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A Tale of Seven Nudes: The Capitoline and Medici Aphrodites, Four Nymphs at Elean Herakleia, and an Aphrodite at Megalopolis *

The Capitoline Aphrodite (fig. 1) counts among the most copied statues of antiquity. In 1951, Bianca Felletti Maj collected 101 replicas of the type compared with 33 for the Medici Aphrodite (fig. 2) and a mere five for the so-called Aphrodite of the Troad; and many more examples have surfaced since.¹ Yet despite the Capitoline type's popularity, the date, location and authorship of its original remain clouded, as does its relation to these other 'pudica'-type Aphrodites, especially the Medici. Leaving aside the Aphrodite of the Troad, this article presents new evidence that may resolve one of these problems and sheds some new light upon some of the others.

1. NARRATIVE AND CONTEXT

First, what do we know about the Capitoline type (fig. 1)? Stark naked, the goddess stands on her left leg with her right leg relaxed. She covers her genitals with her left hand, begins to shield her breasts with her right hand, and starts to turn and glance to her left, apparently because some unexpected intruder has caught her attention. Beside her left leg stands a tall, slim water

* This study was conceived in 1999, begun in 2005, and completed in summer 2008 on a visiting fellowship at the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Berlin. There, working through its splendid collection of periodicals, I came upon Xenii Arapoyianni's publication of the Elean mirror illustrated in figs 9 and 10, which I had noticed in the Elis Museum nine years previously. I would like to thank the DAI's director, Dr Ortwin Dally, for his warm hospitality and confidence in my work; Bruce Marshall, for asking me to publish in *Antichthon* my plenary address to the 2008 Australasian Society for Classical Studies' conference in Christchurch, New Zealand, and for kindly agreeing to consider this essay in its stead; Graham Zanker, for inviting me to address the conference in the first place; and finally, the following friends, students, and colleagues for their help with particular points: Beryl Barr-Sharrar, Andrea Berlin, Christopher Hallett, Rachel Lesser, Susan Rotroff, Kristen Seaman, Kim Shelton, and two anonymous reviewers for *Antichthon*. Dr Arapoyianni kindly both supplied the photograph of the Elean mirror in fig. 9 and gave me permission to publish it and the drawing in fig. 10.

¹ B. Felletti Maj, "'Afrodite Pudica': Saggio dell' arte ellenistica", *ArchClass* 3 (1951) 32-65, at 61-5; updates, *LIMC* 2 (Geneva 1984) s.v. 'Aphrodite', nos 412-18, 419-21 (A. Delivorrias); A. Corso, 'L'Afrodite Capitolina e l'arte del Cefisodoto il giovane', *Quaderni ticinesi di numismatica e antichità classiche* 21 (1992) 131-57. On the two types see most recently C.M. Havelock, *The Aphrodite of Knidos and her Successors* (Ann Arbor 1996) 74-80 (overlooks Corso); B. Andreae, *Schönheit des Realismus: Auftraggeber, Schöpfer, Betrachter hellenistische Plastik* (Mainz 1998) 47-50; B. Andreae, *Skulptur des Hellenismus* (Munich 2001) 70-2; A. Pasquier and J.-L. Martinez, *Praxitèle* (Paris 2007) 146-8; A. Corso, *The Art of Praxiteles II: The Mature Years* (Rome 2007) 44-6. More copies of each type are listed in the Appendix at the end of the present study.

jar or *loutrophoros*, its upper part largely covered by a large, fringed cloak.² Confirming that she has been surprised at her bath, her hair is gathered on top of her head and tied in a topknot or *krobylos* above her headband, carelessly leaving some stray locks to tumble down her back. A few copies substitute a *hydria* for the *loutrophoros*, and a third of them substitute a dolphin, often ridden by a little Eros.³ The authorship and location of the original statue remain unknown.

Praxiteles' Knidian Aphrodite (fig. 3), carved around the mid fourth century, evidently provided the inspiration for the Capitoline type's pose, but holds only one hand (her right) in front of her body while picking up her cloak from either a *hydria* or a perfume vase (again, the copies differ) with the other.⁴ Since her cult title was Euploia, 'of the fair voyage', this statue celebrated her as a sailor's goddess, bringing fair winds, calm seas and prosperous voyages, not as a newborn just emerged from the sea-foam.⁵ The iconography of the copies certifies this, since her cloak, bejeweled armband and formal hairdo signal the mature, acculturated Aphrodite. The statue presumably referenced one of Aphrodite's bathing rituals celebrated in the poets, such as her pre- and post-coital ones at Paphos in Cyprus (a city

² Felletti Maj (n. 1) lists 16 copies with a *loutrophoros*, to which add four more listed in the Appendix below. The fringed cloak is present in at least a dozen copies, though I have not made a thorough search. Often called a towel, it is almost certainly a fancy *himation*, as Christopher Hallett reminds me. For discussions see e.g. C. Blinkenberg, *Knidia* (Copenhagen 1933) 216-228; D.M. Thompson, 'A Bronze Dancer from Alexandria', *AJA* 54 (1950) 371-85, at 380; and esp. U. Mandel, 'Zum Fransentuch des Typus Colonna', *Ist. Mitt.* 39 (1989) 547-54, listing numerous examples dating back to the fifth century BC, including e.g. Hera's mantle on a bell *krater* near the Talos Painter, Villa Giulia 2382 (*ARV* 1339/4: c. 400 BC); a cloth draped over a chest on the Marsyas Painter's nuptial *lebes* in St Petersburg (*ARV* 1475/1: c. 350); and Hera's πρόσλημμα . . . ἀμφιθύσαμον mentioned in a Samian treasury inventory of 347/6 (*AM* 68 [1953] 46-8, pls 9-10, lines 20-21 [II.15]). For Hellenistic examples see e.g. M. Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung* [Berlin 1928; repr. 1977] 67-8, pl. 33, 2-3; Thompson, *passim*; Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, rev. edn [New York 1961] figs 378-9, 461, 523, 525; A. Linfert, *Kunstzentren hellenistischer Zeit* [Wiesbaden 1976] pls 17, 55, 66; B.S. Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture 2: The Styles of ca. 200-100 B.C.* [Madison 2000] 125, pls 41-2). This type of cloak was also popular in Roman Asia Minor.

³ Felletti Maj (n. 1) lists six copies with a *hydria*, 14 with a dolphin, 17 with a dolphin ridden by Eros, and two with a sea-monster, to which add seven more with a dolphin and three with a dolphin and Eros, all listed in the Appendix.

⁴ On the Knidia's motif and narrative moment, see K.H. Seaman, 'Retrieving the Original Aphrodite of Knidos', *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, Anno 401. *Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche. Rendiconti* 9.15.3 (2004) 531-94; and most recently, Corso (n. 1) 9-37.

⁵ V. Pirenne-Delforge, *L'Aphrodite grecque*, *Kernos* supplement 4 (Athens-Liège 1994) 433-7; to her references add Poseidippos 39 and 119 Austin-Bastianini (= *P.Mil.Vogl.* VIII.309, col. vi.30-37; Ath. 7.318d) on the Alexandrian shrine of Arsinoe/Aphrodite Euploia at Cape Zephyrion dedicated by the Ptolemaic admiral Kallikrates, specifying its connection with good sailing conditions. The Aphrodite Anadyomene at Kos by the contemporary painter Apelles surely celebrated the goddess's birth from the sea-foam (Strabo 14.657; Plin. *HN* 35.91; *Anth. Plan.* 178-82; etc.). Almost as famous in its time as the Knidia, and also inspiring many versions in the round, it was even more influential upon Western art.

closely tied to Knidos), described by Homer, or possibly the pre-nuptial bath that she would have taken before her marriage to Hephaistos.⁶

Like the Capitoline type (fig. 1), the Knidia also implicitly constructs not one but two putative spectators: the worshipper (us) entering the temple and fortuitously catching the goddess at her bath, and another individual off to our right, whom she greets with what pseudo-Lucian describes as a ‘slight, haughty smile’.⁷ This invisible third party, surely male, must be one of the few lucky Olympians or mortal men who saw her naked, namely, Adonis, Anchises, Ares, Boutes, Dionysos, Hephaistos, Hermes, Paris, or Poseidon.⁸ Of these individuals, her immortal lover, Ares, is by far the best candidate, as a Hellenistic epigram about the Knidia in fact suggests:

Paphian Kythereia came through the waves to Knidos,
Wishing to see her very own image,
And having viewed it from all sides in its open shrine,
She cried: ‘Where did Praxiteles see me naked?’
Praxiteles did not look on forbidden things, but the iron
Carved the Paphian goddess just as Ares wanted her.⁹

After first encountering the goddess frontally, surreptitiously admiring her, and apparently escaping her notice, one would of course be tempted to walk around to the right in order to look her in the face. By so doing, one would channel this notional third party and putative lover, the real focus of her attention.

As I have argued elsewhere, these cues implicitly link this lucky third party, the goddess and us in a triangular relationship of voyeuristic complicity and erotic rivalry.¹⁰ For we can interpret them to mean that Aphrodite is either modestly turning away from us or (more probably, given the epigram quoted above and several others like it)¹¹ focusing all her attention upon him. If the latter, her defensive gesture presumably represents her

⁶ Seaman (n. 4) 561-4, referencing e.g. *Od.* 8.360-7 and *Hom. Hymn* 5.58-67 on her baths at Paphos, and Eur. *IT* 818-9, Thuc. 2.15.5, and Aeschin. 10.3-8 on pre-nuptial bathing in general. I thank Kristen Seaman and Rachel Lesser for discussing these scenarios with me.

⁷ Ps.-Lucian, *Amores* 13: ὑπερήφανον καὶ σεσηρότι γέλῳτι μικρὸν ὑπομειδιῶσα.

⁸ Cf. *Anth. Plan.* 168: ‘[Among mortals,] Paris, Anchises, and Adonis saw me naked. / Those are all I know of; but how did Praxiteles contrive it?’

⁹ *Anth. Plan.* 160 (Plato):

‘Ἡ Παφίη Κυθήρεια δι’ οἴδατος ἐς Κνίδον ἦλθε,
βουλομένη κατιδεῖν εἰκόνα τὴν ἰδίην·
πάντη δ’ ἀθρήσασα περισκέπτῳ ἐνὶ χώρῳ
φθέγγατο, Ποῦ γυμνὴν εἶδέ με Πραξιτέλης;
Πραξιτέλης οὐκ εἶδεν ἂ μὴ θέμις ἀλλ’ ὁ σίδηρος
ἐξέσεν οἱ ἄν’ Ἄρης ἤθελε τὴν Παφίην.

The last two lines are a later addition but fully in accord with the spirit of the epigram. See e.g. *Od.* 8.266-366, where the goddess’s adulterous affair with Ares (which takes place ‘in the house of Hephaistos’ [line 268]) and post-coital bath are conjoined.

¹⁰ *Art, Desire, and the Body in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge 1996) 103.

¹¹ *Anth. Plan.* 162-3, 168.

response to him, but because her hand – unlike the Capitoline Aphrodite’s (fig. 1) – is still several inches in front of her genitals, in fact it shields them only from us.¹² By keeping everyone at arm’s length in this way, the goddess protects both her modesty and her inviolability at one stroke. In short, by ostensibly remaining oblivious of us while nevertheless revealing her essence, she maintains her distance even so. The ancient evidence for the statue’s reception – the epigrams referenced above – again confirms this scenario.

The Capitoline statue (fig. 1) both builds upon all this and contextualises it more sharply. As befits a bather, the goddess has shed her jewellery and her hair is in slight disarray. Her hairstyle itself is more complex and formal than the Knidia’s, for she has pulled two long locks at the front back over the fillet and arranged them in a reef-knot or *krobylos* on the top of her head. Several other locks, however, have escaped from the bun at the back and have fallen over the nape of her neck and her shoulders.

So this is an elegant coiffure that has been disarranged by the goddess’s removal of her clothing, or by the act of bathing, or by her sudden movement. All in all, it looks like an iconographic sign for a woman caught *en déshabille*. All this makes particular sense if – as the *loutrophoros* at her side indicates – she is preparing for her wedding. For, as Alfred Brückner realised over a century ago, the *loutrophoros* is a wedding vase: it characterises the scene as a pre-nuptial toilet.¹³ Moreover, since apparently it was exclusively an Athenian vessel and all but disappeared after c. 300 (to my knowledge, only four Hellenistic clay examples exist, all of them Athenian, and no metal ones), it becomes the *lectio difficilior* and thus the most likely attribute for the original composition.¹⁴ For no Roman copyist would – or indeed could – have chosen on his own initiative to include it, since it had long vanished out of sight and out of mind.

Since the goddess’s cloak is draped over this vase and she is turning and just beginning to bend toward it, presumably she has already poured the

¹² A curiosity noticed, apparently, by Apul. *Met.* 2.17: [the courtesan, Photis, like Aphrodite, approaches the hero like Venus coming ashore] *paulisper etiam glabellum feminal rosea palmula potius obumbrans de industria quam tegens verecundia* – a remark that also helps to confirm the *communis opinio* that these statues omitted the goddess’s pubic hair.

¹³ A. Brückner, *Anakalypteria, Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste der archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin* no. 64 (Berlin 1904) 16-17; cf. R. Ginouvès, *Balaneutikè. Recherches sur le bain dans l’antiquité grecque*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d’Athènes et de Rome 200 (Paris 1962) 121. According to Paus. 2.10.4, Aphrodite was worshipped in this guise at Sikyon; the statue, seated and made of gold and ivory, was the work of the early fifth-century sculptor Kanachos.

¹⁴ Also noticed in the meantime by Corso (n. 1) 44, who, however, overlooks the (very different) Hellenistic examples: S.I. Rotroff, *The Athenian Agora*, vol. 29: *Hellenistic Pottery: Athenian and Imported Wheelmade Table Ware and Related Material* (Princeton 1997) 204, nos 1379-82. I thank Susan Rotroff for alerting me to these and discussing them with me, and Beryl Barr-Sharrar, Andrea Berlin, Susan Rotroff, Kim Shelton, and Barbara Tsakirgis for confirming, as far as they can, my hunch that this vessel type is presently unknown outside Attica.

water it contained into a basin, has washed herself, and has come back to it in order to dress again. Yet whereas the Knidia has already picked up her cloak and (in most of the replicas) starts to cover herself with it, now the goddess ignores it even as she begins to swivel towards the intruder, hunch her shoulders, and cover herself with her hands. By having her left hand shield her genitals instead of her right, the sculptor creates an assemblage of verticals on this side of the composition which reinforces this defensive posture.

Who are these other putative participants in the narrative and where should we imagine it to be taking place? The lucky bridegroom for whom the goddess is preparing herself is surely Hephaistos; no other candidate exists. Accordingly, the locale must be Mt Olympos and the intruder should once again be Ares. Some lines of Ovid penned in the context of the goddess's affair with Ares describe her reacting in precisely this way, and the coins of Amaseia in Pontos even show a Capitoline-type Aphrodite shielding herself from him in this way.¹⁵ From her defensive reaction, this must be his first encounter with her in the buff – ironically, on the very morning of her wedding to his brother. Yet, even so, the sculpture betrays no other hint of fear or apprehension: the reaction of a true Olympian and a hint of what would follow? As for the copies with the dolphin and sometimes also with Eros, these move the scene out of doors once more, presumably either localising it just after her birth in the sea off Cyprus (despite her fancy hairdo) or, more generally referencing her maritime powers as Aphrodite Euploia, Pontia, Limenia, Epilimonia, and so on, as did the Knidia.

This latter scenario also holds good for the Medici Aphrodite (fig. 2), whose copies also often include a dolphin or a dolphin ridden by Eros, and almost never a pot of any kind.¹⁶ Now, however, the goddess's hair is no longer in slight disarray and she responds more strongly to the intrusion, turning her head more sharply and raising her right hand more abruptly to

¹⁵ Corso (n. 1) 137-8. See Ov. *Ars am.* 2.613-4: *ipsa Venus pubem, quotiens velamina ponit / protegitur laeva semireducta manu.* This pointed reference to the *left* hand rules out the Knidia (fig. 3), who shields herself with her right. For the coins showing a Capitoline- or Medici-type Aphrodite standing before an armed and armored Ares, see M. Bernhart, *Aphrodite auf griechischen Münzen* (Munich 1936) nos 268-9, pl. 7. Adonis, Anchises, Boutes and Paris are far less likely candidates: we must ask, in these cases, what they are doing at Aphrodite's pre-nuptial bath, and where this event is imagined to be taking place. Moreover, in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (lines 53-83), the goddess comes to seduce Anchises, not the other way around. Corso (n. 1) 144-5 suggests that at Anchises' *heroon* on Mt Ida in the Troad this liaison was celebrated as a proper marriage and identifies the Capitoline type's original as the *heroon*'s cult statue. Unfortunately, the source for all this (Eust. *II.* 12.98) mis-identifies Aphrodite as Anchises' *mother* and (naturally enough, given this mistake) says nothing about a marriage; moreover, Paus. 8.12.9 explicitly remarks that the Troad boasted no *heroon* of Anchises at all. Instead, his tomb could be seen on Mt Anchisia in Arkadia, near a ruined Aphrodite sanctuary. The dominant tradition, however, placed his death and burial in Sicily.

¹⁶ Felletti Maj (n. 1) notes two copies (one of them a statuette) with a *Joutrophoros*, one with a *hydria*, three with a dolphin (to which add the Metropolitan Museum copy referenced in n. 1 and listed in the Appendix, B2), four with a dolphin ridden by Eros, and one with Eros alone.

shield her breasts. Yet she cannot have noticed the intruder more than a second ago, since her other hand – like the Knidia’s – still has not reached her genitals.¹⁷ In any case, this emphatic dramatisation of the motif has convinced many that the Medici type is a later variant of the Capitoline – a conjecture that its habitual substitution of the dolphin for the latter’s *loutrophoros* might support.

2. THE LOCATION AND LATER HISTORY OF THE ORIGINALS

Where did the originals of the Capitoline and Medici types stand? No ancient source tells us. In the Roman period, however, many cities in Greece, the Balkans, Asia Minor, and Phoenicia minted coins showing Aphrodite in this pose, presumably reproducing statues exhibited there, often accompanied by one or more of these attributes but sometimes by none at all. The goddess stands beside a pot on the coins of Pisidian Olbasa and Phrygian Alia; beside a dolphin (with an Eros sometimes standing on her other side) on those of Megalopolis (fig. 4, of which more below) and Sikyon in the Peloponnese, Thracian Pautalia and Serdika, Moesian Tomis, Paphlagonian Sinope, and Lydian Philadelphia and Saitta; and beside a dolphin ridden by Eros on those of Thracian Anchialos and Phoenician Ake-Ptolemais. Other coins of these cities show her with Eros alone, and/or with an altar, cippus, or torch. Finally, the coins of Illyrian Apollonia, Moesian Nikopolis, Thracian Serdika and Deultum, Bithynian Nikaia, Phrygian Apameia, and the aforementioned Lydian Saitta and Pontic Amaseia show her with no adjuncts at all.¹⁸

Yet since many of these towns are quite obscure and most of them were Hellenistic or Roman foundations eager to acquire cult images for their new temples, most if not all of these statues probably were later replicas; some of them even may lurk among the extant copies. Moreover, since (as noted earlier) the Capitoline type’s *loutrophoros* (fig. 1) apparently was exclusive to Attica, non-Athenians would have missed the nuptial allusion it offered, and thus the entire point of the composition. This, in turn, may explain why the coins of only two cities among the twenty listed above included a pot at all, and why these substituted a wide-mouthed *amphora* or *hydria* for the *loutrophoros*. In sum, then, an Athenian setting for the original of the Capitoline type looks probable, and the ongoing discovery in Athens of fragments of the originals of numerous other statues known in copy only strengthens this conviction.¹⁹

Pinpointing a specific home for the Capitoline type in Hellenistic Athens or Attica is much harder, for several possible candidates present themselves and even in these cases precious little information is available. In 333, the Athenian *boulē* and *dēmos* authorised the merchants of Kition in Cyprus to

¹⁷ On this motif, cf. n. 12, above.

¹⁸ See Bernhart (n. 15) nos 229-269, pls 6-7.

¹⁹ An article by Giorgios Despinis forthcoming in *AM* lists almost two dozen separate examples to date.

found a shrine to the goddess in Piraeus. Although the decree omits her cult title (presumably because the *dēmos* had no interest in it) and the shrine itself has not been discovered, a decree of its Kitian *thiasōtai* and two late fourth-century dedications by Kitians to Aphrodite Ourania found in the southern part of Piraeus all but prove that this is the cult in question.²⁰ Although any association with the Capitoline type must remain purely speculative, and the cult is not attested after 299, the Olympian location and late fourth-century date suggested by the statue's *loutrophoros* fit nicely.

Another three early Hellenistic shrines of Aphrodite were dedicated to famous *hetairai*, whose transgressive eroticism and penchant for creating love triangles (a familiar power play) is both referenced in the ancient tradition that the *hetaira*, Kratine/Phryne, modelled for Praxiteles' Knidia and also quite consonant with the message of the Capitoline type. A fourth shrine, dedicated to Demetrios Poliorketes's wife, Phila, belongs probably after his triumphal entry into the city in 294, which seems a little late.²¹ As for the Medici type and its accompanying dolphin, Piraeus also boasted a sanctuary of Aphrodite Euploia, founded either by Themistokles in the 470s or by Konon in 393 and visited by Pausanias, but in the absence of further information about it to venture further would be irresponsible.²²

By the late first century BC, the original of at least one of these two Aphrodite types probably stood in Rome. Writing in the 70s AD, Pliny the Elder noted that a marble Aphrodite by the younger Kephisodotos (Praxiteles's son and reputed 'heir to his art') was to be seen in the collection of Gaius Asinius Pollio (76 BC–AD 4). Antonio Corso has connected this remark with Ovid's verses, mentioned earlier, that seem to describe a statue of either the Capitoline type or (less likely) the Medici one in the general context of her affair with Ares.²³ For the poet explicitly pictures the goddess

²⁰ *IG* ii². 337, 1261, 4636-7; R. Garland, *The Piraeus* (Ithaca NY 1987) 112-13, 228 nos 6-8; R. Parker, *Athenian Religion: A History* (Oxford 1996) 243, overlooking the two dedications; J.D. Mikalson, *Religion in Hellenistic Athens* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1998) 30, 45, 103, 107-8, 143, 146-7, 291-2.

²¹ On Kratine/Phryne and the Knidia see Clem. Al. *Protr.* 4.47 and Arn. *Adv. nat.* 6.22 (Kratine, from Poseidippos's lost poem on Knidos = Poseidippos 147 Austin-Bastianini); Ath. 13.591a (Phryne); cf. Athenagoras, *Leg. pro Christ.* 13 (mentioning the 'Aphrodite hetaira at Knidos'); Stewart (n. 10) 104-6; Seaman (n. 4) 567. Aphrodite Pythionike (c. 327-325): Theopompos, *FGrH* 115 F 253 (= Ath. 13.595a-c); Dikaiarchos fr. 21 Wehrli (= Ath. 13.594f-595a); Python, *TrGF* 91 F 1 (= Ath. 13.595f); Plut. *Phoc.* 22.1-2; Paus. 1.37.5; A. Scholl, *JDAI* 109 (1994) 254-68. Aphrodite Lamia, Aphrodite Leaina, and Aphrodite Phila (c. 307-301): Demochares, *FGrH* 75 F 1 (= Ath. 6.253a); Alexis fr. 111 Kock (= Ath. 6.254a); Dionysios (= Ath. 6.255c); Parker 1996 (n. 20) 258, 259; C. Habicht, *Athens from Alexander to Antony* (Cambridge MA 1997) 78, 92; Mikalson (n. 20) 88 n. 37.

²² Ammonios of Lamprai, *FGrH* 361 F 5; Paus. 1.1.3; etc. On this sanctuary see most recently Garland (n. 20) 112, 150, 154; Pirenne-Delforge (n. 5) 33 n. 98; Parker (n. 20) 238; R. Rosenzweig, *Worshipping Aphrodite: Art and Cult in Classical Athens* (Ann Arbor 2004) 90.

²³ Corso (n. 1) 131, 148, re Plin. *HN* 36.24: *Romae eius* [sc. *Cephisodoti*] *opera sunt* . . . *Venus in Pollionis Asini monumentis*; Ov. *Ars am.* 2.613-4 (see n. 15 above); cf. Apul. *Met.* 2.17 (quoted, n. 12 above).

not only as having laid aside her clothing but also as shielding her genitals with her *left* hand. In other words, she was posed not like the Knidia (fig. 3), who uses her right hand to do so, but like the Capitoline and Medici types (figs 1, 2). Since, however, only one full-size copy of the Medici includes pot and drapery, the Capitoline is by far the best candidate. If so, did Sulla confiscate her after he sacked both Piraeus and Athens in 86?

The connection is tenuous, of course, since Pliny fails to describe Pollio's statue and Ovid fails to specify the location of the one that he alludes to. Nevertheless, Corso's ingenious package (Capitoline type [fig. 1] = Ovid's = Pliny's/Pollio's = Kephisodotos's) remains attractive and many have found it convincing, especially since Ovid knew Pollio's collection well and remarks upon one of his prize acquisitions, the Appiades by the contemporary sculptor, Stephanos, no fewer than three separate times.²⁴ Moreover, the younger Kephisodotos is well dated. He worked between c. 345 and c. 290, which nicely fits the (minority) view that the Capitoline type belongs to that period.²⁵ In Byzantine times, a statue of this type – Kephisodotos's original? – was to be found in Constantinople, where an anonymous western traveller sketched it *in situ* just before the city fell to the Turks in 1453.²⁶

3. THE DATES OF THE ORIGINALS

Other clues support an early date for the originals of both the Capitoline and Medici types (figs 1-2). As to the former, the *loutrophoros* essentially vanishes after the classical period, as we have seen. Of the 16 copies of the Capitoline type that include it, several reproduce its low foot, slim, ovoid body, and metal-type ribbing quite faithfully. Of these, the Capitoline goddess's version (fig. 1) seems to be the most authentic, reinforcing this statue's claim to be the best and most faithful copy of its type. Marble *loutrophoroi* of this particular shape were popular as grave markers for unmarried women in fourth-century Attica, ceasing only in 317 when Demetrios of Phaleron banned such monuments.²⁷ Moreover, the only intact Athenian Hellenistic clay *loutrophoros* is quite differently shaped and proportioned, with a high, concave stem connecting its foot to an equally high, tautly curved body terminating in a sharply angled shoulder.²⁸ So the statue's

²⁴ *Ars am.* 1.81-6; 3.451-545; *Rem. am.* 659-60; cf. E.M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae I* (Rome 1993-99) s.v. 'Appiades' (F. Coarelli).

²⁵ On Kephisodotos's dates and career see Stewart, *Greek Sculpture: An Exploration* (New Haven 1990) 295-7; and esp. P. Schultz, 'Kephisodotos the Younger', in O. Palagia and S.V. Tracy (eds), *The Macedonians in Athens, 322-229 B.C.* (Oxford 2003) 186-93. Havelock (n. 1) 74-5 surveys the opinions on the date of the Capitoline type, which range from the late fourth to the first centuries BC.

²⁶ Corso (n. 1) 149, fig. 9; not, apparently, a Medici-type Aphrodite, since her head turns only slightly and her right elbow is pressed against her body.

²⁷ G. Kokula, *Marmorloutrophoren*, *AM Beiheft* 10 (1984) type O (57 examples), pls 35-39 (selection); cf. C. Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* (Kilchberg 1993) cat. nos 1.947; 2.214a; 6.166-7; etc.

²⁸ Rotroff (n. 14) no. 1382.

original was created probably before the turn of the century or not much later.

As for the Medici type, the only full-size replica with what may be a *loutrophoros* beside it, in St Petersburg, shows the vessel almost completely covered by the goddess's cloak. Only its lower part is visible and its high foot and teardrop-like body are most peculiar.²⁹ This, in turn, suggests that its carver was working 'blind', without recourse to the original statue or a cast of it, presumably well after *loutrophoroi* had become obsolete and had vanished from the scene. So it can hardly help us further, except to strengthen the likelihood that the original of the Medici type showed the goddess not in a pre-nuptial context but either just after coming ashore on Cyprus or more probably (given her tidy coiffure) as a sailor's goddess – Euploia, Pontia, and so on. This, in turn, reinforces one's suspicion that the dolphin that replaces the *loutrophoros* in some of the copies of the Capitoline type reproduces a variant that perhaps borrowed this attribute from the Medici (fig. 2). Admittedly, though, new discoveries could change this picture at any time.

To turn to matters of style, the two types respond to their model, the Knidia (fig. 3), in quite different – indeed, opposite – ways, indicating different artists at work on each. Whereas the head of the Capitoline type (fig. 5) strongly resembles the Knidia's (fig. 6), the body is somewhat slimmer, with narrower shoulders and hips. The body of the Medici type, on the other hand, is closer to the Knidia's, but the head (fig. 7) is rounder, fleshier and smaller-featured; the hair, too, is thicker, softer and more tousled. As twentieth-century German scholars noticed (but more recent ones intent on down-dating seem to have forgotten), the best parallel for the Medici type's head is the Leconfield Aphrodite in Petworth House (fig. 8), a Greek original usually dated to the generation after Praxiteles, that is, around 300.³⁰ *Prima facie* (pun intended), this should date the original of the Capitoline type to c. 330 or shortly afterward and that of the Medici type to the decades immediately following.

The conjectured chronological sequence is thus as follows:

Knidia (figs 3, 6): c. 350

Capitoline (with *loutrophoros*: fig. 1; cf. fig. 5): c. 330-310

Medici (figs 2, 7): c. 320-300

Capitoline (with dolphin): end of fourth/early third century?

²⁹ O. Waldhauer, *Die antiken Skulpturen der Ermitage*, vol. 3 (Berlin 1928) pl. 10, no. 227.18; also http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Venus_Tauride.

³⁰ For the Capitoline type's head, cf. e.g. the illustrations of the head of the Knidia in Pasquier and Martinez (n. 1) nos 34-42; Corso 2007 (n. 1) figs 22, 66, 88-90, 96. For the similarities between the Medici and Leconfield heads, see e.g. H. Bulle, *Der schöne Mensch I: Altertum* (Munich 1922) 167 (no. 256), and G. Lippold, *Die griechische Plastik* (Munich 1951) 312; on the latter see also the present author's 'A Cast of the Leconfield Head in Paris', *Rev. Arch.* 1977, 195-202, esp. figs 1-3; J. Raeder, *Die antiken Skulpturen in Petworth House (West Sussex)*, *Monumenta Artis Romanae* 28 (Munich 2000) 34-6, pls 1-3; Pasquier and Martinez (n. 1) no. 18.

4. NEW EVIDENCE: A BRONZE CASE-MIRROR FROM ELEAN HERAKLEIA

By common consent, the marble and bronze replicas of these two Aphrodite types begin in the mid to late second century BC with a series of statuettes on Delos. A century of searching has failed to turn up any predecessors.³¹ In 1999, however, in an article completely overlooked in recent studies of these types, Xenia Arapoyianni published a group of fourth-century tombs from Elean Herakleia that yielded what appears to be the much-desired missing link: a bronze case-mirror with a *repoussé* relief showing four nymphs bathing (figs 9-10). The pose of the second nymph from the left clearly recalls the two Aphrodite types under discussion (figs 1-2), but perhaps echoes the Capitoline (fig. 1) rather than the Medici (fig. 2), whose right elbow juts out more sharply and whose head is more strongly averted from the viewer. The context pottery, although purely local and thus difficult to date precisely, places the tomb in the second half of the fourth century.

As to the relief itself, the *comparanda* date it around 325-300, about a generation before these case-mirrors disappear entirely from the archaeological record.³² Such bathing scenes appear five times more on late fourth and early third century mirrors, though now they feature only one or two bathers plus, on one occasion, a man.³³ Three of these scenes are engraved and two are in relief; one of the latter, in the Louvre (fig. 11), is the nearest stylistically to the Elean mirror, though considerably higher in quality. The latest study of the genre dates it to c. 310, which seems somewhat over-precise.³⁴

Since the Elean relief (fig. 9) is quite corroded and hard to decipher, a brief description may be in order (cf. fig. 10). Within a rocky cave, four naked young women bathe beneath a waterspout in the form of a bearded male head. The woman at far left kneels with her right hand shielding her breasts and her left hand protecting her lower belly; she looks to her left (our right), as if at a spectator (us?) positioned opposite the scene's centre axis. The standing woman next to her gestures similarly, but now somewhat awkwardly holds what may be a sponge over her genitals, and also looks a little to her left, as if at us once more. To right of centre, another standing woman looks out of the cave and perhaps somewhat downwards while she

³¹ The two third-century Carthaginian *sarcophagi* adduced by Corso (n. 1) 245 n. 168 are suggestive but hardly conclusive.

³² 'Νεκροταφείο κλασικών χρόνων στον Σταφιδόκαμπο', *Ephemeris Archaologike* (1999) 145-217, at 196-203, figs 76-87 (burial), 88-9 (mirror); now Elis Museum M1446, autopsied in its case in June 1999, June 2004 and July 2007. I am most grateful to Dr Arapoyianni for kindly lending me a colour slide of the mirror and allowing me to reproduce it together with her drawing of it.

³³ A. Schwarzmaier, *Griechische Klappspiegel: Untersuchungen zu Typologie und Stil*, *AM Beiheft* 18 (Berlin 1997) nos 47, 59, 98, 217, and 237, pls 57, 1; 82, 2; 83, 2; 84, 2 (no. 98 is unpublished).

³⁴ Paris, Louvre Br. 1713: A. de Ridder, *Les bronzes antiques du Louvre* (Paris 1913) no. 1713, pl. 79; W. Züchner, *Griechische Klappspiegel*, *JDAI Ergänzungsheft* 14 (Berlin 1942) 90-1, KS 152, pl. 18; Schwarzmaier (n. 33) no. 217, pl. 57, 1 (c. 310).

pours water from a jar, perhaps a *hydria*, over the head of the fourth woman, who kneels before her in near profile, facing to our left and rinsing out her hair. The two standing women wear only slippers; the feet of the others are hidden from sight.

As Arapoyianni realised, the scene may well reference a cult of the nymphs at nearby Elean Herakleia which is recorded by both Strabo and Pausanias. As so often, the latter gives the fuller account:

Distant from Olympia about fifty furlongs is Herakleia, a village of the Eleans, and beside it is a river, Kytheros. A spring flows into the river, and there is a sanctuary of the nymphs beside the spring. Individually the names of the nymphs are Kalliphaeia, Synallasis, Pēgaia, and Iasis, but their common name is the Ionides. Those who bathe in the spring are cured of all sorts of aches and pains. They say that the nymphs are named after Ion, the son of Gargettos, who migrated to this place from Athens.³⁵

Presumably, then, the bearded male head serving as the waterspout on the relief (figs 9-10) represents either the river Kytheros or, more likely, the anonymous deity of the medicinal spring which fed into it, while the four women are the Ionides themselves. Moreover, the third one from the left pouring water corresponds nicely to Pausanias's Pēgaia ('The Source') – uncannily anticipating Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres' famous painting of that name by over twenty-one hundred years. If so, the second woman from the left (the one that resembles the Capitoline Aphrodite) ought to be Synallasis ('Health Broker'), and her sponge, much used by the Hippocratics and others to dispense hot water and salves for skin and other ailments, and (in the case of women) for genital afflictions, would then reference her particular domain also.³⁶ Factoring in the strong sense of place and context that the relief transmits, one begins to suspect that it may echo a relief or (less likely) a painting in the sanctuary. Late fourth-century Attic nymph reliefs furnish obvious parallels.³⁷

Yet the standing nymph second from left ('Synallasis') diverges in two key respects from the Capitoline and Medici types (figs 1-2). Although the area around her head is severely corroded and the drawing omits what seem to be some stray locks hanging down in front beside her neck, her hairstyle looks simpler and shorter, like the Knidia's (fig. 3). Her stance is also reversed like the Knidia's. Suggestively, an Aphrodite in this same reversed pose reappears a mere 60 km away from Herakleia, on a Roman-period coin of Megalopolis (fig. 4) that surely reproduces a statue on display there. It is also represented – albeit rarely – in the round, *inter alia* by a fine Hellenistic

³⁵ Paus. 6.22.7; cf. Strabo 8.3.32, 356; *RE* 9.2 s.v. 'Ionides' (H. Meyer).

³⁶ For this explanation of her name, see H. Usener, *Götternamen: Versuch einer Lehre von der religiösen Begriffsbildung* (Bonn 1896) 169; cf. e.g. Hippoc. *Acut.* 7.7, 18.16, 18.18; *de diaeta acutorum* 6.22; *de morbis popularibus* 5.1.58, 7.1.76; *Morb.* 2.14.8, 2.22.4., 2.26.18, 2.27.5, 2.31.3; *Mul.* 64; 248; etc.

³⁷ *LIMC* 5 s.v. 'Hermes' nos 347-55, pl. 228 (G. Siebert); *LIMC* 8 s.v. 'Nymphaei' nos 71-7, pl. 596 (M. Hahn-Tissertant, G. Siebert).

bronze from Sidon (fig. 12).³⁸ So did this nearby Aphrodite inspire the maker of the case-mirror, either directly or perhaps via our conjectured image of the Ionides at the spring, and not the Capitoline or the Medici?

5. AN APHRODITE AT MEGALOPOLIS

Publishing the coin (fig. 4) in the 1880s, Imhoof Blumer and Gardner noted that during Pausanias's very thorough tour of Megalopolis, he saw two sanctuaries of Aphrodite, one on the north side of the river and one on the south. They connected the statue on the coin with the northern one and its akrolithic Aphrodite Machanitis ('Contriver'), made by Damophon. Yet Damophon's choice of this particular technique strongly suggests that his statue was draped; in addition, he lived and worked around 200, a whole century after the mirror in figs 9-10 was made. So the southern sanctuary, situated beside an altar to Ares and containing a triad of Aphrodite Ourania, Aphrodite Pandemos and another unnamed Aphrodite, seems the more likely locale for it.³⁹

If so, the statue on the coin (fig. 4) ought to reproduce the third Aphrodite of this triad, since its dolphin has nothing to do with either the 'celestial' or the 'public' (that is, carnal) domains of the goddess signaled by the epithets of the other two. Moreover, at Elis at least, Aphrodite Ourania had a tortoise underfoot and Aphrodite Pandemos rode a billy-goat.⁴⁰ So, whereas the first two statues of the triad referenced the goddess's heavenly and earth(l)y sides, respectively, this third Aphrodite (if correctly identified with the one on the coin, fig. 4) would have engaged either the cult's aetiology, in the form of her birth and arrival on Cyprus, or her maritime supremacy once again, confirming thereby her universal authority over sky, land, and sea. One wonders whether in this case her lack of a proper epithet might have been deliberate, in order to embrace both interpretations.⁴¹

These variants with the right leg engaged and left leg flexed like the Knidia present us with a dilemma. Do they predate or postdate the Capitoline

³⁸ Coin: AE Megalopolis, Septimius Severus (AD 193-211): F. Imhoof Blumer and P. Gardner, *A Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias* (London 1887; repr. Chicago 1964) 105 no. 6, pl. V.8; Bernhart (n. 15) no. 238, pl. 6; *LIMC* 2 s.v. 'Aphrodite' no. 421 (A. Delivorrias). Bronze statuette: Paris, Louvre MNC 1785/MND 210; *LIMC* 2 s.v. 'Aphrodite' no. 413* and 'Aphrodite in Per. Or.' no. 10 (A. Delivorrias).

³⁹ Aphrodite Machanitis: Paus. 8.31.5; endorsed, *LIMC* 2 s.v. 'Aphrodite' no. 421 (A. Delivorrias). Trio: Paus. 8.32.2-3. Commentary: Pirenne-Delforge (n. 5) 264-7, but overlooking the Severan coin (fig. 4); for the suggestion that a winged torso of Eros in the Megalopolis Museum might belong to Damophon's Aphrodite Machanitis, see P. Themelis, 'Damophon', in O. Palagia and J.J. Pollitt (eds), *Personal Styles in Greek Sculpture*, *Yale Classical Studies* 30 (New Haven 1996) 154-85, at 167. If so, the Aphrodite illustrated in fig. 4 cannot be Damophon's.

⁴⁰ Aphrodite Ourania and Pandemos at Elis, by Pheidias and Skopas respectively: Paus. 6.25.1.

⁴¹ A Roman bronze coin of Sikyon shows that a similar Aphrodite also stood there, but seems to have turned her head in the opposite direction, to her right: Imhoof Blumer and Gardner (n. 38) pl. H.16; Bernhart (n. 15) no. 239, pl. 6 (Julia Domna).

type, the Medici, or both (figs 1-2)? Fortunately, little is at stake here, since as we have seen, the *loutrophoros* independently dates the Capitoline type's original in the decades around 300 BC, and the comparison with the Leconfield head (figs 7-8) argues for a similar date for the original of the Medici. Moreover, the sheer number of Capitoline-type replicas clearly shows that it created a sensation. All this strengthens the odds that its original was indeed a truly inaugurative work and that its other variants probably postdate its creation, including (as we have seen) the Medici type (fig. 2); the Capitoline-with-dolphin; the two Aphrodites at Megalopolis (fig. 4) and Sikyon; and the nymph on the case-mirror (figs 9-10). For the Megalopolis type (figs 4, 12) is far more overtly dramatic (that is, melodramatic) than even the Medici (fig. 2), and reacts far more like a human being than a goddess – the sign of a coarser and perhaps later sensibility at work?⁴²

CONCLUSION

One could speculate endlessly about these questions of priority, but they hardly matter. The most striking feature of the Capitoline type and its variants is the way in which the goddess begins to cover her breasts with the hand that is not shielding her genitals. The spontaneity and dramatic power of this gesture must have been immediately apparent and enthusiastically received, and by combining it with a pose in which the goddess begins to pivot around her left leg to confront her putative intruder, and the vivid pre-nuptial scenario suggested by the *loutrophoros*, the Capitoline statue and its ilk represent its classic formulation – as their 'Knidian'-style head in any case would suggest (figs 5-6). Surprised yet by no means shocked, this Aphrodite reacts not like some mere mortal (contrast figs 2, 12) but like a true goddess, a figure of immense power and limitless resource. As self-possessed and queenly as the Knidia, she too maintains her distance.

This delicate balancing act set a standard for all subsequent versions of the type. So whatever their order of manufacture, the Capitoline type's two variants, the Medici and Megalopolis types (figs 2, 9-10, 12), ought to be close in time. If so, since the Herakleian mirror (figs 9-10) also was made around 300 or at most only a few years later, and seems to be echoing yet another composition, the development and diffusion of this particular genre in the late fourth century turns out to have been remarkably rapid and intense. Lest all this seem unlikely to some, it is worth recalling that not only did Greek art develop and diffuse even faster at other critical junctures in its history (one thinks of the 470s and 440s, for example), but Greek portraiture

⁴² Yet there is good evidence that Kephisodotos did visit Megalopolis during the late fourth century, at exactly the right time to create the Aphrodite in question (fig. 4). Paus. 8.30.10 describes a sanctuary there housing a cult group of Zeus Soter, Artemis Soteira and a personified Megalopolis by a certain Kephisodotos. Since the ruins seem to date to c. 330-320 (see Schultz [n. 25] 190-1), he should be Kephisodotos the younger.

also underwent the same intense development within approximately the same period as our Aphrodites.⁴³

In sum, then, the Capitoline Aphrodite (fig. 1), a creation of true brilliance, now may be confidently reclaimed for late classical/early Hellenistic Athens and Attica, and perhaps even for the direct progeny of Praxiteles. This, in turn, both greatly clarifies its relation to the Knidia on the one hand (fig. 3) and to later essays in the genre on the other (figs 2, 7, 12), and lays a firmer foundation for the evaluation of the latter, their Renaissance and post-Renaissance successors included.

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⁴³ See esp. R. von den Hoff and P. Schulz (eds), *New Directions in Early Hellenistic Portraiture* (Cambridge 2007).

APPENDIX

The following are some addenda to Felletti Maj 1951: 61-65 (though I have not surveyed torsos and disembodied heads with any thoroughness):

A. Capitoline Aphrodite type

1. Berkeley, Hearst Museum of Anthropology 8-4218 (unpublished): half lifesize torso from neck to knees; attributes missing, but the locks on its shoulders certify its inclusion here.
2. Dayton OH, Dayton Art Institute (C.C. Vermeule, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in America* [Malibu and Berkeley 1981] no. 139): headless statue with Eros riding a dolphin.
3. New York art market 2008 (I thank Michael Padgett for sending me a photograph from a Christmas card): statue with *loutrophoros* and fringed cloak.
4. Raleigh NC, North Carolina Museum of Art G.69.34.1 (Vermeule 1981: 140): headless statue; attributes missing.
5. Skopje (ancient Scupi) from the Roman baths (M. Brunwasser, 'A Modest Venus', *Archaeology* 61.6 [November/December 2008] 15, with illustration): statue with dolphin.

Also the following, pictured in the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut's photographic *Index of Ancient Art and Architecture* (Munich 1991) microfiche nos 89-90:

6. Cyrene C14293 (DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 58.2293): statue with dolphin.
7. Cyrene C14326 (DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 58.2271): statue with dolphin.
8. Cyrene C14329 (DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 58.2291): statue with Eros riding a dolphin.
9. Florence, Boboli Gardens (DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 77.323): statue with *loutrophoros* and fringed cloak.
10. Ostia (DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 57.1340-1): headless statue with *loutrophoros* and unadorned cloak.
11. Ostia (DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 57.1219): torso from neck to left knee, with dolphin.
12. Paris, Louvre (Alinari 22748; back view only): statue with fringed cloak, draped over a pot?
13. Paris, unknown location (Giraudon 3109): statue with Eros riding a dolphin.
14. Rome, Pal. Rondanini (DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 68.190): statue with dolphin.
15. Split (DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 82.2967): right foot and left lower leg with dolphin and scanty remains of an Eros riding it. Capitoline or Medici type?
16. Tripoli (DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 84.3644): statue with *loutrophoros* and fringed cloak.

B. Medici Aphrodite type

1. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 52.11.5 (C.A. Picón, J. Mertens et al., *Art of the Classical World in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* [New York 2007] no. 435): statue, with dolphin. This statue's authenticity has been doubted, though never – to my knowledge – in print.
2. Washington DC, National Gallery of Art A-1745 (Vermeule 1981 no. 141): headless statue, attributes missing.

C. Headless statuettes that could reproduce either type

See Corso 2007, 245 n. 168 for two more miniature replicas from the South Slope of the Athenian Akropolis, to which add the following ones from the Agora: S 152, 230, 634, 668, 856, 1334, 1656, 2916, 2936, 2988, 2992, 3015, 3018, 3044, 3046, 3100, 3110, 3191, 3243, 3244, 3251, 3269, and 3250; all are unpublished.

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- Fig. 3. Knidian Aphrodite. Rome, Vatican. Photo: Scala/Art Resource ART 79508.
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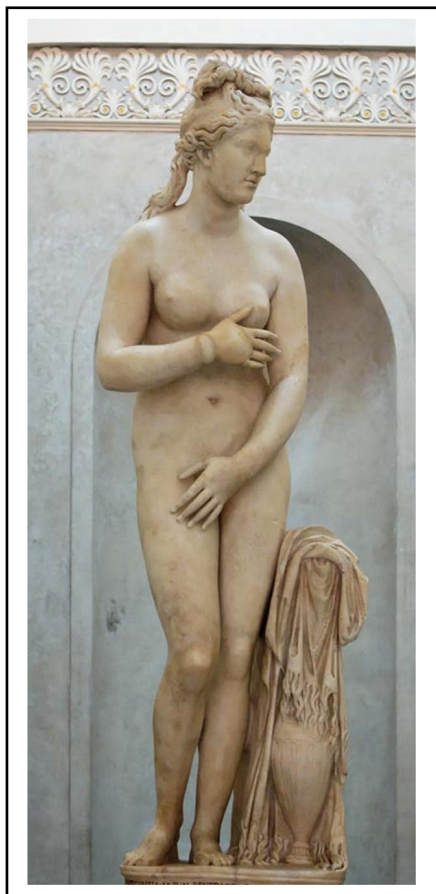


Fig. 1 Capitoline Aphrodite.
Museo Capitolino, Rome.

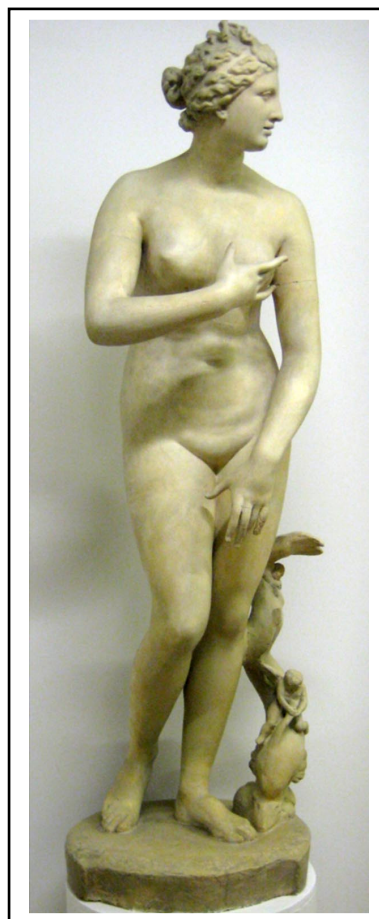


Fig. 2 Medici Aphrodite.
Uffizi, Florence (cast in
Pushkin Museum, Moscow).



Fig. 3 Knidian Aphrodite.
The Vatican.

Fig. 4 Roman bronze coin of Megalopolis
(Aphrodite and dolphin). Cabinet des
Médailles, Paris.



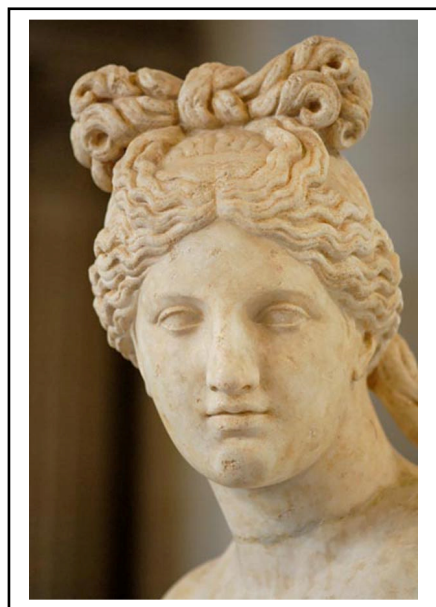


Fig. 5 Head of another copy of Capitoline Aphrodite. Louvre, Paris.

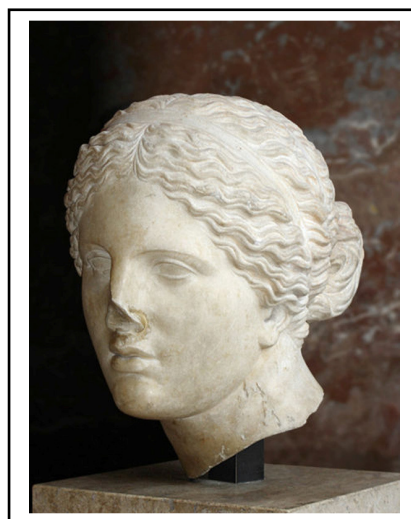


Fig. 6 Head of another copy of Knidian Aphrodite. Louvre, Paris.

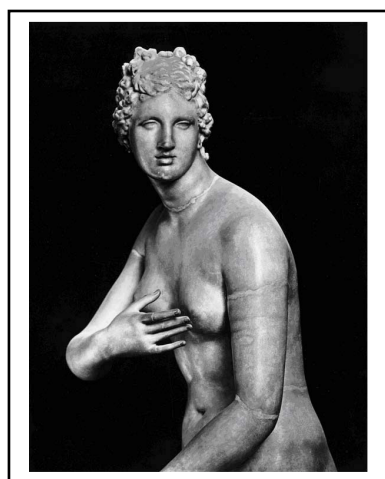


Fig. 7 Head of Medici Aphrodite. Uffizi, Florence.

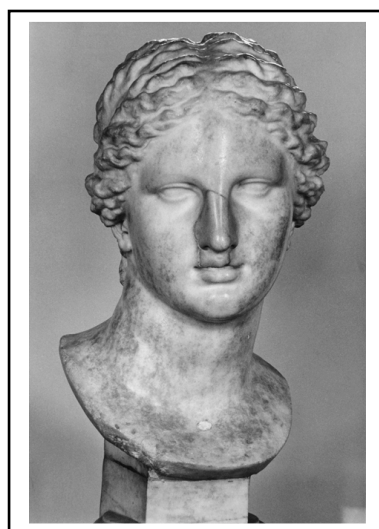


Fig. 8 Leconfield Aphrodite. Petworth House, East Sussex.



Fig. 9 Bronze case-mirror from Herakleia. Elis Museum.

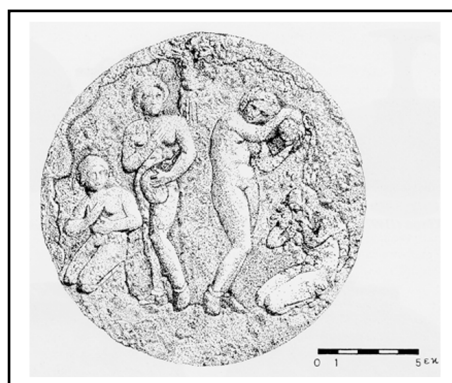


Fig. 10 Drawing of bronze case-mirror from Herakleia.

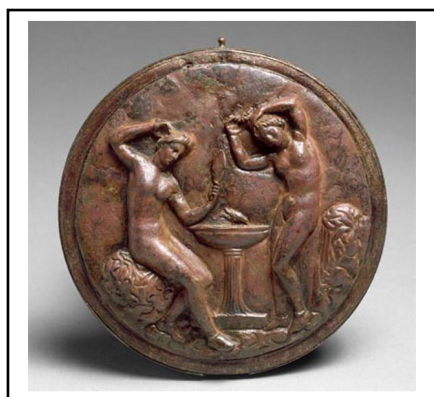


Fig. 11 Bronze case-mirror. Louvre, Paris.

Fig. 12 Bronze statuette of
Aphrodite from Sidon.
Louvre, Paris.

