Bronze Parts of Ships from the Paul and Alexandra Canellopoulos Museum

The bronze naval ram belonging to the Paul and Alexandra Canellopoulos Museum, inv. no. X 138 (figs 1-4), is already familiar in recent scholarship due to its exceptional state of preservation and unique form. Shaped like the snout of a ketos (sea monster), it is a bronze casing with a concave interior, which would sheath the ram’s wooden shaft. According to Paul Canellopoulos, the collection’s founder, the ram was found in the Corinthian Gulf. This information, however, cannot be confirmed. The object has survived intact and is in excellent condition. It is 35 cm long, has a maximum width of 10.3 cm and is approx. 0.4 cm thick (figs 5-6). It was manufactured using the lost wax technique, while the teeth of the ketos were incised. The wooden ram was fixed to the bronze casing with 6.5 cm long bronze nails (fig. 7). Two have survived to this day, located on the top and lateral sides of the bronze piece, while, based on the existing holes, there was one on the bottom flat surface and three on the circumference of the opening, therefore, a total of four nails were used.

The ketos has an elongated snout terminating in front in two large nostrils (fig. 8); on both lateral sides at a distance of 12.2 cm from the front end, it has two ellipsoidal openings, whose dimensions are 2.5 cm × 2 cm. One might take them for eyes, although their location – on the snout – as well as their small size make such an identification problematic. Nine deep grooves along the length of the snout depict folds. The mouth is rendered in a way that accentuates its dentition, depicting it in three different ways: The front teeth are small squares, the middle serrated with a continuous zigzagging line and the back conjoined semi-circles. A small part of the tongue protrudes between the front teeth.

Right from the start, the uniqueness of the Canellopoulos Museum’s bronze naval ram piqued the interest of academic researchers. In 1985, Maria Brouskaï first referred to it in a guide to the Canellopoulos Museum. She identified it as the casing of a warship’s ram, shaped like the snout of a ketos. In 1991, Petros Kalligas presented a detailed analysis of the object during the 4th International Symposium on Ship Construction in Antiquity, Tropis 4, which was published in 1996. He argued it was the casing of the ram of a small Hellenistic period warship, a proster, and most likely depicted a shark’s snout. Apart from the above theories, the object has also been described as the snout of a crocodile or a boar.

Two other interpretations of its use have identified it as a vessel’s proembolion or decorative element. The small size and light weight of the Canellopoulos Museum’s bronze casing, the thinness of its walls, as well as the way it was attached to the wooden shaft with only four nails, combine to make it appear doubtful it was ever used on an actual warship, since it would have lacked any impact force and been destroyed by even a slight collision. For the same reason, I believe we should exclude the possibility of its being a proembolion. Moreover, the casing is elaborately constructed, its individual features rendered in minute detail, something in no way consistent with its being used as a naval ram.

The bronze piece is clearly portraying a sea monster, the ketos that accompanied the marine deities, and was primarily used in ancient Greek art as a supplementary iconographic element. It first appeared during the Archaic period, possessed of the body of a serpent and the tail and fins of a fish, as shown in the well-known Caeretan hydria in the Niarchos Collection; later on, from the early 5th century until the Roman period, its form varied, combining individual features from land and marine creatures, such as the lion, the boar, the crocodile, the shark and the dolphin. The ketos’ link to the sea also explains its use as a naval ram. As such, it first appeared during the late Archaic period and is familiar from vase painting representations as well as ship models. Espe-
cially characteristic is the resemblance of the ketos, which the Canellopoulos Museum’s naval ram casing depicts, to corresponding portrayals of naval rams in vase painting and to two examples in particular. The first belongs to a Corinthian black-figure amphora, currently in Würzburg, which dates to approx. 590-560 BC and depicts two confronting ships with ketos-shaped prows.\textsuperscript{11} The second is on a black-figure kylix in the British Museum, dating to approx. 500 BC, and portrays a warship with a ram shaped like a ketos head confronting a merchant vessel.\textsuperscript{12} In both cases, the ketos’s snout is depicted with successive curved lines rendering the skin folds in a fashion similar to the one in the Canellopoulos Museum. Here, I should also mention a clay tablet from Pentekouphía, a fashion similar to the one in the Canellopoulos Museum. Pictured with successive curved lines indicating folds in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace in the 6th century BC and depicts a ketos head whose snout also has successive lines indicating folds.\textsuperscript{13} The fact that the bronze casing in the Canellopoulos Museum depicts only the front part of a ketos head, probably without eyes, ears or the back part of the dentition, does not in any way negate its proposed identification as a ketos. The cut off dentition compels us to imagine the rest of the head extending, either painted or carved, onto the ship’s wooden beam.

Given the previously discussed inability to associate the Canellopoulos Museum’s bronze with the ram of an actual warship, the only possible interpretation is that it belonged to a «untraveled» votive vessel dedicated to a sanctuary. This would further substantiate the aforementioned theory regarding the painted or sculpted representation of the rest of the ketos’s body.

The tradition of dedicating ships in temples, whether the spoils or votive offerings of their owners, is familiar to us from several examples. Characteristic are among them the Monument of the Bulls on Delos,\textsuperscript{14} a Hellenistic building in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace,\textsuperscript{15} in the Heraion on Samos and on Thassos, south-west of the harbour, near the temple of the goddess Soteira.\textsuperscript{16} We also know that Octavian dedicated captured warships after his victory at Actium.\textsuperscript{18} Usually vessel parts rather than entire ships were dedicated as spoils: the entire prow, the ram or the emblem with a portrait head or the name of the vessel. There are also some examples of ship models being dedicated. Plutarch mentions a dedicated chryselephantine trireme in the Treasury of the Acanthians at Delphi, sent by Cyrus to Lysander after the latter’s victory over the Athenians at Aigospotamoi in 405 BC.\textsuperscript{19} Inscriptions from Delos also frequently refer to a silver trireme dedicated by Seleucus I to the temple of Apollo on Delos.\textsuperscript{20} From the Erechtheum comes a bronze lamp in the shape of a boat, dedicated to Athena, which is thought to be a model of the Panathenaic trireme.\textsuperscript{21} Marble reliefs and vase representations also depict models of ships. The so-called Calendar Frieze, now built into the wall of the Church of Aghios Eleutherios next to the Metropolitan Cathedral of Athens, with its portrayal of the Panathenaic trireme on wheels is another famous example.\textsuperscript{22} Part of a votive relief depicting either the Panathenaic trireme or some other ship sacred to Athena comes from around the Eleusinion in the ancient Agora.\textsuperscript{23} Among the vase representations, a Dionysian ship-cart with spiked wheels, from a black-figure skyphos in Bologna,\textsuperscript{24} is also characteristic.

As regards the date of the Canellopoulos Museum’s bronze naval ram casing, various proposals have been formulated, attributing it to the Archaic, the Classical or the Hellenistic period. Undoubtedly, its appearance, as previously mentioned, recalls similar portrayals of naval rams from late Archaic vase painting. On the other hand, the tradition of dedicating ships, their models and their various fixtures as well is more characteristic of subsequent periods.\textsuperscript{25} The excellent quality of the artistic rendition, with its marked attempt to accentuate details in a naturalistic manner, evokes the later Classical-Hellenistic period, during which there was a prevalent trend towards realism, rendering its attribution to that period more likely.

The second object from the Paul and Alexandra Canellopoulos Museum presented is a bronze frieze of a ship, inv. no. X1411, decorated with the bust of a female figure emerging from the calyx of a flower (figs 9-13). According to a reference in the museum’s inventory, which, however, lacks any additional information or verification, it comes from Asia Minor. The object weighs 11.8 kg. It has a maximum length of 22 cm, is 13.7 cm wide and 20 cm tall (figs 14-15). It has survived complete, with minimal chipping on the rear face. Most of the surface is covered with a grey-green patina and a number of deposits. At an unspecified period, some type of cleaning was performed on the lateral left surface, the flower, and the figure’s face. The front face of the fixture has a female bust, while its back is bipartite (figs 16-17).

\textsuperscript{11} Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg inv. no. K 1784. Cf. LIMC Ketos 735 no. 47. – Simon, Die Sammlung Kiseleff II no. 39 nos 25-27.\textsuperscript{12} London, British Museum inv. no. B 436. Cf. Casson, Hemiaea. – LIMC Ketos 735 no. 48. – Basch, Musee 222-224.\textsuperscript{13} Berlin, Staatliche Museen inv. no. F 780. Cf. Basch, Musee 235 fig. 486, 3.\textsuperscript{14} Bruneau/Ducat, Delos 191-193. – Blackman, Ship Dedications 207 f., with selected bibliography.\textsuperscript{15} Lehmann/McCredie, Samothrace 109-111 figs 50-52. – Blackman, Ship Dedications 208 f.\textsuperscript{16} Kyrieleis, Führer fig. 100. – Blackman, Ship Dedications 209.\textsuperscript{17} Liano, Thasos 262 fig. 4. – Blackman, Ship Dedications 210. – Baika, Thasos.\textsuperscript{18} Murray/Petas, Octavian’s Memorial 5 f. and notes 29, 99, 116. 125. – Murray, Polyremes 336. – Blackman, Ship Dimensions and note 4. – Blackman, Ship Dedications 211.\textsuperscript{19} Plut. Lys. 18, 1.\textsuperscript{20} IG XI, 2 47-56 no. 161 lines 78-79. For the votive dedication of the chryselephantine trireme at Delphi and the silver trireme at Delos cf. Pritchett, Greek State 285 with comments and related bibliography.\textsuperscript{21} Athens, Acropolis Museum inv.no. EAM X 7038. See recently Wachsmann, Panathenaic Ships 248-255, with bibliography.\textsuperscript{22} Basch, Musee 346 f. fig. 73. – Wachsmann, Panathenaic Ships 240-247.\textsuperscript{23} Spitsiiri-Chorémi, Φώτα. – Wachsmann, Panathenaic Ships 258-261.\textsuperscript{24} Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico inv.no. D.L. 109. Cf. CVA Bologna 2, pl. 43. – Göttlicher, Kultschiffe 103-108 figs 59-61. – Trierios, Πλαστές οργανώσεις 42-44 figs 3-5.\textsuperscript{25} This tradition begins although during the archaic period, see the article Frielingshaus in this volume p. 23-38.
Fig. 1  Bronze naval ram. Paul and Alexandra Canellopoulos Museum, inv. no. X138. Lateral right side. – (Photo E. Miarì).

Fig. 2  Bronze naval ram. Paul and Alexandra Canellopoulos Museum, inv. no. X138. Lateral left side. – (Photo E. Miarì).

Fig. 3  Bronze naval ram. Paul and Alexandra Canellopoulos Museum, inv. no. X138. Top side. – (Photo E. Miarì).

Fig. 4  Bronze naval ram. Paul and Alexandra Canellopoulos Museum, inv. no. X138. Bottom side. – (Photo E. Miarì).
Fig. 5 Bronze naval ram. Paul and Alexandra Canellopoulos Museum, inv. no. X 138. Lateral right side, drawing. – (After Kalligas, Εμβολο 139 fig. 5).

Fig. 6 Bronze naval ram. Paul and Alexandra Canellopoulos Museum, inv. no. X 138. Top side, drawing. – (After Kalligas, Εμβολο 141 fig. 7).

Fig. 7 Bronze naval ram. Paul and Alexandra Canellopoulos Museum, inv. no. X 138. Concave interior with two nails in situ. – (Photo E. Miani).

Fig. 8 Bronze naval ram. Paul and Alexandra Canellopoulos Museum, inv. no. X 138. Frontal side with nostrils. – (Photo E. Miani).
Fig. 9  Bronze fixture of a ship. Paul and Alexandra Canellopoulos Museum inv. no. X 1411. Frontal side. – (Photo E. Miarı).

Fig. 10  Bronze fixture of a ship. Paul and Alexandra Canellopoulos Museum inv. no. X 1411. – (Photo E. Miarı).

Fig. 11  Bronze fixture of a ship. Paul and Alexandra Canellopoulos Museum inv. no. X 1411. Lateral right side. – (Photo E. Miarı).

Fig. 12  Bronze fixture of a ship. Paul and Alexandra Canellopoulos Museum inv. no. X 1411. Lateral left side. – (Photo E. Miarı).
Fig. 13  Bronze fixture of a ship. Paul and Alexandra Canellopoulos Museum inv. no. X 1411. Frontal side. – (Drawing E. Kazantzidi).

Fig. 14  Bronze fixture of a ship. Paul and Alexandra Canellopoulos Museum inv. no. X 1411. Lateral right side. – (Drawing E. Kazantzidi).

Fig. 15  Bronze fixture of a ship. Paul and Alexandra Canellopoulos Museum inv. no. X 1411. Lateral left side. – (Drawing E. Kazantzidi).

Fig. 16  Bronze fixture of a ship. Paul and Alexandra Canellopoulos Museum inv. no. X 1411. Back face. – (Photo E. Miari).
Fig. 17  Bronze fixture of a ship. Paul and Alexandra Canellopoulos Museum inv. no. X 1411. Back face. – (Drawing E. Kazantzidi).

Fig. 18  Bronze fixture of a ship. Paul and Alexandra Canellopoulos Museum inv. no. X 1411. Top level surface. – (Photo E. Miaris).

Fig. 19  Bronze fixture of a ship. Paul and Alexandra Canellopoulos Museum inv. no. X 1411. Bottom surface. – (Photo E. Miaris).

Fig. 20  Bronze fixture of a ship. Paul and Alexandra Canellopoulos Museum inv. no. X 1411. Back face. – (Photo E. Miaris).
Divided into two casings, it was mounted onto a wooden shaft. The top level surface of the upper casing extends back, terminating in a wing with a curved, semi-circular contour; its maximum distance from the skull of the head is 14.3 cm, and it is 2 cm thick (fig. 18). The bottom flat surface of the lower casing terminates in a corresponding, although longer, wing; it has a maximum length of 17 cm and a maximum thickness of 2 cm (fig. 19). The upper casing has a height of 3.9 cm, maximum width of 10.5 cm and maximum depth (in relation to the top surface) of 12.5 cm. The lower casing has a height of 4.4 cm, is 11.7 cm wide and its maximum depth (in relation to the bottom surface) is 15.3 cm. An opening is created between the two casings towards the front; its maximum height is 3.4 cm. Behind it the solid bronze section that joins the two casings is 5.2 cm thick and 8.6 cm wide. The object has six large iron nails, with a circular cross-section measuring approximately 0.6 cm. There are two nails on the two sides of the upper and lower casings, while the top and bottom level surfaces each have one. Only the nailheads and the shaft enclosed by the bronze casing have survived. On the top surface of the fixture, behind the figure’s skull, is a ring with a circular cross-section, 1.8 cm thick and with a maximum diameter of 3.6 cm. There is a groove in the centre of the upper casing’s two lateral surfaces that is 1.3 cm high and approx. 3 mm deep. The two nails were fixed inside this groove. The lower casing’s lateral faces also have a corresponding decoration, a center band, approx. 2 cm high, which is defined by two horizontal parallel incised lines. The two nails were placed on the bottom incised line. The bust of a female wearing a diadem emerges from the calyx of a quadrifoliate flower. The height of the face is 7.5 cm. The edge of the garment is plastically delineated at the base of the neck. The face is oval, with pronounced cheekbones. The eyes are almond-shaped, while the contours of the eyelids, as well as the arch of the brow are strongly accentuated. The nose is rather wide and the lips smile slightly. The hair is frequently have more than one. The rest left to flow loose. Some of the tresses, indicated by three parallel incised lines, end on the object’s lateral side, under the crook, giving the impression that her hair was unbound and waving back. The locks are rendered by deep furrows, curving in the area above the forehead, straight above and behind the ears, whose lobes are visible. The hair behind the diadem is not shown. The back of the skull is cut away, since the ring abuts that point. In relation to the axis formed by the two casings, the bust turns slightly to its left (fig. 20). It appears similarly turned relative to the calyx of the flower. The ring is also similarly angled in relation to the axis of the piece. In general, the object appears slightly asymmetrical, perhaps owing to the casting process.

The bronze ship’s fixture in the Canellopoulos Museum has remained unknown until now, secure in the museum’s storeroom. However, during my research for parallels, I found in George Hanfmann’s article »A Roman Victory« in the 1969 Festschrift honoring Ulf Jantzen, the following:

»Some busts come definitely from emblems attached to the point or end of the prow. The earliest of these is at present on the art market. It is said to come from Rhodes. The summary style is hard to date, especially without the knowledge of the original; the small mouth, slightly oblique almond eyes, and the large simplicity of hair and diadem would place the piece in the first half of the fifth century B.C. The bust seems to come out of a »Blätterkelch«. A loop rising behind the head was probably used to secure a rope or chain when tying up. Here again, size and weight speak for a real ship or boat.«

From the object’s description, it becomes clear that this is the bronze ship’s fixture now in the Canellopoulos Museum. This identification is moreover confirmed by the dimensions Hanfmann provided in a footnote. The same footnote mentions the object was in the possession of the antiquarian Nicolas Koutoulakis, who supplied him with the relevant information and photographs, which, however, Hanfmann did not publish. It is obvious from the above that the object was purchased by Paul Canellopoulos a little earlier or after 1969, the year the article was published, most probably from one of the two antiquarian shops Koutoulakis maintained in Geneva and Paris. The two different provenances, Asia Minor, in the museum’s inventory and Rhodes, according to the information Koutoulakis gave Hanfmann, are explained by the practice, frequent in the antiques trade, of disseminating fabricated provenance information and cannot, under any circumstances, be considered dependable.

The Canellopoulos Museum’s bronze object belongs to the category of bronze ship components that were decorated with busts. The use of busts as decorative elements is evident in the portrayals of ships on reliefs, on mosaics, as well as on coins; we also have some – very few – surviving examples of actual bronze busts that were found in shipwrecks. These busts were placed, as the case may be, on a ship’s projecting beams, or on the prow and a ship would frequently have more than one.

Relief representations of ships with decorative busts include the well-known ship monument of Cyrene, the marble relief of Praeneste, the Cartilius Poplicola’s grave monument in Ostia, the Portus relief in the Palazzo Torlonia and...
the grave relief of Naevola Tyche in Pompeii. A pair of busts depicted on a plastic vase from Vulci – now in the British Museum – that represents the front part of trireme, are characteristic and unique, since apart from being on a vase, they are on either side of the prow facing forward. A mosaic from North Africa, dating to the 2nd-3rd century depicts a female bust on the side of Odysseus’s ship. A Roman coin dating to 106 BC has a bust of Aphrodite on the prow of a ship, while another one, dating to the same period, has a bust of Athena. Finally, a lost bronze piece from a votive boat, formerly in Berlin, also depicts a female head on the prow.

Of the surviving examples of actual bronze ship busts that date to earlier periods, most famous are the bronze busts of Dionysus and Ariadne from the Mahdia shipwreck in Tunisia, attributed to the late Hellenistic period. A 2nd century bronze bust of Nike, currently in Harvard University’s Fogg Art Museum, would have probably been secured in the prow or the two lateral surfaces of a vessel. The bronze bust of Athena, discovered in the Gulf of Preveza and now in the British Museum, might have belonged to a warship that had participated in the naval battle of Actium. It dates to the reign of Augustus. The bust emerged from a medallion and decorated the edge of the prow’s bronze overlay. Another well-known decorative bronze votive fixture, shaped like a ship’s prow terminating in the bust of a diadem-wearing female is in Mainz, Germany. It adorned a votive ship and dates to the Roman period. Finally, two busts of Athena, dating to the 2nd century, served as the decorative terminals of wooden ship beams.

The Canellopoulos Museum’s bronze fixture undoubtedly had both a decorative and a utilitarian role. The fact that it is a heavy object made of solid bronze, which was fixed by means of a bipartite casing with large iron nails onto a wooden shaft, along with the ring on its upper surface, through which, obviously, a rope would be passed, proves the object was destined to withstand strong forces of pressure and weight. Another element favouring this view is the fact that the hole between the two casings may very possibly have served to strengthen the object’s affixation to the wooden shaft. This would have been accomplished using a metal piece, with lead, soldered into the hole and nailed onto the wooden shaft.

The bust’s location on the front face of the fixture and the fact that the latter widens in the back, recalling the shape of a prow, make it safe for us to assume the fixture was located on the prow of a ship. Moreover, the decoration of its lateral surfaces with horizontal bands undoubtedly mimics wooden side planks. Here, I would like to mention the similar band ornamentation on the surviving decorative elements from the Mahdia shipwreck with the busts of Dionysus and Ariadne. In the case of the Canellopoulos Museum’s bust, its small size suggests a small vessel. If the bust came from a larger vessel, it might have been installed elsewhere. One possible location would be a mast on the prow deck, perhaps one even related to the mainsail.

The female bust type of the Canellopoulos Museum’s ship fixture is associated with a deity, since both diadem and hairstyle are characteristic of female deities such as Hera, Artemis, Hygieia and Aphrodite. The fact that the bust decorated the fixture of a ship makes an identification with Aphrodite more likely, since this goddess had a special affinity for the sea and, moreover, was the patron of seafarers. The possibility that it belonged to some other deity cannot, however, be excluded. This type of bust, emerging from a flower calyx, is encountered in examples of bronze work from the early Imperial period. The calyx of the Canellopoulos Museum’s bust is more akin to the calyx of a marble bust of Athena with Attic helmet and aegis located in the Archaeological Museum of Eleusis, dating to the 2nd century. Yet another bust emerging from the calyx of a flower was recovered from the Bay of Naples. This ship’s ornament is now in the Mariemont Museum in Belgium. It was found along with a group of other smaller bronze decorative elements that date to the 1st century AD and are thought to be the decorative terminals of the vessel’s beams. The bust depicts Athena with helmet and Gorgoneion and might have been placed at the end of the ship’s stem.

In the absence of any details regarding precise provenance, the dating of the fixture is based exclusively on the bust’s features. One significant chronological factor is that it emerges from the calyx of a flower. As already mentioned, similar bronze busts appeared in the early Imperial period and continued throughout that entire period. Consequently, we must conclude that the Canellopoulos Museum’s bust
is definitely Roman. Moreover, all the rest of the previously mentioned examples of bronze busts that served as ship fixtures belong to the late Hellenistic and the Roman years, something that places the dissemination of this particular tradition in that time period. The simple rendition of the hair and the diadems, as well as the facial features, and above all the distinctive faint smile, endow the bust with a classicizing appearance, greatly favouring its attribution to the 2nd century.

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**Zusammenfassung / Summary**

Bronzen von Schiffen des Paul und Alexandra Canellopoulos Museums


Übersetzung: Th. Schmidts

**Bronze Parts of Ships from the Paul and Alexandra Canellopoulos Museum**

The paper discusses two bronze parts of ships which are kept in the Canellopoulos Museum in Athens. These are the well-known naval ram shaped like the snout of a sea-monster (ketos) and a ship’s fixture, presented for the first time, decorated with a female bust emerging from the calyx of a flower. The presentation includes an extensive iconographical and stylistic discussion of the items, dealing with their possible use and provenance, as well as the fascinating story of how they made their way into the private collection of Paul Canellopoulos. For the ram it is suggested that it rather belonged to a votive vessel dedicated to a sanctuary during the later Classical-Hellenistic period. By contrast, the fixture with the bust had both a utilitarian and a decorative role. The female bust type is probably associated with Aphrodite, patroness of seafarers, while its classicizing appearance greatly favours its attribution to the 2nd century.