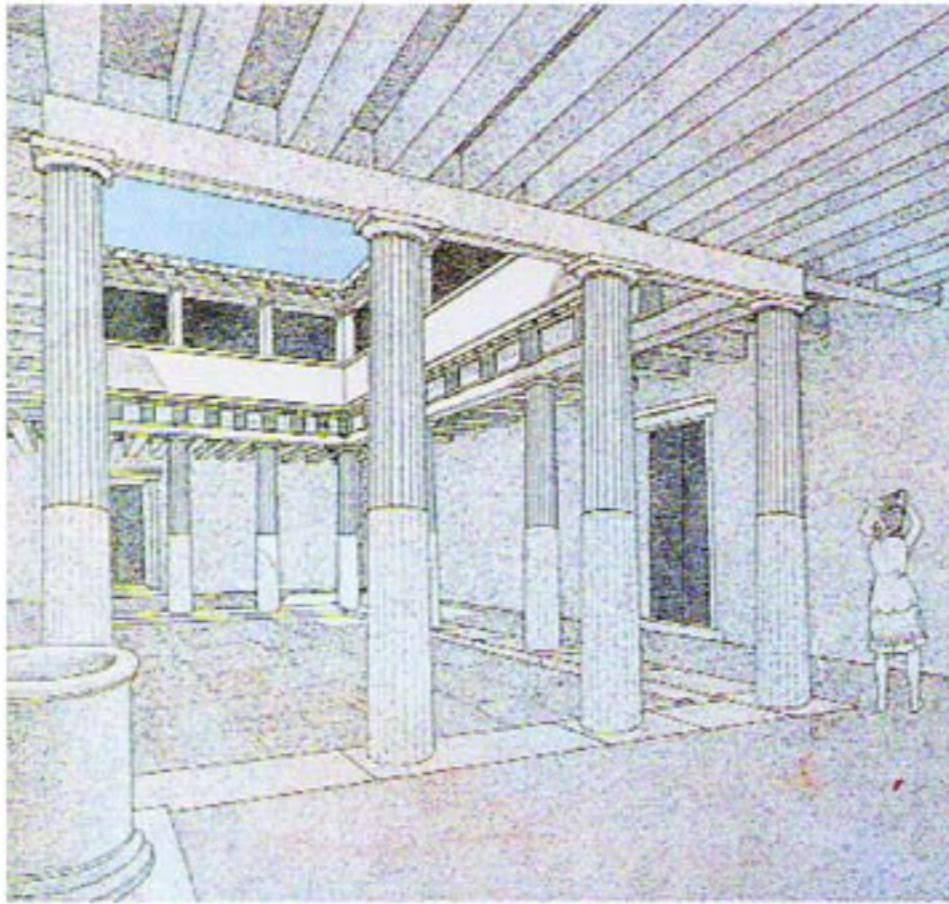
Outside the southwest corner of the building is an Early Christian inscription, which, hastily incised on the marble, bridges the centuries and shows how little human needs have changed: CHRIST HELP THY SERVANT PETER (ΧΡΙΣΤΕ ΒΟΗΘΕΙ ΤΩ ΔΟΥΛΩ ΣΟΥ ΠΕΤΡΩ). On the east and south sides of the building are many shops and workshops.

One of the newest quarters of the city sprang up around the Establishment of the Poseidoniasts; it was the first to be burned during the raid of 69 BC. Just a few city blocks have been excavated in this quarter, and its wealthy houses yielded significant findings.

In 1961 rain falling on an unexcavated building (39) at the top of the hill exposed its painted façade.<sup>77</sup> There were nine successive layers of wall paintings depicting celebratory sacrificial scenes and the protecting gods of the house: Heracles, Hermes and the Lares. The walls of the house opposite, which has come to be known as the *House on the Hill*, have been preserved to a height of 4.50 meters. Like the majority of houses on Delos, it too was a two-storey building with a Doric peristyle on the ground floor and pilasters

278-288





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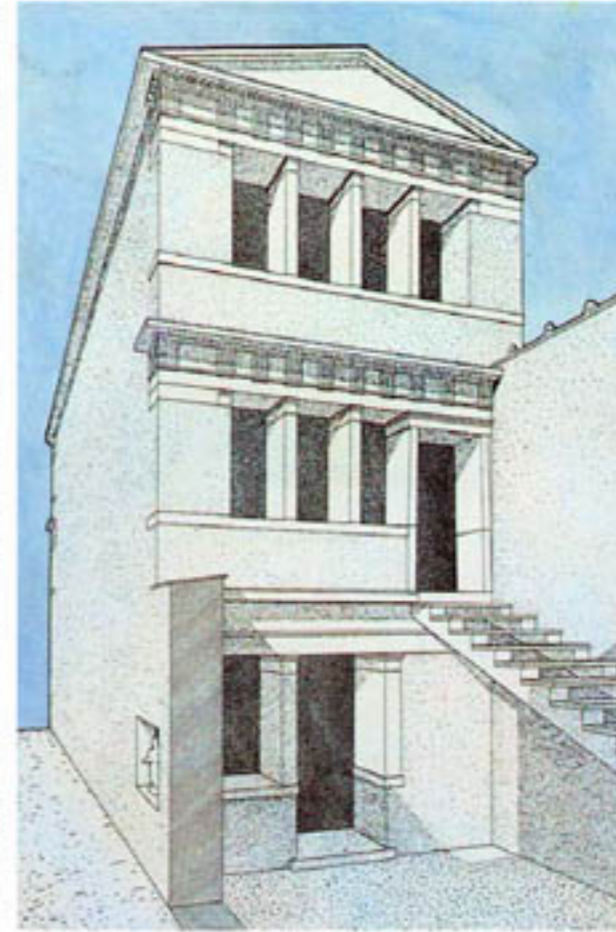


54

Reconstruction of the atrium in the House of the Comedians (Ph. Bruneau - P. Fister, 1970) and the wall bearing the frieze of the Comedians (Ul. Bezerra de Meneses - Niels Bech, 1970).



55



56

The House with the Pediment (right) and the court of the House of the Tritoness (Ph. Bruneau - P. Fister, 1970).

on the upper storey balcony. The few traces of interior decoration that have been preserved allow for the possible reconstruction of the interior wall decoration.

310-311

In the neighboring *House of the Seals*<sup>78</sup> (40), imposing portraits of the owners were found, perhaps copies of their official bronze portraits in Rome. The unusual base on these marble busts suggests that they may have been modeled on plaster casts of the official statues brought in from Rome for this purpose and carved locally. They too, like Gaius and the Pseudo-Athlete, adopt the nude body of an athlete with the himation draped over the left shoulder. On the first floor of the house, the family's extensive records, including thousands of papyri containing contracts and letters, were kept in wooden containers and on shelves. From these records come approximately 16,000 seal impressions, which survived because the building was destroyed by fire. The burning papyri and the wooden furniture on which they were placed fired the raw clay of the impressions thus ensuring their survival. These seals, measuring 0.01-0.075 m. came from public and private documents dating from 168-69 BC. Fingerprints survived on their margins and imprints of the papyrus fiber on the back. The hole created by the flax has been preserved along the length of the vertical axis.

313

The next city block was named *Insula of the Bronzes* (41) because of the multitude of bronze objects found



there, among which were many *fulcra*, relief couch decorations, which justify the reputation of the couches manufactured on Delos. As in almost all the city's quarters, private residences, workshops and stores existed side by side in the same block.

462-464

| B

The *House of the Comedians* (43) complex was excavated in 1961-65 by the excellent French archaeologist Ph. Bruneau who, in collaboration with other archaeologists, very soon published the excavation material, giving the first documented information on a Delian residence.<sup>79</sup> The west residence had two floors above the ground floor and a roof pediment. In the larger main house, fragments were found of a frieze depicting scenes from tragedy and the New Comedy, whence the name of the complex. The mosaic floor of the east residence, which has an unusual atrium with a roofed corridor on the north and east side, depicts a female Triton with Eros. The complex, built and inhabited in about 125 BC, was totally destroyed in 69 BC.

273, 274

289-293

In one of the eight houses that form the next block, the *Insula of the Jewels*,<sup>80</sup> (44) the mosaic floor of the *oikos* was preserved in good condition. The *emblema* (central motif) depicts Athena in full armor, Hermes with his winged sandals and caduceus, and a seated female figure. A border around the central motif depicts bulls' heads and masks from tragedy and comedy amid foliate decoration. From the floor of the upper storey of the same house comes the mosaic depicting King Lycurgus of Thrace pursuing Dionysus' nurse Ambrosia. In another house on the same block a woman hurriedly hid her savings and jewels, without ever being able to return and retrieve them. On 18 August 1964,<sup>81</sup> 59 silver Attic tetradrachms, 5 gold Rhodian coins, three pendants, two pairs of earrings, two bracelets, one ring and three necklaces were found in a small hole dug in the floor and covered with a rock. Three silver coins were found in the soil next to the covering stone, a fact that shows how hastily the treasure was concealed. A silver coin, gold earrings and necklaces buried in another dwelling in the same complex were found on 6 August 1966.<sup>82</sup>

318-321

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345-354

341-344

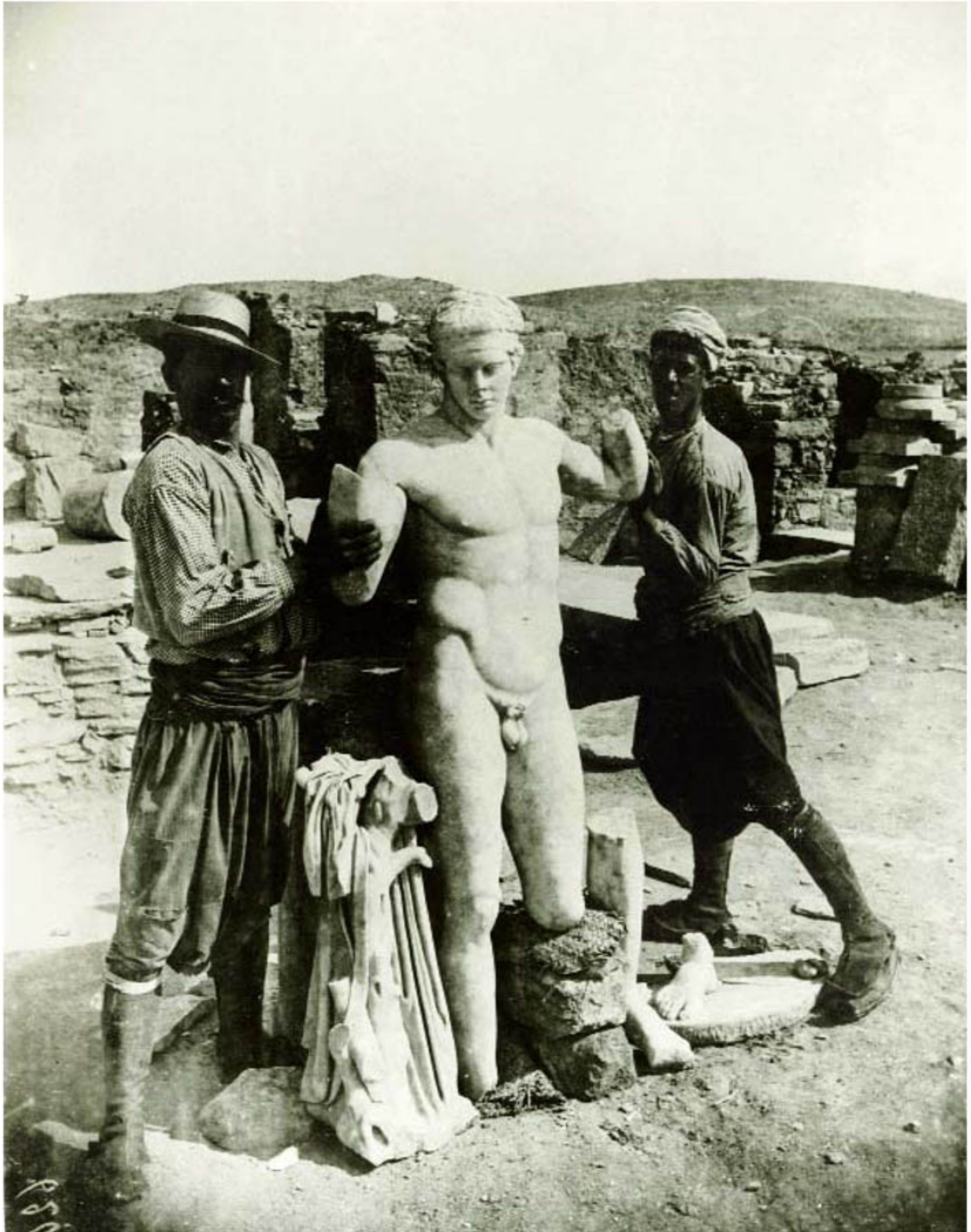
Most of the *House of the Diadumenos* (45), one of the richest private buildings on Delos, was uncovered in 1894 by Louis Couve, who among other things, excavated five of the most important buildings in the ancient city in two months: the Lake House (46), House of the Diadumenos (45), House on the Hill (39), House of the Trident (86) and Inopos House A (69), with the foreseeable catastrophic results. Couve<sup>83</sup> complains that many days were lost to the necessary investigative sectioning, the bad weather and the workers' religious holidays and notes: "*this number may not seem great for eight weeks of work with an average of 50 to 60 workers, but one must take the circumstances into account, because we rarely had to remove a layer of earth that was less than three meters high...*" As a consequence of this haste, very few findings resulted from the excavation of all these buildings, mainly fragments of inscriptions and sculpture. The ground floor and the cistern of the two-storey House of the Diadumenos yielded three portraits, the statue of the Pseudo-Athlete, the statue of Artemis, a herm of a satyr, an inscribed base, two other marble statue heads and the best copy of Polyclitus' *Diadumenos*. This copy was made at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC, although the original bronze statue was sculpted in about 430 BC. It depicts a young athlete binding his hair with a ribbon, the symbol of victory, who is either starting to walk or pauses while walking—a characteristic pose of Polyclitus' statues. The perfectly fit body and the calm pensive expression on his face illustrate the ideals of the classical era. Full of self-confidence, clad like the gods in heroic nudity, a nudity that to the Greeks symbolised a higher civilisation, he displays with narcissistic indifference the flawless beauty of his body and constitutes the perfect symbol of the male-dominated society of the 5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. His strong disciplined body illustrates the singular values of Classical Greece, demonstrating the superiority of the aristocratic class and its right to hold power. The tree trunk on which his himation and quiver are leaning was added by the copy's sculptor; it did not exist in the bronze original, which did not require support. The quiver, a characteristic feature of the statues of Apollo Ecebolus, the perfect athlete, may have been deliberately added to lend the statue of the mortal athlete something of the god's radiance and may indicate that the copy was made specifically for Delos.

371

375-382

The nude statues of the classical era never show weakness, pain, effort or old age. Even when a wounded hero is portrayed, it is the perfect beauty of his body that is emphasised, which to the Greek culture represented existence itself. For the Greeks, the body was never man's prison, the evidence of his downfall or the instrument of his punishment as it was perceived by subsequent monotheistic religions, but rather an object of admiration and worship. The fear of old age and bodily decline are often evident in poetry, grave stelae portray the dead in the prime of their youth and funerary inscriptions do not refer to life after death, but mourn the lost joys of life on earth. After death, human beings are naught but powerless images, shades that sadly recall their life. Achilles would prefer to see the light of the sun even if it meant he would "*slave on earth for another man—some dirt-poor tenant farmer who scrapes to keep alive—than rule down here over the breathless dead*."<sup>84</sup>





August 1894. The Diadumenos, supported by two Mykonian workers, is trying to shake off the numbness of a two -thousand-year sleep from his "perfect limbs". His flawless beauty radiates in the light of the August morning, refuting the guilt -ridden "morality" (wearing long sleeves and gaiters in August!) of the Christian world with the ideals of Hellenic classicism.



On the base of a herm found within the building is the inscription: "Dedicated when the trainers [of youths] were Staseas son of Philocles, and Sotades son of Sotades, of Athens" (Παιδοτριβούντων Στασέου τοῦ Φιλοκλέους καὶ Σωτάδου τοῦ Σωτάδου, Ἀθηναίων). Such trainers owned private palaestrae bearing their names, where they frequently also lived. In appropriately organized settings they trained boys and youths in the Greek pentathlon (foot-race, long jump, wrestling, discus throwing and javelin) assisted by specialised personnel (arms masters, archers, javelin throwers, musicians, bath attendants and palaestra guards). Private palaestrae were under the supervision of the state (the Gymnasium Master). For certain types of exercise that the palaestra could not accommodate, trainers would take their students to the public exercise area, the Gymnasium.

376

| II

The size of the building, interior arrangement, the amount and type of sculpture, as well as the inscriptions found inside or in the vicinity of the building, all lead to the conclusion that this was the private palaestra and residence of Staseas, son of Philocles from Kolonos, referred to in inscriptions.

Both Staseas son of Philocles from Kolonos, and Sotades son of Sotades Aigilieus, the founders and directors of the Palaestra, were important personages in Delian society during the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Around 150 BC Sotades held the office of Market Inspector, and was honored by the Demos with a laurel wreath for exercising the obligations of his office "honorably, in a worthy manner and in accordance with the laws and decisions of the Boule." In 118/7 BC Staseas was a priest in the Sarapieion and was already wealthy enough to make costly offerings "for himself and for the Demos of the Athenians and his children" and "for the Demos of the Athenians and the Demos of the Romans" thus flattering the two municipalities from which most of his students came. The Palaestra had been operating at least since 133/2 BC, but in 125 BC Staseas appears as the sole owner. It is evident that the Palaestra's fame spread very quickly because while the 133/2 catalogue of its graduates listed six youths, mainly Athenians, seven years later, in 126/5 BC, the eighteen youths who graduated came not only from Athens and Italy, but also from Asia Minor, Egypt, the surrounding islands, Euboea, Corfu, etc. Needless to say, his son Philocles son of Staseas from Athens also studied at this Palaestra. The Palaestra graduates, offspring of wealthy and powerful families, would later go on to play an important role in Delian society, make expensive offerings to the gods and gain public office. In the later decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC, having established its fame and ensured an adequate income, the Palaestra initiated building renovations that included sumptuous decorations and the construction of an imposing peristyle, which remained half-finished.

381, 382

It appears that the extensive athletic and educational centre of the city began in this quarter. Quite near the Staseas Palaestra are two other Palaestrae, the *Granite Palaestra* (48) and the *Lake Palaestra* (49), while at a distance of a few minutes on foot were the Hippodrome (58), the Gymnasium (60) and the Stadium (61).

372, 397

The *Lake Palaestra*, (49) which was the earliest and occupied an area of 1,300 m<sup>2</sup>, was built in the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC and repaired and reorganized between 150-100 BC. The larger (2,000 m<sup>2</sup>) *Granite Palaestra* (48) was built in the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC of granite from the quarries on the south side of the island. Both palaestrae consisted of a central courtyard with a cistern, around which were colonnades, exercise areas, exedrae for conversations, dressing rooms, cloakrooms, baths, latrines, etc. The palaestrae and the gymnasia were the centre of the male populace's social life. Men of all ages spent a great deal of time there: the boys to exercise, the youths to train, the men to maintain their good physical condition, and the elders to admire or comment; and everybody to pick up news and engage in conversation. It is this palaestra atmosphere that is frequently portrayed in the Platonic dialogues; it is characteristic that the moment Socrates returns from Potidaea, he goes to the Palaestra of Taureas to meet acquaintances and learn the news. He describes with admiration the entrance of the handsome Charmides into the palaestra: "...Although I am completely incapable of judging beautiful youths, because virtually all youths look handsome to me, he looked superb with his height and beauty and it appears that everybody was in love with him, such was their confusion and perturbation when he walked in. Many other admirers were following behind him. And while this is not strange for us men, I noticed that among the children, even the youngest, none of them had eyes for anyone else, but were all looking at him, as though he were some statue." Of course, those who could afford to spend hours sculpting their body every day in the palaestra were mostly wealthy young aristocrats who did not need to work for their living, and it was such youths who in earlier times would discourse for hours with the Sophists and Socrates.

527-534

On both sides of the street are small shops and workshops, with private houses behind them. The small but tastefully simple *Lake House* (46) constitutes an exception, built on a single lot flanked on all four sides by roads. Constructed in the last decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC, it was inhabited by at least two generations of

30, 397-399



the same family, and was burned down in 69 BC. Two years later, in 67 BC, the workers and legionnaires of Gaius Triarius used what remained of the house to build the defensive Wall behind the Lake Palaestra. Eleven particularly elegant peristyle capitals were discovered incorporated into this wall, while the twelfth was found in pieces in the cistern, together with marble well-mouths, column fragments, and fragments of the upper floor mosaics and wall paintings. The Wall (50) indicates how much the city had shrunk after the disaster, as it enclosed and protected only the area from the Skardanas port to the theatre quarter, leaving outside the entire remaining city, the sanctuaries and commercial ports, which were apparently lying in ruins.

441 In 2002, in the large square in front of the Lake Palaestra, another market (47) was excavated, which, as the findings indicate, was the main market for wine from South Italy and Sicily, and for flour. The stores consist of one or two rooms with the primary entrance onto the main road and a secondary entrance onto the outdoor area at the back.

Large permanent installations for grinding cereal were discovered in two stores. Recently (July 2003), near the Establishment of the Poseidoniasts, another miller's shop was discovered, and an oven for baking bread, the first found on Delos to this day. Yannis Tsarouchis recalls that, in the neoclassical houses of Piraeus in which he grew up "*housemaids were still making the bread*"<sup>85</sup> and the same must have been true in the aristocratic homes of Delos, judging from the findings and references in ancient writers. Permanent or portable lava-stone cereal mills<sup>86</sup> were found in almost all the large houses. Small flat-topped cone-shaped ovens, made out of amphora shards, their interiors coated with clay and a single opening at the top were also found in many houses. It was not possible to bake bread or food in these ovens and they were probably used to bake flatbreads, which were placed against the walls.

The market was burned down in 69 BC during the raid of Athenodoros. Oil lamps and braziers (portable hearths for cooking and heat) were in use when the disaster occurred, indicating that Athenodoros and his pirates must have attacked on a winter night and taking the inhabitants by surprise, caught them totally unprepared. They probably landed at the nearby port of Skardanas and set fire to the city's northern quarter, where wealthy Romans mainly resided, spreading panic. The building density, the narrow streets, the wooden roof supports and the stored oil would have ensured that the fire spread rapidly.

Whatever the pirates did not loot is still there on the badly burnt earthen floors, as it was abandoned by the last inhabitants who fled panic-stricken in an effort to escape. In one large shop, buried under its caved-in roof tiles, large amphorae that judging from their shape must have once contained wine from South Italy and Sicily, are still in their proper place. Next door, in a miller's shop stand the large earthenware jars (*pithoi*) that contained wheat and flour. Many bronze coins, apparently the miller's savings, were found under the threshold. The lamps still bear blackened wick marks, and cooking pots, dishes and cups are lying on the ground. The burned buildings look as though they were abandoned just yesterday by their shopkeepers and customers.

485 Between the Triarius Wall and the Sacred Lake is an archaic marble altar (51), which is thought to be the renowned altar of Apollo Genetor, the only altar on which bloodless sacrifices took place, but the identification is not at all certain. Likewise, it is most doubtful that the neighboring small temple was dedicated to Anios, nor do we know what deity was worshipped in the large sanctuary (52) east of the Agora of the Italians. The base of the cult statue is still standing in the temple cella, as is the marble sacrificial altar in front of the temple. It may have been a sanctuary of Aphrodite or of Artemis Soteira.

The ancient *Hippodrome* (58), which has yet to be excavated, is calculated to have been on the flat expanse north of the modern snack bar, while farther east is the *Archegesion* (59), the sanctuary of Anios, the mythical king and coloniser of Delos, to which strangers were forbidden entry, according to an inscription on the lintel over the entrance.

527 The *Gymnasium* (60) was built in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC, later renovated by the Athenians and destroyed in 88 BC. It consists of a large outdoor peristyle court, around which the necessary facilities for the exercise and education of youths were located. On the north side is the *Ephebeion*, a large hall that opened onto the peristyle, with marble benches for approximately 70 people. Two wealthy Athenians paid for the benches: *Athenagoras and Zenon, sons of Athenagoras, of Athens dedicate this to Apollo* (ΑΘΗΝΑΓΟΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΖΗΝΩΝ ΟΙ ΑΘΗΝΑΓΟΡΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ). The Ephebeion, or Exedrion was the official hall of the Gymnasium, where



meetings, discussions and instruction were held. Many of the benches in the Delos Gymnasium are covered with graffiti by the youths who sat on them, something they have in common with desks in contemporary schools. Two of the herms discovered there are also completely covered with similar graffiti. Corresponding carvings have also found in other Palaestrae<sup>87</sup> on Delos and in other cities (e.g. dozens of inscriptions were found on the rocks around the Gymnasium of ancient Thera<sup>88</sup>). With amazing dexterity and patience, the youths of Delos and their admirers carved human figures, wreaths, ships, vessels, Cupids, and wrote their names over and over, proclaiming their friendship or their love. Aeneas and Lysias, Archias and Diognetos, Achaeos and Damion, Gerostratos and Leucios, Dionysios and Glaucon are *friends* (ΦΙΛΟΙ), Medeios and Theodotos, who carved their names five times, are *eternal friends* (ΑΕΙ ΦΙΛΟΙ), others are *necessary to each other, inseparable or relations* (ΑΝΑΓΚΑΙΟΙ) and yet others simply carved under their name the words *to Eros* (ΕΡΩΤΙ). In Plutarch's *Eroticus* the defender of conjugal love states: "...this love of boys lacks moderation; it resembles an illegitimate and brooding son, who despite the fact that he came late, born to very elderly parents, attempts to cast out the legitimate elder. Truly, just yesterday or the day before he crept secretly into the Gymnasium, drawn by those exercises which cause youths to remove their clothing and began, in supposed innocence to embrace and rub himself against them. Then slowly, in the palaestrae his wings grew stronger, to the extent that no one could restrain him any longer, but he scoffs at and curses conjugal love, which is our accomplice to immortality, since it is with births that the flame of the human race remains alight..." On Delos, those who upon completing their 18<sup>th</sup> year were eligible for inscription in the Demos registry, would make votive offerings to Apollo, Hermes and Heracles; in the Gymnasium, as the inscriptions testify, there was also a statue of Eros. Athenaeus reports that at the Academy, the Gymnasium where Plato gathered his students, the Athenians had also erected the statue of Eros, to whom they offered sacrifices as they did to Athena. The main entrance to the Gymnasium on the south side is flanked by marble benches. There are also marble benches in two side exedrae. These areas corresponded to the earlier changing rooms described in the Platonic dialogues.<sup>89</sup> In a similar hall, Socrates discoursed with Lysis, Menexenus, Hippothales, Charmides, Ctesippos, Cleinias and the other beautiful and virtuous youths of his era, and it was there that the Sophists would find an eager audience. During the Hellenistic era, the changing room was inside the Gymnasium, but these outdoor exedres continued to exist as places where friends would rest, meet and talk.

526

Next to the Gymnasium is the *Xystus*<sup>90</sup> an oblong roofed area (189 x 7 meters) where young men would train for footraces. Ptolemy IX Soter II contributed funds to build the Xystus and the inscription reveals that he dedicated it to "Apollo, to the Demos of the Athenians and to young men". Ptolemy IX was a typical example of his singular family and the age he lived in. He first married his sister Cleopatra IV, then his second sister Cleopatra Selene, and finally his mistress with whom he had four children. Later, after marrying her brother, Cleopatra Selene married successively Antiochus VIII, Antiochus IX, and Antiochus X until she was murdered in 69 BC in Seleucia on the Euphrates. The Ptolemies very early became aware of the potential of Delos' geographic position and were most generous to the Sanctuary.

The *Stadium* (61) was built during the early decades of the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC beginning with the construction of large embankments on the site and a strong retaining wall to the east.

533-534

Below the Stadium is yet another partially excavated quarter of the ancient city (62) that includes the *Synagogue* (63), a 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC building that was in use up to and including the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD on the coast. In its two adjoining meeting halls are marble benches and a wonderful marble throne, originally from the theatre orchestra, brought there after the theatre was destroyed. In the same room there still exists one of the many lime kilns that for decades were used to convert the marble parts of the ancient buildings into lime. From the beginning, the island's intense commercial activity attracted a good many Jews. In their Greek inscriptions they unfailingly emphasise that they worship God on Mount Gerizim<sup>91</sup> i.e., they were Samaritans.

535-540





Above: Reconstruction of the Minoan Fountain exterior (F. Courby - G. Poulsen, 1911) and below, its interior (C. Lefevre).



This photograph (left) taken in 1915 is the only evidence that a wall painting of Heracles once existed in the Stadium Quarter.

#### THE AREA EAST OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE SANCTUARIES OF KYNTHOS

486 **Outside** the east end of the Portico of Antigonos is the *Minoan Fountain* (54), a roofed public fountain hewn out of the natural granite. Access to the water was possible via a stairway with eleven steps. In the centre of the third step the column that supported the building's hipped roof is still standing. The structure was walled on three sides, while the fourth, the south side had an open portico with small Doric columns. The fountain was built in the mid-6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC and repaired in the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC.

488 A relief found there depicts a river god and three nymphs, whom the dedicatory inscriptions refer to as Minoan Nymphs, a name which may suggest the memory of a Minoan settlement on the island.

489-491 On the opposite side of the street is the *Stoibadeion* (55) a small "temple" to Dionysus in the form of a simple exedra. To the left and right of the "temple", upon tall marble bases are two huge phalluses, sacred symbols of the Dionysian cult. Reliefs decorate three sides of the south base: a cockerel with a phallus-shaped head in the center, to the right a Satyr carrying a krater precedes a drunken Dionysus supported by a Maenad, and to the left Dionysus again with a Maenad and Pan. The monument was dedicated to the god, patron of the theatre, by Karystios, son of Asbelos, who had sponsored a victorious play (c. 300 BC). Near the temple many stone phalluses were found, one of which was placed on the base of Karystios, which had most likely supported a similar votive offering. The exedra was created in the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC, at which time a second phallus was probably placed symmetrically at the other end. In the exedra was a nude statue of Dionysus, seated indolently upon a throne, between two statues of actors in Papposilenus costume. All three statues date to the late 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC.

492, 494

Dionysus – the god of the creative power that fertilizes nature, he who by granting humanity the divine gift of the vine, allowed men to become equal, if only for a short while, to the gods – was extremely popular on Delos as well as on neighboring Mykonos. He was worshipped all over Greece under some 140 different epithets, which declared his power and attributes. On Delos and Mykonos he was worshiped as Leneus (god of the grape harvest), and Baccheus (god of mystical drunkenness and orgiastic ecstasy). He was depict-



ed in many statues, reliefs and mosaics nude and crowned with vines or ivy, always accompanied by his happy entourage. Plutarch, a lifelong priest of Apollo at Delphi, reports that the Delphic sanctuary belonged equally to Dionysus and Apollo.<sup>92</sup> Delos always belonged solely to Apollo and Mykonos to Dionysus, but on both islands the two gods were worshipped equally. The important sanctuary of Apollo Hecatombios was discovered just last year on Mykonos and Dionysus was exceedingly popular on Delos. Despite their opposite characters, the two brothers collaborate and co-exist harmoniously, the one supplementing the other. “One is called Phoebus, after the perfect clarity of light and the other Zagreus, Nyctelius and Isodaetes. Dithyrambos, full of passion, upheavals, wanderings and adventures are sung to Bacchus, while the restrained and wise paeon is intoned to Apollo. Apollo is considered ageless and eternally young, while Dionysus is depicted in many forms. In general Apollo is credited with stable conduct, order and perfect gravity, Dionysus is credited with childish mischief, debauchery, gravity and madness, he is called Evion, he who incites women and repices with the maenads.”<sup>93</sup> In the month of Gamelion (January-February) the inhabitants of Delos celebrated the Lenaian festival honoring Dionysus. During the Period of Independence, in the month of Galaxion (March-April) they celebrated the Dionysia with processions, musical contests and performances of tragedies and comedies. On the 12<sup>th</sup> of the month, a procession made its way from the god’s altar to the theatre. A central element of this procession was the painted wooden statue of a cockerel with a phallus-shaped head hauled on a cart by workers. Phalluses of various sizes, symbolizing the procreative powers of the god who was worshipped as Dionysus Phallen, were found near the small temple.

The Museum (56) and snack bar (57) were built early in the 20<sup>th</sup> century on the ruins of a wealthy quarter of the city, of which only the facade of a row of shops opposite the Sanctuary precinct have been excavated. In front of the shops a portico with columns made of either granite or coarse-grained marble shielded customers from sun or rain. A stone-carver’s workshop was located in the last building (64), in a wealthy house that had been abandoned after the devastation of 88 BC. Among other unfinished sculptures found here is the grave stele for a cenotaph ordered by the friends of Kerdon who was lost at sea. The corner shop is a rare example of a door that opens outward, which was forbidden as it was a hazard to passers-by.

On the opposite side of the narrow street is a strange small temple (65) possibly dedicated to Hermes, the god of trade and protector of this commercial district. Within the inner of the two rooms was a herm of the god; in front of it stood a marble table to receive the offerings of the faithful, only the legs of which have survived. The metal railing placed between the inner room and the outer room that opened onto the street may have served to protect these offerings.

Hermes was the busiest of all the Olympian gods since he was simultaneously *erudite*, *profit-making* and *chthonic*, the patron of merchants, thieves and wayfarers, messenger of the gods, and conductor of souls. Also born to Zeus out of wedlock –none of Zeus’ legitimate children were worshipped on Delos– he coexisted amicably with his half-siblings. He was worshipped in the Gymnasium and Palaestrae along with Apollo and Heracles, while together mainly with Aphrodite but also with Apollo and Heracles, he was the patron of market inspectors, law enforcers, olive sellers, wine sellers, and merchants in general. Although many small temples were dedicated to his cult there is neither reference to, nor evidence of, any statues of Hermes, other than the herms found all over the city, on streets, squares and in private and public buildings. To date, 253 herms have been discovered, of which only a scant number are intact. Most (191) are simple square pillars, of the type created in Athens, bearing the head of Hermes, or Heracles, or Hermaphroditus, the portrait of an athlete, or, in rare instances, the head of a Satyr. Many (53) consist of a torso dressed in a chiton, himation, or lionskin, the lower part of which terminates in a stele, and depict Heracles, Harpocrates, Hermaphroditus, Priapus, Silenus, and Satyrs. A few (8) consist of a nude torso depicting either a Satyr or Hermaphroditus.

The street leads to a small stone-paved square in the centre of which is a circular marble 5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC monument dedicated to the worship of the ancestors of the Pyrrhacides family of Athens. Almost a millennium later, in the 5<sup>th</sup> cent. AD, the three-aisled early Christian basilica of *St. Kerykus the Martyr* (66), was built on the ruins of the ancient houses using marble from the ancient votive offerings. The *synthronon*, tiered seats for the priests, and sections of the altar were found in the sanctuary, while parts of the marble pulpit were preserved in the nave.

A modern path over the unexcavated area of the city leads to the *Aphrodision* (67). The small marble temple was dedicated to the goddess by the Delian archon Stesileos in 305/4 BC and consists of a vestibule and a cella. Inside the vestibule, was a marble bench on the left, and in the cella the marble cult statue of the



goddess holding a gold-plated wooden bowl, another of Stesileos' offerings. On bases to the left and right of the entrance, were statues of his mother and father. Later Stesileos' daughter Echenice donated the sum of 3,000 drachmas to the temple to fund annual sacrifices to Aphrodite and Apollo. The remains of the goddess' altar can still be seen in front of the temple, and offerings are still placed there to this day, usually flowers or fruit.

The Sanctuary accounts frequently list expenditure for the painting, maintenance and adornment of the statue and temple of the Goddess, and make careful note of the precious votive offerings kept in the temple and in the *oikoi*: marble tables, bronze incense burners, many statues and statuettes of Aphrodite and Eros, white woollen chitons, gold jewelry, paintings, bronze mirrors, gold cups, glass bottles of perfume, etc.

The equally popular Eros was worshipped in the Gymnasium but did not have his own sanctuary, perhaps because Eros cannot exist without Aphrodite, as Plutarch writes in the *Eroticus*: “...and if, as Protopogenes states, there is no relation between the love of boys and carnal contact, then how can this Eros exist without Aphrodite, since the gods assigned him to serve and care for her alone, and from her to receive as much power and glory as she permits? And should there be an Eros without Aphrodite, like intoxication without wine, but rather with a draft of figs and barley, his excitement is fruitless, lacking and quickly sated”

582-605

Of the approximately 30,000 representations that have been preserved on the clay seal imprints from the House of Seals, more than 2000 depict Eros in the form in which he was known in the Hellenistic era: a young winged boy equipped with a quiver and arrows, cunning, mischievous and cruel, a trial to gods and mortals alike.

He is often depicted playing the lyre while seated on the back of a dolphin. As companion to the Muses and Graces, Eros was especially fond of music, song and dance, because it is mainly through these means that mortals express, pursue, achieve, appease, intensify, sweeten or cure his sacred madness. It is he who makes poets even of those who are *muse-less*.<sup>94</sup> As early as the classical era, Eros was portrayed with a variety of musical instruments, mainly the lyre, but also cithara, barbitos [a musical instrument of many strings], pipes, drums, cymbals and triangle. He rarely played the syrinx perhaps because the syrinx, being the musical instrument of shepherds, is associated with its inventor, Pan. The boorish, inelegant and sexually insatiable Pan, who cared only for the pleasures of the flesh, frequently came into conflict with Eros who employed other means to ensure his conquests. The few depictions of Eros with a syrinx are found in later antiquity, when Pan through the interpretations of the Stoics and the Orphics was elevated to the stature of *Great Pan*, the personification of all the powers of nature.

One of the two statues that stood in the Gymnasium depicted the god with the lion's skin and club of Heracles, the official god of the Gymnasium, whom Eros had apparently disarmed and pushed aside. Seal imprints frequently show Eros victorious over the hero, disarming him, capturing and tormenting him, since even Heracles, the mightiest of mortals, was unable to resist Eros' power and succumbed to Omphale. At other times Eros is seen crowning Heracles as champion: the hero, in one night slept with the 50 virgin daughters of Thespius, who gave him 52 sons, making him second after Poseidon in fathering children out of wedlock, a total of 82!

However, most of the representations on the seals are allegorical references to the trials of Psyche [soul], who is depicted in the form of a young girl or as a butterfly-nymph. Eros follows her, pursues her, tries to tempt her, captures her, embraces her and kisses her; he directs and governs her, or tortures her, blows hot and cold, hits, pierces her with a spit and slowly roasts her. These torments of Psyche are described in a Hellenistic epigram:

*...and there, you fell into the trap. Why do you struggle needlessly now  
against your bindings? Eros himself has bound your wings  
and cast you into the fire. With Myrrh did he succor your fainting  
and your thirst with a burning drink of tears.  
My tortured Psyche! You burn or freeze  
and between these two states you can barely breathe.*

MELEAGER, 1<sup>st</sup> cent, BC



Eros, being the son of the sea-born Aphrodite, had a special affection for marine activities. On the seals, as well as in other Hellenistic representations, he often appears as a fisherman, or as the helmsman of peculiar crafts, depictions which allegorically allude to his ability to capture and rule human souls:

*The Cyprian is my boatswain, Eros in his hands  
Holds the tiller and rudder of my soul.*

MELEAGER, 1<sup>st</sup> cent, BC

There are fewer depictions where the roles are reversed and it is Psyche who captures and torments Eros. Even fewer are the scenes showing a happy end: the two embracing, kissing each other on the lips.

606-611

Also linked to Aphrodite and Eros is Hermaphroditus, son of Aphrodite and Hermes, who inherited the flawless beauty of both his parents. The nymph of the Salmacis Spring fell wildly in love with him and embracing him closely, was joined with him, giving him female characteristics as well. Originally, Hermaphroditus, an eastern deity who came to Greece via Cyprus, represented a primal human being, superior and perfect, in whom both genders coexisted and who could reproduce himself. Such beings exist in all religions, and this is the idea that Aristophanes develops in Plato's *Symposium*; such a being is alluded to in the creation of Lilith or of Eve from Adam's rib. It was Praxiteles who first depicted beautiful sensual youths with soft virginal bodies, actualizing his own erotic fantasies as well as those of his male clientele. His statues of Apollo and Dionysus, but especially those of Satyr and the Thespian Eros, the work he loved most,<sup>95</sup> had intensely feminine features. If his Cnidian Aphrodite was the most famous and beloved of his statues, it was because her sensuality appealed to a broader audience:

563-567

"After enjoying the plants of the gardens we entered the temple. The goddess stands in the centre—an exquisite statue of Parian marble—smiling faintly, proudly, with parted lips. No garment hides her beauty, which is fully revealed, save for that place which out of modesty she tries to cover with her hand. So great was the sculptor's art that the hard and unyielding marble shaped itself to the depiction of each limb. Charicles then let out a wild cry full of passion and said: "Ares, who was captured and bound because of her, was the happiest of all the gods." He ran forward and stretching up his neck began kissing the goddess insatiably wherever he could. Kallicratidas stood silent in speechless admiration. The temple has doors on both sides for those who wish to see the goddess from the rear as well...When the door opened her beauty dazzled us and the Athenian, whose gaze until that moment had been indifferent, upon seeing the buttocks of the goddess, which resembled those of a boy, let forth a cry more frenzied than that of Charicles previously: "Heracles, what harmonious proportions it has from the rear! What lush loins, they fill the hands embracing them! How beautifully the buttocks curve, neither fleshless, clinging to the bones, nor again, corpulent. And those parts sealed on both sides by the haunches, how sweetly they smile! From thigh, to shin, to sole the proportions are perfect! Thus in the heavens does Ganymede appear as he serves nectar to Zeus, making it sweeter."<sup>96</sup>

During the Hellenistic era, a period of erotic satiation when alternative sources of entertainment were being sought, there were many more explicit depictions of tender boys with intensely feminine features. Artists were no longer satisfied with hints, and rather than depicting a boy with effeminate features, they depict a young maiden with the genitals of a youth. Hermaphroditus was a very popular subject in Alexandria and Delos, cities where a laissez-faire mentality reigned and, because of their cosmopolitan character, the standards of social behavior were flexible enough to allow everyone to follow their heart's desires.

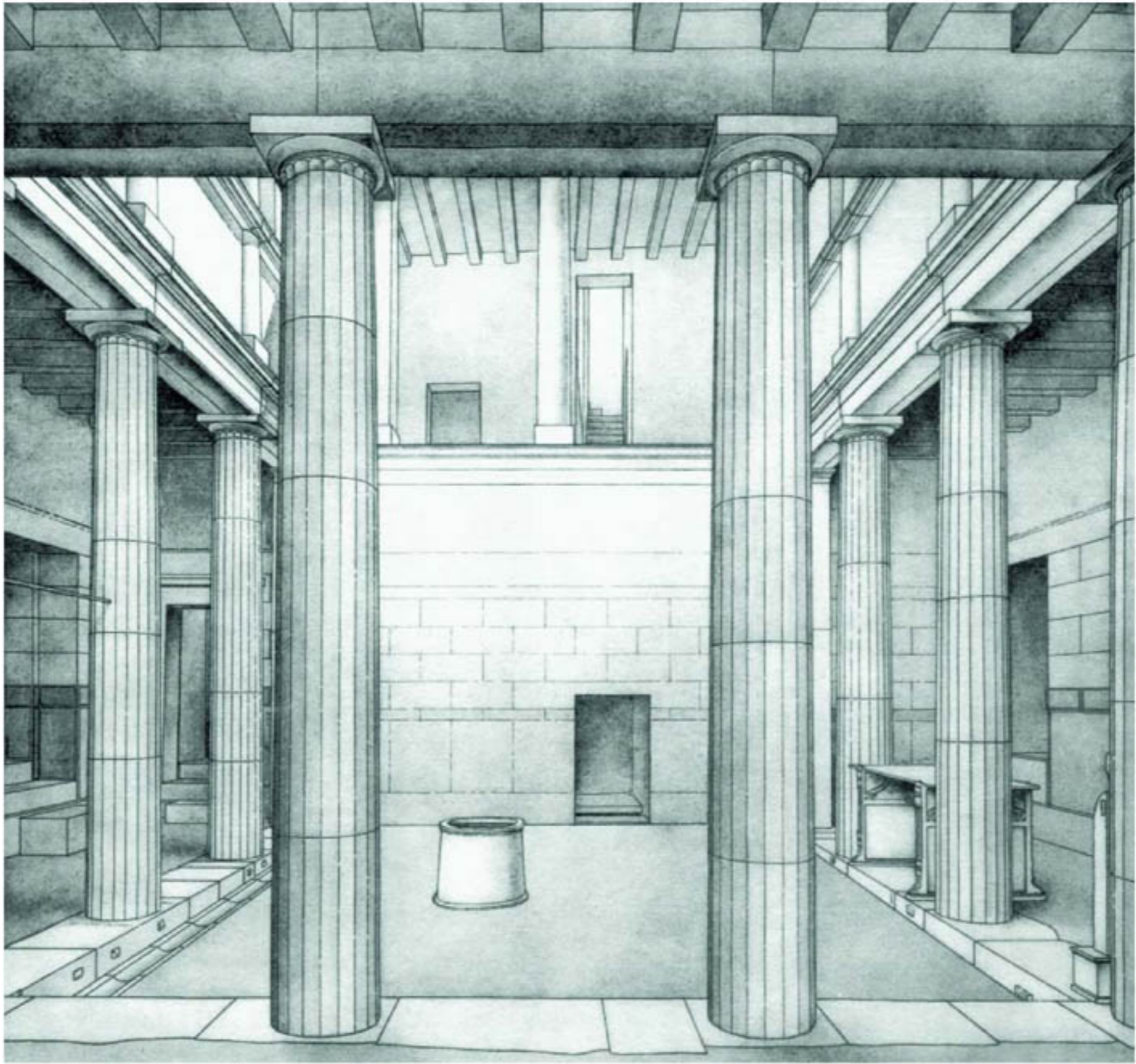
The depictions of Priapus, according to one tradition the son of Aphrodite by Dionysus, are different. Priapus was the patron god of gardens, fields, vineyards, herds, and bees. His huge phallus, which made him dangerously attractive to the women of Lampsacus, was a symbol of fertility, while breasts were sometimes added to stress his procreative power.

612

The *House of the Herms* (68), a multi-storeyed building excavated in 1949-1950, was literally the first Delian residence to yield significant findings and information, thanks to the distinguished French archaeologist Jean Marcadé. On the ground floor, to the immediate left of the entrance, is the latrine and at the end of the corridor a bathing chamber with a small clay bathtub and a bench for bathers to leave their clothing on. On the south side of the atrium are two recesses hewn out of the natural rock, from which water issues forth to this day. The water from the recesses, as well as rainwater from the roof, was collected in the under-

613-618





The atrium in the House of the Herms (J. Delorme - Y. Fomin 1952).

ground cistern under the atrium and drawn from the well in its centre. It was here that the beautiful statue of a nymph, statues of Artemis, Aphrodite, Tyche and Heracles, many herms – hence the building's name – and a marble offerings table were found. The atrium has marble colonnades on three sides. On the north side of the atrium is the *Oikos*, with two small bedchambers (or secure storerooms) behind it; the layout is identical to that of the Lake House and other Delos dwellings. A smaller *oikos* on the east side of the atrium was reserved for more private dining. Two stone stairways led to the first storey, one directly, the other passing first through a type of mezzanine. The first floor replicated the ground floor peristyle layout, while the remaining floors followed a terraced arrangement up the side of the hill. It is uncertain whether this was the residence of a wealthy family or whether it was the *lesche* (headquarters) of some society.

623-624

A little farther along, on a lower level is the *Sarapieion A* (70), the earliest sanctuary of the god Sarapis, established around 220 BC. As in the other two *Sarapieia*, the god was worshipped here in conjunction with Isis, Anubis and later, Horus, known to the Greeks as Harpocrates.

Marble benches serving the gatherings of the faithful run along the walls in one hall. An inscription on the front of the benches gives the name of the donor, a practice that continues to this day on church pews:



“Acesis, son of Archebios, and Sotechna, daughter of Sogenes, from Paros, dedicate this to Sarapis, Isis and Anubis, for their children” (ΣΑΡΑΠΙΔΙ ΙΣΙΔΙ ΑΝΟΥΒΙΔΙ ΑΚΕΣΙΣ ΑΡΧΕΒΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΩΤΕΧΝΑ ΣΩΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΠΑΡΙΟΙ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΠΑΙΔΙΩΝ ΕΥΧΗΝ). The temple is located in a small tiled court, over an underground cistern,<sup>97</sup> which used to fill with the sacred waters of the Inopos used in ritual cleansing. The myth that the Inopos River communicated underground with the Nile, whose waters were necessary for the rituals of the Egyptian sanctuaries, may have been created precisely to serve these needs. Despite the establishment of two other Sarapieia, this earliest sanctuary of the god continued to function until the destruction of Delos.

An inscription with a lengthy verse account<sup>98</sup> carved into a small marble column narrates Sarapis’ arrival on Delos in great detail, and the difficulties his priest encountered when attempting to establish the sanctuary on that site. The god appeared to him in a dream, demanding that a temple be established on a specific lot. But there were objections, possibly from the priests, perhaps because the god, by selecting one of the highest spots on the island for his temple, was aspiring to appear as the major god and patron of the land, overshadowing Apollo.

625

The tale is told by the priest Apollonios and retold by Maeistas, poetically, grandiloquently and garrulously requiring twice as many lines as Apollonios. Later the god again intervened to assist his sanctuary. This time the miraculous intervention came in the form of a Roman Senate decree, which was also sent to the Demos of the Athenians. Sarapis used to appear to his followers in dreams, as the saints did later, demanding that his wishes be fulfilled. The inscriptions on votive offerings explain that they were dedicated “by order of the god.” It was in a dream that he appeared to Ptolemy I Soter to demand that “his statue” be transferred to Alexandria as quickly as possible. This new god was an inspiration of Ptolemy who, continuing the policy of Alexander, wanted to create a god common to both Egyptians and Greeks in an attempt to unify his kingdom’s subjects in the worship of a god acceptable to all. The God borrowed the name of the divine bull Osor-Hapi, took on certain attributes of Osiris, Zeus, Asclepius and Dionysus, and the form of Pluto, whose statue he appropriated. The Ptolemies were so successful in promoting their creation that very soon Sarapis became a universal god, and on Delos, the center of the traditional Greek religion, he acquired three important sanctuaries. By gathering unto himself the domains of most of the male deities, appearing compassionate and mystical, but at the same time magnificent, a just Father-Protector, Sarapis prepared the way for the passage from polytheism to monotheism and constitutes the model for the depiction of the Pantocrator. The same occurred with Isis, his divine consort, who appropriated the domains of all the female deities:

626-628

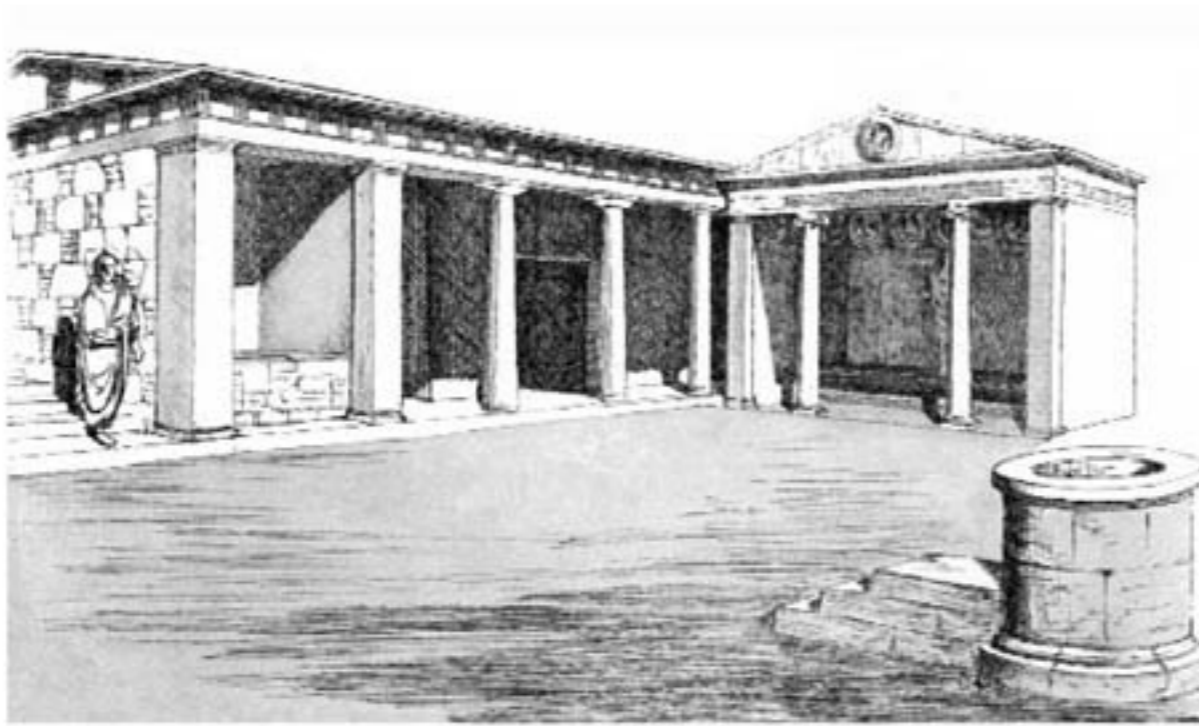
“I am she that is the naturall mother of all things, mistresse and governess of all the Elements, the initiall progeny of worlds, chiefe of powers divine, Queene of heaven, the principall of the Gods celestially, the light of the goddesses: at my will the planets of the ayre, the wholesome winds of the Seas, and the silences of hell be disposed; my name, my divinity is adored throughout all the world in divers manners, in variable customes and in many names, for the Phrygians call me the mother of the Gods: the Athenians, Minerva: the Cyprians, Venus: the Candians, Diana: the Sicilians Proserpina: the Eleusians, Ceres: some Juno, other Bellona, other Hecate: and principally the Ethiopians which dwell in the Orient, and the Aegyptians which are excellent in all kind of ancient doctrine, and by their proper ceremonies accustomed to worship mee, doe call mee Queene Isis.”<sup>99</sup>

The reservoir of the Inopos (71) built in the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC beside the Sarapieion A was 40 m. long and between eight and ten m. wide. On its north side is a fine stairway with 22 marble steps leading down to the water level, making it easier to draw. The landing is surrounded by a well constructed marble wall. There is a second reservoir higher up below the Sarapieion C.

On the hillside above the reservoir is the Samothraceion (72), a sanctuary dedicated to the Cabeiri, the Great Gods of Samothrace, who were later identified with the Dioscuri Castor and Pollux, sons of Leda, brothers of the immortal Helen, Menelaus’s wife, and the mortal Clytemnestra, wife of Agamemnon. When Castor, the mortal son of Tyndareus, was killed, Pollux implored his father Zeus to allow him to share his immortality with his beloved brother so that each of them could spend one day in Hades and one on Olympus. Zeus placed the two brothers in the heavens, creating the constellation of Gemini (Twins). The Dioscuri protected and guided sailors, and their symbols, two wreathed caps surmounted by a star, are frequently found in houses on Delos.

620-622





*The Samothraceion and the Monument of Mithridates (F. Chapouthier, 1935).*

A broad stairway hewn into the rock leads from the river bank to the temple, a 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC building on whose east side was a portico with four Doric columns between pilasters. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC a niche was added on the south side, and in 102/1 BC a monument was erected on the north side to King Mithridates Eupator of Pontos, a square, open hall with two Ionic columns between pilasters on the façade. In the tympanum of the pediment was a bust in a disk. Another twelve circular busts, representing Mithridates' generals, created a kind of frieze inside the monument. The heads of all the busts are missing and it is believed that they were destroyed after 88 BC in an act of vengeance. At the back of the monument was a statue of Mithridates-Dionysus, an offering by the Athenian priest Helianax. The circular base in front of the temple once supported a round hollow altar, parts of which have fallen down by the side.

619

Opposite the Sarapieion are opulent private houses and shops (69). House A is a spacious residence with a half-completed peristyle on two sides of its atrium. A marble base outside the house, bearing the inscription *Nicomachus*, supported a choragic monument in the shape of a phallus. Stone steps lead to the Sarapieion B (73), a private shrine belonging to Egyptian merchants and built in c. 200 BC.

629-630

On the terrace above the second Sarapieion (B) are the sanctuaries of the Syrian and Egyptian Gods separated by a transverse wall. In the *Sanctuary of the Syrian Deities* (74), Atargatis, identified with Aphrodite, was worshiped together with her companion Hadad, a god akin to Zeus. The sanctuary was probably established in the mid-second century BC, initially as a private shrine and then, from the last decade of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. until its destruction (88 BC), as the official Sanctuary of the Syrian gods. Access was initially from the south side, up a flight of stairs leading to the *propylaea*. To the right was the older part of the sanctuary, a square court surrounded by buildings, on the south side of which were the temples of the gods. Just before 100 BC, the Sanctuary was extended and occupied the entire northern part of the terrace; it was then that a new *propylon* (gate) was built on the north side, as the main entrance. Between the two gateways a long avenue was created, with a colonnade on the west side and a small theatre on the east. In the centre of the stoa is an exedra dedicated, according to the inscriptions on the mosaic floor, by the Athenians Phormion and Midas. Right opposite, on the west side of the street there is a small theatre for an audience of between 400 and 500, with a portico in the shape of a ¶ around the upper part, which appears to have been used for religious mysteries and ceremonies. In some other rooms on the same terrace, ceremonial banquets were held.

631-634

The south part of the terrace is occupied by the third Sarapieion (C) (75), which was the official sanctuary of the Egyptian gods after about 180 BC. An imposing gateway on the SE led to an oblong, colonnaded space. From the little temple in the south, a stone-paved avenue 70 m. long, flanked by two rows of square altars alternating with sphinxes, led to a square colonnaded court in which were the temples of the gods. The temple of Sarapis, on the north side of the court, consisted of a square cella and a portico with four columns. In front of the temple, part of the altar of the god has been preserved. The partially restored temple of Isis on the east side was built in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC and repaired in 135 BC by the Athenians. The tympanum of the pediment was adorned by a bust, headless today. The female figure on the acroteri-



on probably represents Nike. The temple is in the Doric order, with two columns between pilasters. At the back of the cella is the headless cult statue of the goddess, dedicated in 128 BC by the Athenians; her high altar, which has been preserved in good condition, is in front of the temple.

The Egyptian goddess Isis was introduced into the Hellenic pantheon as early as the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, but her cult was disseminated mainly after Egypt was conquered by Alexander the Great and the Kingdom of the Ptolemies was established. Alexander himself, when planning Alexandria, designated the site on which the temples of the Hellenic gods were to be built as well as that of the Egyptian goddess Isis,<sup>100</sup> who by about the 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC had been Hellenised and was depicted in the type of the other Greek goddesses. Her multicoloured garments symbolised light and darkness, fire and water, life and death, beginning and end. In one hand she held the *sistrum* with which she regulated the ebb and flood tides of the Nile, and in the other a cornucopia, symbol of fertility. After the Alexandrine years, Isis was worshiped as a maritime deity, inventor of the sail, patron divinity of seafarers, "Mistress of the Winds", "Mistress of Navigation", according to hymns from Kyme and Andros. Her cult lasted until the 6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD, and even today, as one can see on the Internet, the goddess still has a priestess and thousands of devotees. Isis was particularly popular in the Hellenistic period because she was a compassionate goddess, affectionate as a mother, the "refuge of the grief-stricken", in whom everybody found comfort for their earthly tribulations and hope for life after death:



"Immortal and holy protectress of the human race, you who always seek to relieve, who give a mother's love to unhappy people, who never for even an hour or a moment cease to do good; who protect us on earth and at sea, who dissolve the tempests of life, who help us even when we are being harassed by fate, who stop evil and turn away the bad influence of the stars. Heaven worships you; Hades acknowledges you; you turn the sphere, you light the sun and move the universe; at your feet is Tartarus; the stars obey you and you give new life to their brightness, you bring the seasons, you determine the elements; because of you winds blow, clouds gather, seeds germinate and ripen. The birds that inhabit the air, the animals that roam the mountains, the snakes that crawl on the earth, the monsters that swim in the sea, all tremble before your power..."<sup>101</sup>

Images of Isis nursing little Horus were the model for the representation of the Madonna and Child.

64

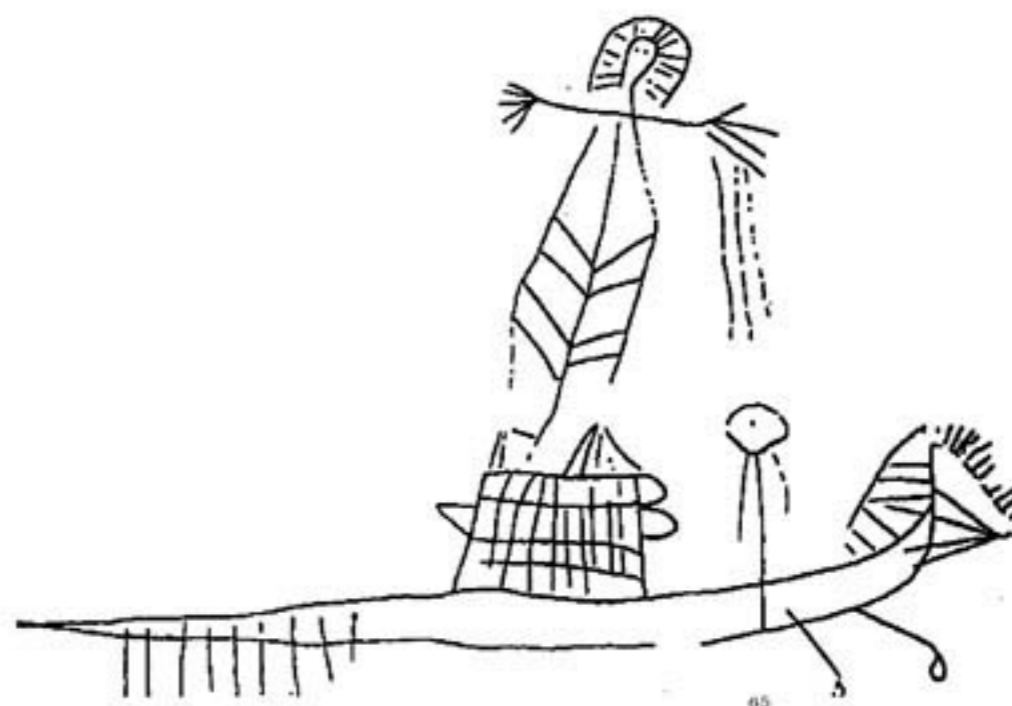
A significant seamen's feast in honour of Isis, called *plouafesia* by the Greeks, or *Isidis navigium* by the Romans, survived until the 6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD. The feast started in Alexandria, but was celebrated in many places and certainly in Delos, which always had close relations with the kingdom of the Ptolemies, and where the goddess was especially popular. At the beginning of March, when sea voyages would begin again, the statue of the goddess was transferred to a lavishly bedecked ship which would leave the port accompanied by other ships, and return after a journey of a few hours. An image incised on the wall of the House of Plaster Reliefs depicting a female deity on a ship, may possibly represent this ceremony. This ritual "blessing of the waters" continues up to the present day in a similar way. At Mega Gialo on neighbouring Syros, on the feast of the Panagia Thalassini (Virgin of the Sea), the same ceremony is held. The icon of the Virgin of the Sea, accompanied by priests and the faithful, is carried to richly decorated caiques that sail out of the port surrounded by many other, festively adorned craft. After a brief trip during which hymns and prayers to the Virgin are sung, the procession returns to the port and the icon is then taken back to the church.

On Delos, Isis was worshiped as *Pelagia*, *Soteira*, *Euploia*, *Tyche*, and *Hygeia*. Seamen's prayers were addressed to her, to Aphrodite, to Heracles, to the Dioscuri and to Poseidon, as were the thanks of those who were saved from storms or pirates. Beside the temple of Isis there was another, smaller temple, dedi-





64



65

*Isis nursing Harpocrates (Fayum, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD).*  
*Incised ship (0.16 m. long) from the House of Plaster Reliefs (L. Basch, 1987).*  
*The goddess in her characteristic dress and crown stands like a mast in the centre of the decorated ship with her arms open like yards (1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC).*

653-659 cated to Sarapis, Isis, Harpocrates and Anubis. Harpocrates (Harpa-khruti) was the son of Osiris and Isis, the young sun which, upon rising, scatters the darkness of night and conquers the family enemy Set. In Egyptian representations Harpocrates was depicted with his finger on his mouth, and although indicating simply that the god was in his childhood, the gesture was misinterpreted by the Greeks and seen as a symbol of confidentiality and silence.<sup>102</sup> Jackal-headed Anubis is the guard of graves and conductor of souls; he is the one invoked for deceased loved ones. He conducts souls to the other world who have already been through the ordeal of judgement and found clean; he takes them to Osiris to weigh their hearts. Loyal to the family, he followed the exiled Isis to the swamps of the Delta and embalmed the dead Osiris.

660  
 661 Above the Sarapieion C is the Heraion (76), sanctuary of Zeus's lawful wife Hera, some distance away from that of her rival. The older temple, built in the 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, was devoutly preserved under the elevated floor of the more magnificent later temple erected in about 500 BC. Inside and behind the older temple were found some 1,200 buried vases and terracotta figurines, or fragments of such items, offerings to the goddess. The later Doric temple was surrounded by a precinct. South of the temple is the marble altar of the goddess. The sanctuary of Hera, the richest and most important of the sanctuaries on Delos in the archaic period, fell into decline in the Hellenistic period, together with the values expressed by the goddess.

664-700 The Sanctuary of Agathe Tyche (Good Fortune) (77) consists of an oblong court flanked by two porticos, a small temple and rooms of unknown use. It has been identified as the Philadelphieion, a sanctuary devoted to the worship of Arsinoë, the sister and wife of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285-246 BC), represented as Agathe Tyche, with a horn of plenty in her left hand.

701-703 From some distance away, one can make out the enormous granite slabs used to roof the *Grotto* (78) that was created in a natural cavity in the rock, and closed in front by a wall. A door with a marble frame leads to the interior that has been left in its natural state. In the centre of this small space is a granite pedestal on which parts of a Hellenistic statue of Heracles were found, with a table for offerings in front of it. In the little court outside, there were two tables that were probably used for ceremonial meals as well as a large cylindrical altar. The grotto impressed early travellers who regarded it as the most ancient temple of Apollo. But it is in fact a Hellenistic sanctuary of Heracles, probably also founded by Ptolemy II to honour his legendary ancestor. Heracles was the first seafarer, the first hero to sail the seas and tame the ocean. Most of his adversaries, as can be seen in the table below, were the sons or grandsons of Poseidon, god of the sea.

The myths surrounding Heracles reflect the successful efforts by the Greeks to tame and ply the seas, and his feats symbolise the obstacles they encountered and overcame. If Theseus cleared the way from Troezen to Athens and made it safe to travel inland, Heracles opened the roads to the world, making sea voyages



safer and shorter, since it was he who opened the strait of Gibraltar. For this reason, especially in the later Hellenistic years, Heracles was worshiped as the protecting divinity of seafarers. In Hellenistic Delos, Heracles was the second most popular divinity after Aphrodite. The owners of the "House of Seals", bankers and merchants whose wealth depended on safe voyages for their ships, burned incense not only to Zeus, Apollo and Poseidon, but also to Heracles the Sea-God, considering him an equal of the great gods.

In his adventures, Heracles defeated and killed:

Antaeus, king of Libya <i>son of Poseidon</i>	Iphitus <i>grandson of Poseidon (Eurytus)</i>
Busiris, king of Egypt <i>son of Poseidon</i>	Sea monster at Troy <i>sent by Poseidon</i>
Eryx, king of the Elymans <i>son of Poseidon</i>	Eurytion, centaur <i>grandson of Oceanus</i>
Eurypulus, king of Cos <i>son of Poseidon</i>	Nessus, centaur <i>grandson of Oceanus</i>
Neleus, king of Pylos <i>son of Poseidon</i>	Geryon <i>grandson of Oceanus (Chrysaor)</i>
Sarpedon, king of Thrace <i>son of Poseidon</i>	Zetes and Calais <i>sons of Boreas</i>
Syleus, king of Aulis <i>son of Poseidon</i>	Erginus, king of Orchousenus <i>great grandson of Aeolus (Clymenus)</i>
Eurytus, giant <i>son of Poseidon</i>	Eurymedon, Chryses, Nephelion, Philolaus <i>sons of Minos</i>
Augeas, king of Elis <i>son of Poseidon (or Phorbas)</i>	Diomedes, king of the Bistones <i>son of Ares</i>
Coronus, Lapith general <i>son of Poseidon (Caeneus)</i>	Eurytion, herdsman of Geryon <i>son of Ares</i>
Ialebion and Dercynus <i>sons of Poseidon</i>	Cycnus <i>son of Ares</i>
Eurytus, king of ecalia <i>grandson of Poseidon (Aktor)</i>	Mygdon, king of Bebryces <i>son of Ares</i>
Linus, teacher of music <i>grandson of Poseidon (Amphimarus)</i>	Hippolyta, queen of the Amazons <i>daughter of Ares</i>
Amphidamas <i>grandson of Poseidon (Busiris)</i>	Eunomus, wine-bearer of Oeneus <i>son of Architeles</i>
Lityersis <i>grandson of Poseidon (Medus)</i>	Laomedon, king of Troy <i>son of Ilus</i>
Polygonus and Telegonus <i>grandsons of Poseidon (Proteus)</i>	Hippocoon, king of Sparta <i>son of Oebalus</i>
Amyntor, king of Orchomenos <i>grandson of Poseidon (Ormenus)</i>	Emathion <i>son of Tithonus</i>

Two impressive flights of stairs, partially constructed and partially hewn into the rock, led to the crest of Mt Kynthos (79). The south stairway has been totally destroyed, but the north one has been preserved in good condition. At the top of the stairs was a marble gateway leading to the *Kynthion*, the sanctuary of Zeus *Kynthios* and Athena *Kynthia*, which worshippers could approach dressed only in white, unarmed, barefoot, and after a period of fasting and refraining from sexual intercourse. According to the myth, it was from this summit that Zeus watched the birth of Apollo and Artemis; evidence of his cult has been found there dating from the 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. The cult of Athena was introduced later, probably the result of propaganda by the Athenians who, in building a shrine to their patron divinity on the highest point, may have been seeking to present her as the patron of Delos as well. Despite the transportation difficulties, there were many votive offerings on the summit of the hill, among which was a colossal bronze statue of King Ptolemy IX Soter II.

718-719

721-731

Under the sanctuaries on Kynthos the foundations of houses, large storage jars and tools from the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC have been unearthed.

*From the summit of Cynthus one contemplates all but the northern extremity of the island; precinct, harbour and town are revealed as in a plan. Only a narrow channel separates the island westward from ancient Rheneia, the modern Greater Dhiolos. In the intervening channel are set two rocks, both known by the name of Rheumatiari, 'the channel islands'; around their bare sides curl the white waves when the north wind lashes the entrance to the channel. The bigger of the two rocks was called by the ancients the Isle of Hekate.*

*To the west, far behind Greater Dhiolos, rises the island of Syros (now Syra). Northwards is the ancient Tenos (Tinos), and if a long cloud rests along its headland, foul weather is at hand. North-east lies Mykonos where the modern traveller to Delos takes his leave of the civilized world. When the north wind (phortouno) blows with fury, communication between Delos and the outside world is severed for an indefinite period, as in ancient times. To the south, appearing now near, now far, lie the islands of Paros and Naxos.*

*The view which unfolds itself in sunshine to the watcher on the summit of Mt. Cynthus is full of beauty; and it evokes a keen regret for the brilliance of that civilization which ran its course below so long ago, and now is marked by silent ruins and foundation-walls, among which the lizard glides and the goats from Mykonos find scanty pasturage.<sup>103</sup>*







# The Theatre Quarter

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In a small valley at the foot of Mt Kynthos two significant buildings have been excavated: the *House of the Dolphins* and the *House of the Masks* complex.

The main entrance to the *House of the Dolphins* (80) was flanked by two altars to the gods who protected its inhabitants. One was square and constructed has not survived, but the other cylindrical marble one has been preserved intact. On a niche above it was a painting of Heracles. On the mosaic floor of the passageway is the ideogram of the Phoenician goddess Tanit, which was of a deterrent nature, i.e. it was placed there to keep evil away from the house. The floor of the atrium is covered by a splendid mosaic: in the centre is a rosette surrounded by sixteen concentric circles decorated with braided bands, alternating heads of lions and griffins, stylised waves and a three-dimensional Greek key.

732-738

The playful nature of the dolphin, its affection for its companion and its legendary love of music very early on associated it with the *marine, jocular and musical* Eros. Eros is frequently represented swimming, holding on to dolphins, riding on dolphins or playing the lyre while sitting on their back. It is most likely that depictions such as this one, where Eros has harnessed energetic dolphins with reins, like the engine on a warship,<sup>106</sup> allude allegorically to the military and destructive nature of the god.

The *House of the Masks* complex (81) consists of four houses. The atrium of the main residence has a peristyle of the Rhodian type. In this type of peristyle, the colonnade in front of the main rooms is higher, permitting these rooms to be higher and to receive more light. To support the lower architraves on the other sides, projections were placed on the corner columns, sometimes plain and sometimes decorated, as in the *House of the Trident* (86) in which they are in the form of twin busts of lions and bulls. In the four rooms that look out onto the atrium, the mosaic floors have been beautifully preserved, as have large sections of the plaster in imitation of marble. In the centre of the floor in the northeast corner of the peristyle, Dionysus is portrayed seated on a leopard or panther between two Centaurs. The god is wearing a long, sleeved chiton and a second one over it with short sleeves. His himation is wrapped around his thighs and he is crowned with ivy; in one hand, he holds a thyrsus and in the other a drum. On the floor of the adjacent main hall, lozenges and broken bands create the impression of three-dimensional cubes. In the two bands flanking the main image, between tendrils of ivy, are ten theatrical masks of typical roles in the New Comedy. In the next hall, a Silenus, standing on tiptoe, is dancing to the accompaniment of a *diaulos* (double flute) played by a nude Satyr seated on a rock. In the last hall, between two lovely rosettes, an amphora is depicted and a palm branch and, below it, a bird pecking fruit. In front of the threshold are facing dolphins. Because of the representations on the mosaic floors, the building has been associated with the theatre, but since the same decorative motifs can be found in many houses on Delos and in other ancient cities, it seems unlikely that the function of the building determined the subject matter of its decoration.

739-751

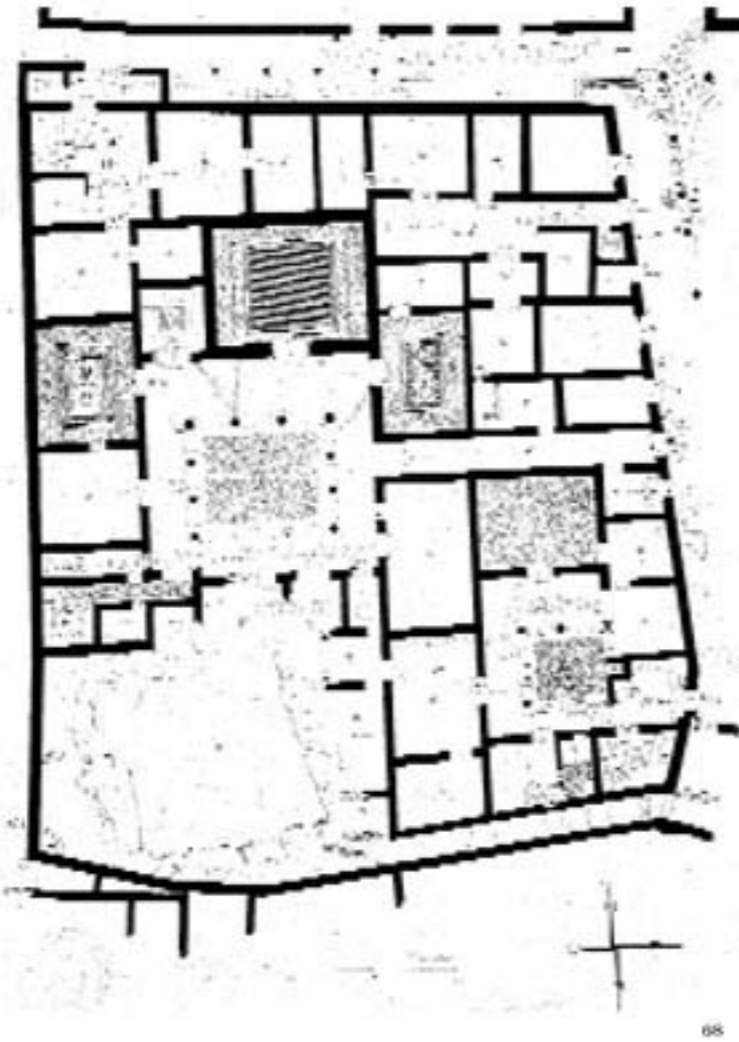
760

The next building group (82), which consists of many rooms and has an enormous cistern with a capacity of 270 m<sup>3</sup>, was probably the *Xenon* or guest house.

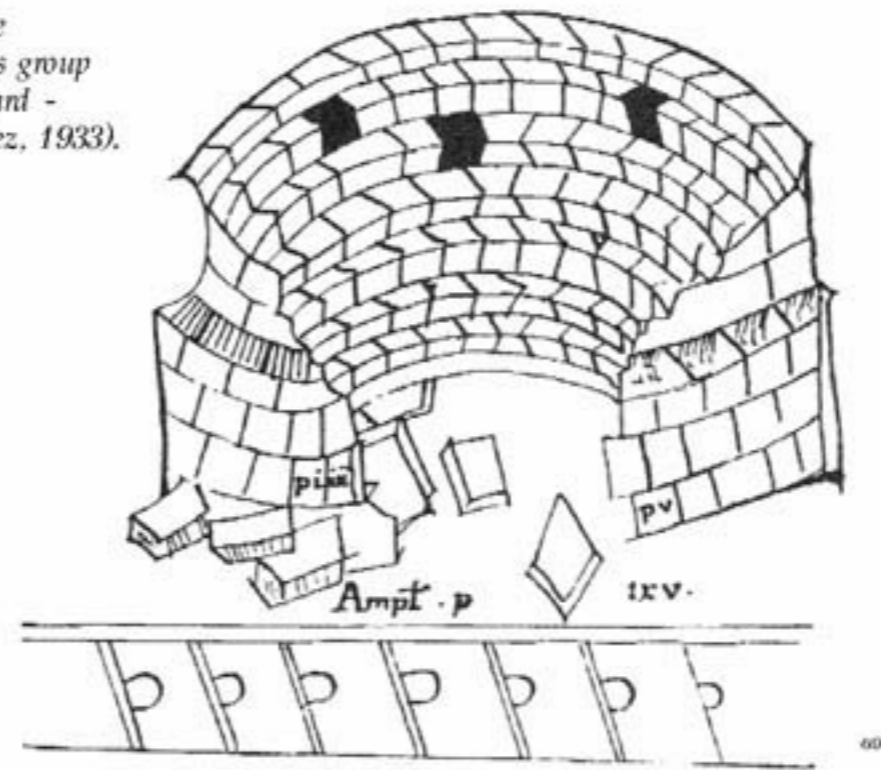
Construction began on the Delos Theatre (83) just after 314 BC, and was completed 70 years later. The *koilon*, the semi-circular auditorium where the audience sat, rested on a sturdy marble retaining wall. It is divided into two horizontal sections (*diazomata*) with 26 and 17 stepped seats respectively that could accommodate a total of some 6500 spectators. Access to the *koilon* was either by the *parodoi*, i.e. two large gates on either side of the semi-circular *orchestra*, by another two entrances at the level of the passageway separating the two sections, or by one last one in the middle of the highest point of the *koilon*. The seats in the

752





Floor plan  
of the House  
of the Masks group  
(J. Chamonard -  
N. Devambez, 1933).



The Theatre, as drawn in 1445 by Cyriacus of Ancona.

first row (the *proedria*) have been best preserved and are the only seats with back support as they were reserved for honoured persons. The semicircular *orchestra*, which was the main part of the theatre, was closed on its straight side by the *skene*, the stage-building and dressing rooms, a rectangular structure with the external dimensions of 15.26 x 6.64 m. with three entrances on the east side and another on the west. In front of the *skene* was the *proskenion*, a colonnade 2.67 m. high with Doric semi-columns between which were movable painted panels.<sup>105</sup> The metopes on the *proskenion* entablature were decorated with relief tripods and bulls' heads. Later a portico was added to the other three sides of the *skene*, the same height as the *proskenion*, with Doric piers the bases of which have been preserved. The chorus moved in the semicircular *orchestra*, while the actors played on top of the *proskenion*.

Southwest of the theatre, vestiges of altars and shrines (84) dedicated to Artemis-Hecate, Apollo, Dionysus, Hermes and Pan have been preserved.

753-754 There is a remarkable, large reservoir of the Theatre (85) in which rainwater flowing down from the koilon was collected through a channel around the perimeter of the orchestra. On its upper level, supported by eight graceful granite arches, were the mouths of the wells from which water was drawn.

755-774 To the left and right of the main stone-paved road that leads from the Sacred Port to the Theatre, is the Theatre Quarter, the oldest district in the ancient city. On both sides of this irregular and uphill street are small shops, behind which are private houses. The quarter was dug up rapidly at the beginning of the last century, which is why very few objects were found from the wealthy houses, and the information thus derived is minimal and confused.<sup>106</sup> Despite the hasty excavation, most of the remarkable mosaic floors from this quarter have been preserved.

760-764 The House of the Trident (86) is a lavish dwelling with a Rhodian peristyle. The supports of the corner columns are in the form of double busts of lions and bulls. Since these busts are regarded as symbols of the two Syrian deities Atargatis and Hadad, it has been argued, without certainty, that the house may have belonged to a merchant from Syria. In the atrium there is a mosaic with a multicoloured, three-dimensional Greek key and on the peristyle floor is a trident adorned with a band and a dolphin curled around an anchor. On the mosaic in the exedra is depicted a Panathenaea amphora decorated with a chariot, a wreath and a palm branch. Panathenaic amphorae were given as prizes at the Panathenaea games; this representation suggests victory in the chariot races.





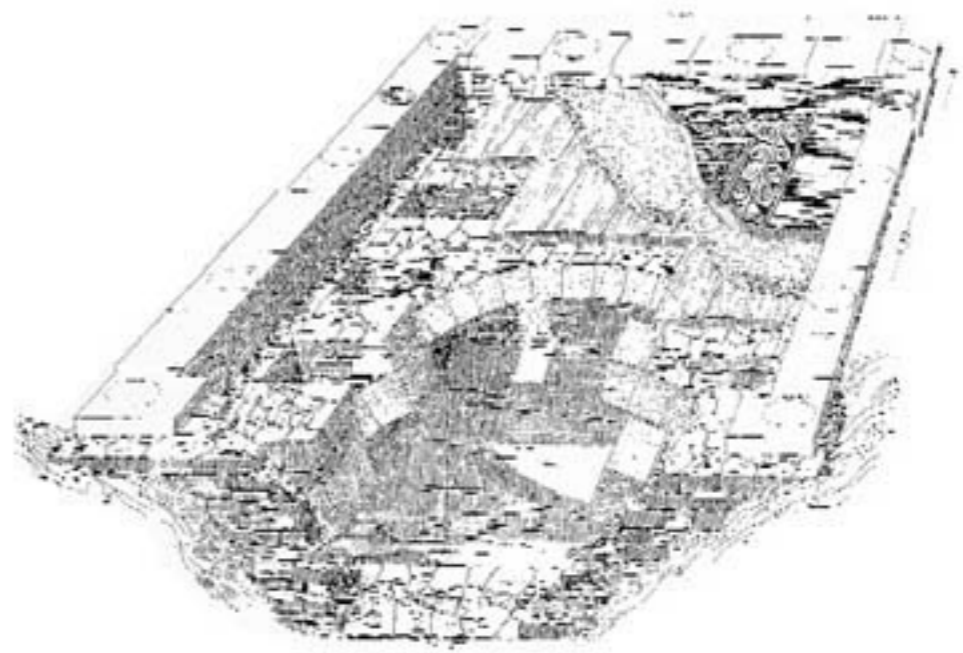
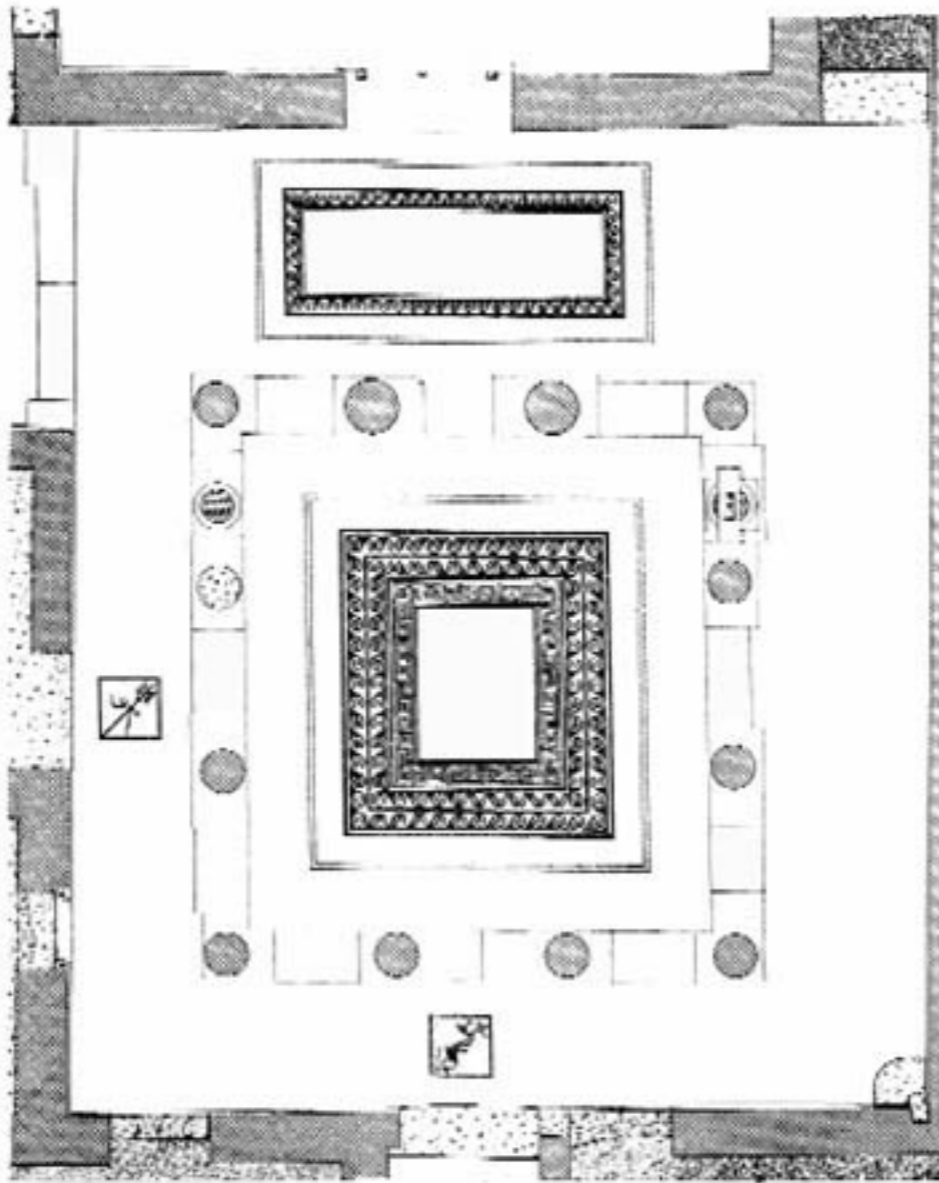
The excavation of the Theatre in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Wagons on rails carried the earth to sites in the surrounding region, creating artificial hills that altered the face of the landscape.

One of the largest houses in the quarter is the *House of Dionysus* (87). In the middle of the large peristyle court there is an exceptional mosaic *emblema* representing Dionysus that has given its name to the house. The god is presented winged, crowned with ivy, and seated on the back of a tiger around whose neck is a wreath of vines and grapes. In his raised right hand he is holding a thyrsus decorated with a ribbon as though it were a spear. The mosaic on the floor depicts a fallen silver *kantharos*, wine vessel and symbol of the god, among plants. This is one of the most important mosaics of the Hellenistic period, created with hundreds of tiny tesserae of glass paste and semi-precious stones. The same theme is depicted in the *House of the Masks* and in houses in other ancient cities (Pella, Eretria, Pompeii),<sup>107</sup> indicating that they had a common model. It may possibly portray the return of the god from India, and may have been inspired by the re-enactment at the *Ptolemaia* procession in Alexandria, or by paintings on the same theme on the intercolumniation of Ptolemy's skene. The *Ptolemaia* were established between 279-270 BC by Ptolemy II Philadelphus in honour of his father, and were celebrated every five years, an event as prestigious as the Olympic Games. The high point of the celebrations was an extravagant procession in which 57,600 footsoldiers and 23,200 horsemen took part, according to estimates by Callixenus.<sup>108</sup> In this Dionysiac procession that lasted from dawn to dusk, hundreds of Sileni and Satyrs took part walking behind girls, boys, and maenads crowned with grapevines or ivy. A chariot drawn by 180 men carried the statue of Dionysus and was followed by other chariots with mechanical statues that would stand up, pour libations and sit down again. Fountains gushed forth milk but especially wine, and there were hundreds of exotic birds and animals associated with the cult of the god: 2000 bulls, 14 leopards, 16 panthers, 4 lynxes. Other chariots bore allegorical figures such as Victories (*Nikes*) with golden wings, Aphthonia (Plenty), Nyssa the homeland of Dionysus, Hygeia (Health), Axia (Worth), and other women representing conquered cities. *"The return of Dionysus from the Indies was represented in a four-wheeled carriage. A Dionysus six metres tall was semi-reclining on an elephant, dressed in porphyry garments and with a gold wreath of ivy and vines on his hair. In his hand he held a gold thyrsus-spear and his boots were sewn with gold. On the elephant's neck sat a satyr 2.5 metres high wearing a gold wreath of pine and holding a golden horn of plenty in his right hand. The elephant's harness was gold and round its neck was a*

769

770-772





Plan of the peristyle in the House of the Trident (Ph. Brumeau - N. Nikolaou, 1972) and cross-section showing how the underground cistern was roofed (capacity of 155 m<sup>3</sup>) under the atrium (J. Chamond - A. Gabriel, 1922).

garland of golden pine. Five hundred girls followed in purple chitons, gold girdles and gold pine wreaths, and behind them 120 Satyrs in gold and bronze armour. After them came five companies of donkeys with gold and silver reins mounted on which were be-wreathed Sileni and Satyrs..."

As the inscriptions show, Ptolemy II Philadelphus had been extremely generous to the sanctuary for 40 years. Even after his death offerings were made in his name, which means that he had left a bequest to this end. Equally generous was his wife Arsinoë II who dedicated a table and a silver tripod. The Delians honoured Ptolemy by erecting a statue of him and by sending a delegation to the Ptolemaia.

773-774

Opposite the House of Dionysus is the *House of Cleopatra* of Athens (88), whose statue, together with that of her husband Dioscurides, was found in the atrium. The ostentatious extravagance and vanity of the owners is obvious, because they erected their statues right opposite the main entrance of the house, to impress visitors and passers-by who could see them whenever the door was open. The inscription on the base, in addition to the names of those represented and the date of the commission, also proclaims the fact that Dioscurides had dedicated two silver tripods to the temple of Apollo.



## *“The wheel turns...” – The end*

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*Would that I were still the toy of every fickle wind,  
not rooted here as wandering Leto's childbed;  
such loneliness I'd not have known. Hapless me!  
How many Greek ships sail past deserted Delos,  
which all respected once of old. Hera stayed her vengeance  
for Leto, but sent this terrible retribution.*

ANTIPATER, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD<sup>109</sup>

The wealth that had been accumulated on the island and the Delians' friendly relations with Rome were the main causes of the island's destruction. The island was devastated and sacked twice: in 88 BC by Mithridates King of Pontos, who was at war with the Romans, and again in 69 BC by the pirates of Athenodoros, an ally of Mithridates. *“When the generals of Mithridates and the tyrant who obliged her to revolt attacked Delos, they destroyed it totally,”* writes Strabo at the end of the first cent. BC. *“When the king retreated to his own country and the Romans took the island back, it was deserted. And it continues to be in decline up to the present day. Now it belongs to the Athenians.”* Pausanias<sup>110</sup> gives more details: *“Delos was the trade centre of the Hellenes and merchants believed they were safe on the god's sacred island. But Menophanes, one of Mithridates's generals, whether out of pure wantonness or by express orders of Mithridates, and being aware that Delos was unfortified and its inhabitants unarmed, sailed against it with triremes, killed the foreigners who lived there, killed the Delians, and having looted the merchandise and all the votive offerings, took the women and children slaves, and destroyed Delos. And while they were sacking the city, some impious barbarian threw the wooden cult statue (*xoano*) of the god into the sea. The waves tossed it up in the region of Boea, which was then named Epidelion. But neither Menophanes nor Mithridates eluded the wrath of the god. As soon as Menophanes left after the sack Delos, he was waylaid by some merchants who had escaped and was sunk together with his ship. Later when Mithridates' kingdom was crushed and the Romans hounded him everywhere, the god drove him to suicide. Others say that he asked a mercenary to kill him as a favour. This was the end to which their impiety led them.”* Appian<sup>111</sup> contributes the information that 20,000 men were slaughtered on Delos, most of whom were Italians, and that the treasures looted there were sent to Athens accompanied by 2000 men.

After Delos was first sacked in 88 BC, many of its wealthy inhabitants abandoned the island, and the doors of many houses were found sealed by walls. Before the city even had time to recover and before the buildings could be repaired, the second, and even more destructive blow came from Athenodoros's pirates, who attacked suddenly one winter's night in 69 BC, sacked the sanctuary and the city and set fire to many houses in the northern quarter. The pirates landed in the Skardanas harbour and found the inhabitants totally unprepared, most of whom were taken prisoner and ended up being sold in the slave markets of the Levant. Evidence of the disaster is visible to this day, particularly in the northern quarter of the city, which was burnt down. In the Lake House, an amphora of wine that had been put in the well to keep its contents cool until the evening symposium, was never opened. Two blocks away, a woman hastily buried her jewellery, but was never able to come back for it. Customers drinking in a tavern near the Sanctuary fled in a panic, throwing their wine cups on the floor, while the prostitute who was working in a room over the tavern left behind not only her cheap jewellery and cosmetics, but her savings as well. In a house behind the tavern, a cooking pot was found on the hearth, still containing the last meal. Stone-carvers working near the Portico of Philip, who were mass-producing statuettes of Aphrodite and Heracles for the pilgrims, left them half-finished; likewise, colossal statues and marble tables remained unfinished. In the Agora of the Italians, grave stelae were left uncompleted and never placed on the intended graves.

The ancient city had developed only as an extension of the port; it flourished as long as the transit trade between east and west was concentrated there; and it ceased to exist when the port became unsafe and trade moved to the harbours of the West.



Two years after Delos was sacked for the second time, the Roman general Gaius Triarius tried to repair “the damaged parts of the city” and to protect it with a wall; until then “Delos’ tower was Apollo” (Callimachus). But it was too late. Neither the class of people that had created this cosmopolitan city within just a few decades nor commerce establish emotional ties with a place. The wealthy merchants, shipowners and bankers had abandoned Delos and resettled in more secure ports in the Mediterranean. The city gradually dwindled, was abandoned and forgotten. Tertullian, apologist of Christianity, cited the later Sibyllic oracle in a characteristically spiteful way: “*kai Samos ammos kai Delos adelos*”. This play with puns and rhymes was elegantly translated by Laidlaw as: “*Even Samos shall be sand, the Far-Seen [Delos] unseen*”.

The decline was so dramatic that in 58 BC, a decision was required by the Roman senate to acknowledge the sacredness of the island. The Athenians were now indifferent to Delos; they stopped sending archons and appointed only a lifetime priest of Apollo, who lived in Athens. Later they even tried to sell it, but could find no buyers. Pausanias,<sup>112</sup> writing in the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, reports that were it not for the Sanctuary guard sent by the Athenians, Delos would be totally devoid of any human presence.

In the early centuries AD, there was even a considerable Christian community on the island, as testified by the remains of eight early Christian basilicas and the fact that Delos is mentioned as being the see of a bishop. After the 7<sup>th</sup> cent. AD, however, it appears to have been totally deserted. The ruins of the luxurious houses were covered with earth and weeds and the uninhabited islet became a pirates’ lair,<sup>113</sup> as it had been during the prehistoric period.

*Sacred nurse of Leto’s children, anchored  
unmoving in the Aegean by Cronus’ son,  
by your gods, lady, I’ll ne’er call you hapless  
and nor will I attend the words of Antipater;  
blissful you who received Phoebus, Artemis, too  
after Olympus calls you her homeland.*

ALPHEIOS OF MYTILENE, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD





# *Adelos – Delos – Adelos – Sdiles, and again Delos*

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Delos returns to human memory



*Silver tetradrachm with the head of Mithridates VI Eupator (120-63 BC).*

In 1154 AD, the Arab geographer Edrisi describes the islet Ardilo as “round, deserted, uninhabited, but with a port.” Delos and Rheneia, whose name had been completely forgotten, were referred to collectively as Sdiles, Sdili or Sdilis and even today the Mykonians call the two islands Deles: Mikres Deles is Delos and Megales Deles is Rheneia. In the Mykonian Christmas carol, St Basil comes from “lower Deles”, the fertile southern part of Rheneia, where, as in antiquity, the wealthiest farms are located:

*St Basil comes from Lower Deles  
Holding a basket full of limpets  
And another basket full of mushrooms.  
He et the limpets, asks for buttermilk  
we offer him sweet wine and he jumps up and leaves.*

With the Renaissance and the study of the ancient texts, Delos returned to human memory. In 1445, Cyriacus of Ancona visited it, copied some inscriptions and made drawings of the ruins. He was followed by many travellers who usually produced fictitious representations of the ruins. For centuries, the ruins of the ancient buildings were quarried by the inhabitants of the surrounding islands as construction materials. Meanwhile, on both Delos and Rheneia, lime kilns converted the ancient sculptures and marble architectural members to lime. Marble buildings were also demolished to remove their lead and bronze joints, as metal was valuable at that period. The British travellers Stuart and Revett,<sup>114</sup> who visited Delos in March of 1753 expressed their melancholy sentiments: “*This island, once so celebrated, the resort of multitudes, the seat of religion, religious ceremonies and pompous processions, is now an uninhabited desert, everywhere strewn with ruins, so various, and so well wrought, as to evince its once populous and flourishing condition. The only animals we saw here, besides rabbits and snakes, were a few sheep brought occasionally from Mykonos, a neighbouring island, to crop the scanty herbage which the ruins will permit to grow. Travellers, who have visited this place, have been distressed for water; I have, therefore, given a map of the island, in which, among other particulars, the situation of an excellent well is marked. The number of curious marbles here is continually diminishing on account of a custom, the Turks have, of placing at the heads of the graves of their deceased friends a marble column; and the miserable sculptors of that nation come here every year and work up the fragments for that purpose, carving the figure of a turban on top of the monumental stone. Other pieces they carry off for lintels and window sills; so that, in a few years, it may be as naked as when it first made its appearance above the surface of the sea.*”



The distressing situation was also described later by the French anthropologist C.N. Sonnini,<sup>115</sup> who, on instructions from Louis XVI, visited Greece and Turkey in 1778:

“A sort of religious thrill seizes the soul when, leaving Mykoni behind, one sets sail westward and approaches a very small island, but one which was the most celebrated of all in antiquity: a sacred place, the cradle of Apollo and Diane, subject of songs by the most famed poets and object of veneration by the ancients, who used to go there to worship Apollo in a temple that was among the most impressive buildings on earth, majestic jewel of the most magnificent city in the world. There is no one who has not heard tell of the wonders of Delos, of its monuments, of its riches, of its brilliant population, of the magnificent elegance of its architecture. There is no one with a sense of beauty who has not sought avidly in the chronicles of Greece’s good times the description of so many achievements of art, and I certainly do not intend to repeat here what one can read in many works of great merit...”

“But the island of Delos, once so opulent, on which religious ceremonies were celebrated with such splendour, in the presence of countless throngs of people from all parts of the Orient, is now just a deserted island, abandoned to unclean animals and covered with ruins and rubble. Pirates and bandits are practically the only people who approach it; they go there to divide up the booty from their brigandage, or to make new plans to sack and pillage, seated on fragments of altars on which incense and perfumes were burned to glorify the god of day.

“The ruins of Delos, imposing remains of the most beautiful buildings with which ancient Hellas was glorified, are already not the way modern travellers who visited them have described. They have become even more ruined, and they owe this new degradation to the profane barbarism of people who go there to take away materials to build their houses, or wretched Turkish stonemasons, who every year remove valuable pieces of marble to make the little columns with the turban on top which Mohammedans erect on the graves of the dead. The very name of Delos has been forgotten on the coasts on which it had once acquired such a great reputation. The Greeks call the two islands of Delos *Dili*, and our navigators designate them by the name *Isdiles*.”

But despite the devastation and desolation, the landscape always retained its unique fascination. On Friday, 16 July 1901 at 6:30 p.m., C.P. Cavafy<sup>116</sup> arrived at the lazaretto of Rheneia on his first trip to Greece. The poet, whose work was only minimally concerned with the description of nature, for which his contemporaries criticised him, was charmed by the beauty of the landscape and devoted a few lines in his personal diary to describe it: “We have reached Delos... At 5 a.m. the sea under the rising sun, presented a beautiful appearance; and beautiful also looked the islands that studded the horizon ... The sea’s colour and form are wonderful – intensely Greek ... The island is pretty to look at. The bay most picturesque. But it appears that there are very few inhabitants at Delos, and almost no cultivation – whether owing to the natural bareness of the soil or to the carelessness of the population, I am not aware. Fair weather this morning. Thermometer at 78°...”



Cristoforo Buondelmonti: Map of Delos and Rheneia in about 1420.







# *“When the oak has fallen all rush to gather wood”*

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GREEK PROVERB

**Systematic** excavations began on the island in 1873, but as is frequently the case, grave robbers, treasure-hunters and cultured foreign “collectors” had preceded the archaeologists. “Enlightened” Western travellers who came to pay their respects to the site on which a remarkable civilisation had come into being, rarely failed to take home some piece of the “glorious” ruins with them: “Regarding the masterpieces of antiquity,” writes French archaeologist Edmond About in 1854, “there are not that many. All the paintings have been lost, as one can imagine. The sculptures departed for Rome during the age of the Caesars, for Venice at the time of Morosini, for Germany at the time of Gropius, for England under Lord Elgin, for Russia at the time of Orloff and of Governor Kapodistrias. We shall never learn what the Russians took and what they destroyed in the archipelago at the period of their domination there, and Athenian archaeologists still speak with distress of the diplomatic generosities of Kapodistrias.”<sup>117</sup>

Neither Delos nor Rheneia escaped this fate. The former’s Sanctuary and wealthy houses and the latter’s cemeteries were being looted for centuries, so that today most European museums can boast that they have something from the Sacred Isle in their collections.

“Innumerable European travellers have always visited Delos and many of their warships would deliberately anchor thither and they would set themselves to excavating prior to the establishment of the Hellenic Kingdom, and there is no doubt that many ancient relics belonging to our nation were carried off to foreign states. Many years ago, among the ruins of **Delos** a marble head was found, which the then sub-consul of France in Mykonos purchased...”<sup>118</sup>

One of the tasks imposed on the Mykonians by the Russians was to load “the marbles from **Deles**”<sup>119</sup> onto ships, while in 1826, the “British Royal Consul Petros Cordias” was so shameless that his name ended up in the Mykonian idiom as being synonymous with crook and dealer in illicit antiquities.<sup>120</sup> It goes without saying that Edmond About, who was mentioned earlier, neglected to number his compatriots<sup>121</sup> among the “antiquity-loving” foreigners:

“Most honest notables and authorities of the municipality of the island of Mykonos, may you be healthy and prosperous. It was reported by his excellency the Ambassador of France to the supreme and long-lived Capudan Pasha, our master, that in the month of November, when a French ship moored off your neighbouring island, Deles by name, your citizens predatorily plundered objects from this ship [...] Nikolaos Mourouzis 13 february 1819, from the admiralty.”<sup>122</sup>

Apart from the looting by foreigners, the Mykonians themselves “would sally out from time to time and dig”<sup>123</sup> and find statues and grave stelae that they donated in 1829 to the newly established National Museum on Aegina. In 1842, when Otto visited Mykonos, the Elders of Mykonos gave Queen Amalia “a pair of gold earrings representing lions’ faces” that had been found in an “excavation” on Rheneia, and she accepted them “with great pleasure”.<sup>124</sup> For centuries, the marble from the ancient monuments was reduced to lime, or transported by caiques to the surrounding islands to be used as construction material. A great part of the Church of the Panaghia on Tinos was built with Delian marble, while statues, inscriptions and architectural members can still be found built into the walls of many Mykonian houses, as well as houses on Syros, Tinos, Milos, Thera, Koufonisi, Paros and other places, since:



“Many Delian stones were detached from **Delos** in the past, during the years before the Archaeological Service was established on the island, by various island sailing boats, which would moor off the island and use these stones as handy ballast which – when the ballast was no longer needed – would be tossed off as waste on different coasts of neighbouring islands.”<sup>125</sup>

The documents quoted below describe the prevailing situation:

1. “To the most honest gentlemen elders and notables of the Island of Mikonos, we salute you with brotherly kisses, Psara, 22 December 1819

It has been confirmed by some of your countrymen that opposite your parts, on **deles**, there are columns of old buildings, and we would ask you please, since we have need of them, if we can have permission from your honour to rent a caique and come to take ten to fifteen of them, which we want to use in the building and docks for our port, and in recognition of this favour, we remain always in your debt, and in anticipation of your most honourable response

We embrace you and are always  
Elders and trustees from [the island of] Psarra”<sup>126</sup>

2. “Lords and notables of the island of Tinos, we pay our brotherly respects and embrace your excellencies

investigating matters of your health, we declare amicably that we are greatly surprised to see the disorder and abnormality that have been committed by your countrymen against us for almost five years, with great affect and disturbance to our people. Because caiques from your land go to **Deles** and take sheep, stone, columns, wood and anything else they need, at a time when we too are short and have great need of everything that can be found on our island **Deles**. On this matter we have been patient for so long as neighbours and friends. And we have not bothered you with this even though we have often been informed of such events. But now we have learned that you sent the ship of your port to Delos and took away two columns...

...our people are not pleased about the columns you took without their permission and without the permission of the notables or notification that this was to happen. And we ask you please to respond right now, so that no displeasure follows in the meantime with all our brotherly love, we pay our respects

1820: april: 24: mykonos  
the community elders of Mykonos  
eager brothers of your nobleness!”<sup>127</sup>

3. “Can the stone masons of Tinos and Mykonos deny that for a long time, even up to the present day, they have been plying their trade by ravaging the most famous ancient works on **Delos** and **Rheneia**? and haven’t we seen them ourselves (not many years ago) converting the altars of Artemis and of Apollo, their columns, even their statues, to mortars for pounding coffee, to gravestones with turbans for the tombs of Aghas in Constantinople? Do the countless small parts of the most beautiful marbles on earth, which today cover the entire holy precinct, not bear witness to the fact that this barbarous and terrible labour has been taking place there unhindered for centuries?

Athens, December 1825

G. CH. G. PHILOMOUSOS”<sup>128</sup>

In 1833, Frédéric Thiersch proposed that Rheneia be fortified, that the isthmus uniting the two parts of the island be cut, that the naval command of eastern Greece be installed there, and that Delos become a trading colony “intended to offset the significance of its metropolis [=Syros] and to ensure commerce the opportunity and the means to enjoy such development as is promised by the future of Greece.”<sup>129</sup>

On 10 February 1844, Georgios Gryparis and M. Solomos, elected representatives of Mykonos at the “national Assembly of the Hellenes in Athens on third September 1843” submitted to the National Assembly a “Memorandum about the uninhabited islands belonging to Mykonos”:

“The neighbouring **uninhabited islands** of **Delos** and **Rheneia**, to which farmers and others would go and sow crops every year, graze their flocks and cut wood unhindered as from common property, have belonged for centuries to the Community of my homeland Mykonos. In this regard about two centuries ago, that is in the year 1689, in order to avoid disputes arising from claims by one against the other, the





The ancient ruins were used for many centuries as a quarry for construction materials. In the photograph, an ancient altar was carved as a basin for the fountain built at Gialo by Mykonians from Joliet, USA. The tendrils and ox heads are faintly visible.

Mykonians divided the land into four lots (*kapitanias*) and setting boundaries determined which one of the lot-holders, along with his people, could draw up instruments of ownership in each region of the lands he acquired by this lot. The relevant document signed by the clergy and elders of Mykonos bears the date 15 November 1689, and exists in the Government archives.

*“The rights to the aforementioned uninhabited islands of the community of the Mykonians have always been recognised and respected not only by the inhabitants of the neighbouring islands, but also by the various administrations under Turkish rule at different times and after that up to 1836, at which time the general tax inspectors appointed to the Cyclades to sell favours, as they say, reported to the Government that Delos and Rheneia supposedly belong to the state, and that they were regarded as such immediately, and the farmers who were thus subject to the heavy tax of 25% ceased to grow crops thither. Since then every time the community of Mykonians addressed the Government, either in writing or by sending a representative, regarding the uninhabited islands lawfully claimed by it, invoking justice, they received this blunt reply “The courts are open”. This situation persisted until the year 1843, when I was elected by our fellow citizens, together with Mr. M. Solomos, as representatives to the national Assembly of the Hellenes of third September in Athens, and I regard it as my duty, apart from the general issues, to contribute in particular to what concerns my birthplace on two points, 1) that the ownership of Delos and Rheneia by the municipality of Mykonos be recognised in order to stop the heavy tax of 25%, 2) To regard as its parish church that of the Monastery of Tourliani.*

*“Regarding the first point, i.e. the two uninhabited islands, I have performed my duty through the report I submitted, together with my colleague Mr M. Solomos, on 10 February 1844 to the National Assembly, an excerpt from which is as follows:*

*‘The uninhabited islands of Delos and Rheneia, 4-5 miles off the coast of Mykonos, belong to Mykonos by right of previous occupation and acquisitive prescription, but it was fated, despite these strong and incontrovertible proofs which we submit in writing to the National Assembly, for them to be perceived as belonging to the state.*

*In Athens 10 February 1844*

*The representatives of Mykonos*

*G. GRYPARIS, M. SOLOMOS\**

“As a consequence of this report, a committee was appointed by the Government comprising Messrs G. Praidos, M. Renieris and M. Potlis, which in its report of 8 April 1844 ruled that the claims of the Mykonians are lawful and can be argued successfully before the Courts, and Decree No. 36 was issued to this effect on the 12<sup>th</sup> day of this month and year, by which upon the proposal of the then Minister of Finance Mr. A. Mavrokordatos, the said islands were recognised as belonging to the Municipality of Mykonos and thus since then, the heavy tax collected of 25 percent on national land ceased to be levied.”<sup>130</sup>

The two islands, with the exception of the excavated Archaeological Site, were divided into “lots” which are rented to Mykonian farmers and livestock farmers to this day. In 1928, the revenues from the rental of these fields amounted to 200,000 drachmas. Relying on these revenues, the Community of Mykonos then mortgaged Delos and Rheneia for a few years to the Deposits and Loans Fund, which financed the works required to bring electric power to Mykonos (Delos was not electrified until 1993). In 1933, it is reported that “barley, melons and tobacco flourish and are planted on Delos, and some thousand sheep graze on its plants.”<sup>131</sup> Retired guardians still remember with nostalgia the melons they used to grow in the Agora of the Italians.



# *Digging, earth removal and excavations*

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**The first excavation** was conducted on Delos in 1772 by Pasch van Krienen, a Dutch-Prussian officer of the Russian occupation army; his findings ended up in St Petersburg and Bucharest, together with other pieces of ancient marble.<sup>132</sup> In 1829, an Italian requested permission to excavate on Delos, but changed his mind after visiting the island, in the conviction that he would find nothing worthwhile.<sup>133</sup> In the same year, the members of the French Expédition Scientifique de Morée dug a few test trenches in some buildings near the sea.<sup>134</sup>

Systematic excavations began in March of 1873 by J. Lebègue, member of the French Archaeological School at Athens, and Panagiotis Stamatakis, employee of the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Education. On 8 August 1873, Panagiotis Stamatakis, with the required protocol, handed over to the Mayor of Mykonos Lavrentios (Lorenzo) D. Kambanis “the antiquities discovered and collected from the various sites of the excavation at Delos, at the expense of the Ministry and with the supervision of the Archaeological Society of Athens, and presented at the City Hall building.”<sup>135</sup>

Excavations by the French Archaeological School at Athens continued, under the supervision of a Ministry employee who was frequently the school principal of Mykonos, or some temporary employee, or with no supervision at all, a fact that at times worried the Mayor of Mykonos: “...since the excavations have been taking place for almost a month with no supervision, I judge that [a supervisor] is essential both in the interest of the Municipality, which I am called upon by the Law and by vote of my fellow citizens to defend, but also in the interest of the entire nation, relics of whose ancestral heritage may be taken away.”<sup>136</sup>

*View of Delos in 1829. L'Expédition de Morée III, II.*







The French School celebrates Bastille Day on Delos. The School's building above the Hypostyle Hall is bedecked with flags on 14 July 1906. Below can be seen the rails for the wagons that dump the earth into the Sacred Port.

The French School limited its excavations during the period between 1892-1903 in order to concentrate on the excavation of Delphi; work at Delos was then resumed intensively from 1904 to 1914 (*Grandes Fouilles*) thanks to a generous subsidy given to the School (50,000 gold francs per year up to 1913) by the Duc de Loubat, who never visited Delos.

During this period, the entire Sanctuary and the greater part of the ancient city were uncovered. Large numbers of workers from Mykonos were employed on the excavations, who dug "only" (!) from dawn to sunset, so as to "facilitate supervision".<sup>137</sup> They were all housed together in a large warehouse near the Agora of Theophrastos. The harsh working conditions were the cause of the first strike on Mykonos, in June of 1905, about which a question was even asked in Parliament.<sup>138</sup> The men working on the excavations assembled in the Mykonos harbour and prevented embarkation for Delos "putting forward claims for higher wages, shorter working hours and better accommodations for the workers." The strike ended with the "agitators being expelled"; but "by government order, those who provoked the strike were acquitted."<sup>139</sup>

The debris from the excavations was taken away in wagons that moved on rails and then dumped into the Sacred Port, which was thus totally filled in. But it appears that owing to the large number of workers, the excavations in both Delphi and Delos were not always conducted in the best possible way, for which blame was laid on the government, the General Ephor of Antiquities Panagiotis Kavvadias,<sup>140</sup> who appeared to have few friends, Théophile Homolle, Director of the French School (1890-1903) and H. Convert, "an ordinary French sergeant major," who "carries out the excavations unhindered and unsupervised, guided of course by his great archaeological knowledge... the French School student M. Couve does not supervise the excavations constantly, but only periodically turns up for work, and Mr Homolle, the director of the French School, goes to Delphi every two or three months, where he remains for a few days. About 150-200 people are working in Delphi over a large area, excavating in many places at the same time. But there is no Greek archaeologist or ephor supervising them."<sup>141</sup> On 16 August 1893 a letter was published in an Athenian newspaper by a man who was "well informed about events and what is happening in the archaeological excavations",<sup>142</sup> which blames the government for the destruction of Delphi and for bowing down to the foreigners because "in the past year it replaced the supervisor of the excavations at Delphi [Demetrios Stavropoulos] upon the demand of the French ambassador. The man had the audacity to supervise, that is to perform his duty, and he is not supposed to care at all about the excavations or protecting the public interest, but should become an ordinary servant to the foreigners directing the excavations." It concluded:

"My misgivings however were raised and my surprise at Mr Homolle's laughable threat regarding the excavations at Delphi. He naively believes, it would appear, that the French Republic by conducting archaeological excavations in Greece, as it does, is doing us a favour and now threatens to deprive us of the benefits of these excavations. He is however right to talk in that way, and the Greek government gives him





*View of the "excavation" in the Theatre Quarter, below the House of Cleopatra (W. Deonna, April 1905).*

this right, by showing unforgivable liberality in the granting of permits and excavations to the descendants of Michel Tourmond. Perhaps I may be criticised for accusing an entire nation because of one man. But the situation in the excavations on Delos, if nothing else, proves that the French School here has shown itself at least worthy of his [Tourmond's] utter destructive power. The person going to study the precious heirlooms on the most sacred island must truly be armed with the insensitivity of the excavators to these objects to be capable of walking through the entire area of the excavations. Otherwise, the acute pain caused by their dismal state and indignation against those who caused it may force him to depart as soon as possible from Delos."

The unfortunate manner with which the excavations were conducted received scathing comment in the Athenian press:

"Regrettably the French have not followed such tactics in their work, thereby harming not only science and scholarship but also, we must point out, the Greek nation as well, by a quasi-archaeological theatrical exhibition. They assigned the excavations in Delphi solely to students of their Archaeological School at Athens, who because of their youth and inexperience, were unequal to the great task of the excavations at Delphi. Rarely does the director Mr Homolle travel there; and the student Couve, even were he a distinguished archaeologist and made a superhuman effort, would not be sufficient to undertake this task, which



he unfortunately neglects systematically, abandoning it to the mood and wisdom of Mr Convert, a man irrelevant to the science of archaeology and the scholarly execution of excavations, a former sergeant major, unless we are mistaken. With all this, Mr Homolle and the students of the French Archaeological School, apparently regarding the work at Delphi to be unimportant and undeserving of their attention, are simultaneously attempting to be assigned other excavations, at Delos and Mantinea,<sup>143</sup> merely, as we believe, for scholarly ostentation, and scandalously, they do not consent to a Greek ephor as supervisor."<sup>144</sup>

Another article in the same newspaper ends with the conclusion that: "It is perhaps a type of punishment devised by the descendants of the Gauls to be imposed upon the descendants of the Greeks."<sup>145</sup>

By the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Sanctuaries had already been unearthed as had part of the ancient city, most of which fortunately still lies under a protective layer of some two metres of soil. The Hellenic Archaeological Service and the French Archaeological School continue to conduct excavations to this day, but on a much smaller scale, since the main concern of the Hellenic Archaeological Service is to protect, conserve and make accessible the monuments that have already been excavated, a task that requires enormous outlays, while the primary aim of the French School is to study the monuments and publish the findings that are still unpublished, even though the site was excavated more than a century ago. But the section that has already been excavated, perhaps the most extensive archaeological site in the world, gives the visitor a clear and unique picture of the Sanctuary and of the ancient city.



82



83

*Despite the fact that the excavations began in 1873, a very large part of the ancient city still lies under a protective layer of soil. To the left another statue of Aphrodite revealed by the rain (March 2003) and to the right, the excavation of a porphyry dyers' workshop below the Establishment of the Poseidoniasts (August 2003).*



# *The findings and their fate*

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The movable findings from the excavations at Delos, primarily fragments of sculptures and inscriptions, were “transported to nearby Mykonos, consigned to the existing collection of Delian antiquities there, handed over by each ephor supervising the excavations to either the mayor or school principal who was assigned the duty of curator of the collection, on the basis of a protocol drawn up in duplicate, one copy of which was submitted to the Esteemed Ministry, and the other was kept by the curator of the collection, to be used instead of a catalogue.”<sup>146</sup>

The most noteworthy sculptures were taken to the National Archaeological Museum in Athens,<sup>147</sup> a practice which continued on various pretexts even after the Delos Museum was built. In 1914, D. Stavropoulos protests caustically but in vain about the removal of the bronze head that had been found in the Granite Palaestra:<sup>148</sup>

“...I am not trying to dispute the correctness of the principle that the State should collect all the most noteworthy findings in the country in one museum, a principle which if it were generally observed would have relieved the Acropolis of Athens of the museum on it, a principle which although not observed in Olympia, Delphi, Pagasai, has deprived Delos of all noteworthy findings until recently on the pretext of the lack of a museum, even now that a museum has been built, a habit that became a law just for Delos.

“But may I be permitted to dispute the first article of the relevant royal decree which may be used to justify the transfer of the exceptionally important head, which is certainly of value in the Delos museum, whereas in Athens it would be downgraded to a mere decoration.

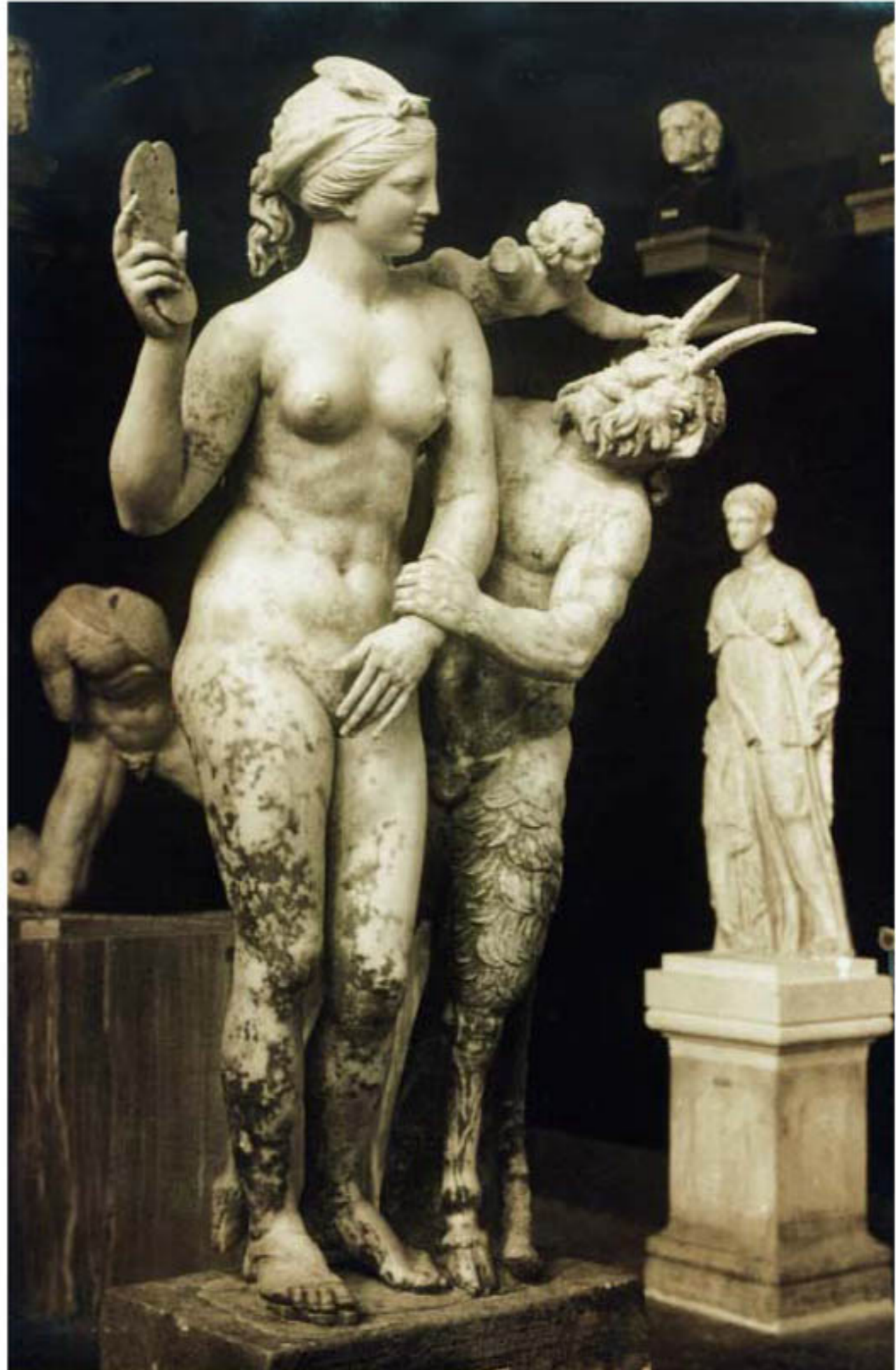
“But are findings discovered merely to decorate a museum and for purposes of ostentation, or in order to enrich the study and promotion of scholarship? Any arguments in this regard addressed to the members of the Archaeological Council would constitute disrespect unworthy of this Council and of me. Therefore for the benefit of scholarship I would request that the head in question at least remain in Delos... I do not consider it right that the old mistake of removing heads and incomplete statues from Delos be repeated. The acroteria of the temple of the Athenians which have been returned to Delos have been rendered whole; and most likely the votive offerings of Nicandra, the Nike, the Diadumenos and the Gaul would not have remained incomplete had they not been distanced from their site, or had they been returned to it, especially if the French School that found them had assigned a particular scholar to make a systematic effort to match the multitude of fragments in the museum and not to wait for this to be done by the Hellenic Service which has so much else to do.”

On 28 July 1914, Stavropoulos was forced to carry the bronze head in question to the National Museum and deliver it personally and five months later, on 17 December 1914, he was also obliged to hand over the sculptural group of Aphrodite with Eros and Pan that had been found in 1904. In the transport order,<sup>149</sup> the Ministry promised that “in its place, a plaster cast will in time be erected”. This never happened.

In the protocol of 20 December 1880, by which the findings of the year were handed over to the Mayor of Mykonos, mention was made for the first time of the “Delian Museum on Mykonos”. In later protocols, reference is made to the “Museum in the Kampanis House”, the “Museum in the Kokolis House” (1881) or the “Collection in the Kampanis House” (1882). All these buildings were ordinary Mykonian houses leased by the Ministry and the Archaeological Society as storage space. In 1891, a campaign conducted among “Mykonians everywhere”<sup>150</sup> raised funds for the purchase of a lot on which the Archaeological Museum of Mykonos<sup>151</sup> was built in 1899-1902 at the expense of the Ministry and the Archaeological Society. The con-



struction of the Museum was not without its adventures and, despite the endless protests of Demetrios Stavropoulos, Ephor of Antiquities for Delos and Mykonos, the building was so shoddily constructed and insecure that it wasn't until 1908, after extensive repairs, that antiquities were moved there. In the meantime, the thousands of findings unearthed by Stavropoulos in the "Purification Pit" were added to the antiquities stored in the two Mykonian houses. To store all these finds, another two buildings were rented on Mykonos, the house of Anna Bonazounta and the storeroom of Georgios Georgoulis, the rent in both cases being paid by the Archaeological Society. It was obvious that the little Archaeological Museum of Mykonos was never going to be able to house all these findings, in addition to those that were being unearthed on Delos annually. Thus in 1903 (?) it was decided to build a larger Museum on Delos to store and exhibit the Delian findings.



*Delian antiquities in the National Archaeological Museum c. 1930. In the foreground, Aphrodite with Pan, from the Establishment of the Poseidoniasts; to her right is the Artemis from the House of the Diadumenos, and behind her is the Gaul from the Agon of the Italians.*



# *History of the Museum building*

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It is not known how and by whom the decision was made to build a museum on Delos and how the particular site was selected. The oldest document we have on the subject is a telegram from the General Ephor of Antiquities, P. Kavvadias to D. Stavropoulos dated 11 May 1904:<sup>152</sup>

“Decision made to construct Museum on Delos using journeymen. Telegraph immediately whether lime available and purchase same and if necessary, bring builders and artisans there.”

Apparently the decision to build a museum on Delos was known to Stavropoulos since his reply expresses no surprise:<sup>153</sup>

“There is no lime here nor the possibility of producing sufficient quantities in time. Can supply from Syros for two and 30 per quintal delivered to Delos. Am expecting a better offer. We also need Theraic earth [pozzolana]. Builders and carpenters available here. Necessary to send special supervisor or master craftsman from there.

“Awaiting approval for necessary immediate hiring of excavation supervisor.”

The General Ephor of Antiquities, Panagiotis Kavvadias was simultaneously President of the Archaeological Society, which may explain the following document:

“THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY  
UNDER THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF HRH CROWN PRINCE CONSTANTINE

In Athens, 18 May 1904

PROT. NO. 503  
NO. 84

To the  
ephor Mr D. Stavropoulos

“We announce to you that by decision of the Council, we have been assigned to manage the construction of the Archaeological Museum to be erected by the Society on Delos under the directorship of French Engineer M. Convert. Head workman Eleftherios Kampanis has been appointed foreman. One wing of the museum is to be constructed for the present, as noted in the two drawings attached herewith. You are requested to see quickly to the purchase and preparation of lime, having first informed us not only of the price at which you can supply the lime, but also whether it will be necessary for us to send workers from here and if so how many.

The Vice-President  
D. TZIVANOPOULOS”

None of the above documents refer to stone, since it was considered self-evident that stone would be used from the ancient ruins, as had been done in the past with buildings erected to house the French School members.

The choice of co-workers for Stavropoulos was unfortunate, and may perhaps have been due to Kavvadias’ dislike of him.



Henri Convert,<sup>154</sup> an engineer specialising in bridges and railway lines had collaborated in the past with the Ministry of Public Works. He had been employed by the French School since 1890 and, as noted above, had taken part in the excavations at Delphi. It is very likely that he was the main reason Stavropoulos left Delphi. The newspapers of the period reported that he was: “an ordinary French non-commissioned officer, with a rough tongue and behaviour, to say nothing harsher, and in Delphi he was a professional trader in illicit antiquities, buying coins, because of which he was tried in the courts, as I learned, in Amphissa... Mr. Tsountas hearing the German archaeologist Furtwegler deploring the way in which the excavations were conducted in Delphi, and manifestly indignant on behalf of the unjustly treated science of archaeology, replied that this was not all that was happening, and that M. Convert was only interested in collecting ancient coins from the excavations.”<sup>155</sup>

Haralambos Evgenides, Convert’s collaborator in Delphi, was described as a “malicious worker, supposedly an interpreter for the French. He, together with the Frenchman Convert, former sergeant major sent here by General Vauchère, are squandering public (French) moneys, taking advantage of the ignorance of the members of the French School in these matters. They “paid” wages for which no one ever worked, and in fact Evgenides even coerced the workers into eating at the grocery shop belonging to Gounaris, who explicitly promised great profits that they would share... the payrolls for the workers’ wages were written in pencil and in small letters, while the worker signed in ink.”<sup>156</sup>

The aged foreman Eleftherios Kampanis “who had been working for forty years for the Society with exemplary zeal and honesty and was until recently working most actively in Phigalia...”<sup>157</sup> was unfit and became ill twice on Delos. Stavropoulos wrote about him, defending himself to the Ministry against inaccurate information supplied by the Director of the French School:<sup>158</sup> “Knowing him well and respecting his long years of honest service for the company, I put up with his inadequacy and, as much as possible, I personally filled in many hours every day for him, sometimes spending the entire day supervising the works on the museum.”<sup>159</sup>

The Museums of Mykonos and Delos exist solely because of Demetrios Spyridon Stavropoulos, his integrity and his tireless efforts. His father Syridon Stavropoulos (1844-1881),<sup>160</sup> a teacher, fought as a volunteer in the 1866 uprising in Crete and his mother Sophia Vlachodemou (1838-1912) was from a family of fighters in the War of Independence in 1821, also a teacher, and principal of the secondary school in Piraeus. Demetrios, their only child, was born in Piraeus on 20 May 1872 and died in Mykonos on 10 November 1919. At the age of 18 years old he completed his studies at the University of Athens with *summa cum laude*, and on 19 June 1894 at the age of 22 years old, was awarded the degree of honorary Doctor of Philology. He entered the Archaeological Service in 1892 and worked at Delphi, Eretria, Athens, Olympia, Sparta and Mistra. In 1892 he was appointed supervisor of the excavations in Delphi conducted by the French School at Athens, a painful experience for the newly appointed twenty-year-old:

“We cannot understand what is happening in Delphi. The supervisor there was Mr Dem. Stavropoulos, a distinguished scholar who performed his duty meticulously, but he was unable to stay there for long, owing to disputes with the people carrying out the excavations. Later, the Ephor Mr Kastromenos or Kastriotis was sent to Delphi in his place, a decent, forbearing man, most lenient in his behaviour, doing his duty mildly. But neither did Kastriotis manage to remain in Delphi for long, owing to his disagreements with those conducting the excavations, who made his life in Delphi unbearable. The ephor Mr Kastromenos was recalled by the Ministry of Public Education, because their aim was to remove all occasion for contention and scandalous disagreements, and to make themselves pleasing to those conducting the excavations in Delphi.”<sup>161</sup>

“First the young Stavropoulos was appointed who, in the conduct of his duty, suffered so many humiliations, complaints and ill will in the performance of his duty by the subordinate French employees who were conducting the excavations, that he almost reached the point of despair and the ministry hastened to recall him, having given in to the intolerable appetites of the gentlemen of the French School. Mr. Kastromenos was subsequently sent as ephor, who because of his mild character was able to put up with a great deal and demonstrated the patience of Job, as Mr Kavvadias desired, in eliminating displeasing or threatening vexations. But even Mr Kastromenos, humiliated, coerced, and unable to do his duty there, was pushed so far that he burst into shouts in order as much as possible to defend the rights of his government against the French antiquarians and to protect the treasures in Delphi which were endangered in many ways.”<sup>162</sup>





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The camera used by Demetrios Stavropoulos and later by Demosthenes Pippas, its leather case and glass plates are kept in the Mykonos Museum. On the wooden part of the camera details are recorded in small type: RAUCHS PATENT CAMERA, MANUFACTURED BY W.W. ROUCH & CO, LONDON.

Carved on the lens cylinder are the words: Ross, N.34758, 8½ x 6½. Rapid Symmetrical, D. Pippas, D.P.

Dem. Sp. Stavropoulos (1872-1919), the first Curator of Delos and later the first Ephor of the Cyclades, was well liked and respected on Mykonos, despite the fact that his behaviour sometimes shocked the Mykonians: "In Holy Week –heaven help us– at the moment when Christian souls are mourning your Crucifixion, Oh Lord –meat and potatoes– how can you even say this without your mouth sinning – were being sent to the bakery [to be cooked] from the house of the ephor!"<sup>164</sup>

The photograph shows Stavropoulos on the date (19 May 1896) he married Eirene, daughter of Ioannis Katsilivas, from Mykonos.

Meanwhile Stavropoulos had chosen to "consign his hardships in Delphi to oblivion", although he was obliged to reply to Georgios Sotiriadis, candidate professor of history at the University and champion of the French School, in a series of articles published in the newspaper *Estia*,<sup>163</sup> to whom he proposed: "When you are soon sacked by the government, throwing off your assumed lion's skin, since you assure us that you have a good knowledge of the German language – which no one denies you – I would recommend to you the position of doorman at the Acropolis. Do not think that Mr Kastriotis bears a grudge."<sup>164</sup>

Georgios Sotiriadis did not become a doorman, but rather Ephor of the Acropolis and university professor; his enmity lasted for years. In 1911, in cooperation with M. Holleaux, Director of the French School, he endeavoured to be assigned supervision of the French excavations on Delos and the construction of the Delos Museum. On 3 May 1911, in a registered letter to Mr. V. Leonardos, Section Head of Antiquities, Stavropoulos wrote:

"I hope dear friend, that this long telegram of mine today will thwart the attempt by the vicious Sotiriadis, and that I will not be obliged to reveal officially the reason for which, desiring the position in Delos, he slandered me to Holleaux, who without realising it, became his tool and perhaps the tool of an eminent trader in illegal antiquities [Convert], an old and close friend of the French School, who cannot bear to see me in Delos, and even though there exists in Delos an excellent salaried curator (=Demosthenes Pippas) and I am Ephor of the Cyclades based near Delos, he [Holleaux] nevertheless expressed his desire for the Ephor of the Acropolis to be sent here to supervise the excavations. But Mr Holleaux must understand that the time has passed when his high desires due to medals and contacts will be executed without being examined. He should, I believe, report officially the reasons for which he rejects supervision by the curator of Delos and myself, and if upon investigation these reasons can be proved to be real and substantial, then again it would be proper for persons to be replaced but not the inappropriate interference he demands. There are husbands who tolerate the interference of third parties, but I am not one of them.



One of the major problems Stavropoulos and Pippas had to deal with, as we do to this day, is that the necessary materials had to be sent from Athens, which meant long delays. But the materials (among which are two braziers) on this invoice from the "Mega Katastima Siderikon" (Great Ironmongery) in Piraeus (telephone number 163!), arrived in just 14 days. Anastassios Orlandos and D. Stavropoulos signed to take delivery of them.



D. Pippas "Demosthenes with the cape" continued and completed Stavropoulos's work. He organised the Museums in Delos and Mykonos and fought tirelessly to gather together and protect scattered antiquities. He also conducted excavations on Rheneia and Delos and studied the ancient as well as the Byzantine, medieval and modern history of the islands without ever publishing his findings: "Many such issues did Demosthenes every day reckon he would take up and write about, and he knew stories from all over the world and how nicely he would have written them, but he left them unwritten. What to say first... all this effort was in vain. Even more trouble than those trips he took east and west, and then back to the beginning again..." (M. Axioti, 1965). Photograph taken by Alfred Laumonier in 1928.









‘The gentleman is the ephor and they are his children... Sappho and Leto, volunteered the porter without anyone asking him. You see, the gentleman ephor is involved with the marbles and fiddles about in museums and they say that his family has been around from way back, which is why his children have been baptised with ancient names so as to preserve the line, without counting the girls, they are Esperos, Ion, Phoebus, Nikias, and Pericles, and people call the last child Periclaki.’<sup>166</sup>

On plan, the initial design for the Museum of Delos was similar to that of the Museum of Mykonos, but much larger. To ensure its halls plenty of light, it was in the shape of a horizontal • with arms of equal length joined together down a central axis. The style of the buildings was perfectly simple, without the neo-classical features of the Mykonos Museum. The initial designs were drawn up by Convert and amended along the way by Stavropoulos. Perhaps because of the painful previous experience with the building of the Mykonos Museum, the decision was made to build the Delos Museum with wage-labour and not by contract. But the building of the Delos Museum, as had been the case with the Mykonos Museum, was for many years a permanent source of despair, indignation, disillusionment and bitterness for Demetrios Stavropoulos. His legendary honesty and the integrity of his character brought him into almost constant conflict with the men responsible for the works. To add to his woes, in addition to the distrust of Athens, he had to deal with the Mayor of Mykonos, Theodoros Gryparis, who dispatched a telegram to the Prefect containing charges that municipal land was being encroached upon:

“Representative of Archaeological Society in Delos has occupied municipal land beyond site of archaeological excavations without notifying us, to lay Museum foundations and threatening to occupy an additional area of three yokes of the island’s most fertile land. Please take action to prevent illegal deeds by abovementioned representative, protecting the interests of our municipality which is obliged to pay compensation to tenants because of this occupation and will be harmed by the loss of rental in future.”<sup>167</sup>

Stavropoulos, replying to a telegram from the Prefect, clarified that:

“Delos Museum is being constructed on archaeological site. For its foundation unfortunately ancient walls are being dug up, but not beyond the site boundaries. No occupation, no threat of occupying municipal land has occurred. I am sending report from Delos.”<sup>168</sup>

Thus, in order to construct the Museum of Delos without diminishing the pasturelands and revenues of the Municipality of Mykonos, a quarter of the ancient city with wealthy residences was destroyed, as was ascertained in 1991 when the trench was dug for the electric wiring.

Stavropoulos’s wife Eirene, who was of course living on Mykonos with their three young children (6, 4 and 2 years old), was in the ninth month of pregnancy (Phoebus was born on 2 July). Stavropoulos in Delos had to supervise the “major excavations” (*Grandes Fouilles*) by the French School and the works entailed in digging the foundations for the Museum in order to save whatever he could, while at the same time trying to organise the purchase and transport of materials and to fill in for the aged foreman Kampanis. Apart from all this, he was frequently obliged to write long reports to the Ministry or to the Archaeological Society to explain self-evident things or to reply to the inaccurate information supplied by the Director of the French School and the French engineer H. Convert to the Ministry and the Society. It is hardly surprising that the man died of cancer at the age of just 47.

Despite his frequent telegrams, the necessary construction materials were not sent on time, or the wrong or useless materials were sent and had to be returned. Not even the plans or the money arrived on time with the result that he had to borrow money from friends so as not to interrupt the works: “I am constantly upset by the lack of money and by the meagre deposit of 2000 drachmas sent to me by the Society, the failure to send promptly the quantities on the lists, and the necessary mass supply of materials transported from a distance, and this shortfall has been supplemented up to now by me paying often from my own pocket and twice borrowing money from my friends in Mykonos.”<sup>169</sup> In any event, from 31 May 1904, when the digging of the foundations began, to 20 November 1904 when the works were suspended, a total of 15,259.05 drachmas had been spent on wages and materials.

After Stavropoulos’s persistent reports, the works were resumed in June of 1906. In September the construction of the south wing was completed, i.e. halls I, IX and X, and in October of the same year, the Delian



findings began being brought over from Mykonos. At the same time the statues began being placed on constructed benches and the findings started being recorded in the official catalogues of the Delos Museum. But by 1907, the Museum was already “crammed full, making it difficult to do any work in it, and if the excavations continue, adding new finds every day, we will be brought to a state of true bewilderment.”<sup>170</sup>

The necessary completion of the Museum’s initial design, i.e. the construction of the north wing (halls VII, VIII), began in 1909 and was completed in 1911. The financial management was initially assigned to the curator Demosthenes Lolos and later (on 24 August 1909) to Demosthenes Pippas,<sup>171</sup> Curator of Antiquities on Delos from 1909 and second Ephor of Antiquities of the Cyclades from 1923 to 1933, when he died. The supervision of the works was initially assigned to H. Convert, or when Convert was absent to Joseph Replat,<sup>172</sup> distinguished French architect, and then to Anastassios Orlandos. Pippas, like Stavropoulos, was a particularly methodical and systematic man and thus his files contain a full picture of the works carried out. Stavropoulos’s briefing of his new assistant must have been methodical, assiduous and constant, and Pippas held him in high esteem until his death. Pippas’s notes about the workers are interesting, and were perhaps dictated by Stavropoulos:

*Carpenters*

1) Michail Apostolou (Mykonian) fast, industrious (without supervision), technically most expert, smart. Immoral. Wages 6 dr.

2) Andr. Alafassos (Mykonian). Mediocre, lazy, stupid, requires absolute supervision. Wage never more than 5 drachmas.

*Builders*

1) Florios Lykouris (Mykonian) the best of the Mykonians, most honest, but inexperienced in work on Delos, rather slow but by nature, does not require supervision. Wages 6 drs.

2) Batis Lykouris (Mykonian) Generally a mediocre craftsman, but experienced in work on Delos. Very cunning, capable of winning over and flattering superiors. Supervisable and not. Wage 6 drs.

*Plasterers*

1) Eleftherios Paraskevas (Tinos – Athens) Capable of fine workmanship. Needs some supervision. Most experienced in work on Delos. Philanderer and dissolute. Wage 6 drs.

In 1909 a total of 19,596.20 drachmas was spent to build the two north halls, the northeast storeroom, the roofed storage areas in front of the Museum and a tool storage shed south of the Museum. In 1911 some deficiencies were made up, part of the Museum floor was tiled and the north guardroom was built, which became the house of the Curator.

The Museum very rapidly proved to be inadequate. The situation is described by Demosthenes Pippas in a report written by him, but read by his friend Michail Kampanis at a municipal meeting of Mykonians on 8 September 1919.<sup>173</sup> A large part of it is quoted here, not only because it condenses the history of the Museum up to that time, but also because of the elegance of his language:

“The People of Mykonos, gathered together today, on 8<sup>th</sup> September 1919, at the invitation of our fellow citizen Michail L. Kampanis, to a citywide assembly and meeting in the halls of the ancestral mansion of the community of Mykonos, first heard a detailed report by the aforementioned who said the following:

“The precious archaeological findings from the excavations on neighbouring Delos, for which very large numbers of people come unceasingly from all over the civilised world, motivated by the desire to study, see and admire, would first come to our homeland Mykonos, to the great honour and moral and material benefit of our island. For this reason, thirty years ago a small Museum was constructed on our island, so that these findings could be worthily exhibited.

“But not long afterwards, owing to the very great extent of the excavations on Delos and of the concomitant great increase of the findings therefrom, the Museum established in Mykonos was deemed insufficient and, as a more advantageous solution, a decision was made for the Museum on Mykonos to be used solely for the archaeological findings from Mykonos and neighbouring Rheneia, and to establish another museum on Delos itself for the Delian antiquities based on a design that would be satisfactorily large and adequate for the future.



“And even though a small section of this museum was built twenty-five years ago on Delos, since then no addition has been made to it and it has thus remained without the necessary supplementation and organisation. And being therefore completely inadequate for the exhibition of the total of antiquities in the museum, some of them had to be selectively transferred to Athens, or with few exceptions, have been packed in crates, invisible to visitors, in this museum (Delos) which for this reason has necessarily taken on the appearance of a warehouse of antiquities rather than that of a well organised museum, worthy of the treasures it houses.

“And this has happened because in the meantime, the opinion of the persons responsible tended reasonably, as time went by, to perceive as unsuitable the initial action of establishing the museum for the Delian antiquities on Delos, because on this uninhabited islet, the museum could not be protected with the required security, nor was it accessible and easy for scholars and the public to visit nor offered the proper amenities, nor has the conservation and constant maintenance of the museum been possible through the permanent residence on the island of an archaeologist and other relevant staff of technicians and guards as required.

“For these reasons, although a quarter of a century has now elapsed since the decision to establish the museum, absolutely no effort has been made to supplement and complete it, which is why this small section that was built has now begun to deteriorate owing to the ravages of time, and already requires major repairs and corrective restorations.

“Things were thus, until a few days ago, when the Vice-President of the government finally visited Delos with the Director of the Archaeological Service and members of the Independent Tourism Organisation, to examine the needs of this museum and other necessary and urgent services for this most important archaeological site of Delos. And regarding the other necessary facilities on Delos, excellent decisions were immediately taken and promises were given that a beginning would soon be made on completing the works within months. And regarding the Museum of Delos, it was approved finally that the existing section of this museum on Delos will be left incomplete and will be used henceforward as a temporary place for storing inscriptions alone; and for all the other Delian antiquities, which require a worthy exhibition and permanent scholarly curation, to achieve these goals and to ensure its complete security and the easy access of visitors and the general satisfaction of all its other ongoing needs, to establish a large and decent museum worthy of its treasures in a well inhabited city for security reasons, on one of the immediately neighbouring islands, namely that island which appreciating the honour and benefit that will accrue to it from this museum, will agree to contribute a large portion of the expenditure required for the foundation of same, that is more precisely on Mykonos as an extension of the museum already existing on it, or in the neighbouring capital of the Cyclades because of its status.”

Then, having analysed in detail the reasons for which the Delos Museum should be on Mykonos,

“The People of Mykonos, appreciating their ancestral heritage and obligations to the island of Delos and its wonderful antiquities, grateful and begging for the honour and preference of establishing on Mykonos a large and permanent Delian Museum, recognising fully the sacrifices required from the inhabitants of the island in this regard, having first and foremost, within themselves and independent of all the above, the greatest affection and love and the utmost possible interest in the respected Delian antiquities as did their fathers before them... requests that the newly elected Community Councils of the two island Communities of Mykonos and Ano Mera... be pleased to vote and to honour this fact at this first joint meeting to cede the total annual revenues of the island of Delos (Micra) the annual amount of 280 thousand drachmas, from the end of the current fiscal year and for a ten-year period, to the Antiquity Service of the State, so that the latter will undertake to find the total means and ways, along with a corresponding state subsidy, to make it possible to establish in good time on Mykonos the appropriate large and proper Museum to which all the existing Delian antiquities will be transferred including all those from everywhere in the country, together with similar ones from Rheneia and Mykonos, from all periods, and with a section of the Historic Archive of the Island of Mykonos.”

Needless to say, the will of all the Mykonians was accepted by the Community Councils of Mykonos (21 September 1929) and Ano Mera (10 September 1929). It is obvious that the entire issue was raised by Demosthenes Pippas, who not only wrote the resolution read by his friend Michail Kampanis at the assem-



bly of Mykonians, but he also drafted the decisions of the Community Councils and the document that accompanied these decisions when they were forwarded by the Communities to the Ephor of Antiquities of the Cyclades, i.e. to himself. Although the accompanying letters are dated 5 and 10 October, Pippas had drafted the telegram and report to the Ministry as early as 2 October, as well as private telegrams to Professor Constantinos Romaios, who was studying the findings from Rheneia, Th. Petrakopoulos, Chairman of Tourism and Mr Kairophylas, Prefect of the Cyclades and friend of his, requesting that they “contribute personally to the speedy acceptance” of this proposal and asking the latter two men to meet with Michail Kampanis who obviously went to Syros and Athens for this purpose. Pippas, who was terrified of the idea that the Delian antiquities might possibly be moved to Syros, had no trouble convincing the Mykonians since Mykonos had started to become known and tourism was developing there, owing mainly to Delos.

It is not known why this proposal was rejected. Perhaps because as early as 1928, the Community of Mykonos had already “mortgaged Delos for a few years to the Deposits and Loans Fund as collateral for a loan floated in 1928 to finance the electrification of the island.”<sup>174</sup>

In 1931, an appropriation of 1,300,000 drachmas was approved for the extension of the Museum of Delos, a project that was assigned to the contractor Ioannis Passas. The works were overseen for a brief period by Markellos Mitsos, Curator of Antiquities for the Cyclades, who soon left Delos “due to fear of ghosts”. From 26 August 1931 to April 1933, the works were supervised by Georgios Bakalakis, who was completing his literature degree. Pippas was already ill, so they communicated by letter, which Bakalakis would send him almost every day, and in which he reported on the works being done in great detail, and asked for advice.

Delos 8 October 1932

Esteemed Mr. Curator

“Yesterday I did not manage to be in Delos before 1 p.m. because, between Mykonos and the island of Baos, Matthios’ engine broke down, Athanas was off yesterday, and with sails in a great strong wind we were able to approach Kounellonisi around noon. Luckily Skaropoulos’s son was fishing, so I called him and he fetched us into Delos at around 1:00 p.m. in his rowboat. There were huge waves and wind. The others came from Rheneia at about 5 p.m. in a little boat and were worse off than me... It seems to me that it wouldn’t be good to build the shelves in the corner near the vestibule up to 2 m. because they’ll be ugly, since the main door is 2.50 m. high and the other 2 m. and 2.50 m. up to the window. If the first shelf starts at 2 m. then at the corner of the door to the storeroom no shelf will fit...”

For some unknown reason, even though their collaboration was excellent for many months, in March 1933, Pippas was so disenchanted with Bakalakis that he wrote a long report to the Ministry from Athens, where he was in hospital, asking that Bakalakis not be re-hired because he no longer had any confidence in him:<sup>175</sup>



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*Successive stages in the building of the Museum: 1909, 1925 (watercolour by Giorgis Polikantriotis), 1970, 2003.*





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*The Museum halls in about 1925. The sculptures lie on constructed benches, on the floor and on wooden shelves. In the background is one of a few wooden cases owned by the Museum. Below right is the main hall of the archaic sculptures in about 1960. Opposite page: The hall of the Hellenistic sculptures in 1990.*





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*The Museum halls today.*





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“...I was finally convinced by many other observations and indications that not only as an employee should he not enjoy any favour or confidence and appreciation, but in general as well, because although earlier I had favoured him unstintingly and entirely without examining him, I have just now realised clearly that I, too, as others had been led astray carelessly by the deceit with which in the beginning he was always very skilled at presenting himself.

“For all of these reasons, it is my duty to make known to the Esteemed Ministry that if the mission performed by the aforementioned for me was not expiring in a few days, i.e. expiry in the present month of March this year, I would have been obliged unavoidably to take, as the only possible decision, that of sending him away from my ephorate, urgently and immediately, as he does not in the least obey me nor does he in any way inspire in me the necessary trust, on which most if not everything in the archaeological service is based, i.e. with respect to any relations whatsoever between the superior employees and subordinates, permanent ones, and much more toward temporary staff.”

The works, which were completed in May 1935, changed the appearance of the Museum dramatically. In addition to the enlargement and the creation of two atriums, the tile roof was replaced by a concrete slab, two porticos in front of the Museum were removed, a porch was added together with a room above the main hall, and thus the Museum acquired a neoclassical form. In a contemporary newspaper, it is reported that “soon its sculptures will start being replaced in its halls in a more commodious way and their artistic merit will be shown to better advantage.”<sup>170</sup> But during the enlargement of the building, the disorderly and unsystematic moving of the antiquities that Bakalakis executed arbitrarily – provoking the rage of the methodical Pippas – and in particular the illness and later the untimely death of Pippas, who was the soul of the Museum, created such chaos that for decades nothing could be done but to search, identify and arrange the old findings, a task that was only recently completed.



In 1936, Christos Karouzos sent a report<sup>177</sup> to the Ministry about the terrible state of the Museum together with a request for funds, which he did not receive. He did the same in 1937, 1938, and 1939 with no substantial result. In his report of 1937, he spoke of the “deplorable state of the sculptures in particular, but also of the pottery in the Delos Museum, a state that was created as a result of the enlargement of this Museum six years ago” and requested 50,000 drachmas “so as to start putting the statues on bases and to begin fitting together at least the most important sculptures.”<sup>178</sup> In 1939 he virtually begged for 40,000 drachmas, writing: “To this day, all the statues are still lying on the floor of the halls, either complete or in detached pieces, and the small findings (pottery, bronzes, etc.) are piled up in a few out-dated display cases. And thus in reality the Museum of Delos is unworthy of the name, discredits the name irretrievably in the eyes of its many visitors, officials and others, and arouses justified indignation from them and from scholars, because it is practically impossible to see or to study the objects. To put the Museum fully into order, a large expenditure will of course be required, but a start at least has to be made sometime. And for this purpose, a small amount is sufficient...”<sup>179</sup> The tragic condition of the findings was not the only problem Christos Karouzos had to deal with. In that same year, in another report, he described in desperation the dangers resulting from the lack of the necessary guardians: “Both earlier and more recently I lamented the dreadful condition of our Service on Delos to the Respected Ministry ... and the dangers that I have addressed during the past year, through desperate personal efforts, over which I sweated blood, as the saying goes, but regrettably without results...”<sup>180</sup> During the period in which Karouzos was assigned to the Cyclades, the General Ephor of Antiquities was Spyridon Marinatos.

Everything Karouzos succeeded in doing, was undone by the war:

“In the morning of the 9<sup>th</sup> inst., the Italian Military Commander of the Cyclades Mr Giovanni Duca arrived on Delos aboard auxiliary ship No. R.173 of the Italian fleet accompanied by six Italian officers and six armed soldiers. After visiting the archaeological sites and taking photographs, they headed toward the Museum there and after examining the ancient objects, asked the guardians how many thousands of drachmas they would charge to sell these objects, as though not knowing that they were not for sale. The guardians, as was natural, replied negatively, in which case the Italians took some of the crew and gave themselves over to random digging, while at the same time the soldiers, upon instruction, carried marble antiquities and sections of mosaics to the ship. After that, two of the officers accompanied by the Commander and one soldier collected the guardians and at about 4 p.m. visited the Museum again, where they ordered the latter to open the display cases in which the antiquities are kept. From these cases they removed a valuable black-figure lekythos in splendid condition, two precious elongated aryballoi, also beautifully preserved, and about ten globular ones large and small. Similarly, they removed two small clay heads and about five parts of a vessel with embossed representations, as well as the Museum’s unique coin, number 721, and two marble statuettes.

“At the time the officers were looting the display cases, the soldiers opened the drawer in the table at which tickets were sold, and removed about one thousand five hundred (1500) drachmas. As they were leaving the Museum, they offered the guardians as a tip two five-hundred drachma notes which, despite the latter’s persistent refusal, they placed forcibly in their pockets. The two five-hundred drachma notes were that same day deposited by the guardians in the Museum of Mykonos, to which they travelled in the evening of the same day to report on the events to the local authorities there.

“While boarding the ship for departure, the Italian captain said in Greek to the guardians that they would be back 2-3 days later to pick up other antiquities.”<sup>181</sup>

Eight days after this regrettable event, the Ministry set up a three-member committee to “secure the antiquities in the Museum of Delos.”<sup>182</sup> The committee, comprising curator of antiquities Georgios Bakalakis, special curator of antiquities Georgios Dirizas, and president of the community of Mykonos Kouzis Georgoulis, worked on Delos from 13 October to 8 November 1941. The sculptures were placed between constructed pedestals and an effort was made “not to distance detached members identified by the last Ephor as fragments of various sculptures from the latter.” Some of the Museum doors were sealed off by walls, others were nailed shut, and many antiquities were placed in cases with sawdust and paper. But since wood was expensive, the cases were simply “placed face to face and sealed with the personal seal bearing the monogram GB.” Notes were made on the wooden shelves of the display cases indicating the vases that were returned from Syros and those that were missing. The protocol drawn up by the committee reports the exist-



tence of “lofts” in the halls, under which the Hellenistic sculptures were placed. But concealing the Museum’s antiquities did not stop the looting of Delos. In 1942, “The Commander of Mykonos lieutenant Giov. Valentini removed two sections of mosaic from the archaeological site of Delos (House of the Masks). Between 14 and 16 April 1942, Italian officers who had come from Andros and were being hosted by the Commander removed a bronze vase from the Museum.”<sup>183</sup>

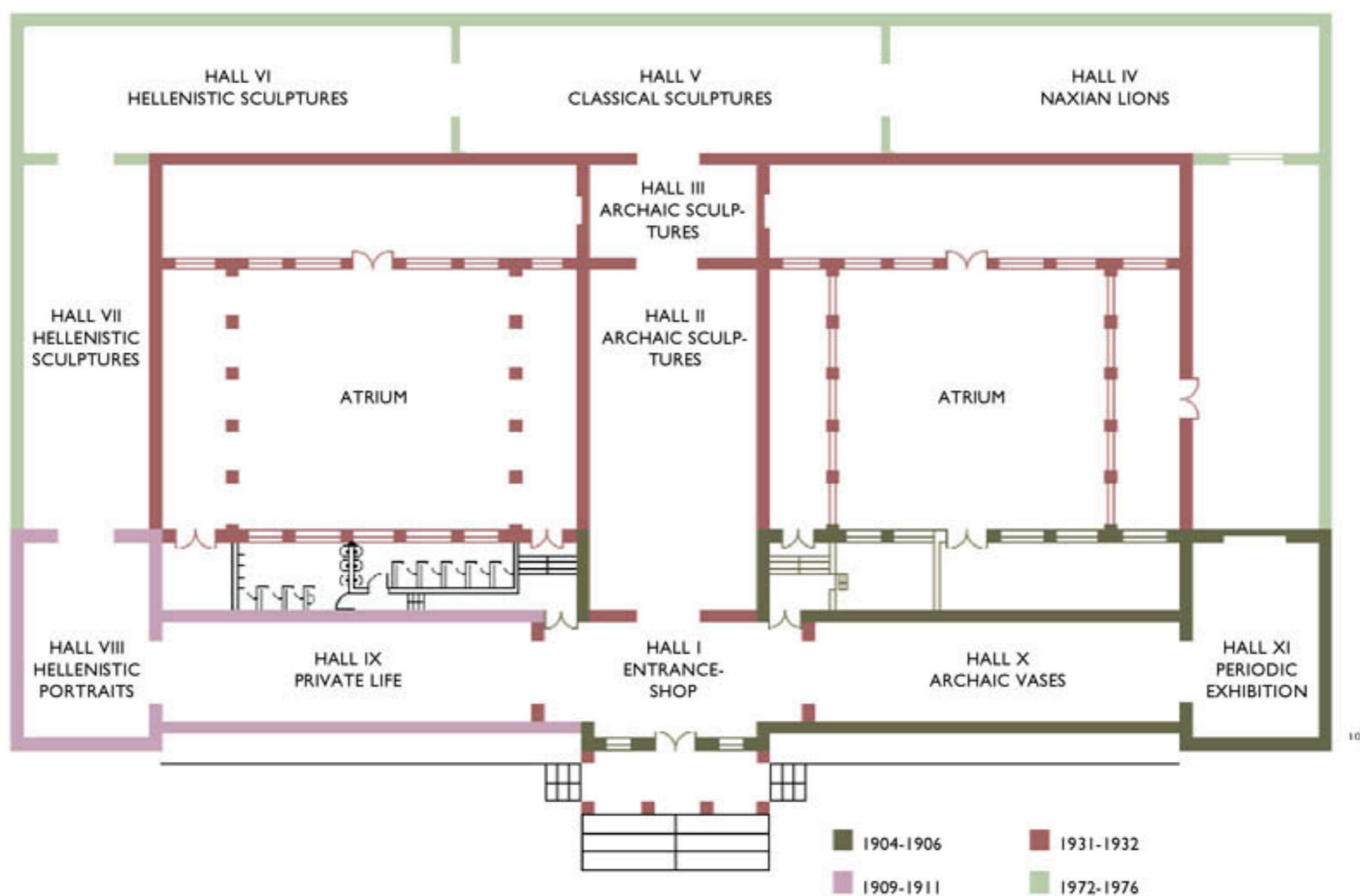
After the war, Nikolaos Kontoleon initially and Nikolaos Zappeiropoulos later tried to impose some order on the chaos and catalogue the antiquities, a task that continues to this day.

Despite the extensive repairs to the building in 1949, 1953, 1954, 1963, 1968 and 1969, the problems were not solved; and between 1972-1976 general repairs were carried out and the Museum was enlarged. At that time, the neoclassical features on the building were removed and replaced by a pseudo-Cycladic façade.

The Museum of Delos today occupies an area of 2,419 m<sup>2</sup>, and has two interior open-air courtyards with a total area of 260 m<sup>2</sup>. It contains 14 exhibition halls, 11 of which are open to visitors.

The findings from the excavations on Delos are kept in the Museum, and include all or part of some 30,000 vessels, statuettes, small objects, 8,000 sculptures, and 3,000 inscriptions. Most of the sculptures and a few pottery vessels and small objects are exhibited in the Museum’s eleven halls.

The number of visitors (about 120,000 per year) has increased steadily over the past decade. Between November and February, there are very few visitors. The main activity starts suddenly in March, culminates in August or September and drops off abruptly in November.



*The floor plan of the Museum today, including its successive extensions and additions.*







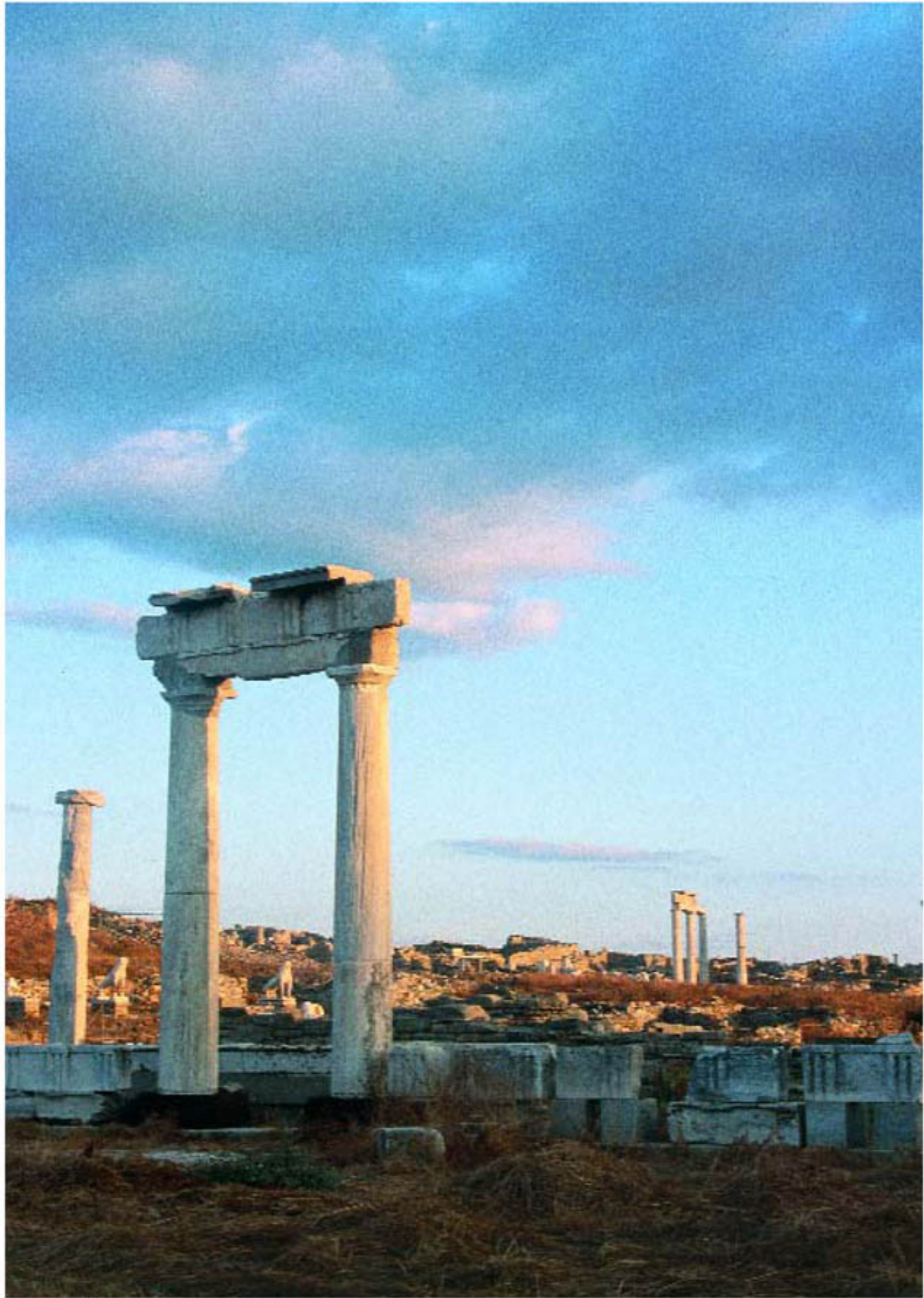






Aerial photograph of the central part of the Archaeological Site. Below left is the wheel-shaped Sacred Lake and above it is the Agora of the Italians, the Sanctuary and the filled in Sacred Port. Higher up, the houses of the Theatre Quarter can be distinguished and the retaining wall of the Theatre. Below right is the Establishment of the Poseidoniasts and the houses in the Skardanas quarter. The photograph was taken in 2002. Meanwhile, the ongoing work of conserving and restoring the monuments has changed the appearance of the site with the discovery of new monuments and the clearing of ancient roads.













107



108

The first view seen by the present-day visitor is that of a city bathed in light. This feeling was even stronger in antiquity, when the white plaster on the buildings and the marble structures reflected the dazzling Cycladic light, making the city look insubstantial, almost suspended between the blue of the Aegean and the clear sky.





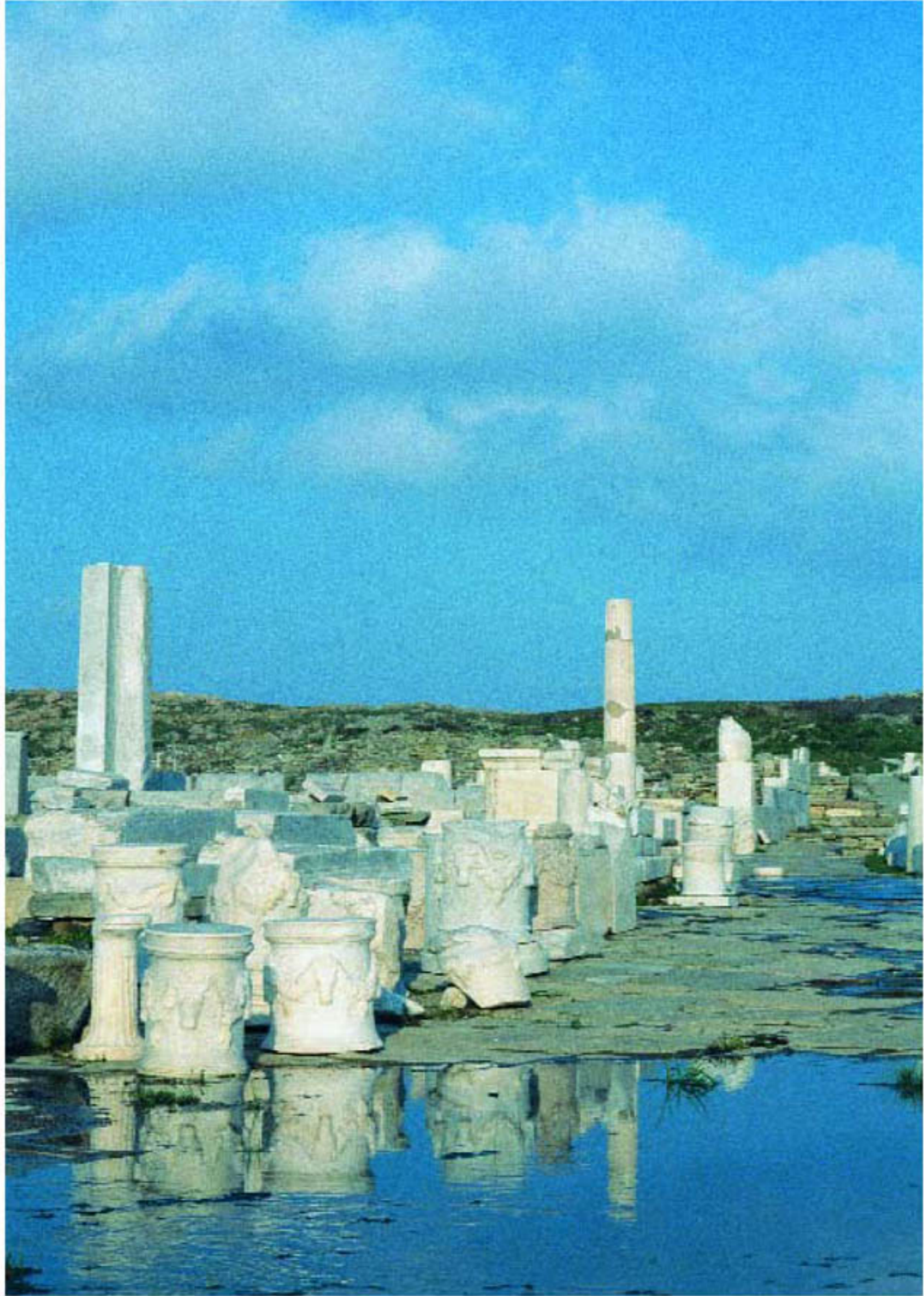
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110

In the commercial ports there are many shops and warehouses that open onto the sea, but have virtually no communication with the city, showing that most of the merchandise stocked there was destined for immediate export. "Delos" writes Strabo in the late 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC, "could import and export tens of thousands of slaves on the same day, which accounts for the saying: 'merchant, come to the port, unload, and everything is sold!'"





In the stone-paved Agora of the Competaliasts there are small temples dedicated to Hermes, god of commerce, but also god of thieves; there are also many cylindrical, marble altars, votive offerings by private citizens to the Sanctuary.





112  
Throughout the Sanctuary there are many rectangular or semi-circular marble *exedrae*, i.e. bases for bronze statues with a bench for pilgrims to rest.





113

The broad avenue leading to the Propylaia of the Sanctuary starts in the Agora of the Competaliasts. On both sides of the street there are porticos in which pilgrims could find cool refuge, meet with friends or buy souvenirs.



114





115

The worn down marble steps of the Propylaea (2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC) indicate the large number of people who visited the Sanctuary. The avenue continues after the Propylaea, crosses the Sanctuary and ends in the archaic port Skardanas. In the background, the Naxian lions are dimly visible. To the right of the Propylaea is a herm dedicated by the Amphictyons in 341 BC.

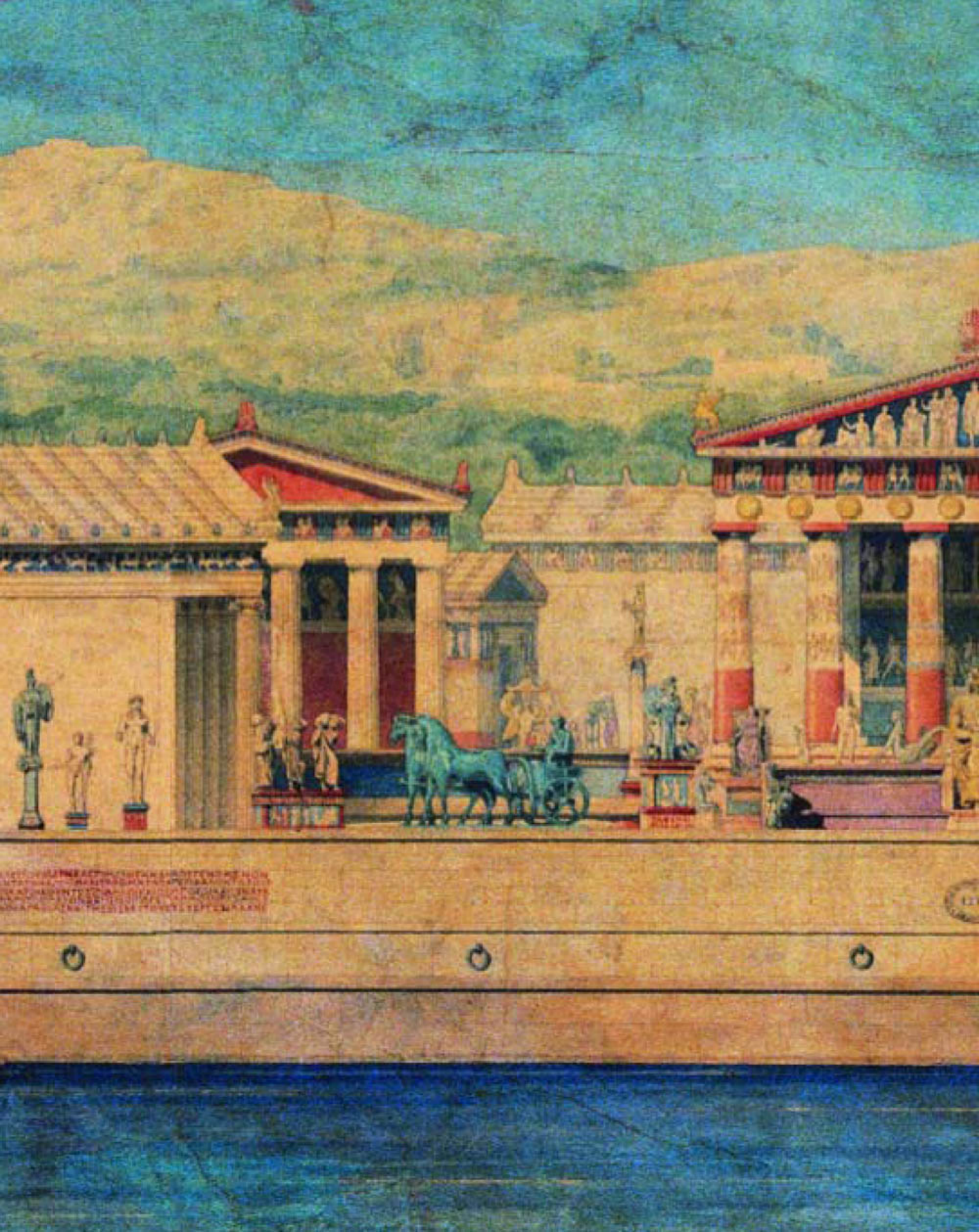
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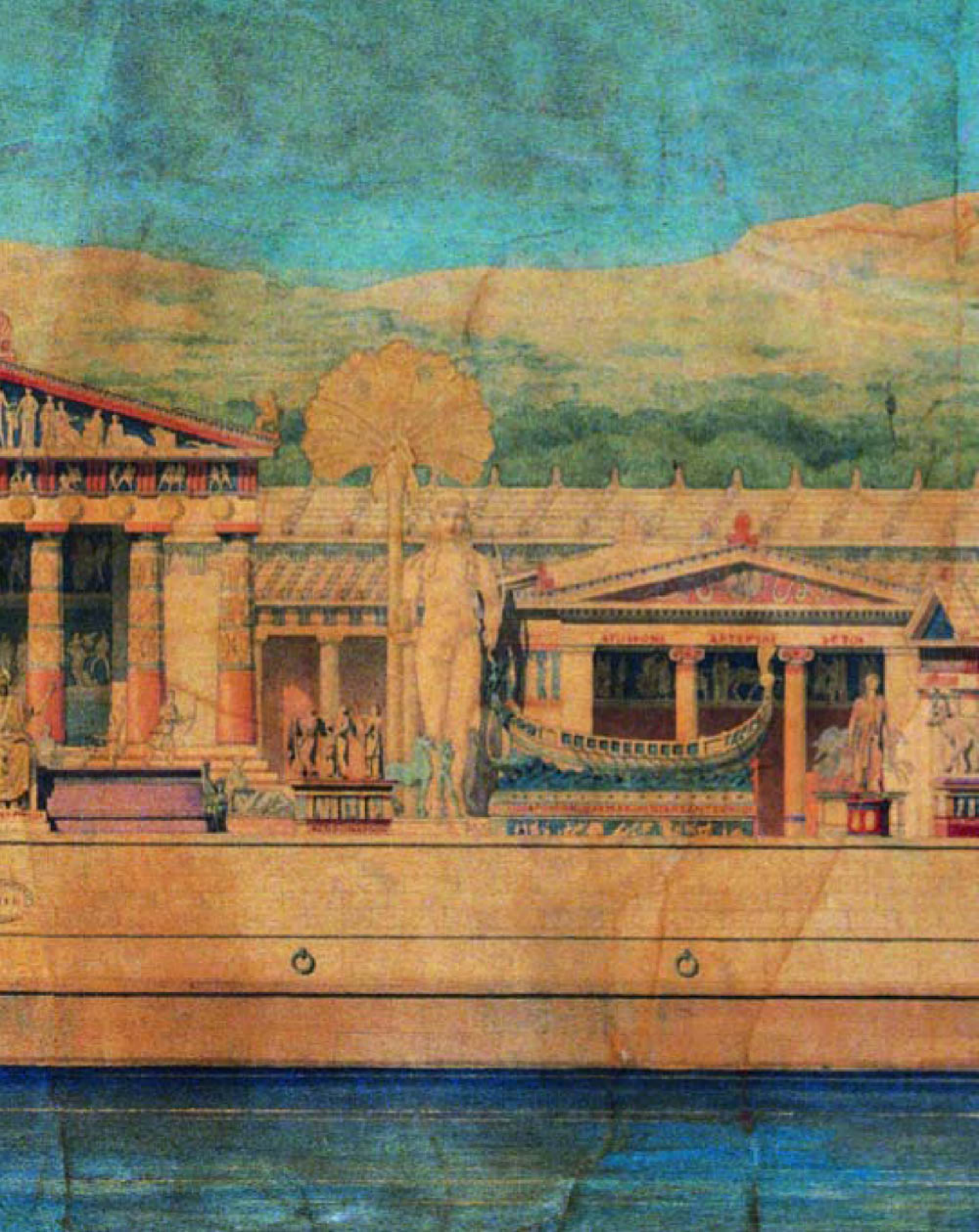
116

*Following pages:*  
 Romantic reconstruction of the Sanctuary by French architect H.-P. Nennet, 1882. In the centre is the Temple of the Delians to the right of which is the Colossus of the Naxians and the bronze palm tree dedicated to the god in 417 BC by the unfortunate Nicias.









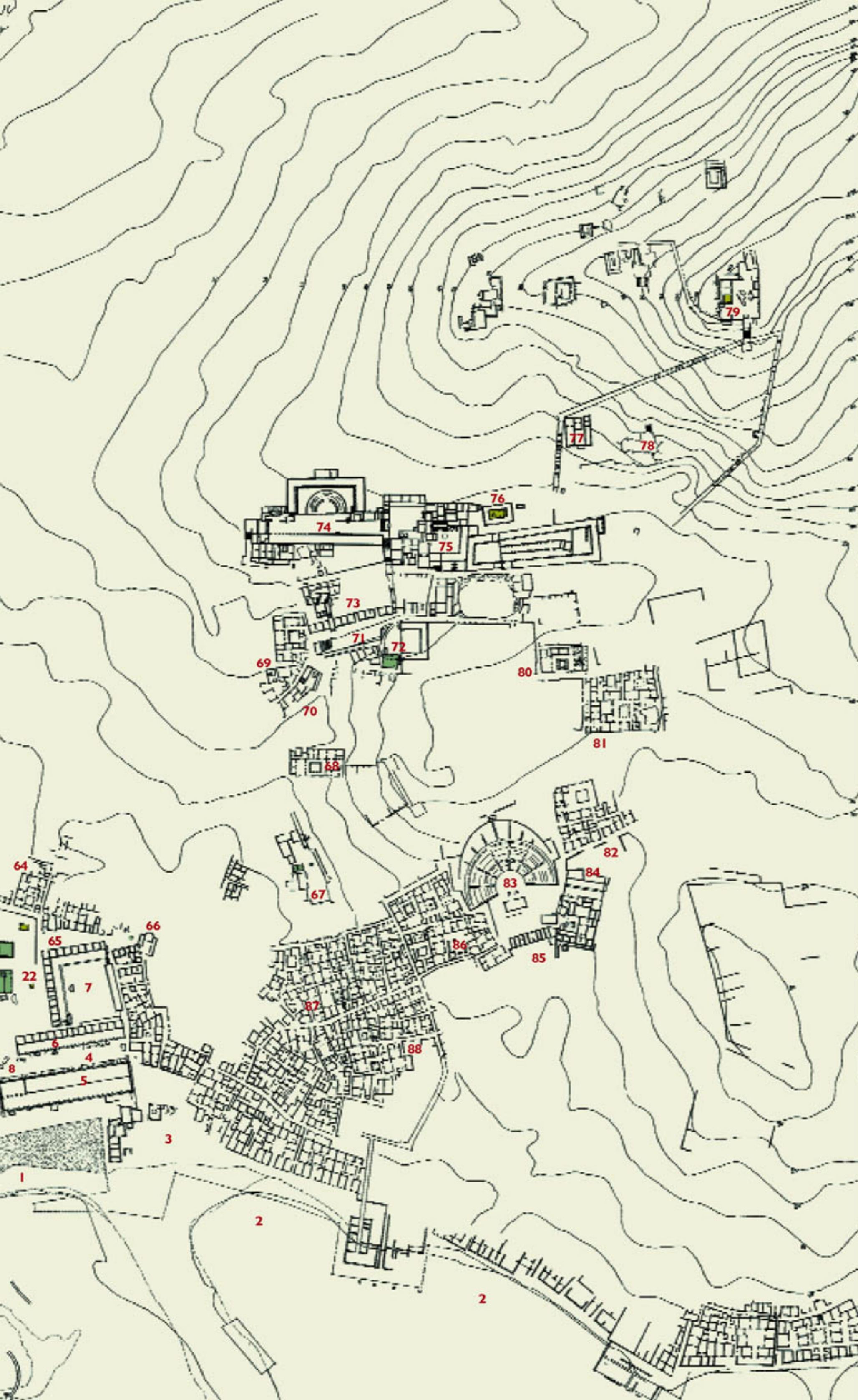




- |       |                            |    |                                    |    |                                |
|-------|----------------------------|----|------------------------------------|----|--------------------------------|
| 1     | Sacred Port                | 34 | Naxian Lions                       | 62 | Stadium Quarter                |
| 2     | Commercial Ports           | 35 | Sacred Lake                        | 63 | Synagogue                      |
| 3     | Agora of the Competaliasts | 36 | Workshops and shops                | 64 | House of Kerdon                |
| 4     | Sacred Way                 | 37 | Establishment of the Poseidoniasts | 65 | Temple of Hermes (?)           |
| 5     | Portico of Philip V        | 38 | Houses                             | 66 | Ayios Kerykos                  |
| 6     | South Portico              | 39 | House on the Hill                  | 67 | Aphrodision                    |
| 7     | Agora of the Delians       | 40 | House of the Seals                 | 68 | House of the Herms             |
| 8     | Propylaia                  | 41 | Insula of the Bronzes              | 69 | House on the Inopos            |
| 9     | Oikos of the Naxians       | 42 | Skardanas Bay                      | 70 | Sarapieion A                   |
| 10    | Temple of the Delians      | 43 | Insula of the Comedians            | 71 | Reservoir of the Inopos        |
| 11    | Temple of the Athenians    | 44 | Insula of Jewellery                | 72 | Samothraceion                  |
| 12    | Poros Temple               | 45 | House of the Diadumenos            | 73 | Sarapieion B                   |
| 13    | Keraton                    | 46 | Lake House                         | 74 | Sanctuary of the Syrian Gods   |
| 14    | Pythion                    | 47 | Lake Agora                         | 75 | Sanctuary of the Egyptian Gods |
| 15    | Artemision                 | 48 | Granite Palaestra                  | 76 | Heraion                        |
| 16-20 | Oikoi or Treasuries        | 49 | Lake Palaestra                     | 77 | Sanctuary of Agathe Tyche      |
| 21    | Bouleuterion               | 50 | Wall of Triarius                   | 78 | Grotto of Heracles             |
| 22    | Prytaneion                 | 51 | Temple of Anios                    | 79 | Sanctuary of Zeus and Athena   |
| 23    | Monument of the Bulls      | 52 | Sanctuary of the Bastion           | 80 | House of the Dolphins          |
| 24    | Portico of Antigonos       | 53 | Tabernula Vinaria                  | 81 | House of the Masks             |
| 25    | "Graphe"                   | 54 | Minoan Fountain                    | 82 | Xenon                          |
| 26    | Ekklesiasterion            | 55 | Stoibadeion                        | 83 | Theatre                        |
| 27    | "Thesmophorion"            | 56 | Museum                             | 84 | Sanctuaries                    |
| 28    | Agora of Theophrastos      | 57 | Snack bar                          | 85 | Reservoir of the Theatre       |
| 29    | Hypostyle Hall             | 58 | Hippodrome (?)                     | 86 | House of the Trident           |
| 30    | Dodekatheon                | 59 | Archegeion                         | 87 | House of Dionysus              |
| 31    | Granite Monument           | 60 | Gymnasium                          | 88 | House of Cleopatra             |
| 32    | Letoon                     | 61 | Stadium                            |    |                                |
| 33    | Agora of the Italians      |    |                                    |    |                                |

CIRCA 300 BC   
 CIRCA 500 BC





Ground plan of the central part of Delos showing the buildings that have been excavated to date. Datis, the admiral of the Persian fleet who came here in the summer of 490 BC, saw a deserted island with very few sacred buildings. The picture began to change dramatically at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, when Hellenistic princes were competing to erect the most splendid buildings dedicated to Apollo. The city, no more than a small part of which has been excavated, grew rapidly within a few decades after 167 BC, and very soon came close to stifling the Sanctuary.





119



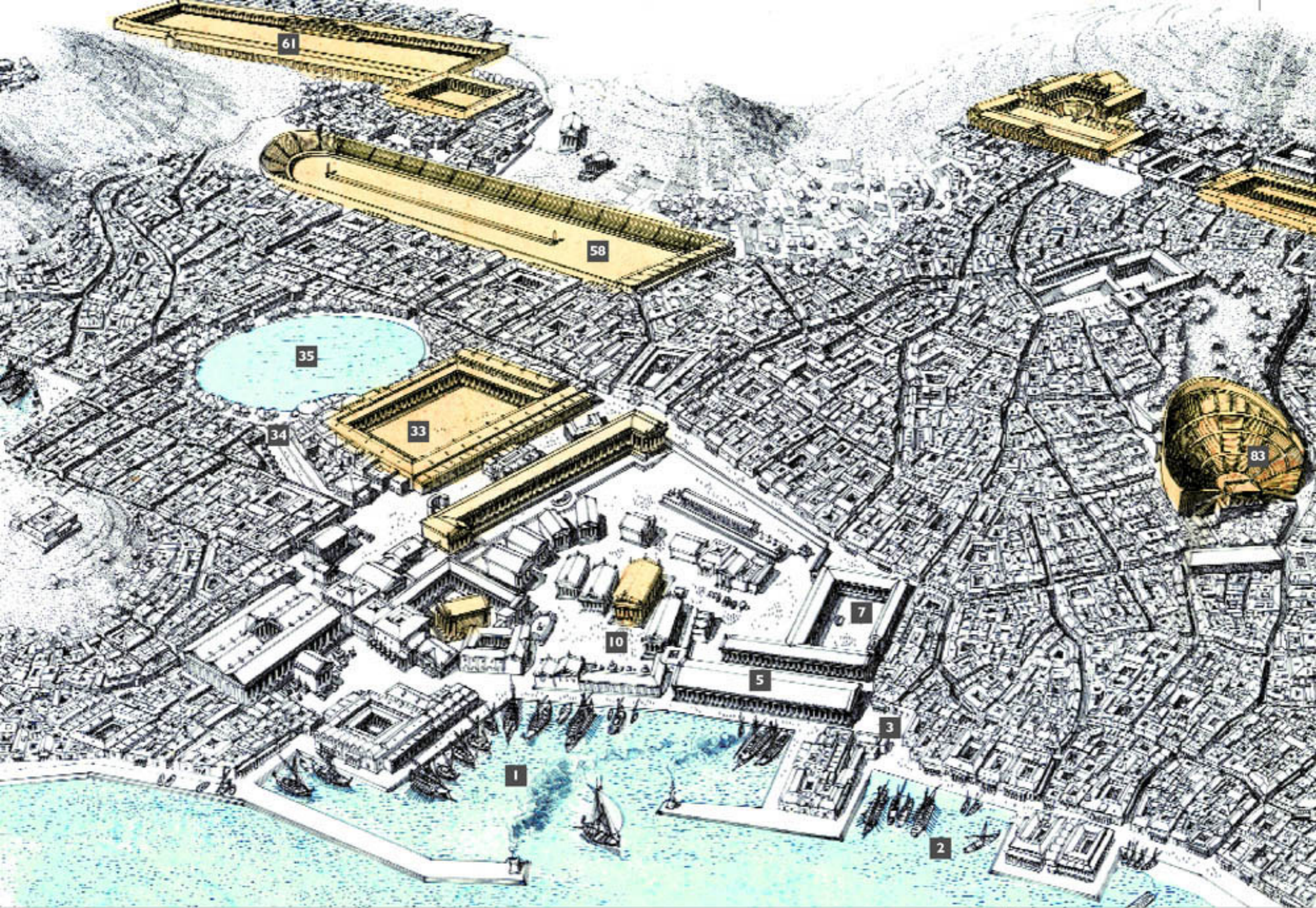
120

The Oikos of the Naxians, one of the most ancient buildings in the Sanctuary, was constructed early in the 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Incised Gorgons adorn the marble antefixae.

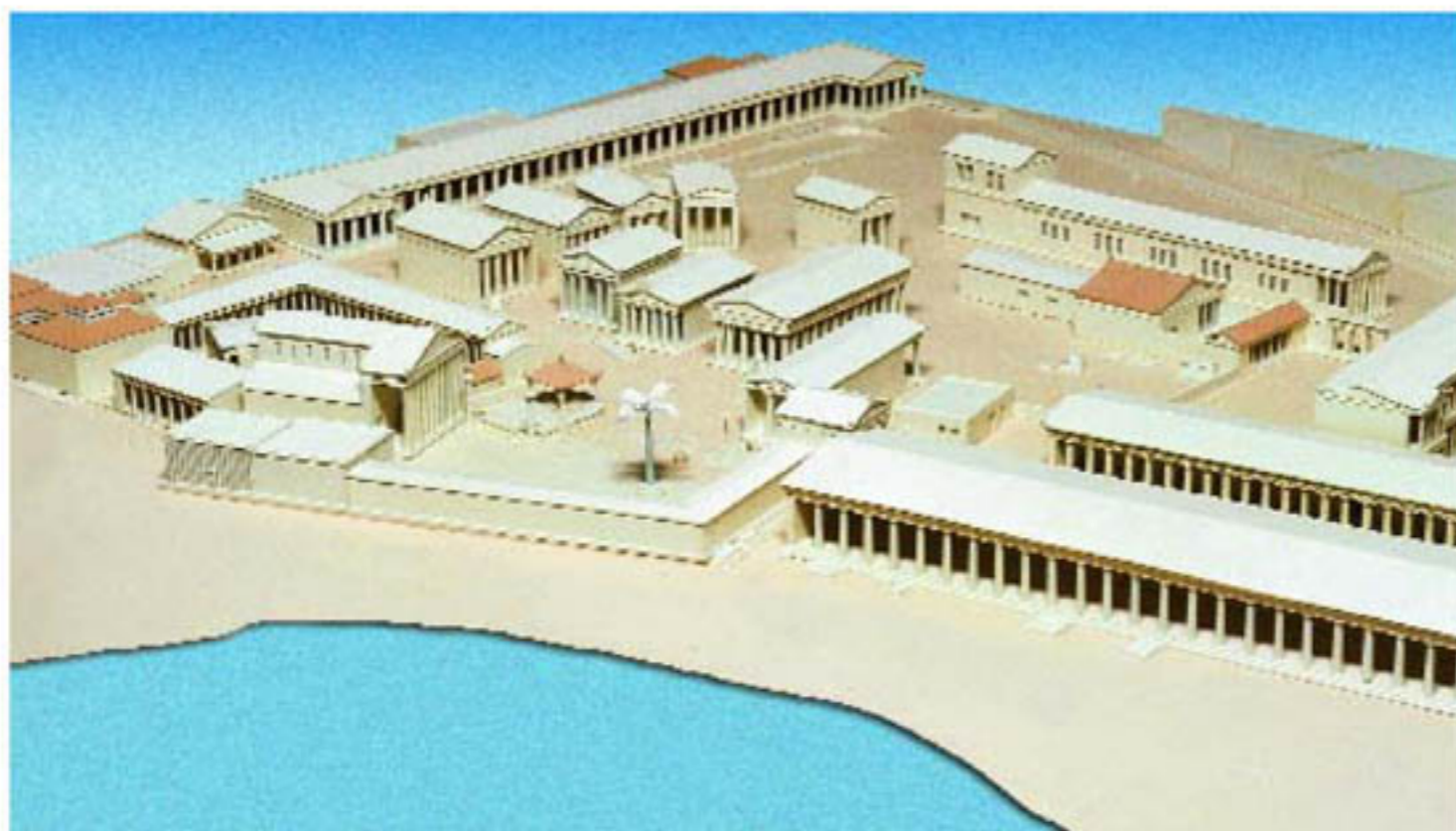


121





122



123

Reconstruction of the Sanctuary and the central part of the city (Fr. Comi, *Bell'Europa* 1995).

It is estimated that at the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, some 30,000 people were living on this little island, which is no more than a dot on the map of the Mediterranean, and that 750,000 tons of merchandise and 250,000 slaves could probably have been moved through the port in a year. Below is a reconstruction of the Sanctuary (Ph. Fraisse, M.-Ch. Hellmann, Y. Rizakis, 1996) as it was in the early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.









124

*Below:* The three temples of Apollo and the Oikos of the Naxians reconstructed. *Above:* what has been preserved today. To the right is the enormous marble base of the Apollo of the Naxians. The short distance between the Sanctuary and the port facilitated the transportation of the marble. Thus its structures were plundered for centuries and only their foundations have survived.





Acroteria from the east façade of the Temple of the Athenians. Boreas, king of Thrace, abducts princess Oreithyia, daughter of Erechtheus of Attica. Left and right two friends of Oreithyia flee in terror. Despite the heavy erosion —the work was exposed to the north winds of the Aegean for at least four centuries— the youthful bodies of the girls radiate through their diaphanous garments. The central acroterion on the west side depicts Eos (dawn) who abducts the handsome Cephalus, another hero of the Athenians, son of Hermes and Princess Erse, sister of Oreithyia.

During a difficult period (425-420 BC), the Athenians used these compositions to praise their own superiority and to publicise their divine relatives and the beauty of the young people of Attica, in an effort to justify and sanctify their overtly imperialistic policy in the Aegean.









120



121



130

Under the later temple of Artemis a depository was found containing gold and ivory objects from the Mycenaean period (13<sup>th</sup> cent. BC). Outstanding among them is a plaque depicting a warrior with a conic helmet made of wild boars' tusks, a large eight-shaped shield and spear.

On an ivory frieze inlaid on a lamax or piece of furniture, lions are portrayed devouring bulls. The bronze figurine represents an Eastern god.



132



133





Three columns, all that have remained of a 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC stoa, mark the site of the sanctuary of Artemis. To the left are the two surviving parts of the Apollo of the Naxians and below them is the marble base of the statue of Sulla. The ruthless *Lucius Cornelius Sulla, son of Lucius, proconsul*, as he is referred to in the inscription, having looted the sanctuaries of Epidaurus, Olympia and Delphi, destroyed Athens in a blood-bath, and victorious, visited the Sanctuary of the god on Delos.

134



135



136

Bronze statuettes of horses and bulls, votive offerings to the Sanctuary in the 8<sup>th</sup> cent. BC.



137



138



139







140



141

Two efforts to render winged Nike (Victory). The round plate was found in the temple of Hera while the statue was perhaps dedicated to the Artemision by Archermos, son of the Chian sculptor Mikkiades, between 600-550 BC. In both cases, the figure is supported by the drapery of the chiton in such a way that the suspended feet intensify the feeling of the flying figure that is on the point of taking off or landing.



Statue of a sphinx that stood on a high Ionic column in the Artemision. Parian work dated 560-550 BC. In Greek mythology all monsters are feminine in gender and threaten solitary male travellers who are outside the security of the group. Needless to say, they are all vanquished by a male hero.







Statues of *kome*, Parian votive offerings to Artemis. The earliest has been dated to c. 570 BC, and the other two with the heavily draped dresses to c. 525-500 BC. Bronze jewellery and strong, bright colours further enlivened the elegant youthful figures of the girls.

The sculpture of the archaic years deifies the male body, which is always depicted nude and masculine; female statues, on the other hand, are always dressed, in an austere or charming and elegant way, but with no underlying suggestion of sensuality or eroticism.





144



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146





147



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154



155

The picture of the headless *kome* is supplemented by a series of "portraits" of young girls on the necks of Parian vases from about the same period. The statues of the *kome* and these fresh portraits are the last representations of women with their hair down loosely. From that time until just a few decades ago, women were always depicted with their hair severely tied up or back behind the head, which was also frequently covered. Nearly three hundred years after the nude male statues, when the female body was first portrayed nude in Praxiteles' Cnidian Aphrodite, the goddess is still shown with her hair modestly tied back.



156



157





150

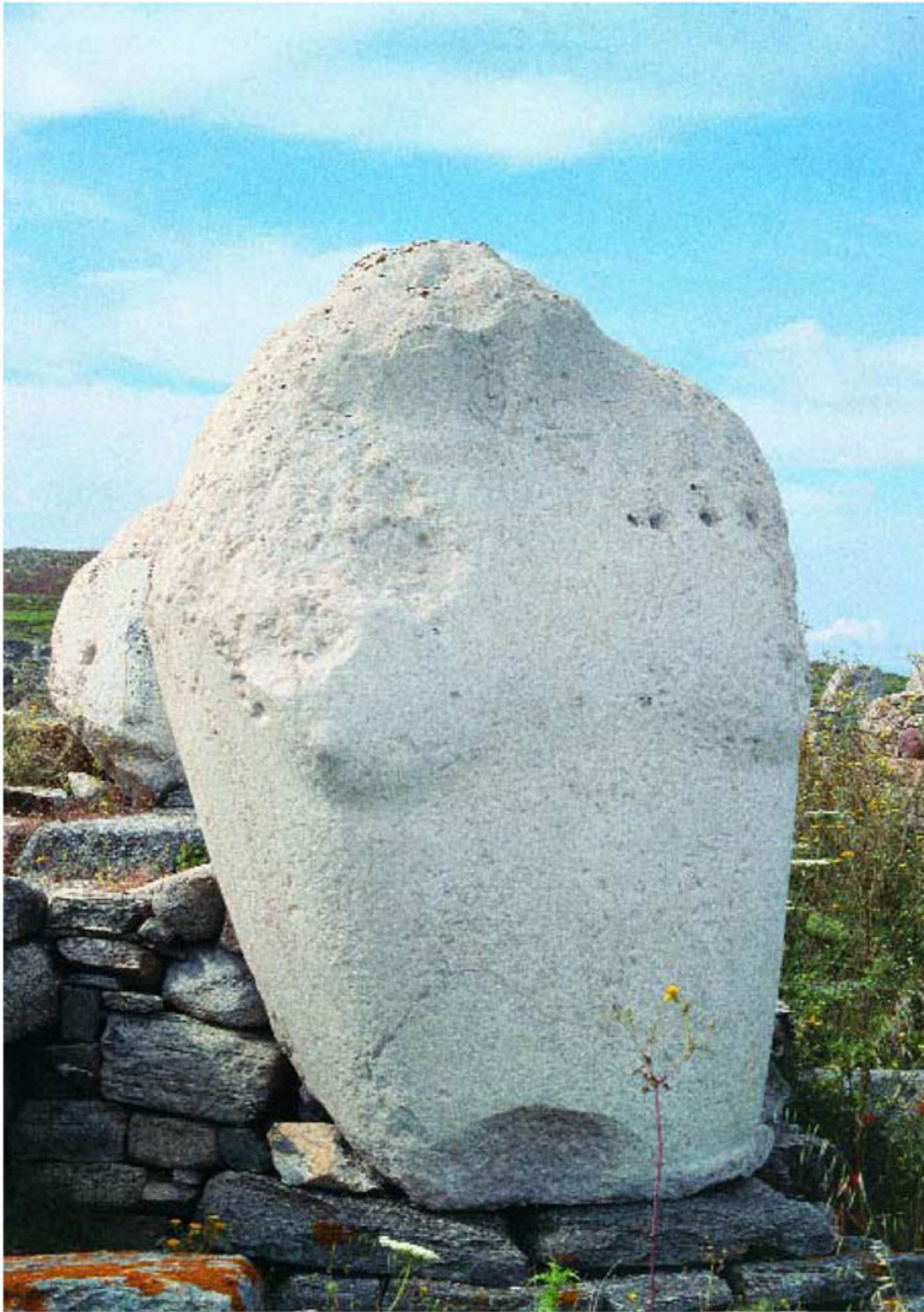
ΟΝΑΡΥΤΟΜΘ ΟΡΜΜΑΝΔΡΙΝΣΚΑΙΤΟΣΘΕΜΑΣ



150

Outside the northwest corner of the Oikos of the Naxians, on an enormous marble base weighing about 32 tons, stood the Colossus of the Naxians, a huge statue of Apollo about nine metres tall, created in the early 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. The god was represented in the *kouros* type, and perhaps held his bow and arrows in his hand, or the three Graces.





100

Apollo of the Naxians, mutilated by time and man. "The elements of nature that have been battering him for so many centuries have erased any projection; almost nothing has remained of him other than the stirring breadth of his chest and back. He is now like a very large stone gently licked by the waves. One might say that only the soul of the marble has remained. Despite, or perhaps because of this it speaks more freely." (G. Seferis, *Delian Diary*).





161



162



163



Triangular base and statues of Naxian *kouros*, votive offerings to the Sanctuary of Apollo. The *kouros* type was created on Naxos in the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, emulated half a century later by Paros, whose workshops produced them for a much longer period. The almost quadrilateral Naxian *kouros* are distinguishable for their broad chests and the stylised, summary rendition of their anatomical details. On the Parian works, the musculature is more pronounced, and the bodies are more elongated, athletic and curved making them look lighter and more flexible.



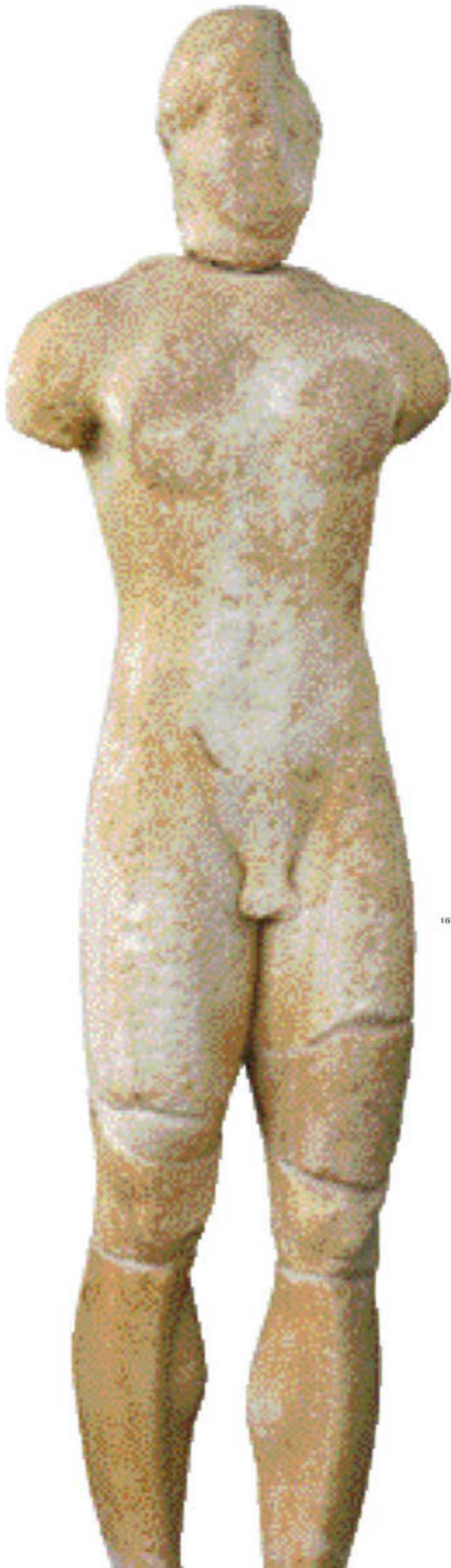






Both Naxos and Paros showed off their achievements in the Sanctuary of Delos, where many people would see and admire them. In the splendid youthful bodies of their kouros, each city demonstrated the disciplined strength of its men, the achievements primarily of its aristocracy and its superior culture.

At the same time, they displayed the products of their quarries in the sanctuaries, hoping for large orders from rich individuals or cities.



167

Head of a bearded rider (?).  
540-520 BC.



168





160

170

The few votive offerings from the turbulent 5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC show that the Sanctuary had lost most of its prestige. The brilliant festivals of the Ionians were already a thing of the past. From the period of the "severe style", a period when sculptors were searching for new expressive ways to render motion and the third dimension, just four bodies of athletes have been preserved, Parian works dating between 480-460. Despite the fact that elements of archaic immobility are still visible, the musculature of the trained bodies and the momentary movement is now rendered convincingly. To the right a discus-thrower is ready to hurl the discus he is holding in his right hand and to the left is another athlete perhaps holding a strigil.





171

In the Apollo of the Naxians and the cult statue by Tectaeus and Angelion, Apollo is depicted as both benefactor and avenger. The Graces in his right hand recall the precious gifts he gives to man, while the bow in his left is a permanent warning of how harsh he can be to those who displease him. With this unerring bow he killed the Python, as well as the children of Niobe, and with it he sent poisoned arrows into the Greek camp outside Troy, spreading disease and death. The relief and seal depict the statue by Tectaeus and Angelion. To the left of the god's head, Hermes is portrayed carrying a calf on his shoulders and to the right is Nike. Behind it is perhaps part of a throne (photo. 788).



172

Apollo Citharodos (who plays and sings to the *cithara*) and a Muse or Siren with castanet-type instrument. 700-675 BC.



173





174



175

Statuettes of Apollo dating from the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. During the Hellenistic period, Apollo is always portrayed as the youth described by Callimachus: "ever beautiful, ever young, he on whose tender cheeks no down e'er showed and from whose locks fragrant oil drops upon the ground".



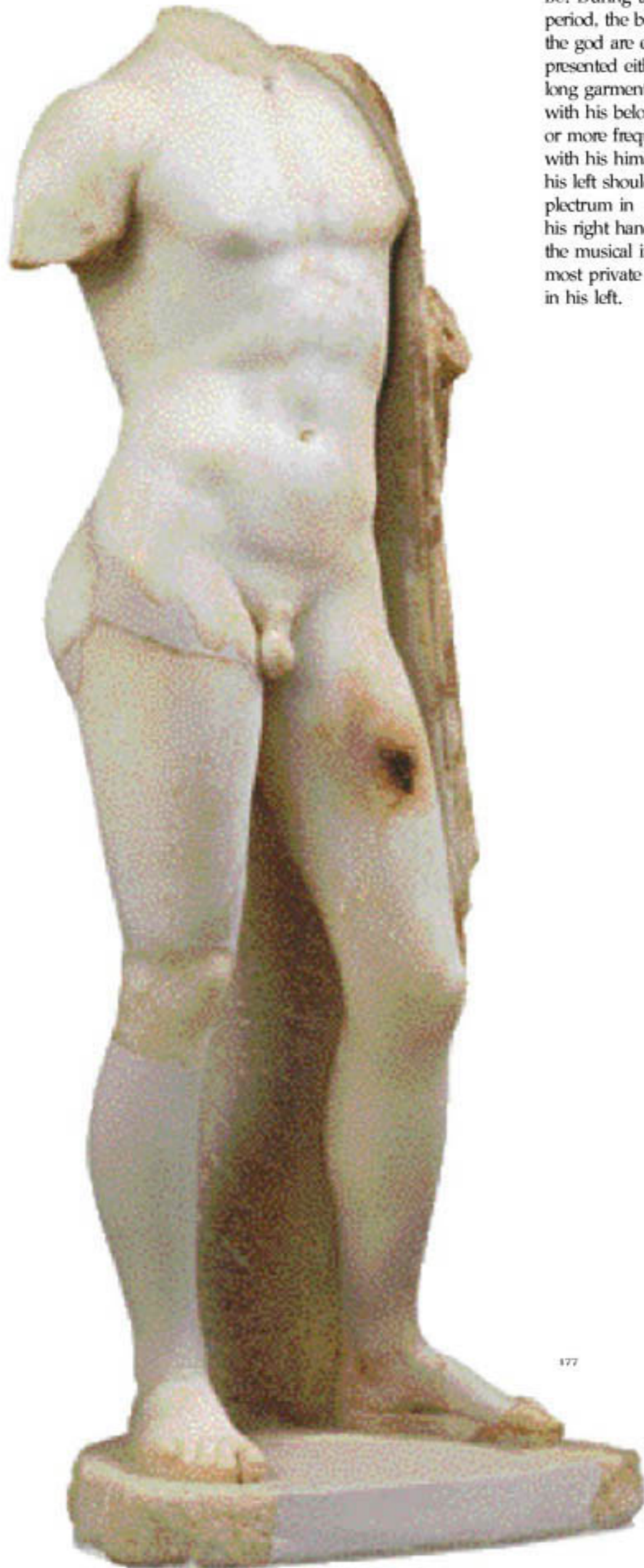


176

*Goldglittering Titan Hyperion, heavenly light,  
 Self-generated, tireless, sweet sight for sore eyes,  
 whose right hand brings forth the dawn, whose left hand the night,  
 you rule the interchanging seasons in your eternal motion.  
 Blithe Sun, fleet courier, nourisher of roots, incandescent  
 charioteer coursing round the vast circle, you are the  
 beneficent guide of the pious, and foe of the wicked.  
 With your golden lyre you fill the world with harmony  
 showing good works, O youthful creator of the seasons,  
 master of the world, player of the flute.  
 Fiery and bright round the heavens you run,  
 light-bearer, in your many forms, O source of life,  
 bearer of fruit, healing and ever-youthful Paeon.  
 O unstained father of time, immortal Zeus,  
 serene, ever manifest, roving eye of the world  
 you, who extinguish and brighten with lovely luminous beams,  
 are the dispenser of justice, lover of streams, lord of the world,  
 faithful to your oath, forever supreme, defender of all,  
 eye of justice, and light of life. O ruler of steeds,  
 when guiding your coursers with your supple whip,  
 hear these words and bless thy initiates with a good life.*

ORPHIC HYMN, 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC<sup>155</sup>





Representations of Apollo Citharodos from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. During the Hellenistic period, the beauty and grace of the god are emphasised. He is presented either in the formal, long garment of the Citharodos with his beloved cithara, or more frequently nude with his himation draped over his left shoulder, holding the plectrum in his right hand and the lyre, the musical instrument used in most private gatherings, in his left.



178



179

177





180



181



182





The figures on seals 184, 185 may be copied from the statue type of "Delian Apollo",<sup>186</sup> while seal 186 copies a Macedonian coin. In statue 183, which is a copy of the Lycian Apollo by Praxiteles, the god is stepping on three Gallic shields, recalling the rout of the Gauls outside the Sanctuary of Delphi early in the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC.



184



185



186



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187





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189



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101



102



103



104

As the sun god, Apollo has golden hair, bright blue eyes and radiant beams around his head, which he later bequeaths to his successor in the form of a halo. In some representations of the god, his features resemble portraits of Alexander the Great.





100

Detail from the relief by Archelaus of Priene with the apotheosis of Homer. 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC.



100

The Muse Polyhymnia, patron deity of hymns to gods and heroes, is listening enraptured to her brother. On Delos the sacred island of Apollo Musagetes, many statues of the Muses have been found. As divinities of song, hymns, music, dance, poetic inspiration and generally of artistic creation, they embody everything that attracts the god.



107





106





The beauty and grace of the god is further accentuated by the frequent appearance of his companions, the Graces, Nymphs and Muses, who supplement and extend the image of eternal youth. Erato or Polyhymnia plays the cithara, Terpsichore dances, Clio and Urania are seated on a rock resting. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.





201



202

*Daughters of Mnemosyne and thundering Zeus,  
 O celebrated Pierides Muses of radiant repute,  
 wherever you go among mortals you are desired by all.  
 Multifarious wellsprings of irreproachable virtue to all mankind,  
 you nourish the soul and grant sound judgement.  
 Guiding queens of the all-powerful intellect  
 you have taught holy rites to mortals.  
 O Clio and Euterpe and Thalia and Melpomene  
 Terpsichore and Erato and Polyhymnia and Urania,  
 together with first-ranked Calliope and the powerful Virgin goddess,  
 come multifarious, revered goddesses to your initiates,  
 grant your glory and your desired, much-praised blessing.*

ORPHIC HYMN, 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC<sup>185</sup>



203





304

*"Nicandra, distinguished amongst women, daughter of Deinodices of Naxos, sister of Deinomenes and wife of Phraxus dedicated me to her whose arrows fly far." 650-630 BC. The most ancient (Nicandra) and the largest (Colossus of the Naxians) Greek statues have been found on Delos.*



305



306

*Above: relief with Artemis Locheia, patron divinity of women about to give birth, and an adolescent worshipper (420-400 BC).*

*Below: leg and support from marble table with the representation of seated Artemis.*



Artemis raises her spear in readiness to strike a mortal blow against a kneeling deer. The inexpressive face of the goddess, in contrast with the dramatic moment, represents the blissful indifference of the immortal gods to human fate. 125-100 BC.







Two statues of Artemis from the Theatre Quarter that retain traces of their initial multicoloured decoration.













210



211



212



213

Statuettes of Artemis found in Delian houses. Early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Artemis, as the goddess of the hunt, wears boots of soft leather and a short tunic that does not hinder her from running and chasing her prey.





214

During the period in which Antiochus Paconius of Artemision was high priest of Artemis Soteira, Dionysius Paconius son of Gnaeus, dedicated this relief to Hermes and to his companions. Relief representing Artemis Light-bearer and a hunting dog from the House of the Herms. Early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.



216



215

In a rural sanctuary of Artemis, whose statue is placed on a little column, either the goddess herself or Arsinoë II in the costume of Artemis, is preparing a sacrifice. A young Satyr lights the fire on the altar and another carries the objects necessary for the sacrifice.









217

Two reliefs depicting the sacrifice of a pig and a goat to Artemis. Worshippers raise their right hand in greeting with reverence for the goddess. Early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.



218





219



220



221



222

Seals and a lamp with representations of Artemis. Seal 221 represents the statue of Ephesian Artemis. On seal 220 is Hecate, with a torch in her left hand and a crescent moon in her hair. Artemis, goddess of nature and motherhood, replaced Hecate in later years as the goddess of the moon. In her sanctuary on Rheneia, she was worshiped as Artemis-Hecate.



223





224



225



226



227



228

Hecate haunts graves and cross-roads accompanied by the spirits of the dead. The howling lamentations of her dogs instil terror in people walking at night. She is the patron goddess of witches, whom she teaches, enlightens and guides in their nocturnal collection of magic plants. Three-faced statuettes and stelae of Hecate, early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.





220  
Arranged in a semi-circle, a few metres after the last temple of Apollo, are the ruins of five Oikoi or Treasuries from the classical period. These small temple-like structures, offerings by various Hellenic cities, were used initially as accommodation or banquet halls for pilgrims and later, when the temples had become stiflingly full, they were used to keep valuable objects and votive offerings. In front of the Treasuries are drums from the Temple of the Delians.





230

The Monument of the Bulls, a long narrow building from the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, probably housed a trireme dedicated to Apollo after a victorious naval battle. The interior was decorated with Nereids riding sea monsters and dolphins leaping over white-capped waves.



231









233



234



235

The city archives were also kept there under the protection of Cybele, the Great Mother of the Gods, whose sanctuary, the Metroon, may have been in the Sarapieion C.



236



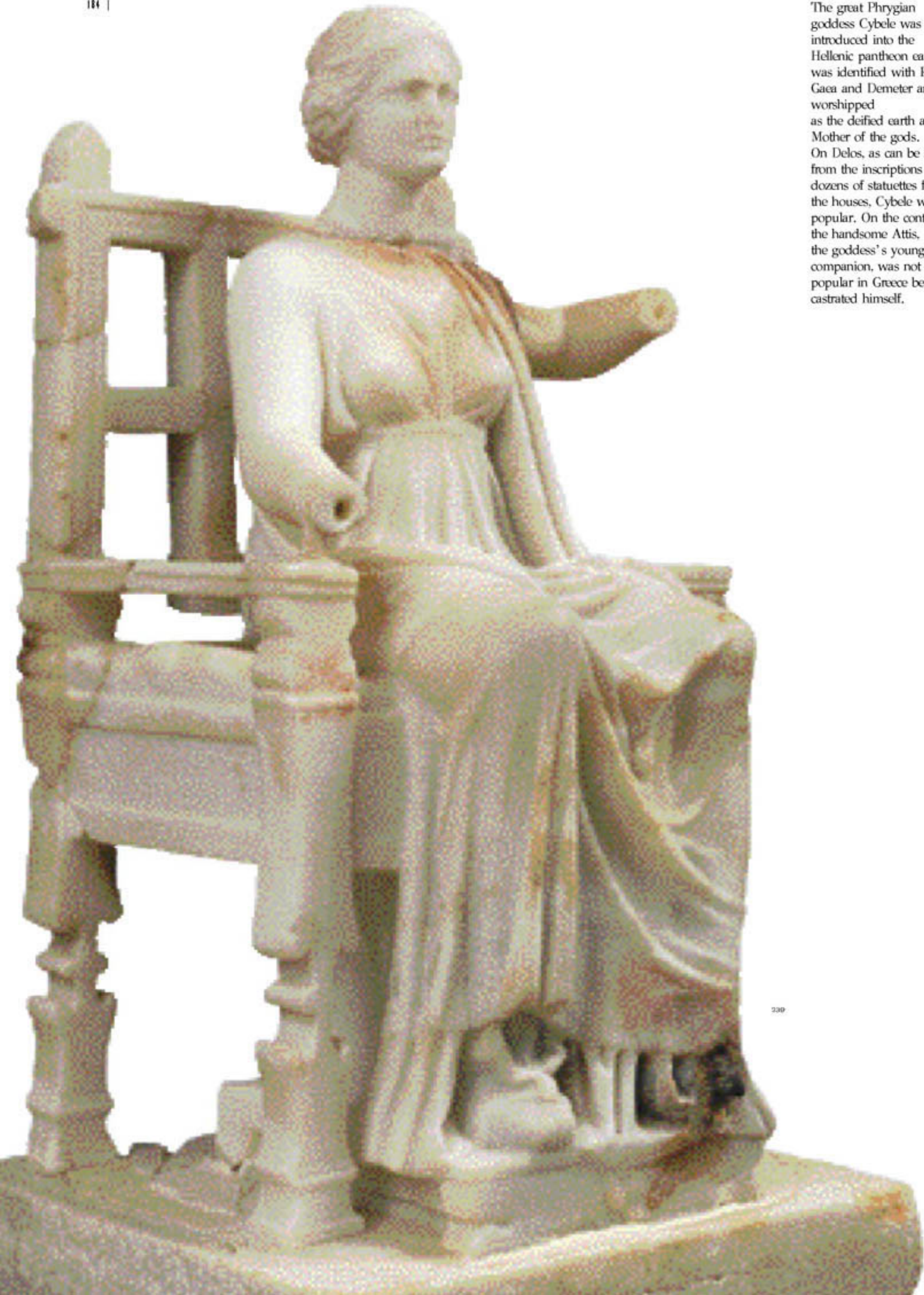
238



237

In the Prytaneion (left) the sacred flame of the city was kept alight: there the *prytaneis* dined, at public expense, as did all those who had offered exceptional services to the city.





The great Phrygian goddess Cybele was introduced into the Hellenic pantheon early; she was identified with Rhea, Gaea and Demeter and was worshipped as the deified earth and Mother of the gods. On Delos, as can be seen from the inscriptions and the dozens of statuettes found in the houses, Cybele was fairly popular. On the contrary, the handsome Attis, the goddess's young companion, was not at all popular in Greece because he castrated himself.





Terracotta figurines  
of Eros-Attis, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.









243

The Stoa of Antigonos was built in about 250 BC by the king of Macedonia Antigonos Gonatas, as stated in the inscription on the architrave: *King Antigonos, son of King Demetrios from Macedonia to Apollo*. On the Doric entablature, triglyphs alternate with relief bulls' heads. The statue of *Gaius Villienus, proconsul of the Romans*, which was dedicated by his friend *Midas son of Zenon* in about 100 BC, gives an idea of the height of the stoa and the picture that the sanctuary presented with its hundreds of votive statues.





244

The little island remained sacred in people's memory. On top of the ancient sanctuaries, eight early Christian basilicas were erected and the bishop had his See here.



245



246

Of the 44 columns of the magnificent Hypostyle Hall, just a few bases and some capitals have been preserved. On top of the ruins of the building, houses and monastery complexes were built later (1<sup>st</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> cent. AD). The modern buildings on the site date to the late 19<sup>th</sup> cent. and were used to house the members of the French Archaeological School.





247

The area in front of the Hypostyle Hall was turned into another Agora in 126/5 BC by Theophrastos the Athenian Epimeletes (annual Athenian governor) of Delos, who also took care to improve and extend the harbour facilities. A statue of him was erected in the square by merchants and shipowners out of gratitude. The inscription notes that Athenians are residents of Delos, but remain Athenians, while the Romans and other foreigners are merely transients on the island. Near the base of the statue are the ruins of the Poseideion and the altar of Poseidon Naucarius.



248

*To Theophrastos of Acharnes, son of Heracleitos of Acharnes, who having been Epimeletes of Delos, built the agora and the earthworks around the port, this is dedicated by the Athenians residing in Delos, and the merchants and ships' captains, Romans and other foreigners living here temporarily in homage to his virtue and nobility and all the benefits he brought to them.*

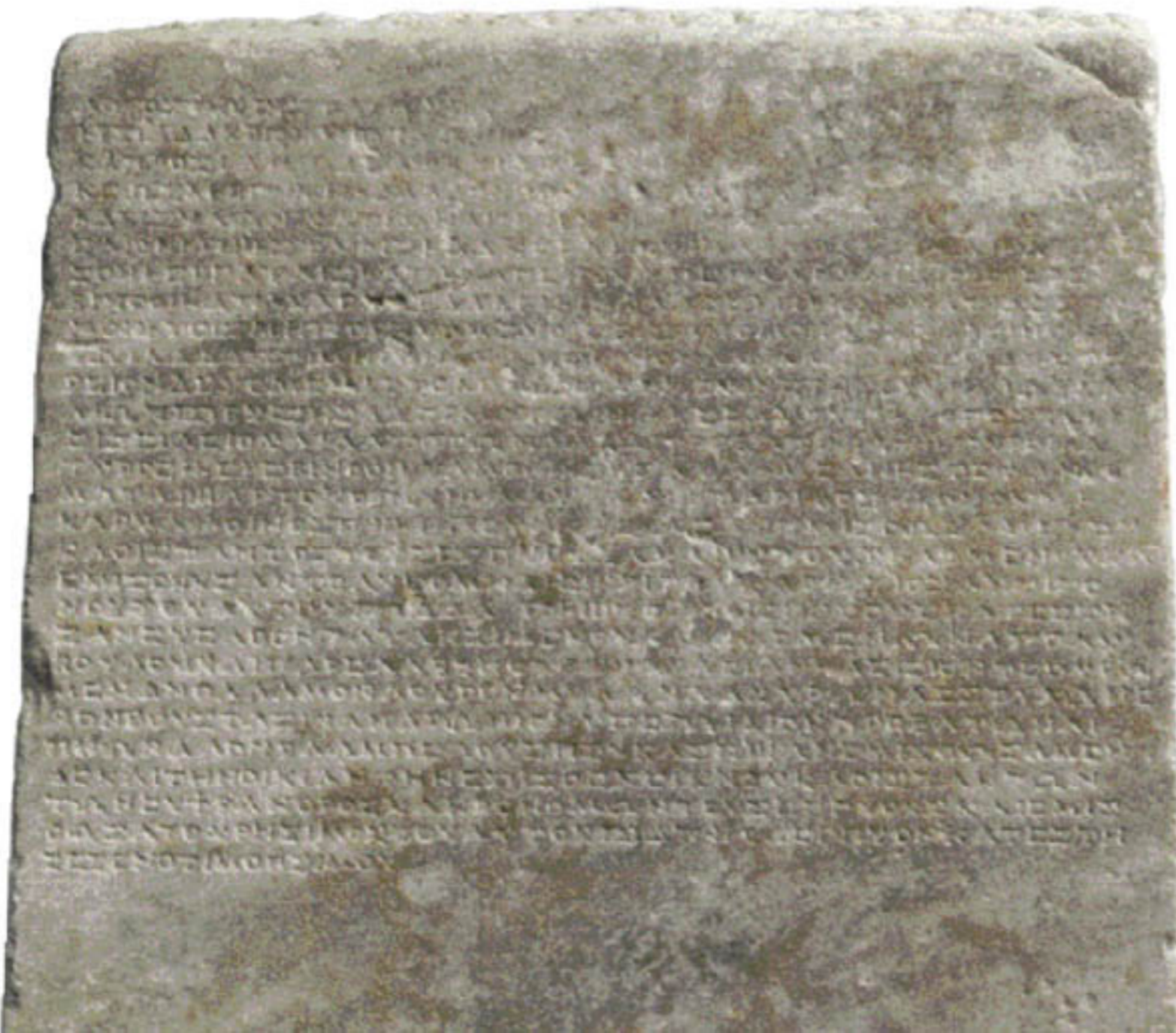


Two statuettes of Poseidon from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. The smaller presents the god in a long robe, while the other shows him nude, with the slim, compact body of a swimmer, with hair and beard damp from the brine of the sea and tossed by the winds. Both statues showed him holding a bronze trident in his left hand.



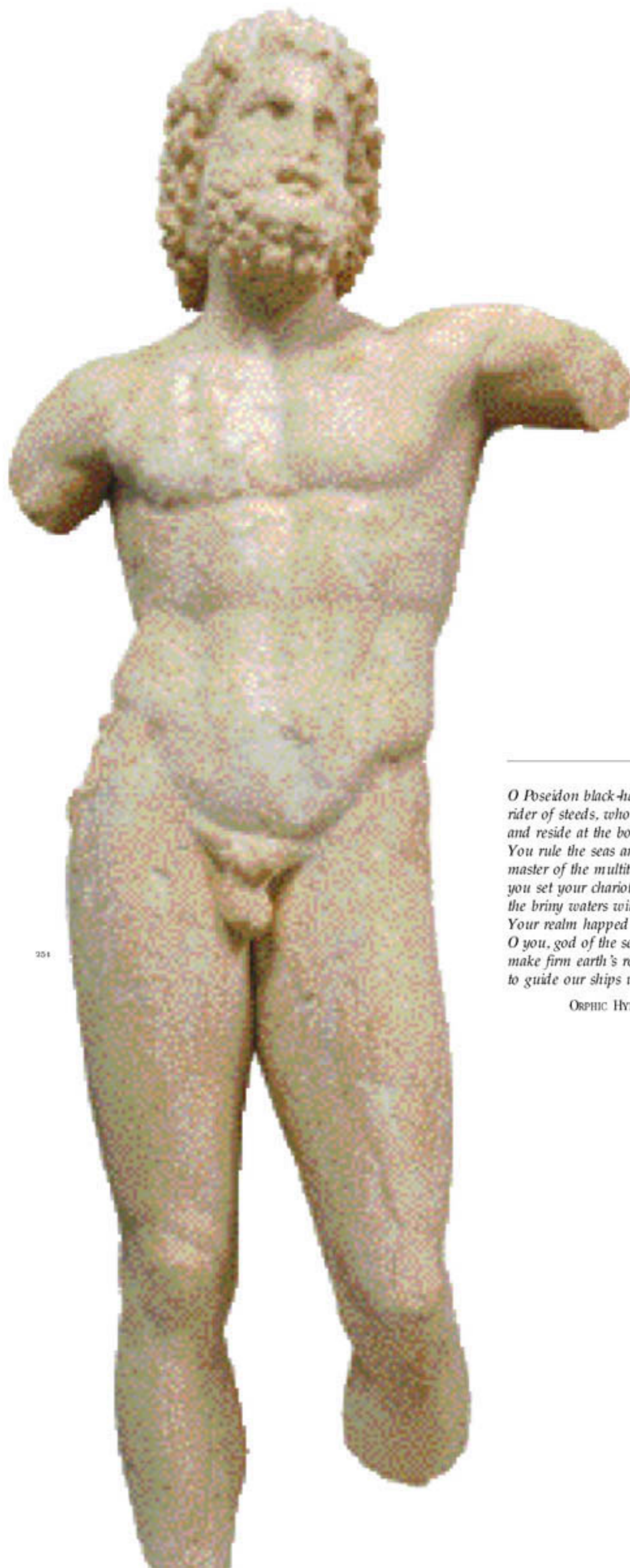
240

250



During the Period of Independence (314-166 BC), the *Hieropoioi*, magistrates entrusted with the management of Sanctuary property, successors of the Amphictyons, published financial accounts inscribed on marble slabs. This inscription from 178 BC contains detailed reference to the expenditures on the feast of Poseidon and of Ilithyia, the rental of a piece of farmland and a house. For the feast of Poseidon and the banquet that followed, the Sanctuary spent 650 drachmas. The type of expenditure also gives us the menu: boiled and roast meat (one ox, two rams, one boar, three piglets) and wine from Cnidus. As dessert, wine from Cos was offered with dried chickpeas, dried figs and walnuts.

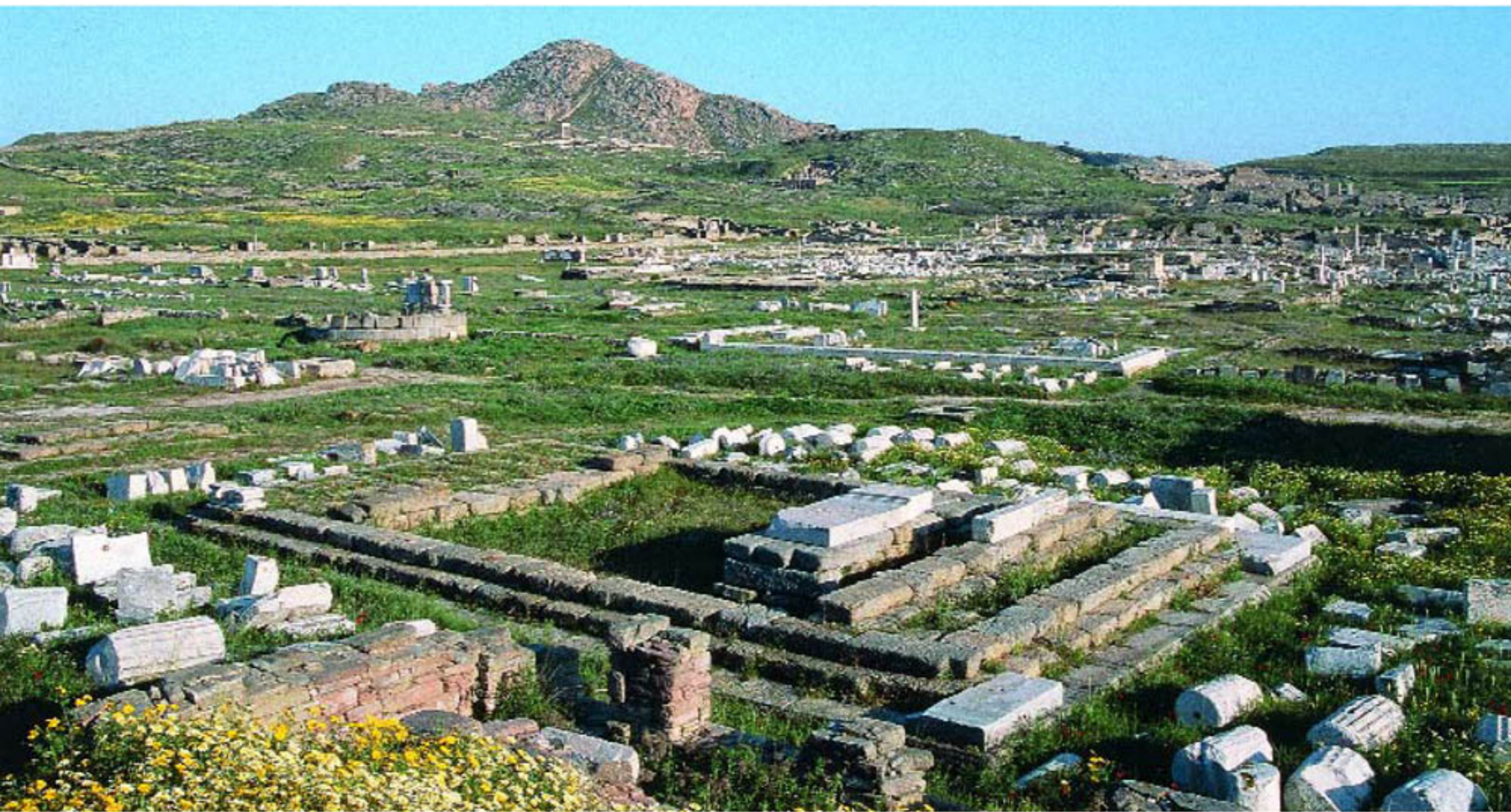




*O Poseidon black-haired holder of the earth,  
 rider of steeds, who hold your trident wrought of bronze  
 and reside at the bottom of the ocean depths.  
 You rule the seas and pounding oceans, O thunder-voiced earth mover,  
 master of the multitudinous waves, giver of grace;  
 you set your chariot racing, disturbing  
 the briny waters with hammer blows.  
 Your realm happed to be the third, the deep current of the sea;  
 O you, god of the sea, who delight in waves, accompanied by wild beasts,  
 make firm earth's roots and send forth fair winds  
 to guide our ships upon their course.*

ORPHIC HYMN, 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC<sup>190</sup>





The Dodekatheon, a sanctuary dedicated to the Twelve Gods, initially contained just altars. At the back of the cella in the little temple built early in the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC, there is still a base on which the cult statues stood.





253

In the cella of the Letoon was the archaic wooden cult statue (*xoano*) of Leto, dressed in a linen chiton and purple himation, a work so strange to the people of the Hellenistic period that, as reported by the historian Semos of Delos, the melancholy philosopher Parmeniscus of Metapontion rediscovered his lost mirth as soon as he saw it.



Artemis and Apollo to the left and right of a *xoano*; this may be the cult statue of their mother.

254





255

The head of a colossal statue of the deified Demetrius Poliorcetes was found in the Dodekathéon; Demetrius, in order to emphasise the legitimacy of his succession, is depicted with the features of Alexander. The degradation of the once arrogant Athenians was so great and their flatterers so extravagant, that even Demetrius was indignant. A hymn addressed to him when he visited Athens calls him the son of Poseidon and Aphrodite: *"The supreme and most beloved of all the gods are arriving in the city! Because this time of year has brought Demeter together with Demetrius. The former comes to celebrate the modest mysteries of Kore and the latter, happy as befits a god, beautiful and smiling. What a magnificent spectacle, friends all around and he in the middle, as though the friends were stars and he the sun. Greetings, O son of the almighty god Poseidon and Aphrodite! Because the other gods are either far away or have no ears or do not exist or pay no attention to us, while we can see you near us, and you are neither wooden nor stone, but real. This is why we pray to you: first give us peace, dear one, because you have the power..."*



256





257

The statues of Leto, mother of the two gods, are few and disputed. The statue on the far left (c. 500 BC) depicts Leto in the typical form of an archaic *kore*; the statue above (2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC) is in the type of Eirene, by the sculptor Kephisodotos.





228

The showily luxurious Agora of the Italians is the largest building on Delos. By erecting this provocatively massive building on the sacred island, the Superpower of the age made an unequivocal statement of its presence, its power and the regulatory role it had decided to play in the Aegean. In the same way, the Naxians and the Athenians had declared their presence and intentions in previous ages.



250





260

The wealthy merchant Gaius Ophellios Pheros from Campania paid for a stoa to be built on the west side of the Agora, purchasing at the same time the right to build a niche and erect his own statue in it, which he paid two of the best sculptors of the period to create. But it would seem that "Fate appeared as an artist" and the head, a faithful portrait of a mature merchant, has never been found. Thus one can enjoy the youthful, athletic body that emulates statues by Praxiteles and Polyclitus.



261

*The Italiotes dedicate to Apollo this statue of Gaius Ophellios Pheros son of Marcos in tribute to his justice and beneficence.*

*Diomysios son of Timarchides, and Timarchides son of Polykles, Athenians, made it.*



262







The statues of the lions were dedicated by the Naxians to the Sanctuary of Apollo about the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC (or, according to other scholars, in the late 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC), within the context of a grandiose building programme intended to demonstrate the supremacy of Naxos to all Hellenic pilgrims. Placed on a high terrace, along the road leading from the north port to the Sanctuary, they impressed pilgrims with their formidable aspect, as most of them had never seen a lion.







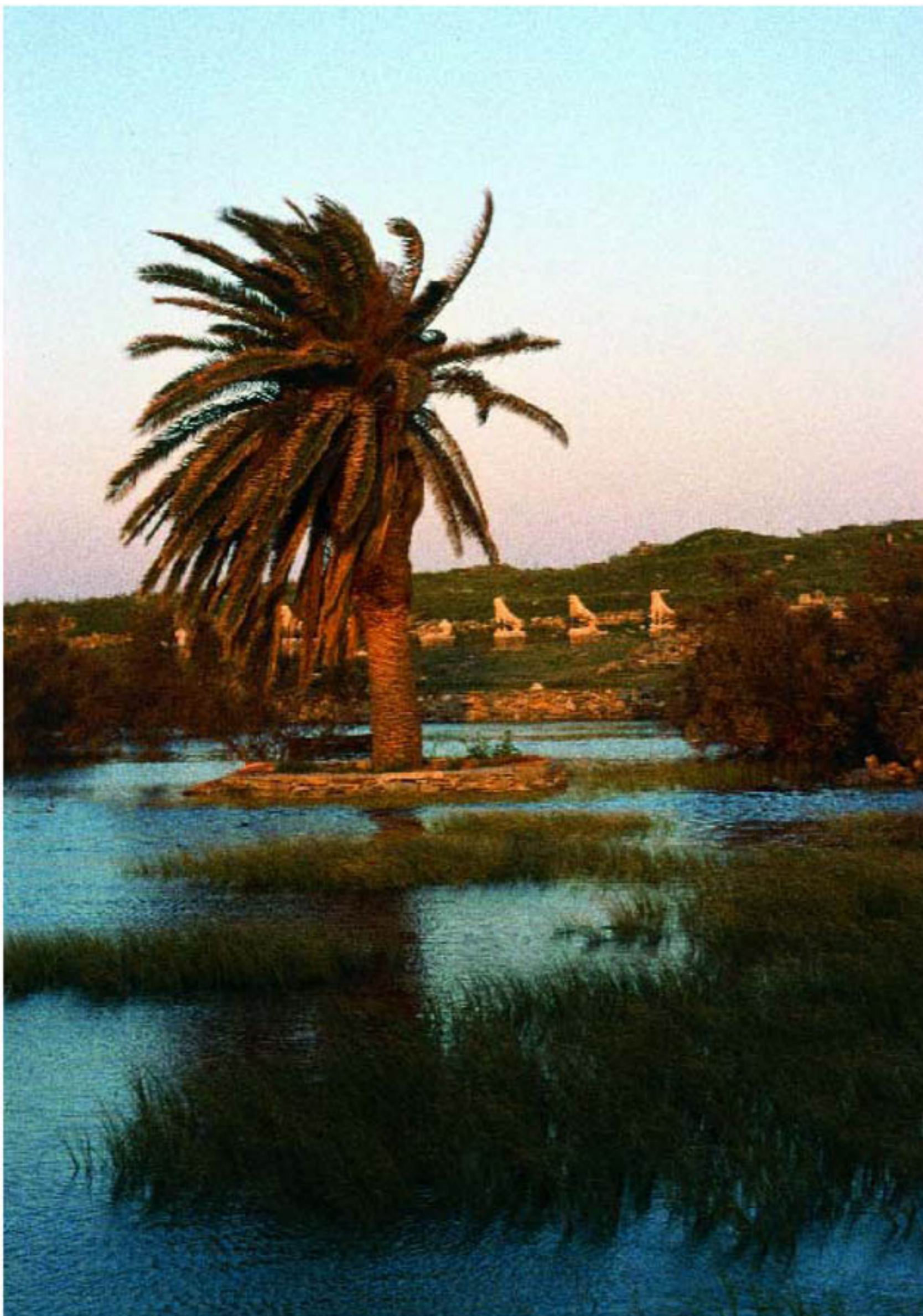
205

Seated on their hind legs, with their mouths half open in an eternal roar, and their glance riveted on the east, they welcome the Gods of Light, every morning and every evening, eternal guardians of the Sacred Lake and the Sanctuary.



206

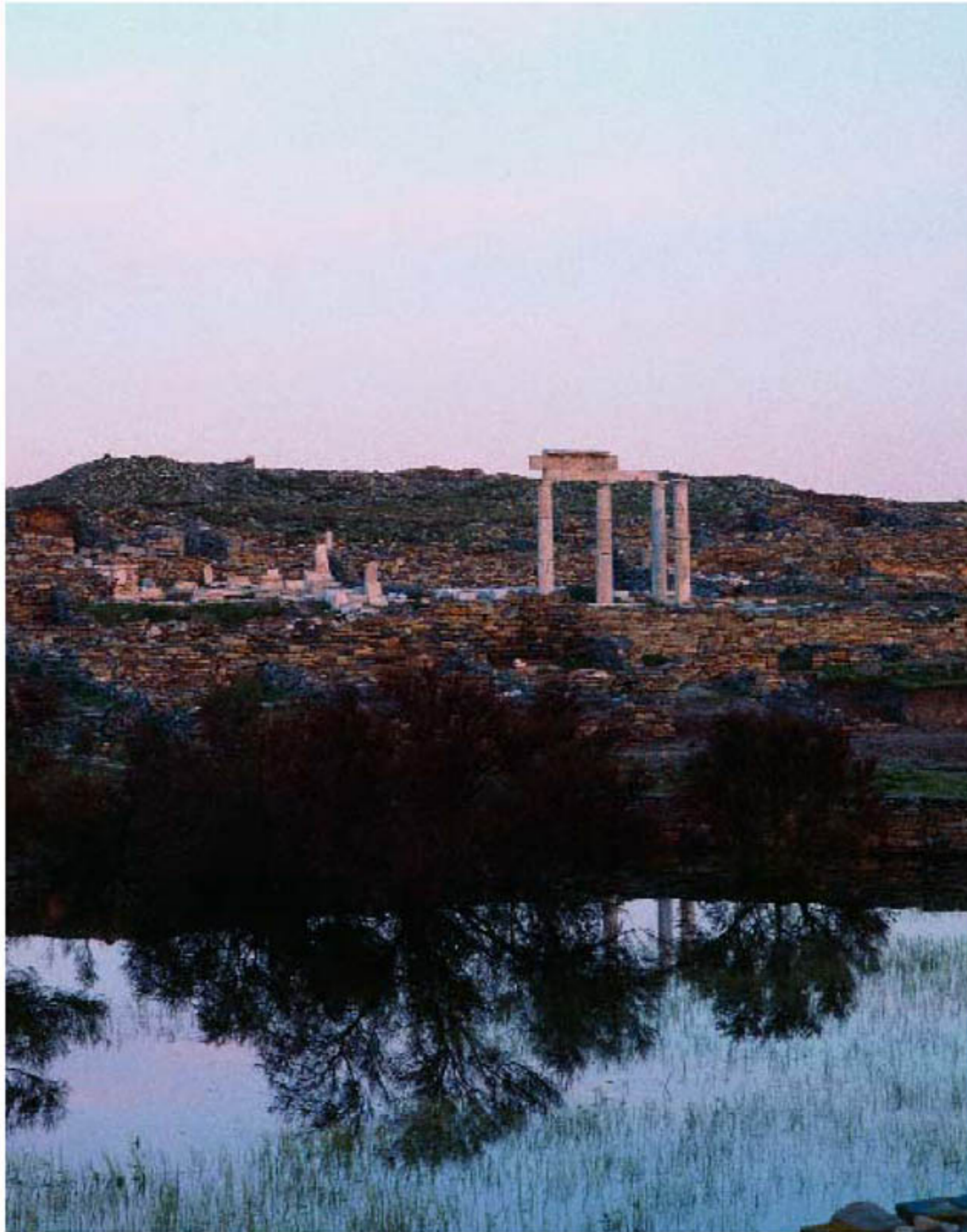




207

In 1925, the Sacred "wheel-shaped" Lake was filled in because of a malaria epidemic. In 1933, Demosthenes Pippas planted a solitary palm tree in the middle, in memory of the palm tree that Leto embraced in her birth travails. This year, for the first time, the Lake was again filled with water, attracting many unprecedented visitors: wild ducks, cranes, cormorants, seagulls.





*King Phoebus, when the goddess, the revered Leto  
by embracing the slim palm tree with both her hands,  
bore you, the most beautiful of all the gods, by the circular lake  
all Delos was flooded with the scent of ambrosia, the vast Earth smiled  
and the white-capped sea rejoiced to its depths.*

THEOGNIS, 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC





260

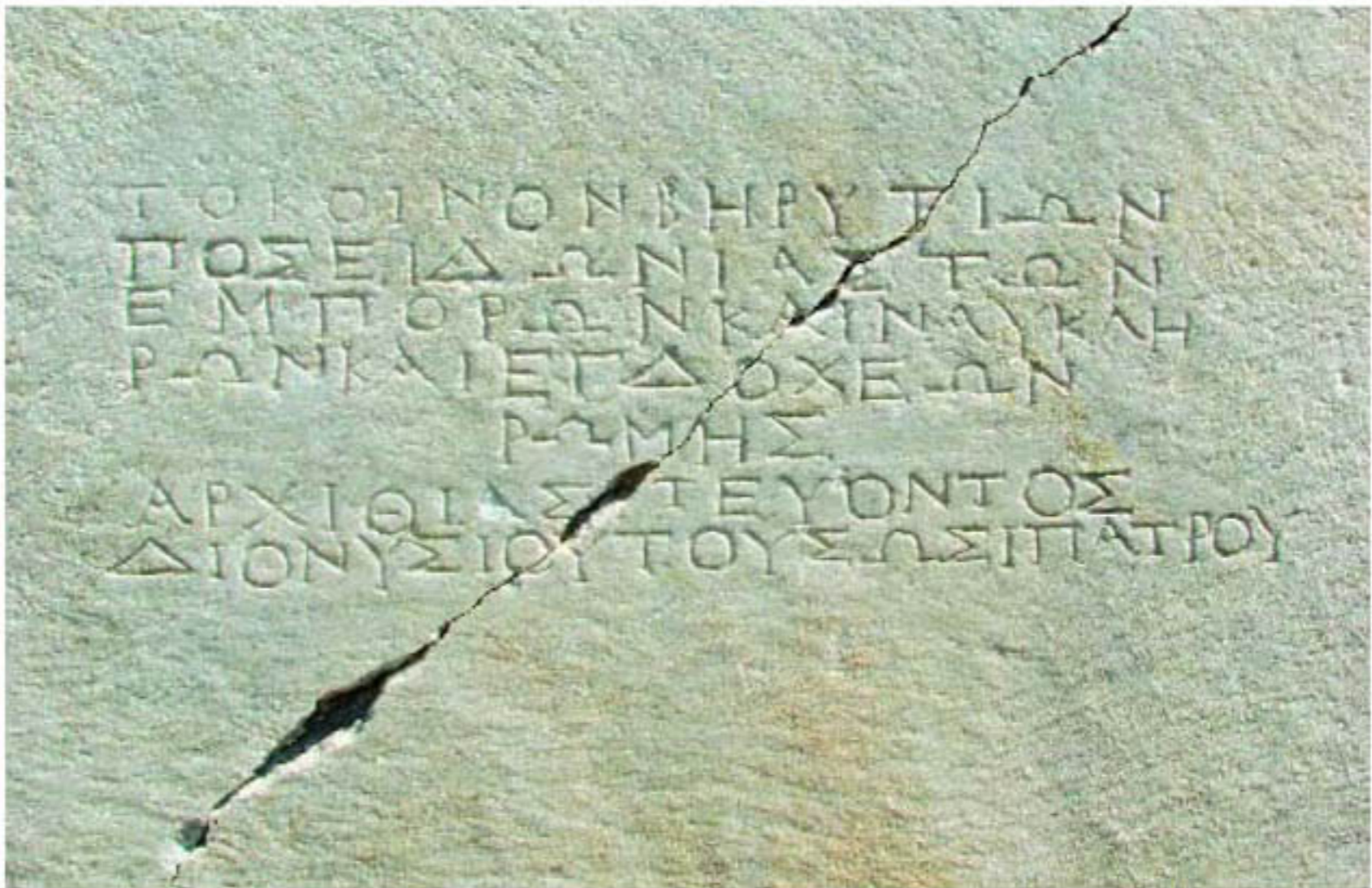
In the Hellenistic period, people suddenly found themselves outside the known boundaries of the city in a vast and unknown world. People of common origin gathered together in societies, creating a familiar and secure microcosm under the protection of an ancestral deity. This building housed the Establishment of the Poseidoniasts, the society of merchants, shipowners, and warehouse owners who came from Beirut, the major commercial city of Syria.





270

Poseidon-Baal, Astarte-Aphrodite and Esmun Asclepius were worshiped in the Establishment of the Poseidoniasts; but Rome, the superpower of the age, was worshiped too, portrayed in the form of a Greek goddess. 125-100 BC.



271





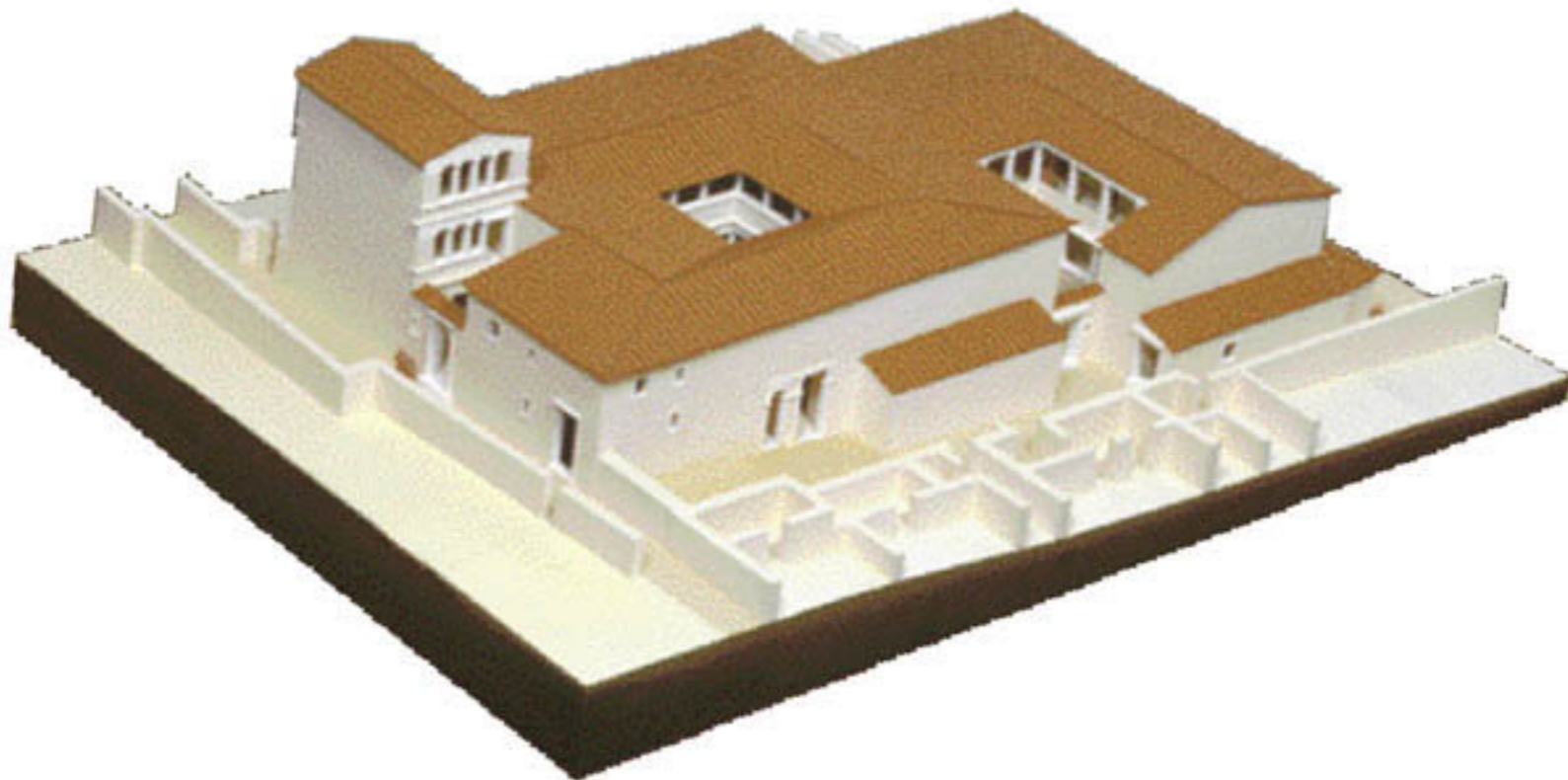
Of the group representing the encounter between Amymone-Beroe and Poseidon, only the nymph survives and the hand of Poseidon, who is pulling off her himation. The front of the nymph is unworked, and it is obvious that the sculptor was using the local myth of Beirut as an excuse; his effort was focused on rendering the nymph's shapely derriere. Late 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC.





273

The House of the Comedians complex, which consists of three independent residences with a total area of 690 sq.m., was built during the last decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC and finally abandoned after Delos was sacked the second time (69 BC). Above is the atrium of the main House of the Comedians and below the reconstruction of the complex (Ph. Bruneau-Ph. Fraise, 1996).



274





275

In the House on the Hill (above), in another house opposite, which has not yet been excavated, and in the House of the Comedians, large sections of wall paintings were found that give an idea of the interior and exterior decoration of houses. The wall paintings were executed with minerals and manufactured pigments (below) applied on damp plaster. When the inhabitants wanted to renew the decoration, they would lay down a new, thin layer of plaster and paint over it. The renewal of the exterior wall paintings, which deteriorated very rapidly, would take place quite frequently, and often on the exterior altars and facades, there were many successive layers of wall paintings.



276



277





278



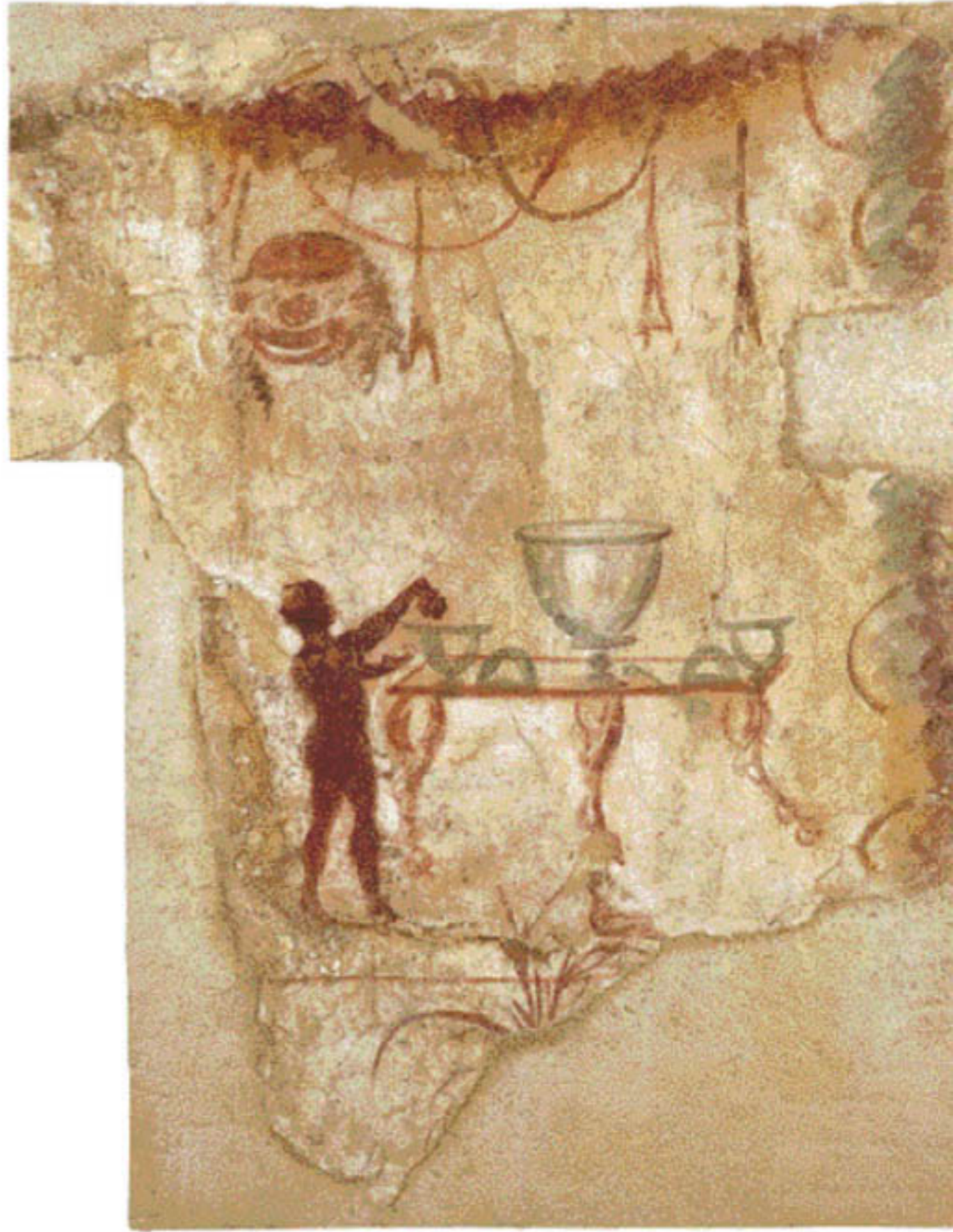
279

On the façade of one house, nine successive layers of wall paintings were found that had been done in the space of just a few years. The chronologically last layer gives the festive atmosphere of a sacrifice: a black youth climbs the trunk of a palm tree, a galloping mounted Hero, the sacrifice of a pig being led by a young slave to the gentlemen standing in official garb in front of the altar, and a little black slave setting the table with glass and bronze vases. Overhead hangs a garland with multicoloured streamers and theatrical masks. The owners of the house are celebrating the *compitalia* in honour of the Lares.





280



281





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283

The paintings were executed with swift brushstrokes on the damp plaster, and even though they are not works by significant artists, they have vitality and expressiveness. Often a preliminary design is incised on the plaster with a sharp instrument, or the general lines of the drawing and details of figures, as notes.

*Right page:* In the previous layers, under the Mounted Hero, Heracles, protector of the house, is depicted four times, crowned and with the club in his right hand and the lion's skin on his left shoulder.



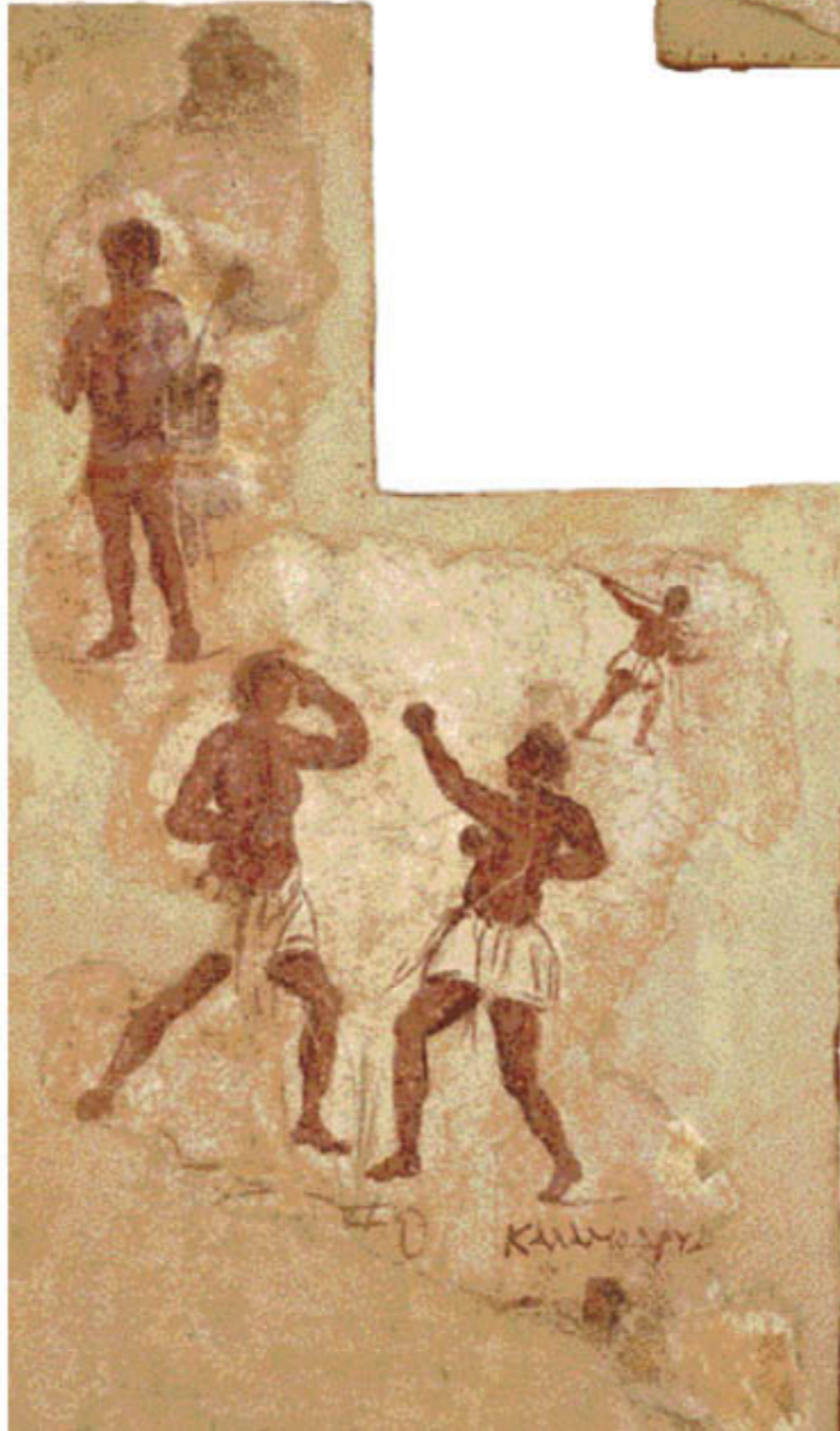




All that remains of Kerdoos (=he who brings gain) Hermes, who was depicted on the right, is the outstretched arm with the pouch. In the wall painting below, Heracles appears to be turning his head to watch a boxing contest. Under the athlete on the right is written the name Kalamodryas, a famous athlete who, during the reign of Mithridates, won a silver talant in eating and drinking contests.



285



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287

The Lares, Roman gods of the family hearth, of seamen and of crossroads, drink from *thyta* that end in the bust of a wild goat.



288





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200



In the House of the Comedians large sections of a frieze were found with scenes from comedies and tragedies. The actors are wearing characteristic costumes and masks. In most houses the Delians' affection for the theatre, especially for comedy, is apparent. Theatrical masks are depicted on many mosaic floors and figurines of many actors, masks and even puppets have been found copying the heroes of plays.



203



204





205

*Child of an old blind sire, Antigone,  
What region, say, whose city have we reached?  
Who will provide today with scanty dole  
This wanderer?*

SOPHOCLES, *Oedipus at Kolonos*, 1-4



206

*Above:* Antigone leads her blind father in a scene from *Oedipus at Kolonos*, to the right a comedian.  
*Below:* terracotta figurines and tableware in the form of actors in characteristic roles from the New Comedy.









Parts of wall paintings with white figures on a dark background perhaps in imitation of relief friezes. Above is a representation of the sleeping Ariadne in Naxos where Theseus abandoned her to be found by Dionysus, an encounter that resulted in her becoming the great grandmother of the Delians. To the right: a scene depicting a panther hunt and scenes from the Palaestra.





299

Frieze images are painted on a dry, smooth surface that has been covered with a dark colour. The artist outlines the figures freely with a paintbrush, putting more colour on the lighted sections and less on the shaded ones. Thus, the background colour, which is more or less visible, creates the effect of chiaroscuro without the use of a different colour.



300









301



302

Sections of friezes depicting a chariot race. These wall paintings, as well as the two previous ones, come from the Granite Palaestra and the Lake Palaestra, and give an idea of the interior decoration and the aesthetics of the places in which young people did their gymnastics.



303









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308





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306

On the frieze above, women in multicoloured garments are seated comfortably inside a house. In the scene on the right, a young man is offering a pouch of money to a seated woman who is holding out her hand eagerly. The frieze may possibly have decorated a luxury brothel.

*Lower left:* the frieze with the chariot race between Eros and Psyche and to the right a young slave leading a pig to be sacrificed on the altar.



300







The two brothers, owners of the House of the Seals, ensured that their portraits, perhaps copies of official bronze images in their permanent residence in Rome, were placed in this important branch of their bank. The portraits were located at a central point in the house so that they could be seen directly by visitors, with a view to inspiring confidence in the authority, seriousness and credibility of the enterprise, and at the same time constituting a constant reminder to the delegated managers, employees and slaves of the severity of the masters, particularly during the long winter months when they were absent.







312

The owners of the House of the Seals, whose wealth was dependent on the safe voyages of their ships, burned incense in this censor not only to Zeus, Apollo and Poseidon, but also to Heracles the Sea God, considering him as an equal to the great gods.



313

Ring stones, burned rings and seals. The seals (*rhypoi*) were little knobs of raw clay that held down the ends of the thick linen twine with which the scroll of papyrus was bound. Onto this clay, the sender or contracting parties and witnesses would press their ring, the representation on which took the place of a seal/signature. The fire that destroyed the House of the Seals in 69 BC also burned the enterprise's extensive files that were kept on the first floor. The burning papyrus and wooden furniture on which they were placed fired the raw clay of the seals thus ensuring their preservation.





314

Ring stones from the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. A nude youth beside a trophy; an eagle holding a thunder bolt in its claws (symbol used on Ptolemaic coins); a soul bearing a scroll of papyrus; and a head of Aphrodite or Arsinoë III.



315



316



317





318

Mosaic floor from the banquet hall or *oikos*, the official reception room of the house, in which men's symposia were held, in the Insula of the Jewellery. Late 2<sup>nd</sup>, early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.



319













321

The *emblema*, the central transportable motif of the mosaic floor, presents Athena armed, Hermes with his winged sandals and caduceus, and a seated female figure. The central scene is bordered by a stylised garland, punctuated by bulls' heads and theatrical masks of characters from the New Comedy.









Mosaic from the upper floor of the same house. King Lycurgus of Thrace, enemy of Dionysus, lunges forward with a raised axe to hit the fallen Ambrosia, the god's nurse, whom the god's miraculous intervention has already transformed into a leafy vine with grapes.



Three pigeons drink water from a bronze tripod basin resting on a small window. Copy of a famous work by the mosaicist Sosos of Pergamum.





Part of a mosaic *emblema* depicting Dionysus seated on a panther.





325



326

Section of the central rosette of a mosaic floor with a multicoloured bird on stylised foliate ornaments, a rosette from the upper floor of the Lake House, and segments of the mosaic portraying a wreathed Eros.



327





328



329





330



331



332



The elegant women of Delos wear long heavily draped chitons, girdled below the breast, and light diaphanous linen or silk himations. The clothes reveal nothing, but highlight and show off the curves of the body. Their hair, elaborately coiffed, is held with bands or wreaths, and always pulled up or back.



333



334





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336



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340

Women enhance their appearance with jewellery. Most of the jewellery that has been found on Delos is of inexpensive materials, mainly glass paste, since the valuable jewellery was either looted by pirates or taken away by its owner. Above, a necklace with beads cut from ostrich egg shell, glass beads, rings and brooches from various eras and two dressing pins of ivory and silver depicting Aphrodite emerging from the sea.





Two women had time, despite the panic, to bury their jewellery and thus we have the contents of the jewel boxes of two comfortable but, as indicated by their houses, not particularly wealthy ladies of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. The jewel box of the first contains a pair of gold earrings with cupids, a gold medallion with the bust of Aphrodite, a second gold medallion decorated with hematite and glass paste, a necklace with many gold pieces and beads.











350



351



352



353



The richer jewel box belonging to the lady of the house next door contains two gold jewels with a bust of Aphrodite and Eros, which may have been sewn onto a knitted hairnet; three gold chains with medallions, three pairs of gold earrings and one gold ring.



354





355

In both cases, together with the jewels, any coins on hand at that moment were buried. In the first case, there was just one silver Athenian tetradrachm, but in the wealthier house there was a small fortune: 59 silver tetradrachms, 3 gold Rhodian staters and two half-staters.



356



357



Earrings were the essential, permanent jewels worn by women of all classes, demonstrating their social status and exhibiting their husband's wealth; at the same time, since they had a stable value, they were also an investment and a kind of reserve against future adversities. In earlier periods, jewellery was of solid gold, but in the Hellenistic period, precious stones and pearls started being used, so that gold gradually became the metal connecting multicoloured stones. From the Rheneian graves and the Christian graves found recently on Delos, it can be seen that women were very frequently buried wearing their earrings.



358



359

360



361





362

Women and men alike wore sandals with elaborate lacing and bronze ornaments (below); they often have a high sole to enable them to walk on muddy roads. In winter, many wore boots of soft leather or thick woollen stockings and sandals that tied at the calf.



363



364



365





366



367

*Psimythia* and cosmetics in general, which were initially used only by courtesans, became essential to the daily personal care and appearance of women of all classes. Cosmetics were made at home with plants and mineral pigments that were ground in elegant marble mortars and mixed with some fatty substance. A brush and a thin bronze instrument were used to outline the eyes, a rose colour was applied to the cheeks and a darker red to the lips.



368



369

Women and men alike wore amulets to protect themselves from envy and the evil eye, and many resorted to magic, especially on matters of revenge or love. One woman placed a terrible curse on those who stole her snake bracelet; another "binds" 21 adversaries, among whom were many of his relatives, as well as the Athenian Epimeletes of Delos. Bronze replicas of men are used to "bind" unfaithful lovers; magic refrains are used, and lead wheels are turned with red woollen thread in the moonlight in an effort to bring some inconstant lover back.



370





371

The athletic facilities – the Palaestrae, Gymnasium, Hippodrome and Stadium – are grouped together northeast of the Sanctuary, a short distance apart. *Above*: the House of the Diadumenos, possibly the palaestra of Staseas, an extremely successful private school for the sons of wealthy families; *below* is the Granite Palaestra.



372

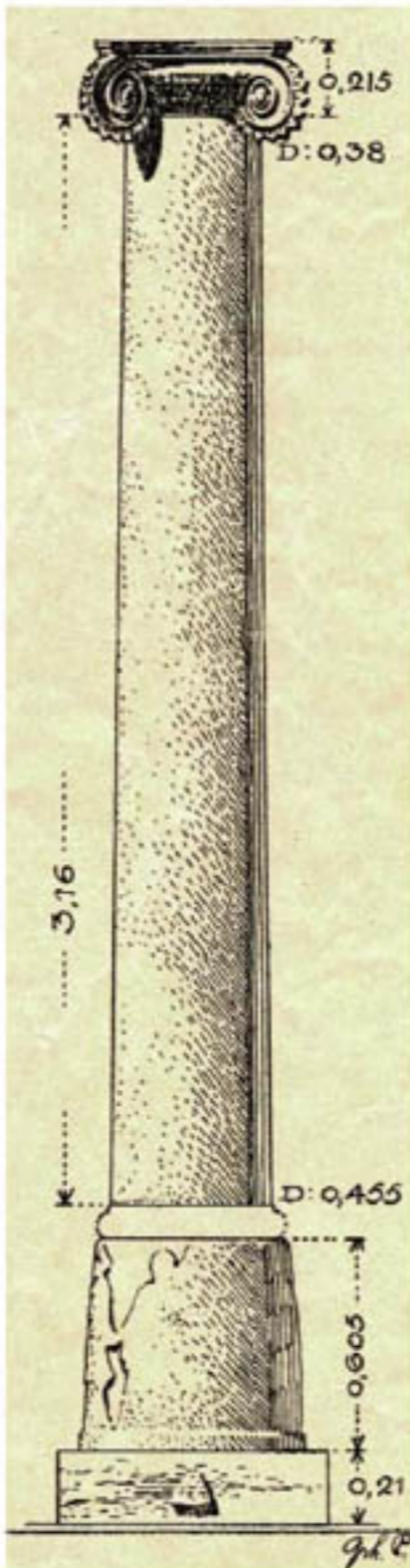




373



375



Just before the unexpected disaster, the lavish renovation of the Palaestra of Staseas had begun with the construction of a splendid peristyle with elegant columns on high relief bases. It was never completed. After the disaster, the sculptures which were visible, such as a Satyr, votive offering of the owners, were used as construction materials.

374



376

*Dedicated during the service of physical exercise trainers  
Staseas son of Philocleus  
and Sotades son of Sotades  
Athenians*









The Palaestra was decorated with many statues: the portraits of the owners (fig. 380-382) the copy of the Diadumenos (377), a superb example of what can be achieved with exercise, the "Pseudo-Athlete" (378), a portrait of a powerful Roman protector of the Palaestra, the statue of Artemis (379), an idealised portrait of a dead daughter of the family and others.





380



381

The realistic portraits found in the houses show the faces of some of the inhabitants. The few "portraits" of Greeks still show idealised faces, with a diffuse sensual melancholy. The wealthy Roman freedmen, the Levantine and African merchants pose unsmiling, serious and stern, but they wear the Roman *gravitas*, which they were trying to imitate, like a mask, one that has been worn so often that it can no longer be removed; it has become one with the face.



382









Excellent portrait of an older man  
found in the Lake Palaestra.  
Possibly represents a principal  
of the Gymnasium or a Palaestra.  
Late 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC.





The only things preserved from the hundreds of bronze statues that adorned the sanctuary and houses were their marble bases, a few hands, a foot, some drapery and this bronze head from the Granite Palaestra. The face of the young man with the strong features and the sensual mouth is not as ruthlessly "naked" as the portraits of the wealthy Romans. It retains the idealised features of Greek portraits. 150-125 BC.



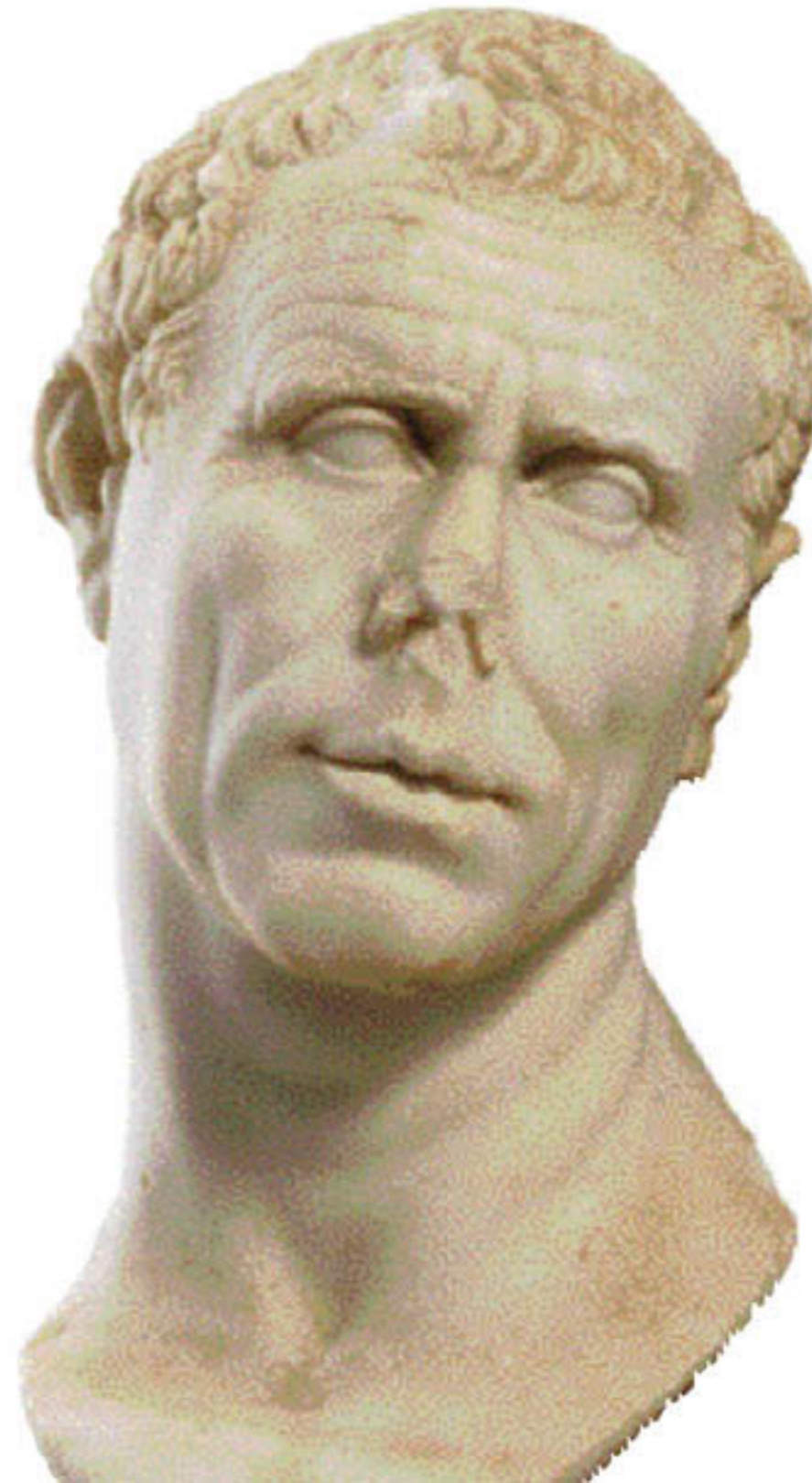


389



390

In the annoying persistence of the rich inhabitants in having their actual features rendered on their portraits, one can see the complex that Cavafy ascribes to Lanis, son of Rametichos. On the contrary, the rendering of particular national traits constitutes a challenge to sculptors, which they approach with affection, as can be seen in the head of the young man with the luxuriant hair. However, in portraits of the Gauls, it was necessary to over-emphasise their "barbaric" features in order to exalt the victorious kings.



391





302



303

Terracotta figurines, works by minor artists, record in a journalistic way the anonymous multitudes of the non-privileged and frequently funny types that circulated on the city streets. Ethiopians, hunch-backed dwarfs, dancers, drunken old ladies, jesters, itinerant entertainers and peddlers, beggars, priests, and exhausted slaves who have fallen asleep give a vivid picture of the real population of the city.



304



305

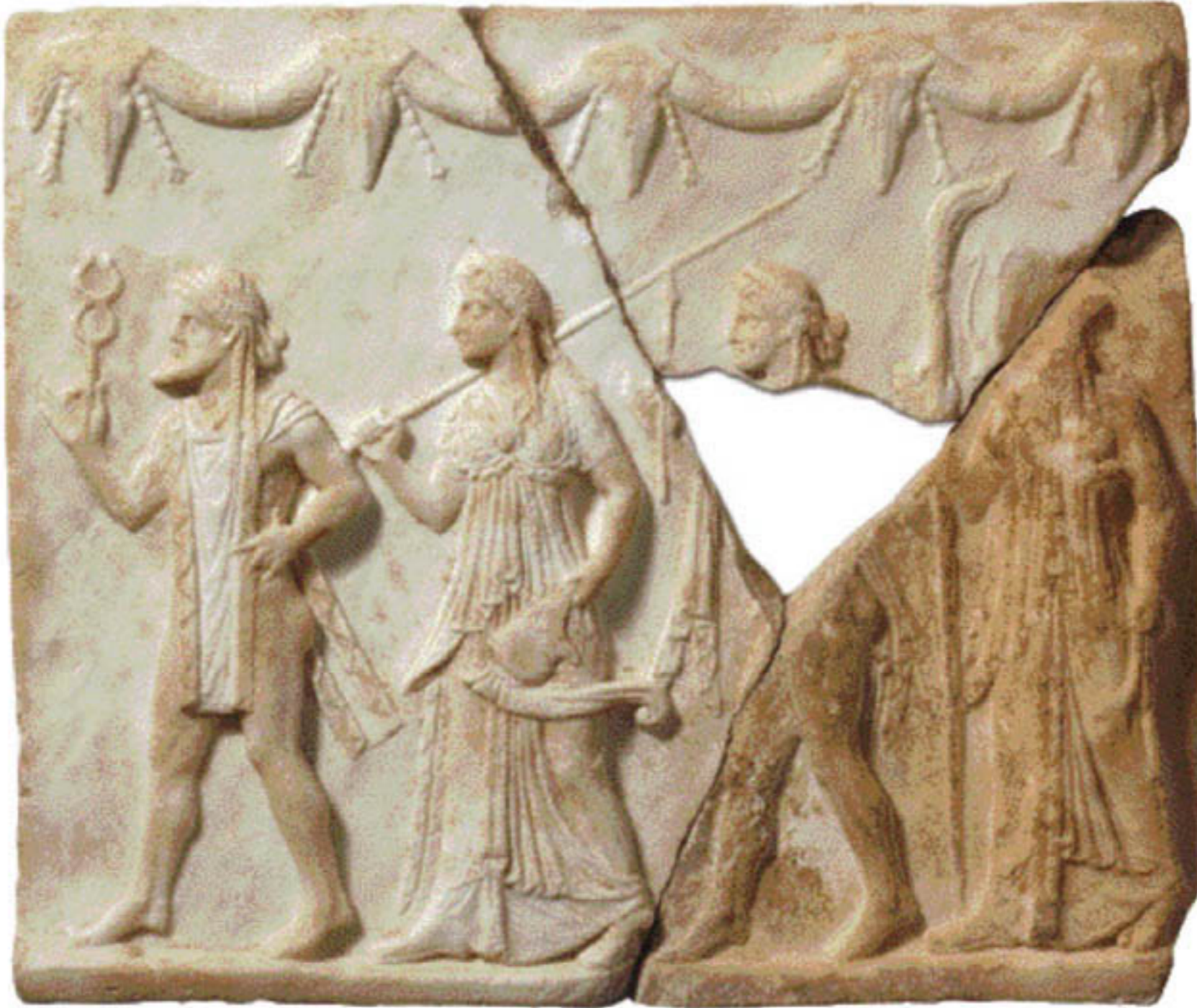


306









In the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC, there was a trend toward returning to the forms and expressive media of the classical and archaic periods. But the works produced outside the conditions in which the classical or archaic prototypes were created were theatrical and false. In this archaistic relief found in the Lake House, Hermes, Athena, Apollo and Artemis have nothing of the inner power of original archaic works. They look like actors wearing costumes.

At the bottom of the picture, the Lake Palaestra, flooded with water after the rains of last winter. Above, to the left is the Lake House with its elegant peristyle columns, and to the right is a part of the Granite Palaestra.





The peristyle of the Lake House has monolithic columns of grey-blue marble from Tinos, with bases and an especially decorative type of white marble Ionic capitals.



The furnishings in ancient houses were few and functional, mainly couches, seats, portable tables and boxes for storing clothing and utensils. Above is a reconstruction of a kind of sideboard with clay vases that were found in Delian houses and below the reconstruction of a symposium table.



400



401





402



403

For cooking and heating, clay *anthrakia* were used, that burned coal. Cooking utensils were also clay, but on feast days or sacrifices, large bronze cauldrons were used. In the cookhouse of one moderately sized house, a total of 83 different types of clay vessels were used that were directly related to food. To them must be added the vessels of perishable material that were lost, and metal ones that were looted. The large number of different vessels indicates a particularly developed social class with refined tastes, who did not consider eating as a survival need, but as a source of special enjoyment.



404









410



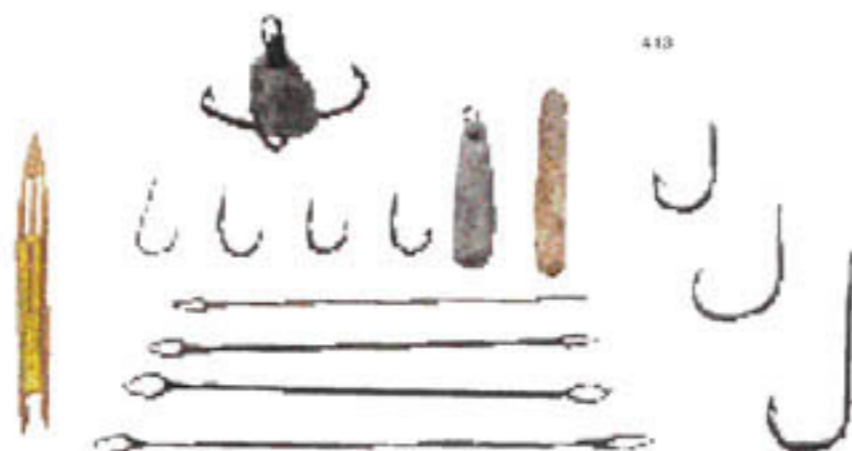
411



412



414



413

Seashells from a semi-outdoor *epthopoleion* (seller of boiled foods), fishhooks, one modern and many ancient tools for repairing fishnets, and the statuette of an old fisherman. The remains of food that were found in the excavations show that the inhabitants of Delos were particularly fond of fish and seafood. Delian fish were famous as were its fishermen. The device with the many hooks is a *chtapodiera*, especially for octopus, identical to that used by fishermen in the Aegean to this day. The rocky coasts of Delos are still teeming with octopus, which would have been even more abundant in antiquity. This explains the hesitation of *adelos*, the invisible wandering rock, expressed in the Homeric Hymn, to receive Leto: "And what if the god when he is born sees me thus arid, and scorns me? What if he goes to another land, many-treed, to build his temple and kicks me to the depths of the sea, to become a nest for octopuses and black seals?"





415

The evenings were lighted by single or multiple-wick lamps that frequently were in the shape of a ship. Despite the fact that oil was expensive, many lamps burned in the houses at the same time and a slave was responsible for keeping them filled and the wicks clean. In a small tavern, 40 lamps were found, and in the Insula of the House of the Comedians, a total of 650 lamps.



416





417



419



418

Two *pyxides* for keeping jewellery, without their lids, and a “flower vase” decorated with applied relief figures that were made separately in moulds.





420



421

Tableware for seasonings or sauces in various forms: a she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, a boar and theatrical masks. The two small amphorae in the form of an African and a Satyr are deterrent *provaskania*. These unusual, grotesque figures would draw the attention of visitors, thus weakening the "evil eye", while at the same time, by showing their genitals, they combat envy.



422



423



424



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426





428



427

Dolls with movable arms. One, whose body has been preserved intact, has a small pellet inside it which makes it also a rattle. Aristotle<sup>187</sup> recommends that children be occupied with such games so that they do not break things in the house. Elsewhere mention is made of an incompetent nurse:<sup>188</sup> "the child is hungry and she sings it a lullaby, it is thirsty and she bathes it, it wants to sleep and she moves the rattle." The doll on the left with the crown and high-soled *kothoroi* represents some famous heroine or actor.





429



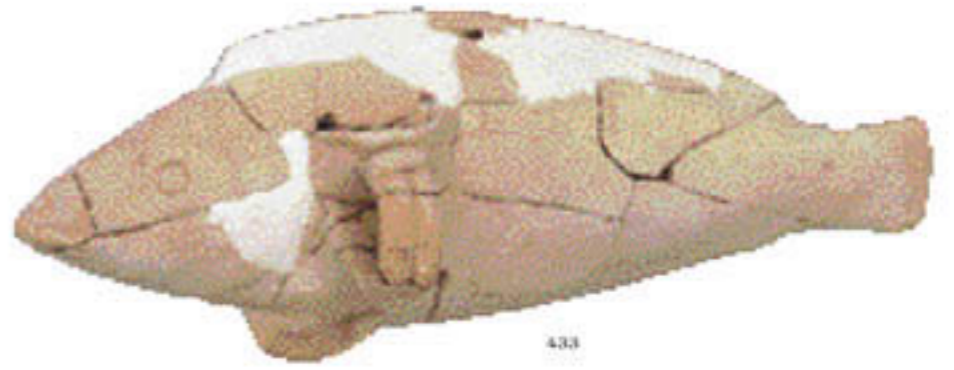
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431



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433

Baby's bottles for infants and children. The duck, the dolphin and the African are also rattles.



435



434

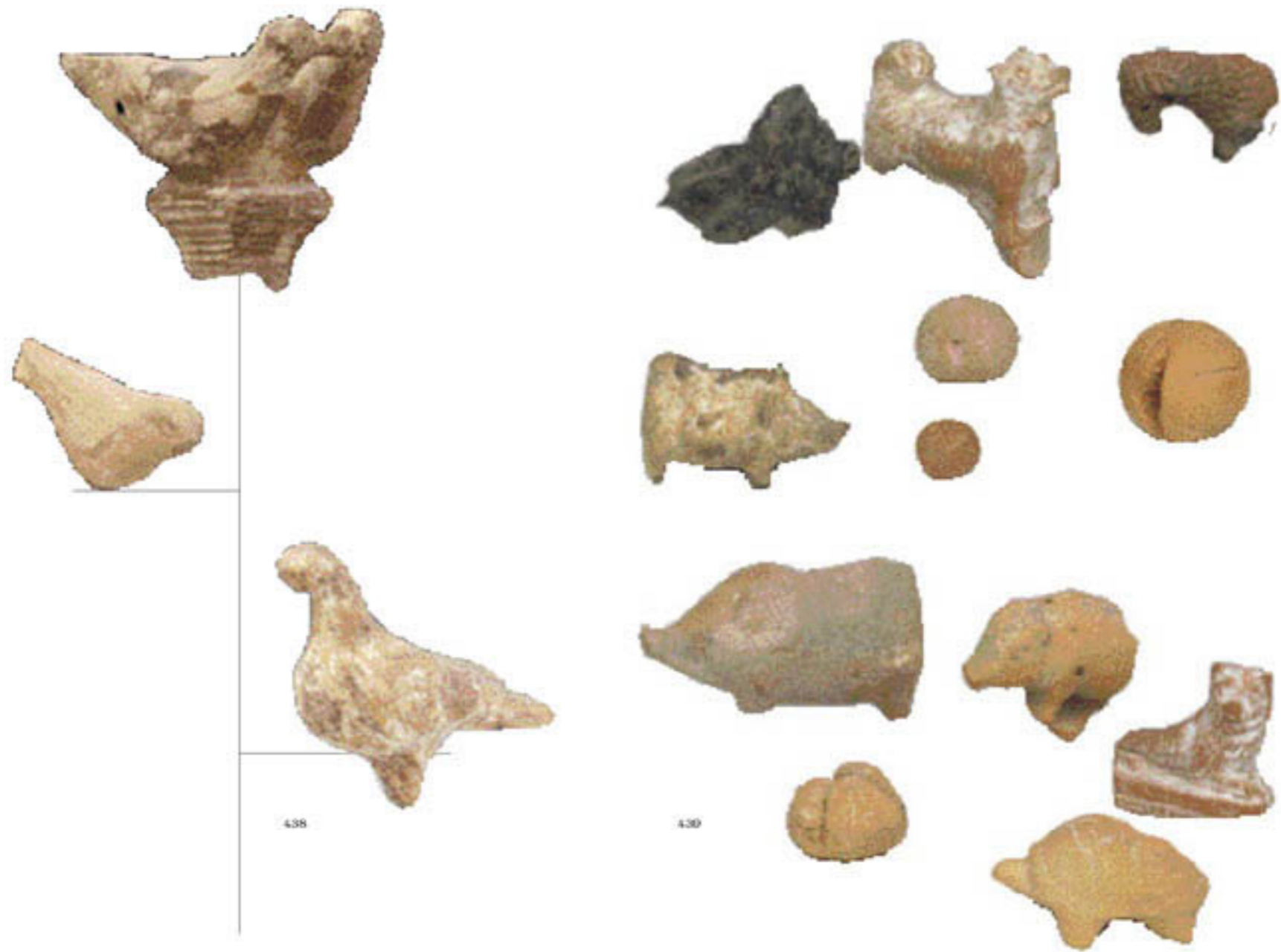


436



437





Replicas of animals, birds and fruit, and miniatures of vases, furniture and utensils; all children's toys.







441



442



443

Ships from all over the Mediterranean and the Black Sea carried large quantities of wine to the harbours of Delos in clay amphorae. Every city had its own characteristic shape of amphora with seals on the handles or on the rim indicating the name of the producer, the city of origin, and the eponymous archon of the year. Thus, from the shape of the amphora and its seals, the buyer could tell what city the wine was from, what vineyard produced it and in what year. The amphorae are large, heavy containers appropriate for transportation and storage, but not for everyday use. The wine was decanted through funnels into smaller table decanters called *laghynoi*.



444



445





446

Left: satyr or wine peddler beside a large *krater*.  
 Right: Eros fills a cup with wine from an amphora that he is holding on his shoulder.  
 Below: measures for selling liquid and solid merchandise.



447



448



449





450



451

Outside the Sanctuary, on the avenue leading from the port to the Hippodrome, the Gymnasium and the Stadium, a small tavern sold wine cold or hot in large cups. Thirty-eight of these cups were on the floor, the remaining 102 were found stacked in columns, one inside the other, beside the wall and must have been placed on a piece of wooden furniture that was destroyed in the fire. No cup was found on the road, which means that when the pirates attacked on that winter's evening, the customers were inside, standing in front of the wooden counter or around the brazier. Above, the cups as they were found and to the left, some of them after being repaired.





452



458



454



455



456

Above the tavern a woman was working, who, as can be seen from her earnings left behind, served sailors from many cities in the Mediterranean. *To the left:* some of the wine cups used in the tavern and *below* draught-like stones (*pessoi*) and dice from a game that the customers used to play, and *pessoi* found in other Delian houses.





457



458



459



460

North and east of the Sacred Lake there were many shops and workshops that manufactured products necessary for daily use, but especially luxury items for export. The bronze couches of Delos, richly decorated with applied reliefs and ivory, were famous, highly desirable and very expensive. *Above:* moulds for casting the couch leg and decorative elements.



461



462









463



464



465

Bronze decorations from a couch, a small incense-burner and stages in the manufacture of bronze railing and curtain rings.



466



467



468



468





469



470



471



472

Moulds for casting:  
a bronze relief plaque  
depicting a dancer,  
a lamp in the form  
of an African's head  
and vases in the shape  
of animals.





Moulds for making clay vases in the form of a ram, a dancer as applied decoration on a vase, and lead soldiers. Dozens of objects were made with lead imported from the mines of Lavrion.





480



481



482



483

In many workshops, artisans mass produced copies of famous statues in miniature for residents and pilgrims. Statuettes of Aphrodite were most in demand, since at least 95 half-finished statues of the goddess were found. The most popular types were the carefree and provocative Aphrodite tying her sandal (25 half-finished statuettes) the shy Aphrodite of Cnidus (23 statuettes), a more modest Aphrodite leaning on a small pilaster (22 statuettes), and the Anadyomene (emerging from the waves). In addition, a good many half-finished statuettes were found of Heracles, Artemis, Harpocrates and Sarapis.



484





The Sanctuary of the Bastion, as it is conventionally known, was probably dedicated to the cult of Aphrodite or of Artemis Soteira. The base of the cult statue has been preserved in the temple, in front of which is a marble altar. The Sanctuary was totally destroyed in the raid of 69 BC. Two years later Gaius Triarius built a bastion on top of it, part of the defensive walls with which he tried to protect what was left of the city.





486

A relief found at the Minoan Fountain depicts the head of a river god and three seated Nymphs. Inside the fountain there was an inscription forbidding people to wash, bathe or throw rubbish into the water. Another inscription preserved *in situ* nearby prohibits people from throwing ashes and fill near the shrine of Leto and the temple of Dionysus, and a third one makes provision for strict fines for anyone allowing pigs and other animals to graze in the Sanctuary. Bans of this kind would have been meaningless if pilgrims, visiting merchants and the local residents had respected the public areas of the city.



487



488

*It has been decided by the Boule and the Deme, upon a proposal by Telemnestos, son of Aristides, that in future this site close to the temple of Dionysus should be kept clean and that no one should throw either faeces or ashes or anything else into this clean area nor into the sanctuary of Leto; this has been decided by the Boule and the Deme; if someone is caught committing such an act, the one who observed him has the right to arrest him and accuse him before the Boule; should the perpetrator be a slave the Boule will order 50 lashes on his back; should he be a free man, he will pay a fine of 10 drachmas. The Boule having no involvement in this matter, will give half the fine to the priests and the other half to the accuser.*





489



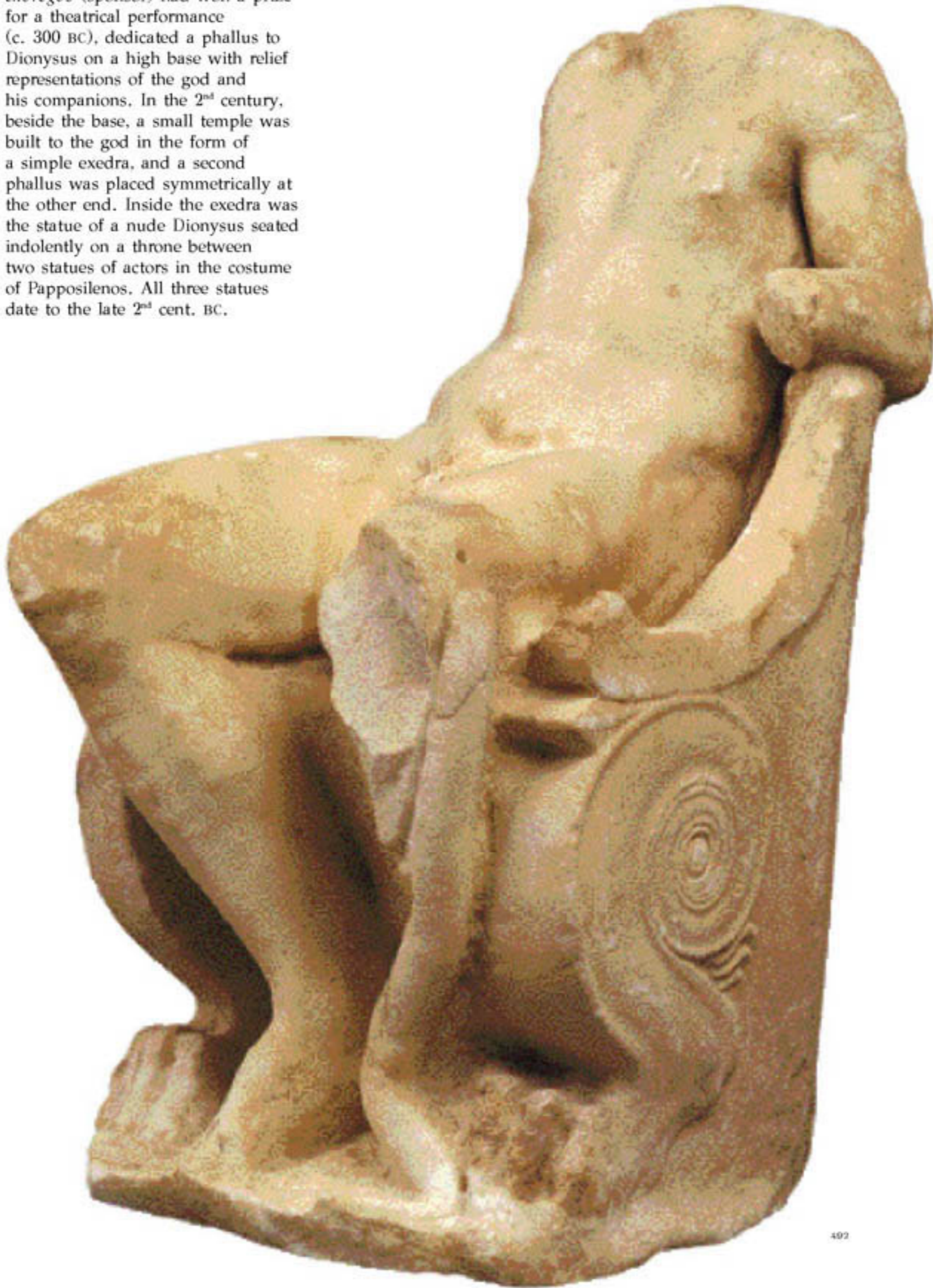
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491



Carystius, son of Asbelus, who as *choregos* (sponsor) had won a prize for a theatrical performance (c. 300 BC), dedicated a phallus to Dionysus on a high base with relief representations of the god and his companions. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, beside the base, a small temple was built to the god in the form of a simple exedra, and a second phallus was placed symmetrically at the other end. Inside the exedra was the statue of a nude Dionysus seated indolently on a throne between two statues of actors in the costume of Papposilenos. All three statues date to the late 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC.







403

As early as the 5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, the god ceased to be bearded and from then on was often depicted in female dress. From the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. on, he is shown as a nude, beautiful youth with a tender, soft body and luxuriant hair falling to his shoulders. In this relief, the only features that distinguish him from Artemis are the thyrsos, grapes and panther.

Actor in the role of Papposilenos, a notorious member of the troupe, and teacher of Dionysus. He is holding a drum and an almost empty wine skin. His chubby face and small red nose, his heavy lowered eyelids and round belly show the easy-going personality of someone who is fond of his wine. His features recall depictions of Socrates.



404





Papposilenos tries to entertain little Dionysus with something he is holding in his raised right arm, perhaps a bunch of grapes.



Goat-footed Pan, god of mountains, valleys and caves. The strong movement of the body shows that he too has been excited by the music he is playing on his syrinx.





407



409



408

Refined young Satyrs, smiling and happy, drunk on the joy of life, are ready for mischief of all kinds. Together with Pan and the Maenads, they make up the noisy Dionysian troupe.





500



501

THE ARMY OF DIONYSUS IN INDIA: "The scouts said that his phalanx and companies were demented and furious women wearing deerskins and wreathed with ivy. They were holding small spears without an iron tip, also adorned with ivy, and light little shields that made noise if you but touched them –I think they mistook drums for shields. Among them there were some coarse youths with long tails and short horns, like those of a newborn goat, who danced the *kordakas*. The commander himself travelled on a chariot drawn by leopards, he was completely beardless, not even fuzz sprouted on his cheek, horned, crowned with grapes, with his hair held by a ribbon, dressed in porphyry dress and gold boots. He had two lieutenants, one a short fat old man with a large belly, with a flat nose and large upright ears who trembled a little and supported himself on a reed, but more often he rode on a donkey, he too was dressed also in women's dress – a very apt colonel. The second was a huge man, goat-footed and hairy with horns and a dense beard, nervous and irritable, who held a syrinx in his left hand and a crooked rod in the other, and pranced about the entire camp, scaring the women who, as soon as he approached, would shake their hair loosely in the wind and shout *evoe!* [a Bacchanalian exclamation]. The scouts thought that this was the name of their leader. The women had grabbed the herds and torn the animals apart live and many ate their flesh raw!" Lucian, *Dionysus*, 1-2.



502



503





504



505



506

A large votive phallus and a relief showing a Silenus equipped with two phalluses, and holding an animal-shaped winged phallus. On the relief below, a winged man tries to protect his buttocks from a winged phallus heading in that direction.





507



508



509



510

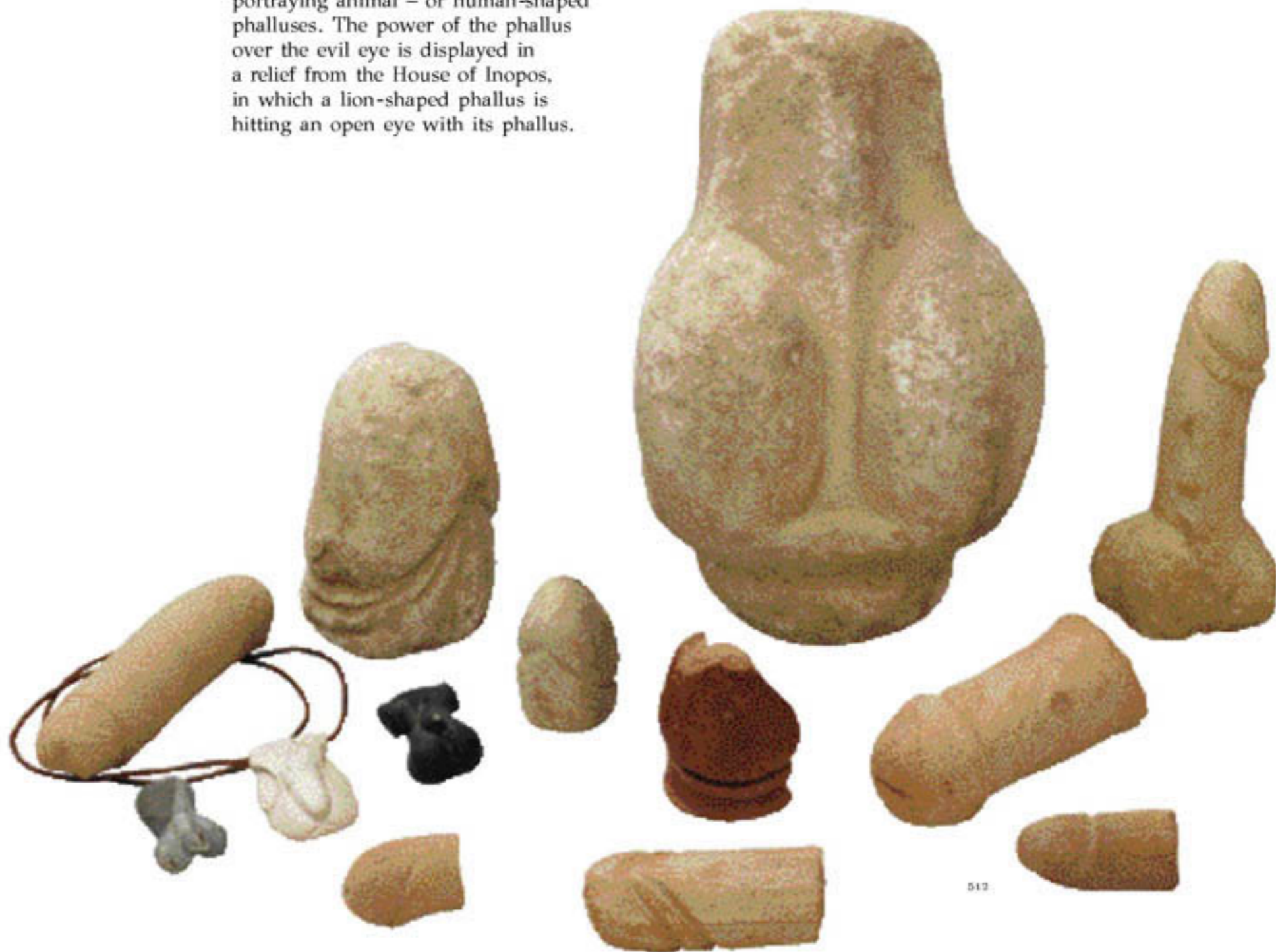
Relief with animal-shaped, winged phalluses. The inscriptions "One for you, one for me" and "One for me, one for you" constitute a kind of friendly greeting from the host to the visitor. The statuette of the misshapen ithyphallic man, carrying his enormous phallus with the help of a wheel, was imported from Alexandria. This is a *provaskanio* that protects the inhabitants of a house from the evil eye and from envy.





511

Many phallus-shaped amulets were found in houses, clay or marble replicas of phalluses and reliefs portraying animal – or human-shaped phalluses. The power of the phallus over the evil eye is displayed in a relief from the House of Inopos, in which a lion-shaped phallus is hitting an open eye with its phallus.



512





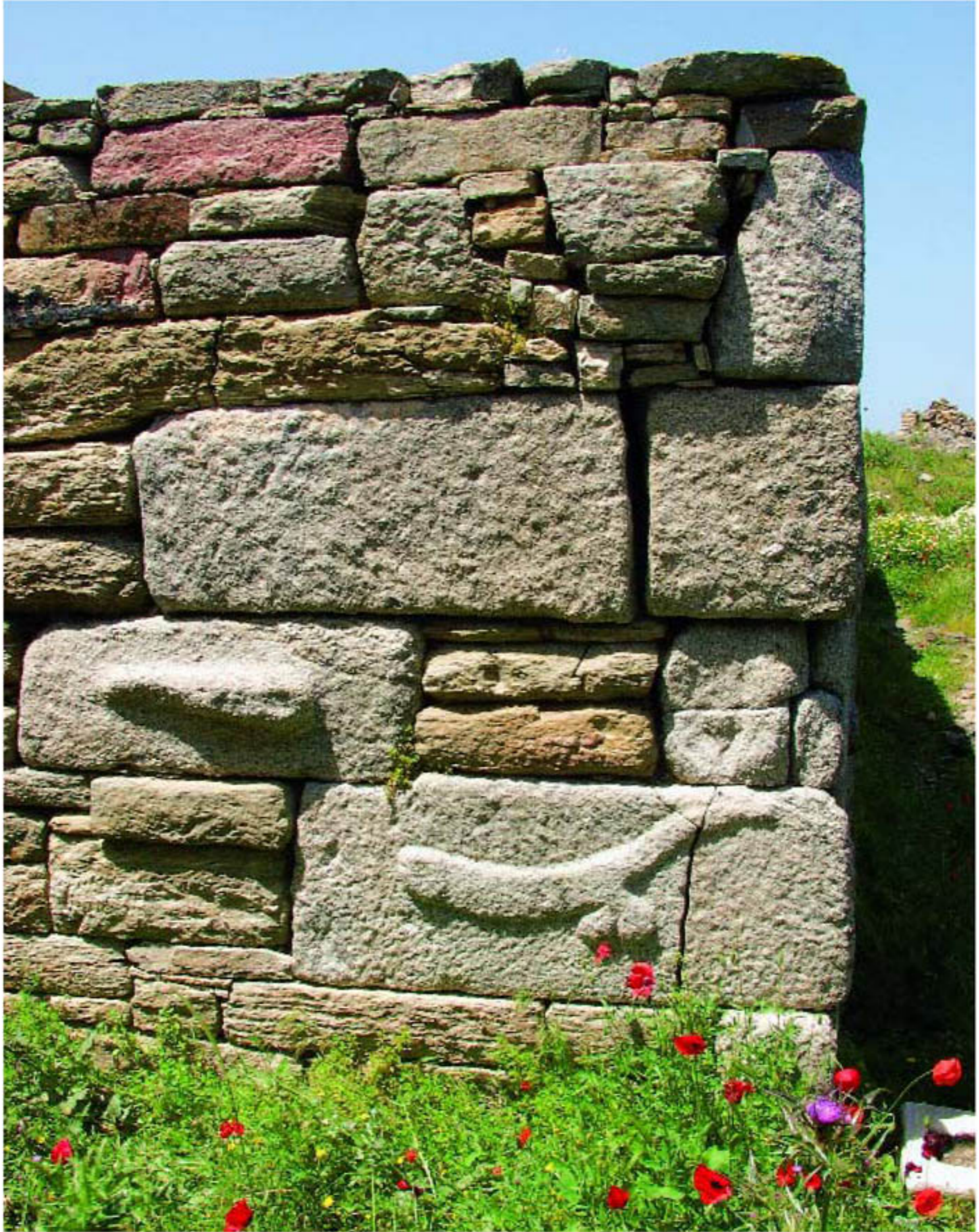
514



513







On the wall in the Lake House, is an evil-averting phallus together with the club of Heracles, which makes even clearer the message of what the would-be intruder will suffer.



Wine cups are often decorated with erotic scenes for the enjoyment of whoever is drinking from it, and of those seated around him. Such scenes, in conjunction with the drink, intensify enjoyment, stimulate, excite, suggest and facilitate the works of Aphrodite, because "Aphrodite is more pleasurable with Dionysus, and the merging of the two is sweet. If one is separated from the other, they give less pleasure."<sup>69</sup>



516



517



518





519



520



521



522

Most of the erotic scenes are found on lamps that accompany and light the works of Aphrodite:

*I, the lamp of silver, which Flaccus gave to the faithless Napi  
and was a faithful companion in their loving nights  
now beside her bed I lie withering away and languishing  
seeing the erotic games of the avowed lover.  
Flaccus, I know that you too are sleepless with your heavy thoughts,  
and even though we are far apart, we burn with the same passion.*

STATYLLIUS FLACCUS, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC<sup>199</sup>



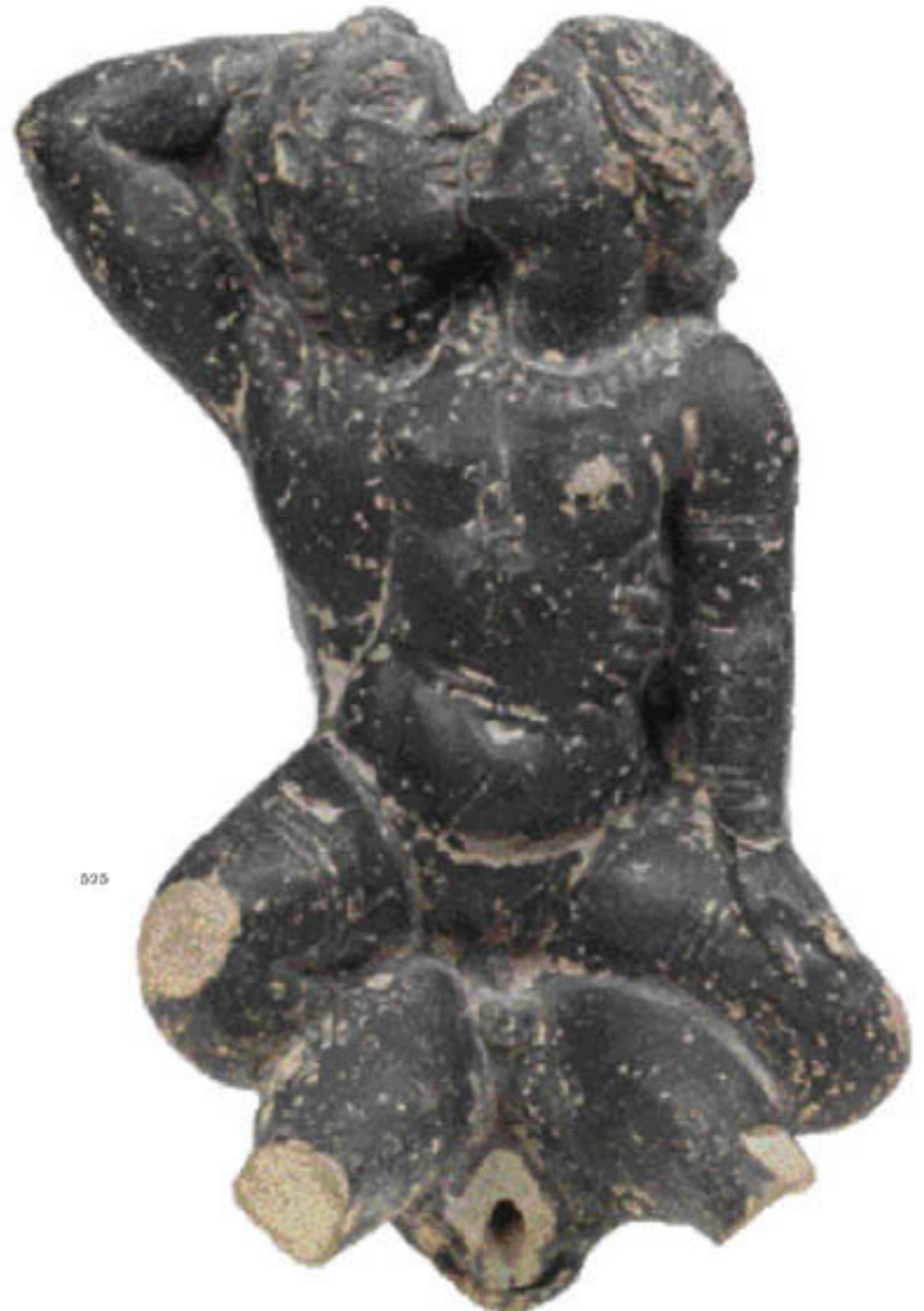


023

Parts of *rhyta* from the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. The *rhyton*, a sacred vessel of communion from which everyone at the god's feast would drink, is in the shape of a horn that ends in the head or bust of a sacred animal (ram, bull, horse, panther, etc.). In these *rhyta* from Delos, whose freshness brings to mind adolescent mischief, the sacred animal has been replaced by couples kissing or making love. By drinking wine from such a cup, those participating in the symposium perhaps sought communion (*methexi*) not only with Dionysus but also with Aphrodite.



024



025

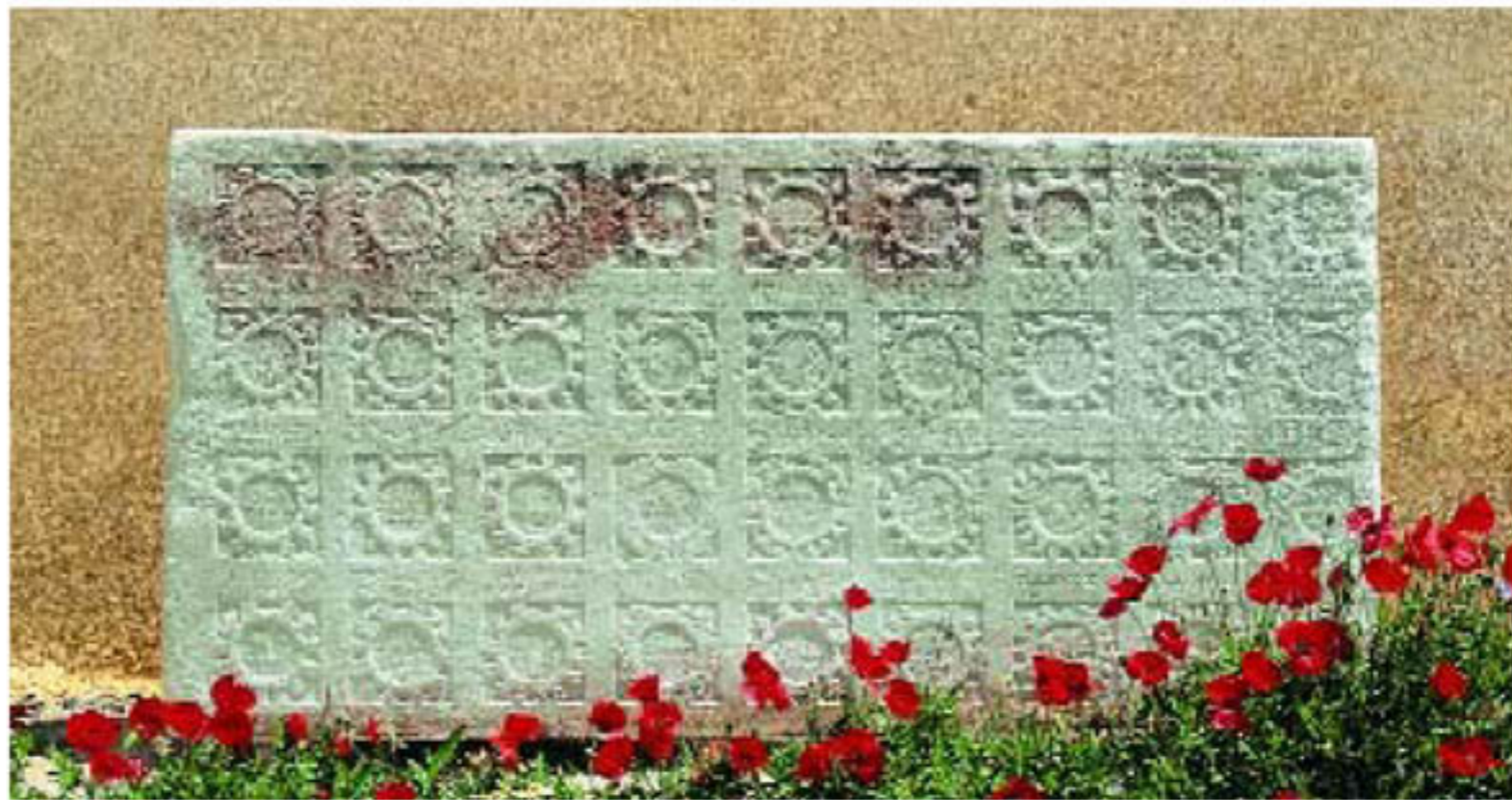




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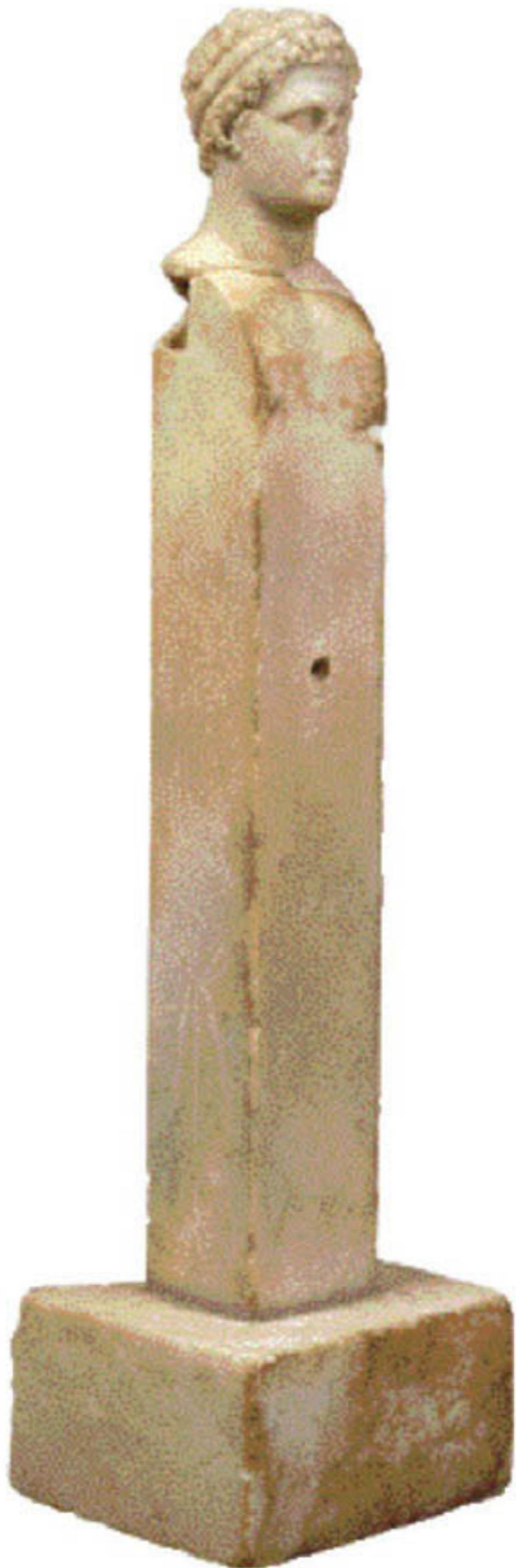
526



528

The city provides the necessary facilities for physical exercise and, by honouring successful athletes, encourages young men to take up athletics. In the Gymnasium, herms have been found bearing the head of the champion Heracles, who is put forward as a model, as well as herms with the heads of victorious athletes. On the base of the statue (150-130 BC) of Menodoros, son of Gnaius from Athens, his winning wreaths are represented and all his victories are listed. From adolescence on, Menodoros was a frequent winner in the pancration and wrestling, in all the official games in Greece and abroad.





520



530



531



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533



534

The Stadium was created in the early decades of the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC with large-scale earthworks in the region and the construction of a strong retaining wall to the east.





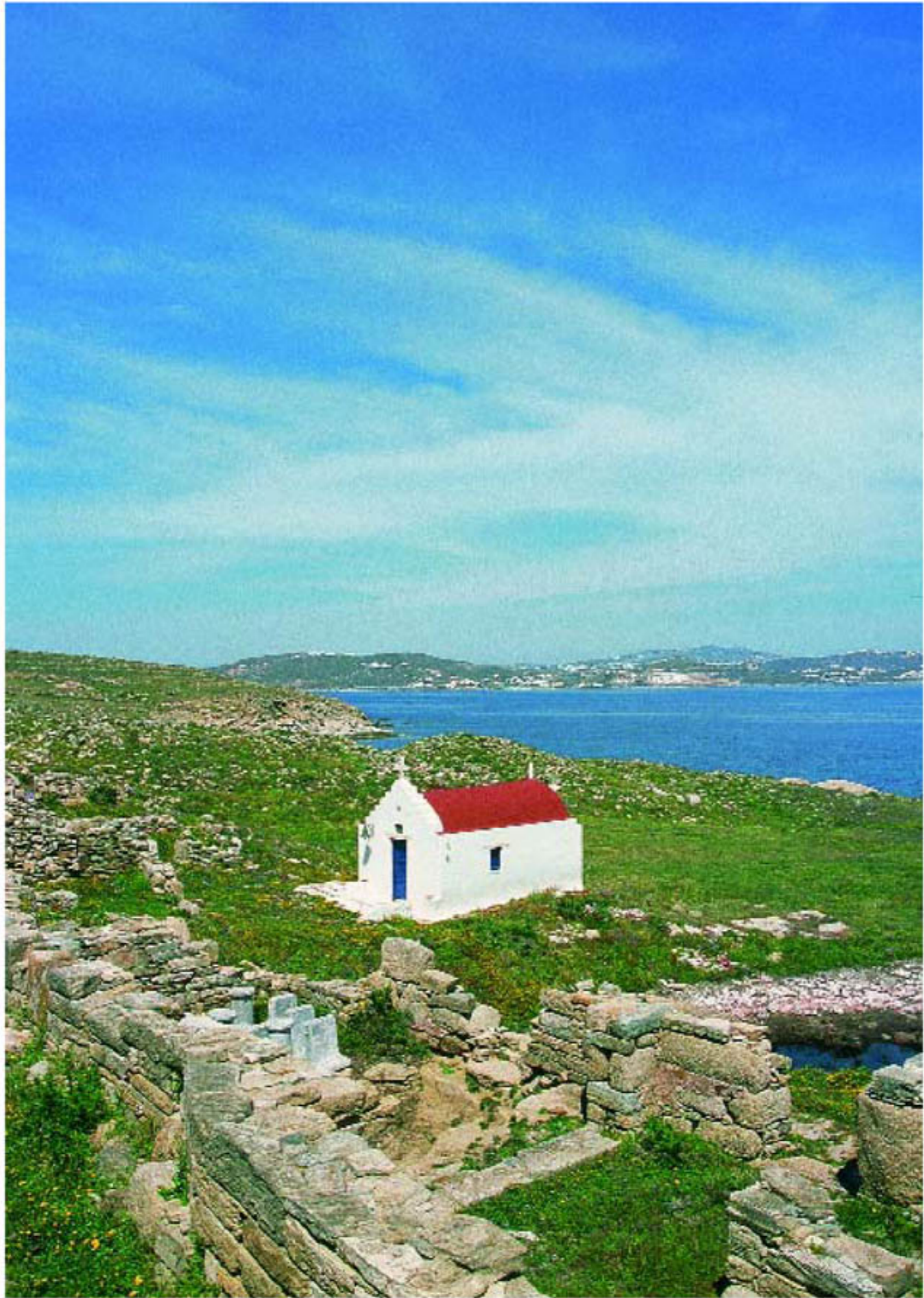
585



586

Below the Stadium is another, partially excavated, quarter of the ancient city with private houses and an inn for visitors, where they could spread their bed-clothes on constructed benches or lie down there wrapped in their himations. On the ground floor there was a cookhouse and latrines, perhaps facilities for stabling animals, and a few small bedrooms for those who could afford to pay more. There were more bedrooms on the upper floor that looked over the internal courtyard.





537

St Kyriaki, a typical Mykonian church, was built early in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. St Kyriaki, with six churches, is twelfth in the preferences of the Mykonians. She is preceded by the Virgin Mary (71 churches), St John (48), St George (46) and St Nicholas (28).





538



539



After the destruction of the theatre, the marble throne in the orchestra was brought to the Synagogue to be used by the high priest. The Jews on Delos do not fail to stress in Greek-language inscriptions that they worship their god on Mount Gerizim, i.e. identifying themselves as Samaritans.





041

The shops in the commercial area east of the Sanctuary have a stoa in front of them to protect customers from the sun and rain. Near the Agora is a little temple dedicated perhaps to Hermes, god of commerce. Busy Hermes, protector of the Gymnasium, the police, market laws, wine sellers, oil sellers and merchants in general, is always portrayed bearded on herms placed at many points in the city, on streets, squares, marketplaces, and in private and public buildings.



042





043



044



045



046

*Hermes, messenger of Zeus, son of Maea,  
almighty heart, militant leader of mortals,  
gracious, subtle-minded god, you are the courier who kills idleness.  
With your winged sandals, lover of humans, you prophesy to mortals,  
O holder of the caduceus, you delight in the leaping of the gymnast  
and in weaving words of trickery.  
You who explain all, who give profit to merchants, who drive care away,  
you who hold the blameless instrument of peace,  
O blessed, beneficial and holder of the caduceus,  
friend of mortals in their need, helper in works with your eloquence,  
the fearful weapon of the tongue which all revere,  
please hear my prayer and grant a happy outcome to our lives  
with work, the joys of speech and happy memories.*

ORPHIC HYMN, 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC<sup>155</sup>





The temple of Aphrodite, built by the Delian archon Stesileos in 305/4 BC. In front of the temple, parts of the goddess's altar have been preserved, on which offerings are left to this day, usually flowers or fruit.





Up to the Roman period, Pan, the Satyrs and the Centaurs had no females in their world, which was why they would attack mortal women and boys, maenads, nymphs and goddesses, thus realising the erotic fantasies of male mortals. In this group dedicated by Dionysius son of Zenon of Berytus to his "ancestral gods" ithyphallic Pan has surprised Aphrodite at her bath. A flying Eros tries to push him away, the Goddess is ready to hit him with her sandal, but both are smiling. 150-125 BC.





549



550



551



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554



555



556



557



558



559

Some statues and statuettes of Aphrodite that have been found in houses on Delos, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Aphrodite, the embodiment of the joy of life, was the most popular divinity on Hellenistic Delos, much more popular than Apollo or Artemis. She is the goddess who enjoys disturbing the calm waters of virtue, by illuminating and revealing the innermost recesses of the human soul, the deepest passions of the body. The first and only goddess who accepts man as a whole, both body and soul, and who loves and blesses both equally with her presence.





*Celestial, smiling Aphrodite, much praised in song,  
born of the sea, life-begetting goddess, revered night-reveller,  
nocturnal matchmaker, devious mother of Necessity;  
because all things derive from you, and to you the world is subject,  
you rule in all three realms, you bring forth everything:  
whatever is in heaven, on the rich-fruited earth  
and in the depths of the sea, divine companion of Bacchus.  
O you who delight in banquets, bedecker of brides, mother of Cupids,  
who induce pleasure in bed, clandestine one and granter of graces  
overt and covert, goddess of beautiful locks, daughter of a noble sire,  
O bridal table companion of the gods, sceptre-holder, she-wolf,  
you grant children, friend of man, much desired giver of life,  
you join people together with unbridled needs  
and the teaming world of animals with the charms of love.*

ORPHIC HYMN, 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC<sup>195</sup>





On Delos, as at Cnidus, Aphrodite was worshiped as *Euploia*, i.e. she who gives ships fair voyages. She was worshiped by Syrian and other Levantine inhabitants of the island as Agne Aphrodite, Astarte Palestini, Urania Aphrodite, Isis Aphrodite Dicaea, Isis Soteira Astarte Aphrodite Euploia. Sea-born Aphrodite, in addition to being the goddess of love, was also the protector of seamen and it is to her that prayers of thanksgiving were addressed by sailors who had been saved from storms or pirates.





563



564

Most of the statuettes of Aphrodite are copies or variations of Praxiteles' Aphrodite of Cnidus which depicts the goddess naked at her bath. Pliny notes that it was not simply the best work by Praxiteles, but the best in the whole world and that many people went to Cnidus just to see it. In a Hellenistic epigram, the goddess herself wonders: "As far as I am aware, only Paris, Anchises and Adonis have seen me nude. So how could Praxiteles portray me so accurately?"



565





566



567



568

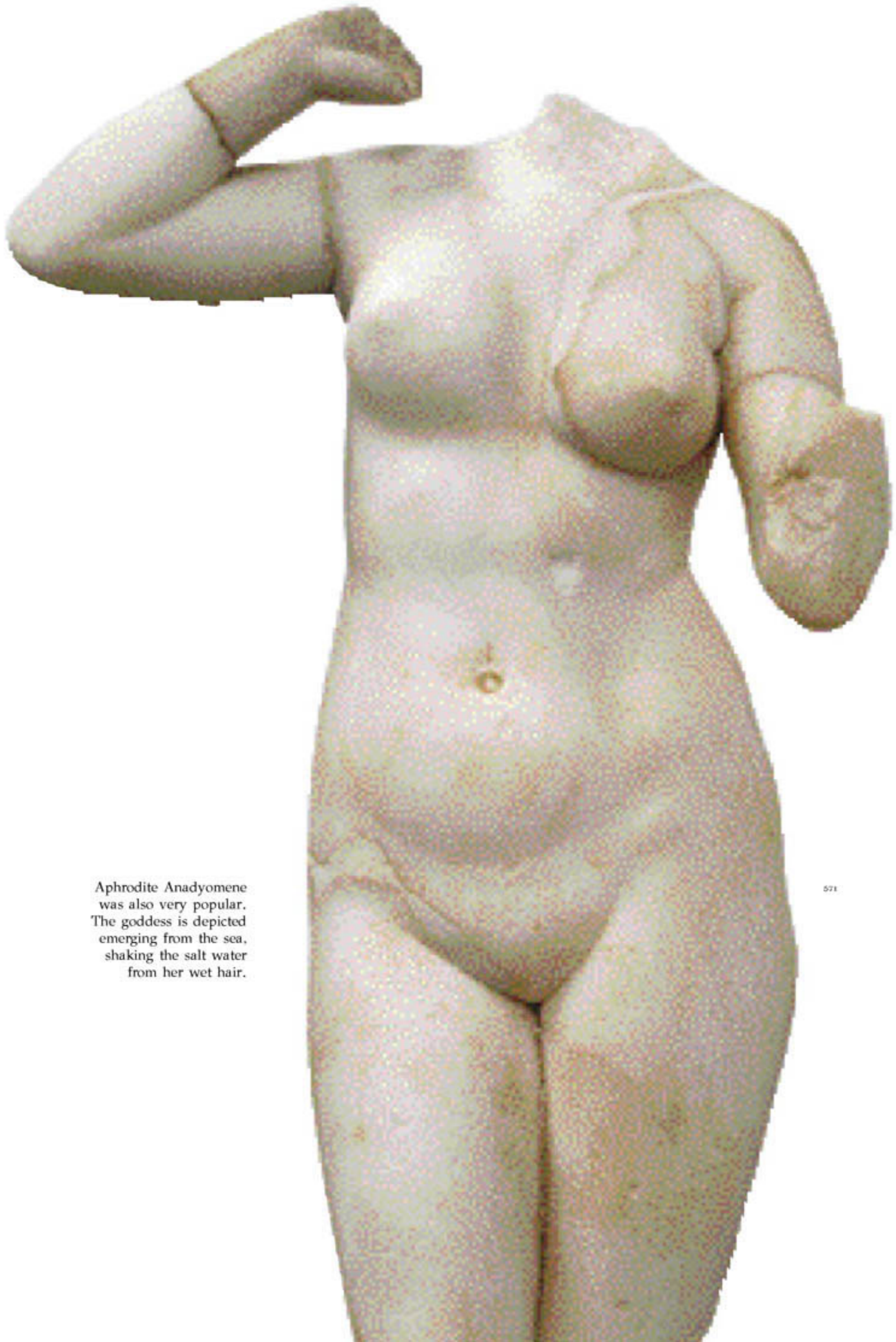


569



570





Aphrodite Anadyomene was also very popular. The goddess is depicted emerging from the sea, shaking the salt water from her wet hair.





572



573

Many statuettes and figurines represent Aphrodite bending down to tie her sandal, a stance that reveals all the goddess's charms.





Heads from statues and  
terracotta figurines of Aphrodite.  
Late 2<sup>nd</sup>, early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.

574



575



576





577



578

Eros was worshiped by the youths of the Gymnasium, but does not have his own sanctuary. On the statuettes and seals of Delos he appears in the form in which he was known in the Hellenistic period: a winged boy equipped with a quiver and arrows, clever, mischievous and cruel, who torments gods and humans alike.



579



580





The activities of Eros (Cupid) are depicted on hundreds of seals found in the House of the Seals. Eros appears with musical instruments or theatrical masks; he sets up victory monuments, torments Heracles, and battles Anteros. Most representations show the sufferings of Psyche allegorically, in which she is depicted either as a young maiden or as a nymph-butterfly. Eros follows her, pursues her, tries to tempt her, captures her, embraces her and kisses her; he guides and masters her, or torments her, blows hot and cold, strikes her, pierces her with a spit and slowly roasts her.





585



586



587



588



503



504



505



506



601



602



603



604



605

*I call upon you, great, revered, lovable, sweet Eros  
 darting, winged, you who run impetuously on roads of fire,  
 you to whom gods and mortal men alike are toys;  
 skilled, of genders both, holder of the keys  
 to all the heavens, the sea, the earth and as many prolific breaths  
 as the harvest-producing goddess supplies to mortals  
 and as many as are in broad Tartarus and in the wave-thundering ocean  
 because you alone hold the rudder of all these.*

ORPHIC HYMN, 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC<sup>185</sup>





606

Hermaphroditus, son of Aphrodite and Hermes, inherited the flawless beauty of both his parents. Representations of Hermaphroditus are particular favourites in Alexandria and on Delos, cities with great freedom of expression, in which owing to their strongly cosmopolitan nature, the models of social behaviour were not as austere, allowing everyone to follow his heart's desires.



609



607



608





010



011

Priapus, son of Aphrodite and Dionysus, was the protective god of gardens, fields, vineyards, herds and bees. His enormous phallus was a symbol of fertility and abundance.



012









013



014

The House of the Herms is a wealthy house of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC laid out on four different levels.









015



016

Beside the clay bathtub are the marble legs of a bench on which bathers would leave their clothes. The herms found in the atrium have given the building its name. Right: the statue of a Nymph stood in a niche hewn out of the rock from which water poured forth. The cascade of drapery on her himation alludes to the nymph's nature as a water deity and shows the love of the Delians for elegant decorative works.



017









Atrium in a house in the Inopos quarter.





020

In the Samothraceion –a sanctuary dedicated to the Cabeiri, the Great Gods of Samothrace, who were later identified with the Dioscuri– a monument to King Mithridates Eupator of Pontos was built in 102/1 BC and contained statues of himself and his generals.

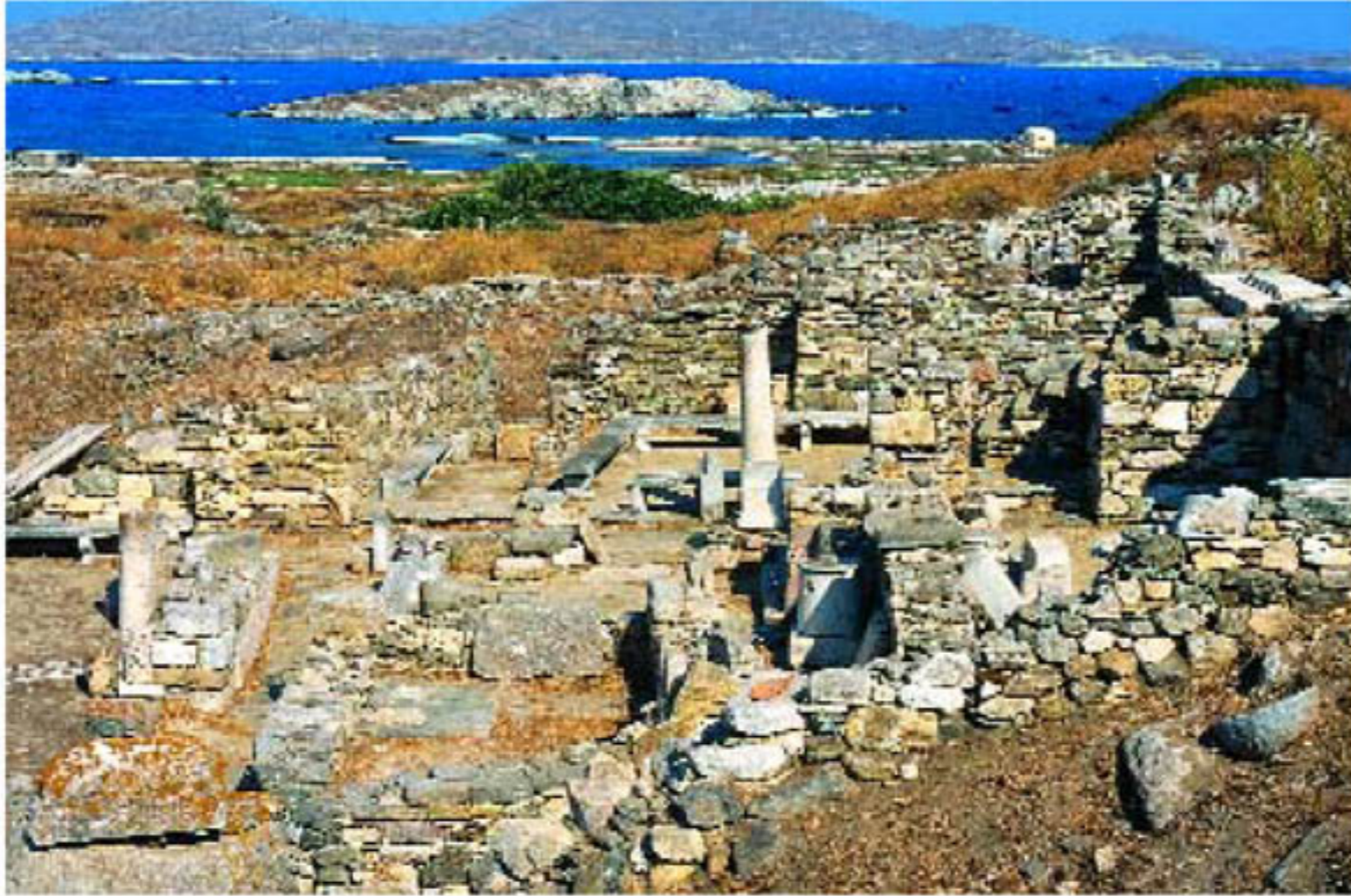


021



022





023

Through the waters of the Inopos River, the underground crypt of the Sarapieion A would fill with the sacred waters of the Nile, indispensable for the required purification rituals.



024





*"The priest Apollonios, being ordered by the god, wrote down the following. My grandfather, Apollonios, who was from Egypt, of the priestly class, came to Delos from Egypt, bringing with him the statue of the god he served according to our ancestral custom. They say he lived to be 97 years old. He was succeeded by my father, Demetrios who served the gods devoutly, for which he was honored with a bronze statue that stands today in the temple of the god. He lived to the age of 61. When I took over the sanctuaries and as I diligently cared for them, the god appeared to me in my sleep and told me that his own Sarapieion must be established so that he no longer lives in rented dwellings as before, and that he himself would find the appropriate location and reveal it to me. And so it came to pass. This location, whose bill of sale was posted on a tablet in the Agora entrance, was replete with filth. But swiftly, as the god willed, the purchase took place and the sanctuary was built within six months. Now there were certain men who opposed me and the sanctuary and dragged me into the public courts, to decide what penalty I should pay, but the god informed me in a dream that we would win. The trial took place, and with the god's assistance we won, and this is why we praise the god recognizing his favour. Maeistas has also written regarding this case..."*

A long inscription written on a small marble column describes the advent of Sarapis to Delos and the adversities encountered by his priest in establishing a sanctuary on the site.





626



628

Semi-finished statue; bust and head from statuette of Sarapis. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.



627





629



630

The demolished walls of the Sanctuary of the Syrian Gods allow a splendid view of the Sanctuary and of Rheneia. In the narrow passage between the two islands are the rocky islets of Mikros and Megalos Rematiaris. Atargatis, who was identified with Aphrodite, was worshiped in this Sanctuary together with her companion Hadad, a god akin to Zeus. According to inscriptions on the mosaic floors, the *exedrae* were dedicated by the Athenians Formion and Midas. The mosaic on the left refers to another votive offering to the gods by the temple-servant Dionysius for himself and his foster parents.





631

The temple of Isis was built in the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC and was repaired in about 135 BC by the Athenians. At the foot of the cult statue, a votive offering by the Athenians in 128/7 BC, people still leave flowers and other offerings. In front of the temple, the high altar of the goddess can still be seen in good condition. Plutarch and Diodorus attribute Hellenic origin to Isis regarding her as the daughter of Cronus and Rhea and this statue depicts her as altogether Hellenised.





632



633

*The Demos of the Athenians dedicated this to Isis when the Epimeletes of the island was Ammonius of Anaphlestous and [...].eidos son of Aexoneus, and Menander of Philaedes were in charge of the Sanctuary, and when Euthymachus son of Hermochares of Keramous was priest of Sarapis.*









Egyptian statuette of Isis, wearing a fitted linen garment and holding a stylised flower with a curved stalk. According to the three-column hieroglyphic inscription on the back, it was dedicated by the musician Nesnephtys and comes from Sais in Egypt. Early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC.

*Left:* The statue of the Athenian Diodora, daughter of Hephaestion, was dedicated by her sons Menodotus and Hephaestion to Sarapis, Isis, Anubis and Harpocrates.



Relief and part of a lamp with a representation of Isis Pelagia. The goddess, dressed in a long robe girdled under the breasts, is standing on the prow of a warship with her feet apart to resist the force of the wind. With both her arms and with her left leg, she is holding her himation open to the wind, so that her body becomes a mast, her arms the yards and her himation the sail. The relief dates from the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC and the lamp from the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD.







638



639

Two statuettes of Isis with her himation tied in the characteristic knot of Isis under the breasts.





040

Bronze *sistrum*, musical instrument used in the rituals of Isis. With the sound of the *sistrum* the goddess would regulate the ebb and flood tides of the Nile. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.



041

*Diogenes*  
son of *Diogenes* from *Antioch*  
dedicates this to *Isis* who listens to prayers.



042

*Isidore* son of *Isidore* from *Athens* dedicates this to *Isis Euploia* in the year *Apollodoros Kropides* was priest.





043

Bronze mask of a deified river  
—perhaps the Nile— from whose  
dense beard water flows.  
The mask was part of a *situla*  
containing holy water for the rituals  
of Isis, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC.



044





Tyche, goddess of coincidence, the unforeseeable and unexpected, gradually became the goddess of happiness for both cities and people. The multitude of statuettes of Tyche found in houses shows the goddess's great popularity on Delos, a characteristic feature of the times. In the Sanctuary of Agathe Tyche, which is close to the Sanctuary of the Egyptian Gods, there was a statue of Arsinoë II Philadelphos, sister and wife of Ptolemy II, who was depicted with a cornucopia as Agathe Tyche (Good Fortune).





046



047



048



049



050





651



652

In her left hand, Tyche holds the cornucopia, symbol of abundance and wealth, and in her right hand the tiller or rudder with which she guides and rules human fate. She is frequently identified with Isis and represented with a himation tied in the characteristic knot of Isis.





653



654



655



656



657





058



059

Horus came to Delos as Harpocrates, following his mother Isis. As patron divinity of the home and its inhabitants, he is frequently represented on statuettes, herms, jewellery and figurines, as a smiling boy holding a cornucopia and with his finger to his mouth, a stance the Greeks regarded as a sign of silence and secrecy.

The jackal-headed god Anubis is the guardian of graves and conductor of souls, and it is he who is invoked for deceased loved ones. He conducts souls who have already been judged and found pure to Osiris to be weighed. Loyal to the family, he followed Isis into exile in the swamps of the Delta and embalmed the dead Osiris.



060





601

The most ancient temple of Hera (early 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC) was devoutly preserved under the raised floor of the more magnificent, subsequent temple built in about 500 BC. Inside and behind the older structure were buried the oldest offerings to the goddess, some 1200 vases and statuettes. The temple of Hera, and that of Leto, her rival, were built by the Delians with locally quarried marble.



Hera –beautiful as Athena and Aphrodite, and an equal claimant of the apple of Paris– a chaste, faithful and dedicated wife, is always represented as a respected lady seated on a throne. The *Hieropoioi* accounts report expenditures made on the annual decoration and gilding of two statues in the Heraion. It is possible that beside the statue of Hera was also the one of Zeus, as portrayed in an archaic terracotta figurine found there. In front of the statues were two marble tables to receive the offerings of the faithful.



062



063





004



005



006

Terracotta figurines of a goddess enthroned, most likely Hera. *Lower right:* Zeus and Hera. 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC.





067

*Above:* Terracotta figurine of a maiden holding a dove, with two broad bands attached to the sides (Aphrodite or worshiper).  
*Below:* two figurines of a semi-reclining banqueter with a horn (Dionysus?), 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC.



068





Perfume bottles in various shapes: a siren, maidens bearing a dove, and kneeling *kouros*, 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC.



Busts of a goddess, most likely Hera, on which traces can still be seen of the initial multicoloured decoration, 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC.









673

*Oenochoae* (wine jugs) and pomegranate (late 8<sup>th</sup> cent. BC); decorative plate (6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC) and its reconstruction drawn by Giorgis Polikantriotis.



673





074

Chian *krater* (600-575 BC)  
and reconstruction drawn  
by Giorgis Polikantriotis.





075

Rhodian wine jug and plate and a Parian plate depicting a winged phallus (7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC).



076





677



678

Small Rhodian amphora and Corinthian *prochois* (ewer). 7<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC.





670



680

Three images of *Potnia Theron*, the Mistress of Animals, the most ancient goddess of the hunt, who was later identified with Artemis (late 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC). The plate was reconstituted and the decoration was filled in on the basis of very few shards by the skill of Giorgis Polikantriotis. He also drew the reconstruction of the *alabastro* below.



681





Corinthian aryballois and alabastra 700-650 BC.







654



Corinthian *alabastra*, containers of perfume or oil, decorated with rows of warriors, a Siren and rows of lions. Late 7<sup>th</sup>, early 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC.



655





Attic *hydria* (water jug) decorated with Sirens, sphinxes and lions. 600-575 BC.

000





Attic black-figure *kylikes* (wine cups) of the 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Inside the *kylix* above is an incised inscription stating twice that Epignote dedicated it to Hera.







Achilles and Ajax play draughts while Athena looks on. Attic *kylix* of the 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC.







600

Black-figure Attic *lekythos* with scenes from the Gymnasium.



601



602





Two Attic *lekythoi*, late 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Ivy-crowned, bearded Dionysus dressed in a long chiton and himation is getting into his chariot (above), or is standing, serious and solemn, between two enormous eyes, holding a large horn in his left hand (below). Nothing in his stance or dress foretells the sensual, drunken youth of the Hellenistic period.







003



Three ivy-crowned Maenads dance between the columns of a Doric colonnade holding *thyrsos* with many leaves. The first is leading a goat and the last a deer. Below, two Maenads who have obviously emptied the large *rhyta* in their hands, are dancing to the music played by a Satyr on the lyre. A second ithyphallic Satyr hastens to meet with the drunken girls. Attic *lekythoi*, 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC.



004







Scene of Homeric battle. In the centre of the scene, the charioteer tries to hold back the restless horses. The warrior who has stepped down from the chariot to fight falls wounded by the javelin of his adversary, and two other warriors come to help him. This may represent the death of Patroclus and the divine horses of Achilles, who sense the outcome of the battle.  
Attic *lekythos*, 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC.



*So the fight continued, and the metallic din went up through the waste spaces of the air and struck the copper sky. Far from the conflict, the horses of Achilles had been weeping every since they learnt that their charioteer had been brought down in the dust by the murderous Hector. Automedon, Diros' stalwart son, did all he could with them: he coaxed them, and he cursed them freely; but the pair refused either to go back to the ships and the broad Hellespont or into the battle after the Achaeans. Firm as a gravestone planted on the barrow of a dead man or woman, they stood motionless in front of their beautiful chariot with their heads bowed to the earth. Hot tears ran from their eyes to the ground as they mourned for their lost driver, and their luxuriant manes were soiled as they came tumbling down from the yoke-pad on either side of the yoke. The Son of Cronos when he saw their grief was sorry for them. He shook his head and said to himself: 'Poor beasts! Why did we give you, who are ageless and immortal, to King Peleus, who is doomed to die? Did we mean you to share the sorrows of unhappy man? For of all the creatures that breathe and creep about on Mother Earth there is none so miserable as man.'*<sup>191</sup>





Achilles dragging the dead body of Hector around the tomb of Patroclus. The great pain over the death of his beloved friend leads Achilles, the most noble of heroes, to rage and distraction:

*He slit the tendons at the back of both his feet from heel to ankle, inserted leather straps, and made them fast to his chariot, leaving the head to drag. Then he lifted the famous armour into his car, got in himself, and with a touch of his whip started the horses, who flew off with a will. Dragged behind him, Hector raised a cloud of dust, his black locks streamed on either side, and dust fell thick upon his head, so comely once, which Zeus now let his enemies defile on his own native soil [...]*

*As memories crowded in on him, the warm tears poured down his cheeks. Sometimes he lay on his side, sometimes on his back, and then again on his face. At last he would get up and wander aimlessly along the salt sea beach. Dawn after dawn as it lit up the sea and coastline found Achilles stirring. He used to harness his fast horses to his chariot, tie Hector loosely to the back of it, and when he had hauled him three times round Patroclus' barrow, go back and rest in his hut, leaving the body stretched face downward in the dust. But dead though Hector was, Apollo still felt pity for the man and saved his flesh from all pollution. Moreover, he wrapped him in his golden aegis, so that Achilles should not scrape his skin when he was drawing him along.<sup>193</sup>*





After a thirty-day hunt, Heracles managed to capture the lion of Nemea. Hermes watches the fight gesturing animatedly. Athena, the hero's constant ally, is about to intervene. To the right a Satyr, who is holding Heracles' himation and club, is on the point of fleeing in terror, but waits to see the outcome of the fight. Attic *lekythos*, late 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC.





Heracles kills the triple-bodied monster Geryon to take his cattle. On the left, Hermes holds the hero's club and on the right the Oceanid Calliope, mother of Geryon, laments piteously. Orthrus, the two-headed guardian of the herd, has fallen on his back, dying. Geryon's head on the right is already dead, the middle one is dying but the left one is still fighting. Eurystheus assigned Heracles the most outlandish tasks, both to distance him from Tiryns, and in the hope that one of these tasks would prove fatal and that Heracles would never return. Others claim that Heracles willingly undertook all these labours to impress Eurystheus, with whom he was in love.<sup>193</sup> Attic *lekythos*, late 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC.





On Mt Oete, Poeas, father of Philoctetes, agreed to light the fire that would relieve Heracles from the terrible pains of the poisoned chiton. A cloud came down from the heavens and amid the lightening and thunder, Heracles ascended to heaven. On Olympus he is welcomed by Athena, Hermes gestures happily and Iris hastens to offer him nectar. Now immortal among the immortal gods, he will finally be reconciled with Hera and will marry her daughter Hebe, who will bear him two sons, Alexiars and Anicetus.  
Attic skyphoid *krater*, late 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC.



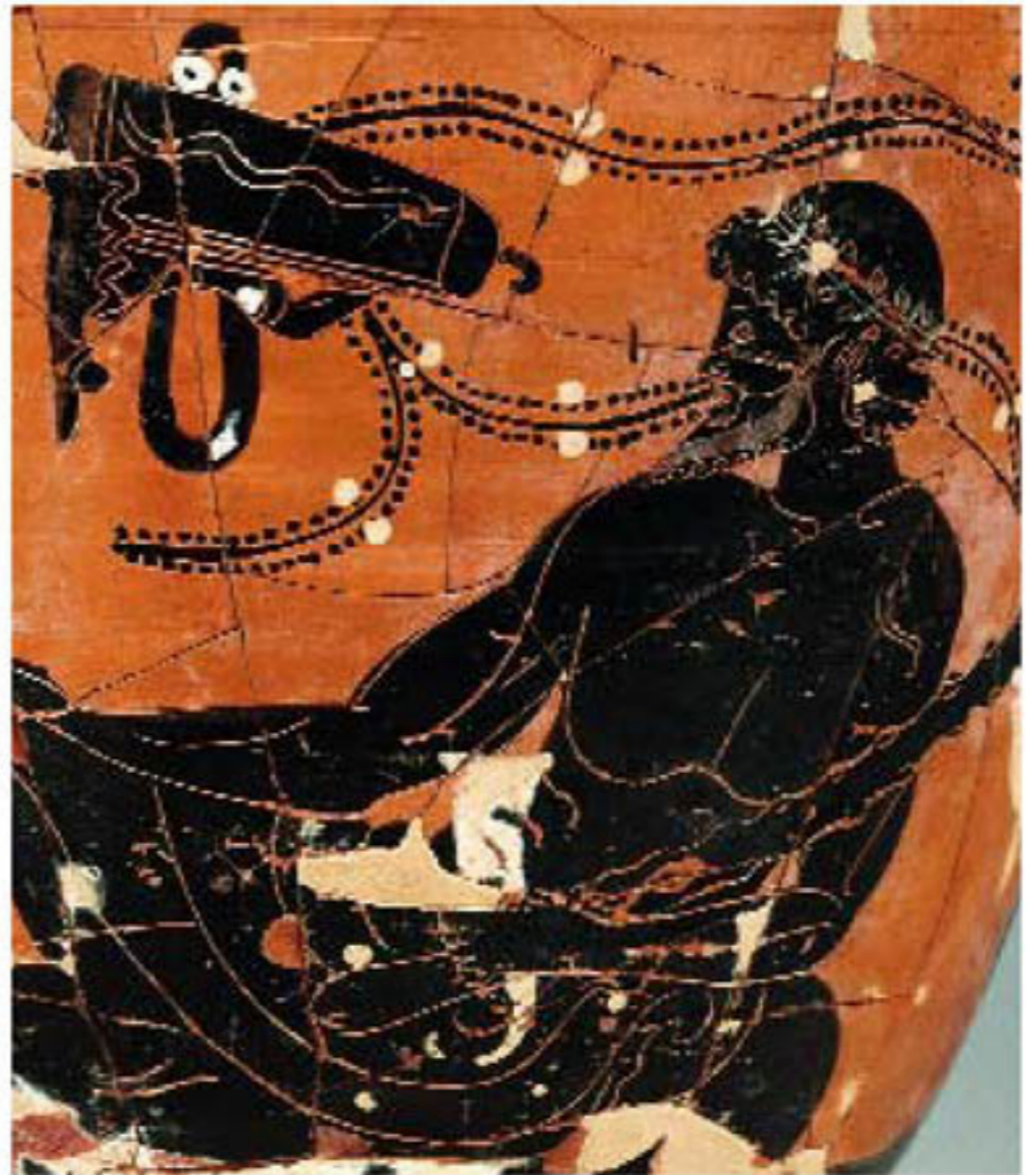
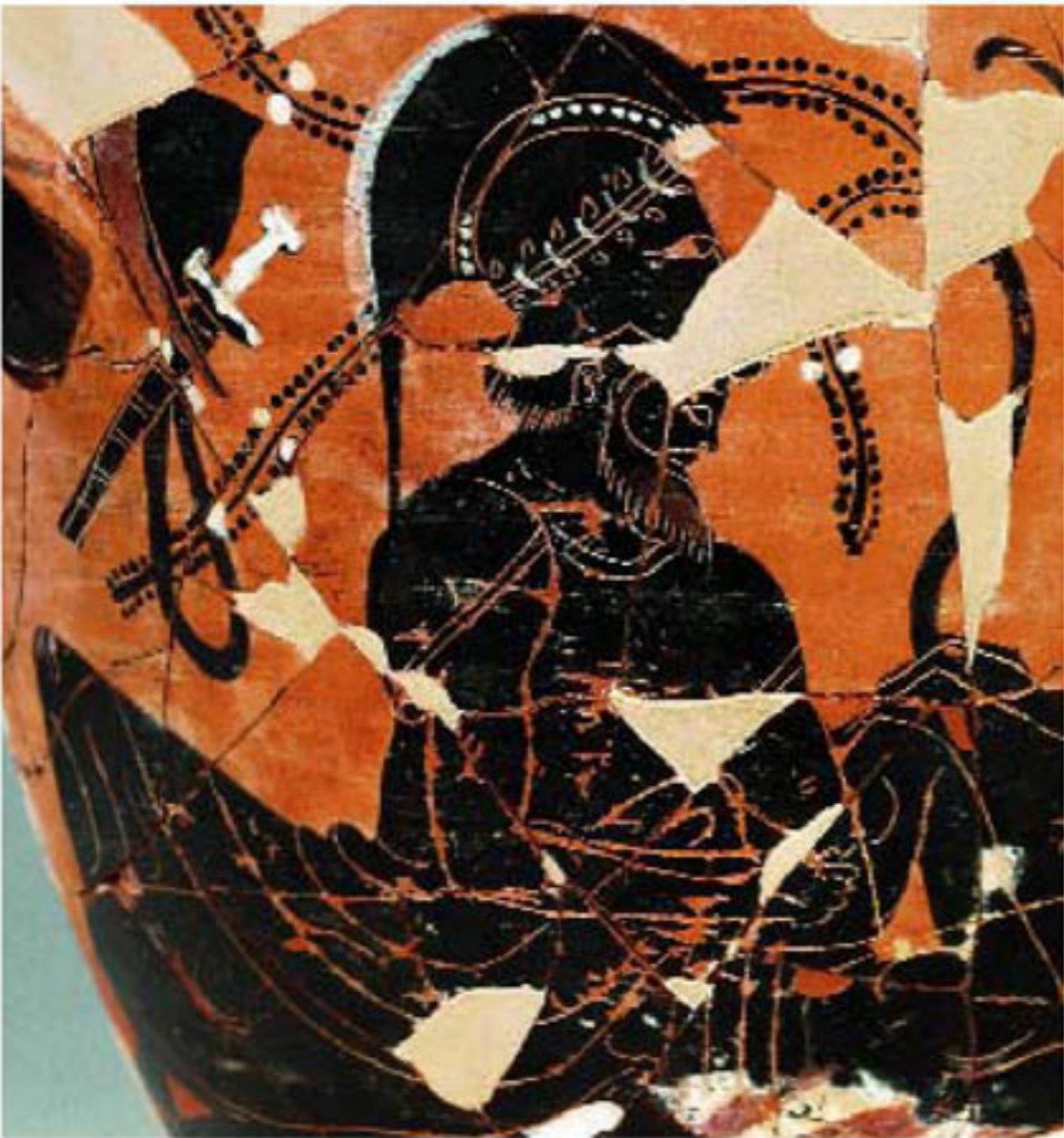




Symposium of heroes. Heracles (identifiable by his club, quiver and bow) is discussing amicably with two other heroes, possibly Odysseus and Ajax. Attic skyphoid *krater*, late 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC.







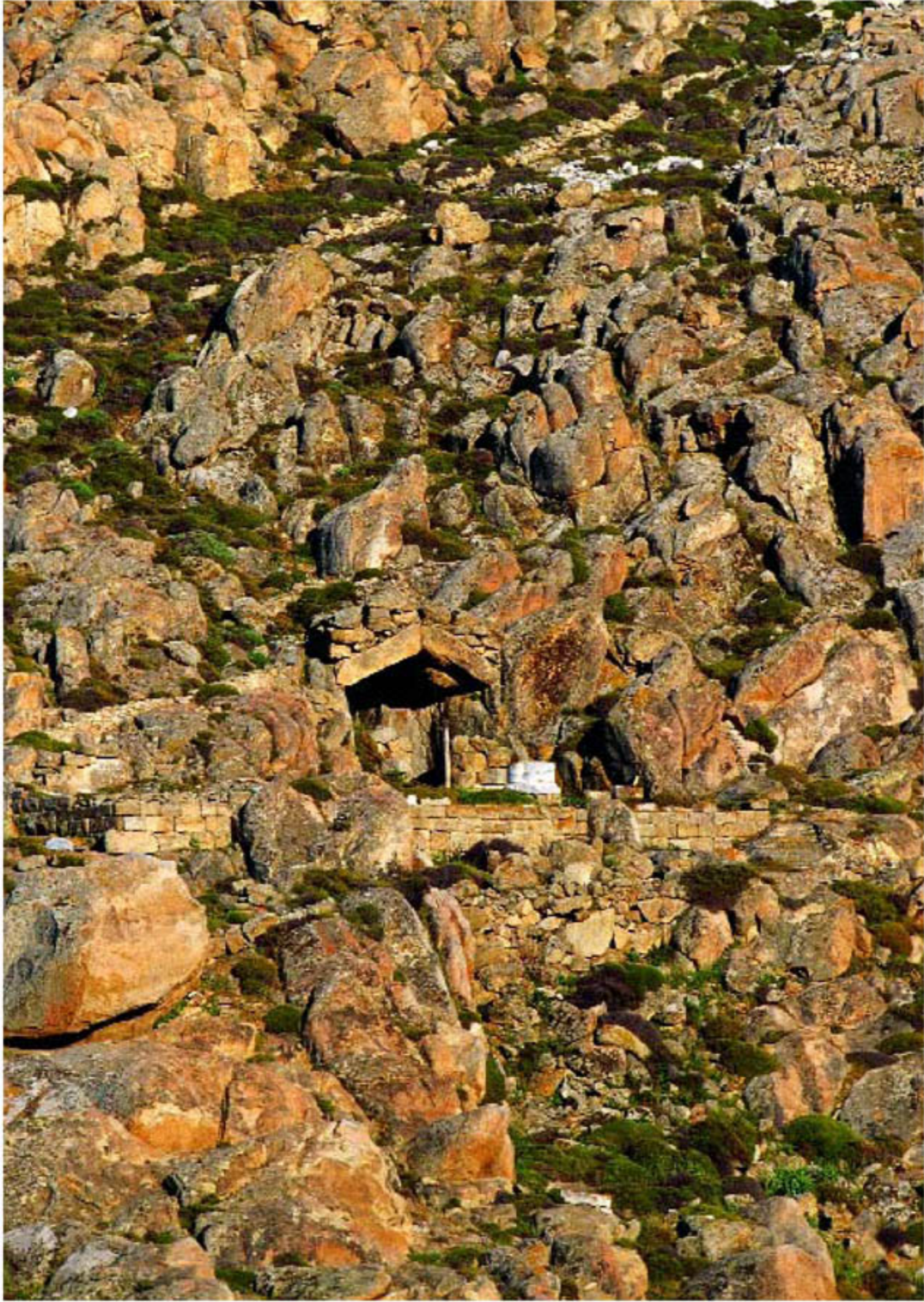




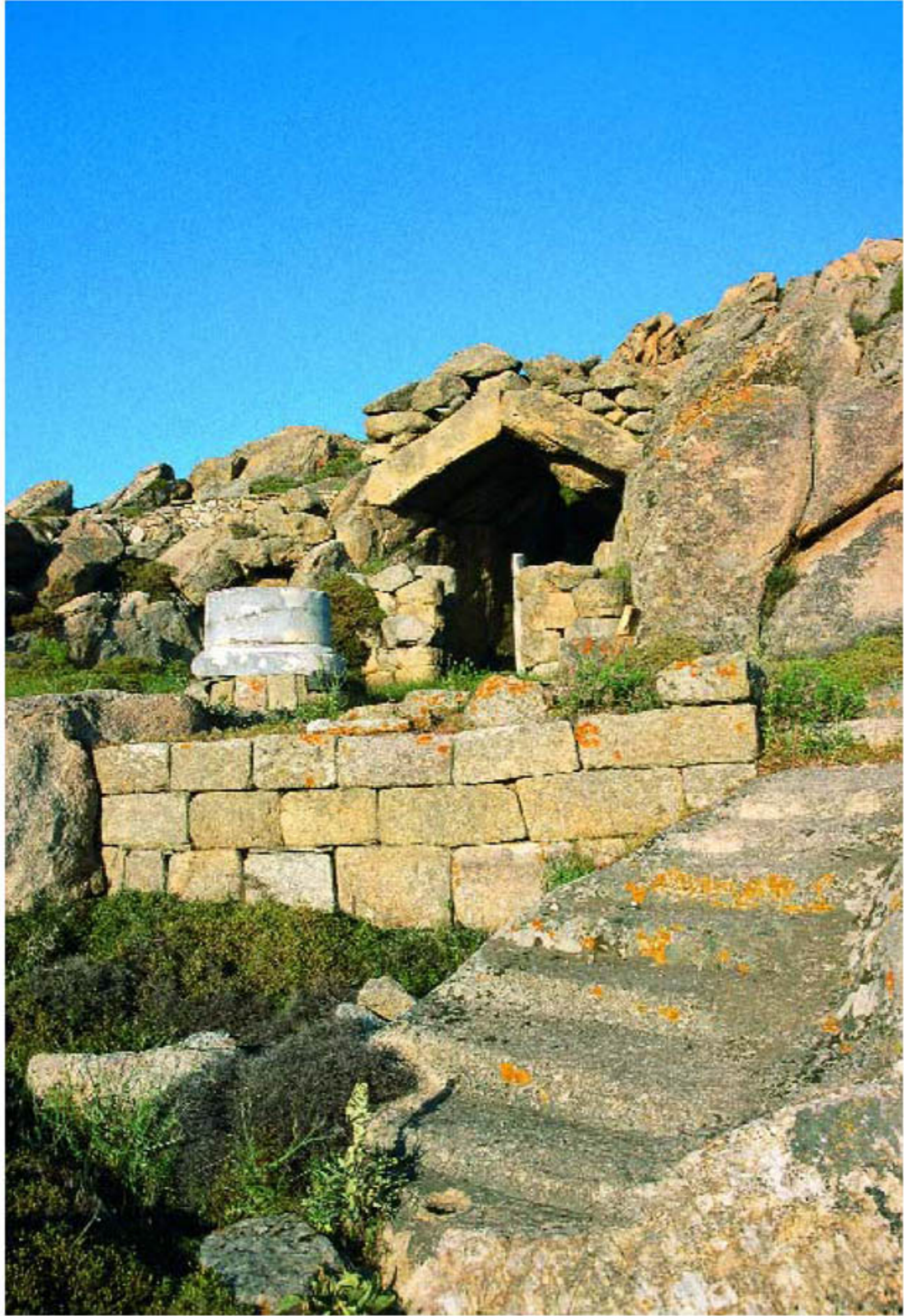
701

The Sanctuary of Hera is located on a specially created terrace at the foot of Mt Kynthos. A stairway leads to the crest of the hill, to the Sanctuary of Zeus and Athena. On the slope of the hill is the Grotto of Heracles, a natural cleft in the rock, roofed by enormous slabs of granite. This Hellenistic shrine impressed early travellers who believed it to be the most ancient temple of Apollo.









703  
Inside the Grotto was the statue of the hero standing on a natural piece of granite. In front of the marble entrance is a large circular altar. To the right is a statuette of Heracles from the Lake House, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC.













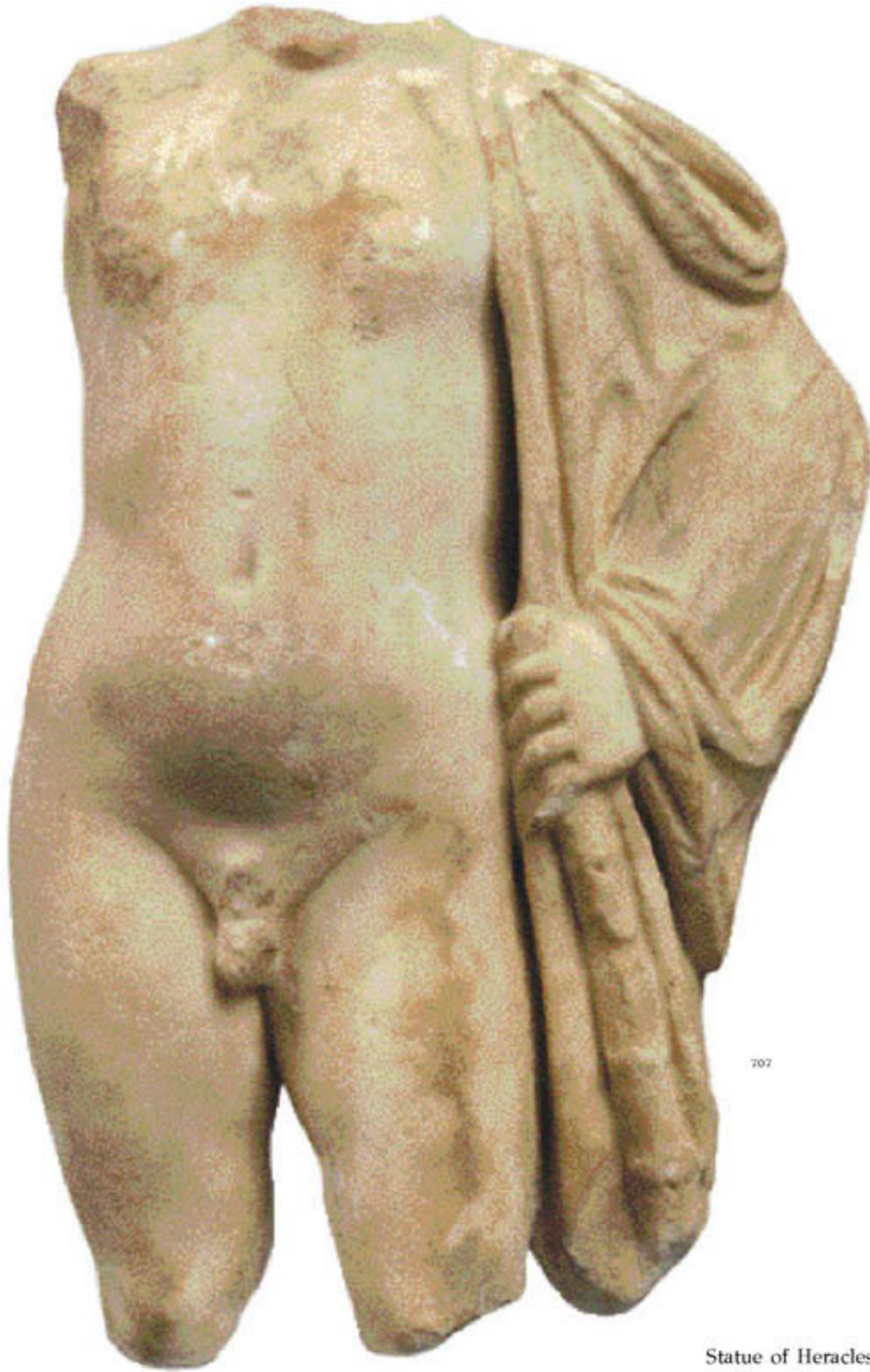




*Heracles, noble of soul, mighty in power, vigorous Titan  
with your strong arm, untamed, sated with great labours,  
you of the many forms, father of time, eternal and wise,  
O sublime, fierce of soul, much desired master of all,  
with your almighty heart, O great in power, archer, soothsayer,  
all-devouring one, generator, supreme, defender of all,  
you reassure people by driving out wild beasts and  
by your desire for nurturing greatly honoured peace.  
O self-created, tireless, O wondrous child of the earth,  
your beams shone upon the first created, O celebrated, healing Paeon.  
You wear dawn round your head and darkness at night  
and from east to west, you performed your twelve labours,  
immortal, experienced, powerful, unshakable;  
come blessed one, bringing balm for all ailments drive out  
terrible disasters by shaking the branch in your hand  
and cast out grim misfortune with venomous arrows.*

ORPHIC HYMN, 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC<sup>100</sup>





707

Statue of Heracles in childhood,  
or Eros who has disarmed the hero.  
2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.





709

708



In the unfinished statuette above, Heracles is carrying the Erymanthian boar to Mycenae. *Below*: the hero is resting seated on a rock on which he has spread his lion's skin.





Dozens of statuettes, herms, figurines and wall paintings representing Heracles have been found in Delian houses. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC, he was the most popular of all the male gods. Son of the supreme god and a mortal woman, he was tormented and suffered but won immortality, and thereby became the refuge, solace and hope of human beings.





713



714



715



716



717





718

From the top of Kynthos, from which Zeus watched the birth of his children, there is an unrivalled view of the Aegean. All around are the Cyclades, "appearing now near now far", forming a circular dance around the sacred isle of Phoebus. On the crest are the sanctuaries of Zeus Kynthios and Athena Kynthia, to whom Apollonides from Laodicea dedicated a votive offering.



719





720

The seal of the EPIMELETES AT DELOS, the one-year position of archon whose duty was mainly to look after Athenian interests on Delos, bears the head of Zeus in the centre.





721



722

Statuettes of Athena, patron goddess of Athens, who despite the efforts of the Athenians, was never particularly popular on Delos.



723



724





725



726



727



728



730



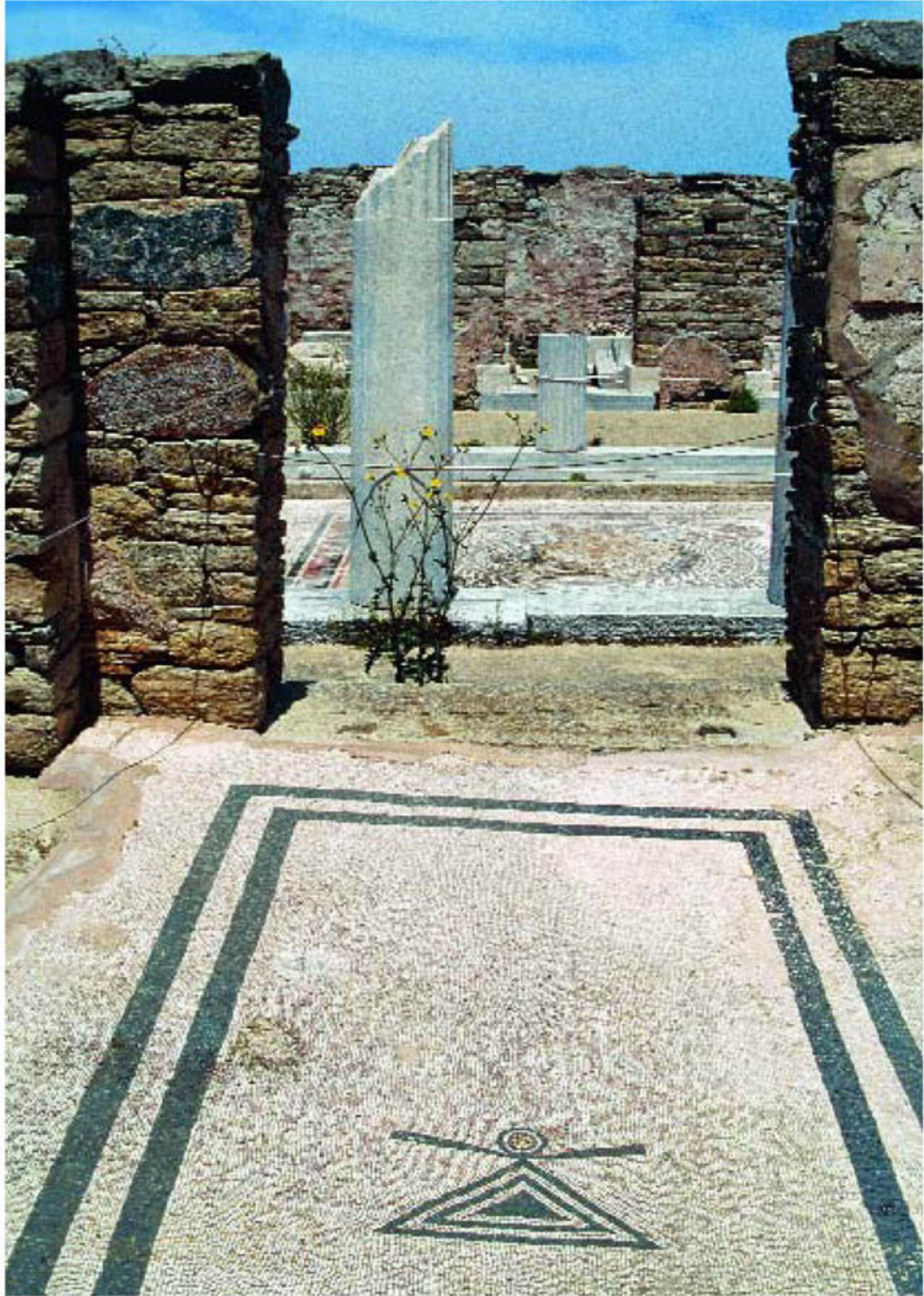
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729



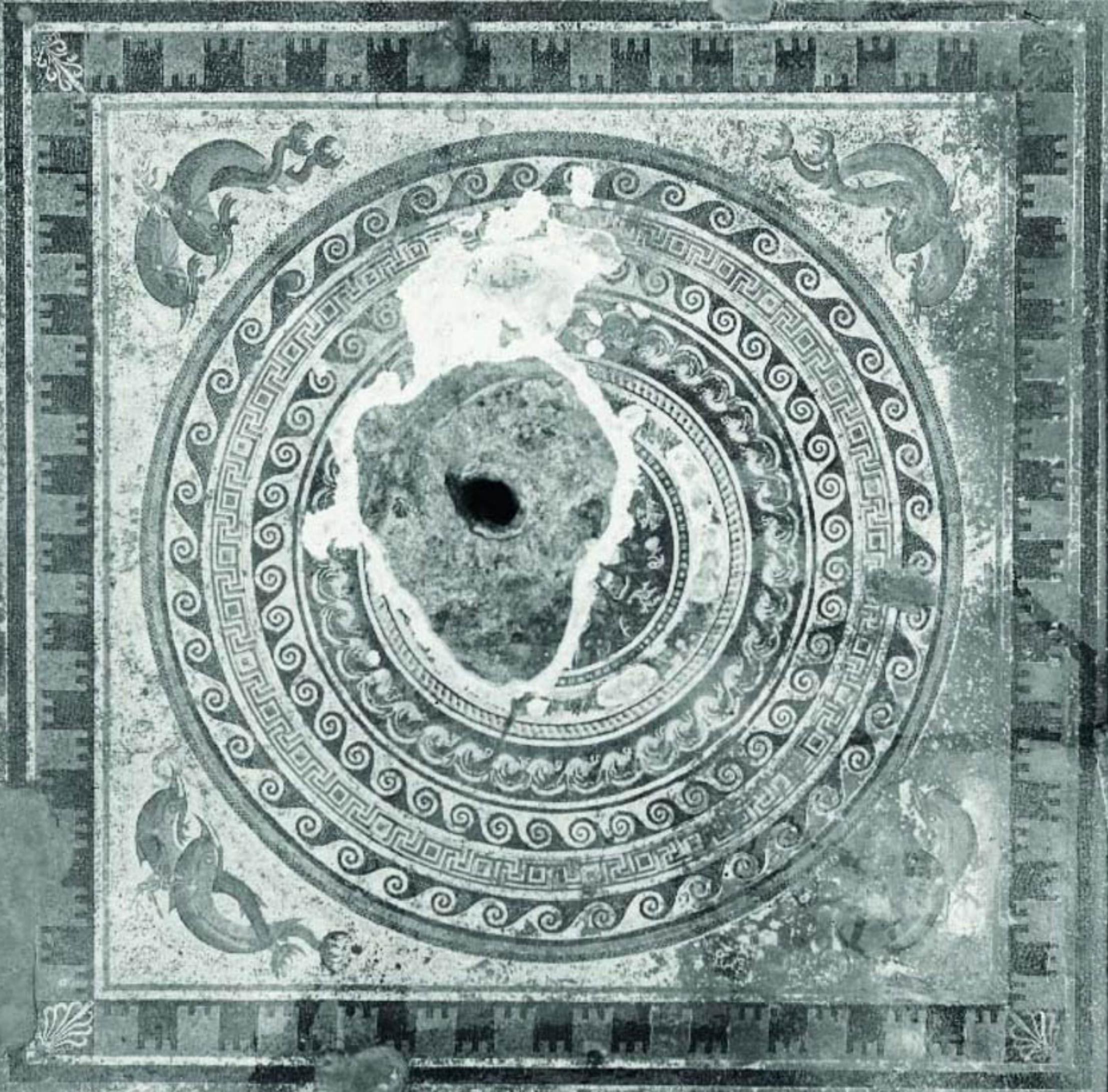




732

In the main entrance of the lavish House of the Dolphins is an ideogram of the Phoenician goddess Tanit, a deterrent symbol to protect the inhabitants from evil. Cupids adorning the mosaic floor in the atrium play a maritime variation of a Roman acrobatic contest. In Rome the contest took place with two galloping horses on which a single rider would jump back and forth from one to the other.



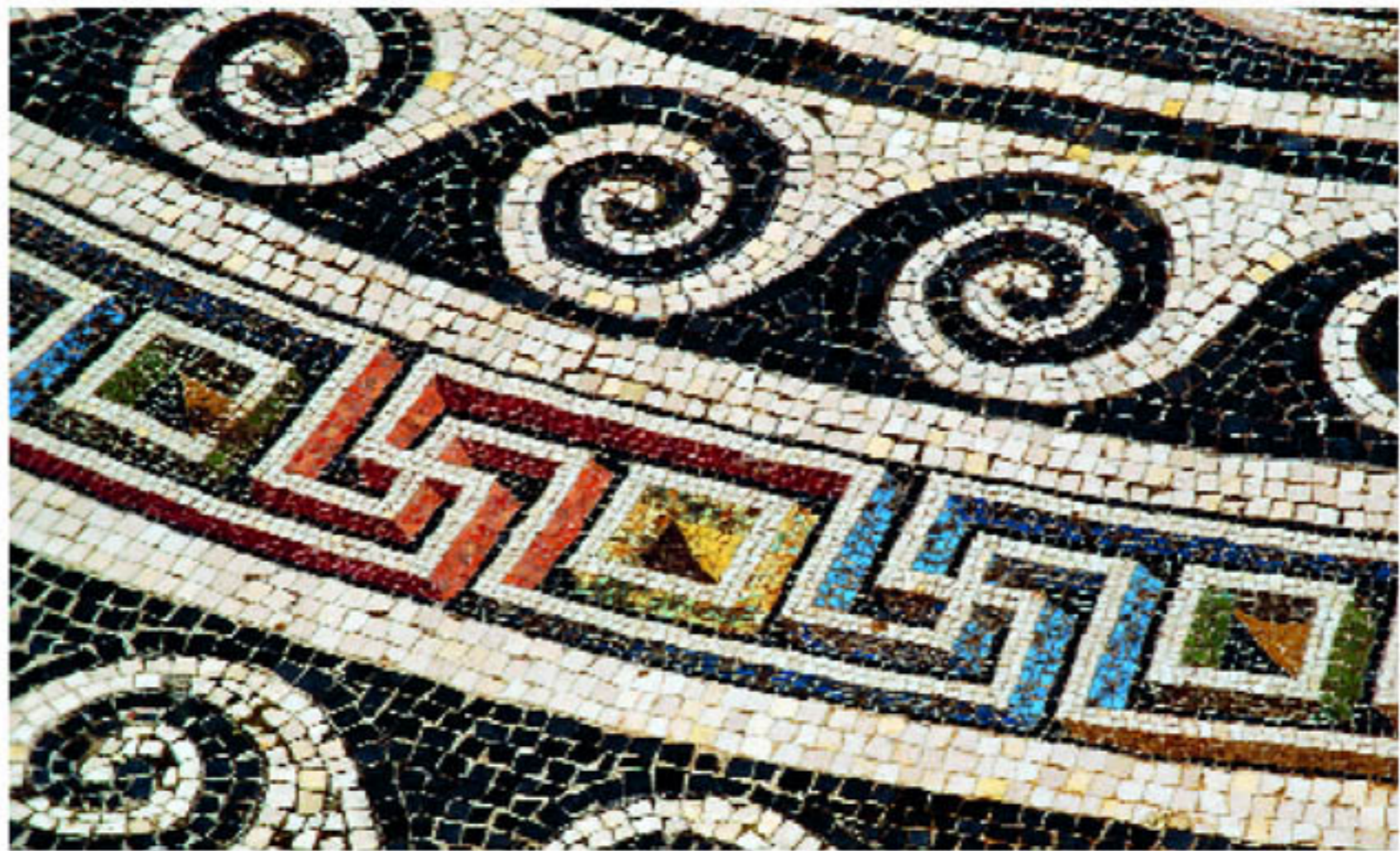






734

Each Eros is holding the symbol of a god: the thyrsus of Dionysus, the trident of Poseidon, the caduceus of Hermes and the club of Heracles. The Eros holding a thyrsus is riding on a dolphin with a wreath in its mouth, which would indicate that in this particular contest, the winner was Dionysus.



735





736



737

Among the 350 mosaic floors on Delos, just two are signed by the mosaicist. In the case of this unique mosaic, the artist was Asclepiades from Aradus, a city in Phoenicia.



738









The complex of the House of the Masks consists of four houses, all built in c. 150-100 BC. A large cistern hewn out of the granite rock supplied water to all the houses in the complex. The atrium of the main house has columns of granite and poros stone which were covered with white plaster to resemble marble. In this wealthy house, which was decorated with splendid mosaic floors and wall paintings, luxury vases were found, as well as gold jewellery and statues (fig. 177, 182, 358, 418), one of which may represent the owner.





741



742





743

In the four rooms opening onto the atrium, the mosaic floors have been preserved in excellent condition. The first portrays Dionysus, seated on a leopard or panther, between two Centaurs. One Centaur is carrying a large bronze or gold *krater* in the shape of a *kantharos*, a goblet sacred to Dionysus. The scenes are reminiscent of the Ptolemaic procession in Alexandria.





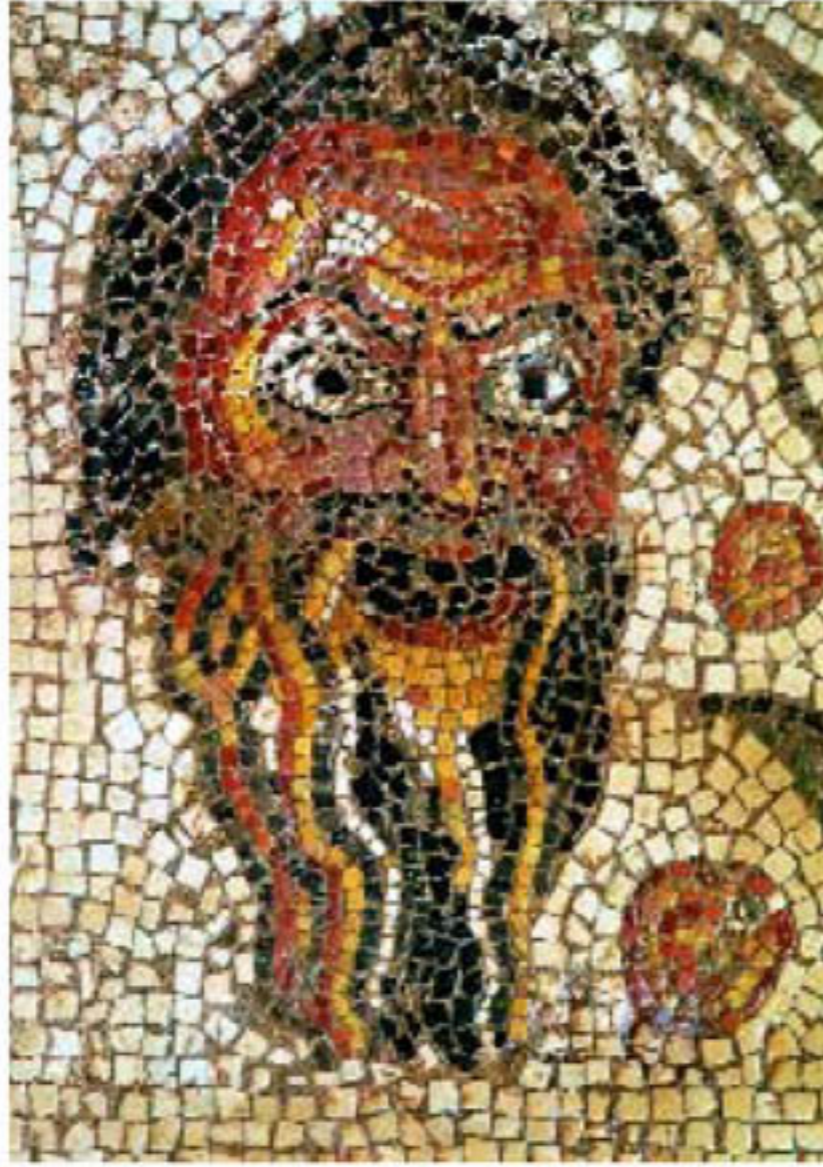
744

Details from the *emblema* with Dionysus. The mosaic floors were made *in situ* by the mosaicist and his assistants, but the central pieces, whose execution required more time, were created in the workshop and then set into the floor in such a way that they could be removed and transported.

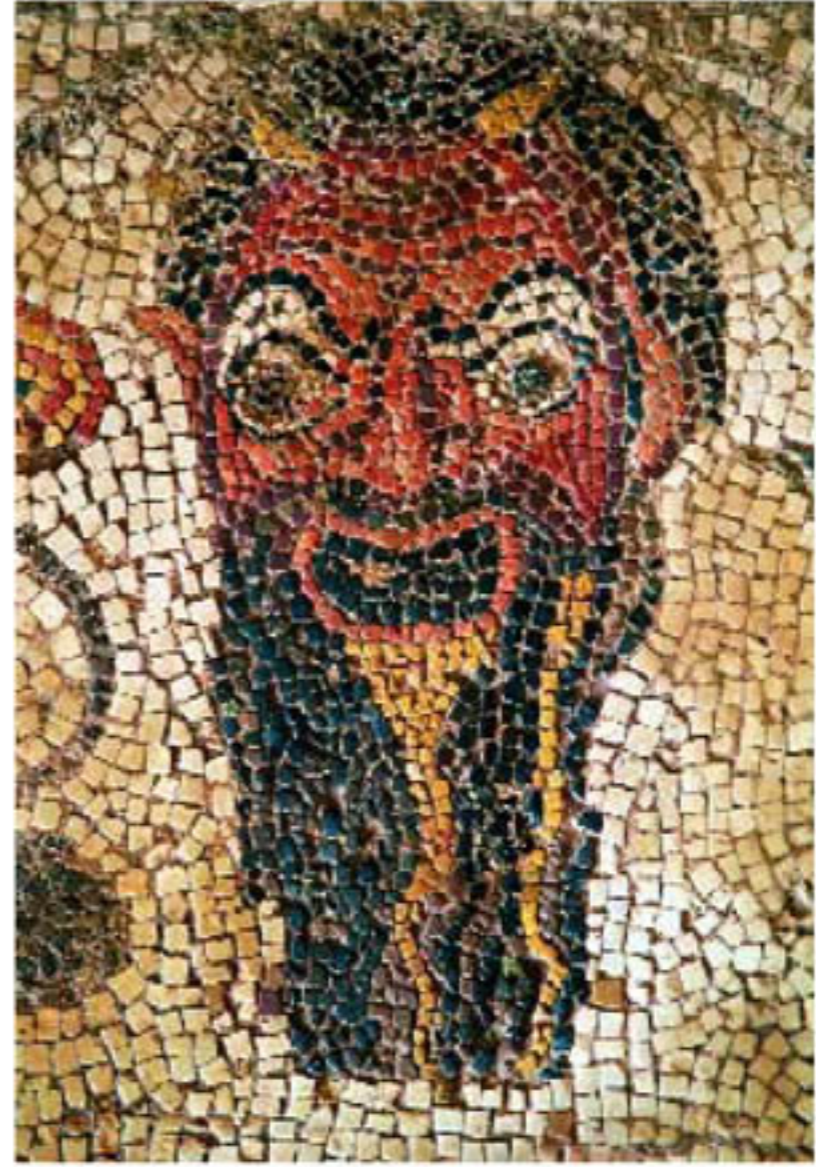




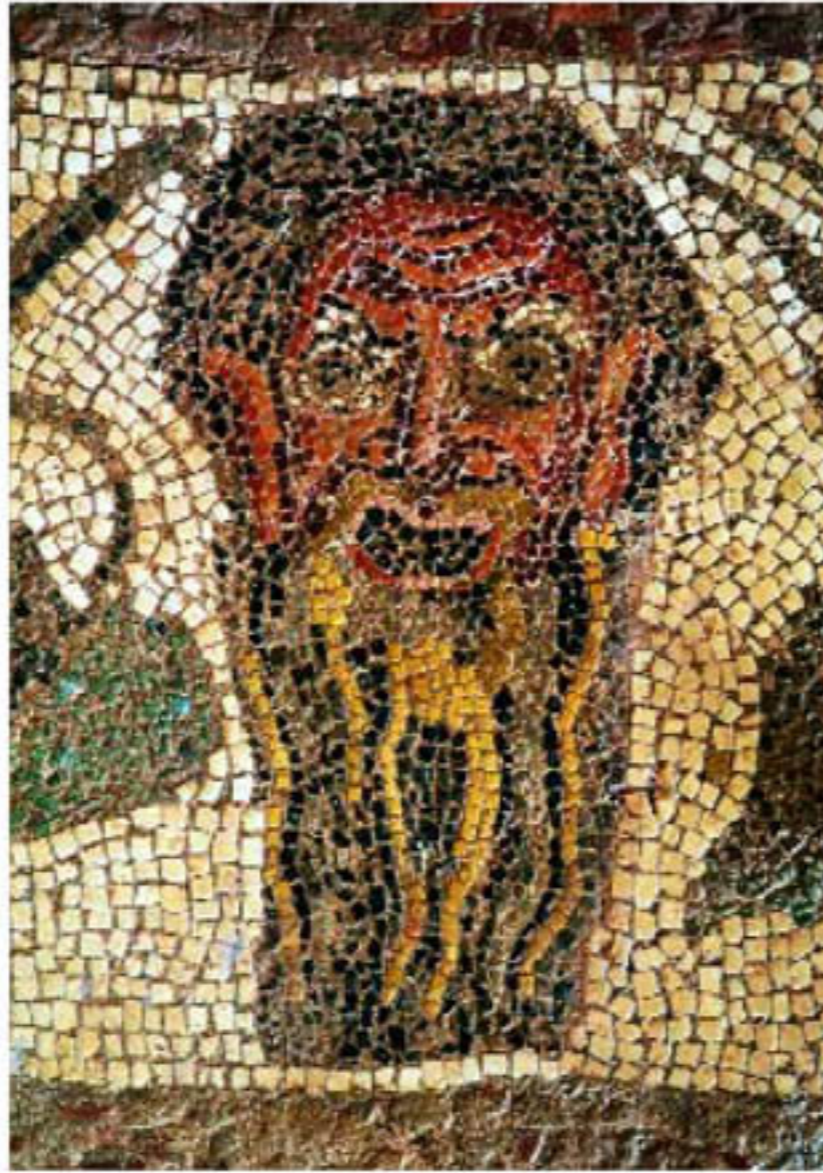




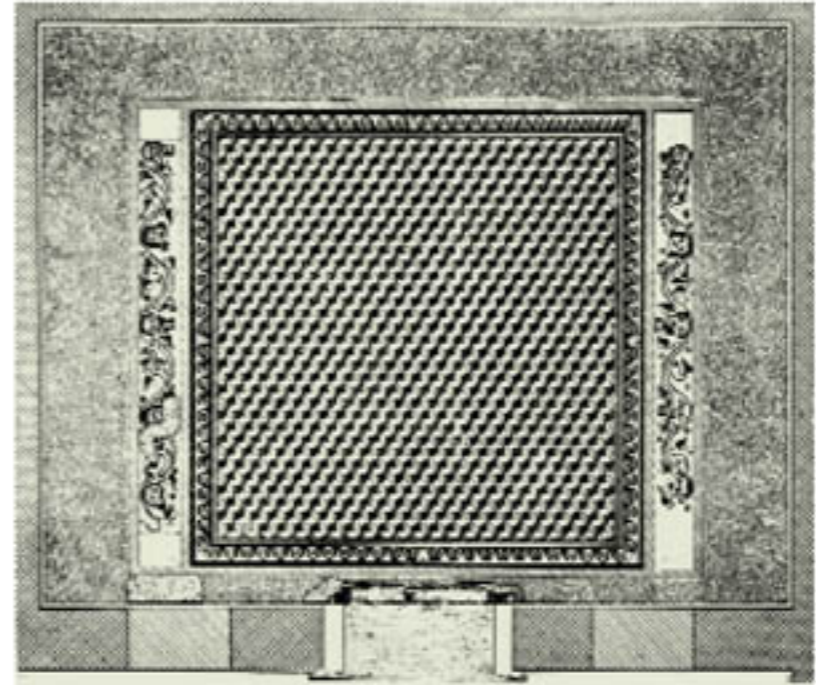
746



747



748



749

On the floor of the main hall, lozenges and broken bands create the illusion of three-dimensional cubes. On two bands that flank the main scene, among branches of ivy, there are ten theatrical masks for typical roles in the New Comedy.





In the room next door, a nude Satyr seated on a rock is playing a double flute and a drunken Silenus is dancing on the tips of his toes.

750

In the last room, between two splendid rosettes, there is an amphora with a palm branch and under it a bird pecking fruit. In front of the threshold of the room are facing dolphins.



751





752

Construction started on the theatre after 314 BC, but was not completed until almost 70 years later. The rainwater from the *koilon* was collected by drains in a large reservoir that supplied water to the upper city.



753





754

When construction began on the theatre, there were no houses in the surrounding district. Gradually, the houses began to climb up from the sea until they were just a few metres away from the *koilon* and the *skene*.





755

The Theatre Quarter, the oldest district in the city, with its narrow uphill streets and high houses, is similar to medieval towns. The sun barely reached down far enough to light the narrow streets which, in the winter months, would have been damp and muddy. Walking along those dark streets, the only things you could see were the high walls and a patch of sky above. But Mithridates, pirates and time joined forces and again the site permits the modern passer-by to see the island, the Aegean and the Cyclades all around.



756





757



758



759









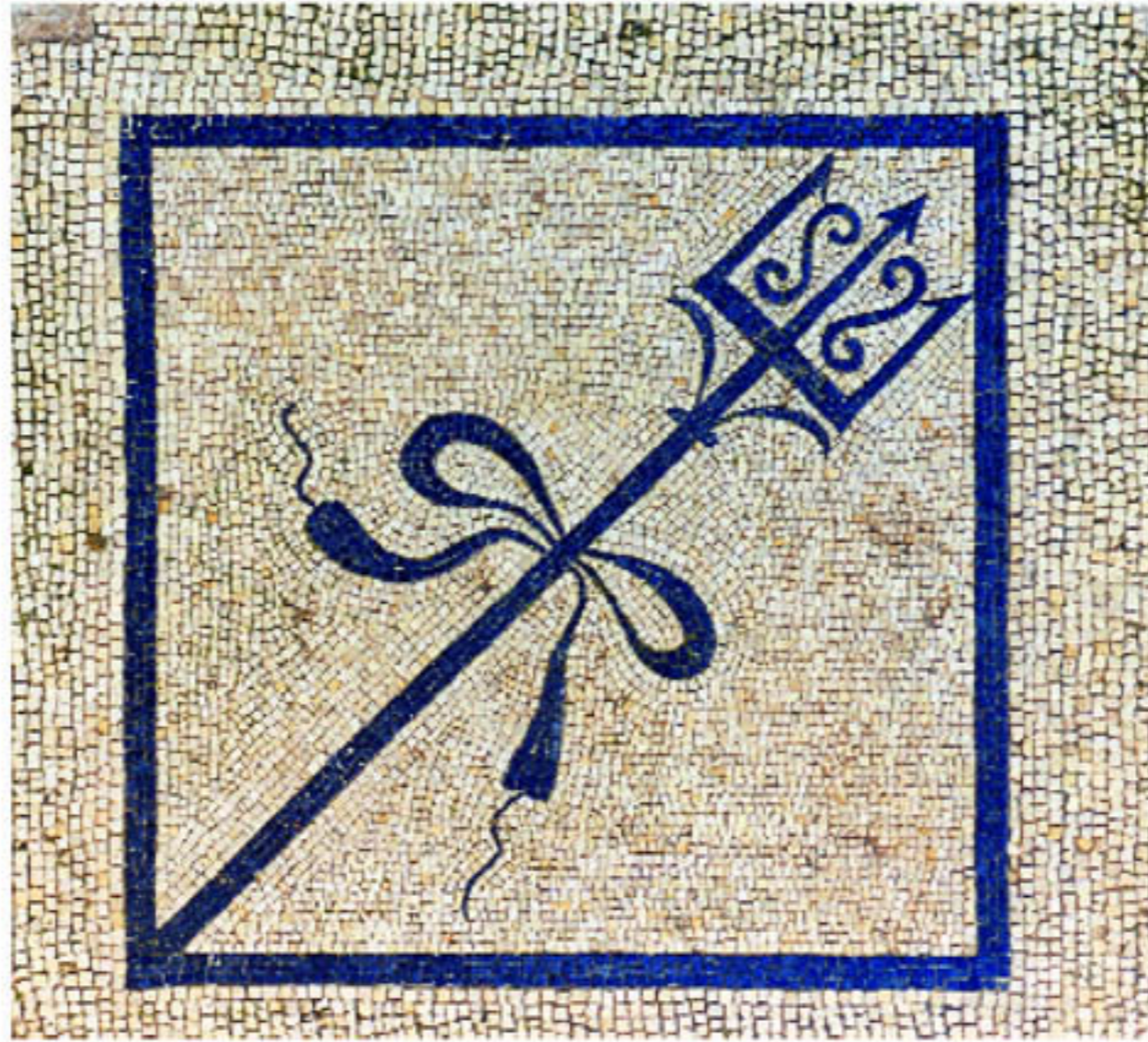
200



201

The atrium of the House of the Trident has a Rhodian type peristyle. In this type of peristyle, the colonnade in front of the main rooms is higher, allowing these rooms to be higher and to receive more light. To support the lower architraves of the other sides, projections were placed on the corner columns. Sometimes the projections are simple, at others they are decorative, such as on this house, where they are in the form of twin busts of lions and bulls.





762

Details from the mosaic floors of the House of the Trident.



763









705

Most of the mosaic floors were found in the Theatre Quarter. These mosaics imitate multicoloured carpets that are "laid" in the centre of the room, a feeling that is intensified by the fact that the section between the edge of the "carpet" and the wall is covered by a simpler mosaic consisting of marble chips. In front of the entrance to the room a smaller "rug" was placed. These permanent carpets are durable, beautiful and at the same time practical, since they are easy to clean and wash.



706





707



708





700







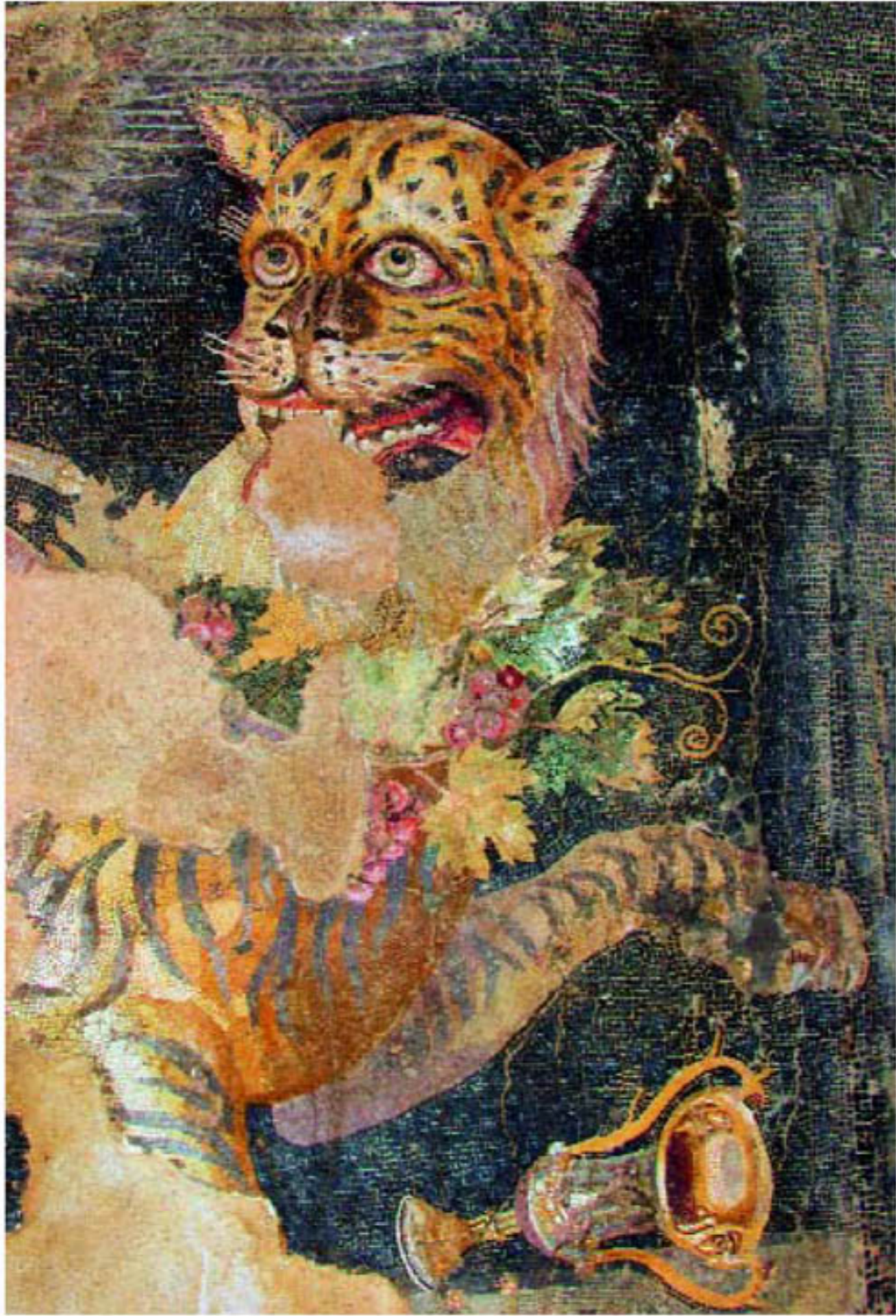
770

Mosaic *emblema* from the House of Dionysus. The god is represented winged, crowned with ivy, seated on the back of a tiger wearing a garland of vines and grapes around its neck. In his raised right hand the god is holding a thyrsus like a spear, adorned with a ribbon. In this representation, as in the previous one from the House of the Masks, there is a strongly theatrical atmosphere.













773

Cleopatra from Myrrinous (near Markopoulo) bought two houses and joined them together to make one. She crowded a marble peristyle into a small court and placed statues of herself and her husband Dioscurides opposite the main entrance, proclaiming at the same time that her husband had dedicated two silver tripods in the temple.





*Cleopatra, daughter of Adrastos from Myrrinous, dedicates the statue of her husband Dioscurides son of Theodoros of Myrrinous who dedicated two silver Delphic tripods one at either side of the entrance to the temple of Apollo, when Timarchos was archon of Athens.*







“Island of Ilithyia and Pluto” was what Demetrius Stavropoulos called Rheneia, referring to the fact that Delians lived on this island during the first and last days of their life; here they were born and died, first greeting and last bidding farewell to the sun which for the Greeks was always the supreme good. The thousands of asphodels that cover the cemetery in the autumn on the east side of the island are reminiscent of the melancholy poem *Lethe* by L. Mavilis and the bitter dialogue between Achilles and Odysseus in Hades:<sup>194</sup>

*‘But you, Achilles,  
there’s not a man in the world more blest than you –  
there never has been, never will be one.  
Time was, when you were alive, we Argives  
honoured you as a god, and now down here, I see,  
you lord it over the dead in all your power.  
So grieve no more at dying, great Achilles.’  
I reassured the ghost, but he broke out, protesting,  
‘No winning words about death to me, shining Odysseus!  
By god, I’d rather slave on earth for another man –  
some dirt-poor tenant farmer who scrapes to keep alive –  
than rule down here over all the breathless dead.  
But come, tell me the news about my gallant son.’ [...]  
So I said and  
off he went, the ghost of the great runner, Aeacus’ grandson  
loping with long strides across the fields of asphodel,  
triumphant in all I had told him of his son,  
his gallant, glorious son.*

In the hundreds of grave stelae that have been found on Rheneia and Delos, the grief of the dead person’s relatives is expressed with restraint and dignity. The dead person is represented in some everyday occupation or saying goodbye to family. Funeral epigrams are equally restrained, and usually limited to the name of the deceased, place of origin and a typical farewell. There are many grave stelae for men lost at sea in shipwrecks or naval battles. Dead warriors are depicted in arms, fighting on a warship to the death. Dead seamen, fishermen and merchants, seated on a rock, head resting on their left hand, gaze sadly out to the sea and to their lost ship. Some stelae depict the last tragic moments of shipwrecked men: Aphrodisius tries in vain to empty the water from his boat, Kerdon is shown at the moment he falls off the ship, Gaius Salusius, holding on to an oar, is swimming on the white-capped waves, trying desperately to reach his ship.

Many of these stelae were erected by relatives or friends of the dead people on cenotaphs, since the bodies of drowned people were only rarely recovered. The bodies of strangers washed up on shores were buried in anonymous graves, frequently with an epigram lamenting their death and their loved ones who would be awaiting their return in vain.

*Beneath your head I shall lay cold sand  
and with sand shall I cover your frozen body.  
For your mother did not find your body at sea  
nor has she ever lamented bitterly o’er your grave.  
Now you are held in a foreign barren valley  
not far from the Aegean coasts, stranger.  
So receive this sand and these many tears  
since, merchant, you have already taken the bitter road.*

ZONAS SARDIANOS, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC<sup>195</sup>



But Rheneia was not a vast necropolis. To the south was the city of the Rhenians and significant temples, and farms were scattered all over the island. Its fertile valleys were covered with farms; herds of goats, sheep and cattle grazed on the hillsides, among the verdant vineyards and the golden seas of waving grain. This picture remains the same, so that one has the feeling that on Rheneia time has stood still. The hospitable villagers of Rheneia cultivate the "lots" rented from the Municipality of Mykonos in almost the same way that their ancestors cultivated in antiquity, still threshing with horses.



776



777





776



Four pictures taken by Demetrius Stavropoulos and one by B. Papadimitriou: the Purification Pit (*St Kyriaki and our cells. Rheneia, 29 September 1900*), the sanctuary of Heracles, parts of the grave of Tertia Oraria and villagers of Rheneia (19-9-1900).



779



780





781

In the Ayia Triada region, vestiges can still be seen of the Hellenistic city and the Sanctuary of Heracles. In the southeast of the island, on a headland looking over the area, there was a lighthouse, perhaps a copy in miniature of the famous lighthouse of Alexandria.



782





Near Ayia Triada is the earlier city, which was abandoned in the 5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, when a large part of the hill on which it was built collapsed into the sea. A frightening sight on the top of the cliff are the rooms of the ancient houses that have been cut in half.





784

In the Sanctuary of Heracles, there was a cave-like structure, decorated with stalactites and wall paintings showing a watery landscape with fish, aquatic plants, birds and frogs, under which is a semi-circular cistern. The bottom of the cistern is decorated with a mosaic of swimming dolphins. The water that issued forth from a large marble shell enlivened the dolphins, creating the impression that they were really swimming.



785





786

Tombs, altars, sarcophagi, and funeral statues are scattered all over the east side, opposite Delos. The ancient ruins have been plundered for centuries, or used as ballast for passing sailing ships, and thus grave stelae from Rheneia can be found in Paros, Hydra, Athens, Aegina, and Corfu, as well as in Venice, London, Oxford, Ireland, Paris, Vienna, Norway, Odessa, St Petersburg and Copenhagen.



787





An unfinished stele that was never placed on the grave for which it was intended. An elegant woman is sitting on a high throne reminiscent of the structure behind the cult statue of Apollo (fig. 173). To the right is another grave stele that was also never used. Two Romans are represented, and between them is a herm of Heracles suggesting some relationship with the Gymnasium.









Dorothes bids farewell to his young wife and his two small children; the sick Arsinoë Claudia says goodbye to her husband Marcus and their daughter, and little Alexas goes to meet his brother.





*You were a warrior Proarhe, since you were a child.  
Now your death brought black mourning to the house of Pheidias,  
your father; but over your grave are written these glorious words:  
"He died fighting for his beloved country!"*

ANYTE, 3<sup>d</sup> cent. BC





705

*Storm, tempest east of Arcturus  
darkness and high waves on the sea of the Aegean,  
destroyed my youth; the mast  
of my ship broke into three, and my cargo and  
I were both lost in the depths.  
Weep my parents for your shipwrecked Tlesimenis  
and build an empty grave near the seashore.*

HERACLEIDES, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC

704





706

*Hieroklidis and his boat shared the same life  
They grew old together, and together they died  
He and she – his faithful companion  
No other vessel ran more smoothly over the waves.  
She kept him company until his old age. And finally  
she became his grave; together they went down to Hades.*

ANTIPHILOS, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC



707

*Phokos met his death in a foreign country.  
His black ship could not resist the fierce waves  
and it sank in the deep Aegean sea.  
It could not withstand the fearful rage of the South wind.  
Now an empty grave has been erected in his ancestral land  
and Promethis his mother comes here every day,  
like a sorrowful bird she laments  
that death took her child before his time.*

PHALAIKOS, 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC





708

#### SUPPLICATION

The sea took a sailor to its deep.—  
His mother, unsuspecting, goes to light

a tall candle before the Virgin Mary  
for his speedy return and for fine weather—

and always she cocks her ear to windward,  
But while she prays and implores,

the icon listens, solemn and sad, knowing well  
that the son she expects will no longer return.

C.P. CAVAFY, 1898











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C A T A L O G U E

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- 15 B.10601. Small amphibonic vase bearing the inscription: *Centaurea of Apollonides son of Dexandros*, Agora of the Italians, 1905. Height 0.069 m. Hadjidakis P.J. 1998, p. 37, fig. 3.
- 24 Mykonos 00970. Nuptial *lebes* decorated by the Syriscos Painter. The Purification Pit, height 0.845 m. 475-450 BC. Dugas Ch., Beazley J. D. 1953, p. 31, no. 12, fig. 5-7, 57.
- 63 Statue of Isis, or a priestess of the goddess Isis. Rome, Museo Capitolino.
- 115 A.07756. Herm found in the Propylaia of the Sanctuary. On the base is the inscription: *During the leadership of the archon Nicomachus, the secretary and the Amphictyons, Phanomachus son of Charmiados from Sounion, Pythodoros son of Nicostratus from Acharnes, Eupolemos son of Euthymenides from Myrrhinous, Chaerias son of Euortios from Anaphlystous, Archeneos son of Diphilos Prospaltios, Teisiades son of Teisippus Sphetios, dedicated this*. Height 1.97 m. 341/0 BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 74.
- 120 A.07681. One of the antefixae from the Oikos of the Naxians with an incised Gorgon's head. Height 0.20 m. Circa 600 BC. Courbin P. 1980, fig. 60, Kokkorou-Alewrass G. 1995, no. 102.
- 126 A.04279. Statue of a *kore* from the Temple of the Athenians found in 1878. Height 0.84 m. 425-415 BC. Hermary Ant. 1984, p. 25, fig. 12.
- 127 A.04287. Sculpture of Boreas and Oreithyia, central acroterion from the eastern façade of the Temple of the Athenians. Found in 1878. Height 1.71 m., height of base 0.33 m. 425-415 BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 66.
- 128 A.04280. Statue of a *kore* from the Temple of the Athenians found in 1878. Height 0.75 m. 425-415 BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 68.
- 129 B.07069. Ivory plaque portraying a Mycenaean warrior. Artemision, 1946. Height 0.118 m., width 0.06 m. 1350-1250 BC. Tournavitou Iph. 1995, p. 479-527.
- 130 B.07075. Bronze statuette of a warrior. Artemision, 1946. Height 0.11 m. 1350-1250 BC. *BCH* 71 (1947), fig. 39, pgs. 221, 76.
- 131, 133 B.07070, B.07073. Ivory frieze with relief of lions mauling deer and a bull, and a griffin attacking a deer. Artemision 1946. Length 0.55 m., height 0.043 m. (B.07070) and length 0.10 m., width 0.049 m. (B.07073). 1350-1250 BC. Tournavitou Iph. 1995, p. 479-527.
- 132 B.07075. Ivory plaque with incised representation of a lion mauling a griffin. Artemision, 1946. Length 0.225 m, height 0.051 m. 1350-1250 BC. Tournavitou Iph. 1995, pgs. 479-527.
- 135 A.00538. Bronze statuette of a bull. Sanctuary, before 1880. 8<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Deonna W. 1938, fig. 2.13.
- 136 A.00539. Bronze statuette of a bull. Found before 1880 in the Sanctuary of Apollo. Height 0.115 m. 8<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Deonna W. 1938, fig. 2, ill. 16.
- 137 A.00542. Bronze statuette of a horse. Found on 26 May 1904 on the west side of the Sanctuary. 8<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. *BCH* 1938, pp. 210, 211, Deonna W. 1938, fig. 2.11.
- 138 A.00543. Bronze statuette of an animal. Found on 26-5-1904 on the west side of the Sanctuary. 8<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Deonna W. 1938, fig. 2.12.
- 139 A.00541. Small bronze horse. Found in the Sanctuary before 1880. Height 0.103 m. Mid 8<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Rolley Cl. 1973, p. 517, Fuchs W.-Floren J. 1987, p. 69, note 27.
- 140 National Archaeological Museum 00021. Statue of Winged Nike. Found in 1877 in the region of the Artemision. Height 0.90 m. A fragmentary inscription found nearby has been associated with this statue. The inscription speaks about a "beautiful statue" dedicated by Archermos, son of Mikkiades from Chios to the "far-shooter" (Artemis). Circa 550 BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 38.
- 141 B.06099. Plate with a representation of winged Nike. Heraion, 1911. Diameter 0.18 m. Dugas Ch. 1928, no. 637, p.186.
- 142 A.00583. Statue of a Sphinx. Parts of it were found in 1901, 1902 and 1905 at the Sanctuary near the Artemision. Parian marble. Height 1.23 m. Together with the capital, it is 1.68 m. high. 560-550 BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 34.
- 143 A.04062. Three fragments from a *kore*. They were found in 1878, on the same day that the *kore* dedicated by Nikandra was found in the Artemision. Height of the torso 0.42 m., body 0.57 m. 580-570 BC. Kokkorou-Alewrass



- G. 1995, no. 68, Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 16.
- 144 A.04068. Statue of a *kore*. Artemision, before 1882. Height 1 m. 525-500 BC. Fuchs W.-Floren J. 1987, p. 167, note 53.
- 145 A.04115. Head of a *kore*. Height 0.27 m. 525-500 BC. Fuchs W.-Floren J. 1987, p. 163 and note 23.
- 146 A.04067. Statue of a *kore*. Artemision, before 1882. Height 1.04 m. 525-500 BC. Fuchs W.-Floren J. 1987, p. 167, and note 59.
- 147, 157 B.06867. *Hydria*. Found in July 1935 in tomb D of the Archegeion. Height 0.32 m. 650-625 BC. Robert F. 1953, p. 28-30.
- 148 B.06156. Small *hydria*. Heraion, 1911. Height 0.17 m. Dugas Ch. 1928, no. 15, fig. 7.
- 149 Mykonos 00587. *Hydria* from the Purification Pit. Height 0.31 m. 625-575 BC. Zapheirou F. 1981, p. 189, ill. 129.
- 150 Mykonos 00590. *Hydria* from the Purification Pit. 650-575 BC. Zapheirou F. 1981, ill. 99.
- 151 Mykonos 01289. *Hydria* from the Purification Pit. Height 0.335 m. 625-600 BC. Zapheirou F. 1981, p. 180, ill. 112, 113.
- 152 Mykonos 01265. *Hydria* from the Purification Pit. 625-600 BC. Zapheirou F. 1981, p. 70, ill. 79.
- 153 Mykonos 00588. *Hydria* from the Purification Pit. Height 0.34 m. 650-575 BC.
- 154 Mykonos 00589. *Hydria* from the Purification Pit. Height 0.315 m. 600-550 BC. Zapheirou F. 1981, p. 193, ill. 139.
- 155 Mykonos 00550. Upper part of an *hydria* from the Purification Pit. 600-550 BC. Zapheirou F. 1981, p. 192, ill. 137.
- 156 B.06157. Amphora. Heraion, July 1911. Height 0.355. 650-625 BC. Dugas Ch. 1928, p. 17, no. 11, tab. 1.
- 159, 160 The pedestal, torso and hips of the Apollo of the Naxians. His left hand is in the Delos Museum (A.4094), while four parts of the left leg and the plinth are in the British Museum. The dimensions of the base are 5.06 x 3.46 m. The height of the torso is 2.50 m. Late 7<sup>th</sup>-early 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Gruben G. 1997, p. 267-287.
- 161 A.00333. Lower part of a *kouros* from the waist to the knees. Found on 3 July 1906 near the Poros Temple. Height 0.85 m. 625-600 BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 20.
- 162 A.03997. Torso and head of a *kouros*. Found in the Sanctuary before 1882. Height 0.59 m. 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Richter G.M.A. 1960, p. 69, no. 47, ill. 174-175.
- 163 A.00728. Triangular base of a *kouros* bearing the inscription: "Euthycartides the Naxian made me and dedicated me". Found in 1885 in the region between the Temple of the Delians and the altars of the Prytaneion. Height 0.58 m., length 0.90 m. Circa 600 BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 40.
- 164 A.04048. Headless *kouros* of Naxian marble. Height 1.18 m. 560-550 BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 26.
- 165 A.04083. *Kouros* found in 1904 in the Temple of Apollo. Height 1.20 m. Richter G.M.A. 1960, p. 105, ill. 342, 345, Fuchs W.-Floren J. 1987, p. 154, note 25.
- 166 A.04051. *Kouros*. Naxian work. Found in 1904 in the Sanctuary of Apollo. Height 0.76 m. Circa 550 BC. Kokkorou-Alewrass G. 1995, no. 65.
- 167 A.01741. *Kouros*. Parian work. Found on 6 July 1908 near the northwest corner of the Hypostyle Hall. Height 1.62 m. 550-525 BC. Richter G.M.A. 1960, p. 125, Fuchs W.-Floren J. 1987, p. 163 and note 29.
- 168 A.04108. Head of a bearded rider. Sanctuary before 1882. Height 0.32 m. 540-520 BC.
- 169 A.04277. Torso of a discus thrower or athlete with a strigil. Height 0.80 m. Circa 480 BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 60.
- 170 A.04276. Torso of a discus thrower. Height 1.25 m. Circa 470 BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 62.
- 171 74/0385 A. Clay seal with the figure of Apollo. House of the Seals, 1974. The depth of the seal is 0.0165 m. Late 2<sup>nd</sup>-early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Boussac M.-Fr. 1992 p. 22, no. 2, Gruben G. 1997, p. 287-293.
- 172 A.04260. Fragment of the neck of large amphora with a representation of Apollo Citharodos (the guitar-player) and Muse with *krotala* (a kind of castanet). 700-675 BC. Northwest section of the Artemision, 1908. Height 0.12 m. *BCH* 35 (1911), p. 410, ill. 68.
- 173 A.06995. Relief sculpture with representation of Apollo. House at Phournoi, 1960. Height 0.55 m. Late 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 178.
- 174 A.00825. Marble statuette of Apollo as a *kouros*. South of the Agora of the Delians, 25-6-1909. Height 0.51 m. Late 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 166, notes 2,3,8, tab. 28, Marcadé J. 1973, ill. 35.
- 175 A.00994. Statuette of Apollo as a *kouros*. Found on 7-5-1908 in the Hypostyle Hall. Height 0.0155 m. 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 166, notes 2, 347, tab. 18.
- 176 A.00383. Statuette of Apollo or Dionysus. Parts were found on 3 and 4 August 1906 in the northwest sector of the House of Dionysus. Height 0.34 m. 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC.
- 177 A.04135. Statue of Apollo. House of the Masks, 1932. Height 1.10 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 106.
- 178 74/00101. Seal with a representation of Apollo Citharodos. House of the Seals, 1974. Height 0.0125 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Boussac M.-Fr. 1992, p. 31, Ap.93.
- 179 A.02939. Statuette of Apollo Citharodos. Northwest corner of the Agora of the Italians, 2-8-1904. Height 0.37 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 102.
- 180 A.04711. Part of Pergamene vase with added relief representation of Apollo Citharodos. North of the theatre, 1912. Height 0.065 m. Beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Bruneau Ph. 1991, p. 624, no. 33.
- 181 74/0846. Seal with seated Apollo with cithara. House of the Seals, 1974. Height of seal 0.0132 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Boussac M.-Fr. 1992, p. 41, no. Ap.138.
- 182 A.04133. Statuette of seated Apollo with cithara. House of the Masks, 1932. Height 0.58 m. End of 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 178, fig. 30.
- 183 A.04124. Statue of Apollo treading on three Galatian shields. Theatre Quarter, Insula II, 1904. Height 1.33 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 98.
- 184 75/02862. Seal with standing Apollo leaning on a pillar and holding ribbons in his right hand. House of the Seals, 1975. Height of seal 0.0116 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Boussac M.-Fr. 1992, p. 61, Ap. 329.
- 185 74/00689. Seal with Delian Apollo leaning on a pillar with herm. In his right hand he is holding a palm branch. House of the Seals, 1974. Height of seal 0.013 m. Late 2<sup>nd</sup>-early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Boussac M.-Fr. 1992, p. 64, Ap.369, Delivorrias A. 1999.
- 186 74/09093. Seal with a representation of Apollo seated on the bow of a ship. House of the Seals, 1974. Height of seal 0.0119 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Boussac M.-Fr. 1992, p. 44, Ap. 148.
- 187 A.04239. Part of a relief representing Apollo seated on the bow of a ship (?). In his right hand he is holding a palm branch. Found in 1949 in the southern part of the Wall of Triarius. Height 0.26 m. Hellenistic period.



- 188 A.02915. Relief with a bust of Apollo-Helios. House at Phourmoi, 12 July 1916. Height 0.53 m., width 0.51 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1973, p. 357.
- 189 A.02225 Relief head of Apollo (?). Found in October of 1909, north east of the Lake. Height 0.33 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1973, p. 358, note 54.
- 190 B.17633. Wall painting with a bust of Phoebus. Stadium Quarter, House C, 1915. Diameter 0.51 m. Early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Bulard M. 1926, p. 147, tab. 22.
- 191 74/06574. Laurel wreathed head of Apollo and Apollo-Helios on his chariot. An image similar to that on a metope on the Parthenon and on a metope from the Temple of Athena in Ilion. House of the Seals, 1974. Height of seal 0.097 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Boussac M.-Fr. 1992, p. 86, Ap. 475, tab. 27, Moreno P. 1994, ill. 157.
- 192 74/06273. Head Apollo. House of the Seals 1974. Height of seal 0.0137 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Boussac M.-Fr. 1992, p. 102, Ap. 607, tab. 35.
- 193 74/04095 Seal with a representation of Apollo-Helios. House of the Seals, 1974. Height of seal 0.0167. 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Boussac M.-Fr. 1992, p. 111, Hel. 24.
- 194 74/05955. Seal with a representation of Apollo-Helios. House of the Seals, 1974. Height of seal 0.0128 m. 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Boussac M.-Fr. 1992, p. 116, Hel. 77.
- 195, 202 British Museum M. 2191. Relief of the apotheosis of Homer, work by Archelaus of Priene. Height 1.18 m. 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Moreno P. 1994, p. 561, ill. 689.
- 196 74/09166. Seal with a representation of the Muse Polyhymnia. House of the Seals, 1974. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Zapheirpoulou F. 1998, no. 262.
- 197 A.00351. Statue of the Muse Polyhymnia. Found in July 1906 in the Theatre Quarter, in the cistern of a house northwest of the House of Dionysus. Height 1.12 m. 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Moreno P. 1994, ill. 525, p. 409-413, Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 122.
- 198 A.04125. Apollo Citharodos Mousagetes. Found in 1905 in the Theatre Quarter (III.C.b). Height 1.11 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 100.
- 199 A.04132. Statuette of the Muse Terpsichore. House of Kerdon, 25 June 1903. Height 0.48 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 195-6, tab. 33.
- 200 A.03443. Terracotta figurine of a Muse. Agora of the Italians, 10 August 1905. Height 0.105 m. Beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Laumonier A. 1956, no. 386.
- 201 A.04154. Statuette of the Muse Clio or Calliope seated on a rock. Found before 1881. Height 0.32 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.
- 203 A.04131. Statuette of the Muse Urania (?) seated on a rock. House of Kerdon, 25-6-1903. Height 0.68 m. End of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 124.
- 204 National Archaeological Museum 00001. Statue of Artemis (?), votive offering of Nicandra of Naxos. Artemision, 1878. Height 1.75 m., 2 m. with the base. On her left thigh is incised the following inscription:  
*"Nicandra, distinguished amongst women,  
 daughter of Deinodices of Naxos, sister of  
 Deinomenes and wife of Phraxus dedicated me  
 to her whose arrows fly far."*  
 650-630 BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 14.
- 205 A.03193. Relief with representation of Artemis Locheia. Height 0.45 m., width 0.30 m. 420-400 BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 72.
- 206 A.03197+A.03198. Marble table leg with a representation of Artemis. On the upper part, a lion or a panther is attacking a deer. "Temple of Apollo", 1880 Height 0.83 m., width 0.82 m. 420-410 BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 70.
- 207 A.00449. Statue of Artemis Elaphebolos (Shooter of Deer). Found in August of 1906 in the Theatre Quarter, in the courtyard of House III. S. Height 1.44 m. 125-100 BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 112.
- 208 A.04128. Statue of Artemis with a doeskin. Theatre Quarter, "House of the Five Statues", 1905. Height 1.20 m. Late 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 116.
- 209 A.04126. Statue of Artemis. Theatre Quarter, "House of the Five Statues", 1905. Height 1.32 m. Late 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 114.
- 210 A.05481. Statuette of Artemis. Height 0.23 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 217.5, 546, tab. 39.
- 211 A.05482. Statuette of Artemis. Agora of Competaliasts, 1905. Height 0.25 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 224, tab. 38.
- 212 A.01735. Statuette of Artemis. "By the Guardians' house", 26-4-1908. Height 0.25 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 220, tab. 41.
- 213 A.06003. Statuette of Artemis making a striking movement. Height 0.30 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 218.9, tab. 40.
- 214 74/07445. Seal with a representation of Artemis holding a torch. House of the Seals, 1974. Diameter of seal 0.091 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Boussac M.-Fr. 1992, p. 142, Art.73, tab. 50.
- 215 A.01719. Bronze relief with a representation of a sacrifice in a rural sanctuary of Artemis. Minoan Fountain, 11-8-1908. Height 0.50 m., width 0.43 m., depth 0.005 m. It has been placed on the inscribed marble stele E.378 from the Agora of the Delians. Circa 200 BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 176.
- 216 A.03236. Relief with a representation of Artemis and dedicatory inscription: *Dionysius Paconius, younger son of Gnaeus, dedicated this to Hermes and to companions during the period in which Antiochus Paconius of Artemision was high priest of Artemis Soteira.* House of the Herms, 1948. Height 0.52 m. Beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Bruneau Ph. 1971, p. 204.
- 217 A.07724. Votive relief with a representation of the sacrifice of a pig to Artemis. House of the Seals, 24 July 1987. Height 0.34 m. Beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Siebert G. *BCH* 112 (1988), p. 765.
- 218 A.03153. Marble relief of the sacrifice of a goat to Artemis Locheia. Found in September of 1920 in a temple south east of Kynthos. Height 0.30 m. Beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Bruneau Ph. 1971, tab. 1.4.
- 219 74/05211. Seal with a bust of Artemis. House of the Seals, 1974. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Boussac M.-Fr. 1992, p. 149.
- 220 74/00748. Seal with a representation of Hecate. House of the Seals, 1974. Height of seal 0.018 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Boussac M.-Fr. 1992, p. 180, Hec. 9.
- 221 74/0612. Seal with a representation of Ephesian Artemis. House of the Seals, 1974. Height of seal 0.0168 m. Early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Boussac M.-Fr. 1992, p. 172, AE.17, tab. 66.
- 222 74/04900. Seal with a representation of Artemis. House of the Seals, 1974. Height of seal 0.085 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Boussac M.-Fr. 1992, p. 128, Art.6.
- 223 B.19682. Clay lamp in the form of a ship with a representation of Artemis Light-bearer (?). Found in 1986 east of the Museum. Length 0.135. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Bruneau Ph. 1965, p. 107 and note 4.5.
- 224 A.08193 (A.06020). Upper part of a stele of the three-faced Hecate. Height 0.122 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 301.2 tab. 59.



- 225 A.06018. Statuette of the three-faced Hecate. Height 0.275 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 301.3, tab. 59.
- 226 A.03205. Statuette of the three-faced Hecate. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.
- 227 A.06022. Triangular stele of the three-faced Hecate. Establishment of the Poseidoniasts. Height 0.25. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 389, 437 tab. 59.
- 228 A.06021. Triangular stele of the three-faced Hecate. Height 0.435. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, 301.2, 437.4, tab. 59.
- 233 A.05780. Statuette of Cybele sitting on a throne between two lions. Height 0.28 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 245.4, 246, tab. 53.
- 234 A.05788. Statuette of enthroned Cybele. Found in 1904 on Theatre Street. Height 0.235 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 245.5, tab. 53.
- 235 A.5775. Statuette of enthroned Cybele. Found in the "Commercial Quarter". Height 0.225 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 245.3, tab. 53.
- 236 A.05781. Statuette of Cybele, enthroned. Found in the northeast part of the Sanctuary. Height 0.25 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 245.5, tab. 53.
- 237 A.03305. Figurine of Cybele enthroned. Found on 13-6-1905 outside the northeast corner of the Agora of the Italians. Height 0.28 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Laumonier A. 1956, p. 136, no. 362, tab. 39.
- 238 A.05774. Enthroned Cybele with drum and a small lion on her lap. Found in the northeast corner of the Agora of the Competaliasts. Height 0.25 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 245.3, tab. 53.
- 239 A.04144. Statuette of Cybele. House of Dionysus, 1904. Height 0.51. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 94.
- 240 A.03308 Terracotta figurine of Eros-Attis. Found on 9 June 1905 outside the northeast corner of the Agora of the Italians. Height 0.265 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Laumonier A. 1956, p. 137, no. 364, tab. 40.
- 241 A.03308 Clay figurine of Eros-Attis. As indicated by the turned heads, this was a pair with No. 240. Found on 9-6-1905 outside the northeast corner of the Agora of the Italians. Height 0.265 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Laumonier A. 1956, p. 137, no. 365, tab. 40.
- 242 Statue of the General Gaius Vilienus. Eastern end of the Stoa of Antigonos. Height 2.07 m. Circa 100 BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 196.
- 245 A.00463. Thin bronze cross with incised image of the Holy Spirit at the top, Jesus in the centre and angels and Saints at the ends. The vertical arm bears the inscription HOLY HOLY HOLY LORD and on the horizontal arm is the inscription GOD OF SABAOOTH. Found in 1885 near the Poros Temple. Height 0.545 m. 6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD Deonna W. 1938, p. 391, tab. 113.
- 249 A.00126. Statuette of Poseidon. Northeast part of the Agora of the Competaliasts, 18-5-1906. Height 0.40 without the pedestal. Beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 427, note 2, tab. 59.
- 250 C.00287. Marble slab (0.32x0.30x20.065 m.) inscribed with an account of the Hieropoioi. Sanctuary, 23/9/1903. 178 BC.
- 251 A.04120. Statuette of Poseidon, copy of a 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. work. Possibly found in the House of Dionysus. Height 0.86 m. Late 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 96.
- 254 74/03510 Clay seal with a representation of Artemis and Apollo with a cult statue (*xoano*) between them. Possibly a statue of Leto. House of the Seals, 1974. Height of seal 0.017 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Boussac M.-Fr. 1992, p. 148, Ap.120, tab. 52.
- 255 A.00197 (A.4184) Head from a colossal statue of a man, approximately 3 m. high. Dodekathreon, 1911. Height 0.55 m. Beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 84.
- 256 National Archaeological Museum 00022. Statue of Leto. Found in 1884 south of the Agora of the Italians. Height 1.34 m. Circa 500 BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 48.
- 257 A.04127. Statue of Leto (?). Theatre Quarter, House of the Five Statues, 1905. Height 1.11 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 118.
- 260-262 A.04340, A.06461. Statue of Gaios Ophellios Pheros. Found in 1904 in the Agora of the Italians, it was transported to the Museum in 1949 by Nik. Kontoleon. It was put up by the French School in 1988, but started to crack in two in 1989. Since then, it has been supported by iron scaffolding. On the base (1.10 m. height) there is an inscription: *The Italiotes dedicate to Apollo the statue of Gaios Ophellios Pheros son of Marcos in tribute to his justice and beneficence. Sculpted by Dionysios son of Timarchides, and Timarchides son of Polycles, Athenians.* Height 2.36 m. 125-100 BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 190.
- 263-266 A.08370-A.08385 Archaic lions. Naxian marble. Found in 1904, 1906 north of the Granite Monument. Height 1.60-1.85 m., length 1.75-2.10 m. End of the of the 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 32.
- 270 Statue of the goddess Rome. Establishment of the Poseidoniasts from Berytos. Height 1.48 m. The inscription: *"The goddess Rome, benefactress. The Association of the Poseidoniasts of Berytos, merchants, shipowners and forwarding agents [dedicated it] for her goodwill to their Association and their homeland, during the second presidency of Mnaseas son of Dionysius the benefactor. Made by Menandros son of Mekas from Athens".* 125-120 BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 78.
- 272 A.04156. Statue of a nymph. Found in the Establishment of the Poseidoniasts from Berytos. Height 0.71 m. End of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 390, tab. 25, Stewart A. 1990, p. 226, no. 833.
- 276 Pigments. From left to right and from top to bottom: B.00438 (northwest of the House of Dionysus, 4-7-1906), iron oxide, B.00297 (northwest of the House of the Trident, 8-6-1906) cinnabar, B.05038, porphyry, B.00206 (northwest of the House of the Trident, 16-5-1906) lump of artificial green pigment, B.05048 (southwest of the theatre retaining wall, 26-7-1912) natural yellow pigment, B.05014 (South east of the palaestra of the Lake, 19-7-1912) lumps of sulphur, B.05032 (Granite Palaestra, 25-8-1912) artificial blue pigment, B.05039 (north shore of the Lake, July 1910) artificial blue pigment, B.05650 (building of the French School, 7-2-1916) four lumps of red ochre, B.05652 (cistern of the House of the Diadumenos, 5-8-1916) small lumps of tar, B.18617 two lumps of mineral ochre, B.18616 (A.Stadium Quarter, 1912) mineral pigment, B.05013 lumps of sulphur (yellow), B.05028 (Establishment of the Poseidoniasts, 29-7-1904), artificial brown pigment, perhaps oxidised iron, B.05025 (Theatre Quarter, 1905) artificial pigment, B.05010 (Sarapieion A, 3-8-1912) lead.
- 277 B.00316. Marble mortar. West of the Granite Monument, 10-6-1906. Diameter 0.255 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Deonna W. 1938, p. 111. B.01759. Marble mortar and finger-shaped pestle. House of Inopos, 23-7-1908. Height 0.053 m., length 0.058 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Deonna W. 1938, p. 118. B.18814. Bottom of a base with remains of red pigment inside. Diameter of the base 0.048 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Brékoulaki H. 2000, p. 199 ff. Jockey Ph.- Bourgeois Br. 2001.



- 278 B.17605. Wall painting (first layer) from the façade of the House west of the House on the Hill, 1961. A naked black man is climbing a palm tree. Height 1.07 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Bezerra de Meneses U.-Sarian H. 1973, p. 80.
- 279 B.17609. Wall painting (first layer) from the façade of the House west of the House on the Hill, 1961. Mounted Heros and servant. Height 1.42 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Bezerra de Meneses U.-Sarian H. 1973, p. 80.
- 280, 282, 283 B.17617. Wall painting (first layer) from the façade of The house west of the House on the Hill, 1961. Sacrifice of a pig and trumpeter. Inscription: "THEOGI-PIASON". Height 1.30 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Bezerra de Meneses U.-Sarian H. 1973, p. 90.
- 281 B.17626. Wall painting (first layer) from the façade of the House west of the House on the Hill, 1961. Naked slave prepares a holiday feast. Carved inscription: "NIKOAAOY XOIE[C]--AIEYΔ--". Before the feet of a three-footed table is a small bird and a plant. On the wall hangs a garland with ribbons and a mask. Height 1.50 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Bezerra de Meneses U.-Sarian H. 1973, p. 93.
- 284 B.17611. Wall painting (first layer) from the façade of the House west of the House on the Hill, 1961. Heracles wearing a wreath with a club in his right hand and lion skin on his left shoulder. Above his head there is a carved inscription: "Heracles Saviour". Height 0.74 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Bezerra de Meneses U.-Sarian H. 1973, 82.
- 285 B.17618. Wall painting (fourth layer) from the façade of the House west of the House on the Hill, 1961. Kerdoos Hermes with a sack and two boxers. Height 1.32 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Bezerra de Meneses U.-Sarian H. 1973, p. 90.
- 286 B.17613. Wall painting (fifth layer) from the façade of the House west of the House on the Hill, 1961. Heracles with a club and a lion skin in his left hand, two boxers and a trumpeter. Inscription: KALAMODRYA[IS]. Height 1.42 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Bezerra de Meneses U.-Sarian H. 1973, p. 85.
- 287 B.17629. Wall painting (fourth layer) from the façade of the House west of the House on the Hill, 1961. Lares with *rhytons* and a three-legged table under a garland. Height 0.85 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Bezerra de Meneses U.-Sarian H. 1973, p. 95.
- 288 B.17630. Wall painting (sixth layer) from the façade of the House west of the House on the Hill, 1961. Two Lares with *rhytons* that end in busts of wild goats. Height 0.95 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Bezerra de Meneses U.-Sarian H. 1973, p. 97.
- 289-293, 295, 297 B.17646, B.17647, B.17648 Parts of a painted frieze from the House of the Comedians with scenes from a tragedy and from works of the New Comedy. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Bruneau Ph. et al. 1970. p. 168 ff.
- 294 From top to bottom and from left to right: A.00613. Female comic mask of a courtesan (*hetaera*). North section of Sanctuary, 25-6-1908. Height 0.106 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Laumonier A. 1956, p. 266, no. 1238, tab. 94. A.03946 (B.11390). Dionysus mask with beard in the form of grapes. East of the Sacred Lake, 1927. Height: 0.12 m. Laumonier A. 1956, p. 124, no. 315, tab. 34. B.00961. Lamp in the form of a comic mask. Southeast of the Dodekathion, 19-5-1907. Length 0.106 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD Bruneau Ph. 1965, p. 152, no. 4766, tab. 36. A.03942. Comic mask of a slave. East of the Sacred Lake, 1927. Height 0.062 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. B.19451. Theatrical mask. Height 0.076 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.
- 296, 422, 423 B.05819. Vase in the shape of young man's face. Theatre Street, 26-8-1904. Height 0.122 m. End of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Hadjidakis P.J. 2003, no. 052.M., A. 01700. Figurine of a comic actor (young slave). Height 0.112 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Laumonier A. 1956, p. 179, no. 595, tab. 58. A.03320. Figurine of a comic actor in the role of a slave who has sought sanctuary at an altar. West of the Establishment of the Poseidoniasts, 7-6-1904. Height 0.123 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Laumonier A. 1956, p. 262, no. 1219, tab. 92, A.02079. Figurine of a comic actor in the role of a slave. Foundations of the Museum, July 1909. Height 0.09 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Laumonier A. 1956, p. 263, no. 1221, tab. 92, A.03694. Figurine of a comic actor in the role of a drunken Silenus. Found before 1885. Height 0.07 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Laumonier A. 1956, p. 255, no. 1177, tab. 88, A.01713 (B.04903) Comic mask. Street east of the Sanctuary, 4-7-1909. Height 0.04 m. Laumonier A. 1956, p. 272, no. 1285, tab. 97, A.06690. Lid of a lamp in the shape of a comic mask. Height 0.042 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Laumonier A. 1956, p. 255, no. 1287, tab. 97, B.05821. Vase in the shape of a comic actor. Northwest corner of the Agora of the Italians, 3-8-1904. Height 0.08 m. Hadjidakis P.J. 2003, no. 090.D B.00344 Vase in the shape of a comic actor with a lion skin. West of the Dodekathion, 14-6-1906. Height 0.098 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hadjidakis P.J. 2003, no. 002.B.
- 298 B.17654. Part of a frieze portraying Ariadne asleep. Theatre Quarter, House VI.O. Height 0.24 m., length 0.14 m. Early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Chamonard J. 1922, p. 381.
- 299 B.17656. Part of a wall painting with a scene from a panther hunt. Granite Palaestra. Height 0.20 m., length 0.21 m. Late 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Bruneau Ph., Ducat J. 1983, p. 85.
- 300 B.17655. Part of a painted frieze with scenes from the palaestra. Granite Palaestra. Late 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Bruneau Ph., Ducat J. 1983, p. 85.
- 301 B.17657. Part of a wall painting with the scene of a four-horse chariot heading towards the left. Granite Palaestra. Height 0.20 m. Late 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Bruneau Ph., Ducat J. 1983, p. 85.
- 302 B.17650 Part of a frieze portraying a chariot race. The chariot is being driven by Nike. Lake Palaestra. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Bruneau Ph., Ducat J. 1983, p. 85.
- 303 B.17649. Part of a frieze depicting a galloping horse. Lake Palaestra. 0.24 m.
- 304-306 B.17651-B.17653 Parts of painted frieze depicting women against a black background. Height 0.28 m. Theatre Quarter (?). 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.
- 307-308 B.17644-B.17645 Parts of a frieze depicting a chariot race between Psyche and Eros. House of the Tritons. Height 0.155 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Bruneau Ph. et. al. 1970. p. 183-4.
- 309 B.17636. Part of a wall painting from an altar. A young slave leads pig to the altar to be sacrificed. Height 0.35 m. Beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Bulard M. 1926.
- 310 A.07258. Male bust, badly burned by the fire that destroyed the building. House of the Seals 1968, 1974. Height 0.70 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 218.
- 311 A.07259. Bust of a man. House of the Seals, 1974. Height 0.67 m. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 218.
- 312 A.07725. Marble incense burner bearing the inscription: *To Zeus of All Things, to Poseidon the Securer, to Protecting Apollo, and to Heracles the Sea God*. House of the Seals, 27-8-1987. Height 0.145 m. Beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Siebert G., BCH 112 (1988), p. 763.
- 313 B.15247. Seals from the House of the Seals, ring stones from Building NIII and at least ten rings burned together to form a single mass. Traces of bronze, silver and glass paste. One of the rings retains an oval ring stone of glass paste that has a representation of Heracles sit-



- ting on the left with his hands tied behind him. Building south of the Sanctuary of the Bastion, 1991. Maximum length 0.064 m. Early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hadjidakis P.J. 1997, p. 294.
- 314 A.00576. Ring stone with the representation of a nude youth next to a trophy. Height 0.013 m. Deonna W. 1938, tab. 81, no. 698.
- 315, 313 B.14408. Red oval ring stone with the representation of an eagle facing right holding thunderbolts in his claws. Building north of the Sanctuary of the Bastion, 8-7-1991, Height 0.014 m. Beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hadjidakis P.I. 1997, p. 294.
- 316, 313 B.14411. Red oval ring stone with the representation of a Psyche as a butterfly carrying a papyrus scroll. Height 0.012 m. Building north of the Sanctuary of the Bastion, 8-7-1991. Early 1<sup>st</sup> BC. Hadjidakis P.J. 1997, p. 294.
- 317, 313 B.14412. Red oval ringstone with a representation of a woman's head in profile. The woman is wearing a diadem and earrings. Aphrodite or Arsinoë III. Height 0.017 m. Building north of the Sanctuary of the Bastion, 8-7-1991, Early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. Hadjidakis P.J. 1997, p. 294.
- 318-321 B.17947. Mosaic floor from the Insula of the Jewellery, room U.A.L. Length 5.15 m., width 4.40 m. Dimensions of the central emblema 1.83 x 1.37 m. Late 2<sup>nd</sup>, early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Bruneau Ph. 1972, p. 156-169.
- 322 B.17621. Mosaic emblema with a representation of Lycurgus and Ambrosia. Insula of the Jewellery, atrium G. Height 0.74 m., width 0.069 m. End of 2<sup>nd</sup> beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Bruneau Ph. 1972, p. 171, no. 61.
- 323 A.02454 (B.17623) Fragment of a mosaic emblema with a representation of three doves drinking from a bronze bowl standing on a window sill. Inopos District, House B, 10-8-1913. Height 0.047 m., width 0.43 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Bruneau Ph. 1972, p. 211, no. 168.
- 324 A.2455 (B.17624). Fragment of a mosaic emblema depicting a panther. Inopos District, House B, 10-8-1913. Height 0.22 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Bruneau Ph. 1972, p. 217, no. 169.
- 325 B.17625. Section of a mosaic emblema depicting a bird on a stylised floral decoration. Insula of the House of the Comedians. Height 0.17 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Bruneau Ph. 1972, p. 180. No. 79.
- 326 B.17622. Part of a mosaic emblema with a representation of a rosette. Lake House (?). Dimensions 0.54 x 0.52 m. End of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Bruneau Ph. 1972, no. 95, p. 184, ill. 105.
- 327 B.24341 Three fragments of a mosaic with a representation of Eros. Theatre Quarter, House IV.B. Height 0.18, 0.14, 0.11 m. Bruneau Ph. 1972, p. 288, no. 279, ill. 246.
- 328 National Archaeological Museum 01827. Female statue in the style of the small Herculaneum Woman. Lake House, 1894. Height 1.77 m. 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 88.
- 329 A.02937+A.00895. Statue in the type of the small Herculaneum Woman by Praxiteles. Agora of Theophrastos, 1879. One part of the drapery was found on 9-7-1908 west of the Colossus of the Naxians. Height 1.54 m. End of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 287, tab. 66, Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 88.
- 330-332 Three heads from terracotta figurines from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.: A.03936. (east of the Sacred Lake 1927) Height 0.06 m., A.03445 (near the Museum) Height 0.085 m., A.03458 (northwest of the Cabeirion 1910) Height 0.12 m. Laumonier A. 1956, no. 1121, 483, 474, tab. 85, 50.
- 333, 634 Statue of Diodora. Sanctuary of the Egyptian Gods. Height 1.57 m. The inscription on the pedestal (ID.2096) reads:
- Menodotus and Hephæstion, sons of Lysias, Athenians  
dedicate the statue of their mother Diodora, daughter of  
Hephæstion the Athenian, to Sarapis,  
Isis, Anubis, Harpocrates.*
- End of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 210.
- 334 A.03465. Figurine of a woman, perhaps a Muse. Found in 1905 in the Theatre Quarter, in a workshop where terracotta figurines were made (VI.B.g). Height 0.35 m. End of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Laumonier A. 1956, p. 183, no. 615 tab. 61.
- 335 B.18820. Necklace with beads cut from shells of ostrich eggs. Diameter of the beads 0.005 m. approximately, 001-0.0015 thick. Such necklaces have been made from Mycenaean times up to the present.
- 336 Bronze, silver and gold rings from various periods. W. Deonna. 1938.
- 337 Bronze buckles from various periods. Deonna W. 1938.
- 338 B.05427. *Peroni*, ivory dressing pin depicting Aphrodite Anadyomene. Northwest room of the Establishment of the Poseidoniasts, 19-6-1904. Height 0.06 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Deonna W., 1938 p. 280. tab. 85.718.
- 339 A.00786, B.18884, B.18891-B.18889 glass beads from necklaces. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Nenna M.-D. 1999.
- 340 B.05981. Silver-plated bronze dressing pin. Aphrodite Anadyomene and Eros on a Corinthian capital, the latter holding a diptych or a mirror. Theatre Quarter, House VI.D.e, 1905. Height 0.064 m. Deonna W. 1938, p. 281, ill. 322.
- 341 B.10409, B.10410. Pair of gold earrings with the symbol of Isis, inlaid hematite and cupids holding a cithara. Insula of the Jewellery, House IV.AE, 5-8-1966. Height 0.055 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Lévy Ed. 1968, p. 530.
- 342 B.10413-B.10414 Necklace of gold discs and red, blue and green beads. Seventeen gold discs 0.01 m. in diameter and 27 beads of hematite and glass, diameter 0.053-0.074 m. Insula of the Jewellery, House IV.AE, 5-8-1966. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Lévy Ed. 1968, p. 535 ill. 11-13.
- 343 B.10412. Gold pendant with inlaid hematite and blue glass. Insula of the Jewellery, House IV. AE, 5-8-1966. Diameter 0.028 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Lévy Ed. 1968, p. 533.
- 344 B.10411. Gold medallion with relief of Aphrodite and Eros above her right shoulder. Insula of the Jewellery, House IV.AE, 5-8-1966. Diameter 0.025 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Lévy Ed. 1968, p. 525.
- 345 B.10334. Gold chain with medallion in the shape of Aphrodite riding on a goat. Insula of the Jewellery, 18-8-1964. Length of chain 0.369 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Lévy Ed, Hackens T. 1965, p. 556.
- 346 B.10335. Gold chain with gold crescent pendant. Insula of the Jewellery, 18-8-1964. Length of chain 0.432 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Lévy Ed, Hackens T. 1965, p. 555.
- 347 B.10336. Gold chain with gold crescent pendant. Insula of the Jewellery, 18-8-1964. Length of chain 0.44 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Lévy Ed, Hackens T. 1965, p. 555.
- 348 B.10347. Gold ring with red glass stone. Insula of the Jewellery, 18-8-1964. Diameter of the inner ring 0.016 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Lévy Ed, Hackens T. 1965, p. 554.
- 349 B.10332. Gold medallion with relief representation of Aphrodite riding on a goat. Insula of the Jewellery, 18-8-1964. Diameter 0.0354 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Lévy Ed, Hackens T. 1965, p. 557.
- 350 B.10331. Gold disc with relief bust of Aphrodite and



- Eros at her right shoulder. Sewn ornament, possibly from a hair net. Insula of the Jewellery, 18-8-1964. Diameter 0.047 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Lévy Ed, Hackens T. 1965, p. 535.
- 351 B.10331. Gold disc with relief bust of Aphrodite and Eros at her right shoulder. The face of the goddess is carved on a ruby. Semi-precious stones are inlaid around the circumference. Sewn ornament, possibly from a hair net. Insula of the Jewellery, 18-8-1964. Diameter 0.038 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Lévy Ed, Hackens T. 1965, p. 537.
- 352 B.10342, B.10343. Pair of gold earrings with pearl, inlaid precious stones and cupids who are holding an amphora and a cup, a goat and a torch. Insula of the Jewellery, 18-8-1964. Height 0.053 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Lévy Ed, Hackens T. 1965, p. 541.
- 353 B.10334, B.10335. Pair of gold earrings with pearls and inlaid precious stones ending in lynx heads. Insula of the Jewellery, 18-8-1964. Height 0.038 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Lévy Ed, Hackens T. 1965, p. 548.
- 354 B.10348, B.10349. Two gold hoops of twisted wire, earrings or hair ornaments. Insula of the Jewellery, 18-8-1964. Diameter 0.036, 0.04 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Lévy Ed, Hackens T. 1965, p. 552.
- 355 Athenian silver tetradrachms. 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC.
- 356 B.24343, B.24353 Gold earrings and silver ring from the 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> cent. AD found in a grave inside a church (Sept. 2003), and a stone dyed from the wastes of a porphyry dyer's workshop of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. (B.24354, Aug. 2003).
- 357 A.00297. Gold earring with Harpocrates holding a horn of plenty. Theatre Quarter. Diameter of hoop 0.021 m. Height of Harpocrates 0.029 m. Deonna W. 1938, p. 318, tab. 92.
- 358 B.10419. Gold earring with pearls and semi-precious stones. Found in the House of the Masks in 1930. Length 0.055 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Deonna W. 1938, p. 300, ill. 368.
- 359 Mykonos 00091. Pair of gold earrings in the shape of plain concave discs. Found in Rheneia, in the grave of Philo, a little girl dedicated to Isis, on 27-8-1898. Diameter of disc 0.018 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Deonna W. 1938, tab. 88, ill. 764.
- 360 Mykonos 00110. Pair of gold earrings with red stone and head of a wild goat. Rheneia, 1898. Funerary urn I. Diameter 0.024 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Deonna W. 1938, tab. 88, ill. 764.
- 361 Mykonos 00194. Pair of gold earrings ending in goats' heads. Rheneia, 1898. Diameter 0.018 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC., Deonna W. 1938, tab. 88, ill. 764.
- 362 B.00301 Vase in the shape of a foot wearing a high-soled sandal. West of the Dodekathion, 9-6-1906. Length 0.122 m. 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Hadjidakis P.J. 2003, no. 030.A.
- 363 A.05264 Foot of a statue wearing a sandal. Bronze ornaments would be fitted into the holes. Length 0.31 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.
- 364 A.00228 Foot of a statue with a sandal which retains traces of the original red pigment. Sanctuary 14-6-1906. Length 0.175 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.
- 365 Bronze buckles for belts and sandals. B.01163 length 0.04 m., B.00368 (northwest of the House of Dionysus 21-6-1906, length 0.052 m.), B.01162 (length 0.041 m.), B.00555 (Stoa of Antigonos, 19-7-1906, height 0.04 m.), B.18919 (length 0.034 m.), B.005585, north of the Lake House, 10-5-1911, length 0.017 m.), B.01101 (south of House III S, 21-8-1907, length 0.025 m.), B.01253 (length 0.04 m.), B.05977 (1904, height 0.04 m.). Deonna W. 1938, p. 296, tab. 88.
- 366 B.15101. Vase that contained a cosmetic unguent. Building NIII, 1991. Height 0.104 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hadjidakis P.J. 1994, p. 304.
- B.01324. Bronze spatula (west of the Hypostyle Hall, 31-7-1908). Length 0.165 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Deonna W. 1938, p. 221, tab. 74.
- 367 B.19480, B.19481. Marble mortar and pestle used to prepare cosmetics. Building NIII, 1991. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hadjidakis P.J. 1994, p. 304.
- 368 Mykonos 00192. Silver bracelet ending in snakes' heads. Found in a grave in Rheneia in 1900. Diameter 0.05 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.
- 369 Five bronze pendant-amulets found in a tavern in July of 1991: B.14674 hammer, length 0.016 m., B.14679 club, length 0.015 m., B.14677 herm, height 0.021 m., B.14676 triple-face Hecate, height 0.024 m., B.14675 Harpocrates, height 0.023 m., B.14680 hand, height 0.023 m., B.14678 axe, length 0.014 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hadjidakis P.J. 1994, p. 304, tab. 215.
- 370 B.18988, B.18947 Two lead double six-radial wheels with six spokes connected to a hub. The spokes are in the shape of feathers. Diameter 0.065 m., 0.055 m. Deonna W. 1938, p. 341, tab. 97. A.02158 Height 0.06 m. B.02159 (B.18916) Height 0.09 m., B.02160 (B.11373), height 0.065 m. Three male figures with arms and legs tied. The middle one has a movable tongue. Found in June 1909 in a house south of the Agora of the Delians. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Deonna W. 1938, p. 363, tab. 101.
- 375 A.04161. Herm of an aged Satyr. House of the Diadumenos, August 1894. Height 0.62 m. 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Hadjidakis P.J. 1997, p. 10.
- 376 A.01018. Inscribed base, possibly from the previous herm A.04161. House of the Diadumenos, 1894. Height 0.28 m. The inscription: (ID.1946): "*Dedicated when physical education trainers were Staseas son of Philocles and Sotades son of Sotades Athenians*". 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Hadjidakis P.J. 1997, p. 10.
- 377 National Archaeological Museum 01826. Marble copy of the Diadumenos. House of the Diadoumenos, August, 1894, Height 1.86 m. Late 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 82, Hadjidakis P.J. 1997, p. 5.
- 378 National Archaeological Museum 01828. *The Pseudo-Athlete*. Found in 1894 in the House of the Diadumenos. Height 2.22 m. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 192, Hadjidakis P.J. 1997, p. 8.
- 379 National Archaeological Museum 01829. Statue of Artemis. The body was found in 1894 in the House of the Diadumenos and the head in 1916 in the cistern of the same House. Height 1.40 m. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 110. Hadjidakis 1997, p. 8.
- 380 A.04196 "Roman Lady". Woman's portrait head. Cistern of the House of Diadumenos, August 1894. Height 0.35 m. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 214, Hadjidakis P.J. 1997, p. 9.
- 381 A.02912. Portrait of Staseas. Cistern of the House of the Diadumenos, 4-8-1916 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Moreno P. 1994, no. 679, Buschor E. 1995, no. 237, Hadjidakis P.J. 1997, p. 12.
- 382 A.04189. Portrait head of a man, possibly a portrait of Sotades son of Sotades. House of the Diadumenos, cistern, August 1894. Height 0.44 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hadjidakis P.J. 1997, p. 9.
- 383 A.04183. Head from the statue of a young man. 0.30 m. End of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, 275, 276, 288, tab. 17.
- 384 A.04186. Head from the statue of an armoured rider. Found in the Agora of the Italians. Height 0.48 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 202.



- 385 A.04190. Portrait head of a man. Found in 1904 in the south shop of the Granite Monument. Height 0.33 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Michalowski C. 1932, p. 42.
- 386 A.04193. Portrait head of a man, blackened by the fire that destroyed the building. Lake House, 1894. Height 0.35 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Moreno P. 1994, p. 554, no. 681. Buschor E. 1995, no. 238.
- 387 A.02136. Head from the statue of a man. Cistern of the Lake Palaestra, 7-10-1910. Height 0.28 m. Late 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Buschor E. 1995, no.188, ill. 47.
- 388 National Archaeological Museum X.14612 Head of a bronze statue of a man. Granite Palaestra, 1903 (?). Height 0.33 m. 150-125 BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 220.
- 389 A.02087. Head from a statue of a bearded youth with thick hair. Height 0.17m. Found in August of 1910 southwest of the Stoa of Phillip. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Michalowski C. 1932, p. 57, tab. 41.
- 390 A.04195. Head of a statue of a Gaul. Agora of the Italians. Height 0.26 m. Late 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1993, p. 553, Marcadé J., Queyrel Fr. 2003
- 391 A.04187. Portrait head from the statue of a man. Theatre Quarter (II.D), 1905. Height 0.43. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 212.
- 392 A.11407. Terracotta figurine of a black dancer. Height 0.12 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.
- 393 A.03391. Head from a figurine of a priest. Outside the southeast corner of the Agora of the Italians, 1905. Height 0.075 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Laumonier A. 1956, p. 122, no. 307, tab. 34.
- 394 B.07457. Vase in the shape of a black man sitting on a rock with feet together and arms wrapped around his chest. Height 0.116 m., 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hadjidakis P.J. 2003, no. 075.B.
- 395 B.05876. Vase in the shape of an Ethiopian sleeping against an amphora. The lantern on the ground is in the form of the round temple in the Agora of the Competaliasts. Height 0.08 m., 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hadjidakis P.J. 2003, no. 008.B.
- 396 From the left: A.03375, A.03740, B.18995, A.01817, B.18996, B.05864, A.02083, A.01882, A.01758, A.03452, A.01961, A.02431. In the center A.03439. Parts of grotesque figurines. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Laumonier A. 1956, tab. 89, 90.
- 398 A.00009. Archaic relief portraying Hermes, Athena, Apollo and Artemis. An exact copy of this relief was found in the Villa Albani. Two parts were found in 1894 "House west of the Establishment of the Berytians (?)" and the third on 16-3-1906 in the Lake House. Height 0.50 m., width 0.58 m., depth 0.05 m. 125-100 BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 184.
- 402 B.10006 cooking pot with one handle, B.10459 cooking pot with two vertical handles, B.10088 cooking pot with one horizontal and one vertical handle, B.10078 *seison*, B.10197 *eschara*, B.18097 *eschara* or *anthrakion*. Insula of the Bronzes, Insula of the Comedians, House of the Seals. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Peignard A. 1994, Didelot O. 2000, Hadjidakis P.J. 2000.
- 403 B.10790. *Anthrakion* decorated with applied and incised foliate ornaments and theatrical masks. Height 0.665 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Le Roy Chr. 1961.
- 404 B.10778. Ornamented *anthrakion* from the Theatre Quarter. Height 0.88 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Le Roy Ch. 1961, p. 480.
- 405 Cooking pots from the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hadjidakis P.J. 2000.
- 406 B.01285, B.05208, B.01284, B.03854, four spoons made of ivory. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Deonna W. 1938, p. 229, tab. 75.
- 407 B.00514 (northwest of the House of Dionysus, 21-7-1906) marble finger-shaped pestle and mortar B.01759, and *unguentaria*, disposable clay vases used to store and sell aromatic nuts and spices (B.01722, B.11292, B.01909, B.11201, B.11202, B.01914, B.11240, B.01912, B.11222) 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hadjidakis P.J. 2000, p. 122.
- 408 Mykonos 00263, miniature of an *anthrakion*, height 0.05 m. and 0271 miniature of a *lopas*, height 0.02 m., diameter 0.068 m. Found on Rheneia, in a child's grave. Early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hadjidakis P.J. 1997, p. 118.
- 409 B.10201. Cooking pot (Insula of the Jewellery, 1968, Height 0.14 m.) and lid (B.18829, Insula of the Bronzes 1968, diameter 0.265). 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. B.10777. *Anthrakion* with simple engraved decoration. Found in 1959 in a shop on the Street of the Six Columns. Height 0.80 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Le Roy Ch. 1961, p. 479.
- 410-412 *Pinakion* or plate (B.09984 Insula of the Bronzes 1968, 0.218 diameter), *lagenon* or cooking pan (B.19470, Building F/NIII) and disc tray (B.10046, House at Phournoi 1960, diameter 0.40 m.) with shells from an open air seafood shop. Hadjidakis P.J. 2000.
- 413 Bronze hook for octopuses (B.06718, 1887, height 0.07 m.), hooks (B.11037, B.00279, B.18958, B.01136, B.01309), lead weights (B.04526, B.04594), contemporary and ancient implements used to repair nets (B.01304, B.06709, B.00028, B.01303). 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Deonna W. 1938, p. 159, 200, tab. 69). B.04526, B.04594 Two lead weights B.04526 (in front of Sarapieion A) Height 0.09 m., B.4594, height 1.12 m. Deonna W. 1938, p. 159.
- 414 A.02117. Statuette of an old fisherman: "as in Delos, the fisherman lives his carefree life in the water" Herondas, *Didaskalos* 52. North of the Lake, 8-9-1910. Height 0.245 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 205, 354, 440, tab. 26.
- 415 Clay and bronze lamps (F/NIII, B.00969, B.10695, B.14254, B.16502, B.11409, B.16259, B.01797, B.11416, B.12541, B.14136, B.01800, B.00401, B.04873, B.02588, B.00303, B.00488, B.01280, B.14174, B.13872, B.14175) 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Bruneau Ph. 1965.
- 416 Lamp with many wicks in the shape of a ship (B.00290, length 0.385 m.) and parts of lamps of the same type (B.16439, B.02461, B.02426, B.02551, B.16436). 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Bruneau Ph. 1965, tab. 27, p. 107.
- 417 B.11382. Clay *pyxis* with relief decoration. The foot and the lid are missing. Height 0.135 m., diameter 0.15 m. Late 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Bruneau Ph. 1991, p. 645, no. 2.
- 418 B.11382. Clay *pyxis* with relief decoration. House of the Masks, 1967 Height 0.20 m., diameter 0.15 m. Late 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Bruneau Ph. 1991, p. 644, no. 1.
- 419 B.11385. Vase with added relief decoration. Height 0.177 m. Late 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Bruneau Ph. 1991, p. 658, no. 79.
- 420 Mykonos 00152. Vase in the shape of a she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus. Found in a Rheneian grave in 1898. The hole for pouring is on the left of the spout. Height 0.146 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hadjidakis P.J. 2003, no. 047.K.
- 421 Mykonos 00150. Vase in the shape of a wild boar. Found in Rheneia in 1898, in the same grave where the she-wolf was found. Height 0.19 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hadjidakis P.J. 2003, no. 047.K.
- 422, 423 A.05819, A.00344, see illustration 296.
- 424 B.00099. Small *lagynos* with applied relief theatrical masks. South east of the Agora of the Delians, 14-4-1906. Height 0.14 m. Traces of yellow pigment and perhaps gilt. Early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.
- 425 B.06790. Vase in the shape of seated pigmy. The horizontal rim is missing. East of the Wall of Triarius,



1927. Height 0.205 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hadjidakis P.J. 2003, no. 081.N.
- 426 B.00584. Vase in the shape of a seated satyr wearing a wreath of ivy. Northwest of the House of Dionysus, 20-4-1906. Height 0.205 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hadjidakis P.J. 2003, no. 83.
- 427 Dolls A.07023, A.03907 (height 0.09 m.), A.3469 (h. 0.135 m.), A.03442 (h. 0.07 m.), A.07740. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Laumonier A. 1956, p. 148 tab. 44, 45.
- 428 A.03306. Doll wearing a theatrical mask and *cothurni*. Outside the south east corner of the Agora of the Italians, 8-6-1905. Height 0.44 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Laumonier A. 1956, p. 145, no. 382, tab. 42.
- 429 B.11408. Head from a vase in the shape of a panther. From a shop on the Street of Six Columns, 1959. Height 0.145 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hadjidakis P.J. 2003, no. 035.D.
- 430 B.00132. Head from a vase in the shape of a lioness. Northwest of the House of Dionysus, 15-5-1906. Height 0.084 m. Hadjidakis P.J. 2003, no. 039.D.
- 431-432 B.05820. Head from a vase in the shape of a she-wolf. Lake House, 20-5-1905. Height 0.064 m. The Lake House was destroyed by fire in 69 BC. during the raid by Athenodoros, and was never inhabited again. Among the House's residents were two children. Hadjidakis P.J. 2003, 040.D.
- 433 Mykonos 00151. Vase in the shape of a fish. Found in a child's grave on Rheneia in 1898 together with the dolphin 00166. Length 0.20 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hadjidakis P.J. 2003, no. 024.E.
- 434 B.11406. Vase in the shape of a seated horse. The hole for pouring is on the left nostril. Length 0.125 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hadjidakis P.J. 2003, no. 046.I
- 435 B.00580. Baby's bottle and rattle in the shape of a duck. Northwest of the House of Dionysus, 17-4-1906. Height 0.11 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hadjidakis P.J. 2003, no. 020.D.
- 436 Mykonos 00166. Baby's bottle in the shape of a dolphin. Found in Rheneia in 1899 in a child's grave. Length 0.145 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hadjidakis P.J. 2003, no. 022.D.
- 437 B.05818. Baby's bottle-rattle in the shape of an Ethiopian head. Southwest of the Agora of the Italians, 10-8-1904. Height 0.077 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hadjidakis P.J. 2003, no. 021.D.
- 438 B.18993. Lamp in the shape of two doves "kissing" (B.18993, length 0.09 m.), hawk (B.18992) and rattle in the shape of a dove (A.2074, length 0.12 m.). 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Bruneau Ph. 1965, p. 153, no. 4777, Laumonier A. 1956, p. 280, no. 1346.
- 439 B.00545, A.03669, B.05832, A.03917, B.01608, B.01881, A.03967, A.03377, B.18990, B.01606, A.02290. Miniatures of animals and fruit. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Laumonier A. 1956, p. 275 ff., tab. 99-100.
- 440 Clay and lead miniatures of vases, cooking utensils and furniture. Three figurines of Heracles. (B.17768, B.17720, A.02138, Height 0.072 m.). 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Deonna W. 1938, p. 227 ff., tab. 96.
- 442 B.01951. *Lagynos*. House southeast of the Hypostyle Hall, 22-8-1908, Height 0.178 m. 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Hadjidakis P.J. 2000, p. 120.
- 443 B.18831. Clay funnel. Building F/NIII, 1991. Height 0. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hadjidakis P.J. 2000, p. 120, tab. 70.
- 444 Italian, Greek and Carthaginian amphorae from a tavern and other places. Hadjidakis P.J. 1994.
- 445 TD.7230, B.22616, TD.6249, B.02906, TD.1018, B.22506, TD.6240 Stamped amphora handles.
- 446 A.03322. Figurine of a satyr or a wine merchant. Establishment of the Poseidoniasts, 1904. Height 0.10 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Laumonier A. 1956, p. no. 1176, tab. 88.
- 447 B.11324. Part of a *skyphos* with Eros represented in relief. House of the Comedians, 1962. Height 0.065 m. End of 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Bruneau Ph. 1991, p. 652, no. 28.
- 448 Bronze *prochous* (wine-jug) (B.13879, House of the Seals, Height 0.145 m.) clay *prochous* (B.04568, Granite Palaestra), marble weight, bronze *prochous* (B.13878, Insula of the Bronzes, Height 0.11 m.), bronze *prochous* (B.14448, Building NIII, Height 0.11 m.), square lead weights (B.18927-B.18934, weight 0.100-1.050 kg.), three clay *prochous* (B.10099, B.01504, B.015051), disc-shaped lead weights (B.18935-B.18940, weight 0.025-0.225 kg.), lead weight with the inscription ΜΝΑΙ ΕΠΙΘΝ ΑΙΤΡΑΙΜΝΑΙ ΕΠΙΘΝ ΑΙΤΡΑΙ (for measuring wool) (B.18953, Insula of the Jewellery, 1.925 kg.) and two scale arms (B.6723, B.6724). Deonna W. 1938, p. 139 ff. Hadjidakis P.J. 1994, p. 296, tab. 217.
- 449 B.07451. Marble *secoma* with five semi-spherical hollow measures and dolphins at the spouts, for selling liquids. Found in 1949 in the House of the Herms. Length 0.65 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Deonna W. 1938, p. 167-185, Marcadé J. 1953, p. 588, ill. 79.
- 450 *Skyphoi*, wine cups from the tavern, with relief decoration (B.15032, B.15078, B.15040, B.15080, Height 0.079 m.) and from Building F/NIII (B.19494). 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hadjidakis P.J. 1994, p. 299, Hadjidakis P.J. 2000, p. 116.
- 452 Bronze coins that fell from the loft of the tavern. Building NIII, 1991 Hadjidakis P.J. 1994, p. 306.
- 453 Vases from the tavern (Building NIII, 1991).
- 454 Pieces and dice from a game. Building NIII, 1991 Hadjidakis P.J. 1994, p. 294.
- 455 B.05421-B.05426 Ivory draughts. Lazos Chr. 2002, *Παιζονταξ στο χρόνο*, p. 651-655. Height 0.05-0.058 m. Deonna W. 1938, p. 335, ill. 827.
- 456 Draughts made of glass paste, natural and glass knucklebones, dice. Deonna W. 1938.
- 457 Two halves of a mould for the leg of a bronze couch (B.18619, B.18620 Insula of the Bronzes, Height 0.345, 0.36 m.) and couch leg from the House of the Seals (B.18274, 1986). Early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Rolley Cl. 1983, no. 202, Siebert Ger. 2001.
- 458 B.18262. Bronze dog, couch decoration. Insula of the Bronzes, length 0.114 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Siebert Ger. 1973, p. 567, no. 7.
- 459 B.14506. Bronze statuette of young satyr or Dionysus. Couch decoration, Building NIII, 1991, Height 0.116. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hadjidakis P.J. 1994.
- 460 A.02461. Silver gilt lion, decorative element from a piece of furniture or from a vase. House of the Trident, 21-6-1912, length 0.03 m.
- 461 A.03757. Figurine of a couple on a couch, scene from a symposium. East of the Agora of the Delians, 1909. Height 0.072 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Laumonier A. 1956, p. 196, no. 692.
- 462 B.14178. Bust of an ivy-wreathed Silenus. *Fulcrum* from a bronze couch. Insula of the Bronzes, Height 0.072 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Siebert Ger. 1973, p. 559, no. 1, Rolley Cl. 1983, p. 185, ill. 167.
- 463 B.14176. Head of Silenus from a couch. Insula of the Bronzes. Height 0.046 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Siebert Ger. 1973, p. 561, no. 3.
- 464 B.13875. Bust of a satyr from a couch. Insula of the Bronzes. Height 0.082 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Siebert Ger. 1973, p. 563, no. 5.
- 465 B.05984. Hermes the Ram-bearer, decorative feature from a piece of furniture. Theatre Quarter, 1905, height 0.068 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Deonna W. 1938, tab. 100.
- 466 B.05982. Statuette of a sword bearer, decorative feature from a piece of furniture or a vase. Theatre Quarter, 1905, height 0.042 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Deonna W. 1938, p. 282, tab. 85.



- 467 First (B.14188, height 0.116 m.) and second (B.14189) stage of making a bronze railing. Bronze curtain rings (B.03957, B.18905, B.18904, B.18906, B.03905). 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.
- 468 B.01299. Bronze altar/incense burner. Northeast corner of the Sanctuary, 10-6-1905. Height 0.135 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Deonna W. 1938, p. 387.
- 469 B.06784. Clay relief mould of a dancer. Found in 1929 east of the Sacred Lake and the Wall of Triarius. Height 0.48 m., width 0.26 m., depth 0.03 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Laumonier A. 1956, p. 282, tab. 101.
- 470 B.05798. Clay mould for a bronze lamp in the shape of an African head. On the back there is an inscription: *Damarionos*. Length 0.135 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.
- 471 B.05899. Mould for a figurine in the shape of a laden donkey. Theatre Quarter, VI.B.g, 1905, height 0.105. On the back, there is an inscription: "A-- COCF". 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Laumonier A. 1956, p. 283, no. 1371.
- 472 B.00499. Half of a clay mould for a metal vase in the shape of a squirrel or hare eating a grape. On the back, there is a part of an inscription which was incised before the clay was fired: --[AN]--[PO]--[N]. South west of the House of Dionysus, 18-7-1906. Length 0.20 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hadjidakis P.J. 2003, no. 049.H.
- 473 B.01025. One of the two moulds used to make a clay vase in the shape of goat's head. West of the Dodekathéon, 4-7-1907. Length 0.18 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hadjidakis P.J. 2003, no. 050.
- 474 B.18630. Mould for a dancer to decorate a Pergamene vase. Height 0.075 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.
- 475 B.04303. Fragment of a tile on which was engraved a mould for two fighting hoplites. East shore of the Sacred Lake, March 1911. Length 0.116 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.
- 476 A.00554. Two fighting hoplites. Child's toy. The base, on which was engraved the name *Luclius*, possibly the name of a famous gladiator, is missing. "Great commercial warehouse" 0-9-1903. Height 0.041 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.
- 477 B.11372, B.00681 Two round lead *pyxides*. South side of the Lake, 24-8-1906. Height 0.037 m., 0.116 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.
- 478 B.18956. Lead relief rider bearing the inscription *Antiochou* on the lower part. Height 0.052 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.
- 479 B.18962-B.18981 Lead pyramid-shaped loom weights with relief letters on the base. Insula of the Bronzes, Insula of the Jewellery. Height 0.051-0.067 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Deonna W. 1938, tab. 55, 56.
- 480 Unfinished statuette of a sphinx in the Granite Monument. Jockey Ph. 1995, ill. 4.
- 481 A.05630. Unfinished statuette after the resting Heracles by Lysippus. In his right hand he is holding the apples. House of the Herms, 1952. Height 0.30 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 456.6, 457, Jockey Ph. 1995, p. 90.
- 482 B.03825. Unfinished statuette of Aphrodite. Found in April 1921 in a sculptors' workshop south of the Gymnasium. Height 0.24 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 148.
- 484 A.06622. Unfinished statuette of Aphrodite or Heracles. Height 0.93 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 108, 109, tab. 4.
- 487 Inscription from 202/1 BC. Bruneau Ph. 1971, p. 305, tab. 2.4.
- 488 A.02296. Relief with three seated nymphs and the head of a river god. On the bottom there is an inscription: "*Sporios Stertinus to the Minoan nymphs*" Minoan Fountain, 8-8-1908. Height 0.25 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Courby F. 1912, p. 114, ill. 151, Bruneau Ph. 1971, tab. 5, ID. 2446.
- 489-491 Marble base from the "temple" of Dionysus (1.29x0.53 x0.41 m.). On the south side are Dionysus, a Maenad and Silenus carrying a *krater*, on the north side Dionysus, a Maenad and Pan. On the front, underneath a cockerel with a phallus-shaped head is the inscription: *Karystios son of Asbelos, having sponsored and won, dedicated me to Dionysus*. Height 1.29 m. Circa 300 BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 180.
- 492 A.04121. Statuette of Dionysus sitting languidly on a throne. Found in 1905 in the "temple" of Dionysus. 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Height 0.72 m. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 104.
- 493 A.03189. Relief of poros stone with representation of Dionysus. Found in 1904 near the "temple" of Dionysus. Height 0.60 m., width 0.38 m., depth 0.17 m. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 182.
- 494 A.04122. Statue of an actor in the costume of a Papposilenus. Found in 1904 in the "temple" of Dionysus. Height 1.25 m. with the base. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 132.
- 495 A.04143+A.07367. Statue of a Papposilenus holding young Dionysus. Found in 1908 in the Inopos Reservoir. Height 0.75 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 130.
- 496 A.04138. Statuette of Pan playing the syrinx. Found in the Stoa of Antigonos, near the "temple" of Dionysus. Height 0.66 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 128.
- 497 A.04257. Herm of a young satyr. Found in the Stadium Quarter. Height 1.25 m. Marcadé J. 1993, p. 515.
- 498 A.04290. Head of a satyr made of schist. House south of the Inopos, 1949. Height 0.16 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 205, 415.5, 450, tab. 27.
- 499 A.00014. Torso of a young satyr. Southeast of the Agora of the Competaliasts, 19-8-1904. Height 0.38 m. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 206, 450.2, tab. 26.
- 500 A.05330. Head of Pan. Height 0.18 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 206, 209, 451, tab. 27.
- 501 B.24342. Part of an *eschara* with support in the shape of Paris' head. Dem. Pippa Insula, 27-8-2003. Height 0.165 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.
- 502 A.05329 Head of a Satyr. "Commercial District", 17-9-1903. Height 0.12 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 205, 415, 450, tab. 27.
- 503 A.05400. Statuette of a Maenad sitting on a rock on which she has spread an animal skin. Height 0.25 m. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 205.1, tab. 26.
- 504 A.01927. Marble phallus with the inscription: "*Dionysios while he was a servant at the temple, dedicated me during the priesthood of Stratius son of Stratius from Phlyous*" Found in the well of a house below the Sanctuary of the Egyptian Gods, 24-5-1910. Height 0.49 m. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 136, 382, ID.2243.
- 505 A.01776. Relief of a satyr with two phalluses who is holding a winged, animal-shaped phallus. North of the Agora of Theophrastos, 23-7-1907. Height 0.77 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1973, p. 333, *Eros Grec* 1989, p. 156.
- 506 A.03185. Relief of a winged male figure who is trying to avoid a winged phallus. West of the Agora of the Italians, 1904. Height 0.70 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 401, note 4.
- 507 A.04021. Relief representation of two animal-shaped winged phalluses underneath which is the inscription: *One for you, one for me*. Found in 1934 in the House at Phournoi. Length 0.75 m., height 0.27 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1973, p. 330.
- 508 A.04020 (A.07764). Relief representation of two animal-shaped winged phalluses under which is the inscription: *One for me, one for you*. Found in 1934 in the House at Phournoi. Length 0.77 m., height 0.24 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1973, p. 329, *Eros Grec* 1989, p. 155.



- 509 A.08388 Marble plinth with incised phallus, height 0.427 m.
- 510 Mykonos 00184. Harpocrates "pushing his huge penis on a wheel", according to Dem. Sp. Stavropoulos' description. Found in a Rheneia grave. Height 0.166 m., length 0.162 m. Perhaps from Alexandria. Hadjidakis P.J. 2003, no. 107.
- 511 A.04022. Poros slab with relief representation of an animal-shaped phallus. House south of Kynthos, 1936. Height 0.34 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1973, p. 331.
- 512 A.03648, A.06154, A.06147, A.06157, B.11365, B.04451, B.14186, A.02347, B.14814, B.03732, B.04023, B.04280, B.03272, phalluses made of clay, glass, ivory, marble, bronze. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Deonna W. 1938, tab. 89, 90, 98, Siebert Ger. 1973, p. 567, no. 8, Hadjidakis P.J. 2003, no. 96-102.
- 513 A.08387. Animal-shaped phallus hitting the "evil" eye. House of Inopos. Height 0.40 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Bruneau Ph. 1971, tab. 16.5.
- 514 Relief animal-shaped phallus on the jamb of a house west of the Establishment of the Poseidoniasts.
- 516 B.10684. Parts of a Pergamene *knater* with relief erotic scenes added. Height 0.09 m. Early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Bruneau Ph. 1991, no. 10, p. 648, *Eros Grec* 1989, p. 131.
- 517 B.00532. Part of a Pergamene *skyphos* with relief erotic scene. Found on 25-7-1906 northeast of the House of Dionysus. Early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Bruneau Ph. 1991, no. 43, p. 653.
- 518 B.00877. Part of a Pergamene *skyphos* with relief erotic scene. Found on 23-7-1907 east of the Poros Temple. Height 0.055 m. Early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Bruneau Ph. 1991, no. 114, p. 664.
- 519 B.10685. Part of a Pergamene vase in the shape of a phallus with erotic scenes. Height 0.13 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Bruneau Ph. 1991, p. 666, Hadjidakis P.J. 2003, no. 99.
- 520 B.03730. Bottom of a *skyphos*. Erotic scene with a woman and a snake. Agora of the Competaliasts, 27-8-1910. Width 0.08 m.
- 521 B.10702. Intact Corinthian-type lamp with erotic scene on the disc. On the base there is an inscription "CRESKEITOS". Diameter 0.088 m. Bruneau Ph. 1965, no. 4657, *Eros Grec* 1989, p. 124.
- 522 B.11321. Bottom of an open vase (*skyphos*?) made from a mould. Relief representaton of an ithyphallic satyr kissing a goat on the mouth. Found before 1889. Width 0.075 m.
- 523 B.05870. Part of the horn of a *rhyton* with a representation of Hermaphroditus being chased by satyrs. Found in 1889. Height 0.013 m. 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Hadjidakis P.J. 2003, no. 139.
- 524 B.04371. Lower part of a *rhyton* with an erotic group. Centaur (?) and woman or Dionysus and maenad. Inopos Reservoir, 6-7-1911. Height 0.13 m., length 0.08 m. Hadjidakis P.J. 2003, no. 144.
- 525 B.07461. Lower part of a *rhyton* with erotic group consisting of satyr and hetaera. Height 0.15 m. 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Hadjidakis P.J. 2003, no. 143.
- 526 D.0518. Herm from the Gymnasium with graffiti incised by young students. Height 1.25 m. Audiat J. et al. 1970, p. 121, no. 22, tab. 25.
- 528 ID.1957. Part of the base of a statue of Menodorus Gnaeus Athenian. Found in October of 1904 in the Agora of Theophrastos. Height 0.91 m., length 1.83 m.
- 529 A.04256. Herm with head of young Heracles as boxing champion. On the side there are traces of a painted palm tree branch. Height 1.41 m., with the base. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 216.
- 530 A.07394. Head of a young victorious athlete from a herm. Gymnasium, 1911. Height 0.20 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.
- 531 A.07397. Head of a young victorious athlete from a herm. Gymnasium, 1911. Height 0.25 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.
- 532 A.03862. Head of a young athlete from a herm. Northwest of the Gymnasium, May 1924. Height 0.19 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Michalowski C. 1932, p. 55, Marcadé J. 1969, p. 274.4, 358.11, 424.4.
- 540 D.0621. Marble stele. Found in 1979 north of the Synagogue. Height 0.48 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. The inscription is: "The Israelites on Delos who make offerings to hallowed Mount Gerizim crown with a gold crown Sarapion of Knossos, son of Jason, for his benefactions to them". Bruneau Ph. 1982, p. 469.
- 543 A.07402. Head of Hermes from a herm. Height 0.24 m. Marcadé J. 1969, tab. 13.
- 544 A.06960. Head of Hermes, copy of a 5<sup>th</sup> cent. herm. Found in 1956 in the Theatre Quarter. Height 0.23 m. 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 155, 298, 299, tab. 11.12.
- 545 A.01866. Archaistic-style head of Hermes from a herm. Foundation of the north wing of the Museum. 5-8-1909. Height 0.12 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, 153, 157, 258, 295, 378.3, 437, tab. 13.
- 546 A.04118+A.07815 Archaistic-style head of Hermes from a herm. House of Herms, June 1948. Height of head 0.29 m., height of base 0.23 m. On the base is the inscription: "During the period in which Antiochus Paconius of Artemision was high priest of Artemis Soleira, Dionysius Paconius son of Gnaeus, dedicated this to Hermes and to his companions. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 160.
- 548 National Archaeological Museum 03335. Aphrodite, Pan and Eros. Establishment of the Poseidoniasts from Berytos, 20-6-1904. On the base there is the inscription: «Dionysios son of Zenon son of Theodoros of Berytos, benefactor [dedicated this] on behalf of himself and his children to his ancestral gods.» Height 1.29 m. 150-125 BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 142.
- 549 A.05285. Statuette of Aphrodite. Height 0.22 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.
- 550 A.05285. Statuette of Aphrodite. Height 0.20 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, tab. 56.
- 551 A.07362. Statuette of Aphrodite. Height 0.33 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.
- 552 A.05305. Part of a statuette of Aphrodite. Height 0.31 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.
- 553 A.05426. Statuette of Aphrodite or Hermaphroditus (?). Height 0.18 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 484.
- 554 A.04217. Statuette of Aphrodite (?). Height 0.215 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.
- 555 A.05425. Statuette of Aphrodite. Height 0.20 m., 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.
- 556 A.05431. Statuette of Aphrodite. Height 0.155 m., 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 229.5, tab. 42.
- 557 A.04200. Statuette of Aphrodite, copy of a 5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. work. Found in June of 1906 in the House of the Herms. Height 0.52 m. End of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 156.
- 558 A.05080. Statuette of Aphrodite and little Eros who is hugging her. Height 0.18 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 229, 242, tab. 42.
- 559 74/07001 a. Eros with his arms around his mother's neck. House of the Seals, 1974. Height 0.013 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Stambolides N. 1992, p. 46, no. 25, tab. 2.5.
- 560 A.04157. Statue of Aphrodite, copy of a work by Praxiteles. Establishment of the Poseidoniasts from Berytos. Height 0.71 m. 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 230, 389, 390, tab. 43.
- 561 A.01818. Statuette of Aphrodite stepping on the head of a bull. Sanctuary of the Foreign Gods, 22-7-1909. Height 0.35 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, 227,



- 230.4, 231.3, 301, 353.8, 384, 385.1, tab. 44.
- 562 A.00382. Statuette of Aphrodite holding an apple. Found in August of 1906 in the Theatre Quarter, northwest of the House of Dionysus. Height 0.29 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. *Hermay Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr.* 1996, p. 154.
- 563 A.05001, A.05002 Aphrodite leaning on a herm of Hermaphroditus. Height of Aphrodite 0.43 m., of Hermaphroditus 0.235 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 235.1, tab. 45, Marcadé J. 1973, p. 345, ill. 20.
- 564 A.05418. Statuette of Aphrodite. Height 0.45 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 233.4, tab. 46.
- 565 A.00400+A.01789. Statuette of Aphrodite. Northwest of the House of Dionysus, 2-5-1906. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 233.1, tab. 46.
- 566 A.04017. Cnidian Aphrodite next to an ithyphallic herm, possibly of Heracles. Heracles. A little Eros brings the necessary accoutrements for the goddess's toilette. House at Phournoi, 1936. Dimensions 0.34x0.24x0.185 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1973, p. 342, ill. 22.
- 567 A.04409. Statuette of Aphrodite of Cnidus from the Theatre Quarter. Height 0.485 m. with the base. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. *Hermay Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr.* 1996, p. 146.
- 568 A.00802. Statuette of Aphrodite. West of the Hypostyle Hall, 19-7-1908. Height 0.225 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 229.4, tab. 42.
- 569 A.01619. Statuette of Aphrodite. East of the Hypostyle Hall, 2-6-1907. Height 0.287 m., 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 231.6, 460.1, tab. 45.
- 570 A.05416. Statuette of Aphrodite. Northwest corner of the Agora of the Italians. Height 0.17 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 231.1.4, tab. 44.
- 571 A.04150. Statuette of Anadyomene Aphrodite. Found in July of 1912 in the Great House southeast of the Theatre, possibly the House of the Dolphins. Height 0.57 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. *Hermay Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr.* 1996, p. 144.
- 572-573 A.03466, A.03387. Two terracotta figurines of Aphrodite tying her sandal. A.03387 was found on 7-6-1905 near the Minoan Fountain, on the road between the Stoa of Antigonos and the Agora of the Italians. A.03466 was found in 1905 in a shop in the Theatre Quarter (III A, F.g). Height 0.35 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Laumonier A. 1956, p. 157, no. 472, 473, tab. 47-49, *Jockey Ph.- Bourgeois Br.* 2001, p. 629.
- 574 A.00248. Head of a statue of Aphrodite (?). One part was found in June of 1906 northwest of the House of Dionysus and another was found in July of the same year in the House of Dionysus. Height 0.32 m. Late 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. *Queyrel Fr.* 1988, p. 435, ill. 1-4.
- 575 A.02407. Head from a statuette of Aphrodite. House of Inopos. 22-8-1913. Height 0.088 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, tab. 43.
- 576 A.03473. Head from a figurine of Aphrodite. Theatre Quarter, 1905. Height 0.105 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Laumonier A. 1956, p. 159, no. 481, tab. 50.
- 577 A.04158. Statuette of Eros. Found in 1881 in the Sanctuary of the Egyptian Gods, northwest of the Temple of Isis. Height 0.46 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 243, 257, 434, tab. 52.
- 578 A.02147 (A.05475). Eros pulling the string of his bow. Theatre Street, 24-8-1908. Height 0.24 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 242.7, tab. 52, Marcadé J. 1973, ill. 29.
- 579 A.05457. Flying Eros from a group of Eros and Aphrodite. Sanctuary of the Egyptian Gods, 1882. Height 0.028 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 242.4, 396, 402.2, 433, 434, tab. 52, Marcadé J. 1973, p. 349, ill. 31.
- 580 B.18644. Mould-made relief of Eros riding a dolphin. Probably found east of the Lake in 1925. Height 0.075 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Deonna W. 1938, tab. 3.26.
- 581 74/01018 a. Eros the Musician playing a large cithara decorated with ribbons. House of the Seals, 1974. Height 0.011 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Stambolides N. 1992, p. 153, no. 586, tab. 33.14.
- 582 74/06813 b. Marine musician Eros playing a cithara seated on the back of a dolphin. House of the Seals, 1974. Height 0.0095 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Stambolides N. 1992, p. 156, no. 598, tab. 33.6.
- 583 74/01291 d. Eros reading a scroll. House of the Seals, 1974. Height 0.0115 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Stambolides N. 1992, p. 148, no. 561, tab. 31.6.
- 584 74/05637 a. Eros the Actor, perusing a theatrical mask he is holding. House of the Seals, 1974. Height 0.0115 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Stambolides N. 1992, p. 53, no. 58, tab. 4.1.
- 585 74/06487 b. Eros the Actor, wearing a theatrical mask. House of the Seals, 1974. Height 0.01 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Stambolides N. 1992, p. 228, no. 977, tab. 53.4.
- 586 74/07094 b. Eros fighting with Anteros (return-love); between them is a wreath, the victor's trophy. House of the Seals, 1974. Height 0.011 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Stambolides N. 1992, p. 68, no. 129, tab. 7.18.
- 587 74/00365 a. A small Eros binds the arms of the large Anteros who has sought refuge at a cylindrical altar. House of the Seals, 1974. Height 0.012 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Stambolides N. 1992, p. 75, no. 167, tab. 9.20.
- 588 74/09064 b. Heracles sitting on a rock, on which he has spread his lion's skin. One Eros has tied his arms behind his back and another Eros, or the personification of a river, is swimming under his feet. House of the Seals, 1974. Height 0.0125 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Stambolides N. 1992, p. 48, no. 33, tab. 2.14.
- 589 74/09147 a. Eros leaves with the weapons of Heracles, whom he has apparently defeated and disarmed. House of the Seals, 1974. Height 0.013 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Stambolides N. 1992, p. 61, no. 98, tab. 6.6.
- 590 74/01444 b. Eros as a victorious warrior. In his left hand he is holding a javelin and with his right he is marking his victory on a shield trophy. House of the Seals, 1974. Height 0.015 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Stambolides N. 1992, p. 143, no. 534, tab. 29.18.
- 591 74/01868+75/3630. Psyche with a cithara sitting on an omphalos. House of the Seals, 1974. Height 0.016 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Stambolides N. 1992, p. 76, no. 172, tab. 10.5.
- 592 74/04225 b. Eros shades his eyes, pretending not to see a drunken Psyche-butterfly on the rim of a *krater* filled with wine. House of the Seals, 1974. Height 0.0120 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Stambolides N. 1992, p. 98, no. 290, tab. 16.6.
- 593 74/01179 a. Eros, as the Fisher of Souls, is fishing standing up in a seashell. With his right hand he has caught a soul-butterfly on his hook, which is flying around trying to escape. b. Bust of a caped, winged Eros facing right. c. Psyche as a butterfly flying with open wings, holding a scroll. House of the Seals, 1974. Height 0.027 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Stambolides N. 1992, p. 198 (824), tab. 45.6, p. 262 (1189), tab. 63.9.
- 594 74/02307. Eros the Pilot steering a seashell. Leaning forward, he is trying to steer his peculiar vessel, holding the rudder with both his hands. In the background, one can see the *kope*, the wide bottom part of the rudder. House of the Seals, 1974. Height 0.0125 m. Stambolides N. 1992, p. 197, no. 819, tab. 45.1.
- 595 74/07049 b. Eros is roasting a soul-butterfly on a spit over the blazing fire in a bronze *anthrakion*. Under it is the inscription: "REMEMBER". House of the Seals, 1974.



- Height 0.015 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Stambolides N. 1992, p. 113, no. 370, tab. 21.3.
- 596 74/01289 a. Eros, the burner of souls, holds a soul-butterfly and slowly burns it with a torch in his right hand. House of the Seals, 1974. Height 0.008 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Stambolides N. 1992, p. 106, no. 332, tab. 19.1.
- 597 74/01849 a. Eros with his right hand holding a soul-butterfly above the raging fire on an altar or an *anthrakion*. With his left hand he pierces it with a spit. House of the Seals, 1974. Height 0.0115 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Stambolides N. 1992, p. 107, no. 336, tab. 19.6.
- 598 74/07061 b. Eros has pierced a soul-butterfly with a large spit and is slowly roasting it over the flames of an *anthrakion*. Under the ground line, is a barely discerned inscription: "[ΔΙΩΔΟΡΟΥ ΔΙΩΔΟΡΟΥ]". House of the Seals, 1974. Height 0.0125 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Stambolides N. 1992, p. 111, no. 357, tab. 20.7.
- 599 74/00632 b. Eros, as the charioteer of Souls, has harnessed two souls-butterflies to his chariot. In his left hand he is holding the reins tightly and in his right he has a palm tree branch, the symbol of his victory. House of the Seals, 1974. Diameter 0.015 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Stambolides N. 1992, p. 176, no. 708, tab. 39.2.
- 600 74/00311 b. Eros has caught Psyche who is no longer resisting and he is tying her to a column. House of the Seals, 1974. Height 0.011 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Stambolides N. 1992, p. 86, no. 223, tab. 12.18.
- 601 74/05911+07139 a. Bust of Psyche. b. The roles are reversed. A small Psyche, seated on a pedestal, leans her bent left leg on a Corinthian column trying to bind Eros to it. House of the Seals, 1974. Height b 0.01 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Stambolides N. 1992, p. 122, no. 423, tab. 24.1.
- 602 74/06797 a. Eros, the prisoner of Psyche, is tied to an Ionic column. House of the Seals, 1974. Height 0.011 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Stambolides N. 1992, p. 124, no. 428, tab. 24.6.
- 603 74/05911+07139 Eros tries to escape from a soul-butterfly who has tied his arms behind his back and is pulling him. House of the Seals, 1974. Height 0.09 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Stambolides N. 1992, p. 123, no. 422, tab. 23.20.
- 604 74/07151 a. Eros is sitting on an altar-either as a suppliant or a sacrificial victim. A butterfly-soul is tying him up and another is flying about teasing him. House of the Seals, 1974. Height 0.013 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Stambolides N. 1992, p. 126, no. 439, tab. 24.19.
- 605 74/07152 b. Eros hugs Psyche and kisses her tenderly on the lips. House of the Seals, 1974. Height 0.011 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Stambolides N. 1992, p. 81, no. 194, tab. 11.9.
- 606 A.05316. Torso from the herm of young Hermaphroditus. Height 0.20 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.
- 607 A.07620. Marble weight with a supine Hermaphroditus in relief on the upper part. Dimensions 0.16x0.09x0.065 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.
- 608 A.00466+A.07647 Herm of Hermaphroditus, possibly a support for a table. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé 1969, tab. 19.
- 609 A.06981. Herm of Hermaphroditus. House of Plaster, 1959. Height 0.40 m.
- 610 A.04016. Marble plinth with Hermaphroditus. House at Phournoi, 1936. Dim. 0.35x0.20x0.17 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.
- 611 A.02402. Torso from a herm of Hermaphroditus. Granite Palaestra, 6-9-1913. Height 0.16 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.
- 612 A.00350. Herm of a hermaphrodite Priapus. Cistern north west of the House of Dionysus. July 1905. Height 1.85 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 209, 367, 377, 402, tab. 20.
- 617 A.05637. Herm. The head is probably a representation of the Egyptian Pharaoh Ptolemy III Euergetes. On the front is a painted caduceus with ribbons. House of the Herms, 10-9-1949. Height 1.56 m. End of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 112, 158, 274, 420, tab. 15.
- 618 A.04289. Statuette of a nymph, copy of 4<sup>th</sup>-cent. BC, work. Found in 1949 in the atrium of the House of Herms. Height 0.92 m. 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 126.
- 620 A.01757+A.04269. Idealised statue of a youth, perhaps a general of Mithridates, from the offerings of Helianax. Samothraceion, 9-7-1909. Height 1.46 m. Late 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 194.
- 622 A.04242. Statue of a man in a cuirass. Found in the Samothraceion, in the Monument of Mithridates. Height 1.17 m. 102/101 BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 198.
- 625 D.0623 a, b. (E.0671). Marble inscribed column. Found in the Sarapieion A. Height 1.25 (1.38 with the capital) m. Bruneau Ph., Ducat J. 1983, p. 220.
- 626 A.04023. Unfinished statue of Sarapis (?). House at Phournoi, 1936. Height 0.65 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 168.
- 627 A.05997. Head from a statuette of Sarapis. South side of the Agora of the Italians, 1904. Height 0.17 m. Late 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 156, 157, tab. 11.
- 628 A.01990+A.02003. Statuette of enthroned Sarapis. On the base there is an inscription: "during the priesthood of Kineus". Sarapieion B, July 1910. Height 0.55 m. 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 166.
- 630 B.24340. Mosaic *emblemata* from the Sanctuary of the Syrian Gods. Dimensions 0.65x0.85 m. The inscription (ID.2244): "Dionysius being servant in the temple when Criton was archon [and dedicates this for] himself and his foster parents". 93/2 BC. Bruneau Ph. 1972, p. 223, no. 190.
- 631-633 Statue of Isis. Sarapieion C. Height 2.05. The two stones at the edge of the inscription on the pedestal (ID.2044) have not survived:
- The Deme of the Athenians dedicated this to Isis when the Epimeletes of the island was Ammonius of Anaphlesteus and [...]jeitos son of Axoneus, and Menander of Philaedes were in charge of the Sanctuary, and when Euthymachus son of Hemochares of Kenmous was priest of Sarapis.*
- 128/7 BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 80.
- 635 A.00379. Egyptian statuette of Isis. The lower part was found on 2-8-1906 northwest of the House of Dionysus (?), the upper part perhaps in the Sanctuary of the Egyptian Gods. The upper part had been taken to the National Museum, but was then returned and the statuette was reconstructed by Giorgos Polykandriotis. Height 0.32 m. 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 409, 413, 431.
- 636 A.03187. Relief of Isis Pelagia. Found in 1904 in a sculptor's workshop in the south west corner of the Agora of the Italians. Height 0.52 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 186.
- 637 B.02984. The upper part of a Corinthian mould-made lamp with the representation of Isis Pelagia. Sarapieion C, 10-7-1909. Length 0.085 m. 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD. LIMC V Isis, p. 782, no. 272.
- 638 A.00378. Statuette of Isis with the himation tied in the typical knot under her breast. North west of the House of Dionysus, 31-7-1906. Height 0.30 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 431, 432, tab. 57.
- 639 A.05294. Statuette of Isis. Height 0.29 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 212, note. 3, tab. 54.
- 640 Mykonos 00092. Bronze *sistrum* of Isis. Found in Rheneia in the grave of a young girl, Philo on 27-8-



1898. Height 0.245 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Deonna W. 1938, p. 324, tab. 92, ill. 810.
- 641 A.01858. Bronze votive ears originally placed on a marble stele or altar. Sanctuary of the Egyptian Gods, 30-7-1907. Height 0.095 m. The inscription: (ID. 2173): "Diogenes son of Diogenes from Antioch, dedicates this to Isis who hears prayers." Bruneau Ph., Ducat J. 1983, p. 228.
- 642 A.08386 (E.0463). Cylindrical altar with a garland and bull's head. Sarapieion C, 1909. Height 0.59 m. On the lower part and on the base is the inscription: "Isidore son of Isidore from Athens dedicated this to Isis Euploia while Apollodoros son of Kropides was priest and (...) son of Nikias was a temple servant. End of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. ID.2153, Deonna W. 1938, tab. 106, no. 938, Bruneau Ph. 1974, p. 336.
- 643 B.07540. Bronze mask of a river god (or of Dionysus-Osiris?). The wet beard indicates that this is a river god and his features are reminiscent of the statue of the Nile. The small horns represent the force of the river, which is represented as a bull. The mask reminds one of Sophocles' description of the Achelous river in *Trachinidae*: "For my wooer was a river-god, Achelous, who in three shapes was ever asking me from my sire - coming now as a bull in bodily form, now as serpent with sheeny coils, now with trunk of man and front of ox, while from a shaggy beard the streams of fountain-water flowed abroad." (Transl. R.C. Jebb) Bronze vases in a similar shape are used to this day in India to carry the sacred water of the Ganges. Found in a well, south of the Agora of the Competaliasts, 1957. Height 0.25 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Siebert G. 1988, p. 275 ff. Jenkins I. 1994, Moreno P. 1994, ill. 213.
- 644 Munich, Antiquarium 704. Meroe, 1911. Bronze container with masks of a river god under the handles. Height 0.085 m. Jenkins I. 1994, p. 291, ill. 20.
- 645 A.00312. Figurine of Tyche. West of the House of Dionysus, 16-6-1906. Height 0.415 m. Late 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Laumonier A. 1956, p. 119, no. 301, tab. 31, Jockey Ph. - Bourgeois Br. 2001, p. 629.
- 646 A.04129. Statue of Tyche, copy of a work from 350-300 BC. Theatre Quarter, "House of the Five Statues", 1905. Height 1.30 m. Late 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 158.
- 647 B.05983. Statuette of Isis-Tyche, decorative feature of the same piece of furniture or vase as B.05982. Theatre Quarter, 1905, height 0.042 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Deonna W. 1938, p. 282, tab. 85.
- 648 A.00722. Silver-plated bronze rudder from a statuette of Isis-Tyche. North of the Hypostyle Hall, 28-4-1908. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Height 0.235 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Bruneau Ph. 1974, p. 349-50.
- 649 B.11375. Lead disc with a representation of Tyche or Nemesis-Tyche who is holding the horn of plenty in her right hand and a staff in her left. To her left and right, there are the conical hats of the Dioscuri with a star at the top. Diameter 0.078 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.
- 650 87/00261. Seal with a representation of Tyche or Nemesis-Tyche. House of the Seals, 1987. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.
- 651 A.02255. Statuette of Isis-Tyche. Found on 23-5-1911, on the wall of Triarius, southeast of the Theatre. It is possibly from the Sarapieion. Height 0.235 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 172.
- 652 A.05632. Statuette of Tyche. In her left hand she is holding the horn of plenty and in her right a rudder or cane. House of Herms, height 0.27 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1953, p. 558, Marcadé J. 1969, tab. 56.
- 653 A.04145. Torso of Harpocrates (?) in the style of Praxiteles' Satyr. Agora of the Italians. Height 0.62 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 204, 208 tab. 51.
- 654 A.00723. Silver-plated bronze herm of Harpocrates (or Eros). North of the Hypostyle Hall, 28-4-1908. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Height 0.12 m. Deonna W. 1938, p. 307, tab. 90, ill. 795.
- 655 B.05428. Upper part of an ivory *peroni* (dressing pin) in the form of Harpocrates. Street south of the Agora of the Italians, height 0.055 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Deonna W. 1938, p. 280, tab. 85.
- 656 A.03404. Head from a terracotta figurine of Harpocrates. Outside the south east corner of the Agora of the Italians, 1905. Height 0.075 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Laumonier A. 1956, no. 379, tab. 41.
- 657 A.00298, A.00102. Silver earring with a figurine of Harpocrates. The hoop was found northwest of the House of Dionysus, 13-5-1906, the figurine north of the Theatre, 14-7-1905. Height 0.024 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Deonna W. 1938, p. 306, ill. 785.
- 658 A.04262+A.01737. Herm of Harpocrates. Found on 18-5-1908 in the House on the Hill, 18-5-1908. Height 1.16 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 434-435, tab. 18, Marcadé J. 1993, p. 514, 516.
- 659 A.04260. Herm of Harpocrates. Found in 1904 in a commercial warehouse in the Port Quarter. Height 1.44 m., together with the base. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 174.
- 660 A.05280. Head from a marble gilt statue of Anubis. Sarapieion A. Height 0.155 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1952, p. 123, ill. 22, Marcadé J. 1969, p. 114, 413, 417.
- 662 A.04069. Statue of enthroned Hera. Found in the late 19<sup>th</sup> cent. near the Dodekathéon. Height 0.53 and 0.95 m. Late 6<sup>th</sup>, early 5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 52.
- 663 A.03993. Statuette of enthroned Hera. Found in the Inopos. Height 0.535 m. Late 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1993, p. 175, 177, Kokkorou-Alewrás G. 1995, no. 83, p. 116.
- 664 A.03575, A.03566, A.03581. Three figurines of a seated goddess with a high headdress. Heraion, 1911. Height 0.195, 0.162, 0.15 m. 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Laumonier A. 1956, no. 64, 71, 68.
- 665 A.03573, A.03568. Two figurines of enthroned Hera. Heraion, 1911. Height 0.18, 0.10 m. 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Laumonier A. 1956, p. 70, no. 79, 80, tab. 7.
- 666 A.03565. Figurine of Zeus and Hera. Heraion, July 1911. Height 0.15 m. 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Laumonier A. 1956, p. 81, no. 161, tab. 19.
- 667 A.03595. Figurine of a maiden holding a dove. On the sides, wide strips of clay used to connect this piece with other parts. Heraion, 1911. Height 0.315 m. 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Laumonier A. 1956, no. 60.
- 668 A.03585, A.03586. Two figurines of semi-reclining comasts at a symposium holding horns. Possibly representing Dionysus. Heraion 1911. Height 0.105, 0.075 m. 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Laumonier A. 1956, p. 84, no. 170, 171.
- 669 A.03587, A.03591, A.03592, A.03583. Four perfume bottles in various shapes: a Siren, goddess or worshipper holding a dove and a nude kneeling youth. Heraion, 1911. Height 0.11, 0.19, 0.17, 0.125 m. 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Laumonier A. 1956, no. 174, 55, 57, 172.
- 670 A.03517. Clay bust of a goddess, possibly Hera. Heraion, 1911. Height 0.16 m. 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Laumonier A. 1956, no. 147, tab. 15.
- 671 A.03503. Clay bust of a goddess, possibly Hera. Heraion, 1911. Height 0.25 m. 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Laumonier A. 1956, no. 104, tab. 10.
- 672 B.06057, *Oenochoe* (wine jug), height 0.245 m. B. 06084, *oenochoe* with flat base, height 0.17 m. B.06051, Clay



- pomegranate, height 0.116 m. Heraion, July 1911. End of the 8<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Dugas Ch. 1928, p. 24, no. 38, 37, tab. 9 and p. 16, no. 9, tab. 7.
- 673 B.06229. Rhodian decorative plate. Heraion, July 1911. Diameter 0.375 m. 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Dugas Ch. 1928, p. 41, no. 72.
- 674 B.06230. *Kylix*-shaped *krater* from Chios. Heraion, July 1911. Height 0.28 m., diameter of opening 0.325 m. 600-575 BC. Dugas Ch. 1928, p. 56, no. 21, tab. 19, 61, 62.
- 675 B.06002, Rhodian *oenochoe*, height 0.365 m. B.06014, Rhodian plate, diameter 0.32 m. Heraion, July 1911. 650-600 BC. Dugas Ch. 1928, p. 39, tab. 12 and p. 41, no. 70, tab. 14.
- 676 B.06149. Parian plate depicting a winged phallus. Heraion 1911. 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC., diameter 0.258 m. Dugas Ch. 1928, p. 20, no. 28, tab. 4.
- 677 B.06048. Small Rhodian amphora. Heraion, July 1911. Height 0.25 m. Circa 650 BC. Dugas Ch. 1928, p. 49, no. 108, tab. 18.
- 678 B.06185. Corinthian *prochous*. Heraion, July 1911. Height 0.36 m. 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Dugas Ch. 1928, p. 138, no. 462, tab. 39.
- 679 B.06192. Corinthian *alabastron* with a representation of the Mistress of the Wild Beasts. Found in July 1911 in the Heraion. Height 0.26 m. End of the 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Dugas Ch. 1928, p. 135, no. 450, tab. 33, Payne H. 1931, p. 285.
- 680 Mykonos 01327. Plate with a representation of the Mistress of the Wild Beasts from the Purification Pit. Diameter 0.255 m. 650-600 BC.
- 681 B.06191. Drawn reconstruction (Giorgos Polikantriotis) of a Corinthian *alabastron* with a representation of the Mistress of the Wild Beasts. Heraion, July 1911. Height 0.323 m. Late 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Dugas Ch. 1928, p. 135, no. 451, tab. 33, 47.
- 682 B.06539, Corinthian *alabastron*, height 0.88 m. B.06485, *alabastron*, height 0.083 m. B.06197, *aryballos* depicting two riders, height 0.066 m. B.06388, *aryballos*, height 0.052 m. Heraion, July 1911. 7<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Dugas Ch. 1928, no. 397, 422, 309, 211, tab. 29, 23, Payne H. 1931, p. 304.
- 683 B.06196. Corinthian *aryballos* with a winged god and bearded man with sceptre. Heraion, July 1911. Height 0.125 m. Late 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Dugas Ch. 1928, p. 113, no. 331, tab. 26.
- 684 B.062327, B.06328. Two Corinthian *alabastra* portraying warriors. Heraion, July 1911. Height 0.198, 0.208 m. 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Dugas Ch. 1928, no. 458, 457 tab. 31.
- 685 B.06320. Corinthian *alabastron* with a representation of a Siren, height 0.206 m. B.06277, *alabastron* depicting lions, height 0.19 m. B.06265, *alabastron* with two panthers, height 0.175 m. Heraion, July 1911. Late 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Dugas Ch. 1928, no. 439, 456, 448 tab. 31, 65, 30.
- 686 B.06203. Attic *hydria*. Heraion, July 1911. Height 0.255 m. 600-575 BC. Dugas Ch. 1928, p. 177, no. 589, tab. 44.
- 687 B.06107. Attic *kylix*. Heraion, July 1911. Height 0.14 m., diameter 0.28 m. The inside of the lip bears the following inscription: *Dedicated to Hera by Epignote*. 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Dugas Ch. 1928, p. 181, no. 603, tab. 49.
- 688 B.6105. Attic *kylix* with Satyrs and Maenads. Heraion, July 1911. Height 0.185 m., diameter 0.30 m. 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Dugas Ch. 1928, p. 181, no. 604, tab. 50.
- 689 B.06106. Attic *kylix*. On the medallion inside, Achilles and Ajax are playing a game like draughts as Athena looks on. Heraion, July 1911. Height 0.125 m., diameter 0.25 m. Dugas Ch. 1928, p. 181, no. 605, tab. 50.
- 690 B.06133. Attic *lekythos* with scenes from the Gymnasium. Heraion, July 1911. Height 0.248 m. Beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Dugas Ch. 1928, p. 175, no. 571, tab. 41.
- 691 B.06128. Attic black figure *lekythos*. Dionysus on a four-horse chariot. Heraion, July 1911. Height 0.22 m. 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC.
- 692 B.06136. Attic black figure *lekythos*. Dionysus is holding a large horn. Inscription: "*Phanylis offered this to the goddess Hera*". Found in the Heraion in July 1911. Height 0.324 m. Dugas Ch. 1928, p. 171, no. 548, tab. 41.
- 693 B.06135. Attic black figure *lekythos*. Maenads dancing between Doric columns in a stoa and holding many-leaved *thyrsoi*. The first is pulling a ram and the last a deer. Heraion, July 1911. Height 0.326 m. Dugas Ch. 1928, p. 175, no. 568, tab. 41, 69.
- 694 B.06127. Attic black figure *lekythos*. A Satyr is playing the lyre and two Maenads are dancing, holding large *rhyta*. A second ithyphallic Satyr rushes towards them. Height 0.184 m. Dugas Ch. 1928, p. 151, no. 551, tab. 42.
- 695 B.06131. Attic *lekythos* with the scene of a Homeric battle. Heraion, July 1911. Height 0.212 m. End of the 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Dugas Ch. 1928, p. 171, no. 549, tab. 38.
- 696 B.06137. Black figure Attic *lekythos*. Achilles drags the body of Hector around Patroclus' tomb. Heraion, July 1911. Height 0.326 m. Late 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Dugas Ch. 1928, p. 170, tab. 40, 68.
- 697 A.06134. Black figure Attic *lekythos*. Heracles fights with the lion of Nemea. Athena, Hermes and a bearded man watch the struggle. An inscription bears the legend,  $\Theta\epsilon\omicron$ . Heraion, July 1911. Height 0.215 m. Late 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Dugas Ch. 1928, no. 553, p. 159-160, 172, tab. 41, ABV p. 491, no. 50 The Class of Athens 581.
- 698 B.06129. Black figure Attic *lekythos*. Heracles is fighting the three-headed Geryon. Hermes holds the hero's club while Calliope, mother of Geryon, grieves. In the background, decorative meaningless inscriptions. Heraion, July 1911. Height 0.268 m. Dugas Ch. 1928, no. 547, p. 158-159, 171, tab. 39, 69, ABV p. 379, no. 274, Paral. p. 163, no. 274, p. 167-8.
- 699 B.6140. An Attic *krater*. The welcome accorded to Heracles on Mt Olympus. Heraion, July 1911. Height 0.225 m., diameter 0.295 m. End of the 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Dugas Ch. 1928, no. 597, p. 164-165, 180, tab. 47, 48.
- 700 A.06138. *Skyphoid* Attic *krater*, votive offering from Aristotethe to Hera. Heracles at a symposium with Hermes or Odysseus and another hero, perhaps Ajax. Under the lip is the inscription: "ARISTOTETHE DEDICATED THIS TO HERA". Height 0.275 m., diameter 0.285 m. End of the 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Dugas Ch. 1928, no. 595p. 164, 179, tab. 46.
- 704 A.00721+A.02089. Statuette of Heracles. Lake House, 1894, 1910. Height 0.74 m., including the base. 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 162.
- 705 A.07706. Statue of Heracles. Asclepeion, 1981, 1982. Height 0.895 m. 2nd cent. BC. AD 37 (1982) p. 352.
- 706 Mykonos 00001. Statue of Heracles from the Sanctuary on Rheneia, 1900. Height 1.14 m. 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Vavritsas And. 1961, *Heracles of the Mykonos Museum*, AE 1953-1954, p. 176-187.
- 707 A.04140. Statuette of Heracles or Eros. Found in the Reservoir of the Inopos. Height 0.50 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, tab. 61, p. 244.2, 257.3, 434, 454.
- 708 A.00206+A.04163. Statue of Heracles seated on a rock on which he has thrown his lion's skin. West of the House of Dionysus, 1880, 1906. Height 0.47 m. 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, tab. 62, p. 353.10, 381, 456.5. LIMC, Heracles, no. 963, Marcadé J. 1993, 433-443.
- 709 A.04119. Unfinished statuette of Heracles carrying the Erymanthian Boar on his shoulders. Height 0.49 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 457, tab. 62.



- 710 A.04258 Unfinished herm of Heracles with lion's skin. Height 0.56 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, tab. 20. LIMC, Heracles, no. 1127.
- 711 Herm of Heracles in the Agora of the Italians. Votive offering of [L.] *Orbius M. f., mag(ister) Italicis*. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. ID.1742. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 456.1 tab. 19.
- 712 A.01813. Herm of Heracles with lion's skin and club. Sanctuary of the Egyptian Gods. 14-7-1909. Height 0.34 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 454-456, tab. 20. LIMC, Heracles, no. 1125.
- 713 B.18261. Bronze herm of Heracles or Papposilenus. Found in 1974 in the House of the Seals. Height 0.21 m. Early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Rolley Cl. 1983, p. 205, ill. 185, Thomas R. 1992, p. 34, no. 60.
- 714 A.02350 Head from a statuette of Heracles. Houses south of Inopos. 4-6-1911. Height 0.185 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, tab. 63.
- 715 A.07393. Head from a statue of Heracles. Height 0.19 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.
- 716 74/02827 Seal with the wreathed head of Heracles. House of the Seals, 1974. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. (b) Boussac M.-Fr. 1992, p. 84, Ap.465, tab. 26.
- 717 B.18142 (Insula of the Jewellery, height 0.133 m.), A.01909 (north of House of Dionysus, height 0.06 m.), B.05884 (Inopos Reservoir, 22-6-1911, height 0.085 m.), A.00308 (east of the House of Kerdon, 10-7-1906, height 0.065 m.), A.03755 (height 0.082 m. no. 1278) B.18634 (height 0.165 m.), B.04636 (Xenon, 23-6-1912, height 0.07 m.), A.03901 (east of the Lake 1926-1927, height 0.16 m.), A.00200 (northwest of the House of the Trident, 7-6-1906, height 0.10 m.) Parts of figurines of Heracles, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Laumonier A. 1956, no. 354, 355, 356, 363, 1278, LIMC, Heracles, no. 488, Hadjidakis P.J. 2003, no. 011.B1.
- 719 B.24339. Mosaic *emblemata* from the Sanctuary on Kynthos. Dimensions 0.76x1.41 m. The inscription: "To Zeus Kynthios and Athena Kynthia, Apollonides son of Theogeiton from Laodicea [dedicated this] for himself and his partners, when Aristomachus was priest, Nicephorus was temple servant and Cointus Aze[neius] was epimeletes." 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Bruneau Ph. 1972, p. 230, no. 204.
- 720 74/02257. Seal with the head of Zeus and the inscription "EPIMELETES AT DELOS". Official seal of the annual Athenian governor of Delos. House of the Seals, 1974. Height 0.0283 m. 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Boussac M.-Fr. 1992, p.11, SP.1, tab. 1, Roussel P. 1916, p. 97 ff.
- 721 A.00818. Head from a statuette of Athena. South of the Agora of the Delians, 15-6-1909. Height 0.12 m. Marcadé J. 1969, tab. 55.
- 722 74/06955 Seal with the head of Athena. House of the Seals, 1974. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Zaphiropoulou. 1998, no. 265.
- 723 A.04153. Statue of seated Athena. Found in the Inopos House. Height 0.50 m. End of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 92.
- 724 A.00330. Statuette of Athena. Southwest of the House of Dionysus, July 1906. Marcadé J. 1969, tab. 55.
- 725 A.05406. Statuette of Athena. Height 0.35 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 217.2, 342.4.
- 726 A.05307. Statuette of Athena. Height 0.033 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 217.2, 342.4, tab. 37.
- 727 A.05188. Statuette of Athena. Height 0.27 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, 290.4 tab. 55.
- 728 A.03410, A.03414. Figurine of Athena Parthenos. Outside the south east corner of the Agora of the Italians, 10-6-1905. Height 0.22 m. End of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Laumonier A. 1956, p. 115, no. 286, tab. 29.
- 729 A.05620 (House of the Herms, 1949, height 0.05 m.), A.03371 (east of the Establishment of the Poseidoniasts, 1906, height 0.09 m.), A.00286 (north of the Granite Monument, 1906, height 0.085 m.). Three figurines of Athena Parthenos. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Laumonier A. 1956, p. 114, no. 282-284, tab. 29.
- 730 74/05681. Clay seal with a representation of Athena Promachos. Left and right the letters *A.P.* House of the Seals 1974. Height 0.0195 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Boussac M.-Fr. 1992, p. 17, SP.11, tab. 2.
- 731 A.01621. Statuette of Athena. Southwest of the Dodekathéon, 2-6-1907. Height 0.23 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Marcadé J. 1969, p. 290, tab. 55.
- 740 A.04136. Statue of a man. Found in 1932 in the House of the Masks. Height 1.36 m. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Buschor E. 1995, no. 184, Özgan R. 1995, p. 28, note 193.
- 774 A.07763, A.07799, A.07997. Statues of Dioscurides and Cleopatra with inscribed base. Found in the Theatre Quarter, House III.1. The inscription: "Cleopatra, daughter of Adnastos from Myrrinous, dedicate the statue of her husband Dioscurides son of Theodoros of Myrrinous when he placed two silver Delphic tripods on either side of the entrance to the temple of Apollo, when Timarchos was archon of Athens". Height of Dioscurides 1.45 m., height of Cleopatra 1.49 m., height of base 0.70 m. 138/7 BC. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 208.
- 788 A.03186. Grave stele. Found in the Agora of the Italians. Height 1.86 m., width 0.82 m. Late 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. Couilloud M.-Th. 1974, p. 124, no. 170.
- 789 A.07757. Grave stele with two men dressed in himatia on either side of a herm with the head of Heracles. Height 1.41 m., width 0.69 m. End of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Couilloud M.-Th. 1974, p. 123, no. 167.
- 790 A.01298. Grave stele. A woman and a man in a farewell scene. Between them are two young children. Found on 18-8-1904 in the Agora of the Italians. Height 0.61 m, width 0.35 m. The inscription reads: "Virtuous Dorothes fare thee well". Early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Couilloud M.-Th. 1974, p. 109, no. 126.
- 791 A.07805 Grave stele with a representation of two children. Inscription: "Alexas of Antioch". Height 0.36 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.
- 792 A.07710. Grave stele with a reclining woman who is bidding farewell to a man standing before her. Standing at her head is a little girl. Inscription: "Arsinoë Claudia, virtuous wife of Marcus, fare thee well." Rheneia, 12-7-1983. Height 0.625 m. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.
- 793 A.07245. Grave stele depicting a warrior fighting on a ship. Found in 1967 on Rheneia. Height 0.98 m. Inscription: "Timocrates Raecius son of Nemerius, virtuous and sorrow-free fare thee well". Late 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Couilloud M.-Th. 1974, p. 177, no. 357.
- 794 A.01297. Grave stele showing a man falling off the prow of a ship. Found in July 1903 in the House of Kerdon. Height 0.63 m., width 0.26 m. Inscriptions: "Virtuous Kerdon fare thee well" and "The companions erected this to Kerdon". Early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Couilloud M.-Th. 1974, p. 175, no. 348.
- 795 Mykonos 00055. Grave stele with a representation of a shipwrecked man trying to reach his ship. Found on Rheneia. Height 0.53 m. Inscription: "Virtuous Gaius Sallustius fare thee well". Early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Couilloud M.-Th. 1974, p. 175, no. 349.



796 Mykonos 00059. Grave stele from Rheneia showing a shipwrecked man sitting on a rock gazing at his lost ship. Height 0.89 m. Inscription: "*Philemon son of Admetus from Thessalonike, fare thee well*". Early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Couilloud M.-Th. 1974, p. 171, no. 338.

797 Mykonos 00071. Grave stele from Rheneia. A nude sailor is trying to empty the water from his boat. Height

0.66 m. Inscription: "*Virtuous Aphrodisius son of Leonidas, fare thee well*". Couilloud M.-Th. 1974, p. 176, no. 351.

798 Mykonos 00061. Grave stele from Rheneia depicting a nude shipwrecked man sitting on rocks. Before him is the prow of his ship. Height 0.66 m. Inscription: "*Virtuous Glycon, son of Prologenes fare thee well*". Late 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Couilloud M.-Th. 1974, p. 172, no. 339.







1. P. Kousathanas-V. Pelekis, *Delos, spring of 1991 AD*, Mykonos 1991, p. 15.
2. Plutarch, *Regarding the E in Delphi*, 385. B.
3. *Aufenthalte*, 1989.
4. *Geog.* I.C. 485.
5. *Negotium magnum est navigare atque id mense Quintili. Sexto die Delum Athenis venimus. Pr. Nonas Quintilis a Piraeo ad Zostera vento molesto, qui nos ibidem Nonis tenuit, ante viii Idus ad Ceo iucunde; inde Gyarum saevo vento non adverso; hinc Syrum, inde Delum, utroque citius quam vellemus, cursum confecimus. nam nosti aphracta Rhodiorum; nihil quod minus fluctum ferre possit, itaque erat in animo nihil festinare nec me Delo movere nisi omnia akra Gureon pura vidissem.* Cic. epist. ad Atticus, 5.12.1.
6. Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, transl. Philip Vellacott. London: Penguin, 1953 1137-1138.
7. *Hesperia* 63 (1994), Gary Reger, "Two estates of Delian Apollo on Mykonos and the date of ID 452 and 467".
8. W. Deonna 1938, pg. 215.
9. Eurip. *Hecabe*, 444-465.
10. Dion. *Perieg.* 527.
11. Plut. *Ethics*, 394.A.
12. Herod. VI. 97.
13. Thuc. II. 48-54.
14. Thuc. II. 53.
15. Thuc. III. 104.
16. *Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute of Athens* 1898, 1899, 1900.
17. Axioti M. 1965, *To spiti mou*, pg. 101.
18. Stavros Manesis: "Georgios Polykandriotis, the incomparable paster of the ancient vessels of Delos-Rheneia", *Aegeopelagitika Themata*, no. 8-12, 1987.
19. Thuc. III. 104.
20. Herod. VI. 97.
21. Thuc. V. 1.
22. Thuc. V 32, VIII. 108.
23. Plut. *Thes.* 23, Callimachus, *In Delos*.
24. Plat. *Phaed.* 38.
25. Plut., *Nicias* 3.
26. Thuc. VII. 84-87.
27. Kirk, G.S., J.E. Raven, and M. Schofield. 1983. *The Presocratic Philosophers*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Cambridge. p. 169.
28. "...have ascribed to the gods everything which is shame (*oneidea*) and blame (*psogos*) for human beings: stealing, committing adultery, and deceiving one another."
29. In Aeschylus' *Oresteia*, Apollo, in supporting the matricide Orestes, proclaimed: "...Not the true parent is the woman's womb that bears the child; she doth but nurse the seed new-sown: the male is parent; she for him, as stranger for a stranger, hoards the germ of life" *Eumenides* 658-661.
30. Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris*, 377 F: "... we do not think of the gods as different gods among different peoples, nor as barbarian gods and Greek gods, nor as southern and northern gods; but, just as the sun and the moon and the heavens and the earth and the sea are common to all, but are called by different names by different peoples, so for that one rationality which keeps all these things in order and the one Providence which watches over them and the ancillary powers that are set over all, there have arisen among different peoples, in accordance with their customs, different honours and appellations"
31. Couilloud M.-Th., 1974, pg. 214.
32. Plato, *Republic*, 364 c.
33. Bruneau Ph., 1971, pg. 649-655.
34. Theocritus, *Pharmaceutria*.
35. Bruneau Ph. 1970, p 644. Fig. 5.
36. "the so-called provaskania look to mitigate the effects of envy by drawing the evil to themselves so as to relieve the intended victims" Plut. *Symp. E.* 7.3. "...in front of their kilns, where the metal workers did their job, they would hang ridiculous objects or decorate objects so as to ward off envy[directed against themselves]; these objects were called vaskania, and as even Aristophanes says: unless somebody needed, and so bought, such an amulet that had been made by a metal worker. Polyd. Z. 108. "Vaskanion, provaskanion to the uneducated, is a man-like figure which manual labourers hang up in their workshops so that they will not be harmed by the evil eye while they are working." Bekk.
37. Polyb. XXX. 31.
38. Strabo *Geogr.* I. C. 486.
39. Duchêne H., Fraisse Ph. 2001.
40. Strabo *Geogr.* XIV. C. 668.
41. Basch L. 1987, pg. 371.
42. Moretti J.-Ch. 2001, pgs. 163-166.
43. Feyel Chri., Prost Fr. 1998.
44. Strabo, *Geogr.* XVII.1.8.
45. Athen. D 173. a,b.
46. Athen. D. 173. b.c.
47. ID. 1923.
48. Lucian, *Erotes*, 12.
49. Herondas, *Procyclus or Mastropos* 25-35.
50. Damoxenos, *Syntrophoi*, Athen. C.102.f.
51. B: You sacrificed to the gods... a goat; don't cut me, cut the meat. A: Forward, lads; is there a cookhouse? B: There is. A: And does it have a chimney? B: They have said that it does. A: I do not want words. Does it have a chimney? B: It does. A: A smoking one is a bad thing. Alexis, *Pnychis*, Athen. Th. 386.b.
52. Apic. IX. 13. 1.
53. Apic. IV. 2. 12.
54. The meal given by Trimalchio in Petronius' *Satyricon* might be considered an extreme example, but a simple meal offered by Martiales to seven guests included: mallow, lettuce, leeks, spearmint, roquette



- (arugula), fish with slices of egg and a tuna filled stomach for starters. A kid, meatballs, broad beans, cabbage, a chicken and a smoked ham followed as the main course and apples and wine were served for dessert. Mart. 10, 48, Plin. Epist. 1. 15.
55. Hippolochos, Karanos Weddings, Athen. D. 128. c.
  56. Sotades, *Engleiomeneae*, ap 1 (KOCK II, 447-449)
  57. Xen. *Econ.* 7.6.
  58. Theopompus, *Advice to Alexander*, Athen. IV. z 230. f.
  59. Athen. IE. 674-676.
  60. Bruneau J. P. 1999.
  61. Siebert Ger., 2001.
  62. "Antiquissima aeris Gloria Deliaci fuit, mercatus in Delo celebrante toto orbe, et ideo cura officinis. Triclinorium pedibus fulcrisque ibi prima aeris nobilitas, perventi deinde ad deum simulacra effigiemque hominum et aliorum animalium." Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XXXIV, 8.
  63. Couillard, M.-Th. 1974, No. 418. p. 192.
  64. Hasenoir, Cl. 2002.
  66. Crist, Buondelmonti 1410-1425, *Description des îles de l' Archipel*.
  66. Bruneau Ph, Fraisse Ph. 2002.
  67. Tsakos, K. 1999, p. 185.
  68. Theocritus, *Pharmaceutriai*, (Theocritus, *Bion and Moschus* rendered into English Prose, by Andrew Lang [Project Gutenberg EBook #4775], 2003).
  69. Euripides, *Bacchae*, 125.
  70. Homer, *Iliad*, Book XV, 219-230, Robert Fagles, translator, Viking Penguin, 1990.
  71. Marcadé J. 1950.
  72. Athenaeus v, 253.
  73. Athenaeus XIV, 614 a-b.
  74. In the poem by C.P. Cavafy, "Tomb of Lanis", *Collected Poems*, Edmund Keeley & Philip Sherrard, translators, George Savidis, editor – rev. ed., Princeton University Press, 1992, p.85.
  75. Hermary Ant., Jockey Ph., Queyrel Fr. 1996, p. 204, Marcadé J., Queyrel Fr. 2003.
  76. Le Roy Chr. 1973.
  77. Bezerra de Meneses U.-Sarian H. 1973.
  78. Siebert, Ger., 2001.
  79. Bruneau Ph., et al, 1970.
  80. Siebert, Ger., 2001.
  81. Levy, Ed., Hackens T., 1965.
  82. Levy, Ed., 1968, pp. 523-539.
  83. *BCH* 19 (1895), p. 461, Hadjidakis, P.J. 1988 The House of the Diadumenos.
  84. Homer, *Odyssey*, Book XI, 557-558, Robert Fagles, translator, Penguin Books, 2001.
  85. Sideris, G, *The Neoclassical Buildings of Athens*, Introduction.
  86. Brunet, M. 1977.
  87. Moretti, J-Ch., 1998.
  88. IG XII, 3. 606.
  89. *Euthydemus* 272, *Lysis* 206-7.
  90. Moretti, J-Ch., 1995.
  91. Bruneau, Ph. 982.
  92. Plutarch, *On E at Delphi*, 388F.
  93. Plutarch, *On E at Delphi*, 389.
  94. "Therefore Eros instructs in poetry him who was previously museless", Euripides (*Nauck* 2, 569, 663).
  95. Pausanias, 1.20.
  96. Luc. *Erotes*, 13-14.
  97. Siard, H.1998.
  98. Bruneau Ph., Ducat J. 1983, p. 220.
  99. Apuleius, *The Golden Asse*, Adlington's translation, 1566.
  100. Arr. *Alex. An* G.1.
  101. Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, 11.25.
  102. Plutarch. *Re Isis and Osiris*, 378 C441.
  103. Laidlaw W.A., M.A., *A History of Delos*, Oxford 1933.
  104. Thucydides, 7.41, Arist. *Hipp.* 762.
  105. Moretti, J.-Ch. 1997b, p. 19.
  106. Trümper, M. 2002.
  107. Bruneau, Ph. 1972, pp 78-79.
  108. Athenaeus, v. 197-203.
  109. Pal. Anthology, IX. 408.
  110. Pausanias, III, 23.3-5.
  111. *De bello Mith.* 28.
  112. Pausanias, VIII.33.
  113. Constantinos Sathas, *Greek Soldiers in the West*, p. 148, refers to the auctioning of prisoners on Delos in 1470.
  114. *The Antiquities of Athens*, London 1794, Vol III, ch. x.
  115. Sonnini, C.S. *Voyage en Grèce et en Turquie*, Paris 1801, vol. 2, pp. 311-313.
  116. Edition of Cavafy's complete prose in Greek, including the diary of his first trip to Greece which he wrote in English. Ed. Giorgos F. Fexis, presentation and commentary by Giorgos Papoutsakis, Athens 1963, p. 260-262.
  117. About, Edmond, *La Grèce contemporaine*, Paris 1855.
  118. Letter from V. Gyzis, son of the French consul to Mykonos, V. Gyzis (1760-1839), published in the newspaper *Avgi*, No. 3139, 27 April 1872.
  119. Kontogiannis, P.M., *The Greeks during the first Russo-Turkish war under Catherine the Great 1768-1774*, p. 245.
  120. Kousathanas, P., *Useful Dictionary of the Mykonos idiom*, University of Crete Editions, Herakleio 1996, p. 243.
  121. See Evangelidou, Tr. E., *Mykonos*, Athens 1912 and a recent reprint, p. 293, for an inscription from Delos which between 1875 and 1903 ended up in the Louvre. Also, Koumanoudis, N. Stephanos, *Hellenic Archaeology*. Keimena Printers. Athens 1984, regarding the metopes of Olympia in the same Museum.
  122. Handwritten by D. Stavropoulos, copy of a document "found in Ioannis Gryparis, in Mykonos. *Records*, Vol II no. 212 and 223"
  123. E.G. Protosaltis, *Historic documents (1967)*, no 69-72. Four documents in the General State Archives dated August-September 1829.
  124. Letter from V. Gyzis, published in the newspaper *Avgi*, No. 3139, 27 April 1872.
  125. Demosthenes Pippas, report to the Ministry with prot. no. 184/12 August 1926. Mykonos Archives.
  126. Handwritten by D. Stavropoulos, copy of a



document, as he himself notes: "owned by Ioannis Gryparis in Mykonos. Records vol. II no 231 and 242."

127. Handwritten copy by D. Stavropoulos of document written "by Ioannis Gryparis in Mykonos on the back of the 25<sup>th</sup> sheet of the same book."

128. Handwritten copy by D. Stavropoulos "from the newspaper *Athenai* no. 16 taken from the book of Ioannis Gryparis, in Mykonos. Records Vol. I no. 128."

129. Thiersch Frédéric, *De l'état actuel de la Grèce*. Leipzig 1833. Greek translation by A. Spelios, published by Tolidis Bros. Athens 1972, Vol. II, p. 86, 87 & others.

130. Handwritten copy by D. Stavropoulos on which is noted: "I copy from the document sent on 9<sup>th</sup> July 1884 from Athens by the mayor of Mykonians for the archives of the municipality in the absence of a copy (now with Ioannis Gryparis) to be followed by copious notes written by G. Gryparis himself".

131. *Megali Ell. Ency.* "Delos".

132. Kontogiannis, P.M. *The Greeks during the first Russo-Turkish war 1768-1774 under Catherine the Great*, p. 245.

133. *Bull. de l'Inst. di corrisp. arch. di Roma*, 1830, p. 9-11.

134. *BCH* 1, p. 223.

135. Museum of Delos, protocol dated 8 August 1873, see *Praktika* 1873-1874, pp. 28-29.

136. Municipality of Mykonos, Prot. No. 515/14 June 1894.

137. Telegram from the General Ephor P. Kavvadias to the Mayor and School Principal of Mykonos, No. 11239/22 July 1894.

138. Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Education, prot. no. 10269/9703/15 June 1906.

139. Reports by D. Stavropoulos to the Ministry with prot. no. 15/5 June 1906 and 18/29 June 1906.

140. General Ephorate of Antiquities and Museums, *Collection of Archaeological Laws, Athens 1892*, p. 6. The copy which is in the library of the Mykonos Museum has handwritten notes by D. Stavropoulos: Panagiotis Kavvadias, Ephor of Antiquities for the prefectures of the Cyclades and Euboea (1879 March 18), until he was appointed deputy of the Ephor General (1885 May 9), and then was promoted to General Ephor (1885 July 12). From 24/5/1910 university professor only.

141. *Kairoi*, No. 1937. Wednesday, 11 May 1894, front page.

142. *Kairoi*, No. 1672. Monday, 16 August 1893.

143. In 1914, the French School requested permission to conduct excavations "on public lands on Delos, Delphi, Thasos, Orchomenos Arcadia, Dion, Palatitsa, Pella, Edessa, Pydna, Methone and on the plains of Kailarii and Kastoria." The ministry gave permission only for the first six sites, because for the other sites, "it had already been decided by the archaeological council that they would be conducted by an ephor of antiquities" (prot. no. 6163/6743/26 March 1914, Minister I.D. Tsirimokos).

144. *Kairoi*, No. 1931. Thursday 5 May 1894, front page.

145. *Kairoi*, 14 April 1894.

146. Demosthenes Pippas. Archaeological

Curatorship of Delos, prot. no. 14/29 October 1909.

147. P. Hadjidakis, "The House of the Diadumenos", published in the newspaper *I Mykoniatiki*, Athens September 1997.

148. Report to the Ministry with protocol number 22/25 February 1914.

149. Prot. no. 37099/33730/2 December 1914, I. D. Tsirimokos.

150. Melpo Axioti, *To spiti mou* (My house) Themelis Publications, Athens 1965, p. 73.

151. P. Hadjidakis, "History of the Archaeological Museum of Mykonos", *O Mentor*, 35, October 1995, pp. 108-122.

152. Prot. no 17671/11 May 1904, Delos Archives.

153. Prot. no. 17/4 May 1904, Delos Archives.

154. *BCH* 120 (1996), p. 199-201, and 218, note 52.

155. *Kairoi*, 6 June 1894.

156. *Kairoi*, 3 February 1894.

157. Archaeological Society, prot. no. 852/166/23 July 1904.

158. Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs and State Education, prot. no. 12179/11223/21 July 1904: "The Director of the French Archaeological School in Athens in repeated letters announces that conditions on the construction of the Museum being built there are in a very abnormal state..." see also document from the Ministry to D. Stavropoulos with prot. no. 9448/8712/19 June 1908.

159. Report from Stavropoulos to the Ministry with prot. no. 52/28 July 1904 and to the Archaeological Society with prot. no 53/1 August 1904.

160. Significant information about Stavropoulos's parents and about his studies was provided to me by his grandson, Michail Stavropoulos (son of Ion) and his wife. Warmest thanks to them both.

161. *Kairoi* no 1893, Sunday, 27 March 1894, front page.

162. *Kairoi*, no. 1933, Saturday, 7 May 1894, front page.

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# DELOS

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