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HERMES, PROTECTOR OF SHEPHERDS AT SALAMIS
AND AT KOURION
(PLATES XVI-XIX)

In the Summer and early Fall of 1970 the Vermeules were living in the Excavation House at Salamis, while Emily Townsend Vermeule was working with Vassos Karageorghis on what eventually was to become *Mycenaean Pictorial Vase-Painting*, published by the Harvard University Press in 1981. Kyriakos and Ino Nicolaou came often to visit the multifold archaeological activities of the area and to swim on the splendid beach. In the course of looking at all the sculptures of Salamis with their excavator and our literary collaborator, Vassos Karageorghis, my eye fell upon two fragments, which happened to be on the floors of the rooms where we were living and working. They have evoked the thoughts on Greek sculpture of the imperial period which form the content of this article, one dedicated to the memory of Kyriacos Nicolaou, fellow student at the Hellenic Society in Bedford Square, London, and later a mentor in many aspects of archaeology and life in general on Cyprus¹.

The two fragments can be described as follows:

LOWER BODY OF A YOUNG GOD OR HERO. From the Gymnasium, 1967, the third room of the north stoa of the palaestra. H.: 0.23m. Coarse white marble from the Greek islands or western Asia Minor. The figure stood with the weight on its right leg, right hip thrust outwards. The surfaces are smooth but neither rasped nor highly polished. Decided grooves of the running drill are visible between the legs and around the scrotum (pl. XVIa).

FOREPART OF A RAM'S BODY. From the Gymnasium, 1968, outside and north of the second room of the north stoa of the palaestra. H.: 0.22m. The marble is identical with that of fragmentary body of the nude human figure in Greek athletic pose. The body is preserved to near the hindquarters on the right side. The upper forelegs are also visible. The left side is roughly worked and did not extend to the middle of the body, indicating by cutting and breaks that the ram stood against the side of a larger statue, as an attribute. The ram's head was turned to its own left and upwards, doubtless looking at the larger figure above. The fleece is roughly worked. Details were probably completed in paint (pl. XVIb). The ram's position can be visualized from that of the hound beside Meleager in the statue from Salamis in the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia².

A ram thus placed could only have been part of a statue of Hermes Nomios, protector of flocks. Hermes was presumably standing, but there are precedents for this attribute placed in this position beside a seated figure of the god. The headless Hermes with a sheep or a young ram

1. Thanks are due to Vassos Karageorghis for permission to work with him at Salamis and for literary collaboration in Graeco-Roman sculpture curtailed only by the horrible and wasteful tragedies of the Summer and Fall of 1974. Kyriacos and Ino Nicolaou also always made work on the Salamis and other Cypriot sculptures in the Cyprus Museum a pleasant respite from duties as commissary officer, postman, and paymaster at Toumba tou Skourou near Morphou. Some of these ideas were first worked out in "The Ram Cults of Cyprus: Pastoral to Paphian at Morphou," *Report of the Department of Antiquities Cyprus*, 1974, pp. 151-156, pls. XXIV, XXV, which built on the excavations and researches of Kyriacos and Ino Nicolaou. See K. and I. Nicolaou, "Hieron Aphroditis Morphou", *Report of the Department of Antiquities Cyprus*, 1963, pp. 14-28, pls. III, IV.

2. V. Karageorghis, C.C. Vermeule, *Sculptures from Salamis*, I, Nicosia 1964, pp. 18-19, no. 8, pl. XVI. The quality of the photographs of the Salamis fragments leaves something to be desired, because they were working pictures never replaced as a result of the occupation of Salamis by the Turkish army.

by his side, discovered in the ancient city of Kourion in 1968, illustrates how this form of attribute looks against the treetrunk support of a standing statue³. The fleece of the Kourion statue is worked in a somewhat more schematic fashion, with large squares or rectangles like a pattern in plaid (pl. XVII). The complete statue was a Graeco-Roman work in the tradition of sculptures by Polykleitos, showing the god standing with a purse in his lowered right hand and a caduceus in the extended left.

Further comparison with the Hermes Nomios from Kourion suggests that the section of lower torso and upper thighs described above could be part of a similar statue and could belong with the ram or sheep found nearby in the Gymnasium at Salamis and also described here. Comparisons with the statue from Kourion and those figures, large and small, which are close to it (and they are rare indeed) lead to a host of variant statues and statuettes, mostly small bronzes, which can be associated with Polykleitos. These include the Dutuit Hermes or an athlete of the Augustan era from Fins d'Annecy (Hte Savoie) and in the Musée du Petit Palais, Paris⁴. There is also the bronze statuette after Polykleitos, an unprovenanced masterpiece, in the Musée du Louvre, Paris⁵. A Graeco-Roman Hermes also of unknown provenance in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in an example of how these later versions on the Polykleitan theme could vary. The statuette has the cloak of the Polykleitan Lansdowne Hermes in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, but the figure has the stance of the statue from Kourion⁶.

It might be thought that statues of Hermes of this type in marble, with the ram at the right leg, were fairly common in Antiquity. Such was certainly not the case. The fragments from the Gymnasium at Salamis and the headless statue from the villa at Kourion are matched only by a complete statuette of early Antonine date (about A.D. 140 to 150) in the Archaeological Museums at Istanbul-Constantinople⁷. The fact that all three figures were set up in the Greek East, two

3. M.C. Loulloupis, "Excavation at Kourion, 1967 - 1970", *Report of the Department of Antiquities Cyprus*, 1971, pp. 108-110, pl. 28, figs. 1, 2. V. Karageorghis, in *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* XCIII, 1969, p. 561, fig. 199: executed in Parian marble; K. Nicolaou, in *American Journal of Archaeology* 74, 1970, p. 74, pl. 21, fig. 14: excavated in a large villa or house dated in the third or fourth centuries of the Christian era.

4. C. Vermeule, *Polykleitos*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1969, p. 24, fig. 16. Charles Picard, *Manuel d'archéologie grecque, La sculpture*, II, 1, Paris 1939, p. 286: a more exact copy than the famous marble in the Boboli Gardens, Florence. Arguments as to subject and prototype, with a full bibliography, are contained in J. Petit, *Bronzes antiques de la Collection Dutuit*, Paris 1980, pp. 88-93, no. 32.

5. Bronze, no. 183. C. Vermeule, *Polykleitos*, p. 20, fig. 13. Werner Fuchs, *Die Skulptur der Griechen*, Munich 1969, pp. 88, 90, figs. 81, 82: based on the Diskophoros of Polykleitos and dated (the original) about 420 B.C. Dorothea Arnold, *Die Polykleitnachsfolge (Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, 25 Ergänzungsheft)*, Berlin 1969, pp. 80-82, 138, pls. 3b, 15a.

6. C. Vermeule, *Polykleitos*, p. 28, fig. 19. M.B. Comstock, C.C. Vermeule, *Greek Etruscan & Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston*, Greenwich, Connecticut, 1968, pp. 104-105, no. 110. M.B. Comstock, in *Sculpture in Stone and Bronze*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1988, p. 120, no. 116. Among the few original statues in bronze from the fifth century B.C., the short-haired warrior from Riace in Reggio Calabria has the same stance and bodily proportions: see Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway, *Fifth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture*, Princeton 1983, p. 237, fig. 153. Guglielmo B. Triches e altri, *Due bronzi da Riace (Bollettino d'arte 1984)*, I, II, *passim*. John Barron, *An Introduction to Greek Sculpture*, New York 1984, p. 89.

7. H. (with plinth): 0.61m. Salomon Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, V, 1, Paris 1924, p. 65, no. 4. G. Mendel, *Catalogue des Sculptures Grecques, Romaines et Byzantines*, II, Constantinople 1914, pp. 78-79, no. 316 (identified as a mixture of Polykleitos and Lysippic rhythms and proportions). Other representations of Hermes with the ram by his right foot are all small figures (statuettes) in silver or bronze. See S. Reinach, *op. cit.*, II, 1, Paris 1897, p. 174, nos. 2, 3, 4 and 8 (all in or from Roman Gaul). And S. Reinach, *op. cit.*, III, Paris 1904, p. 43, no. 7 (statuette in silver, then in a private collection in Bonn and apparently found there in a context with barbarian artefacts); evidently the same as H. Lehner, *Führer durch das Provinzialmuseum in Bonn*, Bonn 1924, p. 106, pl. XIX.

on Cyprus and one in Bithynia, shows that they must be connected with cults of Hermes-Mercury as protector of flocks in areas where ram-cults as well as commerce (the purse) were still priorities of the messenger-god.

The Graeco-Roman copy of Hermes (mentioned above) from the Lansdowne Collection in London, later in that of the newspaper mogul William Randolph Hearst, and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, gives an excellent illustration of what the staid Polykleitan prototype behind the statues on Cyprus looked like, albeit with the stance reversed to follow later Polykleitan tastes⁸. While the Polykleitan forerunner of the statues on Cyprus was undoubtedly a work in bronze, the marble statues exported in Roman imperial times to Cyprus may have originated in marble in an atelier in the Aegean islands or along the coast of western Asia Minor. Another former Lansdowne statue, embedded in canons of the Hermes Belvedere-Andros and Praxiteles of Athens in the fourth century B.C., shows why the Salamis fragment of the god's body is the remains of a masterful, freeform copy⁹ (pl. XVIII). The variations in handling of the ram at the side of the Salamis and the Kourion statues in each case, an addition to the Polykleitan to Praxitelean originals and later restylings, bears out the imaginative academic origins of the statues on Cyprus. These statues, like the majority of marbles from the Gymnasium and Theatre at Salamis, are to be dated in the reigns of Domitian (81 to 96), Trajan (98 to 117), and, most likely of all, the phil-Hellene Emperor Hadrian (117 to 138).

The fact that the statues of Hermes with the ram from Cyprus are Polykleitan in construction but Praxitelean in pose suggests that the original was part of the creative commercialism of the early Roman imperial period. The Polykleitan version of this synthesis, when used for a statue of an athlete, is represented by the figure in marble in the Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The same stance and the slightly softened qualities of the Salamis fragment are evident¹⁰ (pl. XIX).

In short, the special needs of the cult of Hermes on Cyprus led the magistrates of Salamis

8. H.: 1.75m. *The Celebrated Collection of Ancient Marbles The Property of The Most Hon. The Marquess of Lansdowne M.V.O., D.S.O.*, Christie's Auction, London, March 5, 1930, p. 68, no. 104. G. Lippold, *Handbuch der Archäologie* III, 1, Munich 1950, p. 178, note 10. C.C. Vermeule, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in America*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1981, p. 49, no. 23. The Hermes of Polykleitos (one or more of them) was a one-word reference in Pliny the Elder, but such a statue did exist: see G.M.A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, New Haven 1950, p. 253.

9. H.: 1.98m. S. Reinach, *op. cit.*, II, 1, p. 150, no. 8. Christie's Auction, London, March 5, 1930, p. 17, no. 20. Mario A. Del Chiaro, *Classical Art, Sculpture*, Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Santa Barbara, California, 1985, no. 27. C. Vermeule, D. von Bothmer, in *American Journal of Archaeology* 60, 1959, p. 335, and further references. I would like to thank Curator Barry M. Heister of the Santa Barbara Museum of Art for providing the photograph shown here.

The Praxitelean prototypes were surely made of marble rather than bronze, for that master worked in this medium, as ancient writers noted; he was an artist who "with consummate art informed his marble figures with the passions of the soul": G.M.A. Richter, *The Sculpture and The Sculptors of the Greeks*, p. 267. When the name of Lysippos is mentioned, figures from Herculaneum and Gaul remind us we are dealing with sculptures in bronze. Over the last century a formidable list of scholars have tried to separate the Hereses in repose by the young Lysippos from those of Praxiteles: see Ch. Picard, *Manuel d'archéologie grecque, La sculpture*, IV, 2, Paris 1963, pp. 595-600.

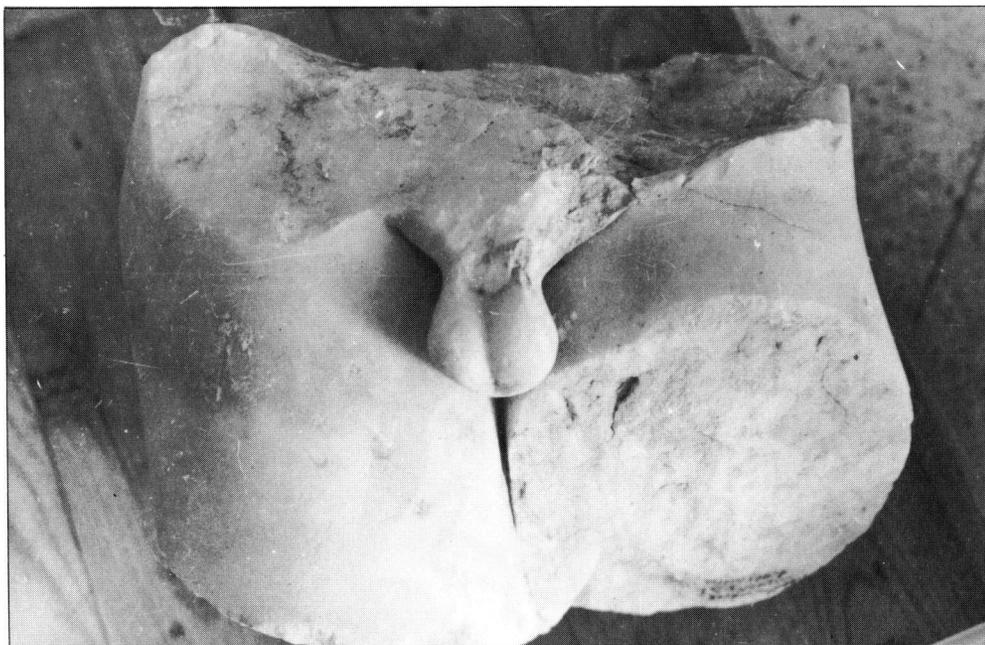
10. H.: 0.965m. C.C. Vermeule, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in America*, p. 52, no. 25. The eclectic nature of this statue brings to mind the bronze statue of the early imperial period from Pesaro and in the Museo Archeologico, Florence, a Polykleitan reminiscence: see Martin Robertson, *A History of Greek Art*, Cambridge 1975, I, pp. 332, 601, II, pl. 180b. Finally, the Antinous Farnese in the Museo Nazionale, Naples, shows how far these eclectic mixtures of Polykleitan and Praxitelean young gods, heroes or athletes could be carried in Hadrian's neo-Hellenic age: W. Fuchs, *Die Skulptur der Griechen*, pp. 151-152, fig. 45: termed the last major idealization of the human figure in Greek art.

and Kourion to order these statues for their public buildings. And thus it was that the sophisticated suppliers of appropriate statues to the urban shrines of Cyprus could choose carefully from the Neo-Classical synthesis of Polykleitan (to Praxitelean) originals and their Graeco-Roman restylings. In several conversations at Salamis and at Morphou, Kyriacos Nicolaou drew parallels for ancient Cypriot trade with the Aegean area from the experiences of his own childhood on Cyprus.

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ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Ένα θραύσμα αθλητικού αγάλματος, που βρέθηκε το 1967 στο Γυμνάσιο της Σαλαμίνας κατά τη διάρκεια των εκεί ανασκαφών του Βάσου Καραγιώργη, μπορεί να συσχετισθεί με ένα θραύσμα κριού από την ίδια περιοχή, που βρέθηκε το 1968. Ένα ακέφαλο -αλλά κατά τα άλλα άρτιο- άγαλμα εμφανίστηκε το 1968 σε μία ιδιωτική οικία στο Κούριον, ανασκαφή του Μιχαήλ Λουλλουπή. Και τα δύο αγάλματα, αυτό του Κουρίου και το σύμπλεγμα με τον κριό από τη Σαλαμίνα, παριστάνουν τον Ερμή. Και τα δύο δημιουργήθηκαν κατά το δεύτερο αιώνα μ.Χ. σε ένα εργαστήριο της Ιωνίας ή της Καρίας, ειδικά για να εξαχθούν σε ιερά δύο πόλεων από τις πιο σπουδαίες της Κύπρου. Όπως ο Κυριάκος Νικολάου προέβλεψε κατά τις ανασκαφές ενός μικρού ιερού της Αφροδίτης στο δρόμο βόρεια της Μόρφου, η Κύπρος είχε ιδιαίτερη ανάγκη απεικονίσεων στις οποίες θα τονίζονταν ο χαρακτήρας του Νομίου Ερμή η Ερμή Pastor. Τα αγάλματα από τη Σαλαμίνα και το Κούριον ήταν εκλεκτά δημιουργήματα της Ελληνικής αυτοκρατορικής εποχής, τα οποία συνδέονται με τον Ερμή τύπου Belvedere-Andros (μέσα του τέταρτου αιώνα π.Χ.) και -μέσω του τύπου αυτού- με έναν αρχαιότερο Ερμή, έργο του Πολυκλείτου γύρω στα 420 π.Χ.



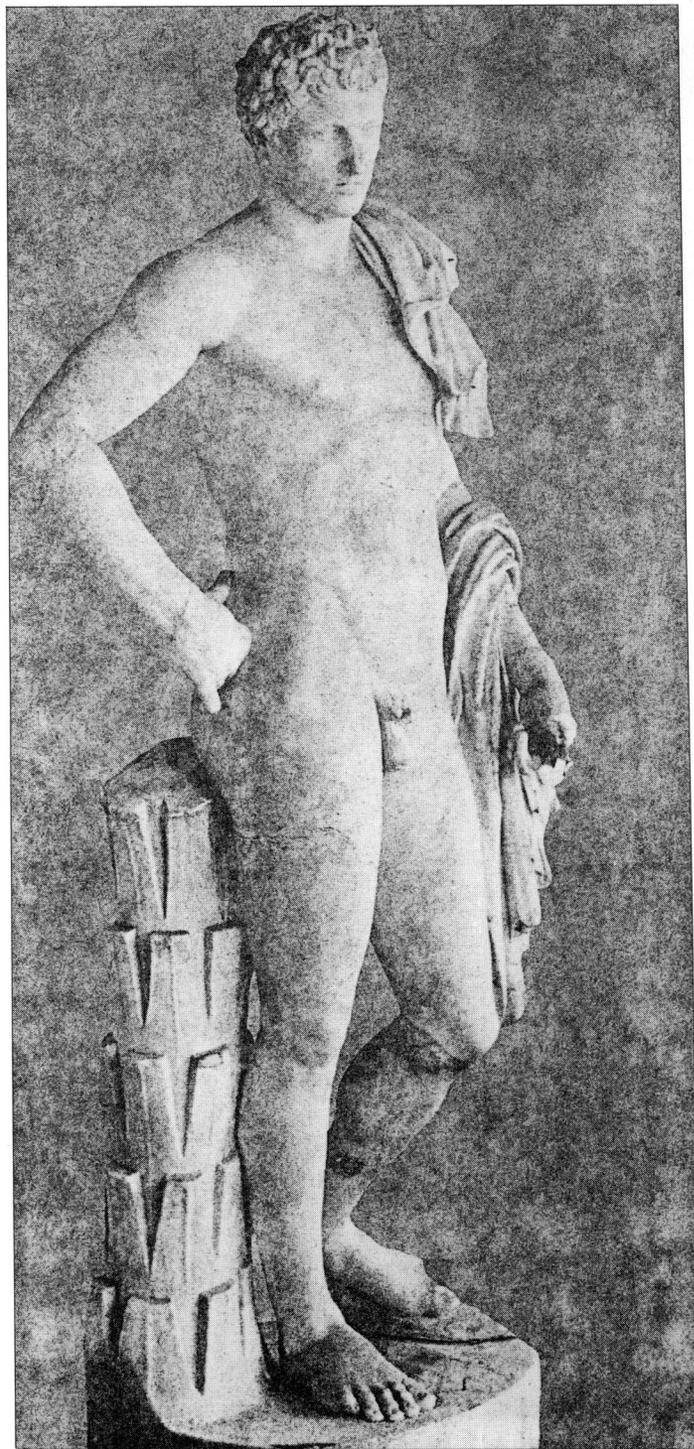
a. Lower Body of a Young God or Hero. Salamis, Storeroom of the Excavation House.



b. Forepart of a Ram's Body. Salamis, Storeroom of the Excavation House.



Hermes from Kourion. Kourion House (Episkopi) Museum.



Hermes of the Andros-Belvedere Type.
Santa Barbara, California, Santa Barbara
Museum of Art.



Polykleitan Youth. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Carnegie Institute, Museum of Art.