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In search of the statuary type of Aphrodite Sosandra

Iphigeneia Leventi

Auf der Suche nach dem Statuentypus der Aphrodite Sosandra

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG Der vorliegende Beitrag befasst sich mit dem Original des Statuentyps, der als Aspasia oder Europa bekannt ist. Dieser wird hier als Aphrodite Sosandra identifiziert, eine Ansicht, die sich in der modernen Forschung immer mehr durchsetzt. Es wird dargelegt, dass die Bronzestatue der Aphrodite von Kalamis, die von Kallias in der Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. auf der Athener Akropolis geweiht wurde, politische Symbolkraft hatte. Diese Studie beleuchtet die spezifische Ikonographie dieser Statue der Göttin und ihre Wirkung sowie ihren Kult in Athen genauer. Nicht zuletzt wird auf die Entdeckung des Götternamens Venus Sosandra in einem wahrscheinlich athenischen Kontext in Süditalien hingewiesen, was die Frage klärt, ob es zwei verschiedene Statuen von Kalamis auf der Athener Akropolis gab, nämlich die von Kallias errichtete und von Pausanias gesehene Aphrodite und die von Lukian erwähnte Sosandra.

Schlagwörter Aphrodite Sosandra; Statuentypus; Kallias; Kalamis; Venus Sosandra.

ABSTRACT This paper deals with the original of the statuary type known as Aspasia or Europa. It is here recognized as Aphrodite Sosandra, a view that is gaining ground in modern scholarship. It is argued that the bronze statue of Aphrodite by Kalamis which was dedicated by Kallias on the Athenian Acropolis in the mid-fifth century B.C. carried political symbolism. This study sheds further light on the specific iconography of this statue of the goddess and its impact, as well as on her cult in Athens. Last, but not least, it underlines the discovery of the cult name Venus Sosandra in a likely Athenian context in south Italy, which settles the question whether there were two different statues by Kalamis on the Athenian Acropolis, one being the Aphrodite erected by Kallias and seen by Pausanias and the other the Sosandra mentioned by Lucian.

Keywords Aphrodite Sosandra; statuary type; Kallias; Kalamis; Venus Sosandra.

Αναζητώντας τον αγαλματικό τύπο της Αφροδίτης Σωσάνδρας

Περίληψη Το άρθρο έχει ως αντικείμενο το πρωτότυπο του αγαλματικού τύπου που είναι γνωστός ως Ασπασία ή Ευρώπη. Αυτό ταυτίζεται εδώ με την Αφροδίτη Σωσάνδρα – μια προσέγγιση, η οποία εδραιώνεται όλο και περισσότερο στη σύγχρονη έρευνα. Αναπτύσσεται η θέση ότι το χάλκινο άγαλμα της Αφροδίτης του γλύπτη Καλάμιδος, το οποίο αφιερώθηκε περί τα μέσα του 5ου αιώνα π. Χ. από τον Καλλία στην Ακρόπολη των Αθηνών, διέθετε πολιτικό συμβολισμό. Η μελέτη ρίχνει φως στην ειδική εικονογραφία και την επίδραση αυτού του αγάλματος της θεάς, αλλά και στη λατρεία της συγκεκριμένα στην Αθήνα. Επισημαίνεται, επιπλέον, η ανακάλυψη του ονόματος της θεάς Αφροδίτης Σωσάνδρας σε πιθανόν αθηναϊκό περιβάλλον στην νότια Ιταλία, γεγονός που απαντά στο ερώτημα για την πιθανή ύπαρξη δύο διαφορετικών αγαλμάτων του Καλάμιδος στην Ακρόπολη των Αθηνών, και συγκεκριμένα της Αφροδίτης, που είχε στήσει εκεί ο Καλλίας και είχε δει ο Παυσανίας, και της Σωσάνδρας, την οποία αναφέρει ο Λουκιανός.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά Αφροδίτη Σωσάνδρα. Αγαλματικός τύπος. Καλλίας. Κάλαμις. Venus Sosandra.

INTRODUCTION

Fig. 1 Statue, Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico inv. no. 153654

The Aspasia / Europa / Aphrodite Sosandra / Sosandra *(fig. 1)* can be traced back to a lost bronze original of the Early Classical period which portrays a standing woman wearing a chiton, of which only the bottom hem is visible, and enveloped in a voluminous mantle[1]. This paper presents a new examination of the statuary type and its lost original, focussing especially on its identification with Aphrodite. The original bronze statue is thought to have been an Athenian creation. It is therefore improbable that it represented the nymph Europa, an interpretation which is still found in recent scholarship. Europa is unlikely to have been honoured with a statue in Athens during the Classical period, and is particularly unlikely to have provided the inspiration for a work of art that was to become so popular in the copyist tradition of the Roman Imperial period that even female portraits adopted its body type. My research supports another prevalent view, namely that it was the statue of Aphrodite dedicated by Kallias on the Athenian Acropolis and created by the famous Early Classical sculptor Kalamis. This identification of the bronze statue takes into account a number of literary sources, especially Lucian, who refers to it by the epithet Sosandra, which was a cult name of the Aphrodite that stood in the area of the Propylaia during the Roman period. The statuary type is still conventionally known as Aspasia or Europa in contemporary scholarship[2], but unfortu-

For valuable duscussions and various help, I am grateful to my colleagues P. Karanastasi, O. Palagia, H. R. Goette, A. Scholl, L. Baumer, J. Chamay, R. Parker, C. Kritzas, K. Margariti, L. Stirling, A. L. Magrassi, M. Bonanno-Aravantinos and J. Stroszeck. I am also indebted to the Director of the American Excavations at Corinth C. A. Pfaff and the curator M. Papadakis, as well as the Corinth Ephorate of Antiquities; the Ephorate of Argos and the archaeologist E. Pappi; to L. Laugier, B. Mothes and S. Scherer in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the Louvre Museum; and, last but not least, to the Acropolis Restoration Service and the Athens Ephorate of Antiquities for granting me permission to study and photograph the cast of Parthenon metope XXV kept in the Weiler Building at Athens, and I am personally also grateful to V. Georgaka and E. Lempidaki as well as G. Argyris for having facilitated my study there. Finally, I owe thanks to the Athenische Mitteilung staff and editors for their valuable help in preparing the final version of my paper and the two anonymous reviewers, whose sharp comments have contributed to tighten my arguments.

[1] Orlandini 1950, pls. 1–6; Ridgway 1970, 65–68 pls. 105–108; Delivorrias 1984, 23 f. no. 148 pl. 18; Rolley 1994, 354 fig. 371; Bol 2004, 21. 24 fig. 27 a–c.

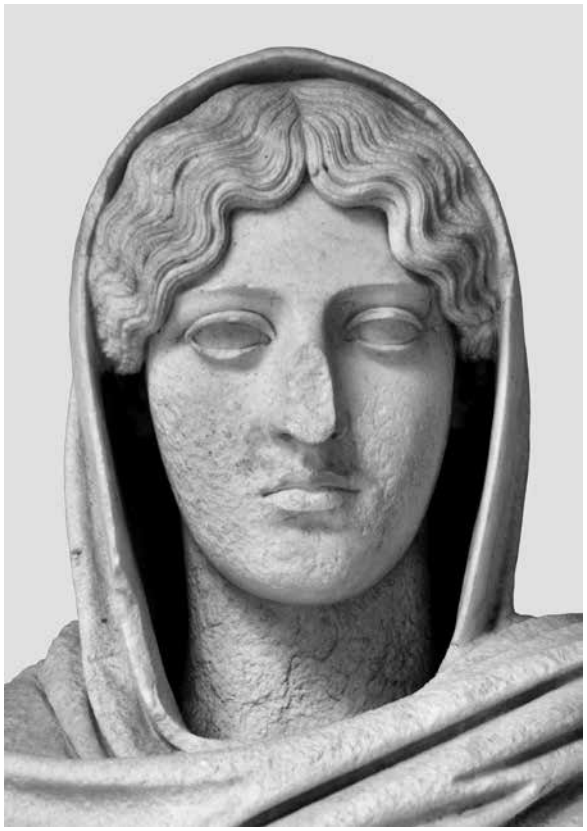

Fig. 2 Head, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. no. 153654

nately this has led to two fallacious names being ascribed to it in relation to the original creation. The statuary type will hereafter be named Aphrodite Sosandra, in accordance with the interpretation that will be argued in this paper. I shall study both the original and its copyist tradition[3], touching upon the various proposals and challenging them, with special focus on what I believe to be the most probable view, namely that the type is a representation of the Aphrodite Sosandra created by Kalamis.

THE HISTORY OF IDENTIFICATION OF THE ORIGINAL STATUE

Aspasia

The head of the statuary type was the first part to become known in modern scholarship. The first two copies to come to light were the head in Berlin, Staatliche Museen (cat. 27) and another in Paris, Louvre (cat. 29), both of which were first discussed by Bernoulli in 1877[4]. Bernoulli commented mainly on the Berlin head, presenting it as a portrait statue from the third quarter of the fifth century B.C. that depicted Aspasia, the famous mistress of Perikles, but provided no actual evidence to support his opinion. Furtwängler, building on Bernoulli's discussion, assigned the original of the two heads to an artist, Kalamis[5]. Though it is highly improbable that portrait statues of women existed in the fifth century B.C. and the head is evidently idealized, the name Aspasia still predominates among the conventional designations used in publications of this statuary type[6].

Europa

The mythological heroine Europa was the daughter of King Agenor or Phoenix of Phoenicia, sister of Kadmos and lover of Zeus, who, after he had transformed himself into a bull, carried her off to Crete and had intercourse with her there, producing offspring. A possible repre-

[2] E.g., Ridgway 1970, see above n. 1 (Sosandra in the text, Aspasia / Sosandra in figs.); Delivorrias 1984, see above n. 1 (Aspasia); Rolley 1994, see above n. 1 (Aspasia); Κατάκης 2002, 154 (Aspasia / Europa); Bol 2004, see above n. 1 (Aspasia); Καραναστάση 2018, 249 (Aspasia); Stirling 2018 (Aspasia); Kansteiner 2018, 224 (Aspasia and Aspasia / Sosandra); Herrmann-Attanasio 2018, 411 (Aspasia / Europa). By contrast, Italian scholars prefer the name Aphrodite Sosandra or Sosandra: Cantilena et al. 1989, 100; Ferrara 1999; Saletti 1999. Already critical is Germini 2008, 188 n. 726.

[3] The catalogue of copies at the end of my article reviews the latest published catalogue by Stirling 2018, adding the fragment of a statuette from Rome, cat. 26 and the variant head cat. 37.

[4] Bernoulli 1877, with pl. 8; Bernoulli 1901, 115 expressed his doubts on his earlier thesis. Contra, Schrader 1921, 26; cf. Orlandini 1950, 92 with n. 1.

[5] Furtwängler 1893, 115 f.; Orlandini 1950, 92 with n. 2.

[6] See n. 2. On the lack of fifth century female portraits, Keesling 2017, 75.

Fig. 3 a Upper part of a statuette, Corinth, Museum inv. no. S-1897

Fig. 3 b Lower part of a statuette, Corinth, Museum inv. no. S-1904 + S-2446

sentation of Europa, derived from the statuary type under discussion, appears on the Attic red-figure calyx-crater by the Kekrops Painter, now in Fulda[7] and dated to around 400 B.C. Europa was recognized in this vase-painting by Robertson, who argued in favour of the identification of the statuary type under discussion as Europa mainly on the basis of this scene, which portrays Herakles taming the Cretan bull[8]. Nevertheless, on this late fifth-century vase the figure's right hand emerges from the mantle, whereas the left hand is totally enveloped in it. The outline of the body on the back can also be seen through the mantle, which marks a deviation from the statuary type.

Robertson collected other vase-paintings in which, in his view, Europa is depicted entirely covered in a mantle, in a manner that recalls the Aphrodite Sosandra statuary type. One is a large Attic red-figure oinochoe in Port Sunlight[9] preserved in a fragmentary condition and dating to the second half of the fifth century B.C. On one side it portrays the death of Sarpedon, a hero from Homer's Iliad, and on the other a puzzling scene with men and women completely enveloped in mantles. Among them a female figure, wrapped in a black mantle, was singled out by the scholar as the mourning Europa, the mother of the dead hero[10]. Another example is the Attic red-figure hydria in Berlin[11], the Kadmos Painter's name-vase, which shows Kadmos slaying the dragon. Here, a seated female figure depicted under one of the handles was thought by Robertson to be Europa, though, of all the examples in this group, she is the least like the statuary type and could be Aphrodite, as was already proposed in the earlier literature[12]. Consequently, the presence of Europa derived from the statuary type in question on both vases is far from certain[13].

On the other hand, not every female figure covered in a mantle from head to toe in fifth-century vase painting and sculpture is an adaptation of this particular sculptural creation. It rather belongs to a general iconographical type of fifth-century Athenian vase-paint-

[7] Fulda (Eichenzell), Schloss Fasanerie / Adolphseck (inv. no. 77).

[8] Robertson 1957, fig. 1 a; Robertson 1988a, 89 no. 218 pl. 47 and on the heroine's genealogy, Robertson 1988a, 76.

[9] Port Sunlight, Lady Lever Art Gallery (inv. no. 5060).

[10] Robertson 1987, 39–41 no. 42 pls. 42 b; 43. 44 a. b; Robertson 1988b, 114 fig. 12, 6; Robertson 1988a, 88 no. 216 (ca. 425 B.C.). A male figure on the same side as the putative Europa on this vase is thought by Robertson 1988b, 114 fig. 12, 7 to reflect also the statuary type.

[11] Berlin, Antikensammlung (inv. no. F 2634).

[12] Robertson 1992, 237–239 with n. 5 fig. 5, 1. On the recognition as Aphrodite, Tiverios 1990, 867 f. no. 19 pl. 559.

[13] A more plausible representation of Europa on a Roman marble sarcophagus in Cliveden: Robertson 1988a, 89 no. 225 pl. 48 (third century A.D.) shows no close correspondence to the statuary type.

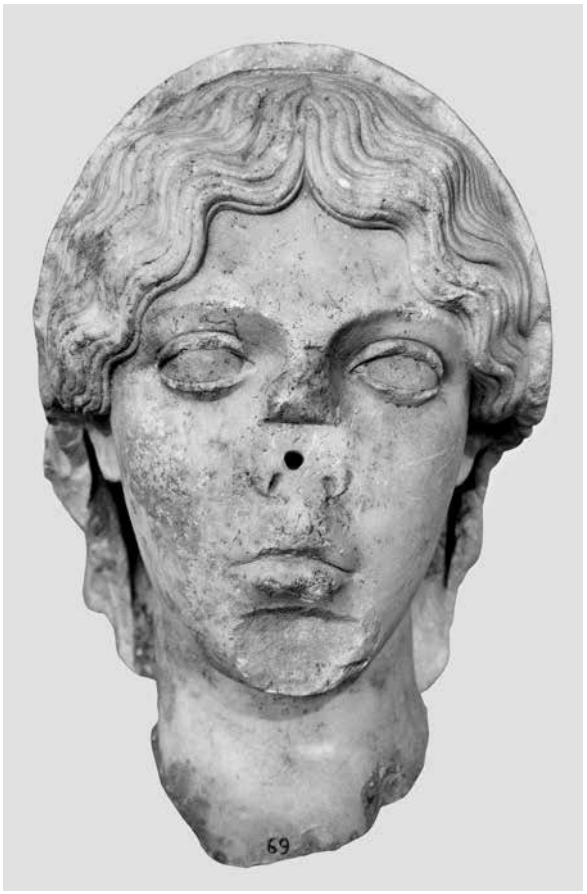

Fig. 5 Head of a statue, Herakleion, Museum inv. no. G 69

ings, which was used to depict various deities and mythological figures. It appears, for example, in the portrayal of a grieving Trojan woman on a cup of ca. 460–450 B.C. by the Penthesilea Painter, now in Ferrara[14], and in Persephone / Kore on a red-figure hydria in Munich[15], again by the Kadmos Painter[16]. It is noteworthy that it occurs for the case of Aphrodite as early as ca. 470 B.C. on an Attic hydria in London[17]. Other figures can be partially or fully covered by their mantles in Early Classical sculpture, such as, for example, the seated women on

Fig. 4 Portrait statue, Argos, Archaeological Museum inv. no. 13570

[14] Ferrara, Museo Nazionale of Spina (inv. no. 44885): Alfieri 1979, 53–55 fig. 12. Cf. Laurenzi 1961, 16 with n. 13 pl. 1 d.

[15] Munich, Antikensammlung (inv. no. 2360).

[16] CVA München (2) pl. 81; Robertson 1992, 239 with n. 15.

[17] London, British Museum (inv. no. E 178): Kossatz-Deismann 1994, 180 no. 38 pl. 113. I owe this reference to Prof. Marion Meyer.

the Ludovisi and Boston thrones, without necessarily deriving from the Aphrodite Sosandra statuary type[18]. A bronze figure used as a mirror handle from Lokroi Epizephyrioi and dated to the second quarter of the fifth century exhibits a mantle which is similarly draped, but this is a much less ambitious composition with the chiton invisible and the right hand overlapping the upper end of the mantle on the chest[19]. Obviously, the statuary type of Aphrodite Sosandra was created following this general iconographical type, which prevailed at the end of the Early Classical style.

To return to the problem of the recognition of this type as Europa, a quick look at the LIMC catalogue entry for Europa makes clear that the iconography of this heroine draws closely on that of Aphrodite. In the fifth and early fourth centuries, at a time when Aphrodite is portrayed dressed rather modestly in Athenian art, usually exposing only one shoulder[20], Europa is characterized by a more decent appearance in vase-painting[21]. From the Late Hellenistic period up to Late Antiquity, Europa also reflects the iconography of the seminude Aphrodite[22]. This suggests that the source of inspiration for the Europa by the Kekrops Painter could have been a statuary type of the goddess of love.

It appears to have been a common practice in ancient Greek iconography to use a figural type established for some deity or mythological figure to depict another with similar qualities[23]. A splendid example of this is the early fourth century statuary type of Hygieia Hope, who wears a diagonal mantle over her chiton, in a manner reminiscent of the iconographical types of the Nymphs, and the Eleusinian Kore in Classical art[24].

Robertson's identification of the statuary type in question as Europa also relied on a headless Roman statuette in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (cat. 20), a reduced copy of the statuary type, which featured the name Europa inscribed in Greek on its base. Nevertheless, Richter had already proposed the idea that this statuette was the portrait of a woman named Europa[25]. Europa does occur as a personal name in ancient Greece[26]. Moreover, both the position of the inscription, which is accompanied by a palm branch and cut on the upper part of the base, and the fact that it is on a statuette are highly unusual factors and may point to an addition made later than the manufacture of this sculpture and are thus unrelated to its original identity. The remains of ancient dowels on the neck and a break on the left hand may indicate an ancient repair, which testifies to the later transformation of a statuette of the goddess Aphrodite into the portrait of a woman named Europa.

Demeter and Demeter Europa

The identification of the original type with Demeter goes back to a proposal by Amelung, who reconstructed the statuary type, as will be discussed below. Its recognition as Demeter

[18] Recently, Palagia 2008, 230 f. fig. 12 (Boston throne). Cf. Hartswick 2004, 119–130 figs. 3, 28. 29, on both monuments.

[19] Ridgway 1970, 68 with n. 15 fig. 110; Rolley 1994, 354.

[20] See Stewart 2012, 270–279 nos. 1–6 and nos. a–c figs. 1–10.

[21] E.g., Robertson 1988a, 79 nos. 45–47. 51 f. 55 pls. 35. 36.

[22] E.g., Robertson 1988a, 83 no. 125 pl. 42; 84 no. 136 with drawing.

[23] On the general iconographical assimilation between Aphrodite and Persephone / Kore in the Classical period, see Λεβέντη 1994/1995, 88–90.

[24] Cf. Leventi 2003, 59–61. 95, and on the statuary type of the Hygieia Hope, 86–96. 158–168 pls. 55–80. Likewise, Hygieia on the Attic reliefs of the late fifth and early fourth century B.C. adopts a mantle with a triangular, ›apron-like‹ overfold, which is characteristic of Kore in fifth century sculpture: Leventi 2003, 57 f.

[25] Richter 1954, 26; this is misunderstood by Robertson 1957 and Robertson 1988a (see cat. 20). Richter's account of the statuette was followed by Orlandini 1950, 99 f.; Moreno 2001a, 376; Stirling 2018, 94. 107 f.

[26] E.g., Osborne – Byrne 1994, 183 nos. 1–3 s. v. Εὐρώπη.

Fig. 6 Portrait statue, Rethymnon, Archaeological Museum inv. no. L 153

Fig. 7 Portrait statue, Rethymnon, Archaeological Museum inv. no. L 153: Back view

Europa was endorsed by later scholars[27], though such an interpretation is totally unsustainable. Pausanias refers to a sanctuary of Demeter Europa in the Boeotian city of Lebadea[28]. This brief reference by the greatest traveler of the Antonine period does not include any information about a statue of this goddess in the sanctuary, though in the same passage he refers to statues of other deities. The large number of copies of our statuary type from the time of Pausanias would certainly have deserved mention by him, if the original statue was in the sanctuary of Demeter Europa in Lebadea.

As a matter of fact, it is the attribution to Kalamis and his putative origin from Boeotia that have most of all grounded the association of the original with Lebadea, as we will see below. Likewise, the identification of the lost bronze with Persephone / Kore from a statuary group depicting the mission of Triptolemos, an idea considered by Schrader in 1921, is totally out of the question. Schrader combined in the same sculptural composition the type of the ›Hestia Giustiniani‹ as Demeter and the classicizing type of the Eros Soranzo as Triptolemos[29]. One of his arguments was the slight turn of the head and upper body of the Aphrodite Sosandra type to her left, which he thought indicated that the original statue belonged to a group. However, such a turn is characteristic of several Severe style sculptures[30].

Nonetheless, the emergence of a composite name combining a goddess such as Demeter and a nymph-like mythological heroine like Europa is more or less unknown before the Hellenistic period, as has recently been pointed out by Parker. A similar example featuring Zeus is Zeus Trophonios, whose cult is attested in Boeotian Lebadea. Parker has interpreted the naming of this cult as a way of elevating a local hero by association with the supreme god[31], which could also have been the case with Demeter Europa.

In conclusion, an obscure and virtually unknown sanctuary in Boeotia, of uncertain date, is rather unlikely to have housed a famous statue that would have generated so many copies in so many parts of the Roman world.

Elpinike

Another identification of this type is with Elpinike, an hypothesis that has recently been revived by Moreno[32]. He interpreted the original as a portrait of Kimon's sister Elpinike, the wife of Kallias, whom Pausanias describes as being represented in the guise of Aphrodite Sosandra standing on the Athenian Acropolis. However, this is an implausible theory which stands completely at odds with the customs of the period when the original statue was erected. This suggestion had indeed already been made by a host of late 19th to early 20th-century scholars, who introduced the idea that the surname Sosandra was a derogatory characterization for Kimon's sister Elpinike, whose marriage to Kallias, as Plutarch tells us, saved her paternal family from debt[33]. Unfortunately, this scholarly opinion is in all likelihood mistaken, as it is based on a false premise, since female portrait statues do not appear before the fourth century B.C. and especially not before its second half[34].

[27] The proposal was made by Amelung 1926, 249 with n. 2 on the basis of the inscription with the name Europa on the New York statuette (cat. 20); see also Mustilli 1939, 36 no. 3; von Steuben 1966, 45 no. 1197. Cf. Orlandini 1950, 99; Guerrini 1974, 231 with n. 18; Alexandridis 2016, 260 f. (Demeter or Aphrodite).

[28] Paus. 9, 39, 4.

[29] Schrader 1921, especially 41 f. fig. 3. Eros Soranzo: name piece in St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum (inv. no. A 192): Ridgway 1970, 132 with no. 2 fig. 163; Davison 2009, 297–301 no. 9 figs. 9, 1. 2 (Classical original). ›Hestia Giustiniani‹, after an original statue of Demeter: Leventi 2019, 159 with n. 2.

[30] See Ridgway 1970, 65 n. 12. Cf. Stewart 2017b, 49 with n. 38.

[31] Parker 2017a, 22 f. 94 with n. 72. See Parker 2017b, 312 f. on Zeus Trophonios. On the cult of Demeter Europa, Parker 2017b, 312 n. 14.

[32] Moreno 2001a, 373. 375 f.; Moreno 2001c, 40–42.

[33] Plu. Cim. 4, 7. Gardner 1918, 19–22 fig. 7; Gardner 1926, 72–76; Picard 1939, 47–49. Contra Studniczka 1907, 14 with n. 3

[34] Dillon 2010, 165–170 (Athens). Cf. n. 6.

Fig. 8. 9 Torso of a statue, Hierapetra, Archaeological Collection inv. no. 61: Front and left side view

In addition, the information offered by Plutarch that, because Polygnotos was Elpinike's lover, he gave her features to the Trojan princess Laodike, daughter of Priam, in his painting of the Fall of Troy in the Stoa Poikile at Athens[35], can be traced to a fictitious tradition that emerged during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. As a further parallel, one may cite the alleged portraits of Perikles and Pheidias, which were later mistakenly recognized in the relief Amazonomachy on the Athena Parthenos shield[36].

DIFFUSION OF THE COPIES IN GREECE AND EUROPA-HELLOTIS

The fact that three copies were found on Crete has prompted a number of scholars to conclude that the original was set up on the island and therefore that it was a statue of Europa, a prominent figure of Cretan mythology[37]. Additional copies are said to have been found on

[35] Plu. Cim. 4, 5. Moreno 2001a, 375; Moreno 2001c, 40.

[36] See Harrison 1966, especially 107–113; Preisshofen 1974.

[37] On the three copies of the type (cat. 8, 12 and 28), see Guerrini 1974, 228–231, who attributed them to various, though not all local, workshops. Cf. Herrmann – Attanasio 2018 (see cat. 12). On the concentration of more copies on Crete as an argument for the interpretation as Europa: Robertson 1957, 3 n. 11; I. Romeo in: Romeo – Portale 1998, 237 f.; Cf. Καραναστάση 2018, 249 with n. 67. – Note, however, that Europa is portrayed in another type riding the bull in a group from the Roman theater of Gortyn: I. Romeo in: Romeo – Portale 1998, 143 f. no. 34 pl. 13 b.

Crete[38]. On Cretan coins, Europa is depicted as either being transported on the back of Zeus as a bull or as seated on a tree. The coins on which Europa is represented, however, do not provide sufficient evidence to support the hypothesis of a cult of Europa in Gortyn or on Crete in general[39].

This archaeological myth needs to be reconsidered, not only because Crete has produced no original statuary of the Severe style, but also because several examples of the Aphrodite Sosandra type in the form of Roman statues and statuettes were found in the Peloponnese. Four have been found in Corinth (cat. 13–16 *figs. 3 a. b*), one in Argos (cat. 10 *fig. 4*) and one in Epidauros (cat. 25). Of the three Cretan copies, only the head from Gortyn in the Herakleion Museum (cat. 28 *fig. 5*) is a copy of the head of this type, since the Rethymnon statue (cat. 12 *figs. 6. 7)* is a portrait and the Hierapetra statue (cat. 8 *figs. 8. 9*) has no head. Another fragmentary statuette of this type came to light during the Agora Excavations of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (cat. 24). Finally, the distribution of the copies within the Greek territory, where a remarkable concentration of them has been observed[40], has proved not to be particularly helpful in locating the original setting of the bronze statue.

Sterling's earlier proposal that Europa may have been equated with Hellotis, a goddess venerated at Corinth according to later sources[41], and which thus suggests another identity for the copies in Corinth, is equally unsubstantiated[42]. Though the Hellotia festival in the Cretan town of Gortyn was associated with the death of Europa, at least in the Hellenistic period, Hellotis appears exclusively as a cult epithet of Athena either in Attica (Marathon)[43] or in Corinth[44], and this figure cannot be positively associated with Europa in mainland Greece. In fact, Hellotis, an enigmatic name[45], does not seem to describe an independent goddess. As a result, there is no evidence for a cult of Europa anywhere in Greece, especially at the time when the statuary type of Aphrodite Sosandra was created. We cannot of course exclude the possibility that the statuary type could have been occasionally used in the Imperial period to portray local mythological heroines, who drew on the iconography of Aphrodite, although it is impossible to speak about this with certainty.

[38] The Venice statuette cat. 21, as well as the Venice head cat. 33, both from the Grimani Collection, are thought to have come from Crete. Additionally, the head in the Munich Residenz Collection (cat. 40) is thought to have been of Cretan origin. This was first suggested by Gasparri 1991, 732; cf. Καραναστάση 2012, 446 with n. 64, and was a deduction based on its inlaid eyes recalling the bronze original, a feature which it shares with the above-mentioned head in Venice. However, the head from Thessaloniki (cat. 32) also had inlaid eyes.

[39] Sporn 2002, 166 f. is sceptical about the festival Hellotia held in honour of Europa in Gortyn, Crete, but ultimately recognized her cult there as that of a local heroine. – On the coins of Gortyn, Sporn 2002, 166 with nos. 1159. 1160. Cf. Monaco 1988/1989, 65 with n. 39 on Europa with the name Hellotis and the celebration of Hellotia on Crete.

[40] Stirling 2018, 98. 100–108 tab. 4, 2.

[41] Stirling 2008, 137 with n. 143.

[42] The headless statuettes from Corinth cat. nos. 14–16 were referred to first by Ridgway 1981, 442 with n. 81 and Sturgeon 2004, 151 f. no. 42 pl. 51 a, who both agreed that the original was presumably a statue of Aphrodite.

[43] Cf. above n. 39. On the cult of Athena Hellotis in Marathon, see Monaco 1988/1989, 58 with n. 14. Cf. Yalouris 1950, 28 with n. 55. 62 on Athena Hellotis in Marathon, possibly to be identified as Hippia. Monaco 1988/1989, 65 conjectures that Hellotis was a different goddess from Athena and equated with Europa in Marathon. Nevertheless, her supposition (Monaco 1988/1989, 67–71) that side B of the Adolphseck crater portrays Europa (following Robertson 1957 [n. 8]) as Hellotis and Athena Hellotis seated, is not persuasive.

[44] On the equation of Athena Hellotis with Athena Chalinitis in Corinth, see Monaco 1988/1989, 65 with nos. 39. 40. Will 1955, 129–145 supports the idea that Hellotis was a Prehellenic heroine or goddess, who was later identified with Athena Chalinitis or Hippia in Corinth. Cf. Yalouris 1950, 27–29. – Apparently, the existence of a sanctuary with the name Hellotion in Argos does not oblige us to accept that there was a cult of Europa Hellotis there, as Monaco 1988/1989, 65 with n. 41 suggests, since at least in Marathon and Corinth, where a Hellotion and the festival Hellotia are both attested, Hellotis was an epithet of Athena. Cf. Sporn 2002, 167 n. 1167.

[45] Parker 2017a, 14.

THE APHRODITE DEDICATED BY KALLIAS ON THE ATHENIAN ACROPOLIS AND LUCIAN'S SOSANDRA

According to the textual evidence, during the period 480–450 B.C. in particular, there were very few female statues in Greek sculpture, and almost all of them represented female deities[46]. The only example for which there are more references in the ancient texts is the Sosandra by Kalamis, who is possibly to be equated with the Aphrodite made by Kalamis and dedicated by Kallias on the Athenian Acropolis, as reported by Pausanias[47]. The three literary passages on Kalamis' Sosandra, where she is described as veiled and decorously draped with a grave smile on her face, are found in Lucian[48].

Another testimony records the *anabeblemene* by Kalamis and is attested by Pliny[49]. The association of this statue with the Sosandra near the Propylaia on the Athenian Acropolis seems persuasive[50]. This was first argued by Ferri[51], who amended the corruption of the written tradition to *anabeblemene*, taking it to be a reference to the most celebrated work by Kalamis related by Pliny. *Anabeblemene* denotes a female figure covered by her mantle, a part of which falls over her shoulder down the back, corresponding to the ἀναβολὴ in the description of the drapery of the Sosandra in Lucian[52]. This is indeed a significant trait of the Early Classical statuary type of Aphrodite Sosandra. This adjective could therefore have been used to describe an image of Aphrodite, such as, for example, the epithet *anadyomene,* and it is not a cult name that is unattested in other textual sources.

It is highly probable that all of the above testimonies refer to the statuary type of Aphrodite Sosandra which was copied a great deal in the Roman Imperial period[53]. Its reconstruction by Amelung points to a lost bronze original of the Early Classical period. Amelung combined the torso of a portrait statue in the Berlin Museum, Antikensammlung (cat. 11 *figs. 10. 11*), with the idealized head in the same Museum (cat. 27), although he identified the original as a statue of Demeter possibly by the Aeginetan sculptor Onatas[54]. Soon afterwards, Patroni was the first to recognize the Acropolis Aphrodite Sosandra by Kalamis in the Amelung goddess, publishing a head of the statuary type in Pavia, University Museum (cat. 30 *figs. 12. 13*)[55]. The book issued by Orlandini in 1950, which established the identity of the original as the Aphrodite Sosandra by Kalamis which was dedicated on the Athenian Acropolis by Kallias, is of seminal importance. His interpretation was based on the reputation of Kalamis as an Early Classical sculptor in the literary record, the number of the then-known copies of the bronze statue in the Roman copyist tradition, and the originality of its composition which pointed to a famous creation, as well as the correspondence between the statuary type and the description of Sosandra by Lucian[56]. In particular, the lack of any hint of a smile on the face of this type has been correctly interpreted in contemporary scholarship as a reference to her internal character and not just a matter of facial expression, since the

[46] See Pollitt 1990, 32–52.

[47] Paus. 1, 23, 2.

[48] Lucianus Im. 4 and 6; DMeretr. 3, 2. Hallof et al. 2014a, p. 502–504 no. 8 DNO 587–590; cf. Cistaro 2009, 88–91.

[49] Plinius, HN 34, 71

[50] Lucianus Im. 4–5.

[51] Ferri 1951, 129; cf. Orlandini 1950, 94; Orlandini 1951; Napoli 1954, 8; Laurenzi 1961, 14 f.; Cistaro 2009, 89. A critical approach is taken by Moreno 2001a, 374–376.

[52] Lucianus Im. 6. Hallof et al. 2014a, p. 503 no. 8 DNO no. 589.

[53] On the copies, see Poulsen 1937, 123–125; Mustilli 1939, 35 f.; Orlandini 1950, 92–98; Guerrini 1974, 229 f. nos. 1–28; Jenewein 1985, 16–18 (statuettes); Tomović 1989/1990, figs. 1–9; Κατάκης 2002, 93 f. 153 f. 269 f.; 353 f. n. 207 (statues); Stirling 2018, 90–93 tab. 4, 1 lists 39 copies (statues and statuettes in the round).

[54] Amelung 1900, especially 185–187. 193 pls. 3. 4. Cf. Ridgway 1970, 65; Guerrini 1974, 231.

[55] Patroni 1905, 275–277, followed by Frova 1949, 137 fig. 56, accepted it as the most accurate copy. Also, Saletti 1999, 69–72, who compared it stylistically to the Herakleion head (cat. 28 *fig. 5*), where, however, the lower part of the face is narrower.

[56] Orlandini 1950, 100–135, especially 129–135.

Fig. 10 Portrait statue, Berlin, Staatliche Museen inv. no. Sk 1518: Front view

Fig. 11 Portrait statue, Berlin, Staatliche Museen inv. no. Sk 1518: Left side view, detail

final word of Lucian's phrase in *Imagines* 6 »καὶ τὸ μειδίαμα σεμνὸν καὶ λεληθὸς« denotes a literally hidden, or non-existent, smile[57]. Alternatively, it has been stated that the original expression was lost in the copyist tradition[58], although this suggestion is unlikely to be correct.

The association of the body and head types in Amelung's reconstruction was confirmed by the discovery of a marble statuette from the Syrian city of Hama, now in the Damascus National Museum, where the head is intact (cat. 18), and later by other marble copies, especially the superb, though rather unfinished, statue from Baiae, now in Naples (cat. 1 *figs. 1. 2*)[59]. This is the best preserved copy of the statuary type. It was found in 1953 in

[57] Lucianus, Im. 6 (edition: Harmon 1925). Orlandini 1950, 123–126; Orlandini 1954, 329; Laurenzi 1961, 15. Cf. Andò 1975, 91 f.; Cantilena et al. 1989, 100 no. 26.

[58] Jantzen 1962, 19.

[59] Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. no. 153654: see Napoli 1954, 8.

Fig. 12 Head, Università di Pavia, Museo Archeologico without inv. no.: Front view

Fig. 13 Head, Pavia, Università di Pavia, Museo Archeologico without inv. no.: Three-quarter view from the left

the Baths of a Roman villa, which has since been named the Villa of Sosandra after it[60]. The copy, made of Parian marble, was first dated by Napoli and Orlandini to the early Severan period[61]. Some decades later, Guerrini and Gasparri dated it convincingly to the Hadrianic period, A.D. 120–130, and both attributed it to the local workshop of Baiae, to which the famous plaster casts also belonged[62]. Gasparri in fact went further and believed that the fragmentary head of the same type in Rome from the Palatine (cat. 34) and the headless copy in the Naples Archaeological Museum from Stabiae (cat. 2 *fig. 14*), as well as the Berlin head (cat. 27), were all Hadrianic products of the same workshop, which operated in Baiae from the Augustan till the Antonine period. The heyday of this production centre was linked with the Emperor Hadrian, his visits to Athens, his Panhellenic devotion and the cultural milieu created for the Classical tradition – which continued in the circle of Herodes Atticus – when major original works of the Early Classical period became, for the first time, part of the Roman copyists' repertory[63]. The copyist tradition of the statuary type is now thought to

[60] On the Villa of Sosandra recently, Di Luca 2009, especially 159 with n. 69 figs. 1. 14. 17.

[61] Napoli 1954, 2; Orlandini 1954, 327.

[62] Guerrini 1974, 232–234; Gasparri 1995, 177. Cf. Lauter 1969, 115 n. 1.

[63] Gasparri 1995, 176–187, especially 178–181. 185–187. Germini 2008, 213 f. See recently, Stirling 2018, 94–99 and for Greek artists working in the Baiae workshop, especially 96 with n. 20. Cf. Candilio 1979, 51, who adds the Paris head (cat. 29) to this Hadrianic group. Romeo 2010, 192 attributed the Capitoline copy (cat. 4) to the Baiae workshop. On the dating of the heads of the type to the period A.D. 120–150: Lauter 1969, 115 f.; cf. Guerrini 1974, 230; Saletti 1999, figs. 2–8 (stylistic assessment). On the Munich head (cat. 40), which has adjusted the type to the late fifth century B.C. style, Weski – Frosien-Leinz 1987, 136 f.

Fig. 14 Headless statue, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. no. 137885

Fig. 15 Headless statue, Paris, Louvre inv. no. Ma 2203

have begun in the first century A.D. It was intensified during the Hadrianic and Antonine periods, partly as a result of a fashion connected with the impact of the Second Sophistic and Lucian's anecdotes concerning Sosandra. Nowadays, the Stabiae (cat. 2) and one of the Capitoline Museum copies (cat. 3) are dated to the first century A.D.[64] The first is unique in coming from a datable context, as it was found sealed by a thick volcanic layer produced by the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in A.D. 79[65], while the second is stylistically close to the former[66]. As it happens, the Stabiae statue may date to the Julio-Claudian period, while the Capitoline example seems to be rather Flavian. The latter combines strongly undercut

[64] Stirling 2018, 94 f.

[65] See Ferrara 1999, 174, who dates the Stabiae copy to the mid first century A.D.

[66] Romeo 2010, 174–177 no. 20 with pls.

folds with flatter ones, so it can be compared with the late Flavian copy of the Aphrodite type Louvre-Naples in Florence[67]. The total height of the original statue can be estimated at around 2.00 m[68]. No copy preserves the left hand intact, which may have held an attribute[69].

Some of the copies are portraits, namely those in Argos, Berlin and Rethymnon (cat. 10–12 *figs. 4. 6. 7. 10. 11*). Recently, Stirling has conjectured that even copies with an idealized head might have really been portrait statues, e.g., the Ephesos / Smyrna head (cat. 31) with incised irises, although this is not certain[70]. The heads of statuettes such as the Hama statuette in Damascus (cat. 18) and that from Corinth, Panagia Domus villa (cat. 13), as well as others where only the head is preserved, are not portraits, but exemplify the stylistic adjustment of the original face to the period when they were manufactured, where the reduced scale produces less detail and poor overall quality in the face.

Scholarship nowadays convincingly distances the original bronze statue of the Aphrodite Sosandra type from the Acropolis base inv. no. 7898, the dedicatory inscription[71] of which names Kallias, son of Hipponikos, and which has been dated by letter-forms to ca. 480 B.C., an attribution in vogue since the late 19th century, especially by epigraphers[72]. This base actually belonged to a bronze figure, but it may have carried a slightly larger-than-life-size male statue, possibly the dedicator Kallias himself[73]. In contrast, the original of the Aphrodite Sosandra, which is thought to have stood near the Propylaia in Roman times, has been associated by more recent studies with a fragmentary inscription from the Athenian Agora[74]. This seems to be a fragment of its actual base, which preserves the names of Kalamis and Kallias and dates to the mid fifth century[75].

It is worth investigating whether the statuary type is appropriate to a statue of the goddess of love. The Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite, verse 64, relates how the goddess prepared herself for her journey to Troy where she would meet Anchises. On this occasion, the goddess covers herself from head to toe with garments in her temple at Paphos in Cyprus in order to travel to Troy and seduce her future lover. In the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. Aphrodite is occasionally depicted as veiled, especially on the East frieze of the Parthenon[76]. In general, fifth-century statues of Aphrodite in Athenian art portray the goddess as fully dressed in chiton and mantle, though sensually draped, and this tradition continues well into the Hellenistic period up to the time of the Sullan sack of Athens in 86 B.C.[77]

The geometric patterns on the mantle of the Aphrodite Sosandra *(figs. 1. 7)* constitute a major feature of this statuary type and are here used in abundance when compared to the other female draped Early Classical statues, which, as a rule, are peplos figures. They also stand in perfect accordance with Aphrodite's intimate character, since, for all her sensual

[67] Florence, Galleria Uffici (inv. no. 27): Raeder 2010, 146 f. 326 fig. 233. The Louvre statue (cat. 5. *fig. 15*) which Romeo 2010 (n. 66) thought was stylistically near to both afore-mentioned statues, may be Hadrianic as it is most akin to the copy of the Erechtheion kore C from the Villa Hadriana in Tivoli, Antiquarium (inv. no. 2239): Söldner 2010, 263 f. 347 figs. 338. 339.

[68] Alexandridis 2016, 260.

[69] See Alexandridis 2016 (n. 68). Cf. Guerrini 1974, 233; Germini 2008, 214 (with height 1.90 m).

[70] Stirling 2018, 101.

[71] IG I^3 835.

[72] See Studniczka 1907, 54–59 with n. 5 (earlier literature) fig. 11. Already, Studniczka 1907, 58 f. was particularly opposed to the association of the Acropolis base with the type of Aphrodite Sosandra. Nevertheless, this attribution was later aknowledged by Anti 1922/1923, 1114 f.

[73] See Keesling 2003, 170 f. with n. 13, tentatively. Recently argued by Fouquet forthcoming.

[74] Inscription from the Athenian Agora inv. no. I 5128; IG I^3 876.

[75] Raubitschek 1949, 152 f. no. 136; Geagan 2011, 11 no. A 12 pl. 1; Hallof et al. 2014a, p. 504 no. 8a DNO 591.

[76] See Delivorrias 1984, 29 f. nos. 185–192 pls. 21. 22 s. v. Aphrodite; Parthenon frieze: Brommer 1977, pl. 179. On fifth century vase paintings, Dörig 1965, 251 figs. 90. 91. For a critical approach to scholarly views recognizing the Aphrodite Sosandra in unveiled fifth century statues of Aphrodite, see Moreno 2001a, 374.

[77] See Stewart 2012, 311 f.

appearance in later sculpture, the goddess may appear in a highly stylized form as a draped herm or even as an Archaistic statuette which accompanies some of her later statues and on which they may be occasionally supported with their left arm[78]. This aspect is especially associated with her guise as Aphrodite Ourania, according to the testimony of Pausanias[79], who saw a herm of this goddess in the sanctuary of Aphrodite in the Gardens by the Ilissos River along with the cult statue of Aphrodite by Alkamenes that was venerated there. The exact location of the sanctuary of Aphrodite in the Gardens near the Ilissos is a matter of scholarly debate. However, an interesting but forgotten view of 19th century scholarship has recently been resuscitated by Kritzas, according to whom this sanctuary originates underneath the small Christian church of Agioi Pantes in Tsocha Street, Ambelokepoi[80]. Kritzas took into account the evidence of ancient architectural members, fragments of capitals and drums of Ionic columns found at the site, which had belonged to a small Ionic temple of the late fifth century B.C., as had been demonstrated by Korres[81]. He further refers to an excavation that was conducted in the region in 1816 by Caroline, Princess of Wales, who is reported to have found two marble pigeons and a fragmentary Eros statuette[82]. These finds may indeed support the existence of the sanctuary of Aphrodite in the Gardens there, as the Ilissos flowed nearby. The fifth century B.C. inscription of Zeus Meilichios, which came to light near the spot, as well as the excavation in the same area of the depository of bronze statuettes of a Dionysiac character, which date from the first century B.C. to the second century A.D.[83], also do not exclude the possibility that a sanctuary of Aphrodite existed there, since it could well have co-existed with other fertility cults. Furthermore, the modern name of the region Ambelokepoi (Αμπελόκηποι), which means ›vineyards‹, may echo the ancient name of the place[84]. Pausanias' itinerary does not refute this theory, since he describes the Sanctuary of Aphrodite in the Gardens after that of Apollo Pythios and before that of Apollo Lykeios[85], now tentatively located at Rigillis Street in Athens. Thus, he may have walked up the north bank of the Ilissos and then down again by the south bank of the river, passing the temple of Artemis Agrotera and the Kynosarges Herakleion[86]. All in all, the concentration of fecundity cults in the district of Ambelokepoi, the recovery of the marble statuettes, and the discovery of the small Ionic temple may point to the existence of the sanctuary of Aphrodite in the Gardens within this ancient landscape along the upper reaches of the Ilissos[87].

[78] Cf. Orlandini 1950, 108 f. pl. 6 (graphical reconstruction of the statue). – It has been suggested that such Archaistic statuettes represent Archaic statues of Aphrodite which denote the continuity of her cult: see Schoch 2009, 128–142; Stewart 2012, 282 with n. 40. 329 f. no. 18 fig. 12 (Agora Museum inv. S 2168 of early Hellenistic date). See also n. 98 below.

[79] Paus. 1, 19, 2.

[80] Κριτζάς 2004, 209–211. The theory was first proposed by Fauvel: Κριτζάς 2004, 209 with nos. 9. 11–13.

[81] Korres 1996, 103–109.

[82] Κριτζάς 2004, 209 f. with nos. 12. 13.

[83] Κριτζάς 2004, 210 f. with nos. 14–16 does not exclude a cult of Meilichios or rather a sanctuary of Dionysos in the spot. On the bronze statuettes, Κρυστάλλη-Βότση 2014.

[84] Literally ›grape gardens‹: ambelo[s] (ἄμπελος= vine) and kepoi (κῆποι = gardens).

[85] Paus. 1, 19, 2–6.

[86] The Apollo Lykeios Sanctuary, including the Lykeion Gymnasium of Athens, has been identified by Lygouri-Tolia 2002, though not on epigraphical grounds. – Pausanias exactly comments on the Kynosarges Herakles sanctuary between Aphrodite in the Gardens and the Apollo Lykeios. On the other hand, the juxtaposition of the Kynosarges and the Lykeion sanctuaries in Pausanias' account may be attributed to the similarity of both these structures that were attached to Gymnasia, and not to the topographical sequence: see Wycherley 1963, 172.

[87] On the various proposals for the placement of Aphrodite's Ilissos sanctuary, see Marchiandi 2011. –The fact that marble statuettes of Aphrodite and Eros from the Hellenistic to the Roman periods have been found in the Olympieion region, one of the places where the Aphrodiseion is currently sought, does not constitute a compelling argument for the traditional notion that the sanctuary was located there as Βλίζος 2008, figs. 2. 7–10 affirmed. These may have alternatively come from the decoration of Roman villas or baths existing in the area, a suggestion that this author did not rule out (Βλίζος 2008, 418 f. with n. 35).

An example of a marble female herm dating to the Hellenistic period (200–150 B.C.) was excavated in the Athenian Agora[88], which portrays a female figure with a chubby face, the hair bound around the head and a summary rendering of a girdled peplos with long overfold and kolpos. Long ago T. L. Shear took this to be an image of Aphrodite Ourania in agreement with the aforementioned testimony of Pausanias, thereby contributing to the formation of a scholarly consensus for the existence of a sanctuary of this goddess on the north-eastern slope of Kolonos Agoraios that is supported by another passage of Pausanias[89], near where the herm has come to light. Its location is, however, strongly contested[90]. Subsequently, Harrison recognized this sculpture as a herm of Artemis and recently Stewart has once again challenged the identity of the herm in favour of another deity, Eileithyia, the goddess who assisted at births, who was known to have had sanctuaries in Athens. Her cult is also attested around the Athenian Agora[91]. His main argument is dependent on a similar facial type seen in three identical herms with shaft-shaped bodies and rectangular projections, but which have no carved drapery that recall xoana and which are all thought to depict Eileithyia on a fragment of an un-sourced fourth century votive relief kept in the Library of Hadrian in Athens[92], where, however, the figures wear a polos. In this connection, it may be significant that three figures of Eileithyia are portrayed in Athens from the late Classical period to the time of Pausanias[93], who saw three xoana of this goddess draped from head to feet in her sanctuary near the Serapeion in Athens[94]. Moreover, since the marble herm from the Agora does not have a polos, while the upper part of the head is intact and shows that this figure had no headgear[95], it may have even depicted a different goddess, namely Aphrodite. For Aphrodite is especially linked to herms as a fertility deity with roots in her aniconic depiction at least according to the Cypriot tradition where the statue of the goddess had the form of a cone or a pyramid, as has been endorsed by other scholars[96]. Further, it is noteworthy that the Brazzà Aphrodite in Berlin[97], which is thought to reflect the statue of Aphrodite Ourania in Elis and which literary testimonies claim to have been depicted by Pheidias as stepping on a turtle, was possibly supporting herself on a herm or an Archaistic statuette with her left arm[98]. On the other hand, we should not overlook the fact that we ignore the type of the statue of Aphrodite Ourania which was produced by the same sculptor and stood in her sanctuary in the Agora of Athens, as was mentioned by Pausanias in his aforementioned passage. Thus, the opinion of some scholars that it was a duplicate of the Elean statue[99] remains a mere speculation.

[88] Athenian Agora, Agora Museum (inv. no. S-1086).

[89] Paus. 1, 14, 7.

[90] See Stewart 2017a, 120 f. n. 74. See also below n. 100.

[91] Shear 1939, 238 f. fig. 37; cf. similarly Weber 2006, 180 f. pl. 23, 2; Harrison 1965, 167–169 no. 218 pl. 58; Stewart 2017a, 118–123 no. 13 fig. 26 a–d; Stewart 2018, 90–92. 154 f. no. 80 fig. 84; cf. Sourlas 2017, 171 f. with notes 53–55 pl. 75 fig. 1 a–d.

[92] Inv. no. ΠΛ 2328.

[93] Paus. 1, 18, 5.

[94] On the relief, Stewart 2017a, 121 f. with n. 75; Sourlas 2017, 164–174 pl. 73, 1. 2. Sourlas 2017, 171–174 briefly highlights the sanctuaries of Eileithyia in Athens. See also the sanctuary of Eileithyiai at Megara (Paus. 1, 44, 2).

[95] Stewart 2017a, 120 with n. 73; Stewart 2018, 90.

[96] Harrison 1965, 125. 138. 168; Harrison 1984, 387; Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 19 f. with n. 17; 67–70. 337. 338 with n. 146; Weber 2006, 180–182; Schoch 2009, especially 70–80. See also Kondoleon – Segal 2011, 56. 192 nos. 31. 32 figs. 31. 32: Roman coins of Cyprus with the temple and aniconic statue of Aphrodite at Paphos (V. Pirenne-Delforge and G. Pironti).

[97] Berlin, Antikensammlung (inv. no. Sk 1459).

[98] Schoch 2009, 35–39. 312 no. A1 pl. 1–3: original of the late fifth century B.C.; Davison 2009, 29–32. 35 no. 3, 3 fig. 3, 1: inaccurate Roman copy, once supported on a herm; cf. Weber 2006, 182 with n. 69; 184 with n. 80 pl. 22. On a relief in Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Profano (ex Lateranense) inv. no. 9561, dating to the early fourth century B.C., Aphrodite is supported on a herm, too: Harrison 1965, 139 with n. 226; Schoch 2009, 312 no. A3 pl. 4, 2. 3; Sourlas 2017, 165 with n. 14.

[99] See Weber 2006, 180–188; Stewart 2012, 272 no. 2 fig. 3. Contra, Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 34; Davison 2009, 29–37, especially 33 f.

Furthermore, Aphrodite is arguably the perfect candidate for the Agora herm, as she was venerated in the Athenian political centre in an important sanctuary, which the American excavators have now rightly shown to be that of Aphrodite Ourania, in the northern part of the Athenian Agora. In this sanctuary, a monumental altar of the goddess existed from the end of the sixth century B.C., but the extant temple dates from the Roman period[100]. I believe that such small herms were humble individual offerings or cult objects placed in regular or domestic shrines, which reproduced on a reduced scale a similar larger cult image, as in the case of the herm of Aphrodite Ourania in the sanctuary of Aphrodite in the Gardens adjacent to the Ilissos River. Stewart especially associated the above herm with the bones of the new-born children from the Agora Bone Well, where it was found, since Eileithyia assisted at their births. The herm, however, may have represented Aphrodite Ourania as a goddess of procreation[101], and may have ended up in the well in an act of propitiation, as Pirenne-Delforge has already suggested[102]. One should also not exclude the possibility that it may have come from one of her sanctuaries in the vicinity, either that of Aphrodite Ourania or the Hellenistic sanctuary of Demos and the Charites situated on the north-eastern slope of Kolonos Agoraios and near the well, where Aphrodite Hegemone of the Demos was venerated from the early second century B.C., and where the herm may have originally stood as a votive offering[103].

Similar herms may all have been manufactured in the same workshop with a standard head type and minor differences in the headdress and drapery. They could depict different goddesses, although today it is not always feasible to distinguish between them[104]. Interestingly, another female herm is depicted on the Darius crater in the Naples Archaeological Museum[105] and dated to ca. 340–330 B.C. Here, its overall appearance as well as its close proximity to the personification of Apate allow us to identify the herm as Aphrodite[106].

Be that as it may, the typological impact of the Aphodite Sosandra type may also be detected on the Aphrodite of Parthenon North metope XXV *(figs. 16–18)*[107]. Here the goddess is accompanied by Eros hovering over her right shoulder. She acts as a mediator in the

[100] Shear 1984, 24–40 figs. 13. 16; Camp 2008, 95 f. figs. 13. 14; Stewart 2012, 272 n. 14; Liston et al. 2018, 20–23. Italian scholars, on the contrary, insist on the existence of the sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania on the north-eastern or eastern side of Kolonos Agoraios: Lippolis 2009, 261–266.

[101] On the myth of the introduction of Aphrodite Ourania's cult in Athens and its relation to her function as a goddess of progeny, Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 15. On a portable inscribed marble treasury of the early fourth century from the region to the north of the Acropolis, where the *proteleia* was collected and offered by young Athenian women to Aphrodite Ourania before they got married, see Τσάκος 1990/1991, especially 26 f. fig 6. 7. Tsakos thought, however, that the treasury may have belonged to the sanctuary of Aphrodite in the Gardens on the north side of the Athenian Acropolis, which is closer to the findspot, identifying this Aphrodite with Aphrodite Ourania as well. Contra, Camp 2001, 261, who connected the treasury to the Agora sanctuary. For a full account of the various attributions Weber 2006, 171–173.

[102] See above n. 96. Stewart 2018, 92 similarly surmised a propitiating gesture by a midwife from whose household sanctuary the putative herm of Eileithyia may have come.

[103] On the sanctuary functioning from the late third century (after 229 B.C.), see Monaco 2001, 113–150; Stewart 2012, 289–296. The well fill is dated now to 165–150 B.C.: Liston et al. 2018, 8. On the topography of the region, Liston et al. 2018, fig. 1.

[104] Stewart 2017a, 122 with n. 84 fig. 27 and Stewart 2018, 92 fig. 85 refers to clay moulds for small Eileithyia herms from domestic areas of the Agora.

[105] Naples Archaeological Museum (inv. no. H 3253/81947).

[106] Harrison 1965, 138 with n. 233; Schoch 2009, 71 f. n. 115 fig. 4 (Oriental Aphrodite). This herm is nude with female breasts and wears jewellery, so it does not seem plausible to think that it represents Artemis, as Sourlas 2017, 166 n. 18 proposed. See also a miniature headless female herm in ivory with a long, almost foldless, dress and protruding plastically rendered breasts as well as rectangular projections as arms, which was found in the the late fourth century B.C. building Z 3 at Kerameikos (Kerameikos Museum [inv. 6042]: Knigge 2005, 216 no. 846 pl. 131; Stewart 2018, 92 n. 88), thought to have been a brothel, which may provide a clue regarding its identification with Aphrodite.

[107] Acropolis Museum (inv. no. Akr. 20213): Brommer 1967, 50 pls. 105–110; Berger 1986, pls. 20–23.

Fig. 16 Parthenon North metope XXV, Acropolis Museum inv. no. 20213, Aphrodite and Helen

Fig. 17 Parthenon North metope XXV, Acropolis Museum inv. no. 20213, Aphrodite, detail

reconciliation between Menelaos and Helen. Although Aphrodite's stance on the metope is the reverse of that on the statuary type, with her mantle closely wrapped around her body on the side of her supporting right leg and her head slightly turned to her right, the mantle seems to cover almost her entire body. The bottom of her chiton is also visible in front, as in the Aphrodite Sosandra type. Further, she demonstrates a pronounced contrapposto. On the metope, Aphrodite has her right arm against her breast under the mantle, as is evident form the right outline of her body that is preserved. This is a unique motif concerning the

Fig. 18 Parthenon North metope XXV, Aphrodite and Helen: Aphrodite's left side. Detail of plaster cast kept in Athens, in the Weiler building, after a mould from the actual metope prepared for F. Brommer in the early 1960s

portrayal of this goddess in Classical sculpture[108], which nonetheless also appears in the statuary type of Aphrodite Sosandra.

The left arm of Aphrodite on the metope is bent with the forearm set in an almost horizontal position on her left side, emerging from the mantle *(fig. 18)*. The arm is covered only by the sleeve of the chiton, which falls against the background under her elbow. Her left forearm presses a small part of the mantle's front edge against her side that is held backward in a kind of loop. From there the mantle's front vertical edge cascades down in a slight zigzag shape and tubular folds. The original surface is not preserved on the left part of the chest and shoulder, but it is clear that both vertical edges of the mantle were thrown over her left shoulder. The rear vertical edge of the mantle falls across her back. Both edges are marked by the fringed hem that is characteristic of fifth century originals[109].

The Aphrodite on the Parthenon metope, although severely damaged, partially reflects the slightly earlier bronze statue of Aphrodite Sosandra and is the first preserved example of a standing female figure bearing the combination of an ample mantle that almost entirely covers the body and that is worn over a barely visible chiton. The alternative way of wearing the mantle, as shown, e.g., by the later Nemesis by Agorakritos (430–420 B.C.), would have created different layers with the front edge of the mantle falling across her left side[110], which is not the case here. Nevertheless, in comparison with the original Aphrodite Sosandra statue, the Aphrodite on the metope is characterized in an idiosyncratic way in which her mantle falls open, revealing her upper left side. It is important to note that the Aphrodite on the metope may have been veiled, like the nearby figure of Helen, as Praschniker has shown in his reconstructed drawing, although he did not understand her gestures correctly. Even though no remnants of this part of her garment are visible on the background, the drapery overlapping the outline of the base of her neck on the right back side could have belonged to the mantle covering her head *(fig. 17)*. Hence, the veiled head may have projected slightly over the tainia of the metope[111].

In reality, the goddess on the North metope of the Parthenon has her left forearm bent in front of her side and the whole arm is left almost uncovered by the mantle. This motif,

[108] Compare, e.g., Classical Athenian statues of Aphrodite, Stewart 2012, 270–279 nos. 1–6 and a–c figs. 2–10.

[109] See Berger 1986, pl. 20. Cf. above n. 107.

[110] Δεσπίνης 1971, pl. III. 37.

[111] Praschniker 1928, 19 f. 98–102 figs. 11. 76 pl. 7 (not accurate drawings). For a brief discussion of this comparison, see Leventi 2019, 164 f.

which is exceptional in the fifth century sculptural repertoire, occurs nonetheless in the late fourth century headless and larger-than-life-size Demeter statue in the Aegina Museum[112]. Another statuary type of Aphrodite, the ›Ariadne Valentini‹, the original of which is datable to ca. 400 B.C.[113], has a part of her mantle gathered on her left shoulder and falling back in cascading zigzag folds, leaving her arm totally bare. Both these statues, like the metope Aphrodite, adopt the motif of the mantle thrown over the shoulder on the side of their relaxed leg, which may be interpreted as a means of supporting their advanced posture. The later statues may have elaborated on a trend originating with the Aphrodite on the North metope of the Parthenon.

In short, Aphrodite on the Parthenon is not about to disrobe, as has been proposed in a recent reconstruction based on an Attic red-figure oinochoe connected with the Heimarmene Painter in the Vatican, which dates to ca. 430 B.C.[114] Her arms are clearly in a different position from those of the Aphrodite on this vase and those of the late fourth century mantle-clad Alcestis preparing to depart from the underworld on the column drum from the Artemision of Ephesos[115]. Thus, the goddess is not trying to seduce Menelaos on Helen's behalf, but instead, she is depicted in a kind of majestic epiphany, deploying her creative powers. If this really is the case, then she is here acting as Sosandra, a suitable epithet for Aphrodite, which means ›saviour of men‹ (Soteira, Σώτειρα). Her powerful intervention would have been enough to transform Menelaos from an aggressor to an adoring husband on the Parthenon Ilioupersis. The typological dependence of Aphrodite on the North metope XXV of the Parthenon on the statuary type of Aphrodite Sosandra reinforces the possibility that the original bronze statue portrayed the same goddess.

The problem of the date of the original creation now needs to be tackled. Usually, in modern scholarship the statuary type is dated to 470–450 or ca. 460 B.C. without providing any supporting evidence[116]. The dating of Early Classical sculptures is notoriously difficult when external evidence is lacking[117]. However, since the Parthenon metopes can be unanimously dated to 447–442 B.C.[118], the original statue of Aphrodite Sosandra is likely to have been created only a few years earlier. Admittedly, the Parthenon metopes and especially those of the south side display Early Classical traits alongside the more developed High Classical ones[119], similar to the statue of Aphrodite Sosandra. In particular, the extended mantle of the standing goddess on the perfectly preserved North XXXII, which may be Hebe, betrays a close stylistic affinity with the mantle of the statuary type, which shows the same combination of flat and broad folds between the thin and almost metal-sharp ridges. In addition, the way that the lower, fairly smooth part of the mantle of the seated Hera on the same metope abuts the delicate folds on the bottom of her chiton is comparable to the similar details of the mantle and lower hem of the chiton on the type of Aphrodite Sosandra[120]. Finally, the thin or metallic quality on the mantles of some Lapiths on the South metopes of the Parthenon[121] is reminiscent of the vertical folds of the mantle hanging from the extended left forearm of the statuary type of Aphrodite Sosandra, the original bronze statue of which

[112] Aegina Museum (inv. no. 2253): Δεσπίνης 2010, 20 f. 28–34 figs. 2. 4–8; Λεβέντη 2012, 375 f. figs. 7. 8. This statue may actually originate from Salamis: Παλαγγιά 2017, 190 with n. 36 figs. 14. 30. 31.

[113] Stewart 2012, 274 with n. 21 fig. 7.

[114] See Schwab 1988, 279 f. pl. 201; cf. Schwab 2005, 184–186 figs. 56. 57 (not detailed drawing of Aphrodite); 58 a. b (the vase-painting, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco [inv. no. 16535]).

[115] London British Museum (inv. no. 1206): Rügler 1988, 54–56. 153 pl. 13. Alcestis: Schmidt 1982, 541 no. 61.

[116] Poulsen 1939/1940, 10; Orlandini 1950, 135: ca. 460 B.C.; Ridgway 1970, 66; Rolley 1994, 355: 460–450 B.C.; Alexandridis 2016, 261: 470–460 B.C.

[117] See Ridgway 1970, 12–25.

[118] Schwab 2005, 160.

[119] See Berger 1986, 79.

[120] North XXXII: Brommer 1967, pls. 132. 135; Schwab 2005, 188 fig. 59.

[121] Especially, Brommer 1967, pls. 187 (South IX). 217–219 (South XXVII).

could have been created in Athens[122] around 450 B.C. Moreover, this date seems probable in view of the crispy hem of the chiton under the mantle and over the feet, a trait of the statue of Aphrodite Sosandra which is actually a High Classical stylistic feature. It is also found on standing female figures on the Parthenon metopes, especially those on North XXV, XXVIII, and the reconstructed female figure from the right part of South XIX[123]. Last but not least, the folds of the mantle of the Aphrodite Sosandra type form sharper ridges compared to the flat ones on the same garment in the statuary type of the seated Penelope, which was sculpted in 460–450 B.C.[124] The original statue then seems to be standing between the statue of Penelope and the Parthenon metopes.

THE SCULPTOR AND THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE DEDICATION

Preller in the mid-19th century was the first to identify the Sosandra by Kalamis, which Lucian describes [125] as standing on the Athenian Acropolis, with the statue of Aphrodite by Kalamis, which Pausanias states was dedicated by Kallias[126]. However, he did not discuss the statuary type of the lost original[127].

In articles published in quick succession in the early 20th century, Reisch and Studniczka rejected this identification and chose to distinguish two different statues standing on the Athenian Acropolis, Pausanias' Aphrodite, and Sosandra, a portrait statue by a later Kalamis. Given that female portrait statues do not occur earlier than the fourth century B.C., both these scholars agreed on the existence of a late Classical sculptor named Kalamis[128]. Studniczka, in particular, went on to identify the statuary type of Sosandra with the dancers wrapped in their mantles used as veils which are known from late Classical terracotta figurines and Roman Imperial marble sculptures, and dated the original creation to the first half of the fourth century B.C.[129] The hypothesis of a later Kalamis originates from these two studies and is supported by Pausanias[130], who refers to the Athenian Praxias, the sculptor of the east pediment of the fourth century temple of Apollo at Delphi who was a pupil of Kalamis, although this may well be a fictitious relationship[131]. It should be noted that Pausanias is notorious for making mistakes of this sort; for instance, he attributes the pedimen-

[122] By contrast, Poulsen 1939/1940, especially 8–10 attributed it to an Argive sculptor. Orlandini 1950, 106: Attic-Peloponnesian style. Cf. Napoli 1954, 10.

[123] See above n. 107 on North XXV; Berger 1986, pls. 26. 27 (North XXVIII); Mantis 1997, 75 fig. 7 (South XIX).

[124] See Palagia 2008, 224–227 with n. 15 figs. 1. 2. 4–9.

[125] Lucianus Im. 4.

[126] Paus. 1, 23, 2.

[127] Preller 1846; Preller 1864, 434 f. Cf. Benndorf 1879, 45 f. For a host of 19th century scholars following Preller, see Saletti 1999, 68 with nos. 5–12.

[128] Reisch 1906, 241–250, especially 242 further associates Aphrodite with the fourth century Kallias. Studniczka 1907, 14–38. 54–60. The existence of Kalamis the Younger (Kalamis II) is approved by Moreno 2001b, but he (Moreno 2001a, 373 f.) rejects out of hand the notion of two different statues on the Athenian Acropolis, one of Aphrodite and one of Sosandra. The existence of a later Kalamis had previously been strongly contested by Schrader 1921, 41.

[129] Studniczka 1907, 26–38 pls. 1–4.

[130] Paus. 10, 19, 4. Hallof et al. 2014b, 21 no. 1 DNO 1822.

[131] The problem with Praxias is complex, since it is thought that there were at least two sculptors with this name in the fourth century B.C.: Hallof 2014, p. 27–30 nos. 1. 2 DNO 1826–1827; Hallof et al. 2014b, p. 21–27 nos. 1. 2 DNO 1822–1824; no. 3 DNO 1825 (Praxias II or III). Flashar 2004, especially 304 suggests that the evidence that a younger Kalamis, grandson of the Early Classical sculptor, was the teacher of the fourth century Praxias is incorrect, and accepts the latter as merely belonging to the School of Kalamis. On this Praxias, who was active both in Delphi and on Thasos in the third quarter of the fourth century B.C., Holtzmann 2005, especially 171 f. Contra, Croissant 2011, especially 311–315: Praxias, the father, was only active in Delphi, while his son bearing the same name was later active in Thasos.

tal sculptures of the temple of Zeus at Olympia from the second quarter of the fifth century to Paionios and Alkamenes, both of whom belong to a later, and post-Pheidian generation of sculptors[132].

Even though ancient sources state that the middle one of the three statues of the Erinyes standing on the Areopagus in Athens was made by Kalamis in Pentelic marble, while the other two were made by Skopas in Parian marble[133], other attributions to Kalamis the Younger are more controversial. Pliny also refers to him as a fourth century silversmith[134]. As a result, recent scholarship has tended to deny the possible existence of a fourth century sculptor named Kalamis[135].

It does seem unlikely that a portrait statue of an unknown woman named Sosandra was so widely copied in the Roman Imperial period and used for portrait statues of other women at that time. Moreover, in the first half of the fourth century it would have been unusual to set up a portrait statue of a woman on the Athenian Acropolis[136]. Only the theory of Reisch[137] that it may have been the portrait of a priestess could justify the early date. Yet, a portrait statue of a priestess, especially on the Athenian Acropolis, could hardly have been praised for its exceptional beauty as Lucian's Sosandra was and it would not have been represented so intensely in Roman copies. Consequently, as we have seen, Studniczka suggested that it was the statue of a dancer, in order to reconcile its description with Lucian's anecdotes, especially the passage in his Dialogi Meretricii book 3, 2 which praises the nude ankles of the female dancer Thais. Here, though, his mocking comparison of the Sosandra by Kalamis may rather be a reference to the overall beauty of this *hetaera*, like that of the famous statue itself.

Furthermore, later scholars who accepted a single Kalamis have proposed High Classical statuary types. Dörig recognized the Aphrodite Sosandra in the type of the Cherchel Demeter, the original of which is today correctly considered a statue of Demeter, whereas he attributed the statuary type under discussion to the Aeginetan sculptor Kal(l)on[138]. Delivorrias identified the Aphrodite with the seated and unveiled statuary type of the ›Aphrodite – Olympias‹ and the Sosandra with the statuary type of the Kore Albani, the original of which is in fact a statue of the Eleusinian Kore[139].

The bronze statue of Aphrodite Sosandra which stood at the entrance to the Athenian Acropolis and had been dedicated by Kallias in the mid-fifth century was a work of the famous Early Classical sculptor Kalamis. As reconstructed by Amelung early in the 20th century, the identity of the goddess is confirmed by the above analysis. The statuary creation is in all likelihood Athenian, regardless of whether or not the sculptor Kalamis was of Boeotian origin. This has been postulated by various earlier scholars on account of some of his works which were purportedly displayed in Boeotia, though this does not count as conclusive proof[140]. Even if we concede that this sculptor came from a region that was not at the

[132] Paus. 5, 10, 8. See Pollitt 1990, 71 on this point.

[133] Moreno 2001b; Hallof et al. 2014a, p. 505–509 no. 9 DNO 592–595.

[134] Plin. NH 33, 156. 34, 47. See Moreno 2001b; cf. Pollitt 1990, 46. 94 with n. 32. 234; Hallof et al. 2014a, 522 ›Resümee‹.

[135] Hallof et al. 2014a, 522 ›Resümee‹.

[136] See n. 34.

[137] Reisch 1906, 246.

[138] Dörig 1965, 241–253; Boardman et al. 1984, 148. 268 fig. 200 and 126 fig. 154 (J. Dörig), respectively. Beschi 1988, 54 no. 852 pl. 566. Cf. Guerrini 1974, 231 with nos. 16. 17. Contra, Moreno 2001a, 374.

[139] Delivorrias 1978, 16 f.; contra Vierneisel-Schlörb 1979, 114; Dally 1997, 12 f.; more recently Despinis 2008, 268–301 with pls. 36–43. Baumer 1997, 17–19. 90–92 nos. G1/1–1/6 pls. 1. 2 on the Kore Albani. Cf. now Stewart et al. 2019, 696 f. with n. 158 suggesting that the career of Kalamis extended to 430 B.C. or slightly afterwards, when he might have created his famous Apollo Alexikakos.

[140] See Moreno 2001a, 373–375. 377. Pollitt 1990, 46 already suggested that Kalamis was an Athenian. Cf. Hallof et al. 2014a, p. 494. 522. For works by Kalamis in Boeotia: Hallof et al. 2014a, p. 498–500 nos. 3–5 DNO 582–584.

forefront of innovation in Early Classical sculpture, he certainly could have followed and be influenced by the progressive Attic workshop of the Early Classical period. On the other hand, even the great Praxiteles had statues of his placed in Boeotia according to Pausanias[141] and one of his signed bases, which supported a bronze male portrait of the mid-fourth century B.C., was found in Boeotian Thespiae[142].

It seems fitting to conclude that the statue of Aphrodite Sosandra by Kalamis which was dedicated by Kallias, son of Hipponikos, the politician who was later credited with the negotiations of peace with Persia in 449 B.C., was an Aphrodite Soteira erected in the mid-fifth century on the Athenian Acropolis[143]. Regardless of Kallias' contribution to peace with Persia, Aphrodite Sosandra was considered as the saviour of Athenian men following the turmoil of the Persian war, which terminated successfully with the liberation of the Greeks of the coast of West Asia Minor and the Aegean. In a wider historical context, however, Aphrodite Sosandra had clearly political significance. As we have seen earlier, the type of Aphrodite Sosandra may bear an iconographical relation to Aphrodite Ourania, a kindred political deity who is similarly associated with prolificacy. An intriguing suggestion made by previous scholars, namely that the original bronze statue of Aphrodite was initially erected in the Aphrodite Pandemos sanctuary to the southwest of the entrance to the Acropolis[144], seems to be consistent with the character of this dedication. This Aphrodite, the saviour of the Demos, could have been perceived as the equivalent of Aphrodite Pandemos, a goddess with a strong civic character[145]. As it was already made clear from the above analysis of the sanctuary of Aphrodite on the Ilissos, statues of the goddess bearing a different adjective could be housed in those sanctuaries where the same goddess was venerated with similar prerogatives. At the other end of the spectrum, an Aphrodite Pandemos statue by Skopas was erected next to the sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania in Elis, as Pausanias states[146], whereas in Thebes, *xoana* of Aphrodite Ourania and Pandemos were probably also kept in the same temple or sanctuary[147].

The epithet Sosandra of this Aphrodite statue, which may well have been stated in the dedicatory inscription on its base, serves to invoke the goddess' protective powers over the people of Athens. The cultic epithet corresponding to this function of the goddess may have indeed existed in name only, without entailing the institutionalization of a relevant, and hitherto unattested, cult in Athens[148]. Yet, we may also mention the fascinating discovery of votive inscriptions to Aphrodite Sosandra (Veneri Sosandrae) found in 1987 on the walls of a cave on the small island of S. Euphemia (or S. Eugenia) a Vieste sul Gargano, identified as the ancient Ourion / Ouria, on the coast of Apulia (modern-day district of Foggia) and associated by Italian archaeologists with the presence of Athenian sailors and colonists in the

[141] Paus. 9, 27, 3–5.

[142] Statue base Thebes, Archaeological Museum (inv. no. 2025): Söldner et al. 2014, p. 179 f. no. 59 DNO 1980. The Aphrodite and Phryne statues in Thespiae: Söldner et al. 2014, p. 180 f. no. 59 DNO 1981. Eros in Thespiae: Söldner et al. 2014, p. 119–132 no. 30 DNO 1918–1935.

[143] Studniczka 1907, 60 as well as Cistaro 2009, 89 accepted the connection with the ›Peace of Kallias‹. Cf. Hallof et al. 2014a, p. 504 no. 8a DNO 591. – The existence of a formal treaty, known traditionally as the Peace of Kallias, is now strongly questioned, since no fifth century textual evidence supports it: Rhodes 2010, 53 f.

[144] Moreno 2001a, 375, following Raubitschek 1943, 19; Dörig 1965, 244; Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 33. Pala 2010, 214 with n. 97 proposed a fictitious Archaic sanctuary of Aphrodite near the Propylaia, where the Aphrodite Sosandra erected by Kallias might have stood. Also, Torelli 2010.

[145] On the cult of Pandemos in Athens, Sourlas 2017, 177–180 and especially 179 with n. 87. Sourlas 2017, 179–181 considers the alleged sanctuary of Aphrodite Pandemos in the elusive Old Agora of Athens.

[146] Paus. 6, 25, 1. Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 26–34. 231–236. Several scholars believe that Aphodite Ourania is closely associated with Pandemos: Edwards 1984, 69; Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 24; Sourlas 2017, 180.

[147] Paus. 9, 16, 3. Parker 2003, 174.

[148] Cf. Parker 2003, 176 on the case of Hermes Dolios in Attica.

region in the fourth and third centuries B.C.[149] Generally in Greece Aphrodite is a goddess that can protect sailors in her broader capacity as Soteira or Sozousa, which is attested from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods[150]. But the aforementioned votive inscriptions underline the first appearance of Aphrodite Sosandra in a cultic context, and with a clear focus on Athens.

On the other hand, one may be tempted to compare the bronze original of the Aphrodite Sosandra with the statue of Aphrodite supporting a tripod by the Argive sculptor Polykleitos, which, according to Pausanias, was dedicated almost fifty years later by Lysander in the Sanctuary of Apollo at Amyklai as a memorial of his victory over the Athenian fleet in 405 B.C. at Aigospotamoi[151]. This later monument highlights the martial character of Aphrodite, promoting her as a victory goddess, who does not differ much from the Athenian Aphrodite Sosandra[152]. The political, martial, maritime, erotic, prolific and marital dimensions of human life hence all coexist inextricably within Aphrodite's polyvalent sphere of influence[153].

EPILOGUE

Having studied the iconography and presented a stylistic assessment of the Early Classical bronze original of the Aphrodite Sosandra, we can conclude that it was an Athenian statue of Aphrodite produced in the concluding phase of the Severe style[154]. Erected in a conspicuous place and being undoubtedly a famous creation in view of its numerous Roman Imperial

[149] Russi 1989, 303–306 pl. XIII; Russi 1998, 97–100 fig. on p. 100 (inscriptions ranging in date from the third century B.C. to the late Roman period); Ferone 2004, 43 with nos. 64–67; cf. Moreno 2001c, 40.

[150] See Eckert 2011, 104–107. 116 f. on these adjectives. On cult places of Aphrodite in harbours or overlooking the sea, Eckert 2011, 108–113. Cf. Demetriou 2010, 67–77. – On the broad dominion of Aphrodite in Athens and its connection to the development of the Athenian fleet, see Papadopoulou 2010, especially 221–223.

[151] Paus. 3, 18, 7–8. Bommelaer 1981, 8 f. no. B 5.

[152] Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 32–34 and Pironti 2007, 245–248, especially 245 nos. 196. 197 associate the Aphrodite dedicated by Kallias on the Athenian Acropolis exclusively with the naval victory of the Athenians against the Persians at Salamis on Cyprus, which preceeded the conclusion of the Peace. This view has recently been reinforced by Christodoulou 2019, 158–162, who compared the dedication of the Aphrodite Sosandra statue by Kallias to the foundation of a sanctuary of Aphrodite in Piraeus by Themistocles after his battle against the Persians off the Attic Salamis. – Interestingly, Papadopoulou 2010, 233, identified Aphrodite in the Piraeus sanctuary as Ourania.

[153] On the broad dominion of Aphrodite, Pironti 2010, 128; Demetriou 2010, especially 75–78. 81–86; Papadopoulou 2010, 221.

[154] Adornato 2019 challenges the notion of the Severe style as a clear-cut period, advocating instead a broad time-span of transformation in sculptural creations ranging between the late Archaic period and the innovations by Polykleitos. The Severe style as a transitional style between the old and the new had already been identified by Palagia 2008, 224.

Sources of illustrations: *Fig. 1:* D-DAI-ROM-73.1685 (Gerhard Singer). – *Fig. 2:* Courtesy, Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali e per il Turismo – Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (Hans R. Goette). – *Fig. 3 a. b:* Courtesy, Ephorate of Antiquities of Corinth (Author). – *Fig. 4:* Courtesy, Ephorate of Antiquities of Argolid (Pavlina Karanastasi). – *Fig. 5:* Courtesy, Heraklion Archaeological Museum. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports – TAP (Fund of Archaeological Proceeds) (Hans R. Goette). – *Figs. 6. 7:* Courtesy, Ephorate of Antiquities of Rethymnon (George Vdokakis). – *Figs. 8. 9:* Courtesy, Ephorate of Antiquities of Lasithi. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports – Archaeological Resources Funds (Hans R. Goette). – *Figs. 10. 11:* © Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz inv. no. Sk 1518 (Hans R. Goette). – *Fig. 12:* Courtesy, Pavia, University Museum (Maurizio Harari). – *Fig. 13:* Courtesy, Pavia, University Museum (Fiorenzo Cantalupi). – *Fig. 14:* Courtesy, Ministero per I Beni e le Attività Culturali e per il Turismo – Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (Hans R. Goette). – *Fig. 15:* © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre) (Hervé Lewandowski). – *Figs. 16. 17:* AKR 20213 © Acropolis Museum, 2013 (Socratis Mavrommatis). – *Fig. 18:* Courtesy, Acropolis Restoration Service (author).

copies, the original statue is most plausibly identified with the Aphrodite Sosandra sculpted by Kalamis and dedicated by Kallias in the mid-fifth century B.C., which is referred to on certain occasions in the ancient textual tradition. This statue could serve as a basis for the reconstruction of lost works and the artistic personality of Kalamis, an outstanding sculptor, who worked in the second quarter of the fifth century and possibly also later, although this topic exceeds the scope of this paper. The lost bronze original was a transitional work poised between the Early Classical and the new High Classical Athenian styles in sculpture, as well as an innovative stylistic forerunner the Parthenon metopes.

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CATALOGUE OF COPIES

Marble Statues

1. Statue *figs. 1. 2*
Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (inv. no. 153654)
From Baiae, Baths of the Roman Villa of Sosandra
Parian marble. H 1.87 m
Hadrianic
Napoli 1954, figs. 1–12; Guerrini 1974, 230 no. 26; 231–234 fig. 3; Cantilena et al. 1989, 100 no. 26 fig. on p. 101; colour pl. 8; Gasparri 1995, 176 with n. 29 pl. 40, 2 and 42, 1; Stirling 2018, 102 tab. 4, 1. no. 1.

2. Headless statue *fig. 14*
Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (inv. no. 137885)
From Stabiae, Castellammare
Pentelic marble. H 1.74 m
First century A.D.
Orlandini 1950, 93 no. 4 pl. 7, 3; Guerrini 1974, 229 no. 4; Cantilena et al. 1989, 100 no. 27 pl. on p. 101; Gasparri 1995, 178 with n. 29 pl. 42, 2; Ferrara 1999, with fig. 2 a–c; Stirling 2018, 94 f. tab. 4, 1 no. 2.

3. Statue restored with a portrait head
Rome, Museo Capitolino (inv. no. S 41)
Pentelic marble. H 1.95 m
First century A.D.
Orlandini 1950, 53 no. 5 pl. 7, 4; von Steuben 1966, 45 no. 1197; Guerrini 1974, 229 no. 5; Romeo 2010, 174–177 no. 16 with pls.; Stirling 2018, 95. 108 tab. 4, 1 no. 21.

4. Statue restored with a portrait head
Rome, Museo Capitolino (inv. no. S 46)
Parian marble. H 1.91 m
Hadrianic – Early Antonine
Orlandini 1950, 53 no. 6; von Steuben 1966, 45 no. 1197; Guerrini 1974, 229 no. 6; Romeo 2010, 192–195 no. 20 with pls.; Stirling 2018, 108 tab. 4, 1 no. 22.

5. Headless statue *fig. 15*
Paris, Louvre (inv. no. Ma 2203)
H 1.65 m
Hadrianic
Orlandini 1950, 94 no. 9; Guerrini 1974, 229 no. 9; Stirling 2018, tab. 4, 1 no. 38.

6. Statue
Paris, Louvre (inv. no. Ma 146)
From Italy, Collection Camille Borghese
Restored head and left hand holding a mask (Muse Thaleia)
H 2.05 m
Antonine
Orlandini 1950, 94 no. 8 pl. 8, 3; Guerrini 1974, 229 no. 8; Martinez 2004, 132 f. no. 0214; Stirling 2018, tab. 4, 1 no. 39.

7. Statue
Baiae, Museo Archeologico
Unknown date
Romeo 2010, 174 n. 3; Stirling 2018, 95 n. 16 tab. 4, 1 no. 20 (non vidi).

8. Torso of a statue *figs. 8. 9*
Hierapetra, Archaeological Collection (inv. no. 61)
H 1.40 m
Roman
Orlandini 1950, 93 no. 3; Guerrini 1974, 228 no. C fig. 1; Καραναστάση 2012, 445 n. 62; Stirling 2018, tab. 4, 1 no. 6.

9. Fragment of statue
Selçuk Museum (inv. no. Agora Depot)
H 0.48 m
Second Century A.D.
Atalay 1989, 52 no. 49 fig. 97. Possibly belonging with the Ephesos head (cat. 31) according to Stirling 2018, 95 n. 17; 101 f. with n. 33 tab. 4, 1 no. 9.

Marble Portrait Statues

10. Portrait statue *fig. 4*
Argos Museum (inv. no. 13570)
Possibly from an Isis sanctuary in Argos
H 1.415 m. H_{Head} 0.20 m. H_{Face} 0.155 m
Antonine, ca. A.D. 165
Guerrini 1974, 230 no. 27 (the body); Stirling 2018, 99–101. 103. 107 f. 111 tab. 4, 1 no. 7; Καραναστάση 2018, 249 with no. 65 figs. 12. 13.

11. Portrait statue *figs. 10. 11*
Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung (inv. no. Sk 1518)
From Aquino in Italy
H 1.97 m
Antonine, A.D. 150–175
Blümel 1931, 27–29 no. K 167 pls. 53. 54; Orlandini 1950, 92 f. no. 1 pl. 7, 1; Guerrini 1974, 229 no. 1; Alexandridis 2016, 260–262 no. 171 with figs.; Stirling 2018, 103. 108. 111 tab. 4, 1 no. 30.

12. Portrait statue *figs. 6. 7*
Rethymnon Museum (inv. no. L 153)
From Lappa (modern Argyroupolis)
Thasian marble. H 1.62 m; 1.73 m with the plinth
Early Antonine, ca. A.D. 150
Orlandini 1950, 92 f. no. 2 pl. 7, 2; Guerrini 1974, 227 no. A pl. 32; Herrmann – Attanasio 2018, 411 f. with no. 21 figs. 11–13; Kansteiner 2018, 224 with n. 92–94; Καραναστάση 2018, 247 f. figs. 8–11; Stirling 2018, 98. 100. 108 tab. 4, 1 no. 4 fig. 4, 6.

Marble Statuettes

13. Statuette
Corinth Museum (inv. no. S-1999-04)
From the Roman villa of the Panayia Domus in Corinth
H 0.345 m
First or early second century A.D.
Stirling 2008, 93–95. 137 no. 1 fig. 3; Stirling 2018, 104 f. 107 tab. 4, 1 no. 11 fig. 4, 3.

14. Torso of a statuette
Corinth Museum (inv. no. S-3575)
From the theatre district
H 0.20 m
Roman
Sturgeon 2004, 151 f. no. 42 fig. 51 a (Hellenistic–Roman); Stirling 2008, 137 n. 142; Stirling 2018, 103. 107 tab. 4, 1 no. 12 fig. 4, 3.

15. Fragment of a statuette
Corinth Museum (inv. no. S-1051)
From the Corinth Forum, Julian Basilica (mediaeval layers)
H 0.105 m
Roman
Ridgway 1981, 442 with n. 81; Stirling 2008, 137 n. 141; Stirling 2018, 103–105. 107 tab. 4, 1 no. 14 fig. 4, 3.

16. Two nonjoining fragments of a statuette *figs. 3 a. b*
Corinth Museum
From the Corinth Forum. Mosaic House and South Basilica (mediaeval layers).
Fragment a) inv. no. S-1897 preserves the upper part of the statuette. H 0.115 m
Fragment b) inv. no. S-1904+S-2446 is recomposed of two joining fragments and is preserved from the knees down to the plinth. H 0.205 m
Roman
Ridgway 1981, 442 with n. 81; Stirling 2008, 137 n. 141; Stirling 2018, 104 tab. 4, 1 no. 13 fig. 4, 3.

17. Headless statuette
Cyrene Museum (inv. no. 14286)
H 0.61 m
Roman
Paribeni 1959, 92 no. 237 pl. 123; Guerrini 1974, 230 no. 28; Stirling 2018, 98 tab. 4, 1 no. 17.

18. Statuette
Damascus, National Museum (inv. no. 5380)
From Hama
H 0.395 m
Hadrianic
Poulsen 1939/1940, pl. 1; Orlandini 1950, 95 no. 18 pl. 12, 1; Guerrini 1974, 229 no. 18; Ploug 1985, 189–191 no. 57 fig. 43 a–c; Stirling 2018, 94. 98. 106 f. 108 tab. 4, 1 no. 18.

19. Headless statuette
Nis, National Museum (inv. no. 1000 / R)
From a Roman villa incorporated later in Constantine's residence in Mediana
H 0.49 m
Second century A.D.
Tomović 1989/1990, fig. 1 (imported from Thessaloniki or Athens); Petrovič 1994, 59. 87 no. 4 fig. 23; Stirling 2008, 135 with n. 126; Popovic 2016, 88 no. 6 with fig.; Stirling 2018, 98. 100. 105. 107 tab. 4, 1 no. 19.

20. Headless statuette
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (inv. no. 24.97.39)
Purchased in Rome
Pentelic marble. H 0.416 m
Antonine
Orlandini 1950, 95 f. no. 21 pl. 12, 3; Richter 1954, 25 f. no. 30 pl. 29; Robertson 1957, 1 f. with n. 4; 3 with n. 11 pl. 1 b. c; Guerrini 1974, 229 no. 21; Robertson 1988a, 76 no. 1 a pl. 40; Stirling 2018, 94. 98. 107 f. tab. 4, 1 no. 35.

21. Headless Statuette
Venice, Museo Archeologico (inv. no. 262)
Possibly from Crete
H 0.365 m
Roman
Orlandini 1950, 95 no. 19 pl. 12, 2; Traversari 1973, 17 no. 3 with fig.; Guerrini 1974, 229 no. 7; Stirling 2018, tab. 4, 1 no. 26. The present head is a cast of the statuette head no. 36.

22. Statuette
Once in Collection Grimani in Venice, known from a lost drawing referring to it as Mnemosyne
H 0.50 m
Unknown date
Orlandini 1950, 96 no. 24 pl. 13, 3; Guerrini 1974, 229 no. 24; Stirling 2018, tab. 4, 1 no. 27.

23. Torso of a statuette
Aquileia, Museo Archeologico (inv. no. 336)
H 0.40 m
Antonine
Orlandini 1950, 95 no. 20; Scrinari 1972, 16 no. 45; Guerrini 1974, 229 no. 20; Stirling 2018, tab. 4, 1 no. 29.

24. Fragmentary torso of a statuette
Athens, Agora Museum (inv. no. S-1790)
H 0.125 m
Hellenistic-Roman
Stirling 2018, 95 n. 16; 105 with n. 51; 107 tab. 4, 1 no. 15 fig. 4, 4.

25. Fragment of the lower body of a statuette
Epidauros Museum (inv. no. ME 170)
From Epidauros, sanctuary of Asklepios
Pentelic marble. H 0.265 m
First quarter Czakó of the second century A.D.
Κατάκης 2002, 93 f. no. 92 pl. 105 a. b; Stirling 2018, 100. 105. 107 tab. 4, 1 no. 16.

26. Fragment of the lower body of a statuette
Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano (inv. no. Baths of Caracalla S 1)
From Rome, Baths of Caracalla
Pentelic marble. H 0.244 m
Hadrianic-Antonine
Jenewein 1985, 15–18 no. 1 figs. 1. 2; Gensheimer 2018, 358 f. no. 58.

Marble Heads

27. Head of a statue
Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung (inv. no. Sk 605)
H 0.265 m
Hadrianic
Blümel 1931, 27 no. K 166 pls. 51. 52; Orlandini 1950, 94 no. 10 pl. 9, 1. 2; Guerrini 1974, 229 no. 10; Gasparri 1995, 178 with n. 28 pl. 41, 4; Stirling 2018, 103 n. 43 tab. 4, 1 no. 3.

28. Head of a statue *fig. 5*
Herakleion Museum (inv. no. G 69)
From Gortyn
H. 0.32 m
Early Antonine
Orlandini 1950, 94 no. 11; Guerrini 1974, 228 no. B pl. 33; I. Romeo, in: Romeo in: Romeo – Portale 1998, 236–239 no. 91 pl. 31, b–d; Stirling 2018, 98 with n. 21; 108 tab. 4, 1 no. 5.

29. Head of a statue
Paris, Louvre (inv. no. Ma 848)
Reworked. Bust modern
H 0.46 m
Hadrianic[155]
Orlandini 1950, 95 no. 16 pl. 9, 3; Guerrini 1974, 229 no. 16; Martinez 2004, 351 no. 0684; J.-L. Martinez in: Pasquier – Martinez 2007, 63 with fig.; Stirling 2018, tab. 4, 1 no. 37.

30. Head of a statue *figs. 12. 13*
Pavia, Università di Pavia, Museo Archeologico (without inv. no.)
Parian marble. H 0.313 m
Antonine
Patroni 1905, pls. 1. 2; Frova 1949, 137 with n. 13 figs. 5. 6; Orlandini 1950, 94 no. 15 pl. 11, 1. 2; Guerrini 1974, 229 no. 18; Saletti 1999, fig. 1 pls. 23. 24; Stirling 2018, tab. 4, 1 no. 28.

31. Head of a statue
Smyrna (İzmir), Archaeological Museum (inv. no. 535)
From Ephesos, ›Kaisersaal‹ of the Vedius Bath-Gymnasium at Stadion
H 0.30 cm
Antonine
Keil 1929, 40 no. 6 fig. 25; Orlandini 1950, 94 no. 12 pl. 9, 3; Guerrini 1974, 229 no. 12; Stirling 2018, 95 n. 17; 99. 101 f. 103. 107 tab. 4, 1 no. 8.

32. Head of a statue
Thessaloniki Museum (inv. no. 10117)
From Thessaloniki
Pentelic marble. H 0.20 m
Antonine
Guerrini 1974, 230 no. 29; Δεσπίνης et al. 1997, 96 f. no. 71 pls. 154–157; Stirling 2018, 99 with n. 27; 108 tab. 4, 1 no. 10.

33. Head of a statue
Venice, Museo Archeologico (inv. no. 32)
Possibly from Crete
The face and neck are ancient. Adjusted to a modern bust and restored in the 15th century
H 0.23 m. Total 0.59 m
Antonine
Orlandini 1950, 93 f. no. 14 pl. 10, 3; Traversari 1973, 18 no. 4 with fig.; Beschi 1972/1973, 488 with n. 5; Guerrini 1974, 228 no. 6 (associated with the torso in Hierapetra cat. 8); Stirling 2018, 98 n. 21 tab. 4, 1 no. 25.

34. Fragmentary head of a statue
Rome, Museo Palatino (inv. no. 56433); formerly Museo Nazionale Romano (without inv. no)
From the so-called stadium of Domus Flavia on the Palatine, that is possibly the hippodromus of the Palatine, found there in the *viridarium* (pleasure garden) in 1892
Parian marble. H 0.22 m
Hadrianic
Orlandini 1950, 93 no. 13 pl. 10, 1. 2; Guerrini 1974, 229 no. 13; Candilio 1979, 48–51 no. 44 with fig.; Germini 2008, 188 f. pl. 29; Gasparri 1995, 178 with n. 27; Gasparri – Tomei 2014, 300–301 no. 111; Stirling 2018, 101–103. 112 tab. 4, 1 no. 3.

35. Head of a statuette
St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum (inv. no. A. 1000)
Pentelic marble. H 0.05 m
Roman
Waldhauer 1936, 72 no. 331 figs. 82. 83 (fourth century B.C.); Orlandini 1950, 96 no. 22 pl. 13, 1; Guerrini 1974, 229 no. 22; Stirling 2018, tab. 4, 1 no. 34.

36. Fragmentary head of a statuette
Rome, Museo Nuovo Capitolino (inv. no. 1488)
Pentelic marble. H. 0.075 m
Roman
Mustilli 1939, 36 f. no. 3 pl. 29 fig. 105; Orlandini 1950, 96 no. 23 pl. 13, 2; Guerrini 1974, 229 no. 23; Stirling 2018, tab. 4, 1 no. 24.

Variants

37. High relief head
Once Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire (inv. no. 24)
Atlanta, M. C. Carlos Museum at Emory University, attached by Despinis to a relief female torso in Athens, National Archaeological Museum (inv. nos. 2267 + 9274). Despinis attributed this female figure (possibly Aphrodite) to one of the friezes belonging to the unidentified structures of second century A.D. Athens. This head adjusts stylistically the type of the head of Aphrodite Sosandra to a late fifth century style.
Pentelic Marble.
H 0.165 m
Hadrianic
Despinis 2003, 53–55 no. IV 3 pls. 57. 58 figs. 219. 221–224 (the head) with the earlier bibliography; Despinis 2003, 23 f. no. I 26 pl. 22 figs. 82–84; 31 no. I 42 pl. 32 fig. 124 (the torso); pl. 57 figs. 225–227. 110. 111 (head and torso); Goette 2017, 58 figs. 7. 8.

38. Fragmentary high relief head
Leiden, Rikjsmuseum van Oudheden (inv. no. 182: RO III 90 [?])
Possibly from Greece
H 0.12 m
Hadrianic

Stirling 2018, 96 with n. 19 tab. 4, 1 no. 33 fig. 4, 5 included it in her catalogue of the copies. Despinis 2003, 55 no. IV 4. 110 fig. 220, attributed it to a Neoattic frieze.

39. Terracotta relief plaque
Once, Munich Glyptothek, Destroyed
Augustan
Orlandini 1950, 96 f. no. 25 pl. 14, 1; Ridgway 1970, 112 f. fig. 146; Guerrini 1974, 230 no. 25; Stirling 2018, 95 n. 14.

Reworked Copies

40. Head of a statue
Munich, Residenz (inv. no P. I 16)
Possibly Naxian marble. H 0.295 m
Hadrianic
Weski – Frosien-Leinz 1987, 136 f. no. 6 pl. 45; Gasparri 1991, 732; Καραναστάση 2012, 446 with n. 64; Stirling 2018, tab. 4, 1 no. 32.

41. Statue
Once Rome, ex-Giustiniani Collection, now possibly in America
Antonine
Orlandini 1950, 93 f. with n. 2 no. 7 pl. 8, 2; Guerrini 1974, 229 no. 7; Stirling 2018, tab. 4, 1 no. 23.

The bust in Paris, Louvre inv. no. Ma 1147 referred to as a copy by Orlandini 1950, no. 17 pl. 9, 4; Guerrini 1974, 229 no. 17 is a portrait bust of Faustina the Younger and does not accord with the statuary type: Martinez 2004, 288 no. 0545; cf. de Kersauson 1996, 55 no. 270 (modern work); Stirling 2018, 88 n. 1.

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