

# UC Berkeley

## UC Berkeley Previously Published Works

**Title**

HELLENISTIC FREESTANDING SCULPTURE FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA, PART 1: Aphrodite

**Permalink**

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/6mk7g769>

**Journal**

Hesperia The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 81(2)

**ISSN**

0018-098X

**Author**

Andrew Stewart

**Publication Date**

2012

**DOI**

10.2972/hesperia.81.2.0267

Peer reviewed

# HESPERIA

THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL  
OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME 81  
2012



Copyright © The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, originally published in *Hesperia* 81 (2012), pp. 267–342. This offprint is supplied for personal, non-commercial use only. The definitive electronic version of the article can be found at <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2972/hesperia.81.2.0267>>.

# HESPERIA

Tracey Cullen, EDITOR

## EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

Carla M. Antonaccio, *Duke University*  
Angelos Chaniotis, *Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton*  
Jack L. Davis, *American School of Classical Studies at Athens*  
A. A. Donohue, *Bryn Mawr College*  
Jan Driessen, *Université Catholique de Louvain*  
Marian H. Feldman, *University of California, Berkeley*  
Gloria Ferrari Pinney, *Harvard University*  
Sherry C. Fox, *American School of Classical Studies at Athens*  
Thomas W. Gallant, *University of California, San Diego*  
Sharon E. J. Gerstel, *University of California, Los Angeles*  
Guy M. Hedreen, *Williams College*  
Carol C. Mattusch, *George Mason University*  
Alexander Mazarakis Ainian, *University of Thessaly at Volos*  
Lisa C. Nevett, *University of Michigan*  
Josiah Ober, *Stanford University*  
John K. Papadopoulos, *University of California, Los Angeles*  
Jeremy B. Rutter, *Dartmouth College*  
A. J. S. Spawforth, *Newcastle University*  
Monika Trümper, *University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

*Hesperia* is published quarterly by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Founded in 1932 to publish the work of the American School, the journal now welcomes submissions from all scholars working in the fields of Greek archaeology, art, epigraphy, history, materials science, ethnography, and literature, from earliest prehistoric times onward. *Hesperia* is a refereed journal, indexed in *Abstracts in Anthropology*, *L'Année philologique*, *Art Index*, *Arts and Humanities Citation Index*, *Avery Index to Architectural Periodicals*, *Current Contents*, *IBZ: Internationale Bibliographie der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Zeitschriftenliteratur*, *Numismatic Literature*, *Periodicals Contents Index*, *Russian Academy of Sciences Bibliographies*, and *TOCS-IN*. The journal is also a member of CrossRef.

The American School of Classical Studies at Athens is a research and teaching institution dedicated to the advanced study of the archaeology, art, history, philosophy, language, and literature of Greece and the Greek world. Established in 1881 by a consortium of nine American universities, the School now serves graduate students and scholars from more than 180 affiliated colleges and universities, acting as a base for research and study in Greece. As part of its mission, the School directs ongoing excavations in the Athenian Agora and at Corinth and sponsors all other American-led excavations and surveys on Greek soil. It is the official link between American archaeologists and classicists and the Archaeological Service of the Greek Ministry of Culture and, as such, is dedicated to the wise management of cultural resources and to the dissemination of knowledge of the classical world. Inquiries about programs or membership in the School should be sent to the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 6–8 Charlton Street, Princeton, New Jersey 08540-5232.

# HELLENISTIC FREE- STANDING SCULPTURE FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA, PART 1

## APHRODITE

### ABSTRACT

This study, the first in a series of articles on freestanding Hellenistic sculpture from the Athenian Agora, publishes 20 certain, probable, and possible Hellenistic marble sculptures of Aphrodite, against the background of the genre's evolution from ca. 450 B.C. through the Early Roman period. The statuettes among them probably were intended for domestic use, the others as dedications. An over-life-size example is identified as the cult statue of Aphrodite Hegemone of the Demos. The author explores the debt of these works to Classical Athenian originals and to neoclassical Athenian aesthetics, and argues that after the Sullan sack of 86 B.C., a preference for fully draped figures in this genre changed to one for seminude or nude statues and statuettes, often made for export.

### INTRODUCTION

The ancient literary and epigraphical sources on the sculpture of Hellenistic Athens focus almost exclusively upon two genres.<sup>1</sup> First are the honorary and votive portraits (*eikones*) that crowded the city. Almost always made of bronze and occasionally gilded, these portraits ran the gamut of Hellenistic elite and sub-elite society, including kings, politicians, city officials, generals, philosophers, poets, affluent private citizens, and miscellaneous

1. Research for this study was carried out in the Agora Museum and the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in 1996–1998, 2000, and 2007–2012. I owe my sincere thanks to John Camp, Evelyn Harrison, T. Leslie Shear Jr., and the late Homer Thompson for allowing me to study and publish this material; to Jan Jordan and Sylvie Dumont for facilitating access to it; to Karen Loven for cleaning those

pieces that required it; to Craig Mauzy for his splendid photographs; to Karen Bohrer, Robert Bridges, the late W. D. E. Coulson, Jack Davis, Blanche Menadier, James Muhly, Maria Pilali, Stephen Tracy, and Nancy Winter for administrative and library support at the School; and to Gianfranco Adornato, Richard Anderson, Erin Babnik, Judith Binder, Jake Butera, Michael Djordjevitch, Hallie Franks, Evelyn

Harrison, Raphael Jacob, Alexander Mantis, Becky Martin, Olga Palagia, Kristen Seaman, Dimitris Sourlas, Ronald Stroud, Mary Sturgeon, Robert Sutton Jr., Stephen Tracy, Ismene Trianti, the late Stelios Triantis, and Barbara Tsakirgis for help on particular points. Others will be acknowledged in their proper place. All translations are my own.

benefactors. Then, a distant second, come images of the gods and deified mortals (*agalмата*), often made of marble.<sup>2</sup>

Yet this dazzling array, spanning almost three centuries (ca. 323–31 B.C.), has left pitifully few remains. None of the attested bronzes and only a few of the marbles survive, including the head of a Hellenistic king often identified with an *agalma* of Ariarathes V of Cappadocia dedicated by the Dionysiac Artists, and a head and torso attributed to Euboulides' monument in the Inner Kerameikos.<sup>3</sup> A few original portraits in marble and numerous Roman copies go some way toward making up the deficit in *eikones*, but offer no help with the *agalмата*. Sculptures from other sites in Attica and those made for external clients are more plentiful, but lie beyond the scope of this study.<sup>4</sup>

After the towering achievements and massive output of sculpture in the Classical period, the sumptuary laws of Demetrios of Phaleron (enacted probably in 317/6, but certainly before his overthrow in 307/6) evidently triggered a slump in marble sculpture for the Athenian market. Yet this handful of textually attested originals by no means represents the sum total of Hellenistic sculptures in the city and its environs. Best known are the aforementioned marble portraits, most of them Late Hellenistic in date, the Mounychia Asklepios, and a number of reliefs.<sup>5</sup> These include some miscellaneous votive plaques in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens and at Eleusis, a few later Hellenistic gravestones there and in the Kerameikos, and the well-known Piraeus reliefs after the shield of Athena Parthenos and other monuments, if these are indeed Hellenistic.<sup>6</sup> All of them inaugurate traditions that would continue to flourish far into the Roman period, and represent the second efflorescence of Athenian marble sculpture.

Seventy years of sculptural discoveries in the Agora (Fig. 1), mostly still unpublished, significantly enhance this picture. The Stoa of Attalos now houses over 3,600 fragments of sculpture, many of which are certainly or probably Hellenistic, including over 300 reliefs and statuettes, both votive and domestic,<sup>7</sup> and a much smaller but still considerable quantity of large-scale, freestanding sculpture. These statues and statuettes not only deserve attention in their own right, but also enable us to test the common assumption that Athenian taste remained generally conservative throughout the Hellenistic period. Is this true in each and every genre, and, if so, to what degree? How do these sculptures follow, transform, modify, or contravene what we know of Hellenistic neoclassical theory from the texts and from finds elsewhere?

2. See Stewart 1979 for the evidence.

3. For these, see Stewart 1979, pls. 16:d, 17:d (texts: *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1330, 4298; Paus. 1.2.5), with Despina 1996, pp. 325–333, pls. 62–65. Despina splits the head-torso piece, shows that the head may belong to an Apollo and the torso probably to a Muse, and argues that the Athena found with them is Roman (correctly, in my view; so, earlier, Karanastassis 1987, pp. 416–420).

*Pace* Houser 1982, p. 230, the half-dozen scraps from a gilded equestrian statue found in a mid-Hellenistic context (Agora B 1382–B 1385; Shear 1973, pp. 165–168, pl. 36) cannot be reconciled with the “golden” Antigonos One-Eye and Demetrios Poliorketes mentioned at Diod. Sic. 20.46.2 and (presumably) toppled at the beginning of the Second Macedonian War in 200; those figures were riding in chariots.

4. Richter 1965, vols. 1–2, *passim*;

Stewart 1979; von den Hoff 1994; Zanker 1995, pp. 77–197; Stewart 2006.

5. See Stewart 1979.

6. See Stewart 1979, with Rügler 1989; Stephanidou-Tiveriou 1979.

7. The votives will be published by Carol Lawton and the gravestones by Janet Grossman. Statuettes of the Mother of the Gods constitute the bulk of the domestic pieces.

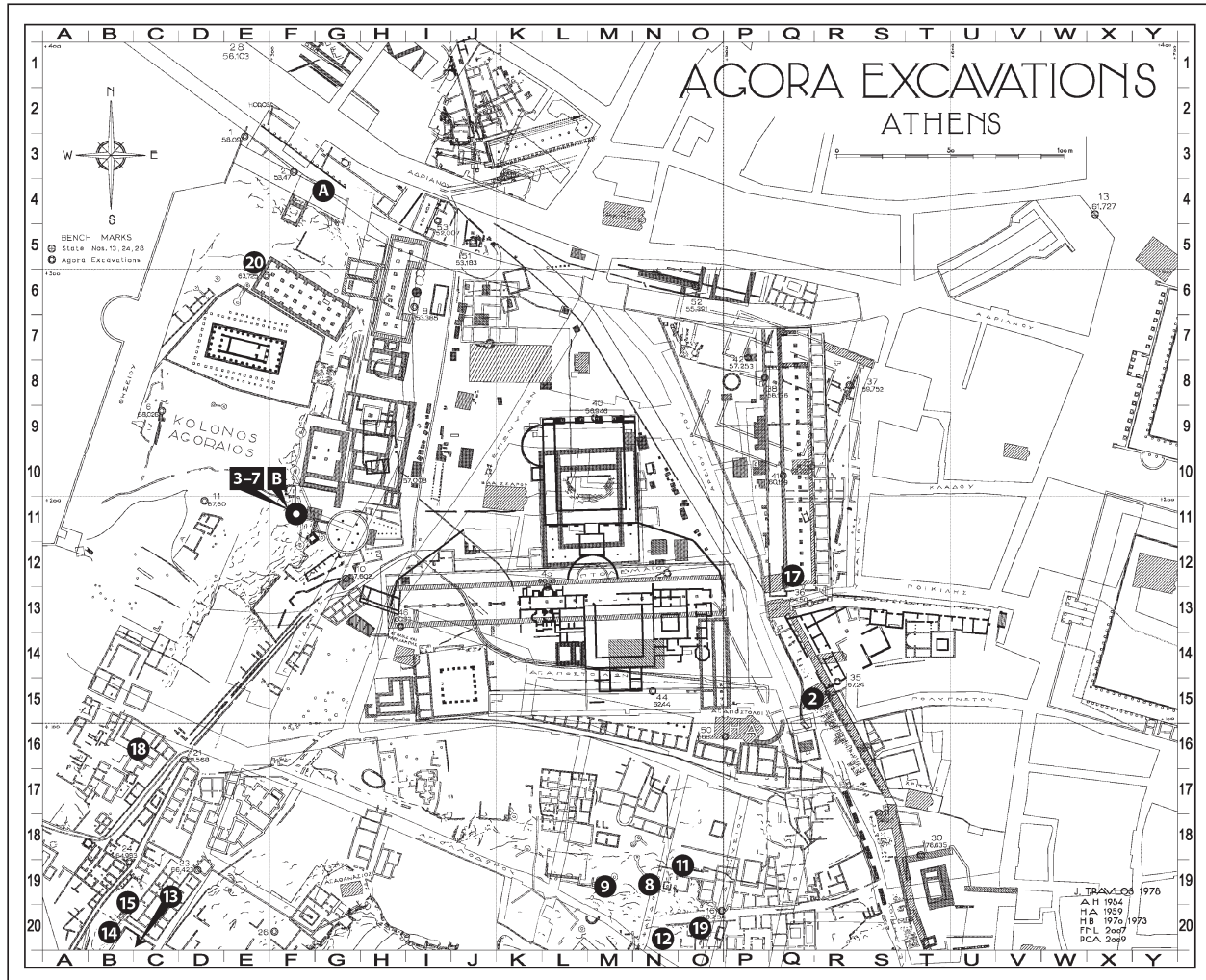


Figure 1. State plan of the Athenian Agora indicating premodern find-spots of catalogued Hellenistic statues and statuettes discussed in this article. Statues 1, 10, and 16 are from modern contexts or cleaning units and are not plotted. A = inscribed Hellenistic altar to Aphrodite Hegemone; B = Bouleuterion Screen Wall. Courtesy Agora Excavations, with additions by E. Babnik

First, however, a caveat about provenance and chronology. Unfortunately, the discovery of a piece of sculpture in the Agora by no means guarantees that it once stood there. In the Byzantine, medieval, and Turkish periods, huge quantities of broken-up marble architectural elements, sculptures, and inscriptions were ferried into the Agora from all over Athens (the Acropolis included) for use as building material. As a result, only those pieces found in authentically ancient contexts, preferably ones that predate the Herulian sack of A.D. 267, can be assumed *prima facie* to have stood within the Agora or in its immediate environs.

To turn to chronology, with some exceptions that can be dated by context or style to particular centuries or even generations, the main difficulty lies in deciding what is Hellenistic and what is Roman. Fortunately, with practice, some key differences in finish sometimes can be discerned. Apart from a few pieces that revive 4th-century techniques, Hellenistic drapery is carved quite sketchily and impressionistically, and barely polished at all. Roman drapery, on the other hand, is hard, linear, and either heavily polished or, in the case of *himation/palliatum* statues (of which there are many fragments in the Agora storerooms), heavily rasped for texture. Moreover, the surfaces depicting the flesh of Hellenistic statues are only lightly polished, while Roman sculptors prefer a higher polish and an often whitish or slightly yellowish sheen.

Nevertheless, Hellenistic sculpture cannot always be distinguished confidently from Roman, especially when it is weathered or battered. Accordingly, it seems best to publish the Agora pieces in groups according to genre. The first two of these groups include (1) 20 certain, probable, and possible statues and statuettes of Aphrodite and/or Eros, the subject of this article; and (2) six fragments of statues probably of Demeter and Kore, at least two of which are attributable to the Polykles family, to be published in *Hesperia* later this year.

Although Classical Athenian statues of Aphrodite have attracted much scrutiny during the last half century, their Hellenistic successors have received little to none. Overshadowed both by their Classical predecessors and by the spectacular, often naked or half-naked products of the Hellenistic East, and published—if at all—only in preliminary notices, they receive little attention even in specialized sculpture studies, and none at all in two recent and otherwise authoritative histories of Athenian religion.<sup>8</sup> The present study of 20 statues and statuettes from the Agora that represent (or may represent) Aphrodite places them within the wider context of the development of the genre in Classical and Hellenistic Athens. Catalogue entries for these statues can be found in Appendix 1, and the findspots of those from ancient contexts are plotted on Figure 1. Catalogued statues and statuettes are referred to in the text by boldface numbers.

## THE MODELS: CLASSICAL ATHENIAN STATUES OF APHRODITE

Before we turn to the Hellenistic Aphrodites from the Agora, it may be useful to review what is known or commonly agreed about the image of Aphrodite in Classical Athenian freestanding sculpture, since these figures often served as models or departure points for their Hellenistic successors. The main types, all fully draped, if sometimes quite scantily so, are the following:

1. The seated “Olympias/Agrippina Aphrodite” type, known from two fragments of the original in the Acropolis Museum and from 12 Roman copies (Fig. 2).<sup>9</sup> Its identification and original location are controversial. The prime candidates, in descending order of probability, are (i) the Aphrodite dedicated by Kallias presumably in the 440s and made by the elder Kalamis; Pausanias saw this statue near the Propylaia and part of its

8. Sculpture studies: only *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 42–43, nos. 293, 300, 307, pls. 30, 31, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias); Machaira 1993, pp. 38–45, 93–97, 102, 109–110, 111–113; Rosenzweig 2003, pp. 26–27; Bol 2007, vol. 1, pp. 339–340, 370; vol. 2, fig. 339:a–d; Machaira 2008, pp. 57–59, 119–121, 123–124. Histories of religion: Parker 1996 omits the sculptures entirely;

Mikalson 1998 mentions only Agora S 378, catalogued here as 2 (Figs. 24, 25), in a one-line footnote (p. 176, n. 21).

9. Acr. 6692 + 6662, unfortunately unprovenanced: Ridgway 1981a, pp. 234–237; *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 90–91, nos. 819–822, pls. 81, 82, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias), citing the earlier literature, esp. Delivorrias 1978; Dally 1997, pp. 13–16; Rolley 1999,

p. 132; Gasparri 2000; Rosenzweig 2003, pp. 38–39, figs. 18, 27; Bol 2004, vol. 1, pp. 182–183; vol. 2, fig. 113; Weber 2006, pp. 207–208 (skeptical); Despina 2008, pp. 280–288, pls. 36:4, 37–43 (Acr. 6662 and copies). Fifth-century and later imitations: *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 91, nos. 823–841, pls. 82–84, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias).



Figure 2. Seated “Olympias/Agripina” Aphrodite. Roman copy from the Circus of Maxentius. Rome, Museo Torlonia. Photo Faraglia, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, neg. 1934.2080

inscribed base has been found in a post-antique context in the Agora;<sup>10</sup> (ii) a possible cult statue of Aphrodite Pandemos in her sanctuary on the Southwest Slope of the Acropolis;<sup>11</sup> and (iii) a possible cult statue of Aphrodite “at Hippolytos” on the South Slope of the Acropolis.<sup>12</sup>

10. Paus. 1.23.2; Agora I 5128: *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 876; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 23, no. 146, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias), citing the earlier literature but overlooking the base. On the historical context, see, e.g., Pirenne-Delforge 1994, p. 33. Rosenzweig (2003, pp. 38–39) prefers the cult statue of Aphrodite in the Gardens on the North Slope of the Acropolis, but overlooks Dally’s (1997) demolition of this attribution.

11. Paus. 1.22.3; see Dally 1997, pp. 13–14. *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 659 (283/2 B.C.) verifies the existence of freestanding statues (ἕδν) in the sanctuary at least by the early 3rd century B.C. On the cult, see Mikalson 1998, pp. 107–108; Rosenzweig 2003, pp. 13–28.

12. E.g., Paus. 1.22.1–2; see Dally 1997, pp. 15–16; on the cult, see Rosenzweig 2003, pp. 83–89. Despinis (2008, pp. 269–279) identifies this statue as the Hygieia seen by Pausanias

(1.23.4) in the sanctuary of Athena Hygieia on the Acropolis. In view of the Molossian hound present in four of the copies (see, e.g., Fig. 2), this suggestion is ingenious, but there are problems: the type predates the introduction of the Asklepios cult in 421/0 B.C.; a considerable number of Athenian imitations of the statue are identifiable beyond doubt as Aphrodite, including Athens, National Archaeological Museum [hereafter, Athens NM] 3257 (Fig. 40); and the type was recycled for portraits of Roman women, a genre that overwhelmingly favored Aphrodite and apparently ignored Hygieia. Moreover, as Leventi (2003, p. 94, n. 48) points out, there are no attributes (such as the trademark snake) to lead later viewers such as Pausanias to recognize the type as Hygieia. The hound, however, remains a mystery. Was it Kallias’s rather than hers?



2. Pheidias's Aphrodite Ourania, probably best represented by the "Brazzà" Aphrodite in Berlin (Fig. 3).<sup>13</sup> Seen by Pausanias in the Agora, this statue probably was reproduced by Pheidias in a second version for the newly synoecized city of Elis, presumably after his exile in 438 and subsequent move to Olympia. Pausanias fails to describe the Athenian statue, but notes that in the Elean version one foot rested on a tortoise.<sup>14</sup> A terracotta fragment from Elis of a right foot resting on a tortoise presumably echoes this latter statue.<sup>15</sup> Although the tortoise under the Brazzà statue's foot—the left one this time—is restored, the figure's pose fits both the periegete's description of the Elean statue and the newly discovered terracotta. Moreover, its style and technique date it to the 430s, suggesting that it is a workshop version of the Athenian statue perhaps made as a votive.<sup>16</sup> Of all the Classical Aphrodite types discussed here, this one was the most influential in Hellenistic Athens, perhaps because of the tortoise's association with domesticity and wifely fertility.<sup>17</sup>
3. Alkamenes' Aphrodite in the Gardens by the river Ilissos, a leaning type best represented by the two late-5th-century versions from her sister sanctuaries at Daphni and (probably) the North Slope of the Acropolis, and by two Roman copies in Herakleion and Paris (Fig. 4).<sup>18</sup>

13. Berlin, Staatliche Museen SK 1459, bought in Venice but perhaps originally from Attica or Smyrna: Settis 1966; Ridgway 1981a, p. 217, no. 5; *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 27–28, nos. 174–181, pls. 20, 21, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias) (citing the earlier literature); Harrison 1984, pp. 382–384, pl. 74:e, f; Boardman 1985, p. 214, fig. 213; Kunze 1992, pp. 139–140, no. 47, fig. (color); Dally 1997, p. 1, n. 2; Rolley 1999, pp. 134, 140, fig. 125; Rosenzweig 2003, pp. 60–61, 71, n. 71; Bol 2004, vol. 1, pp. 176, 194; vol. 2, fig. 96; Froning 2005; Weber 2006, pp. 184–188, 208–209, pl. 22; Schoch 2009, pp. 35–39, 66–90, no. A1, fig. 3, pls. 1–3; Froning and Zimmermann-Elseify 2010, pp. 54–56, no. S5, pl. 9.

14. Paus. 1.14.6–7 (locating the sanctuary between the Hephaisteion and the Stoa Poikile), 6.25.1; for the presumed—but problematic—altar and (Roman) temple to Aphrodite Ourania near the Stoa, see Camp 1986, pp. 57, 186, figs. 37, 38. Contra, Osanna (1988–1989), Weber (2006, pp. 180–183), Schoch (2009, pp. 72–73), and Lippolis (2010, pp. 263–266) all locate the sanctuary on the northeast slope of Kolonos Agoraios, but their main evi-

dence, the nearby "Baby Well" and the female herm found in it, S 1086 (*Agora* XI, p. 167, no. 218, pl. 58; probably a propitiatory Artemis, Eileithyia, or Hekate), is specious and the supposed Roman temple there is a phantom. Also, the sanctuary of Demos and the Graces was located there, leaving little or no room for another; see below. The *thesauros* of Aphrodite Ourania was found several hundred meters away in Plaka, evidently not in situ: see Kazamiakes 1990–1991; Tsakos 1990–1991; Pafford 2006, pp. 93–94; *SEG* XLI 182.

15. Elis II 302: Froning 2005, pl. 52, plausibly arguing that the Elean statue was a mirror image of the Athenian one; 2007, figs. 8, 9 (I thank Antonio Corso for this reference). Schoch 2009, pp. 69–70, fig. 3; Froning and Zimmermann-Elseify 2010, pp. 54–56, no. S5, pl. 9.

16. Settis 1966, pp. 19–21; in particular, its drapery shows no sign of the running drill, introduced around 400. Instead, the deeper folds were laboriously honeycombed in traditional fashion, with the simple drill, and then chiseled: cf. Adam 1966, pp. 46–58, pls. 23–30. This feature tips the balance against the likelihood that

the statue is a Roman copy.

17. See, e.g., Plut. *Conj. praec.* 32; *De Is. et Os.* 75 (*Mor.* 142D; 381E); for recent discussions, Froning 2005, pp. 290–293; and especially Pironti 2007, pp. 142–151 (I thank an anonymous *Hesperia* reviewer for this reference).

18. Paus. 1.19.2; Athens NM 1604 (Daphni); Acr. 2861; Herakleion 325; Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 414. For the type, see *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 30–32, nos. 193–196, pl. 22, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias), citing the earlier literature, esp. Delivorrias 1968; Boardman 1985, p. 215, fig. 216; Dally 1997; Rolley 1999, pp. 140–141, fig. 124; Kaltsas 2002, p. 122, no. 224; Rosenzweig 2003, pp. 31–35, figs. 33–35 (veiled adaptation), 41; Bol 2004, vol. 1, pp. 193–198, text fig. 73; vol. 2, figs. 121–123; Weber 2006, pp. 188–196, pl. 23:1; Machaira 2008, pp. 63–64 (no. 14), 122–123 (no. 15), pls. 33, 49. The type was soon imitated in both relief and vase painting: see, e.g., *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 32–33, nos. 204–221, pls. 23–25, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias); Clairmont 1993, vol. 1: p. 63, no. 1.182; p. 81, no. 1.225; p. 437, no. 1.772; Kaltsas 2002, p. 154, no. 301.

Figure 3 (*opposite, left*). "Brazzà" Aphrodite (Pheidias Ourania type). From Venice, but originally probably from Athens or elsewhere in Attica. The tortoise under the left foot is restored but may be accurate. Berlin, Staatliche Museen SK 1459. Photo J. Liepe, Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, NY (ART 190442)

Figure 4 (*opposite, right*). Leaning (Alkamenes) Aphrodite (Daphni type; unveiled version). Roman copy. Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 414. Photo G. Blot, Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY (ART 356273)



In addition, three more fully draped and highly influential Aphrodite types attested so far only in copies may have been set up in Athens or elsewhere in Attica, but at present they cannot be connected confidently with any known cult or sanctuary:

4. The Doria-Pamphili Aphrodite, known in at least four Roman copies (Fig. 5), often attributed to Agorakritos and datable to the 420s.<sup>19</sup>

19. Lippold 1951, p. 207; Ridgway 1981a, p. 196, n. 4, pp. 217–218, no. 6; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 25, nos. 157–159, pls. 18, 19, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorias), citing the earlier literature; Kaltsas 2002, p. 123, no. 229; Pasquier 2003;

Bol 2004, vol. 1, p. 193; vol. 2, figs. 115–117; Pasquier 2004; Weber 2006, pp. 197–205, 209–210, pls. 25–27 (comparing the torso Athens NM 1604 from Daphni and identifying the type as the cult statue of that sanctuary).

An Aphrodite on Acr. 2996, an Attic decree relief of ca. 420 honoring Proxenides of Knidos, may imitate the type: Lawton 1995, pp. 48, 115–116, no. 68, pl. 36.



5. The Borghese Aphrodite (so-called Borghese Hera), known in over 20 Roman copies (Fig. 6) and datable to the 410s.<sup>20</sup>

6. The Valentini Aphrodite (so-called Valentini Ariadne), known in at least seven Roman copies (Fig. 7) and datable to ca. 400.<sup>21</sup>

20. Lippold 1951, p. 188, pl. 66:2; Ridgway 1981a, pp. 196, n. 4, 217–218; Boardman 1985, p. 215, fig. 214; *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 671, no. 102, s.v. Hera (A. Kossatz-Deissmann), citing the earlier literature; Rolley 1999, pp. 46, 134, 155, 207, fig. 32; Brusini 2000,

p. 158, n. 395 (list of copies); Bol 2004, vol. 1, pp. 212–213; vol. 2, figs. 120, 132; Ghedini and Bonetto 2005, pp. 653–654, 662–663, figs. 5–7, 13, 14 (new copy from Gortyn, severely damaged during removal from the excavation; I thank Antonio Corso for this

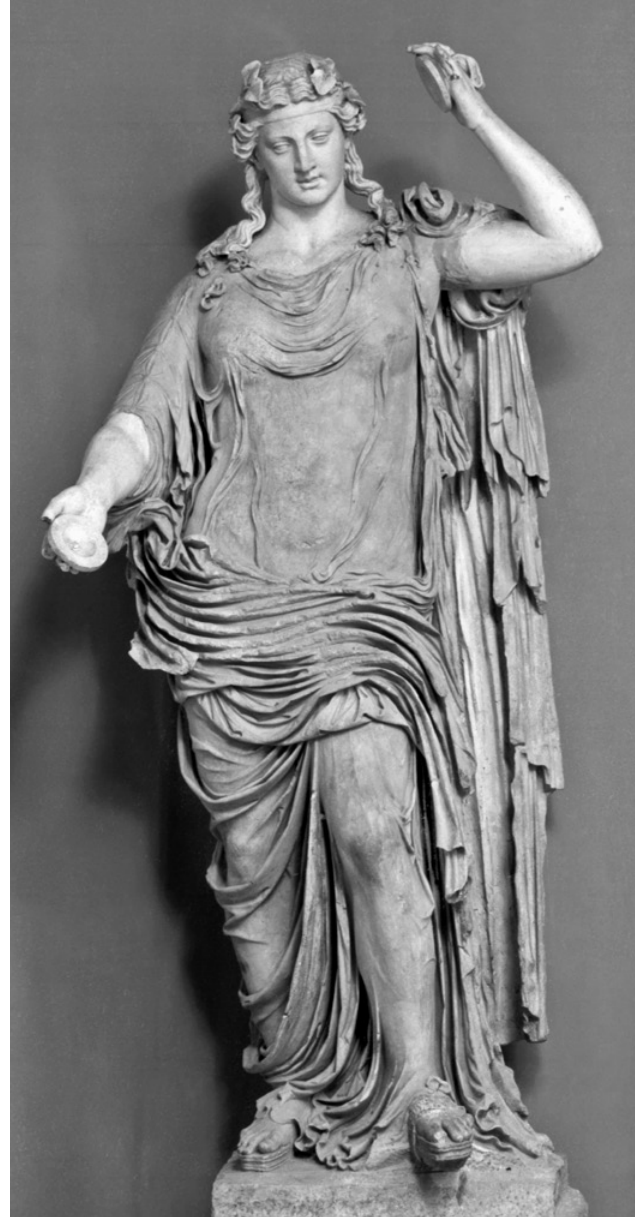
Figure 5 (*left*). Doria-Pamphili Aphrodite. Rome, Palazzo Doria-Pamphili. Photo Alinari 29759/Art Resource, NY (ART 408229)

Figure 6 (*opposite, left*). Borghese Aphrodite (so-called Borghese Hera). Roman copy from the Palatine stadium, Rome. Rome, Antiquarium Palatino; formerly Museo Nazionale Romano 51. Photo Alinari 17372/Art Resource, NY (ART 408230)

Figure 7 (*opposite, right*). Valentini Aphrodite (so-called Valentini Ariadne). Roman copy. The arms and head are restored. Villa Papale, Castelgandolfo. Photo Singer, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, neg. 70.4110

reference); Valeri 2005, pp. 98–102, figs. 97, 98. The head Agora S 1055, found in the “Baby Well,” may also copy this type: Shear 1939, pp. 240–241, fig. 40; Lippold 1951, p. 188, n. 12.

21. Lippold 1951, p. 213, pl. 70:4;



Of these, the Doria-Pamphili type (Fig. 5) is very close in style to the reclining Aphrodite (figure M) of the east pediment of the Parthenon, and often is attributed to the same sculptor, perhaps Agorakritos. The Borghese type (Fig. 6) capitalizes on the drapery schema of the Aphrodite in the Gardens (Fig. 4); and the Valentini type (Fig. 7) presses that of the Pheidian Ourania (Fig. 3) to extremes. All three served as sources of inspiration for Athenian Hellenistic sculptors working in this genre, but the combination in the Borghese and Valentini types of a thin, crinkly chiton

Bielefeld 1978; Ridgway 1981a, pp. 217–218, no. 6; Boardman 1985, p. 215, fig. 215. Its identification as Ariadne rests on its vague similarity to an Ariadne on an Athenian Kerch-style vase (ARV<sup>2</sup> 1447, no. 3; Bielefeld

1978, p. 65, figs. 16, 17), but (1) the subject is otherwise unknown in Classical sculpture; (2) it is unlikely that the Romans would have wanted copies of such a statue, when the sleeping, abandoned Hellenistic type (Bieber 1961,

fig. 624) was far more entertaining; and (3) it is possible that the vase painter was quoting an Aphrodite type in order to emphasize the heroine's irresistible allure.



**Figure 8. Aphrodite. Athens, Agora Museum S 1882.** H. of figure 1.76 m. Photo C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations

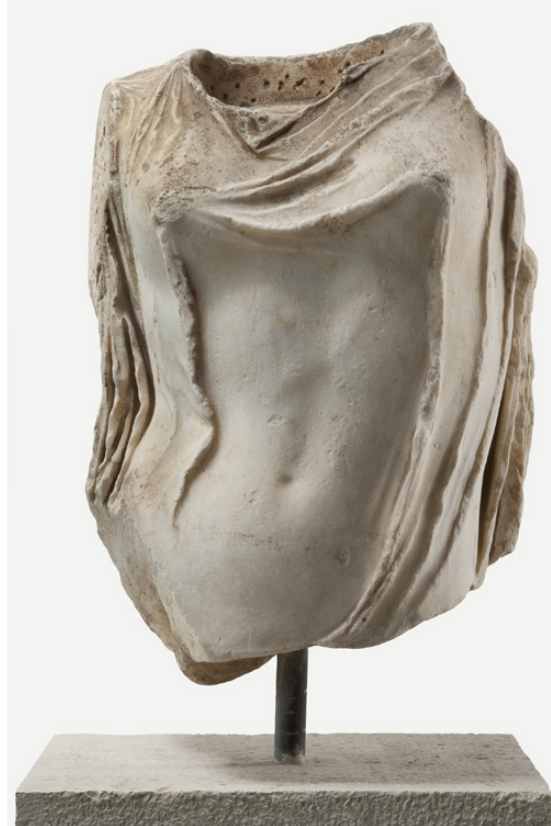
and a voluminous, heavy himation, the former seductively revealing the curves of the breasts and belly and the latter shielding the hips and upper thighs almost completely from view, proved to be especially influential. As I discuss elsewhere, an early-4th-century sculptor's sketch from the Agora uses it as a model,<sup>22</sup> and we will see how Athenian Hellenistic sculptors relentlessly exploited its enticing mixture of modesty and allure.

Finally, the Agora excavations have produced another three fully draped Classical originals that recall these and other known Aphrodite types to various degrees:

- (a) Agora S 1882 (Fig. 8), a headless statue of ca. 420 carved in a flamboyant style and related to the Doria-Pamphili type (Fig. 5).<sup>23</sup>

22. Agora S 965: Stewart, forthcoming b; dated by context to before ca. 350 B.C.

23. Ridgway 1981a, pp. 111–112; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 26, no. 162, pl. 19, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias), citing the earlier literature; Boardman 1985, pp. 175–176, fig. 136; Stewart 1990, p. 167, fig. 425; Rolley 1999, pp. 126, 142, 195, fig. 126; Rosenzweig 2003, p. 27, fig. 15.



**Figure 9. Aphrodite. Athens, Agora Museum S 210.** H. 0.50 m. Photo C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations

- (b) Agora S 210 (Fig. 9), a headless torso of ca. 400 imitating the Valentini type (Fig. 7) and the (somewhat smaller) Este Aphrodite in Vienna.<sup>24</sup>
- (c) Agora S 37 (Fig. 10), preserved from the feet to the middle of the torso.<sup>25</sup> A virtuoso work of ca. 400–380 B.C. sometimes attributed to the sculptor of the Valentini Aphrodite (Fig. 7); related stylistically to the Fréjus/Genetrix Aphrodite;<sup>26</sup> and remarkable for the extensive repairs apparently carried out by its original author.

24. Unpublished; H. 0.50; W. 0.34; D. 0.22; found in 1932 in the foundations of a modern house; joining surface and dowel hole for right arm; head inset into a deep, bowl-shaped cavity that Jacob (2003, p. 43) regards as Roman. These may be repairs, however, as a reexamination in July 2010 by the present author, Gianfranco Adornato, and Mary Sturgeon concluded that running drill work is absent and the drapery is consistently subtle and varied. The torso matches the Valentini type in scale and shares the catenary folds of its chiton between the breasts; its vertical folds (especially the kinked one descending from the right breast)

strongly recall those of the Este Aphrodite, however, and its legs perhaps were crossed also. For the Este Aphrodite (Vienna, Kunsthistorischesmuseum I 1192), see Lippold 1951, p. 298, pl. 104:2; Ridgway 1981a, pp. 63–64, 200 (Hellenistic); *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 32, no. 204, pl. 23, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias), with earlier literature; Machaira 1993, pp. 81–82, no. 54, 193, pl. 54; Rolley 1999, p. 143, fig. 128. It is only 1.14 m high (as opposed to the Valentini statue, 1.80 m, also without head, which is restored), and thus about 30% smaller than the Valentini statue and S 210.

25. Lippold 1951, p. 313, n. 3;

Bielefeld 1978, p. 64, fig. 15; *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 35–36, no. 242, pl. 27, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias), citing the earlier literature; for technical details, see Adam 1966, pls. 5, 6:a, 11:b, 15:c.

26. Ridgway 1981a, pp. 198–201, figs. 126, 127; *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 34–35, nos. 225–240, pls. 23–27, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias), citing the earlier literature; Stewart 1990, p. 126, fig. 467; Rolley 1999, pp. 142–143, fig. 127; Rosenzweig 2003, p. 52, fig. 38; Bol 2004, vol. 1, pp. 199–200; vol. 2, figs. 126–128; Kondoleon and Segal 2012, unnumbered fig. on p. 163, no. 146.



Figure 10. Aphrodite. Athens, Agora Museum S 37. H. of figure 1.315 m.  
Photo C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations

One conclusion to be drawn from this brief survey is that in Classical Athenian freestanding sculpture, at least, Aphrodite was always or almost always fully draped, even though by the end of the 5th century the coverage may have been quite nominal. Socrates' conversation with the courtesan Theodote, recorded by Xenophon (*Mem.* 3.11), offers a clue that is all the more suggestive because the philosopher catches her actually posing for a painter. As Richard Neer has shown, this encounter reveals that in the Athenian imagination, at least, clothes make the woman. Like Pandora's clothing, Theodote's "sumptuous attire" (πολυτελής κόσμος) is a teaser and a "contrivance" (μηχανή), artfully concealing the woman beneath, veiling her basic lack, and thus intensifying her allure as an object of male desire:

Sokrates suggests that the veils, which comprise her clothes, her body, and even her soul, exist in order to suggest something hidden,

something withheld. She is to offer nothing but an absence of gratification: *pothos* will do the rest. Theodotê is a constitutive absence or void: there is nothing to her but allure.<sup>27</sup>

Classical Attic architectural sculpture and votive reliefs also conform strictly to this protocol,<sup>28</sup> though Late Classical terracottas, red-figure vases, and the occasional Hellenistic votive relief at times contravene it, boldly showing the goddess topless or even completely naked.<sup>29</sup> Yet, as we will see, Attic marble sculpture never strays from this conservative path even during the Hellenistic period. Consequently, attempts to assign other, less orthodox Classical Aphrodite types—such as the breast-revealing Fréjus/Genetrix Aphrodite—to Athens or Attica may be mistaken, or at least will require special justification in order to stand.<sup>30</sup> On Praxiteles' Arles/Thespias and Knidian Aphrodite types, see Appendix 2.

## APHRODITE IN EARLY HELLENISTIC ATHENS

After the spectacular Aphrodites of the late 5th and early 4th centuries (Figs. 2–10), the tradition dwindles drastically. The dropoff seems to be reflected in cult as well: with the exception of the cult of Aphrodite Ourania founded in Piraeus by the merchants of Kition in Cyprus in 333/2 B.C.,<sup>31</sup> no

27. Neer 2010, p. 160; see also pp. 161–162. In *Mem.* 3.11, Xenophon stresses that she was posing not naked or even topless, but “sumptuously attired” (πολυτελῶς κεκοσμημένην, 3.11.4) and “showing as much as decency allowed” (ἐπιδεικνύειν ἐαυτῆς ὅσα καλῶς ἔχοι, 3.11.1).

28. Architectural sculpture: *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 132–133, nos. 1393, 1399, 1404, pls. 137, 138 (Parthenon, east pediment, east frieze, East metope 12), p. 134, no. 1405, pl. 138 (Nike temple, east frieze), s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias). Votive reliefs: *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 22–23, nos. 142–144, pl. 364 (with Ares, pouring a libation); p. 25, nos. 154, 158; p. 89, no. 812; p. 91, no. 825, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias); Edwards 1984; Lawton 1995, pp. 48, 115–116, 120, nos. 68, 77, pls. 36, 41; Rosenzweig 2003, figs. 34, 45, 54, 59–62, 67, 71; Machaira 2008, pp. 54, 61, nos. 7, 11, pls. 23:γ, 27. Dimitris Sourlas also alerts me to what may be another unpublished, freestanding, draped Aphrodite, Roman Agora IIA 2068, from Plaka. A sensitively carved piece dating to around 400–380 B.C., it was later cut down to a bust, perhaps after sustaining damage in the Sullan sack. Its head was turned and inclined sharply toward its raised right shoulder,

suggesting that the goddess may have been lifting up the hem of her himation with her right hand, like the Fréjus/Genetrix type, cited above (see n. 26).

29. For a selection of the terracottas and vases, see Metzger 1951, pp. 59–88, pls. 1–7; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 81, no. 727, pl. 72 (terracotta “stripper”) and pp. 113–150, nos. 1158–1569, pls. 115–153, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias); Rosenzweig 2003, figs. 46–48, 56; Kondoleon and Segal 2012, unnumbered figs. on pp. 16, 38 (no. 15), 39 (no. 16), 65(?). In addition, Carol Lawton kindly alerts me to two Early Hellenistic votive reliefs from the Agora that also contravene this protocol: S 1491, a circular relief with a topless Aphrodite Epitragia (Edwards 1984, p. 70, pl. 18:b); and S 2882, a rectangular one with a naked, leaning Aphrodite next to a pot covered in drapery.

30. For the Fréjus/Genetrix Aphrodite, see n. 26, above. For one possible exception to the conservative tendency, the Capitoline Aphrodite, see Stewart 2010, conjecturing that it might have been the *hetaira* Pythonike's tomb statue at Daphni. In addition to the arguments outlined there, I would add that (1) by ca. 250 both Nossis and Poseidippos were producing epigrams celebrating statues that conflated

courtesans and queens with Aphrodite (Nossis 4–6 [= *Anth. Pal.* 9.332; 6.275; 9.605]; Poseidippos 36, 39, 116, 119 Austin-Bastianini [= *P.Mil.Vogl.* cols. vi.10–17, 30–37; *P.Firmin-Didot = P.Louvre* 7172; *Ath.* 7.318d]); and (2) Pythonike's tomb stood directly in Sulla's path from Eleusis to Athens (Paus. 1.37.5); Pausanias apparently saw no statue inside it; and, as Corso (1992) has shown, the Capitoline Aphrodite's original almost certainly ended up in Rome by Augustan times. Did Sulla take it with him to grace his triumph? Unfortunately, detailed documentation of his plunder is lacking, with two exceptions: columns from the still-unfinished temple of Olympian Zeus (Plin. *HN* 36.45) and Zeuxis's picture of a female hippocentaur suckling her twins, lost at sea off Cape Malea (Lucian *Zeuxis* 3); for these and other suggestions, see Celani 1998, pp. 78–80.

31. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 337, 1261, 4636, 4637, 5017; Garland 1987, pp. 112–113, 228, nos. 6–8; Parker 1996, p. 243, overlooking the dedications; Mikalson 1998, pp. 30, 45, 103, 107–108, 143, 146–147, 291–292. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 5017, a dedication to Eros Ouranios also from Piraeus and also apparently overlooked by Parker and Mikalson, suggests that the cult statue—if any—may have included him.





**Figure 11. Aphrodite and Eros from Daphni. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1599.** Photo E. Babnik, courtesy National Archaeological Museum, Athens; © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund

new cults of the goddess are attested for a century and a half, and inscribed votives are all but nonexistent. The only extant freestanding Aphrodite of any size comes from the sanctuary at Daphni (Fig. 11).<sup>32</sup> Part of a two-thirds life-size votive with an Eros standing by its side, it is quite mediocre in quality, but nonetheless technically, stylistically, and iconographically instructive. Since it is both more complete than any of the Early Hellenistic examples from the Agora and announces a number of key features of the genre that will endure throughout the period, it merits a brief digression.

First, as to technique, its back is almost completely unmodeled, even more so than the roughed-out back of Agora S 37.<sup>33</sup> This feature now becomes standard even in the case of life-size freestanding figures.

32. Athens NM 1599: Machaira 1993, pp. 38–39, no. 2, pls. 4, 5, citing the earlier literature; Machaira 2008, pp. 57–59, no. 9, pls. 28, 29.

33. Adam 1966, pl. 5.

Second, even though it is carved in the round, both physically and formally it behaves more like a high relief, although it is too big to fit into any of the niches on site.<sup>34</sup> Its maximum depth from front to back is only 18.5 cm, about half of what one would normally expect, presumably because its dedicator wanted to economize. This will become standard in the genre (compare, e.g., Figs. 30, 34, below). As to form, not only are the two figures arranged paratactically and posed to mirror each other, but also both of them adopt the outthrust hip, or “hip-slung” stance, characteristic of much late-4th- and early-3rd-century sculpture—a posture that tends to flatten the composition and in an exaggerated way tends to dominate the genre henceforth.<sup>35</sup> Finally, each figure turns slightly inward toward a strong central axis created by Eros’s engaged right leg and by the himation folds hanging vertically over the goddess’s engaged left leg and down her left side. This device both subtly emphasizes the close relationship between them and makes the group wholly intelligible from the front, dissuading the spectator from viewing it from any other angle. As we will see, this classicizing tendency to compose in terms of a relief will exert its influence through the Sullan sack of 86 B.C. and beyond.

Third, as to iconography, the goddess wears a thin, crinkly, full-length chiton with a high girdle and confining shoulder cords, and a voluminous himation draped from the left armpit up and over the left shoulder, diagonally across the back down to the right hip, across the front of the hips and legs (where the excess cloth is doubled over to form a long V fold), and finally over the left forearm. With the addition of the girdle and shoulder cords, this fashion recalls late-5th-century statues such as the Borghese Aphrodite (Fig. 6); it recurs in two other partially preserved figures from the site,<sup>36</sup> and continues to be popular in this genre throughout the Hellenistic period. Yet in other Early Hellenistic figures of this kind, the himation drapes well above the ankles, revealing the bottom part of the chiton and most of the feet.<sup>37</sup>

Seventy-five percent of the known dedicants at Daphni were women; among the most popular offerings there were female genitalia and pomegranates; and Aphrodite is, *inter alia*, the goddess of sex within marriage.<sup>38</sup> So it is tempting to see this striking combination of emphatic modesty (voluminous himation, girdle, and shoulder cords) and sensual allure (thin, revealing chiton and hip-slung pose) as stressing the goddess’s role as an exemplar for married women, who must be simultaneously chaste, fertile, and attractive to their husbands. Later Hellenistic Aphrodites, discussed below, continue this tradition.

34. Diligently catalogued and measured by Machaira (2008, pp. 23–24, fig. 9).

35. Cf., e.g., Lawton 1995, p. 105, no. 49, pl. 26 (honors for Asklepiodoros, Athens, Epigraphical Museum [hereafter EM] 2811, 323/2 B.C.), and pp. 145–146, nos. 149, 150, pl. 79 (honorary decree, Athens NM 2946, and catalogue of liturgists, Athens NM 2958, both ca. 325–300 B.C.).

36. Athens NM 7372, 7373:

Machaira 2008, pp. 84–86, nos. 81, 82, pl. 32.

37. Cf., e.g., Lawton 1995, p. 105, no. 49, pl. 26 (honors for Asklepiodoros, EM 2811, 323/2 B.C.); p. 142, no. 142, pl. 75 (honorary decree, Athens NM 1473, ca. 330 B.C.); p. 146, no. 150, pl. 79 (catalogue of liturgists, Athens, NM 2958, ca. 325–300 B.C.); p. 147, no. 153, pl. 81 (honors for Artikleides, Athens NM 1396, ca. 325–300 B.C.); Kaltsas 2002, pp. 218,

no. 452 (Athens NM 2012), 221, no. 459 (Athens NM 4466, 4466a), 223, nos. 463, 466 (Athens NM 1403, 1330); Bol 2004, vol. 2, figs. 414, 417; 2007, vol. 2, figs. 74–76.

38. Machaira (2008, pp. 34–46, 51–54, 62, and 72) again diligently collects the inscriptions; 15 of the named dedicants are women, five are men, and six are of unknown sex. For the offerings, see Machaira 2008, pl. 22.



## EARLY HELLENISTIC APHRODITES FROM THE AGORA

Only one Early Hellenistic freestanding Aphrodite in the Agora can be identified with reasonable certainty, though two more can be inferred from statue supports found in datable contexts, and several other possible candidates lurk in the Agora storerooms. The one reasonably secure example is 18 (Fig. 12), a fragment of a standing woman in the familiar chiton and himation costume, leaning on an archaic statuette. A popular adjunct to sculptures of Aphrodite, represented by one other item in the catalogue (5; Fig. 32, below) and also by Roman examples,<sup>39</sup> these archaic supports presumably represent archaic idols of Aphrodite herself that the goddess is supposed to be visiting.<sup>40</sup> Statuette 18 has a slightly smaller sister in 16 (Fig. 13), probably carved by the same hand. An early-3rd-century date for both of them is suggested by the close resemblance of their chiton folds to an Early Hellenistic terracotta statuette of a seated woman holding a mirror, also in the Agora, and particularly to a fine marble group of Aphrodite and Eros from Pella (Fig. 14), which is similarly draped and posed and surely of Attic manufacture.<sup>41</sup> It should date to around 300 B.C.

39. E.g., Agora S 443: *Agora XI*, pp. 54, 73, n. 23; *LIMC II*, 1984, p. 43, no. 314, pl. 31, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias). An alternative identification might be Artemis, after the so-called Artemis from Larnaka (*LIMC II*, 1984, p. 654, no. 406, pl. 479, s.v. Artemis [L. Kahil]; Schoch 2009, p. 105, no. B61, pl. 44), but the revealingly thin chiton of 18 seems to decide the matter. Moreover, the Larnaka statue, identi-

fied as Artemis by her quiver strap and a corresponding hole for a metal attachment behind her right shoulder, appears to be the only known Artemis of this type outside the minor arts.

40. For the conceit, see, e.g., *Anth. Plan.* 16.160, 162, 168, 175; cf. also Kondoleon and Segal 2012, unnumbered figs. on pp. 180–181 (nos. 142, 143); Schoch 2009, pp. 111–142.

41. Terracotta statuette, Agora T 139:

Figure 12 (*left*). Goddess (Aphrodite?) leaning on an archaic idol. Athens, Agora Museum S 2168 (18). Photo C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations

Figure 13 (*right*). Female torso (Aphrodite?). Front and right side. Athens, Agora Museum S 1534 (16). Photo C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations

D. B. Thompson 1959, no. 55; 1962, pp. 249–250, pl. 88; Uhlenbrock 1990, p. 52, fig. 39; Bol 2007, vol. 1, pp. 446, 473, 550; vol. 2, fig. 424. Pella group (Christchurch College Library, Oxford; autopsied by the author in 1997): *Burlington Fine Arts*, p. 21, no. 28, pl. 27; *LIMC II*, 1984, p. 38, no. 280, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias); Machaira 1993, pp. 83–84, no. 56, pls. 58, 59.



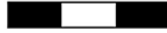
Figure 14. Aphrodite and Eros from Pella. Oxford, Christchurch College Library. *Burlington Fine Arts*, p. 21, no. 28, pl. 27

42. Bird: e.g., *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 871, nos. 216, 218, 219, pl. 620, s.v. Eros (A. Hermary et al.). "Adorant": e.g., *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 128, no. 1343, pl. 131; p. 129, no. 1354, pl. 132; p. 131, no. 1379, pl. 136; p. 137, no. 1431, pl. 141, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias); Kondoleon and Segal 2012, unnumbered figs. on pp. 85 (no. 77), 95 (no. 57).

Next are two Erotes, 14 and 17 (Figs. 15, 16), both of which were also probably adjuncts to statuettes of Aphrodite. Eros 14, found in a domestic well that was filled and abandoned around 200 B.C., leans against a post or tree trunk, and the very weathered 17, found in the construction fill of the Stoa of Attalos (built around 150 B.C.), leans against a curtain of drapery. Eros 14 feeds a bird, presumably a dove, while 17 adopts an "adorans" pose familiar from 4th-century Erotes and the Pella group (Fig. 14).<sup>42</sup> The provenance of 14 and the small size of both figures strongly suggest usage in private cult, where Aphrodite was a favorite along with Artemis, Asklepios, Dionysos, and the ever-popular Mother of the Gods. A similarly domestic function is likely for 16 (Fig. 13) and 18 (Fig. 12), the second of which was found in a Roman house but originally may have graced an earlier one in the neighborhood.



14



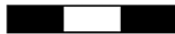
14



17



1



11



Figure 15 (*opposite, top left*). Eros, front and right side. Athens, Agora Museum S 1199 (14). Photos C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations

Figure 16 (*opposite, top right*). Eros. Athens, Agora Museum S 1885 (17). Photo C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations

Figure 17. (*opposite, bottom left*). Female statuette (Aphrodite?). Athens, Agora Museum S 302 (1). Photo C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations

Figure 18. (*opposite, bottom right*). Female statuette (Aphrodite?). Athens, Agora Museum S 1047 (11). Photo C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations

Figure 19 (*right*). Female torso (Agathe Tyche?). Athens, Agora Museum S 2370. H. 1.54 m. Photo C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations



Two more possible Early Hellenistic Aphrodites from the Agora that perhaps performed the same function are 1 (Fig. 17) and 11 (Fig. 18). Similarly carved, posed, and draped, they may have been made by the same hand. The model in this case is surely the imposing and finely carved S 2370 (Fig. 19), sometimes identified by the dowel holes in its left forearm and shoulder as Agathe Tyche holding a cornucopia.<sup>43</sup> Yet both 1 and 11 add the V fold of the himation of the Aphrodite from Daphni (Fig. 11) and show no trace of a cornucopia; perhaps their outstretched left hands held phialai instead. An identification as Aphrodite thus remains viable for both of them, especially given their small scale, which again suggests usage in domestic cult.

To add to this little collection, the head 10 (Fig. 20) belonged to a life-size statue whose coiffure closely resembles that of the Capitoline

43. Palagia 1982; 1994; Stewart 1990, p. 192, fig. 575; Rolley 1999, pp. 375–376, fig. 393 (Themis); Bol

2004, vol. 1, pp. 370–372, 381, 436, 539; vol. 2, fig. 337.



Figure 20 (*left*). Female head (Aphrodite?). Front and side views. Athens, Agora Museum S 979 (10). Photos C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations

Figure 21 (*opposite*). Woman and child (Aphrodite and Eros or Hygieia and one of her children?). Athens, Agora Museum S 828 + 830 (8). Photo C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations

Figure 22 (*opposite, inset*). Head of woman, right side. Athens, Agora Museum S 828a (8). Scale 1:1. Photo C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations

Aphrodite<sup>44</sup> and looks authentically Early Hellenistic. Now sadly battered but once a fine piece of work, it was severely damaged and repaired at some time in its career, suggesting an important commission. Unfortunately, since it comes from a modern house, little more can be said about it.

Finally, the enigmatic fragments S 828 and S 830, catalogued as 8 (Figs. 21–23), were identified as Aphrodite and Eros by their excavators and dated to ca. 300 B.C. They pose formidable problems of identification, reconstruction, and chronology. On the one hand, the strong resemblance of the boy standing on the tree stump to the Eros of the Pella group (Fig. 14) and 17 (Fig. 16) immediately suggests an identification as Eros; yet, on the other hand, the boy has no wings or sockets for them. Moreover, not only does the female head seem somewhat small for the woman's right arm

44. Bieber 1961, p. 20, figs. 34, 35; LIMC II, 1984, p. 52, nos. 412–418, pl. 38, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias); Stewart 1990, p. 52; Smith 1991, p. 80, fig. 99; Corso 1992; Havelock 1995, pp. 74–76, fig. 18; Corso 2007, pp. 44–

46, fig. 13; Pasquier and Martinez 2007, pp. 146–148, figs. 106, 107; Stewart 2010; Kondoleon and Segal 2012, unnumbered figs. on pp. 155 (no. 127), 175 (no. 128).







Figure 23. Plinth and leg of a child.  
Athens, Agora Museum S 828d (8).  
Photo C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations

resting on this stump, but its coiffure—the so-called “tiara” cut fashionable in the late 4th century—is never to my knowledge attested for Aphrodite, who invariably is given a less formal hairstyle.<sup>45</sup> Finally, it seems that these pieces were never finished, and their fresh, crystalline surface suggests that they were never painted either.

The child’s leg and foot (Fig. 23), which is painted, may point to a solution, namely, that if all of them belong together, they represent Hygieia and her children. As to their chronology, the find context is Augustan, and the fragments’ condition is pristine. Yet, as far as I know, no parallel exists for them in Late Hellenistic or Roman-period work from the Agora, or for that matter in Late Classical or Early Hellenistic work there. They remain an enigma.

## THE 2ND CENTURY B.C.: APHRODITE HEGEMONE OF THE DEMOS

The years of Macedonian domination and (partial) occupation from 263 to 229 B.C. prompted many sculptors to emigrate and all but brought Athenian sculptural production to a halt. The number of epigraphically attested works drops off sharply, and almost no originals can be dated with confidence to these years. Revival was slow indeed, it seems, and was further retarded by the brutal depredations of Philip V in 200; recovery remained precarious until the decisive defeat of the Macedonian and Seleucid invaders by the Romans and their allies in 197 and 188, respectively.<sup>46</sup>

The imposing, over-life-size statue 2 (Figs. 24, 25) apparently belongs shortly thereafter. A turning point in Athenian Hellenistic sculpture, perhaps attributable to the Polykles workshop (as I discuss in the second article in this series), and one of the few works of the period to have generated a large number of replicas, it merits close scrutiny.

Found in a tower of the post-Herulian wall in 1933 with the fragments of the 5th-century Aphrodite S 1882 (Fig. 8), 2 was first identified as a portrait of Queen Stratonike of Pergamon, wife of Attalos II. Subsequently, when scholars noticed its resemblance to the extensive series of similarly

45. For a chronology, see Stewart 1993, p. 211, n. 62.

46. See Stewart 1979, pp. 6–7, 24–25.

composed figures from Rhodes and other sites (the so-called Tiepolo type), it was thought to be an Artemis-Hekate.<sup>47</sup>

These identifications, both extremely shaky, were seriously undermined in 1960 when Evelyn Harrison observed that the two statues were found with architectural elements from the Temple of Ares; that Pausanias (1.8.4) reports two statues of Aphrodite in that temple; and that a statuette in the Agora (13; Fig. 26) and another in Corinth of the same type as 2 have Eroses sitting on their shoulders.<sup>48</sup> In 1973, Gloria Merker reinforced these doubts, adding another likely example also paired with an Eros from Rhodes itself.<sup>49</sup> Finally, in the late 1980s, Harrison boldly identified 2 as Aphrodite Hegemone of the Demos, after an inscribed Hellenistic altar to the goddess from the 19th-century excavations for the Piraeus railway cutting on the north side of Kolonos Agoraios (see Fig. 1:A).

This altar was found in situ in the sanctuary of Demos and the Graces, founded by Eurykleides and Mikion shortly after Athens' liberation from the Macedonians in 229 B.C.<sup>50</sup> A monument to the city's political neutrality and pretensions to cultural leadership of Greece, the sanctuary soon became a major locale for honors to important benefactors.<sup>51</sup> The altar, establishing Aphrodite as the demos's *hegemon*, or leader, is usually assigned to ca. 210–190 B.C. on the basis of the presumed date of the archon Dionysios, who is named in the inscription; as we will see, however, this early date can no longer be sustained.<sup>52</sup> Pausanias overlooked all of this, not only because in his day the sanctuary hardly existed (since first a Roman street and then a stoa had appropriated most of its *temenos*), but also because the street itself, leading into the city from the Sacred Gate, had now become a cul-de-sac, closed off by this stoa, the Stoa Basileios, and the Stoa of Zeus.<sup>53</sup>

The identification of 2 as Aphrodite Hegemone now can be sustained on a number of grounds. First, the number of figures of this type certainly

47. Shear 1933, p. 544; 1935, p. 386 (both Stratonike); Laurenzi 1939, pp. 57–59 (Artemis-Hekate); Poulsen 1951, p. 227, text to no. 312a (suggesting 2 as the original of the type); Gualandi 1969, pp. 250–252 (h) (perhaps Aphrodite, adapting an Artemis-Hekate type); Linfert 1976, pp. 156–158 (Aphrodite/nymph, listing all 53 replicas then known); Machaira 2011, pp. 54–56 (Aphrodite). The Tiepolo Aphrodite type, so called after the statuette now in Berlin (Staatliche Museen 504) once owned by the great 18th-century painter, has a long history: see Bieber 1961, p. 165, fig. 709; Gualandi 1969, pp. 247–248, fig. 15; Linfert 1976, pp. 156–157, n. 625, no. 47; Machaira 1993, pp. 101–111; 2011, p. 54, n. 7; yet despite its reputation, it lacks a girdle, its head is alien, and it is clearly a variant of the type, not a mainstream replica.

48. Harrison 1960, p. 374.

49. Merker 1973, pp. 27–28, figs. 24, 25 (dowel sunk into front of left shoulder).

50. Harrison 1990, after the altar Athens NM 1495 (*JG II*<sup>2</sup> 2798): Travlos, *Athens*, p. 81, figs. 102–104 (find-spot and altar). The inscription reads: ἡ βουλὴ ἐπὶ Διονυσίου ἀρχοντος ἀνέθηκεν Ἰαφροδίτῃ ἡγεμόνῃ τοῦ δήμου καὶ Χάρισιν Ἰ ἐπὶ ἱερέως Μικίωνος τοῦ Εὐρυκλείδου Κηφισιέως Ἰ στρατηγούτου ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν Θεοβούλου τοῦ Θεοφάνου Πειραιέως (“When Dionysios was archon, the Boule dedicated [this] Ἰ to Aphrodite Hegemone of the Demos and to the Graces Ἰ in the priesthood of Mikion son of Eurykleides of Kephisia Ἰ when Theoboulos son of Theophanes of Piraeus was general in charge of preparedness in the city.”) On the sanctuary and Lolling’s excavations of 1891, see Travlos, *Athens*, pp. 79–80,

fig. 102 (though his temple of Aphrodite Ourania is a fiction); *Agora XIV*, p. 223; and especially Monaco 2001, p. 103–106, with fig. 3 for two of Kawerau’s 10 sketch plans of the area, now archived in the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens; photographs of them also reside in the office of the architect of the Agora Excavations.

51. See, most recently, Parker 1996, pp. 269–270, 272; Habicht 1997, pp. 180–182; Mikalson 1998, pp. 172–177; Monaco 2001.

52. On the date, see most recently Parker 1996, p. 272 (late 3rd century B.C.); Mikalson 1998, pp. 172–177 (194/3 B.C.); Monaco 2001, pp. 112–114; Pironti 2007, pp. 242–248; Budin 2010, pp. 92–93 (late 3rd century B.C.), 104–105 (early 2nd century B.C.), overlooking Pironti.

53. Shear 1973, pp. 382–383, fig. 3; Camp 1986, p. 183, fig. 153.



Figure 24. Aphrodite (probably  
Aphrodite Hegemone of the Demos).  
Athens, Agora Museum S 378 (2).  
Photo C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations



Figure 25. Aphrodite (probably Aphrodite Hegemone of the Demos), right and left sides. Athens, Agora Museum S 378 (2). Photos C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations



Figure 26. Aphrodite and Eros.  
Athens, Agora Museum S 1192 (13).  
Photo C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations

or very probably grouped with an Eros has grown to nine, including two already listed but not recognized by the proponents of the Artemis-Hekate theory (cf. Fig. 27), one of which—the example identified by Merker—comes from Rhodes.<sup>54</sup> Second, two of them are accompanied by a figure of Pan (again, see Fig. 27), who would be quite out of place in the company of Artemis or Hekate.<sup>55</sup> Third, in the 1980s a statue of this type was found in the sanctuary of Isis at Dion near a base inscribed with a dedication to Venus.<sup>56</sup> And fourth, the pose of 2, who has her left hand on her hip and

54. (1) Athens, Agora S 1192: here 13, Fig. 26; (2) Athens NM 1960, terracotta from Myrina: Philadelphus 1928, p. 22, pl. 19:1; (3) Athens NM, a relief from Sounion showing an Aphrodite (Euploia or Pontia?) of this type carrying Eros in her left hand (see below, p. 298): Goette 2000, p. 52, fig. 118; (4) Corinth S 429: *Corinth* IX, p. 45, no. 53; Linfert 1976, p. 157, n. 624, no. 37; Ridgway 1981b, p. 446, n. 95, pl. 96:d; Soles 1976, pp. 175–181, no. 45, pl. 44, fig. 64; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 42, no. 303, pl. 31, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias); Ridgway 1990, p. 217, pl. 100; Machaira 1993, pp. 47–48, no. 12, pls. 16–18:a; (5) Kavala A 1210, from near Amphipolis (reversed; Eros on pillar): Linfert 1976, p. 157, n. 624,

no. 44; Machaira 1993, pp. 60–61, pl. 32; (6) Nicosia, Archaeological Museum CS 2410/1–2: Machaira 1993, pp. 61–62, pl. 33; (7) Paestum, inv. unknown: Pedley 1998, pp. 201–202, figs. 5–7; (8) Paris antiquities market, present location unknown: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, negs. 66.2412, 2416; Gualandi 1969, pp. 258–259, fig. 23; Linfert 1976, pp. 157–158, n. 625, no. 52; Machaira 1993, pp. 71–72, pl. 44; here Fig. 27 (Eros's right hand and left forearm are clearly visible on the goddess's right shoulder, and his legs and torso appear on the dealer's photograph of her back included with those in fiche 96 of the DAI Rome's Saur microfiche collection); (9) Rhodes,

Archaeological Museum, no. inv.: Gualandi 1969, pp. 236–237, no. 3; Merker 1973, pp. 27–28, figs. 24, 25 (dowel sunk into front of left shoulder); Linfert 1976, p. 156, n. 618, no. 3. In addition, a version of the type with bared breast from a Roman bath at Argyroupolis on Crete also should be an Aphrodite: Tzedakis 1970, p. 476, pl. 417:a.

55. (1) Megara: Stais 1916, p. 79, fig. 9; (2) Paris antiquities market: see n. 54, above.

56. Pandermalis 1987, p. 12, fig.; 1997, pp. 27, fig. (in situ), 69, 74, figs.; 1999, pp. 104–109, figs. The inscription reads: ANTHESTIA IUCUNDA VENERI HYPOLYMPIA ET COLONIS.



Figure 27. Aphrodite, Eros, and Pan.  
Formerly Paris antiquities market;  
present whereabouts unknown.  
Gualandi 1969, p. 259, fig. 23

her right arm outthrust to hold a scepter or perhaps a spear, neatly fits the paradigm of the assertive god, goddess, or hero established in the 5th century by such iconic figures as Angelitos's Athena from the Acropolis and Oinomaos from the Temple of Zeus at Olympia; the type was taken up, famously, by Alexander and the Hellenistic rulers, and echoed in such contemporary Hellenistic statues as the Poseidon from Melos—all of them assertive *hegemones*.<sup>57</sup> Clearly, all figures of this type, even when found on Rhodes, now should be identified as Aphrodite unless compelling evidence exists to the contrary.<sup>58</sup>

57. See, e.g., Bieber 1961, fig. 684; Stewart 1990, figs. 225, 264, 565, etc.; Smith 1991, fig. 304; *LIMC* VII, 1994, p. 452, no. 32, pl. 354, s.v. Poseidon (E. Simon); Rolley 1994, p. 351, fig. 364, p. 370, fig. 393; 1999, p. 352, fig. 364, p. 354, fig. 367; Kaltsas 2002, p. 290, no. 611; Bol 2004, vol. 2, figs. 23, 43:d; 2007, vol. 2, fig. 216.

58. A search of epigraphical publications using the Packard Humanities

Institute site for Greek inscriptions (<http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions>) reveals no hard evidence for a cult of Artemis-Hekate on Rhodes, though both goddesses were worshipped there separately. Yet Aphrodite definitely received cult there and her imposing temple is still one of the most prominent monuments in the city of Rhodes. Moreover, many of these statuettes have been recovered from

domestic contexts where (as we have seen) Aphrodite is very much at home. Unfortunately, no extant Rhodian text gives her cult epithet(s). On Kos, however, where one more replica of the type has turned up (Linfert 1976, p. 157, n. 622, no. 27), a similar search shows that she was worshipped both as Pontia and Pandamos: *SEG* L 766, lines 2, 13, 16, etc.

When we consider the date of 2, it is important to note that ancient Athenian cults and their altars preceded cult statues. The classic case is the early-4th-century cult of Eirene and her slightly later statue by Kephisodotos the Elder.<sup>59</sup> So the date of 2 depends upon that of the Hegemone altar, to which we now turn.

First assigned to 197/6 B.C., then to 190/89, and later to 194/193, the altar (it is now known) cannot belong to any of those years.<sup>60</sup> The crux of the problem is the archon Dionysios named in its inscription, for no fewer than four or even five men of that name held this office during the 2nd century, including (probably) two in its first half. Since the other two officials named on the altar are firmly anchored in the period from the late 180s to ca. 160, and the letter cutter of one of Dionysios's decrees worked from ca. 194 to 148, he certainly served as archon during that time, but recent discoveries (some unpublished) now rule out all of the aforementioned dates.<sup>61</sup> Various other years in the decades after 200 have been proposed for Dionysios *per litteras*, but Stephen Tracy cuts the Gordian knot: "There are slots available before 197/6, but the present inscription cannot be placed so early. The sequence of archons from 197/6 (Sositeles) to 181/0 (Hippias) now seems well established, as is that from 179/8 (Menedemos) to 171/0 (Antigenes), leaving only the years 180/79 and 170/69 open. The careers of Mikion III and Theoboulos suggest that Dionysios is likely to belong in 180/79. He might just possibly be placed in 170/69, but Demetrios appears to fit more comfortably there."<sup>62</sup>

The year 180/79 would have been a good one in which to add Aphrodite to the cult of Demos and the Graces. Almost a decade of peace had seen Athens on friendly terms with external powers, increasingly in demand as an international mediator, tranquil at home, and the recipient of lavish benefactions from the Seleukids, Attalids, Ptolemies, and others. To align the cult of Demos and the Graces with Aphrodite Hegemone at this time would have been a shrewd, even brilliant move. The goddess's cult had been established already in the 3rd century at Rhamnous and Aphidna; both were garrison towns, and the inscriptions confirm the cult's quasi-military character there. As Gabriella Pironti has recently shown, its purpose was to confirm and solidify the bonds of mutual respect and affection between the leaders (*hegemones*) of the army and its rank and file.<sup>63</sup>

59. *LIMC* III, 1986, pp. 702–703, nos. 4–8, pls. 540, 541, s.v. Eirene (R. Volkammer); Stewart 1990, pp. 173, 276, figs. 485–487; Rolley 1999, pp. 212–213, figs. 202–204; Bol 2004, vol. 2, figs. 239, 240; on the cult, see Parker 1996, pp. 229–230.

60. For the debate, now largely of academic interest, see Habicht 1982, pp. 165–168, 177; 1997, p. 230 (on the archon, not the altar proper). The crucial inscriptions are *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 850, 888, 1323, and 2798. I am most grateful to John Morgan, Michael Osborne, and particularly Stephen Tracy (who is pre-

paring the volume of *IG* II<sup>3</sup> that covers the years after 229 B.C., with several key unpublished inscriptions) for their generous help with this labyrinthine problem; none of them, however, is responsible for the solution suggested here.

61. Mikion (III) son of Eurykleides (II) of Kephisia (*LGPN* no. 20; Traill 1994–, nos. 652970, 653055) made a contribution in 183/2 B.C. (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2332, line 8); almost certainly proposed a decree in 175/4 (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 906); and dedicated a tower in 172/1 (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2331, line 4). Theoboulos son of Theophanes of Piraeus (*LGPN* no. 11; Traill 1994–,

nos. 503675, 503680, 503685) cooperated around 160 with the hierophant Aristokles (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1934, line 11) and apparently served as councillor in 178/7 (*Agora* XV, no. 194, line 73). On the letter cutter, see Tracy 1990, pp. 99–109 (the "Cutter of Agora I 247").

62. S. Tracy (pers. comm.).

63. *SEG* XLI 90, 91; Petrakos 1999, vol. 2, pp. 39, 42, nos. 32, 35; see also *SEG* XLIII 64; Petrakos 1999, vol. 2, p. 98, no. 118, for a 4th-century B.C. bench from the site dedicated to Aphrodi[te Hegemone?]. On the Rhamnuntine cult, see Petrakos 1999, vol. 1,

On the Hegemone altar, this military function was referenced by including in the dedicatory inscription the general “in charge of preparedness” (ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευήν) in the city, whose arsenal—if properly identified—stood just above the sanctuary.<sup>64</sup> Renaming the goddess Aphrodite Hegemone *of the Demos* both elevated her cult to pan-Athenian status and established her leadership in peace and war; and locating it in this particular sanctuary not only affirmed her as the mistress of the city that prided itself on being the “education to Greece” of Perikles’ dreams, but also certified her as the guarantor par excellence of Athenian civic harmony, democracy, and neutrality.<sup>65</sup> The happy coincidence that one of the original pair of Athenian Graces was called Hegemone only strengthened these associations.<sup>66</sup>

By the alternative date, 170/69, however, circumstances had changed beyond all recognition. War between Rome and Perseus of Macedon had finally broken out in 171 and the Athenians had immediately offered the Romans their meager army and navy in support. The Romans declined the offer but promptly demanded huge quantities of grain to feed their soldiers; with a heroic effort the Athenians were able to comply. In 170, however, alienated by the Roman army’s lack of discipline and indiscriminate violence against enemies and allies alike, some of it uncomfortably close to home, Athens and many other mainland Greek states sent embassies to the Roman senate to plead for a respite. The Athenians were invited to speak first, always a sign of particular honor. The Romans soon took measures to redress the situation, and by late 169 these had begun to have an effect, though full resolution only came with Perseus’s defeat at Pydna on June 22, 168, his capture shortly thereafter, and the ensuing settlement. While many Greek states were punished for their supposedly lukewarm support of the Roman cause, the Athenians were handsomely rewarded for their loyalty, receiving a miniature maritime empire with Delos as its crown jewel.<sup>67</sup>

To commission such an altar in 170/69 would have sent a message similar to that of 180/79, but one much sharpened by the magnitude of the crisis. The dedication would have affirmed both Athens’ neutrality and—by referencing the general “in charge of preparedness” in the city and his arsenal just above—also its readiness to defend itself against the hated Macedonians, explicitly enlisting the goddess in this enterprise.

To return at last to the Agora Aphrodite Hegemone (2), the more likely date for the altar, 180/79, might suggest that the statue was commissioned either during or immediately after the war, while the less likely one, 170/69, would decisively tip the balance toward the latter possibility. No other period from ca. 165 until the Sullan sack of 86 B.C. offers such an inviting combination of circumstances. Yet until the date of Dionysios’s

pp. 130–134; vol. 2, pp. 39–42, with earlier literature; Pironti 2007, pp. 202–205; Budin 2010, pp. 105–106, noting the “amusing coincidence” that the first Rhamnuntine decree honors the general Nikomachos son of Aineias and thus implies that Aphrodite was his stepmother.

64. *Agora XIV*, pp. 80–81, pls. 3,

6–8, 12; Pounder 1983; Camp 1986, p. 167, figs. 139, 151.

65. Thuc. 2.41.1. At Athens, one’s impression of the cult’s essentially political character is strengthened by the addition of Roma at some point after the Sullan sack, apparently replacing Aphrodite Hegemone: *IG II<sup>2</sup> 5047*, with *IG II<sup>2</sup> 3404* and *3547* as restored;

Habicht 1997, p. 181; cf. Mikalson 1998, p. 274, n. 85; Monaco 2001, pp. 130–132.

66. Paus. 9.35.1–3; commentary, Mikalson 1998, pp. 172–177.

67. For narratives of these events, see *CAH<sup>2</sup> VIII*, 1989, pp. 309–317 (P. S. Derow); Habicht 1997, pp. 213–215.



archonship is fixed or new evidence about the Hegemone cult appears, the question must remain open.

Typically for Athens, 2 is not the partially or fully naked, armed Aphrodite found elsewhere in Greece from the 4th century onward, but is decorously, albeit sensuously, draped, creating an intriguing and delicately balanced mixture of authority and allure.<sup>68</sup> Her right hand imperiously held either a spear, or more likely—given her synthetic character, multiple associations, and hegemonic authority—a scepter. Although her head, originally inset, is lost, no fewer than seven extant versions of the type preserve theirs. All incline somewhat to the figure's left and face either to the front or slightly leftward; five wear their hair in the style of the Knidia, parted at the top and gathered into a simple bun at the back (Fig. 27), and the two others add a topknot.<sup>69</sup> Perhaps the variation reflects two separate versions of the type, namely, the Aphrodite Hegemone (2) itself and a monumental version on Rhodes that generated the array of replicas found in the Dodecanese.

Like Athens NM 1599 (Fig. 11) and the 3rd-century Aphrodites discussed earlier, 2 is composed to be appreciated from the front; despite its size, it is relatively shallow from front to back, though fully modeled in the round. Although the goddess thrusts her breasts, right knee, and (now lost) right foot boldly forward, the rest of her body spreads laterally across the frontal plane and is silhouetted against the backdrop of her himation by deep running-drill channels, emphasizing the statue's relief-like character. Since it must have stood behind the altar, this framing effect would have given the ensemble a strong sense of closure. The pose is chiastic, with the engaged left leg diagonally opposed to the outthrust right arm with (one presumes) the scepter, and the relaxed right one opposed to the arm resting with its hand on her hip.

The goddess's thin, crinkly chiton is very carefully carved; its folds even continue under the splayed fingers of her left hand. Girdled high above her waist, it clings sensuously to her body, emphasizing her protruding, conical breasts, her swelling stomach, and her prominent navel. As one would expect by now, it decorously covers all that should be covered, but in a subtle touch no shoulder cords were included, perhaps to hint at a greater freedom of action than usual.

The voluminous himation that loops over the goddess's right thigh and cascades down between the legs is paralleled both stylistically and to some extent technically by the fragment S 1875, which I attribute, in the second

68. For the armed Aphrodite, see *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 36, nos. 243–245, pl. 28; p. 55, nos. 456–461, pl. 44; pp. 63–64, nos. 526–532, pls. 51, 52; pp. 71–73, nos. 627–642, pls. 61, 62, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias); Flemberg 1991; Machaira 1993, pp. 75–76, no. 48, pls. 49, 50; Bol 2004, vol. 2, figs. 234–237; also Kondoleon and Segal 2012, pp. 46–52, unnumbered fig. on p. 86 (no. 72); see, in general, Pironti 2007; Stewart, forthcoming c.

69. (1) Argyroupolis (Crete), version with bared breast: Tzedakis 1970, p. 476, pl. 417:a (topknot); (2) Athens

NM 1960, terracotta group from Myrina: Philadelphus 1928, p. 22, pl. 19:1 (Knidia-type hairstyle with radiate crown); (3) Athens NM, relief from Sounion: Goette 2000, p. 52, fig. 118 (apparently a Knidia-type hairstyle); (4) Dion, Aphrodite Hypolympidia with shoulder cords: Pandermalis 1987, p. 12, fig.; 1997, pp. 27, fig. (in situ), 69, 74, figs.; 1999, pp. 104–109, figs. (topknot); (5) once Paris antiquities market, present location unknown (Fig. 27): Gualandi 1969, pp. 258–259, fig. 23; Linfert 1976, p. 157–158, n. 625, no. 52; Machaira 1993, pp. 71–72,

pl. 44; Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, negs. 66.2412 and 2416 (Knidia-type hairstyle); (6) Rhodes, Archaeological Museum, no inv.: Gualandi 1969, p. 259, fig. 24; Linfert 1976, p. 156, n. 618, no. 6 (terracotta; Knidia-type hairstyle); (7) Rhodes, Archaeological Museum Γ71: Konstantinopoulos 1967, p. 533, pl. 389:a; Gualandi 1969, p. 245, no. 17; Linfert 1976, p. 157, n. 620, no. 19 (Knidia-type hairstyle); Machaira 2011, pp. 56–57, no. 13, pls. 23–25. Agora S 290, an unpublished miniature head probably of Roman date, also adds the topknot.



Figure 28. Female lower torso and thighs (Aphrodite)? Athens, Agora Museum S 2908 (19). Photo C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations

article in this series, to a Demeter and Kore group that was made perhaps by the Polykles workshop.<sup>70</sup> It recalls three early-4th-century figures often attributed to the sculptor Timotheos: the group of Leda and the Swan, a highly sensual Hygieia from Epidauros, and the Apollo abducting Koronis that served as the central akroterion of the east pediment of the temple of Asklepios there.<sup>71</sup> This sculptor, in turn, presumably adapted this motif from the Valentini Aphrodite (Fig. 7). It thus carried distinctly erotic connotations, perhaps intended in 2 to resonate also with the goddess's new role as the promoter of cohesion and harmony, even love, within the demos. A discreet nod to the Pheidias Aphrodite Ourania (Fig. 3) may have been intended as well.

The footwear of the goddess is extremely conservative, lacking the strongly profiled sole with frontal notch that was fashionable in the 2nd century B.C., even in Athens, as on the little statue dedicated at Piraeus by Megiste to the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite in 146/5.<sup>72</sup> All the figures investigated in this article share this ultra-conservative feature.

Despite the imposing appearance of 2 and the type's enormous popularity on Rhodes, curiously it seems to have generated relatively little interest in Athens, Attica, and indeed southern Greece in general, perhaps because of its overwhelmingly political character. In the Agora, only two Hellenistic statuettes and a single Roman-period one echo the Hegemone, in contrast to the dozens of miniature Roman-period replicas of the Capitoline, Knidia, and other types (see below). The statuette 13 (Fig. 26), once brilliantly colored, substitutes a pillar for the goddess's scepter (or spear), upon which she now leans, and adds a little Eros on her right shoulder. These changes both strengthen the goddess's chiasmic pose somewhat and subtly domesticate her, suggesting that this formerly imperious divinity is now back at home. Found in a mid-1st-century deposit, the statuette was damaged at some point, given a new head, and then discarded soon after the Sullan sack. Statuette 19 (Fig. 28), from a figure twice the size of 13,

70. Stewart, forthcoming a.

71. *LIMC* V, 1990, p. 557, no. 20, pl. 382, s.v. Hygieia (F. Croissant); *LIMC* VI, 1992, p. 232, no. 6, pl. 108, s.v. Leda (L. Kahil); Rolley 1999, p. 208, figs. 196, 197; Kaltsas 2002, p. 173, no. 339, p. 378, no. 353; Bol 2004, vol. 2, figs. 214, 228–233.

72. Athens NM 710; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 4714 (archon Epikrates, 146/5 B.C.); Geominy 1985; Kaltsas 2002, p. 293, no. 615; Bol 2007, vol. 1, pp. 242–244; vol. 2, fig. 199. For the fashion, see Morrow 1985, p. 91, pls. 67–108.

reverses the pose, but given its fragmentary condition, nothing more can be said about it. Finally, as mentioned earlier, only one Roman-period statuette in the Agora echoes the type, no further examples of it have appeared in the Roman Agora or Plaka, and to my knowledge none has been found elsewhere in Athens.<sup>73</sup>

Elsewhere in Attica, it seems that only a battered little votive relief from Sounion reproduces the type, probably converting it into a maritime Aphrodite (e.g., Euploia, Epilimena, Limenia, or Pontia), for the goddess now places her right hand on what looks like a rudder. In her left, she carries a child, probably Eros; a goose stands beside her.<sup>74</sup> This relief perhaps offers a clue to the type's subsequent popularity on Rhodes and the other islands.

Finally, to turn to neighboring cities, two Hegemone-type statuettes have appeared at Megara and Corinth. The first is accompanied by a figure of Pan, while (as mentioned earlier) the second carries an Eros on its shoulder, like 13 (Fig. 26); both, therefore, certainly represent Aphrodite.<sup>75</sup>

## OTHER 2ND-CENTURY APHRODITES FROM THE AGORA

In 1934, the Agora excavators discovered and demolished an Early Roman retaining wall to the west and south of the New Bouleuterion (Fig. 1:B). Naming it the Bouleuterion Screen Wall, they found that it was packed with discarded Hellenistic sculpture, including an Aphrodite with an Eros perched on her shoulder (6), an unfinished copy of the Borghese Ares type (S 475), two more statues of women (3, 4), an archaistic female head from a statue support (5), and a female head (7) (for findspots, see Fig. 1). The pottery from the wall and its packing was purged in the 1960s and only diagnostic pieces were kept, but these confirm its Early Roman date. First appearances suggest the results of a belated cleanup after the Sullan sack of 86 B.C., though we will see that another explanation is also possible.<sup>76</sup>

73. Agora S 72, unpublished; Roman Agora and Plaka: I thank Dimitris Sourlas for this information and for allowing me to check the Roman Agora storeroom; to judge by its marble, the Kanellopoulos statuette, inv. 1549 (Zagdoun 1978, pp. 311–312, figs. 23, 24), probably comes from Rhodes.

74. Goette 2000, p. 52, fig. 118. On these maritime Aphrodites, see Pirenne-Delforge 1994, pp. 433–437; Kondoleon and Segal 2012, pp. 47–51.

75. (1) Athens NM 3367, from Megara: Stais 1916, p. 79, fig. 9; Linfert 1976, p. 157, n. 624, no. 37; (2) Corinth S 429: *Corinth* IX, p. 45, no. 53; Linfert 1976, p. 157, n. 624, no. 32; Ridgway

1981b, p. 446, n. 95, pl. 96:d; Soles 1976, pp. 175–181, no. 45, pl. 44, fig. 64; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 42, no. 303, pl. 31, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias); Ridgway 1990, p. 217, pl. 100; Machaira 1993, pp. 47–48, no. 12, pls. 16–18:a.

76. Thompson 1937, pp. 168–169, n. 1, listing S 462, S 463, S 466, S 473–S 476, and S 591; of these, S 462, S 463, S 466, S 473, and S 476 are included here as 3–7, respectively. Of the others that he lists, S 475 is the unfinished copy of the Borghese Ares, and the two heads S 474 and S 591 were not found in the Screen Wall and do not belong. S 474, an unfinished copy of the Pheidian Aphrodite Ourania (Harrison 1984), was found in a late

fill in front of the wall (notebook B-IV, p. 641), and shows no trace of its characteristic reddish mortar. S 591, a youthful male head, was found in “a bit of rough late foundation” overlying the wall (notebook B-X, p. 1842), along with early-3rd-century A.D. pottery (box B261; kindly autopsied by John Hayes on June 13, 2000, it predates the Herulian sack), and it too bears no trace of mortar. For the pottery from the wall, see boxes B141, B142 (notebook B-IV, p. 676), also examined by Hayes; the diagnostic pieces are a late-2nd-century or early-1st-century B.C. fine black-ware plate, an Early Roman handle, and a late-1st-century B.C. Eastern terra sigillata A fragment.

We begin with **6** (Figs. 29, 30). A comparison of the cascading folds of Aphrodite's himation with those of **19** (Fig. 28) shows that probably she was made by the same workshop, confirming a date—if she indeed fell victim to the Sullan sack—of ca. 150–86 B.C. The sculptor has cleverly blended the Valentini type's slipping himation and advanced left leg (Fig. 7), motifs that in turn echo the Pheidian Ourania type (Fig. 3); the Ourania's left elbow resting on a support (Fig. 3); and the tree trunk and unveiling (*anakalypsis*) motif of the Aphrodite in the Gardens in its various versions (Fig. 4), creating a complex hybrid. As usual, the format is relief-like and the figure extremely shallow from front to back; the back is merely sketched. The goddess's body is deployed across the frontal plane and demarcated from the curtainlike backdrop of her himation by running-drill channels, once again deftly creating the effect of a high relief. Her pose is chiastic, with the weight-bearing leg and arm diagonally opposed to one another.

The goddess's clothing—the now-familiar crinkly, almost diaphanous chiton and voluminous, heavy himation—is draped in even more extreme fashion than usual. The chiton, girdled high under the breasts, again clings revealingly to the torso, but as if in compensation is now furnished with confining shoulder cords. The himation, a huge piece of cloth that could envelop the goddess twice over if desired, nevertheless leaves her entire torso uncovered as it cascades dramatically across her hips and left thigh (cf. Fig. 29). The *anakalypsis* motif, found in some versions of the Pheidian Ourania type and also on the Fréjus/Genetrix type a generation later, suggests a nuptial context for the statue.<sup>77</sup> As with **2** (Fig. 24), this mixture of modesty and allure even extends to her sandals, which once again ignore current fashion completely.

**12** (Fig. 31), the right half of a female torso from shoulder to groin found in a different Early Roman context (a well filled in the Augustan period), is draped and posed identically to **6**, the *anakalypsis* motif apparently included. Its plethora of joining surfaces and dowel holes identify it as part of a repair to a life-size statue that had suffered major damage. We shall return to it shortly.

To return to the finds from the Screen Wall, **5** (Fig. 32), a small archaic female head and attached drapery, certifies that **6** was not the only Aphrodite deposited there. Like the statuette that supported **18** (Fig. 12), it almost certainly wore a polos, but its size shows that it comes from a large-scale statue. Its presence in the wall increases the likelihood that the other three females found there—**3**, **4**, and the head **7** (Figs. 33–36)—should be identified as Aphrodite also, as one would in any case suspect both by process of elimination and by their similarity to known Aphrodite types.

As regards **3** and **4** (Figs. 33–35), among the other female types in play only Agathe Tyche seems a real possibility, but their left forearms bear no traces of a cornucopia, as we see on S 2370 (Fig. 19). Portraits are even less likely, since in Hellenistic Athens these were almost invariably made of bronze. Moreover, **3** carries the drapery schema of the Borghese Aphrodite (Fig. 6) and S 1882 (Fig. 8) to extremes, revealing—as **6** (Fig. 29) does—almost the entire torso to the spectator. This format, in turn, is

77. Ourania: See *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 29–30, nos. 185–192 (esp. no. 187), pl. 21, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias). Fréjus/Genetrix: See n. 26, above.



Figure 29. Aphrodite and Eros.  
Athens, Agora Museum S 473 (6).  
Photo C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations



Figure 30. Aphrodite and Eros, right and left sides. Athens, Agora Museum S 473 (6). Photos C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations



Figure 31. Female torso fragment (Aphrodite)? Front and side views. Athens, Agora Museum S 1167 (12). Photos C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations

repeated on statuette 9 (Fig. 37), which despite its jaunty pose is certified as an Aphrodite by the dowel hole on its right shoulder for the attachment of an Eros. The himation of 4 (Fig. 33) drops even further, almost to the groin, though like 3 (Fig. 34), this figure has a tightly cinched, ultra-high girdle and shoulder cords. This scheme is common in the 2nd century B.C., creating a roughly 3:2 ratio between the subject's himation-covered legs and her chiton-covered torso, and so once again between modesty and allure.<sup>78</sup>

The last fragment of relevance from the Screen Wall, the slightly underlife-size female head 7 (Fig. 36), is somewhat mediocre in quality. A strongly classicizing piece, its main interest lies in the cutting it bears for a metal coronet, or *stephane*, which suggests that it too represented Aphrodite, and in its hairstyle, which replicates the simple one favored in the majority of the versions of the Aphrodite Hegemone whose heads are intact. Statuette 15 (Fig. 38), from a pre-Sullan context, replicates this schema on a small scale.

Finally, we turn to a statuette in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens: the standing draped figure NM 2585 (20; Fig. 39). An impressive piece, 20 was found near the Theseion in 1904. Like 6 (Fig. 29), it draws on the Valentini Aphrodite (Fig. 7), and therefore also indirectly references the Pheidian Aphrodite Ourania (Fig. 3), but now reinvigorates the pose by lengthening the stride and adopting the aggressively sprung rhythms of such iconic figures as the Nike of Samothrace and Venus de Milo, whose drapery could almost be a source of inspiration.<sup>79</sup> Moreover, as the figure's left leg

78. See, e.g., Megiste's dedication of 146/5 (n. 72, above) and the Amphitrite found with the Poseidon from Melos: *LIMC* I, 1982, p. 725, no. 5a, s.v. Amphitrite (S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou);

Kaltsas 2002, p. 291, no. 612.

79. Bieber 1961, figs. 493–496 (Nike), 673–675 (Venus); *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 73, no. 643, pl. 63, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias); Stewart 1990,

figs. 729–731 (Nike), 806 (Venus); Smith 1991, figs. 97 (Nike), 305 (Venus); *LIMC* VI, 1992, pp. 881–882, no. 382, pl. 589, s.v. Nike (U. Grote); Bol 2007, vol. 2, figs. 155 (Nike), 218 (Venus).



Figure 32. Head from an archaistic idol and attached drapery (Aphrodite?). Front and three-quarter side views. Athens, Agora Museum S 466 (5). Photos C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations



Figure 33. Female torso (Aphrodite?). Athens, Agora Museum S 463 (4). Photo C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations

thrusts boldly forward and her torso sways from side to side, the latter also twists gently to its left, as if challenging the relief-like paradigm of the genre. These comparisons and the somewhat similar handling of the torso to Megiste's (see above, p. 297) suggest a date around the mid-2nd century





Figure 34. Statue of a woman (Aphrodite?). Front and right side. Athens, Agora Museum S 462 (3). Photos C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations



Figure 35. Statue of a woman (Aphrodite?). Left side and back. Athens, Agora Museum S 462 (3). Photos C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations



Figure 36. Female head (Aphrodite?), front and side views. Athens, Agora Museum S 476 (7). Photos C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations



Figure 37. Statuette of a woman, probably Aphrodite with Eros once sitting on her right shoulder (attested by a dowel hole). Athens, Agora Museum S 844 (9). Photo C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations

for the figure. The Daphni sanctuary has yielded the lower part of a statuette that is almost identical, but grouped with a little Eros and about two-thirds the scale of 20.<sup>80</sup>

Of this collection, 9, 15, 20, and NM 3257 (Figs. 37–40) are all statuettes, and although NM 3257 probably was a votive, at least some of the

80. Athens NM 7375: Machaira 2008, pp. 86–87, no. 84, fig. 17, pl. 35; cf. also the statuette Benaki Museum 37583 from Exarchia in Athens: Machaira 2008, pp. 123–124, no. 17, pl. 48:γ. I also illustrate Athens NM 3257 (Fig. 40), found in Varvakeion Square on Athinas Street in 1913: Kourouniotis 1913, p. 199, fig. 6; Broneer 1935, pp. 147–148, fig. 36; Linfert 1976,

p. 90, n. 269; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 93, no. 878, pl. 87, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias); Machaira 1993, pp. 39–40, no. 3, figs. 6, 7; 2008, pp. 119–121, no. 13, pl. 48:α, β). Close to 20 in scale, the figure sits sideways on a rock with a cave hollowed out of it, a rectangular dowel hole in its back, and the feet of a little Eros standing atop its summit. Her left arm was extended horizontally,

evidently to touch or embrace him. Broneer (1935, pp. 147–148) plausibly attributed her to the Aphrodite sanctuary on the North Slope of the Acropolis, whose rock-cut niches housed many such votives in relief, also secured to the rock by dowels. Sharing many technical and stylistic details with the statuettes discussed here, it too should date to the later 2nd century.



Figure 38. Female head wearing a *stephane* (Aphrodite?), front and side views. Athens, Agora Museum S 1228 (15). Photos C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations

others may have served the same domestic function as, presumably, 13 and 19 (Figs. 26, 28), and their Early Hellenistic predecessors. Yet 3 (Figs. 34, 35), 4 (Fig. 33), 5 (Fig. 32), 6 (Figs. 29, 30), 7 (Fig. 36), and 12 (Fig. 31) are all more or less life-size, so almost certainly were not domestic. Since not one of them was found in situ, however, and the Agora excavations have turned up no Hellenistic statue bases dedicated to Aphrodite,<sup>81</sup> their original locations and particular histories are not easy to discover. Presumably they were votives, though at which particular Aphrodite shrine(s) can only be conjectured. The two nearest and most likely candidates are the Hegemone and Ourania sanctuaries, though both are problematic, albeit for different reasons.

No inscribed dedications to Aphrodite Hegemone exist, and the only ones to Aphrodite Ourania come from the 4th-century Piraeus, where, as we have seen, the Kitians worshipped her in this guise.<sup>82</sup> Of the five Agora statues in question, the only one that offers any clue at all as to its cult affiliations is 6 (Figs. 29, 30), which is somewhat indebted, via the

81. The handful of dedications to Aphrodite from the Agora excavations (I 562, 2526, 6351, and 6952: *Agora* XVIII, pp. 289–291, 309, nos. V559–561, 591) include no statue bases and probably all originally stood elsewhere in the city. I thank John Traill and Carol Stein for sending me a prepublication copy of the edited text of this *Agora* volume.

82. See n. 31, above.



**Figure 39. Statuette of a woman (Aphrodite?). Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2585 (20).**

Photo E. Babnik, courtesy National Archaeological Museum, Athens; © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund

Valentini type (Fig. 7), to the Pheidian Aphrodite Ourania (Fig. 3). For her, the sanctuary near the Stoa Poikile in the Agora—if correctly identified as belonging to Ourania—would be an obvious location.<sup>83</sup> Though both this sanctuary and that of Aphrodite Hegemone, Demos, and the Graces are extremely cramped, they were considerably more spacious in the

83. On the controversy, see n. 14, above.



Figure 40. Seated Aphrodite and Eros from Varvakeion Square. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3257. Photo courtesy National Archaeological Museum, Athens

2nd and 1st centuries B.C., before the construction of the Roman road and stoa to the east of the Hegemone altar and the Roman temple to the north of the presumed Ourania altar.<sup>84</sup> Although the stoa is Flavian or Trajanic, the temple is Augustan, contemporary with the Bouleuterion Screen Wall and the deposition of the sculptures found in it. So the construction of this temple could account at least for 6's disposal, in which case the Sulan sack had nothing to do with it—or, perhaps, with the other sculptures found in the wall.<sup>85</sup>

84. For the stoa, see Shear 1937, pp. 338–339, figs. 1–3; 1973, pp. 370–382, figs. 3, 4 (correcting the Augustan date suggested earlier and establishing that from ca. 300 until the stoa was built, the area was open); for the Ourania

temple, which is Augustan, see Shear 1984, pp. 33–37, figs. 3, 4.

85. The fact that all the statues have lost their heads and 6 was deliberately decapitated could argue for either possibility.

## THE SULLAN SACK AND AFTER

On the night of March 1, 86 B.C., Sulla's army broke into the city between the Sacred and Piraeus gates, and began to pillage, destroy, and massacre. During the sack, the west side and particularly the South Square of the Agora suffered the worst damage, though damage to other buildings has been noted.<sup>86</sup> As noted above, several of the statues and statuettes discussed here were damaged and repaired at some time in their lives, and those from the Bouleuterion Screen Wall may represent the last cleanup after the sack, though none of this activity can be attributed definitely to the catastrophe.<sup>87</sup> It is not difficult to push a statue over, however, and as for statuettes, the houses in the southwest part of the Agora lay directly in the invaders' path through the city. Yet Sulla's own devotion to Aphrodite, amply recorded in the sources, no doubt ensured that the cult statues of her, at least, escaped unscathed.<sup>88</sup> It is likely that upon his return to Rome he dedicated the temple of Venus Felix known from three inscriptions, one of them on the base of an extant statue group.<sup>89</sup>

The Aphrodite Hegemone (2; Figs. 24, 25) certainly survived the sack, and its find context suggests that it lasted another 350 years until the next one, perpetrated by the Heruli in A.D. 267. If correctly identified also as one of the two statues of Aphrodite seen by Pausanias in the Temple of Ares,<sup>90</sup> it could have been shifted into that temple either in the Augustan period, when the building was moved into the Agora from Pallene, or in the Flavian/Trajanic periods, when (as we have seen) the stoa crossing the Hegemone sanctuary was built and the entire area behind its altar (where 2 presumably stood) was turned into a street.<sup>91</sup>

The Athenian sculptural scene changed radically in the lean years after Sulla's departure. The city still commissioned bronze portraits of its benefactors (though for economy's sake, many were converted from preexisting ones simply by recutting the inscription), but private dedications in marble dwindled away almost completely, and the more enterprising Athenian sculpture workshops soon shifted largely to the export trade. Aphrodite statues and statuettes disappear from the Agora until the Imperial period, but two have appeared elsewhere in Athens, and three Athenian examples have come to light in Italy. Since most of them are naked or topless, they signal both the adaptability of the Attic workshops that met the growing

86. See the succinct description by Camp (1986, p. 181); for the west side, see Thompson 1937, pp. 221–222, and, for a maximalist estimate of the damage, *Agora XIV*, pp. 23, 33, 38, n. 81, 67, 70, n. 184, 71, 80–81, 96, 108, 126, 170, 187–188, 196, 201. Yet apparently the Hephaisteion escaped unscathed, and direct Roman responsibility for the Arsenal's destruction (so Pounder 1983, p. 254) is dubious.

87. Statue 3 (Figs. 34, 35) was repaired, 12 (Fig. 31) is part of a repair,

and 13 (Fig. 26) seems to have received a new head. The Bouleuterion Screen Wall, as we have seen, also included 3 as well as 4, and probably 5–7 (Figs. 29, 30, 32–36).

88. Diod. Sic. 34.18; Plut. *Sull.* 19.19, 34.3; *Mor.* 318D (*De fort. Rom.* 4); App. *B Civ.* 1.97; *Mith.* 1.11.97, recording his many dedications to Aphrodite (his trophy at Chaironeia included), and the title Epaphroditus bestowed upon him by the Senate.

89. *CIL VI* 781, 782 (with statue

group, now Vatican, Cortile del Belvedere 936), 8710; *LTUR V*, p. 116 (L. Chioffi). For the Vatican group, a quasi-nude portrait of Sallustia Helpidus in a Knidia pose with Eros, see *LIMC II*, 1984, p. 79, no. 696, pl. 69, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias); Hallett 2005, pp. 199, 201, pl. 122, 219, 222, 238, n. 33, 332, no. B 334.

90. Paus. 1.8.4; Harrison 1960, p. 374.

91. Camp 1986, pp. 184–185; Korres 1992–1998.



Roman demand for such figures and the simultaneous demise of the Athenian preference for fully draped ones, by then almost half a millennium old. These post-Sullan and Imperial-period Aphrodites are discussed in Appendix 3.

## APHRODITE AND ATHENIAN HELLENISTIC CLASSICISM

As we have seen, Athenian Hellenistic statues of Aphrodite are always draped, following the principle that artfully deployed clothing only increases female allure. The genre also tends to cleave to some fundamental aesthetic principles, as follows: (1) a relief-like format; (2) paratactic groupings; (3) crisp outlines; (4) solid, compact compositions; (5) chiastic poses; (6) clear-cut proportions; (7) fluid, impressionistic modeling; and (8) conservative attire and coiffures.

Before we investigate these characteristics against the broader context of Hellenistic aesthetics, it should be remembered that current work in the field stresses the interconnectedness of Greek thinking about the verbal, musical, and visual arts; the universality of rhetorical education during the period; and the fact that in the democracies, at any rate, artists participated widely in civic life, to the extent of holding offices that required speaking ability.<sup>92</sup> So an appeal to critics of the verbal arts, in particular, to elucidate our material is an obvious recourse.

Most of the aesthetic principles listed above are generally classicizing, and fulfill the three main Aristotelian criteria for beauty: order, commensurability, and definiteness (τάξις καὶ συμμετρία καὶ τὸ ὀρισμένον).<sup>93</sup> In addition, the first six of these principles not only satisfy the classicizing criterion of “definiteness” (τὸ ὀρισμένον), but also combine to create an image that is easily apprehended or εὐσύνοπτος—a criterion that is also much beloved by ancient writers of a classicizing persuasion. Thus Aristotle writes:

ἔτι δ’ ἐπεὶ τὸ καλὸν καὶ ζῶον καὶ ἅπαν πρᾶγμα ὃ συνέστηκεν ἐκ τινῶν οὐ μόνον ταῦτα τεταγμένα δεῖ ἔχειν ἀλλὰ καὶ μέγεθος ὑπάρχειν μὴ τὸ τυχόν· τὸ γὰρ καλὸν ἐν μεγέθει καὶ τάξει ἐστίν, διὸ οὔτε πάμμικρον ἂν τι γένοιτο καλὸν ζῶον (συγγεῖται γὰρ ἢ θεωρία ἐγγὺς τοῦ ἀναισθήτου χρόνου γινομένη) οὔτε παμμέγεθες (οὐ γὰρ ἅμα ἢ θεωρία γίνεται ἀλλ’ οἴχεται τοῖς θεωροῦσι τὸ ἐν καὶ τὸ ὅλον ἐκ τῆς θεωρίας) οἷον εἰ μυρίων σταδίων εἴη ζῶον· ὥστε δεῖ καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ζῶων ἔχειν μὲν μέγεθος, τοῦτο δὲ εὐσύνοπτον εἶναι, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν μύθων ἔχειν μὲν μῆκος, τοῦτο δὲ εὐμνημόνευτον εἶναι.<sup>94</sup>

92. Seaman 2009, chap. 1 (artists’ education and status); Porter 2010 (shared aesthetics); Stewart 1979, pp. 106–111; Corso 2012, pp. 280–291; Stewart, forthcoming b (public service).

93. Arist. *Metaph.* 1078a36–b1.

94. Arist. *Poet.* 1450b34–1451a6: “Moreover, a beautiful thing, whether an animal or anything else whose parts

are structured, should have not only its parts ordered, but also an appropriate magnitude. For beauty consists in magnitude and order, which is why there could not be a beautiful animal that was either minuscule (since contemplation of it, occurring in an almost imperceptible moment, has no distinctness), or gigantic (since contemplation of it has

no cohesion, but those who do so lose a sense of unity and wholeness)—say, an animal a thousand miles long. So just as with our bodies and with animals, beauty requires magnitude, but magnitude that is easily apprehended (εὐσύνοπτον), likewise plots require length, but length that can be coherently remembered.”

And:

λέγω δὲ περίοδον λέξιν ἔχουσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ τελευτὴν αὐτὴν καθ' αὐτὴν καὶ μέγεθος εὐσύνοπτον. ἤδεῖα δ' ἡ τοιαύτη καὶ εὐμαθής, ἤδεῖα μὲν διὰ τὸ ἐναντίως ἔχειν τῷ ἀπεράντῳ, καὶ ὅτι αἰεὶ τί οἶεται ἔχειν ὁ ἀκροατὴς καὶ πεπεράνθαι τι αὐτῷ, τὸ δὲ μὴδὲν προνοεῖν μὴδὲ ἀνύειν ἀηδέες.<sup>95</sup>

Aristotle would have found the Great Altar of Pergamon and its Gigantomachy most distasteful, one imagines.

To take each of the above-mentioned characteristics in turn, relief-like formats (1) and paratactic compositions (2) are quintessentially Archaic, but continued to appeal to certain Classical masters—not to mention more recent sculptors with classicizing tendencies.<sup>96</sup> Relief-like works such as Myron's *Diskobolos* and Praxiteles' *Leaning Satyr* come immediately to mind, as do paratactic groups such as the four (or five) Amazons at Ephesos and Praxiteles' side-by-side portraits of *Kleiostrateia* and another family member, now lost but known from its base in the Agora.<sup>97</sup>

Along with clear-cut outlines (3) and solid, compact compositions (4), these features differentiate the present collection of sculptures sharply from pieces displaying the Lysippic fondness for spatially adventurous, tridimensional configurations. The latter not only actively defy appraisal at a glance (obliging one to walk around them at least to some degree in order to apprehend them fully), but actively construct an unstable kaleidoscope of divergent axes and reciprocating solids and voids that both shifts unpredictably as the viewer changes position, and begets a sometimes radical fragmentation of viewing in the process. Lysippos's *Apoxyomenos* and *Flutegirl*, and later, the naked "Sandal-remover" *Aphrodite* and the Pergamene "Little Barbarians" erected on the Acropolis soon after 200 B.C. neatly exemplify that aesthetic.<sup>98</sup>

Attic and Atticizing neoclassical taste, by contrast, abhors disjunction, fragmentation, and the void. Here the key terms are *ἀρμογή* (*fit*) and *σύνθεσις* (*synthesis*), succinctly defined by Dionysios of Halikarnassos in a literary context:

περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐμμελοῦς τε καὶ ἐμμέτρου συνθέσεως . . . ὡς πρώτη μὲν ἐστὶν αἰτία κἀνταῦθα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὄνπερ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμέτρου ποιητικῆς ἢ τῶν ὀνομάτων αὐτῶν ἀρμογή, δευτέρα δὲ ἡ τῶν κώλων σύνθεσις, τρίτη δὲ ἡ τῶν περιόδων συμμετρία.<sup>99</sup>

95. Arist. *Rh.* 3.9.3, 1409a35–b4: "By period I mean a sentence that has a beginning and end in itself and a magnitude that is easily apprehended (*εὐσύνοπτον*). What is written in this style is pleasant and easy to learn, pleasant because it is the opposite of what is unlimited, because the hearer at every moment thinks that he is securing something for himself and that some conclusion has been reached: whereas it is unpleasant neither to foresee nor to get to the end of anything."

96. E.g., the highly influential Adolf

Hildebrand (1907, pp. 80–84).

97. Boardman 1985, figs. 60 (*Diskobolos*), 190–195 (Amazons); Stewart 1990, figs. 300 (*Diskobolos*), 388–396 (Amazons), 510 (*satyr*); Rolley 1994, pp. 378–379, figs. 405–407 (*Diskobolos*); 1999, p. 40, figs. 26–28 (Amazons), p. 250, fig. 245 (*satyr*); Bol 2004, vol. 2, figs. 32–33 (*Diskobolos*), 97–106 (Amazons), 294–295 (*satyr*). *Kleiostrateia* (Agora I 4165): Shear 1937, pp. 339–342; Marcadé 1957, p. 115, pl. 44:1; Kaltsas and Despinis 2007, pp. 77–78, no. 9; Pasquier and Marti-

nez 2007, pp. 48–49, no. 1; Tracy 2008, p. 31, fig. 1.

98. *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 58–59, nos. 463–481, pls. 44–46, s.v. *Aphrodite* (A. *Delivorrias*); Stewart 2006, *passim*, esp. p. 229.

99. Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 26.5: "About the elegant and measured composition . . . the prime factor is the fitting together of the words themselves, the second the composition of the clauses, and the third the commensurability of the periods."

So, in any given periodic sentence, ἄρμογή avoids hiatus, σύνθεσις avoids clausal disjunction, and συμμετρία (addressed below) avoids an imbalance among the periods. Predictably Isokrates, aiming always for beauty and euphony, had carefully shunned hiatus already in the 4th century:

τὴν εὐέπειαν ἐκ παντὸς διώκει καὶ τοῦ γλαφυρῶς λέγειν στοχάζεται μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ἀφελῶς. τῶν τε γὰρ φωνηέντων τὰς παραλλήλους θέσεις ὡς ἐκκλούσας τὰς ἁρμονίας τῶν ἤχων καὶ τὴν λειότητα τῶν φθόγγων λυμαινομένας περιίσταται . . .<sup>100</sup>

Dionysios further describes this “polished” (γλαφυρός) style thus:

συνηλειφθαί τε ἀλλήλοις ἀξιοῖ καὶ συνυφάνθαι τὰ μόρια ὡς μιᾶς λέξεως ὅντιν ἀποτελοῦντα εἰς δύναμιν. τοῦτο δὲ ποιῶσιν αἱ τῶν ἁρμονιῶν ἀκριβείαι χρόνον αἰσθητὸν οὐδένα τὸν μεταξὺ τῶν ὀνομάτων περιλαμβάνουσαι· ἔοικέ τε κατὰ μέρος εὐητρίους ὕφεισιν ἢ γραφαῖς συνεφθαρμένα τὰ φαινεῖν τοῖς σκιεροῖς ἐχούσαις. εὐφονά τε εἶναι βούλεται πάντα τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ λεία καὶ μαλακὰ καὶ παρθενωπά, τραχείαις δὲ συλλαβαῖς καὶ ἀντιτύποις ἀπέχθεται· πού· τὸ δὲ θρασὺ πᾶν καὶ παρακεκινδυνευμένον δι’ εὐλαβείας ἔχει.<sup>101</sup>

Another rhetorical handbook substitutes architectural and sculptural metaphors for this pictorial one:

ἔοικε γοῦν τὰ μὲν περιοδικὰ κῶλα τοῖς λίθοις τοῖς ἀντερίδουσι τὰς περιφερεῖς στέγας καὶ συνέχουσι, τὰ δὲ τῆς διαλελυμένης ἐρμηνείας διερριμμένοις πλησίον λίθοις μόνον καὶ οὐ συγκειμένοις. διὸ καὶ περιεξεσμένον ἔχει τι ἢ ἐρμηνεία ἢ πρὶν καὶ εὐσταλές, ὡς περ καὶ τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἀγάλματα, ὧν τέχνη ἐδόκει ἢ συστολή καὶ ἰσχύνη, ἢ δὲ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐρμηνεία τοῖς Φειδίου ἔργοις ἤδη ἔοικεν ἔχουσά τι καὶ μεγαλεῖον καὶ ἀκριβὲς ἅμα.<sup>102</sup>

100. Dion. Hal. *Isoc.* 2: “He seeks beauty of expression by every means, and aims at polish rather than simplicity. He avoids hiatus on the grounds that this breaks the continuity of utterance and impairs the smoothness of the sounds . . .” Cf. Isoc. ap. Syrianus, *Commentarium in Hermogenis librum περὶ ἰδεῶν* I, p. 28, lines 5–11 Rabe for his own words on the matter: “πολὸν δὲ τὸ καθαρὸν τῆς λέξεως παρ’ Ἰσοκράτει” τοσοῦτον γὰρ πεφρόντικε τῆς καθαρότητος ὁ ἀνὴρ, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ τέχνῃ τοιαύδε παραγγέλλειν περὶ λέξεως “δεῖ δὲ ἐν τῇ μὲν λέξει τὰ φωνήεντα μὴ συμπίπτειν—χαλὸν γὰρ τὸ τοιόνδε—μηδὲ τελευτᾶν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς συλλαβῆς, οἷον ‘εἰποῦσα σαφή,’ ‘ἡλίκα καλά,’ ‘ἔνθα Θαλῆς’ . . .” The “Asiatic” or (more accurately) “Sophis-

tic” rhetorical style, on the other hand, also avoids hiatus but likes short, staccato sentences and strong punctuation: Papanikolaou 2009, pp. 60, 63.

101. Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 26: “[It] sets out to blend together and interweave its component parts and to make them convey as far as possible the effect of a single utterance. The result is achieved by the exact fitting together of the words so that no perceptible interval between them is allowed. In this respect the style resembles a finely woven net, or pictures in which the lights and shadows melt into one another. It requires all its words to be melodious and smooth, and soft like a maiden’s face, and shows a sort of repugnance toward rough and dissonant syllables and careful avoidance of everything rash and

hazardous.” Dionysios selects Hesiod, Sappho, Anakreon, Simonides, Euripides, and Isokrates as the prime examples of this style.

102. Demetr. *Eloc.* 13: “The clauses in a periodic style may in fact be compared to the stones [sc. of an arch] that support and hold together the roof that encircles them, and those of the disjointed style to stones that are simply tossed near each other and not built into a structure. So the older style has something of the sharp, clean lines of early statues, whose skill was thought to lie in their crispness and succinctness, and the style of those that followed is like the works of Pheidias, since it already to some degree unites grandeur and finish.”

In the sculptures, the single-minded pursuit of beauty via this quasi-Isokratean “polished” (γλαφυρός) style is particularly appropriate to the subject at hand, namely, the love goddess and paragon of divine beauty and femininity. It thereby becomes, in essence, a genre style and an Athenian feminine ideal.<sup>103</sup> We have already seen how these sculptors’ liking for (1) relief-like formats, (2) paratactic groupings, (3) crisp outlines, and (4) solid, compact compositions satisfies this “polished” style’s criteria of “definiteness,” “fit,” “synthesis,” and so on, and—to continue down the list—(5) chiasmic compositions, (6) clear-cut proportions, (7) fluid modeling, and (8) swaddling drapery only serve to reinforce the spectator’s general impression of balance, integration, and feminine decorum. The tendency progressively to raise the girdle and to reduce the height of the torso and the width of the shoulders, creating a trapezoidal or even triangular/conical composition, markedly enhances the effect, even though it breaks decisively with 5th- and 4th-century practice in this domain (contrast Figs. 2–10, 19).<sup>104</sup>

Chiasmic contrapposto (5) both differentiates the limbs dynamically in binary fashion according to their current state of exertion or repose and extension or flexion,<sup>105</sup> and integrates them (ἀρμόζει) crosswise into the desired “tightly woven” composition (συνηλεϊφθαί τε ἀλλήλοις ἀξιοί καὶ συνυφάνθαι τὰ μόρια).<sup>106</sup> All the well-preserved examples catalogued here (2, 6, 9, 13, 17; Figs. 16, 24, 26, 29, 37) were posed chiasmically, and it is likely that the less well-preserved ones (e.g., 3; Figs. 34, 35) followed suit.

Clear-cut proportions (6) achieve the same integration mathematically. Thus, in the 2nd century, the himation-to-chiton ratio may approximate 1:1, 3:2, or 2:1, which together with the head and neck would create a roughly 3:3:1, 3:2:1, or 4:2:1 commensurability of parts (συμμετρία) respectively. On 2 (Fig. 24) the girdle subdivides the body in a 1:4 ratio, on 6 (Fig. 29) in a 1:5 ratio, and on the highly elongated 3 (Figs. 34, 35) approaching an astonishing 1:6 ratio. Truncating the bust in this way genuflects to the contemporary anticlassical or “rococo” fashion seen, for example, on a host of mid-late Hellenistic female statues from Asia Minor<sup>107</sup> while continuing to meet the classicizing demand for proportional rationality.

As for 2 (Fig. 24), which eschews this extreme truncation of the bust, the proportions may have been calculated on a module of approximately 16 cm.<sup>108</sup> The height of the upper torso (32 cm, or about one-fifth of the body height when relaxed) equals the distance between the nipples and also that from the girdle to the groin; the axis of the nipples divides the upper torso in half (16 cm); the shoulders and hips are both 48 cm wide; and so on. All these ratios (λόγοι)—like the statues’ chiasmic stances—are easily apprehended (εὐσύνοπτοι) from afar.

Moreover (to quote Dionysios of Halikarnassos once more), fluid, impressionistic modeling (7), carefully avoiding everything “rough,” “dissimilar,” “rash,” and “hazardous” (τραχείαις δὲ . . . καὶ ἀντιτύποις ἀπέχθεται . . . τὸ δὲ θρασὺ πᾶν καὶ παρακεκινδυνευμένον δι’ εὐλαβείας ἔχει), makes the work “melodious and smooth, and soft like a maiden’s face” (εὐφωνά . . . καὶ λεῖα καὶ μαλακὰ καὶ παρθενωπά).<sup>109</sup> Again, the turbulent, kaleidoscopic,

103. On “appropriateness” and the so-called *πρέπον-decor* theory, see Arist. *Rh.* 2.7.1, 1408a12; Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 20; Cic. *Orat.* 21.70, etc.; Pollitt 1974, pp. 68–70, 217–218, 341–347. On Hellenistic Athenian sartorial and behavioral protocols for women, see, e.g., Hyp. fr. F14 Jensen; cf. Ogden 2002, pp. 212–213; Fabricius 2003, pp. 166–167.

104. On this tendency, which is panhellenic and peaks in the early 1st century B.C., see esp. Fabricius 2003, pp. 155–156.

105. On antithesis as another characteristic of the “polished” style, see Dion. Hal. *Isoc.* 2, 14.

106. Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 26.

107. See, e.g., Linfert 1976, *passim*; Stewart 1990, figs. 761, 828–830, 832, 837; Smith 1991, figs. 113–117, 183, 210, 216.

108. This figure represents half the “Olympic” or “Herculean” foot of 32 cm; *OCD*<sup>3</sup>, p. 943, s.v. measures.

109. Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 26.

highly differentiated, aggressively pictorial, and protean “baroque” style of the Pergamene Gigantomachy provides a ready foil.

Finally, a conservative attire and coiffure (8) recall the genre’s Classical golden age, the late 5th century B.C. (Figs. 2–8), and these sculptures’ enveloping, wraparound himatia and girdled, shoulder-corded chitons complete one’s sense of a “tightly woven” and highly decorous composition (συνηλεῖσθαι τε ἀλλήλοις ἄξιοι καὶ συνυφάνθαι τὰ μόρια).<sup>110</sup>

That said, however, no one would mistake these statues for true Classical originals. They respect and thoughtfully reinterpret Classical and classicizing principles instead of actually copying Classical styles: this was to come later, after Sulla. Moreover, it will be evident that 2 (Fig. 24) somewhat transcends these costively classicizing norms. Not only is she better carved than any of the others, but also her proportions are less extreme, her stance more expressive, her movement more differentiated, and her drapery crisper, richer, and livelier, with no hint of her siblings’ fluid, impressionistic modeling.

Although at this time, ca. 170 B.C., one inevitably looks for comparanda on the Great Altar of Pergamon, whose sculptors included at least two Athenians,<sup>111</sup> the sculpture recovered at Pergamon reveals no close relatives, and indeed no real parallels at all for either the general scheme of 2’s drapery or its details. If any allusion is intended, it is not to the Pergamene baroque but to the late 4th century. The source of inspiration is the imposing and finely carved S 2370 (Fig. 19), a masterpiece by any description, particularly the facture and style of its himation, though its chiton folds are finer, crisper, and less flamboyantly fussy. One would like to know who made them.

## CONCLUSION

Hellenistic Athenian production in this genre can be subdivided into three relatively well-defined periods, each with a specific character of its own. From ca. 320 through ca. 180/170 B.C., no new cults of Aphrodite are attested, and inscribed votives are rare. With the exception of the head 10 (Fig. 20), which may or may not be an Aphrodite, only a handful of statuettes (1, 11, 14, 16, 17, 18; Figs. 12, 13, 15–18) and one under-life-size votive group from Daphni (Fig. 11) are extant. These statuettes are heavily indebted to 4th-century types and styles (one is tempted to call them sub-Classical) and like the Daphni group (Fig. 11) always fully draped. Three of them (11, 14, 18) were found in areas occupied by private houses, and perhaps all were made for domestic contexts, though in no case can this be proved. This slump in production coincides with the severe damage wreaked upon the Athenian marble sculpture industry by Demetrios of Phaleron’s ban on carved gravestones, enacted probably in 317/6 B.C. and certainly before his fall from power 10 years later. Statuettes of this kind were made throughout the 2nd century and perhaps also into the first (9, 13, 15, 20; Figs. 26, 37–39), and once again usually come from domestic contexts. Whether a hiatus occurred before the mass production of the

110. Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 26.

111. *AvP* VIII.1, p. 58, no. 74.

miniature copies and versions of Classical Aphrodite types (the so-called Aphroditoulas) began in the Roman period may only be resolved when the latter are properly studied and their contexts examined.

The years between ca. 170 and the Sullan sack of 86 witnessed a revival of monumental production in the genre. Appropriately in view of her *epiklesis*, the imposing and technically superb Aphrodite Hegemone (2; Figs. 24, 25), perhaps attributable to the Polykles workshop, led the way. Although she generated few direct imitations (13, 19; Figs. 26, 28), she seems to have stimulated some devotees to commission new life-size or near life-size Aphrodites of their own (3–7, 12; Figs. 29–36), which often discreetly quote her and/or selected Classical types (Figs. 2–7) as well. These figures are proportionally adventurous, sartorially conservative, and carved in a “polished” (*γλαφυρός*) style that reinforces the neoclassicism of their chiastic poses, and, if 7 (Fig. 36) belongs, of their heads also.

Finally, the years after the sack of 86 through the Early Augustan period see a complete reorientation of the genre (Appendix 3). Led by the Apollodoros-Kleomenes workshop, this reorientation was occasioned by the art’s new focus upon the voracious and lucrative Italian market. Copies and versions of Classical and Early Hellenistic types, sometimes virtuoso works of sculpture in their own right (Figs. 41–43, Appendix 3), now take over entirely, and all inhibitions about nudity vanish. The statuettes that were mass-produced in this vein (the so-called Aphroditoulas) clearly follow this trend, but it remains unclear precisely when and for whom they were made.

# APPENDIX 1

## CATALOGUE OF HELLENISTIC APHRODITES FROM THE AGORA

### 1 Draped statuette of a woman Fig. 17

S 302. Under the cellar floor of a modern house at I/1,2–12/2,3, March 15, 1933.

H. 0.147; W. 0.07; D. 0.045; original H. ca. 0.20.<sup>112</sup> Pentelic marble.

Missing: head, right arm, left forearm (all originally doweled on), legs below the knees. Somewhat weathered, ridges of folds chipped.

Break at neck rasped flat and pierced at center by a dowel hole, Diam. 0.003, D. 0.009; joining surface for right arm rasped, dowel hole at center, Diam. 0.002, D. 0.005; both probably repairs. Left forearm also doweled on, remains of horizontal dowel hole, Diam. 0.002, on break at elbow. Back rasped, folds here planned only.

The woman stands on her left leg with her right leg relaxed. The position of her head and right arm cannot be determined, but her left forearm was held out horizontally. She wears a thin, high-girdled, V-neck chiton and a heavy himation that is wrapped around her left upper arm and shoulder, crosses the back diagonally to the right hip and leg, drapes across the front of the body with a deep V overfold, and is slung over the left arm again.

Early Hellenistic: ca. 330–250 B.C.? Very similar to S 1047 (11; Fig. 18) and probably by the same hand.

Bibliography: unpublished.

### 2 Over-life-size, draped statue of a woman (probably Figs. 24, 25 Aphrodite Hegemone of the Demos)

S 378. Original fill of the tower of the post-Herulian wall, just above the Aphrodite S 1882 (Fig. 8), with ceiling beams and coffers of the Temple of Ares, at R/5,6–15/8,9, June 8, 1933.

Total H. 1.885, of plinth 0.095. H. of figure, 1.79; W. 0.70; D. 0.56. W. of plinth, 0.62; D. 0.50. Original H. of figure, ca. 2.20. Pentelic marble with a large micaceous vein running vertically through the left elbow, forearm, and chiton folds beside and below.

Missing: Head and neck (originally inserted); right arm and right foot (originally doweled on); much of first and second toes of left foot and the tip of the third toe; tip of second finger of left hand and little finger except the nail; lateral part of the left forearm, hand, and thumb; fragment from back or right shoulder. Ridges of drapery folds somewhat chipped; folds over right side of belly battered; edges of neck cavity battered. Lightly weathered.

Head, right arm, and forepart of right foot originally carved separately and inset. Bowl-shaped socket for head, L. 0.31, W. 0.24, D. 0.13; anathyrosed, with

112. Unless otherwise indicated, all dimensions in this appendix are given in meters.

smooth band, H. 0.01, below its rim and the remainder pointed; bottom flat, sloping slightly upward from front to back. Joining surface for right arm, H. 0.18, W. 0.14; pointed in horizontal strokes; horizontal dowel hole at center, H. 0.035, W. 0.024, D. 0.05. Forepart of right foot attached in same manner: joining surface, H. 0.12, W. 0.12; anathyrosed like neck cavity with smooth band, W. 0.01, remainder pointed in horizontal strokes, as is surface of plinth immediately in front of it; dowel hole at center of joining surface, H. 0.02, W. 0.025, with stump of rectangular iron dowel, H. 0.01, W. 0.02, still preserved. Rectangular notch on right knee, H. 0.01, W. 0.017, with remains of a marble plug in it: a repair or a filling for a dowel hole originally to secure the goddess's scepter against her leg?<sup>113</sup> Chiton lightly rasped diagonally in front and at sides along ridges of folds, himation more heavily so; valleys of folds cut with 3- and 4-mm running drills, then mostly chiseled; vertical fold at left side left raw, emphasizing the patterning of the channels. Chiton demarcated from plinth by 4-mm running drill channel. Deep, wide valley between himation folds hanging from the left arm cut with large chisel or drove. On the back, himation and chiton cut with flat and bull-nose chisels, then rasped; both somewhat more highly finished above the waist; upper edge of himation rolled, folds cut with 5-mm running drill. Very high-quality work.

The lateral part of the left forearm, hand, and outer edge of the himation have split away along the micaceous vein.

The plinth is canted gently forward, so that the woman seems to be standing on a slight slope. Her pose is chiasmic. She stands on her left leg with left hip outthrust in a so-called hip-slung pose, and right leg relaxed and set slightly to the side; her left arm is relaxed, with outturned elbow; her left hand rests on her hip with fingers somewhat splayed; her right arm was extended horizontally out to the side, presumably to hold a scepter or a spear. Her head probably was turned slightly to her left and inclined somewhat, as on 13 (Fig. 26) and the Aphrodite Hypolympidia from Dion, a faithful copy of the type.<sup>114</sup> She wears sandals, a thin, clinging, full-length chiton, and a voluminous, heavy himation. Only the left sandal is extant. Its sole is modeled in two straight facets at the front that meet at an angle without a notch between the big and second toes; its uppers are not indicated, and perhaps were completed in paint. The full-length, sleeveless chiton covers the entire body except for the arms; it is crinkled as if made of linen or even silk, and girdled a few centimeters below the breasts, with the knot showing clearly in the center. The himation hangs over the figure's left shoulder and elbow, and drops inside her left forearm. From the shoulder it crosses her back diagonally from upper left to lower right; covers her right thigh and lower leg; and finally hangs down to the ground. At the back, the excess cloth created by this arrangement is gathered ever more tightly along the garment's upper edge; by the right thigh this gather becomes a tight bundle of folds that loops up over the anterior surface of the thigh and then cascades to the ground over the left leg, covering the medial part of the left foot and the base of the big and second toes. For the identification, see pp. 289–293.

Mid-Hellenistic: ca. 170–150 B.C. (see pp. 294–296).

Bibliography: Shear 1933, pp. 542–544, fig. 4:a; 1935, pp. 384–386, figs. 11–14; Lippold 1951, p. 290, n. 14; Poulsen 1951, p. 227 (text to no. 312a); Alscher 1957, p. 187, n. 47a; Harrison 1960, p. 374; Bieber 1961, p. 165; H. A. Thompson 1962, p. 122; Stähler 1966, p. 127, n. 128; Gualandi 1969, pp. 250–252 (h), figs. 18–21; Linfert 1976, p. 157, n. 624 (no. 35); Thompson 1976, pp. 183–185; Stewart 1979, p. 33, n. 108; Ghedini and Rosada 1982, p. 37; Palagia 1982, p. 104, pl. 32:f; Soles 1976, pp. 175–177, fig. 11; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 42, no. 293, pl. 30, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias); Camp 1990, pp. 195–196; Harrison 1990; Ridgway 1990, pp. 216–217; Monaco 2001, pp. 134–135; Machaira 2011, p. 54.

113. Following a suggestion from Dimitris Sourlas.

114. See n. 56, above. Dated by the excavator to the 2nd century B.C.; repaired and rededicated in the 2nd century A.D.



3 Life-size draped statue of a woman: Aphrodite? Figs. 34, 35

S 462. Upper part found with 4 (Fig. 33) in late Roman fill at F/12,13–11/8,9, April 11, 1934; traces of coarse reddish cement show that originally it was built into the Bouleuterion Screen Wall (see Fig. 1:B), in which the lower part was found at F/14,16–11/10,11, April 27, 1934. Pottery from the wall and the packing behind it indicates an Augustan terminus post quem for its construction.<sup>115</sup>

Total H. 1.40, of plinth 0.055; W. at hips 0.56; D. 0.35. Original H. of figure ca. 1.70. Pentelic marble.

Mended from several pieces. Missing: head (originally inset); part of upper left arm, left hand and adjacent part of himation; tip of sandal on left foot; right arm, shoulder, and right side down to the girdle; edges of himation at left and between legs; ridges of many folds on triangular overfold at front; fragments of right leg; right foot (originally doweled on) with part of plinth beneath it; most of back between waist and girdle. Lightly weathered; neckline battered at front.

Head and forepart of right foot originally carved separately and inset. Bowl-shaped socket for head, L. 0.17, W. 0.14, D. 0.07, roughly pointed in short strokes. Drapery folds meeting its edges smoothed for 0.5–1 cm around the lip of the bowl: possibly a repair, with the folds once completed in stucco and repainted. Joining surface for forepart of right foot lightly pointed and rasped; rectangular dowel hole at center, H. 0.02, W. 0.013, D. 0.04. Flesh surfaces (left arm) very lightly rasped in diagonal strokes. Chiton faceted with flat chisel and rasped along ridges of folds; folds just above plinth cut by 3- and 5-mm running drill channels. Girdle worked with flat chisel, hole at center Diam. 0.006, D. 0.009, for a metal clasp or brooch. Traces of 3-, 4-, 6-, and 7-mm running drill channels on himation, carefully reworked in the direction of the folds with flat chisel and rasp. Back roughly planned with point and flat chisel; rasped at sides. Plinth dressed with point in vertical strokes, then flat chiseled. Quite high-quality work.

The woman stands on her left leg with her left hip outthrust in a so-called hip-slung pose, right leg relaxed, and right foot drawn back with its heel raised. Her left arm is lowered to hold her himation; the position of her right arm cannot be determined, except that it did not touch the body below the shoulder. She wears sandals, a thin, clinging, full-length chiton, and a heavy himation. Only the left sandal is extant. Its sole is modeled without a notch between the big and second toes; its uppers are not indicated, and perhaps were completed in paint. The short-sleeved chiton, characterized as fine linen or perhaps silk by its delicate, crinkly folds, is girdled high under the breasts, and was secured by a metal clasp or brooch at center. In addition, a shoulder cord passes around the left shoulder (the right shoulder is missing), and outside it, three buttons fasten the sleeve. The himation is wrapped around her left arm, hanging from there down to the ground; it passes across her back below the girdle, around the right side of her body, and across its front below the waist, to be held by the (now missing) left hand; at the front it is doubled over in a triangular overfold. For the type, see 9 (Fig. 37), and for the identification, see p. 299, above.

Ca. 150–86 B.C. The wall containing the lower fragment of this figure (see Fig. 1:B), together with 5 (Fig. 32) and 6 (Figs. 29, 30), probably once also contained 4 (Fig. 33). Found just above the wall, 4 bears extensive traces of the same coarse reddish cement used in it, as does 7 (Fig. 36), found in the packing behind it together with S 475, an unfinished torso of the Borghese Ares type. As Thompson noted, this deposit may have been the last cleanup from the Sullan sack, perhaps undertaken as late as the early 1st century A.D., given the context of the wall, the pottery in the fill behind it, and the weathered and battered condition of the sculpture found in it.<sup>116</sup>

Bibliography: Unpublished. Mentioned, H. A. Thompson 1937, p. 168, n. 1; 1962, pp. 127–128; 1976, p. 193.

115. Boxes B141, B142 (notebook B-IV, p. 676), autopsied by John Hayes; see n. 76, above. For the context, see Thompson 1937, pp. 168–169, pl. 6.

116. See n. 76, above.

4 Fragment of a slightly under-life-size draped female figure: Aphrodite? Fig. 33

S 463. Upper part in Late Roman fill at F/12,13–11/8,9, April 11, 1934, with 3 (Figs. 34, 35). Traces of coarse reddish cement show that originally it was built into the Bouleuterion Screen Wall (see Fig. 1:B) just below where it was found; see 3. Lower part found in marble pile moved from section Δ (at approximately F–G 14–15); added February 1954.

H. 0.55; W. 0.27; D. 0.20. Original H. of figure ca. 1.50. Pentelic marble.

Missing: head (originally inset), most of left arm, right side of torso with right arm, most of back, both hips, legs, and plinth. Surface weathered, worn, and somewhat battered.

Head originally carved separately and inset. Bowl-shaped neck cavity, Diam. 0.20, D. 0.14, roughly pointed. Chiton folds flat-chiseled in shallow, coarse facets. Himation demarcated from chiton with 4-mm running drill channel; folds cut with the same tool, then rasped along ridges. Mediocre work.

The woman stood on her right leg with right hip outthrust in a hip-slung pose, and left leg relaxed; cf., e.g., the statuette S 72. Her left arm was lowered, presumably for her left elbow to rest on a support such as 5 (Fig. 32), below. She wears a thin, clinging, sleeved chiton and a heavy himation. The chiton is girdled high under the breasts and also secured by a shoulder cord, as on S 462 (3; Figs. 34, 35); the himation is slung low across the torso with its upper part rolled into a bundle that crosses the torso diagonally from the left hip to the right thigh. For the identification, see p. 299, above.

Ca. 150–86 B.C., with 3.

Bibliography: Unpublished. Mentioned, Thompson 1937, p. 168, n. 1.

5 Small archaistic female head and attached drapery Fig. 32

S 466. Late fill at F/10,11–11/9,10, April 13, 1934. Traces of coarse reddish cement show that originally it was built into the Bouleuterion Screen Wall (see Fig. 1:B) just below where it was found; see 3.

H. 0.09; W. 0.085; D. 0.095. Original H. of archaistic figure, ca. 55 cm. Pentelic marble.

Broken all round; the left cheek chipped.

Unfinished? Very sketchily modeled, with chisel scratches clearly visible on the eyes.

The woman seems to have worn a *stephane* or more likely a *polos*, now almost completely broken away. Her hair is parted in the center and is combed in thick masses to the sides; the remains of a long lock hang down over her left ear to the jaw line on the break. Her features are sketchy, especially her left eye, whose upper lid is very long and coarse. A fragment of drapery, probably a himation, is attached to the back of the head, with remains of three thick folds at the back and proper left side. This figure closely resembles the little archaistic statue that supports the Roman Aphrodite statuette S 443,<sup>117</sup> and perhaps served the same function. Possibly it supported 4 (Fig. 33), but there is no physical join.

Ca. 150–86 B.C., with 3, 4?

Bibliography: Unpublished. Mentioned, Thompson 1937, p. 168, n. 1.

6 Under-life-size, draped Aphrodite with Eros seated on her shoulder Figs. 29, 30

S 473. Bouleuterion Screen Wall (see Fig. 1:B) at F/10,11–11/7,8, April 12, 1934, together with 3 (Figs. 34, 35) and 5 (Fig. 32); see 3.

Total H. 1.305; of plinth, 0.055; W. 0.69; D. 0.30. Original H. of figure, ca. 1.40. Pentelic marble.

117. See n. 39, above.

Missing: Aphrodite's head and neck, right arm from just above the elbow, left forearm (originally doweled on), left knee, and fragments of her drapery; all of Eros's body above the waist, except the lower right arm and hand, most of right leg, right foot, and left knee; bottom of tree-trunk support and section of plinth below it. Ridges of drapery folds chipped; those hanging down right side mended from many pieces; toes of right foot and fragment of plinth below it also mended. Back quite weathered, front less so. A modern dowel hole in the neck, now filled, dates from an abortive attempt to attach the head, 7 (Fig. 36). The break on the neck is roughly chiseled around the edges, indicating that the statue was deliberately decapitated.

Left arm originally carved separately and inset; shallow, concave socket, Diam. 0.065, dressed with vertical strokes of point, with stump of  $0.01 \times 0.01$  iron dowel still preserved. Chiton carefully faceted with flat and bull-nose chisels, and then very lightly abraded; hem over feet defined by a chisel line, demarcated from feet by 4-mm channel. Folds of himation cut with 3- and 5-mm running drills, then rasped along ridges; demarcated from left side of torso and left shoulder by 5-mm running drill channel. On back, chiton roughly cut with bull-nose chisel; himation fully but schematically carved. Flesh surfaces smooth and unpolished. Plinth roughly pointed at front, coarsely dressed with vertical strokes of point at back. Bottom of tree-trunk support cut in front with long strokes of flat chisel, coarsely dressed with vertical strokes of point on projecting stump of branch at top, and on back. Good-quality work.

Aphrodite's pose is chiasmic. She stands on her right leg with right hip outthrust in a hip-slung pose, left leg relaxed, and left heel raised. Her right arm is extended to the side to hold her himation above her shoulder; her left arm is lowered and its elbow rests on a roughly indicated tree trunk, supporting the weight of her torso. On her left upper arm and shoulder reclines a plump little naked Eros; his right leg is bent under him, his left knee is raised, and his right hand rests on her shoulder. Her head was turned quite sharply to her left, presumably looking toward him.

Aphrodite wears sandals, a thin, clinging, full-length chiton, and a voluminous, heavy himation. The soles of the sandals are modeled in two straight facets at the front that meet at an angle without a notch between the big and second toes; their uppers are not indicated, and perhaps were completed in paint. The chiton, characterized as fine linen or perhaps silk by its delicate, crinkly folds, covers her whole body except for her arms; it is girdled high under the breasts and also secured by shoulder cords. The himation is draped over her left shoulder, rolled around her left arm, and falls to the ground over the tree trunk; covering her back like a curtain, it was held high over her right shoulder by the now-missing right hand. From this point it falls behind her right arm, wraps around the front of her legs, and cascades in a thick fold bundle across her hips in front (almost meeting the other end of the garment just above her left knee), and finally falls to the ground to the left of the left foot.

Probably ca. 150–86 B.C., with 3–5.

Bibliography: Karo 1934, cols. 132–133, fig. 2; Thompson 1937, p. 168, n. 1; Laurenzi 1939, p. 59; Lippold 1951, p. 310, n. 9; Gualandi 1969, p. 252, n. 3; H. A. Thompson 1962, pp. 127–128; 1976, p. 193; Linfert 1976, p. 158, n. 629c; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 43, no. 307, pl. 31, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias); Camp 1990, pp. 199–200, 279; Machaira 1993, pp. 40–41, no. 4, and *passim*, pls. 8, 9; Vlizon 2005, p. 34, n. 37.

7 Slightly under-life-size female head, probably Aphrodite Fig. 36

S 476. Packing behind Bouleuterion Screen Wall (see Fig. 1:B) at F/10,11–11/9,11, April 19, 1934, along with a fragmentary, unfinished copy of the Borghese Ares type, S 475; for context pottery, see 3.

H. 0.197; W. 0.156; D. 0.154. Head H. 0.18; original H. of statue, ca. 1.45. Pentelic marble.

Broken across the neck. Missing: nose, crown of the head toward the back; otherwise well preserved except for some chipping. Much coarse red cement from wall still adhering.

Face polished. Hair roughly pointed; semicircular groove 0.05 above hairline, W. 0.005, for metal coronet or *stephane*, now lost. Proper right side less finished, right ear only planned, including raw 0.007 drill hole. Back blank except for hairline. Left ear carefully finished with 1-mm drill hole separating tragus and antitragus. Modern dowel hole under neck for abortive attempt to attach it to 6 (Figs. 29, 30), now used for pin of museum mount.

The head is turned and inclined slightly to the figure's right. The right side of the face is markedly wider than the left, and the axes of the mouth and eyes converge to this side, echoing the movement. The features are sharply delineated, except for the right ear, which was never carved. The hair is worn in short, wavy locks brushed back from the brow, and was secured probably by a metal coronet or *stephane*, now lost. From a statue similar in scale to S 473 (6; Figs. 29, 30).

Probably ca. 150–86 B.C., with 3–6. The break on the nose is sharp, as if caused by a hammer or other blunt instrument, and could indicate intentional damage inflicted during the Sullan sack.

Bibliography: Unpublished. Mentioned, Thompson 1937, p. 168, n. 1; 1976, p. 293.

8 Fragmentary statuettes of a woman and two boys, either Aphrodite, Eros, and another child, or Hygieia and her children Figs. 21–23

S 828: (a) woman's head, (b) tree stump and woman's arm, (c) headless naked boy, (d) plinth and lower right leg of a child. S 830: boy's head, now joined to S 828c. Cistern at N/6,8–19/9,10, February 9 and 12 and March 26, 1937. Agora deposit N 19:1 (upper fill), dated A.D. 1–20 but probably one of the last cleanups after the Sullan sack.<sup>118</sup>

H. of S 828a, woman's head, 0.083; W. 0.046; D. 0.051. H. of S 828b + c + S 830, 0.26; H. of tree stump, 0.16; W. 0.09; D. 0.07; H. of woman's arm 0.12. H. of boy S 828c + S 830, 0.14. H. of S 828d, 0.10; of plinth alone, 0.013–0.015. Pentelic marble.

Missing: S 828a: body of woman, unless the arm S 828b belongs. S 828b + c + S 830: plinth and lower part of tree stump; boy's left arm and most of his ankles; woman's body except for her right arm from the elbow down (unless the head S 828a belongs). S 828d: remainder of plinth and figure. Unweathered; perhaps discarded unfinished.

S 828a: Sides, back, and top of woman's head sketched with point and flat chisel; left ear not carved. Dimple under lower lip cut with 2-mm drill. S 828b + c + S 830: Tree stump cut with vertical strokes of flat chisel and then rasped diagonally; 4-mm drill channel demarcates stump and woman's hand at back. Woman's hand and boy's feet lightly polished, remaining flesh surfaces unpolished; medial surface and back of woman's arm and boy's back abraded. Boy's right hand, underside of his buttocks, and left side of his head sketched with flat chisel; face sketched with flat chisel and lightly rasped; hair roughly pointed. Two holes drilled in his left side: Diam. 0.004, D. 0.013 (lower); Diam. 0.003, D. 0.006 (upper). S 828d: Traces of red paint on sides and tongue of sandal; plinth claw chiseled near sandal, rasped elsewhere, and roughly pointed below.

The woman's head, S 828a, is turned upward and to her right; her hair is braided in "tiara" fashion, the immediate predecessor of the well-known Hellenistic "melon" coiffure. Unless the figure had extremely elongated, Lysippic proportions, this head looks slightly too small to go with S 828b + c + S 830, the woman's arm, tree stump, and boy. The tree stump forks at the woman's hand, which rests on the fork with fingers curled. The boy stands on its left fork with his left leg crossed over

118. *Agora XXIX*, p. 36, n. 126; *Agora XXXII*, p. 301. The other marbles from this deposit: S 829, a female statuette, H. 0.14 (3rd century B.C.?). S 864, a female head, H. 0.10, once doweled to a statuette but wearing no *stephane* or *tainia* (2nd–1st century B.C.); S 865, a sharply flexed left leg, H. 0.135.

his right, his right arm akimbo, and the back of his right hand resting on his hip; he leans to his left and his left arm was raised, presumably to rest on the woman's right shoulder. His head was turned to his left in order to look at her, and he wears a coronet or *stephane* in his hair. S 828d: The sandaled foot and leg are too large, fleshy, and short to go with either the tree stump, boy, and woman's arm, S 828b + c + S 830, or the woman's head, S 828a, and probably belonged to a child from another composition entirely. Moreover, the sandal of S 828d is painted, whereas the remaining fragments look somewhat unfinished and show no traces of paint; also, the holes in the boy's left side (presumably for dowels to attach him more firmly to the woman) show no signs of corrosion.

As to identifications, the woman and boy, S 828b + c + S 830 + perhaps S 828a, could either be Aphrodite and a wingless Eros or Hygieia and one of her children. As far as I am aware, the "tiara" cut of S 828a is hardly ever attested for Aphrodite, and might further support her identification as Hygieia or some other mythological being.<sup>119</sup> These may have been discarded unfinished and (if the boy is Eros) before his wings could be attached, perhaps because he broke at the ankles and could not be repaired. S 828d recalls the numerous fat little boys found at the Athenian and Epidaurian sanctuaries of Asklepios, some of which may represent the children of the god himself.<sup>120</sup>

Ca. 320 B.C., or perhaps Augustan.

Bibliography: unpublished.

9 Draped statuette of a woman probably from a group of Aphrodite and Eros Fig. 37

S 844. Turkish fill at M/5,6–19/12,13, March 10, 1937.

H. 0.64; W. 0.31; D. 0.22. Base of supporting pillar, W. 0.08; D. 0.085. Original H. ca. 0.80. Pentelic marble.

Missing: Head, left hand, right arm, and shaft of pillar at proper right; Eros (probably) once sitting on right shoulder. Somewhat weathered and battered; plinth broken and chipped all round.

Head originally carved separately and inset; bowl-shaped cavity, L. 0.09, W. 0.07, D. 0.03; stump of dowel preserved at center, Diam. 0.008. Dowel hole on right shoulder, Diam. 0.008, D. 0.035. Front modeled with flat chisel, no signs of drilling, some rasping in valleys of folds; right foot roughly undercut with point. Sides cut with flat and bull-nose chisels, then rasped; drapery folds across back roughly planned with point and chisel. Bottom of plinth roughly pointed. Mediocre work.

The woman stands in a chiasmic, hip-slung pose, with left leg engaged, left hip outthrust, and right leg relaxed and set somewhat to the side. Her torso twists somewhat to her left. Her left arm is lowered, its hand holding the overfold of her himation; her right leaned on a square pillar with a molded base, supporting her weight. A dowel sunk into the top of her right shoulder presumably supported an Eros like the one sitting on the shoulders of 6 (Figs. 29, 30) and 13 (Fig. 26). She wears sandals, a thin, clinging, full-length chiton, and a heavy himation. The sandals have curved soles in front; the uppers are not modeled, and perhaps were indicated in paint. The chiton, girdled high under the breasts, is characterized as fine linen or perhaps silk by its crinkly folds. The himation is draped over her lower left arm, and from there it passes across her back, around her right hip, and covers her hips and legs in front; doubled into a triangular overfold, it is held in place by her left hand. For the type, see 3 (Figs. 34, 35).

Ca. 150–86 B.C.?

Bibliography: unpublished.

119. Among all the Aphrodites illustrated in *LIMC*, q.v., only no. 512, a 2nd-century B.C. terracotta statuette in New York, wears this hairstyle; likewise, in Kondoleon and Segal 2012, the only example of this coiffure is on an Early Hellenistic terracotta from Canosa in Boston, unnumbered fig. on p. 171 (cat. no. 137).

120. E.g., Athens NM 300, 304 + 309 + 310, and 2211: Kaltsas 2002, nos. 548, 549, 564.

## 10 Life-size female head: Aphrodite? Fig. 20

S 979. In a modern house at O-P 19-21, December 20, 1937.

H. 0.26; W. 0.168; D. 0.182. Pentelic marble.

Broken across at the bottom of the neck and badly battered; nose and chin chipped away.

Left side of head attached separately: joining surface, H. 0.17, W. 0.15, rasped; stump of iron dowel still in place at center, Diam. 0.006; clearly a repair. Mouth drilled at corners.

The head was turned and inclined to the figure's left. The face is round, and the remaining parts of the features are finely carved, especially the ear. The eyes are deep set. The hairstyle is complex and flamboyant. On either side of the central part, two thick locks are braided and backcombed in a V formation as far as the crown, where they are knotted in a *krabylos*. The rest of the locks are waved back from the hairline toward and around the *krabylos*, then to the nape of the neck, where originally they were gathered in a bun.

Apparently Early Hellenistic: 330-250 B.C.?

Bibliography: unpublished.

## 11 Draped female statuette Fig. 18

S 1047. Well at grid ref. O/1,2-19/2,3. Agora deposit O 19:1, 4th-6th centuries A.D.

H. 0.315; W. 0.11; D. 0.07; original H. ca. 0.37. Pentelic marble.

Missing: head, right arm, left forearm; all originally doveled on. Somewhat weathered, ridges of folds chipped.

Joining surface for head rasped flat and pierced at center by a dowel hole, Diam. 0.007; joining surface for right arm tooled only with a fine claw chisel; probably repairs, never completed. Left forearm also doveled on, remains of horizontal dowel hole, Diam. 0.004, in break at elbow. Plinth pointed. Four simple 2-mm drill holes in chiton folds below himation; sides and back rasped; at back, folds planned but not executed.

The woman stands on her left leg with her right leg relaxed. The position of her head and right arm cannot be determined, but her left forearm was held out horizontally. She wears a thin, high-girdled, V-neck chiton and a heavy himation that is wrapped around her left upper arm, crosses the back diagonally to the right hip and leg, drapes across the front of the body with a deep V overfold, and is slung over the left arm again.

Early Hellenistic: ca. 330-250 B.C.? Very similar to 1 (Fig. 17), apparently by the same hand.

Bibliography: unpublished.

12 Right side of a slightly under-life-size draped female torso Fig. 31  
(possibly an Aphrodite) from right shoulder to hip

S 1167. Well at N/10,11-20/19,21/1, May 26, 1933. Agora deposit N 20:1 at 13.50 m (upper fill; erroneously registered in deposit summary under lower fill). Upper fill contained some Early Roman pottery and much Hellenistic.

H. 0.44; W. 0.125; D. 0.15. Original H. of figure, ca. 1.50-1.60. Pentelic marble.

Mended from several pieces. Minor chipping and erosion around the edges; back mostly broken away.

Made for insertion into a previously carved body; presumably a repair. Four joining surfaces at median line of torso, groin, and right hip meet at various angles to fit rest of statue (i.e., left side of the torso, groin, and top of right thigh). Clockwise from topmost point of shoulder: Joining surface (a), cut down the V of the

neckline, H. 0.12, W. 0.14, pointed above, claw-chiseled below; pierced at center by a circular dowel hole, Diam. 0.015, D. 0.045, angled upward at about 40°. Joining surface (b), meeting (a) at an angle of about 170°, H. 0.32, W. 0.15, dressed with point, then claw-chiseled and rasped; pierced on its center line at 0.11 and 0.28 from bottom by two horizontal dowel holes, Diam. 0.015, D. 0.045; below, 0.06 from bottom of fragment and toward the back, stump of iron dowel, L. 0.02, W. 0.01, angled backward. Joining surface (c), meeting (b) at an angle of about 100°, H. 0.09, W. 0.13, carefully pointed flat in short, shallow strokes, pierced by a vertical dowel hole, i.e., parallel to plane (b), Diam. 0.02, D. 0.05. Joining surface (d), meeting (c) at an angle of about 130° and intersecting laterally with the curve of the right hip, H. 0.05, W. 0.09, dressed completely smooth with no tool marks visible. Back pierced by two dowel holes: (i) at 0.11 from bottom, Diam. 0.012, D. 0.016; (ii) at 0.33 from bottom, Diam. 0.012, D. 0.01, though the latter is partially filled with glue. Right arm added separately; joining surface slightly concave, H. 0.155, W. 0.095, front pointed in long diagonal strokes, top and back chiseled flat. Pierced by two horizontal dowel holes, both angled forward about 15°: central one, Diam. 0.01, D. 0.043; upper one, offset slightly to right (to keep the arm from rotating under its own weight), Diam. 0.01, D. 0.04.

Drapery in front cut in facets with flat chisel, then lightly rasped; girdle and back roughly cut with flat chisel. One short running drill channel, L. 0.01, W. 0.003, in fold just below girdle under the armpit. Shallow hole for a brooch(?) in drapery at topmost point of shoulder, Diam. 0.003, D. 0.004. Medium-quality work.

The fragment preserves the right shoulder, right breast, waist, and outthrust right hip of a woman in a hip-slung pose, prepared for insertion into a slightly under-life-size statue. The pronounced outward curve of the hip shows that she stood on her right leg. Her right upper arm was held out horizontally and angled forward somewhat; perhaps she was arranging her hair or adjusting her himation, now lost. She wears a thin, clinging, V-neck chiton girdled high under the breasts, characterized as fine linen or perhaps silk by its delicate, crinkly folds. If she wore a himation, as seems likely, perhaps it covered the left side of her torso, her groin, and the top of her right thigh, partially or wholly obscuring the joining surfaces described above. The woman's voluptuous body is well delineated beneath the garment, especially the gentle swell of the belly and breast.

Ca. 150–86 B.C., or shortly thereafter if a repair to a statue damaged in the Sullan sack; see pp. 299, 311, above.

Bibliography: unpublished.

13 Statuette of Aphrodite leaning on a pillar, with Eros on her right shoulder Fig. 26

S 1192. Well at B/13,15–21/5,6, May 11, 1940. Agora deposit B 21:24 (well fill), with pottery and a Rhodian stamped amphora handle of the mid- to late 1st century B.C.<sup>121</sup>

Total H. 0.31, of plinth 0.03. H. of figure, 0.28; W. 0.15; D. 0.065. H. of pillar, 0.15; original H. of statuette, ca. 0.34. Pentelic marble.

Missing: head and neck; Eros, but for stump of right wing and thigh on Aphrodite's right shoulder. Joining surface of neck and medial portion of Aphrodite's right knee chipped.

Head originally carved separately and doweled on; hole, Diam. 0.004, D. 0.006, with fragment of iron dowel inside. Fragments of lead and apparent chisel mark on chipped joining surface suggest this was a repair. Right arm and pillar faceted with flat chisel; medial side of arm rasped; right side of body and bottom of plinth roughly pointed and chiseled. Drapery folds cut with flat chisel and rasped along ridges; running drill channel, W. 0.003, down proper right side of fold bundle

121. *Agora XXIX*, pp. 438–439; omitted from the list of Sullan cleanup deposits on p. 36, n. 128.

between legs. Back rasped totally flat, with occasional point and bull-nose chisel marks visible; back of pillar cut with bull-nose chisel in horizontal strokes. Considerable remains of color, now much faded: Two bands, one red and one black, at top and bottom of pillar; base of pillar and sandals red; chiton olive green; himation lilac with bands of bluish green over. Cursory work.

This Aphrodite is a version of 2 (Figs. 24, 25), and helps to secure its identification as Aphrodite. She stands in a chiastic pose on her left leg with her left hip outthrust in a hip-slung pose, right leg relaxed, right foot set to the side. Her relaxed left arm is akimbo with the back of the hand resting on her hip. Her torso leans and twists slightly to her right; her right shoulder is raised and her right arm, slightly flexed with the hand turned outward and resting on the pillar, supports her weight. Her head was turned and inclined to her left. An Eros, now reduced to a stump of marble wing and thigh, sat on her right shoulder; the Corinth excavations have yielded an exact parallel.<sup>122</sup>

The goddess wears sandals, a thin, full-length chiton, and a heavy himation. The sandals are sketched only. The clinging, olive-green chiton covers her whole body except for her arms and is girdled high under the breasts; it is characterized as fine linen or perhaps silk by its delicate, crinkly folds. The himation, colored lilac and once decorated with bluish-green bands, hangs down from the left upper arm and elbow, and drops behind the forearm almost to the ground. If the back had been carved, the himation would have crossed it diagonally from left shoulder to right hip, as on 2 (Figs. 24, 25), and the excess cloth created by this arrangement would have been gathered ever more tightly along the garment's upper edge. Since the back of the statuette is blank, however, this gather suddenly emerges at the right hip as a tight bundle of folds that curves over the right thigh and then cascades to the ground over the right leg and beside the left foot, while the remainder of the garment covers the right leg down to the ground.

Ca. 150–86 B.C., presuming that the statuette was damaged in the Sullan sack and then dumped down the well a generation or more later.

Bibliography: Shear 1941, p. 5, fig. 5; Harrison 1960, p. 374; H. A. Thompson 1962, p. 122; Gualandi 1969, p. 252, n. 2; Linfert 1976, p. 157, n. 624, no. 36; Thompson 1976, p. 271; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 42, no. 300, pl. 30, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias); Camp 1990, p. 266; Harrison 1990; Machaira 1993, pp. 41–42, no. 5, and passim, pl. 10; Lawton 2006, p. 47, pl. 50.

14 Statuette of Eros standing against a post or tree trunk, Fig. 15  
probably a support for an Aphrodite statuette

S 1199. Well at B/10,12–20/13,14, May 30, 1946. Agora deposit B 20:7 (upper fill), with pottery and other finds of ca. 325–200 B.C. and a Rhodian stamped amphora handle of 217 B.C. that provides a terminus post quem for the deposit.<sup>123</sup>

H. 0.113; W. 0.068; D. 0.054. Original H. of figure, 0.16. Pentelic marble.

Support broken across behind Eros's head; support and Eros broken across above his knees; belly, right thigh, right hand, and upper right wing of Eros chipped.

Dowel hole on break at top, Diam. 0.004, D. 0.01. Eros modeled with flat chisel, then rasped and lightly polished; hair locks, transitions between limbs, and wing feathers cut with corner of flat chisel; crook of both arms and lateral surface of right thigh pointed. Back cursorily faceted with flat chisel, then rasped. Perhaps discarded unfinished.

A naked, winged Eros stands frontally against a post or tree trunk that was probably a support for a statuette. He stood on his left leg with his right thigh advanced and leg relaxed. Both arms are flexed at the elbow and the hands held against the body. The left hand, at belly height, holds a bird facing inward; the right, at chest height, holds another object, perhaps food. Eros's head is turned

122. *Corinth* IX, pp. 45–46, no. 53; Soles 1976, pp. 177, 180–181, no. 45, pl. 44, fig. 64.

123. *Agora* XXIX, p. 438.



slightly to his right, presumably toward a now-missing figure of Aphrodite; his hair is gathered up *lampadion*-style on the crown of his head. His wings are at rest, their feathers vertical.

Third century B.C., given the context.

Bibliography: unpublished.

15 Small female head wearing a *stephane*: Aphrodite? Fig. 38

S 1228. Hellenistic fill at B/20,C/5–20/2,5, April 4, 1947, with many terracotta figurines and molds (the “Koukla Factory” fill). Agora deposit C 20:2, containing pottery, stamped amphora handles, and coins mostly of ca. 200–146 B.C., with a few sherds dating ca. 150–50 B.C., and a coin of ca. 130–90 B.C.<sup>124</sup>

H. 0.079; W. 0.045; D. 0.06. Original H. of statuette, ca. 0.45. Pentelic marble.

Underside of neck battered, flattened stump of iron dowel remains at center. Features battered; bun and cascade of hair below it partially broken away.

Intended for attachment to a statuette: flattened stump of iron dowel preserved on underside of neck. Hair locks, eyes, and chin-neck transition cut with corner of flat chisel. Face and *stephane* polished, hair left rough. Mediocre work.

The head, which wears a coronet or *stephane*, was turned to the figure’s left and inclined somewhat, like the now-missing head of 13 (Fig. 26). The hair is waved to the sides from a central part; combed up toward the top of the skull; gathered in a bun at the back; and finally allowed to cascade down the nape of the neck.

Ca. 200–86 B.C.

Bibliography: unpublished.

16 Fragment of a draped female torso: Aphrodite? Fig. 13

S 1534. Cleaning, grid ref. N–P 12–14, June 11, 1951.

H. 0.17; W. 0.10; D. 0.11. Original H. of figure, ca. 0.60. Pentelic marble.

Broken diagonally across from left shoulder to right hip. Head and all limbs missing. Somewhat weathered; break and ridges of folds chipped.

Head and right arm originally carved separately and inset. Shallow cavity for head and neck, p.L. 0.104 (originally ca. 0.13), W. 0.071, D. 0.012, roughly pointed in short strokes converging on dowel hole at center, Diam. 0.013, D. 0.023; probably a repair. Joining surface for right arm, H. 0.06, W. 0.05, carefully flattened with rasp, pierced by two dowel holes: upper, Diam. 0.008, D. 0.03; lower (to keep the arm from rotating under its own weight), Diam. 0.006, D. 0.024. Folds chiseled and then rasped.

The woman stood probably on her right leg with her left leg relaxed, and held her right upper arm out horizontally to the side. She wears a thin, clinging, high-girdled chiton and heavy, low-slung himation. The chiton, characterized as fine linen by its delicate, crinkly folds, is girdled just below the breasts; the girdle is tied at center with a reef knot. The himation crosses the back in a dense fold bundle from the left shoulder to the right hip, and was presumably slung around the lower body in front like that of 3 (Figs. 34, 35), 4 (Fig. 33), and 18 (Fig. 12). Although very close in technique and style to 18, the fragment is slightly smaller in scale, and was not part of the same statuette.

Probably early 3rd century B.C.; see p. 282, above.

Bibliography: unpublished.

17 Statuette of a naked Eros and associated drapery, Fig. 16  
from a small group of Aphrodite and Eros

S 1885. Construction fill of stylobate of Stoa of Attalos, opposite shop 1, at Q12, October 11, 1954.

124. *Agora XXXIII*, pp. 347–348.

H. 0.08; W. 0.05; D. 0.03. Original H. of figure, 0.12. Pentelic marble.

Broken across above Eros's head and below his groin; lower break cut and polished smooth. Repaired in antiquity: remains of miniature Π clamp in hole on anterior of left thigh, Diam. 0.002, with 2-mm-wide vertical channel below it, ending at break. Weathered and battered all round; no tool marks visible on front, some rasping on folds at back.

Eros, naked, stands on his left leg with his right leg relaxed and perhaps originally crossed in front of the other one. His left hand rests on his hip and his left arm is akimbo; his right arm was raised to the side. His torso describes an S curve, and his head apparently was raised and turned sharply to his right, presumably to look at a now-missing Aphrodite beside him. No wings are in evidence, unless a projection on his left shoulder is to be interpreted thus. He stands against a curtain of heavy drapery, presumably part of a himation; four vertical folds are visible at the back.

Before ca. 150 B.C., given the context: ca. 300 B.C.?

Bibliography: unpublished.

18 Fragment of a statuette of a goddess, presumably Aphrodite, leaning on an archaistic statuette of a woman Fig. 12

S 2168. South house (Late Roman), room 9, near North wall at pavement level, at C/2-16/17, May 14, 1964. Its walls contained many spolia, including an Ionic capital, a Doric column drum, two bases for marble statues of lions, and perhaps this fragment also.

H. 0.29; W. 0.181; D. 0.16. Original H. of Aphrodite, ca. 0.65; of statuette support, ca. 0.28. Pentelic marble.

Missing: head, neck, entire right side of torso, body from hips down, left forearm (originally doweled on), himation hanging down at proper left, lower body and left side of support. Lateral side of left breast and joining surface of left forearm chipped away, right forearm of support also; ridges of folds chipped. Somewhat weathered.

Left forearm originally inset: circular joining surface, Diam. 0.04, now mostly broken away; rectangular iron dowel stump preserved in hole at center, H. 0.008, W. 0.006; fragments of lead above, in angle between joining surface and himation. Drapery chiseled and rasped, flesh surfaces lightly polished. Drapery at back planned with point and flat chisel only; whole of back below diagonal fold bundle of himation from left upper arm to right hip pointed flat. Himation folds behind support rasped. Sketchy technique; mediocre work.

The goddess may have stood on her right leg with her left relaxed. Her left arm is lowered and she rests her left elbow on an archaistic statuette of a woman; her left forearm projected horizontally forward. She wears a clinging, high-girdled chiton and heavy, low-slung himation. The chiton, characterized as fine linen by its delicate, crinkly folds, is girdled below the breasts. The himation, slung over the left arm, falls to the ground between the support and Aphrodite's left leg; from the arm it crosses the back diagonally in a dense fold bundle from the left elbow to the right buttock, originally wrapping around the now-missing right hip and lower body. From the break in front it crosses the front of the torso diagonally up to the crook of the left elbow, covering the himation folds already draped there, and falls once again to the ground to the right of the supporting figure.

The archaistic supporting figure, a woman, stands frontally with her left arm hanging by her side and her right flexed and held against her breast. She wears a high-girdled, short-sleeved chiton and a polos, and her hair is waved to the sides from a central part. A long lock hangs down each side of her neck onto her shoulder.

Given her scale, she must have stood on a high plinth, as is normal for this type.<sup>125</sup> Although very close in technique and style to 16 (Fig. 13), this fragment is slightly larger in scale, and almost certainly was not part of the same statuette.

Early 3rd century B.C.; see p. 282, above.

Bibliography: unpublished.

19 Lower torso and thighs of a statuette of a draped woman: Aphrodite? Fig. 28

S 2908. Recovered from section Ω (at approximately N–P 19–21), August 18, 1977.

H. 0.285; W. 0.16; D. 0.11. Original H. ca. 0.70. Pentelic marble.

Broken across at waist and below knees. Front battered, most of back split away.

Drapery valleys on front defined by 3-mm running drill channels, then chiseled and rasped along the ridges of the folds. Mediocre work.

This approximately half-life-size statuette seems to have been a mirror reversal of the Aphrodite Hegemone (2; Figs. 24, 25). The figure stood on her right leg with her left leg relaxed and her left thigh advanced. She wears a thin chiton that clings closely to her lower torso but falls in pronounced vertical folds over the engaged right leg, and a heavy himation. The latter is slung diagonally across her back (four folds are visible behind her left knee); draped in a thick bundle over her left thigh; and then allowed to cascade down vertically between her legs. The statuette may have been produced by the same workshop that made the Aphrodite and Eros 6 (Figs. 29, 30).

Ca. 150–86 B.C.

Bibliography: unpublished.

20 Statuette of a draped woman: Aphrodite? Fig. 39

Athens NM 2585. Found in the vicinity of the Theseion/Hephaisteion, 1904.

H. 0.64; W. 0.22; D. 0.21. Visible H. of plinth, 0.014; underside sunk into modern base and not accessible for study. Original H. of figure, ca. 0.80. Pentelic marble.

Missing: head, neck, both arms, and left foot (all originally doweled on). Most of joining surface for right arm and himation folds hanging down left side broken away; ridges of folds and edges of plinth chipped. Unweathered.

Head, neck, both arms, and left foot all originally carved separately and inset. Head and neck inset into a shallow cavity, L. 0.065, W. 0.045, D. 0.03, pointed; plaster-filled dowel hole at center, Diam. ca. 0.01. Early-20th-century photographs show neck in place on torso, broken across below chin.<sup>126</sup> Joining surface for right arm, remains ca. 0.01 × 0.01; two dowel holes in broken part of joining surface to keep the arm from rotating under its own weight, aligned vertically: upper, Diam. 0.01, D. 0.04; lower, Diam. 0.01, D. 0.015. Γ-shaped joining surface for left arm, pointed; dowel hole at center of upper (horizontal) section, Diam. 0.01, D. 0.02. Joining surface for left foot, H. 0.03, W. 0.015; dowel hole at center, Diam. 0.005, D. 0.012. Drapery folds cut with flat chisel, then lightly rasped all over; occasional 4-mm running drill channels in valleys of himation folds in front. Back finished, though less detailed. Quite high-quality work; same scale as 9 (Fig. 37).

The woman stands in a hip-slung pose on her right leg with her left advanced, raising her left shoulder and turning her torso slightly to her left. Her right upper arm was extended almost horizontally sideways and slightly forward; her left upper arm hung by her side. To judge by the early-20th-century photographs that include the stump of the neck, her head was turned somewhat to her left. She wears sandals, a thin, clinging, high-girdled chiton, and a heavy himation. The

125. E.g., S 443: *Agora XI*, pp. 54, 73, n. 23; *LIMC II*, 1984, p. 43, no. 314, pl. 31, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivourias).

126. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, neg. Nat. Mus. 1112: Kraemer 1923–1924, p. 182, figs. 6, 7; Bieber 1961, p. 166, figs. 710, 711; di Vita 1963–1964, pp. 31–32, figs. 7, 8.

sandals are rounded at the front; the uppers are not shown and perhaps were added in paint. The chiton, girdled high under the breasts with a reef knot at the center of the girdle, is characterized as fine linen or perhaps silk by its delicate, crinkly folds. The himation wraps counterclockwise around her lower body. Its excess cloth is rolled at hip level into a thick fold bundle that begins below the groin, loops around the left hip, buttocks, and right hip, crosses the thighs, and finally falls to the ground beside her left leg and foot.

Ca. 150–86 B.C.; see pp. 302–303, 307, above.

Krahmer 1923–1924, p. 182, figs. 6, 7; Bieber 1961, p. 166, figs. 710, 711; di Vita 1963–1964, at pp. 31–32, figs. 7, 8; Karouzou 1968, p. 181; Linfert 1976, p. 86, fig. 177; Kaltsas 2002, pp. 292–293, no. 614, ill.; Bol 2007, vol. 1, pp. 339–340, 370; vol. 2, fig. 339.

## APPENDIX 2

### PRAXITELES' APHRODITES AT THESPIAE AND KNIDOS

The fact that all of the securely attested statues of Aphrodite at Athens from ca. 450 to 86 B.C. are fully draped raises the question of the origin of Praxiteles' topless Aphrodite at Thespieae (the Arles type) and fully naked Aphrodite at Knidos, or Knidia (the Belvedere-Colonna type or types).<sup>127</sup> No text discusses the genesis of the Thespian statue, but concerning the Knidia, Pliny contends that

[Praxiteles] had made two figures, which he put up for sale together. One of them was draped, and for that reason was preferred by the people of Kos, who had an option on the sale, although he offered it at the same price as the other. This they considered to be the only decent and dignified course of action. The statue that they refused was purchased by the people of Knidos and achieved an immeasurably greater reputation.<sup>128</sup>

Unlikely per se (since all the evidence suggests that Classical-period sculptors never produced major works like these speculatively, but only on commission, for which their clients would provide a brief), this anecdote becomes even more problematic given the complete lack of a tradition of showing Aphrodite either partially or fully naked in Athenian monumental sculpture. As many commentators have noted, it smacks of the Hellenistic-Roman copying industry and/or aetiological speculation.<sup>129</sup>

Why the Thespians wanted a half-naked Aphrodite is probably unknowable, but for this commission Praxiteles could draw on Athenian work

127. Arles type: Lippold 1951, p. 237, pl. 83:2; *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 63–64, nos. 526–532, pls. 51, 52, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias), citing the earlier literature; Stewart 1990, p. 177, fig. 501; Smith 1991, p. 81, fig. 104; Ridgway 1997, p. 264; Rolley 1999, pp. 256–257, figs. 255–257; Pasquier 2003; Bol 2004, vol. 1, pp. 283–284; vol. 2, figs. 236–238; Corso 2004a, pp. 257–281; Pasquier and Martinez

2007, pp. 134–139, 158–169, nos. 28–32, figs. 94–97, 115–119. Knidia: Lippold 1951, p. 239, pl. 83:3; *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 49–52, nos. 391–408, pls. 36–38, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias), citing the earlier literature; Stewart 1990, pp. 177–178, figs. 502–507; Boardman 1995, p. 76, fig. 26; Havelock 1995; Stewart 1996, pp. 97–107, figs. 57–59; Ridgway 1997, pp. 263–265, pls. 66, 67; Rolley 1999, pp. 257–260,

figs. 258–262; Bol 2004, vol. 1, pp. 329–330; vol. 2, figs. 297–300; Seaman 2004; Corso 2007, pp. 9–191, figs. 1–110; Pasquier and Martinez 2007, pp. 139–146, 172–195, nos. 34–46, figs. 98–105; Stewart 2010, pp. 13–15, fig. 3; Kondoleon and Segal 2012, p. 150, fig. 9.

128. Plin. *HN* 36.20.

129. See, most recently, Seaman 2004, pp. 559–560.

in the minor arts for inspiration. As mentioned above, early-4th-century Athenian terracottas and vase paintings often show the goddess and her avatars in this guise,<sup>130</sup> and it is tempting to speculate that the sculptor may also have turned to these sources on other occasions.<sup>131</sup> For the actual modeling of the female torso, the Athenians' 50-year-old fascination with diaphanous drapery in both painting and sculpture (see Figs. 4–10) would have provided ample schooling.<sup>132</sup>

Knidos is another matter. Whereas Classical Greek art has still failed to produce any completely naked Aphrodites that clearly predate the Knidia, the ancient Near Eastern, Levantine, and Cypriot tradition of showing the love goddess stark naked in her various manifestations (Ishtar/Inanna, Astarte, Ashtoret, Astart, etc.) was a long-standing one,<sup>133</sup> and miniature terracotta protomes of her holding her breasts—a familiar Near Eastern type—appear on the Round Temple terrace at Knidos by ca. 470 B.C.<sup>134</sup> The strong Near Eastern tradition surely determined this aspect of the sculptor's brief.

As for the Knidia's bathing motif, no mere trumped-up excuse for her nudity but an integral part of her erotic mythology, the Homeric poems and the *Greek Anthology* (the epigrams on the Knidia included) unanimously locate the goddess's bathing rituals in the cult's mother sanctuary at Paphos on Cyprus.<sup>135</sup> In this case, fortunately, the sculptor had a long Athenian tradition of bathing heroines, brides, nymphs, and other avatars of Aphrodite to draw on.<sup>136</sup> Yet whoever—the Knidians or Praxiteles—originally suggested this idea, its brilliantly original conversion into an event interrupted by some voyeur (presumably Ares), at whom the goddess looks and smiles, was surely the sculptor's own.<sup>137</sup>

130. See p. 279, n. 29, above.

131. E.g., the Pouring Satyr (Lippold 1951, p. 237; *LIMC* VIII, 1997, p. 1130, no. 212, pl. 781, s.v. Silenoi [E. Simon], citing the earlier literature; Stewart 1990, p. 177, figs. 498, 499; Boardman 1995, p. 75, fig. 71; Stewart 1996, pp. 200–201, fig. 132; Ridgway 1997, pp. 265–266; Rolley 1999, pp. 246–248, fig. 240; Bol 2004, vol. 1, pp. 291–292; vol. 2, figs. 251, 252; Corso 2004a, pp. 281–289, figs. 116–118; Pasquier and Martinez 2007, pp. 236–241, 248–256, 272–279, nos. 66–69, figs. 157–169); cf. the early-4th-century Attic calyx krater “near the Lugano Painter,” Agrigento R157 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1347; Metzger 1951, p. 125, no. 33, pl. 16:1; *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 470, no. 560, pl. 363, s.v. Dionysos [C. Gasparri]), which

shows a satyr-boy in attendance upon the feasting Dionysos and Hephaistos, holding an oinochoe.

132. See also Xenophon's chapter on Socrates' visit to the courtesan Theodote (*Xen. Mem.* 3.11; see pp. 278–279, n. 27, above), with Neer 2010, pp. 155–162.

133. For a convenient collection of examples, see *LIMC* II, pp. 46–47, nos. 351–367, pls. 33, 34 (Near Eastern predecessors) and pp. 48–49, nos. 378–390, pl. 36 (supposed Classical Greek predecessors), s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias); cf. Bahrani 1996 (I thank Marian Feldman for alerting me to this article).

134. Love 1973, p. 419, pl. 74:12; Sahin 2005, p. 72, fig. 1:d.

135. Cf., e.g., Hor. *Carm.* 1.30: *Venus regina Cnidi Paphique*; Seaman

2004, pp. 561–563. In *Odyssey* 8.362–366, Aphrodite returns to Paphos from her entrapment on Olympos with Ares, where the Graces bathe her, anoint her with fragrant oil, and dress her; in *Hom. Hymn Aphr.* 58–65, before going to Mount Ida to seduce Anchises, she goes there to be bathed and anointed by the Graces, and dresses in rich clothes and gold jewelry; and in *Anth. Pal.* 9.619, 9.633, and 9.637, she goes there to bathe before the Judgment of Paris (cf. *Anth. Plan.* 159, 160, 163, 165–168 [the Knidia]).

136. See esp. Sutton 2009a; 2009b.

137. *Anth. Plan.* 160; Ps.-Lucian, *Amores* 13; Stewart 1996, p. 103; 2010, pp. 12–15. Corso (2007, pp. 28–29) reconstructs the Knidian procedures for commissioning the statue.

## APPENDIX 3

### THE YEARS AFTER 86 B.C. AND THE APOLLODOROS-KLEOMENES FAMILY

After the catastrophic sack of Sulla in 86 B.C., as in the lean years after 263, many Athenian sculptors emigrated, this time westward. Others, however, stayed at home and eagerly began to exploit a new, highly lucrative source of income: the Roman market, with its voracious appetite for costly marble vases, decorative reliefs, copies of famous masterpieces, and new products in a classicizing vein. Exports such as these are easily distinguishable from those made to order in Italy: their makers carved their signatures on the statues themselves, which to lessen the weight and the possibility of breakage were shipped without a base. A local mason would supply the base when the work was ready for installation in its new home.

Protagonists in both these categories—emigrants and exporters—were the Apollodoros-Kleomenes family, known from no fewer than four signed works in Italy, from a notice in Pliny's *Natural History*, and from two more signed bases at Athens and Thespieae.<sup>138</sup> Active for at least three generations from Sulla through the early Augustan period, the family made two major statues of Aphrodite and may have been responsible for three others, as follows:

1. The Medici Aphrodite (Fig. 41). Signed on the plinth  
ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΗΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ ΕΠΙΩΣΕΝ [*sic*];  
this signature is probably a 17th-century renewal of one  
damaged in transit.<sup>139</sup>

138. Family: Stewart 1979, pp. 168–169; Volkommer 2001, pp. 414–416 (C. Vorster); Corso 2004b; Bevilacqua 2006, pp. 34–43. Italy: Bevilacqua 2006, pp. 34–36, nos. 1–4 (Medici Aphrodite; so-called Germanicus—probably Marcellus—in the Louvre; Piacenza statue; wounded warrior in the Uffizi); Plin. *HN* 36.33 (Thespiades in Asinius Pollio's collection: presumably made to order, and obviously not, as sometimes conjectured, the ones that Mummius looted from Thespieae in 146 B.C. and were displayed in 70 in Rome near the Temple of Felicitas: Cic. *Verr.* 2.2.4).

Greece: (1) Athens, EM 3304 + 3462 + 3058; Corso 2004b, p. 1035 (unpublished and unprovenanced; front part of a marble block, L. 0.762, H. 0.123, D. 0.29; anathyrosed at both ends; trapezoidal boss on top for another anathyrosed block to sit on it), reading simply [—]ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΗΣ[—]; apices; letters uneven, diminishing slightly in size to right. Apparently cut by the same hand as the signature on the Piacenza statue: see below. I thank Antonio Corso for alerting me to this fragment and Dina Peppas-Delmouzou for allowing me to see and study it. (2) Thespieae: Plassart

1926, pp. 455–456, nos. 100 + 101; Volkommer 2001, p. 415 (C. Vorster); Bevilacqua 2006, pp. 36–37, no. 5; Roesch 2007, no. 459 (two blocks from a large semicircular base reused in Constantinian times for an imperial portrait group): ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΗΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ [—]{2nd sculptor}—ΕΠΙΩΗΣΑΝ.

139. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi 224: Bieber 1961, p. 20, figs. 28, 30, 31; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 53, no. 419, pl. 40, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias); Smith 1991, p. 80, fig. 100; Havelock 1995, pp. 76–80, fig. 19; Cittadini 1997; Corso 2004b; Pasquier and Martinez



Figure 41. The Medici Aphrodite, signed by Kleomenes son of Apollodoros of Athens (the inscription may be a Renaissance renewal). Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi 224. Photo Ali-nari/Art Resource, NY

2. A colossal version of the Valentini Aphrodite (Fig. 7) in Piacenza (Fig. 42), preserved only from the waist down. Signed on the drapery ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΗΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ ΕΠΙΟΙΗΣΕΝ.<sup>140</sup>

The Medici Aphrodite is among three dozen or so copies of the type, of which the example in New York alone preserves the head unbroken from the body.<sup>141</sup> As Corso has observed, the New York statue's subtle modeling

2007, p. 148; Bol 2007, vol. 1, pp. 340–341; vol. 2, fig. 342; Stewart 2010. Replica list: Felletti Maj 1951, pp. 64–65; additions, Stewart 2010, p. 27. Inscription and discussion of its renewal: Vorster 2001; Bevilacqua 2006, p. 34, no. 1, fig. 6.

140. Piacenza, Museo Archeologico 210429; Mansuelli 1941; Linfert 1976,

p. 159; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 70, no. 613, pl. 60, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias); Rebecchi 1989, pp. 152–156, figs. 10, 11 (identified as an Apollo of the “Timarchides”-Tralleis type); Corso 2004b; Bol 2007, vol. 1, pp. 339–340; vol. 2, fig. 343. Inscription: Mansuelli 1941, p. 155, fig. 6; Rebecchi 1989, p. 153, fig. 11; Bevilacqua 2006, p. 35, no. 3,

fig. 8; Bol 2007, vol. 1, p. 339, text fig. 110.

141. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 52.11.5; Alexander 1953; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 53, no. 420, pl. 40, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias); Picón et al. 2007, pp. 374, 491, no. 435.





and sinuous movement suggest its close proximity to the lost, probably 4th-century original,<sup>142</sup> yet its rococo-style face, modern-type square plinth, and ugly marble vein below the breasts are bothersome, as is its provenance (apparently it was the only antiquity in the Silesian villa from which it was acquired).<sup>143</sup> On the other hand, the Medici statue flattens out the pose and (if its neck is correctly restored) turns its head more sharply to the side, in conformity with the Hellenistic Athenian taste for relief-like effects noted throughout this study.

By comparison, the Piacenza statue, a virtuoso piece of carving, is aggressively three-dimensional, draped and lunging forward in much the same way as 20, the statuette from the Theseion (Fig. 39). The final variation of Hellenistic Athens on the Pheidias Aphrodite Ourania (Fig. 3) and her progeny, it belongs to a complicated subseries (embracing both sexes) whose immediate archetype is uncertain and whose interrelations—in the absence of any new evidence and a reliable chronology—may never be sorted out properly.<sup>144</sup>

To judge from her sisters in the series, the Piacenza goddess rested her left elbow on a pillar or archaic idol, whose one-time presence on the Piacenza statue is attested by a vertical joining surface extending the whole

142. Corso 2004b, p. 1035.

143. I thank Jasper Gaunt for discussing these anomalies with me and alerting me to those that had escaped my eye, and Carlos Picón and Elizabeth Milleker for sharing the statue's technical reports with me, together

with their conviction that it is indeed ancient.

144. See Linfert 1976, pp. 158–159, n. 633; *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 70–71, nos. 605–622, pls. 59–61, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias).

Figure 42. Colossal statue of a woman (Aphrodite?) signed by Kleomenes of Athens. Front and left side. Piacenza, Museo Archeologico 210429. Mansuelli 1941, p. 153, figs. 3, 4

way up the drapery on her left side, pierced by three large rectangular sockets and preceded by a blank vertical rectangular area that presumably was hidden by this support (Fig. 42).<sup>145</sup> Her feet were also added separately, like those of 2 (Figs. 24, 25). Yet unlike 2 and her compatriots, the Piacenza statue probably was topless; a colossal female left breast in the Agora storerooms, S 1211, offers a parallel from Athens itself,<sup>146</sup> as does an Aphrodite torso of the Arles type found elsewhere in Athens and discussed below.

The following statues may be associated tentatively with this workshop:

- (a) a copy of the Valentini Aphrodite in Frascati, preserved only from the waist down;<sup>147</sup>
- (b) the above-mentioned torso of the Arles Aphrodite type (Fig. 43), found on the Street of the Tripods near the Lysikrates Monument;<sup>148</sup>
- (c) an Aphrodite head near the Arles/Aspremont-Linden types, found in the Makriyanni excavations for the new Acropolis Museum.<sup>149</sup>

The drapery of the Frascati statue (a) is very close in style to that of the Piacenza statue (2), only slightly more linear; its technique, involving a torso carved separately and doweled onto a joining surface concealed by the himation roll around the hips, is identical. The Arles-type torso (b), usually dated to the 1st century B.C.,<sup>150</sup> uses the same piecing technique as the Piacenza and Frascati statues, the first of which probably was also topless. What remains of the himation of the Arles-type torso also resembles that of the Piacenza statue in style and technique. Finally, the once superb but now sadly mutilated Aphrodite head from the Makriyanni excavations (c), found in a secondary context, has been conjectured—though not, to my knowledge, in print—to belong to this Arles-type torso (b), but it seems somewhat too large, and in any case there is no physical join. The findspots of these two Athenian pieces could suggest that the Kleomenes family's workshop was located in this area of Plaka.

Clearly, in the case of the Medici and Piacenza statues, it was the original model that dictated the composition, relegating the sculptor's personal stylistic and iconographic preferences firmly to the back seat. This impression is confirmed both by the remainder of the workshop's output (with statues a–c tentatively included), which is equally diverse and just as derivative, and by the products of other 1st-century B.C.

145. A statuette from Karystos, now Athens NM 3676, shows that the type was not unknown in the Athens area: Theophanidis 1939–1941, pp. 1–2, no. 3, fig. 1; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 70, no. 608, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias). A statuette from Chaironeia, Athens NM 680, elaborates the composition by turning the himation into a sail: *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 71, no. 623, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias); Machaira 1993, pp. 37–38, no. 1, pls. 1–3.

146. Agora S 1211: recovered from a marble pile near the Giants on July 30, 1945; H. 0.55; broken all around, with

the nipple area chipped away.

147. Frascati, Palazzo Vescovile: Bielefeld 1978, pp. 58–59, no. 3, figs. 1–4.

148. Athens NM 227: *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 63, no. 528, pl. 52, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias); Kaltsas 2002, p. 241, no. 507; Ridgway 2002, pp. 197–199, pl. 91; Corso 2004a, p. 262, n. 439; Kaltsas and Despinis 2007, pp. 114–116, no. 22 (A. Corso); Pasquier and Martinez 2007, pp. 166–167, no. 31.

149. Athens, 1st Ephoreia of the Acropolis NMA 200: Kaltsas and Despinis 2007, pp. 116–119, no. 23 (I. Trianti). I thank Alexander Mantis

and Christina Vlassopoulou for kindly allowing me to inspect this head in 2009. On the type, see, e.g., Rolley 1999, pp. 214–215, fig. 255 (Arles); Corso 2004a, pp. 267–270, figs. 110, 111 (variant, Athens NM 1762; Arles); Pasquier and Martinez 2007, pp. 132–133, 153–156, nos. 25, 26 (Arles; Aspremont-Linden), cf. pp. 156–157, no. 27 (NM 1762); all with earlier bibliography.

150. See also Kelperi 1997, pp. 20–21, 61, who independently dates Athens NM 227's armband with its inlaid stone (now lost) to this period.



Figure 43. Torso of the Arles Aphrodite type. Late Hellenistic copy from near the Lysikrates Monument. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 227. Photo K. Iliadis, courtesy National Archaeological Museum, Athens

Attic workshops, which range from costively neoclassical to full-blown baroque.<sup>151</sup>

After the 1st century B.C., Athenian sculptural production in this genre is confined to large-scale copies and statuettes. So far (though I have not made a thorough search), the former are represented in the Agora apparently only by S 1211, mentioned above, but the site has yielded 200 examples of the latter, aptly nicknamed by their excavators “the Aphroditoulas.” The types represented—some of them unfinished, so perhaps manufactured there—include the Knidian, Capitoline, Medici (cf. Fig. 41), Troad, naked Anadyomene, topless Anadyomene, topless Leaning, topless Hegemone (cf. Figs. 24, 25), Syracusan, Venus Felix, Fréjus/Genetrix, Arles (cf. Fig. 43), naked Sandal-remover, and Ourania Aphrodites (cf. Fig. 3).<sup>152</sup>

151. Compare, e.g., the highly classicizing Dionysiac krater by Salpion with Apollonios son of Nestor’s extravagantly baroque Belvedere torso: Bieber 1961, figs. 764–765, 789–790 (both); *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 552, no. 146, pl. 441, s.v. Dionysos/Bacchus (C. Gasparri) (krater); Stewart 1990, fig. 856 (torso); Smith 1991, fig. 165 (torso); Bol 2007, vol. 2, fig. 315 (torso).

152. Knidia: S 59, 165, 187, 232, 873, 935, 1302(?), 1973, 2920, 2931, 2940, 2959, 3019, 3029, 3097, 3099, 3115, 3151(?), 3152, 3189 (unfinished), 3190 (unfinished), 3209, 3210(?), 3211(?), 3212, 3230, 3266, 3268, 3291; topless Knidia: S 3000, 3208; Capitoline: S 152, 634, 668, 856, 1334, 2535, 2988, 3044, 3046, 3191, 3231, 3243,

3250(?); Capitoline or Medici: S 1656, 2916, 2936, 2992, 3015, 3018, 3110, 3244, 3251, 3269; Troad: S 394; naked Anadyomene: S 681, 2939, 2952, 2971, 2997, 3030(?), 3039(?), 3098(?), 3147 (unfinished), 3245, 3246(?), 3267, 3270(?), 3271, 3315, 3320; topless Anadyomene: S 112, 120, 346, 465, 633, 1157, 1644, 1857, 1967, 2306, 2330, 2367(?), 2494, 2925, 2950, 2999, 3003, 3004, 3027, 3028, 3089, 3090, 3092, 3096(?), 3121, 3141, 3142, 3146, 3153 (unfinished), 3176, 3177, 3178, 3188, 3203, 3206, 3226, 3227, 3262, 3516; topless Leaning: S 2919, 3114, 3253; topless Hegemone: S 74; Syracuse: S 651, 1418, 3091, 3143(?), 3240; Venus Felix: S 637, 734, 757, 1162, 1286, 1288

(unfinished), 1326, 1672, 2203, 2204, 2229, 2962(?), 3017, 3022, 3023, 3024, 3025, 3093, 3094, 3112, 3113, 3139, 3140, 3148, 3149, 3169, 3170(?), 3187(?), 3207, 3242, 3258, 3259, 3260, 3261, 3263, 3276, 3322(?), 3323, 3326, 3357; Fréjus/Genetrix: S 552, 937, 1148, 1322, 1548, 1620, 1629, 1654, 2126, 2133, 2134, 2137, 2139, 2242; Arles: S 3039(?), 3098(?), 3122; naked Sandal-remover: S 2226, 2938, 2945, 2957, 3042, 3144, 3204, 3205(?), 3252, 3309; Ourania: S 618, 1547, 3120, 3338 (unfinished); uncertain/other, mostly naked: S 160, 230, 377, 1023, 2615, 2987, 2993, 3005, 3095, 3100, 3145, 3150, 3156, 3171, 3214, 3217, 3265, 3273, 3275.

## REFERENCES

- Adam, S. 1966. *The Technique of Greek Sculpture in the Archaic and Classical Periods* (BSA Suppl. 3), London.
- Agora = *The Athenian Agora: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, Princeton
- XI = E. B. Harrison, *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture*, 1965.
- XIV = H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Agora of Athens: The History, Shape, and Uses of an Ancient City Center*, 1972.
- XV = B. D. Meritt and J. S. Traill, *Inscriptions: The Athenian Councillors*, 1974.
- XVIII = D. J. Geagan, *Inscriptions: The Dedicatory Monuments*, 2011.
- XXIX = S. I. Rotroff, *Hellenistic Pottery: Athenian and Imported Wheelmade Table Ware and Related Material*, 1997.
- XXXII = J. W. Hayes, *Roman Pottery: Fine-Ware Imports*, 2008.
- XXXIII = S. I. Rotroff, *Hellenistic Pottery: The Plain Wares*, 2006.
- Alexander, C. 1953. "A Statue of Aphrodite," *BMAA* 11, pp. 241–251.
- Alscher, L. 1957. *Griechische Plastik 4: Hellenismus*, Berlin.
- Bahrani, Z. 1996. "The Hellenization of Ishtar: Nudity, Fetishism, and the Production of Cultural Differentiation in Ancient Art," *The Oxford Art Journal* 19, pp. 3–16.
- Bevilacqua, G. 2006. "La firma di Kleomenes e le lettere incise sull'ara," in *Studi e restauri: I marmi antichi della Galleria degli Uffizi*, ed. A. Romualdi, Florence, pp. 27–46.
- Bieber, M. 1961. *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, rev. ed., New York.
- Bielefeld, E. 1978. "Ariadne Valentini (sog. Aphrodite Valentini)," *AntP* 17, pp. 57–70.
- Boardman, J. 1985. *Greek Sculpture: The Classical Period. A Handbook*, London.
- . 1995. *Greek Sculpture: The Late Classical Period and Sculpture in Colonies and Overseas*, London.
- Bol, P. C., ed. 2004. *Die Geschichte der antiken Bildhauerkunst 2: Klassische Plastik*, 2 vols., Mainz.
- . 2007. *Die Geschichte der antiken Bildhauerkunst 3: Hellenistische Plastik*, 2 vols., Mainz.
- Broneer, O. 1935. "Excavations on the North Slope of the Acropolis in Athens, 1933–1934," *Hesperia* 4, pp. 109–188.
- Brusini, S. 2000. "La decorazione scultorea della villa romana di Monte Calvo," *RivIstArch* 55, 3rd ser. 23, pp. 3–312.
- Budin, S. L. 2010. "Aphrodite Enoplion," in *Brill's Companion to Aphrodite*, ed. A. Smith and S. Pickup, Leiden, pp. 79–112.
- Burlington Fine Arts = Burlington Fine Arts Club: Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art*, London 1904.
- Camp, J. McK. 1986. *The Athenian Agora: Excavations in the Heart of Classical Athens* (New Aspects of Antiquity), London.
- . 1990. *The Athenian Agora: A Guide to the Excavations and Museum*, 4th ed., Athens.
- Celani, A. 1998. *Opere d'arte greche nella Roma di Augusto* (Aucnus 8), Naples.
- Cittadini, R. 1997. "Figure femminili di Lisippo," *BdA* 82, pp. 55–80.
- Clairmont, C. W. 1993. *Classical Attic Tombstones*, 6 vols., Kilchberg.
- Corinth IX = F. P. Johnson, Sculpture, 1896–1926 (Corinth IX)*, Cambridge, Mass., 1931.
- Corso, A. 1992. "L'Afrodite Capitolina e l'arte del Cefisodoto il giovane," *NumAntCl* 21, pp. 131–157.
- . 2004a. *The Art of Praxiteles: The Development of the Sculptor's Workshop and Its Cultural Tradition until the Sculptor's Acme (364–361 B.C.)*, Rome.
- . 2004b. "Medici Aphrodite," in *The Encyclopedia of Sculpture* 1, ed. A. Boström, New York, pp. 1035–1036.
- . 2007. *The Art of Praxiteles 2: The Mature Years*, Rome.
- . 2012. "The Education of Artists in Ancient Greece," in *Studi in onore di Lorenzo Braccisi*, ed. F. Raviola, Rome, pp. 267–297.
- Dally, O. 1997. "Kulte und Kultbilder der Aphrodite in Attika im späteren 5. Jh. v. Chr.: Zu einem Fragment im Athener Akropolismuseum," *JdI* 112, pp. 1–19.
- Delivorrias, A. 1968. "Die Kultstatue der Aphrodite von Daphni," *AntP* 8, pp. 19–31.
- . 1978. "Das Original der sitzenden 'Aphrodite-Olympias,'" *AM* 93, pp. 1–23.
- Despinis, G. I. 1996. "Studien zur hellenistischen Plastik 2: Statuengruppen," *AM* 111, pp. 299–336.
- . 2008. "Klassische Skulpturen von der Athener Akropolis," *AM* 123, pp. 235–340.
- di Vita, A. 1963–1964. "Statue di Nike da Coò," *ASAtene* 41–42, pp. 25–37.
- Edwards, C. M. 1984. "Aphrodite on a Ladder," *Hesperia* 53, pp. 59–72.
- Fabricius, J. 2003. "Soma/Corpus: Körperbilder und Körperkonzepte in der griechischen und römischen Kultur" (diss. Univ. of Göttingen).
- Felletti Maj, B. 1951. "Afrodite Pudica": Saggio dell'arte ellenistica," *ArchCl* 3, pp. 32–65.
- Flemborg, J. 1991. *Venus armata: Studien zur bewaffneten Aphrodite in der griechisch-römischen Kunst (SkrAth 8°)*, 10), Stockholm.
- Froning, H. 2005. "Überlegungen zur Aphrodite Urania des Phidias in Elis," *AM* 120, pp. 287–294.
- . 2007. "Die Sandale des Hermes des Praxiteles in Olympia," in *ILOTNIA ΘHPQN: Festschrift für Gerda Schwarz am 65. Geburtstag*, ed. E. Christof, G. Koiner, M. Lehner, and E. Pochmarski, Vienna, pp. 95–102.
- Froning, H., and N. Zimmermann-Elseify. 2010. *Die Terrakotten der antiken Stadt Elis* (Philippika: Marburger altertumskundliche Abhandlungen 32), Wiesbaden.
- Garland, R. 1987. *The Piraeus: From the Fifth to the First Century B.C.*, Ithaca.
- Gasparri, C. 2000. "L'Afrodite seduta tipo Agrippina-Olympia: Sulla produzione di scultura in Atene nel V. sec. a. C.," *Prospettiva* 100, pp. 3–8.
- Geominy, W. 1985. "Die Statuette Athen NM 710," *AM* 100, pp. 367–375.
- Ghedini, F., and J. Bonetto. 2005. "Gortyne: Lo scavo 2005 presso il teatro del Pythion," *ASAtene* 83, ser. 3.5, no. 2, pp. 649–672.

- Ghedini, F., and G. Rosada. 1982. *Sculture greche e romane del Museo provinciale di Torcello* (Collezioni e musei archeologici del Veneto 23), Rome.
- Goette, H. R. 2000. Ὁ ἀξιόλογος δῆμος Σουβίου. *Landeskundliche Studien im südost Attika* (Internationale Archäologie 59), Rahden.
- Gualandi, G. 1969. "Artemis-Hekate: Un problema di tipologia nella scultura antica," *RA* 1969, pp. 233–272.
- Habicht, C. 1982. *Studien zur Geschichte Athens in hellenistischer Zeit* (Hypomnemata 73), Göttingen.
- . 1997. *Athens from Alexander to Antony*, trans. D. L. Schneider, Cambridge, Mass.
- Hallett, C. H. 2005. *The Roman Nude: Heroic Portrait Statuary, 200 B.C.–A.D. 300* (Oxford Studies in Ancient Culture and Representation), Oxford.
- Harrison, E. B. 1960. "New Sculpture from the Athenian Agora, 1959," *Hesperia* 29, pp. 369–392.
- . 1984. "A Pheidian Head of Aphrodite Ourania," *Hesperia* 53, pp. 379–388.
- . 1990. "Aphrodite Hegemone in the Agora," in *Akten des XIII Internationalen Kongresses für Klassische Archäologie, Berlin 1988*, ed. E. Büchner, Mainz, p. 346.
- Havelock, C. M. 1995. *The Aphrodite of Knidos and Her Successors: A Historical Review of the Female Nude in Greek Art*, Ann Arbor.
- Hildebrand, A. 1907. *The Problem of Form in Painting and Sculpture*, 3rd ed., trans. M. Meyer and R. M. Ogden, New York.
- Houser, C. 1982. "Alexander's Influence on Greek Sculpture, as Seen in a Portrait in Athens," in *Macedonia and Greece in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Times* (Studies in the History of Art 10; Symposium ser. 1), ed. B. Barr-Sharrar and E. N. Borza, Washington, D.C., pp. 229–238.
- Jacob, R. 2003. "Les pièces rapportées dans la statuaire attique en marbre du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C.," in *Approches techniques de la sculpture antique* (BAC 30), ed. V. Gaggadis-Robin and P. Jockey, Paris, pp. 41–54.
- Kaltsas, N. E. 2002. *Sculpture in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens*, Athens.
- Kaltsas, N., and G. Despinis. 2007. *Πραξιτέλης*, Athens.
- Karanastassis, P. 1987. "Untersuchungen zur kaiserzeitlichen Plastik in Griechenland 2: Kopien, Varianten, und Umbildungen nach Athena-Typen des 5. Jhs. v. Chr.," *AM* 102, pp. 323–428.
- Karo, G. 1934. "Archäologische Funde vom Juli 1933 bis Juli 1934: Griechenland und Dodekanes," *AA* 1934, cols. 123–196.
- Karouzou, S. P. 1968. *National Archaeological Museum: Collection of Sculpture. A Catalogue*, Athens.
- Kazamiakes, K. N. 1990–1991. "Θησαυρός Αφροδίτης Ουρανίας: Η κατασκευή," *Horos* 8–9, pp. 29–44.
- Kelperi, E. 1997. *Der Schmuck der nackten und halb nackten Aphrodite der spätklassik und der hellenistischen Zeit*, Frankfurt.
- Kondoleon, C., and P. C. Segal. 2012. *Aphrodite and the Gods of Love* (Exhibition catalogue, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 2012), Boston.
- Konstantinopoulos, G. 1967. "Ἀρχαϊότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Δωδεκανήσου," *ArchDelt* 22, B'2, pp. 514–540.
- Korres, M. 1992–1998. "Ἀπὸ τὸν Σταυρό στην αρχαία Αγορά," *Horos* 10–12, pp. 83–104.
- Kourouniotis, K. 1913. "Ἐξ Ἀττικῆς," *ArchEph* 1913, pp. 193–201.
- Krahmer, H. 1923–1924. "Stilphasen der hellenistischen Plastik," *RM* 38–39, pp. 138–184.
- Kunze, M. 1992. *Die Antikensammlung Berlin*, Mainz.
- Laurenzi, L. 1939. "Rilievi e statue dell'arte rodia," *RM* 54, pp. 42–65.
- Lawton, C. L. 1995. *Attic Document Reliefs: Art and Politics in Ancient Athens* (Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology), Oxford.
- . 2006. *Marbleworkers in the Athenian Agora* (AgoraPicBk 27) Princeton.
- Leventi, I. 2003. *Hygieia in Classical Greek Art* (Archaiognosia Suppl. 2), Athens.
- Linfert, A. 1976. *Kunstzentren hellenistischer Zeit: Studien an weiblichen Gewandfiguren*, Wiesbaden.
- Lippold, G. 1951. *Die griechische Plastik* (HdA III.1), Munich.
- Lippolis, E. 2010. "Le moderne peregrinazioni di Apollo e di Afroditi nell'Agorà di Atene," *ASAtene* 87, ser. 3.9, no. 1, pp. 235–273.
- Love, I. C. 1973. "A Preliminary Report of the Excavations at Knidos, 1972," *AJA* 77, pp. 413–424.
- Machaira, V. 1993. *Les groupes statuaires d'Aphrodite et d'Éros: Étude stylistique des types et de la relation entre les deux divinités pendant l'époque hellénistique*, Athens.
- . 2008. *Τὸ Ἱερό τῆς Αφροδίτης καὶ Ἐρωτος στὴν Ἱερὰ Ὀδό*, Athens.
- . 2011. *Ελληνιστικά γλυπτά τῆς Ρόδου. Κατάλογος 1*, Athens.
- Mansuelli, G. 1941. "La statua piacentina di Cleomene ateniese," *JdI* 56, pp. 151–162.
- Marcadé, J. 1957. *Recueil de signatures de sculpteurs grecs 2*, Paris.
- Merker, G. S. 1973. *The Hellenistic Sculpture of Rhodes* (SIMA 40), Göteborg.
- Metzger, H. 1951. *Les représentations dans la céramique attique du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (BÉFAR 172), Paris.
- Mikalson, J. D. 1998. *Religion in Hellenistic Athens* (Hellenistic Culture and Society 29), Berkeley.
- Monaco, M. C. 2001. "Contributi allo studio di alcuni santuari ateniesi 1: Il Temenos di Demos e delle Charites," *ASAtene* 79, pp. 103–150.
- Morrow, K. D. 1985. *Greek Footwear and the Dating of Sculpture* (Wisconsin Studies in Classics), Madison.
- Neer, R. T. 2010. *The Emergence of the Classical Style in Greek Sculpture*, Chicago.
- Ogden, D. 2002. "Controlling Women's Dress: *Gynaikonomoi*," in *Women's Dress in the Ancient Greek World*, ed. L. Llewellyn-Jones, Swansea, pp. 203–227.
- Osanna, M. 1988–1989. "Il problema topografico del santuario di Afrodite Urania ad Atene," *ASAtene* 66–67, n.s. 50–51, pp. 73–95.
- Pafford, I. A. 2006. "Cult Fees and the Ritual of Money in Greek Sanctuaries of the Classical and Hellenistic Period" (diss. Univ. of California, Berkeley).
- Palagia, O. 1982. "A Colossal Statue of a Personification from the Agora of Athens," *Hesperia* 51, pp. 99–113.
- . 1994. "No Demokratia," in *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy. Proceedings of*

- an International Conference Celebrating 2,500 Years since the Birth of Democracy in Greece, Held at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, December 4–6, 1992, ed. W. D. E. Coulson, O. Palagia, and T. L. Shear Jr., Oxford, pp. 113–122.
- Pandermalis, D. 1987. *Dion*, Athens.
- . 1997. *Dion*, Athens.
- . 1999. *Dion*, Athens.
- Papanikolaou, D. 2009. “The Aretalogy of Isis from Maroneia and the Question of Hellenistic ‘Asianism,’” *ZPE* 168, pp. 49–70.
- Parker, R. 1996. *Athenian Religion: A History*, Oxford.
- Pasquier, A. 2003. “Une grande Aphrodite en marbre au Musée du Louvre,” *MonPiot* 82, pp. 99–138.
- . 2004. “Le type statuaire de l’Héra Borghese au Musée du Louvre,” *CRAI* 2004, pp. 711–741.
- Pasquier, A., and J.-L. Martinez. 2007. *Praxitèle*, Paris.
- Pedley, J. 1998. “Problems in Provenance and Patronage: A Group of Late Hellenistic Statuettes from Paestum,” in *Regional Schools in Hellenistic Sculpture. Proceedings of an International Conference Held at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, March 15–17, 1996*, ed. W. D. E. Coulson and O. Palagia, Oxford, pp. 199–208.
- Petrakos, B. 1999. *Ο δήμος του Ραμνούοντος*, 2 vols., Athens.
- Philadelphus, A. 1928. *Πήλινα ειδώλια ἐκ Μυρίνης: Συλλογή I. Μισθοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἐθνικῷ Μουσείῳ Ἀθηνῶν*, Athens.
- Picón, C. A., J. R. Mertens, E. J. Milleker, C. S. Lightfoot, and S. Hemmingway. 2007. *Art of the Classical World in the Metropolitan Museum of Art: Greece, Cyprus, Etruria, Rome*, New York.
- Pirenne-Delforge, V. 1994. *L’Aphrodite grecque: Contribution à l’étude de ses cultes et de sa personnalité dans le panthéon archaïque et classique* (Kernos Suppl. 4), Athens.
- Pironti, G. 2007. *Entre ciel et guerre: Figures d’Aphrodite en Grèce ancienne* (Kernos Suppl. 18), Liège.
- Plassart, A. 1926. “Inscriptions de Thespies,” *BCH* 50, pp. 383–462.
- Pollitt, J. J. 1974. *The Ancient View of Greek Art*, New Haven.
- Porter, J. I. 2010. *The Origins of Aesthetic Thought in Ancient Greece: Matter, Sensation, and Experience*, Cambridge.
- Poulsen, F. 1951. *A Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, Copenhagen.
- Pounder, R. L. 1983. “A Hellenistic Arsenal in Athens,” *Hesperia* 52, pp. 233–256.
- Rebecchi, F. 1989. “Immagine urbana e cultura artistica nelle città dell’Italia settentrionale: Spunti di discussione per l’età repubblicana e proto-imperiale,” in *Die Stadt in Oberitalien und in den nordwestlichen Provinzen des römischen Reiches. Deutsch-Italienisches Kolloquium im Italienischen Kulturinstitut Köln* (Kölner Forschungen 4), ed. W. Eck and H. Galsterer, Mainz, pp. 141–157.
- Richter, G. M. A. 1965. *The Portraits of the Greeks*, 3 vols., London.
- Ridgway, B. S. 1981a. *Fifth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture*, Princeton.
- . 1981b. “Sculpture from Corinth,” *Hesperia* 50, pp. 422–448.
- . 1990. *Hellenistic Sculpture 1: The Styles of ca. 331–200 B.C.*, Madison.
- . 1997. *Fourth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture*, Madison.
- . 2002. *Hellenistic Sculpture 2: The Styles of ca. 200–31 B.C.*, Madison.
- Roesch, P. 2007. *Les Inscriptions de Thespies* 8, ed. G. Argoud, A. Schachter, and G. Vottéro, Lyons, <http://www.hisoma.mom.fr/thespies.html> (accessed April 2012).
- Rolley, C. 1994. *La sculpture grecque 1: Des origines au milieu du V<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris.
- . 1999. *La sculpture grecque 2: La période classique*, Paris.
- Rosenzweig, R. 2003. *Worshipping Aphrodite: Art and Cult in Classical Athens*, Ann Arbor.
- Rügler, A. 1989. “Das Grabmal des Philetos: Zu den attischen Grabstelen römischer Zeit,” *AM* 105, pp. 219–234.
- Sahin, M. 2005. “Terrakotten aus Knidos: Erste Ergebnisse. Die Kulte auf dem Rundtempelterrassen,” *IstMitt* 55, pp. 65–93.
- Schoch, K. 2009. *Die doppelte Aphrodite: Alt und Neu bei griechischen Kultbildern*, Göttingen.
- Seaman, K. H. 2004. “Retrieving the Original Aphrodite of Knidos,” *MemLinc* 401, pp. 531–594.
- . 2009. “Art at the Hellenistic Courts” (diss. Univ. of California, Berkeley).
- Settis, S. 1966. *ΧΕΛΩΝΗ: Saggio sull’Aphrodite Urania di Fidia* (Studi di lettere, storia, e filosofia pubblicati dalla Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa 30), Pisa.
- Shear, T. L. 1933. “The Latter Part of the Agora Campaign of 1933,” *AJA* 37, pp. 540–548.
- . 1935. “The Sculpture Found in 1933,” *Hesperia* 4, pp. 371–420.
- . 1937. “The Campaign of 1936,” *Hesperia* 6, pp. 333–381.
- . 1939. “The Campaign of 1938,” *Hesperia* 8, pp. 201–246.
- . 1941. “The Campaign of 1940,” *Hesperia* 10, pp. 1–8.
- Shear, T. L., Jr. 1973. “The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1972,” *Hesperia* 42, pp. 359–407.
- . 1984. “The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1980–1982,” *Hesperia* 53, pp. 1–57.
- Smith, R. R. R. 1991. *Hellenistic Sculpture: A Handbook* (World of Art), New York.
- Soles, M. E. C. 1976. “Aphrodite at Corinth: A Study of the Sculptural Types” (diss. Yale Univ.).
- Stähler, K. P. 1966. *Das Unklassische im Telephosfries: Die Friese des Pergamonaltars im Rahmen der hellenistischen Plastik* (Orbis antiquus 23), Münster.
- Staïs, V. 1916. “Εργασίαι ἐν τοῖς μουσείοις,” *ArchDelt* 2, pp. 77–84.
- Stephanidou-Tiveriou, T. 1979. *Νεοαττικά: Οἱ ἀνάγλυφοι πίνακες ἀπὸ τὸ λιμάνι τοῦ Πειραιᾶ*, Athens.
- Stewart, A. 1979. *Attika: Studies in Athenian Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (JHS Suppl. 14), London.
- . 1990. *Greek Sculpture: An Exploration*, New Haven.
- . 1993. *Faces of Power: Alexander’s Image and Hellenistic Politics* (Hellenistic Culture and Society 11), Berkeley.
- . 1996. *Art, Desire, and the Body in Ancient Greece*, Cambridge.
- . 2006. *Attalos, Athens, and the Akropolis: The Pergamene “Little Barbarians” and Their Roman and Renaissance Legacy*, Cambridge.

- . 2010. "A Tale of Seven Nudes: The Capitoline and Medici Aphrodites, Four Nymphs at Elean Herakleia, and an Aphrodite at Megalopolis," *Antichthon* 44, pp. 12–32.
- . Forthcoming a. "Hellenistic Freestanding Sculpture from the Athenian Agora, Part 2: Demeter, Kore, and the Polykles Family," *Hesperia* 81.
- . Forthcoming b. "Sculptors' Sketches, Trial Pieces, Figure Studies, and Models in Poros Limestone from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia*.
- . Forthcoming c. "Two Notes on Greeks Bearing Arms: The Hoplites of the Chigi Jug and Gelon's Armed Aphrodite," in *Medien der Geschichte in den griechisch-römischen Altertumswissenschaften*, ed. S. Muth, Berlin.
- Sutton, R. F. 2009a. "Female Bathers and the Emergence of the Female Nude in Greek Art," in *The Nature and Function of Water, Baths, Bathing, and Hygiene from Antiquity through the Renaissance* (Technology and Change in History 11), ed. C. Kosso and A. Scott, Amsterdam, pp. 61–86.
- . 2009b. "Zeuxis, Vase Painting, and the Kneeling Bather: The Invention of the Female Nude," in *Athenian Potters and Painters* 2, ed. J. H. Oakley and O. Palagia, Oxford, pp. 270–279.
- Theophaneidis, V. D. 1939–1941. "Νέα προσκτήματα Ἐθνικοῦ Ἀρχαιολογικοῦ Μουσείου κατὰ τὰ ἔτη 1930, 1931 καὶ 1932," *ArchEph* 1939–1941, pp. 1–23.
- Thompson, D. B. 1959. *Miniature Sculpture from the Athenian Agora* (AgoraPicBk 3), Princeton.
- . 1962. "Three Centuries of Hellenistic Terracottas, II.C: The Satyr Cistern," *Hesperia* 31, pp. 244–262.
- Thompson, H. A. 1937. "Buildings on the West Side of the Agora," *Hesperia* 6, pp. 1–226.
- . 1962. *The Athenian Agora: A Guide to the Excavations and Museum*, 2nd ed., Athens.
- . 1976. *The Athenian Agora: A Guide to the Excavations and Museum*, 3rd ed., Athens.
- Tracy, S. V. 1990. *Attic Letter-Cutters of 229 to 96 B.C.* (Hellenistic Culture and Society 6), Berkeley.
- . 2008. "The Statue Bases of Praxiteles Found in Athens," *ZPE* 167, pp. 27–32.
- Traill, J. S. 1994–. *Persons of Ancient Athens*, 18 vols., Toronto.
- Tsakos, C. 1990–1991. "Θησαυρός Αφροδίτης Ουρανίας: Η επιγραφή," *Horos* 8–9, pp. 17–27.
- Tzedakis, G. 1970. "Ἀρχαιοτήτες καὶ μνημεῖα Δυτικῆς Κρήτης," *ArchDelt* 25, B'2, pp. 465–478.
- Uhlenbrock, J. P., ed. 1990. *The Coroplast's Art: Greek Terracottas of the Hellenistic World. An Exhibition in Honor of Dorothy Burr Thompson*, Princeton.
- Valeri, C. 2005. *Marmora phlegraea: Sculture del Rione Terra di Pozzuoli* (Monografie della rivista *Archeologia Classica* 2), Rome.
- Vlizos, S. 2005. "Spätclassische und hellenistische Plastik aus dem aitolischen Kallipolis," *AntP* 29, pp. 27–46.
- Volkommer, R., ed. 2001. *Künstlerlexikon der Antike* 1, Munich.
- von den Hoff, R. 1994. *Philosophenporträts des Früh- und Hochhellenismus*, Munich.
- Vorster, C. 2001. "Κλεομένης Ἀπολλοδώρου Ἀθηναῖος ἐπέεσεν: Spurensuche nach einem Phantom," in *Ἀγαλμα: Μελέτες για την αρχαία πλαστική προς τιμὴν του Γιώργου Δεσπίνη*, Thessaloniki, pp. 387–408.
- Weber, M. 2006. "Die Kultbilder der Aphrodite Urania der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. in Athen/Attika und das Bürgerrechtsgesetz von 451/0 v. Chr.," *AM* 121, pp. 165–223.
- Zagdoun, M. A. 1978. "Collection Paul Kanellopoulos: Sculptures (1)," *BCH* 102, pp. 285–324.
- Zanker, P. 1995. *The Mask of Socrates: The Image of the Intellectual in Antiquity* (Sather Classical Lectures 59), trans. A. Shapiro, Berkeley.

### Andrew Stewart

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY  
DEPARTMENTS OF HISTORY OF ART AND CLASSICS  
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94720-6020

astewart@berkeley.edu