

CULT AND GENDER
IN THE GENELEOS GROUP FROM SAMOS

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by
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ABSTRACT

The Geneleos Group from the Heraion at Samos is a monument unparalleled in the Archaic period. The unique composition of this monument, which includes one seated, four standing, and one reclining figure on a long base, has led to disagreement concerning who these figures represent and what activity is depicted. The most frequently cited interpretation is that the Geneleos Group represents a nuclear family group taking part in a banquet; other scholars have identified this group as a generational family group, or a group of priestesses. Issues which affect the interpretation of the monument include the gender of the figures, their attributes, and identifying inscriptions. The comparanda cited by many scholars who follow the nuclear family group interpretation are narrow and limited by their preconceptions about who and what this monument represents. When a wider range of monuments are considered as comparanda for the individual figures, the postures, clothing, attributes and inscriptional information which previously had been considered indicators of a nuclear family group, actually diminish the credibility of this model and increase the plausibility of other identifications. The location of the monument is another important consideration that is not adequately addressed in the nuclear family group theory; the Geneleos Group was positioned along the Sacred Way leading to the temple, it was proximate to the altar and was in clear view of the temple of Hera. The prominent position of this monument in the sanctuary may

indicate that the figures rendered had important roles in the sanctuary as attendants to the goddess. Although little is known about the cult practices and festivals from the Samian Heraion, Pausanias discusses the Heraea at Elis, which was organized by the Sixteen Women and their assistants. Pausanias also mentions footraces and dances which were performed in honour of Hera; the activities described in his account correlate nicely with the figures in the Geneleos Group. From its pose, it is clear that the reclining figure was a highly respected individual and she may have been an administrator of the festival; the seated figure, a married woman, may have assisted the reclining figure; the figure beside the seated figure was possibly a participant in the footraces, and the three standing maidens are depicted taking part in a ritual dance. Although questions concerning this monument still remain, reexamination of the physical evidence, scholarly arguments, comparanda, context and literary evidence together suggest a new interpretation of the Geneleos Group.

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INTRODUCTION

The Greek island of Samos was the home of a prominent sanctuary devoted to the worship of the goddess Hera. In the Archaic period Samos was also the location of a very significant and highly innovative sculptural school, which produced many dedications for the Heraion. One sculptor to emerge from the Samian workshop was Geneleos, known from his signature on a monument erected on the Sacred Way leading to the temple of Hera. This monument, the Geneleos Group, is unique among extant Archaic sculpture. It consisted of six marble figures, one seated, four standing and one reclining, positioned frontally on a two-stepped, long base. Because there are no direct parallels for this monument, scholars have disagreed about who the figures represent and what their relationships to one another were.

The Geneleos Group was originally interpreted as a group of women, who were possibly a group of priestesses, but this theory was altered by later scholars, who, with a reinterpretation of the gender of the reclining figure, identified the monument as a family group. Although this has come to be the most widely accepted interpretation, it is not without its problems. The focus of this study is to reexamine the arguments and criteria used by various scholars in assigning an identification to this group, to consider a wide range of comparanda for each figure, and to place the monument in its religious context.

Chapter one will describe the monument and the individual figures and outline

some of the difficulties raised by the sometimes fragmentary preservation of the figures. The findspots of the individual figures, when known, will also be discussed.

The second chapter examines the nuclear family group theory, in which the group is believed to represent a wealthy family taking part in a banquet. This chapter focuses on the gender, attributes, and inscriptions of the individual figures, as interpreted by scholars supporting this theory. They identify the seated figure as the mother, the reclining figure as the father, the second figure as the young son and the three central standing figures as the daughters. Comparanda for the family groups will be evaluated because archaic comparanda are limited mainly to *Totenmahl* reliefs, in which a husband and wife are depicted, but offspring are not, and later Classical and Hellenistic depictions of families differ fundamentally in composition from the Geneleos Group. The comparanda used are limited by scholars' preconceptions of the gender of each figure and therefore become less relevant to the study of the Geneleos Group when other types of monuments are considered.

The third chapter deals with the difficulties of the nuclear family group theory and summarizes the arguments in support of a generational family group interpretation; in this interpretation of the group all six figures are considered female. Again, the gender, attributes, and inscriptions will be considered, but in this chapter a wider range of comparanda for the individual figures will be examined to demonstrate that the iconography used by east Greek sculptors was not as rigid as was formerly thought and that the figures, although most likely related, probably do not represent a nuclear family.

When the scope of comparison is broadened, the iconography of each figure, which in the nuclear family group theory had only been associated with their perceived family role, becomes less straightforward. The iconography of the seated figure is similar to that of the seated statues of priests and priestesses from Didyma and Miletus. Issues examined with respect to the second figure include its gender and the clothing in which children are depicted. The possibility that the reclining figure could be female is explored. The reclining figure is the most problematic figure in the group, as its gender is uncertain and how one interprets this figure has direct consequences on how the group as a whole is construed. The rotundity of the body and the appearance of breasts suggest that this figure is female, but this is disputed; the reclining pose of this figure is an important consideration, since it is a posture more commonly associated with men, but also one in which women were sometimes rendered and were known to have practised in religious contexts. Finally the interpretation of the attribute of the reclining figure and the various readings of the end of the donor's name, will be considered, as each of these can directly affect one's understanding of the gender of this figure.

The fourth and last chapter reconsiders an early suggestion that the group could represent a group of priestesses. The context of the monument as well as its prominent location within the sanctuary suggest that this monument represents a group of people with a close relationship with each other and the sanctuary. Sculptural groups of priestesses from the column drums of temples in Asia Minor provide evidence for depictions of priestess groups in sanctuaries. Other issues of concern include the

different ages of the figures, their clothing, the fact that they do not wear veils, and the lack of patronymics in their identifying labels. Pausanias' description of the Heraea organized by the Sixteen Women of Elis and their attendants will also be considered, for his portrayal of these and other women who take part in the festival corresponds with the range of figures in the Geneleos Group. The activities of the Samian figures as well as the possible roles of these figures in the sanctuary are addressed. In this interpretation, the relationships between the individual figures are not limited to familial bonds, but are expanded to include their relationship to one another in a religious context, taking part in a festival in honour of Hera. The Geneleos Group is therefore interpreted not simply as a self-aggrandizing monument of a single Samian father, as it would seem from the nuclear family group interpretation, but rather as a votive offering which evocatively commemorates a group of individuals' worship of the goddess during a festival in the Heraion.

CHAPTER ONE: DESCRIPTION OF THE MONUMENT

The Geneleos Group, dated to c. 560-550 BCE,¹ consisted of a single, two-stepped, long base with six approximately lifesize figures on top (fig. 1-2).² These figures include four centrally positioned standing figures framed by one seated and one reclining figure; this combination of figures with various poses is unmatched in the Archaic period, although in isolation the individual figures have many parallels. The monument was discovered during the German excavations in the Samian Heraion during the 1911-1912 excavation seasons (fig. 3).³ The excavation information for each of the figures will be discussed in turn with the description of each piece.

The figure seated in a throne-like chair at the left end of the base survives only partially; the head and shoulders of the figure have been lost and the back of the chair has been severely damaged (fig. 4).⁴ An inscription running vertically down the front face of

¹ Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 106. All dates are BCE unless otherwise stated.

² The overall measurements for the base are as follows: the lowest level measures 6.082 m in length, 1.928 m in depth and 0.08 m high. The second level is 6.008 m long, 1.338 m deep and 0.27 m high. (Brigitte Freyer-Schauenburg, 1974 106)

³ Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 107.

⁴ Vathy Museum Inv. 768. The measurements of this figure are as follows: preserved height 0.87 m, depth 0.085 m, breadth of the figure across the knee 0.405 m, breadth of the uppermost section 0.445 m, breadth along the bottom of the garment 0.445 m. The measurements of the plinth are: height of the right side 0.05 m, height of the left side 0.045 m, height in front c. 0.075 m. The measurements of the chair

the right arm of the chair identifies the figure as “Phileia” (fig. 5).⁵ Phileia was discovered along the Sacred Way during the 1912 excavation season, in an area to the northeast of a later church and beneath a wall of a later date.⁶ This figure is made of a white and grey striated marble; the dimensions of the bottom of the chair correspond with the square cutting at the left end of the Geneleos Base.

Phileia is seated with her feet flat in front of her on a rectangular projection which extends out beyond the front plane of the lower surface of the throne. Her hands are positioned on her legs; her left hand lies flat with her elongated fingers placed on her left knee and her right hand is clenched into a fist, resting fingers-down on her right thigh.

This figure’s clothing consists of a thick, unbelted *chiton* with a thin mantle over top (fig. 4).⁷ The vertical folds of the *chiton* extend from beneath the diagonally arranged mantle, which falls from the middle of the left leg over to the ankle of the right foot. The gathering of thin *chiton* folds lies between the lower legs and over the feet of the figure, forming a contrast between the smooth surface of the mantle and the *chiton* below. The mantle is wrapped over the left shoulder, as indicated by the overhang on the left wrist,

are: height of left side 0.565 m, height of right side 0.56 m, depth 0.537 m. The breadth of the footrest is 0.38 m in the front and 0.42 m at the back. (Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 107)

⁵ Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 108.

⁶ Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 107.

⁷ Özgen identifies the uppermost garment as a mantle. (Özgen 1982 153)

and appears to have continued below the right arm.⁸ Prominent creases in the garment elsewhere on the figure highlight Phileia's rounded anatomical form. For instance, three curving diagonal lines in the fabric around the abdomen accentuate the paunch and if better preserved would probably have done the same for the breasts. This interest in rounded forms was a hallmark of Samian workmanship and is a feature of each figure in the Geneleos Group.⁹ The hem of the mantle is of importance because it is the site of a second inscription, which is written retrograde and reads "Geneleos made us" (fig. 5).¹⁰ This inscription provides the name of the sculptor and has provided the monument with its modern name.

The second figure, located in the space to the right of Phileia, is more problematic, for at most only a few fragments, including a left foot and possibly a torso, survive. The major fragment consists of the front of the plinth and is semi-circular in the form of a half crescent; the upper part of this fragment preserves part of a left foot (fig. 6 a).¹¹ This fragment was discovered in the Heraion, but the exact findspot is unknown, since its precise location was not properly documented when the fragment was first

⁸ Özgen 1982 153.

⁹ John Boardman 1991 70.

¹⁰ The inscription reads as follows: ΗΜΑΣΕΠΙΟΙΗΣΕ||ΓΕΝΕΛΕΩΣ. (Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 108)

¹¹ Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 109. Inv.II S 9. The measurements of the entire plinth with foot fragment are as follows: breadth of complete fragment 0.20 m, depth 0.089 m. The preserved length of the foot is 0.074 m and the breadth is 0.084 m. (Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 109)

found.¹²

Five toes are rendered on one half of the top of the plinth while the remaining area is smooth, indicating that the left foot was advanced and the right foot would have been stationed in back. There does not appear to be a break on the upper surface so the right foot must have been positioned behind the left. This feature is surprising since, as we will see, the spectator's approach would have been from the east and therefore movement would be more apparent with the right leg advanced, as we see with the two extant maidens.¹³ It is important to note that not only is the figure carved out of the same grey and white marble as Phileia, but the dimensions of the outline of this fragment are compatible with those of the cutting next to her in the Geneleos base (fig. 6 b).¹⁴ This therefore suggests that the foot belongs with the other figures associated with this base.

Many scholars have interpreted this figure as a male youth.¹⁵ This seems problematic, since it is virtually impossible to determine gender from a fragment of a foot alone. Since only the toes of one foot are preserved, there is not enough of the top of the foot remaining to indicate whether drapery hung over it; assumptions about the length of garment worn by this figure have been based solely on the shape of the plinth.

Some scholars have examined what may be related fragments which comprise a

¹² Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 109.

¹³ Stewart 1990 117.

¹⁴ Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 109.

¹⁵ These scholars include Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 109; Martini 1990 64; Pedley 1993 177.

partially intact upper section of a torso; the figure wears a thin *chiton* with a diagonally draped mantle extending from the left shoulder across the chest (fig. 7).¹⁶ A cylindrical object, which has been identified by some as a flute or *aulos*, is held against the chest with the figure's left hand. The identification of this object may strengthen the notion that this figure was male, and several reconstructions of the group as a whole have rendered this figure as an *aulos*-playing male youth.¹⁷ The attribution of this torso fragment to the Geneleos base is, however, questionable, as is the gender of the torso. Both Freyer-Schauenburg and Richter pair this torso with another foot fragment and classify the figure as a female not belonging to the Geneleos Group (fig. 8).¹⁸ Indeed, the estimated size of the figure to which the torso belongs, if complete, does not seem compatible with the tinier foot fragment from the Geneleos Group.¹⁹ Although the marble type corresponds with that of the other attributed figures, the actual findspot of this fragment is uncertain and it is therefore impossible to determine whether or not this problematic fragment belongs with the Geneleos Group.

The third figure from the left is also lost, save a few small fragments of drapery

¹⁶ Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv. 1743. The height of this torso is 0.31 m from neck to waist, the breadth is 0.39 m and the depth is 0.13 m. (Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 34)

¹⁷ Andrew Stewart supported the identification as a youth playing an *aulos*. (Stewart, 1990 117) Other reconstructions do not incorporate any surviving torso fragments and depict the figure as a male with both arms held close to the sides of the body. (Martini 1990 fig.19)

¹⁸ This argument will be considered more fully in the two following chapters.

¹⁹ Richter's estimated height of the torso related figure is c. 1.55 m high and this may be too tall to correspond with the foot fragment from the Geneleos Group. (Richter 1968 47)

and part of a hand (fig. 9-12).²⁰ All of these fragments were discovered in 1960 in quadrant III 5 25 of the Heraion at Samos and are associated with this group largely because they are carved out of the same grey and white marble used for Phileia and the adjacent figure and because the drapery closely resembles the style and quality of that of the two surviving maidens in the Geneleos Group.²¹

Three of these fragments, when combined, form a right hand pulling a bunch of drapery folds over to one side (fig. 9). Four of the fingers remain intact, while the thumb has been lost due to a sharp break directly above the knuckles. The folds held in the hand are gathered, creating a striking contrast between the thin lines of the clasped folds and the thicker lines of the stretched pleats below. Another fragment survives from the bottom of the gathering of fabric pulled by the right hand (fig. 10). The garment is clearly long enough to be gathered to one side and this tugging of a portion of the garment is one which is repeated elsewhere on the monument, for two other female figures have an identical pose. Therefore, despite the poor preservation of the figure, the gender can be determined through comparisons with the other surviving female figures on the monument.

Additional fragments of drapery from the upper arms of this figure also survive (fig. 11-12). One fragment consists of a piece of drapery from just below the right

²⁰ Inv. I 220 a-b, Inv. I 221, Inv. I 222. For a complete set of measurements for these fragments see Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 110.

²¹ Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 110.

shoulder and the other remaining fragment comes from the upper left arm; each has a series of buttoned fastenings indicated at the top. Again, an interest in the stretching and compressing of drapery is evident in the gathered folds around the buttons and the expansion of the folds as they extend further from each fastening. These fragments are believed to be a part of the same figure as the previously discussed fragments of a hand with drapery because the fragments are congruent in both style and the type of marble used.²²

The fourth and fifth figures are much more fully preserved. They are both standing female figures and are almost identical in both posture and garment styles. The fourth figure stands upright with both hands held close to the sides of the body (fig. 13-14).²³ The left hand is clenched into a tight fist, while the right hand tugs the fabric of the long garment to one side. She stands with the right foot advanced and the pull of the drapery on the right side reveals the ankle beneath the garment. The right foot has been broken off, but enough of the upper portion of that foot remains to give an idea of its positioning. Only the toes of the left foot are fully preserved and visible protruding from the hem of the *chiton*. The clothing consists of a long, belted *chiton* with two *kolpoi*, or “pockets”, hanging over either side of the belt.²⁴ A vertical fold of the garment over the

²² Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 110.

²³ The figure measures 1.592 m and the height of the plinth is 0.07 m. For further measurements see Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 113.

²⁴ Özgen 1982 160 and Pedley 1993 188 identify the type of garment worn by the figure.

right knee carries an inscription, written retrograde, which identifies her as “Philippe” (fig. 15).²⁵ Philippe was discovered in two separate pieces and was later reassembled. The lower body was found on the northern edge of the Sacred Way during the 1912 excavation season and the upper body was discovered the following year under a later house near the Geneleos Base.²⁶

The movement of the fabric is highlighted in this figure, for her right arm pulls the *chiton* over to one side, both revealing the foot and producing a vertical linear pattern of more widely spaced folds of stretched fabric (fig. 13-14). These broader folds contrast with the thinner creases which are visible on the upper part of the *chiton* and on the *kolpoi*. The drapery also accentuates the curvaceousness of the body, especially the curvilinear forms of the buttocks and abdomen. There is clearly an interest in rounded forms, as the creases of drapery which would otherwise have been severe and linear are made curvilinear by the tugging of the garment to one side, and the straight line of the belt is offset by the arcuated overhang of the *kolpoi*. This interest in drapery and its relationship to the body underneath, as well as to other adjacent garments, is common in Samian and other East Greek workshops at the middle of the sixth century BCE.²⁷

Although the head of Philippe is lost, the hairstyle can still be understood by the locks

²⁵ Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 114.

²⁶ Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 113.

²⁷ Boardman 1991 70.

which survive at the back of the body (fig. 14). Philippe has a large and tactile, beaded mass of locks which hang down the back behind the shoulders, ending in a straight horizontal line slightly above the waist. The hair displays a completely schematic rendering and the pattern contrasts with the vertical folds of the *kolpoi* and *chiton* at the back of the figure.

The adjacent figure has an almost identical stance and costume and is approximately the same height (fig. 16-17).²⁸ Like her neighbour she is also identified by an inscription located on a vertical fold above the right knee labelling her as “Ornithe” (fig. 18).²⁹ The figure stands with the right foot advanced and the right arm tugging the garment and pulling it to one side. This once again reveals the feet below and creates striking contrasts among the various folds of the garment. Unfortunately Ornithe’s findspot was not recorded and is therefore unknown.³⁰ It is clear that Philippe and Ornithe both belong to the base because their plinths fit the dimensions of the cuttings on the top of the base. Furthermore, the figures are both carved from gray and white marble with the same grain found in the other figures associated with this group, and they correspond stylistically with the other surviving figures.

The head of Ornithe is unfortunately missing as well, but, as with Philippe, the

²⁸ This figure’s preserved height is 1.68 m., and the plinth is 0.07 m. For a complete listing of the measurements of this figure see Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 115.

²⁹ Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 115. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv. 1739.

³⁰ Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 115.

hairstyle is discernible. Ornithe's hair differs from Philippe's in that a set of four tresses hang down each side of Ornithe's chest, contrasting the smooth straight lines of the *chiton* with the thick, bead-shaped locks of hair (fig. 16-17). Ornithe's hair falls back behind her shoulder, forming a blunt horizontal line above the belt of the garment. The mass of locks is not as broad as Philippe's, as some of these locks rest in front of the shoulders instead.

The reclining figure situated at the far right end of the base is perhaps the most interesting and definitely the most problematic figure in the group (fig. 19).³¹ This figure was discovered within the Heraion and is made of the same marble as the other figures. The assignment of this figure to the Geneleos Group is based on the correspondence of the plinth to the cutting on the base.³² The massive figure lies on the left side, leaning back on the left elbow, which is cushioned by either a pillow or wineskin.³³ The figure wears a loose *chiton* and a mantle, which is wrapped around the back, on the right side resting on the thigh and on the left side hanging over and resting under the lower left arm.³⁴ Both knees are bent in front of the body and the legs are almost completely

³¹ Vathy Museum Inv. 768. The measurements of this figure are as follows: entire piece: 1.58 m long, 0.70 m high, figure alone: 0.54 m high, with plinth: 0.58 m deep along the upper body, 0.54 m deep over the knees, 0.145 m high to the knee, 0.165 m high in front of the cushion. (Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 116)

³² Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 124.

³³ The left hand holds an object that will be discussed in chapter three since the identification of this object is directly tied to gender of this figure and its role within the group.

³⁴ Özgen 1982 210.

covered by the mantle. Unfortunately the feet have been broken off.

The fabric, as with that of the other figures, has been articulated to emphasize the roundness of the shape of the body. The excess fabric resting on the cushion below the stomach creates an overall arch and, with the curvature of the smaller creases, emphasizes the fleshiness of the abdomen and echoes the curve of the hips. The swelling of the breasts is highlighted by the drapery folds which stretch slightly to allow for the mass of these features (fig. 20-21). The pleats on the mantle are arranged in a circular manner over the thighs, which complements and parallels the rounded shape of the torso.

The head of the reclining figure is not preserved, so, as with that of Philippe, the hair of the reclining figure survives only at the back of the body (fig. 22). The locks are similar in shape to those of the *korai*, but here they fall to a point just below the shoulder and the ends of the hair flare out slightly. The hair once again provides diversity in texture, for on this figure the locks fall atop both the thinner, vertical folds of the *chiton* and the thicker, horizontal creases of the mantle. Furthermore, the blunt edge of the hair echoes the hard line created by the cushion, providing a horizontal framework within which the curvilinear pleats of the garments dominate.

Unlike the other surviving figures, which have inscriptions located on their garments, the recumbent figure has an inscription situated on the mattress below (fig. 23 a, b). Today, due to severe damage, the inscription is almost completely illegible. The various interpretations of this inscription have been hotly debated by scholars, who argue over the surviving letters of the name of the donor of this monument, who may or may

not be the same as the reclining figure.³⁵ This is an important issue that will be addressed in subsequent chapters; it is significant because how one interprets the gender of the figure is sometimes directly related to the interpretation of the inscription. Other clues to this figure's identity, such as the object held in the left hand, will be addressed as well, for the identification of this object can also be used to support assertions about gender.

³⁵ Most scholars accept that the name of the donor on the inscription is the identifying inscription for the reclining figure. This issue will be more fully addressed in the coming chapters.

CHAPTER TWO: FAMILY GROUP INTERPRETATION

Study of the Geneleos Group has been undertaken by numerous scholars since the initial discovery of the monument. Over the past seventy years several quite distinct interpretations of the group have been proposed; the identity of the group as a whole, and the identity and function of the individual figures depicted in this monument have been particular points of consideration. The theory which is most widely accepted today is that which identifies the group of figures as a nuclear family with a seated mother at the left end of the base, a young son to the right of her, three standing daughters in the middle, and a reclining father as the right-most figure.

When the Geneleos Group was first discovered scholars had a very different understanding of this monument, for the original excavators, including Martin Schede and Ernst Buschor, who in 1921 was one of the first scholars to publish this monument, considered all six figures to be female. Schede suggested that each figure represented a member of a family and that this family group consisted of three generations of family members.¹

Ernst Buschor, in both his early excavation reports and later discussions of the

¹ Schede 1929 23.

Geneleos Group, described the monument as depicting a family group of a different kind.² Buschor, like Schede, believed that the extant figures were all female, though in an early site report he failed to address and offer a restoration of the missing figure to the right of Phileia.³ In a later publication, however, he assumed that this lost figure was male. He interpreted the reclining figure as a matriarch, the seated Phileia as the married daughter, the standing male figure as Phileia's husband, and the three standing maidens as unwed daughters (fig. 24).⁴ He later modified his argument to include a foot fragment which fit the cutting on the base and with this fragment he identified the figure as a young boy.⁵ In addition to the possibility that this group represented a family group Buschor also entertained the possibility that the figures were not simply a wealthy family dedicating an elaborate monument to commemorate themselves, but were in fact priestesses of the cult of Hera and had dedicated the monument to commemorate their religious role in the sanctuary.⁶

Nikolaus Himmelmann-Wildschütz was the first scholar to reexamine the monument and arrive at strikingly different conclusions, especially with regard to the recumbent donor. Himmelmann-Wildschütz did not consider the rounded form of the

² Buschor 1934 27.

³ Buschor 1926 122.

⁴ Buschor 1934 26-28.

⁵ Buschor 1961 85.

⁶ Buschor 1934 28.

reclining figure feminine, but rather the body of a wealthy, extravagant and thus overweight man.⁷ He based his interpretation on the abundance of male reclining figures on reliefs depicting *Totenmähler* and on the similar shape of bronze figures, which are held to be male. Himmelmann-Wildschütz also reconsidered the foot fragment whose shape corresponded exactly with the cutting in the base, and identified the missing figure as a little boy. He concluded that the Geneleos Group represents a family, consisting of a reclining father, a seated mother, a young son to her right and three standing, unwed daughters in the middle.⁸

Since Himmelmann-Wildschütz's publication most scholars have followed his interpretation of the Geneleos Group, although some, including John Griffiths Pedley, were not persuaded until Brigitte Freyer-Schauenburg's detailed study of the archaic sculpture from Samos was published as *Samos XI* in 1974. Pedley initially followed Buschor in his identification, for he viewed the surviving figures as female and the missing figure from the space beside Phileia as male, referring to him as a father or brother.⁹ He later changed his mind and has since published the group as a nuclear family group with a seated mother, a reclining father, a young son and three standing daughters.¹⁰

⁷ Himmelmann-Wildschütz 1963 13-17 (n.v.).

⁸ Himmelmann-Wildschütz 1963 13-17.(n.v.)

⁹ Pedley 1976 54. In this publication he does not explicitly state whether or not he believes the monument represents a family group.

¹⁰ Pedley 1993 177.

Brigitte Freyer-Schauenburg's in-depth analysis of the archaic sculpture from the sanctuary of Hera on Samos surveys and analyses the arguments and conclusions of earlier scholars who had excavated and studied the Geneleos Group. Freyer-Schauenburg's own conclusions regarding the identification of this group closely correspond to those of Himmelmann-Wildschütz, as she agrees that the reclining figure is male, the foot fragment belonged to a young boy and the remaining seated and standing figures are female (fig. 25).¹¹ She discounts Buschor's theory that the group represents a group or family of priestesses since the figures lack attributes which would clearly indicate that they were taking part in ritual activity; she instead favours Himmelmann-Wildschütz's theory that the monument represents a nuclear family group.¹²

More recently Elena Walter-Karydi has re-examined the Geneleos Group. She agrees that the group represents a nuclear family and identifies the recumbent figure as the father, the seated figure as the mother, the three standing maidens as the daughters and the remaining figure as the young son (fig. 26).¹³ Walter-Karydi reconsidered a damaged torso (fig. 7), which had formerly not been associated with the Geneleos Group, but which she believed to belong with the foot fragment (fig. 6) assigned by

¹¹ Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 125.

¹² Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 125.

¹³ Elena Walter-Karydi 1985 98.

Himmelman-Wildschütz to the lost standing figure located next to the seated Phileia.¹⁴

The foot fragment, which fit into the cutting on the base, and a fragment of a torso with a hand in front of the breast holding what possibly appears to be a horn or *aulos* were regarded by Walter-Karydi as several pieces of that missing figure, a little boy.¹⁵ Walter-Karydi associated the torso fragment with the foot fragment from the Geneleos base and she interpreted the flute as an attribute identifying the boy as a flute player. Taking into account the posture of the father, she concluded that the setting for this family representation was a banquet.¹⁶

Scholarly views of the Geneleos Group as a whole and of its constituent parts have been modified over time, although most modern scholars have adopted and accepted the identification first put forth by Himmelman-Wildschütz and followed by Freyer-Schauenburg. It should be noted, however, that few, if any, of these changes are based upon reliable new information; rather, they represent a shifting consensus in the interpretation of ambiguous evidence. The details of this evidence are now seldom called into question because the overall interpretation seems plausible and natural, but in fact close comparanda for family groups of this nature are virtually nonexistent.

¹⁴ Walter-Karydi 1985 92. Freyer-Schauenburg catalogued these fragments in *Samos XI*, but considered them to belong to a female figure independent of the Geneleos Group, 1974 34-36.

¹⁵ Walter-Karydi 1985 92. A more detailed discussion of the fragments attributed to this figure appears later in this chapter.

¹⁶ Walter-Karydi 1985 98.

Comparanda for Family Groups

It must be admitted that regardless of which interpretation is accepted, the Geneleos Group is unique among extant Archaic sculpture. Parallels can be cited only indirectly and one must rely heavily on other media. Nuclear family groups from the Archaic period are, however, very difficult to find even in other media; for this reason it is necessary to also examine and consider later family groups, dated to the 5th and 4th centuries BCE, from Greece and Asia Minor. The discussion of Archaic family groups will be restricted mainly to depictions of reclining males combined with seated females, for there were seemingly few, if any, examples of fathers, mothers and children taking part in banqueting festivities together as a family unit in the Archaic period.¹⁷

The combination of a seated woman and a reclining man was a common motif in Archaic relief sculpture from the cities of Greece and Asia Minor and it is a motif that may have developed from eastern prototypes. Reclining males were depicted reclining on Assyrian sculptural reliefs. However, women were rarely depicted and the scenes were largely male dominated. One exceptional relief, in which a seated woman and her reclining husband are depicted comes from Nineveh and the figures have been identified as the Assyrian King Ashurbanipal and his wife (fig. 27).¹⁸ The scene depicts a feast or banquet scene, as is indicated by the continuous row of vine leaves in the uppermost

¹⁷ When a banqueting couple is depicted in conjunction with other people the other figures are usually not their children, but servants who are waiting on the couple or standing behind an altar preparing a sacrifice.

¹⁸ Georges Perrot and Charles Chipiez 1884 241. This relief is dated to the reign of Ashurbanipal, 668-626.

portion of the relief above the heads of the figures as well as the number of servants standing on either side of the couple.¹⁹

The motif seen in the Nineveh relief, although uncommon in Assyria, has been found in a number of individual reliefs from various sites in Greece, Cyprus and Asia Minor, as well as the pedimental sculpture of Lycian tombs, which depict banqueting scenes. One of the best preserved examples is a relief from the island of Paros, which depicts a man reclining on an elaborate *kline* flanked by a seated female in profile on the left and a dog and a naked youth standing on the right, facing the woman (fig. 28).²⁰ This relief is dated between 520 and 500 BCE.²¹ In this relief the female appears to be grasping her garment in her left hand, the reclining male holds a *phiale* and the youth's preserved hand, the right, extends towards the dog. The youth is clearly a servant who approaches the recumbent figure, perhaps awaiting an order to retrieve wine from the large *dinos* on the far right of the scene. A number of other objects are displayed in the background of the relief including several pieces of armour.²² The presence of these attributes, although they are displayed independently of the figures, clearly places these

¹⁹ These figures include musicians and servants holding fly-swatters. (Dentzer 1982 62)

²⁰ Dentzer 1982 fig. 536 - R 286.

²¹ Dentzer gives a date of c.520 BCE while Boardman 1991 fig. 255, and Thönges-Stringaris date the relief to c.500 BCE. (Thönges-Stringaris 1965 3) This is the earliest complete Greek example of a *Totenmahl* according to Thönges-Stringaris 1965 3.

²² For a discussion of the objects on the back wall consult Dentzer 1982 256-261. A relief from the island of Thasos (R 316) has a similar composition; the relief consists of a seated female, a reclining male, a naked youth and a dog. This relief also has a similar display of armour on the back wall, behind the reclining figure. (Dentzer 1982 fig. 565)

figures in the context of a symposium, and the conspicuous display of armour may suggest that this scene depicts a *Totenmahl*, or heroic funerary banquet, in which the armour and servant are meant to allude to the high status of the individual who is being commemorated. The relief may, however, have been votive rather than funerary in nature.²³

A fragment of a similar relief from Tegea dated to the third quarter of the 6th century BCE depicts a woman seated in profile on the left side with a naked youth standing to the right of her and the foot of a *kline* visible at the far right, where the relief has been broken (fig. 29).²⁴ It can be assumed from the appearance of a cushion and feet that the scene contained another figure lying atop the couch. Although the surface of this fragment is very poorly preserved certain details are nevertheless still visible. For instance, it is clear that the woman is wearing both a *chiton* and a *himation*, and holds what may be a pomegranate blossom in her right hand and her mantle with her left.²⁵ The naked male youth stands to the right of her; he stands facing the *kline* with his left foot

²³ Boardman, 1991:166; he also says that this relief may have come from a heroon. Dentzer mentions a few possibilities including a heroon, a small temple, or a monumental tomb, but stresses that the relief is without an archaeological context and although the relief was in some way architectural the type of building it adorned and thus its function is uncertain. (Dentzer 1982 260).

²⁴ Dentzer 1982 fig. 512 - R 260. The date of this fragment has been disputed by several scholars and it has generally been assigned a date anywhere between 570 and 520 BCE, but Dentzer dates it to 520, as does Thönges-Stringaris 1965 3. For a more detailed discussion of the date of this relief consult Dentzer 1982 252-3 and 258. It should be noted that although in both the relief from Paros and the Tegean relief the seated female is positioned to the left of the reclining figure, the position of the seated female is flexible and this figure does appear to the right of the *kline* on several other reliefs.

²⁵ Thönges-Stringaris 1965 10.

advanced and his right arm raised, holding a wreath for the reclining figure who would have occupied the couch.²⁶ The nude male figure is clearly a servant of the same type as the one on the Parian relief, but the crown held in this youth's left hand heightens the heroic nature of the relief, as the servant would have crowned the reclining individual at some point during the banquet.

Several reliefs survive from the façades of tombs in the Anatolian province of Lycia, which depict males reclining upon a couch accompanied by a seated female and a number of attendants.²⁷ Although these reliefs mainly date to the Classical period, they contain the same basic components as those displayed on the reliefs from Paros and Tegea, for the reclining figure is usually positioned towards the centre, while the seated female, who is sometimes frontally rendered in these reliefs, is placed off to the side and the attendants stand in the remaining space.²⁸ One relief which continues this tradition comes from a mid-fourth century tomb at Myra, which was ornamented with a number of reliefs on both the exterior and interior of the building; three individual reliefs from the interior of the building are of interest, as the first depicts a reclining male, the second a standing, nude servant boy and the third represents a seated female flanked by two

²⁶ Dentzer 1982 258.

²⁷ For examples see Dentzer 1982 fig. 232 (R 38), fig. 245 (R 41), fig. 298 (R 51) and fig. 302 (R 51b).

²⁸ Dentzer places these reliefs anywhere between 420 and 300 BCE.

servants (fig. 30).²⁹ Although these panels were separately displayed, the same basic motif of reclining male, seated female and servants is repeated.

In his discussion Dentzer refers to the abstract nature of *Totemähler*. According to Dentzer, in each of these reliefs the artist has composed a scene in which two separate activities are combined. For instance, the reliefs depict banquet scenes in which a wife is depicted accompanying her husband, when in reality wives did not usually take part in their husbands' banquets.³⁰ He therefore suggests that these scenes combine activities that would not have taken place at the same time, but depicting them together establishes a relationship between these figures. This may also be true of the figures in the Geneleos Group, who seem to be participating in different activities which may not have been taking place at the same time.

Despite the possibility of a flexible combination of occasion and participant, offspring seem to be excluded from the Greek *Totenmahl*; without the inclusion of children in these scenes none of these examples provide a precise parallel for the Geneleos Group. This is an important point, since in Himmelmann-Wildschütz's interpretation the Geneleos Group contains four children, but the children depicted in the aforementioned reliefs seem to be servants rather than the offspring of the key figures. Although there are no parallels from Greece, a few reliefs from Cyprus, dated between 530 and 430, display a

²⁹ Dentzer 1982 404. For illustrations see Dentzer 1982 fig. 237-240 (R 40).

³⁰ Dentzer 1982 261.

clearer representation of a family group with a mother, father and child.³¹ On one such relief, from Golgoi, a man reclines on the right side of the relief (fig. 31).³² The seated female, who is rendered on a slightly smaller scale, is seated in profile on the left side and faces her husband. The woman holds a small child, who is wrapped in swaddling clothes, and she holds the child in such a manner that the face is frontally rendered.

Another fragment of a relief, also from Golgoi, is exceptional as it depicts a male and female reclining together on a couch (fig. 32).³³ A small child stands in front of the reclining female and rests the right elbow on the *kline* as the female figure places a protective hand over the child's left shoulder. A fourth figure, a female, sits on the couch facing the couple and small child. The position of the woman's hand on the small child is a clear indicator of the familial relationship between those depicted and the proximity of the other figure who sits on the couch also suggests a familial bond.³⁴ Both of these reliefs are interesting because although depictions of parents accompanied by their children were seemingly rare at Greek and Anatolian centres, they were not uncommon on

³¹ Dentzer 1982 fig. 201 (R 20), 202 (R 21), 196 (R 14).

³² Dentzer 1982 fig. 201 (R 20).

³³ Dentzer 1982 fig. 196 (R 14).

³⁴ The same argument could possibly be made for the Geneleos Group, for if the figures were related there would possibly be some kind of physical contact between the figures; but, instead, although the figures are stationed side by side, they are self-contained units. There are not, however, enough definitive examples of family groups like this to determine whether this would have been the preferred mode of representation; one could consider Attic grave stele of the 5th and 4th centuries, but they do not consistently use physical contact to illustrate familial bonds. Furthermore, the difference in medium between these reliefs and the Geneleos Group may have limited the artists' ability to visually define the figures' relationship in the same manner.

Cyprus. It is still important to note that these depictions of family groups were very rare and overall seem to post-date the Geneleos Group by a few decades at least.

For depictions of family groups in the round dedicated in Greek sanctuaries one must look to the art of the fourth century BCE. The large scale sculptural family groups from this period are, however, of a completely different type than the Geneleos Group. These sculptural groups do not depict the nuclear family, but are instead generational.

The Philippeion at Olympia, a rotunda constructed by Philip II of Macedonia between 338 and 336 to commemorate his victory in the Battle at Chaeroneia, contained chryselephantine statuary depicting Philip and his family.³⁵ The sculptural representations included Philip, his father Amyntas, his wife Olympias, his mother Eurydice and his son Alexander, clearly making this a multi-generational family group.³⁶ These figures were not displayed in a manner comparable to that of the Geneleos Group, for they were contained and displayed within the structure. The composition of the figures both individually and as a group is not discussed by Pausanias and the base is not well enough preserved to indicate the original size or exact positions of the figures. Since the statues themselves have not survived it is difficult to speculate about the appearance of this group, but one can consider another contemporary family group which has survived.

A second monument dating to roughly the same period as the Philippeion is the

³⁵ Pausanias, 5. 20. 10.

³⁶ Pausanias, 5. 20. 9.

Daochos Monument from Delphi (fig. 33).³⁷ This monument was located to the north-east of the temple and consists of nine male figures made of Parian marble situated atop a long, limestone base. The monument, a copy of a bronze group made by Lysippos, was dedicated by Daochos of Pharsalos, a ruler of Thessaly, to commemorate the dedicator and his ancestors, as the sculptural figures represent six generations and almost two centuries of Daochos' family.³⁸ The figures depicted on this monument were those males who had brought honour to the family of Daochos either through politics, athletics or military service; these were Daochos I, Agelaos, Agias, Aknonios, Sisyphos II, Daochos II, Sisyphos I, Daochos I, Telemachos.³⁹ Despite the fact that this monument represents individuals with familial relations, the Daochos monument is quite unlike the Geneleos Group. Although on each monument the figures are positioned atop a long base, they differ considerably in terms of both composition and subject matter. While the Samian figures adopt a variety of poses including seated, standing and reclining, the Delphic figures are all standing.⁴⁰ As mentioned, the Daochos Monument was clearly meant to represent the noble lineage of the dedicator and is therefore an all male generational family group in which the figures are connected by both their familial bond and the honour they have each brought to the family.

³⁷ The monument was erected between 338 and 336 BCE. (Picard, 1991: 91)

³⁸ Picard 1991: 91.

³⁹ Picard 1991: 91.

⁴⁰ For illustrations see Picard 1991: fig. 49-52.

Through the examination of a number of monuments and reliefs which depict family groups, it has become clear that the Geneleos Group is anomalous and cannot be fully explained by compositional comparison to these monuments. It is necessary to reexamine the Geneleos Group as a whole and particularly the pose, attributes and associated inscriptions of the individual figures, as these have all affected scholarly interpretations of the group as a whole.

Geneleos Group: Individual figures and their gender related attributes

When the Geneleos Group is considered as a whole, each of the figures seems to assume and reinforce a set of gender identifications, but when the figures are considered on an individual basis, along with their attributes, the gender of each is no longer as straightforward. Earlier scholars' interpretations differ from the nuclear family model in the overall understanding of the group as well as in the interpretation of the gender and attributes of individual figures. It is necessary to summarize briefly the attributes and gender of the individual figures, as concluded by more recent scholars, to better understand how they came to accept the nuclear family group interpretation and to see more clearly the flaws in these interpretations.

Phileia

The seated figure on the left end of the base with the inscribed name Phileía is, in the family group interpretation, identified as the mother (fig. 4). The fact that the upper

body is missing eliminates the ability to assess the gender on the basis of such features as hairstyle, headdress, and distinctly female physical features such as breasts. But, as demonstrated above, the rendering of the seated wife accompanying her husband was a favoured motif of the Archaic and Classical periods and examples of this survive in abundance from numerous sites and contexts. Unlike many seated female figures rendered on reliefs, Phileia lacks any attributes. Her left hand lays outstretched on her left knee and her right hand is fisted, resting on her right thigh. Therefore, the position of the hands leaves no room for attributes which would clearly identify this figure as female, let alone as a wife and mother.⁴¹ It is only because of the inscription on this figure, which provides the figure with a female name, that the gender of this figure can be determined.⁴²

Second Figure

The figure from the cutting to the right of Phileia does not survive intact, but a small fragment of an advanced left foot fits perfectly with the front of the cutting made in the base's second position from the left (fig. 6).⁴³ Assignment of this fragment to the

⁴¹ This position of the hands is similar to that of the roughly contemporary seated priests from the Sacred Way between Didyma and Miletus.

⁴² This identification has persisted despite clear iconographic incongruities with other decidedly females seated figures and early scholarly identifications of this figure as male. Iconographic studies of seated figures from Samos and Ionia have addressed such issues as how both costuming and hand positioning were iconographic tools used to indicate gender. This will be addressed more fully in the following chapter.

⁴³ Walter-Karydi 1985 92.

Geneleos Group has never been disputed, and it was with the association of this fragment with the base that Buschor altered his restoration of this figure from a grown man to a young boy.⁴⁴

Most scholars have accepted the idea that the elliptical cutting left on the base is indicative of a missing male figure, for when compared to the larger and more rounded cuttings associated with the three standing maidens it is clear that the figure was meant to be somehow distinguished from the rest (fig. 34).⁴⁵ Furthermore, the foot fragment linked by Himmelmann-Wildschütz to the Geneleos Group reveals that the left foot was in front of the right, which is another distinguishing feature, since the maidens each had their right foot advanced.⁴⁶ Freyer-Schauenburg explains the difference in the shape of the cutting in terms of the garments worn by males and females; she claims that the cuttings into which the maidens were placed needed to be larger to account for the long *chiton* which reached the ground.⁴⁷ According to this theory the smaller cutting indicates that a different type of garment was worn by that figure and it is suggested that the missing figure was male,

⁴⁴ Buschor 1961 85.

⁴⁵ See Walter-Karydi 1985 fig. 1. Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 109 states that there are not extant examples of thin, elliptical cuttings affiliated with a female statue; she does not, however, take into consideration the paucity of surviving examples of plinths, for to be able to securely attribute one cutting shape to one gender she would presumably need a larger number of statues with bases, or at least justify the statement with fuller references.

⁴⁶ According to Stewart the maidens had their right foot forward because the approach of the spectator would have been from the east and the advancement of the far foot would imply a sense of movement, ushering the spectator toward the temple. (Stewart 1990 117)

⁴⁷ Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 109.

since comparanda for young males, including the flute player from Samos, provide evidence for slightly shorter garments.⁴⁸

The identification of the second figure as a flute player has a rather complicated history and scholars have disputed whether the aforementioned damaged torso belongs with the foot fragment. Carl Blümel connected this formerly unpublished fragment of a damaged torso with a separate fragment containing the feet and dress hem of a *kore* (fig. 8).⁴⁹ When Gerhard Schmidt reexamined the piece he suggested that this torso was not female and was therefore not a part of a *kore*, but was instead male and belonged with the foot fragment which corresponded to the cutting in the Geneleos base.⁵⁰ This torso, according to Walter-Karydi, is stylistically congruent with that of Geneleos' other figures and she therefore proposes that this was a part of the Geneleos Group.⁵¹ The figure holds a cylindrical object in front of the chest, the clothing consists of two garments, a *chiton* with a diagonal mantle falling from the left shoulder (fig. 7).⁵² The undeniable breasts on this torso are problematic, as "budding breasts" are most commonly associated with *korai*. The appearance of rounded breasts on this figure is simply discounted by Walter-Karydi,

⁴⁸ Similar female figures, wearing short *chitones* will be considered in the following chapter.

⁴⁹ See Walter-Karydi 1985 92.

⁵⁰ See Walter-Karydi 1985 92.

⁵¹ How active Geneleos was in the production of sculpture on Samos is unknown, but it seems logical that the Geneleos Group would not have been his only project.

⁵² Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 fig. 13.

who states that they are similar to those of the robust, reclining male figure.⁵³ She completely disregards an obvious indicator of gender, and her reconstruction of the group, which is based on Buschor and Freyer-Schauenburg's drawings, but incorporates the torso, has not replaced the traditional interpretation in modern publications of the Geneleos Group.

Standing Maidens

The three standing maidens have both arms hanging at their sides, but their right hand grasps a gathering of cloth, pulling the *chiton* to the side and revealing the advanced right foot (fig. 9-18). These figures, which are identified as the daughters, all wear the same garment, a *chiton*, and do not hold any attributes in their hands. Buschor originally identified them as the unwed sisters of the seated, and thus married, Phileia, but since Himmelmann-Wildschütz's reexamination of the group they are interpreted as the only daughters.⁵⁴

The lack of attributes or offerings distinguishes these figures from the plethora of extant *korai* from both Samos and Attica. Hares, birds, or fruit were often held before the breast on these *korai*, but it is not until the last quarter of the 6th century that *korai* outside

⁵³ This statement is problematic, as the gender of the recumbent figure is uncertain and Walter-Karydi fails to take into account the proportional sizes of the figures; one would not expect budding breasts on a slender pre-pubescent boy. This problem will be more fully addressed in the following chapter.

⁵⁴ Buschor 1934 34. After Himmelmann-Wildschütz, Freyer-Schauenburg identified these figures as the daughters as well. (Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 125)

of Samos and Ionia adopt the pulled *chiton* motif.⁵⁵ Because the presence or lack of attributes is inconsistent amongst surviving *korai* and the function of many of these figures and who they represent is not always documented, it is difficult to assess whether the lack of attributes indicates that these figures were depicted in a domestic role.

Although the height of the most fragmentary *kore* cannot be determined, the preserved heights of the two surviving maidens have been recorded. The height of Philippe, the central maiden, is 1.592 m, while Ornithe, the rightmost *kore* measures 1.68.⁵⁶ This slight difference in the size of these figures may have been meant to differentiate age amongst the similarly clad maidens. They all have similar budding breasts which indicate their youthfulness, and place them in their early teenage years.⁵⁷ They were also distinguished by their hairstyles, as is evident from Philippe's remaining mass of hair hanging down her back and Ornithe's hair which hangs both behind and in front of her shoulders.

⁵⁵ For some examples of *korai* with these attributes see Boardman 1991 fig. 89 (Berlin 1791), 97 (Samos I. 217), 99 (Akr. 677), 109 (Akr. 593), 110 (Akr. 269 + Lyons). For other figures which pull the garment to one side see Boardman 1991 fig. 136 (Akr. 602), 141 (Akr. 681), 152 (Akr. 673), and 153 (Akr. 670).

⁵⁶ This is the height to the shoulders. (Freyer-Schauenburg, 1974 113 and 115)

⁵⁷ Sourvinou-Inwood 1988 25 identifies "budding breasts" as indicators of a specific period of adolescence, menarche, and she discusses the ages at which girls would have changed from children to adolescents to marriageable aged women.

Reclining Figure

The reclining figure is the pivotal and most problematic figure in the group (fig. 19-23). In addition to the ambiguous form of the body, the attribute held in the left hand and the severely damaged inscription contribute to the uncertainties surrounding the gender of this figure; these have directly affected scholarly conclusions about the group as a whole.

The robust and rounded form of the reclining figure has been the source of disagreement, for a bodily shape which at first sight seems female has been deemed male by many modern scholars. Himmelmann-Wildschütz was the first to identify the recumbent figure as a male, rejecting Buschor's previously proposed identification and thus reinterpreting the identity of the entire group.⁵⁸ He did this after carefully examining other reclining figures from a variety of media and based his conclusions on similarities in body form, posture, clothing, and hairstyle as well as his reading of the partial name on the fragmentary dedicatory inscription on the cushion. The appearance of breasts was what led Buschor to state with assurance that this figure was undoubtedly female.⁵⁹ After Himmelmann-Wildschütz's reexamination of the Geneleos Group many scholars favoured his interpretation; Freyer-Schauenburg opposes the interpretation of fleshiness in the chest area as female breasts and states that such swelling was commonly found on male statues

⁵⁸ Himmelmann-Wildschütz 1963 13-17. (n.v.)

⁵⁹ Buschor 1934 28.

from Samos and Ionian centres.⁶⁰ She also draws attention to the shape of both Philippe and Ornithe's breasts and argues that there is a striking contrast between the smaller and more definitely pointed breasts of the maidens and the rounder and heavier swelling found on the chest of the reclining figure.⁶¹ Freyer-Schauenburg therefore suggests that this variation in breast size and shape was an artistic device used to distinguish gender, assuming that the rotundity of the reclining figure's breasts were typical for depictions of wealthy dedicators.

The recumbent figure's clothing has been another point of issue among scholars, as the figure wears a long, unbelted *chiton* and a mantle; this is different from all of the extant figures from this monument. The fact that the *chiton* is worn loosely without a belt has been viewed as significant to some scholars, for according to Freyer-Schauenburg the garment was, without exception, worn this way only by men.⁶² She also compares the fabric folds of this figure's *chiton* to those on Philippe and Ornithe's garments. She claims that the vertical pleats which appear on either side of the reclining figure's neck, flowing down and curving at the stomach are less delicate than those on Philippe and Ornithe's *chitones* and she asserts that the difference in delineation was intentional and was meant to further indicate that the gender of the reclining figure was different from the

⁶⁰ Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 117. Nevertheless, the roundness of the breasts of this reclining figure far surpasses that of any of the figures she cites.

⁶¹ Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 118.

⁶² Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 117.

maidens.⁶³

The hairstyle of this figure was also addressed by Freyer-Schauenburg, again using Philippe and Ornithe as comparanda. The hair of the *korai* is a long and a beaded mass, representing curls, and hangs straight down the back, extending to the belt which binds the *chiton*. The hair of the reclining figure is much shorter and fans out onto the back, ending bluntly just below the shoulders. This variation in hair length is, according to Freyer-Schauenburg, significant and reflective of gender distinction; again it is assumed that the length of one's hair directly corresponds to a given gender and the short hair of the reclining figure would suggest that the figure is male.⁶⁴

The fact that the figure is reclining signalled to Himmelmann-Wildschütz that Buschor's identification of this figure as female might be incorrect.⁶⁵ He attempted to place this reclining figure in the context of other reclining figures known largely from minor arts, but also from sculpture. Both Freyer-Schauenburg and Dentzer closely follow his interpretation and draw attention to the numerous examples of figures with comparable postures on vases, in terracotta and in bronze in which recumbent figures recline on one elbow with the knees bent in front and the free arm resting on the outer

⁶³ Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 117. She compares the garment and pleats only to maidens and therefore ignores the presumed age of the reclining figure altogether.

⁶⁴ Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 118. She does not, however, provide comparanda to support her theory and disregards the possibility that some other gender specific attributes associated with the top of the hair may have been lost with the heads of the figures.

⁶⁵ Other scholars have since adopted this interpretation including Boardman, Pedley, Martini, Richter, Ridgway, Walter-Karydi.

thigh.⁶⁶ In opposition to Buschor's interpretation of this figure's gender, Freyer-Schauenburg discusses the most commonly represented reclining females, *hetairai*. Courtesans were often depicted on late 6th century vases, on which scenes of banquets were rendered, but beyond that women were rarely depicted in a reclining pose.⁶⁷ Freyer-Schauenburg then concludes that both comparanda and a virtual lack of depictions of females reclining in Greek art confirms the masculinity of this reclining figure from the Geneleos Group.⁶⁸

The attribute held by the figure's left hand is even more problematic to scholars, as the object has been completely broken off; this is an important consideration since certain attributes are more likely to be associated with a specific gender (fig. 35). Buschor, Himmelmann-Wildschütz and Freyer-Schauenburg identified the damaged remains of the object as a bird, as the outline of the remaining form delineates the shape of a bird's head.⁶⁹ The object has also been interpreted as a drinking cup or vessel or a musical instrument.⁷⁰ Other scholars have understood the shape as that of a drinking horn, an object held by reclining figures in other media. Walter-Karydi acknowledges the

⁶⁶ Dentzer 1982 161, Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 119. The gender of several of these figures is ambiguous and is therefore assumed by scholars based on the pose.

⁶⁷ Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 n. 58 provides a list of depictions of *hetairai*. She does not, however, draw the reader's attention to the fact that *hetairai* were usually depicted either fully nude or bare breasted, which contrasts with the fully draped figure from the Geneleos Group.

⁶⁸ Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 125.

⁶⁹ Buschor 1934 28, Himmelmann-Wildschütz 1963 13-17 (n.v.), Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 118-119.

⁷⁰ See Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 119.

interpretations of other scholars, but favours the drinking horn as the object held by the reclining figure. She selects this as the attribute both because it is the one most likely to be associated with a male and also because it corresponds with her impression of the context in which these figures are depicted: a banquet.⁷¹

The final consideration is the associated inscription, which is written on the front face of the cushion atop which the figure lies. This inscription is seemingly only one line long and it only partially survives; the end of the donor's name as well as Hera's are discernible, although the rest is very damaged. One interpretation is as follows: [...]ναρχη ημεας ανεθηκε τη Ηρηι, or "[...]narche dedicated us to Hera."⁷² The name of the dedicator, which is taken as the name of the reclining figure, has been variously interpreted due to the poor preservation and thus illegibility of the script. Buschor and Dentzer read the name as [...]οχη, a female name, Walter-Karydi identified the name as [...] -λάρχης, Jeffrey understood the name as [...]ναρχη and Freyer-Schauenburg, Ridgway and Pedley read the name as [...] -αρχης, a masculine name.⁷³ Freyer-Schauenburg summarizes scholarly interpretations and accounts for her own; for example the O read by Buschor is seen as a P by Freyer-Schauenburg, as she says that traces of a

⁷¹ Walter-Karydi 1985 94-5.

⁷² This is Jeffrey's interpretation of the inscription. (Jeffrey 1990 329 n.3) Buschor read the inscription as [...]οχη ειμι [: η] κ' ανεθηκε τη Ηρηι. (Buschor 1934 28)

⁷³ Buschor 1934 28, Dentzer 1982 161, Walter-Karydi 1985 92, Jeffrey 1990 329, Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 122-24, Ridgway 1977 131, Pedley 1993 177. Pedley 1976 54 originally followed Buschor, but later changed his mind along with his interpretation of the group as a whole.

vertical line preceded Buschor's O.⁷⁴ She also claims that Buschor's understanding of the third letter, an H, is incorrect and that the name definitely end in a Σ and could therefore not be [...]οχη.⁷⁵ The inscription associated with the reclining figure is very problematic due to its fragmentary condition and arguments both for and against a masculine ending to the donors name seem futile.

The Geneleos Group has been identified as a nuclear family group because of the clear divisions of age and pose amongst the six figures. The composition of the group as a whole and the examination of the individual figures and their attributes have confirmed this identification for some scholars, although, as we have seen, precise parallels are lacking. The Geneleos Group is anomalous and therefore problematic, as no extant sculptural groups correspond well enough to provide any further information about the role of the figures as a group. Figure-by-figure examination shows that arguments about identification and gender are not necessarily based on details of individual figures, but are derived in no small measure from a predetermined overall interpretation of the group as a whole. However, none of the arguments put forth by scholars who favour a nuclear family group interpretation are solid enough to eliminate other possibilities, including the likelihood that the group could represent a generational family or even a group of priestesses.

⁷⁴ Freyer-Schauenburg 19741 22.

⁷⁵ My own examination of the inscription in August, 1997 was inconclusive. More of the problems pertaining to the inscription will be addressed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 3:

EVIDENCE OF INDIVIDUAL FIGURES FOR GENDER AND STATUS

Although the nuclear family group theory is the one most commonly cited and accepted by scholars today, variations of this interpretation have been suggested ever since the monument's discovery. The lack of any contemporary or later family groups with a similar composition has meant that this identification is in fact uncertain. The comparanda considered by scholars adopting the nuclear family group identification have, for the most part, been limited to figures which have affiliations with familial or banqueting roles; when other types comparanda are considered the identifications of the individual figures in the Geneleos Group become less clear. The attributes, or lack thereof, of the seated woman, standing child and reclining figure have been previously acknowledged as indicators of gender and of context (namely a banqueting scene), but again they are not straightforward and may in fact indicate other roles and relationships. The following chapter will address the problems with the nuclear family group theory through a reexamination of the individual figures, their attributes, inscriptions and relevant comparanda.

Buschor originally identified the Geneleos Group as a family group, although in his understanding the figures were as follows: a reclining mother, a seated, married daughter, her husband standing next to her and three unmarried daughters standing in the

middle.¹ This interpretation was based largely on the gender of the reclining figure and the presumed identity of the missing second figure, to the right of Phileia. Buschor restored this figure as a grown man because he interpreted Phileia as a matron and he thought that it would be fitting if the figure occupying the adjacent position was her husband. The reclining figure was interpreted as female and the mother of the other figures because of the rounded anatomical features, including the pronounced breasts. According to Buschor this figure was without a doubt female.²

Schede concurred with Buschor, claiming that the variety of postures may be an indicator that the group is a generational family. He suggested that the various poses in the group were meant as indicators of age and that each pose was characteristic of the age and role of the person depicted.³

Pedley originally followed Buschor as well, identifying the seated figure as a mother, the second figure as a probable husband or brother, followed by three standing daughters and a reclining female dedicator at the other end.⁴ Although the identification of the Geneleos Group as a nuclear family is the interpretation accepted by most modern scholars, closer consideration reveals significant weaknesses in the arguments supporting this interpretation. Reexamination of the group, as well as the individual figures, will

¹ Buschor 1934 28.

² Buschor 1934 28.

³ Schede 1929 23.

⁴ Pedley 1976 4.

demonstrate that there are other possible identifications of the Geneleos Group and that the nuclear family model has too many weaknesses to stand as the definitive or sole interpretation of the group.

As seen in chapter two the comparanda for family groups in the Archaic period are limited and are mainly taken from the funerary context of *Totenmähler*. Only a few examples of *Totenmahl* reliefs depict a husband and wife in the same scene; the children in these reliefs are, moreover, usually identified as servants and are not offspring. Although there are some examples of funerary reliefs from the 5th century and later which depict mothers and fathers accompanied by their children, the compositions are very different from that of the Geneleos Group. The composition of each piece seems to be directly affected by what the group as a whole represents and by the contexts for which the reliefs were created. The Classical and Hellenistic reliefs from Cyprus and Attic funerary stelai depicting familial groups were funerary grave markers and therefore commemorative in nature; the Geneleos Group was dedicated in a sanctuary, erected in a highly visible and prominent location and, although it was commemorative, it was not funerary. The Archaic *Totenmahl* reliefs depicted a banquet scene and included the married couple, but not the children. Cypriot reliefs depicted the family, but not a banqueting scene; the combination of these two aspects is unknown in the 6th century BCE. The Geneleos Group, which comes from a public religious context, should clearly be viewed as a different type of monument with an entirely different function. Not only was the function different, but the iconography of the individual figures was as well.

When iconography, attributes and, in the case of the reclining figure, inscriptions are considered a very different understanding of the group as a whole begins to emerge.

Discussions of gender in the Geneleos Group have tended to focus exclusively on the reclining figure, but in broader terms iconographical indications for gender are less precise in Archaic Ionia than is often assumed. For example, although Phileia is unquestionably female, there are aspects of her iconography that suggest a masculine gender. The gender of the child positioned beside Phileia is also inconclusive given the fragmentary state of preservation. In this chapter a wide range of comparanda will be considered for each figure; the comparanda discussed by some scholars are artificially limited by the genders which they assign to each figure. Arguments about the gender and role of the figures often involve assumptions based on pose and clothing, but close examination of a wide range of comparanda reveals that iconographic rules governing such features were probably less rigid than they have often been believed to be.

Phileia

The most frequently cited comparisons for Phileia are the seated matrons found on numerous reliefs from the Archaic through Hellenistic periods, but what is often ignored is that she is perhaps more closely related to the virtually contemporary priests and priestesses from Didyma and Miletus.⁵ It is to these statues that comparisons of garment

⁵ The seated figures from the sacred way at Didyma are dated as follows: 600-580: K43, K44, K45; 575-560, K46, K47, K48, K49, K50; 560-550, K51, K52; 550-540: K56, K57, K58, K58, 540-530: K59; 520-510, K60. Those from Miletus are roughly dated between 540 and 510. See Tuchelt 1970 122-

types, folds and positioning of the hands on the lap will be drawn, for each of these help to indicate gender, although some variations are evident within each site.⁶ Most of these seated figures, including Phileia, wear a mantle over top of a long *chiton*; the only surviving exception is a statue of a male priest from Didyma (K55), who is draped only in a thin *chiton* (fig. 36). This figure stands out from the rest and is exceptional in its Egyptianizing qualities, including the smooth surface treatment, the soft, fleshy appearance of the body, and the apparent unison of the flesh and garment. The inclusion of the mantle itself is not a clear indicator of sex, but such features as the contour of the breasts, the placement of the mantle on the upper body and the direction of garment folds on both the mantle and *chiton* were generally consistent amongst figures of the same sex and were presumably tools used to suggest gender.

Of the figures that survive, 13 from Didyma and seven from Miletus are preserved at the shoulder level and therefore have the chest at least partially intact.⁷ It becomes clear when examining these figures that the roundness of the chest is an indicator of gender, for only two from Didyma, K45 (fig. 37) and K60 (fig. 38), and three from

129. For a discussion of the similarities between Phileia and the seated figures from Didyma and Miletus see Ulrike Muss 1981 139-144.

⁶ Comparisons are made between the Samian figure and those from Asia Minor not only because they date to approximately the same period, but also because of the geographical proximity of these sites. The art from Samos closely resembles that produced at Didyma and Miletus and it is clear that the proximity of these sites fostered similar sculptural styles (which can be seen in the oriental facial features of faces which survive from both sites) and use of iconography.

⁷ These figures are: from Didyma, K43, K45, K46, K47, K48, K 49, K51, K52, K53, K54, K55, K57, K59, K60, from Miletus, inv. 253, inv. 254, inv. 547, L95, L96, L99, L100. Other less well preserved figures survive, but will not be considered for this study.

Miletus, inv. 253 (fig. 39), inv. 254 (fig. 40), and inv. 547 (fig. 41), have prominent breasts. The delineation of the breasts is perhaps the clearest reflection of gender, but it is important to note that, although these figures are clearly female, they have been identified as such not only because of the fullness of their chests, but also because of the inclusion of several other combined features, including their garment folds and placement of their hands on their laps.

The difference in the positioning of the hands on the thighs between male and female figures is clear, although Ulrike Muss has shown Phileia to be an exception to this rule.⁸ Of the surviving figures, those which have been identified as female all have both hands resting palm down on the thighs with the fingers extended outwards.⁹ In contrast, the male figures have one hand laying flat on one knee, while the other hand is clenched into a fist. Most of these male figures, including K43 (fig. 42), K47 (fig. 43), K48 (fig. 44), K51 (fig. 45), K52 (fig. 46), K53 (fig. 47), and possibly K54 (fig. 48), and K57 (fig. 49), have the right fist clenched and only two, K46 (fig. 50), K59 (fig. 51), and possibly K49 (fig. 52) have the right hand laying flat on the knee or thigh.¹⁰ Despite the fact that

⁸ Muss, 1981 141.

⁹ Muss 1981 141. One figure from Didyma, K58, is not well enough preserved to clearly establish the gender of the figure, for the entire upper body is lost and the arms and knees have been severely damaged. The breakage around the knees does, however, seem to indicate that both hands rested on the knees. For an illustration see Tuchelt 1970 plate 58.

¹⁰ The positioning of the hands is unclear on some badly damaged figures. These include K49, which appears to have had the left fist clenched and right hand laying flat on the thigh, as well as K54, K55 and K58.

K46 and K59 display a slight variation in which fist was clenched and which was flat, these figures have been deemed male by both Muss and Tuchelt.¹¹ The position of Phileia's hands is problematic, as this figure's inscription identified the figure as female, but the clenching of the right fist and extended left hand corresponds to the hands of the male figures from Didyma.¹² This is noteworthy since there does not seem to have been much, if any, deviation from this scheme in the closely related and contemporary figures from Asia Minor.

The garments can also be examined as indicators of genders in these seated figures, for at individual sites certain features, especially the direction of certain drapery folds, were consistently associated with a specific gender. Some features seem to have been common to both male and female figures; these include the gathering of fabric between the feet into a centralized mass. However, the pronounced roll of fabric between the legs of some figures seems to have been a convention used predominantly in the depiction of females.¹³ For example, this feature is evident on three of the four females in the Museum at Miletus, three others from Miletus, and subtle in K45 from Didyma. K55 is, once again, exceptional because although it is male, it has the appearance of a slight

¹¹ See Muss 1981 141 for the discussion of hand placement and see Tuchelt 1970 74-91 for descriptions of the individual figures.

¹² Muss 1981 141.

¹³ Many of the male figures have a series of flat, overlapping folds instead of a cylindrical roll of fabric. This adds further dimension to the garment, while increasing the ornateness and stylized nature of the mantle. See K46, K47, K48, K49, K52, K57 and K59.

roll of fabric; this is probably due mainly to the fact that the figure is without a mantle.¹⁴

Phileia does not have a prominent roll of fabric, but has a central gathering of thin vertical folds which lay overtop of and between her legs and feet; she is therefore closer in this respect to the seated, male figures from Miletus than to the females.

Another instructive feature is the appearance of oblique lines on the mantles and *chitones* of the figures from Didyma and Miletus. The seated male figures from Didyma vary; most of them have diagonal folds indicated on the mantle and the rest have mantles which are free of these folds.¹⁵ Most female figures that have the diagonal lines on the *chiton* lack the central roll of fabric, but a few others combine both of these features.¹⁶ It is, however, important to note that none of the female figures examined, with the exception of Miletus inv. 547, lacked both a distinctive roll of fabric and oblique folds on the mantle. But Phileia does lack both of these features; the *chiton* is gathered between the legs, but does not form a cylindrical roll of fabric. Furthermore, the mantle, which falls diagonally across the front of the legs, is smooth; this places the mantle within the realm of those delineated on the male figures from Didyma rather than the females from

¹⁴ The figures from Miletus include inv. 254, inv. 254, L95, L96, L99 and L100. This feature also became popular in the depiction of *korai* in Attica, for several standing females from the Akropolis exhibit a similar central, roll of fabric. See Boardman 1991 fig. 153 and 184.

¹⁵ K43 and K55 are devoid of oblique lines on the mantle and K54 is too damaged to be certain. See Appendix A.

¹⁶ Miletus inv. 547 is exceptional and therefore difficult to classify, for this figure has only a few lightly incised curved lines extending from the belt and K45 and K60 have only subtle rolls of fabric. K58, Miletus inv. 253 and 254 both combine the roll and oblique folds.

Miletus.¹⁷

The position of the mantle across the upper body of the figure is another important element which has often been considered an indication of gender. Most male figures have a mantle positioned diagonally across the chest, beginning from the left shoulder and continuing under the right arm.¹⁸ None have the mantle draped over the right shoulder and only one, K51, has the mantle laying across the lap. Conversely, the female figures from Miletus tend to have a symmetrical mantle with *kolpoi*, as is the case with inv. 547 (fig. 41), L95 (fig. 53), L96 (fig. 54), L99 (fig. 55), L100 (fig. 56). Of the remaining female figures, two, K45 and K60, have symmetrical mantles, one, K58, is too damaged to discern the position of the mantle, and two, inv. 253 and inv. 254, have diagonally placed mantles which begin at the right shoulder and continue around the figure beneath the left arm. Phileia's garment, with the diagonally draped mantle beginning at the left shoulder, further exemplifies the predominantly male features of this female figure. To gain a fuller understanding of what Phileia's garments would have looked like, Muss compares Phileia's drapery to that of Chares of Teichioussa, K43, and suggests that it is the drapery of this figure that best illustrates how Phileia's garments would have been worn.¹⁹

¹⁷ Muss 1981 141.

¹⁸ These include K43, K46, K47, K48, K49, K52, K53, K54, K57, and K59.

¹⁹ Muss 1981 141.

The final indicator of gender to be discussed is the position of the bottom of the mantle on the lower legs. Mantles which fall so as to create an oblique line across the lower legs are more common on the male figures from Didyma.²⁰ In contrast, most female figures have mantles which either fall creating a horizontal line or else lack a clear horizontal definition between the mantle and *chiton*.²¹ Again the drapery worn by Phileia follows the tradition used in depicting seated males, for her mantle falls across her legs creating an oblique line running from the middle of the left leg to the right ankle.²²

There is one other piece of comparanda which bears on the relationship between the type of drapery worn and the gender of the figure; this is the seated figure dedicated by Aiakes which was dedicated in Samos Town and is dated to c. 540 (fig. 57).²³ The Aiakes dedication, like Phileia, wears a mantle over a long *chiton*. The mantle falls from the figure's left shoulder and hangs diagonally between the left knee and right shin, and the *chiton* is gathered into a series of thin folds between the legs. The left hand rests with an open palm on the left knee while the right hand is clenched into a fist, resting on top of

²⁰ Variations can be seen in K43 and K47. K43 has incised lines indicating the folds of the mantle, which fall diagonally across the chest of the figure, but these folds are rounded off and the lines become straighter as they cross the figure below the knees. The mantle of K47 is not completely diagonal, although the fabric curves downwards as it reaches the figure's right ankle.

²¹ K58 is the only example of a horizontal line placed half way down the shins and K60 has a variation of this with the definitive line positioned at knee level. It should also be mentioned that the identification of a mantle on some figures, such as K45, is disputed by some scholars. See Tuchelt 1970 76.

²² Muss 1981 140.

²³ Boardman 1991 fig. 96.

the knee. Unlike many of the figures from Didyma and Miletus whose shoulders survive, Aiakes' figure has three thick locks of hair hanging in front of either shoulder. The figure also has a heavy, rounded chest and the fall of the mantle augments the shape of the figure's breasts; unfortunately this feature is not one that can be compared since Phileia survives only partially.²⁴

The identification of this figure has been problematic, as the accompanying inscription has been variously interpreted and thus so has this figure's gender. The inscription, which is positioned on the left side of the chair, states "Aiakes, son of Brychon, dedicated (me). He secured the booty for Hera during his stewardship."²⁵ Because the inscription mentions the dedicator's name, Aiakes, many scholars have assumed that the person depicted was in fact the dedicator. Originally, this figure was interpreted as the goddess Hera, but it has more commonly been identified as the dedicator, Aiakes.²⁶ Although the gender of this figure is at best dubious, it has the same garment type and hand positions as Phileia and could therefore be female; if compared to the seated figures from Didyma and Miletus the iconography would seem to indicate that the figure is male. The gender of the Aiakes dedication remains inconclusive, as the lack of a greater number of preserved seated figures of this type from Samian workshops does

²⁴ Ridgway states that the figure's chest is flat. (Ridgway 1977 133) However, photographs suggest a certain roundness.

²⁵ Boardman 1991 fig. 96.

²⁶ Buschor originally identified this figure as Hera. (Buschor 1961 91. For a discussion of the arguments concerning the identification of this figure see Ridgway 1977 133-4.

not exclude either gender as a possibility. That the iconography was less rigid on Samos than on the Ionian coast or that Samian sculptors followed different guidelines in the creation of their seated figures also seems plausible, so even with the incorporation of this figure into the types assigned to the seated figures from Didyma and Miletus the gender of this figure remains unclear.

It is clear that Phileia lacks the traditional iconography associated with the seated females from Miletus and if it were not for the presence of several features which are characteristic of the seated males from Didyma this might be dismissed as a regional anomaly. Ulrike Muss has documented these similarities and has suggested that Phileia was initially carved as a man and was originally intended for another monument. She suggests that when the patronage shifted to another person some adjustments were made to the base of the throne, but the figure itself was left the same and the addition of an identifying inscription provided the name and thus the gender of the figure.²⁷ It is interesting and quite significant if it is true that the artist, Geneleos, was able to take such liberties, for it is odd that the features which were clearly intended to indicate the gender of a figure could remain intact if an inscription identifying that figure as the opposite gender was added. If iconography could be shifted from one gender to another and presumably important patrons were not troubled by it, it may have been acceptable to the viewing public as well. If considered in these terms, iconography which was traditionally

²⁷ Muss 1981 143.

male could have been adopted by female figures under certain circumstances, especially if an inscription naming that figure was provided as well. If this principle is applied to the most problematic figure of the Geneleos Group, the reclining figure, it would seem that the gender of the figure cannot be determined based on iconographic details alone.

Likewise, the modern classifications of seated male and female iconography based on the drapery and hand positions should be considered with caution, as rigidity of modern scholars' iconographic gender distinctions were not necessarily the same as those adhered to by Archaic sculptors.

Second Figure

Before returning to the reclining figure, the child identified as a young son must first be reconsidered. Buschor originally restored this figure as a grown man, who was the husband of Phileia, the oldest daughter; he later changed his mind upon examination of the child size left foot fragment, which was shaped to fit into the cutting on the base. The gender of this figure has been generally cited as male, based on the assumption that the shape of the plinth, which is different than those of the standing maidens, was meant to distinguish the gender of this figure.

That this figure must be a young boy because of the shape of the plinth needs further consideration, for although it is clear from its relative size that the foot fragment is that of a child younger than the three standing maidens, the gender of that figure should

not be considered certain based on the cutting alone.²⁸ The suggestion that the base is more appropriate for a male than a female because of the elliptical shape of the cutting has little support because of the scarcity of surviving statues together with their base in the archaeological record.²⁹ Even with the few examples that survive, the plinth shape which would have been standard for children's statues can only be guessed, and generalizations should be made cautiously and considered as possibilities, but not necessarily accepted as absolute.

It is difficult to fully accept the suggestion that the cutting could indicate the garment let alone the gender of the missing figure, for both boys and girls were depicted in short garments.³⁰ In many cases young boys are rendered naked or in a short garment, but the costumes worn by girls vary. A bronze statuette from Samos, dated to the middle of the 6th century, depicts a youth wearing a long *chiton*, which extends down just past the figure's ankles, thus indicating that male youths could be depicted in long garments.³¹ It is because garments that hang just below the ankles, but do not reach the ground, are

²⁸ Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 109.

²⁹ Freyer-Schauenburg lists a few monuments with intact plinths, and cites those of the Sunion *kouros* and the Tenea *kouros* as examples of male statues with elliptically shaped plinths. (Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 109 n. 19)

³⁰ The position of the feet with the left foot forward is usually, although not exclusively, associated with males. Akropolis *kore* 686, plinth 608 has the left foot advanced (Boardman 1991 fig. 160) as does another *kore* from Samos. (Richter 1977 fig. 225-7) Furthermore, some male statues, such as the Piraeus bronze in Athens, have their right foot advanced. (Boardman 1991 fig. 150)

³¹ Buschor 1935 44.

associated with males that the missing figure from the Geneleos Group is considered male. There are, however, several examples of females clad in garments of similar lengths including a bronze statuette from Kastania on which the garment ends above the ankles,³² Akropolis *kore* 681 (“Antenor’s *kore*”) (fig. 58),³³ whose garment is pulled to the left fully revealing the feet, Akropolis *kore* 682 whose garment is similar to 681 (fig. 59)³⁴, and Akropolis *kore* 679 (the “Peplos *kore*”) (fig. 60)³⁵, whose *chiton* does not reach the ground.³⁶ The fact that longer garments were more commonly associated with depictions of females is not conclusive since their long garments were not always floor length and therefore did not always affect the size and shape of the plinth.

It is also significant to note that long garments which reach the floor were also rendered on males and short *chitones* were worn by females. Firstly, the standing, draped *kouros* from Cape Phoneas on Samos provides an excellent example of a male wearing a long *chiton* which rests on the upper foot in the front, but extends below the heel at the back and even reaches below the feet (fig. 61). This suggests that male garments were not always short and that the fall of fabric behind and around the feet could affect the

³² Buschor 1961 fig. 336-7.

³³ Boardman 1991 fig. 141. He dates this *kore* to c. 530-520.

³⁴ Boardman 1991 fig. 151. This figure is dated to c. 530-520.

³⁵ Boardman 1991 fig. 115. Boardman dates this figure to c. 530.

³⁶ It should be noted that on a significant number of *korai* the feet have been broken off and therefore cannot attest to the garment’s relationship with the base.

shape of the plinth, since the area surrounding the feet had to be extended to accommodate the fabric of a long garment.³⁷ An example of a female wearing a short *chiton* also comes from Samos (fig. 62); the garment of this figure brings to mind Pausanias' description of the short *chitones* worn by young girls taking part in the foot races for the Heraea at Elis.³⁸ It is clear that there were no standard garment lengths by which an artist would indicate the gender of any given figure and therefore it is unlikely that one can conclusively determine the gender of a figure, based on the size and shape of the cutting or on the presumed length of the garment worn by the figure.

As mentioned in the previous chapters, the missing figure is problematic because of disputes over whether a damaged torso belongs with the second figure on the Geneleos base or with a separate foot fragment of a *kore*. Walter-Karydi has supported the idea that a sculptural fragment, consisting of the upper torso of a figure draped in a *chiton* with a diagonally draped *himation* extending from the left shoulder and holding a long cylindrical object in front of the chest with the left hand, belongs to the missing figure from the Geneleos Group.³⁹ Freyer-Schauenburg and Richter both classify this torso as female and pair it with another foot fragment.⁴⁰

³⁷ Buschor 1935 fig. 163 provides another example of a seemingly male figure wearing a long garment.

³⁸ Pausanias, 5. 16. 1-4

³⁹ Walter-Karydi 1985 92.

⁴⁰ Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 34-6, Richter 1968 47-8. Furthermore, Richter's estimate for the size of this figure is 1.55 m not including the head, which would make it approximately the same size as Philippe; this size does not seem a likely match for the small size of the foot fragment from the

Because the mantle is tied at the left shoulder, Walter-Karydi identifies the figure as male, claiming that only males were rendered with the mantle hanging from this side. She claims that the figure is a male flute player and would have been taking part in a banquet in the Heraion.⁴¹ This gender attribution seems less reliable, however, when one notes the existence of several female figures wearing garments extending from the left shoulder. These include the caryatids from the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi (fig. 63), Akropolis *kore* 672 (fig. 64), Akropolis *kore* 269 (“Lyons *kore*”) (fig. 65), and the central figure from a processional relief in the Louvre (fig. 66).⁴² From these few examples it becomes clear that if the Samian torso were female, the extension of the *himation* from the left shoulder would not be unprecedented.

Another consideration and obvious indicator of gender is the chest of the figure, which appears to have subtly rounded breasts. Walter-Karydi disregards the breasts and claims that they are similar to those of the reclining figure, whom she identifies as male, and therefore accord with the masculine gender of this figure. What Walter-Karydi neglects to recognize is the presumed age difference between these two figures; the reclining figure is clearly mature, while the torso belongs to a youth. Her justification of this figure’s breasts therefore is unconvincing since it is unlikely that a slender male youth would have developed “breasts” similar to those of his portly father. It seems

Geneleos Group. (Richter 1968 47)

⁴¹ Walter-Karydi 1985 98.

⁴² For illustrations see Richter 1968 fig. 317-18, 536-7, 275-9 and 613 respectively.

more plausible that this torso belongs to a young girl, possibly of a slightly younger age than Philippe and Ornithe. The association of this torso with the Geneleos Group is unclear, and unlikely, but if it did belong with the foot fragment, the torso would more likely indicate that this figure was female.

A similar torso in Athens' National Museum needs consideration, as it may also be relevant to the question of gender (fig. 67).⁴³ Like the Samian example, this figure would have stood with the right arm held close to the side of the body and the left arm folded across the body, holding a now unidentifiable tubular object just below the breasts. This torso, along with the torso from Samos, was classified by Richter as female and she points out the rounded form of the breasts on this figure. Therefore, despite the differences in garments each of these figures adheres to the same basic compositional formula.

The question concerning to what foot fragment this torso belongs remains unanswered; Walter-Karydi stated that stylistic congruencies between this figure and those of Geneleos confirm that this was in fact a product of that artist's hand.⁴⁴ This may very well be true, but the overall surface damage on the figure makes such comparisons difficult, at least when working from photographs. Even if a stylistic analysis suggested that Geneleos carved this figure, it does not prove that this torso belongs with the foot

⁴³ This figure was found in Attica at Moschato. Athens Museum inv. 3859. See Richter 1968 39 fig. 132-4.

⁴⁴ Walter-Karydi 1985 92.

fragment from the Geneleos group; it may have been from another monument, as it is likely that Geneleos was responsible for the production of other sculpture on Samos as well.

There are so many problems with the identification of the figure which once occupied the position beside Phileia that it seems best to accept these various scholars' interpretations as possibilities, but not absolute. Although most scholars agree that the missing figure from the Geneleos Group was male, there is little evidence to substantiate this attribution of gender and it remains possible that this figure was female. This is a point which will be considered further in the following chapter, when the function of the individual figures and the group as a whole are considered in a religious context.

Reclining figure

The reclining figure from the Geneleos Group is the most problematic by far, as most scholars' interpretations of the group as a whole centre on their understanding of the gender of this figure. The possibility that this figure may be a female should not be immediately discounted. Once again the anatomical features, pose, attribute and inscription will be considered, as each of these features have affected scholarly perceptions of gender.

Many scholars support Himmelmann-Wildschütz's interpretation and assign a masculine gender to the reclining figure, despite the presence of a feminine physical feature, breasts (fig. 20-1). They attribute the fleshiness of this figure's chest to a lifetime

of indulgence and opulence; the rounded breasts are, in their opinion, merely a representation of the wealth of the reclining figure.⁴⁵ Freyer-Schauenburg also states that this rounded form of the breast was common among depictions of males at East Greek and Ionian sites.⁴⁶ In fact, however, any rounding on other figures is much less pronounced than that of the reclining figure in the Geneleos Group. Of the reclining figures depicted in Dentzer's catalogue, none have a rounded body comparable to that of the reclining figure from the Geneleos Group. Many of the reclining men wear garments which reveal their chests, but their chests are never rounded and the torso, in many cases, is quite slender (fig. 68).

Many terracotta figurines depict male, reclining figures wearing only a *himation*; this garment, therefore, exposes the chest of the figure and reveals what is often a quite slender physique. A few such examples taken from Dentzer's catalogue include figures 140-42 (fig. 69), 145 (fig. 70), 149-53 (fig. 71), 155-58 (fig. 72).⁴⁷ The situation is similar with bronze figurines; one such figurine from Olympia, dated to the end of the 6th century, reclines on a *kline*, holds a round object in the left hand and has the right arm raised, in what Dentzer calls a gesture of conversation with the audience (fig. 73).⁴⁸ This

⁴⁵ Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 125 and Dentzer 1982 161.

⁴⁶ Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 117.

⁴⁷ For text discussing these figures, which come from Greece and Ionia, refer to Dentzer 1982 chapter V B.

⁴⁸ Dentzer 1982 220 (B 7). Athens Nat. Mus. Inv. 6192.

figure wears a *himation*, which appears to be open at the chest; the bare chest is fleshy, as indicated by three rolls on the stomach. It is interesting to note that despite the overt flabbiness in the stomach area, the arms and legs of the figure are thin and the figure lacks flabby or rounded breasts. Another bronze, which comes from Samos, is again dated to the 6th century and is compositionally similar to the reclining figure from the Geneleos Group (fig. 74).⁴⁹ This figure reclines on the left side, resting the right arm on the right knee, leaning on the left elbow and holding a drinking horn in the left hand. The figure wears a long, beltless *chiton* and is therefore clad in a garment similar to that of the marble figure from the Geneleos Group; even though the garments are the same, the bronze figurine is more slender and any rounded anatomical features below the garment are not alluded to at all.

The figure that is most often cited as a comparandum for the reclining figure from the Geneleos Group is a marble statue of a reclining figure from Myus, which is believed to be contemporaneous with the Samian figure (fig. 75).⁵⁰ This figure, often named Hermonax because the accompanying inscription provides this as the donor's name, is compositionally similar, as he too reclines with his left elbow resting on a cushion, the right hand stationed atop the right knee and the left hand holding an object, which in this

⁴⁹ Dentzer 1982 216. Samos Mus. B 2.

⁵⁰ Dentzer 1982 163.

case appears to be a drinking cup.⁵¹ This figure's garment, a long, beltless *chiton*, is only schematically rendered, with deeply incised lines fanning out from the right shoulder to indicate the folds created by the buttoning of the garment. A mantle covers the back of the figure and the end of this fabric rests under the right arm. Despite the compositional likeness, one significant difference should be mentioned; the figure from Myus, although heavy set, does not exhibit the rounded physical features, particularly the breasts, which are so strikingly prominent on Geneleos' reclining figure. This suggests that the reclining figure from the Geneleos Group was sculpted with breasts, not to refer to the luxury which may have signalled a male figure's wealth or status, but rather to indicate the feminine gender of this figure.

Similarly, on standing draped, male figures one cannot identify breasts on the figures, even when they are quite clearly robust and rounded in other respects. For example, a standing, draped *kouros* from Cape Phoneas on Samos dated to c. 550 wears an Ionic *chiton* and a *himation* worn diagonally and covering the left shoulder (fig. 63).⁵² This figure is very heavy set with fleshy facial features, a short and stubby neck, broad and rounded shoulders, a bulging behind and heavy arms and legs. On such an altogether rounded figure, at least some indication of the breasts would be expected if this were an accepted sign of prosperity, but the chest appears virtually flat from both frontal and

⁵¹ The inscription reads as follows: Ἐρμῶναξ με... καὶ ξυνον ἀνέθεσαν δεκάτην ἔργων τῶ[ι] Ἀπόλλωνι. (Dentzer 1982 157)

⁵² Pedley 1976 49-50.

profile angles. This roughly contemporary, draped male would be a good piece of comparanda for the reclining figure and would increase the plausibility of a masculine gender for Geneleos' reclining figure if this standing figure had the same rounded breasts.

In contrast to the flat chested male representations from cities along the Ionian coast, some female figures had rounded breasts comparable to those of the reclining figure from the Geneleos Group. The best example is a seated, female figure from Didyma, K45, which has heavy and rounded breasts of a similar size and shape to those of the Samian figure (fig. 37).⁵³ The breasts of the seated figure indicate the gender of the figure, who was once situated on the sacred way among statues of which the majority were male. Evidently, the sculptors who created the statues of the priests and priestesses from Didyma and Miletus highlighted the breasts of the priestesses to indicate their gender, a device seemingly employed by Geneleos as well.

The clearly defined breasts are unparalleled in any other draped standing or reclining male figures. Since women of marriageable or matronly age generally have a more petite body and smaller breasts, it is possible that the reclining figure was an early depiction of an elderly woman, a type not otherwise known in the Archaic period, but more common in the Hellenistic. Although there is no concrete evidence to support this notion, if breasts are a known indicator of age in younger women, for example "budding breasts" place a figure in their early teen years and more fully developed breasts indicate a

⁵³ This figure is dated to c. 580 by Tuchelt 1970 76-77.

woman of marriageable age, then it is possible that even more rotund breasts indicate another plateau in a woman's life, that would today be recognized as menopause.⁵⁴

Garment

The reclining figure from the Geneleos Group wears a long, beltless *chiton*, a garment which is most commonly associated with renderings of male figures and, according to Freyer-Schauenburg, is never found on depictions of women in the Archaic period.⁵⁵ There is, however, at least one possible exception to this rule. The female figure from Didyma, K 45, wears a *chiton* over which she wears a veil; it is unclear from the smoothness of the upper garment whether or not the *chiton* was belted. Because the gender of many small bronze statuettes of reclining figures is assumed on the basis of their pose alone, any reference to their garments as indicators of gender is problematic. Freyer-Schauenburg suggests that the less dainty rendering of the pleats indicates a difference in gender between the reclining figure and the standing maidens in the Geneleos Group.⁵⁶ The pleats of the reclining figure's garment may seem less feminine by her definition, but the garments worn by the maidens and the reclining figure also hang differently; a difference that can be explained by the fact that the fabric on the reclining figure is stretched to allow for the curvaceousness of the reclining figure's body. If the

⁵⁴ For a discussion of breast size as indicator of age see Sourvinou-Inwood 1988 25.

⁵⁵ Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 117.

⁵⁶ Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 117.

figure represented here is an elderly woman, then comparisons with the standard clothing of *korai* is unproductive; it does seem logical that the clothing of a respectable elder would differ at least somewhat from that of a younger woman.

Hair

The hairstyle of the reclining figure has also been interpreted as male, although without the preservation of the rest of the head only the length and formation of the curls can be considered. Freyer-Schauenburg suggested that the hairstyle of this figure, which hangs just below the shoulders on the back, is male, since the hair of most *korai* is much longer (fig. 22). She compares the hairstyle to those of Philippe and Ornithe, which are much longer, extending to the belt of the *chiton*, and states that the differentiation of the hairstyles was meant to distinguish the genders of these figures.⁵⁷

Although shorter hairstyles are commonly found on Archaic *kouroi*, there are several examples of *korai* with hair of approximately the same length as that of the reclining figure from the Geneleos Group. Many daedalic females, such as the "Auxerre goddess"(fig. 76), the seated females from Prinias (fig. 77), a female head from Eleutherna (fig. 78) and a small bronze from Thebes (fig. 79) have hair which hangs to just below the shoulder.⁵⁸ There are also some examples from the 6th century such as a *kore* from the island of Chios (fig. 80) and Akropolis *kore* 677 (fig. 81), both of which

⁵⁷ Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 118.

⁵⁸ See Boardman 1991 fig. 28, 32, 33, 48.

have beaded hair hanging to a point slightly below the shoulders.

It should also be noted that the heads of all of the figures from this group have been lost and similarities or differences in the rendering of the fringe at the forehead cannot be determined. It is also uncertain whether or not any of these figures wore other gender distinct attributes in their hair such as a tiara or high *polos*.⁵⁹ Without the preservation of the whole head, it is difficult to persuasively argue that the hairstyle is decisively that of either a male or female; the differentiation in the length could have been an indicator of age instead of gender. The length of the hair may not have been as informative to the viewer as Freyer-Schauenburg suggests, since the monument was meant to be viewed from the front and with the Sacred Way running directly in front of the Group there would have been little opportunity or need to walk around the monument; other indicators such as *poloi*, if present, would have provided the viewer with a more immediate indication of both the gender and role of each figure depicted on the monument.

Pose

Himmelmann-Wildschütz's reexamination of the Geneleos Group and his study of the reclining figure and reclining figures from other sites was what compelled many scholars to reinterpret Geneleos' figure as male. Although from *Totenmahl* reliefs and vase-paintings depicting banqueting scenes it is clear that reclining was a favoured mode

⁵⁹ For examples of female headdresses see Boardman 1991 fig. 108, 110, 111, 115, 116, 118, 141, 151, 152, 155, 1557, 158, 159, 160, 161, 177.

of representation for males, it was certainly not limited to men alone. Freyer-Schauenburg, in adopting Himmelmann-Wildschütz's view, stated that when this motif was used in the depiction of women it was restricted to *hetairai*.⁶⁰ She fails, however, to mention one critical difference in these depictions; *hetairai* were often rendered bare-breasted or, if clothed, held a symposiastic attribute, such as a flute.⁶¹ The reclining figure from the Geneleos Group is fully draped, holds an attribute that is certainly not a flute and is by no means a courtesan.

Ridgway stated that women were depicted reclining in the minor arts only, but failed to provide any specific examples.⁶² It is true that this seems not to have been a posture in which women were often portrayed, but there are a few extant renderings of women reclining. Corinthian vases as well as funerary reliefs contain such renderings.

One example of a woman reclining comes from a Corinthian amphora, which is dated to c. 560 (fig. 82).⁶³ On this vase Ismene reclines bare-breasted on a *kline*, she leans on her left side and rests her elbow on a striped pillow. Her right arm is held tightly by Tydeus, who lunges toward her preparing to impale her with his sword. This depiction of Ismene is important, as the composition is similar to depictions of the male *Totenmahl*;

⁶⁰ Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 119.

⁶¹ Examples include Dentzer 1982 fig. 105 (Vcol4) and fig. 109 (VIa 5). For references to other depictions of *hetairai* see Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 119 n. 58.

⁶² Ridgway 1977 139.

⁶³ Schefold 1964 77.

the pose of the female figure, with the exception of the raised right arm and lack of attribute, the rendering of the *kline*, and the inclusion of such details as the dog positioned below the couch place this scene within the type standard in *Totenmahl* reliefs.

A small bronze figurine from the Heraion at Delos depicts a female reclining; she is outstretched on her left side, her left elbow rests on a pillow, her left hand holds a rhyton and her right hand rests on her right knee (fig. 83). The figure wears a *polos* and a veil and for this reason she has been interpreted as a depiction of Hera herself.⁶⁴

Although it is not certain whether this figurine is a representation of Hera, it provides an example of a female reclining, with the same iconography used in depictions of reclining males.

A funerary relief from Rhodes, although dated by letter types to the second century, offers another example of a woman who is rendered reclining (fig. 84).⁶⁵ This relief, from a cylindrical altar, was carved on a rectangular plaque, with a garland extending around three sides and a bucranium positioned directly above. The female reclines on her left side, resting her left elbow on a cushion; her left hand holds a phiale and her right arm rests on her hip.⁶⁶ This relief provides concrete evidence that it was, at least in some instances, acceptable for women to be depicted reclining and this pose was

⁶⁴ O'Brien 1993 228.

⁶⁵ Fraser 1977 32.

⁶⁶ Fraser 1977 32.

not one exclusive to the rendering of men.

In addition to artistic representations of females reclining there is some archaeological evidence from Greek sanctuaries which supports the notion that respectable women did in fact recline in certain circumstances. At the Sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron and the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth the worshippers were predominantly, although not exclusively, female; excavations at each of these sanctuaries have yielded information about ritual dining practices. At the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth 52 dining rooms with couches, dating between the Archaic and Hellenistic periods, have been discovered in buildings within the sanctuary.⁶⁷ Further archaeological evidence in the form of votive offerings, sympotic vessels and inscriptions associated with women indicates that women were, in fact, the primary worshippers in this sanctuary.⁶⁸ Although it is also clear that men worshipped here as well, evidence that women were active participants in worship at this sanctuary offers a new perspective on acceptable female behaviour in a religious context.⁶⁹ It can be inferred from this archaeological evidence that it was more acceptable for women to recline in religious contexts. From this it seems more conceivable that the reclining figure in the Geneleos Group, a part of a monument erected in one of the most prominent

⁶⁷ Bookidis 1990 86.

⁶⁸ Bookidis 1990 90. Bookidis mentions the presence of such objects as jewellery, loom-weights, and terracotta figurines of females. Inscriptions found at the sanctuary also name women as dedicators.

⁶⁹ For a more detailed discussion of the couches and dining practices in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth see Bookidis 1990 87ff.

locations in the Sanctuary of Hera, could have been a female worshipper who was rendered recumbent to further emphasize the types of cult activities in which she participated.

Attribute

The object held by the reclining figure has been broken off and only a faint outline remains (fig. 35). Most of the scholars who wish to see the figure as male interpret the object as a drinking horn, an object which would befit a man in a symptic context.⁷⁰ As a drinking horn, this object can be used to support their attribution of a masculine gender to this figure. But when the outline of the attribute is examined and compared to the shapes of other drinking horns, especially that of the bronze statuette from Samos, it becomes clear that the shapes are representative of drastically different objects. The drinking horn of the bronze statuette is widest at the top and narrows toward the bottom, while the marble figure's object is narrow at the top, rounds out in the middle and then narrows slightly at the point at which it is held by the hand.

Other scholars, including Buschor and Freyer-Schauenburg, have identified the attribute as a bird.⁷¹ This interpretation seems more correct, since the shape of a bird's head can be discerned from the damaged remains of the object. Furthermore, when the shape of this item is compared with the birds held by other Archaic figures this

⁷⁰ Some of the scholars who interpret the attribute as a drinking horn are: Walter-Karydi 1985 98, Kron 1981 41, Fehr 1971 120, and Stewart 1990 117.

⁷¹ Buschor 1934 28, Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 118.

identification becomes even more likely. In a terracotta figurine from near Thebes, dated to between c. 525-500, the woman holds a bird in front of her chest with her left hand (fig. 85).⁷² The rounded head and oval body of the bird protrude from above the figure's hand; the tail is covered by the hand and is therefore not visible, as is also the case on the reclining figure from the Geneleos Group.⁷³

Several marble *korai* provide excellent comparanda for sculpted depictions of birds held as offerings by females.⁷⁴ One *kore* from Miletus, dated to c. 525-500, holds a bird in front of the chest with the left arm (fig. 86).⁷⁵ The bird is cradled by the hand and is therefore resting more horizontally than that held by the Samian figure. The area of the hand and bird are slightly damaged, but the shape of the bird's head, the oval body and the tail, which hangs in front of the fingers, are clearly recognizable.⁷⁶

A *kore* from Miletus holds what Richter identifies as a partridge to her chest with the left hand (fig. 87).⁷⁷ The shape of the bird, with a round head, pointed beak, elliptical

⁷² Richter 1968 88 fig. 465, Athens, Nat. Mus. Inv. 5669.

⁷³ For other examples in terracotta see Richter 1968 108 fig. 641, Athens, Nat. Mus. Inv. 1078; and Richter 1968 91 fig. 511, British Museum, inv. 60.4-4.57.

⁷⁴ Another example not considered here is the "Lyons *kore*", Lyons, Musee.

⁷⁵ Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv. 1577. (Richter 1968 92)

⁷⁶ Another figure, from Theangela in Caria, holds a similarly composed bird. London, British Museum, B319, inv. 89.5-22.2. (Richter 1968 93 fig. 533)

⁷⁷ Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv. 1791. This figure is dated to c. 575-550 by Richter 1968 47.

body and pointy tail, is very similar to that of the shape held by the Samian figure.⁷⁸

Furthermore, my own first-hand observation of the Geneleos Group has convinced me that the shape is clearly that of a bird.

Inscription

The poor preservation of the dedicatory inscription, located on the cushion on which the reclining figure lies, has contributed to the uncertainties surrounding this figure (fig. 23).⁷⁹ Although it is clear that the monument was dedicated to Hera, the name of the dedicator survives only in part and the disintegration of the stone in this area has allowed for discrepancies in various scholars' understanding of the donor's name. It has often been the case that a scholar's interpretation of the name either directly affects or is directly affected by their understanding of this figure's gender. The name of the donor, despite the utter illegibility of the script, has been a point of argument for the identification of the group as a whole. The first few letters of the donor's name have been completely obliterated and the remaining letters have been variously read as the ending of masculine and feminine names as well as priestly titles. The following will examine these names, considering most scholars' assumptions that the person named is the same as the person depicted reclining above the inscription.

Among those who have read the ending of the donor's name as -οχη are Buschor,

⁷⁸ My tracing of the bird held by the Milesian *kore* is almost an exact reverse of the object held by the reclining figure in the Geneleos Group. In the extant examples of birds held by maidens the direction in which the bird faces varies.

⁷⁹ See Appendix B.

Pedley (in his initial publication) and Dentzer.⁸⁰ These scholars, despite the same understanding of the donor's name, attribute different genders to the reclining figure; Buschor identifies the figure as a female who is possibly a priestess, Pedley interprets the figure as a woman, based on Buschor, and Dentzer assigns a masculine gender.⁸¹

Some of the remaining scholars, including Freyer-Schauenburg, Pedley, Ridgway and Walter, interpret the ending of the name as *-αρχης*, an ending said to be masculine, which would therefore correspond with their identification of the gender of the reclining figure.⁸² Stewart recently interpreted the name of the reclining figure, the father of the group, as [Agel]arches.⁸³ The complexity of this debate is further increased by the severe damage this inscription has suffered.⁸⁴ The letters are now illegible and one must therefore rely on the interpretations of other scholars, which, as demonstrated, is very problematic. There is also the possibility that the name of the donor was not that of the reclining figure, despite the fact that this figure would be expected to have an accompanying inscription of his/her name on the body and this is not the case. The body of the reclining figure is fairly well preserved, but one place on which a separate

⁸⁰ Buschor 1934 28, Pedley 1976 54, Dentzer 1982 161. Stewart, according to a footnote in Simon, also believed that the name could end in *-οχη*. (Simon 1986 87 n. 113)

⁸¹ According to Simon's footnote, Stewart thought that the name could read Diodoche, which could be the title of a priestess. (Simon 1996 87 n. 113)

⁸² Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 122-4, Pedley 1993 177, Ridgway 1977 131 and Walter 1965 70.

⁸³ Stewart 1990 117.

⁸⁴ For the discussion of the individual letters in the inscription see Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 122.

identifying inscription could have been located is the area surrounding the figure's right hand, for there is a semi-circular damaged area surrounding that hand.

The assumptions made by scholars concerning the gender of the figures in the Geneleos Group has limited their range of comparanda. Clearly the lack of Archaic family groups casts doubt on the plausibility of the family group interpretation; when a wider range of monuments are considered as comparanda for the individual figures, the iconographic details by which the gender of Phileia, the figure beside her and the reclining figure are assumed, become less instructive. The iconographic details of Phileia and the reclining figure are less gender specific than is recognized by followers of the nuclear family group interpretation, for the posture, garment types, hairstyles and attributes associated with these figures are not precise indications of gender and it appears that Samian and Ionian artists did not follow as strictly the iconographic guidelines imposed upon them by modern scholars. Most scholars' consideration of the Geneleos Group has focussed primarily on who the individual figures and the group as a whole represent; possibly the familial relationship of these figures is not as important as has been previously supposed. Perhaps what should be considered is another relationship shared by each of these figures and for this Buschor's suggestion that these six females represent a band of priestesses deserves further consideration.

CHAPTER 4:

PRIESTESSES AND ATTENDANTS

The function of the Geneleos Group as a whole, especially the relationship between the statuary group and the environment in which it was dedicated, is an important consideration which has not yet been addressed in this study. Those who follow the family group interpretation and claim that a banqueting scene is depicted often fail to consider the location of the monument, which would have been a highly prestigious point within the sanctuary. It is likely that a portrait group in such a location would represent not just any wealthy family, but a group of individuals who had important roles within the sanctuary itself. Although the identification of the group as priestesses was suggested early on, the possibility and implications have never been fully developed. The proposal that these figures could include representations of prominent priestesses will be addressed, as will their possible role in the sanctuary and the activities which they perform.

Cult of Hera

Consideration of the cult of Hera at Samos and elsewhere, as well as to whom this deity appealed and why, will help to place the Geneleos Group in its religious context. According to mythological accounts of her birth, Hera was born on the island of Samos at

the spot of the sacred Lygos tree.¹ Although remains of a tree, which were discovered behind the altar in 1963, were believed to be this sacred tree, it has since been found to be a juniper tree, perhaps from the sacred grove.² Hera was worshipped primarily by women and she is often associated with the guardianship of married women and is regarded as a protector of women during childbirth.³ Hera's many familial roles, as the sister and wife of the god Zeus and the mother of Hephaistos, made her more intimately important to Greek women than men.

Despite the abundance of extant votive offerings and related archaeological evidence from the Samian Heraion, very little literary evidence describing the cult of Hera at this site survives. Although most of the information available concerning the worship of this deity is derived from descriptions of the rituals of other sanctuaries, one Samian poet named Asios, dated to the 7th or 6th century, provides a description of the dress and adornments of elite worshippers proceeding to the sanctuary to revere the goddess. He states:

And they, too, when they had combed their flowing locks,
used to go to Hera's precinct, all bound in fine robes.
Their snow-white tunics used to reach the floor of the
broad earth, with golden brooches shaped like grass-
hoppers on them. Their tresses wavered in the wind in
golden bands, and cunningly worked bracelets were about

¹ Pausanias, 8. 23. 5.

² Kyrieleis 1993 135. The tree dates to the Archaic or Classical period, but is estimated to have only lived for approximately 80 years.

³ Kraemer 1992 24.

their arms.⁴

Although little is known of the actual ritual activities associated with the cult of Hera on the island of Samos, descriptions of the worship of this deity at other centres contribute to the understanding of the cult and basic cult practices, which may have been carried out in the same manner at many sanctuaries devoted to Hera.⁵ From some of these other sanctuaries, including Elis and Argos, it is known that in some contexts maidens dedicated their veils, new garments were given to the cult statue, sacrifices were made, dances took place and children took part in foot races.⁶

The Geneleos Group as Priestesses

In his initial study, Buschor suggested that five out of the six figures in the Geneleos Group were possibly priestesses; the sixth was the figure positioned second from the left, whom he identified as the husband of Phileia. Buschor does not deny that the figures were members of the same family, but suggests that they were probably rendered in a religious context; he calls the group a civic portrait.⁷

⁴ Shipley 1987 73.

⁵ It is known that two festivals took place in the Samian Heraion; the first was the Heraea, and the second was the Tonaia. The Tonaia was a binding ceremony which celebrated Hera's anniversary to Zeus and the Heraea celebrated the goddess and participants took part in sacrifices, as well as musical and athletic contests. Pauly- Wissowa, "Heraion" (417-18) and "Tonaia" (1705-1706).

⁶ See Farnel, 1896 179-96. Also, a more thorough discussion of Pausanias' account of the worship of Hera at Elis will follow.

⁷ Buschor 1934 28.

This interpretation began to be disputed when the family group theory became more widely accepted; it has now fallen almost into obscurity. Freyer-Schauenburg, Ridgway, and Walter-Karydi have all dismissed this suggestion, claiming that the lack of comparanda for a group of priestesses, the clothing types, lack of veils, and problems with the inscriptions make the identification as a family group more preferable.

As we have seen, the Geneleos Group is anomalous regardless of how one interprets the figures; comparanda for family groups and banqueting scenes are compositionally different and are not applicable. However, comparanda for groups of priestesses are also available and deserve more serious consideration than they have hitherto received. Three separate sets of priestesses deserve consideration, for they provide evidence for East Greek and Ionian interest in these figures during the 6th century.

The seated figures from the Sacred Way between Didyma and Miletus constitute the first group of priests and priestesses.⁸ Of the surviving figures, the males outnumber the females, but there are enough priestesses from this context to indicate that the representation of these figures was not extraordinary. These figures are compositionally different from the Geneleos Group, as the six Samian figures have a variety of poses and are placed together on a single, long base, whereas the priestesses from Didyma were individual statues. In both places the statues were situated along the Sacred Way. In the case of those from Didyma and Miletus, it seems likely that the proximity and abundance

⁸ For discussion and dates of these figures see chapter two.

of these figures in the same pose would have created the same general effect as the Geneleos Group, but on a far grander scale, when viewed by spectators processing along the Sacred Way.

The second group of priestesses come from the Archaic Temple of Apollo at Didyma, and were carved around the base of a column from the south side of the temple.⁹ Parts of two female figures survive; the better preserved includes the right shoulder and upper arm as well as the head and face (fig. 88).¹⁰ She wears a *chiton*, an *epiblema* and a double *taenia*, from which two curves hang beside either cheek.¹¹ Only the head of the second figure survives; she has an identical headdress and presumably had the same garment (fig. 89). Although these figures have been reconstructed holding hares, the loss of the body makes it unclear what attributes, if any, were associated with these priestesses. These are only two of many similar figures which have not survived, and although they are carved in relief, the figures were carved together in a group around the exterior of the columns, forming compact depictions of groups of the priestesses associated with the oracle of Apollo.¹²

The final group to be considered is a fragment of a relief from a column drum

⁹ Richter 1968 60. These figures are dated to c. 550-540. (Himmelmann-Wildschütz 1965 38 n.v.)

¹⁰ Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv. F724, F725.

¹¹ Richter 1968 60.

¹² Boardman 1991 161.

from Kyzikos, dated to c. 540 (fig. 90).¹³ The fragment contains the depiction of three female figures holding hands; each of these figures have their heads turned, frontal shoulders, and a twist in the waist indicating that the legs were probably rendered in profile to indicate motion. The grasping of the hands, the implication of movement in the legs, and the manner in which they were rendered encircling the exterior of the drum creates the impression of dancing.¹⁴ The figures appear to wear veils, although severe damage to the heads of all three figures make it difficult to determine the nature of their headdresses. The central figure does appear to have a veil covering her ears, which is similar to the way the *epiblemata* are worn by the priestesses from Didyma. Although it is not absolutely certain that these figures are priestesses, the context from which these figures come and certain features of their dress and activity suggest that this interpretation is correct.

The representations of priestesses from these three sites in Asia Minor indicate that depictions of priestesses were clearly developed and an important genre in the Archaic period, particularly the 6th century, in the Greek east and Asia Minor. This also shows that representations of individuals taking part in cult activity and perhaps even its actions, such as dancing, were an important part of the adornment of Ionian sanctuaries.

¹³ Boardman 1991 fig. 220.

¹⁴ Boardman 1991 161.

Clothing

Scholars such as Freyer-Schauenburg have attempted to discredit Buschor's suggestion that these figures were priestesses on the basis of garment types. For example, the simple garments of the three standing maidens, according to Freyer-Schauenburg, would not be appropriate for priestesses, as they were not accompanied by mantles and veils.¹⁵ The known depictions of priestesses from Asia Minor are, however, often clad in garments similar to the Samian figures. The seated figure from the Geneleos Group is dressed in the same manner as the priests and priestesses from the Sacred Way between Didyma and Miletus and is therefore within the realm of that type of figure.¹⁶ Just as we saw in chapter three, it is clear that drapery can be a less conclusive indicator of gender than is often considered; garments are limited indications of cult role, as priestly garb was neither consistent nor always distinctive in ancient Greek sculpture.¹⁷ The variations in the garments of the seated figures from Didyma and Miletus illustrate this lack of adherence to a strict method of representation.

The lack of a veil is possibly a more important consideration; Freyer-Schauenburg has argued that the fact that the surviving figures from the Geneleos Group

¹⁵ Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 124.

¹⁶ See discussion in chapter three.

¹⁷ See Muss 1981 (*passim*) and Tuchelt 1970 (*passim*) as well as Appendix A for further information concerning priestly garb and gender.

were not rendered wearing veils indicates that they were definitely not priestesses.¹⁸ For instance, although these figures' heads are not preserved, their backs and necks reveal no indications that they wore veils. The lack of a veil is attested to by the hair which hangs uncovered down the backs of the two surviving standing maidens and the reclining figure. Veils can be seen on the two surviving figures from the Temple of Apollo at Didyma and would be expected on clear depictions of priestesses; they are not, however, always necessary. Veils are found on only a few of the seated priestesses from Didyma and Miletus and, although the appearance of a veil on any one of the figures in the Geneleos Group would provide a clearer evidence for the religious roles of these figures, the lack of a veil does not instantly eliminate the possibility that they are priestesses. Scholars expect veils to be delineated on depictions of priestesses, but the known priestesses at Didyma and Miletus show variations in clothing and only some wear veils. This should not be considered a certain requirement in the identification of a priestess, since veils are found on statues believed to be depictions of goddesses and other worshippers and cannot be used to determine the figure's role within the sanctuary.

Whether these figures' heads were adorned with other priestly or ceremonial headdresses, such as diadems or *poloi*, remains uncertain due to their incomplete state of preservation. *Poloi*, in particular were associated with goddesses and priestesses by the

¹⁸ Freyer-Schauenburg, 1974 124.

Greeks.¹⁹ These hats are even found on representations of Hera from the Samian Heraion and may have been worn by priestesses in her cult (fig. 91).²⁰ Since none of the figures from the Geneleos Group have extant heads, it is impossible to state conclusively that they were “bare-headed” as Freyer-Schauenburg has proposed, and, even without the veil, it remains possible that the figures wore another type of headdress.²¹

Another problematic feature is the fact that the identifying inscriptions carved on Phileia, Ornithe and Philippe consist of only one name. For instance, Freyer-Schauenburg states that if these figures were priestesses the patronymic would be included, since they would have been women from a prominent family and the inclusion of this information would identify the important family of which they were a part.²² Literary references to priestesses, however, virtually never have patronymics and epigraphic evidence likewise can often show a simple name.²³ One such inscription from a statue base found at the Heraion at Argos provides the name of a priestess of Hera,

¹⁹ Boardman 1991 11. Some examples of figures wearing *poloi* are as follows: the two sphyrelaton females from Dreros in the Heraklion Museum (Richter 1968 fig.70-75); the wooden goddess from Samos, Samos Museum inv. H 41 (Boardman 1991 fig.49); a figurine in Syracuse’s Museo Archeologico inv. 47134 (Richter 1968 fig 109-111); the head of Hera from Olympia, Olympia Museum (Richter 1968 fig. 118-121); the Berlin *Kore* in Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv. 1800 (Richter 1968 fig. 139-46), and the Lyons *kore* in Lyons and Athens (Richter 1968 fig. 275-279).

²⁰ For a discussion of the *polos* in relation to images of Hera see O’Brien 1993 25-33.

²¹ Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 124.

²² Freyer-Schauenburg 1974 124.

²³ Herodotus mentions several priestesses without patronymic; from Attica he mentions Promeneia, Timarete, and Nikandra (2.55), Timo (6.134-135), the Pythia Perialla (6.66). Thucydides discusses the priestesses Chryseis and Phaenias from Argos and provides no patronymic (2.21, 4.133).

“Atmate”, without a patronymic.²⁴

The dedicatory inscription, as already demonstrated, is very problematic due to severe damage, and it cannot be determined whether the dedicator of the monument is in fact the person depicted in the reclining pose. The assumption that it should be may be based on modern preconceptions of what elements should be included in a dedicatory inscription and Ridgway has suggested that the fragmentary name of the donor, which refers to the reclining figure, would have been accompanied by an unpreserved patronymic.²⁵ Furthermore, if the donor of the group is not the same as the reclining figure then it is more logical that these figures have only first names, as the donor may have been honouring the women by creating these images, but only included a patronymic in the dedicatory inscription to clearly identify himself.

Another problem with the inscription deals once again with the illegibility of the donor's name. If the name ended in -οχη it may represent the last letters of a title.²⁶ Dunst read the ending of the name as [...]larches and has interpreted the title as *agelarches* or “leader of a band.” This he then interpreted as a leader of a group of

²⁴ *IG* 4.531.

²⁵ Ridgway 1977 131. The severe damage suffered by the inscription neither suggests or eliminates the possibility of a lost patronymic, but it is not necessary to assume that one was required in the dedicatory inscription.

²⁶ For scholars who read the ending of the name as -οχη see appendix B. The title “Diadoche” or successor, which could be the title of a priestess, was proposed by Andrew Stewart, although he has not himself published this. See Simon 1986 87 n.113 for this reference.

priestesses of Hera.²⁷ Until the relationship between the donor and the reclining figure has been established, no arguments can be made either way and, although the possibility remains that the reclining figure is not the person named in the dedicatory inscription, the poor preservation of the inscription prevents any conclusive interpretations of the text.

Two of Ridgway's chief objections to identifying the figures as priestesses have already been discussed: the illegibility of the dedicatory inscription weakens her objection on the basis of the donor's name, and the existence of reclining forms at other sanctuaries undermines her assertions that the reclining figure must be male. Her third and final objection still requires consideration. She suggests that if these six figures were representative of a group of priestesses they would all have to be of about the same age, but she does not provide any evidence to support this claim.²⁸ It is clear, however, from Pausanias' description of the Sixteen Women of Hera at Elis that women of various ages worshipped and served the goddess together. The Sixteen Women from Elis were selected from the upper echelons of society and ran the Heraea every four years, they were assisted by women of a matronly age, and women and children of other ages and marital status were also active participants in the Heraea at Elis.²⁹ One should also consider the length of time priestesses served their goddess; Pliny mentions a statue of

²⁷ Dunst 1972 132-5.

²⁸ Ridgway 1977 131 n.10.

²⁹ Pausanias, 5. 16. 2-5.

Lysimache, who was a priestesses of Athena and served the goddess for 64 years.³⁰

Since it is known that priestesses served until late in life, it can be inferred that there were in fact priestesses with a wide range of ages attending to their deity at the same time.

There is, however, scant literary evidence which makes reference to the actual priestesses and cult activity from the Samian Heraion; therefore, an examination of Pausanias' description of the cult of Hera at Elis becomes useful, as it opens the door to an even better interpretation of the Geneleos Group.

Elis

Pausanias' description of the women involved in the cult of Hera at Elis and his discussion of the events which occurred during the Heraea is interesting, as the participants in this festival at Elis have physical correlations with the six figures in the Geneleos Group. Pausanias writes:

Every four years there is woven for Hera a robe by the Sixteen women, and the same also hold the games called Heraea. The games consist of foot-races for maidens. These are not all of the same age. The first to run are the youngest; after them come the next in age, and the last to run are the oldest of the maidens. They run in the following way: their hair hangs down, a tunic reaches to a little above the knee, and they bare the right shoulder as far as the breast. These too have the Olympic stadium reserved for their games, but the course of the stadium is shortened for them by about one-sixth of its length. To the winning maidens they give crowns of olive and a portion of the cow sacrificed to Hera. They may also dedicate statues with their names inscribed upon them.

³⁰ Pliny, *NH* 34.76.

Those who administer to the Sixteen are, like the presidents of the games, married women. The games of the maidens too are traced back to ancient times; they say that, out of gratitude to Hera for her marriage with Pelops, Hippodameia assembled the Sixteen Women, and with them inaugurated the Heraea.....

Besides the account already given they tell another story about the Sixteen Women as follows. Damophon, it is said, when tyrant of Pisa did much grievous harm to the Eleans. But when he died, since the people of Pisa refused to participate as a people in their tyrant's sins, and the Eleans too became quite ready to lay aside their grievances, they chose a woman from each of the sixteen cities of Elis still inhabited at that time to settle their differences, this woman to be the oldest, the most noble, and the most esteemed of all the women. The cities from which they chose the women were Elis, ... The women from these cities made peace between Pisa and Elis. Later on they were entrusted with the management of the Heraean games, and with the weaving of the robe for Hera. The Sixteen Women also arrange two choral dances, one called that of the Physcoa and the other that of the Hippodameia.³¹

This description of the Heraea, although not at Samos, provides valuable information concerning not only the events which occurred during the festival, but more importantly about the variety of women who organized and took part. Pausanias describes the Elean Heraea, which was run by a group of matrons called the Sixteen; these were assisted by married women, and unwed girls participated in the associated foot races and dances.

This information gains further relevance in relation to the Geneleos Group when Ridgway's argument against the possibility that this monument represents a group of priestesses is once again considered. As demonstrated, the range of ages of the figures on the Geneleos Group do not directly support the notion that these figures must belong to a

³¹ Pausanias, 5. 16. 4-7.

nuclear family, for at Elis there were clearly cult administrators, if not quite priestesses, of different ages. Pausanias' description of other aspects of the Elean Heraea also makes it clear that serving as a priestess is not the only way a woman can exercise a prominent role in a religious cult or festival. The actions described by Pausanias seem to have a physical embodiment in the Geneleos Group and it is in this context that the individual figures of this monument will once again be considered.

The first figure that will be examined is the missing figure from the second position from the left. Although this figure has come to be identified as a young male and is sometimes identified as a flute player, in my interpretation this figure should be identified as a young, possibly pubescent girl.³² In extant vase paintings depicting scenes of *Frauenfeste* young girls are sometimes depicted taking part in the activities. On a Black Figure Corinthian vase by the Béziers *Frauenfest* Painter young girls are depicted standing in profile between older women and some are in the process of having wreaths placed on their heads (fig. 92).³³ The presence of the wreath in this image is reminiscent of those mentioned by Pausanias in his description of the footraces associated with the Heraea. According to Pausanias' account the footraces were run by maidens and followed a particular order; the youngest girls run first and the oldest run last and the

³² The torso with the hand holding the flute will not be considered, as the arguments used by Walter-Karydi to link this torso to the Geneleos Group are unconvincing. See chapter two.

³³ Montpellier, Inv. 127. See Amyx 1988 653-4.

winner were granted olive crowns.³⁴ This is not to say that the figures on this vase are taking part in the Heraea, for the deity to which the activities on this vase were devoted is unclear.³⁵ Because only the left foot of the figure from the Geneleos Group survives, it is impossible to confidently state what her physical appearance was, although the description of the running maidens in Pausanias' account would correspond to the short garment type of this figure as evidenced by the shape of the plinth cutting.³⁶ Pausanias describes these girls as wearing short *chitones*, which reached the knee and exposed the right shoulder.³⁷ It therefore seems more plausible given the religious context of the dedication that the figure was somehow involved in an activity associated with the cult of Hera and without any further information regarding the cult of Hera on Samos, Pausanias' description of the cult of Hera at Elis provides the best applicable literary evidence.³⁸

The three standing maidens also have correlations with Pausanias' text, for the tugging of their garments to one side to reveal the foot has been interpreted by Martin Robertson as an indication of dancing.³⁹ It is known that dances were associated with

³⁴ Pausanias, 5. 16. 2-3.

³⁵ Amyx 1988 653.

³⁶ See chapters one and two for the discussion of the shape of the plinth.

³⁷ Pausanias, 5. 16. 3.

³⁸ The Heraea, as organized by the Sixteen Women, was in effect by c. 588, the date assigned to the Eleo-Pisatan conflict, although the structure of the cult may have existed earlier. (Nota George Kaldis-Henderson 1979 189) It is known that games were held in the Samian Heraion, see chapter 4 n. 5.

³⁹ Robertson 1979 77.

numerous Greek deities, and there are many representations of women performing these dances.⁴⁰ An early bronze representation of a circle dance from Olympia dates to the eighth century and depicts seven nude females forming a circle by placing their arms on each others' shoulders.⁴¹ Other representations of dancing women include a Corinthian bottle by the Skating Painter on which appear two bands of women whose hands are joined by the mutual holding of wreaths and whose bodies turn in various directions (fig. 93);⁴² a relief from the Akropolis depicting three dancing girls and a boy following a piper in which each of the figures, save the piper, grasp the right wrist of the person trailing them (fig. 94);⁴³ and most importantly a *hydria* from the Heraion at Samos (fig. 95). On this late 7th or early 6th century vase two bands of women are depicted dancing.⁴⁴ They are rendered in profile and each has her right arm extended out in front and the left reaching behind. This *hydria* provides a clear indication that ritual dancing would have taken place at the Heraion and although the garments on the vase differ from those of Philippe and Ornithe, this difference is not problematic. The tugging of the skirt to indicate dancing appears to have been initiated in East Greek workshops and Geneleos' *korai* are perhaps the earliest examples of this motif. The figures from the Geneleos

⁴⁰ Lawler 1978 99-115.

⁴¹ Lawler 1978 54. For illustration see Lawler 1978 fig. 18.

⁴² Baltimore 48.192.

⁴³ Akropolis Museum 702.

⁴⁴ O'Brien 1993 pl. 9.

Group stand independently of one another and do not hold hands as they do in other representations of dances, but this may be reflective of the restrictions of the medium and the artist's experimentation with new ways of representing dancing figures, rather than indicative of another activity. It may very well be the case that the maidens in the Geneleos Group are taking part in dances similar to the Physcoa and the Hippodameia mentioned by Pausanias.⁴⁵

The final two figures, those of Phileia and the reclining figure, are best considered together because when Pausanias' description is applied, the roles of these figures are closely related. Phileia has been identified in one interpretation as the mother of the family and in another as a priestess; the comparanda for seated figures in both roles have already been considered. The gender of the reclining figure has also been debated, but is here considered female. Pausanias' description of the Heraea at Elis includes a relatively detailed discussion of the Sixteen Women who organize the festival, and also makes mention of another group of women who aided them in overseeing the Heraea. The activities mentioned by Pausanias can be directly applied to the Samian sculptural group, for each of the figures from Elis mentioned by Pausanias finds a sculptural counterpart in the Geneleos Group from Samos. In this interpretation of the monument, the figures are understood as female family members; Phileia is an assistant administrator, the second figure is a participant in the foot races, the three standing maidens are taking part in

⁴⁵ Pausanias, 5. 16. 7.

dances and the reclining figure is a head administrator, but not necessarily a priestess.⁴⁶

This preserves the cult connection proposed in the theory identifying the group as priestesses and also accommodates the variety of poses and ages and possibly the familial bonds suggested in the family group theory.

Firstly, according to Pausanias, the Sixteen Women were selected according to their age, nobility and respectability.⁴⁷ When these characteristics are applied to the reclining figure from the Geneleos Group many of the problems scholars who attribute a male gender to this figure are more easily explained. For instance, those who believe that this figure is male state that the breasts indicate that the figure is a wealthy man, but without supporting comparanda and with the anatomical features of this figure challenging this notion, it seems more logical that this figure is female. The rotundity of the body, although unique in representations of females, can therefore be explained by the age of the figure, who would have been both old and wealthy; the iconography implied by scholars who believe that the fleshiness of this figure is meant to indicate the opulent lifestyle to which this figure was accustomed would be correct. This would also suggest that in certain circumstances this iconography could be applied to wealthy women. The reclining pose also becomes less problematic when one considers that the Sixteen Women came from nobility. Given the context and location of the Geneleos Group and

⁴⁶ Pausanias, 5. 16. 3.

⁴⁷ Pausanias, 5. 16. 5.

the fact that women could recline in some cult contexts, as at Corinth and Brauron, the pose would then be understood as an indicator of leadership and the status of a prominent woman and her role in the festival.

In this interpretation Phileia could then be understood as the equivalent of an attendant of one of the Sixteen Women and the sedentary pose would indicate her married status and also her function in the cult, as someone who helped to oversee the festival. Also, in this case an attribute identifying this figure as a priestess would not be necessary, as the activities of the other members of the group would have helped to further define Phileia's role. The depiction of women of different ages would reinforce the Greek divisions of females by their ages into what Ross Shepard Kraemer refers to as "prefertile, fertile and postfertile" or "maidens, mothers and crones" and it would encompass, as did the Heraea, each major female age group.⁴⁸

Another concern which can be addressed with the application of Pausanias' text to this monument is the dedication of the group. It is usually assumed that the dedication would have been made by a wealthy male, who was also the reclining figure, but if the reclining figure is a female there is no reason to assume that she, a product of a wealthy family, could not have donated the monument herself. Pausanias states that at Elis the maidens who were victorious in the foot races could dedicate statues on which their

⁴⁸ Kraemer 1992 124.

names were inscribed.⁴⁹ Pausanias also mentions that when he visited the sanctuary of Hera at Argos statues of former priestesses of the cult were still standing in the *pronaos* of the temple.⁵⁰ Pausanias does not, however, state that the priestesses themselves were responsible for dedicating the statues, and in the case of the Geneleos Group it is not necessary that the reclining figure was the donor. The dedicator of this elaborate monument could have been another relative of the reclining figure, possibly even her husband or son.

In applying Pausanias' description of the Elean Heraea to the Geneleos Group it is not necessary to deny the possibility of a family connection amongst the figures. The lack of patronymics associated with individual figures may suggest that these figures were united not only by their roles in the Heraea, but also by familial bonds, for if these figures were not related there may have been some attempt at identifying them more fully by means of their labels. The context and location of the monument in the Heraion denote a certain importance, one which is not fully explained by the wealth of the donor. The placement of the monument along the Sacred Way at a key vantage point for the temple and proximate to the altar is significant. It would be more appropriate for a dedication depicting individuals with personal associations with the worship of the patron deity than merely a wealthy individual wishing to leave a representation of himself and his family

⁴⁹ Pausanias, 5. 16. 3. See *IG* 4.513 for one example from Argos.

⁵⁰ Pausanias, 2. 17. 3.

banqueting for posterity.

The physical correlations between Pausanias' description of the Elean Heraea and the individual figures in the Geneleos Group are striking and should not go unnoticed, for the physical form of each of the figures in the Geneleos Group can be explained in relation to this text. It is important to stress that in this interpretation all of the six figures are identified as female and all are involved in the Heraea; only two are attendants or possibly priestesses. The young girl is depicted taking part in a foot race, the three standing maidens are taking part in a dance in honour of the goddess, the seated figure is assisting the reclining figure, who is understood as a head administrator in charge of the festival. If the monument as a whole is considered, it has its own significance independent of the individuals rendered on its base. The monument itself is meant to commemorate not only those displayed, but also the festival itself; the celebration of the Heraea, which was only held every four years, would be reason enough to create a special monument in honour of the festival.⁵¹ This would be even more likely if the Geneleos Group was erected shortly after the completion of Rhoikos's Temple of Hera and the family depicted had perhaps aided in funding its construction.⁵²

⁵¹ According to Pausanias a garment was woven for the goddess every four years, which suggests that a major festival was held at that time, Pausanias, 7. 24 .10. The four year interval between festivals is a pattern that is the same for the cult of Hera at Elis as it is for Athena at Athens and many other cults as well; it is very likely that this applied at Samos too.

⁵² The Rhoikos temple was constructed between c. 575 and 560 and the Geneleos Group is dated to c. 560. (Kyrieleis 1993 134)

CONCLUSIONS

The Geneleos Group from Samos is a unique and therefore problematic monument, and the lack of close sculptural parallels for this group has led to disagreement about who these individuals were and in what context they were depicted. This monument was originally interpreted as a group of women; Buschor proposed that they were priestesses and this was accepted until Himmelmann-Wildschütz identified the reclining figure as a man, based largely on the posture, and suggested that the Geneleos Group depicted a nuclear family group with a reclining father, a seated mother, a young, standing son and three standing daughters. This theory has come to be the one most often cited, despite several inconsistencies in the evidence and arguments used to support it.

Many modern scholars who accept the nuclear family group interpretation fail to question the physical evidence and the limitations of the comparanda considered. When these are taken into account other possibilities emerge, including the likelihood that the group could represent six females from a generational family or, as Buschor proposed, a group of priestesses. The gender of the reclining figure and missing second figure are ambiguous and often scholars who follow the nuclear family group theory attribute a gender to these figures based solely on what they think would be most appropriate to a banquet. The reclining figure is the most problematic and is pivotal, since the gender of this figure affects how the group as a whole is interpreted. Those who identify this figure

as male cite only renderings of males reclining without considering female equivalents and they ignore the most obvious indicator of gender, the breasts. Other supposed indicators of gender including clothing, hairstyles, and attributes have also been examined, but the clothing and hairstyle of the reclining figure have parallels in depictions of both males and females. The attribute held in this figure's left hand has also been debated and often those who consider the figure male read the battered object as a drinking horn, which would be more appropriate for a male in a symposium context. Careful examination of the silhouette of the object, however, suggests that it is actually a bird; this may suggest that the figure is female, since there are several other examples of female statues holding birds as offerings to female deities. When the physical features of each of the figures in the Geneleos Group are considered on an individual basis, without a preconceived idea of what the group as a whole represents, a wider range of comparanda can be considered and with this the plausibility of the nuclear family group interpretation diminishes.

The inscriptions labelling the seated figure and the two surviving standing maidens and the dedicatory inscription, which is positioned on the cushion below the reclining figure, are important for arguments involving the gender of the reclining figure and the interpretation of the group as a whole. The last letters of the donor's name on the severely damaged dedicatory inscription have been read by some as belonging to the reclining figure, although this is by no means certain. The inscription is too damaged to reveal the gender of the donor and a damaged area surrounding the figure's right hand

leaves open the possibility that a separate label identifying this figure was located here. The lack of a patronymic in the labels of Phileia, Ornithe and Philippe is used in the arguments supporting a nuclear family group theory, but patronymics are not necessary in sculptural inscriptions as is evinced from inscriptions accompanying representations of priestesses from Argos.

That Buschor's proposal that the Geneleos Group could represent priestesses deserves further consideration is clear when one takes into account the context of the monument as well as known ritual activity from the cult of Hera. The important location of this monument in the sanctuary, proximate to the altar and with Rhoikos's temple in clear view, cannot be ignored. The location seems too prominent for a group merely depicting a wealthy family. When this setting is considered the possibility that these figures had a stronger role within the sanctuary seems more likely and the plausibility of the nuclear family group theory decreases still further.

Comparanda from sites in Asia Minor provide evidence for an interest in the depiction of priestesses in the last half of the 6th century BCE, but literary accounts of ritual activity from another Heraion on mainland Greece provide the most relevant parallel for the Geneleos Group. Pausanias' description of the festival of Hera at Elis discusses the activities as well as the individuals who organized and took part in the festival. He describes the Sixteen Women, a group of respected elders who organized the Heraea, their assistants, and the girls who took part in the dances and footraces. The roles of the individuals mentioned by Pausanias seem to find a physical representation in the

Geneleos Group from Samos. The reclining figure, with her posture indicating that she had an important role and was highly respected, corresponds well with the role and status of the Sixteen Women; Phileia, with her seated pose indicating that she is a matron, could easily be an assistant to the reclining figure; the missing figure beside Phileia probably wore a short *chiton* and may have been a participant in a footrace; the three standing maidens, who stand with one foot advanced and pull their skirt to one side, are taking part in a dance in honour of the goddess. Although the cult at Samos would not have been identical to that at Elis, similar ritual activity, such as games and dances, are known to have taken place. The Geneleos Group appears to commemorate a group of six women, who were probably bound by familial ties, taking part in a festival of Hera and the monument exemplifies the variations in how women of different ages worshipped the goddess in these festivals.

The anomalous aspects of the Geneleos Group make it difficult to determine conclusively the precise function of the monument and it is therefore difficult to ascertain the relationships among those rendered. What this study of the monument does make clear, however, is the importance of reexamination; it is essential to reconsider the physical characteristics of the individual figures independent of preconceptions about the group as a whole, because an understanding of the group can be tainted by acceptance of an identification without questioning the arguments, evidence, comparanda and conclusions drawn by previous scholars.

APPENDIX A: SEATED FIGURES

Gender: M=male, F=female

Chest: R=rounded, F=flat

Mantle: D=diagonally draped, S=symmetrically draped

Mantle folds: D: diagonal lines, N: none

Chiton + Mantle: Y=yes, N=no

Veil: Y=yes, N=no

Chiton folds (on lower legs) C= central folds, F=fanned out folds, D=diagonal folds, R=central roll of fabric between legs

Hands flat: B=both hands flat, R=right hand flat (left fist), L=left hand flat (right fist)

Hair visible: Y=yes, N=no

Site	Inv. #	Gender		chest		mantle		mantle folds		chiton + mantle		chiton folds			Veil		Hands flat			Hair			
		M	F	R	F	D	S	D	N	Y	N	C	F	D	R	Y	N	B	R	L	Y	N	
Samos	768		x	-	-	x			x	x		x				x				x		x	
	285	?	?	x		x		x		x		x				x				x		x	
Didyma	K 43	x			x	x			x	x		-	-	-		x				x		x	
	K 45		x	x			x	-	x	x		x			?	?	x					x	
	K 46	x			x	x		x		x		x				x		x				x	
	K 47	x			x	x		x		x		x				x				x		x	
	K 48	x		-	-	x		x		x		x				x				x	-	-	
	K 49	x		-	-	x		x		x		x			-	-		?					x
	K 51	x			x		x	x		x		x				x					x		x
K 52	x			x	x		x		x		x				x					x		x	
K 53	x			x	x		x		x			x			?	?				x		x	
K 54	x			x	x		-	-	x		-	-	-	-	-	-				x		x	
K 55	x			x	-	-	-	-		x	x					x				x	x		
K 57	x			x	x		x		x		x		x		x					x	?	?	
K 58		x		-	-	x		-	-	x		x		x	-	-	x				-	-	
K 59	x			x		x	x		x		x				?	?	x				-	-	
K 60		x	x			x		x	x		x				x		x					x	
K 63		x		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x			x	?	?	?			-	
Miletus	253		x	x		x		x		x			x	x	?	?	x					x	
	254		x	x		x		x		x			x	x	?	?	x					x	

Site	Inv. #	Gender		chest		mantle		mantle folds		chiton +mantle		chiton folds			Veil		Hands flat			Hair		
		M	F	R	F	D	S	D	N	Y	N	C	F	D	Y	N	B	R	L	Y	N	
	547		x	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?				x	?	?	x				x
	L95		x	x			x	x		x					x	?	?	x				x
	L96		x	x			x	x		x					x		x	x				x
	L 99		x	x			x		x	x					x	x		x				x
	L 100		x	?	?		x		x	x					x	-	-	x				-

Observations based on illustrations in Tuchelt's catalogue except for Miletus inv. 253, 254 and 547.

Features which are not adequately preserved are marked with - , and features that are unclear from the photographs are marked with a ?.

APPENDIX B: INTERPRETATIONS OF THE DONOR'S NAME AND GENDER

Scholar	Publication Year and Page	Reading of end of donor's name	Source for reading	Gender of reclining fig.
Boardman	1991: fig. 93	-αρχης	not stated	male
Buschor	1934:28	-οχη	autopsy	female
Dentzer	1970:161	-οχη	autopsy	male
Dunst	1972:1332-5	αγελαρχης	autopsy	female
Freyer-Schauenburg	1974:122-4	-αρχης	autopsy	male
Jeffrey	1961:319, 341	-ναρχης	autopsy	male
Martini	1990:81	-ρχης	not stated	male
Pedley	1976:54	-οχη	Buschor	female
	1993:177	-αρχης	Freyer-Schauenburg	male
Richter	1968:49	-οχη	Buschor	male
	1970:125	-οχη	Buschor	male
Ridgway	1977:131	-αρχης	Freyer-Schauenburg	male
Stewart	1990:117	-αρχης	Freyer-Schauenburg	male
Walter	1965:70	-(α)ρχης	not stated	male
Walter-Karydi	1985:98	-λάρχης	not stated, autopsy?	male

ILLUSTRATIONS

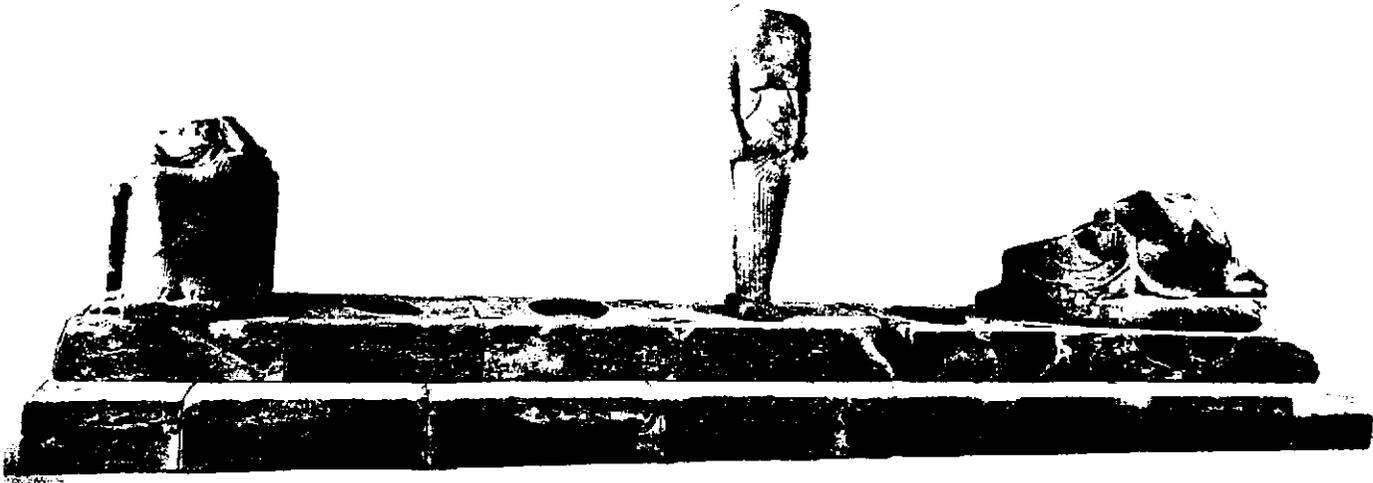


Fig. 1 Surviving figures of Geneleos Group in Samos Museum



Fig. 2 Geneleos Group, cast *in situ*

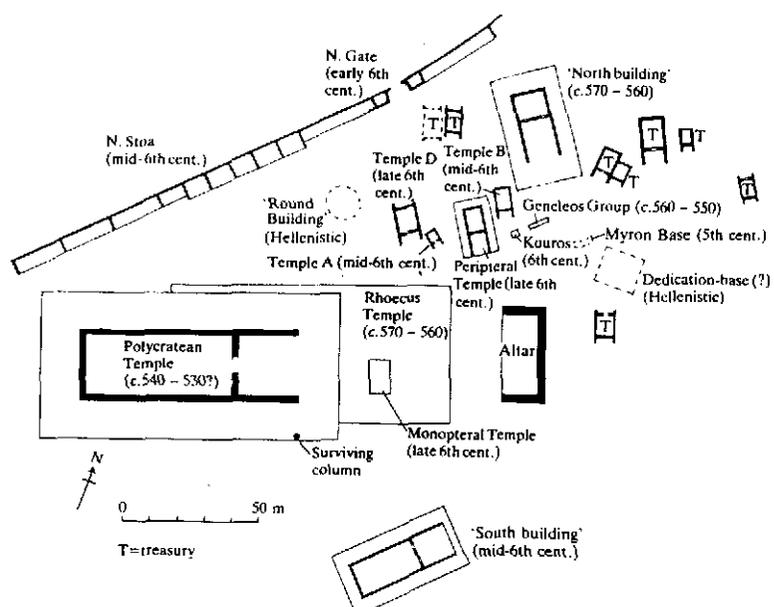
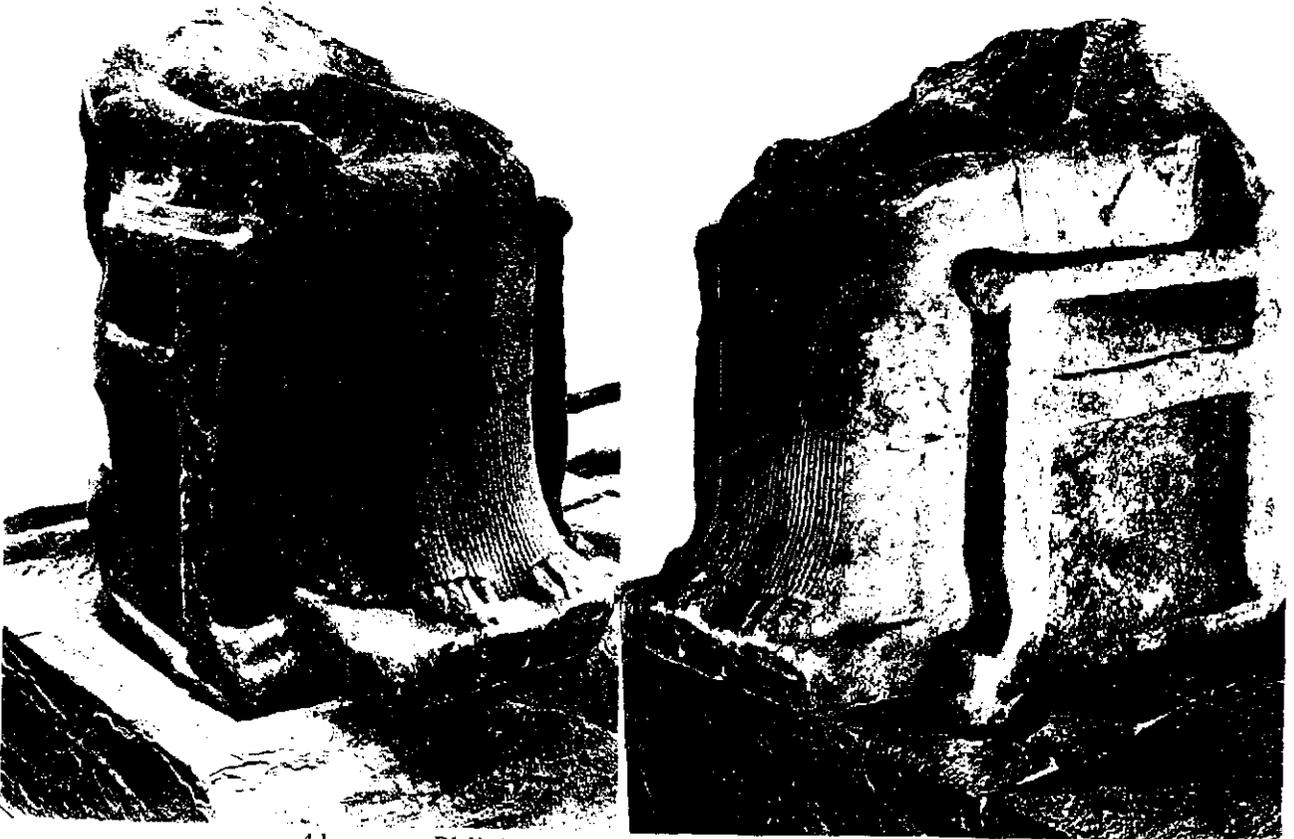
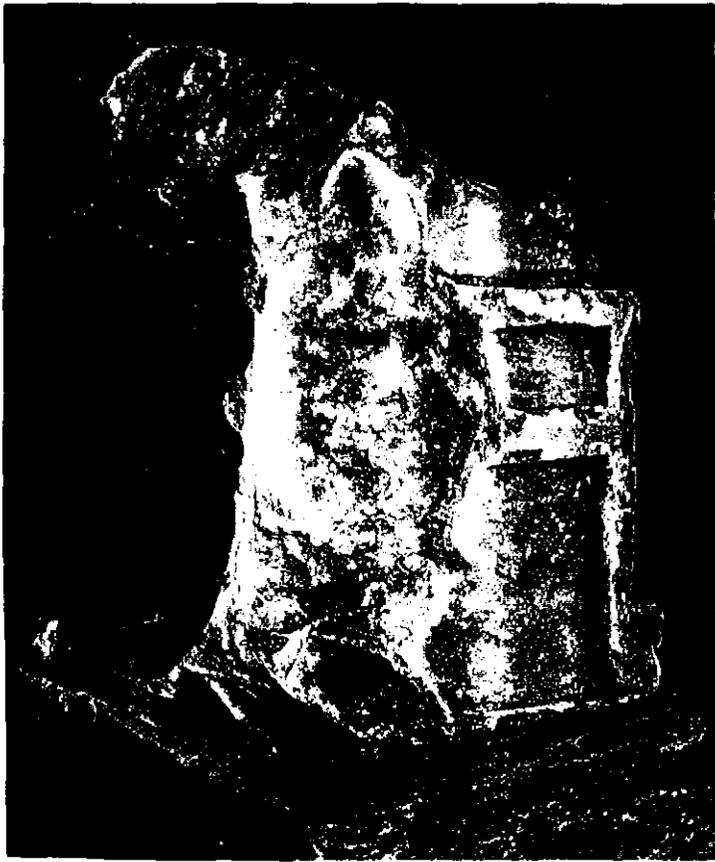


Fig. 3 Plan of Heraion at Samos



Fig. 4 a Phileia



4 b Phileia, back 3/4 view, right 3/4 view, left 3/4 view



Fig. 5 Inscriptions on Phileia: horizontal (left), sculptor's signature; (right), Phileia's label.



Fig. 6 a Second figure, foot fragment



b Second figure, foot fragment on base

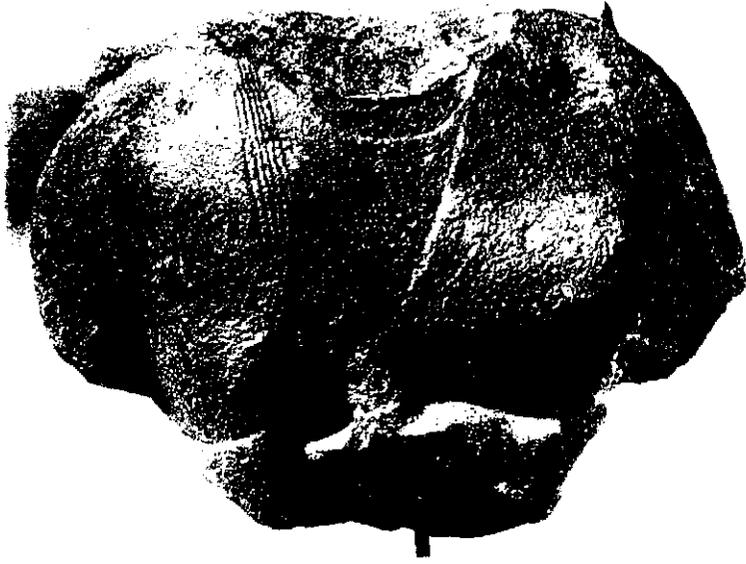


Fig. 7 Torso of a female

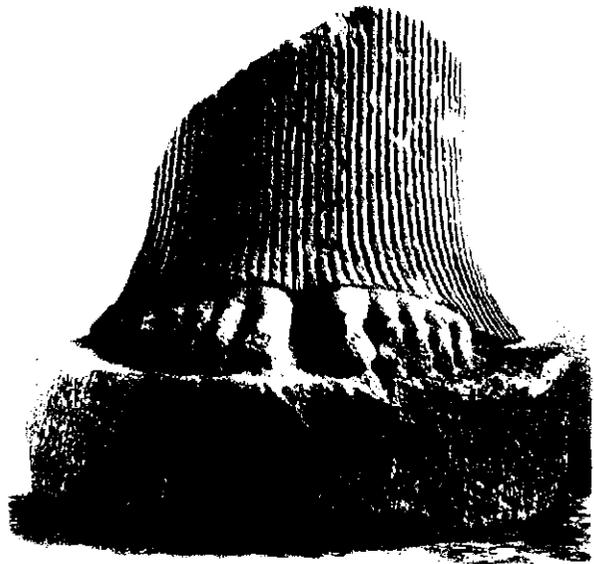


Fig. 8 Feet of *kore*



Fig. 9 Third figure, fragments of a hand tugging the drapery

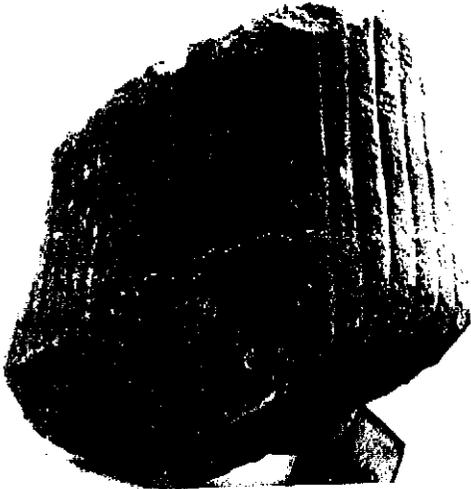


Fig. 10 Third figure, fragments of folds from the gathering of the drapery



Fig. 11 Third figure, fragment of drapery from the right arm



Fig. 12 Third figure, fragment of drapery from the left arm



Fig. 13 Philippe, back 3/4 view and front view



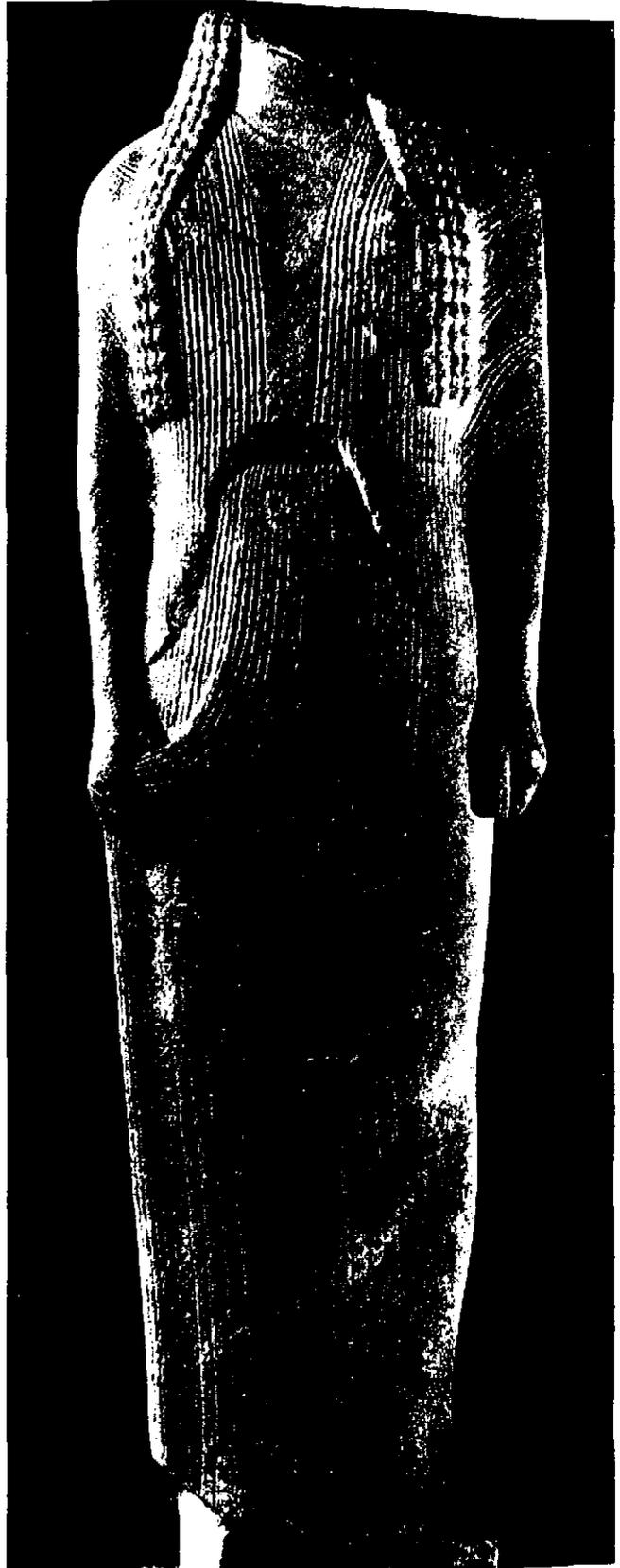
Fig. 14 Philippe, back view and left side



Fig. 15 Philippe, inscription



Fig. 16



Ornithe, left side and front view



Fig. 17 Ornithe, back view and left side

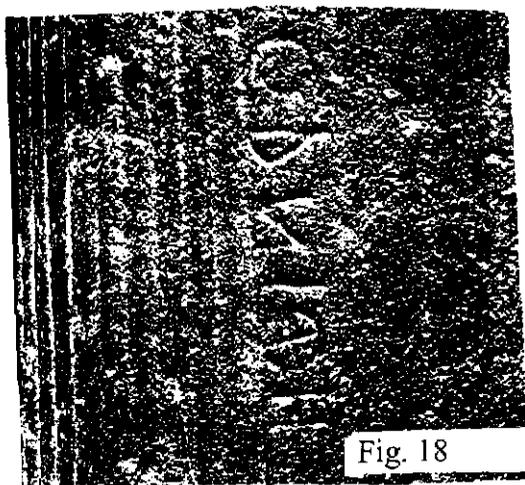


Fig. 18

Ornithe, inscription



Fig. 19 Reclining figure, front



Fig. 20 Reclining figure, left side



Fig. 21 Front 3/4 view, reclining figure

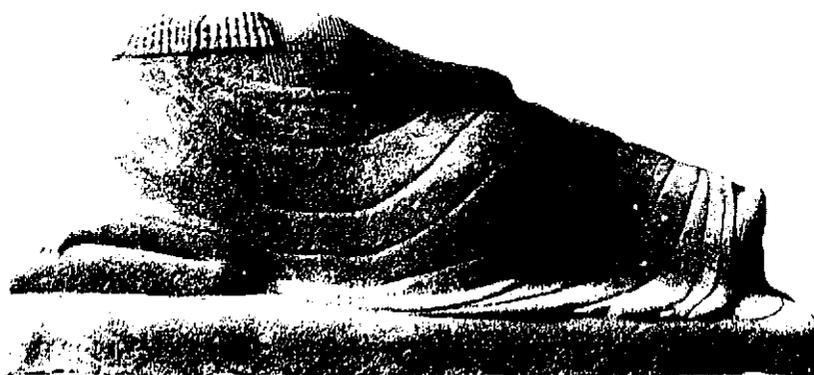


Fig. 22 Back view, reclining figure

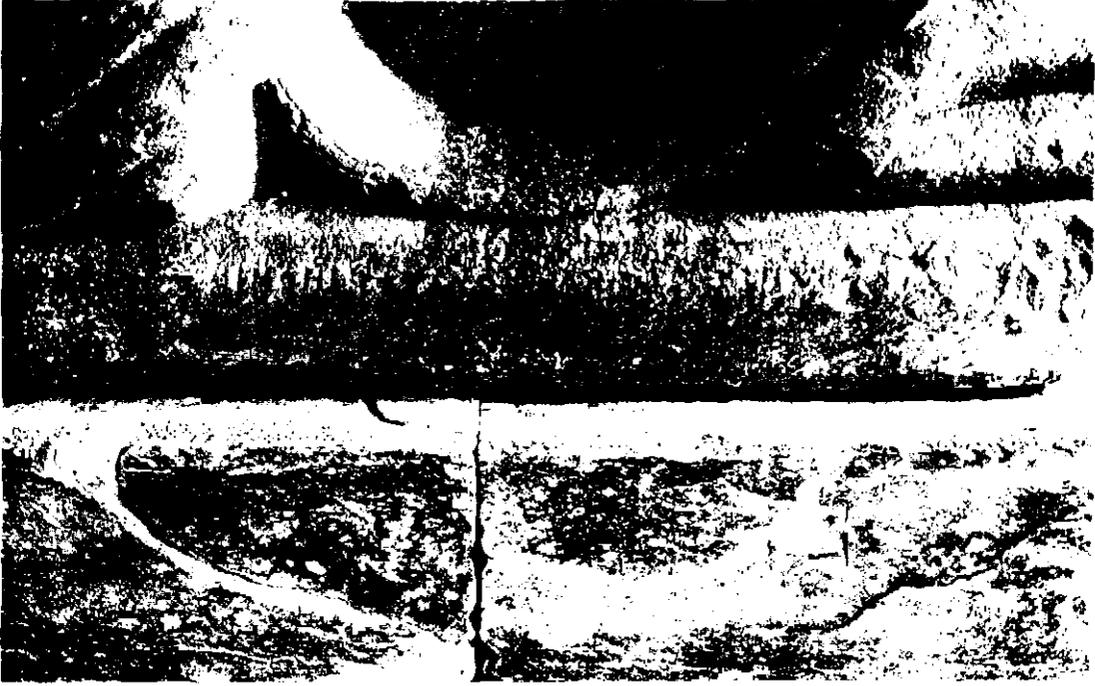
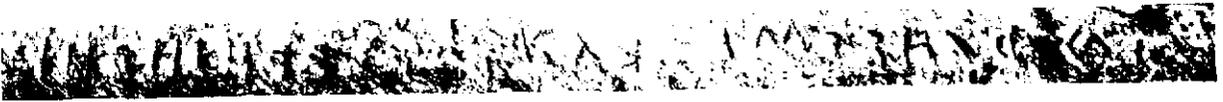


Fig. 23 a. Dedicatory inscription



b Dedicatory inscription.

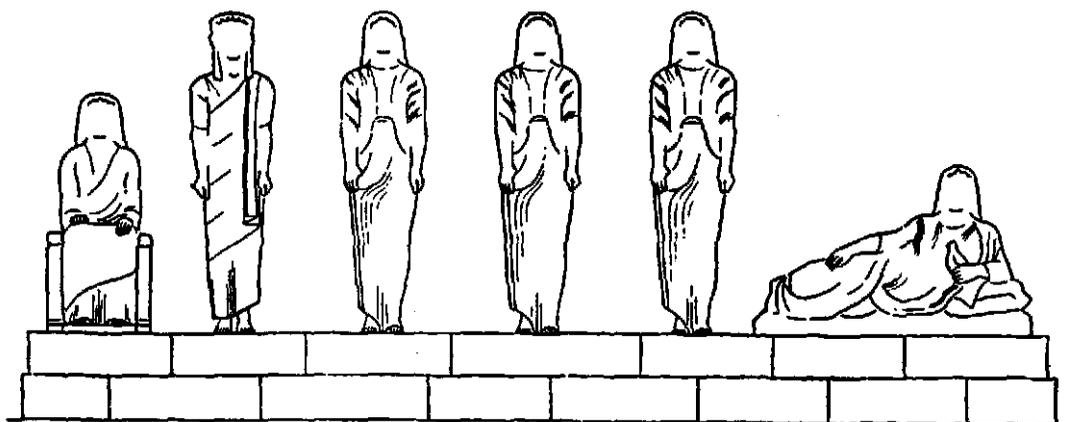


Fig. 24 Buschor's Reconstruction of the Geneleos Group.

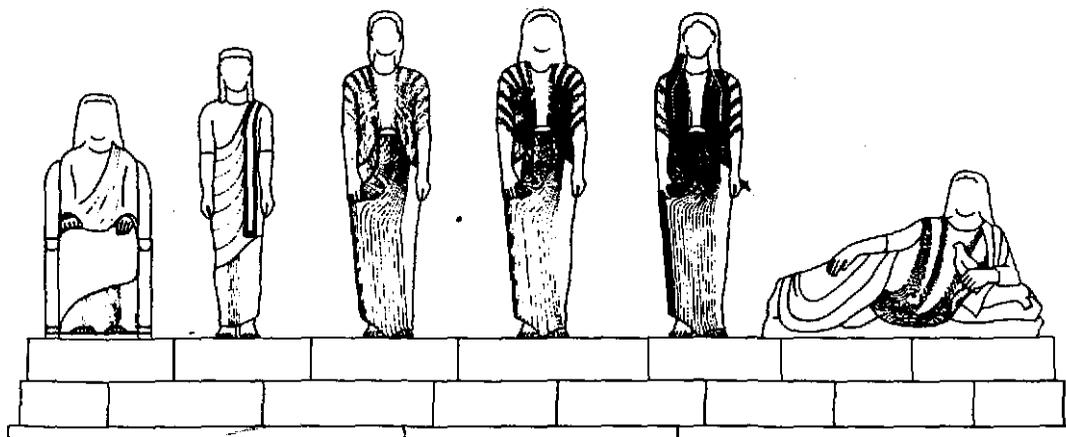


Fig. 25 Freyer-Schauenburg's reconstruction of the Geneleos Group

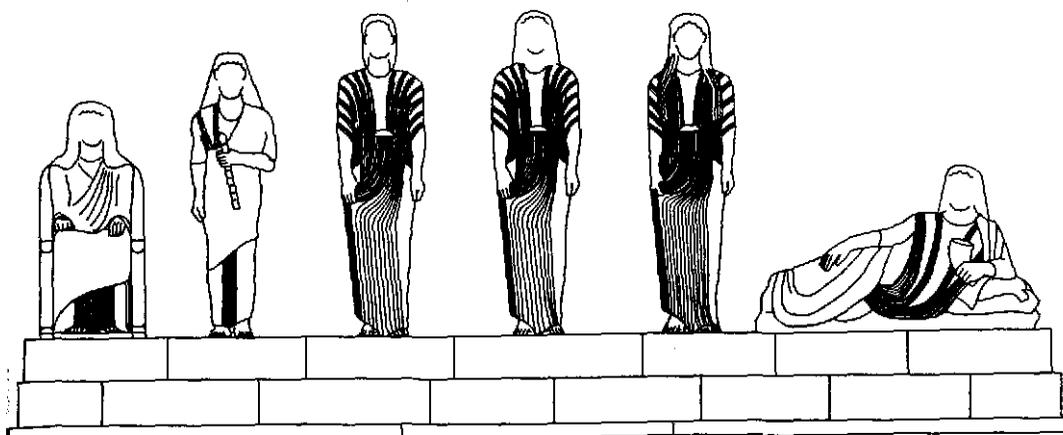


Fig. 26 Reconstruction, Geneleos Group



Fig. 27 Relief of Assurbanipal and his wife from Nineveh

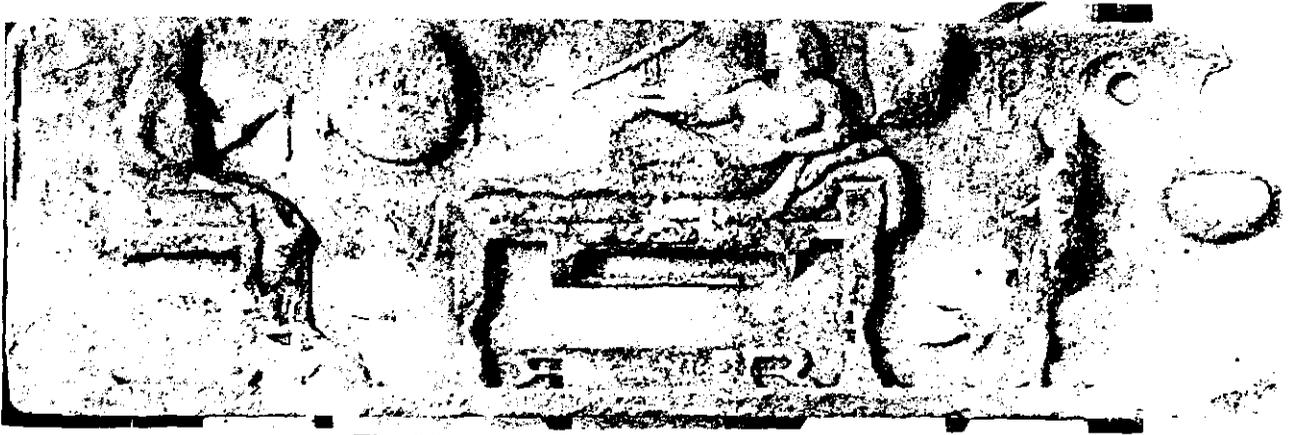


Fig. 28 *Totenmahl* relief from Paros

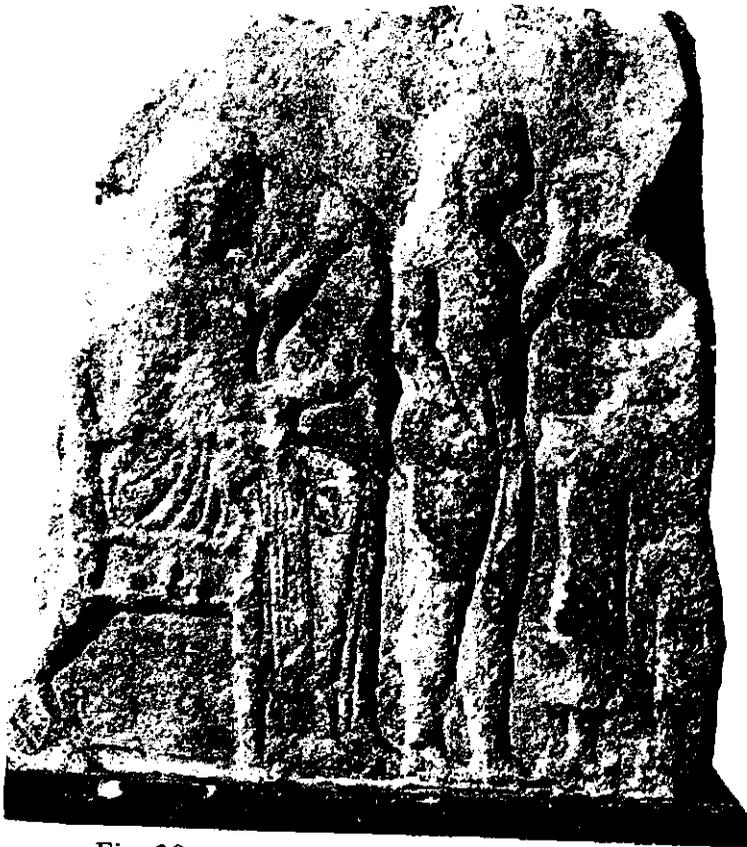


Fig. 29 *Totenmahl* relief from Tegea

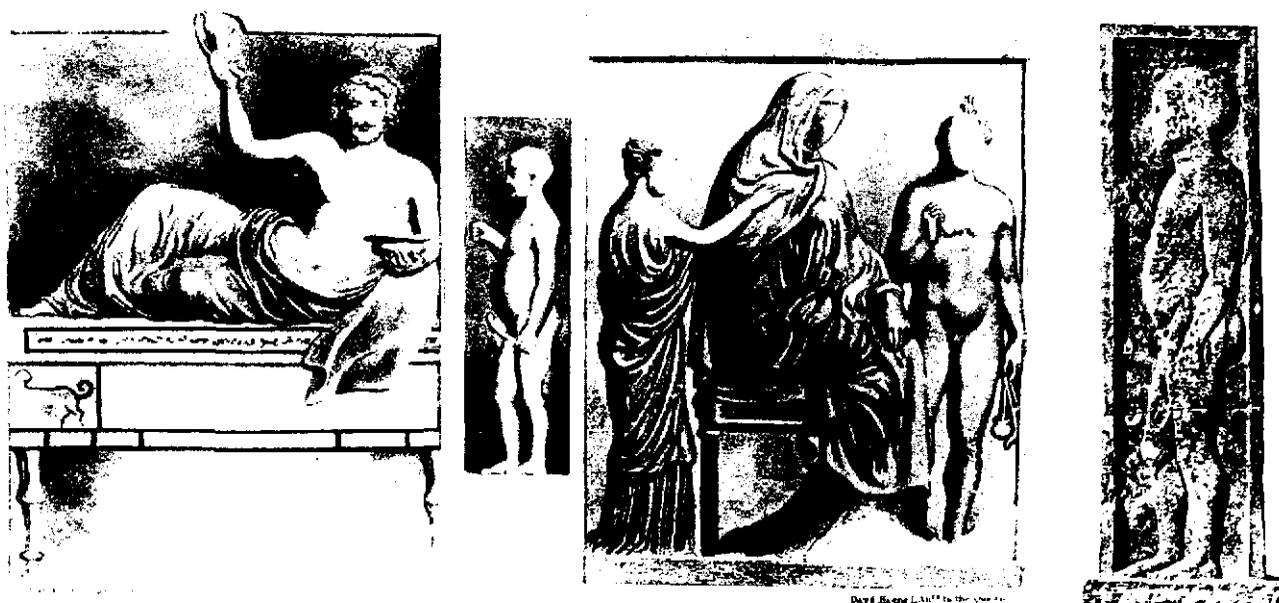


Fig. 30 Family group tomb relief from Myra



Fig. 31 Family group relief from Golgoi

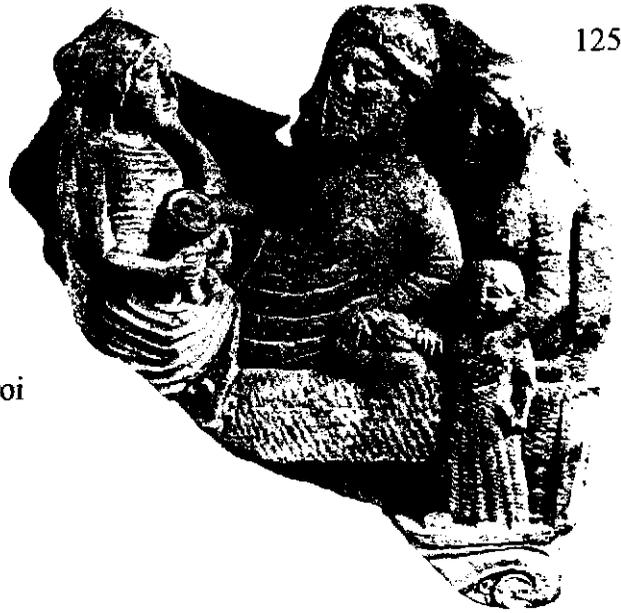


Fig. 32 Family group relief from Golgoi



Fig. 33 Daochos monument from Delphi

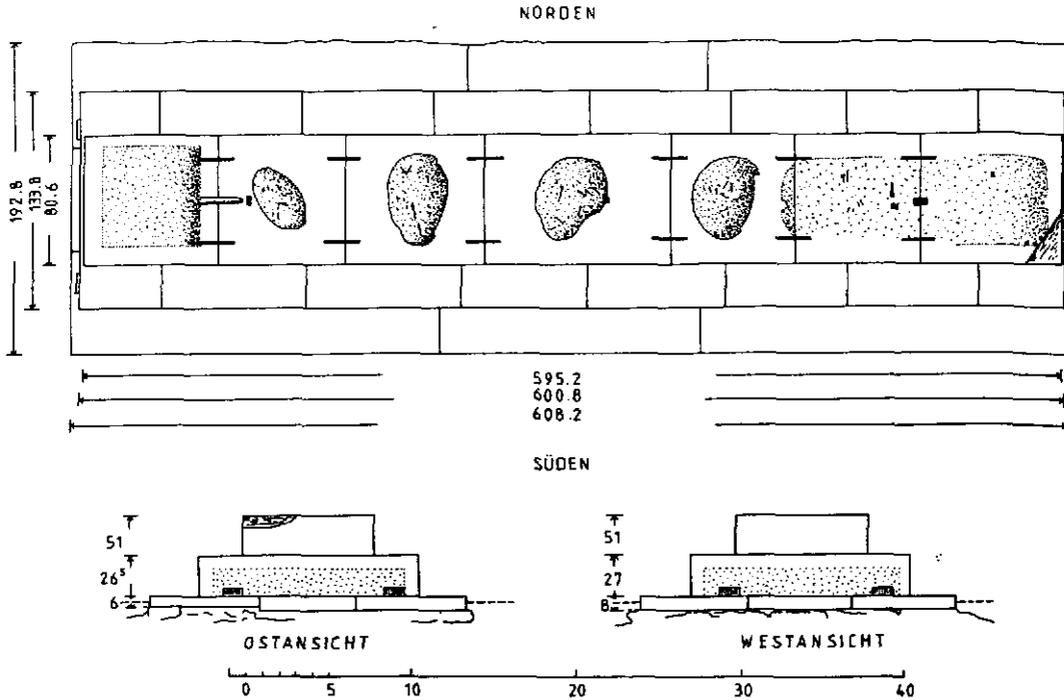


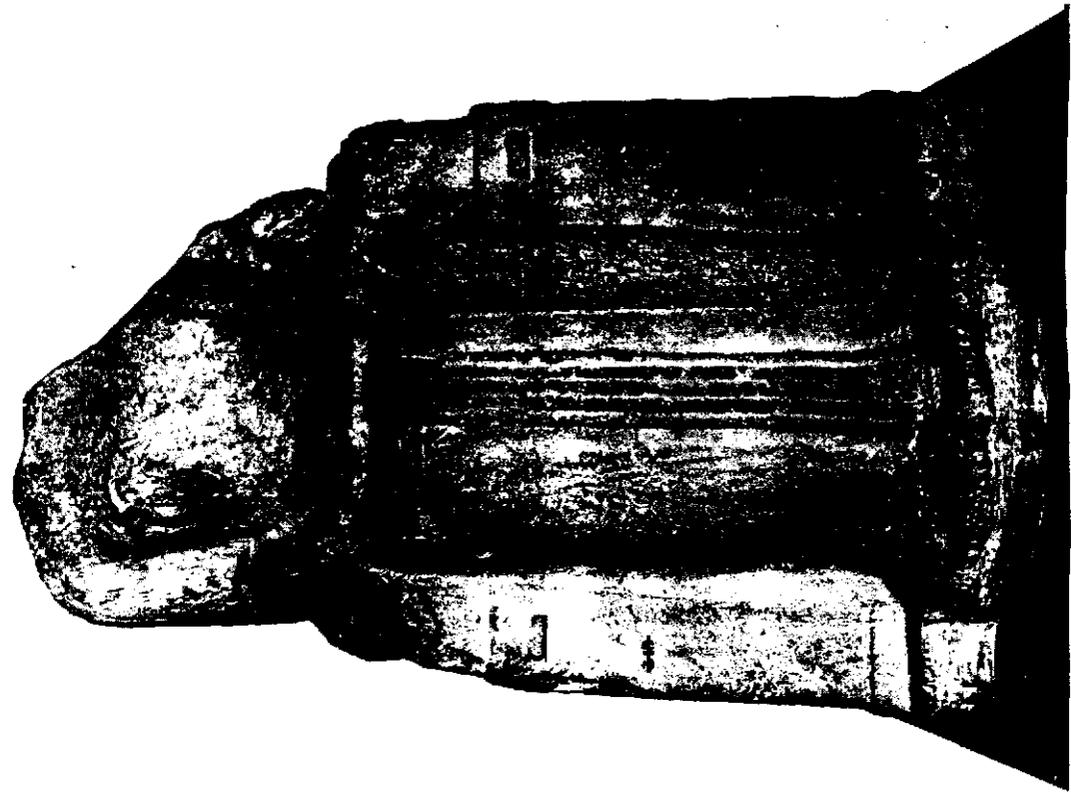
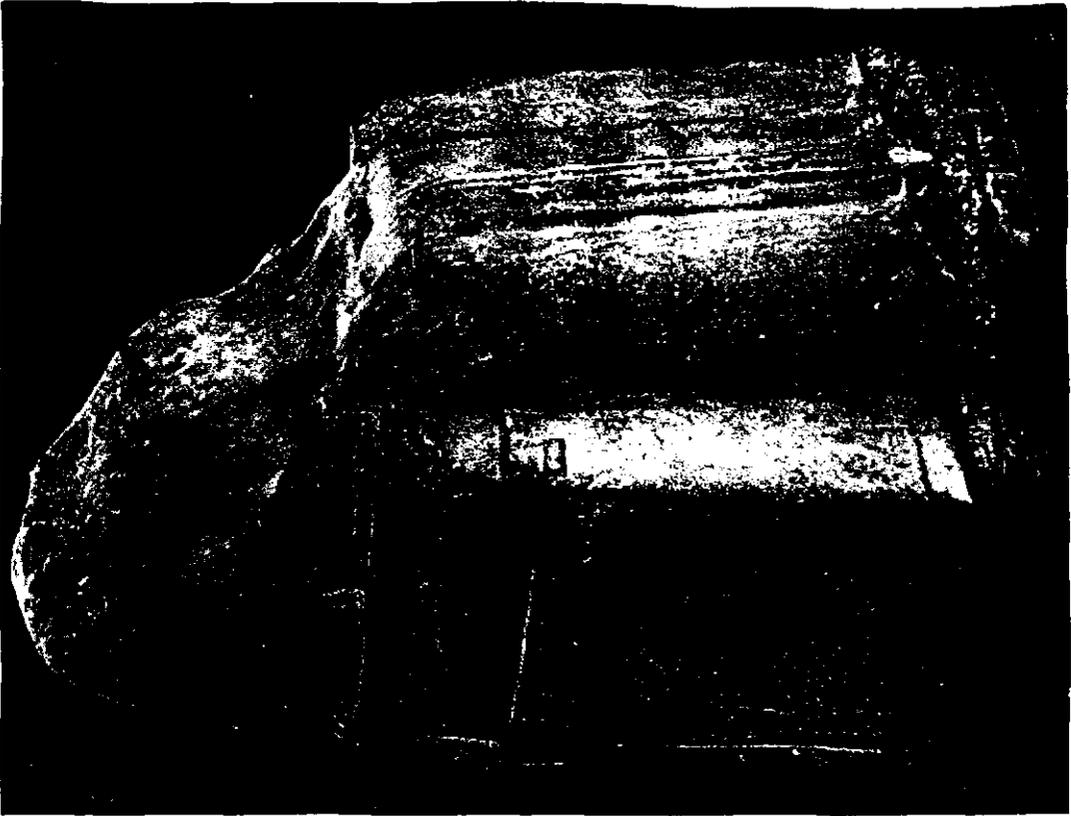
Fig. 34 Drawing of cuttings in base of Geneleos Group



Fig. 35 Attribute of reclining figure, Geneleos Group



Fig. 36 Seated figure from Didyma, K55



Seated figure from Didyma K45

Fig. 37



Fig. 38 Seated figure from Didyma K60.



Fig. 39 Seated figure from Miletus, inv. 253



Fig. 41 Seated figure from Miletus, inv. 547



Fig. 40 Seated figure from Miletus, inv. 254



Seated figure from Didyma. K43



Fig. 42



Fig. 43 Seated figure from Didyma K47

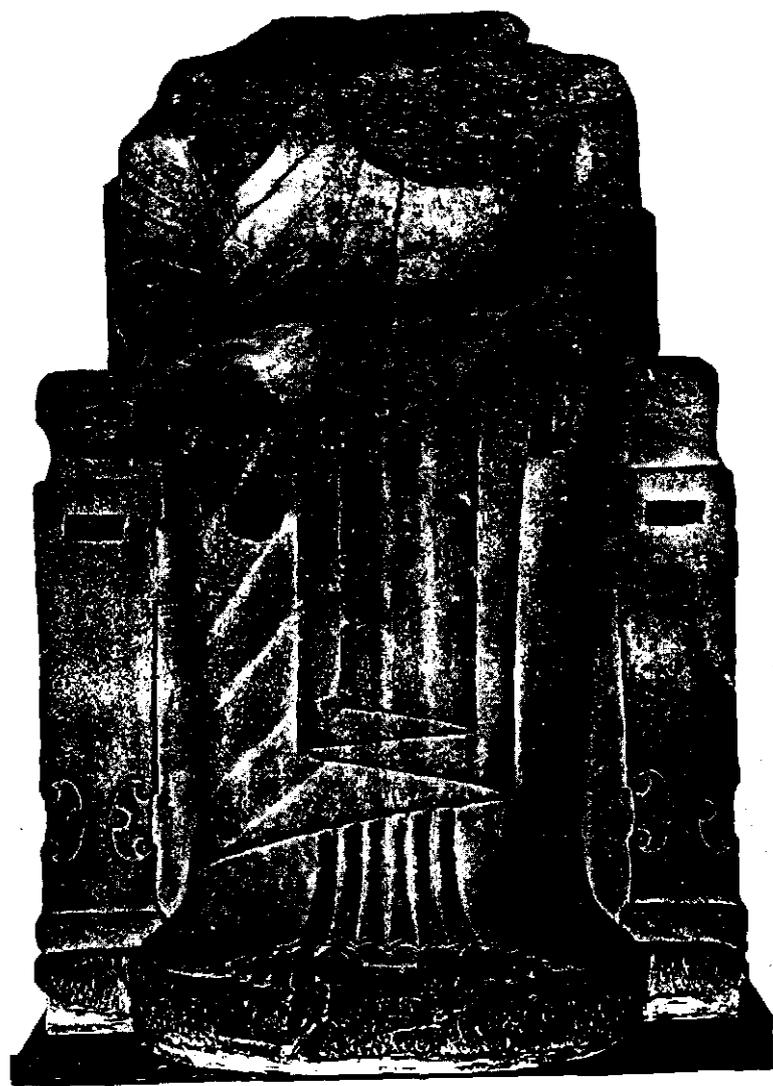


Fig. 44 Seated figure from Didyma. K48



Fig. 45 Seated figure from Didyma
K51



Fig. 46 Seated figure from Didyma K52



Fig. 47 Seated figure from Didyma K53



Fig. 48 Seated figure from Didyma. K54

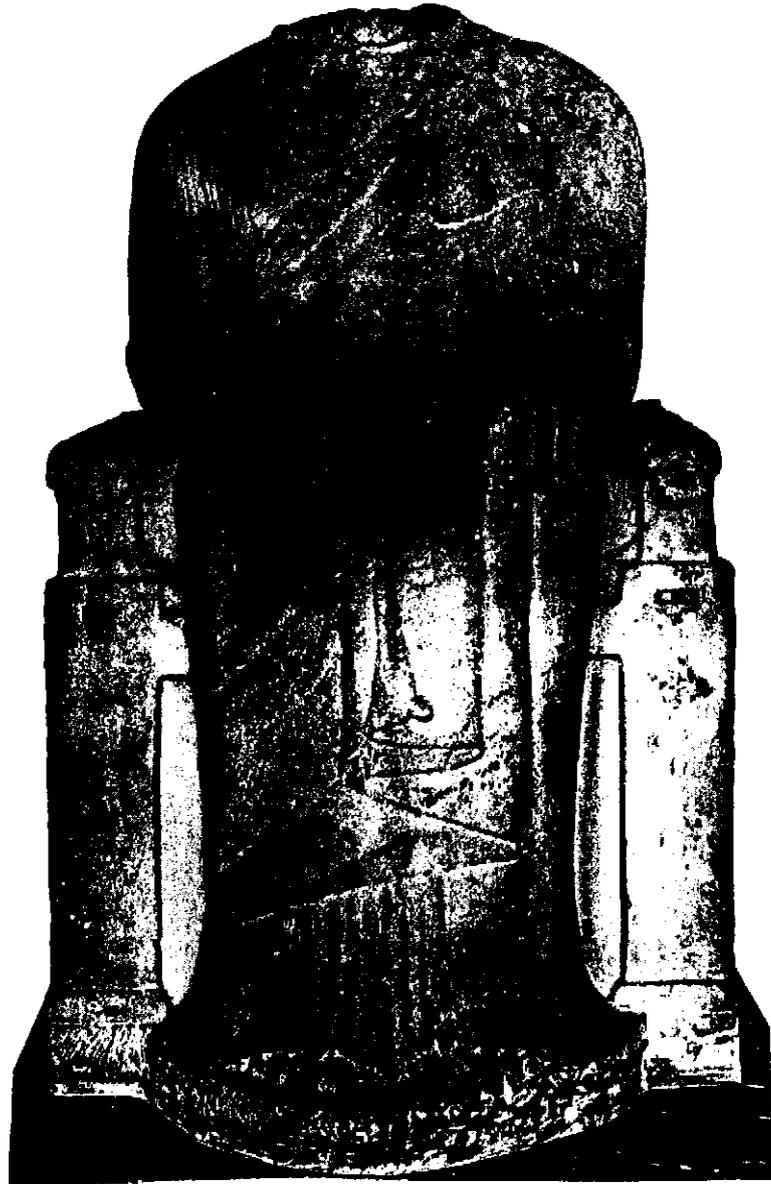


Fig. 49 Seated figure from Didyma K57



Fig. 50 Seated figure from Didyma K46



Fig. 51 Seated figure from Didyma K59

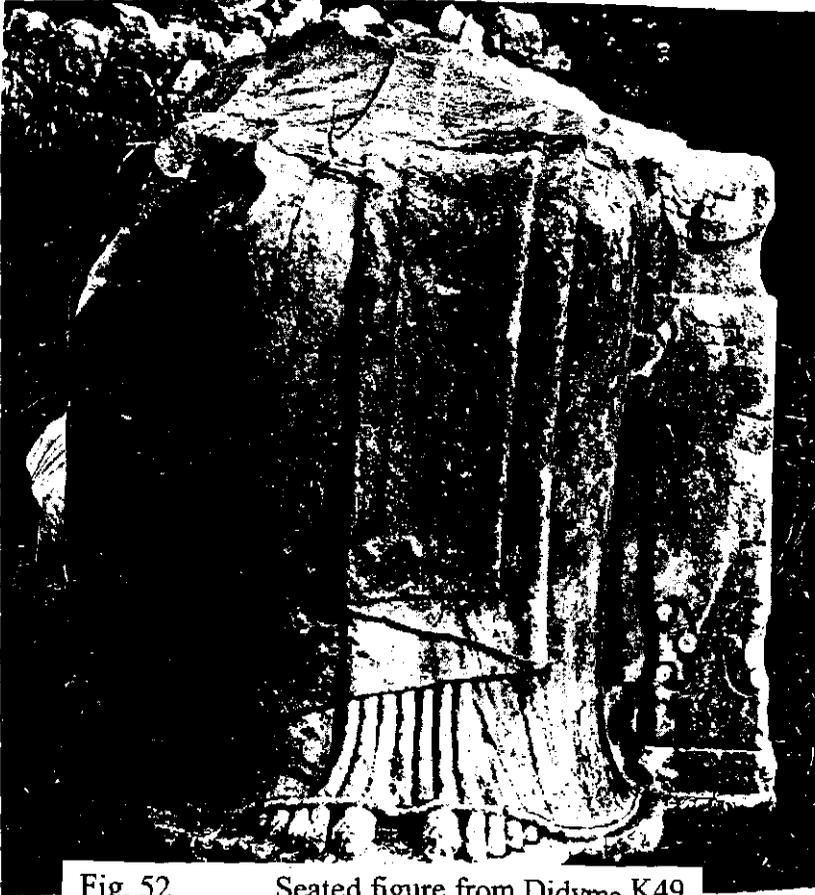


Fig. 52 Seated figure from Didyma K49



Fig. 53 Seated figure from Miletus L95.



Fig. 54 Seated figure from Miletus L96.



Fig. 55 Seated figure from Miletus L99.



Fig. 56 Seated figure from Miletus L100.

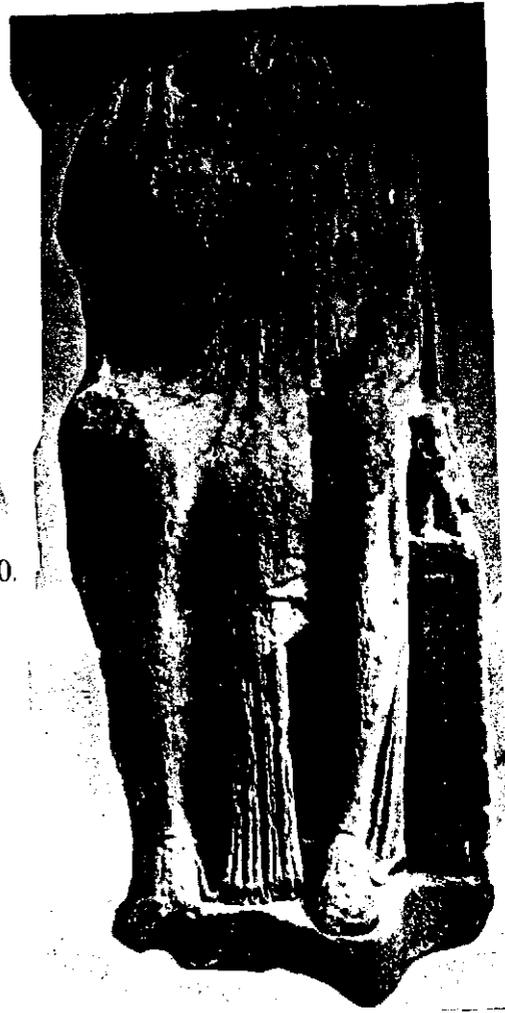


Fig. 57 Aiakes from Samos Town



Fig. 58 "Antenor's kore", Akropolis 681



Fig. 59 Akropolis kore 682



Fig. 60 ‘Pepelos kore’, Akropolis 679

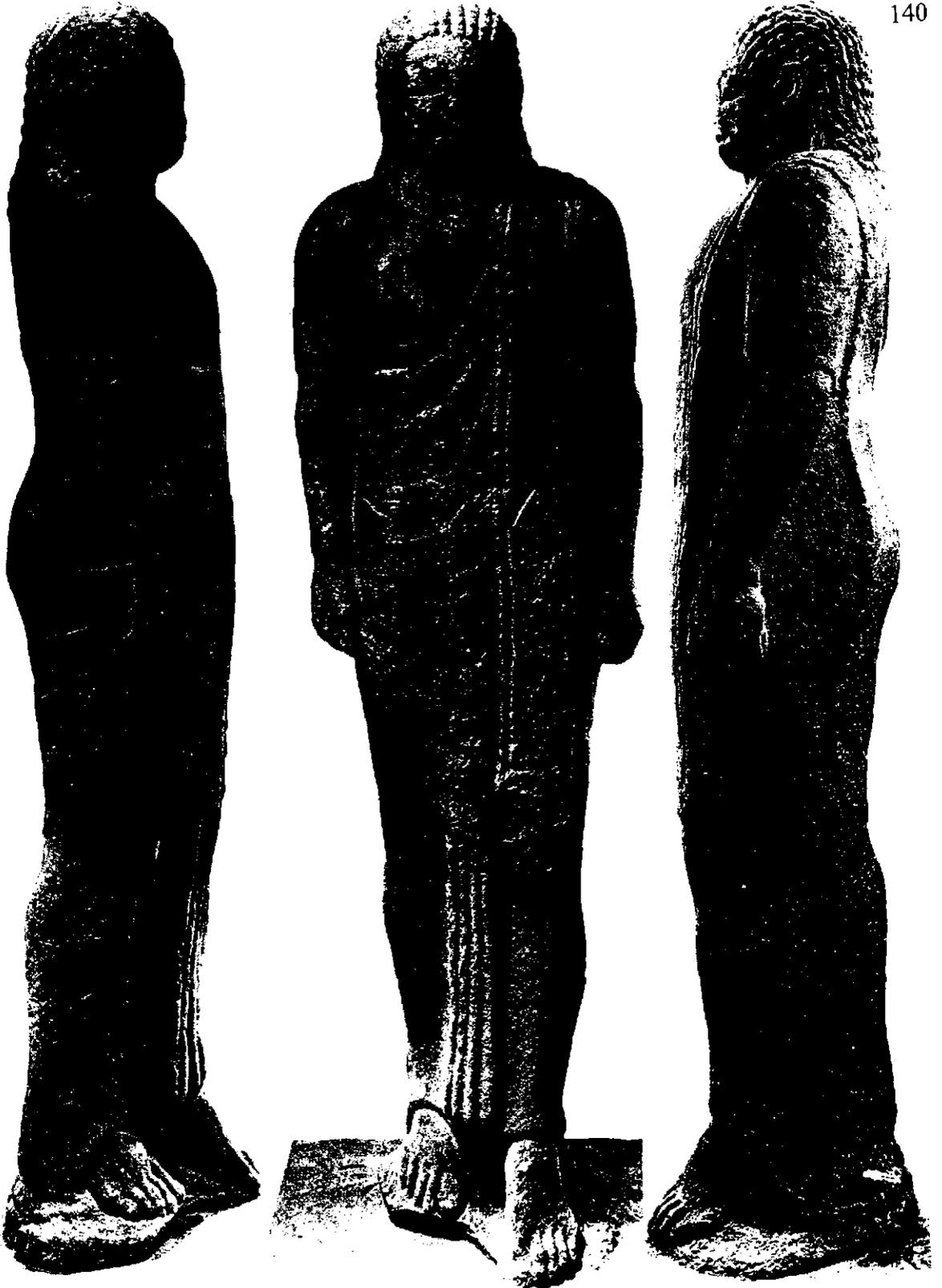


Fig. 61

Kouros from Cape Phoneas

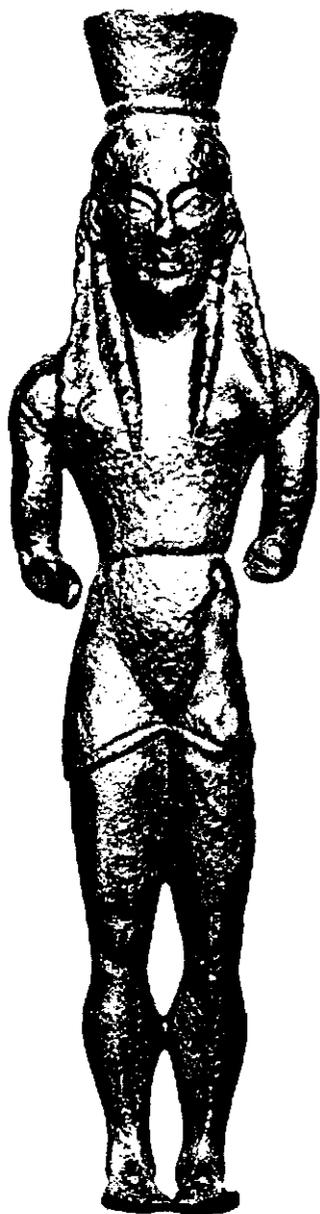


Fig. 62
Bronze statuette of a female
from Samos.



Fig. 63
Caryatid from Siphnian Treasury



Fig. 64 Akropolis kore 672



Fig. 65 "Lyons kore", Akropolis kore 298



Fig. 66 Processional relief



Fig. 67

Torso from Moschato

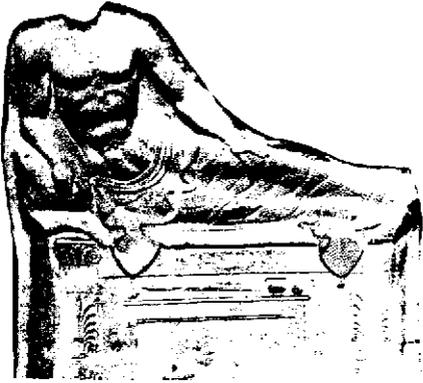


Fig. 68 Reclining male



Fig. 69 Reclining male.

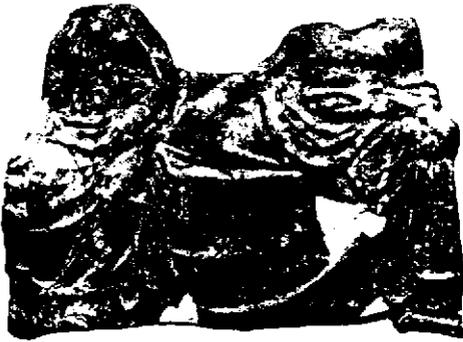


Fig. 70 Reclining male.



Fig. 71 Reclining male.



Fig. 72 Reclining male



Fig. 73 Reclining figure from Olympia

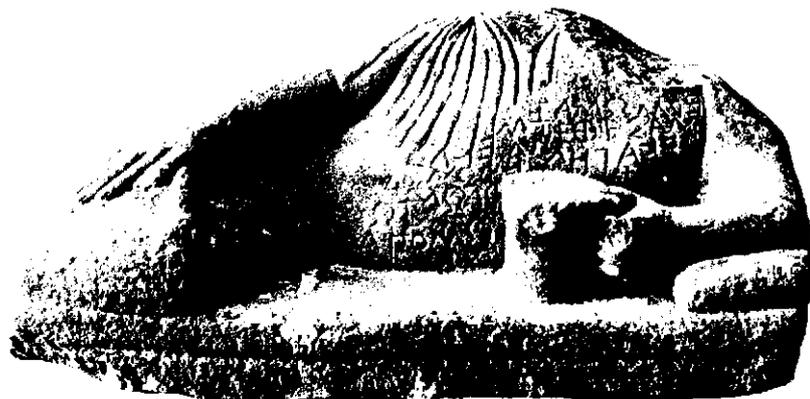


Fig. 75 Reclining figure from Myus



Fig. 74 Reclining figure from Samos



Fig. 76 "Auxerre Goddess"



Fig. 77 Figure from Prinias



Fig. 78 Female head from Eleutherna



Fig. 79 Small female bronze from Thebes

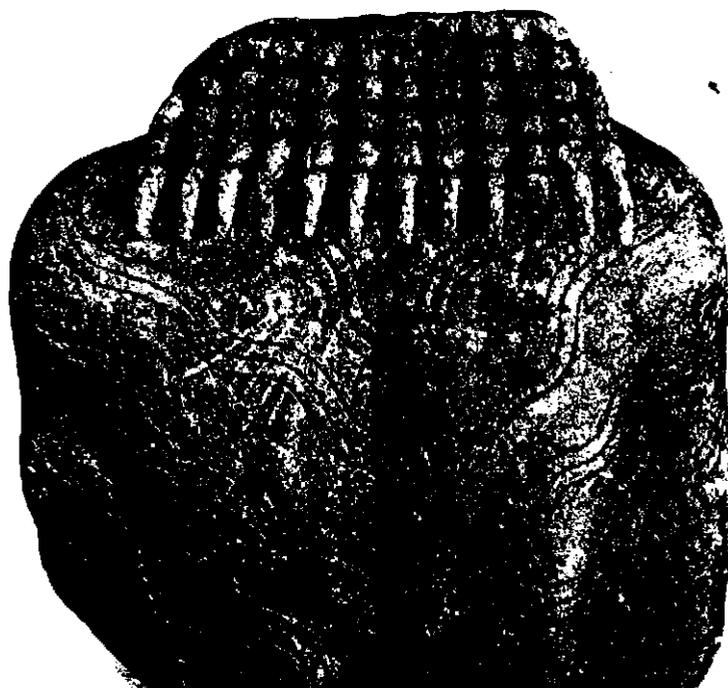


Fig. 80 *Kore from Chios,*



Fig. 81 *Akropolis kore 677*



Fig. 82 Corinthian amphora with Ismene and Tydeus

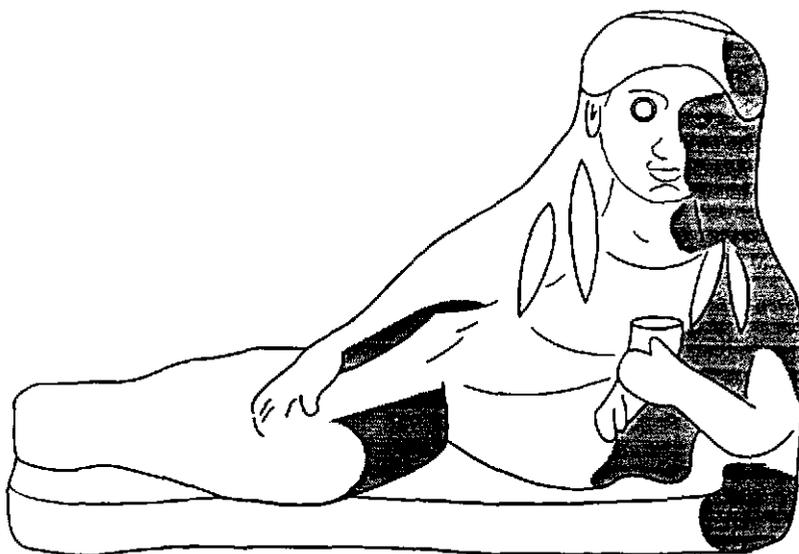


Fig. 83 Reclining "Hera" from the Heraion at Delos

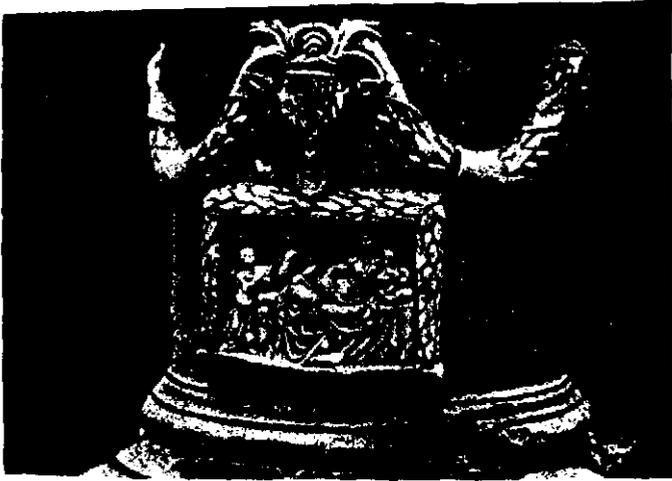


Fig. 84 Rhodian funerary relief with reclining female



Fig. 85 Terracotta figurine from near Thebes



Fig. 86 *Kore* from Miletus holding a bird



Fig. 87 *Kore* from Miletus holding a bird



Fig. 88 Figure from column drum relief, Temple of Apollo at Didyma



Fig. 89 Figure from column drum relief, Temple of Apollo at Didyma

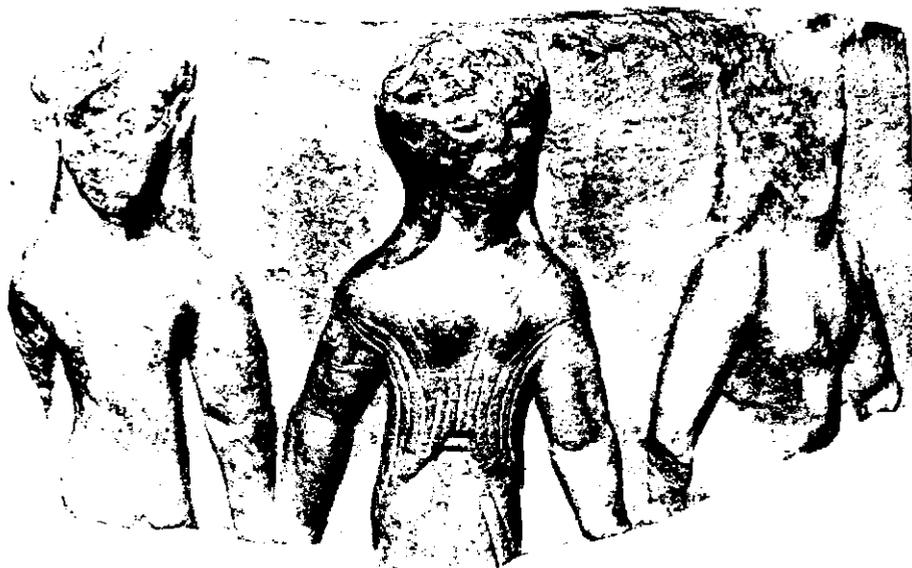


Fig. 90 Three figures from column drum relief, Kyzikos



Fig. 91.

Hera statuette wearing a high *polos*
from the Samian Heraion



Fig. 92 Black Figure Corinthian
vessel by Béziers *Frauenfest* Painter



Fig. 93 Corinthian bottle by
the Skating Painter



Fig. 94. Relief with piper and dancing procession, Akropolis 702



Fig. 95. *Hydria* with dancers from the Samian Heraion

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